Livy, *The History of Rome* (Loeb Classical Library 12 volumes in 1: searchable text and translation only)

LIVY

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

I

BOOKS I AND II

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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WESTERN CENTRAL ITALY . . . . . ,,

T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER I

Praefatio

Facturusne operae pretium sim,[1] si a primordio urbis res populi Romani perscripserim, nec satis scio,
2 nec, si sciam, dicere ausim, quippe qui cum veterem tum volgatam esse rem videam, dum novi semper scriptores aut in rebus certius aliquid allaturos se aut scribendi arte rudem vetustatem superaturos
3 credunt. Utcumque erit, iuvabit tamen rerum gestarum memoriae principis terrarum populi pro virili parte et ipsum consuluisse; et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me qui nomini officient meo
4 consoler. Res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur, et

[1] operae pretium sim *Sabellicus* (*from Quint.* IX. iv. 74): sim operae pretium Ω.

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK I

Preface

Whether I am likely to accomplish anything worthy of the labour, if I record the achievements of the Roman people from the foundation of the city, I do not really know, nor if I knew would I dare to avouch it; perceiving as I do that the theme[1] is not only old but hackneyed, through the constant succession of new historians, who believe either that in their facts they can produce more authentic information, or that in their style they will prove better than the rude attempts of the ancients. Yet, however this shall be, it will be a satisfaction to have done myself as much as lies in me to commemorate the deeds of the foremost people of the world; and if in so vast a company of writers my own reputation should be obscure, my consolation would be the fame and greatness of those whose renown will throw mine into the shade. Moreover, my subject involves infinite labour, seeing that it must be traced back

[1] Some scholars take *rem* to mean "the practice," *sc.* of expressing confidence in one's ability.

quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit ut iam magnitudine laboret sua; et legentium plerisque haud dubito quin primae origines proximaque originibus minus praebitura voluptatis sint, festinantibus ad haec nova, quibus iam pridem praevalentis populi
5 vires se ipsae conficiunt: ego contra hoc quoque laboris praemium petam, ut me a conspectu malorum quae nostra tot per annos vidit aetas, tantisper certe dum prisca illa tota mente repeto, avertam, omnis expers curae quae scribentis animum, etsi non flectere a vero, sollicitum tamen efficere posset.
6 Quae ante conditam condendamve urbem poeticis magis decora fabulis quam incorruptis rerum gestarum monumentis traduntur, ea nec adfirmare nec
7 refellere in animo est. Datur haec venia antiquitati, ut miscendo humana divinis primordia urbium augustiora faciat; et si cui populo licere oportet consecrare origines suas et ad deos referre auctores, ea belli gloria est populo Romano ut cum suum conditorisque sui parentem Martem potissimum ferat tam et hoc gentes humanae patiantur aequo animo
8 quam imperium patiuntur. Sed haec et his similia, utcumque animadversa aut existimata erunt, haud
9 in magno equidem ponam discrimine: ad illa mihi pro se quisque acriter intendat animum, quae vita,

[1] Livy refers to the animosities inevitably aroused by writers who dealt with such thorny subjects as the civil wars, during the lifetime of many who had taken part in them.

above seven hundred years, and that proceeding from slender beginnings it has so increased as now to be burdened by its own magnitude; and at the same time I doubt not that to most readers the earliest origins and the period immediately succeeding them will give little pleasure, for they will be in haste to reach these modern times, in which the might of a people which has long been very powerful is working its own undoing. I myself, on the contrary, shall seek in this an additional reward for my toil, that I may avert my gaze from the troubles which our age has been witnessing for so many years, so long at least as I am absorbed in the recollection of the brave days of old, free from every care which, even if it could not divert the historian's mind from the truth, might nevertheless cause it anxiety.[1]

Such traditions as belong to the time before the city was founded, or rather was presently to be founded, and are rather adorned with poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical proofs, I purpose neither to affirm nor to refute. It is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human, and so to add dignity to the beginnings of cities; and if any people ought to be allowed to consecrate their origins and refer them to a divine source, so great is the military glory of the Roman People that when they profess that their Father and the Father of their Founder was none other than Mars, the nations of the earth may well submit to this also with as good a grace as they submit to Rome's dominion. But to such legends as these, however they shall be regarded and judged, I shall, for my own part, attach no great importance. Here are the questions to which I would have every reader

qui mores fuerint, per quos viros quibusque artibus domi militiaeque et partum et auctum imperium sit; labente deinde paulatim disciplina velut desidentis[1] primo mores sequatur animo, deinde ut magis magisque lapsi sint, tum ire coeperint praecipites, donec ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est.

10 Hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri; inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde
11 foedum inceptu, foedum exitu, quod vites. Ceterum aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla umquam res publica nec maior nec sanctior nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam civitatem tam serae avaritia luxuriaque inmigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tam diu paupertati ac parsimoniae honos fuerit. Adeo quanto rerum minus, tanto minus
12 cupiditatis erat; nuper divitiae avaritiam et abundantes voluptates desiderium per luxum atque libidinem pereundi perdendique omnia invexere.

Sed querellae, ne tum quidem gratae futurae cum forsitan necessariae erunt, ab initio certe
13 tantae ordiendae rei absint; cum bonis potius ominibus votisque et precationibus deorum dearumque,

[1] desidentes ς: discidentis *M*: dissidentis (*or* dissidentes) Ω.

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[1] The metaphor is from a decaying building.

[2] The monument Livy means is the body of a nation's achievements (*cf. res* in § 1), the "history" of a nation, in

give his close attention—what life and morals were like; through what men and by what policies, in peace and in war, empire was established and enlarged; then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge [1] which has brought us to the present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure.

What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; [2] from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result. For the rest, either love of the task I have set myself deceives me, or no state was ever greater, none more righteous or richer in good examples, none ever was where avarice and luxury came into the social order so late, or where humble means and thrift were so highly esteemed and so long held in honour. For true it is that the less men's wealth was, the less was their greed. Of late, riches have brought in avarice, and excessive pleasures the longing to carry wantonness and licence to the point of ruin for oneself and of universal destruction.

But complaints are sure to be disagreeable, even when they shall perhaps be necessary; let the beginning, at all events, of so great an enterprise have none. With good omens rather would we begin, and, if historians had the same custom which poets have,

that objective sense of the word. This he likens to a monument of stone on which men's deeds are recorded.

si, ut poetis, nobis quoque mos esset, libentius inciperemus, ut orsis tantum operis successus prosperos darent.

I. Iam primum omnium satis constat Troia capta in ceteros saevitum esse Troianos: duobus, Aeneae Antenorique, et vetusti iure hospitii et quia pacis reddendaeque Helenae semper auctores fuerunt, 2 omne ius belli Achivos abstinuisse; casibus deinde variis Antenorem cum multitudine Enetum, qui seditione ex Paphlagonia pulsi et sedes et ducem rege Pylaemene ad Troiam amisso quaerebant, 3 venisse in intimum maris Hadriatici sinum, Euganeisque, qui inter mare Alpesque incolebant, pulsis, Enetos Troianosque eas tenuisse terras. Et in quem primum egressi sunt locum Troia vocatur, pagoque inde Troiano nomen est: gens universa Veneti 4 appellati. Aeneam ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis, primo in Macedoniam venisse, inde in Siciliam quaerentem sedes delatum, ab Sicilia classe ad Laurentem agrum 5 tenuisse. Troia et huic loco nomen est. Ibi egressi Troiani, ut quibus ab inmenso prope errore nihil praeter arma et naves superesset, cum praedam ex agris agerent, Latinus rex Aboriginesque, qui tum ea tenebant loca, ad arcendam vim advenarum 6 armati ex urbe atque agris concurrunt. Duplex inde

[1] See the *Iliad*, v. 576.

with prayers and entreaties to the gods and goddesses, that they might grant us to bring to a successful issue the great task we have undertaken.

I. First of all, then, it is generally agreed that when Troy was taken vengeance was wreaked upon the other Trojans, but that two, Aeneas and Antenor, were spared all the penalties of war by the Achivi, owing to long-standing claims of hospitality, and because they had always advocated peace and the giving back of Helen. They then experienced various vicissitudes. Antenor, with a company of Eneti who had been expelled from Paphlagonia in a revolution and were looking for a home and a leader—for they had lost their king, Pylaemenes, at Troy[1]—came to the inmost bay of the Adriatic. There, driving out the Euganei, who dwelt between the sea and the Alps, the Eneti and Trojans took possession of those lands. And in fact the place where they first landed is called Troy, and the district is therefore known as Trojan, while the people as a whole are called the Veneti. Aeneas, driven from home by a similar misfortune, but guided by fate to undertakings of greater consequence, came first to Macedonia; thence was carried, in his quest of a place of settlement, to Sicily; and from Sicily laid his course towards the land of Laurentum. This place too is called Troy. Landing there, the Trojans, as men who, after their all but immeasurable wanderings, had nothing left but their swords and ships, were driving booty from the fields, when King Latinus and the Aborigines, who then occupied that country, rushed down from their city and their fields to repel with arms the violence of the invaders. From this point the tradition follows two

fama est. Alii proelio victum Latinum pacem cum
7 Aenea, deinde affinitatem iunxisse tradunt: alii, cum instructae acies constitissent, priusquam signa canerent processisse Latinum inter primores ducemque advenarum evocasse ad conloquium; percunctatum deinde qui mortales essent, unde aut quo casu profecti domo quidve quaerentes in agrum Laurenti-
8 num[1] exissent, postquam audierit multitudinem Troianos esse, ducem Aeneam, filium Anchisae et Veneris, cremata patria domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere, et nobilitatem admiratum gentis virique et animum vel bello vel paci paratum, dextra data fidem futurae amicitiae
9 sanxisse. Inde foedus ictum inter duces, inter exercitus salutationem factam; Aeneam apud Latinum fuisse in hospitio; ibi Latinum apud penates deos domesticum publico adiunxisse foedus filia Aeneae
10 in matrimonium data. Ea res utique Troianis spem adfirmat tandem stabili certaque sede finiendi erroris.
11 Oppidum condunt; Aeneas ab nomine uxoris Lavinium appellat. Brevi stirpis quoque virilis ex novo matrimonio fuit, cui Ascanium parentes dixere nomen.

II. Bello deinde Aborigines Troianique simul petiti. Turnus, rex Rutulorum, cui pacta Lavinia ante adventum Aeneae fuerat, praelatum sibi adve-

[1] Laurentinum Ω: Laurentem *MO²DL₅*.

[1] This, in a nutshell, is the form of the legend on which Virgil based Books vii.–xii. of the *Aeneid*.

lines. Some say that Latinus, having been defeated in the battle, made a peace with Aeneas, and later an alliance of marriage.[1] Others maintain that when the opposing lines had been drawn up, Latinus did not wait for the charge to sound, but advanced amidst his chieftains and summoned the captain of the strangers to a parley. He then inquired what men they were, whence they had come, what mishap had caused them to leave their home, and what they sought in landing on the coast of Laurentum. He was told that the people were Trojans and their leader Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; that their city had been burnt, and that, driven from home, they were looking for a dwelling-place and a site where they might build a city. Filled with wonder at the renown of the race and the hero, and at his spirit, prepared alike for war or peace, he gave him his right hand in solemn pledge of lasting friendship. The commanders then made a treaty, and the armies saluted each other. Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus; there the latter, in the presence of his household gods, added a domestic treaty to the public one, by giving his daughter in marriage to Aeneas. This event removed any doubt in the minds of the Trojans that they had brought their wanderings to an end at last in a permanent and settled habitation. They founded a town, which Aeneas named Lavinium, after his wife. In a short time, moreover, there was a male scion of the new marriage, to whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.

II. War was then made upon Trojans and Aborigines alike. Turnus was king of the Rutulians, and to him Lavinia had been betrothed before the coming

nam aegre patiens simul Aeneae Latinoque bellum
2 intulerat. Neutra acies laeta ex eo certamine abiit: victi Rutuli: victores Aborigines Troianique ducem
3 Latinum amisere. Inde Turnus Rutulique diffisi rebus ad florentes opes Etruscorum Mezentiumque regem eorum confugiunt, qui Caere opulento tum oppido imperitans, iam inde ab initio minime laetus novae origine urbis, et tum nimio plus quam satis tutum esset accolis rem Troianam crescere ratus,
4 haud gravatim socia arma Rutulis iunxit. Aeneas, adversus tanti belli terrorem ut animos Aboriginum sibi conciliaret, nec sub eodem iure solum sed etiam nomine omnes essent, Latinos utramque gentem
5 appellavit. Nec deinde Aborigines Troianis studio ac fide erga regem Aeneam cessere. Fretusque his animis coalescentium in dies magis duorum populorum Aeneas, quamquam tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui inplesset, tamen, cum moenibus bellum propulsare posset, in aciem copias eduxit.
6 Secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae etiam ultimum operum mortalium fuit. Situs est, quem-

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[1] Virgil makes Jupiter grant, as a favour to Juno, that

of Aeneas. Indignant that a stranger should be preferred before him, he attacked, at the same time, both Aeneas and Latinus. Neither army came off rejoicing from that battle. The Rutulians were beaten: the victorious Aborigines and Trojans lost their leader Latinus. Then Turnus and the Rutulians, discouraged at their situation, fled for succour to the opulent and powerful Etruscans and their king Mezentius, who held sway in Caere, at that time an important town. Mezentius had been, from the very beginning, far from pleased at the birth of the new city; he now felt that the Trojan state was growing much more rapidly than was altogether safe for its neighbours, and readily united his forces with those of the Rutulians. Aeneas, that he might win the goodwill of the Aborigines to confront so formidable an array, and that all might possess not only the same rights but also the same name, called both nations Latins;[1] and from that time on the Aborigines were no less ready and faithful than the Trojans in the service of King Aeneas. Accordingly, trusting to this friendly spirit of the two peoples, which were growing each day more united, and, despite the power of Etruria, which had filled with the glory of her name not only the lands but the sea as well, along the whole extent of Italy from the Alps to the Sicilian Strait, Aeneas declined to defend himself behind his walls, as he might have done, but led out his troops to battle. The fight which ensued was a victory for the Latins: for Aeneas it was, besides, the last of his mortal labours. He lies buried, whether it is fitting and right

the Trojan name shall be sunk in the Latin (*Aen.* xii. 835).

cumque eum dici ius fasque est, super Numicum flumen: Iovem indigetem appellant.

III. Nondum maturus imperio Ascanius Aeneae filius erat; tamen id imperium ei ad puberem aetatem incolume mansit; tantisper tutela muliebri—tanta indoles in Lavinia erat—res Latina et regnum
2 avitum paternumque puero stetit. Haud ambigam —quis enim rem tam veterem pro certo adfirmet?— hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem
3 nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus—certe natum Aenea constat—abundante Lavini multitudine florentem iam, ut tum res erant, atque opulentam urbem matri seu novercae reliquit: novam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit, quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis
4 Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lavinium conditum[1] et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. Tantum tamen opes creverant, maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni movere arma aut Mezentius
5 Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint. Pax ita convenerat ut Etruscis Latinisque fluvius Albula,

[1] Lavinium conditum *Harant*: Lavinium Ω.

[1] *Indiges* means "of or belonging to a certain place" (Fowler, *Fest.* p. 192). Dion. Hal. i. 64, says that the Latins made a shrine to Aeneas with an inscription in which

to term him god or man, on the banks of the river Numicus; men, however, call him Jupiter Indiges.[1]

III. Ascanius, Aeneas' son, was not yet ripe for authority; yet the authority was kept for him, unimpaired, until he arrived at manhood. Meanwhile, under a woman's regency, the Latin State and the kingdom of his father and his grandfather stood unshaken—so strong was Lavinia's character—until the boy could claim it. I shall not discuss the question —for who could affirm for certain so ancient a matter? —whether this boy was Ascanius, or an elder brother, born by Creusa while Ilium yet stood, who accompanied his father when he fled from the city, being the same whom the Julian family call Iulus and claim as the author of their name. This Ascanius, no matter where born, or of what mother—it is agreed in any case that he was Aeneas' son—left Lavinium, when its population came to be too large, for it was already a flourishing and wealthy city for those days, to his mother, or stepmother, and founded a new city himself below the Alban Mount. This was known from its position, as it lay stretched out along the ridge, by the name of Alba Longa. From the settlement of Lavinium to the planting of the colony at Alba Longa was an interval of some thirty years. Yet the nation had grown so powerful, in consequence especially of the defeat of the Etruscans, that even when Aeneas died, and even when a woman became its regent and a boy began his apprenticeship as king, neither Mezentius and his Etruscans nor any other neighbours dared to attack them. Peace had been agreed to on these terms, that the River Albula, which men now call the Tiber, should be the boundary

[1] he was called πατὴρ χθόνιος (*Pater Indiges*). He was also called *Deus Indiges* and *Aeneas Indiges*.

6 quem nunc Tiberim vocant, finis esset. Silvius deinde regnat, Ascanii filius, casu quodam in silvis
7 natus. Is Aeneam Silvium creat; is deinde Latinum Silvium. Ab eo coloniae aliquot deductae, Prisci
8 Latini appellati. Mansit Silviis postea omnibus cognomen qui Albae regnarunt.[1] Latino Alba ortus, Alba Atys, Atye Capys, Capye Capetus, Capeto Tiberinus, qui in traiectu[2] Albulae amnis submersus
9 celebre ad posteros nomen flumini dedit. Agrippa inde Tiberini filius, post Agrippam Romulus Silvius a patre accepto imperio regnat. Aventino fulmine ipse ictus regnum per manus tradidit. Is sepultus in eo colle, qui nunc pars Romanae est urbis, cogno-
10 men colli fecit. Proca deinde regnat. Is Numitorem atque Amulium procreat; Numitori, qui stirpis maximus erat, regnum vetustum Silviae gentis legat. Plus tamen vis potuit quam voluntas patris aut vere-
11 cundia aetatis: pulso fratre Amulius regnat. Addit sceleri scelus: stirpem fratris virilem interemit[3]: fratris filiae Reae Silviae per speciem honoris, cum Vestalem eam legisset, perpetua virginitate spem partus adimit.[4]

IV. Sed debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii
2 principium. Vi compressa Vestalis, cum geminum partum edidisset, seu ita rata, seu quia deus auctor culpae honestior erat, Martem incertae stirpis patrem

[1] regnarunt Ω : regnaverunt *M*.
[2] traiectu R^2D^2 (*or* D^1) : traiecto Ω.
[3] interemit Ω : interimit *MO*? *HR*.
[4] adimit Ω : ademit UOE^2.

between the Etruscans and the Latins. Next Silvius reigned, son of Ascanius, born, as it chanced, in the forest. He begat Aeneas Silvius, and he Latinus Silvius. By him several colonies were planted, and called the Ancient Latins. Thereafter the cognomen Silvius was retained by all who ruled at Alba. From Latinus came Alba, from Alba Atys, from Atys Capys, from Capys Capetus, from Capetus Tiberinus. This last king was drowned in crossing the River Albula, and gave the stream the name which has been current with later generations. Then Agrippa, son of Tiberinus, reigned, and after Agrippa Romulus Silvius was king, having received the power from his father. Upon the death of Romulus by lightning, the kingship passed from him to Aventinus. This king was buried on that hill, which is now a part of the City of Rome, and gave his name to the hill. Proca ruled next. He begat Numitor and Amulius; to Numitor, the elder, he bequeathed the ancient realm of the Silvian family. Yet violence proved more potent than a father's wishes or respect for seniority. Amulius drove out his brother and ruled in his stead. Adding crime to crime, he destroyed Numitor's male issue; and Rhea Silvia, his brother's daughter, he appointed a Vestal under pretence of honouring her, and by consigning her to perpetual virginity, deprived her of the hope of children.

IV. But the Fates were resolved, as I suppose, upon the founding of this great City, and the beginning of the mightiest of empires, next after that of Heaven. The Vestal was ravished, and having given birth to twin sons, named Mars as the father of her doubtful offspring, whether actually so believing, or because it seemed less wrong if a god

3 nuncupat. Sed nec dii nec homines aut ipsam aut stirpem a crudelitate regia vindicant: sacerdos vincta in custodiam datur: pueros in profluentem aquam
4 mitti iubet. Forte quadam divinitus super ripas Tiberis effusus lenibus stagnis nec adiri usquam ad iusti cursum poterat amnis et posse quamvis languida
5 mergi aqua infantes spem ferentibus dabat. Ita, velut defuncti regis imperio, in proxima alluvie ubi nunc ficus Ruminalis est—Romularem vocatam ferunt
6 —pueros exponunt. Vastae tum in his locis solitudines erant. Tenet fama, cum fluitantem alveum quo expositi erant pueri tenuis in sicco aqua destituisset, lupam sitientem ex montibus qui circa sunt ad puerilem vagitum cursum flexisse; eam summissas infantibus adeo mitem praebuisse mammas ut lingua lambentem pueros magister regii pecoris invenerit—
7 Faustulo fuisse nomen ferunt. Ab eo ad stabula Larentiae[1] uxori educandos datos. Sunt qui Larentiam[1] vulgato corpore lupam inter pastores vocatam
8 putent: inde locum fabulae ac miraculo datum. Ita geniti itaque educati, cum primum adolevit aetas, nec in stabulis nec ad pecora segnes, venando peragrare
9 saltus. Hinc robore corporibus animisque sumpto

[1] Larentiae (-am) *MDL*: Laurentiae (-am) Ω.

[1] The word *lupa* was sometimes used in the sense of "courtesan."

were the author of her fault. But neither gods nor men protected the mother herself or her babes from the king's cruelty; the priestess he ordered to be manacled and cast into prison, the children to be committed to the river. It happened by singular good fortune that the Tiber having spread beyond its banks into stagnant pools afforded nowhere any access to the regular channel of the river, and the men who brought the twins were led to hope that being infants they might be drowned, no matter how sluggish the stream. So they made shift to discharge the king's command, by exposing the babes at the nearest point of the overflow, where the fig-tree Ruminalis—formerly, they say, called Romularis—now stands. In those days this was a wild and uninhabited region. The story persists that when the floating basket in which the children had been exposed was left high and dry by the receding water, a she-wolf, coming down out of the surrounding hills to slake her thirst, turned her steps towards the cry of the infants, and with her teats gave them suck so gently, that the keeper of the royal flock found her licking them with her tongue. Tradition assigns to this man the name of Faustulus, and adds that he carried the twins to his hut and gave them to his wife Larentia to rear. Some think that Larentia, having been free with her favours, had got the name of "she-wolf" among the shepherds, and that this gave rise to this marvellous story.[1] The boys, thus born and reared, had no sooner attained to youth than they began—yet without neglecting the farmstead or the flocks—to range the glades of the mountains for game. Having in this way gained both strength and resolution, they would now not

iam non feras tantum subsistere, sed in latrones praeda onustos impetus facere pastoribusque rapta dividere et cum his crescente in dies grege iuvenum seria ac iocos celebrare.

V. Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pal- 2 lantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum. Ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne adlatum ex Arcadia instituisse ut nudi iuvenes Lycaeum Pana venerantes per lusum atque lasciviam currerent, 3 quem Romani deinde vocarunt Inuum. Huic deditis ludicro, cum sollemne notum esset, insidiatos ob iram praedae amissae latrones, cum Romulus vi se defendisset, Remum cepisse, captum regi Amulio tradi- 4 disse ultro accusantes. Crimini maxime dabant in Numitoris agros ab iis impetus[1] fieri; inde eos collecta iuvenum manu hostilem in modum praedas agere. Sic Numitori ad supplicium Remus deditur. 5 Iam inde ab initio Faustulo spes fuerat regiam stirpem apud se educari; nam et expositos iussu regis infantes sciebat, et tempus quo ipse eos sustulisset ad id ipsum congruere; sed rem inmaturam nisi aut

[1] impetus *Gronovius*: impetum Ω.

[1] The derivation here given is fanciful. The word is probably akin to *palus*, "pale," and meant a "fenced place."

only face wild beasts, but would attack robbers laden with their spoils, and divide up what they took from them among the shepherds, with whom they shared their toils and pranks, while their band of young men grew larger every day.

V. They say that the Palatine was even then the scene of the merry festival of the Lupercalia which we have to-day, and that the hill was named Pallantium, from Pallanteum, an Arcadian city, and then Palatium.[1] There Evander, an Arcadian of that stock, who had held the place many ages before the time of which I am writing, is said to have established the yearly rite, derived from Arcadia, that youths should run naked about in playful sport, doing honour to Lycaean Pan, whom the Romans afterwards called Inuus. When the young men were occupied in this celebration, the rite being generally known, some robbers who had been angered by the loss of their plunder laid an ambush for them, and although Romulus successfully defended himself, captured Remus and delivered up their prisoner to King Amulius, even lodging a complaint against him. The main charge was that the brothers made raids on the lands of Numitor, and pillaged them, with a band of young fellows which they had got together, like an invading enemy. So Remus was given up to Numitor to be punished. From the very beginning Faustulus had entertained the suspicion that they were children of the royal blood that he was bringing up in his house; for he was aware both that infants had been exposed by order of the king, and that the time when he had himself taken up the children exactly coincided with that event. But he had been unwilling that the

per occasionem aut per necessitatem aperire[1] nolu-
6 erat. Necessitas prior venit; ita metu subactus Romulo rem aperit. Forte et Numitori, cum in custodia Remum haberet audissetque geminos esse fratres, comparando et aetatem eorum et ipsam minime servilem indolem tetigerat animum memoria nepotum; sciscitandoque eodem pervenit, ut haud procul esset quin Remum agnosceret. Ita undique
7 regi dolus nectitur. Romulus non cum globo iuvenum—nec enim erat ad vim apertam par—sed aliis alio itinere iussis certo tempore ad regiam venire pastoribus ad regem impetum facit, et a domo Numitoris alia comparata manu adiuvat Remus. Ita regem obtruncat.[2] VI. Numitor inter primum tumultum hostis invasisse urbem atque adortos regiam dictitans, cum pubem Albanam in arcem praesidio armisque obtinendam avocasset, postquam iuvenes perpetrata caede pergere ad se gratulantes vidit, extemplo advocato concilio scelera in se fratris, originem nepotum, ut geniti, ut educati, ut cogniti essent, caedem deinceps tyranni seque eius auctorem
2 ostendit. Iuvenes per mediam contionem agmine ingressi cum avum regem salutassent, secuta ex omni multitudine consentiens vox ratum nomen imperiumque regi efficit.

[1] aperire *PFUBOE*: aperiri (app- *H*) *MRDLH*.
[2] obtruncat Ω: obtruncant ς.

matter should be disclosed prematurely, until opportunity offered or necessity compelled. Necessity came first; accordingly, driven by fear, he revealed the facts to Romulus. It chanced that Numitor too, having Remus in custody, and hearing that the brothers were twins, had been reminded, upon considering their age and their far from servile nature, of his grandsons. The inquiries he made led him to the same conclusion, so that he was almost ready to acknowledge Remus. Thus on every hand the toils were woven about the king. Romulus did not assemble his company of youths—for he was not equal to open violence—but commanded his shepherds to come to the palace at an appointed time, some by one way, some by another, and so made his attack upon the king; while from the house of Numitor came Remus, with another party which he had got together, to help his brother. So Romulus slew the king. VI. At the beginning of the fray Numitor exclaimed that an enemy had invaded the city and attacked the palace, and drew off the active men of the place to serve as an armed garrison for the defence of the citadel; and when he saw the young men approaching, after they had dispatched the king, to congratulate him, he at once summoned a council, and laid before it his brother's crimes against himself, the parentage of his grandsons, and how they had been born, reared, and recognised. He then announced the tyrant's death, and declared himself to be responsible for it. The brothers advanced with their band through the midst of the crowd, and hailed their grandfather king, whereupon such a shout of assent arose from the entire throng as confirmed the new monarch's title and authority.

3 Ita Numitori Albana re permissa Romulum Remumque cupido cepit in iis[1] locis ubi expositi ubique educati erant urbis condendae. Et supererat multitudo Albanorum Latinorumque; ad id pastores quoque accesserant, qui omnes facile spem facerent parvam Albam, parvum Lavinium prae ea urbe quae
4 conderetur fore. Intervenit deinde his cogitationibus avitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen, coortum a satis miti principio. Quoniam gemini essent nec aetatis verecundia discrimen facere posset, ut dii, quorum tutelae ea loca essent, auguriis legerent, qui nomen novae urbi daret, qui conditam imperio regeret, Palatium Romulus, Remus Aventi-
A.U.C. 1 num ad inaugurandum templa capiunt. VII. Priori Remo augurium venisse fertur, sex vultures, iamque nuntiato augurio cum duplex numerus Romulo se ostendisset, utrumque regem sua multitudo consalu-
2 taverat: tempore illi praecepto, at hi numero avium regnum trahebant. Inde cum altercatione congressi certamine irarum ad caedem vertuntur; ibi in turba ictus Remus cecidit. Vulgatior fama est ludibrio fratris Remum novos transiluisse muros; inde ab irato Romulo, cum verbis quoque increpitans adiecisset "sic deinde, quicumque alius transiliet moenia
3 mea," interfectum. Ita solus potitus imperio Romulus; condita urbs conditoris nomine appellata.

[1] iis ς: his Ω.

[1] A form of the legend preserved by Dion. Hal. i. 87, and Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 843, names Celer, whom Romulus had put in charge of the rising wall, as the slayer of Remus.

The Alban state being thus made over to Numitor, Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire to found a city in the region where they had been exposed and brought up. And in fact the population of Albans and Latins was too large; besides, there were the shepherds. All together, their numbers might easily lead men to hope that Alba would be small, and Lavinium small, compared with the city which they should build. These considerations were interrupted by the curse of their grandsires, the greed of kingly power, and by a shameful quarrel which grew out of it, upon an occasion innocent enough. Since the brothers were twins, and respect for their age could not determine between them, it was agreed that the gods who had those places in their protection should choose by augury who should give the new city its name, who should govern it when built. Romulus took the Palatine for his augural quarter, Remus the Aventine. VII. Remus B.C. 753 is said to have been the first to receive an augury, from the flight of six vultures. The omen had been already reported when twice that number appeared to Romulus. Thereupon each was saluted king by his own followers, the one party laying claim to the honour from priority, the other from the number of the birds. They then engaged in a battle of words and, angry taunts leading to bloodshed, Remus was struck down in the affray. The commoner story is that Remus leaped over the new walls in mockery of his brother, whereupon Romulus in great anger slew him, and in menacing wise added these words withal, "So perish whoever else shall leap over my walls!"[1] Thus Romulus acquired sole power, and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder's name.

A.U.C. 1 Palatium primum, in quo ipse erat educatus, muniit. Sacra diis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut
4 ab Euandro instituta erant, facit. Herculem in ea loca Geryone interempto boves mira specie abegisse memorant ac prope Tiberim fluvium, qua prae se armentum agens nando traiecerat, loco herbido, ut quiete et pabulo laeto reficeret boves, et ipsum
5 fessum via procubuisse. Ibi cum eum cibo vinoque gravatum sopor oppressisset, pastor accola eius loci, nomine Cacus, ferox viribus, captus pulchritudine boum cum avertere eam praedam vellet, quia si agendo armentum in speluncam compulisset ipsa vestigia quaerentem dominum eo deductura erant, aversos boves, eximium quemque pulchritudine,
6 caudis in speluncam traxit. Hercules ad primam auroram somno excitus cum gregem perlustrasset oculis et partem abesse numero sensisset, pergit ad proximam speluncam, si forte eo vestigia ferrent. Quae ubi omnia foras versa vidit nec in partem aliam ferre, confusus atque incertus animi ex loco infesto agere porro armentum occepit. Inde cum
7 actae boves quaedam ad desiderium, ut fit, relictarum mugissent, reddita inclusarum ex spelunca boum vox Herculem convertit. Quem cum vadentem ad spel-

His first act was to fortify the Palatine, on which B.C. 753
he had himself been reared. To other gods he sacrificed after the Alban custom, but employed the Greek for Hercules, according to the institution of Evander. The story is as follows: Hercules, after slaying Geryones, was driving off his wondrously beautiful cattle, when, close to the river Tiber, where he had swum across it with the herd before him, he found a green spot, where he could let the cattle rest and refresh themselves with the abundant grass; and being tired from his journey he lay down himself. When he had there fallen into a deep sleep, for he was heavy with food and wine, a shepherd by the name of Cacus, who dwelt hard by and was insolent by reason of his strength, was struck with the beauty of the animals, and wished to drive them off as plunder. But if he had driven the herd into his cave, their tracks would have been enough to guide their owner to the place in his search; he therefore chose out those of the cattle that were most remarkable for their beauty, and turning them the other way, dragged them into the cave by their tails. At daybreak Hercules awoke. Glancing over the herd, and perceiving that a part of their number was lacking, he proceeded to the nearest cave, in case there might be foot-prints leading into it. When he saw that they were all turned outward and yet did not lead to any other place, he was confused and bewildered, and made ready to drive his herd away from that uncanny spot. As the cattle were being driven off, some of them lowed, as usually happens, missing those which had been left behind. They were answered with a low by the cattle shut up in the cave, and this made Hercules turn back. When he came towards the

A.U.C. 1 uncam Cacus vi prohibere conatus esset, ictus clava fidem pastorum nequiquam invocans morte occubuit.
8 Euander tum ea profugus ex Peloponneso auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca, venerabilis vir miraculo litterarum, rei novae inter rudes artium homines, venerabilior divinitate credita Carmentae matris, quam fatiloquam ante Sibyllae in Italiam
9 adventum miratae eae gentes fuerant. Is tum Euander concursu pastorum trepidantium circa advenam manifestae reum caedis excitus postquam facinus facinorisque causam audivit, habitum formamque viri aliquantum ampliorem augustioremque
10 humana intuens, rogitat qui vir esset. Ubi nomen patremque ac patriam accepit, "Iove nate, Hercules, salve," inquit; "te mihi mater, veridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit tibique aram hic dicatum iri quam opulentissima olim in
11 terris gens maximam vocet tuoque ritu colat." Dextra Hercules data accipere se omen inpleturumque
12 fata ara condita ac dicata ait. Ibi tum primum bove eximia capta de grege sacrum Herculi[1] adhibitis ad ministerium dapemque[1] Potitiis ac Pinariis, quae tum familiae maxime inclitae ea loca incolebant,

[1] Herculi . . . dapemque MP^2: *omitted by* Ω.

[1] Evander is said to have invented the Roman alphabet.

cave, Cacus would have prevented his approach with force, but received a blow from the hero's club, and calling in vain upon the shepherds to protect him, gave up the ghost. Evander, an exile from the Peloponnese, controlled that region in those days, more through personal influence than sovereign power. He was a man revered for his wonderful invention of letters,[1] a new thing to men unacquainted with the arts, and even more revered because of the divinity which men attributed to his mother Carmenta, whom those tribes had admired as a prophetess before the Sibyl's coming into Italy. Now this Evander was then attracted by the concourse of shepherds, who, crowding excitedly about the stranger, were accusing him as a murderer caught red-handed. When he had been told about the deed and the reason for it, and had marked the bearing of the man and his figure, which was somewhat ampler and more august than a mortal's, he inquired who he was. Upon learning his name, his father, and his birth-place, he exclaimed, "Hail, Hercules, son of Jupiter! You are he, of whom my mother, truthful interpreter of Heaven, foretold to me that you should be added to the number of the gods, and that an altar should be dedicated to you here which the nation one day to be the most powerful on earth should call the Greatest Altar, and should serve according to your rite." Hercules gave him his hand, and declared that he accepted the omen, and would fulfil the prophecy by establishing and dedicating an altar. Then and there men took a choice victim from the herd, and for the first time made sacrifice to Hercules. For the ministry and the banquet they employed the Potitii and the Pinarii, being the families

B.C. 753

A.U.C. 1 13 factum. Forte ita evenit, ut Potitii ad tempus praesto essent iisque exta apponerentur, Pinarii extis adesis ad ceteram venirent dapem. Inde institutum mansit, donec Pinarium genus fuit, ne extis eorum
14 sollemnium[1] vescerentur. Potitii ab Euandro edocti antistites sacri eius per multas aetates fuerunt, donec tradito servis publicis sollemni familiae ministerio
15 genus omne Potitiorum interiit. Haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit, iam tum inmortalitatis virtute partae,[2] ad quam eum sua fata ducebant, fautor.

VIII. Rebus divinis rite perpetratis vocataque ad concilium multitudine, quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus si se ipse venerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum
3 maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit. Alii ab numero avium quae augurio regnum portenderant eum secutum numerum putant: me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse quibus et apparitores hoc genus[3] ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est, et numerum[4] quoque ipsum ductum placet, et ita habuisse Etruscos, quod

[1] eorum sollemnium *Walters*: eo sollemnium (*or the like*) Ω: sollemnium *M*: sollemnibus (*or* sol- *or* solempn-) *FPUBOE*.
[2] partae *E*: parta Ω.
[3] hoc genus *Gronov.*: et hoc genus Ω.
[4] et numerum *Heumann*: numerum Ω.

[1] For the story of Cacus and the origin of the Ara Maxima see also Virgil, *Aen.* viii. 182–279; Prop. iv. 9; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 543–586.

of most distinction then living in that region. It so fell out that the Potitii were there at the appointed time, and to them were served the inwards; the Pinarii came after the inwards had been eaten, in season for the remainder of the feast. Thence came the custom, which persisted as long as the Pinarian family endured, that they should not partake of the inwards at that sacrifice. The Potitii, instructed by Evander, were priests of this cult for many generations, until, having delegated to public slaves the solemn function of their family, the entire stock of the Potitii died out. This was the only sacred observance, of all those of foreign origin, which Romulus then adopted, honouring even then the immortality won by worth to which his own destiny was leading him.[1] B.C. 753

VIII. When Romulus had duly attended to the worship of the gods, he called the people together and gave them the rules of law, since nothing else but law could unite them into a single body politic. But these, he was persuaded, would only appear binding in the eyes of a rustic people in case he should invest his own person with majesty, by adopting emblems of authority. He therefore put on a more august state in every way, and especially by the assumption of twelve lictors.[2] Some think the twelve birds which had given him an augury of kingship led him to choose this number. For my part, I am content to share the opinion of those who derive from the neighbouring Etruscans (whence were borrowed the curule chair and purple-bordered toga) not only the type of attendants but their number as well—a number which the Etruscans themselves are thought to have chosen because each

[1] The lictors carried axes in bundles of rods, in readiness to execute the king's sentence of scourging and decapitation.

A.U.C. 1 ex duodecim populis communiter creato rege singulos singuli populi lictores dederint.

4 Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia adpetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis quam ad id quod tum hominum erat
5 munirent. Deinde, ne vana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum qui nunc saeptus escendentibus[1]
6 inter duos lucos est, asylum aperit. Eo ex finitimis populis turba omnis, sine discrimine liber an servus esset, avida novarum rerum perfugit, idque primum
7 ad coeptam magnitudinem roboris fuit. Cum iam virium haud paeniteret, consilium deinde viribus parat. Centum creat senatores, sive quia is numerus satis erat, sive quia soli centum erant qui creari patres possent. Patres certe ab honore, patriciique progenies eorum appellati.

A.U.C. 1-37 IX. Iam res Romana adeo erat valida ut cuilibet finitimarum civitatum bello par esset; sed penuria mulierum hominis aetatem duratura magnitudo erat, quippe quibus nec domi spes prolis nec cum finitimis
2 conubia essent. Tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa vicinas gentes misit, qui societatem

[1] escendentibus *Edwards*: descendentibus Ω.

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[1] *i.e.* the Capitoline.
[2] As being heads of clans, *patres familiarum*.

of the twelve cities which united to elect the king contributed one lictor. B.C. 753

Meanwhile the City was expanding and reaching out its walls to include one place after another, for they built their defences with an eye rather to the population which they hoped one day to have than to the numbers they had then. Next, lest his big City should be empty, Romulus resorted to a plan for increasing the inhabitants which had long been employed by the founders of cities, who gather about them an obscure and lowly multitude and pretend that the earth has raised up sons to them. In the place which is now enclosed, between the two groves as you go up the hill,[1] he opened a sanctuary. Thither fled, from the surrounding peoples, a miscellaneous rabble, without distinction of bond or free, eager for new conditions; and these constituted the first advance in power towards that greatness at which Romulus aimed. He had now no reason to be dissatisfied with his strength, and proceeded to add policy to strength. He appointed a hundred senators, whether because this number seemed to him sufficient, or because there were no more than a hundred who could be designated Fathers.[2] At all events, they received the designation of Fathers from their rank, and their descendants were called patricians.

IX. Rome was now strong enough to hold her own in war with any of the adjacent states; but owing to the want of women a single generation was likely to see the end of her greatness, since she had neither prospect of posterity at home nor the right of intermarriage with her neighbours. So, on the advice of the senate, Romulus sent envoys round among all the neighbouring nations to solicit for the new people B.C. 753–717

A.U.C. 1-37

3 conubiumque novo populo peterent: urbes quoque, ut cetera, ex infimo nasci; dein, quas[1] sua virtus ac di iuvent, magnas opes sibi magnumque
4 nomen facere; satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam virtutem; proinde ne gravarentur homines cum hominibus sanguinem
5 ac genus miscere. Nusquam benigne legatio audita est; adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant. A[2] plerisque rogitantibus dimissi, ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent; id enim demum con-
6 par conubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa, et haud dubie ad vim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus, aegritudinem animi dissimulans ludos ex industria parat Neptuno equestri sollemnis; Consualia vocat.
7 Indici deinde finitimis spectaculum iubet, quantoque apparatu tum sciebant aut poterant, concelebrant, ut rem claram exspectatamque facerent.
8 Multi mortales convenere, studio etiam videndae novae urbis, maxime proximi quique, Caeninenses,
9 Crustumini, Antemnates; etiam[3] Sabinorum omnis

[1] quas *Aldus*: qua Ω [2] A ς: ac Ω.
[3] etiam *Scheibe*: iam Ω.

[1] The Consualia was a harvest festival, held on August 21. Consus, the true name of the god, is from *condere*, "to store up." From the association of the festival with horses came

an alliance and the privilege of intermarrying. Cities, they argued, as well as all other things, take their rise from the lowliest beginnings. As time goes on, those which are aided by their own worth and by the favour of Heaven achieve great power and renown. They said they were well assured that Rome's origin had been blessed with the favour of Heaven, and that worth would not be lacking; their neighbours should not be reluctant to mingle their stock and their blood with the Romans, who were as truly men as they were. Nowhere did the embassy obtain a friendly hearing. In fact men spurned, at the same time that they feared, both for themselves and their descendants, that great power which was then growing up in their midst; and the envoys were frequently asked, on being dismissed, if they had opened a sanctuary for women as well as for men, for in that way only would they obtain suitable wives. This was a bitter insult to the young Romans, and the matter seemed certain to end in violence. Expressly to afford a fitting time and place for this, Romulus, concealing his resentment, made ready solemn games in honour of the equestrian Neptune, which he called Consualia.[1] He then bade proclaim the spectacle to the surrounding peoples, and his subjects prepared to celebrate it with all the resources within their knowledge and power, that they might cause the occasion to be noised abroad and eagerly expected. Many people—for they were also eager to see the new city—gathered for the festival, especially those who lived nearest, the inhabitants of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae. The Sabines, B.C. 753–717

the later identification of the god with *Neptunus Equester*. See Fowler, *Fest.* pp. 206–9.

A.U.C. 1-37

multitudo cum liberis ac coniugibus venit. Invitati hospitaliter per domos cum situm moeniaque et frequentem tectis urbem vidissent, mirantur tam brevi
10 rem Romanam crevisse. Ubi spectaculi tempus venit deditaeque eo mentes cum oculis erant, tum ex composito orta vis, signoque dato iuventus Romana ad
11 rapiendas virgines discurrit. Magna pars forte, in quem quaeque inciderat, raptae: quasdam forma excellentes primoribus patrum destinatas ex plebe homines, quibus datum negotium erat, domos defere-
12 bant: unam longe ante alias specie ac pulchritudine insignem a globo Thalassii cuiusdam raptam ferunt, multisque sciscitantibus cuinam eam ferrent, identidem, ne quis violaret, Thalassio ferri clamitatum;
13 inde nuptialem hanc vocem factam. Turbato per metum ludicro maesti parentes virginum profugiunt, incusantes violati hospitii scelus[1] deumque invocantes, cuius ad sollemne ludosque per fas ac fidem
14 decepti venissent. Nec raptis aut spes de se melior aut indignatio est minor. Sed ipse Romulus circumibat docebatque patrum id superbia factum, qui conubium finitimis negassent; illas tamen in matrimonio, in societate fortunarum omnium civitatisque, et quo
15 nihil carius humano generi sit, liberum fore; molli-

[1] scelus *Grunaver*: foedus Ω.

[1] Plutarch, *Rom.* 15, also gives the story, and observes that the Romans used "Talasius" as the Greeks did "Hymenaeus." See also Catullus, lxi. 134.

too, came with all their people, including their children and wives. They were hospitably entertained in every house, and when they had looked at the site of the City, its walls, and its numerous buildings, they marvelled that Rome had so rapidly grown great. When the time came for the show, and people's thoughts and eyes were busy with it, the preconcerted attack began. At a given signal the young Romans darted this way and that, to seize and carry off the maidens. In most cases these were taken by the men in whose path they chanced to be. Some, of exceptional beauty, had been marked out for the chief senators, and were carried off to their houses by plebeians to whom the office had been entrusted. One, who far excelled the rest in mien and loveliness, was seized, the story relates, by the gang of a certain Thalassius. Being repeatedly asked for whom they were bearing her off, they kept shouting that no one should touch her, for they were taking her to Thalassius, and this was the origin of the wedding-cry.[1] The sports broke up in a panic, and the parents of the maidens fled sorrowing. They charged the Romans with the crime of violating hospitality, and invoked the gods to whose solemn games they had come, deceived in violation of religion and honour. The stolen maidens were no more hopeful of their plight, nor less indignant. But Romulus himself went amongst them and explained that the pride of their parents had caused this deed, when they had refused their neighbours the right to intermarry; nevertheless the daughters should be wedded and become co-partners in all the possessions of the Romans, in their citizenship and, dearest privilege of all to the human race, in their children; B.C. 753–717

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rent modo iras et, quibus fors corpora dedisset,[1] darent animos. Saepe ex iniuria postmodum gratiam ortam, eoque melioribus usuras viris, quod adnisurus pro se quisque sit ut, cum suam vicem functus officio sit, parentium etiam patriaeque expleat desiderium.
16 Accedebant blanditiae virorum factum purgantium cupiditate atque amore, quae maxime ad muliebre ingenium efficaces preces sunt.

X. Iam admodum mitigati animi raptis erant; at raptarum parentes tum maxime sordida veste lacrimisque et querellis civitates concitabant. Nec domi tantum indignationes continebant, sed congregabantur undique ad T. Tatium regem Sabinorum, et legationes eo, quod maximum Tatii nomen in iis regioni-
2 bus erat, conveniebant. Caeninenses Crustuminique et Antemnates erant ad quos eius iniuriae pars pertinebat. Lente agere his Tatius Sabinique visi sunt: ipsi inter se tres populi communiter bellum parant.
3 Ne Crustumini quidem atque Antemnates pro ardore iraque Caeninensium satis se impigre movent; ita per se ipsum nomen Caeninum in agrum Romanum
4 impetum facit. Sed effuse vastantibus fit obvius cum exercitu Romulus levique certamine docet vanam sine viribus iram esse. Exercitum fundit fugatque, fusum persequitur: regem in proelio obtruncat et

[1] dedisset *UOD*[3]: dedissent Ω.

only let them moderate their anger, and give their hearts to those to whom fortune had given their persons. A sense of injury had often given place to affection, and they would find their husbands the kinder for this reason, that every man would earnestly endeavour not only to be a good husband, but also to console his wife for the home and parents she had lost. His arguments were seconded by the wooing of the men, who excused their act on the score of passion and love, the most moving of all pleas to a woman's heart. B.C. 753–717

X. The resentment of the brides was already much diminished at the very moment when their parents, in mourning garb and with tears and lamentations, were attempting to arouse their states to action. Nor did they confine their complaints to their home towns, but thronged from every side to the house of Titus Tatius, king of the Sabines; and thither, too, came official embassies, for the name of Tatius was the greatest in all that country. The men of Caenina, Crustumium, and Antemnae, were those who had had a share in the wrong. It seemed to them that Tatius and the Sabines were procrastinating, and without waiting for them these three tribes arranged for a joint campaign. But even the Crustuminians and Antemnates moved too slowly to satisfy the burning anger of the Caeninenses, and accordingly that nation invaded alone the Roman territory. But while they were dispersed and engaged in pillage, Romulus appeared with his troops and taught them, by an easy victory, how ineffectual is anger without strength. Their army he broke and routed, and pursued it as it fled; their king he killed

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spoliat; duce hostium occiso urbem primo impetu
5 capit. Inde exercitu victore reducto, ipse, cum factis vir magnificus tum factorum ostentator haud minor, spolia ducis hostium caesi suspensa fabricato ad id apte ferculo gerens in Capitolium escendit ibique ea cum ad quercum pastoribus sacram deposuisset, simul cum dono designavit templo Iovis finis cognomenque
6 addidit deo. "Iuppiter Feretri" inquit, "haec tibi victor Romulus rex regia arma fero, templumque his regionibus quas modo animo metatus sum dedico sedem opimis spoliis, quae regibus ducibusque hostium caesis me auctorem sequentes posteri ferent."
7 Haec templi est origo quod primum omnium Romae sacratum est. Ita deinde diis visum, nec inritam conditoris templi vocem esse qua laturos eo spolia posteros nuncupavit, nec multitudine conpotum eius doni volgari laudem. Bina postea inter tot annos, tot bella, opima parta sunt spolia; adeo rara eius fortuna decoris fuit.

XI. Dum ea ibi Romani gerunt, Antemnatium exercitus per occasionem ac solitudinem hostiliter in fines Romanos incursionem facit. Raptim et ad

[1] Jupiter Feretrius (etymology unknown) was the pure Italian Jupiter, whose worship was later overshadowed by the Etruscan god of the great temple on the Capitol. See Fowler, *Fest.* p. 229.

[2] The other instances were the victories of Cossus over Tolumnius, king of Veii (iv. 20), and of Marcellus over

in battle and despoiled; their city, once their leader was slain, he captured at the first assault. He then led his victorious army back, and being not more splendid in his deeds than willing to display them, he arranged the spoils of the enemy's dead commander upon a frame, suitably fashioned for the purpose, and, carrying it himself, mounted the Capitol. Having there deposited his burden, by an oak which the shepherds held sacred, at the same time as he made his offering he marked out the limits of a temple to Jupiter, and bestowed a title upon him. "Jupiter Feretrius," he said, "to thee I, victorious Romulus, myself a king, bring the panoply of a king, and dedicate a sacred precinct within the bounds which I have even now marked off in my mind, to be a seat for the spoils of honour which men shall bear hither in time to come, following my example, when they have slain kings and commanders of the enemy." This was the origin of the first temple that was consecrated in Rome.[1] It pleased Heaven, in the sequel, that while the founder's words should not be in vain, when he declared that men should bring spoils thither in the after time, yet the glory of that gift should not be staled by a multitude of partakers. Twice only since then, in all these years with their many wars, have the spoils of honour been won; so rarely have men had the good fortune to attain to that distinction.[2] B.C. 753–717

XI. While the Romans were thus occupied in the City, the army of the Antemnates seized the opportunity afforded by their absence, and made an inroad upon their territory; but so swiftly was the Roman

Virdomarus, king of the Insubrian Gauls. Propertius tells the three stories in iv. 10.

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hos Romana legi
2 Fusi igitur primo
dum captum; du
Hersilia coniunx
parentibus earum
piat; ita rem co
3 impetratum. In
bellum inferente
4 cladibus cecidera
coloniae missae;
tatem terrae in
Romam inde fre
maxime ac propin
5 Novissimum a
id maximum fuit
tatem actum est,
6 intulerunt. Con
peius Romanae p
auro corrumpit T
aquam forte ea
7 ierat. Accepti
capta potius ar
8 causa, ne quid u
tur fabula,[1] quod

o ducta palatos in agris oppressit. impetu et clamore hostes; oppiplicique victoria ovantem Romulum precibus raptarum fatigata orat ut det veniam et in civitatem accialescere concordia posse. Facile de contra Crustuminos profectus s. Ibi minus etiam, quod alienis nt animi, certaminis fuit. Utroque plures inventi qui propter uberCrustuminum nomina darent. Et quenter migratum est, a parentibus quis raptarum.

b Sabinis bellum ortum, multoque ; nihil enim per iram aut cupidinec ostenderunt bellum prius quam silio etiam additus dolus. Sp. Tarraeerat arci. Huius filiam virginem atius ut armatos in arcem accipiat; tum sacris extra moenia petitum brutam armis necavere, seu ut vi videretur, seu prodendi exempli quam fidum proditori esset. Additvulgo Sabini aureas armillas magni

[1] fabula *Glareanus*: fabulae (*or* -le) Ω.

[1] As a vestal, she had to draw water from the spring of the Camenae.

levy led against them that they, too, were taken off their guard while scattered about in the fields. They were therefore routed at the first charge and shout, and their town was taken. As Romulus was exulting in his double victory, his wife Hersilia, beset with entreaties by the captive women, begged him to forgive their parents and receive them into the state; which would, in that case, gain in strength by harmony. He readily granted her request. He then set out to meet the Crustuminians, who were marching to attack him. They offered even less resistance than their allies had done, for their ardour had been quenched by the defeats of the others. Colonies were sent out to both places, though most of the colonists preferred to enrol for Crustumium on account of the fertility of its soil. On the other hand, many persons left Crustumium and came to live in Rome, chiefly parents and kinsmen of the captured women. B.C. 753–717

The last to attack Rome were the Sabines, and this war was by far the gravest of all, for passion and greed were not their motives, nor did they parade war before they made it. To their prudence they even added deception. Spurius Tarpeius commanded the Roman citadel. This man's maiden daughter was bribed with gold by Tatius to admit armed men into the fortress: she happened at that time to have gone outside the walls to fetch water for a sacrifice.[1] Once within, they threw their shields upon her and killed her so, whether to make it appear that the citadel had been taken by assault, or to set an example, that no one might anywhere keep faith with a traitor. There is also a legend that because most of the Sabines wore heavy golden

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ponderis bracchio laevo gemmatosque magna specie anulos habuerint, pepigisse eam quod in sinistris manibus haberent; eo scuta illi pro aureis donis con-
9 gesta. Sunt qui eam ex pacto tradendi quod in sinistris manibus esset derecto arma petisse dicant, et fraude visam agere, sua ipsam peremptam mercede.

XII. Tenuere tamen arcem Sabini, atque inde postero die, cum Romanus exercitus instructus quod inter Palatinum Capitolinumque collem campi est complesset, non prius descenderunt in aequum quam ira et cupiditate reciperandae arcis stimulante ani-
2 mos in adversum Romani subiere. Principes utrimque pugnam ciebant ab Sabinis Mettius Curtius, ab Romanis Hostius Hostilius. Hic rem Romanam iniquo loco ad prima signa animo atque audacia
3 sustinebat. Ut Hostius cecidit, confestim Romana inclinatur acies fusaque est ad veterem portam Palatii. Romulus et ipse turba fugientium actus
4 arma ad caelum tollens, "Iuppiter, tuis" inquit, "iussus avibus hic in Palatio prima urbi fundamenta ieci. Arcem iam scelere emptam Sabini habent;
5 inde huc armati superata media valle tendunt; at tu, pater deum hominumque, hinc saltem arce hostes, deme terrorem Romanis fugamque foedam siste!
6 Hic ego tibi templum Statori Iovi, quod monumen-

[1] According to Dion. Hal. ii. 38, this was the version given by L. Calpurnius Piso. Propertius wrote the best of his aetiological poems (iv. 5) about Tarpeia.

bracelets on their left arms and magnificent jewelled rings, she had stipulated for what they had on their left arms, and that they had therefore heaped their shields upon her, instead of gifts of gold. Some say that, in virtue of the compact that they should give her what they wore on their arms, she flatly demanded their shields and, her treachery being perceived, forfeited her life to the bargain she herself had struck.[1] B.C. 753–717

XII. Be that as it may, the Sabines held the citadel. Next day the Roman army was drawn up, and covered the ground between the Palatine Hill and the Capitoline, but the Sabines would not come down till rage and eagerness to regain the citadel had goaded their enemy into marching up the slope against them. Two champions led the fighting, the Sabine Mettius Curtius on the one side, and the Roman Hostius Hostilius on the other. Hostius held the Romans firm, despite their disadvantage of position, by the reckless courage he displayed in the thick of the fray. But when he fell, the Roman line gave way at once and fled towards the old gate of the Palatine. Romulus himself was swept along in the crowd of the fugitives, till lifting his sword and shield to heaven, he cried, "O Jupiter, it was thy omen that directed me when I laid here on the Palatine the first foundations of my City. The fortress is already bought by a crime and in the possession of the Sabines, whence they are come, sword in hand, across the valley to seek us here. But do thou, father of gods and men, keep them back from this spot at least; deliver the Romans from their terror, and stay their shameful flight! I here vow to thee, Jupiter the Stayer, a temple, to be a

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tum sit posteris tua praesenti ope servatam urbem
7 esse, voveo." Haec precatus, veluti[1] sensisset auditas preces, "Hinc" inquit, "Romani, Iuppiter optimus maximus resistere atque iterare pugnam iubet." Restitere Romani tamquam caelesti voce
8 iussi: ipse ad primores Romulus provolat. Mettius Curtius ab Sabinis princeps ab arce decucurrerat et effusos egerat Romanos, toto quantum foro spatium est. Nec procul iam a porta Palati erat clamitans, "Vicimus perfidos hospites, imbelles hostes; iam sciunt longe aliud esse virgines rapere, aliud pugnare cum
9 viris." In eum haec gloriantem cum globo ferocissimorum iuvenum Romulus impetum facit. Ex equo tum forte Mettius pugnabat; eo pelli facilius fuit. Pulsum Romani persequuntur; et alia Romana acies
10 audacia regis accensa fundit Sabinos. Mettius in paludem sese strepitu sequentium trepidante equo coniecit; averteratque ea res etiam Sabinos tanti periculo viri. Et ille quidem adnuentibus ac vocantibus suis favore multorum addito animo evadit: Romani Sabinique in media convalle duorum montium redintegrant proelium. Sed res Romana erat superior.

XIII. Tum Sabinae mulieres, quarum ex iniuria bellum ortum erat, crinibus passis scissaque veste

[1] ueluti *BR*: uelutis *M*?*P*?: uelut si $M^1\varsigma$: ueluti si Ω.

memorial to our descendants how the City was saved by thy present help." Having uttered this prayer he exclaimed, as if he had perceived that it was heard, "Here, Romans, Jupiter Optimus Maximus commands us to stand and renew the fight!" The Romans did stand, as though directed by a voice from Heaven, Romulus himself rushing into the forefront of the battle. Mettius Curtius, on the Sabine side, had led the charge down from the citadel, and driven the Romans in disorder over all that ground which the Forum occupies. He was not now far from the gate of the Palatine, shouting, "We have beaten our faithless hosts, our cowardly enemies! They know now how great is the difference between carrying off maidens and fighting with men!" While he pronounced this boast a band of gallant youths, led on by Romulus, assailed him. It chanced that Mettius was fighting on horseback at the time, and was therefore the more easily put to flight. As he fled, the Romans followed; and the rest of their army, too, fired by the reckless daring of their king, drove the Sabines before them. Mettius plunged into a swamp, his horse becoming unmanageable in the din of the pursuit, and even the Sabines were drawn off from the general engagement by the danger to so great a man. As for Mettius, heartened by the gestures and shouts of his followers and the encouragement of the throng, he made his escape; and the Romans and the Sabines renewed their battle in the valley that lies between the two hills. But the advantage rested with the Romans. B.C. 753–717

XIII. Then the Sabine women, whose wrong had given rise to the war, with loosened hair and torn

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victo malis muliebri pavore, ausae se inter tela volantia inferre, ex transverso impetu facto dirimere
2 infestas acies, dirimere iras, hinc patres hinc viros orantes ne se sanguine nefando soceri generique respergerent, ne parricidio macularent partus suos,
3 nepotum illi, hi liberum progeniem. "Si adfinitatis inter vos, si conubii piget, in nos vertite iras; nos causa belli, nos volnerum ac caedium viris ac parentibus sumus; melius peribimus quam sine alteris ves-
4 trum viduae aut orbae vivemus." Movet[1] res cum multitudinem tum duces; silentium et repentina fit quies; inde ad foedus faciendum duces prodeunt; nec pacem modo, sed civitatem unam ex duabus
5 faciunt. Regnum consociant: imperium omne conferunt Romam. Ita geminata urbe, ut Sabinis tamen aliquid daretur, Quirites a Curibus appellati. Monumentum eius pugnae, ubi primum ex profunda emersus palude equus Curtium in vado statuit, Curtium lacum appellarunt.
6 Ex bello tam tristi laeta repente pax cariores Sabinas viris ac parentibus et ante omnes Romulo

[1] mouet $M^1\varsigma$: mouit F : moues L : mouent Ω.

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[1] *Quirites* probably comes not from Cures, nor (as Varro thought) from the Sabine word *quiris* (*curis*), "spear," but from *curia* (*cf.* next section); it would then mean "wardsmen."

[2] For another explanation of the name see vii. 6. Varro, *L. L.* v. 14 ff., assigns this version of the story to Piso, the other to Procilius, adding a third, on the authority of Cornelius and Lutatius, to the effect that the Lacus

garments, their woman's timidity lost in a sense of their misfortune, dared to go amongst the flying missiles, and rushing in from the side, to part the hostile forces and disarm them of their anger, beseeching their fathers on this side, on that their husbands, that fathers-in-law and sons-in-law should not stain themselves with impious bloodshed, nor pollute with parricide the suppliants' children, grandsons to one party and sons to the other. "If you regret," they continued, "the relationship that unites you, if you regret the marriage-tie, turn your anger against us; we are the cause of war, the cause of wounds, and even death to both our husbands and our parents. It will be better for us to perish than to live, lacking either of you, as widows or as orphans." It was a touching plea, not only to the rank and file, but to their leaders as well. A stillness fell on them, and a sudden hush. Then the leaders came forward to make a truce, and not only did they agree on peace, but they made one people out of the two. They shared the sovereignty, but all authority was transferred to Rome. In this way the population was doubled, and that some concession might after all be granted the Sabines, the citizens were named Quirites, from the town of Cures.[1] As a reminder of this battle they gave the name of Curtian Lake to the pool where the horse of Curtius first emerged from the deep swamp and brought his rider to safety.[2] B.C. 753–717

The sudden exchange of so unhappy a war for a joyful peace endeared the Sabine women even more to their husbands and parents, and above all to

Curtius was a place which had been struck by lightning in the consulship of a Curtius.

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ipsi fecit. Itaque cum populum in curias triginta
7 divideret, nomina earum curiis inposuit. Id non traditur, cum haud dubie aliquanto numerus maior hoc mulierum fuerit, aetate an dignitatibus suis virorumve an sorte lectae sint quae nomina curiis
8 darent. Eodem tempore et centuriae tres equitum conscriptae sunt. Ramnenses ab Romulo, ab T. Tatio Titienses appellati, Lucerum nominis et originis causa incerta est. Inde non modo commune, sed concors etiam regnum duobus regibus fuit.

XIV. Post aliquot annos propinqui regis Tatii legatos Laurentium pulsant, cumque Laurentes iure gentium agerent, apud Tatium gratia suorum et
2 preces plus poterant. Igitur illorum poenam in se vertit; nam Lavinii, cum ad sollemne sacrificium eo
3 venisset, concursu facto interficitur. Eam rem minus aegre quam dignum erat tulisse Romulum ferunt, seu ob infidam societatem regni, seu quia haud iniuria caesum credebat. Itaque bello quidem abstinuit; ut tamen expiarentur legatorum iniuriae regisque caedes, foedus inter Romam Laviniumque urbes renovatum est.

4 Et cum his quidem insperata pax erat: aliud multo propius atque in ipsis prope portis bellum ortum. Fidenates nimis vicinas prope se convalescere opes

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[1] The *curia* was a political unit the members of which had certain religious rites in common.

[2] All three names are obscure, but it is not improbable that they represent a Roman, a Sabine, and an Etruscan element in the population.

Romulus himself. And so, when he divided the people into thirty *curiae*, he named these wards after the women.[1] Undoubtedly the number of the women was somewhat greater than this, but tradition does not tell whether it was their age, their own or their husbands' rank, or the casting of lots, that determined which of them should give their names to the wards. At the same time there were formed three centuries of knights: the Ramnenses were named after Romulus; the Titienses after Titus Tatius; the name and origin of the Luceres are alike obscure.[2] From this time forth the two kings ruled not only jointly but in harmony. B.C. 753–717

XIV. Some years later the kinsmen of King Tatius maltreated the envoys of the Laurentians, and when their fellow-citizens sought redress under the law of nations, Titus yielded to his partiality for his relations and to their entreaties. In consequence of this he drew down their punishment upon himself, for at Lavinium, whither he had gone to the annual sacrifice, a mob came together and killed him. This act is said to have awakened less resentment than was proper in Romulus, whether owing to the disloyalty that attends a divided rule, or because he thought Tatius had been not unjustly slain. He therefore declined to go to war; but yet, in order that he might atone for the insults to the envoys and the murder of the king, he caused the covenant between Rome and Lavinium to be renewed.

Thus with the Laurentians peace was preserved against all expectation; but another war broke out, much nearer, and indeed almost at the city gates. The men of Fidenae, perceiving the growth of a power which they thought too near themselves for

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rati, priusquam tantum roboris esset quantum futurum apparebat, occupant bellum facere. Iuventute armata immissa vastatur agri quod inter urbem ac
5 Fidenas est. Inde ad laevam versi, quia dextra Tiberis arcebat, cum magna trepidatione agrestium populantur; tumultusque repens ex agris in urbem
6 inlatus pro nuntio fuit. Excitus Romulus—neque enim dilationem pati tam vicinum bellum poterat—exercitum educit, castra a Fidenis mille passuum
7 locat. Ibi modico praesidio relicto egressus omnibus copiis partem militum locis circa densa virgulta[1] obscuris subsidere in insidiis iussit; cum parte maiore atque omni equitatu profectus, id quod quaerebat, tumultuoso et minaci genere pugnae, adequitando ipsis prope portis hostem excivit. Fugae quoque, quae simulanda erat, eadem equestris pugna causam
8 minus mirabilem dedit. Et cum, velut inter pugnae fugaeque consilium trepidante equitatu, pedes quoque referret gradum, plenis repente portis effusi hostes impulsa Romana acie studio instandi sequendique
9 trahuntur ad locum insidiarum. Inde subito exorti Romani transversam invadunt hostium aciem; addunt pavorem mota e castris signa eorum qui in praesidio relicti fuerant; ita multiplici terrore perculsi Fidenates prius paene quam Romulus quique avehi cum eo visi erant[2] circumagerent frenis equos, terga ver-

[1] densa uirgulta *H. J. Mueller*: obsita uirgulta *Conway*: densa obsita uirgulta Ω.

[2] quique auehi cum eo uisi erant *Walters*: quique cum eo uisi erant (quisierant *P*: equis ierant P^2FB) *UOEHPFB*: quique cum eo quique cum equis abierant usi (uisi *DL*) *MDL*: quique cum eo equites erant $D^2\bar{\gamma}$.

safety, did not wait till its promised strength should be realized, but began war themselves. Arming the young men, they sent them to ravage the land between the City and Fidenae. Thence they turned to the left—for the Tiber stopped them on the right—and by their devastations struck terror into the farmers, whose sudden stampede from the fields into the City brought the first tidings of war. Romulus led forth his army on the instant, for delay was impossible with the enemy so near, and pitched his camp a mile from Fidenae. Leaving there a small guard, he marched out with all his forces. A part of his men he ordered to lie in ambush, on this side and on that, where thick underbrush afforded cover; advancing with the greater part of the infantry and all the cavalry, and delivering a disorderly and provoking attack, in which the horsemen galloped almost up to the gates, he accomplished his purpose of drawing out the enemy. For the flight, too, which had next to be feigned, the cavalry engagement afforded a favourable pretext. And when not only the cavalry began to waver, as if undecided whether to fight or run, but the infantry also fell back, the city gates were quickly thronged by the enemy, who poured out and hurled themselves against the Roman line, and in the ardour of attack and pursuit were drawn on to the place of ambuscade. There the Romans suddenly sprang out and assailed the enemy's flanks, while, to add to their terror, the standards of the detachment which had been left on guard were seen advancing from the camp; thus threatened by so many dangers the men of Fidenae scarcely afforded time for Romulus and those whom they had seen riding off with him to wheel about, before they

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10 tunt; multoque effusius, quippe vera fuga, qui simulantes paulo ante secuti erant, oppidum repetebant.
11 Non tamen eripuere se hosti: haerens in tergo Romanus, priusquam fores portarum obicerentur, velut agmine uno inrumpit.

XV. Belli Fidenatis contagione inritati Veientium animi et consanguinitate—nam Fidenates quoque Etrusci fuerunt—et quod ipsa propinquitas loci, si Romana arma omnibus infesta finitimis essent, stimulabat. In fines Romanos excucurrerunt populabundi
2 magis quam iusti more belli. Itaque non castris positis, non exspectato hostium exercitu raptam ex agris praedam portantes Veios rediere. Romanus contra, postquam hostem in agris non invenit, dimicationi ultimae instructus intentusque Tiberim tran-
3 sit. Quem postquam castra ponere et ad urbem accessurum Veientes audivere, obviam egressi, ut potius acie decernerent quam inclusi de tectis moeni-
4 busque dimicarent. Ibi viribus nulla arte[1] adiutis tantum veterani robore exercitus rex Romanus vicit, persecutusque fusos ad moenia hostes urbe valida muris ac situ ipso munita abstinuit: agros rediens

[1] arte $F^3\varsigma$ *Petrus Nannius*: parte Ω.

broke and ran, and in far greater disorder than that of the pretended fugitives whom they had just been chasing—for the flight was a real one this time—sought to regain the town. But the Fidenates did not escape their foes; the Romans followed close upon their heels, and before the gates could be shut burst into the city, as though they both formed but a single army. B.C. 753–717

XV. From Fidenae the war-spirit, by a kind of contagion, spread to the Veientes, whose hostility was aroused by their kinship with the Fidenates, Etruscans like themselves, and was intensified by the danger which lay in their very proximity to Rome, if her arms should be directed against all her neighbours. They made an incursion into Roman territory which more resembled a marauding expedition than a regular campaign; and so, without having entrenched a camp or waited for the enemy's army, they carried off their booty from the fields and brought it back to Veii. The Romans, on the contrary, not finding their enemy in the fields, crossed the Tiber, ready and eager for a decisive struggle. When the Veientes heard that they were making a camp, and would be advancing against their city, they went out to meet them, preferring to settle the quarrel in the field of battle rather than to be shut up and compelled to fight for their homes and their town. Without employing strategy to aid his forces, the Roman king won the battle by the sheer strength of his seasoned army, and routing his enemies, pursued them to their walls. But the city was strongly fortified, besides the protection afforded by its site, and he refrained from attacking it. Their fields, indeed, he laid waste as he returned, more in

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5 vastat, ulciscendi magis quam praedae studio. Eaque clade haud minus quam adversa pugna subacti Veientes pacem petitum oratores Romam mittunt. Agri parte multatis in centum annos indutiae datae.

6 Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militiaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei divinae originis divinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno avito reciperando, non condendae urbis 7 consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae. Ab illo enim profecto viribus datis tantum valuit ut in quad- 8 raginta deinde annos tutam pacem haberet. Multitudini tamen gratior fuit quam patribus, longe ante alios acceptissimus militum animis; trecentosque armatos ad custodiam corporis, quos Celeres appellavit, non in bello solum sed etiam in pace habuit.

A.U.C. 38

XVI. His inmortalibus editis operibus cum ad exercitum recensendum contionem in campo ad Caprae paludem haberet, subito coorta tempestas cum magno fragore tonitribusque tam denso regem operuit nimbo ut conspectum eius contioni abstu- 2 lerit; nec deinde in terris Romulus fuit. Romana pubes sedato tandem pavore, postquam ex tam turbido die serena et tranquilla lux rediit, ubi vacuam sedem regiam vidit, etsi satis credebat patribus, qui

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[1] Literally, "the Swift."

[2] For the deification *cf.* Cic. *de Rep.* ii. 17; Dion. Hal. ii. 56; Plut. *Rom.* xxvii. Ovid also tells the story in *Fasti*, ii. 491 ff., and *Met.* xiv. 806 ff.

revenge than from a desire for booty, and this disaster, following upon their defeat, induced the Veientes to send envoys to Rome and sue for peace. They were deprived of a part of their land, and a truce was granted them for a hundred years. B.C. 753–717

Such were the principal achievements of the reign of Romulus, at home and in the field, nor is any of them incompatible with the belief in his divine origin and the divinity which was ascribed to the king after his death, whether one considers his spirit in recovering the kingdom of his ancestors, or his wisdom in founding the City and in strengthening it by warlike and peaceful measures. For it was to him, assuredly, that Rome owed the vigour which enabled her to enjoy an untroubled peace for the next forty years. Nevertheless, he was more liked by the commons than by the senate, and was pre-eminently dear to the hearts of his soldiers. Of these he had three hundred for a bodyguard, to whom he gave the name of Celeres,[1] and kept them by him, not only in war, but also in time of peace.

XVI. When these deathless deeds had been done, as the king was holding a muster in the Campus Martius, near the swamp of Capra, for the purpose of reviewing the army, suddenly a storm came up, with loud claps of thunder, and enveloped him in a cloud so thick as to hide him from the sight of the assembly; and from that moment Romulus was no more on earth.[2] The Roman soldiers at length recovered from their panic, when this hour of wild confusion had been succeeded by a sunny calm; but when they saw that the royal seat was empty, although they readily believed the assertion of the senators, who had been standing next to Romulus, B.C. 716

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proximi steterant, sublimem raptum procella, tamen velut orbitatis metu icta maestum aliquamdiu silen-
3 tium obtinuit. Deinde a paucis initio facto deum deo natum, regem parentemque urbis Romanae salvere universi Romulum iubent; pacem precibus exposcunt, uti volens propitius suam semper sospitet
4 progeniem. Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manavit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio viri et pavor praesens nobili-
5 tavit. Et consilio etiam unius hominis addita rei dicitur fides. Namque Proculus Iulius, sollicita civitate desiderio regis et infensa patribus, gravis, ut traditur, quamvis magnae rei auctor, in contionem
6 prodit. "Romulus" inquit, "Quirites, parens urbis huius, prima hodierna luce caelo repente delapsus se mihi obvium dedit. Cum perfusus horrore venerabundus[1] adstitissem, petens precibus ut contra in-
7 tueri fas esset, 'Abi, nuntia,' inquit 'Romanis caelestes ita velle ut mea Roma caput orbis terrarum sit; proinde rem militarem colant, sciantque et ita posteris tradant nullas opes humanas armis Romanis resistere posse.' Haec," inquit, "locutus
8 sublimis abiit." Mirum quantum illi viro nuntianti haec fides fuerit, quamque desiderium Romuli

[1] uenerabundus M_5 : uenerabundusque Ω.

[1] The Romans regularly prayed with the head cloaked.

that he had been caught up on high in the blast, they B.C. 716
nevertheless remained for some time sorrowful and silent, as if filled with the fear of orphanhood. Then, when a few men had taken the initiative, they all with one accord hailed Romulus as a god and a god's son, the King and Father of the Roman City, and with prayers besought his favour that he would graciously be pleased forever to protect his children. There were some, I believe, even then who secretly asserted that the king had been rent in pieces by the hands of the senators, for this rumour, too, got abroad, but in very obscure terms; the other version obtained currency, owing to men's admiration for the hero and the intensity of their panic. And the shrewd device of one man is also said to have gained new credit for the story. This was Proculus Julius, who, when the people were distracted with the loss of their king and in no friendly mood towards the senate, being, as tradition tells, weighty in council, were the matter never so important, addressed the assembly as follows: "Quirites, the Father of this City, Romulus, descended suddenly from the sky at dawn this morning and appeared to me. Covered with confusion, I stood reverently before him, praying that it might be vouchsafed me to look upon his face without sin.[1] 'Go,' said he, 'and declare to the Romans the will of Heaven that my Rome shall be the capital of the world; so let them cherish the art of war, and let them know and teach their children that no human strength can resist Roman arms.' So saying," he concluded, "Romulus departed on high." It is wonderful what credence the people placed in that man's tale, and how the grief for the loss of Romulus, which the plebeians

A.U.C. 38 apud plebem exercitumque facta fide inmortalitatis lenitum sit.

XVII. Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido versabat. Necdum ad singulos,[1] quia nemo magnopere eminebat in novo populo, pervenerat: 2 factionibus inter ordines certabatur. Oriundi ab Sabinis, ne, quia post Tati mortem ab sua parte non erat regnatum, in societate aequa possessionem imperii amitterent, sui corporis creari regem volebant; Romani veteres peregrinum regem aspernabantur. 3 In variis voluntatibus regnari[2] tamen omnes volebant 4 libertatis dulcedine nondum experta. Timor deinde patres incessit, ne civitatem sine imperio, exercitum sine duce multarum circa civitatium inritatis animis vis aliqua externa adoriretur. Et esse igitur aliquod caput placebat, et nemo alteri concedere in animum 5 inducebat. Ita rem inter se centum patres, decem decuriis factis singulisque in singulas decurias creatis qui summae rerum praeessent, consociant. Decem imperitabant: unus cum insignibus imperii et lictori- 6 bus erat; quinque dierum spatio finiebatur imperium ac per omnes in orbem ibat; annuumque intervallum regni fuit. Id ab re, quod nunc quoque tenet nomen, 7 interregnum appellatum. Fremere deinde plebs multiplicatam servitutem, centum pro uno dominos

[1] ad singulos *Graevius*: a singulis Ω.
[2] regnari ς: regnare Ω.

and the army felt, was quieted by the assurance of his immortality. B.C. 716

XVII. The senators meanwhile were engaged in a struggle for the coveted kingship. So far it had not come to a question of any one person, for nobody stood out with special prominence in the new nation; instead, a strife of factions was waging between the two stocks. Those of Sabine origin, having had no king on their side since the death of Tatius, feared that despite their equal rights they might lose their hold upon the sovereign power, and hence desired that the king should be chosen from their own body. The original Romans spurned the idea of an alien king. Various, however, as were men's inclinations, to be ruled by a king was their universal wish, for they had not yet tasted the sweetness of liberty. Then the senators became alarmed, lest the state wanting a ruler and the army a leader, and many neighbouring states being disaffected, some violence might be offered from without. All therefore were agreed that there should be some head, but nobody could make up his mind to yield to his fellow. And so the hundred senators shared the power among themselves, establishing ten decuries and appointing one man for each decury to preside over the administration. Ten men exercised authority; only one had its insignia and lictors. Five days was the period of his power, which passed in rotation to all; and for a year the monarchy lapsed. This interval was called, as it was, an interregnum, a name which even yet obtains. Murmurs then arose among the plebs that their servitude had been multiplied; that a hundred masters had been given them instead of

a.u.c. 88

factos; nec ultra nisi regem et ab ipsis creatum vide-
8 bantur passuri. Cum sensissent ea moveri patres,
offerendum ultro rati quod amissuri erant, ita gratiam
ineunt summa potestate populo permissa ut non
9 plus darent iuris quam retinerent.[1] Decreverunt
enim ut cum populus regem iussisset, id sic ratum[2]
esset, si patres auctores fierent. Hodie quoque in
legibus magistratibusque rogandis usurpatur idem[3]
ius vi adempta; priusquam populus suffragium ineat,
in incertum comitiorum eventum patres auctores
10 fiunt. Tum interrex contione advocata, "Quod bo-
num, faustum felixque sit" inquit, "Quirites, regem
create; ita patribus visum est. Patres deinde, si
dignum qui secundus ab Romulo numeretur crearitis,
11 auctores fient." Adeo id gratum plebi fuit ut, ne
victi beneficio viderentur, id modo sciscerent iube-
rentque, ut senatus decerneret qui Romae regnaret.

XVIII. Inclita iustitia religioque ea tempestate
Numae Pompili erat. Curibus Sabinis habitabat,
consultissimus vir, ut in illa quisquam esse aetate
2 poterat, omnis divini atque humani iuris. Auctorem
doctrinae eius, quia non exstat alius, falso Samium
Pythagoram edunt, quem Servio Tullio regnante
Romae, centum amplius post annos, in ultima Italiae

[1] retinerent *Gronov.*: detinerent Ω.
[2] sic ratum $F^3D^4\varsigma$: si (sic *U*) gratum Ω.
[3] idem $F^3\varsigma$: id enim Ω.

one. No longer, it seemed, would they endure anything short of a king, and a king, too, of their own choosing. Perceiving that such ideas were in the wind, the senators thought it would be well to proffer spontaneously a thing which they were on the verge of losing, and obtained the favour of the people by granting them supreme power on such terms as to part with no greater prerogative than they retained. For they decreed that when the people should have named a king, their act should only be valid in case the senators ratified it. Even now, in voting for laws and magistrates, the same right is exercised, but is robbed of its significance; before the people can begin to vote, and when the result of the election is undetermined, the Fathers ratify it. On the present occasion the interrex summoned the assembly and spoke as follows: "May prosperity, favour, and fortune attend our action! Quirites, choose your king. Such is the pleasure of the Fathers, who, in their turn, if your choice fall upon one worthy to be called Romulus' successor, will confirm your election." This so pleased the plebs, that, unwilling to appear outdone in generosity, they merely resolved and ordered that the senate should decree who should be king in Rome. B.C. 716

XVIII. A great reputation for justice and piety was enjoyed in those days by Numa Pompilius. Cures, a town of the Sabines, was his home, and he was deeply versed, so far as anyone could be in that age, in all law, divine and human. The teacher to whom he owed his learning was not, as men say, in default of another name, the Samian Pythagoras; for it is well established that Servius Tullius was king at Rome, more than a hundred years after this

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ora circa Metapontum Heracleamque et Crotona iuvenum aemulantium studia coetus habuisse constat. Ex quibus locis, etsi eiusdem aetatis fuisset, quae fama in Sabinos? Aut quo linguae commercio quemquam ad cupiditatem discendi excivisset? Quove praesidio unus per tot gentes dissonas sermone moribusque pervenisset? Suopte igitur ingenio temperatum animum virtutibus fuisse opinor magis instructumque non tam peregrinis artibus quam disciplina tetrica ac tristi veterum Sabinorum, quo genere nullum quondam incorruptius fuit. Audito nomine Numae patres Romani, quamquam inclinari opes ad Sabinos rege inde sumpto videbantur, tamen neque se quisquam nec factionis suae alium nec denique patrum aut civium quemquam praeferre illi viro ausi ad unum omnes Numae Pompilio regnum deferendum decernunt. Accitus, sicut Romulus augurato urbe condenda regnum adeptus est, de se quoque deos consuli iussit. Inde ab augure, cui deinde honoris ergo publicum id perpetuumque sacerdotium fuit, deductus in arcem in lapide[1] ad meridiem versus consedit. Augur ad laevam eius capite velato sedem cepit, dextra manu baculum sine nodo aduncum tenens, quem lituum appellarunt.

[1] in lapide R_{ζ}: in lapidem (*or* lapidem) Ω.

[1] It was about 530 B.C. when Pythagoras settled in Croton.

time, when Pythagoras gathered about him, on the farthest coasts of Italy, in the neighbourhood of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Croton, young men eager to share his studies.[1] And from that country, even if he had been contemporary, how could his fame have reached the Sabines? Again, in what common language could he have induced anyone to seek instruction of him? Or under whose protection could a solitary man have made his way through so many nations differing in speech and customs? It was Numa's native disposition, then, as I incline to believe, that tempered his soul with noble qualities, and his training was not in foreign studies, but in the stern and austere discipline of the ancient Sabines, a race incorruptible as any race of the olden time. When Numa's name had been proposed, the Roman senators perceived that the Sabines would gain the ascendancy if a king were to be chosen from that nation; yet nobody ventured to urge his own claims in preference to those of such a man, nor the claim of any other of his faction, nor those, in short, of any of the senators or citizens. And so they unanimously voted to offer the sovereignty to Numa Pompilius. Being summoned to Rome he commanded that, just as Romulus had obeyed the augural omens in building his city and assuming regal power, so too in his own case the gods should be consulted. Accordingly an augur (who thereafter, as a mark of honour, was made a priest of the state in permanent charge of that function) conducted him to the citadel and caused him to sit down on a stone, facing the south. The augur seated himself on Numa's left, having his head covered, and holding his in right hand the crooked staff without a knot

B.C. 716

A.U.C. 38 Inde ubi prospectu in urbem agrumque capto deos precatus regiones ab oriente ad occasum determinavit, dextras ad meridiem partes, laevas ad septentrionem esse dixit; signum contra, quoad[1] ongissime conspectum oculi ferebant, animo finivit; tum lituo in laevam manum translato dextra in caput Numae imposita ita precatus est,[2] "Iuppiter pater, si est fas hunc Numam Pompilium, cuius ego caput teneo, regem Romae esse, uti tu signa nobis certa adclarassis inter eos fines quos feci." Tum peregit verbis auspicia quae mitti vellet. Quibus missis declaratus rex Numa de templo descendit.

A.U.C. 39–82 XIX. Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique

[1] quoad *Weissenborn*: quod Ω: quo $P^2\varsigma$: quo *M*.
[2] ita precatus est *Walters*: precatus est ita *ORDL*: precatus ita est *MPFUBEH*.

which they call a *lituus*. Then, looking out over the City and the country beyond, he prayed to the gods, and marked off the heavens by a line from east to west, designating as 'right' the regions to the south, as 'left' those to the north, and fixing in his mind a landmark opposite to him and as far away as the eye could reach; next shifting the crook to his left hand and, laying his right hand on Numa's head, he uttered the following prayer: "Father Jupiter, if it is Heaven's will that this man Numa Pompilius, whose head I am touching, be king in Rome, do thou exhibit to us unmistakable signs within those limits which I have set." He then specified the auspices which he desired should be sent, and upon their appearance Numa was declared king, and so descended from the augural station. B.C. 716

XIX. When he had thus obtained the kingship, he prepared to give the new City, founded by force of arms, a new foundation in law, statutes, and observances. And perceiving that men could not grow used to these things in the midst of wars, since their natures grew wild and savage through warfare, he thought it needful that his warlike people should be softened by the disuse of arms, and built the temple of Janus at the bottom of the Argiletum, as an index of peace and war, that when open it might signify that the nation was in arms, when closed that all the peoples round about were pacified. Twice since Numa's reign has it been closed: once in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the conclusion of the First Punic War; the second time, which the gods permitted our own generation to witness, was after the battle of Actium, when the emperor Caesar Augustus had brought about peace on land and B.C. 715–672

A.U.C. 39–82

4 parta. Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos, positis externorum periculorum curis ne luxuriarent otio animi, quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum 5 metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse; eius se monitu, quae acceptissima diis essent sacra instituere, sacerdotes suos cuique deorum praeficere.

6 Atque omnium primum ad cursus lunae in duodecim menses discribit[1] annum; quem, quia tricenos dies singulis mensibus luna non explet, desuntque undecim dies[2] solido anno qui solstitiali circumagitur orbe, intercalariis[3] mensibus interponendis ita dispensavit, ut vicesimo anno ad metam eandem solis unde orsi essent, plenis omnium annorum 7 spatiis, dies congruerent. Idem nefastos dies fastosque fecit, quia aliquando nihil cum populo agi utile futurum erat.

[1] discribit *Buecheler*: describit Ω.

[2] desuntque undecim dies *J. S. Reid* (*who, however, prefers to assume that Livy did not commit himself to any definite number of days. See Jour. Rom. Stud. V. p.* 144): deṡ (= desunt) qui (*for* que ui) dies *B, whence Conway proposes* desuntque sex dies (*but* ui = VI *may be a corruption of* XI): desuntque dies Ω.

[3] intercalariis *Heerwagen*: intercalares Ω.

sea.[1] Numa closed the temple after first securing the good will of all the neighbouring tribes by alliances and treaties. And fearing lest relief from anxiety on the score of foreign perils might lead men who had hitherto been held back by fear of their enemies and by military discipline into extravagance and idleness, he thought the very first thing to do, as being the most efficacious with a populace which was ignorant and, in those early days, uncivilized, was to imbue them with the fear of Heaven. As he could not instil this into their hearts without inventing some marvellous story, he pretended to have nocturnal meetings with the goddess Egeria, and that hers was the advice which guided him in the establishment of rites most approved by the gods, and in the appointment of special priests for the service of each. B.C. 715–672

And first of all he divided the year into twelve months, according to the revolutions of the moon. But since the moon does not give months of quite thirty days each, and eleven days are wanting to the full complement of a year as marked by the sun's revolution, he inserted intercalary months in such a way that in the twentieth year the days should fall in with the same position of the sun from which they had started, and the period of twenty years be rounded out. He also appointed days when public business might not be carried on, and others when it might, since it would sometimes be desirable that nothing should be brought before the people.

[1] This was evidently written before 25 B.C., when the temple was again closed by Augustus. But it was not written before 27, for it was not until that year that the title of Augustus was conferred upon the emperor. We thus arrive at an approximate date for the beginning of Livy's history.

A.U.C. 39–82

XX. Tum sacerdotibus creandis animum adiecit, quamquam ipse plurima sacra obibat, ea maxime
2 quae nunc ad Dialem flaminem pertinent. Sed quia in civitate bellicosa plures Romuli quam Numae similes reges putabat fore iturosque ipsos ad bella, ne sacra regiae vicis desererentur, flaminem Iovi adsiduum sacerdotem creavit insignique eum veste et curuli regia sella adornavit. Huic duos flamines
3 adiecit, Marti unum, alterum Quirino; virginesque Vestae legit, Alba oriundum sacerdotium et genti conditoris haud alienum. Iis, ut adsiduae templi antistites essent, stipendium de publico statuit, virginitate aliisque caerimoniis venerabiles ac sanctas
4 fecit. Salios item duodecim Marti Gradivo legit tunicaeque pictae insigne dedit et super tunicam aeneum pectori tegumen caelestiaque arma, quae ancilia appellantur, ferre ac per urbem ire canentes carmina cum tripudiis sollemnique saltatu iussit.
5 Pontificem deinde Numam Marcium Marci filium ex patribus legit eique sacra omnia exscripta exsignataque attribuit, quibus hostiis, quibus diebus, ad quae templa sacra fierent atque unde in eos sumptus
6 pecunia erogaretur. Cetera quoque omnia publica privataque sacra pontificis scitis subiecit, ut esset

[1] The original *ancile* was a shield fabled to have fallen from heaven. To lessen the chance of its being stolen, eleven others were made exactly like it. It was of a peculiar shape, something like a violin. See Fowler, *Fest.* p. 42.

XX. He then turned his attention to the appointment of priests, although he performed very many priestly duties himself, especially those which now belong to the Flamen Dialis. But inasmuch as he thought that in a warlike nation there would be more kings like Romulus than like Numa, and that they would take the field in person, he did not wish the sacrificial duties of the kingly office to be neglected, and so appointed a flamen for Jupiter, as his perpetual priest, and provided him with a conspicuous dress and the royal curule chair. To him he added two other flamens, one for Mars, the other for Quirinus. In like manner he designated virgins for Vesta's service—a priesthood, this, that derived from Alba and so was not unsuited to the founder's stock. That they might be perpetual priestesses of the temple, he assigned them a stipend from the public treasury, and by the rule of virginity and other observances invested them with awe and sanctity. He likewise chose twelve Salii for Mars Gradivus, and granted them the distinction of wearing the embroidered tunic and over it a bronze breastplate, and of bearing the divine shields which men call *ancilia*,[1] while they proceeded through the City, chanting their hymns to the triple beat of their solemn dance. He next chose as pontifex Numa Marcius, son of Marcus, one of the senators, and to him he intrusted written directions, full and accurate, for performing the rites of worship; with what victims, on what days, in what temple, sacrifices should be offered, and from what sources money was to be disbursed to pay their costs. All other public and private sacrifices he likewise made subject to the decrees of the pontifex, that there

B.C. 715–672

A.U.C. 39–82

quo consultum plebes veniret, ne quid divini iuris neglegendo patrios ritus peregrinosque adsciscendo
7 turbaretur; nec caelestes modo caerimonias, sed iusta quoque funebria placandosque manes ut idem pontifex edoceret, quaeque prodigia fulminibus aliove quo visu missa susciperentur atque curarentur. Ad ea elicienda ex mentibus divinis Iovi Elicio aram in Aventino dicavit deumque consuluit auguriis, quae suscipienda essent.

XXI. Ad haec consultanda procurandaque multitudine omni a vi et armis conversa, et animi aliquid agendo occupati erant, et deorum adsidua insidens cura, cum interesse rebus humanis caeleste numen videretur, ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat, ut fides ac ius iurandum pro[1] legum ac poenarum metu
2 civitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis velut unici exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea[2] castra, non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam verecundiam adducti sunt ut civitatem totam in cultum versam deorum violare[3] duce-
3 rent nefas. Lucus erat, quem medium ex opaco specu fons perenni rigabat aqua. Quo quia se per-

[1] pro *Novák*: pro nimio *Walters*: proximo Ω.
[2] antea *M*: ante Ω.
[3] uiolare *PFUB*: uiolari Ω.

might be someone to whom the commons could come for advice, lest any confusion should arise in the religious law through the neglect of ancestral rites and the adoption of strange ones. And not merely ceremonies relating to the gods above, but also proper funeral observances and the propitiation of the spirits of the dead were to be taught by the pontifex as well, and also what prodigies manifested by lightning or other visible sign were to be taken in hand and averted. With the purpose of eliciting this knowledge from the minds of the gods, Numa dedicated an altar on the Aventine to Jupiter Elicius, and consulted the god by augury, that he might learn what portents were to be regarded. B.C. 715-672

XXI. The consideration and disposal of these matters diverted the thoughts of the whole people from violence and arms. Not only had they something to occupy their minds, but their constant preoccupation with the gods, now that it seemed to them that concern for human affairs was felt by the heavenly powers, had so tinged the hearts of all with piety, that the nation was governed by its regard for promises and oaths, rather than by the dread of laws and penalties. And while Numa's subjects were spontaneously imitating the character of their king, as their unique exemplar, the neighbouring peoples also, who had hitherto considered that it was no city but a camp that had been set up in their midst, as a menace to the general peace, came to feel such reverence for them, that they thought it sacrilege to injure a nation so wholly bent upon the worship of the gods. There was a grove watered by a perennial spring which flowed through the midst of it, out of a dark cave. Thither

A.U.C 39-82

saepe Numa sine arbitris velut ad congressum deae inferebat, Camenis cum lucum sacravit, quod earum ibi[1] concilia cum coniuge sua Egeria essent, et Fidei[2] sollemne instituit. Ad id sacrarium flamines bigis curru arcuato vehi iussit, manuque ad digitos usque involuta rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam sedemque eius etiam in dexteris sacratam esse. Multa alia sacrificia locaque sacris faciendis, quae Argeos pontifices vocant, dedicavit. Omnium tamen maximum eius operum fuit tutela per omne regni tempus haud minor pacis quam regni. Ita duo deinceps reges, alius alia via, ille bello, hic pace, civitatem auxerunt. Romulus septem et triginta regnavit annos, Numa tres et quadraginta. Cum valida tum temperata et belli et pacis artibus erat civitas.

A.U.C. 82-114

XXII. Numae morte ad interregnum res rediit. Inde Tullum Hostilium nepotem Hostili, cuius in infima arce clara pugna adversus Sabinos fuerat, regem populus iussit; patres auctores facti. Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis, sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas viresque, tum avita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur civitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat. Forte evenit ut agrestes Romani ex

[1] ibi ς: sibi Ω. [2] Fidei *Sigonius*: soli Fidei Ω.

[1] There were six of these shrines or chapels in each of the four regions of the Servian city. A procession made the round of the *Argei* on March 17; and on May 15 rush puppets, also called *Argei*, and probably corresponding to

Numa would often withdraw, without witnesses, as if to meet the goddess; so he dedicated the grove to the Camenae, alleging that they held counsel there with his wife Egeria. He also established an annual worship of Faith, to whose chapel he ordered that the flamens should proceed in a two-horse hooded carriage, and should wrap up their arms as far as the fingers before sacrificing, as a sign that faith must be kept, and that even in men's clasped hands her seat is sacred. He established many other rites, as well as places of sacrifice, which the pontiffs called *Argei*.[1] But of all his services the greatest was this, that throughout his reign he guarded peace no less jealously than his kingdom. Thus two successive kings in different ways, one by war, the other by peace, promoted the nation's welfare. Romulus ruled thirty-seven years, Numa forty-three. The state was not only strong, but was also well organized in the arts both of war and of peace. B.C. 715–672

XXII. At Numa's death the state reverted to an interregnum. Then Tullus Hostilius, grandson of that Hostilius who had distinguished himself in the battle with the Sabines at the foot of the citadel, was declared king by the people, and the senate confirmed their choice. This monarch was not only unlike the last, but was actually more warlike than Romulus had been. Besides his youth and strength, the glory of his grandfather was also an incentive to him. So, thinking that the nation was growing decrepit from inaction, he everywhere sought excuses for stirring up war. It happened that the Roman rustics were B.C. 672–640

the shrines in number, were thrown into the Tiber by the Vestal Virgins, in the presence of the priestess of Jupiter, who was dressed in mourning. The meaning of both ceremonies is obscure. See Fowler, *Fest.* pp. 54 and 111.

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Albano agro, Albani ex Romano praedas in vicem age-
4 rent. Imperitabat tum C. Cluilius[1] Albae. Utrimque legati fere sub idem tempus ad res repetendas missi. Tullus praeceperat suis ne quid prius quam mandata agerent; satis sciebat negaturum Albanum;
5 ita pie bellum indici posse. Ab Albanis socordius res acta; excepti hospitio ab Tullo blande ac benigne, comiter regis convivium celebrant. Tantisper Romani et res repetiverant priores et neganti Albano
6 bellum in tricesimum diem indixerant. Haec renuntiant Tullo. Tum legatis Tullus dicendi potestatem, quid petentes venerint, facit. Illi omnium ignari primum purgando terunt tempus: se invitos quicquam quod minus placeat Tullo dicturos, sed imperio subigi; res repetitum se venisse; ni reddantur
7 bellum indicere iussos. Ad haec Tullus "Nuntiate," inquit, "regi vestro regem Romanum deos facere testes uter prius populus res repetentes legatos aspernatus dimiserit, ut in eum omnes expetant huiusce clades belli."

XXIII. Haec nuntiant domum Albani. Et bellum utrimque summa ope parabatur, civili simillimum bello, prope inter parentes natosque, Troianam

[1] Cluilius *Glareanus* (*cf.* i. 23. 7): clulius (*or* ciuilius *or* ciiiilius *or* ciuibus) Ω.

driving off cattle from Alban territory, while the Albans were treating the Romans in the same way. The man who was then in power in Alba was Gaius Cluilius. Each side, at about the same time, sent envoys to demand restitution. Tullus had commanded his envoys to do nothing else till they had carried out his orders; he felt convinced that the Albans would refuse his demands, in which case he could declare war with a good conscience. The Alban representatives proceeded rather laxly. Received by Tullus with gracious and kindly hospitality, they attended in a friendly spirit the banquet which he gave in their honour. Meanwhile the Romans had been beforehand with them in seeking redress, and, being denied it by the Alban leader, had made a declaration of war, to take effect in thirty days. Returning, they reported these things to Tullus, who thereupon invited the Alban envoys to inform him of the object of their mission. They, knowing nothing of what had happened, at first spent some time in apologies. They said they should be sorry to utter anything which might give offence to Tullus, but that they were compelled to do so by their orders; they had come to seek restitution; if it should be denied them they were commanded to declare war. To this Tullus replied: "Tell your king the Roman king calls the gods to witness which people first spurned the other's demand for redress and dismissed its envoys, that they may call down upon the guilty nation all the disasters of this war." B.C. 672-640

XXIII. With this answer the Albans returned to their city, and both sides prepared for war with the greatest energy—a civil war, to all intents and purposes, almost as if fathers were arrayed against sons;

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utramque prolem, cum Lavinium ab Troia, ab Lavinio Alba, ab Albanorum stirpe regum oriundi Romani
2 essent. Eventus tamen belli minus miserabilem dimicationem fecit, quod nec acie certatum est et tectis modo dirutis alterius urbis duo populi in unum
3 confusi sunt. Albani priores ingenti exercitu in agrum Romanum impetum fecere. Castra ab urbe haud plus quinque milia passuum locant; fossa circumdant; fossa Cluilia[1] ab nomine ducis per aliquot saecula appellata est, donec cum re nomen quoque
4 vetustate[2] abolevit. In his castris Cluilius[3] Albanus rex moritur; dictatorem Albani Mettium Fufetium creant. Interim Tullus ferox, praecipue morte regis, magnumque deorum numen ab ipso capite orsum in omne nomen Albanum expetiturum poenas ob bellum impium dictitans, nocte praeteritis hostium castris infesto exercitu in agrum Albanum pergit. Ea
5 res ab stativis excivit Mettium. Ducit quam proxume ad hostem potest. Inde legatum praemissum nuntiare Tullo iubet priusquam dimicent opus esse conloquio; si secum congressus sit, satis scire ea se allaturum quae nihilo minus ad rem Romanam quam
6 ad Albanam pertineant. Haud aspernatus Tullus tamen, si vana adferantur,[4] in aciem educit. Exeunt contra et Albani. Postquam structi utrimque sta-

[1] Cluilia *Glareanus* (*cf.* i. 22. 4) : cliuli, ciuilia, *etc.* Ω.
[2] uetustate *M* : cum uetustate Ω.
[3] Cluilius *Glareanus* : cluiuilius (*or* ciuilius) Ω.
[4] tamen si uana adferantur *I. H. Voss* : tametsi uana adferebantur Ω.

for both were of Trojan ancestry, since Lavinium had been planted from Troy, Alba from Lavinium, and from the line of the Alban kings had come the Romans. Still, the issue of the war made the struggle less deplorable, for no battle was fought, and when only the buildings of one of the cities had been destroyed, the two peoples were fused into one. The Albans were first in the field, and with a great army invaded the Roman territory. Their camp they pitched not more than five miles from the City, and surrounded it with a trench. (This was known for some centuries as the Cluilian Trench, from the name of the general, until in the course of time both trench and name disappeared.) In this camp Cluilius the Alban king died, and the Albans chose as dictator Mettius Fufetius. Meantime Tullus, emboldened principally by the death of the king, and asserting that Heaven's great powers would take vengeance upon all of the Alban name, beginning with their king himself, for their unscrupulous war, made a night march past the enemy's camp and led his army into the country of the Albans. This move drew Mettius out from his fortifications. Leading his troops the shortest way towards the enemy, he sent an envoy on ahead to say to Tullus that before they fought it was well that they should confer together; if Tullus would meet him he was confident he had that to say which would be of no less moment to the Roman state than to the Alban. Without rejecting this suggestion, Tullus nevertheless drew up his men in line of battle, in case the proposals should prove impracticable. On the other side the Albans also formed up. When both armies had been marshalled, the leaders,

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bant, cum paucis procerum in medium duces prodeunt. Ibi infit Albanus:

7 "Iniurias et non redditas res ex foedere quae repetitae sint et ego regem nostrum Cluilium causam huiusce esse belli audisse videor nec te dubito, Tulle, eadem prae te ferre; sed si vera potius quam dictu speciosa dicenda sunt, cupido imperii duos cognatos vicinosque populos ad arma
8 stimulat. Neque recte an perperam interpretor; fuerit ista eius deliberatio qui bellum suscepit; me Albani gerendo bello ducem creavere. Illud te, Tulle, monitum velim. Etrusca res quanta circa nos teque maxime sit, quo propior es,[1] hoc magis scis. Multum illi terra, plurimum mari pollent.
9 Memor esto, iam cum signum pugnae dabis, has duas acies spectaculo fore, ut fessos confectosque, simul victorem ac victum, adgrediantur. Itaque, si nos di amant, quoniam non contenti libertate certa in dubiam imperii servitiique aleam imus, ineamus aliquam viam qua utri utris imperent, sine magna clade, sine multo sanguine utriusque populi decerni possit."

10 Haud displicet res Tullo, quamquam cum indole animi tum spe victoriae ferocior erat. Quaerentibus utrimque ratio initur cui et Fortuna ipsa praebuit materiam.

[1] es *Voss*: es Volscis Ω: es Tuscis *Strothius*.

attended by a few of their nobles, advanced to the middle of the field. Then the Alban began as follows: B.C. 672–640

"Pillage and failure to make the amends demanded in accordance with our treaty I think I have myself heard named by our king, Cluilius, as the occasion of this war, and I doubt not, Tullus, but you make the same contention. But if truth is to be spoken, rather than sophistries, it is greed for dominion that is goading two kindred and neighbouring peoples into war. Whether rightly or wrongly I do not attempt to determine; that is a question that may well have been considered by him who undertook the war; I am only the general appointed by the Albans to prosecute that war. But this is the point, Tullus, which I wish to suggest to you: Of the magnitude of the Etruscan power which encompasses us, and you especially, you are better aware than we, in proportion as you are nearer to that people. Great is their strength on land, exceedingly great on the sea. You must consider that the instant you give the signal for battle, the Tuscans will be watching our two armies, so that, when we have become tired and exhausted, they may attack at once the victor and the vanquished. In Heaven's name, therefore, since we are not content with unquestioned liberty, but are proceeding to the doubtful hazard of dominion or enslavement, let us adopt some plan by which we may decide the question which nation shall rule the other, without a great disaster and much carnage on both sides."

Tullus made no objection, though inclined to war by nature no less than by his anticipation of victory. While both parties were considering what to do, a plan was hit upon for the execution of which Fortune herself supplied the means.

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XXIV. Forte in duobus tum exercitibus erant trigemini fratres nec aetate nec viribus dispares. Horatios Curiatiosque fuisse satis constat, nec ferme res antiqua alia est nobilior; tamen in re tam clara nominum error manet, utrius populi Horatii, utrius Curiatii fuerint. Auctores utroque trahunt; plures tamen invenio qui Romanos Horatios vocent; hos ut
2 sequar inclinat animus. Cum trigeminis agunt reges, ut pro sua quisque patria dimicent ferro: ibi imperium fore unde victoria fuerit. Nihil recusatur;
3 tempus et locus convenit. Priusquam dimicarent, foedus ictum inter Romanos et Albanos est his legibus, ut cuiusque populi cives eo certamine vicissent, is alteri populo cum bona pace imperitaret. Foedera alia aliis legibus, ceterum eodem modo omnia fiunt.
4 Tum ita factum accepimus, nec ullius vetustior foederis memoria est. Fetialis regem Tullum ita rogavit: "Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani foedus ferire?" Iubente rege "Sagmina,"
5 inquit, "te, rex, posco." Rex ait: "Puram tollito." Fetialis ex arce graminis herbam puram attulit. Postea regem ita rogavit: "Rex, facisne me tu regium nuntium populi Romani Quiritium, vasa comi-

[1] The *fetiales* (related to *facio*, "do") were a college of priests whose duties were to represent the state in declaring war, making peace, entering into treaties, etc. The *pater*

XXIV. It chanced that there were in each of these armies triplet brothers, not ill-matched either in age or in physical prowess. That they were Horatii and Curiatii is generally allowed, and scarcely any other ancient tradition is better known ; yet, in spite of the celebrity of the affair, an uncertainty persists in regard to the names—to which people, that is, the Horatii belonged, and to which the Curiatii. The writers of history are divided. Still, the majority, I find, call the Roman brothers Horatii, and theirs is the opinion I incline to adopt. To these young men the kings proposed a combat in which each should fight for his own city, the dominion to belong with that side where the victory should rest. No objection was raised, and time and place were agreed on. Before proceeding with the battle, a treaty was made between the Romans and the Albans, providing that the nation whose citizens should triumph in this contest should hold undisputed sway over the other nation. One treaty differs from another in its terms, but the same procedure is always employed. On the present occasion we are told that they did as follows, nor has tradition preserved the memory of any more ancient compact. The fetial[1] asked King Tullus, "Dost thou command me, King, to make a treaty with the *pater patratus* of the Alban People?" Being so commanded by the king, he said, "I demand of thee, King, the sacred herb." The king replied, "Thou shalt take it untainted." The fetial brought from the citadel an untainted plant. After this he asked the king, "Dost thou grant me, King, with my emblems and my companions, the royal sanction, to

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patratus (from *patro*, "accomplish" or "bring about") was the spokesman of the deputation.

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tesque meos?" Rex respondit: "Quod sine fraude
6 mea populique Romani Quiritium fiat, facio." Fetialis erat M. Valerius; is patrem[1] patratum Sp. Fusium fecit verbena caput capillosque tangens. Pater patratus ad ius iurandum patrandum, id est sanciendum fit foedus; multisque id verbis, quae longo effata
7 carmine non operae est referre, peragit. Legibus deinde recitatis "Audi," inquit, "Iuppiter, audi, pater patrate populi Albani, audi tu, populus Albanus. Ut illa palam prima postrema ex illis tabulis cerave recitata sunt sine dolo malo utique ea hic hodie rectissime intellecta sunt, illis legibus populus
8 Romanus prior non deficiet. Si prior defexit publico consilio dolo malo, tum tu ille Diespiter[2] populum Romanum sic ferito ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito quanto magis potes
9 pollesque." Id ubi dixit, porcum saxo silice percussit. Sua item carmina Albani suumque ius iurandum per suum dictatorem suosque sacerdotes peregerunt.

XXV. Foedere icto trigemini, sicut convenerat, arma capiunt. Cum sui utrosque adhortarentur, deos patrios, patriam ac parentes, quicquid civium domi, quicquid in exercitu sit, illorum tunc arma, illorum intueri manus, feroces et suopte ingenio et pleni

[1] is patrem *VM*: patrem Ω.

[2] tum tu (*Crevier*) ille Diespiter *Turnebus and Duker*: tum ille dies iuppiter Ω.

speak for the Roman People of the Quirites?" The king made answer, "So far as may be without prejudice to myself and the Roman People of the Quirites, I grant it." The fetial was Marcus Valerius; he made Spurius Fusius *pater patratus*, touching his head and hair with the sacred sprig. The *pater patratus* is appointed to pronounce the oath, that is, to solemnize the pact; and this he accomplishes with many words, expressed in a long metrical formula which it is not worth while to quote. The conditions being then recited, he cries, "Hear, Jupiter; hear, *pater patratus* of the Alban People: hear ye, People of Alba: From these terms, as they have been publicly rehearsed from beginning to end, without fraud, from these tablets, or this wax, and as they have been this day clearly understood, the Roman People will not be the first to depart. If it shall first depart from them, by general consent, with malice aforethought, then on that day do thou, great Diespiter, so smite the Roman People as I shall here to-day smite this pig: and so much the harder smite them as thy power and thy strength are greater." When Spurius had said these words, he struck the pig with a flint. In like manner the Albans pronounced their own forms and their own oath, by the mouth of their own dictator and priests. B.C. 672–640

XXV. When the treaty had been established, the brothers armed themselves, in accordance with the agreement. On either side the soldiers urged on their champions. They reminded them that their fathers' gods, their native land, their parents, and all their countrymen, whether at home or with the army, had their eye only on their swords and their right hands. Eager for the combat, as well owing to their

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adhortantium vocibus in medium inter duas acies procedunt. Consederant utrimque pro castris duo exercitus periculi magis praesentis quam curae expertes; quippe imperium agebatur in tam paucorum virtute atque fortuna positum. Itaque ergo erecti suspensique in minime gratum spectaculum animos intendunt.[1] Datur signum infestisque armis velut acies terni iuvenes magnorum exercituum animos gerentes concurrunt. Nec his nec illis periculum suum, publicum imperium servitiumque obversatur animo futuraque ea deinde patriae fortuna quam ipsi fecissent. Ut primo statim concursu concrepuere[2] arma micantesque fulsere gladii, horror ingens spectantis perstringit; et neutro inclinata spe torpebat vox spiritusque. Consertis deinde manibus cum iam non motus tantum corporum agitatioque anceps telorum armorumque sed vulnera quoque et sanguis spectaculo essent, duo Romani, super alium alius, vulneratis tribus Albanis exspirantes corruerunt. Ad quorum casum cum conclamasset gaudio Albanus exercitus, Romanas legiones iam spes tota, nondum tamen cura deseruerat, exanimes vice unius quem tres Curiatii circumsteterant. Forte is integer fuit, ut universis solus nequaquam par, sic adversus singulos ferox. Ergo, ut segregaret pugnam eorum,

[1] animos intendunt *H. J. Mueller*: animo incenduntur Ω.
[2] concrepuere *H. J. Mueller*: increpuere Ω.

native spirit as to the shouts of encouragement which filled their ears, the brothers advanced into the space between the two lines of battle. The two armies were drawn up, each in front of its own camp, no longer in any immediate danger, but their concern as great as ever; and no wonder, since empire was staked on those few men's valour and good fortune! Alert, therefore, and in suspense, they concentrated their attention upon this unpleasing spectacle. The signal was given, and with drawn steel, like advancing battle-lines, the six young men rushed to the charge, breathing the courage of great armies. Neither side thought of its own danger, but of the nation's sovereignty or servitude, and how from that day forward their country must experience the fortune they should themselves create. The instant they encountered, there was a clash of shields and a flash of glittering blades, while a deep shudder ran through the onlookers, who, as long as neither side had the advantage, remained powerless to speak or breathe. Then, in the hand-to-hand fight which followed, wherein were soon exhibited to men's eyes not only struggling bodies and the play of the sword and shield, but also bloody wounds, two of the Romans fell, fatally wounded, one upon the other, while all three of the Albans were wounded. At the fall of the Romans a shout of joy burst from the Alban army, while the Roman levies now bade farewell to all their hopes; but not to their anxiety, for they were horror-stricken at the plight of the single warrior whom the three Curiatii had surrounded. He happened to have got no hurt, and though no match for his enemies together, was ready to fight them one at a time. So, to divide their attack, he

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capessit fugam, ita ratus secuturos ut quemque vul-
8 nere adfectum corpus sineret. Iam aliquantum spatii ex eo loco ubi pugnatum est aufugerat, cum respiciens videt magnis intervallis sequentes; unum haud
9 procul ab sese abesse. In eum magno impetu rediit, et dum Albanus exercitus inclamat Curiatiis uti opem ferant fratri, iam Horatius caeso hoste victor secundam pugnam petebat. Tunc clamore, qualis ex insperato faventium solet, Romani adiuvant militem
10 suum; et ille defungi proelio festinat. Prius itaque quam alter—nec[1] procul aberat—consequi posset, et
11 alterum Curiatium conficit; iamque aequato Marte singuli supererant, sed nec spe nec viribus pares. Alterum intactum ferro corpus et geminata victoria ferocem in certamen tertium dabat: alter fessum vulnere fessum cursu trahens corpus, victusque fra-
12 trum ante se strage victori obicitur hosti. Nec illud proelium fuit. Romanus exsultans "Duos," inquit, "fratrum Manibus dedi: tertium causae[2] belli huiusce, ut Romanus Albano imperet, dabo." Male sustinenti arma gladium superne iugulo defigit;
13 iacentem spoliat. Romani ovantes ac gratulantes Horatium accipiunt eo maiore cum gaudio quo prope metum res fuerat. Ad sepulturam inde suo-

[1] nec *M*: qui nec Ω. [2] causae M_{ζ}: causam Ω.

fled, thinking that each of them would pursue him with what speed his wounds permitted. He had already run some little distance from the spot where they had fought, when, looking back, he saw that they were following at wide intervals and that one of them had nearly overtaken him. Facing about, he ran swiftly up to his man, and while the Alban host were calling out to the Curiatii to help their brother, Horatius had already slain him, and was hastening, flushed with victory, to meet his second antagonist. Then with a cheer, such as is often drawn from partisans by a sudden turn in a contest, the Romans encouraged their champion, and he pressed on to end the battle. And so, before the third Curiatius could come up—and he was not far off—Horatius dispatched the second. They were now on even terms, one soldier surviving on each side, but in hope and vigour they were far from equal. The one, unscathed and elated by his double victory, was eager for a third encounter. The other dragged himself along, faint from his wound and exhausted with running; he thought how his brothers had been slaughtered before him, and was a beaten man when he faced his triumphant foe. What followed was no combat. The Roman cried exultantly, "Two victims I have given to the shades of my brothers: the third I will offer up to the cause of this war, that Roman may rule Alban." His adversary could barely hold up his shield. With a downward thrust Horatius buried his sword in the Alban's throat, and despoiled him where he lay. The Romans welcomed their hero with jubilations and thanksgivings, and their joy was all the greater that they had come near despairing. The burial of their dead then claimed the attention

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rum nequaquam paribus animis vertuntur, quippe imperio alteri aucti, alteri dicionis alienae facti. 14 Sepulcra exstant, quo quisque loco cecidit, duo Romana uno loco propius Albam, tria Albana Romam versus, sed distantia locis, ut et pugnatum est.

XXVI. Priusquam inde digrederentur, roganti Mettio, ex foedere icto, quid imperaret, imperat Tullus uti iuventutem in armis habeat: usurum se eorum opera, si bellum cum Veientibus foret. Ita 2 exercitus inde domos abducti. Princeps Horatius ibat trigemina spolia prae se gerens; cui soror virgo, quae desponsa uni ex Curiatiis fuerat, obvia ante portam Capenam fuit; cognitoque super umeros fratris paludamento sponsi, quod ipsa confecerat, solvit crines et flebiliter nomine sponsum mortuum appel- 3 lat. Movet feroci iuveni animum conploratio sororis in victoria sua tantoque gaudio publico. Stricto itaque gladio simul verbis increpans transfigit 4 puellam. "Abi hinc cum immaturo amore ad sponsum" inquit, "oblita fratrum mortuorum vi- 5 vique, oblita patriae. Sic eat quaecumque Romana lugebit hostem."

Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstabat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem. Rex, ne ipse tam tristis ingratique ad volgus iudicii ac[1] secundum iudicium supplicii auctor

[1] ac *Rhenanus* F^3 : ad Ω.

of the two armies,—with widely different feelings, since one nation was exalted with imperial power, the other made subject to a foreign sway. The graves may still be seen where each soldier fell: two Roman graves in one spot, nearer Alba; those of the three Albans towards Rome, but separated, just as they had fought. B.C. 672–640

XXVI. Before they left the field Mettius asked, in pursuance of the compact, what Tullus commanded him to do, and the Roman ordered him to hold his young men under arms, saying that he should employ their services, if war broke out with the Veientes. The armies then marched home. In the van of the Romans came Horatius, displaying his triple spoils. As he drew near the Porta Capena he was met by his unwedded sister, who had been promised in marriage to one of the Curiatii. When she recognized on her brother's shoulders the military cloak of her betrothed, which she herself had woven, she loosed her hair and, weeping, called on her dead lover's name. It enraged the fiery youth to hear his sister's lamentations in the hour of his own victory and the nation's great rejoicing. And so, drawing his sword and at the same time angrily upbraiding her, he ran her through the body. "Begone" he cried, "to your betrothed, with your ill-timed love, since you have forgot your brothers, both the dead and the living, and forgot your country! So perish every Roman woman who mourns a foe!"

Horrid as this deed seemed to the Fathers and the people, his recent service was an off-set to it; nevertheless he was seized and brought before the king for trial. The king, that he might not take upon himself the responsibility for so stern and unpopular a judgement, and for the punishment which must follow

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esset, concilio populi advocato "Duumviros," inquit, "qui Horatio perduellionem iudicent, secundum
6 legem facio." Lex horrendi carminis erat: duumviri perduellionem iudicent; si a duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato; si vincent, caput obnubito; infelici arbori reste suspendito; verberato vel
7 intra pomerium vel extra pomerium. Hac lege duumviri creati. Qui se absolvere non rebantur ea lege ne innoxium quidem posse, cum condemnassent, tum alter ex iis[1] "P. Horati, tibi perduellionem
8 iudico," inquit; "i, lictor,[2] colliga manus." Accesserat lictor iniciebatque laqueum. Tum Horatius auctore Tullo, clemente legis interprete, "Provoco," inquit. Itaque[3] provocatione certatum ad populum
9 est. Moti homines sunt in eo iudicio maxime P. Horatio patre proclamante se filiam iure caesam iudicare: ni ita esset, patrio iure in filium[4] animadversurum fuisse. Orabat deinde, ne se, quem paulo ante cum egregia stirpe conspexissent, orbum liberis
10 facerent. Inter haec senex iuvenem amplexus, spolia Curiatiorum fixa eo loco qui nunc pila Horatia appellatur ostentans, "Huncine" aiebat, "quem modo

[1] iis *Madvig*: his Ω.
[2] inquit i, lictor ς *Modius*: inqui i lictor *M*: inquit lictor Ω.
[3] itaque *Tan. Faber*: ita de Ω. [4] filium ς: filiam Ω.

[1] By taking it upon himself to punish his sister, Horatius had usurped a function of the state, and so was guilty of treason.

[2] I have adopted the view of Oldfather (*T.A.P.A.* xxxix. pp. 49 ff.) that neither hanging nor crucifixion is meant, but

sentence, called together the council of the people and said: "In accordance with the law I appoint duumvirs to pass judgement upon Horatius for treason."[1] The dread formula of the law ran thus: "Let the duumvirs pronounce him guilty of treason; if he shall appeal from the duumvirs, let the appeal be tried; if the duumvirs win, let the lictor veil his head; let him bind him with a rope to a barren tree; let him scourge him either within or without the pomerium."[2] By the terms of this law duumvirs were appointed. They considered that they might not acquit, under that act, even one who was innocent, and having given a verdict of guilty, one of them pronounced the words, "Publius Horatius, I adjudge you a traitor; go, lictor, bind his hands." The lictor had approached and was about to fit the noose. Then Horatius, at the prompting of Tullus, who put a merciful construction upon the law, cried, "I appeal!" And so the appeal was tried before the people. What influenced men most of all in that trial was the assertion of Publius Horatius, the father, that his daughter had been justly slain; otherwise he should have used a father's authority and have punished his son, himself. He then implored them not to make him childless whom they had beheld a little while before surrounded by a goodly offspring. So saying, the old man embraced the youth, and pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii set up in the place which is now called "the Horatian Spears,"[3] he exclaimed, "This man you saw but lately advancing

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that the culprit was fastened to the tree and scourged to death.

[3] The name of the place which commemorated the spoils reflects the tradition, rejected above by Livy, that the Horatii were Albans, the Curiatii Romans.

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decoratum ovantemque victoria incedentem vidistis, Quirites, eum sub furca vinctum inter verbera et cruciatus videre potestis? Quod vix Albanorum oculi
11 tam deforme spectaculum ferre possent. I, lictor, colliga manus, quae paulo ante armatae imperium populo Romano pepererunt. I, caput obnube liberatoris urbis huius; arbore infelici suspende; verbera vel intra pomerium, modo inter illa pila et spolia hostium, vel extra pomerium, modo inter sepulcra Curiatiorum. Quo enim ducere hunc iuvenem potestis, ubi non sua decora eum a tanta foeditate
12 supplicii vindicent?" Non tulit populus nec patris lacrimas nec ipsius parem in omni periculo animum, absolveruntque admiratione magis virtutis quam iure causae. Itaque, ut caedes manifesta aliquo tamen piaculo lueretur, imperatum patri ut filium expiaret
13 pecunia publica. Is quibusdam piacularibus sacrificiis factis, quae deinde genti Horatiae tradita sunt, transmisso per viam tigillo capite adoperto velut sub iugum misit iuvenem. Id hodie quoque publice semper refectum manet: sororium tigillum vocant.
14 Horatiae sepulcrum, quo loco corruerat icta, constructum est saxo quadrato.

XXVII. Nec diu pax Albana mansit. Invidia volgi, quod tribus militibus fortuna publica commissa fuerit,[1] vanum ingenium dictatoris corrupit, et, quoniam recta consilia haud bene evenerant, pravis

[1] fuerit Ω: fuerat *HR*²: foret *Madvig.*

decked with spoils and triumphing in his victory; can you bear, Quirites, to see him bound beneath a fork and scourged and tortured? Hardly could Alban eyes endure so hideous a sight. Go, lictor, bind the hands which but now, with sword and shield, brought imperial power to the Roman People! Go, veil the head of the liberator of this city! Bind him to a barren tree! Scourge him within the pomerium, if you will—so it be amidst yonder spears and trophies of our enemies—or outside the pomerium —so it be amongst the graves of the Curiatii! For whither can you lead this youth where his own honours will not vindicate him from so foul a punishment?" The people could not withstand the father's tears, or the courage of Horatius himself, steadfast in every peril; and they acquitted him, more in admiration of his valour than from the justice of his cause. And so, that the flagrant murder might yet be cleansed away, by some kind of expiatory rite, the father was commanded to make atonement for his son at the public cost. He therefore offered certain piacular sacrifices, which were thenceforward handed down in the Horatian family, and, erecting a beam across the street, to typify a yoke, he made his son pass under it, with covered head. It remains to this day, being restored from time to time at the state's expense, and is known as "the Sister's Beam." Horatia's tomb, of hewn stone, was built on the place where she had been struck down. B.C. 672-640

XXVII. But the peace with Alba did not last long. The discontent of the people, who criticized the dictator for having confided the nation's welfare to three soldiers, broke down his weak character, and since honest measures had proved unsuccessful,

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2 reconciliare popularium animos coepit. Igitur, ut prius in bello pacem, sic in pace bellum quaerens, quia suae civitati animorum plus quam virium cernebat esse, ad bellum palam atque ex edicto gerundum alios concitat populos, suis per speciem societatis 3 proditionem reservat. Fidenates colonia Romana Veientibus sociis consilii adsumptis pacto transitionis 4 Albanorum ad bellum atque arma incitantur. Cum Fidenae aperte descissent, Tullus Mettio exercituque eius ab Alba accito contra hostes ducit. Ubi Anienem transiit,[1] ad confluentis conlocat castra. Inter eum locum et Fidenas Veientium exercitus Tiberim 5 transierat. Hi in[2] acie prope flumen tenuere dextrum cornu: in sinistro Fidenates propius montes consistunt. Tullus adversus Veientem hostem derigit[3] suos, Albanos contra legionem Fidenatium conlocat. Albano non plus animi erat quam fidei. Nec manere ergo nec transire aperte ausus sensim ad 6 montes succedit; inde, ubi satis subisse sese ratus est, erigit totam aciem, fluctuansque animo ut tereret tempus ordines explicat. Consilium erat, qua for- 7 tuna rem daret ea inclinare vires. Miraculo primo esse Romanis qui proximi steterant, ut nudari latera sua sociorum digressu senserunt; inde eques citato

[1] transiit $D^2\varsigma$: transierat $U\varsigma$: transit Ω.
[2] hi in *Weissenborn*: hi (*or* hii *or* hic) et in Ω.
[3] derigit *PL*: dirigit Ω.

he resorted to evil ones to regain the favour of his countrymen. Accordingly, just as in war he had sought peace, so now in time of peace he desired war. But seeing that his own state was richer in courage than in strength, he stirred up other tribes to make war openly after due declaration; while for his own people he reserved the part of the traitor under the disguise of friendship. The men of Fidenae, a Roman colony, and the Veientes, whom they admitted to a share in their designs, were induced to commence hostilities by a promise that the Albans would go over to their side. Fidenae having openly revolted, Tullus summoned Mettius and his army from Alba, and led his forces against the enemy. Crossing the Anio, he pitched his camp at the confluence of the rivers. The Veientine army had crossed the Tiber between that place and Fidenae. These troops, drawn up next the river, formed the right wing; on the left the Fidenates were posted, nearer the mountains. Tullus marshalled his own men against the Veientine enemy; the Albans he posted opposite the army of Fidenae. The Alban commander was as wanting in courage as in loyalty. Not daring, therefore, either to hold his ground or openly to desert, he drew off by imperceptible degrees in the direction of the mountains. Then, when he thought he had got near enough to them, he brought up his whole battle-line to an elevated position, and still irresolute, deployed his ranks with the object of consuming time. His purpose was to swing his forces to the side which fortune favoured. At first the Romans posted next to the Albans were amazed when they perceived that their flank was being uncovered by the withdrawal of their allies; then a

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equo nuntiat regi abire Albanos. Tullus in re trepida duodecim vovit Salios fanaque Pallori ac Pavori. 8 Equitem clara increpans voce, ut hostes exaudirent, redire in proelium iubet: nihil trepidatione opus esse; suo iussu circumduci Albanum exercitum, ut Fidenatium nuda terga invadant; idem imperat ut 9 hastas equites erigerent.[1] Id factum magnae parti peditum Romanorum conspectum abeuntis Albani exercitus intersaepsit: qui viderant, id quod ab rege auditum erat rati, eo acrius pugnant. Terror ad hostes transit; et audiverant clara voce dictum, et magna pars Fidenatium, ut quibus coloni additi Ro- 10 mani[2] essent, Latine sciebant. Itaque, ne subito ex collibus decursu Albanorum intercluderentur ab oppido, terga vertunt. Instat Tullus fusoque Fidenatium cornu in Veientem alieno pavore perculsum ferocior redit. Nec illi tulere impetum, sed ab effusa 11 fuga flumen obiectum ab tergo arcebat. Quo postquam fuga inclinavit, alii arma foede iactantes in aquam caeci ruebant, alii, dum cunctantur in ripis, inter fugae pugnaeque consilium oppressi. Non alia ante Romana pugna atrocior fuit.

[1] erigerent ς: erigere erigerent iubeat *M*: erigerent iubeat (*or* erigere iubeat, *or* eriere iubeat, *or* erigere erigerent iubet, *or* erigere iubet) Ω.

[2] ut quibus . . . Romani *Walters* (*following Tan. Faber's* ut queis . . . Romani): ut qui (et qui *DL*) . . . Romanis Ω.

horseman galloped up to the king, and told him that the Albans were marching off. In this crisis Tullus vowed to establish twelve Salian priests,[1] and to build shrines to Pallor and Panic. The horseman he reprimanded in a loud voice, that the enemy might overhear him, and ordered him to go back and fight; there was no occasion for alarm; it was by his own command that the Alban army was marching round, that they might attack the unprotected rear of the Fidenates. He also ordered the cavalry to raise their spears. This manœuvre hid the retreat of the Alban army from a large part of the Roman foot-soldiers; those who had seen it, believing what the king had been heard to say, fought all the more impetuously. The enemy in their turn now became alarmed; they had heard Tullus's loud assertion, and many of the Fidenates, having had Romans among them as colonists, knew Latin. And so, lest the Albans should suddenly charge down from the hills and cut them off from their town, they beat a retreat. Tullus pressed them hard, and having routed the wing composed of the Fidenates, returned, bolder than ever, to the Veientes, who were demoralized by the panic of their neighbours. They, too, failed to withstand his attack, but their rout was stopped by the river in their rear. When they had fled thus far, some basely threw away their arms and rushed blindly into the water, others hesitated on the bank and were overtaken before they had made up their minds whether to flee or resist. Never before had the Romans fought a bloodier battle. B.C. 672–640

[1] These were the so-called *Collini*, or *Agonales*, and were associated with Quirinus, as the *Palatini* (chap. xx.) were with Mars Gradivus. See also v. lii. 7.

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XXVIII. Tum Albanus exercitus, spectator certaminis, deductus in campos. Mettius Tullo devictos hostes gratulatur; contra Tullus Mettium benigne adloquitur. Quod bene vertat, castra Albanos Romanis castris iungere iubet; sacrificium lustrale in
2 diem posterum parat. Ubi inluxit, paratis omnibus, ut adsolet, vocari ad contionem utrumque exercitum iubet. Praecones ab extremo orsi primos excivere Albanos. Hi novitate etiam rei moti, ut regem Romanum contionantem audirent proximi consti-
3 tere. Ex conposito armata circumdatur Romana legio; centurionibus datum negotium erat ut sine
4 mora imperia exsequerentur. Tum ita Tullus infit:

"Romani, si umquam ante alias ullo in bello fuit quod primum dis immortalibus gratias ageretis, deinde vestrae ipsorum virtuti, hesternum id proelium fuit. Dimicatum est enim non magis cum hostibus quam, quae dimicatio maior atque periculosior est,
5 cum proditione ac perfidia sociorum. Nam, ne vos falsa opinio teneat, iniussu meo Albani subiere ad montes, nec imperium illud meum sed consilium et imperii simulatio fuit, ut nec vobis ignorantibus deseri vos averteretur a certamine animus et hostibus circumveniri[1] se ab tergo ratis terror ac fuga
6 iniceretur. Nec ea culpa quam arguo omnium Albanorum est: ducem secuti sunt, ut et vos, si quo ego

[1] circumveniri *F*? *D*$_5$: circumuenire Ω.

XXVIII. Then the Alban army, which had been a spectator of the battle, was led down into the plain. Mettius congratulated Tullus on the conquest of his enemies; Tullus replied kindly to Mettius, and commanded the Albans in a good hour to join their camp to that of the Romans. He then made preparations to perform, on the morrow, a sacrifice of purification. At dawn, when all things were in readiness, he issued to both armies the customary order, convoking them to an assembly. The heralds, beginning at the outskirts of the camp, called out the Albans first, who being moved by the very novelty of the occasion, took their stand close to the Roman king, that they might hear him harangue his army. The Roman troops, by previous arrangement, were armed and disposed around them, and the centurions were bidden to execute orders promptly. Then Tullus began as follows: B.C. 672–640

"Romans, if ever anywhere in any war you have had reason to give thanks, first to the immortal gods and then to your own valour, it was in the battle of yesterday. For you fought not only against your enemies, but a harder and more dangerous fight — against the treachery and the perfidy of your allies. For, to undeceive you, I gave no orders that the Albans should draw off towards the mountains. What you heard was not my command, but a trick and a pretended command, devised in order that you might not know you were being deserted, and so be distracted from the fight; and that the enemy, thinking that they were being hemmed in on the rear, might be panic-stricken and flee. And yet this guilt which I am charging does not attach to all the Albans; they but followed

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inde agmen declinare voluissem, fecissetis. Mettius ille est ductor itineris huius, Mettius idem huius machinator belli, Mettius foederis Romani Albanique ruptor. Audeat deinde talia alius, nisi in hunc insigne iam documentum mortalibus dedero."

7 Centuriones armati Mettium circumsistunt; rex cetera, ut orsus erat, peragit: "Quod bonum faustum felixque sit populo Romano ac mihi vobisque, Albani, populum omnem Albanum Romam traducere in animo est, civitatem dare plebi, primores in patres legere, unam urbem, unam rem publicam facere. Ut ex uno quondam in duos populos divisa Albana res est, sic
8 nunc in unum redeat.[1]" Ad haec Albana pubes inermis ab armatis saepta in variis voluntatibus com-
9 muni tamen metu cogente silentium tenet. Tum Tullus "Metti Fufeti," inquit, "si ipse discere posses fidem ac foedera servare, vivo tibi ea disciplina a me adhibita esset; nunc, quoniam tuum insanabile ingenium est, at tu tuo supplicio doce humanum genus ea sancta credere quae a te violata sunt. Ut igitur paulo ante animum inter Fidenatem Romanamque rem ancipitem gessisti, ita iam corpus passim distra-
10 hendum dabis." Exinde duabus admotis quadrigis in currus earum distentum inligat Mettium, deinde in diversum iter equi concitati lacerum in utroque

[1] redeat Ω: redeant *MO*.

their general, as you, too, would have done, had I desired to lead you off anywhere. It is Mettius yonder who led this march; Mettius, too, who contrived this war; Mettius who broke the treaty between Roman and Alban. Let another dare such a deed hereafter if I do not speedily visit such a punishment on him as shall be a conspicuous warning to all mankind." B.C. 672-640

Thereupon the centurions, sword in hand, surrounded Mettius, while the king proceeded: "May prosperity, favour, and fortune be with the Roman people and myself, and with you, men of Alba! I purpose to bring all the Alban people over to Rome, to grant citizenship to their commons, to enroll the nobles in the senate, to make one city and one state. As formerly from one people the Alban nation was divided into two, so now let it be reunited into one." Hearing these words the Alban soldiers, themselves unarmed and fenced in by armed men, were constrained, however their wishes might differ, by a common fear, and held their peace. Then Tullus said: "Mettius Fufetius, if you were capable of learning, yourself, to keep faith and abide by treaties, you should have lived that I might teach you this; as it is, since your disposition is incurable, you shall yet by your punishment teach the human race to hold sacred the obligations you have violated. Accordingly, just as a little while ago your heart was divided between the states of Fidenae and Rome, so now you shall give up your body to be torn two ways." He then brought up two four-horse chariots, and caused Mettius to be stretched out and made fast to them, after which the horses were whipped up in opposite directions, and bore off in

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curru corpus, qua inhaeserant vinculis membra, portantes. Avertere omnes ab tanta foeditate spectaculi oculos. Primum ultimumque illud supplicium apud Romanos exempli parum memoris legum humanarum fuit: in aliis gloriari licet nulli gentium mitiores placuisse poenas.

XXIX. Inter haec iam praemissi Albam erant equites qui multitudinem traducerent Romam. Legiones deinde ductae ad diruendam urbem. Quae ubi intravere portas, non quidem fuit tumultus ille nec pavor, qualis captarum esse urbium solet, cum effractis portis stratisve ariete muris aut arce vi capta clamor hostilis et cursus per urbem armatorum omnia ferro flammaque miscet; sed silentium triste ac tacita maestitia ita defixit omnium animos ut prae metu quid[1] relinquerent, quid secum ferrent deficiente consilio rogitantesque alii alios nunc in liminibus starent, nunc errabundi domos suas ultimum illud visuri pervagarentur. Ut vero iam equitum clamor exire iubentium instabat, iam fragor tectorum quae diruebantur ultimis urbis partibus audiebatur, pulvisque ex distantibus locis ortus velut nube inducta omnia impleverat, raptim quibus quisque poterat elatis, cum larem ac penates tectaque in quibus natus quisque educatusque esset relinquentes exirent, iam continens agmen migrantium impleverat vias, et

[1] quid *Madvig*: obliti quid Ω.

[1] Each family had its *lar*, a special deity who protected the household, and its *penates*, guardians of the *penus* (the family store of provisions).

each of the cars fragments of the mangled body, where the limbs held to their fastenings. All eyes were turned away from so dreadful a sight. Such was the first and last punishment among the Romans of a kind that disregards the laws of humanity. In other cases we may boast that with no nation have milder punishments found favour. B.C. 672-640

XXIX. While this was going on, horsemen had already been sent on to Alba to fetch the inhabitants to Rome, and afterwards the legions were marched over to demolish the city. When they entered the gates there was not, indeed, the tumult and panic which usually follow the capture of a city, when its gates have been forced or its walls breached with a ram or its stronghold stormed, when the shouts of the enemy and the rush of armed men through the streets throw the whole town into a wild confusion of blood and fire. But at Alba oppressive silence and grief that found no words quite overwhelmed the spirits of all the people; too dismayed to think what they should take with them and what leave behind, they would ask each other's advice again and again, now standing on their thresholds, and now roaming aimlessly through the houses they were to look upon for that last time. But when at length the horsemen began to be urgent, and clamorously commanded them to come out; when they could now hear the crash of the buildings which were being pulled down in the outskirts of the city; when the dust rising in different quarters had overcast the sky like a gathering cloud; then everybody made haste to carry out what he could, and forth they went, abandoning their lares and penates,[1] and the houses where they had been born and brought up. And now the streets were filled with an unbroken

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conspectus aliorum mutua miseratione integrabat lacrimas, vocesque etiam miserabiles exaudiebantur mulierum praecipue, cum obsessa ab armatis templa augusta praeterirent ac velut captos relinquerent
6 deos. Egressis urbe[1] Albanis Romanus passim publica privataque omnia tecta adaequat solo, unaque hora quadringentorum annorum opus quibus Alba steterat excidio ac ruinis dedit; templis tamen deum —ita enim edictum ab rege fuerat—temperatum est.

XXX. Roma interim crescit Albae ruinis. Duplicatur civium numerus; Caelius additur urbi mons, et quo frequentius habitaretur, eam sedem Tullus regiae
2 capit ibique deinde[2] habitavit. Principes Albanorum in patres, ut ea quoque pars rei publicae cresceret, legit, Iulios,[3] Servilios, Quinctios, Geganios, Curiatios, Cloelios; templumque ordini ab se aucto curiam fecit quae Hostilia usque ad patrum nostro-
3 rum aetatem appellata est. Et ut omnium ordinum viribus aliquid ex novo populo adiceretur equitum decem turmas ex Albanis legit, legiones et veteres eodem supplemento explevit et novas scripsit.
4 Hac fiducia virium Tullus Sabinis bellum indicit,

[1] urbe ς: urbem Ω. [2] ibique deinde *VM*: ibique Ω.
[3] Iulios *Sabellicus* (*cf. Dion. Hal.* 1. 70. *and* 2. 79): Tullios Ω.

[1] When Clodius was murdered, in 52 B.C., the mob burnt his body in the Curia Hostilia, which caught fire and was destroyed.

procession of emigrants, whose mutual pity, as they gazed at one another, caused their tears to start afresh; plaintive cries too began to be heard, proceeding chiefly from the women, when they passed the venerable temples beset by armed men, and left in captivity, as it seemed to them, their gods. When the Albans had quitted the city, the Romans everywhere levelled with the ground all buildings, both public and private, and a single hour gave over to destruction and desolation the work of the four hundred years during which Alba had stood. But the temples of the gods were spared, for so the king had decreed. B.C. 672–640

XXX. Rome, meanwhile, was increased by Alba's downfall. The number of citizens was doubled, the Caelian Hill was added to the City, and, that it might be more thickly settled, Tullus chose it for the site of the king's house and from that time onwards resided there. The chief men of the Albans he made senators, that this branch of the nation might grow too. Such were the Julii, the Servilii, the Quinctii, the Geganii, the Curiatii, and the Cloelii. He also built, as a consecrated place for the order he had enlarged, a senate-house, which continued to be called the Curia Hostilia as late as the time of our own fathers.[1] And that all the orders might gain some strength from the new people, he enrolled ten squadrons of knights[2] from among the Albans, and from the same source filled up the old legions and enlisted new ones.

Confiding in these forces, Tullus declared war on

[2] Each squadron contained thirty men. The total number was, therefore, the same as that of the three centuries of Romulus.

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genti ea tempestate secundum Etruscos opulentis-
5 simae viris armisque. Utrimque iniuriae factae ac
res nequiquam erant repetitae. Tullus ad Feroniae
fanum mercatu frequenti negotiatores Romanos com-
prehensos querebatur, Sabini suos prius in lucum
confugisse ac Romae retentos. Hae causae belli
6 ferebantur. Sabini, haud parum memores et suarum
virium partem Romae ab Tatio locatam et Romanam
rem nuper etiam adiectione populi Albani auctam,
7 circumspicere et ipsi externa auxilia. Etruria erat
vicina, proximi Etruscorum Veientes. Inde ob resi-
duas bellorum iras maxime sollicitatis ad defectionem
animis voluntarios traxere, et apud vagos quosdam
ex inopi plebe etiam merces valuit. Publico auxilio
nullo adiuti sunt, valuitque apud Veientes—nam de
ceteris minus mirum est—pacta cum Romulo indutí-
8 arum fides. Cum bellum utrimque summa ope para-
rent, vertique in eo res videretur, utri prius arma
inferrent, occupat Tullus in agrum Sabinum transire.
9 Pugna atrox ad silvam Malitiosam fuit, ubi et pedi-
tum quidem robore, ceterum equitatu aucto nuper
10 plurimum Romana acies valuit. Ab equitibus re-
pente invectis turbati ordines sunt Sabinorum; nec
pugna deinde illis constare nec fuga explicari sine
magna caede potuit.

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[1] *i.e.* "Guileful Wood."

the Sabines, a nation second only at that time to the Etruscans in its wealth of men and arms. On either side there had been aggressions and refusals to grant satisfaction. Tullus complained that at the shrine of Feronia, in a crowded fair, Roman traders had been seized; the Sabines alleged that, before this, refugees from their country had fled to the grove of sanctuary, and had been detained in Rome. These were put forward as the causes of war. The Sabines, not forgetting that a portion of their own forces had been settled in Rome by Tatius and that the Roman state had recently been further strengthened by the addition of the Alban people, began themselves to look about for outside help. Etruria was close by, and the nearest of the Etruscans were the Veientes. There the resentment left over from the wars was the strongest incentive to revolt, and procured them some volunteers; while with certain vagrant and poverty-stricken plebeians even the prospect of pay was effectual. Official aid there was none, and the Veientes (for there is less to surprise us in the others) held firmly to the truce they had agreed upon with Romulus. While preparations for war were making on both sides with the greatest energy, and success appeared to hinge upon which should first take the field, Tullus anticipated his enemies and invaded the Sabine country. A desperate battle was fought near the Silva Malitiosa,[1] where, owing partly, it is true, to the strength of their infantry, but most of all to their newly augmented cavalry, the Roman army gained the mastery. The cavalry made a sudden charge; the ranks of the Sabines were thrown into disorder, and from that moment were unable, without heavy loss, either to hold their own in the fight or to extricate themselves by a retreat.

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XXXI. Devictis Sabinis cum in magna gloria magnisque opibus regnum Tulli ac tota res Romana esset, nuntiatum regi patribusque est in monte Albano
2 lapidibus pluvisse. Quod cum credi vix posset, missis ad id visendum prodigium, in conspectu haud aliter quam cum grandinem venti glomeratam in terras
3 agunt, crebri cecidere caelo lapides. Visi etiam audire vocem ingentem ex summi cacuminis luco, ut patrio ritu sacra Albani facerent, quae velut dis quoque simul cum patria relictis oblivioni dederant, et aut Romana sacra susceperant aut fortunae, ut fit,
4 obirati cultum reliquerant deum. Romanis quoque ab eodem prodigio novendiale sacrum publice susceptum est, seu voce caelesti ex Albano monte missa —nam id quoque traditur—seu haruspicum monitu; mansit certe sollemne, ut quandoque idem prodigium nuntiaretur, feriae per novem dies agerentur.
5 Haud ita multo post pestilentia laboratum est. Unde cum pigritia militandi oreretur, nulla tamen ab armis quies dabatur a bellicoso rege, salubriora etiam credente militiae quam domi iuvenum corpora esse, donec ipse quoque longinquo morbo est impli-
6 citus. Tunc adeo fracti simul cum corpore sunt spiritus illi feroces, ut qui nihil ante ratus esset minus regium quam sacris dedere animum, repente omnibus magnis parvisque superstitionibus obnoxius

XXXI. After the defeat of the Sabines, when King Tullus and the entire Roman state were at a high pitch of glory and prosperity, it was reported to the king and senators that there had been a rain of stones on the Alban Mount. As this could scarce be credited, envoys were dispatched to examine the prodigy, and in their sight there fell from the sky, like hail-stones which the wind piles in drifts upon the ground, a shower of pebbles. They thought too that they heard a mighty voice issuing from the grove on the mountain-top, which commanded the Albans to celebrate, according to the fashion of their fathers, the sacrifices, which as though they had forsaken their gods along with their city, they had given over to oblivion, either adopting Roman rites, or in anger at their fortune, such as men sometimes feel, abandoning the worship of the gods. The Romans also, in consequence of the same portent, undertook an official nine days' celebration, whether so commanded by the divine utterance from the Alban Mount—for this too is handed down—or on the advice of soothsayers. At all events it remained a regular custom that whenever the same prodigy was reported there should be a nine days' observance. B.C. 672–640

Not very long after this Rome was afflicted with a pestilence. This caused a reluctance to bear arms, yet no respite from service was allowed by the warlike king (who believed, besides, that the young men were healthier in the field than at home) until he himself contracted a lingering illness. Then that haughty spirit was so broken, with the breaking of his health, that he who had hitherto thought nothing less worthy of a king than to devote his mind to sacred rites, suddenly became a prey to all sorts of

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degeret religionibusque etiam populum impleret. 7 Vulgo iam homines eum statum rerum qui sub Numa rege fuerat requirentes, unam opem aegris corporibus relictam, si pax veniaque ab dis impetrata 8 esset, credebant. Ipsum regem tradunt volventem commentarios Numae, cum ibi quaedam occulta sollemnia sacrificia Iovi Elicio facta invenisset, operatum iis[1] sacris se abdidisse; sed non rite initum aut curatum id sacrum esse, nec solum nullam ei oblatam caelestium speciem, sed ira Iovis sollicitati prava religione fulmine ictum cum domo conflagrasse. Tullus magna gloria belli regnavit annos duos et triginta.

A.U.C. 114–138

XXXII. Mortuo Tullo res, ut institutum iam inde ab initio erat, ad patres redierat, hique interregem nominaverant. Quo comitia habente Ancum Marcium regem populus creavit; patres fuere auctores. Numae Pompili regis nepos, filia ortus, Ancus Mar- 2 cius erat. Qui ut regnare coepit, et avitae gloriae memor et quia proximum regnum, cetera egregium, ab una parte haud satis prosperum fuerat, aut neglectis religionibus aut prave cultis, longe[2] antiquissimum ratus sacra publica ut ab Numa instituta erant facere, omnia ea ex commentariis regis pontificem in album relata[3] proponere in publico iubet. Inde et

[1] iis ς: is *or* his Ω. [2] longe ς *Gronov.*: longeque Ω.
[3] relata *Sabellicus*: elata (elatam M^3) Ω.

superstitions great and small, and filled even the minds of the people with religious scruples. Men were now agreed in wishing to recall the conditions which had obtained under King Numa, believing that the only remedy left for their ailing bodies was to procure peace and forgiveness from the gods. The king himself, so tradition tells, in turning over the commentaries of Numa discovered there certain occult sacrifices performed in honour of Jupiter Elicius, and devoted himself in secret to those rites; but the ceremony was improperly undertaken or performed, and not only was no divine manifestation vouchsafed him, but in consequence of the wrath of Jupiter, who was provoked by his faulty observance, he was struck by a thunderbolt and consumed in the flames of his house. Tullus was greatly renowned in war and reigned thirty-two years. B.C. 672–640

XXXII. On the death of Tullus, the government reverted, in accordance with the custom established in the beginning, to the senators, who named an interrex. This official called together the comitia, and the people elected Ancus Marcius king, a choice which the Fathers ratified. Ancus Marcius was a grandson, on the mother's side, of King Numa Pompilius. When he began to rule he was mindful of his grandfather's glory, and considered that the last reign, excellent in all else, had failed to prosper in one respect, owing to neglect or misconduct of religious observances. Deeming it therefore a matter of the utmost consequence to perform the state sacrifices as Numa had established them, he bade the pontifex copy out all these from the commentaries of the king and display them in public on a whitened table. This act led the citizens, who were eager for peace, B.C. 640–616

A.U.C. 114–138

civibus otii cupidis et finitimis civitatibus facta spes
3 in avi mores atque instituta regem abiturum. Igitur Latini, cum quibus Tullo regnante ictum foedus erat, sustulerant animos, et cum incursionem in agrum Romanum fecissent, repetentibus res Romanis superbe responsum reddunt, desidem Romanum regem inter
4 sacella et aras acturum esse regnum rati. Medium erat in Anco ingenium, et Numae et Romuli memor; et praeterquam quod avi regno magis necessariam fuisse pacem credebat cum in novo tum feroci populo, etiam quod illi contigisset otium sine iniuria, id se haud facile habiturum; temptari patientiam et temptatam contemni, temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora
5 quam Numae. Ut tamen, quoniam Numa in pace religiones instituisset, a se bellicae caerimoniae proderentur, nec gererentur solum sed etiam indicerentur bella aliquo ritu, ius ab antiqua gente Aequicolis, quod nunc fetiales habent, descripsit quo res repetuntur.

6 Legatus ubi ad fines eorum venit unde res repetuntur, capite velato filo—lanae velamen est—"Audi, Iuppiter," inquit; "audite, fines"—cuiuscumque gentis sunt nominat;—"audiat fas. Ego sum publicus nuntius populi Romani; iuste pieque legatus venio verbisque meis fides sit." Peragit

[1] The institution of the fetials was ascribed in chap. xxiv. to Tullus (so also Cic. *Rep.* ii. 31). Livy is here following another authority, without taking the trouble to remove the discrepancy. Other writers (Dion. ii. 72; Plut. *Numa* xii.) credit Numa with the institution.

and also the neighbouring nations, to hope that he would adopt the character and institutions of his grandfather. Hence the Latins, with whom a treaty had been made in the time of Tullus, plucked up courage, and raided Roman territory, and when called on by the Romans to make restitution, returned an arrogant answer, persuaded that the Roman king would spend his reign in inactivity amid shrines and altars. But the character of Ancus was well balanced, and he honoured the memory of Romulus, as well as Numa. And besides having a conviction that peace had been more necessary to his grandfather's reign, when the nation had been both young and mettlesome, he also believed that the tranquillity, so free of attack, which had fallen to the lot of Numa would be no easy thing for himself to compass; his patience was being tried, and when proved would be regarded with contempt, and in short the times were better suited to the rule of a Tullus than a Numa. In order however that, as Numa had instituted religious practices in time of peace, he might himself give out a ceremonial of war, and that wars might not only be waged but also declared with some sort of formality, he copied from the ancient tribe of the Aequicoli the law, which the fetials now have,[1] by which redress is demanded. B.C. 640–616

When the envoy has arrived at the frontiers of the people from whom satisfaction is sought, he covers his head with a bonnet—the covering is of wool—and says: "Hear, Jupiter; hear, ye boundaries of"—naming whatever nation they belong to;—"let righteousness hear! I am the public herald of the Roman People; I come duly and religiously commissioned; let my words be credited." Then he

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7 deinde postulata. Inde Iovem testem facit: "Si ego iniuste impieque illos homines illasque res dedier mihi[1] exposco, tum patriae compotem me numquam
8 siris esse." Haec cum fines suprascandit, haec quicumque ei primus vir obvius fuerit, haec portam ingrediens, haec forum ingressus, paucis verbis carminis concipiendique iuris iurandi mutatis, peragit.
9 Si non deduntur quos exposcit diebus tribus et triginta—tot enim sollemnes sunt—peractis bellum ita
10 indicit: "Audi, Iuppiter, et tu, Iane[2] Quirine, dique omnes caelestes vosque, terrestres, vosque, inferni, audite. Ego vos testor populum illum"—quicumque est nominat—"iniustum esse neque ius persolvere. Sed de istis rebus in patria maiores natu consulemus quo pacto ius nostrum adipiscamur." Tum[3] nuntius Romam ad consulendum redit. Confestim rex his[4]
11 ferme verbis patres consulebat: "Quarum rerum, litium, causarum condixit pater patratus populi Romani Quiritium patri patrato Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis,[5] quas res nec dederunt nec solverunt nec fecerunt, quas res dari, solvi, fieri[6] oportuit, dic," inquit ei[7] quem primum sententiam
12 rogabat, "quid censes?" Tum ille: "Puro pioque duello quaerendas censeo itaque consentio consciscoque." Inde ordine alii rogabantur; quandoque

[1] mihi *MV*: p. r. (*or* Po R *or* populi romani *or* nuntio populi Romani) mihi (michi *O*) Ω.
[2] Iane *Perizonius*: iuno Ω.
[3] tum *Hachtmann*: cum *R*: cum his (*or* iis *or* is) Ω.
[4] rex his *Gruter*: rex ex his (exis *D*) Ω.
[5] Priscis Latinis O_{ζ}: priscis uel latinis Ω.
[6] solvi fieri *Ald.*: fieri solui (solui *F*) Ω.
[7] ei M^1 (*or* M^2) $R^2\zeta$: et Ω.

recites his demands, after which he takes Jupiter to witness: "If I demand unduly and against religion that these men and these things be surrendered to me, then let me never enjoy my native land." These words he rehearses when he crosses the boundary line, the same to what man soever first meets him, the same when he enters the city gates, the same when he has come into the market-place, with only a few changes in the form and wording of the oath. If those whom he demands are not surrendered, at the end of three and thirty days—for such is the conventional number—he declares war thus: "Hear, Jupiter, and thou, Janus Quirinus, and hear all heavenly gods, and ye, gods of earth, and ye of the lower world; I call you to witness that this people" —naming whatever people it is—"is unjust, and does not make just reparation. But of these matters we will take counsel of the elders in our country, how we may obtain our right." Then the messenger returns to Rome for the consultation. Immediately the king would consult the Fathers, in some such words as these: "Touching the things, the suits, the causes, concerning which the *pater patratus* of the Roman People of the Quirites has made demands on the *pater patratus* of the Ancient Latins, and upon the men of the Ancient Latins, which things they have not delivered, nor fulfilled, nor satisfied, being things which ought to have been delivered, fulfilled, and satisfied, speak,"—turning to the man whose opinion he was wont to ask first,—"what think you?" Then the other would reply: "I hold that those things ought to be sought in warfare just and righteous; and so I consent and vote." The others were then asked the question, in their order, and when the majority

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pars maior eorum qui aderant in eandem sententiam ibat, bellum erat consensum. Fieri solitum ut fetialis hastam ferratam aut praeustam sanguineam[1] ad fines eorum ferret et non minus tribus puberibus praesen-
13 tibus diceret: "Quod populi Priscorum Latinorum hominesque[2] Prisci Latini adversus populum Romanum Quiritium fecerunt, deliquerunt, quod populus Romanus Quiritium bellum cum Priscis Latinis iussit esse senatusque[3] populi Romani Quiritium censuit, consensit, conscivit, ut bellum cum Priscis Latinis fieret, ob eam rem ego populusque Romanus populis Priscorum Latinorum hominibusque Priscis Latinis bellum indico facioque." Id ubi dixisset, hastam in
14 fines eorum emittebat. Hoc tum modo ab Latinis repetitae res ac bellum indictum, moremque eum posteri acceperunt.

XXXIII. Ancus demandata cura sacrorum flaminibus sacerdotibusque aliis, exercitu novo conscripto profectus, Politorium, urbem Latinorum, vi cepit, secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in civitatem accipiendis, multitu-
2 dinem omnem Romam traduxit, et cum circa Palatium, sedem veterum[4] Romanorum, Sabini Capitolium atque arcem, Caelium montem Albani implessent, Aventinum novae multitudini datum. Additi eodem haud ita multo post, Tellenis Ficanaque captis, novi
3 cives. Politorium inde rursus bello repetitum, quod

[1] praeustam sanguineam *Madvig*: sanguineam praeustam Ω
[2] hominesque *Sigonius*: hominesue (homines *M*) Ω.
[3] senatusque ς: senatusue Ω.
[4] veterum MP^2OH: veterem Ω.

of those present went over to the same opinion, war had been agreed upon. It was customary for the fetial to carry to the bounds of the other nation a cornet-wood spear, iron-pointed or hardened in the fire, and in the presence of not less than three grown men to say: "Whereas the tribes of the Ancient Latins and men of the Ancient Latins have been guilty of acts and offences against the Roman People of the Quirites; and whereas the Roman People of the Quirites has commanded that war be made on the Ancient Latins, and the Senate of the Roman People has approved, agreed, and voted a war with the Ancient Latins; I therefore and the Roman People declare and make war on the tribes of the Ancient Latins and the men of the Ancient Latins." Having said this, he would hurl his spear into their territory. This is the manner in which at that time redress was sought from the Latins and war was declared, and the custom has been received by later generations. B.C. 640–616

XXXIII. Ancus delegated the care of the sacrifices to the flamens and other priests, and having enlisted a new army proceeded to Politorium, one of the Latin cities. He took this place by storm, and adopting the plan of former kings, who had enlarged the state by making her enemies citizens, transferred the whole population to Rome. The Palatine was the quarter of the original Romans; on the one hand were the Sabines, who had the Capitol and the Citadel; on the other lay the Caelian, occupied by the Albans. The Aventine was therefore assigned to the new-comers, and thither too were sent shortly afterwards the citizens recruited from the captured towns of Tellenae and Ficana. Politorium was then attacked

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vacuum occupaverant Prisci Latini; eaque causa diruendae urbis eius fuit Romanis, ne hostium sem-
4 per receptaculum esset. Postremo omni bello Latino Medulliam compulso aliquamdiu ibi Marte incerto, varia victoria pugnatum est; nam et urbs tuta munitionibus praesidioque firmata valido erat, et castris in aperto positis aliquotiens exercitus Latinus comminus
5 cum Romanis signa contulerat. Ad ultimum omnibus copiis conisus Ancus acie primum vincit; inde ingenti praeda potens Romam redit, tum quoque multis milibus Latinorum in civitatem acceptis, quibus, ut iungeretur Palatio Aventinum, ad Murciae
6 datae sedes. Ianiculum quoque adiectum, non inopia loci, sed ne quando ea arx hostium esset. Id non muniri[1] solum sed etiam ob commoditatem itineris ponte sublicio, tum primum in Tiberi facto, coniungi
7 urbi placuit. Quiritium quoque fossa, haud parvum munimentum a planioribus aditu locis, Anci regis opus est.

8 Ingenti incremento rebus auctis cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terrorem increscentis audaciae media urbe

[1] muniri *H. J. Mueller*: muro Ω.

[1] This was the famous Pons Sublicius, "Pile Bridge," made of wood, without metal of any sort.

a second time, for having been left empty it had been seized by the Ancient Latins, and this gave the Romans an excuse for razing the town, lest it should serve continually as a refuge for their enemies. In the end the Latin levies were all forced back upon Medullia, where for some time the fighting was indecisive and victory shifted from one side to the other; for the city was protected by fortifications and was defended by a strong garrison, and from their camp in the open plain the Latin army several times came to close quarters with the Romans. At last, throwing all his troops into the struggle, Ancus succeeded first in defeating the enemy's army, and then in capturing the town, whence he returned to Rome enriched with immense spoils. On this occasion also many thousands of Latins were granted citizenship. These people, in order that the Aventine might be connected with the Palatine, were made to settle in the region of the Altar of Murcia. Janiculum was also annexed to the city, not from any lack of room, but lest it might some day become a stronghold of Rome's enemies. It was decided not only to fortify it, but also to connect it with the City, for greater ease in passing to and fro, by a bridge of piles, the first bridge ever built over the Tiber.[1] The Quirites' Ditch also, no small protection on the more level and accessible side of town, was the work of King Ancus. B.C. 640–616

When these enormous additions to the community had been effected, it was found that in so great a multitude the distinction between right and wrong had become obscured, and crimes were being secretly committed. Accordingly, to overawe men's growing lawlessness, a prison was built in

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9 inminens foro aedificatur. Nec urbs tantum hoc rege crevit, sed etiam ager finesque. Silva Maesia Veientibus adempta usque ad mare imperium prolatum et in ore Tiberis Ostia urbs condita, salinae circa factae, egregieque rebus bello gestis aedis Iovis Feretri amplificata.

XXXIV. Anco regnante Lucumo, vir impiger ac divitiis potens, Romam commigravit, cupidine maxime ac spe magni honoris, cuius adipiscendi Tarquiniis —nam ibi quoque peregrina stirpe oriundus erat— 2 facultas non fuerat. Demarati Corinthii filius erat, qui ob seditiones domo profugus cum Tarquiniis forte consedisset, uxore ibi ducta duos filios genuit. Nomina his Lucumo atque Arruns fuerunt. Lucumo superfuit patri bonorum omnium heres: Arruns prior 3 quam pater moritur uxore gravida relicta. Nec diu manet superstes filio pater; qui cum, ignorans nurum ventrem ferre, immemor in testando nepotis decessisset, puero post avi mortem in nullam sortem bonorum nato ab inopia Egerio inditum nomen. Lucumoni contra omnium heredi bonorum cum divi- 4 tiae iam animos facerent, auxit ducta in matrimonium Tanaquil summo loco nata, et quae haud facile iis in quibus nata erat humiliora sineret ea quo

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[1] This prison, *the* Carcer, may still be seen at the foot of the Capitoline, between the Temple of Concord and the Curia. It is thought to be as old as any structure in Rome. It was used as a place of detention and execution for condemned criminals. [2] *i.e.* "Necessitous."

the midst of the city, above the Forum.[1] And this reign was a period of growth, not only for the City, but also for her lands and boundaries. The Maesian Forest was taken from the Veientes, extending Rome's dominion clear to the sea; at the Tiber's mouth the city of Ostia was founded, and salt-works were established near-by; while in recognition of signal success in war the temple of Jupiter Feretrius was enlarged. B.C. 640–616

XXXIV. In the reign of Ancus one Lucumo, a man of energy and wealth, took up his residence in Rome, chiefly from ambition and the hope that he might there achieve a station such as he had found no opportunity of attaining in Tarquinii; for though he had been born there himself, his race was alien to that place also. He was the son of Demaratus of Corinth, who had been driven from home by a political upheaval. Happening to settle in Tarquinii, he had married there and had two sons, named Lucumo and Arruns. Lucumo survived his father and inherited all his property; Arruns died before his father, leaving his wife with child. Demaratus did not long survive Arruns, and, unaware that his son's wife was to become a mother, he died without making provision for his grandson in his will. When the babe was born his grandfather was dead, and having no share in the inheritance, he was given the name of Egerius,[2] in consequence of his penniless condition. Lucumo, on the other hand, was heir to the whole estate. The self-confidence implanted in his bosom by his wealth was heightened by his marriage with Tanaquil, who was a woman of the most exalted birth, and not of a character lightly to endure a humbler rank in her new environment than she had

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5 innupsisset.[1] Spernentibus Etruscis Lucumonem exsule[2] advena ortum, ferre indignitatem non potuit oblitaque ingenitae erga patriam caritatis, dummodo virum honoratum videret, consilium migrandi ab
6 Tarquiniis cepit. Roma est ad id potissima[3] visa: in novo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex virtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo viro; regnasse Tatium Sabinum, arcessitum in regnum Numam a Curibus, et Ancum Sabina matre ortum
7 nobilemque una imagine Numae esse. Facile persuadet ut cupido honorum et cui Tarquinii materna tantum patria esset. Sublatis itaque rebus amigrant
8 Romam. Ad Ianiculum forte ventum erat. Ibi ei carpento sedenti cum uxore aquila suspensis demissa leniter[4] alis pilleum aufert, superque carpentum cum magno clangore volitans, rursus velut ministerio divinitus missa capiti apte reponit; inde sublimis
9 abiit. Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita, ut volgo Etrusci, caelestium prodigiorum mulier. Excelsa et alta sperare conplexa virum iubet: eam alitem, ea regione caeli et eius dei nuntiam venisse, circa summum culmen hominis auspicium fecisse, levasse humano superpositum capiti

[1] ea quo innupsisset *Weissenborn*: ac cum (*or* hec cum *or* ea cum) innupsisset Ω. [2] exsule $R^2F^3\varsigma$: exulem Ω.
[3] potissima *Gronov.*: potissimum Ω.
[4] leniter ς: leuiter Ω.

enjoyed in the condition to which she had been born. The Etruscans looked with disdain on Lucumo, the son of a banished man and a stranger. She could not endure this indignity, and forgetting the love she owed her native land, if she could only see her husband honoured, she formed the project of emigrating from Tarquinii. Rome appeared to be the most suitable place for her purpose; amongst a new people, where all rank was of sudden growth and founded on worth, there would be room for a brave and strenuous man; the City had been ruled by Tatius the Sabine, it had summoned Numa to the sovereignty from Cures, even Ancus was the son of a Sabine mother, and could point to no noble ancestor but Numa. She had no trouble in persuading a man who was eager for distinction, to whom Tarquinii was only his mother's birthplace. They therefore gathered their possessions together and removed to Rome. They had come, as it happened, as far as Janiculum, when, as they were sitting in their covered waggon, an eagle poised on its wings gently descended upon them and plucked off Lucumo's cap, after which, rising noisily above the car and again stooping, as if sent from heaven for that service, it deftly replaced the cap upon his head, and departed on high. This augury was joyfully accepted, it is said, by Tanaquil, who was a woman skilled in celestial prodigies, as was the case with most Etruscans. Embracing her husband, she bade him expect transcendent greatness: such was the meaning of that bird, appearing from that quarter of the sky, and bringing tidings from that god; the highest part of the man had been concerned in the omen; the eagle had removed the adornment placed upon a mortal's head that it might

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10 decus, ut divinitus eidem redderet. Has spes cogitationesque secum portantes urbem ingressi sunt, domicilioque ibi comparato L. Tarquinium Priscum
11 edidere nomen. Romanis conspicuum eum novitas divitiaeque faciebant; et ipse fortunam benigno adloquio, comitate invitandi beneficiisque quos poterat sibi conciliando adiuvabat, donec in regiam quoque
12 de eo fama perlata est. / Notitiamque eam brevi apud regem liberaliter dextereque obeundo officia in familiaris amicitiae adduxerat iura, ut publicis pariter ac privatis consiliis bello domique interesset et per omnia expertus postremo tutor etiam liberis regis testamento institueretur.

A.U.C. 138–176

XXXV. Regnavit Ancus annos quattuor et viginti, cuilibet superiorum regum belli pacisque et artibus et gloria par. Iam filii prope puberem aetatem erant. Eo magis Tarquinius instare ut quam pri-
2 mum comitia regi creando fierent; quibus indictis sub tempus pueros venatum ablegavit. Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam:
3 se[1] non rem novam petere, quippe qui non primus, quod quisquam indignari mirarive posset, sed tertius Romae peregrinus regnum adfectet; et Tatium non ex peregrino solum, sed etiam ex hoste regem factum, et Numam ignarum urbis non petentem in

[1] se *Duker*: cum (tum F^1) se Ω.

restore it with the divine approbation. Such were their hopes and their reflections as they entered the City. Having obtained a house, they gave out the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus. The Romans regarded him with special interest, as a stranger and a man of wealth, and he steadily pushed his fortune by his own exertions, making friends wherever possible, by kind words, courteous hospitality, and benefactions, until his reputation extended even to the palace. He had not long been known in this way to the king before the liberality and adroitness of his services procured him the footing of an intimate friend. He was now consulted in matters both of public and private importance, in time of war and in time of peace, and having been tested in every way was eventually even named in the king's will as guardian of his children. B.C. 640–616

XXXV. Ancus reigned four and twenty years, a king inferior to none of his predecessors in the arts of peace and war and in the reputation they conferred. By this time his sons were nearly grown. Tarquinius was therefore all the more insistent in urging that the comitia should be held without delay to choose a king. When the meeting had been proclaimed, and the day drew near, he sent the boys away on a hunting expedition. Tarquinius was the first, they say, to canvass votes for the kingship and to deliver a speech designed to win the favour of the commons. He pointed out that it was no new thing he sought; he was not the first outsider to aim at the sovereignty in Rome—a thing which might have occasioned indignation and astonishment,—but the third. Tatius indeed, had been not merely an alien but an enemy when he was made king; while Numa was a stranger B.C. 616–578

A.U.C. 138-176

4 regnum ultro accitum: se, ex quo sui potens fuerit, Romam cum coniuge ac fortunis omnibus commigrasse; maiorem partem aetatis eius qua civilibus officiis fungantur homines, Romae se quam in vetere
5 patria vixisse; domi militiaeque sub haud paenitendo magistro, ipso Anco rege, Romana se iura, Romanos ritus didicisse; obsequio et observantia in regem cum omnibus, benignitate erga alios cum rege ipso
6 certasse. Haec eum haud falsa memorantem ingenti consensu populus Romanus regnare iussit. Ergo virum cetera egregium secuta quam in petendo habuerat etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum in patres legit, qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis, cuius beneficio in curiam venerant.

7 Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit, et oppidum ibi Apiolas vi cepit, praedaque inde maiore quam quanta belli fama fuerat revecta, ludos opulentius
8 instructiusque quam priores reges fecit. Tum primum circo qui nunc maximus dicitur designatus locus est. Loca divisa patribus equitibusque ubi spectacula sibi quisque facerent; fori appellati.

[1] The senate had doubtless shown its disapproval of the accession of Tarquinius, who now sought to render its opposition futile by doubling the membership and appointing none but his own supporters.

to the City, and, far from seeking the kingship, had actually been invited to come and take it. As for himself, he had no sooner become his own master than he had removed to Rome with his wife and all his property. For the greater part of that period of life during which men serve the state he had lived in Rome, and not in the city of his birth. Both in civil life and in war he had had no mean instructor—King Ancus himself had taught him Roman laws and Roman rites. In subordination and deference to the king he had vied, he said, with all his hearers; in generosity to his fellow-subjects he had emulated the king himself. Hearing him advance these not unwarranted claims, the people, with striking unanimity, named him king. The result was that the man, so admirable in all other respects, continued even after he had obtained the sovereignty to manifest the same spirit of intrigue which had governed him in seeking it; and being no less concerned to strengthen his own power than to enlarge the state, he added a hundred members to the senate, who were known thenceforward as Fathers of the "lesser families," and formed a party of unwavering loyalty to the king, to whom they owed their admission to the Curia.[1] B.C. 616–578

His first war was with the Latins, whose town of Apiolae he took by storm. Returning thence with more booty than the rumours about the war had led people to expect, he exhibited games on a more splendid and elaborate scale than former kings had done. It was then that the ground was first marked out for the circus now called Maximus. Places were divided amongst the Fathers and the knights where they might each make seats for themselves; these were called 'rows.' They got their view from seats

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9 Spectavere furcis duodenos ab terra spectacula alta sustinentibus pedes. Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque, ex Etruria maxime acciti. Sollemnes deinde annui mansere ludi, Romani magnique varie appel-
10 lati. Ab eodem rege et circa forum privatis aedificanda divisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae.

XXXVI. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat, cum Sabinum bellum coeptis intervenit. Adeoque ea subita res fuit, ut prius Anienem transirent hostes quam obviam ire ac prohibere exercitus
2 Romanus posset. Itaque trepidatum Romae est, et primo dubia victoria magna utrimque caede pugnatum est. Reductis deinde in castra hostium copiis datoque spatio Romanis ad comparandum de integro bellum, Tarquinius, equitem maxime suis deesse viribus ratus, ad Ramnes, Titienses, Luceres, quas centurias Romulus scripserat, addere alias constituit
3 suoque insignes relinquere nomine. Id quia inaugurato Romulus fecerat, negare Attus Navius, inclitus ea tempestate augur, neque mutari neque novum
4 constitui, nisi aves addixissent, posse. Ex eo ira regi mota, eludensque artem, ut ferunt, "Age dum," inquit, "divine tu, inaugura fierine possit, quod nunc ego mente concipio." Cum ille augurio[1] rem expertus profecto futuram dixisset, "Atqui hoc animo

[1] augurio *Tan. Fuber*: in augurio Ω.

raised on props to a height of twelve feet from the ground. The entertainment was furnished by horses and boxers, imported for the most part from Etruria. From that time the Games continued to be a regular annual show, and were called indifferently the Roman and the Great Games. It was the same king, too, who apportioned building sites about the Forum among private citizens, and erected covered walks and booths. B.C. 616–578

XXXVI. He was also preparing to build a stone wall around the City, when a Sabine war interrupted his plans. And so sudden was the invasion, that they had crossed the Anio before the Roman army was able to march out and stop them, so that the City was thrown into a panic. The first battle was indecisive, with heavy losses on both sides. The enemy then withdrew into their camp, affording the Romans an opportunity to renew their preparations for the war. Tarquinius believed that cavalry was what he chiefly lacked. To the Ramnes, Titienses, and Luceres, the centuries which Romulus had enrolled, he therefore determined to add others, and to give them his own name as a permanent distinction. But since this was a matter in which Romulus had obtained the sanction of augury before acting, it was asserted by Attus Navius, a famous augur of those days, that no change or innovation could be introduced unless the birds had signified their approval. The king's ire was aroused by this, and he is reported to have said, in derision of the science, "Come now, divine seer! Inquire of your augury if that of which I am now thinking can come to pass." When Attus, having taken the auspices, replied that it would surely come to pass, the king said, "Nay, but this is

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agitavi," inquit, "te novacula cotem discissurum; cape haec et perage quod aves tuae fieri posse portendunt." Tum illum haud cunctanter discidisse
5 cotem ferunt. Statua Atti capite velato, quo in loco res acta est, in comitio in gradibus ipsis ad laevam curiae fuit; cotem quoque eodem loco sitam fuisse memorant, ut esset ad posteros miraculi eius monu-
6 mentum. Auguriis certe sacerdotioque augurum tantus honos accessit ut nihil belli domique postea nisi auspicato gereretur, concilia populi, exercitus vocati, summa rerum, ubi aves non admisissent, diri-
7 merentur. Neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum[1] adiecit, ut mille et octingenti equites in tribus cen-
8 turiis essent. Posteriores modo sub iisdem nominibus, qui additi erant, appellati sunt; quas nunc, quia geminatae sunt, sex vocant centurias.

XXXVII. Hac parte copiarum aucta iterum cum Sabinis confligitur. Sed praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus, missis qui magnam vim lignorum, in Anienis ripa iacentem, ardentem in flumen conicerent; ventoque iuvante accensa ligna et pleraque ratibus[2] inpacta sublicisque[3] cum haererent, pontem incendunt

[1] alterum tantum *Lipsius*: tantum alterum Ω.
[2] ratibus *M*[1]*Gronov.*: in ratibus Ω.
[3] sublicisque *Gronov.*: sublicis (*or* -iis) Ω.

what I was thinking of, that you should cleave a whetstone with a razor. Take them, and accomplish what your birds declare is possible!" Whereupon, they say, the augur, without a sign of hesitation, cut the whetstone in two. There was a statue of Attus standing, with his head covered, on the spot where the thing was done, in the comitium, even at the steps on the left of the senate-house; tradition adds that the whetstone also was deposited in the same place, to be a memorial of that miracle to posterity. However this may be, auguries and the augural priesthood so increased in honour that nothing was afterwards done, in the field or at home, unless the auspices had first been taken: popular assemblies, musterings of the army, acts of supreme importance —all were put off when the birds refused their consent. Neither did Tarquinius at that time make any change in the organization of the centuries of knights. Their numerical strength he doubled, so that there were now eighteen hundred knights, in three centuries. But though enrolled under the old names, the new men were called the "secondary knights," and the centuries are now, because doubled, known as the "six centuries." B.C. 616–578

XXXVII. When this arm of the service had been enlarged, a second battle was fought with the Sabines. And in this, besides being increased in strength, the Roman army was further helped by a stratagem, for men were secretly dispatched to light a great quantity of firewood lying on the bank of the Anio, and throw it into the river. A favouring wind set the wood in a blaze, and the greater part of it lodged against the boats and piles, where it stuck fast and

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2 Ea quoque res in pugna terrorem attulit Sabinis, et fusis [1] eadem fugam impedit; multique mortales, cum hostem effugissent, in flumine ipso periere; quorum fluitantia arma ad urbem cognita in Tiberi prius paene quam nuntiari posset insignem victoriam 3 fecere. Eo proelio praecipua equitum gloria fuit; utrimque ab cornibus positos, cum iam pelleretur media peditum suorum acies, ita incurrisse ab lateribus ferunt, ut non sisterent modo Sabinas legiones ferociter instantes cedentibus, sed subito in fugam 4 averterent. Montes effuso cursu Sabini petebant, et pauci tenuere; maxima pars, ut ante dictum est, ab 5 equitibus in flumen acti sunt. Tarquinius instandum perterritis ratus, praeda captivisque Romam missis, spoliis hostium—id votum Volcano erat—ingenti cumulo accensis, pergit porro in agrum Sabinum 6 exercitum inducere; et quamquam male gesta res erat nec gesturos melius sperare poterant, tamen, quia consulendi res non dabat spatium, ire obviam Sabini tumultuario milite; iterumque ibi fusi perditis iam prope rebus pacem petiere.

XXXVIII. Collatia et quidquid citra Collatiam agri erat Sabinis ademptum; Egerius—fratris hic

[1] et fusis *Jac. Gronov.*: effusis Ω.

set the bridge on fire. This was another source of alarm to the Sabines during the battle, and upon their being routed the same thing hindered their flight, so that many of them escaped the Romans only to perish in the stream; while their shields floated down the Tiber toward the City, and, being recognized, gave assurance that a victory had been won almost sooner than the news of it could be brought. In this battle the cavalry particularly distinguished themselves. They were posted on either flank of the Romans, and when the centre, composed of infantry, was already in retreat, they are said to have charged from both sides, with such effect that they not only checked the Sabine forces, which were pressing hotly forward as their enemy gave way, but suddenly put them to flight. The Sabines made for the mountains in a scattered rout, and indeed a few gained that refuge. Most of them, as has been said before, were driven by the cavalry into the river. Tarquinius thought it proper to follow up his victory while the other side was panic-stricken; he therefore sent the booty and the prisoners to Rome, and after making a huge pile of the captured arms and setting fire to it, in fulfilment of a vow to Vulcan, pushed forward at the head of his army into the enemy's country. Although defeat had been the portion of the Sabines, and another battle could not be expected to result in better success, still, as the situation allowed no room for deliberation, they took the field with what soldiers they could hastily muster, and being then routed a second time and fairly reduced to extremities, they sued for peace. B.C. 616–578

XXXVIII. Collatia, and what land the Sabines had on the hither side of Collatia, was taken from

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filius erat regis—Collatiae in praesidio relictus. Deditosque Collatinos ita accipio eamque dedi-
2 tionis formulam esse; rex interrogavit: "Estisne vos legati oratoresque missi a populo Collatino, ut vos populumque Collatinum dederetis?" "Sumus." "Estne populus Collatinus in sua potestate?" "Est." "Deditisne vos populumque Collatinum, urbem, agros, aquam, terminos, delubra, utensilia, divina humanaque omnia in meam populique Romani dicionem?" "Dedimus." "At ego recipio."
3 Bello Sabino perfecto Tarquinius triumphans Romam
4 redit. Inde Priscis Latinis bellum fecit. Ubi nusquam ad universae rei dimicationem ventum est, ad singula oppida circumferendo arma omne nomen Latinum domuit. Corniculum, Ficulea Vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia,[1] Nomentum—haec de Priscis Latinis aut qui ad Latinos defecerant capta oppida. Pax deinde est facta.
5 Maiore inde animo pacis opera incohata quam quanta mole gesserat bella, ut non quietior populus
6 domi esset quam militiae fuisset; nam et muro lapideo, cuius exordium operis Sabino bello turbatum erat, urbem qua nondum munierat cingere parat, et infima urbis loca circa forum aliasque interiectas collibus convalles, quia ex planis locis haud facile evehebant aquas, cloacis[2] fastigio in Tiberim ductis

[1] Medullia *Ald.*: medulla Ω.

[2] aquas cloacis $RD^2\zeta$: aqua se (*or* aquā se *or* aquas e cloacis Ω.

them, and Egerius, the son of the king's brother, was left in the town with a garrison. The surrender of the Collatini took place, I understand, in accordance with this formula: the king asked, "Are you the legates and spokesmen sent by the People of Collatia to surrender yourselves and the People of Collatia?" "We are." "Is the People of Collatia its own master?" "It is." "Do you surrender yourselves and the People of Collatia, city, lands, water, boundary marks, shrines, utensils, all appurtenances, divine and human, into my power and that of the Roman People?" "We do." "I receive the surrender." Upon the conclusion of the Sabine war Tarquinius returned to Rome and triumphed. He then made war against the Ancient Latins. In this campaign there was no general engagement at any point, but the king led his army from one town to another until he had subdued the entire Latin race. Corniculum, Ficulea Vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum—these were the towns which were captured from the Ancient Latins, or from those who had gone over to the Latins. Peace was then made. B.C. 616–578

From that moment the king devoted himself to peaceful undertakings with an enthusiasm which was even greater than the efforts he had expended in waging war, so that there was no more rest for the people at home than there had been in the field. For he set to work to encircle the hitherto unfortified parts of the City with a stone wall, a task which had been interrupted by the Sabine war; and he drained the lowest parts of the City, about the Forum, and the other valleys between the hills, which were too flat to carry off the flood-waters easily, by means of sewers so made as to slope down toward the Tiber.

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7 siccat, et aream ad aedem in Capitolio Iovis, quam voverat bello Sabino, iam praesagiente animo futuram olim amplitudinem loci occupat fundamentis.

XXXIX. Eo tempore in regia prodigium visu[1] eventuque mirabile fuit. Puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen,[2] caput arsisse ferunt multorum in
2 conspectu. Plurimo igitur clamore inde ad tantae rei miraculum orto excitos reges, et cum quidam familiarium aquam ad restinguendum ferret, ab regina retentum, sedatoque eam tumultu moveri vetuisse puerum donec sua sponte experrectus esset.
3 Mox cum somno et flammam abisse. Tum abducto in secretum viro Tanaquil, "Viden[3] tu puerum hunc," inquit, "quem tam humili cultu educamus? Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae; proinde materiam ingentis publice privatimque decoris omni
4 indulgentia nostra nutriamus." Inde puerum liberum loco coeptum haberi, erudirique artibus, quibus ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum excitantur. Evenit facile quod dis cordi esset. Iuvenis evasit vere indolis regiae, nec, cum quaereretur gener Tarquinio, quisquam Romanae iuventutis ulla arte conferri
5 potuit, filiamque ei suam rex despondit. Hic quacumque de causa tantus illi honos habitus credere

[1] visu O_5^-: uisum Ω.
[2] puero dormienti, cui Servio Tullio fuit nomen M_5^-: *these words are missing or corrupted in the other MSS.*
[3] viden $M^2{}_5^-$: uidene D^2: uidesne Ω.

Finally, with prophetic anticipation of the splendour which the place was one day to possess, he laid foundations for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, which he had vowed in the Sabine war. B.C. 616–578

XXXIX. At this time there happened in the house of the king a portent which was remarkable alike in its manifestation and in its outcome. The story is that while a child named Servius Tullius lay sleeping, his head burst into flames in the sight of many. The general outcry which so great a miracle called forth brought the king and queen to the place. One of the servants fetched water to quench the fire, but was checked by the queen, who stilled the uproar and commanded that the boy should not be disturbed until he awoke of himself. Soon afterwards sleep left him, and with it disappeared the flames. Then, taking her husband aside, Tanaquil said: "Do you see this child whom we are bringing up in so humble a fashion? Be assured he will one day be a lamp to our dubious fortunes, and a protector to the royal house in the day of its distress. Let us therefore rear with all solicitude one who will lend high renown to the state and to our family." It is said that from that moment the boy began to be looked upon as a son, and to be trained in the studies by which men are inspired to bear themselves greatly. It was a thing easily accomplished, being the will of Heaven. The youth turned out to be of a truly royal nature, and when Tarquinius sought a son-in-law there was no other young Roman who could be at all compared to Servius; and the king accordingly betrothed his daughter to him. This great honour, for whatever cause conferred on him, forbids us to suppose that

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prohibet serva natum eum parvumque ipsum servisse. Eorum magis sententiae sum qui Corniculo capto Ser. Tulli, qui princeps in illa urbe fuerat, gravidam viro occiso uxorem, cum inter reliquas captivas cognita esset, ob unicam nobilitatem ab regina Romana prohibitam ferunt servitio partum Romae edidisse
6 Prisci Tarquini in domo[1]; inde tanto beneficio et inter mulieris familiaritatem auctam et puerum, ut in domo a parvo eductum, in caritate atque honore fuisse; fortunam matris, quod capta patria in hostium manus venerit, ut serva natus crederetur fecisse.

XL. Duodequadragesimo ferme anno, ex quo regnare coeperat Tarquinius, non apud regem modo sed apud patres plebemque longe maximo honore
2 Ser. Tullius erat. Tum Anci filii duo, etsi antea semper pro indignissimo habuerant se patrio regno tutoris fraude pulsos, regnare Romae advenam non modo vicinae, sed ne Italicae quidem stirpis, tum impensius iis indignitas crescere, si ne ab Tarquinio
3 quidem ad se rediret regnum, sed praeceps inde porro ad servitia caderet, ut in eadem civitate post centesimum fere annum quod[2] Romulus, deo prognatus deus ipse, tenuerit regnum donec in terris

[1] in domo ζ : domo Ω.
[2] quod *Madvig* : quam Ω.

his mother was a slave and that he himself had been in a state of servitude as a child. I am rather of the opinion of those who say, that on the capture of Corniculum, when Servius Tullius, the chief man of that city, had been slain, his wife, who was great with child, had been recognized amongst the other captive women, and on the score of her unique nobility had been rescued from slavery by the Roman queen, and had brought forth her child at Rome in the house of Priscus Tarquinius; in the sequel this act of generosity led to a growing intimacy between the women, and the boy, as one reared from childhood in the palace, was held in affection and esteem; it was his mother's misfortune, who by the capture of her native town came into the power of its enemies, which gave rise to the belief that Servius was born of a slave woman. B.C. 616–578

XL. It was now about thirty-eight years since Tarquinius had begun to reign, and not only the king, but the Fathers and the commons too, held Servius Tullius in the very highest honour. Now the two sons of Ancus had always considered it a great outrage that they had been ousted from their father's kingship by the crime of their guardian, and that Rome should be ruled by a stranger whose descent was derived from a race not only remote but actually not even Italian. But their indignation was vastly increased by the prospect that even after Tarquinius' death the sovereignty would not revert to them, but, plunging down to yet baser depths, would fall into the hands of slaves; so that where, a hundred years before, Romulus, a god's son and himself a god, had borne sway, so long as he remained on earth, in that self-same state a slave and

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fuerit, id servus serva natus possideat. Cum commune Romani nominis tum praecipue id domus suae dedecus fore, si Anci regis virili stirpe salva non modo advenis, sed servis etiam regnum Romae pate-
4 ret. Ferro igitur eam arcere contumeliam statuunt. Sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Servium eos stimulabat, et quia gravior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam privatus, tum Servio occiso quemcumque alium generum delegisset eundem regni heredem facturus
5 videbatur, ob haec ipsi regi insidiae parantur. Ex pastoribus duo ferocissimi delecti ad facinus, quibus consueti erant uterque agrestibus ferramentis, in vestibulo regiae quam potuere tumultuosissime specie rixae in se omnes apparitores regios convertunt; inde, cum ambo regem appellarent clamorque eorum penitus in regiam pervenisset, vocati ad regem per-
6 gunt. Primo uterque vociferari et certatim alter alteri obstrepere; coerciti ab lictore et iussi in vicem dicere tandem obloqui desistunt; unus rem ex com-
7 posito orditur. Dum intentus in eum se rex totus averteret, alter elatam securim in caput deiecit, relictoque in volnere telo ambo se foras eiciunt.

XLI. Tarquinium moribundum cum qui circa erant

the son of a slave woman would be king. It would be not only a general disgrace to the Roman name, but particularly to their own house, if during the lifetime of Ancus' sons it should be open not only to strangers, but even to slaves to rule over the Romans. They therefore determined to repel that insult with the sword. But resentment at their wrong urged them rather against Tarquinius himself than against Servius, not only because the king, if he survived, would be more formidable to avenge the murder than a subject would be, but because if Servius should be dispatched it seemed probable that the kingdom would be inherited by whomsoever else Tarquinius might choose to be his son-in-law. For these reasons they laid their plot against the king himself. Two very desperate shepherds were selected to do the deed. Armed with the rustic implements to which they were both accustomed, they feigned a brawl in the entrance-court of the palace and, making as much noise as possible, attracted the attention of all the royal attendants; then they appealed to the king, until their shouts were heard inside the palace and they were sent for and came before him. At first each raised his voice and tried to shout the other down. Being repressed by the lictor and bidden to speak in turn, they finally ceased to interrupt each other, and one of them began to state his case, as they had planned beforehand. While the king, intent upon the speaker, turned quite away from the other shepherd, the latter lifted his axe and brought it down upon his head. Then, leaving the weapon in the wound, they both ran out of doors. B.C. 616–578

XLI. The dying Tarquinius had hardly been caught

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excepissent, illos fugientes lictores comprehendunt. Clamor inde concursusque populi, mirantium[1] quid rei esset. Tanaquil inter tumultum claudi regiam iubet, arbitros eicit.[2] Simul quae curando volneri opus sunt, tamquam spes subesset, sedulo conparat, 2 simul, si destituat spes, alia praesidia molitur. Servio propere accito cum paene exsanguem virum ostendisset, dextram tenens orat ne inultam mortem soceri, ne socrum inimicis ludibrio esse sinat. 3 "Tuum est," inquit, "Servi, si vir es, regnum, non eorum qui alienis manibus pessimum facinus fecere. Erige te deosque duces sequere, qui clarum hoc fore caput divino quondam circumfuso igni portenderunt. Nunc te illa caelestis excitet flamma, nunc expergiscere vere. Et nos peregrini regnavimus; qui sis, non unde natus sis, reputa. Si tua re subita consilia 4 torpent, at tu mea consilia sequere." Cum clamor impetusque multitudinis vix sustineri posset, ex superiore parte aedium per fenestras in Novam viam versas[3]—habitabat enim rex ad Iovis Statoris—popu- 5 lum Tanaquil adloquitur. Iubet bono animo esse: sopitum fuisse regem subito ictu; ferrum haud alte in corpus descendisse; iam ad se redisse; inspectum

[1] mirantium ς: mirantum (*or* mirandum) Ω.
[2] cicit $R\varsigma$: eiecit Ω. [3] versas ς: uersus Ω.

up in the arms of the bystanders when the fugitives were seized by the lictors. Then there was an uproar, as crowds hurried to the scene, asking one another in amazement what the matter was. In the midst of the tumult Tanaquil gave orders to close the palace, and ejected all witnesses. She busily got together the remedies needful for healing a wound, as if there were still hope, taking at the same time other measures to protect herself in case her hope should fail her. Having hastily summoned Servius, she showed him her husband's nearly lifeless body, and grasping his right hand, besought him not to suffer the death of his father-in-law to go unpunished, nor his mother-in-law to become a jest to her enemies. "To you, Servius," she cried, "if you are a man, belongs this kingdom, not to those who by the hands of others have committed a dastardly crime. Arouse yourself and follow the guidance of the gods, who once declared by the token of divine fire poured out upon this head that you should be a famous man. Now is the time for that heaven-sent flame to quicken you! Now wake in earnest! We, too, were foreigners, yet we reigned. Consider what you are, not whence you were born. If your own counsels are benumbed in this sudden crisis, at least use mine." When the shouting and pushing of the crowd could hardly be withstood, Tanaquil went up into the upper storey of the house, and through a window looking out upon the Nova Via—for the king lived near the temple of Jupiter the Stayer—addressed the populace. She bade them be of good cheer: the king had been stunned by a sudden blow; the steel had not sunk deep into his body; he had already recovered consciousness; the blood had been

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volnus absterso cruore; omnia salubria esse; confidere prope diem ipsum eos visuros; interim Ser. Tullio iubere populum dicto audientem esse; eum iura redditurum obiturumque alia regis munia esse. 6 Servius cum trabea et lictoribus prodit ac sede regia sedens alia decernit, de aliis consulturum se regem esse simulat. Itaque per aliquot dies, cum iam exspirasset Tarquinius, celata morte per speciem alienae fungendae vicis suas opes firmavit. Tum demum palam factum est[1] comploratione in regia orta. Servius praesidio firmo munitus primus iniussu populi 7 voluntate patrum regnavit. Anci liberi iam tum, comprensis[2] sceleris ministris ut vivere regem et tantas esse opes Servi nuntiatum est, Suessam Pometiam exsulatum ierant.

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XLII. Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Servius quam privatis munire opes, et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus adversus Tarquinium fuerat, talis adversus se Tarquini liberum esset, duas filias iuvenibus 2 regiis, Lucio atque Arrunti Tarquiniis, iungit; nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis, quin invidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret. Peropportune ad praesentis

[1] est ς : et Ω.
[2] comprensis ς*Ald.*: com (*or* con-) pressis *or* cum com (*or* con-) prensis (*or* -pressis) *or* cum comprehensis Ω.

wiped away and the wound examined; all the symptoms were favourable; she trusted that they would soon see Tarquinius himself; meanwhile she commanded that the people should obey Servius Tullius, who would dispense justice and perform the other duties of the king. Servius went forth in the royal robe, accompanied by lictors, and sitting in the king's seat rendered judgment in some cases, while in regard to others he gave out that he would consult the king. In this way for several days after Tarquinius had breathed his last he concealed his death, pretending that he was merely doing another's work, while he was really strengthening his own position; then at last the truth was allowed to be known, from the lamentations which arose within the palace. Servius surrounded himself with a strong guard, and ruled at first without the authorization of the people, but with the consent of the Fathers. The sons of Ancus, upon the arrest of the agents of their crime and the report that the king was alive and that Servius was so strong, had already gone into voluntary exile at Suessa Pometia. B.C. 616–578

XLII. Servius now took steps to assure his position by private as well as public measures. In order that the sons of Tarquinius might not show the same animosity towards himself which the sons of Ancus had felt towards Tarquinius, he married his two daughters to the young princes, Lucius and Arruns Tarquinius. But he could not break the force of destiny by human wisdom; and jealousy of his power, even among the members of his household, created an atmosphere of treachery and hostility. Most opportune for the tranquil preservation B.C. 578–534

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quietem status bellum cum Veientibus—iam enim
3 indutiae exierant—aliisque Etruscis sumptum. In
eo bello et virtus et fortuna enituit Tulli; fusoque
ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex seu pa-
trum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit.
4 Adgrediturque inde ad pacis longe maximum opus,
ut quemadmodum Numa divini auctor iuris fuisset,
ita Servium conditorem omnis in civitate discriminis
ordinumque quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortu-
5 naeque aliquid interlucet, posteri fama ferrent. Cen-
sum enim instituit, rem saluberrimam tanto futuro
imperio, ex quo belli pacisque munia non viritim, ut
ante, sed pro habitu pecuniarum fierent; tum classes
centuriasque et hunc ordinem ex censu discripsit,[1]
vel paci decorum vel bello. XLIII. Ex iis,[2] qui
centum milium aeris aut maiorem censum haberent

[1] discripsit *R*: descripsit Ω. [2] iis *Ald.*: his Ω.

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[1] Perhaps a reference to the hundred years' truce with Romulus (xv. 5), for Livy has not mentioned any war with Veii in the interval, though one is implied in the statement (xxxiii. 9) that the Veientes surrendered the Maesian Forest, in the reign of Ancus.

[2] The organisation now to be described was primarily designed to increase the fighting strength of Rome. Formerly the right to bear arms had belonged solely to the patricians. Now plebeians were to be given a place in the army, which was to be reclassified according to every man's property, *i.e.* his ability to provide himself a more or less complete equipment for the field. See Dion. Hal. iv. 16–21; Cic. *Rep.* ii. 39.

of the existing state of things was a war which was undertaken against the people of Veii—for the truce[1] had now run out—and the other Etruscans. In this war the bravery and good fortune of Tullius were conspicuous; and when he had utterly defeated the vast army of his enemies, he found on returning to Rome that his title to the kingship was no longer questioned, whether he tested the feeling of the Fathers or that of the commons. He then addressed himself to what is by far the most important work of peace: as Numa had established religious law, so Servius intended that posterity should celebrate himself as the originator of all distinctions among the citizens, and of the orders which clearly differentiate the various grades of rank and fortune. For he instituted the census,[2] a most useful thing for a government destined to such wide dominion, since it would enable the burdens of war and peace to be borne not indiscriminately, as heretofore, but in proportion to men's wealth. He then distributed the people into classes and centuries according to the following scale, which was based upon the census and was suitable either for peace or war: XLIII. Out of those who had a rating of a hundred thousand asses[3] or more he made eighty

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[3] Capital, not income. The *as* was originally a rod of copper a foot long and divided into twelve inches (*unciae*). Some time during the regal period weight was substituted for measure in appraising the *as*, and it began to be stamped with the figure of an ox, which was the source of the Latin name for money, viz. *pecunia*. From being a full pound the *as* was gradually reduced, till, in the Second Punic War, it came to weigh only one ounce. What its value may have been in the time of Servius is a highly speculative question. See the note in the edition of Book I. by H. J. Edwards (pp. 179 ff.).

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octoginta confecit centurias, quadragenas seniorum ac iuniorum; prima[1] classis omnes appellati; seniores ad urbis custodiam ut praesto essent, iuvenes ut foris bella gererent. Arma his imperata galea, clipeum, ocreae, lorica, omnia ex aere, haec ut tegumenta corporis essent; tela in hostem hastaque et gladius. Additae huic classi duae fabrum centuriae, quae sine armis stipendia facerent; datum munus ut machinas in bello facerent.[2] Secunda classis intra centum usque ad quinque et septuaginta milium censum instituta, et ex iis, senioribus iunioribusque, viginti conscriptae centuriae. Arma imperata scutum pro clipeo et praeter loricam omnia eadem. Tertiae classis[3] quinquaginta[4] milium census esse voluit; totidem centuriae et hae[5] eodemque discrimine aetatium factae. Nec de armis quicquam mutatum, ocreae tantum ademptae. In quarta classe census quinque et viginti milium; totidem centuriae factae; arma mutata, nihil praeter hastam et verutum datum. Quinta classis aucta; centuriae triginta factae; fundas lapidesque missiles hi secum gerebant. His[6] accensi cornicines tubicinesque,[7] in duas[8] centurias distributi. Undecim milibus haec classis censebatur. Hoc minor census reliquam multitudinem habuit; inde una centuria facta est immunis militia. Ita

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[1] prima ςF^3R^2: prime R?: primo Ω.
[2] facerent *Lipsius*: ferrent Ω.
[3] tertiae classis ς: tertia classis Ω.
[4] quinquaginta *Sobius*: in quinquaginta Ω.
[5] hae ς: haec Ω. [6] his *Iac. Perizonius*: in his Ω.
[7] tubicinesque ς: tibicinesque Ω.
[8] duas *Sigonius* (*cf. Dion. Hal.* iv. 17, 3): tres Ω.

centuries, forty each of seniors and of juniors; these were all known as the first class; the seniors were to be ready to guard the city, the juniors to wage war abroad. The armour which these men were required to provide consisted of helmet, round shield, greaves, and breast-plate, all of bronze, for the protection of their bodies; their offensive weapons were a spear and a sword. There were added to this class two centuries of mechanics, who were to serve without arms; to them was entrusted the duty of fashioning siege-engines in war. The second class was drawn up out of those whose rating was between a hundred thousand and seventy-five thousand; of these, seniors and juniors, twenty centuries were enrolled. The arms prescribed for them were an oblong shield in place of the round one, and everything else, save for the breast-plate, as in the class above. He fixed the rating of the third class at fifty thousand; a like number of centuries was formed in this class as in the second, and with the same distinction of ages; neither was any change made in their arms, except that the greaves were omitted. In the fourth class the rating was twenty-five thousand; the same number of centuries was formed, but their equipment was changed, nothing being given them but a spear and a javelin. The fifth class was made larger, and thirty centuries were formed. These men carried slings, with stones for missiles. Rated with them were the horn-blowers and trumpeters, divided into two centuries. Eleven thousand was the rating of this class. Those who were assessed at less than this amount, being all the rest of the population, were made into a single century, exempt from military service. When the

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pedestri exercitu ornato distributoque equitum ex
9 primoribus civitatis duodecim scripsit centurias. Sex item alias centurias, tribus ab Romulo institutis, sub iisdem quibus inauguratae erant nominibus fecit. Ad equos emendos dena milia aeris ex publico data, et quibus equos alerent, viduae attributae, quae bina milia aeris in annos singulos penderent. Haec omnia
10 in dites a pauperibus inclinata onera. Deinde est honos additus; non enim, ut ab Romulo traditum ceteri servaverant reges, viritim suffragium eadem vi eodemque iure promisce omnibus datum est, sed gradus facti, ut neque exclusus quisquam suffragio videretur et vis omnis penes primores civitatis esset.
11 Equites enim vocabantur primi; octoginta inde primae classis centuriae; ibi[1] si variaret, quod raro incidebat, institutum ut[2] secundae classis vocarentur, nec fere unquam infra ita descenderunt,[3] ut ad infi-
12 mos pervenirent. Nec mirari oportet hunc ordinem, qui nunc est post expletas quinque et triginta tribus duplicato earum numero centuriis iuniorum seniorumque, ad[4] institutam ab Ser. Tullio summam non
13 convenire. Quadrifariam enim urbe divisa regionibus collibusque qui habitabantur, partes eas tribus

[1] centuriae; ibi ς: centuriae primum peditum uocabantur ibi Ω.
[2] incidebat, institutum ut *Novák*: incidebat ut Ω.
[3] descenderunt ς: descenderent Ω.
[4] ad ς: se (*or* sese, *or* sed) ad Ω.

equipment and distribution of the infantry had been thus provided for, Servius enrolled twelve centuries of knights out of the leading men of the state. He likewise formed six other centuries—three had been instituted by Romulus—employing the same names which had been hallowed to their use by augury. For the purchase of horses they were allowed ten thousand asses each from the state treasury, and for the maintenance of these horses unmarried women were designated, who had to pay two thousand asses each, every year. All these burdens were shifted from the shoulders of the poor to those of the rich. The latter were then granted special privileges: for manhood suffrage, implying equality of power and of rights, was no longer given promiscuously to all, as had been the practice handed down by Romulus and observed by all the other kings; but gradations were introduced, so that ostensibly no one should be excluded from the suffrage, and yet the power should rest with the leading citizens. For the knights were called upon to vote first; then the eighty centuries of the first class: if there were any disagreement there, which rarely happened, it was provided that the centuries of the second class should be called; and they almost never descended so far as to reach the lowest citizens. Nor ought it to cause any surprise that the present organization, which exists since the increase of the tribes to thirty-five, and the doubling of their number in the matter of the junior and senior centuries, does not correspond with the total established by Servius Tullius. For, having divided the City according to its inhabited regions and hills into four parts, he named them "tribes," a word

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appellavit, ut ego arbitror, ab tributo; nam eius quoque aequaliter ex censu conferendi ab eodem inita ratio est; neque eae tribus ad centuriarum distributionem numerumque quicquam pertinuere.

XLIV. Censu perfecto, quem maturaverat metu legis de incensis latae cum vinculorum minis mortisque, edixit, ut omnes cives Romani, equites peditesque, in suis quisque centuriis in campo Martio prima
2 luce adessent. Ibi instructum exercitum omnem suovetaurilibus[1] lustravit; idque conditum lustrum appellatum, quia is[2] censendo finis factus est. Milia octoginta eo lustro civium censa dicuntur; adicit scriptorum antiquissimus Fabius Pictor eorum qui
3 arma ferre possent eum numerum fuisse. Ad eam multitudinem urbs quoque amplificanda visa est. Addit duos colles, Quirinalem Viminalemque; inde deinceps auget Esquilias, ibique ipse, ut loco dignitas fieret, habitat. Aggere et fossis et muro circum-
4 dat urbem; ita pomerium profert. Pomerium, verbi vim solam intuentes, postmoerium interpretantur esse; est autem magis circamoerium, locus quem in condendis urbibus quondam Etrusci, qua murum

[1] suovetaurilibus *Rhenanus*: sue oue taurilibus (*or other corruptions*) Ω.

[2] is *Gronovius* "*ex cod. Mureti*": in Ω.

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[1] *Tributum* comes from *tribus* (not *vice versa*, as Livy has it), which meant originally "third part," but lost the numerical force and became simply "part," "district," like the French "*quartier*," which Walde compares.

[2] Dion. iv. 13, and Strabo, v. 3, 7, make Servius the first to include the Esquiline in the City. Livy appears to have

derived, I suppose, from "tribute";[1] for this likewise the same king planned to have apportioned equitably, on the basis of the census; nor had these tribes anything whatever to do with the distribution or the number of the centuries. B.C. 578–534

XLIV. Upon the completion of the census, which had been expedited by fear of a law that threatened with death and imprisonment those who failed to register, Servius issued a proclamation calling on all Roman citizens, both horse and foot, to assemble at daybreak, each in his own century, in the Campus Martius. There the whole army was drawn up, and a sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull was offered by the king for its purification. This was termed the "closing of the lustrum," because it was the last act in the enrolment. Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been registered in that census; the most ancient of the historians, Fabius Pictor, adds that this was the number of those capable of bearing arms. To meet the wants of this population it was apparent that the City must expand, and so the king added two hills, the Quirinal and the Viminal, after which he proceeded to enlarge the Esquiline,[2] going there to live himself, that the place might obtain a good reputation. He surrounded the City with a rampart, trenches, and a wall, and so extended the "pomerium." This word is interpreted by those who look only at its etymology as meaning "the tract behind the wall," but it signifies rather "the tract on both sides of the wall," the space which the Etruscans used formerly to consecrate with augural

thought of him as merely increasing the extent of that district. Conway and Walters adopt *O*'s *Viminalemque*, *Viminalem*, and Gronov's *Esquiliis*, thus reconciling Livy with Dion. and Strabo.

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ducturi erant, certis circa terminis inaugurato consecrabant, ut neque interiore parte aedificia moenibus continuarentur, quae nunc volgo etiam coniungunt, et extrinsecus puri aliquid ab humano cultu pateret soli. Hoc spatium, quod neque habitari neque arari fas erat, non magis quod post murum esset quam quod murus post id, pomerium Romani appellarunt; et in urbis incremento semper, quantum moenia processura erant tantum termini hi consecrati proferebantur.

XLV. Aucta civitate magnitudine urbis, formatis omnibus domi et ad belli et ad pacis usus, ne semper armis opes adquirerentur, consilio augere imperium conatus est, simul et aliquod addere urbi decus. Iam tum erat inclitum Dianae Ephesiae fanum; id communiter a civitatibus Asiae factum fama ferebat. Eum consensum deosque consociatos laudare mire Servius inter proceres Latinorum, cum quibus publice privatimque hospitia amicitiasque de industria iunxerat. Saepe iterando eadem perpulit tandem, ut Romae fanum Dianae populi Latini cum populo Romano facerent. Ea erat confessio caput rerum Romam esse, de quo totiens armis certatum fuerat.

[1] *Pomerium* at first meant the boundary-line itself, then the strip of land left free within the wall, and finally was loosely used of the strip on both sides of the wall.

ceremonies, where they proposed to erect their wall, establishing definite limits on either side of it, so that they might at the same time keep the walls free on their inward face from contact with buildings, which now, as a rule, are actually joined to them, and on the outside keep a certain area free from human uses. This space, which the gods forbade men to inhabit or to till, was called "pomerium" by the Romans, quite as much because the wall stood behind it as because it stood behind the wall; and as the city grew, these consecrated limits were always pushed out for as great a distance as the walls themselves were to be advanced.[1] B.C. 578–534

XLV. When the king had promoted the grandeur of the state by enlarging the City, and had shaped all his domestic policy to suit the demands of peace as well as those of war, he was unwilling that arms should always be the means employed for strengthening Rome's power, and sought to increase her sway by diplomacy, and at the same time to add something to the splendour of the City. Even at that early date the temple of Diana at Ephesus enjoyed great renown. It was reputed to have been built through the co-operation of the cities of Asia, and this harmony and community of worship Servius praised in superlative terms to the Latin nobles, with whom, both officially and in private, he had taken pains to establish a footing of hospitality and friendship. By dint of reiterating the same arguments he finally carried his point, and a shrine of Diana was built in Rome by the nations of Latium conjointly with the Roman People. This was an admission that Rome was the capital—a point which had so often been disputed

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Id quamquam omissum iam ex omnium cura Latinorum ob rem totiens infeliciter temptatam armis videbatur, uni se ex Sabinis fors dare visa est privato
4 consilio imperii reciperandi. Bos in Sabinis nata cuidam patri familiae dicitur miranda magnitudine ac specie; fixa per multas aetates cornua in vestibulo templi Dianae monumentum ei fuere miraculo.
5 Habita, ut erat, res prodigii loco est; et cecinere vates, cuius civitatis eam civis Dianae immolasset,[1] ibi fore imperium; idque carmen pervenerat ad anti-
6 stitem fani Dianae Sabinusque, ut prima apta dies sacrificio visa est, bovem Romam actam deducit ad fanum Dianae et ante aram statuit. Ibi antistes Romanus, cum eum magnitudo victimae celebrata fama movisset, memor responsi Sabinum ita adloquitur: "Quidnam tu, hospes, paras?" inquit, "inceste sacrificium Dianae facere? Quin tu ante vivo perfunderis flumine? Infima valle praefluit Tiberis."
7 Religione tactus hospes, qui omnia, ut prodigio responderet eventus, cuperet rite facta, extemplo descendit ad Tiberim. Interea Romanus immolat Dianae bovem. Id mire gratum regi atque civitati fuit.

XLVI. Servius quamquam iam usu haud dubie[2] regnum possederat, tamen quia interdum iactari

[1] immolasset *Rhenan.*: immolassent Ω.
[2] dubie M^1 (*or* M^2): dubiae (*or* dubiem *or* dubium) Ω.

with force of arms. But though it seemed that the Latins had lost all interest in this contention after the repeated failure of their appeals to war, there was one man amongst the Sabines who thought that he saw an opportunity to recover the empire by a shrewd plan of his own. In the Sabine country, on the farm of a certain head of a family, there was born a heifer of extraordinary size and beauty; a marvel to which the horns afterwards bore testimony, for they were fastened up for many generations in the vestibule of Diana's temple. This heifer was regarded as a prodigy, as indeed it was; soothsayers prophesied that the state whose citizens should sacrifice the animal to Diana would be the seat of empire, and this prediction had reached the ears of the priest of Diana's shrine. On the earliest day which seemed suitable for the sacrifice, the Sabine drove the heifer to Rome, and bringing her to the shrine of Diana, led her up to the altar. There the Roman priest, moved by the great size of the victim, which had been much talked of, and recalling the prophecy, asked the Sabine, "What is this that you are doing, stranger? Would you sacrifice, unpurified, to Diana? Not so! First bathe in a running stream; the Tiber flows by in the bottom of the valley." The stranger, touched by a scruple and wishing to do everything according to ritual, that the prodigy might be answered by the event, at once descended to the Tiber. Meanwhile the Roman offered the heifer to Diana, an act which was exceedingly acceptable to the king and the citizens. B.C. 578–534

XLVI. Servius had by this time a definite prescriptive right to the supreme power. Still, hearing

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voces a iuvene Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius voluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus viritim diviso ausus est ferre ad populum, vellent iuberentne se regnare; tantoque consensu quanto haud quisquam alius ante rex est declaratus. 2 Neque ea res Tarquinio spem adfectandi regni minuit; immo eo impensius, quia de agro plebis adversa[1] patrum voluntate[2] senserat agi, criminandi Servi apud patres crescendique in curia sibi occasionem datam ratus est, et ipse iuvenis ardentis animi et domi uxore Tullia inquietum animum stimulante. 3 Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior veniret libertas ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret. 4 Hic L. Tarquinius—Prisci Tarquini regis filius neposne fuerit parum liquet; pluribus tamen auctoribus filium ediderim—fratrem habuerat Arruntem 5 Tarquinium, mitis ingenii iuvenem. His duobus, ut ante dictum est, duae Tulliae regis filiae nupserant, et ipsae longe dispares moribus. Forte ita inciderat ne duo violenta ingenia matrimonio iungerentur fortuna, credo, populi Romani, quo diuturnius Servi regnum esset constituique civitatis mores possent.

[1] adversa M^2PO ? : adversam (*or* -um) Ω.
[2] voluntate ς : uoluntatem Ω.

[1] The reference is to the stories of Atreus and Oedipus.

that the young Tarquinius now and then threw out a hint that he was reigning without the consent of the people, he proceeded to gain the goodwill of the commons by dividing among all the citizens the land obtained by conquest from the enemy; after which he made bold to call upon the people to vote whether he should be their ruler, and was declared king with such unanimity as none of his predecessors had experienced. Yet the circumstance did not lessen Tarquinius's hopes of obtaining the kingship. On the contrary, perceiving that the bestowal of land on the plebeians was in opposition to the wishes of the senate, he felt that he had got the better opportunity of vilifying Servius to the Fathers and of increasing his own influence in the senate-house. He was a hot-headed youth himself, and he had at hand, in the person of Tullia his wife, one who goaded on his restless spirit. For the royal house of Rome produced an example of tragic guilt, as others had done,[1] in order that loathing of kings might hasten the coming of liberty, and that the end of reigning might come in that reign which was the fruit of crime. This Lucius Tarquinius—whether he was the son or the grandson of King Tarquinius Priscus is uncertain; but, following the majority of historians, I would designate him son—had a brother, Arruns Tarquinius, a youth of a gentle disposition. These two, as has been said before, had married the two Tullias, daughters of the king, themselves of widely different characters. Chance had so ordered matters that the two violent natures should not be united in wedlock, thanks doubtless to the good fortune of the Roman People, that the reign of Servius might be prolonged and the traditions of

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6 Angebatur ferox Tullia nihil materiae in viro neque ad cupiditatem neque ad audaciam esse; tota in alterum aversa[1] Tarquinium eum mirari, eum virum dicere ac regio sanguine ortum: spernere sororem,
7 quod virum nacta muliebri cessaret audacia. Contrahit celeriter similitudo eos, ut fere fit: malum malo aptissimum; sed initium turbandi omnia a femina ortum est. Ea secretis viri alieni adsuefacta sermonibus nullis verborum contumeliis parcere de viro ad fratrem, de sorore ad virum; et se rectius viduam et illum caelibem futurum fuisse contendere, quam cum inpari iungi, ut elanguescendum aliena
8 ignavia esset. Si sibi eum, quo digna esset, di dedissent virum, domi se propediem visuram regnum fuisse, quod apud patrem videat. Celeriter adules-
9 centem suae temeritatis implet.[2] Prope continuatis funeribus cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio fecissent, iunguntur nuptiis magis non prohibente Servio quam adprobante.

XLVII. Tum vero in dies infestior Tulli senectus, infestius coepit regnum esse. Iam enim ab scelere ad aliud spectare mulier scelus, nec nocte nec interdiu virum conquiescere pati, ne gratuita praeterita
2 parricidia essent: non sibi defuisse cui nupta dice-

[1] aversa ς: adversa *D*?: versa (*or* versam *or* adversa) Ω.
[2] *Between* implet *and* prope *the MSS. give the words* Arruns Tarquinius et Tullia minor *which Walters brackets.*

the state become established. It was distressing to the headstrong Tullia that her husband should be destitute of ambition and enterprise. With her whole soul she turned from him to his brother; him she admired, him she called a man and a prince: she despised her sister because, having got a man for a mate, she lacked a woman's daring. Their similarity soon brought these two together, as is generally the case, for evil is strongly drawn to evil; but it was the woman who took the lead in all the mischief. Having become addicted to clandestine meetings with another's husband, she spared no terms of insult when speaking of her own husband to his brother, or of her sister to that sister's husband. She urged that it would have been juster for her to be unmarried and for him to lack a wife than for them to be united to their inferiors and be compelled to languish through the cowardice of others. If the gods had given her the man she deserved she would soon have seen in her own house the royal power which she now saw in her father's. It was not long before she had inspired the young man with her own temerity, and, having made room in their respective houses for a new marriage, by deaths which followed closely upon one another, they were joined together in nuptials which Servius rather tolerated than approved. B.C. 578–534

XLVII. From that moment the insecurity of the aged Tullius and the menace to his authority increased with each succeeding day. For the woman was already looking forward from one crime to another, nor would she allow her husband any rest by night or day, lest the murders they had done before should be without effect. She had not wanted a

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retur, nec cum quo tacita serviret; defuisse qui se regno dignum putaret, qui meminisset se esse Prisci Tarquini filium, qui habere quam sperare regnum
3 mallet. "Si tu is es cui nuptam esse me arbitror, et virum et regem appello; sin minus, eo nunc peius mutata res est quod istic cum ignavia est scelus.
4 Quin accingeris? Non tibi ab Corintho nec ab Tarquiniis, ut patri tuo, peregrina regna moliri necesse est: di te penates patriique et patris imago et domus regia et in domo regale solium et nomen
5 Tarquinium creat vocatque regem. Aut si ad haec parum est animi, quid frustraris civitatem? Quid te ut regium iuvenem conspici sinis? Facesse hinc Tarquinios aut Corinthum, devolvere retro ad stir-
6 pem, fratris similior quam patris." His aliisque increpando iuvenem instigat, nec conquiescere ipsa potest, si, cum Tanaquil peregrina mulier tantum moliri potuisset animo ut duo continua regna viro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa regio semine orta nullum momentum[1] in dando adimendoque regno
7 faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres; admonere paterni beneficii ac pro eo gratiam repetere; allicere donis iuvenes; cum de se ingentia

[1] momentum $D^2R^2\varsigma$: momenmentum D: monumentum Ω.

man just to be called a wife, just to endure servitude with him in silence; she had wanted one who should deem himself worthy of the sovereignty, who bethought him that he was the son of Tarquinius Priscus, who preferred the possession of the kingship to the hope of it. "If you are he," she cried, "whom I thought I was marrying, I call you both man and king; if not, then I have so far changed for the worse, in that crime is added, in your case, to cowardice. Come, rouse yourself! You are not come, like your father, from Corinth or Tarquinii, that you must make yourself king in a strange land; the gods of your family and your ancestors, your father's image, the royal palace, with its throne, and the name of Tarquinius create and proclaim you king. Else, if you have no courage for this, why do you cheat the citizens? why do you suffer yourself to be looked on as a prince? Away with you to Tarquinii or Corinth! Sink back into the rank of your family, more like your brother than your father!" With these and other taunts she excited the young man's ambition. Nor could she herself submit with patience to the thought that Tanaquil, a foreign woman, had exerted her spirit to such purpose as twice in succession to confer the royal power—upon her husband first, and again upon her son-in-law—if Tullia, the daughter of a king, were to count for nothing in bestowing and withdrawing a throne. Inspired by this woman's frenzy Tarquinius began to go about and solicit support, especially among the heads of the lesser families, whom he reminded of his father's kindness to them, and desired their favour in return; the young men he attracted by gifts; both by the great things he promised to do

B.C. 578–534

A.U.C. 176–220

pollicendo tum regis criminibus omnibus locis cres-
8 cere. Postremo, ut iam agendae rei tempus visum est, stipatus agmine armatorum in forum inrupit. Inde omnibus perculsis pavore in regia sede pro curia sedens patres in curiam per praeconem ad
9 regem Tarquinium citari iussit. Convenere extemplo, alii iam ante ad hoc praeparati, alii metu ne non venisse fraudi esset, novitate ac miraculo attoniti et
10 iam de Servio actum rati. Ibi Tarquinius maledicta ab stirpe ultima orsus: servum servaque natum post mortem indignam parentis sui, non interregno, ut antea, inito, non comitiis habitis, non per suffragium populi, non auctoribus patribus, muliebri dono reg-
11 num occupasse. Ita natum, ita creatum regem, fautorem infimi generis hominum, ex quo ipse sit, odio alienae honestatis ereptum primoribus agrum sordi-
12 dissimo cuique divisisse; omnia onera quae communia quondam fuerint, inclinasse in primores civitatis; instituisse censum, ut insignis ad invidiam locupletiorum fortuna esset, et parata unde, ubi[1] vellet, egentissimis largiretur.

[1] unde ubi *M*: ubi Ω.

himself, and by slandering the king as well, he everywhere strengthened his interest. At length, when it seemed that the time for action was now come, he surrounded himself with a body of armed men and burst into the Forum. Then, amidst the general consternation which ensued, he seated himself on the throne in front of the Curia, and commanded, by the mouth of a herald, that the senators should come to King Tarquinius at the senate-house. They at once assembled: some of them already prepared beforehand, others afraid that they might be made to suffer for it if they did not come; for they were astounded at this strange and wonderful sight, and supposed that Servius was utterly undone. Tarquinius then went back to the very beginning of Servius's family and abused the king for a slave and a slave-woman's son who, after the shameful death of his own father, Tarquinius Priscus, had seized the power; there had been no observance of the interregnum, as on former occasions; there had been no election held; not by the votes of the people had sovereignty come to him, not with the confirmation of the Fathers, but by a woman's gift. Such having been his birth, and such his appointment to the kingship, he had been an abettor of the lowest class of society, to which he himself belonged, and his hatred of the nobility possessed by others had led him to plunder the leading citizens of their land and divide it amongst the dregs of the populace. All the burdens which had before been borne in common he had laid upon the nation's foremost men. He had instituted the census that he might hold up to envy the fortunes of the wealthy, and make them available, when he chose to draw upon them, for largesses to the destitute.

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A.U.C. 176–220

XLVIII. Huic orationi Servius cum intervenisset trepido nuntio excitatus, extemplo a vestibulo curiae magna voce "Quid hoc," inquit, "Tarquini, rei est? Qua tu audacia me vivo vocare ausus es patres aut in 2 sede considere mea?" Cum ille ferociter ad haec, se patris sui tenere sedem, multo quam servum potiorem filium regis regni heredem, satis illum diu per licentiam eludentem insultasse dominis, clamor ab utriusque fautoribus oritur, et concursus populi fiebat in curiam, apparebatque regnaturum qui vicis- 3 set. Tum Tarquinius necessitate iam etiam ipsa cogente ultima audere, multo et aetate et viribus validior, medium arripit Servium elatumque e curia in inferiorem partem per gradus deiecit; inde ad 4 cogendum senatum in curiam rediit. Fit fuga regis apparitorum atque comitum: ipse prope exsanguis cum sine regio comitatu domum se reciperet ab iis,[1] qui missi ab Tarquinio fugientem consecuti erant 5 interficitur. Creditur, quia non abhorret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum invecta, nec reverita coetum virorum, evocavit virum e curia regemque 6 prima appellavit. A quo facessere iussa ex tanto tumultu, cum se domum reciperet pervenissetque ad summum Cyprium vicum, ubi Dianium nuper fuit,

[1] cum sine regio comitatu domum se reciperet ab iis *Alschefski*: cum semianimis (*or* -mes) regio comitatu domum se reciperet pervenissetque ad summum cōs primum vicum Ω.

XLVIII. In the midst of this harangue Servius, who had been aroused by the alarming news, came up and immediately called out in a loud voice from the vestibule of the Curia: "What means this, Tarquinius? With what assurance have you dared, while I live, to convene the Fathers or to sit in my chair?" Tarquinius answered truculently that it was his own father's seat he occupied; that the king's son was a fitter successor to his kingdom than a slave was; that Tullius had long enough been suffered to mock his masters and insult them. Shouts arose from the partisans of each, and the people began to rush into the senate-house; it was clear that he would be king who won the day. Tarquinius was now compelled by sheer necessity to go on boldly to the end. Being much superior to Servius in youth and strength, he seized him by the middle, and bearing him out of the senate-house, flung him down the steps. He then went back into the Curia to hold the senate together. The king's servitors and companions fled. The king himself, half fainting, was making his way home without the royal attendants, when the men whom Tarquinius had sent in pursuit of the fugitive came up with him and killed him. It is believed, inasmuch as it is not inconsistent with the rest of her wickedness, that this deed was suggested by Tullia. It is agreed, at all events, that she was driven in her carriage into the Forum, and nothing abashed at the crowd of men, summoned her husband from the Curia and was the first to hail him king. Tarquinius bade her withdraw from so turbulent a scene. On her way home she had got to the top of the Vicus Cyprius, where the shrine of Diana recently stood, and was bidding her driver

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flectenti carpentum dextra in Urbium clivum ut in collem Esquiliarum eveheretur, restitit pavidus atque inhibuit frenos is qui iumenta agebat, iacentemque
7 dominae Servium trucidatum ostendit. Foedum inhumanumque inde traditur scelus, monumentoque locus est—Sceleratum vicum vocant—quo amens agitantibus furiis sororis ac viri, Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento vehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse[1] ad penates suos virique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes propediem exitus sequerentur.

8 Ser. Tullius regnavit annos quattuor et quadraginta ita ut bono etiam moderatoque succedenti regi difficilis aemulatio esset. Ceterum id quoque ad gloriam accessit quod cum illo simul iusta ac legi-
9 tima regna occiderunt. Id ipsum tam mite ac tam moderatum imperium tamen, quia unius esset, deponere eum in animo habuisse quidam auctores sunt, ni scelus intestinum liberandae patriae consilia agitanti[2] intervenisset.

A.U.C. 220–244

XLIX. Inde L. Tarquinius regnare occepit, cui Superbo cognomen facta indiderunt, quia socerum gener sepultura prohibuit, Romulum quoque inse-
2 pultum perisse dictitans, primoresque patrum, quos Servi rebus favisse credebat, interfecit; conscius deinde male quaerendi regni ab se ipso adversus se exemplum capi posse, armatis corpus circumsaepsit;

[1] tulisse $\Omega^2\varsigma$: tulisset Ω.
[2] agitanti $R\varsigma$: agitanci M? : agitandi Ω.

turn to the right into the Clivus Urbius, to take her to the Esquiline Hill, when the man gave a start of terror, and pulling up the reins pointed out to his mistress the prostrate form of the murdered Servius. Horrible and inhuman was the crime that is said to have ensued, which the place commemorates—men call it the Street of Crime—for there, crazed by the avenging spirits of her sister and her former husband, they say that Tullia drove her carriage over her father's corpse, and, herself contaminated and defiled, carried away on her vehicle some of her murdered father's blood to her own and her husband's penates, whose anger was the cause that the evil beginning of this reign was, at no long date, followed by a similar end. B.C. 578–534

Servius Tullius had ruled forty-four years, so well that even a good and moderate successor would have found it hard to emulate him. But there was this to enhance his renown, that just and lawful kingship perished with him. Yet, mild and moderate though his sway was, some writers state that he had intended to resign it, as being a government by one man, had not the crime of one of his family interrupted his plans for the liberation of his country.

XLIX. Now began the reign of Lucius Tarquinius, whose conduct procured him the surname of Superbus, or the Proud. For he denied the rites of sepulture to his own father-in-law, asserting that Romulus had also perished without burial. He put to death the leading senators, whom he believed to have favoured the cause of Servius and, conscious that a precedent for gaining the kingship by crime might be found in his own career and turned against himself, he B.C. 534–510

A.U.C. 320–344

3 neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter vim habebat, ut qui neque populi iussu neque auctoribus
4 patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret, cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat,
5 perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos sed
6 unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset. Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos in patres legere, quo contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo
7 esset, minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur. Hic enim regum primus traditum[1] a prioribus morem de omnibus senatum consulendi solvit, domesticis consiliis rem publicam administravit; bellum, pacem, foedera, societates per se ipse, cum quibus voluit,
8 iniussu populi ac senatus, fecit diremitque. Latinorum sibi maxime gentem conciliabat, ut peregrinis quoque opibus tutior inter cives esset, neque hospitia modo cum primoribus eorum, sed adfinitates quoque
9 iungebat. Octavio Mamilio Tusculano—is longe princeps Latini nominis erat, si famae credimus, ab Ulixe deaque Circa oriundus—ei Mamilio filiam nuptum dat perque eas nuptias multos sibi cognatos amicosque eius conciliat.

[1] traditum *Grynaeus* ς: ut traditur Ω.

[1] *i.e.* causes affecting the *caput* (which might mean either "life" or "civic rights") of the accused.

[2] Circe bore to Ulysses a son, Telegonus, who founded Tusculum.

assumed a body-guard. He had indeed no right to the throne but might, since he was ruling neither by popular decree nor senatorial sanction. Moreover, as he put no trust in the affection of his people, he was compelled to safeguard his authority by fear. To inspire terror therefore in many persons, he adopted the practice of trying capital causes[1] by himself, without advisers; and, under the pretext thus afforded, was able to inflict death, exile, and forfeiture of property, not only upon persons whom he suspected and disliked, but also in cases where he could have nothing to gain but plunder. It was chiefly the senators whose numbers were reduced by this procedure, and Tarquinius determined to make no new appointments to the order, that it might be the more despised for its very paucity, and might chafe less at being ignored in all business of state. For this king was the first to break with the custom handed down by his predecessors, of consulting the senate on all occasions, and governed the nation without other advice than that of his own household. War, peace, treaties, and alliances were entered upon or broken off by the monarch himself, with whatever states he wished, and without the decree of people or senate. The Latin race he strove particularly to make his friends, that his strength abroad might contribute to his security at home. He contracted with their nobles not only relations of hospitality but also matrimonial connections. To Octavius Mamilius of Tusculum, a man by long odds the most important of the Latin name, and descended, if we may believe report, from Ulysses and the goddess Circe,[2] he gave his daughter in marriage, and in this way attached to himself the numerous kinsmen and friends of the man.

B.C. 534–510

A.U.C. 220-244

L. Iam magna Tarquini auctoritas inter Latinorum proceres erat, cum in diem certam ut ad lucum Ferentinae conveniant indicit: esse quae agere de 2 rebus communibus velit. Conveniunt frequentes prima luce: ipse Tarquinius diem quidem servavit, sed paulo ante quam sol occideret venit. Multa ibi toto die in concilio variis iactata sermonibus erant. 3 Turnus Herdonius ab Aricia ferociter in absentem Tarquinium erat invectus: haud mirum esse Superbo inditum Romae cognomen—iam enim ita clam quidem mussitantes, volgo tamen eum appellabant. An quicquam superbius esse quam ludificari sic omne 4 nomen Latinum? Principibus longe[1] ab domo excitis, ipsum qui concilium indixerit non adesse. Temptari profecto patientiam ut, si iugum acceperint, obnoxios premat. Cui enim non apparere ad- 5 fectare eum imperium in Latinos? Quod si sui bene crediderint cives, aut si creditum illud et non raptum parricidio sit, credere et Latinos, quamquam ne sic 6 quidem alienigenae, debere[2]; sin suos eius paeniteat, quippe qui alii super alios trucidentur, exsulatum eant, bona amittant, quid spei melioris Latinis portendi? Si se audiant, domum suam quemque inde abituros, neque magis observaturos diem concilii 7 quam ipse qui indixerit observet. Haec atque alia

[1] Principibus (principibui *O*) longe Ω: principibus enim *U*: longe *M*. [2] debere *M*: deberet (*or* -ent) Ω.

L. Tarquinius had already won great influence with the Latin nobles, when he gave notice that they should assemble on a certain day at the grove of Ferentina, saying that there were matters of common interest which he wished to discuss. The Latins gathered at daybreak in large numbers; Tarquinius himself, though he did indeed keep the day, arrived but a little while before sundown. There had been much talk in the council all day about various subjects. Turnus Herdonius of Aricia had inveighed violently against the absent Tarquinius. He said it was no wonder he had been given the name of Superbus at Rome—for that was the name by which they already called him, secretly and in whispers, but still quite generally;—could anything be more overbearing than to flout the whole Latin race as he was doing then? Their leaders had been summoned from distant homes, and the very man who had called the council was not there. He was evidently trying their patience, intending, if they submitted to the yoke, to use them as his vassals. For who could fail to see that he was aiming at sovereignty over the Latins? If his own people had done well to intrust this to him, if indeed it had been intrusted to him at all, and had not been ravished by foul murder, then it was right that the Latins also should intrust it to him—nay, not even then, for he was of foreign birth; but if his own subjects were weary of him, as men who, one after another, were being made to suffer death, exile, confiscation, what better prospect was held out to the Latins? If they were guided by the speaker they would depart every man to his own home, nor observe the day of meeting more than he who had proclaimed it was observing it. As these

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A.U.C. 220–244

eodem pertinentia seditiosus facinerosusque homo hisque artibus opes domi nactus cum maxime disse-
8 reret, intervenit Tarquinius. Is finis orationi fuit; aversi omnes ad Tarquinium salutandum. Qui silentio facto monitus a proximis ut purgaret se, quod id temporis venisset, disceptatorem ait se sumptum inter patrem et filium, cura reconciliandi eos in gratiam moratum esse, et quia ea res exemisset illum
9 diem, postero die acturum quae constituisset. Ne id quidem ab Turno tulisse tacitum ferunt; dixisse enim nullam breviorem esse cognitionem quam inter patrem et filium, paucisque transigi verbis posse: ni pareat patri, habiturum infortunium esse.

LI. Haec Aricinus in regem Romanum increpans ex concilio abiit. Quam rem Tarquinius aliquanto quam videbatur aegrius ferens confestim Turno necem machinatur, ut eundem terrorem quo civium
2 animos domi oppresserat Latinis iniceret. Et quia pro imperio palam interfici non poterat, oblato falso crimine insontem oppressit. Per adversae factionis quosdam Aricinos servum Turni auro corrupit, ut in[1] deversorium eius vim magnam gladiorum inferri clam
3 sineret. Ea cum una nocte perfecta essent, Tarquinius paulo ante lucem accitis ad se principibus

[1] ut in $MR^2Ald.$: in (ten *O*) Ω.

words and others of the same import were being uttered by the factious and turbulent Latin, who owed to these qualities his influence amongst his own people, Tarquinius came up. This was the end of the speech; all turned to salute Tarquinius. Silence was commanded, and the king, being advised by those nearest him to excuse himself for having come so late, declared that he had been chosen arbiter between a father and his son, and had been delayed by his anxiety to reconcile them. He added that since this business had used up that day, he would take up on the morrow the matters which he had meant to bring before them. They say that Turnus would not suffer even this to go unchallenged, asserting that there was no question more quickly settled than one betwixt father and son, for these few words were enough to end it: "Unless you obey your father it will be the worse for you." B.C. 534-510

LI. Girding thus against the Roman king, the Arician quitted the council. Tarquinius was considerably more vexed than he appeared to be, and at once looked about him for the means of destroying Turnus, that he might inspire in the Latins the same terror with which he had broken the spirit of the Romans. And since he could not openly put his man to death by virtue of sovereign right, he charged him with a crime of which he was innocent, and so destroyed him. Through the agency of certain men of the opposite party in Aricia, he bribed a slave of Turnus with gold to allow a large quantity of swords to be brought secretly into his master's lodging. Having accomplished this in a single night, Tarquinius, shortly before dawn, summoned the chief men of the Latins to his quarters, pretending to

A.U.C. 220–244

Latinorum quasi re nova perturbatus, moram suam hesternam, velut deorum quadam providentia inla-
4 tam, ait saluti sibi atque illis fuisse. Ab Turno dici sibi et primoribus populorum parari necem ut Latinorum solus imperium teneat. Adgressurum fuisse hesterno die in concilio; dilatam rem esse, quod
5 auctor concilii afuerit, quem maxime peteret. Inde illam absentis insectationem esse natam, quod morando spem destituerit. Non dubitare, si vera deferantur, quin prima luce, ubi ventum in concilium sit, instructus cum coniuratorum manu armatusque
6 venturus sit. Dici gladiorum ingentem esse numerum ad eum convectum. Id vanum[1] necne sit extemplo sciri posse. Rogare eos ut inde secum ad
7 Turnum veniant. Suspectam fecit rem et ingenium Turni ferox et oratio hesterna et mora Tarquini, quod videbatur ob eam differri caedes potuisse. Eunt inclinatis quidem ad credendum animis, tamen nisi
8 gladiis deprehensis cetera vana existimaturi. Ubi est eo ventum, Turnum ex somno excitatum circumsistunt custodes; comprehensisque servis, qui caritate domini vim parabant, cum gladii abditi ex omnibus locis deverticuli protraherentur, enimvero manifesta

[1] vanum Ω : uarum *R* : uerum R^2L.

have received alarming news, and informed them that his tardiness on the preceding day, as though somehow providentially occasioned, had been the means of saving himself and them. For he was told that Turnus was plotting his murder and that of the chief men of the different cities, that he might be sole ruler over the Latins. He would have attacked them the day before in the council, but had postponed the attempt because the summoner of the council, whom he chiefly aimed at, was not there. That was the reason Turnus had railed at him in his absence, for his delay had balked the Arician's expectation. Tarquinius said that he had no doubt, if his information was true, that Turnus would come at dawn, when they had assembled in the council, and would be armed and attended by a band of conspirators. It was said that a great quantity of swords had been carried to his lodging; the falsity or truth of this could be ascertained immediately, and he asked them to go with him to Turnus's quarters. The charge was made plausible both by the aggressive spirit of Turnus and his speech of the day before, and by Tarquinius's delay, since it seemed that the massacre might have been postponed on that account. The nobles went therefore with a disposition to believe the story, but still, if the swords should not be found, they were prepared to conclude the other charges false. As soon as they reached the place they wakened Turnus from his sleep and surrounded him with guards; and having overpowered the slaves, who out of affection for their master would have resorted to force, they proceeded to pull out the hidden swords from every corner of the inn. There was now no doubt that Turnus was

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res visa, iniectaeque Turno catenae; et confestim Latinorum concilium magno cum tumultu advocatur. 9 Ibi tam atrox invidia orta est gladiis in medio positis ut indicta causa, novo genere leti, deiectus ad caput aquae Ferentinae crate superne iniecta saxisque congestis mergeretur.

LII. Revocatis deinde ad concilium Latinis Tarquinius conlaudatisque qui Turnum novantem res pro manifesto parricidio merita poena adfecissent, 2 ita verba fecit: posse quidem se vetusto iure agere, quod, cum omnes Latini ab Alba oriundi sint, eo foedere[1] teneantur quo[2] ab Tullo res omnis Albana cum coloniis[3] suis in Romanum cesserit 3 imperium; ceterum se utilitatis id magis omnium causa censere ut renovetur id foedus, secundaque potius fortuna populi Romani ut participes Latini fruantur quam urbium excidia vastationesque agrorum, quas Anco prius, patre deinde suo regnante perpessi sint, semper aut exspectent aut patiantur. 4 Haud difficulter persuasum Latinis, quamquam in eo foedere superior Romana res erat; ceterum et capita nominis Latini stare ac sentire cum rege videbant, et sui[4] cuique periculi, si adversatus esset, recens erat 5 documentum. Ita renovatum foedus indictumque

[1] eo foedere *Perizonius*: in eo foedere Ω.
[2] quo ς: quod Ω. [3] coloniis ς: colonis Ω.
[4] sui *M*: Turnus sui Ω.

[1] In the account of this treaty at xxiv. 3 no Alban colonies are mentioned, nor do we know of any. Conway and Walters, therefore, keep *colonis* of the MSS., but we should rather expect *civibus* in this context.

caught in the act, and he was cast into chains, while the summons was instantly sent out, amidst intense excitement, for a council of the Latins. There such bitter resentment was aroused by the public display of the swords, that the accused was not permitted to plead his cause, but suffered a new kind of death, being plunged into the source of the Ferentine Water and sunk beneath a wicker crate heaped up with stones. B.C. 534–510

LII. Tarquinius then called the Latins again to the place of council, and praised them for the punishment which they had justly meted out to the rebellious attempt of Turnus, in view of the treason in which he had just been taken. The king then went on to say that it was in his power to proceed according to an ancient right, since all the Latins, having sprung from Alba, were included in that treaty by which, from the time of Tullus, the whole Alban state, with its colonies, had come under Rome's dominion.[1] But the advantage of all would be better served, he thought, if that treaty were renewed and the good fortune of the Roman people were thrown open to the participation of the Latins, than if they were always to be dreading or enduring the razing of their cities and the devastation of their lands which they had suffered first in Ancus's reign and afterward in that of the speaker's father. It was not difficult to persuade the Latins, although the Roman interest preponderated in this treaty. For the rest, they saw that the chiefs of the Latin name stood with the king and took his view of the matter, and they had just been given a demonstration of the danger they would each incur if they opposed the project. So the treaty was renewed, and the Latin

A.U.C. 220–244

iunioribus Latinorum ut ex foedere die certa ad
6 lucum Ferentinae armati frequentes adessent. Qui ubi ad edictum Romani regis ex omnibus populis convenere, ne ducem suum neve secretum imperium propriave signa haberent, miscuit manipulos ex Latinis Romanisque ut ex binis singulos faceret binosque ex singulis; ita geminatis manipulis centuriones imposuit.

LIII. Nec ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit; quin ea arte aequasset superiores reges, ni degeneratum in aliis huic quoque decori offecisset.
2 Is primus Volscis bellum in ducentos amplius post suam aetatem annos movit, Suessamque Pometiam
3 ex iis vi cepit. Ubi cum divendita[1] praeda quadraginta talenta argenti refecisset,[2] concepit animo eam amplitudinem Iovis templi quae digna deum hominumque rege, quae Romano imperio, quae ipsius etiam loci maiestate esset. Captivam pecuniam in aedificationem eius templi seposuit.
4 Excepit deinde eum[3] lentius spe bellum, quo Gabios, propinquam urbem, nequiquam vi adortus, cum obsidendi quoque urbem spes pulso a moenibus adempta esset, postremo minime arte Romana, fraude

[1] divendita ς: dividenta *M*: dividenda Ω.
[2] refecisset *Gronov. P*[1] *or P*[2] *marg.*: refecisset coepisset (*or* r. ac recepisset) *MRDL*: reque cepisset (*or* reccepisset *or* cepisset) Ω. [3] deinde eum Ω: deinde *M*.

[1] A Roman maniple was divided into halves, and each half was combined with the half of a Latin maniple, similarly divided, to form a new unit. The maniples were not, strictly speaking, doubled.

juniors were commanded to present themselves at the grove of Ferentina on a certain day, armed and in full force, as the treaty prescribed. When they had assembled, agreeably to the king's edict, from the different districts, Tarquinius was unwilling that they should have their own leaders, or a separate command, or their own standards; he therefore mingled Latins and Romans in the maniples, making one maniple of two and two of one, and over the maniples thus doubled he put centurions.[1] B.C. 534–510

LIII. But if the king was unjust in peace, yet he was not a bad general in war. Indeed, he would have equalled in this art the kings who had gone before him, if his degeneracy in other things had not also dimmed his glory here. It was he who began the war with the Volsci which was to last more than two hundred years after his time, and took Suessa Pometia from them by storm. There, having sold off the booty and raised forty talents of silver,[2] he conceived the project of a temple of Jupiter so magnificent that it should be worthy of the king of gods and men, the Roman empire, and the majesty of the site itself. The money from the captured city he put aside to build this temple.

He then engaged in an unexpectedly tedious war with Gabii, a neighbouring town. After first assaulting the place in vain, he laid siege to it, but this attempt was as unsuccessful as the other, for he was driven off from the walls; and he finally resorted to the policy, so unlike a Roman, of deceit

[2] As Livy gives the sum in talents, it has been suggested that he may here be following Fabius Pictor, whose history was written in Greek. The Euboic talent was worth roughly £220 or $1,060.

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5 ac dolo, adgressus est. Nam cum velut posito bello fundamentis templi iaciendis[1] aliisque urbanis operibus intentum se esse simularet, Sextus filius eius, qui minimus ex tribus erat, transfugit ex composito Gabios, patris in se saevitiam intolerabilem conque-
6 rens: iam ab alienis in suos vertisse superbiam, et liberorum quoque eum frequentiae taedere, ut quam in curia solitudinem fecerit domi quoque faciat, ne quam stirpem, ne quem heredem regni relinquat.
7 Se quidem inter tela et gladios patris elapsum nihil usquam sibi tutum nisi apud hostes L. Tarquini credidisse. Nam ne errarent, manere iis bellum quod positum simuletur, et per occasionem eum incautos
8 invasurum. Quod si apud eos supplicibus locus non sit, pererraturum se omne Latium, Volscosque inde[2] et Aequos et Hernicos petiturum, donec ad eos perveniat qui a patrum crudelibus atque impiis suppli-
9 ciis tegere liberos sciant. Forsitan etiam ardoris aliquid ad bellum armaque se adversus superbissimum regem ac ferocissimum populum inventurum.
10 Cum, si nihil morarentur, infensus ira porro inde abiturus videretur, benigne ab Gabinis excipitur. Vetant mirari si, qualis in cives, qualis in socios,
11 talis ad ultimum in liberos esset; in se ipsum post-

[1] iaciendis *Vacosanus* ζ: faciendis Ω.
[2] inde *Gronov.*: se inde Ω.

and trickery. For he pretended to have given up the war and to be engrossed in laying the foundations of his temple and in other city works, arranging meanwhile to let Sextus, who was the youngest of his three sons, desert to Gabii, and there complain that his father was intolerably cruel to him. His father's pride, he said, was now diverted from strangers upon his own family. Even his children were too many to please him, and the solitude which he had caused in the senate-house he wished to bring to pass in his own home also, that he might leave no descendant, no heir to his kingdom. The young man said that he had himself escaped from amidst the swords and javelins of his father, and had made up his mind that there was no safety for him anywhere save with the enemies of Lucius Tarquinius. Let them not delude themselves, he said; the war which the king pretended to have abandoned was still awaiting them, and when the chance offered he would attack them unawares. But if they had no room for suppliants, he was prepared to wander all over Latium, and thence seek out the Volsci and the Aequi and the Hernici, till at last he should come to people who knew how to protect a son from the cruel and wicked tortures inflicted on him by a father. Possibly he might even discover some enthusiasm for war and arms against the haughtiest of kings and the most insolent of nations. When it appeared that if they were indifferent he would leave them in anger and continue his flight, the Gabini bade him welcome. They told him not to be surprised if the king had been the same to his children that he had been to his subjects, to his allies; he would end by venting his cruelty upon

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remo saeviturum, si alia desint. Sibi vero gratum adventum eius esse, futurumque credere brevi ut illo adiuvante a portis Gabinis sub Romana moenia bellum transferatur.

LIV. Inde in consilia publica adhiberi. Ubi cum de aliis rebus adsentiri se veteribus Gabinis diceret, quibus eae notiores essent, ipse identidem belli auctor esse et in[1] eo sibi praecipuam prudentiam adsumere, quod utriusque populi vires nosset sciretque invisam profecto superbiam regiam civibus esse, quam ferre ne liberi quidem potuis-
2 sent. Ita cum sensim ad rebellandum primores Gabinorum incitaret, ipse cum promptissimis iuvenum praedatum atque in expeditiones iret, et dictis factisque omnibus ad fallendum instructis vana ad-
3 cresceret fides, dux ad ultimum belli legitur. Ibi cum inscia multitudine quid ageretur proelia parva inter Romam Gabiosque fierent, quibus plerumque Gabina res superior esset, tum certatim summi infimique Gabinorum Sex. Tarquinium dono deum sibi
4 missum ducem credere. Apud milites vero obeundo pericula ac labores pariter, praedam munifice largiendo, tanta caritate esse ut non pater Tarquinius

esse et in *Alschefski*: esset in Ω.

himself if other objects failed him. But for their own part, they said, they were glad of his coming, and they believed that in a short time, with his help, the seat of war would be shifted from the gates of Gabii to the walls of Rome. B.C. 534-510

LIV. Sextus next obtained admission to the Gabian councils of state, where, on all subjects but one, he professed a deference for the opinion of those who had long been citizens of Gabii and were better acquainted with the facts. War, however, he did take it upon himself to urge, again and again; and in so doing he assumed a special competence, as one who was acquainted with the strength of both nations, and knew that the king's pride must necessarily be hateful to all the citizens, since even his children had not been able to put up with it. In this way, little by little, he stirred up the leaders of the Gabini to reopen the war. He would himself take the boldest of the young men and go upon raids and forays. All his words and acts were calculated to deceive, and their ill-grounded confidence so increased that in the end he was chosen commander-in-chief. The war began, and the people had no suspicion of what was going forward. Skirmishes took place between Rome and Gabii, in which, as a rule, the Gabini had the best of it. Thereupon their citizens, both high and low, contended who should be loudest in expressing the belief that in Sextus Tarquinius they had a heaven-sent leader. And the soldiers, seeing him ever ready to share in their dangers and hardships, and ever lavish in distributing the plunder, came to love him so devotedly that the elder Tarquinius was not more truly master

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5 potentior Romae quam filius Gabiis esset. Itaque postquam satis virium conlectum ad omnes conatus videbat, tum ex suis unum sciscitatum Romam ad patrem mittit quidnam se facere vellet, quandoquidem ut omnia unus publice Gabiis[1] posset ei di
6 dedissent. Huic nuntio quia, credo, dubiae fidei videbatur, nihil voce responsum est; rex velut deliberabundus in hortum aedium transit sequente nuntio filii; ibi inambulans tacitus summa papaverum
7 capita dicitur baculo decussisse. Interrogando exspectandoque responsum nuntius fessus, ut re imperfecta, redit Gabios; quae dixerit ipse quaeque viderit refert: seu ira, seu odio, seu superbia insita ingenio
8 nullam eum vocem emisisse. Sexto ubi quid vellet parens quidve praeciperet tacitis ambagibus patuit, primores civitatis criminando alios apud populum,
9 alios sua ipsos invidia opportunos interemit. Multi palam, quidam, in quibus minus speciosa criminatio erat futura, clam interfecti. Patuit quibusdam volentibus fuga, aut in exsilium acti sunt, absentiumque
10 bona iuxta atque interemptorum divisui fuere. Largitiones inde praedaeque; et dulcedine privati commodi sensus malorum publicorum adimi, donec orba consilio auxilioque Gabina res regi Romano sine ulla dimicatione in manum traditur.

[1] publice Gabiis *Heerwagen*: P̄ (*or* p̄ *or* prae) Gabiis Ω: p. Gabinis *PBFO*: populis Gabinis facere *U*.

in Rome than was his son in Gabii. And so, when Sextus saw that he had acquired strength enough for any enterprise, he despatched one of his own followers to his father in Rome, to ask what the king might please to have him do, since the gods had granted that at Gabii all power in the state should rest with him alone. To this messenger, I suppose because he seemed not quite to be trusted, no verbal reply was given. The king, as if absorbed in meditation, passed into the garden of his house, followed by his son's envoy. There, walking up and down without a word, he is said to have struck off the heads of the tallest poppies with his stick. Tired of asking questions and waiting for an answer, the messenger returned to Gabii, his mission, as he thought, unaccomplished. He reported what he had said himself and what he had seen. Whether from anger, or hatred, or native pride, the king, he said, had not pronounced a single word. As soon as it was clear to Sextus what his father meant and what was the purport of his silent hints, he rid himself of the chief men of the state. Some he accused before the people; against others he took advantage of the odium they had themselves incurred. Many were openly executed; some, whom it would not have looked well to accuse, were put to death in secret. Some were permitted, if they chose, to leave the country; or they were driven into banishment, and once out of the way, their property was forfeited, just as in the case of those who had been put to death. Thence came largesses and spoils, and in the sweetness of private gain men lost their feeling for the wrongs of the nation, until, deprived of counsel and aid, the state of Gabii was handed over unresisting to the Roman king.

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LV. Gabiis receptis Tarquinius pacem cum Aequorum gente fecit, foedus cum Tuscis renovavit. Inde ad negotia urbana animum convertit; quorum erat primum ut Iovis templum in monte Tarpeio monumentum regni sui nominisque relinqueret: Tarquinios
2 reges ambos patrem vovisse, filium perfecisse. Et ut libera a ceteris religionibus area esset tota Iovis templique eius quod inaedificaretur, exaugurare fana sacellaque statuit, quae aliquot ibi, a Tatio rege primum in ipso discrimine adversus Romulum pugnae
3 vota, consecrata inauguratagque postea fuerant. Inter principia condendi huius operis movisse numen ad indicandam tanti imperii molem traditur deos. Nam cum omnium sacellorum exaugurationes admitterent
4 aves, in Termini fano non addixere; idque omen auguriumque ita acceptum est, non motam Termini sedem unumque eum deorum non evocatum sacratis
5 sibi finibus firma stabiliaque cuncta portendere. Hoc perpetuitatis auspicio accepto secutum aliud magnitudinem imperii portendens prodigium est: caput humanum integra facie aperientibus fundamenta
6 templi dicitur apparuisse. Quae visa species haud per ambages arcem eam imperii caputque rerum fore portendebat, idque ita cecinere vates, quique in urbe

[1] *i.e.* the Capitoline. So Propertius calls the Capitoline Jupiter "Tarpeius Pater" (IV. i. 7).

LV. Having got possession of Gabii, Tarquinius made peace with the Aequian nation and renewed the treaty with the Etruscans. He next turned his attention to affairs in the city. Here his first concern was to build a temple of Jupiter on the Tarpeian Mount [1] to stand as a memorial of his reign and of his name, testifying that of the two Tarquinii, both kings, the father had made the vow and the son had fulfilled it. And that the site might be free from all other religious claims and belong wholly to Jupiter and his temple, which was building there, he determined to annul the consecration of several fanes and shrines which had been first vowed by King Tatius at the crisis of the battle against Romulus, and had afterwards been consecrated and inaugurated. At the very time when he began this task the gods are said to have exerted their power to show the magnitude of this mighty empire. For whereas the birds permitted that the consecrations of all the other shrines should be rescinded, they refused their consent for the shrine of Terminus. This omen and augury was thus construed: the fact that the seat of Terminus was not moved, and that of all the gods he alone was not called away from the place consecrated to him, meant that the whole kingdom would be firm and steadfast. When this auspice of permanence had been received, there followed another prodigy foretelling the grandeur of their empire. A human head, its features intact, was found, so it is said, by the men who were digging for the foundations of the temple. This appearance plainly foreshowed that here was to be the citadel of the empire and the head of the world, and such was the interpretation of the soothsayers, both those who were in

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erant quosque ad eam rem consultandam ex Etruria
7 acciverant. Augebatur ad impensas regis animus. Itaque Pometinae[1] manubiae, quae perducendo ad culmen operi destinatae erant, vix in fundamenta
8 suppeditavere. Eo magis Fabio, praeterquam quod antiquior est, crediderim quadraginta ea sola talenta
9 fuisse, quam Pisoni, qui quadraginta milia pondo argenti seposita in eam rem scribit, summam[2] pecuniae neque ex unius tum urbis praeda sperandam et nullius ne horum quidem[3] operum fundamenta non exsuperaturam.

LVI. Intentus perficiendo templo fabris undique ex Etruria accitis non pecunia solum ad id publica est usus, sed operis etiam ex plebe. Qui cum haud parvus et ipse militiae adderetur labor, minus tamen plebs gravabatur se templa deum exaedi-
2 ficare manibus suis quam[4] postquam et ad alia ut specie minora, sic laboris aliquanto maioris traducebantur opera, foros in circo faciendos cloacamque maximam, receptaculum omnium purgamentorum urbis, sub terra agendam; quibus duobus operibus vix nova haec magnificentia quicquam adaequare
3 potuit. His laboribus exercita plebe, quia et urbi multitudinem, ubi usus non esset, oneri rebatur esse, et colonis mittendis occupari latius imperii fines vole-

[1] Pometinae *D*[3]*Sabellicus* (*cf.* liii. 2): Pomptinae (*or* Promptinae *or* Pontinae) Ω.

[2] summam *Glareanus*: quia summam Ω: quippe summam *Bekker*.

[3] *After* quidem Ω *have* magnificentiae (-a *M*), *which Frigell expelled as a gloss from* lvi. 2.

[4] quam *Bekker*: quae (quem *O*: que *D*) Ω.

the City and those who were called in from Etruria to consider the matter. This made the king all the more ready to spend money on the work. Hence the Pometian spoils, which had been destined to carry the building up to the roof, barely sufficed for the foundations. This disposes me to believe the statement of Fabius (who is, besides, the earlier writer) that the spoils were only forty talents, rather than Piso's, who writes that forty thousand pounds of silver were put aside for this work. So great a sum of money could not be expected from the booty of a single city of that time, and there is no building, even among those of our own day, for the foundations of which it would not be more than enough. B.C. 534–510

LVI. Being intent upon completing the temple, the king called in workmen from every quarter of Etruria, and used for this purpose not only the state funds but labourers drawn from the commons. This work was far from light in itself, and was added to their military service. Yet the plebeians felt less abused at having to build with their own hands the temples of the gods, than they did when they came to be transferred to other tasks also, which, while less in show, were yet rather more laborious. I mean the erection of seats in the circus, and the construction underground of the Great Sewer, as a receptacle for all the offscourings of the City,—two works for which the new splendour of these days has scarcely been able to produce a match. After making the plebeians toil at these hard tasks, the king felt that a populace which had now no work to do was only a burden to the City; he wished, moreover, by sending out settlers, to extend the frontiers of his dominions.

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bat, Signiam Circeiosque colonos misit, praesidia urbi futura terra marique.

4 Haec agenti portentum terribile visum: anguis ex columna lignea elapsus cum terrorem fugamque in regia[1] fecisset, ipsius regis non tam subito pavore
5 perculit pectus, quam anxiis implevit curis. Itaque cum ad publica prodigia Etrusci tantum vates adhiberentur, hoc velut domestico exterritus visu Delphos ad maxime inclitum in terris oraculum mittere
6 statuit; neque responsa sortium ulli alii committere ausus duos filios per ignotas ea tempestate terras,
7 ignotiora maria in Graeciam misit. Titus et Arruns profecti. Comes iis additus L. Iunius Brutus Tarquinia sorore regis natus, iuvenis longe alius ingenii,[2] quam cuius simulationem induerat. Is cum primores civitatis, in quibus fratrem suum, ab avunculo interfectum audisset, neque in animo suo quicquam regi timendum neque in fortuna concupiscendum relinquere statuit, contemptuque tutus esse ubi in iure
8 parum praesidii esset. Ergo ex industria factus ad imitationem stultitiae, cum se suaque praedae esse regi sineret, Bruti quoque haud abnuit cognomen, ut sub eius obtentu cognominis liberator ille populi
9 Romani animus latens opperiretur tempora sua. Is tum[3] ab Tarquiniis ductus Delphos, ludibrium verius quam comes, aureum baculum inclusum corneo cavato

[1] regia *Bauer D*? : regiam Ω.
[2] ingenii *Madvig* : ingenio Ω. [3] tum D_{ζ} : cum Ω.

[1] Literally "Dullard."

He therefore sent colonists to Signia and Circei, to safeguard the City by land and sea. B.C. 534–510

While he was thus occupied, a terrible portent appeared. A snake glided out of a wooden pillar, causing fright and commotion in the palace. As for the king himself, his heart was not so much struck with sudden terror as filled with anxious forebodings. Now for public prodigies none but Etruscan soothsayers were wont to be employed, but this domestic apparition, as he regarded it, so thoroughly alarmed him that he determined to send to Delphi, the most famous oracle in the world; and, not daring to trust the oracle's reply to anybody else, he sent two of his sons, through strange lands, as they were then, and over stranger seas, to Greece. Titus and Arruns were the ones who went; and, to bear them company, Lucius Junius Brutus was sent too, the son of Tarquinia, sister of the king, a young man of a very different mind from that which he pretended to bear. Having heard that the leading men of the state, and among them his own brother, had been put to death by his uncle, he determined to leave nothing in his disposition which the king might justly fear, nor anything in his fortune to covet, resolving to find safety in contempt, where justice afforded no protection. He therefore deliberately assumed the appearance of stupidity, and permitted himself and his property to become the spoil of the king; he even accepted the surname Brutus,[1] that behind the screen afforded by this title the great soul which was to free the Roman People might bide its time unseen. He it was who was then taken by the Tarquinii to Delphi, more as a butt than as a comrade; and he is said to have carried a golden staff inclosed within one

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ad id baculo tulisse donum Apollini dicitur, per am-
10 bages effigiem ingenii sui. Quo postquam ventum
est, perfectis patris mandatis cupido incessit animos
iuvenum sciscitandi, ad quem eorum regnum Ro-
manum esset venturum. Ex infimo specu vocem
redditam ferunt, "Imperium summum Romae habe-
bit, qui vestrum primus, o iuvenes, osculum matri
11 tulerit." Tarquinii, ut[1] Sextus, qui Romae relictus
fuerat, ignarus responsi expersque imperii esset, rem
summa ope taceri iubent; ipsi inter se uter prior,
cum Romam redisset, matri osculum daret, sorti per-
12 mittunt. Brutus alio ratus spectare Pythicam vocem
velut si prolapsus cecidisset terram osculo contigit,
scilicet quod ea communis mater omnium mortalium
13 esset. Reditum inde Romam, ubi adversus Rutulos
bellum summa vi parabatur.

LVII. Ardeam Rutuli habebant, gens ut in ea regione atque in ea aetate divitiis praepollens. Eaque ipsa causa belli fuit, quod rex Romanus cum ipse ditari, exhaustus magnificentia publicorum operum,
2 tum praeda delenire popularium animos studebat, praeter aliam superbiam regno infestos etiam quod se in fabrorum ministeriis ac servili tam diu habitos
3 opere ab rege indignabantur. Temptata res est si primo impetu capi Ardea posset. Ubi id parum pro-

[1] Tarquinii, ut ς : Tarquinius Ω : Tarquinius SEX *O*.

of cornel wood, hollowed out to receive it, as a gift to Apollo, and a roundabout indication of his own character. When they came there, and had carried out their father's instructions, a desire sprang up in the hearts of the youths to find out which one of them should be king at Rome. From the depths of the cavern this answer, they say, was returned : "The highest power at Rome shall be his, young men, who shall be first among you to kiss his mother." The Tarquinii, anxious that Sextus, who had been left in Rome, might know nothing of the answer and have no share in the rule, gave orders that the incident should be kept strictly secret ; as between themselves, they decided by lot which should be first, upon their return to Rome, to give their mother a kiss. Brutus thought the Pythian utterance had another meaning ; pretending to stumble, he fell and touched his lips to Earth, evidently regarding her as the common mother of all mortals. They then returned to Rome, where preparations for war with the Rutuli were being pushed with the greatest vigour. B.C. 534–510

LVII. Ardea belonged to the Rutuli, who were a nation of commanding wealth, for that place and period. This very fact was the cause of the war, since the Roman king was eager not only to enrich himself, impoverished as he was by the splendour of his public works, but also to appease with booty the feeling of the common people ; who, besides the enmity they bore the monarch for other acts of pride, were especially resentful that the king should have kept them employed so long as artisans and doing the work of slaves. An attempt was made to capture Ardea by assault. Having failed in this, the Romans invested

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cessit, obsidione munitionibusque coepti premi hostes.
4 In his stativis, ut fit longo magis quam acri bello, satis liberi commeatus erant, primoribus tamen magis
5 quam militibus; regii quidem iuvenes interdum otium conviviis comisationibusque inter se terebant.
6 Forte potantibus his apud Sex. Tarquinium, ubi et Collatinus cenabat Tarquinius Egerii filius, incidit de uxoribus mentio; suam quisque laudare miris modis.
7 Inde certamine accenso Collatinus negat verbis opus esse, paucis id quidem horis posse sciri, quantum ceteris praestet Lucretia sua. "Quin, si vigor iuventae inest, conscendimus equos invisimusque praesentes nostrarum ingenia? Id cuique spectatissimum sit quod necopinato[1] viri adventu occurrerit oculis."
8 Incaluerant vino; "Age sane!" omnes; citatis equis avolant Romam. Quo cum primis se intenden-
9 dentibus tenebris pervenissent, pergunt inde Collatiam, ubi Lucretiam haudquaquam ut regias nurus, quas in convivio luxuque cum aequalibus viderant tempus terentes, sed nocte sera deditam lanae inter lucubrantes ancillas in medio aedium sedentem inveniunt. Muliebris certaminis laus penes Lucretiam
10 fuit. Adveniens vir Tarquiniique excepti benigne; victor maritus comiter invitat regios iuvenes. Ibi

[1] necopinato $R^2\zeta$: necinopinato (nec inopinato *P*) Ω: in necopinato *Heerwagen*.

[1] A similar scene is imagined by Tibullus, I. iii. 83 ff. (p. 211 of the volume in this series).

the place with intrenchments, and began to beleaguer the enemy. Here in their permanent camp, as is usual with a war not sharp but long drawn out, furlough was rather freely granted, more freely however to the leaders than to the soldiers; the young princes for their part passed their idle hours together at dinners and drinking bouts. It chanced, as they were drinking in the quarters of Sextus Tarquinius, where Tarquinius Collatinus, son of Egerius, was also a guest, that the subject of wives came up. Every man fell to praising his own wife with enthusiasm, and, as their rivalry grew hot, Collatinus said that there was no need to talk about it, for it was in their power to know, in a few hours' time, how far the rest were excelled by his own Lucretia. "Come! If the vigour of youth is in us let us mount our horses and see for ourselves the disposition of our wives. Let every man regard as the surest test what meets his eyes when the woman's husband enters unexpected." They were heated with wine. "Agreed!" they all cried, and clapping spurs to their horses were off for Rome. Arriving there at early dusk, they thence proceeded to Collatia, where Lucretia was discovered very differently employed from the daughters-in-law of the king. These they had seen at a luxurious banquet, whiling away the time with their young friends; but Lucretia, though it was late at night, was busily engaged upon her wool, while her maidens toiled about her in the lamplight as she sat in the hall of her house.[1] The prize of this contest in womanly virtues fell to Lucretia. As Collatinus and the Tarquinii approached, they were graciously received, and the victorious husband courteously invited the young princes to his table. It was there

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Sex. Tarquinium mala libido Lucretiae per vim stu-
prandae capit; cum forma tum spectata castitas
11 incitat. Et tum quidem ab nocturno iuvenali ludo
in castra redeunt.

LVIII. Paucis interiectis diebus Sex. Tarquinius inscio Collatino cum comite uno Collatiam venit
2 Ubi exceptus benigne ab ignaris consilii cum post cenam in hospitale cubiculum deductus esset, amore ardens, postquam satis tuta circa sopitique omnes videbantur, stricto gladio ad dormientem Lucretiam venit sinistraque manu mulieris pectore oppresso "Tace, Lucretia," inquit; "Sex. Tarquinius sum; ferrum in manu est; moriere, si emiseris vocem."
3 Cum pavida ex somno mulier nullam opem, prope mortem imminentem videret, tum Tarquinius fateri amorem, orare, miscere precibus minas, versare in
4 omnes partes muliebrem animum. Ubi obstinatam videbat et ne mortis quidem metu inclinari, addit ad metum dedecus: cum mortua iugulatum servum nudum positurum ait, ut in sordido adulterio necata
5 dicatur. Quo terrore cum vicisset obstinatam pudicitiam velut vi victrix[1] libido, profectusque inde Tarquinius ferox expugnato decore muliebri esset, Lucretia maesta tanto malo nuntium Romam eundem ad patrem Ardeamque ad virum mittit, ut cum sin-

[1] velut vi victrix *M. Mueller*: uelut uictrix Ω.

that Sextus Tarquinius was seized with a wicked desire to debauch Lucretia by force; not only her beauty, but her proved chastity as well, provoked him. However, for the present they ended the boyish prank of the night and returned to the camp. B.C. 534–510

LVIII. When a few days had gone by, Sextus Tarquinius, without letting Collatinus know, took a single attendant and went to Collatia. Being kindly welcomed, for no one suspected his purpose, he was brought after dinner to a guest-chamber. Burning with passion, he waited till it seemed to him that all about him was secure and everybody fast asleep; then, drawing his sword, he came to the sleeping Lucretia. Holding the woman down with his left hand on her breast, he said, "Be still, Lucretia! I am Sextus Tarquinius. My sword is in my hand. Utter a sound, and you die!" In affright the woman started out of her sleep. No help was in sight, but only imminent death. Then Tarquinius began to declare his love, to plead, to mingle threats with prayers, to bring every resource to bear upon her woman's heart. When he found her obdurate and not to be moved even by fear of death, he went farther and threatened her with disgrace, saying that when she was dead he would kill his slave and lay him naked by her side, that she might be said to have been put to death in adultery with a man of base condition. At this dreadful prospect her resolute modesty was overcome, as if with force, by his victorious lust; and Tarquinius departed, exulting in his conquest of a woman's honour. Lucretia, grieving at her great disaster, dispatched the same message to her father in Rome and to her husband at Ardea:

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gulis fidelibus amicis veniant; ita facto maturatoque
6 opus esse; rem atrocem incidisse. Sp. Lucretius
cum P. Valerio Volesi filio, Collatinus cum L. Iunio
Bruto venit, cum quo forte Romam rediens ab nuntio
uxoris erat conventus. Lucretiam sedentem maes-
7 tam in cubiculo inveniunt. Adventu suorum lacri-
mae obortae, quaerentique viro "Satin salve?"[1]
"Minime," inquit; "quid enim salvi est mulieri
amissa pudicitia? Vestigia viri alieni, Collatine, in
lecto sunt tuo; ceterum corpus est tantum violatum,
animus insons; mors testis erit. Sed date dexteras
8 fidemque haud inpune adultero fore. Sex. est Tar-
quinius, qui hostis pro hospite priore nocte vi arma-
tus mihi sibique, si vos viri estis, pestiferum hinc
9 abstulit gaudium." Dant ordine omnes fidem; con-
solantur aegram animi avertendo noxam ab coacta in
auctorem delicti: mentem peccare, non corpus, et
10 unde consilium afuerit, culpam abesse. "Vos," in-
quit, "videritis, quid illi debeatur: ego me etsi pec-
cato absolvo, supplicio non libero; nec ulla deinde
11 inpudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet." Cultrum, quem
sub veste abditum habebat, eum in corde defigit pro-
12 lapsaque in volnus moribunda cecidit. Conclamat
vir paterque.

[1] salve Ω: saluae *R*.

that they should each take a trusty friend and come; that they must do this and do it quickly, for a frightful thing had happened. Spurius Lucretius came with Publius Valerius, Volesus' son. Collatinus brought Lucius Junius Brutus, with whom he chanced to be returning to Rome when he was met by the messenger from his wife. Lucretia they found sitting sadly in her chamber. The entrance of her friends brought the tears to her eyes, and to her husband's question, "Is all well?" she replied, "Far from it; for what can be well with a woman when she has lost her honour? The print of a strange man, Collatinus, is in your bed. Yet my body only has been violated; my heart is guiltless, as death shall be my witness. But pledge your right hands and your words that the adulterer shall not go unpunished. Sextus Tarquinius is he that last night returned hostility for hospitality, and armed with force brought ruin on me, and on himself no less—if you are men—when he worked his pleasure with me." They give their pledges, every man in turn. They seek to comfort her, sick at heart as she is, by diverting the blame from her who was forced to the doer of the wrong. They tell her it is the mind that sins, not the body; and that where purpose has been wanting there is no guilt. "It is for you to determine," she answers, "what is due to him; for my own part, though I acquit myself of the sin, I do not absolve myself from punishment; not in time to come shall ever unchaste woman live through the example of Lucretia." Taking a knife which she had concealed beneath her dress, she plunged it into her heart, and sinking forward upon the wound, died as she fell. The wail for the dead was raised by her husband and her father.

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LIX. Brutus illis luctu occupatis cultrum ex volnere Lucretiae extractum manantem[1] cruore prae se tenens, "Per hunc," inquit, "castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro, vosque, di, testes facio, me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe ferro, igni, quacumque denique[2] vi possim, exsecuturum nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum." 2 Cultrum deinde Collatino tradit, inde Lucretio ac Valerio, stupentibus miraculo rei, unde novum in Bruti pectore ingenium. Ut praeceptum erat iurant; totique ab luctu versi in iram, Brutum iam inde ad expugnandum regnum vocantem sequuntur ducem. 3 Elatum domo Lucretiae corpus in forum deferunt concientque miraculo, ut fit, rei novae atque indigni- 4 tate homines. Pro se quisque scelus regium ac vim queruntur. Movet cum patris[3] maestitia, tum Brutus castigator lacrimarum atque inertium querellarum auctorque quod viros, quod Romanos deceret, arma 5 capiendi adversus hostilia ausos. Ferocissimus quisque iuvenum cum armis voluntarius adest; sequitur et cetera iuventus. Inde patre praeside relicto Collatiae[4] custodibusque datis, ne quis eum motum regibus nuntiaret, ceteri armati duce Bruto Romam 6 profecti. Ubi eo ventum est, quacumque incedit

[1] manantem $O\zeta$: manante Ω.
[2] denique *Madvig* : dehinc (die hinc *O*) Ω.
[3] patris $R^2\zeta$: patres (patre *R*) Ω.
[4] patre praeside relicto Collatiae [ad portas] *Walters* : patri paris (*or* pari *or* pars *or* paris) praesidio relicto Collatiae ad portas Ω.

LIX. Brutus, while the others were absorbed in grief, drew out the knife from Lucretia's wound, and holding it up, dripping with gore, exclaimed, "By this blood, most chaste until a prince wronged it, I swear, and I take you, gods, to witness, that I will pursue Lucius Tarquinius Superbus and his wicked wife and all his children, with sword, with fire, aye with whatsoever violence I may; and that I will suffer neither them nor any other to be king in Rome!" The knife he then passed to Collatinus, and from him to Lucretius and Valerius. They were dumbfounded at this miracle. Whence came this new spirit in the breast of Brutus? As he bade them, so they swore. Grief was swallowed up in anger; and when Brutus summoned them to make war from that very moment on the power of the kings, they followed his lead. They carried out Lucretia's corpse from the house and bore it to the market-place, where men crowded about them, attracted, as they were bound to be, by the amazing character of the strange event and its heinousness. Every man had his own complaint to make of the prince's crime and his violence. They were moved, not only by the father's sorrow, but by the fact that it was Brutus who chid their tears and idle lamentations and urged them to take up the sword, as befitted men and Romans, against those who had dared to treat them as enemies. The boldest of the young men seized their weapons and offered themselves for service, and the others followed their example. Then, leaving Lucretia's father to guard Collatia, and posting sentinels so that no one might announce the rising to the royal family, the rest, equipped for battle and with Brutus in command, set out for Rome. Once there, wherever their armed

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armata multitudo pavorem ac tumultum facit; rursus ubi anteire primores civitatis vident, quidquid
7 sit haud temere esse rentur. Nec minorem motum animorum Romae tam atrox res facit quam Collatiae fecerat. Ergo ex omnibus locis urbis in forum curritur. Quo simul ventum est, praeco ad tribunum celerum, in quo tum magistratu forte Brutus erat,
8 populum advocavit. Ibi oratio habita nequaquam eius pectoris ingeniique quod simulatum ad eam diem fuerat, de vi ac libidine Sex. Tarquini, de stupro infando Lucretiae et miserabili caede, de orbitate Tricipitini, cui morte filiae causa mortis
9 indignior ac miserabilior esset. Addita superbia ipsius regis miseriaeque et labores plebis in fossas cloacasque exhauriendas demersae; Romanos homines, victores omnium circa populorum, opifices ac
10 lapicidas pro bellatoribus factos. Indigna Ser. Tulli regis memorata caedes et invecta corpori patris nefando vehiculo filia, invocatique ultores parentum di.
11 His atrocioribusque, credo, aliis, quae praesens rerum indignitas haudquaquam relatu scriptoribus facilia subicit, memoratis incensam multitudinem perpulit ut imperium regi abrogaret exsulesque esse iuberet
12 L. Tarquinium cum coniuge ac liberis. Ipse iunio-

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[1] For the *Celeres*, see xv. 8 and note. H. J. Edwards (*ad loc.*) thinks that the office comprised both military and civil functions—the command of the cavalry (*cf.* the *Magister Equitum* in republican times) and the presidency (as deputy of the king) of comitia and senate.

band advanced it brought terror and confusion; but again, when people saw that in the van were the chief men of the state, they concluded that whatever it was it could be no meaningless disturbance. And in fact there was no less resentment at Rome when this dreadful story was known than there had been at Collatia. So from every quarter of the City men came running to the Forum. No sooner were they there than a crier summoned the people before the Tribune of the Celeres,[1] which office Brutus then happened to be holding. There he made a speech by no means like what might have been expected of the mind and the spirit which he had feigned up to that day. He spoke of the violence and lust of Sextus Tarquinius, of the shameful defilement of Lucretia and her deplorable death, of the bereavement of Tricipitinus, in whose eyes the death of his daughter was not so outrageous and deplorable as was the cause of her death. He reminded them, besides, of the pride of the king himself and the wretched state of the commons, who were plunged into ditches and sewers and made to clear them out. The men of Rome, he said, the conquerors of all the nations round about, had been transformed from warriors into artisans and stone-cutters. He spoke of the shameful murder of King Tullius, and how his daughter had driven her accursed chariot over her father's body, and he invoked the gods who punish crimes against parents. With these and, I fancy, even fiercer reproaches, such as occur to a man in the very presence of an outrage, but are far from easy for an historian to reproduce, he inflamed the people, and brought them to abrogate the king's authority and to exile Lucius Tarquinius, together with his wife and children. Brutus himself then enrolled the juniors, who

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ribus, qui ultro nomina dabant, lectis armatisque ad concitandum inde adversus regem exercitum Ardeam in castra est profectus: imperium in urbe Lucretio, praefecto urbis iam ante ab rege instituto, relinquit.
13 Inter hunc tumultum Tullia domo profugit exsecrantibus, quacumque incedebat, invocantibusque parentum furias viris mulieribusque.

LX. Harum rerum nuntiis in castra perlatis cum re nova trepidus rex pergeret Romam ad comprimendos motus, flexit viam Brutus—senserat enim adventum—ne obvius fieret; eodemque fere tempore diversis itineribus Brutus Ardeam, Tarquinius Romam
2 venerunt. Tarquinio clausae portae exsiliumque indictum: liberatorem urbis laeta castra accepere, exactique inde liberi regis. Duo patrem secuti sunt, qui exsulatum Caere in Etruscos ierunt. Sex. Tarquinius Gabios tamquam in suum regnum profectus ab ultoribus veterum simultatium, quas sibi ipse cae-
3 dibus rapinisque concierat,[1] est interfectus.

L. Tarquinius Superbus regnavit annos quinque et viginti.[2] Regnatum Romae ab condita urbe ad
4 liberatam annos ducentos quadraginta quattuor. Duo consules inde comitiis centuriatis a praefecto urbis ex commentariis Ser. Tulli creati sunt, L. Iunius Brutus et L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

[1] concierat *M*: conciuerat *HRDL*: concitauerat Ω.
[2] quinque et viginti *M*: V et XL Ω.

[1] The "consuls," as they were called from the time of the Decemvirate, were originally designated "praetors"; Livy is anachronistic. The "centuriate comitia" was the assembly of the people by centuries, as classified by Servius, primarily for military ends. It is more likely that Lucretius presided

voluntarily gave in their names, and arming them set out for the camp at Ardea to arouse the troops against the king. The command at Rome he left with Lucretius, who had been appointed Prefect of the City by the king, some time before. During this confusion Tullia fled from her house, cursed wherever she went by men and women, who called down upon her the furies that avenge the wrongs of kindred. B.C. 534-510

LX. When the news of these events reached the camp, the king, in alarm at the unexpected danger, set out for Rome to put down the revolt. Brutus, who had perceived the king's approach, made a circuit to avoid meeting him, and at almost the same moment, though by different roads, Brutus reached Ardea and Tarquinius Rome. Against Tarquinius the gates were closed and exile was pronounced. The liberator of the City was received with rejoicings in the camp, and the sons of the king were driven out of it. Two of them followed their father, and went into exile at Caere, in Etruria. Sextus Tarquinius departed for Gabii, as though it had been his own kingdom, and there the revengers of old quarrels, which he had brought upon himself by murder and rapine, slew him.

Lucius Tarquinius Superbus ruled for five and twenty years. The rule of the kings at Rome, from its foundation to its liberation, lasted two hundred and forty-four years. Two consuls were then chosen in the centuriate comitia, under the presidency of the Prefect of the City, in accordance with the commentaries of Servius Tullius.[1] These were Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

over the election in the capacity of interrex (to which office Dion. iv. 84 says Lucretius was appointed by Brutus) than in that of prefect.

LIBRI I PERIOCHA

A. Adventus Aeneae in Italiam et res gestae. Ascani regnum Albae et deinceps Silviorum. Numitoris filia a Marte compressa nati Romulus et Remus. Amulius obtruncatus. Urbs a Romulo condita. Senatus lectus. Cum Sabinis bellatum. Spolia opima Feretrio Iovi lata. In curias[1] populus divisus. Fidenates, Veientes victi. Romulus consecratus.

Numa Pompilius ritus sacrorum tradidit. Porta Iani clausa.

Tullus Hostilius Albanos diripuit. Trigeminorum pugna. Metti Fufeti supplicium. Tullus fulmine consumptus.

Ancus Marcius Latinos devicit, Ostiam condidit.

Tarquinius Priscus Latinos superavit, circum fecit, finitimos devicit, muros et cloacas fecit.

Servio Tullio caput arsit. Servius Tullius Veientes devicit et populum in classes divisit, aedem Dianae dedicavit.

Tarquinius Superbus occiso Tullio regnum invasit. Tulliae scelus in patrem. Turnus Herdonius per Tarquinium occisus. Bellum cum Vulscis. Fraude Sex. Tarquini Gabi direpti.[2] Capitolium inchoatum. Termonis[3] et Iuventae arae moveri non potuerunt. Lucretia se occidit. Superbi expulsio. Regnatum est annis CCLV.

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[1] curias *Sigonius*: centurias *MSS.*

[2] direpti *MSS.*: (Gabini) recepti *Kornemann.*

[3] Termonis *Pithoeus* (*cf. Ennius, An.* 479*f.*; *Plut. Numa*, 16; *Dion. Hal.* iii. 69): cremonae *MSS.* (*over which in C is written* vel termine).

SUMMARY OF BOOK I

A. Arrival of Aeneas in Italy and his deeds. Reign of Ascanius, and after him of the Silvii, at Alba. Romulus and Remus born to Mars by the daughter of Numitor. Amulius killed. The City founded by Romulus. The senate chosen. War with the Sabines. *Spolia opima* dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius. The people divided into wards. The Fidenates and Veientes conquered. Romulus deified.

Numa Pompilius handed on religious rites. The door of Janus's temple closed.

Tullus Hostilius ravaged the country of the Albans. Battle of the triplets. Punishment of Mettius Fufetius. Tullus slain by a thunderbolt.

Ancus Martius conquered the Latins; founded Ostia.

Tarquinius Priscus defeated the Latins; made a circus; conquered the neighbouring peoples; built walls and sewers.

The head of Servius Tullius gave forth flames. Servius Tullius conquered the Veientes and divided the people into classes; dedicated a temple to Diana.

Tarquinius Superbus slew Tullius and seized the kingship. Tullia's crime against her father. Turnus Herdonius killed by the machinations of Tarquinius. War with the Volsci. Gabii sacked,[1] in consequence of the fraud of Sextus Tarquinius. The Capitol commenced. The altars of Termo and Juventa could not be moved.[2] Lucretia slew herself. Expulsion of Superbus. The kings reigned 255 years.[3]

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[1] According to Livy (liv. 10), Gabii was not sacked, but passed peacefully into the hands of Tarquinius. See critical note.

[2] In Livy (lv. 3) Juventa is not mentioned, and Termo appears in the form Terminus.

[3] Livy (lx. 3) says 244 years.

B. Latin's victis montem Aventinum adsignavit, fines protulit, Hostiam coloniam deduxit, caerimonias a Numa institutas renovavit.

Hic temptandae scientiae Atti Navi auguris causa fertur consuluisse eum, an id de quo cogitaret effici posset; quod cum ille fieri posse dixisset, iussisse eum novacula cotem praecidere, idque ab Atto protinus factum.

Regnavit annis XXIIII. Eo regnante Lucumo, Demarati Corinthi filius, a Tarquinis, Etrusca civitate, Romam venit et in amicitiam Anci receptus Tarquini Prisci nomen ferre coepit et post mortem Anci regnum excepit. Centum in patres allegit, Latinos subegit, ludos in circo edidit, equitum centurias ampliavit, urbem muro circumdedit, cloacas fecit.[1] Occisus est ab Anci filiis, cum regnasset annis XXXVIII.

Successit ei Servius Tullius, natus ex captiva nobili Corniculana, cui puero athuc in cunis posito caput arsisse traditum erat. Is censum primum egit, lustrum condidit, quo censa LXXX milia esse dicuntur, pomerium protulit, colles urbi adiecit Quirinalem, Viminalem, Aesquilinum, templum Dianae cum Latinis in Aventino fecit. Interfectus est a Lucio Tarquinio, Prisci filio, consilio filiae uae Tulliae, cum regnasset annis XLIIII.

Post hunc L. Tarquinius Superbus neque patrum neque populi iussu regnum invasit. Is armatos circa se in custodiam sui habuit. Bellum cum Vulscis gessit et ex spoliis eorum templum in Capitolio Iovi fecit. Gabios dolo in potestatem suam[2] redegit. Huius filiis Delphos profectis et consulentibus quis eorum Romae regnaturus

[1] Rossbach brackets this paragraph from *Regnavit* to *fecit.*
[2] potestatem suam *edd.*: potestate sua *MSS.*

B. Having beaten the Latins,[1] he assigned them the Aventine Hill; planted a colony at Ostia; extended the boundaries and revived the ceremonies established by Numa.

It was he who is said to have asked the augur, Attus Navius, to test his skill, whether the thing he was thinking of could be accomplished and, when Attus replied that it could, to have bid him cut a whetstone in two with a razor. Attus is said forthwith to have done.

He reigned 24 years. In his reign Lucumo, son of the Corinthian Demaratus, came from Tarquinii, an Etruscan city, to Rome, and being received into the friendship of Ancus began to bear the name of Tarquinius Priscus, and after the death of Ancus succeeded to the kingship. He added a hundred members to the senate; subjugated the Latins; gave games in the circus; increased the centuries of knights; surrounded the city with a wall; made sewers. He was killed by the sons of Ancus after ruling 38 years.

His successor was Servius Tullius, son of a noblewoman, a captive from Corniculum. It is related that when he was still a babe, lying in the cradle, his head burst into flames. He conducted the first census and closed the lustrum, and it is said that 80,000 were assessed. He enlarged the pomerium; added to the city the Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquiline Hills; and with the Latins erected a temple to Diana on the Aventine. He was killed by Lucius Tarquinius, son of Priscus, on the advice of his own daughter Tullia, after reigning 44 years.

After him Lucius Tarquinius Superbus seized the kingdom, without the authorization of either Fathers or People. He kept armed men about him to protect him. He waged war with the Volsci, and out of their spoils built a temple to Jupiter on the Capitol. He brought Gabii under his sway by guile. When his sons had gone to Delphi and were consulting the oracle as to which of

[1] *i.e.* Ancus.

esset, dictum est eum regnaturum qui primum matrem osculatus esset. Quod responsum cum ipsi aliter interpretarentur, Iunius Brutus, qui cum his profectus erat, prolapsum se simulavit et terram osculatus est; idque factum eius eventus conprobavit. Nam cum inpotenter se gerendo Tarquinius Superbus omnes in odium sui adduxisset, ad ultimum propter expugnatam nocturna vi a Sexto filio eius Lucretiae pudicitiam, quae ad se vocato patre Tricipitino et viro Collatino obtestata ne inulta mors eius esset cultro se interfecit, Bruti opera maxime expulsus est, cum regnasset annos XXV. Tum consules primi creati sunt L. Iunius Brutus L. Tarquinius Collatinus.

them should be king in Rome, answer was made that he should reign who should first kiss his mother. This response the princes themselves explained otherwise, but Junius Brutus, who had accompanied them, pretended to fall upon his face, and kissed the earth. And the outcome sanctioned his act. For when Tarquinius Superbus had brought all men to hate him by the violence of his behaviour, and finally Lucretia, whose chastity had been violated at night by the king's son Sextus, summoned her father Tricipitinus and her husband Collatinus and, adjuring them not to leave her death unavenged, killed herself with a knife, Tarquinius was expelled, chiefly through the efforts of Brutus, after a reign of 25 years. Then the first consuls were chosen, Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus.

BOOK II

LIBER II

A.U.C. 245

I. Libehi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum
2 potentiora quam hominum peragam. Quae libertas ut laetior esset proxumi regis superbia fecerat. Nam priores ita regnarunt ut haud immerito omnes deinceps conditores partium certe urbis, quas novas ipsi sedes ab se auctae multitudinis addiderunt, nume-
3 rentur. Neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem qui tantum gloriae Superbo exacto rege meruit pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset.
4 Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inviolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu, agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis et in aliena urbe cum patribus
5 serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore
6 adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? Dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii, eoque nutriendo perduxit

[1] This statement is too sweeping, for Livy nowhere attributes any enlargement of the City to Numa.

BOOK II

I. The new liberty enjoyed by the Roman people, B.C. 509
their achievements in peace and war, annual magistracies, and laws superior in authority to men will henceforth be my theme. This liberty was the more grateful as the last king had been so great a tyrant. For his predecessors so ruled that there is good reason to regard them all as successive founders of parts, at least, of the City, which they added to serve as new homes for the numbers they had themselves recruited.[1] Nor is there any doubt that the same Brutus who earned such honour by expelling the haughty Tarquinius, would have acted in an evil hour for the commonwealth had a premature eagerness for liberty led him to wrest the power from any of the earlier kings. For what would have happened if that rabble of shepherds and vagrants, having deserted their own peoples, and under the protection of inviolable sanctuary having possessed themselves of liberty, or at least impunity, had thrown off their fear of kings only to be stirred by the ruffling storms of tribunician demagogues, breeding quarrels with the senators of a city not their own, before ever the pledges of wife and children and love of the very place and soil (an affection of slow growth) had firmly united their aspirations? The nation would have crumbled away with dissension before it had matured. But it was favoured by the mild restraint of the government, which nursed it up to the point

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ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre
7 possent. Libertatis autem originem inde magis quia annuum imperium consulare factum est quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate, numeres.
8 Omnia iura, omnia insignia primi consules tenuere; id modo cautum est ne, si ambo fasces haberent, duplicatus terror videretur. Brutus prior concedente collega fasces habuit; qui non acrior vindex libertatis
9 fuerat quam deinde custos fuit. Omnium primum avidum novae libertatis populum, ne postmodum flecti precibus aut donis regiis posset, iure iurando
10 adegit neminem Romae passuros regnare. Deinde, quo plus virium in senatu frequentia etiam ordinis faceret, caedibus regis deminutum patrum numerum primoribus equestris gradus lectis ad trecentorum
11 summam explevit; traditumque inde fertur ut in senatum vocarentur qui patres quique conscripti essent: conscriptos, videlicet novum senatum, appellabant lectos. Id mirum quantum profuit ad concordiam civitatis iungendosque patribus plebis animos.

II. Rerum deinde divinarum habita cura; et quia quaedam publica sacra per ipsos reges factitata erant,

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[1] Later any senator might be called *pater conscriptus*, and it is possible that Livy and Festus (p. 254 M) were misled in supposing that originally the *patres* were one class of senators and the *conscripti* another. See Conway's note.

[2] Livy appears to have assumed that the new senators were plebeians, but this is almost certainly wrong. The first

where its ripened powers enabled it to bear good fruit of liberty. Moreover you may reckon the beginning of liberty as proceeding rather from the limitation of the consuls' authority to a year than from any diminution of their power compared with that which the kings had exercised. All the rights of the kings and all their insignia were possessed by the earliest consuls; only one thing was guarded against—that the terror they inspired should not be doubled by permitting both to have the rods. Brutus was the first to have them, with his colleague's consent, and he proved as determined in guarding liberty as he had been in asserting it. To begin with, when the people were still jealous of their new freedom, he obliged them to swear an oath that they would suffer no man to be king in Rome, lest they might later be turned from their purpose by the entreaties or the gifts of princes. In the next place, that the strength of the senate might receive an added augmentation from the numbers of that order, he filled up the list of the Fathers, which had been abridged by the late king's butcheries, drawing upon the foremost men of equestrian rank until he had brought the total up to three hundred. From that time, it is said, was handed down the custom of summoning to the senate the Fathers and the Enrolled, the latter being the designation of the new senators, who were appointed.[1] This measure was wonderfully effective in promoting harmony in the state and attaching the plebs to the Fathers.[2] B.C. 509

II. Matters of worship then received attention. Certain public sacrifices had habitually been performed by the kings in person, and that their

[1] definite notice of a plebeian senator occurs at v. xii. 11 (400 B.C.).

[2] 221

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necubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificolum creant. Id sacerdotium pontifici subiecere, ne additus nomini honos aliquid libertati, cuius tunc prima erat cura, officeret. Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo modum excesserint. Consulis enim alterius, cum nihil aliud offenderet,[1] nomen invisum civitati fuit: nimium Tarquinios regno adsuesse; initium a Prisco factum: regnasse dein Ser. Tullium; ne intervallo quidem facto oblitum, tamquam alieni, regni Superbum Tarquinium velut hereditatem gentis scelere ac vi repetisse; pulso Superbo penes Collatinum imperium esse; nescire Tarquinios privatos vivere. Non placere nomen, periculosum libertati esse. Hic[2] primo sensim temptantium animos sermo per totam civitatem est datus, sollicitamque suspicione plebem Brutus ad contionem vocat. Ibi omnium primum ius iurandum populi recitat neminem regnare passuros nec esse Romae unde periculum libertati foret. Id summa ope tuendum esse neque ullam rem quae eo pertineat contemnendam. Invitum se dicere, hominis causa, nec dicturum fuisse ni caritas rei publicae vinceret: non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem recuperatam esse; regium genus, regium nomen non

[1] offenderet *Bauer*: offenderit Ω. [2] hic *Gruter*: hinc Ω.

absence might nowhere be regretted, a "king of sacrifices" was appointed. This priesthood they made subordinate to the pontifex, lest the office, in conjunction with the title, might somehow prove an obstacle to liberty, which was at that time their chief concern. Perhaps the pains they took to safeguard it, even in trivial details, may have been excessive. For the name of one of the consuls, though he gave no other offence, was hateful to the citizens. "The Tarquinii had become too used to sovereignty. It had begun with Priscus; Servius Tullius had then been king; but not even this interruption had caused Tarquinius Superbus to forget the throne or regard it as another's; as though it had been the heritage of his family, he had used crime and violence to get it back; Superbus was now expelled, but the supreme power was in the hands of Collatinus. The Tarquinii knew not how to live as private citizens. Their name was irksome and a menace to liberty." Beginning in this way, with a cautious sounding of sentiment, the talk spread through the entire nation, and the plebs had become anxious and suspicious, when Brutus summoned them to an assembly. There he first of all recited the oath which the people had taken, that they would suffer no king in Rome, nor any man who might be dangerous to liberty. This oath they must uphold, he said, with all their might, nor make light of anything which bore upon it. He spoke with reluctance, on the man's account, nor would he have broken silence unless he had been forced to do so by his love of country. The Roman people did not believe that they had recovered absolute freedom. The royal family, the royal name

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solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse; id offi-
7 cere, id obstare libertati. "Hunc tu," inquit, "tua voluntate, L. Tarquini, remove metum. Meminimus, fatemur, eiecisti reges; absolve beneficium tuum, aufer hinc regium nomen. Res tuas tibi non solum reddent cives tui auctore me, sed, si quid deest, munifice augebunt. Amicus abi; exonera civitatem vano forsitan metu; ita persuasum est animis, cum gente Tarquinia regnum hinc abitu-
8 rum." Consuli primo tam novae rei ac subitae admiratio incluserat vocem; dicere deinde incipientem primores civitatis circumsistunt, eadem multis
9 precibus orant. Et ceteri quidem movebant minus: postquam Sp. Lucretius, maior aetate ac dignitate, socer praeterea ipsius, agere varie rogando alternis
10 suadendoque coepit, ut vinci se consensu civitatis pateretur, timens consul ne postmodum privato sibi eadem illa cum bonorum amissione additaque alia insuper ignominia acciderent, abdicavit se consulatu rebusque suis omnibus Lavinium translatis civitate
11 cessit. Brutus ex senatus consulto ad populum tulit ut omnes Tarquiniae gentis exsules essent. Collegam sibi comitiis centuriatis creavit P. Valerium, quo adiutore reges eiecerat.

were not only present in the state, but were actu- B.C. 509
ally in authority, an obstacle and a stumbling-block in the way of liberty. "This fear," he cried, "do you yourself remove, Lucius Tarquinius, of your own free will! We are mindful—we confess it—that you drove out the kings; complete the good work you have begun, and rid us of the royal name. Your possessions shall not only be granted you by the citizens, at my instance, but if they are in any way inadequate they shall be generously increased. Depart our friend, and relieve the state of what is, perhaps, an idle fear. The people are persuaded that with the family of Tarquinius the kingship will vanish from amongst us." The consul was at first prevented from uttering a word by his astonishment at this strange and unexpected turn; then, when he tried to speak, the chief men of the state surrounded him, and with many entreaties made the same request. The others had little influence over him, but when Spurius Lucretius, his superior in years and dignity, and his father-in-law besides, began to urge him, with mingled entreaty and advice, to permit himself to yield to the unanimous wish of his fellow-citizens, Collatinus became alarmed lest when his year of office should have ended, his misfortunes might be increased by the confiscation of his property and the addition of yet other ignominies. He therefore resigned the consulship, and transferring all his possessions to Lavinium, withdrew from the Roman state. In pursuance of a resolution of the senate, Brutus proposed to the people a measure which decreed the exile of all the Tarquinian race. To be his colleague the centuriate comitia, under his presidency, elected Publius Valerius, who had helped him to expel the kings.

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III. Cum haud cuiquam in dubio esset bellum ab Tarquiniis imminere, id quidem spe omnium serius fuit; ceterum, id quod non timebant, per dolum ac
2 proditionem prope libertas amissa est. Erant in Romana iuventute adulescentes aliquot, nec ii tenui loco orti, quorum in regno libido solutior fuerat, aequales sodalesque adulescentium Tarquiniorum,
3 adsueti more regio vivere. Eam tum aequato iure omnium licentiam quaerentes, libertatem aliorum in suam vertisse servitutem inter se conquerebantur: regem hominem esse, a quo impetres, ubi ius, ubi iniuria opus sit; esse gratiae locum, esse beneficio, et irasci et ignoscere posse, inter amicum atque
4 inimicum discrimen nosse; leges rem surdam, inexorabilem esse, salubriorem melioremque inopi quam potenti, nihil laxamenti nec veniae habere, si modum excesseris; periculosum esse in tot humanis erroribus
5 sola innocentia vivere. Ita iam sua sponte aegris animis legati ab regibus superveniunt sine mentione reditus bona tantum repetentes. Eorum verba postquam in senatu audita sunt, per aliquot dies ea consultatio tenuit, ne non reddita belli causa, reddita
6 belli materia et adiumentum essent. Interim legati

III. Although no one doubted that the Tarquinii would presently go to war, their attack was delayed beyond all expectation; while a thing men did not fear at all, to wit a treasonable plot, almost cost Rome her liberty. There were among the young men a number of youths, the sons of families not unimportant, whose pleasures had been less confined under the monarchy, who, being of the same age as the young Tarquinii, and their cronies, had grown used to the untrammelled life of princes. This licence they missed, now that all enjoyed equal rights, and they had got into the way of complaining to each other that the liberty of the rest had resulted in their own enslavement. A king was a man, from whom one could obtain a boon, whether it were just or unjust; there was room for countenance and favour; a king could be angry, could forgive, could distinguish between friend and enemy. The law was a thing without ears, inexorable, more salutary and serviceable to the pauper than to the great man; it knew no relaxation or indulgence, if one exceeded bounds; and, inasmuch as man is so prone to blunder, it was dangerous to rely on innocence alone. Thanks to such reflections, they were already infected with disloyalty when envoys from the royal family appeared, who without saying anything about the return of the Tarquinii, sought merely to recover their property. The senate, having given them a hearing, debated the question for several days; for they feared that if they refused to make restitution it would be a pretext for war, if they consented it would be to furnish means and assistance for its prosecution. Meantime the envoys were B.C. 509

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alia[1] moliri, aperte bona repetentes clam reciperandi regni consilia struere, et tamquam ad id quod agi videbatur ambientes, nobilium adulescentium animos
7 pertemptant. A quibus placide oratio accepta est, iis litteras ab Tarquiniis reddunt et de accipiendis clam nocte in urbem regibus conloquuntur. IV. Vitelliis Aquiliisque fratribus primo commissa res est. Vitelliorum soror consuli nupta Bruto erat, iamque ex eo matrimonio adulescentes erant liberi, Titus Tiberiusque; eos quoque in societatem consilii avun-
2 culi adsumunt. Praeterea aliquot nobiles adulescentes conscii adsumpti, quorum vetustate memoria
3 abiit. Interim cum in senatu vicisset sententia quae censebat reddenda bona, eamque ipsam causam morae in urbe haberent legati, quod spatium ad vehicula comparanda a consulibus sumpsissent quibus regum asportarent res, omne id tempus cum coniuratis consultando absumunt, evincuntque instando ut
4 litterae sibi ad Tarquinios darentur: nam aliter qui credituros eos non vana ab legatis super rebus tantis adferri? Datae litterae, ut pignus fidei essent, mani-
5 festum facinus fecerunt. Nam cum pridie quam legati ad Tarquinios proficiscerentur cenatum[2] forte apud Vitellios esset, coniuratique ibi remotis arbitris multa inter se de novo, ut fit, consilio egissent, ser-

[1] alia *Crevier*: alia alia *P*: alii alia Ω.
[2] cenatum ς *Duker*: et cenatum (*or* cae-) Ω.

exerting themselves to a different purpose. Ostensibly B.C. 509
seeking to recover the property, they secretly laid their plans for winning back the kingdom; and, as if in furtherance of their apparent object, they went about sounding the disposition of the youthful nobles. To those who gave them a friendly hearing they delivered letters from the Tarquinii, and plotted with them to admit the royal family secretly by night into the City. IV. The brothers Vitellii and Aquilii were the first to be entrusted with the project. A sister of the Vitellii had married the consul Brutus, and there were sons of this marriage who were now young men, Titus and Tiberius; these were also admitted by their uncles to a share in the design. There were besides several other young nobles taken into the secret, but their names are lost in antiquity. The senate meantime had acquiesced in the opinion of those who were in favour of giving back the property. This very fact gave the agents of the exiles an excuse for lingering in the City, for the consuls had granted them time for obtaining vehicles with which to carry away the belongings of the royal family. All this time they spent in consultation with the conspirators, whom they urged and at length persuaded to give them letters for the Tarquinii: for otherwise how could the princes be convinced that the statements of their agents regarding matters of such importance were to be relied on? These letters, being given as a pledge of sincerity, furnished clear proof of the crime, For on the eve of the envoys' setting out to rejoin their masters it happened that they were dining at the house of the Vitellii, where the conspirators, having dismissed all witnesses, had much talk together, naturally enough, about their

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monem eorum ex servis unus excepit, qui iam antea
6 id senserat agi, sed eam occasionem, ut litterae legatis darentur quae deprehensae rem coarguere possent, exspectabat. Postquam datas sensit, rem ad
7 consules detulit. Consules ad deprehendendos legatos coniuratosque profecti domo sine tumultu rem omnem oppressere; litterarum in primis habita cura ne interciderent. Proditoribus extemplo in vincla coniectis, de legatis paululum addubitatum est, et quamquam visi sunt commisisse ut hostium loco essent, ius tamen gentium valuit. V. De bonis regiis,[1] quae reddi ante censuerant, res integra refertur ad patres. Ibi victi ira[2] vetuere reddi, vetuere
2 in publicum redigi: diripienda plebi sunt data, ut contacta regia praeda spem in perpetuum cum iis pacis amitteret. Ager Tarquiniorum, qui inter urbem ac Tiberim fuit, consecratus Marti Martius
3 deinde campus fuit. Forte ibi tum seges farris dicitur fuisse matura messi. Quem campi fructum quia religiosum erat consumere, desectam cum stramento segetem magna vis hominum simul immissa corbibus fudere in Tiberim tenui fluentem aqua, ut mediis caloribus solet. Ita in vadis haesitantis fru-

[1] regiis *Gruter*: regis Ω.
[2] Ibi victi ira (ibi victă ra *M*) Ω: ii victi ira *Weissenborn*: ibi vicit ira *Frey*.

[1] Ordinarily the Roman farmer cut the stalk close to the ear, but this time it was cut near the ground, that the crop might be completely destroyed.

new design. This conversation one of the slaves overheard. He had for some time perceived what was in the wind, but was waiting for the opportunity which the delivery of the letters to the envoys would provide, that their seizure might make good his accusation. When he saw that the letters had been given, he laid the matter before the consuls. The consuls left their houses, arrested the agents and the conspirators, and, without making any disturbance, completely crushed the plot, being especially careful not to lose the letters. The traitors were thrown into prison forthwith. As for the envoys, it was uncertain for a little while what would be done with them, but, notwithstanding they appeared to have deserved no less than to be treated as enemies, the law of nations nevertheless prevailed. V. The question of the royal property, which they had before voted to return, was laid before the Fathers for fresh consideration. This time anger won the day. They refused to return it, and refused to confiscate it to the state, but gave it up to the plebeians to plunder, that having had their fingers in the spoils of the princes they might for ever relinquish hope of making their peace with them. The land of the Tarquinii, lying between the City and the Tiber, was consecrated to Mars and became the Campus Martius. It happened, they say, that there was then standing upon it a crop of spelt, ripe for the harvest. Since this produce of the land might not, for religious reasons, be consumed, the grain was cut, straw and all,[1] by a large body of men, who were set to work upon it simultaneously, and was carried in baskets and thrown into the Tiber, then flowing with a feeble current, as is usually the case in midsummer. So the heaps

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4 menti acervos sedisse inlitos limo; insulam inde paulatim, et aliis quae fert temere flumen eodem invectis, factam. Postea credo additas moles manuque adiutum, ut tam eminens area firmaque templis 5 quoque ac porticibus sustinendis esset. Direptis bonis regum damnati proditores sumptumque supplicium, conspectius eo quod poenae capiendae ministerium patri de liberis consulatus imposuit, et qui spectator erat amovendus, eum ipsum fortuna ex- 6 actorem supplicii dedit. Stabant deligati ad palum nobilissimi iuvenes; sed a ceteris, velut ab ignotis capitibus, consulis liberi omnium in se averterant oculos, miserebatque non poenae magis homines 7 quam sceleris quo poenam meriti essent: illos eo potissimum anno patriam liberatam, patrem liberatorem, consulatum ortum ex domo Iunia, patres, plebem, quidquid deorum hominumque Romanorum esset, induxisse in animum ut superbo quondam regi, 8 tum infesto exsuli proderent. Consules in sedem processere suam, missique lictores ad sumendum supplicium. Nudatos virgis caedunt securique feriunt, cum inter omne tempus pater voltusque et os eius spectaculo esset eminente animo patrio inter 9 publicae poenae ministerium. Secundum poenam

of grain, caught in the shallow water, settled down in the mud, and out of these and the accumulation of other chance materials such as a river brings down, there was gradually formed an island. Later, I suppose, embankments were added, and work was done, to raise the surface so high above the water and make it strong enough to sustain even temples and porticoes. When the chattels of the princes had been pillaged, sentence was pronounced and punishment inflicted upon the traitors—a punishment the more conspicuous because the office of consul imposed upon a father the duty of exacting the penalty from his sons, and he who ought to have been spared even the sight of their suffering was the very man whom Fortune appointed to enforce it. Bound to the stake stood youths of the highest birth. But the rest were ignored as if they had been of the rabble : the consul's sons drew all eyes upon themselves. Men pitied them for their punishment not more than for the crime by which they had deserved that punishment. To think that those young men, in that year of all others, when their country was liberated and her liberator their own father, and when the consulship had begun with the Junian family, could have brought themselves to betray all —the senate, the plebs, and all the gods and men of Rome—to one who had formerly been a tyrannical king and was then an enemy exile! The consuls advanced to their tribunal and dispatched the lictors to execute the sentence. The culprits were stripped, scourged with rods, and beheaded, while through it all men gazed at the expression on the father's face, where they might clearly read a father's anguish, as he administered the nation's retribution. When the

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nocentium, ut in utramque partem arcendis sceleribus exemplum nobile esset, praemium indici pecunia ex aerario, libertas et civitas data. Ille primum dicitur vindicta liberatus. Quidam vindictae quoque nomen tractum ab illo putant; Vindicio ipsi nomen fuisse. Post illum observatum ut qui ita liberati essent in civitatem accepti viderentur.

VI. His sicut acta erant nuntiatis incensus Tarquinius non dolore solum tantae ad inritum cadentis spei sed etiam odio iraque, postquam dolo viam obsaeptam vidit, bellum aperte moliendum ratus circumire supplex Etruriae urbes; orare maxime Veientes Tarquiniensesque, ne ex se[1] ortum, eiusdem sanguinis, extorrem, egentem ex tanto modo regno cum liberis adulescentibus ante oculos suos perire sinerent. Alios peregre in regnum Romam accitos: se regem, augentem bello Romanum imperium a proximis scelerata coniuratione pulsum. Eos inter se, quia nemo unus satis dignus regno visus sit, partes regni rapuisse; bona sua diripienda populo dedisse, ne quis expers sceleris esset. Patriam se regnumque suum repetere et persequi ingratos

[1] ne ex se *Drakenborch*: ni (*or* ne) se Ω.

[1] A staff with which the slave was touched in the ceremony of manumission. The etymology suggested in the next sentence is wrong; *Vindicius*, like *vindicta*, is derived from *vindex*.

guilty had suffered, that the example might be in both respects a notable deterrent from crime, the informer was rewarded with money from the treasury, emancipation, and citizenship. He is said to have been the first to be freed by the *vindicta*.[1] Some think that even the word *vindicta* was derived from his name, which they suppose to have been Vindicius. From his time onwards it was customary to regard those who had been freed by this form as admitted to citizenship. B.C. 509

VI. When these occurrences had been faithfully reported to Tarquinius, he was stirred not only by disappointment at the collapse of so great hopes, but also by hatred and anger. He saw that the way was now closed against trickery, and believed it was time to contrive an open war. He therefore went about as a suppliant amongst the cities of Etruria, directing his prayers chiefly to the Veientes and the Tarquinienses. Reminding them that he had come from them and was of the same blood as themselves, and that exile and poverty had followed hard upon his loss of what had been but now great power, he besought them not to let him perish, with his youthful sons, before their very eyes. Others had been called in from abroad to be kings in Rome: he himself, while actually king, and enlarging Rome's sway by war, had been driven out by his next-of-kin in a wicked conspiracy. His enemies, perceiving that no single claimant was fit to be king, had seized and usurped the power amongst themselves, and had given up his goods to be plundered by the people, that none might be without a share in the guilt. He wished to regain his country and his sovereignty, and to punish the ungrateful Romans. Let them

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cives velle. Ferrent opem, adiuvarent; suas quoque veteres iniurias ultum irent, totiens caesas legiones, 4 agrum ademptum. Haec moverunt Veientes, ac pro se quisque Romano saltem duce ignominias demendas belloque amissa repetenda minaciter fremunt. Tarquinienses nomen ac cognatio movet: pulchrum 5 videbatur suos Romae regnare. Ita duo duarum civitatium exercitus ad repetendum regnum belloque persequendos Romanos secuti Tarquinium. Postquam in agrum Romanum ventum est, obviam hosti 6 consules eunt: Valerius quadrato agmine peditem ducit; Brutus ad explorandum cum equitatu antecessit. Eodem modo primus eques hostium agminis fuit; praeerat Arruns Tarquinius, filius regis; rex 7 ipse cum legionibus sequebatur. Arruns ubi ex lictoribus procul consulem esse, deinde iam propius ac certius facie quoque Brutum cognovit, inflammatus ira "Ille est vir," inquit, "qui nos extorres expulit patria. Ipse en ille nostris decoratus insignibus 8 magnifice incedit. Di regum ultores adeste." Concitat calcaribus equum atque in ipsum infestus consulem derigit. Sensit in se iri Brutus. Decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus; avide 9 itaque se certamini offert, adeoque infestis animis concurrerunt, neuter, dum hostem volneraret, sui protegendi corporis memor, ut contrario ictu per

succour and support him, and avenge, as well, their own long-standing grievances, the oft-repeated destruction of their armies, and seizure of their lands. This last plea moved the men of Veii, and they cried out with threatenings that they ought, at all events with a Roman for their commander, to wipe out their disgraces and recover what they had lost in war. The Tarquinienses were influenced by his name and kinship: it seemed a fine thing to them that one of their blood should be king in Rome. So it came about that two armies, representing two nations, followed Tarquinius, to regain his kingdom for him and to chastise the Romans. When they had come into Roman territory the consuls went out to meet the enemy: Valerius led the foot in defensive formation; Brutus, with the cavalry, went ahead to scout. In the same fashion the enemy's horse headed their march, commanded by Arruns Tarquinius, the king's son, while the king himself followed with the legions. Arruns, perceiving a long way off by the consul's lictors that it was he, and then, as they drew nearer together, recognizing Brutus more unmistakably by his countenance, blazed with resentment. "Yonder," he cried, "is the man who drove us into exile from our native land. Look! He is himself decked out with our trappings, as he comes proudly on! O gods, avengers of kings, be with us!" Spurring his horse, he charged straight at the consul. Brutus saw that he was the object of the man's attack. In those days it was to a general's credit to take part in the actual fighting, so he eagerly accepted the challenge, and they rushed at one another with such desperation, neither of them taking thought for his own defence if only he might wound his adversary, that B.C. 509

A.U.C. 245 parmam uterque transfixus duabus haerentes hastis
10 moribundi ex equis lapsi sint. Simul et cetera
equestris pugna coepit, neque ita multo post et
pedites superveniunt. Ibi varia victoria et velut
aequo Marte pugnatum est: dextera utrimque cor-
11 nua vicere, laeva superata. Veientes, vinci ab Ro-
mano milite adsueti, fusi fugatique; Tarquiniensis,
novus hostis, non stetit solum, sed etiam ab sua
parte Romanum pepulit. VII. Ita cum pugnatum
esset, tantus terror Tarquinium atque Etruscos in-
cessit ut omissa inrita re, nocte ambo exercitus,
Veiens Tarquiniensisque, suas quisque abirent domos.
2 Adiciunt miracula huic pugnae: silentio proximae
noctis ex silva Arsia ingentem editam vocem; Silvani
vocem eam creditam; haec dicta: uno plus Tusco-
3 rum cecidisse in acie; vincere bello Romanum. Ita
certe inde abiere Romani ut victores, Etrusci pro
victis. Nam postquam inluxit nec quisquam hostium
in conspectu erat, P. Valerius consul spolia legit
4 triumphansque inde Romam rediit. Collegae funus
quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius
morti decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia
insignis quia matronae annum ut parentem eum

each was pierced right through his shield by the other's thrust, and, impaled upon the two spears, they fell dying from their horses. At the same time the rest of the cavalry as well began to fight, and not long after the infantry also appeared. In this battle the advantage was divided, and the fortune of war seemed equally balanced: the right wing on each side was victorious, while the left was defeated. The Veientes, used to being beaten by the Roman troops, were routed and dispersed; the men of Tarquinii, a new enemy, not only stood their ground, but drove back the Roman forces which opposed them. VII. Yet despite the indecisive character of the battle, so great a panic came over Tarquinius and the Etruscans that they gave up the enterprise for lost, and that same night both armies, the Veientine and the Tarquiniensian, marched off every man to his own home. To the story of this fight common report adds a prodigy: that in the silence of the following night a loud voice was heard coming out of the Arsian forest, which was believed to be the voice of Silvanus, and that this was what he said: "The Tuscans have lost one more man in the battle-line; the Romans are conquerors in the war." At all events the Romans left the field like victors, and the Etruscans like an army that has been defeated. For when it grew light and not a single enemy was to be seen, Publius Valerius the consul gathered up the spoils and returned in triumph to Rome. His colleague's funeral he celebrated with all the pomp then possible; but a far greater honour to the dead man was the general grief, which was particularly conspicuous inasmuch as the matrons mourned a year for him, as for a father, because

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luxerunt, quod tam acer ultor violatae pudicitiae fuisset.

5 Consuli deinde qui superfuerat, ut sunt mutabiles volgi animi, ex favore non invidia modo sed suspicio 6 etiam cum atroci crimine orta. Regnum eum adfectare fama ferebat, quia nec collegam subrogaverat in locum Bruti et aedificabat in summa Velia: ibi alto atque munito loco arcem inexpugnabilem fieri.[1] 7 Haec dicta volgo creditaque cum indignitate angerent consulis animum, vocato ad concilium populo submissis fascibus in contionem escendit. Gratum id multitudini spectaculum fuit, submissa sibi esse imperii insignia confessionemque factam populi quam 8 consulis maiestatem vimque maiorem esse. Ibi audire iussis consul laudare fortunam collegae, quod liberata patria, in summo honore, pro re publica dimicans, matura gloria necdum se vertente in invidiam, mortem occubuisset: se superstitem gloriae suae ad crimen atque invidiam superesse, ex liberatore patriae ad Aquilios se Vitelliosque recidisse. 9 "Numquamne ergo," inquit, "ulla adeo vobis[2] spectata virtus erit, ut suspicione violari nequeat? Ego me, illum acerrimum regum hostem, ipsum cupidi-

[1] fieri *Conway and Walters*; fieri fore Ω; fore D^1 *or* D^2, *Weissenborn-Müller*.

[2] vobis *Gron.* L_5: a vobis Ω.

[1] Bundles of rods which symbolized the magistrate's authority to scourge, as the axes (*secures*) did his right to put to death.

he had been so spirited an avenger of outraged modesty. B.C. 509

Soon after this the surviving consul, so fickle are the affections of the mob, became unpopular; not only did the people dislike him, but they actually suspected him and made cruel charges against him. It was noised about that he was aspiring to the power of a king, since he had not caused a colleague to be elected in the place of Brutus, and was building a house on the highest part of the Velia, an elevated position of natural strength, men said, which he was converting into an impregnable citadel. The frequency of these remarks and the general acceptance they met with, shamefully unjust as they were, distressed the consul. He summoned the people to a council, and with lowered fasces[1] mounted the speaker's platform. It was a welcome spectacle to the multitude when they beheld the emblems of authority there abased before them, in acknowledgment that the people's majesty and power were superior to the consul's. Then, bidding them attend, the consul extolled the good fortune of his colleague, who, after his country had thrown off the yoke, had held the highest office in her gift, and, fighting for the state, at the height of a reputation as yet untarnished by envy, had met his death. He had himself outlived his glory, and survived to face accusations and ill-will. From being the saviour of his country he had sunk to the level of the Aquilii and Vitellii. "Will there never be worth and merit, then," he exclaimed, "so established in your minds that suspicion cannot wrong it? Could I possibly have feared that I, well known as the bitterest enemy of kings, should myself incur the charge of

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10 tatis regni crimen subiturum timerem? Ego si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis? Tam levi momento mea apud vos fama pendet? Adeone est fundata leviter fides
11 ut ubi sim quam qui sim magis referat? Non obstabunt P. Valeri aedes libertati vestrae, Quirites; tuta erit vobis Velia. Deferam non in planum modo aedes, sed colli etiam subiciam, ut vos supra suspectum me civem habitetis; in Velia aedificent quibus
12 melius quam P. Valerio creditur libertas." Delata confestim materia omnis infra Veliam et, ubi nunc Vicae Potae[1] est, domus in infimo clivo aedificata.

VIII. Latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium verterent ut popularem etiam facerent.
2 Inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. Ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset gratae in volgus leges fuere.
3 Quas cum solus pertulisset, ut sua unius in his gratia esset, tum demum[2] comitia collegae subrogando
4 habuit. Creatus Sp. Lucretius consul, qui magno natu non sufficientibus iam viribus ad consularia munera obeunda intra paucos dies moritur. Suffec-
5 tus in Lucreti locum M. Horatius Pulvillus. Apud

[1] Vicae Potae *Lipsius and Klock*: vice (*or* -ae) pocae (*or* -e) Ω: Vicae Pocae aedes *Siesebye*.
[2] demum *Alschefski*: deinde Ω.

seeking kingly power? Could I have believed that, B.C. 509
though I dwelt in the very Citadel and on the Capitol itself, I could be feared by my fellow-citizens? Can so trivial a cause ruin my reputation with you? Does your confidence rest on so slight a foundation that it makes more difference where I am than who I am? There shall be no menace in the house of Publius Valerius to your liberties, Quirites; your Velia shall be safe. I will not only bring my house down on to level ground, but will even place it under a hill, that you may live above me, the citizen whom you suspect. Let those build on the Velia who can better be trusted with men's liberty than can Publius Valerius!" Immediately the materials were all brought down below the Velia, and the house was erected where the temple of Vica Pota is now, at the bottom of the slope.

VIII. Laws were then proposed which not only cleared the consul from the suspicion of seeking kingly power, but took such an opposite turn that they even made him popular and caused him to be styled Publicola, the People's Friend. Above all, the law about appealing from the magistrates to the people, and the one that pronounced a curse on the life and property of a man who should plot to make himself king, were welcome to the commons. When he had carried through these measures alone, that he might enjoy without a rival all the favour arising out of them, he finally held an election to choose a colleague for the unexpired term. The choice fell upon Spurius Lucretius, who by reason of his great age was no longer strong enough for the duties of the consulship, and died within a few days. They elected in Lucretius's place Marcus Horatius

A.U.C. 245 quosdam veteres auctores non invenio Lucretium consulem; Bruto statim Horatium suggerunt; credo quia nulla gesta res insignem fecerit consulatum memoriam[1] intercidisse.

6 Nondum dedicata erat in Capitolio Iovis aedes. Valerius Horatiusque consules sortiti uter dedicaret. Horatio sorte evenit: Publicola ad Veientium bellum 7 profectus. Aegrius quam dignum erat tulere Valeri necessarii dedicationem tam incliti templi Horatio dari. Id omnibus modis impedire conati, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, postem iam tenenti consuli foedum inter precationem deum nuntium incutiunt mortuum eius filium esse, funestaque familia 8 dedicare eum templum non posse. Non crediderit factum, an tantum animo roboris fuerit, nec traditur certum nec interpretatio est facilis; nihil aliud ad eum nuntium a proposito aversus, quam ut cadaver efferri iuberet, tenens postem precationem peragit et dedicat templum.

9 Haec post exactos reges domi militiaeque gesta primo anno.

A.U.C. 246 IX. Inde P. Valerius iterum T. Lucretius consules facti. Iam Tarquinii ad Lartem Porsinnam,[2] Clusi-

[1] memoriam ς: memoria Ω.

[2] *This name has everywhere in this edition been spelled with an* i, *though here and in some other places* Ω *read* Porsennam, *etc. Probably Livy's own usage varied. cf. Conway and Walters ad loc.*

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[1] Dion. Hal. (v. 21) says that Valerius was consul for the *third* time, and Horatius for the second time, when the war with Porsinna came. Mommsen thought the MSS. had lost

Pulvillus. In some ancient authorities I do not find Lucretius given as consul, but Brutus is followed immediately by Horatius; I suppose that because no exploit lent distinction to Lucretius's consulship men forgot it. B.C. 509

The temple of Jupiter on the Capitol had not yet been dedicated. Valerius and Horatius the consuls drew lots to determine which should do it. Horatius received the lot, and Publicola set out to conduct the war against the Veientes. With more bitterness than was reasonable, the friends of Valerius resented that the dedication of so famous a temple should be given to Horatius. They tried in all sorts of ways to hinder it, but their schemes all came to naught. Finally, when the consul's hand was on the door-post and he was in the midst of his prayers to the gods, they broke in upon the ceremony with the evil tidings that his son was dead, averring that whilst the shadow of death was over his house he could not dedicate a temple. Whether he did not believe the news to be true, or possessed great fortitude, we are not informed with certainty, nor is it easy to decide. Without permitting himself to be diverted from his purpose by the message, further than to order that the body should be buried, he kept his hand upon the door-post, finished his prayer, and dedicated the temple.

Such were the achievements, at home and in the field, of the first year after the expulsion of the kings.

IX. Next Publius Valerius (for the second time) and Titus Lucretius were made consuls.[1] By this time the Tarquinii had sought refuge with Lars B.C. 508

these names, and proposed to insert them directly after those in the text. But in chap. xi. 8, T. Lucretius is still the colleague of Valerius.

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num regem, perfugerant. Ibi miscendo consilium precesque nunc orabant ne se, oriundos ex Etruscis, eiusdem sanguinis nominisque, egentes exsulare pate-
2 retur, nunc monebant etiam ne orientem morem pellendi reges inultum sineret. Satis libertatem
3 ipsam habere dulcedinis. Nisi quanta vi civitates eam expetant, tanta regna reges defendant, aequari summa infimis; nihil excelsum, nihil quod supra cetera emineat in civitatibus fore; adesse finem reg-
4 nis, rei inter deos hominesque pulcherrimae. Porsinna cum regem esse Romae tutum, tum[1] Etruscae gentis regem amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto
5 exercitu venit. Non unquam alias ante tantus terror senatum invasit; adeo valida res tum Clusina erat magnumque Porsinnae nomen. Nec hostes modo timebant, sed suosmet ipsi cives, ne Romana plebs, metu perculsa receptis in urbem regibus, vel cum
6 servitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data. Annonae in primis habita cura, et ad frumentum comparandum missi alii in Volscos, alii Cumas. Salis quoque vendendi arbitrium, quia impenso pretio venibat,[2] in publicum omne sumptum,[3] ademptum privatis; portoriisque et tributo plebes[4] liberata, ut divites conferrent, qui oneri ferendo essent: pauperes satis
7 stipendii pendere si liberos educent. Itaque haec

[1] tutum tum *Conway*: tum Ω: fateretur tum *DL*.
[2] venibat $B^2\zeta$: veniebat (-bant *M*) Ω.
[3] omne sumptum *Gronov.*: omni sumptum *B*: omni sumptu Ω. [4] plebes *Gronov.*: plebe Ω.

Porsinna, king of Clusium. There they mingled advice and entreaty, now imploring him not to permit them, Etruscans by birth and of the same blood and the same name as himself, to suffer the privations of exile, and again even warning him not to allow the growing custom of expelling kings to go unpunished. Liberty was sweet enough in itself. Unless the energy with which nations sought to obtain it were matched by the efforts which kings put forth to defend their power, the highest would be reduced to the level of the lowest; there would be nothing lofty, nothing that stood out above the rest of the state; there was the end of monarchy, the noblest institution known to gods or men. Porsinna, believing that it was not only a safe thing for the Etruscans that there should be a king at Rome, but an honour to have that king of Etruscan stock, invaded Roman territory with a hostile army. Never before had such fear seized the senate, so powerful was Clusium in those days, and so great Porsinna's fame. And they feared not only the enemy but their own citizens, lest the plebs should be terror-stricken and, admitting the princes into the City, should even submit to enslavement, for the sake of peace. Hence the senate at this time granted many favours to the plebs. The question of subsistence received special attention, and some were sent to the Volsci and others to Cumae to buy up corn. Again, the monopoly of salt, the price of which was very high, was taken out of the hands of individuals and wholly assumed by the government. Imposts and taxes were removed from the plebs that they might be borne by the well-to-do, who were equal to the burden: the poor paid dues enough if they reared children. Thanks to this B.C. 508

A.U.C. 246 indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem civitatem tenuit ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horre-
8 rent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando universus senatus fuit.

X. Cum hostes adessent, pro se quisque in urbem ex agris demigrant, urbem ipsam saepiunt praesidiis.
2 Alia muris, alia Tiberi obiecto videbantur tuta: pons sublicius iter paene hostibus dedit, ni unus vir fuisset, Horatius Cocles; id munimentum illo die fortuna
3 urbis Romanae habuit. Qui positus forte in statione pontis, cum captum repentino impetu Ianiculum atque inde citatos decurrere hostes vidisset trepidamque turbam suorum arma ordinesque relinquere, reprehensans singulos, obsistens obtestansque deum
4 et hominum fidem testabatur nequiquam deserto praesidio eos fugere; si transitum ponte[1] a tergo reliquissent, iam plus hostium in Palatio Capitolioque quam in Ianiculo fore. Itaque monere, praedicere ut pontem ferro, igni, quacumque vi possint, interrumpant: se impetum hostium, quantum corpore
5 uno posset obsisti, excepturum. Vadit inde in pri-

[1] ponte *Postgate*: pontem Ω.

liberality on the part of the Fathers, the distress B.C. 508
which attended the subsequent blockade and famine was powerless to destroy the harmony of the state, which was such that the name of king was not more abhorrent to the highest than to the lowest; nor was there ever a man in after years whose demagogic arts made him so popular as its wise governing at that time made the whole senate.

X. When the enemy appeared, the Romans all, with one accord, withdrew from their fields into the City, which they surrounded with guards. Some parts appeared to be rendered safe by their walls, others by the barrier formed by the river Tiber. The bridge of piles almost afforded an entrance to the enemy, had it not been for one man, Horatius Cocles; he was the bulwark of defence on which that day depended the fortune of the City of Rome. He chanced to be on guard at the bridge when Janiculum was captured by a sudden attack of the enemy. He saw them as they charged down on the run from Janiculum, while his own people behaved like a frightened mob, throwing away their arms and quitting their ranks. Catching hold first of one and then of another, blocking their way and conjuring them to listen, he called on gods and men to witness that if they forsook their post it was vain to flee; once they had left a passage in their rear by the bridge, there would soon be more of the enemy on the Palatine and the Capitol than on Janiculum. He therefore warned and commanded them to break down the bridge with steel, with fire, with any instrument at their disposal; and promised that he would himself receive the onset of the enemy, so far as it could be withstood by a single body. Then, striding to the

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mum aditum pontis, insignisque inter conspecta cedentium pugnae terga obversis comminus ad ineundum proelium armis ipso miraculo audaciae ob-
6 stupefecit hostis. Duos tamen cum eo pudor tenuit, Sp. Larcium[1] ac T. Herminium, ambos claros genere
7 factisque. Cum his primam periculi procellam et quod tumultuosissimum pugnae erat parumper sustinuit; deinde eos quoque ipsos exigua parte pontis relicta revocantibus qui rescindebant cedere in tutum
8 coegit. Circumferens inde truces minaciter oculos ad proceres Etruscorum nunc singulos provocare, nunc increpare omnes: servitia regum superborum, suae libertatis immemores alienam oppugnatum ve-
9 nire. Cunctati aliquamdiu sunt, dum alius alium, ut proelium incipiant, circumspectant. Pudor deinde commovit aciem, et clamore sublato undique in unum
10 hostem tela coniciunt. Quae cum in obiecto cuncta scuto haesissent, neque ille minus obstinatus ingenti pontem obtineret gradu, iam impetu conabantur detrudere virum, cum simul fragor rupti pontis, simul clamor Romanorum alacritate perfecti operis
11 sublatus, pavore subito impetum sustinuit. Tum Cocles "Tiberine pater," inquit, "te sancte precor, haec arma et hunc militem propitio flumine accipias." Ita sic armatus in Tiberim desiluit multisque superincidentibus telis incolumis ad suos tranavit,

[1] Larcium Ω (*and Dion. Hal.* v. 23, 2): Lartium O^1 (*or* O) RDL_7: Largium F^2_7.

head of the bridge, conspicuous amongst the fugitives who were clearly seen to be shirking the fight, he covered himself with his sword and buckler and made ready to do battle at close quarters, confounding the Etruscans with amazement at his audacity. Yet were there two who were prevented by shame from leaving him. These were Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius, both famous for their birth and their deeds. With these he endured the peril of the first rush and the stormiest moment of the battle. But after a while he forced even these two to leave him and save themselves, for there was scarcely anything left of the bridge, and those who were cutting it down called to them to come back. Then, darting glances of defiance around at the Etruscan nobles, he now challenged them in turn to fight, now railed at them collectively as slaves of haughty kings, who, heedless of their own liberty, were come to overthrow the liberty of others. They hesitated for a moment, each looking to his neighbour to begin the fight. Then shame made them attack, and with a shout they cast their javelins from every side against their solitary foe. But he caught them all upon his shield, and, resolute as ever, bestrode the bridge and held his ground; and now they were trying to dislodge him by a charge, when the crash of the falling bridge and the cheer which burst from the throats of the Romans, exulting in the completion of their task, checked them in mid-career with a sudden dismay. Then Cocles cried, "O Father Tiberinus, I solemnly invoke thee; receive these arms and this soldier with propitious stream!" So praying, all armed as he was, he leaped down into the river, and under a shower of missiles swam across unhurt B.C. 508

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rem ausus plus famae habituram ad posteros quam
12 fidei. Grata erga tantam virtutem civitas fuit: statua
in comitio posita; agri quantum uno die circumaravit
13 datum. Privata quoque inter publicos honores studia
eminebant; nam in magna inopia pro domesticis
copiis unusquisque ei aliquid, fraudans se ipse victu
suo, contulit.

XI. Porsinna primo conatu repulsus, consiliis ab oppugnanda urbe ad obsidendam versis, praesidio in Ianiculo locato ipse in plano ripisque Tiberis castra
2 posuit, navibus undique accitis et ad custodiam, ne quid Romam frumenti subvehi sineret, et ut praedatum milites trans flumen per occasiones aliis atque
3 aliis locis traiceret[1]; brevique adeo infestum omnem Romanum agrum reddidit, ut non cetera solum ex agris sed pecus quoque omne in urbem compelleretur, neque quisquam extra portas propellere auderet. Hoc tantum licentiae Etruscis non metu magis
4 quam consilio concessum. Namque Valerius consul, intentus in occasionem multos simul et effusos improviso adoriundi, in parvis rebus neglegens ultor,
5 gravem se ad maiora vindicem servabat. Itaque ut eliceret praedatores, edicit suis, postero die fre-

[1] traiceret *Gronov.*: traicerent Ω.

to his fellows, having given a proof of valour which was destined to obtain more fame than credence with posterity. The state was grateful for so brave a deed: a statue of Cocles was set up in the comitium, and he was given as much land as he could plough around in one day. Private citizens showed their gratitude in a striking fashion, in the midst of his official honours, for notwithstanding their great distress everybody made him some gift proportionate to his means, though he robbed himself of his own ration. B.C. 508

XI. Porsinna, repulsed in his first attempt, gave up the plan of storming the City, and determined to lay siege to it. Placing a garrison on Janiculum, he pitched his camp in the plain by the banks of the Tiber. He collected ships from every quarter, both for guarding the river, to prevent any corn from being brought into the City, and also to send his troops across for plundering, as the opportunity might present itself at one point or another; and in a short time he made all the territory of the Romans so unsafe that not only were they forced to bring all their other property inside the walls, but even their flocks too, nor did anybody dare to drive them outside the gates. This great degree of licence was permitted to the Etruscans not so much from timidity as design. For Valerius the consul, who was eager for an opportunity of assailing a large number at once, when they should be scattered about and not expecting an attack, cared little to avenge small aggressions, and reserved his punishment for a heavier blow. Accordingly, to lure forth plunderers, he issued orders to his people that on the following day a large number of them should drive out their flocks by the

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quentes porta Esquilina, quae aversissima ab hoste erat, expellerent pecus, scituros id hostes ratus, quod in obsidione et fame servitia infida transfugerent. 6 Et sciere perfugae indicio, multoque plures, ut in 7 spem universae praedae, flumen traiciunt. P. Valerius inde[1] T. Herminium cum modicis copiis ad secundum lapidem Gabina via occultum considere iubet, Sp. Larcium cum expedita iuventute ad portam Collinam stare donec hostis praetereat, inde se 8 obicere ne sit ad flumen reditus. Consulum alter T. Lucretius porta Naevia cum aliquot manipulis militum egressus, ipse Valerius Caelio monte co- 9 hortes delectas educit, hique primi apparuere hosti. Herminius ubi tumultum sensit, concurrit ex insidiis versisque in Lucretium Etruscis terga caedit; dextra laevaque, hinc a porta Collina, illinc ab Naevia, red- 10 ditus clamor: ita caesi in medio praedatores, neque ad pugnam viribus pares et ad fugam saeptis omnibus viis. Finisque ille tam effuse evagandi[2] Etruscis fuit.

XII. Obsidio erat nihilo minus, et frumenti cum summa caritate inopia, sedendoque expugnaturum se 2 urbem spem Porsinna habebat, cum C. Mucius, adulescens nobilis, cui indignum videbatur populum

[1] inde *Sobius*: m̄ Ω: in̄ *R*.
[2] evagandi Ω: auagandi *P*: uagandi ς.

[1] Where there was a gate called *Porta Caelimontana*, south of the *Porta Esquilina*.
[2] From the standpoint of the inhabitants of the city, looking eastward from the walls.

Esquiline Gate, which was the most remote from the enemy, believing that they would hear of it, since the blockade and famine were causing desertions on the part of faithless slaves. And in fact the enemy did hear of it from a deserter's report, and crossed the river in much greater force than usual, in the hope of making a clean sweep of the booty. Consequently Publius Valerius directed Titus Herminius to lie in ambush with a small force two miles out on the Gabinian Way, and Spurius Larcius with a body of light-armed youths to take post at the Colline Gate, until the enemy should pass, and then to throw themselves between him and the river, cutting off his retreat. Of the two consuls, Titus Lucretius went out by the Naevian Gate with several maniples of soldiers, Valerius himself led out some picked cohorts by way of the Caelian Mount.[1] These last were the first to be seen by the enemy. Herminius had no sooner perceived that the skirmish was begun than he rushed in from his ambush and fell upon the rear of the Etruscans, who had turned to meet Valerius. On the right hand and on the left,[2] from the Naevian Gate and from the Colline, an answering shout was returned. Thus the raiders were hemmed in and cut to pieces, for they were no match for the Romans in fighting strength, and were shut off from every line of retreat. This was the last time the Etruscans roamed so far afield. B.C. 508

XII. The blockade went on notwithstanding. The corn was giving out, and what there was cost a very high price, and Porsinna was beginning to have hopes that he would take the City by sitting still, when Gaius Mucius, a young Roman noble, thinking it a shame that although the Roman People had not, in

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Romanum servientem cum sub regibus esset nullo bello nec ab hostibus ullis obsessum esse, liberum eundem populum ab iisdem Etruscis obsideri quorum saepe exercitus fuderit,—itaque magno audacique aliquo facinore eam indignitatem vindicandam ratus, primo sua sponte penetrare in hostium castra constituit; dein metuens ne, si consulum iniussu et ignaris omnibus iret, forte deprehensus a custodibus Romanis retraheretur ut transfuga, fortuna tum urbis crimen adfirmante, senatum adit. "Transire Tiberim," inquit, "patres, et intrare, si possim, castra hostium volo, non praedo nec populationum in vicem ultor: maius, si di iuvant, in animo est facinus." Adprobant patres. Abdito intra vestem ferro profi-
ciscitur. Ubi eo venit, in confertissima turba prope
regium tribunal constitit. Ibi cum stipendium militibus forte daretur, et scriba cum rege sedens pari fere ornatu multa ageret eumque milites[1] volgo adirent, timens sciscitari uter Porsinna esset, ne ignorando regem semet ipse aperiret quis esset, quo temere traxit fortuna facinus, scribam pro rege ob-
truncat. Vadentem inde, qua per trepidam turbam cruento mucrone sibi ipse fecerat viam, cum concursu ad clamorem facto conprehensum regii satellites retraxissent, ante tribunal regis destitutus, tum quo-

[1] eumque milites *Ald.*: eumue milites *R*: eum nomilites *D*: eum nemilites *L*: eum milites Ω.

the days of their servitude when they lived under kings, been blockaded in a war by any enemies, they should now, when free, be besieged by those same Etruscans whose armies they had so often routed, made up his mind that this indignity must be avenged by some great and daring deed. At first he intended to make his way to the enemy's camp on his own account. Afterwards, fearing that if he should go unbidden by the consuls and without anyone's knowing it, he might chance to be arrested by the Roman sentries and brought back as a deserter—a charge which the state of the City would confirm—he went before the senate. "I wish," said he, "to cross the river, senators, and enter, if I can, the enemy's camp—not to plunder or exact reprisals for their devastations: I have in mind to do a greater deed, if the gods grant me their help." The Fathers approved. Hiding a sword under his dress, he set out. Arrived at the camp, he took up his stand in the thick of the crowd near the royal tribunal. It happened that at that moment the soldiers were being paid; a secretary who sat beside the king, and wore nearly the same costume, was very busy, and to him the soldiers for the most part addressed themselves. Mucius was afraid to ask which was Porsinna, lest his ignorance of the king's identity should betray his own, and following the blind guidance of Fortune, slew the secretary instead of the king. As he strode off through the frightened crowd, making a way for himself with his bloody blade, there was an outcry, and thereat the royal guards came running in from every side, seized him and dragged him back before the tribunal of the king. But friendless as he was, even then, when B.C. 508

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que inter tantas fortunae minas metuendus magis
9 quam metuens, "Romanus sum," inquit, "civis; C. Mucium vocant. Hostis hostem occidere volui, nec ad mortem minus animi est quam fuit ad cae-
10 dem: et facere et pati fortia Romanum est. Nec unus in te ego hos animos gessi; longus post me ordo est idem petentium decus. Proinde in hoc discrimen, si iuvat, accingere, ut in singulas horas capite dimices tuo, ferrum hostemque in vestibulo habeas
11 regiae. Hoc tibi iuventus Romana indicimus bellum. Nullam aciem, nullum proelium timueris; uni tibi et
12 cum singulis res erit." Cum rex simul ira infensus periculoque conterritus circumdari ignes minitabundus iuberet nisi expromeret propere quas insidiarum
13 sibi minas per ambages iaceret, "En tibi," inquit, "ut sentias quam vile corpus sit iis qui magnam gloriam vident," dextramque accenso ad sacrificium foculo inicit. Quam cum velut alienato ab sensu torreret animo, prope attonitus miraculo rex cum ab sede sua prosiluisset amoverique ab altaribus iuvenem
14 iussisset, "Tu[1] vero abi," inquit, "in te magis quam in me hostilia ausus. Iuberem macte virtute esse, si pro mea patria ista virtus staret; nunc iure belli liberum te intactum inviolatumque hinc dimitto."
15 Tunc Mucius quasi remunerans meritum "Quando

[1] tu M_5: tum Ω_5.

Fortune wore so menacing an aspect, yet as one B.C. 508
more to be feared than fearing, "I am a Roman citizen," he cried; "men call me Gaius Mucius. I am your enemy, and as an enemy I would have slain you; I can die as resolutely as I could kill: both to do and to endure valiantly is the Roman way. Nor am I the only one to carry this resolution against you: behind me is a long line of men who are seeking the same honour. Gird yourself therefore, if you think it worth your while, for a struggle in which you must fight for your life from hour to hour with an armed foe always at your door. Such is the war we, the Roman youths, declare on you. Fear no serried ranks, no battle; it will be between yourself alone and a single enemy at a time." The king, at once hot with resentment and aghast at his danger, angrily ordered the prisoner to be flung into the flames unless he should at once divulge the plot with which he so obscurely threatened him. Whereupon Mucius, exclaiming, "Look, that you may see how cheap they hold their bodies whose eyes are fixed upon renown!" thrust his hand into the fire that was kindled for the sacrifice. When he allowed his hand to burn as if his spirit were unconscious of sensation, the king was almost beside himself with wonder. He bounded from his seat and bade them remove the young man from the altar. "Do you go free," he said, "who have dared to harm yourself more than me. I would invoke success upon your valour, were that valour exerted for my country; since that may not be, I release you from the penalties of war and dismiss you scathless and uninjured." Then Mucius, as if to requite his generosity, answered, "Since you hold bravery

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quidem," inquit, "est apud te virtuti honos, ut beneficio tuleris a me quod minis nequisti: trecenti coniuravimus principes iuventutis Romanae, ut in te
16 hac via grassaremur. Mea prima sors fuit; ceteri, ut cuiusque[1] ceciderit primi, quoad te opportunum fortuna dederit, suo quisque tempore aderunt."

XIII. Mucium dimissum, cui postea Scaevolae a clade dextrae manus cognomen inditum, legati a
2 Porsinna Romam secuti sunt; adeo moverat eum et primi periculi casus, a quo[2] nihil se praeter errorem insidiatoris texisset, et subeunda dimicatio totiens quot coniurati superessent, ut pacis condiciones ultro
3 ferret Romanis. Iactatum in condicionibus nequiquam de Tarquiniis in regnum restituendis, magis quia id negare ipse nequiverat Tarquiniis quam quod
4 negatum iri sibi ab Romanis ignoraret. De agro Veientibus restituendo impetratum, expressaque necessitas obsides dandi Romanis, si Ianiculo praesidium deduci vellent. His condicionibus composita pace exercitum ab Ianiculo deduxit Porsinna et agro
5 Romano excessit. Patres C. Mucio virtutis causa trans Tiberim agrum dono dedere quae postea sunt Mucia prata appellata.

6 Ergo ita honorata virtute feminae quoque ad publica decora excitatae, et Cloelia virgo, una ex obsi-

[1] ut cuiusque *Madvig*: utcumque Ω.
[2] a quo *Heumann*: quo Ω.

[1] *i.e.* "Left-handed."

in honour, my gratitude shall afford you the information your threats could not extort: we are three hundred, the foremost youths of Rome, who have conspired to assail you in this fashion. I drew the first lot; the others, in whatever order it falls to them, will attack you, each at his own time, until Fortune shall have delivered you into our hands." B.C. 508

XIII. The release of Mucius, who was afterwards known as Scaevola,[1] from the loss of his right hand, was followed by the arrival in Rome of envoys from Porsinna. The king had been so disturbed, what with the hazard of the first attack upon his life, from which nothing but the blunder of his assailant had preserved him, and what with the anticipation of having to undergo the danger as many times more as there were conspirators remaining, that he voluntarily proposed terms of peace to the Romans. In these terms Porsinna suggested, but without effect, that the Tarquinii should be restored to power, more because he had been unable to refuse the princes this demand upon their behalf than that he was ignorant that the Romans would refuse it. In obtaining the return of their lands to the Veientes he was successful; and the Romans were compelled to give hostages if they wished the garrison to be withdrawn from Janiculum. On these terms peace was made, and Porsinna led his army down from Janiculum and evacuated the Roman territory. The Fathers bestowed on Gaius Mucius, for his bravery, a field across the Tiber, which was later known as the Mucian Meadows.

Now when courage had been thus distinguished, even the women were inspired to deeds of patriotism. Thus the maiden Cloelia, one of the hostages, eluded

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dibus, cum castra Etruscorum forte haud procul ripa Tiberis locata essent, frustrata custodes, dux agminis virginum inter tela hostium Tiberim tranavit sospi-
7 tesque omnes Romam ad propinquos restituit. Quod ubi regi nuntiatum est, primo incensus ira oratores Romam misit ad Cloeliam obsidem deposcendam:
8 alias haud magni facere; deinde in admirationem versus supra Coclites Muciosque dicere id facinus esse, et prae se ferre quemadmodum, si non dedatur obses, pro rupto foedus se habiturum, sic deditam intactam inviolatamque[1] ad suos remissurum.
9 Utrimque constitit fides: et Romani pignus pacis ex foedere restituerunt, et apud regem Etruscum non tuta solum sed honorata etiam virtus fuit, laudatamque virginem parte obsidum se donare dixit; ipsa
10 quos vellet legeret. Productis omnibus elegisse impubes dicitur, quod et virginitati decorum et consensu obsidum ipsorum probabile erat eam aetatem potissimum liberari ab hoste quae maxime opportuna
11 iniuriae esset. Pace redintegrata Romani novam in femina virtutem novo genere honoris, statua equestri, donavere: in summa Sacra via fuit posita[2] virgo insidens equo.

XIV. Huic tam pacatae profectioni ab urbe regis Etrusci abhorrens mos traditus ab antiquis usque ad

[1] intactam inviolatamque *Frobenius*: inuiolatamque Ω.
[2] fuit posita Ω: posita *Novák, Weissenborn-Müller.*

the sentinels, when it chanced that the Etruscans had B.C. 508
encamped not far from the bank of the Tiber, and heading a band of girls swam the river and, under a rain of hostile darts, brought them all back in safety to their kinsmen in Rome. When this had been reported to the king, he was at first enraged and sent emissaries to Rome to demand that the hostage Cloelia be given up, for he made no great account of the others. Then, admiration getting the better of anger, he asserted that her feat was a greater one than those of Cocles and Mucius, and declared that although in case the hostage was not returned he should regard the treaty as broken, yet if she were restored to him he would send her back safe and inviolate to her friends. Both parties kept their word. The Romans returned the pledge of peace, as the treaty required; and the Etruscan king not only protected the brave girl but even honoured her, for after praising her heroism he said that he would present her with half the hostages, and that she herself should choose the ones she wished. When they had all been brought out it is said that she selected the young boys, because it was not only more seemly in a maiden, but was unanimously approved by the hostages themselves, that in delivering them from the enemy she should give the preference to those who were of an age which particularly exposed them to injury. When peace had been established the Romans rewarded this new valour in a woman with a new kind of honour, an equestrian statue, which was set up on the summit of the Sacred Way, and represented the maiden seated on a horse.

XIV. This peaceful departure of the Etruscan king from Rome is inconsistent with the custom handed down from antiquity even to our own age,

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nostram aetatem inter cetera sollemnia manet, bona
2 Porsinnae regis vendendi. Cuius originem moris necesse est aut inter bellum natam esse neque omissam in pace, aut a mitiore crevisse principio quam hic prae se ferat titulus bona hostiliter vendendi.
3 Proximum vero est ex iis quae traduntur Porsinnam discedentem ab Ianiculo castra opulenta convecto ex propinquis ac fertilibus Etruriae arvis commeatu Romanis dono dedisse, inopi tum urbe ab longinqua
4 obsidione; ea deinde, ne populo immisso diriperentur hostiliter, venisse, bonaque Porsinnae appellata, gratiam muneris magis significante titulo quam auctionem fortunae regiae quae ne in potestate quidem populi Romani esset.
5 Omisso Romano bello Porsinna, ne frustra in ea loca exercitus adductus videretur, cum parte copiarum filium Arruntem Ariciam oppugnatum mittit.
6 Primo Aricinos res necopinata perculerat; arcessita deinde auxilia et a Latinis populis et a Cumis tantum spei fecere ut acie decernere auderent. Proelio inito adeo concitato impetu se intulerant Etrusci ut fun-
7 derent ipso incursu Aricinos; Cumanae cohortes arte adversus vim usae declinavere paululum, effuseque praelatos hostes conversis signis ab tergo adortae

among other formalities observed at sales of booty, B.C. 508
of proclaiming "the goods of King Porsinna." Such a practice must either have arisen during the war and have been retained when peace was made, or else have had its origin in some kindlier circumstance than would be suggested by the notice that an enemy's goods were to be sold. The most credible of the traditional explanations is that when Porsinna retired from Janiculum he handed over his camp, well stocked with provisions brought in from the neighbouring fertile fields of Etruria, as a gift to the Romans, who were then in a destitute condition after the long siege. These supplies were then sold, lest, if people were given a free hand, they might plunder the camp like an enemy; and they were called the goods of Porsinna rather by way of implying thankfulness for the gift than an auction of the king's property, which was not even in the possession of the Roman People.

On relinquishing his campaign against the Romans, Porsinna was unwilling that he should appear to have led his army into that region to no purpose, and accordingly sent a part of his forces, under his son Arruns, to besiege Aricia. At first the Aricini were paralysed with surprise. Afterwards the auxiliaries whom they called in from the Latin peoples, and also from Cumae, so encouraged them that they ventured to measure their strength with the enemy in the open field. When the battle began, the attack of the Etruscans was so impetuous that they routed the Aricini at the first charge. The Cumaean levies, employing skill to meet force, swerved a little to one side, and when the enemy had swept by them, faced about and attacked them in the rear, with the

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sunt. Ita in medio prope iam victores caesi Etrusci.
8 Pars perexigua duce amisso, quia nullum propius perfugium erat, Romam inermes et fortuna et specie supplicum delati sunt. Ibi benigne excepti divisique
9 in hospitia. Curatis volneribus alii profecti domos, nuntii hospitalium beneficiorum; multos Romae hospitum urbisque caritas tenuit. His locus ad habitandum datus quem deinde Tuscum vicum appellarunt.

A.U.C. 247–248

XV. Sp. Larcius inde et T. Herminius, P. Lucretius inde et[1] P. Valerius Publicola consules facti. Eo anno postremum legati a Porsinna de reducendo in regnum Tarquinio venerunt. Quibus cum responsum esset missurum ad regem senatum legatos, missi con-
2 festim honoratissimus quisque e patribus: non quin breviter reddi responsum potuerit non recipi reges, ideo potius delectos patrum ad eum missos quam legatis eius Romae daretur responsum, sed ut in perpetuum mentio eius rei finiretur, neu in tantis mutuis beneficiis in vicem animi sollicitarentur, cum ille peteret quod contra libertatem populi Romani esset,

[1] Sp. Larcius inde et T. Herminius, P. Lucretius inde et *Madvig*: *the name* Larcius *is not in the MSS.; his praenomen is added to that of* Lucretius *or put in its place;* T. Herminius *is missing in the best MSS.; Dion. Hal.* v. 36, *and Cassiodorius give only the names of* Sp. Larcius *and* T. Hermenius, *and Mommsen* (*C.I.L.* i². p. 99) *therefore deletes the others. See note in Conway and Walters.*

result that the Etruscans, caught between two lines, almost in the moment of victory, were cut to pieces. A very small number of them, having lost their leader and finding no nearer refuge, drifted to Rome, unarmed and with all the helplessness and the dejected aspect of suppliants. There they were kindly received and were quartered about among the citizens. When their wounds had healed, some departed for their homes to report the hospitality and kindness they had met with, but many were persuaded to remain in Rome by the affection they felt for their hosts and for the City. To these a place of residence was allotted which was afterwards called the Vicus Tuscus. B.C. 508

XV. Spurius Larcius and Titus Herminius were the next consuls, and after them came Publius Lucretius and Publius Valerius Publicola. In the latter year an embassy was sent to Rome for the last time by Porsinna to negotiate for the restoration of Tarquinius to power. To these envoys the senate replied that they would send representatives to the king, and they forthwith dispatched those of the Fathers who were held in the highest esteem. It would not have been impossible, they said, to reply shortly that the royal family would not be received. It was not for that reason that they had preferred to send chosen members of the senate to him rather than to give their answer to his ambassadors in Rome. But they had desired that for all time discussion of that question might be ended, and that where there were so great obligations on both sides there might not be mutual irritation, from the king's seeking that which was incompatible with the liberty of the Roman people, while the Romans, unless they were willing B.C. 507–506

A.U.C. 247-248

Romani, nisi in perniciem suam faciles esse vellent, negarent, cui nihil negatum vellent. Non in regno populum Romanum sed in libertate esse. Ita induxisse in animum, hostibus potius quam regibus portas patefacere; ea esse vota[1] omnium ut qui libertati erit in illa urbe finis, idem urbi sit. Proinde si salvam esse vellet Romam, ut patiatur liberam esse orare. Rex verecundia victus "Quando id certum atque obstinatum est," inquit, "neque ego obtundam saepius eadem nequiquam agendo, nec Tarquinios spe auxilii, quod nullum in me est, frustrabor. Alium hinc, seu bello opus est seu quiete, exilio quaerant locum, ne quid meam vobiscum pacem distineat." Dictis facta amiciora adiecit: obsidum quod reliquum erat reddidit, agrum Veientem foedere ad Ianiculum icto ademptum restituit. Tarquinius spe omni reditus incisa exsulatum ad generum Mamilium Octavium Tusculum abiit. Romanis pax fida[2] cum Porsinna fuit.

A.U.C. 249-251

XVI. Consules M. Valerius P. Postumius. Eo anno bene pugnatum cum Sabinis; consules triumpharunt. Maiore inde mole Sabini bellum parabant. Adversus eos et ne quid simul ab Tusculo, unde etsi non apertum, suspectum tamen bellum erat, repentini

[1] ea esse vota *Hertz*; eam ea esse vota esse voluntatem *P*: eam esse voluntatem Ω.
[2] fida *Madvig*: fida ita Ω.

to sacrifice their existence to their good nature, denied the request of a man whom they would not willingly have denied anything. The Roman people were not living under a monarchy, but were free. They had resolved to throw open their gates to enemies sooner than to kings; in this prayer they were all united, that the day which saw the end of liberty in their City might also see the City's end. They therefore entreated him, if he desired the welfare of Rome, to permit her to be free. The king, yielding to his better feelings, made answer: "Since this is your fixed resolve, I will neither importune you with repeated insistence upon a hopeless plea, nor will I deceive the Tarquinii with the hope of aid which it is not in my power to grant. Let them seek elsewhere, whether war or peace be their object, for a place of exile, that nothing may hinder my being at peace with you." His words were followed by yet more friendly deeds. The hostages remaining in his hands he returned, and he gave back the Veientine land which he had taken from the Romans by the treaty made on Janiculum. Tarquinius, cut off from all hope of returning, departed for Tusculum, to spend his exile in the home of his son-in-law, Mamilius Octavius. The Romans enjoyed an unbroken peace with Porsinna. B.C. 507–506

XVI. The consulship of Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius. This year a successful war was waged against the Sabines, and the consuls triumphed. More elaborate preparations for war were then made by the Sabines. To confront them, and to prevent any sudden peril arising from Tusculum, in which quarter hostility, though not openly avowed, was none the B.C. 505–503

A.U.C. 249-251

periculi oreretur, P. Valerius quartum T. Lucretius
3 iterum consules facti. Seditio inter belli pacisque auctores orta in Sabinis aliquantum inde virium
4 transtulit ad Romanos. Namque Attius Clausus, cui postea Appio Claudio fuit Romae nomen, cum pacis ipse auctor a turbatoribus belli premeretur nec par factioni esset, ab Inregillo,[1] magna clientium
5 comitatus manu, Romam transfugit. His civitas data agerque trans Anienem; vetus Claudia tribus additis postea novis tribulibus qui ex eo venirent agro appellati.[2] Appius inter patres lectus haud ita multo post
6 in principum dignationem pervenit. Consules infesto exercitu in agrum Sabinum profecti cum ita vastatione, dein proelio adflixissent opes hostium ut diu nihil inde rebellionis timeri posset,[3] triumphantes
7 Romam redierunt. P. Valerius, omnium consensu princeps belli pacisque artibus, anno post Agrippa Menenio P. Postumio consulibus moritur, gloria ingenti, copiis familiaribus adeo exiguis ut funeri sumptus deesset; de publico est datus. Luxere
8 matronae ut Brutum. Eodem anno duae coloniae Latinae, Pometia et Cora, ad Auruncos deficiunt.

[1] Inregillo *Weissenborn* (*cf. Mommsen, C.I.L.* i[1]. 444) : cīn regillo *M* : cn̄ rigillo M^2PFUO : nc̄ rigillo *B* : c̄ rigillo *DL* : ḡrigillo *H* : . . . . . gillo *R* : Cn. Regillo ς.

[2] appellati *Madvig* : appellata Ω.

[3] timeri posset *Duker* : timere possent Ω.

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[1] By 241 B.C. the number of tribes had grown to thirty-five. After this date no new tribes were added, but newly incorporated districts were assigned to one or another of the already existing tribes. Thus certain members of the

less suspected, Publius Valerius was made consul for the fourth time and Titus Lucretius for the second. A schism which occurred between the advocates of war and those of peace amongst the Sabines resulted in the transfer of some part of their strength to the Romans. For Attius Clausus, afterwards known at Rome as Appius Claudius, himself a champion of peace, was hard bested by the turbulent war-party, and finding himself no match for them, left Inregillus, with a large band of clients, and fled to Rome. These people were made citizens and given land across the Anio. The "Old Claudian Tribe" was the name used later, when new tribesmen had been added, to designate those who came from this territory.[1] Appius, having been enrolled in the senate, came in a short time to be regarded as one of its leading members. The consuls led an army into the country of the Sabines, and by wasting their fields, and afterwards by a battle, so crushed the enemy's strength that there could be no fear for a long time of any outbreak of hostilities in that region. They then returned to Rome and triumphed. Publius Valerius, universally regarded as the foremost citizen, both in military and in civil qualities, died in the following year, when Agrippa Menenius and Publius Postumius were consuls. He was a man of extraordinary reputation, but so poor that money was wanting for his burial, and it was furnished from the treasury of the state. He was mourned by the matrons as Brutus had been. In the same year two Latin colonies, Pometia and Cora, revolted to the Aurunci. The

B.C. 505–503

[1] Claudian Tribe lived elsewhere than in the district "across the Anio," and those who came to Rome for elections from the original seat of the tribe were called the "Old Claudian Tribe." See note in Conway's edition of this Book.

A.U.C. 249–251

Cum Auruncis bellum initum, fusoque ingenti exercitu, qui se ingredientibus fines consulibus ferociter obtulerat, omne Auruncum bellum Pometiam com-
9 pulsum est. Nec magis post proelium quam in proelio caedibus temperatum est; et caesi aliquanto plures erant quam capti, et captos passim trucidaverunt; ne ab obsidibus quidem, qui trecenti accepti numero erant, ira belli abstinuit. Et hoc anno Romae triumphatum.

A.U.C. 252

XVII. Secuti consules Opiter Verginius Sp. Cassius Pometiam primo vi, deinde vineis aliisque operibus
2 oppugnarunt. In quos Aurunci, magis iam inexpiabili odio quam spe aliqua aut occasione coorti, cum plures igni quam ferro armati excucurrissent, caede
3 incendioque cuncta complent. Vineis incensis, multis hostium volneratis et occisis, consulum quoque alterum—sed utrum[1] auctores non adiciunt—gravi vol-
4 nere ex equo deiectum prope interfecerunt. Romam inde male gesta re reditum. Inter multos saucios consul spe incerta vitae relatus.[2] Interiecto deinde haud magno spatio quod volneribus curandis supplendoque exercitui satis esset, cum ira maiore[3] tum
5 viribus etiam auctis Pometiae arma inlata. Et cum vineis refectis aliaque mole belli iam in eo esset ut

[1] sed utrum *Hertz*: sed verum nomen Ω: verum nomen *Alschefski*. [2] relatus *Duker*: relictus Ω.
[3] ira maiore ς: ira maiore bellum Ω.

[1] Livy has nowhere told us about these hostages. In chap. xxii. 2 the same towns give the same number of hostages. Obviously he has made distinct episodes out of

Aurunci were the first to be attacked. Upon the defeat of the great army which had boldly issued forth to meet the invasion of their territory by the consuls, the whole weight of the Auruncan war fell upon Pometia. After the battle, as well as during its progress, no quarter was given. The slain had somewhat outnumbered the prisoners, and the prisoners were indiscriminately slaughtered. Even the hostages, of whom three hundred had been received, were not spared in the rage of war.[1] This year also a triumph was celebrated at Rome. B.C. 505–503

XVII. The consuls of the next year, Opiter Verginius and Spurius Cassius, attempted to capture Pometia, first by assault and then by the use of mantlets and other engines. Against their besiegers the Aurunci, rather of an implacable hatred than for any hope or opportunity offered, rushed out, armed with firebrands for the most part, instead of swords, and carried death and flames in all directions. The mantlets were burned, many of their enemies were wounded or slain, and one of the consuls—which one the historians do not add—was seriously wounded, thrown from his horse, and almost killed. The Romans then marched home, defeated. Amongst the many wounded they brought the consul, hovering betwixt life and death. When a short time had elapsed, long enough for healing wounds and recruiting the army, they returned, with heightened resentment and also with augmented forces, to the attack of Pometia. They had repaired their mantlets and the rest of their equipment, and they were already upon the B.C. 502

different versions of the same story, misled no doubt by the different dates assigned by different annalists to the affair of Pometia.

A.U.C. 252

6 in muros evaderet miles, deditio est facta. Ceterum nihilo minus foeda dedita urbe quam si capta foret Aurunci passi:[1] principes securi percussi, sub corona venierunt coloni alii; oppidum dirutum, ager veniit.
7 Consules magis ob iras graviter ultas quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt.

A.U.C. 253

XVIII. Insequens annus Postumum Cominium et
2 T. Largium[2] consules habuit. Eo anno Romae, cum per ludos ab Sabinorum iuventute per lasciviam scorta raperentur, concursu hominum rixa ac prope proelium fuit, parvaque ex re[3] ad rebellionem spec-
3 tare videbatur. Super[4] belli Sabini[5] metum id quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos
4 concitante Octavio Mamilio satis constabat. In hac tantarum exspectatione rerum sollicita civitate dictatoris primum creandi mentio orta. Sed nec quo anno, nec quibus consulibus, quia ex factione Tarquiniana essent — id quoque enim traditur — parum creditum sit, nec quis primum dictator creatus sit,
5 satis constat. Apud veterrimos tamen auctores T. Largium[6] dictatorem primum, Sp. Cassium magis-

[1] foeda . . . passi *Madvig*: foede . . . passim Ω.
[2] Largium Ω: Larcium *Madvig* (*with Dion. Hal.* v. l. 1) *from chap.* xxi. 1. *But Cassiodorius gives* Largus, *and it is safer* (*with Conway and Walters*) *to follow the MSS. where, as here, they agree.*
[3] ex re *Gronov.*: ex re res (*or* ex re . . . spectare res) Ω.
[4] super *Duker*: supra Ω.
[5] Sabini $R^2\gamma$: Latini Ω: *Conway and Walters bracket* supra . . . metum *as a marginal summary.*
[6] Largium Ω: Larcium $U\gamma$ (*so in* § 6, *below*).

point of sending their men against the walls when the town capitulated. But the fate of the Aurunci was no less awful from their having surrendered their city than if it had been stormed. Their chief men were beheaded, and the rest of the colonists were sold as slaves.[1] The town was razed; its land was sold. The consuls obtained a triumph, more because they had heavily avenged Rome's wrongs than because of the magnitude of the war which they had successfully concluded. B.C. 502

XVIII. The year after had as its consuls Postumius Cominius and Titus Largius. In this year, during the celebration of the games at Rome, the Sabine youths, in a spirit of wantonness, forcibly abducted certain harlots. Men gathered hastily and there was a brawl which was almost a battle, and, trifling as its origin was, it seemed to threaten a fresh outbreak of the war.[2] Besides the Sabine peril, it was generally known that the thirty Latin cities had already conspired, at the instigation of Octavius Mamilius. These grave apprehensions having occasioned a general anxiety, the appointment of a dictator was suggested, for the first time. But there is no general agreement as to the year, or which consuls were distrusted as being of the Tarquinian faction—for this is included in the tradition—or who it was that was first named dictator. In the oldest writers, however, I find it said that Titus Largius was the first to be made dictator, and that Spurius Cassius was B.C. 501

[1] Literally "under the crown," meaning a chaplet placed on the head of a captive as an indication that he was a part of the spoils.

[2] Despite the apparently conclusive victory recorded in chap. xvi. 6.

A.U.C. 253

trum equitum creatos invenio. Consulares legere; 6 ita lex iubebat de dictatore creando lata. Eo magis adducor ut credam Largium, qui consularis erat, potius quam M'. Valerium[1] Marci filium[2] Volesi nepotem, qui nondum consul fuerat, moderatorem et 7 magistrum consulibus appositum; quin,[3] si maxime ex ea familia legi dictatorem vellent, patrem multo potius M. Valerium spectatae virtutis et consularem virum legissent.

8 Creato dictatore primum Romae, postquam praeferri secures viderunt, magnus plebem metus incessit, ut intentiores essent ad dicto parendum. Neque enim, ut in consulibus qui pari potestate essent, alterius auxilium, neque provocatio erat neque 9 ullum usquam nisi in cura parendi auxilium. Sabinis etiam creatus Romae dictator, eo magis quod propter 10 se creatum crediderant, metum incussit. Itaque legatos de pace mittunt. Quibus orantibus dictatorem senatumque ut veniam erroris hominibus adulescentibus darent, responsum, ignosci adulescentibus posse, senibus non posse, qui bella ex bellis 11 sererent. Actum tamen est de pace, impetrataque foret, si, quod impensae factum in bellum erat, praestare Sabini—id enim postulatum erat—in animum induxissent. Bellum indictum: tacitae indutiae quietum annum tenuere.

[1] M'. Valerium *Gruter*: M. Valerium Ω.
[2] Marci filium *Rhenanus*: marci fufium (*or the like*) Ω.
[3] quin *Lehnert*: qui (quis *P*) Ω.

[1] But in 300 B.C. a *lex Valeria de provocatione* gave the people the right to appeal from the dictator.

master of the horse. They chose men of consular rank, for so the law prescribed which had been passed to regulate the selection of a dictator. I am therefore the more disposed to believe that Largius, a consular, rather than Manius Valerius, the son of Marcus and grandson of Volesus, a man who had not yet held the consulship, was assigned to be the director and superior of consuls; and indeed if men had been specially desirous of choosing the dictator from that family, they would much sooner have selected Marcus Valerius the father, a man of proven worth and an ex-consul. B.C. 501

When they had named a dictator for the first time at Rome, and men saw the axes borne before him, a great fear came over the plebs and caused them to be more zealous in obeying orders. For there was no recourse in this case, as with the consuls, who shared the powers of their office equally, to the assistance of the man's colleague, nor was there any appeal nor any help anywhere but in scrupulous obedience.[1] The Sabines, too, were inspired with fear by the appointment of the dictator, especially since they believed that it was on their account that he had been created. Accordingly they sent legates to treat for peace. When they requested the dictator and the senate to pardon an error committed by young men, the answer was given that to pardon young men was possible, but not old men who contrived one war after another. Nevertheless negotiations for peace were begun, and it would have been granted to the Sabines, could they have made up their minds to guarantee, as the Romans demanded, the sum which had been expended for the war. Hostilities were declared, but a tacit truce preserved a state of peace through the year.

A.U.C. 254–255

XIX. Consules Ser.[1] Sulpicius M'. Tullius;[2] nihil dignum memoria actum. T. Aebutius deinde et C. Vetusius. His consulibus Fidenae obsessae, Crustumeria capta, Praeneste ab Latinis ad Romanos descivit. Nec ultra bellum Latinum gliscens iam per aliquot annos dilatum. A. Postumius[3] dictator T. Aebutius magister equitum magnis copiis peditum equitumque profecti ad lacum Regillum in agro Tusculano agmini hostium occurrerunt, et, quia Tarquinios esse in exercitu Latinorum auditum est, sustineri ira non potuit quin extemplo confligerent. Ergo etiam proelium aliquanto quam cetera gravius atque atrocius fuit. Non enim duces ad regendam modo consilio rem adfuere, sed suismet ipsi[4] corporibus dimicantes miscuere certamina, nec quisquam procerum ferme hac aut illa ex acie sine volnere praeter dictatorem Romanum excessit. In Postumium prima in acie suos adhortantem instruentemque Tarquinius Superbus, quamquam iam aetate et viribus erat gravior, equum infestus admisit, ictusque ab latere concursu suorum receptus in tutum est. Et ad alterum cornu Aebutius magister equitum in Octavium Mamilium impetum dederat, nec

[1] Ser. *Sigonius* (*from Cic. Brut.* 62, *cf. Cassiod. C.I.L.* i². *p.* 99): Servilius Ω (*Dion. Hal.* v. lii. 1).

[2] M'. Tullius *Sigonius* (*Dion. Hal. l.c.*): m̄ manlius tullus (*or the like*) Ω.

[3] A. Postumius *Sabellicus* (*Dion. Hal.* vi. ii. 1): aurelius postumius Ω.

[4] ipsi *Gronov.*: ipsis Ω.

XIX. In the consulship of Servius Sulpicius and Manius Tullius nothing worthy of note occurred. They were succeeded by Titus Aebutius and Gaius Vetusius. During their year of office Fidenae was besieged, Crustumeria taken; Praeneste went over from the Latins to the Romans, and it was no longer possible to postpone the Latin war, which had now been smouldering for several years. Aulus Postumius as dictator,[1] and Titus Aebutius as master of the horse, set out with large forces of infantry and cavalry, and at Lake Regillus, in the territory of Tusculum, met the enemy's advancing column. The Romans had learned that the Tarquinii were with the Latin army, and were so enraged that they could not be withheld from instantly attacking, and the battle itself, in consequence of this report, was fought with a good deal more determination and bitterness than any other had been. For the leaders were not only in the field to direct the engagement with their strategy, but joined battle and fought in their own persons. Almost none of the nobles on either side came off unscathed, except the Roman dictator. Postumius was in the front rank encouraging his men and forming them, when Tarquinius Superbus, though now burdened with years and broken in strength, rode full-tilt against him. But the old man received a thrust in the side, and his followers rushed in and rescued him. Similarly on the other wing, Aebutius, the master of the horse, charged Octavius Mamilius. But the Tusculan commander

B.C. 500–499

[1] Postumius had not held the consulship, which in chap. xviii. 5 Livy stated to have been a necessary qualification for the dictatorship.

A.U.C. 254–255

fefellit veniens Tusculanum ducem, contra quem[1] et
8 ille concitat equum. Tantaque vis infestis venientium hastis fuit, ut bracchium Aebutio traiectum sit,
9 Mamilio pectus percussum. Hunc quidem in secundam aciem Latini recepere: Aebutius cum saucio bracchio tenere telum non posset, pugna excessit.
10 Latinus dux nihil deterritus volnere proelium ciet et, quia suos perculsos videbat, arcessit cohortem exsulum Romanorum, cui L. Tarquini filius praerat. Ea, quo[2] maiore pugnabat ira ob erepta bona patriamque ademptam, pugnam parumper restituit.

XX. Referentibus iam pedem ab ea parte Romanis M. Valerius Publicolae frater conspicatus ferocem iuvenem Tarquinium ostentantem se in prima exsulum acie, domestica etiam gloria accensus, ut cuius
2 familiae decus eiecti reges erant, eiusdem interfecti forent, subdit calcaria equo et Tarquinium infesto
3 spiculo petit. Tarquinius retro in agmen suorum infenso cessit hosti. Valerium temere invectum in exsulum aciem ex transverso quidam adortus transfigit, nec quicquam equitis volnere equo retardato moribundus Romanus labentibus super corpus armis
4 ad terram defluxit. Dictator Postumius postquam cecidisse talem virum, exsules ferociter citato agmine
5 invehi, suos perculsos cedere animadvertit, cohorti

[1] contra quem Ω: contraque *Madvig.*
[2] Ea, quo *MPRD*: ea quō *HL*: ea quoniam *O*: eo quo P^2FUB: eoque M^3.

[1] Of the sons of Tarquinius, Sextus's death is mentioned in I. lx. 2 and that of Arruns in II. vi. 9. This must therefore have been Titus (I. lvi. 6).

saw him coming, and he too spurred his horse to the encounter; and so great was the force in their levelled lances as they met, that the arm of Aebutius was transfixed, while Mamilius was struck in the breast. Mamilius was received by the Latins within their second line: Aebutius, being unable to manage a weapon with his wounded arm, retired from the battle. The Latin leader, not a jot discouraged by his wound, urged on the fighting, and, because he saw that his men were in retreat, called up a cohort of Roman exiles, commanded by a son of Lucius Tarquinius,[1] and these, fighting with greater fury on account of the loss of their property and native land, restored the battle for a while. B.C. 500–499

XX. When the Romans were now beginning to give way in that part of the field, Marcus Valerius, Publicola's brother, espied the young Tarquinius, who was boldly inviting attack in the front rank of the exiles. Valerius found in his brother's glory an additional incentive, and resolving that the family which had the honour of expelling the tyrants should also gain the credit for their death, he dug his spurs into his charger and rode at Tarquinius with levelled spear. Tarquinius drew back within the company of his followers to avoid his desperate antagonist. Valerius was plunging blindly into the exiles' line when one of them attacked him in the flank and ran him through the body. But the rider's wound did not check the career of his horse, and the dying Roman came down in a heap upon the ground with his arms upon him. When the dictator Postumius perceived that so brave a soldier had fallen, that the exiles were advancing boldly at the double, and that his troops were checked and were giving

A.U.C. 254–255

suae, quam delectam manum praesidii causa circa se habebat, dat signum ut quem suorum fugientem viderint pro hoste habeant. Ita metu ancipiti versi
6 a fuga Romani in hostem et restituta acies. Cohors dictatoris tum primum proelium iniit; integris cor-
7 poribus animisque fessos adorti exsules caedunt. Ibi alia inter proceres coorta pugna. Imperator Latinus ubi cohortem exsulum a dictatore Romano prope circumventam vidit, ex subsidiariis manipulos aliquot in
8 primam aciem secum rapit. Hos agmine venientes T. Herminius legatus conspicatus interque eos insignem veste armisque Mamilium noscitans tanto vi maiore quam paulo ante magister equitum cum hos-
9 tium duce proelium iniit, ut et uno ictu transfixum per latus occiderit Mamilium et ipse inter spoliandum corpus hostis veruto percussus, cum victor in castra esset relatus, inter primam curationem exspi-
10 raverit. Tum ad equites dictator advolat obtestans ut fesso iam pedite descendant ex equis et pugnam capessant. Dicto paruere: desiliunt ex equis, provolant in primum et pro antesignanis parmas obi-
11 ciunt. Recipit extemplo animum pedestris acies, postquam iuventutis proceres aequato genere pugnae secum partem periculi sustinentes vidit. Tum de-

ground, he issued orders to his own cohort, a picked body of men which he kept about his person as a guard, that if they saw any Roman running away they should treat him as an enemy. Being thus between two dangers, the Romans faced about to meet the foe, and the battle-line was formed again. The cohort of the dictator then entered the engagement for the first time. With fresh strength and spirit they attacked the weary exiles and cut them to pieces. Then began another combat between leaders. The Latin general, perceiving that the cohort of the exiles was nearly cut off by the Roman dictator, took a few companies of his reserves and hurried them to the front. As they came marching up, Titus Herminius, the lieutenant, caught sight of them, and in their midst, conspicuous in dress and accoutrements, he saw and recognized Mamilius. Whereupon he hurled himself upon the enemy's commander with so much more violence than the master of the horse had done a little before, that not only did he pierce Mamilius through the side and slay him with a single lunge, but in the act of stripping the body of his antagonist he was himself struck by a hostile javelin, and after being borne off in the moment of victory to the Roman camp, expired just as they began to dress his wound. The dictator then dashed up to the knights and besought them, since the foot-soldiers were exhausted, to dismount and enter the fight. They obeyed: they leaped down from their horses, hastened to the front, and covered the front-rankers with their shields. It restored at once the courage of the foot to see the young nobles on even terms with themselves and sharing in the danger. Then at last the

B.C. 500–499

A.U.C. 254-255

mum impulsi Latini, perculsaque inclinavit acies.
12 Equiti admoti equi ut persequi hostem posset; secuta et pedestris acies. Ibi nihil nec divinae nec humanae opis dictator praetermittens aedem Castori vovisse fertur ac pronuntiasse militi praemia qui
13 primus, qui secundus castra hostium intrasset; tantusque ardor fuit ut eodem impetu quo fuderant hostem Romani castra caperent. Hoc modo ad lacum Regillum pugnatum est. Dictator et magister equitum triumphantes in urbem rediere.

A.U.C. 256-259

XXI. Triennio deinde nec certa pax nec bellum fuit. Consules Q. Cloelius et T. Larcius,[1] inde
2 A. Sempronius et M. Minucius. His consulibus aedis Saturno dedicata, Saturnalia institutus festus dies.
3 A. deinde Postumius et T. Verginius consules facti. Hoc demum anno ad Regillum lacum pugnatum apud quosdam invenio; A. Postumium, quia collega dubiae fidei fuerit, se consulatu abdicasse; dictato-
4 rem inde factum. Tanti errores implicant temporum aliter apud alios ordinatis magistratibus ut nec qui consules secundum quos,[2] nec quid quoque anno actum sit in tanta vetustate non rerum modo sed etiam auctorum digerere possis.

[1] Larcius Ω: Lartius *UO*: Largius ς: Largus *Cassiod.*, *Mommsen*, *C.I.L.* i.² p. 99 (*but Dion. Hal.* v. lix. 1, *has* Λάρκιος).

[2] quos *Crevier*: quosdam Ω.

[1] The Saturnalia proper fell on December 17, though as many as seven days came to be devoted to the popular cele-

Latins received a check, and their battle-line was forced to yield. The knights had their horses brought up that they might be able to pursue the enemy, and they were followed by the infantry. Then the dictator, neglecting no help, divine or human, is said to have vowed a temple to Castor, and to have promised rewards to the soldiers who should be first and second to enter the camp of the enemy; and so great was the ardour of the Romans, that with a single rush they routed their opponents and took their camp. Such was the battle at Lake Regillus. The dictator and his master of the horse returned to the City and triumphed. B.C. 500–499

XXI. For the next three years there was neither a stable peace nor war. The consuls Quintus Cloelius and Titus Larcius were followed by Aulus Sempronius and Marcus Minucius. In the latter year a temple to Saturn was dedicated and the Saturnalia was established as a festal day.[1] Next Aulus Postumius and Titus Verginius were made consuls. It was not until this year, according to some authorities I have consulted, that the battle of Lake Regillus was fought. They say that Aulus Postumius, because his colleague was of doubtful loyalty, resigned the consulship, and was then made dictator. One is involved in so many uncertainties regarding dates by the varying order of the magistrates in different lists that it is impossible to make out which consuls followed which, or what was done in each particular year, when not only events but even authorities are so shrouded in antiquity. B.C. 498–495

bration of the festival (Macrobius, I. x. 24), which was a sort of carnival. As an old Italic feast it probably originated earlier than Livy thought. See Macrobius I. viii. 1.

A.U.C. 259

5 Ap. Claudius deinde et P. Servilius consules facti. Insignis hic annus est nuntio Tarquini mortis. Mortuus Cumis, quo se post fractas opes Latinorum ad
6 Aristodemum tyrannum contulerat. Eo nuntio erecti patres, erecta plebes. Sed patribus nimis luxuriosa ea fuit laetitia: plebi, cui ad eam diem summa ope inservitum erat, iniuriae a primoribus fieri coepere.
7 Eodem anno Signia colonia, quam rex Tarquinius deduxerat, suppleto numero colonorum iterum deducta est. Romae tribus una et viginti factae. Aedes Mercuri dedicata est idibus Maiis.

XXII. Cum Volscorum gente Latino bello neque pax neque bellum fuerat; nam et Volsci comparaverant auxilia quae mitterent Latinis, ni maturatum ab dictatore Romano esset, et maturavit Romanus, ne proelio uno cum Latino Volscoque contenderet.
2 Hac ira consules in Volscum agrum legiones duxere. Volscos consilii poenam non metuentes necopinata res perculit; armorum immemores obsides dant trecentos principum a Cora atque Pometia liberos. Ita
3 sine certamine inde abductae legiones. Nec ita multo post Volscis levatis metu suum rediit ingenium; rursus occultum parant bellum Hernicis in
4 societatem armorum adsumptis. Legatos quoque ad

At the next election Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius were chosen consuls. This year was marked by the announcement of Tarquinius's death. He died at Cumae, whither he had gone to the court of Aristodemus after the downfall of the Latin cause. These tidings cheered the Fathers and encouraged the plebs. But the Fathers were too inconsiderate, in consequence of their rejoicing at this event; and the plebs, who up to this time had been most studiously deferred to, began to feel the oppression of the nobles. The same year the colony of Signia, which King Tarquinius had planted, was recruited with new colonists and established for the second time. At Rome twenty-one tribes were formed. The temple of Mercury was consecrated on the fifteenth of May. B.C. 495

XXII. With the Volscian race there had been during the Latin war neither peace nor open hostilities; for while the Volsci had raised levies to send to the aid of the Latins, had the Roman dictator not moved quickly, yet the Romans did move quickly, that they might not have to fight both nations in the same battle Upon this quarrel the consuls led their legions into the country of the Volsci, who, not expecting to be held to account for their design, were surprised and overwhelmed. They had no thought of resisting, and surrendered as hostages three hundred children of the nobility of Cora and Pometia, and so the legions were withdrawn without a conflict. Yet it was not long before the Volsci, being relieved of their alarm, resumed their native duplicity; again they made secret preparations for war, and formed a military alliance with the Hernici, while they also sent out envoys, this

A.U.C. 259

sollicitandum Latium passim dimittunt; sed recens ad Regillum lacum accepta cladis Latinos ira odioque eius, quicumque arma suaderet, ne ab legatis quidem violandis abstinuit; comprehensos Volscos Romam duxere. Ibi traditi[1] consulibus, indicatumque est
5 Volscos Hernicosque parare bellum Romanis. Relata re ad senatum adeo fuit gratum patribus ut et captivorum sex milia Latinis remitterent et de foedere, quod prope in perpetuum negatum fuerat, rem ad
6 novos magistratus traicerent. Enimvero tum Latini gaudere facto; pacis auctores in ingenti gloria esse. Coronam auream Iovi donum in Capitolium mittunt. Cum legatis donoque qui captivorum remissi ad suos
7 fuerant, magna circumfusa multitudo, venit. Pergunt domos eorum apud quem quisque servierant; gratias agunt liberaliter habiti cultique in calamitate sua; inde hospitia iungunt. Nunquam alias ante publice privatimque Latinum nomen Romano imperio coniunctius fuit.

XXIII. Sed et bellum Volscum imminebat, et civitas secum ipsa discors intestino inter patres plebemque flagrabat odio, maxime propter nexos ob aes
2 alienum. Fremebant se foris pro libertate et im-

[1] Neither captives nor treaty were mentioned in chap. xx., and Livy seems here to be following a different authority, possibly Valerius of Antium, whom at XXXIII. x. 8 he accuses of exaggerating numbers.

[2] The word *nexus* was used (1) of one who had borrowed money by "binding" himself to work out the debt as a virtual slave of his creditor, if unable to repay the money; (2) of one so "bound" and actually serving.

way and that, to instigate the Latins to rebellion. B.C. 495
But the disaster which had recently befallen the Latins at Lake Regillus so filled them with rage and hate against anyone who advised them to go to war, that they did not even abstain from violating an embassy, but seized the Volsci and brought them to Rome. There they delivered them up to the consuls with the information that the Volsci and the Hernici were preparing to attack the Romans. When this service had been reported to the senate the Fathers were so grateful that they released to the Latins six thousand captives, and referred the question of a treaty, which they had all but refused in perpetuity, to the incoming magistrates.[1] Then, indeed, the Latins rejoiced at the action they had taken, and the advocates of peace were in great repute. They sent a golden crown as a gift to the Capitoline Jupiter. With the envoys who brought the gift came the captives who had been restored to their friends, a vast attendant multitude. Proceeding to the homes of those whom they had severally served, they thanked them for the liberality and consideration which had been shown them in their adversity, and entered into covenants of hospitality with them. Never before had there been so close a union, both official and personal, between the Latin name and the Roman state.

XXIII. But not only was war with the Volsci imminent; the citizens were at loggerheads among themselves, and internal dissensions between the Fathers and the plebs had burst into a blaze of hatred, chiefly on account of those who had been bound over to service for their debts.[2] These men complained loudly that while they were abroad fight-

A.U.C. 259 perio dimicantes domi a civibus captos et oppressos esse, tutioremque in bello quam in pace et inter hostis quam inter civis libertatem plebis esse; invidiamque eam sua sponte gliscentem insignis unius 3 calamitas accendit. Magno natu quidam cum omnium malorum[1] suorum insignibus se in forum proiecit. Obsita erat squalore vestis, foedior corporis 4 habitus pallore ac macie perempti; ad hoc promissa barba et capilli efferaverant speciem oris. Noscitabatur tamen in tanta deformitate, et ordines duxisse aiebant aliaque militiae decora volgo miserantes eum iactabant; ipse testes honestarum aliquot locis pug- 5 narum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat. Sciscitantibus unde ille habitus, unde deformitas, cum circumfusa turba esset prope in contionis modum, Sabino bello ait se militantem, quia propter populationes agri non fructu modo caruerit, sed villa incensa fuerit, direpta omnia, pecora abacta, tributum iniquo 6 suo tempore imperatum, aes alienum fecisse. Id cumulatum usuris primo se agro paterno avitoque exuisse, deinde fortunis aliis, postremo velut tabem pervenisse ad corpus; ductum se ab creditore non in servitium, sed in ergastulum et carnificinam esse.

[1] malorum *Lipsius*: maiorum Ω.

ing for liberty and dominion they had been enslaved B.C. 495
and oppressed at home by fellow-citizens, and that the freedom of the plebeians was more secure in war than in peace, amongst enemies than amongst citizens. This bitter feeling, which was growing spontaneously, the notable calamity of one man fanned into a flame. Old, and bearing the marks of all his misfortunes, the man rushed into the Forum. His dress was covered with filth, and the condition of his body was even worse, for he was pale and half dead with emaciation. Besides this, his straggling beard and hair had given a savage look to his countenance. He was recognized nevertheless, despite the hideousness of his appearance, and the word went round that he had commanded companies; yet other military honours were openly ascribed to him by the compassionate bystanders, and the man himself displayed the scars on his breast which bore testimony to his honourable service in various battles. When they asked the reason of his condition and his squalor, he replied, while the crowd gathered about him much as though it were an assembly, that during his service in the Sabine war not only had the enemy's depredations deprived him of his crops, but his cottage had been burnt, all his belongings plundered, and his flocks driven off. Then the taxes had been levied, in an untoward moment for him, and he had contracted debts. When these had been swelled by usury, they had first stripped him of the farm which had been his father's and his grandfather's, then of the remnants of his property, and finally like an infection they had attacked his person, and he had been carried off by his creditor, not to slavery, but to the prison and the torture-

A.U.C. 259

7 Inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. Ad haec visa auditaque clamor ingens oritur. Non iam foro se tumultus continet[1] sed
8 passim totam urbem pervadit. Nexi[2] vincti solutique se undique in publicum proripiunt, implorant Quiritium fidem. Nullo loco deest seditionis voluntarius comes; multis passim agminibus per omnes
9 vias cum clamore in forum curritur. Magno cum periculo suo qui forte patrum in foro erant in eam
10 turbam inciderunt; nec temperatum manibus foret, ni propere consules, P. Servilius et Ap. Claudius, ad comprimendam seditionem intervenissent. At in eos multitudo versa ostentare vincula sua deformitatem-
11 que aliam. Haec se meritos dicere exprobrantes suam quisque alius alibi militiam; postulare multo minaciter magis quam suppliciter ut senatum vocarent; curiamque ipsi futuri arbitri moderatoresque
12 publici consilii circumsistunt. Pauci admodum patrum, quos casus obtulerat, contracti ab consulibus: ceteros metus non curia modo sed etiam foro arcebat, nec agi quicquam per infrequentiam poterat
13 senatus. Tum vero eludi atque extrahi se multitudo putare,[3] et patrum qui abessent non casu, non metu, sed impediendae rei causa abesse, et consules ipsos

[1] continet ζ : sustinet Ω.
[2] nexi $R^2\zeta$: inexsui M : nexu Ω.
[3] putare $HD^2\zeta$: putaret Ω.

chamber. He then showed them his back, disfigured with the wales of recent scourging. The sight of these things and the man's recital produced a mighty uproar. The disturbance was no longer confined to the Forum, but spread in all directions through the entire City. Those who had been bound over, whether in chains or not, broke out into the streets from every side, and implored the Quirites to protect them. At no point was there any lack of volunteers to join the rising; everywhere crowds were streaming through the different streets and shouting as they hurried to the Forum. Great was the peril of those senators who happened to be in the Forum and fell in with the mob, which would not indeed have stopped short of violence had not the consuls, Publius Servilius and Appius Claudius, hurriedly intervened to put down the insurrection. But the crowd turned on them and displayed their chains and other hideous tokens. These, they cried, were the rewards they had earned, and they bitterly rehearsed the campaigns they had each served in various places. They demanded, in a manner much more threatening than suppliant, that the consuls should convene the senate; and they surrounded the Curia, that they might themselves witness and control the deliberations of the state. The consuls succeeded in collecting only a few of the senators whom chance had thrown in their way. The rest were afraid to enter not only the Curia but even the Forum, and nothing could be done because those present were too few. Whereat the people concluded they were being flouted and put off, and that the missing senators were absent not from accident, nor fear, but with the intent to hinder action, and that the consuls themselves were paltering; B.C. 495

A.U.C. 259 tergiversari, nec dubie ludibrio esse miserias suas.
14 Iam prope erat ut ne consulum quidem maiestas coerceret iras hominum, cum, incerti morando an veniendo plus periculi contraherent, tandem in senatum veniunt; frequentique tandem curia non modo inter patres sed ne inter consules quidem ipsos satis
15 conveniebat. Appius, vehementis ingenii vir, imperio consulari rem agendam censebat: uno aut altero arrepto quieturos alios; Servilius, lenibus remediis aptior, concitatos animos flecti quam frangi putabat cum tutius tum facilius esse.

XXIV. Inter haec maior alius terror: Latini equites cum tumultuoso advolant nuntio Volscos infesto exercitu ad urbem oppugnandam venire. Quae audita—adeo duas ex una civitate discordia fecerat—
2 longe aliter patres ac plebem adfecere. Exsultare gaudio plebes, ultores superbiae patrum adesse dicere deos; alius alium confirmare, ne nomina darent: cum omnibus potius quam solos perituros; patres militarent, patres arma caperent, ut penes eosdem peri-
3 cula belli, penes quos praemia essent. At vero curia maesta ac trepida ancipiti metu et ab cive et ab hoste Servilium consulem, cui ingenium magis populare erat, orare ut tantis circumventam terroribus

nor did they doubt that their misery was made a jest. A little more and not even the majesty of the consuls could have held in check the angry crowd, when the absent Fathers, uncertain whether they should incur more danger by holding back or by coming forward, finally came into the senate, and the required number being at length assembled, not only the senators, but even the consuls themselves were unable to agree. Appius, a headstrong man, was for settling the matter by the exercise of consular authority; when one or two men had been arrested, the others, he said, would calm down. Servilius, more inclined to gentle measures, believed that it was safer, as well as easier, to assuage their fury than to quell it. B.C. 495

XXIV. In the midst of the debate a greater alarm arose from a new quarter, for some Latin horsemen galloped up with the disquieting news that a Volscian army was advancing to attack the City. This report awoke very different feelings—so completely had their dissensions divided the state into two—in the Fathers and the plebs. The commons were jubilant; they said that the gods were taking a hand in punishing the arrogance of the senators. They encouraged one another not to give in their names; it would be better to perish all together than alone. Let the Fathers serve, let the Fathers take up arms, that those might incur the hazards of war who received its rewards. The Curia, on the other hand, was downcast and dismayed. In their twofold fear —of their fellow-citizens and of the enemy—they begged Servilius the consul, whose character appealed more to the people than did that of his colleague, that he would extricate the state from

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4 expediret rem publicam. Tum consul misso senatu in contionem prodit. Ibi curae esse patribus ostendit ut consulatur plebi; ceterum deliberationi de maxima quidem illa sed tamen parte civitatis metum 5 pro universa re publica intervenisse. Nec posse, cum hostes prope ad portas essent, bello praeverti se[1] quicquam, nec, si sit laxamenti aliquid, aut plebi honestum esse, nisi mercede prius accepta arma pro patria non cepisse, neque patribus satis decorum per metum potius quam postmodo voluntate adflictis 6 civium suorum fortunis consuluisse. Contioni deinde edicto addidit fidem, quo edixit ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret, neu quis militis, donec in castris esset, bona possideret 7 aut venderet, liberos nepotesve eius moraretur. Hoc proposito edicto et qui aderant nexi profiteri extemplo nomina, et undique ex tota urbe proripientium se ex privato, cum retinendi ius creditori non esset, concursus in forum, ut sacramento dicerent, fieri. 8 Magna ea manus fuit, neque aliorum magis in Volsco bello virtus atque opera enituit. Consul copias contra hostem educit; parvo dirimente intervallo castra ponit.

[1] praeverti se *Weissenborn* : praeuertisse Ω : peruetisse *M* : praeuerti *Hertz.*

the fearful perils with which it was beset. Thereupon the consul adjourned the senate and went before the people. There he declared that the Fathers were anxious to consult the interests of the plebs, but that their deliberations concerning that very important part—but only a part after all—of the state had been broken off by their fears for the entire nation. It was impossible, when the enemy was almost at the city gates, to consider anything before the war; and even if there should be some slight respite in that regard, it was neither to the credit of the plebs to refuse to arm for their country, unless they should first receive a recompense, nor honourable to the Fathers to be driven by fear into passing measures for the relief of their fellow-citizens which they would have passed later of their own free will. He then confirmed his speech by a proclamation in which he commanded that no one should hold a Roman citizen in chains or durance so that he should not be able to give in his name to the consuls, and that none should seize or sell a soldier's property so long as he was in camp, or interfere with his children or his grandchildren. When this edict had been published, the debtors who were present at once enlisted, and from every quarter, all over the City, they hastened from the houses where their creditors no longer had the right to detain them, and rushed into the Forum to take the military oath. It was a great throng, nor were there any soldiers whose courage and usefulness in the Volscian war were more conspicuous. The consul led his troops against the enemy, and pitched his camp at a short distance from theirs. B.C. 495

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XXV. Proxima inde nocte Volsci, discordia Romana freti, si qua nocturna transitio proditiove fieri posset,[1] temptant castra. Sensere vigiles, excitatus
2 exercitus, signo dato concursum est ad arma; ita frustra id inceptum Volscis fuit; reliquum noctis utrimque quieti datum. Postero die prima luce
3 Volsci fossis repletis vallum invadunt. Iamque ab omni parte munimenta vellebantur, cum consul, quamquam cuncti undique, et nexi ante omnes, ut signum daret clamabant, experiendi animos militum causa parumper moratus, postquam satis apparebat ingens ardor, dato tandem ad erumpendum signo
4 militem avidum certaminis emittit. Primo statim incursu pulsi hostes; fugientibus, quoad insequi pedes potuit, terga caesa; eques usque ad castra pavidos egit. Mox ipsa castra legionibus circumdatis, cum Volscos inde etiam pavor expulsisset, capta
5 direptaque. Postero die ad Suessam Pometiam, quo confugerant hostes, legionibus ductis, intra paucos dies oppidum capitur, captum praedae datum. Inde
6 paulum recreatus egens miles. Consul cum maxima gloria sua victorem exercitum Romam reducit. Decedentem Romam Ecetranorum[2] Volscorum legati,

[1] posset *MPFUBO*: possit *HRDL Ald.*

[2] Romam Ecetranorum *F?L* (*written* ec etr-) ς: roma mecetranorum *MPR*: roma matranorum (ce *written over* -at-) *B*: romam cetranorum *D*: romam mecetranorum *OH*: romam macetranorum $D^2\varsigma$: Ecetranorum *Crevier.*

XXV. The next night the Volsci, relying on the lack of harmony among the Romans, attacked their camp on the chance that the darkness might encourage desertions or treachery. But the sentries perceived them, the army was roused, and, the signal being given, rushed to arms. Thus the design of the Volsci came to naught, and the remainder of the night was devoted by both armies to sleeping. On the following day at dawn the Volsci filled up the trenches and assaulted the rampart, and soon they were everywhere pulling down the palisades. On every side the consul's men were clamouring for the signal—none more loudly than the debtors. He waited a moment, to test the temper of the soldiers. When there could no longer be any doubt of their great ardour, he finally gave the command for a sortie and released them, eager for the fray. At the very first onset the enemy were routed. While they ran, the foot-soldiers struck at them from behind as long as they could keep up the pursuit; then the horsemen drove them panic-stricken clear to their camp. Soon the camp itself had been surrounded by the legions, and when the Volsci had fled from it in terror, it was taken and plundered. Next day Servilius led his forces to Suessa Pometia, where the enemy had taken refuge, and within a few days took the town and gave it up to be sacked.[1] This yielded some slight relief to the soldiers, who needed it badly. The consul led his army back to Rome, with great honour to himself. As he was setting out on his return thither ambassadors approached him from B.C. 495

[1] But it had already been razed, as we read in chap. xvii. 6—another indication that Livy is reproducing different versions of the same story (see chap. xvi. 9 and note).

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rebus suis timentes post Pometiam captam, adeunt. His ex senatus consulto data pax, ager ademptus.

XXVI. Confestim et Sabini Romanos territavere; tumultus enim fuit verius quam bellum. Nocte in urbem nuntiatum est exercitum Sabinum praedabundum ad Anienem amnem pervenisse; ibi passim
2 diripi atque incendi villas. Missus extemplo eo cum omnibus copiis equitum A. Postumius, qui dictator bello Latino fuerat; secutus consul Servilius cum
3 delecta peditum manu. Plerosque palantes eques circumvenit, nec advenienti peditum agmini restitit Sabina legio; fessi cum itinere tum populatione nocturna, magna pars in villis repleti cibo vinoque, vix fugae quod satis esset virium habuere.
4 Nocte una audito perfectoque bello Sabino postero die in magna iam spe undique partae pacis legati Aurunci senatum adeunt, ni decedatur Volsco agro
5 bellum indicentes. Cum legatis simul exercitus Auruncorum domo profectus erat; cuius fama haud procul iam ab Aricia visi tanto tumultu concivit Romanos ut nec consuli ordine patres nec pacatum responsum arma inferentibus arma ipsi capientes
6 dare possent. Ariciam infesto agmine itur, nec

the Volsci of Ecetra, who were alarmed at their own prospects, in view of the capture of Pometia. A decree of the senate granted them peace, but took away their land. B.C. 495

XXVI. Directly after this the Sabines also caused an alarm at Rome—for it was indeed a turmoil rather than war. One night the City got word that a Sabine army bent on pillage had come as near as the river Anio, and was there plundering and burning farmhouses right and left. The Romans at once dispatched in that direction all their cavalry, under Aulus Postumius, who had been dictator in the Latin war. He was followed by the consul Servilius with a picked body of foot-soldiers. Many stragglers were cut off by the cavalry and, when the column of infantry drew near, no resistance was offered by the Sabine troops. Exhausted not only by their march but by their night of pillage as well, a great part of them had gorged themselves in the farmhouses with food and wine, and had scarcely vigour enough to run away.

A single night having sufficed for hearing of the Sabine war and ending it, men's hopes next day ran high that peace was now assured in every quarter, when legates from the Aurunci appeared before the senate to say that unless the territory of the Volsci were evacuated they should declare war. The Auruncan army had set out from home at the same time with the legates, and the report that it had already been seen not far from Aricia threw Rome into such a state of confusion that it was impossible to bring the matter regularly before the senate, or to return a peaceful answer to a people who had already drawn the sword, while they themselves were also arming. They marched on Aricia in fighting order, joined

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procul inde cum Auruncis signa conlata proelioque uno debellatum est.

XXVII. Fusis Auruncis victor tot intra paucos dies bellis Romanus promissa consulis fidemque senatus exspectabat, cum Appius et insita superbia animo et ut collegae vanam faceret fidem, quam asperrime poterat, ius de creditis pecuniis dicere. Deinceps et qui ante nexi fuerant creditoribus tradebantur et
2 nectebantur alii. Quod ubi cui militi inciderat, collegam appellabat. Concursus ad Servilium fiebat; illius promissa iactabant; illi exprobrabant sua quisque belli merita cicatricesque acceptas. Postulabant ut aut referret ad senatum, aut[1] auxilio esset consul
3 civibus suis, imperator militibus. Movebant consulem haec, sed tergiversari res cogebat; adeo in alteram causam non collega solum praeceps erat[2] sed omnis factio nobilium. Ita medium se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium nec apud patres gratiam iniit.
4 Patres mollem consulem et ambitiosum rati, plebes fallacem; brevique apparuit adaequasse eum Appi
5 odium. Certamen consulibus inciderat uter dedicaret Mercuri aedem. Senatus a se rem ad populum reiecit: utri eorum dedicatio iussu populi data esset,

[1] aut *Madvig*: aut ut Ω. [2] praeceps erat ς: praeceperat Ω.

battle with the Aurunci not far from the town, and in a single engagement finished the war. B.C. 495

XXVII. Having routed the Aurunci, and having been, within a few days, victorious in so many wars, the Romans were looking for the help which the consul had promised and the senate guaranteed, when Appius, partly out of native arrogance, partly to discredit his colleague, began to pronounce judgment with the utmost rigour in suits to recover debts. In consequence, not only were those who had been bound over before delivered up to their creditors, but others were bound over. Whenever this happened to a soldier he would appeal to the other consul. The people flocked to the house of Servilius: it was he who had made them promises; it was he whom they reproached, as each rehearsed his services in the wars and displayed the scars he had received. They demanded that he should either lay the matter before the senate or lend his aid as consul to his fellow-citizens, as general to his soldiers. They moved the consul by this plea, but the situation forced him to temporize, so vehemently was the other side supported, not only by his colleague, but by the entire party of the nobles. And so he steered a middle course, and neither avoided the dislike of the plebs nor gained the goodwill of the Fathers. These considered him a pusillanimous consul and an agitator, while the commons held him to be dishonest; and it was soon apparent that he was as cordially hated as Appius. The consuls had got into a dispute as to which should dedicate the temple to Mercury. The senate referred the case to the people for decision. Whichever consul should, by command of the people, be entrusted with the dedication was to have charge

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eum praeesse annonae, mercatorum collegium instituere, sollemnia pro pontifice iussit suscipere. Populus dedicationem aedis dat M. Laetorio, primi pili centurioni, quod facile appareret non tam ad honorem eius, cui curatio altior fastigio suo data esset, factum quam ad consulum ignominiam. Saevire inde utique consulum alter patresque; sed plebi creverant animi, et longe alia quam primo instituerant via grassabantur. Desperato enim consulum senatusque auxilio, cum in ius duci debitorem vidissent, undique convolabant. Neque decretum exaudiri consulis prae strepitu et clamore poterat, neque cum decresset quisquam obtemperabat. Vi agebatur, metusque omnis et periculum,[1] cum in conspectu consulis singuli a pluribus violarentur, in creditores a debitoribus verterant. Super haec timor incessit Sabini belli; dilectuque decreto nemo nomen dedit, furente Appio et insectante ambitionem collegae, qui populari silentio rem publicam proderet, et ad id quod de credita pecunia ius non dixisset, adiceret ut ne dilectum quidem ex senatus consulto haberet: non esse tamen desertam omnino rem publicam neque proiectum consulare imperium, se unum et suae et patrum maiestatis vindicem fore. Cum circumstaret cotidiana multitudo licentia accensa, arripi unum insig-

[1] periculum *M*: periculum libertatis Ω.

[1] Mercury was the patron of trade.

of the corn-supply, to establish a guild of merchants,[1] and perform the solemn rites in the presence of the pontifex. The people assigned the dedication to Marcus Laetorius, a centurion of the first rank—a choice which would readily be understood as intended not so much to honour Laetorius, to whom a commission had been given which was too exalted for his station in life, as to humiliate the consuls. Appius and the Fathers were furious then, if they had not been before; but the plebeians had plucked up heart and threw themselves into the struggle with far more spirit than they had shown at first. For, despairing of help from consuls and senate, they no sooner beheld a debtor being haled away than they flew to his assistance from every side. It was impossible for the consul's decree to be heard above the din and shouting, and when it had been pronounced nobody obeyed it. Violence was the order of the day, and fear and danger had quite shifted from the debtors to the creditors, who were singled out and maltreated by large numbers in full sight of the consul. To crown these troubles came the fear of a Sabine invasion. A levy was decreed, but no one enlisted. Appius stormed and railed at the insidious arts of his colleague, who, he said, to make himself popular, was betraying the state by his inactivity; and to his refusal to give judgment for debt was adding a fresh offence in refusing to hold the levy as the senate had directed. Nevertheless the welfare of the state was not wholly forgotten, nor the authority of the consulate abandoned; he would himself, single-handed, assert both his own and the senate's majesty. When the usual daily throng of lawless men was standing about him, he gave orders

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nem ducem seditionum iussit. Ille cum a lictoribus iam traheretur, provocavit; nec cessisset provocationi consul, quia non dubium erat populi iudicium, nisi aegre victa pertinacia foret consilio magis et auctoritate principum quam populi clamore; adeo
13 supererant animi ad sustinendam invidiam. Crescere inde malum in dies non clamoribus modo apertis sed, quod multo perniciosius erat, secessione occultisque conloquiis. Tandem invisi plebi consules magistratu abeunt, Servilius neutris, Appius patribus mire gratus.

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XXVIII. A. Verginius inde et T. Vetusius consulatum ineunt. Tum vero plebs, incerta quales habitura consules esset, coetus nocturnos, pars Esquiliis, pars in Aventino facere, ne in foro subitis trepidaret
2 consiliis et omnia temere ac fortuito ageret. Eam rem consules rati, ut erat, perniciosam ad patres deferunt, sed delatam consulere ordine non licuit; adeo tumultuose excepta est clamoribus undique et indignatione patrum, si, quod imperio consulari exsequendum esset, invidiam eius consules ad senatum
3 reicerent. Profecto, si essent in re publica magistratus, nullum futurum fuisse Romae nisi publicum concilium; nunc in mille curias contionesque [1] dis-

[1] *After* contionesque *the MSS. give* cum alia Esquiliis alia in Aventino fiant concilia, *which Wecklein ejects as a gloss derived from* xxviii. 1.

to seize one who was a conspicuous leader in their disturbances. The lictors were already dragging the man away, when he appealed; nor would the consul have granted the appeal, for there was no question what the decision of the people would be, had not his obstinacy been with difficulty overcome, more by the advice and influence of the nobles than by the popular outcry, so steeled was he to endure men's hate. From that moment the trouble grew worse each day, and not only were there open disturbances, but what was far more pernicious, secret gatherings and conferences. At last the consuls whom the plebeians so hated went out of office. Servilius had the goodwill of neither party, but Appius was in high esteem with the senators. B.C. 495

XXVIII. Aulus Verginius and Titus Vetusius then entered upon the consulship. Whereat the plebs, uncertain what sort of consuls they would prove to be, held nightly gatherings, some on the Esquiline and others on the Aventine, lest if they met in the Forum they might be frightened into adopting ill-considered measures, and manage all their business rashly and at haphazard. This seemed to the consuls, as indeed it was, a mischievous practice. They laid the matter before the Fathers, but their report could not be discussed in an orderly fashion, so tumultuously was it received, with shouts from every part of the house and expressions of indignation from the senators, that a thing which ought to have been settled by an exercise of consular authority should be invidiously referred by the consuls to the senate. It was evident that if only there were magistrates in the nation there would have been no assembly in Rome but the assembly of the people; as it was, the B.C. 494

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4 persam et dissipatam esse rem publicam. Unum hercule virum—id enim plus esse quam consulem—qualis Ap. Claudius fuerit, momento temporis discus-
5 surum illos coetus fuisse. Correpti consules cum, quid ergo se facere vellent, nihil enim segnius molliusve quam patribus placeat acturos, percunctarentur, decernunt ut dilectum quam acerrimum
6 habeant: otio lascivire plebem. Dimisso senatu consules in tribunal escendunt; citant nominatim iuniores. Cum ad nomen nemo responderet, circumfusa multitudo in contionis modum negare[1] ultra
7 decipi plebem posse; nunquam unum militem habituros ni praestaretur fides publica; libertatem unicuique prius reddendam esse quam arma danda, ut pro patria civibusque, non pro dominis pugnent.
8 Consules quid mandatum esset a senatu videbant, sed eorum qui intra parietes curiae ferociter loquerentur neminem adesse invidiae suae participem;
9 et apparebat atrox cum plebe certamen. Prius itaque quam ultima experirentur, senatum iterum consulere placuit. Tum vero ad sellas consulum propere[2] convolavere[3] minimus quisque natu patrum, abdicare consulatum iubentes et deponere imperium ad quod tuendum animus deesset.

XXIX. Utraque re satis experta tum demum consules: "Ne praedictum negetis, patres con-

[1] negare $M\varsigma$: negaret Ω. [2] propere ς: prope Ω.
[3] convolavere Ω: conuolare VM.

[1] (1) to persuade the senate to content the people; (2) to coerce the people.

government was broken up into a thousand separate curias and meetings. One single *man*—a more significant word than *consul*—of the type of Appius Claudius, would have dispersed those assemblages in a moment. When the consuls, thus upbraided, asked the Fathers what then they desired them to do, and promised that their conduct of the matter should be no whit less strenuous and stern than the senate wished, it was resolved that they should hold a levy with the utmost severity: it was idleness that made the plebeians lawless. Having adjourned the senate, the consuls mounted the tribunal and cited the young men by name. When no one answered to his name, the crowd, which surrounded the speaker as in a public meeting, declared that it was impossible to deceive the commons any longer; the consuls would never have a single soldier unless a public guarantee were given: liberty must first be restored to every man before arms were given him, that he might fight for his country and his fellow-citizens, not for a master. It was clear to the consuls what the senate had bidden them do; but of all those who had uttered truculent speeches within the walls of the curia they found not one at their side to share their odium, and they saw before them a terrible struggle with the people. Accordingly they thought it best, before proceeding to extremities, to consult the senate a second time. When it met, the youngest senators all rushed up in hot haste to the seats of the consuls, bidding them to abdicate their office and to lay down an authority which they lacked the spirit to support. B.C. 494

XXIX. Having sufficiently weighed both the courses open to them,[1] the consuls finally said: "Lest you should say that you had not been warned, Con-

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scripti, adest ingens seditio. Postulamus ut ii, qui maxime ignaviam increpant, adsint nobis habentibus dilectum. Acerrimi cuiusque arbitrio, quando
2 ita placet, rem agemus." Redeunt in tribunal; citari nominatim unum ex iis qui in conspectu erant dedita opera iubent. Cum staret tacitus et circa eum aliquot hominum, ne forte violaretur, constitisset globus, lictorem ad eum consules
3 mittunt. Quo repulso tum vero indignum facinus esse clamitantes qui patrum consulibus aderant, de-
4 volant de tribunali ut lictori auxilio essent. Sed ab lictore, nihil aliud quam prendere prohibito, cum conversus in patres impetus esset, consulum intercursu rixa sedata est, in qua tamen sine lapide, sine telo plus clamoris atque irarum quam iniuriae fuerat.
5 Senatus tumultuose vocatus tumultuosius consulitur, quaestionem postulantibus iis qui pulsati fuerant, decernente ferocissimo quoque non sententiis magis
6 quam clamore et strepitu. Tandem cum irae resedissent, exprobrantibus consulibus nihilo plus sanitatis in curia quam in foro esse, ordine consuli
7 coepit. Tres fuere sententiae. P. Verginius rem non volgabat; de iis tantum qui fidem secuti P. Servili consulis Volsco, Aurunco, Sabinoque militassent
8 bello, agendum censebat. T. Largius non id tempus esse ut merita tantummodo exsolverentur; totam

script Fathers, we are on the verge of a great mutiny. B.C. 494
We demand that those who are loudest in accusing us of cowardice stand by us while we hold the levy. The most severe amongst you, since such is your pleasure, shall guide our procedure." They returned to the tribunal, and purposely commanded to cite by name one of those who were present. When he stood still without answering, in the midst of a little knot of men who, fearing the possibility of violence, had gathered round him, the consuls sent a lictor to him. The lictor was driven back. Whereupon, with a cry of "Shame!" the senators who were attending the consul rushed down from the tribunal to assist the lictor. But when the mob turned from the officer, whom they had merely prevented from arresting the man, and assailed the senators, the consuls intervened and checked the brawl, in which no stones had been thrown nor any weapons used, and there were more shouts and expressions of rage than hurts. The senate was convened in confusion, and they deliberated in still greater confusion. Those who had been roughly handled demanded an investigation, and all the more violent members urged the resolution, not only with speeches but with shouts and uproar. When at length their passions had subsided, and the consuls berated them for showing as little sanity in the Curia as the people had shown in the Forum, they began to deliberate in an orderly manner. Three proposals were made. Publius Verginius advised against a general relief: only those who, relying on the promise of Publius Servilius the consul, had fought in the Volscian, Auruncan, and Sabine wars should, he thought, be considered. Titus Largius held that this was no time for merely requiting services;

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plebem aere alieno demersam esse, nec sisti posse ni omnibus consulatur; quin, si alia aliorum sit con-
9 dicio, accendi magis discordiam quam sedari. Ap. Claudius, et natura immitis et efferatus, hinc plebis odio illinc patrum laudibus, non miseriis ait sed licentia tantum concitum turbarum, et lascivire magis
10 plebem quam saevire. Id adeo malum ex provocatione natum; quippe minas esse consulum, non imperium, ubi ad eos qui una peccaverint provocare
11 liceat. "Agedum," inquit, "dictatorem, a quo provocatio non est, creemus; iam hic quo nunc omnia
12 ardent conticescet furor. Pulset tum mihi lictorem qui sciet ius de tergo vitaque sua penes unum illum esse cuius maiestatem violarit." [1]

XXX. Multis, ut erat, horrida et atrox videbatur Appi sententia; rursus Vergini Largique exemplo haud salubres, utique Largi,[2] quae totam fidem tolleret. Medium maxime et moderatum utroque con-
2 silium Vergini habebatur; sed factione respectuque rerum privatarum, quae semper offecere officientque publicis consiliis, Appius vicit, ac prope fuit ut dic-
3 tator ille idem crearetur; quae res utique alienasset plebem periculosissimo tempore, cum Volsci Aequi-

[1] violarit $R^2\varsigma$: uiolauit Ω.
[2] *After* Largi Ω *have* putabant sententiam, *which Gebhard deletes.*

the whole commons was submerged in debt, and B.C. 494
the situation could not be remedied unless provision were made for all; indeed, if some were treated in one way and some in another, it would heighten the discontent instead of allaying it. Appius Claudius, naturally harsh, and rendered savage by the hatred of the plebs on the one hand and the praises of the Fathers on the other, said that it was not misery but licence that had stirred up so great a hubbub, and that wantonness was what ailed the plebs rather than anger. That was precisely the mischief which the appeal occasioned; for the consuls might threaten but could not command, when those who had shared in the guilt might be constituted the court of appeal. "Come," said he, "let us appoint a dictator, from whom there is no appeal. At once this frenzy which has now set everything ablaze will be stilled. Let anybody strike a lictor then, knowing that the right to scourge and behead him rests with that one man whose majesty he has violated!"

XXX. Many felt, and with reason, that the proposal of Appius was stern and cruel; on the other hand those of Verginius and Largius were inexpedient because of the precedent; particularly that of Largius, since it destroyed all credit. The most reasonable and moderate plan, in its regard for both sides, was held to be that of Verginius. But owing to party spirit and consideration for private interests, things which have always been hurtful to public deliberations and always will be, Appius prevailed, and came very near to being himself appointed dictator, a step which would infallibly have estranged the commons, and that at a most dangerous moment, since the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Sabines were all, as it

A.U.C. 260

que et Sabini forte una omnes in armis essent. Sed curae fuit consulibus et senioribus patrum, ut magistratus[1] imperio suo vehemens mansueto permitteretur ingenio. M'. Valerium dictatorem Volesi filium creant. Plebes etsi adversus se creatum dictatorem videbat, tamen cum provocationem fratris lege haberet, nihil ex ea familia triste nec superbum timebat. Edictum deinde a dictatore propositum confirmavit animos Servili fere consulis edicto conveniens; sed et homini et potestati melius rati credi omisso certamine nomina dedere. Quantus nunquam ante exercitus, legiones decem effectae; ternae inde datae consulibus, quattuor dictator usus.

Nec iam poterat bellum differri. Aequi Latinum agrum invaserant. Oratores Latinorum ab senatu petebant ut aut mitterent subsidium aut se ipsos tuendorum finium causa capere arma sinerent. Tutius visum est defendi inermes Latinos quam pati retractare arma. Vetusius consul missus est; is finis populationibus fuit. Cessere Aequi campis locoque magis quam armis freti summis se iugis montium tutabantur. Alter consul in Volscos profectus, ne et ipse tereret tempus, vastandis maxime agris hostem

[1] magistratus *was inserted by Heerwagen.*

[1] That is to say, in general; from a dictator, however, there was no appeal until a later period.

chanced, up in arms at once. But the consuls and B.C. 494
the older senators saw to it that a magistracy rendered formidable by its paramount authority should be committed to a man of gentle disposition, and chose for dictator Manius Valerius, son of Volesus. The plebs, though they perceived that it was against themselves that the creation of a dictator was aimed, still, since it was through a law proposed by a brother of Valerius that they possessed the right of appeal,[1] they had no fear of any harsh or oppressive act on the part of one of that family. An edict which the dictator soon promulgated strengthened their confidence. It conformed essentially to the edict of Servilius; but Valerius and the office he held commanded greater confidence, and, ceasing to struggle, men gave in their names. So large an army had never been enrolled before. Ten legions were embodied; each consul was given three of these, and the dictator had four.

Nor could war be deferred any longer, for the Aequi had invaded Latin territory. Emissaries from the Latins begged the senate either to send them help or permit them to take up arms themselves in defence of their country.[2] It seemed safer that the Latins should be defended without arming them, than that they should be suffered to resume their weapons. Vetusius the consul was dispatched to them, and this ended the pillaging. The Aequi left the fields, and trusting more to situation than to arms, secured themselves on the summits of the ridges. The other consul marched against the Volsci. Lest he too might waste his time, he provoked the

[2] Apparently the Latins, perhaps after the battle of Lake Regillus (chap. xix. f.), had been denied the right to make war, save at the pleasure of the Romans.

A.U.C. 290

ad conferenda propius castra dimicandumque acie
11 excivit. Medio inter castra campo ante suum quis-
12 que vallum infestis signis constitere. Multitudine aliquantum Volsci superabant; itaque effusi et contemptim pugnam iniere. Consul Romanus nec promovit aciem nec clamorem reddi passus defixis pilis stare suos iussit: ubi ad manum venisset hostis, tum
13 coortos[1] tota vi gladiis rem gerere. Volsci cursu et clamore fessi cum se velut stupentibus metu intulissent Romanis, postquam impressionem sensere ex adverso factam et ante oculos micare gladios, haud secus quam si in[2] insidias incidissent, turbati vertunt terga; et ne ad fugam quidem satis virium fuit, quia
14 cursu in proelium ierant. Romani contra, quia principio pugnae quieti steterant, vigentes corporibus, facile adepti fessos et castra impetu ceperunt et castris exutum hostem Velitras persecuti uno agmine
15 victores cum victis in urbem inrupere; plusque ibi sanguinis promiscua omnium generum caede quam in ipsa dimicatione factum. Paucis data venia, qui inermes in deditionem venerunt.

XXXI. Dum haec in Volscis geruntur, dictator Sabinos, ubi longe plurimum belli fuerat, fundit
2 exuitque[3] castris. Equitatu immisso mediam turba-

[1] coortos *V*?: cohortos (*or* -es) Ω.
[2] quam si in ς: quam *M*: quam si Ω.
[3] exuitque *Walters*: fugatque exuit Ω: fugaque exuitque *M*.

enemy, chiefly by ravaging their lands, to bring their camp nearer and do battle with him. In the plain between the camps the two armies formed their lines, each in front of its own stockade. In numbers the Volsci were somewhat superior, and accordingly they came on in a loose and careless order. The Roman consul did not advance, nor did he allow a response to the enemy's shout. He commanded his men to plant their spears in the ground and stand still until the enemy had come to close quarters; then they were to assail them with all their might, and settle the question with the sword. The Volsci, weary with running and shouting, hurled themselves upon the Romans, who seemed to be numb with fear. But when the attackers found that their charge was firmly met and saw the swords flash in their faces, they were no whit less confounded than if they had fallen into an ambush, and turned and fled; and even flight was beyond their strength, since they had been running as they entered the battle. The Romans on the contrary, having stood at ease at the beginning of the fight, were fresh and strong; they readily caught up with the exhausted Volsci, and having taken their camp with a rush, pursued their enemies beyond it to Velitrae, where vanquished and victors burst into the city in one body. More blood was shed there, in the promiscuous slaughter of all sorts of people, than had been in the battle itself. A very few were granted quarter, having come without arms and given themselves up. B.C. 494

XXXI. While these things were going on in the Volscian country, the dictator put to rout the Sabines —by far Rome's most important enemy—and captured their camp. Attacking with his cavalry, he

A.U.C. 60

verat hostium aciem, quam,[1] dum se cornua latius pandunt, parum apte introrsum ordinibus[2] firmaverant; turbatos pedes invasit. Eodem impetu castra
3 capta debellatumque est. Post pugnam ad Regillum lacum non alia illis annis pugna clarior fuit. Dictator triumphans urbem invehitur. Super solitos honores locus in circo ipsi posterisque ad spectaculum datus,
4 sella in eo loco curulis posita. Volscis devictis Veliternus ager ademptus; Velitras coloni ab urbe missi et colonia deducta. Cum Aequis post aliquanto pugnatum est invito quidem consule, quia loco iniquo
5 subeundum erat ad hostes; sed milites extrahi rem criminantes ut dictator, priusquam ipsi redirent in urbem magistratu abiret, inritaque, sicut ante consulis, promissa eius caderent, perpulere ut forte
6 temere in adversos montes agmen erigeret. Id male commissum ignavia hostium in bonum vertit qui, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniretur, obstupefacti audacia Romanorum relictis castris, quae munitissimis tenuerant locis, in aversas[3] valles desiluere. Ibi[4] satis praedae et victoria incruenta fuit.

7 Ita trifariam re bello bene gesta, de domesticarum rerum eventu nec patribus nec plebi cura deces-

[1] quam *D*?: quia *OH*: qua Ω.
[2] ordinibus *Gronov.*: ordinibus aciem Ω.
[3] aversas *Tan. Faber*: aduersas Ω. [4] Ibi ς: ubi Ω.

[1] That this apparently unique distinction was actually conferred on the Valerii is confirmed by an honorary inscription (*C.I.L.* i. 284).

made havoc of their centre, which, in extending their wings too widely, they had unduly weakened; and in the midst of the disorder the infantry assailed them. By a single rush the camp was captured and the war ended. From the time of the fight at Lake Regillus no other battle of those days was more famous. The dictator entered the City in triumph. In addition to the customary honours a place was assigned him in the circus, for himself and his descendants, to witness the games, and a curule chair was put there for him.[1] The Volsci, having been conquered, were deprived of the Veliternian land; colonists were sent from the City to Velitrae and a colony was planted. Soon after this there was a battle with the Aequi, though the consul was against it, for it was necessary to approach the enemy from unfavourable ground; but his men accused him of dragging out the campaign in order that the dictator might relinquish his office before their return to the City, and his promises thus come to naught, as the consul's promises had done before. Vetusius was thus driven to order an advance at random, up the mountains which confronted him. This ill-advised measure the enemy's cowardice turned into success, for before the Romans had come within a spear's throw, the Aequi, appalled at their audacity, abandoned the camp which they had maintained in a highly defensible position, and threw themselves down into the valleys on the other side. There the Romans gained considerable booty and a bloodless victory. B.C. 494

Though a threefold success had thus been gained in the war, neither senators nor plebeians had been relieved of their anxiety respecting the outcome of

A.U.C. 260

serat; tanta cum gratia tum arte praeparaverant faeneratores quae non modo plebem sed ipsum etiam
8 dictatorem frustrarentur. Namque Valerius post Vetusi consulis reditum omnium actionum in senatu[1] primam habuit pro victore populo, rettulitque quid
9 de nexis fieri placeret. Quae cum reiecta relatio esset, "Non placeo," inquit, "concordiae auctor; optabitis, mediusfidius, propediem ut mei similes Romana plebes patronos habeat. Quod ad me attinet, neque frustrabor ultra cives meos neque ipse
10 frustra dictator ero. Discordiae intestinae, bellum externum fecere ut hoc magistratu egeret res publica: pax foris parta est, domi impeditur; privatus potius quam dictator seditioni interero." Ita curia
11 egressus dictatura se abdicavit. Apparuit causa plebi, suam vicem indignantem magistratu abisse. Itaque velut persoluta fide, quoniam per eum non stetisset quin praestaretur, decedentem domum eum favore ac laudibus prosecuti sunt.

XXXII. Timor inde patres incessit ne, si dimissus exercitus foret, rursus coetus occulti coniurationesque fierent. Itaque, quamquam per dictatorem dilectus habitus esset, tamen, quoniam in consulum verba iurassent, sacramento teneri militem rati, per causam

[1] in senatu F^3U_7: in senatum Ω.

affairs at home, so great was the artfulness, as well as influence, with which the money-lenders had laid their plans to baffle not only the commons but even the dictator himself. For after the return of the consul Vetusius, the first business which Valerius brought before the senate was in behalf of the victorious people, that the senate might declare its policy regarding the treatment of those bound over for debt. This resolution having failed to pass, the dictator said: "I do not please you in urging harmony. You will soon wish, I warrant you, that the Roman plebs had men like me for their spokesmen. For my own part I will not be the means of further disappointing my fellow citizens, nor will I be dictator to no purpose. Internal strife and foreign war made this office necessary to the nation; peace has been secured abroad, but at home it is being thwarted; I will play my part as a private citizen rather than as a dictator, when the mutiny breaks out." So saying he left the Curia and laid down his office. It was evident to the people that resentment of their wrongs had caused him to resign the magistracy. And so, as though he had kept his pledge (for it had not been his fault that it was not being carried out), they attended him as he retired to his house with manifestations of favour and approval. B.C. 494

XXXII. Thereupon the senators became alarmed, fearing that if the army should be disbanded there would again be secret gatherings and conspiracies. And so, although the levy had been held by order of the dictator, yet because the men had been sworn in by the consuls they regarded the troops as bound by their oath, and, under the pretext that the Aequi

A.U.C. 260

renovati ab Aequis belli educi ex urbe legiones
2 iussere. Quo facto maturata est seditio. Et primo agitatum dicitur de consulum caede, ut solverentur sacramento; doctos deinde nullam scelere religionem exsolvi, Sicinio quodam auctore iniussu consulum in Sacrum montem secessisse—trans Anienem amnem
3 est, tria ab urbe milia passuum; ea frequentior fama est quam, cuius Piso auctor est, in Aventinum seces-
4 sionem factam esse;—ibi sine ullo duce vallo fossaque communitis castris quieti, rem nullam nisi necessariam ad victum sumendo, per aliquot dies
5 neque lacessiti neque lacessentes sese tenuere. Pavor ingens in urbe, metuque mutuo suspensa erant omnia. Timere relicta ab suis plebes violentiam patrum; timere patres residem in urbe plebem, incerti
6 manere eam an abire mallent. Quamdiu autem tranquillam quae secesserit multitudinem fore? Quid futurum deinde, si quod externum interim bellum
7 exsistat? Nullam profecto nisi in concordia civium spem reliquam ducere; eam per aequa per iniqua
8 reconciliandam civitati esse. Placuit igitur oratorem ad plebem mitti Menenium Agrippam, facundum virum, et quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum. Is intromissus in castra prisco illo dicendi et horrido
9 modo nihil aliud quam hoc narrasse fertur: tempore

[1] Livy appears to have had the other tradition in mind when he wrote III. liv. 9.

[2] If Menenius was a plebeian, it is improbable that he was also, as Livy rather implies, a senator. *cf.* i. 11 and note.

had recommenced hostilities, gave orders to lead the B.C. 494
legions out of the City. This brought the revolt to a head. At first, it is said, there was talk of killing the consuls, that men might thus be freed from their oath; but when it was explained to them that no sacred obligation could be dissolved by a crime, they took the advice of one Sicinius, and without orders from the consuls withdrew to the Sacred Mount, which is situated across the river Anio, three miles from the City.—This version of the story is more general than that given by Piso, namely that the Aventine was the place of their secession.[1]—There, without any leader, they fortified their camp with stockade and trench, and continued quietly, taking nothing but what they required for their subsistance, for several days, neither receiving provocation nor giving any. There was a great panic in the City, and mutual apprehension caused the suspension of all activities. The plebeians, having been abandoned by their friends, feared violence at the hands of the senators; the senators feared the plebeians who were left behind in Rome, being uncertain whether they had rather they stayed or went. Besides, how long would the seceding multitude continue peaceable? What would happen next if some foreign war should break out in the interim? Assuredly no hope was left save in harmony amongst the citizens, and this they concluded they must restore to the state by fair means or foul. They therefore decided to send as an ambassador to the commons Agrippa Menenius, an eloquent man and dear to the plebeians as being one of themselves by birth.[2] On being admitted to the camp he is said merely to have related the following apologue, in the quaint and uncouth

A.U.C. 260

quo in homine non, ut nunc, omnia in unum consentiant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietum nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes quae acciperent conficerent.[1] Hac ira dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem venisse. Inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnis corporis partes hunc quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas, maturum confecto cibo sanguinem. Comparando hinc quam intestina corporis seditio similis esset irae plebis in patres, flexisse mentes hominum.

A.U.C. 261

XXXIII. Agi deinde de concordia coeptum concessumque in condiciones ut plebi sui magistratus essent sacrosancti, quibus auxilii latio adversus consules esset, neve cui patrum capere eum magistratum liceret. Ita tribuni plebei creati duo, C. Licinius et L. Albinus. Ii[2] tres collegas sibi creaverunt. In his

[1] quae acciperent conficerent *Walters*: acciperent . que conficerent *O*: acciperentque conficerent Ω: conficerent *PFBD*^{2}*U* (*which last has* ne *for* nec).

[2] Ii *Conway and Walters*: hii Ω: hi *UOH*.

[1] The same apologue is found in Xenophon, *Mem.* II. iii. 18; Cicero, *Off.* III. v. 22; and St. Paul, *Cor.* I. xii. 12.

style of that age: In the days when man's members B.C. 494
did not all agree amongst themselves, as is now the case, but had each its own ideas and a voice of its own, the other parts thought it unfair that they should have the worry and the trouble and the labour of providing everything for the belly, while the belly remained quietly in their midst with nothing to do but to enjoy the good things which they bestowed upon it; they therefore conspired together that the hands should carry no food to the mouth, nor the mouth accept anything that was given it, nor the teeth grind up what they received. While they sought in this angry spirit to starve the belly into submission, the members themselves and the whole body were reduced to the utmost weakness. Hence it had become clear that even the belly had no idle task to perform, and was no more nourished than it nourished the rest, by giving out to all parts of the body that by which we live and thrive, when it has been divided equally amongst the veins and is enriched with digested food—that is, the blood. Drawing a parallel from this to show how like was the internal dissension of the bodily members to the anger of the plebs against the Fathers, he prevailed upon the minds of his hearers.[1] XXXIII. Steps B.C. 493
were then taken towards harmony, and a compromise was effected on these terms: the plebeians were to have magistrates of their own, who should be inviolable, and in them should lie the right to aid the people against the consuls, nor should any senator be permitted to take this magistracy. And so they chose two "tribunes of the people," Gaius Licinius and Lucius Albinus. These appointed three others to be their colleagues. Amongst the latter,

A U.C. 261

Sicinium fuisse, seditionis auctorem: de duobus, qui
3 fuerint, minus convenit. Sunt qui duos tantum in Sacro monte creatos tribunos esse dicant ibique sacratam legem latam.

Per secessionem plebis Sp. Cassius et Postumus[1]
4 Cominius consulatum inierunt. Iis[2] consulibus cum Latinis populis ictum foedus. Ad id feriendum consul alter Romae mansit: alter ad Volscum bellum missus Antiates Volscos fundit fugatque, compulsos in oppidum Longulam persecutus moenibus potitur.
5 Inde protinus Poluscam, item[3] Volscorum, cepit; tum magna vi adortus est Coriolos. Erat tum in castris inter primores iuvenum Cn. Marcius,[4] adulescens et consilio et manu promptus, cui cognomen
6 postea Coriolano fuit. Cum subito exercitum Romanum Coriolos obsidentem atque in oppidanos, quos intus clausos habebat, intentum sine ullo metu extrinsecus imminentis belli Volscae legiones profectae ab Antio invasissent, eodemque tempore ex oppido
7 erupissent hostes, forte in statione Marcius fuit. Is cum delecta militum manu non modo impetum erumpentium rettudit,[5] sed per patentem portam ferox inrupit, caedeque in proxima parte[6] urbis facta ig-
8 nem temere arreptum[7] imminentibus muro aedificiis

[1] Postumus ς *Sigonius*: Postumius Ω.
[2] iis *MPFBO*: his *RDL*: hiis *UH*ς.
[3] protinus Poluscam, item *Cluverius* (*cf.* II. xxxix. 3): protinus (-mus *M*) mus camitem (*P*) *or* mucamitem Ω.
[4] Cn. Marcius ς: lc martius *M*: c (*or* c̄) marcius Ω.
[5] rettudit *D*: retrudit (*or* retudit *or* retulit) Ω.
[6] parte *supplied by H. J. Müller.*
[7] arreptum *ed. Ald.*: abreptum Ω.

Sicinius, the promoter of the revolt, was one, as all agree; the identity of the other two is less certain. Some hold that there were only two tribunes elected on the Sacred Mount, and that the law of inviolability was enacted there.[1] B.C. 493

During the secession of the plebs Spurius Cassius and Postumus Cominius entered upon their consulship. In this year a treaty was made with the Latin peoples. In order to make this treaty one of the consuls remained in Rome, while the other was dispatched to the Volscian war, and defeated and put to flight the Volsci of Antium. Forcing them to take refuge in the town of Longula, he followed them up and captured the place. Thence he proceeded to take Polusca, another Volscian town, after which he directed a strong attack upon Corioli. There was in camp at that time amongst the young nobles Gnaeus Marcius, a youth of active mind and ready hand, who afterwards gained the surname of Coriolanus. The Romans were laying siege to Corioli and were intent upon the townspeople shut up within the walls, with no thought of danger from any attack which might be impending from without, when they found themselves suddenly assailed by a Volscian army from Antium, and simultaneously by the besieged, who made a sortie from the town. It happened that Marcius was on guard. Taking a picked body of men he not only repelled the sally, but boldly forced his way through the open gate, and having spread carnage through the adjacent part of the town, caught up a firebrand on the spur of the moment, and threw it upon the buildings which

[1] In either case the number was five from the year 471 on (lviii. 1), till it was raised to ten in the year 457.

A.U.C. 261

iniecit. Clamor inde oppidanorum mixtus muliebri puerilique ploratu ad terrorem, ut solet, primum orto[1] et Romanis auxit animum et turbavit Volscos, utpote capta urbe cui[2] ad ferendam opem venerant.
9 Ita fusi Volsci Antiates, Corioli oppidum captum; tantumque sua laude obstitit famae consulis Marcius ut, nisi foedus cum Latinis in[3] columna aenea insculptum monumento esset, ab Sp. Cassio uno, quia collega afuerat, ictum, Postumum[4] Cominium bellum gessisse cum Volscis memoria cessisset.
10 Eodem anno Agrippa Menenius moritur, vir omni in vita[5] pariter patribus ac plebi carus, post secessionem
11 carior plebi factus. Huic interpreti arbitroque concordiae civium, legato patrum ad plebem, reductori plebis Romanae in urbem, sumptus funeri defuit; extulit eum plebs sextantibus[6] conlatis in capita.

A.U.C. 252-263

XXXIV. Consules deinde T. Geganius P. Minucius facti. Eo anno, cum et foris quieta omnia a bello essent et domi sanata discordia, aliud multo
2 gravius malum civitatem invasit, caritas primum annonae ex incultis per secessionem plebis agris,
3 fames deinde, qualis clausis solet. Ventumque ad interitum servitiorum utique et plebis esset, ni consules providissent dimissis passim ad frumentum co-

[1] primum orto *Madvig*: primo ortu Ω.
[2] cui ς: qui Ω.
[3] in *supplied by H. J. Müller.*
[4] Postumum ς: Postumium Ω.
[5] omni in vita ς: omnium uita Ω.
[6] sextantibus ς: extantibus Ω.

overhung the wall. Thereupon the townspeople raised a shout, mingled with such a wailing of women and children as is generally heard at the first alarm. This brought new courage to the Romans and covered the Volsci with confusion—as was natural when the city which they had come to relieve was taken. Thus the men of Antium were routed, and Corioli was won. So completely did the glory of Marcius overshadow the consul's fame, that, were it not for the record on a bronze column of the treaty with the Latins which was struck by Spurius Cassius alone, in the absence of his colleague, men would have forgotten that Postumus Cominius had waged war on the Volsci. B.C. 493

That same year saw the death of Agrippa Menenius, a man who throughout his life had been equally beloved by patricians and plebeians, and who after the secession was even dearer to the commons. This mediator and umpire of civil harmony, this ambassador of the senators to the people, this restorer of the plebs to Rome, did not leave sufficient wealth to pay for a funeral. He was buried by the commons, who contributed a *sextans*[1] each to the cost.

XXXIV. The consuls next chosen were Titus Geganius and Publius Minucius. This year, though there was no war to occasion trouble from without and the breach at home had been healed, another and a much more serious misfortune befell the nation; for first the price of corn went up, from men's failure to cultivate the fields during the withdrawal of the plebs; and this was followed by a famine, such as comes to a beleaguered city. It would have meant starvation for the slaves, at least, and the plebeians, had not the consuls met the situation by sending B.C. 492–491

[1] A *sextans* was the sixth part of an *as*, or pound of copper.

A.U.C. 262-263

emendum non in Etruriam modo dextris ab Ostia litoribus laevoque per Volscos mari usque ad Cumas, sed quaesitum in Sicilia[1] quoque; adeo finitimorum
4 odia longinquis coegerant indigere auxiliis. Frumentum Cumis cum coemptum esset, naves pro bonis Tarquiniorum ab Aristodemo tyranno, qui heres erat, retentae sunt; in Volscis Pomptinoque ne emi quidem potuit; periculum quoque ab impetu hominum
5 ipsis frumentatoribus fuit; ex Tuscis frumentum Tiberi venit; eo sustentata est plebs. Incommodo bello in tam artis commeatibus vexati forent, ni Volscos iam moventes arma pestilentia ingens inva-
6 sisset. Ea clade conterritis hostium animis, ut etiam ubi ea remisisset terrore aliquo tenerentur, et Velitris auxere numerum colonorum Romani, et Norbam[2] in montis novam coloniam quae arx in Pomptino esset miserunt.

7 M. Minucio deinde et A. Sempronio consulibus magna vis frumenti ex Sicilia advecta, agitatumque
8 in senatu quanti plebi daretur. Multi venisse tempus premendae plebis putabant recuperandique iura
9 quae extorta secessione ac vi patribus essent. In primis Marcius Coriolanus, hostis tribuniciae potestatis, "Si annonam," inquit, "veterem volunt, ius pristinum reddant patribus. Cur ego plebeios magistratus, cur Sicinium potentem video sub iugum mis-

[1] quaesitum in Sicilia *FBO*: quaesitum in siciliam Ω: in Siciliam *Crevier*.
[2] Norbam *Duker*: norbae (*or* -be) Ω.

agents far and wide to buy up corn, not only to Etruria, northwards along the coast from Ostia, and south past the Volsci by sea, all the way to Cumae, but even to Sicily—so far afield had the enmity of Rome's neighbours driven her to seek for help. When grain had been purchased at Cumae the ships were held back by Aristodemus, the tyrant, in satisfaction for the property of the Tarquinii, whose heir he was. Among the Volsci and Pomptini the agents could not even make any purchases, and they were actually in danger from the violence of the people. From the Tuscans corn came in by way of the Tiber, and with this the plebs were kept alive. A disastrous war would have been added to the distresses arising from the scarcity of provisions, had not a grievous pestilence descended upon the Volsci just as they were beginning hostilities. Its ravages so terrified the enemy that even after the worst of it was over they did not fully recover from their fear, and the Romans increased the number of colonists at Velitrae and sent out a new colony to Norba, in the mountains, as a stronghold for the Pomptine country. B.C 492–491

Next year, in the consulship of Marcus Minucius and Aulus Sempronius, a large quantity of grain was imported from Sicily, and the senate debated at what price it should be sold to the plebeians. Many thought the time had come for repressing the commons, and resuming the rights which they had violently extorted from the Fathers by secession. Conspicuous among these was Marcius Coriolanus, an enemy to the tribunician power, who said: "If they want corn at the old price let them restore to the senate its ancient rights. Why do I see plebeian magistrates, why do I, after being sent beneath

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10 sus, et[1] tamquam ab latronibus redemptus? Egone has indignitates diutius patiar quam necesse est? Tarquinium regem qui non tulerim Sicinium feram? Secedat nunc, avocet plebem; patet via in Sacrum montem aliosque colles. Rapiant frumenta ex agris nostris, quem ad modum tertio anno rapuere; fruan-
11 tur[2] annona quam furore suo fecere. Audeo dicere hoc malo domitos ipsos potius cultores agrorum fore quam ut armati per secessionem coli prohibeant."
12 Haud tam facile dictu est faciendumne fuerit quam potuisse arbitror fieri ut condicionibus laxandi annonam et tribuniciam potestatem et omnia invitis iura imposita patres demerent sibi.

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XXXV. Et senatui nimis atrox visa sententia est, et plebem ira prope armavit: fame se iam sicut hostes peti, cibo victuque fraudari; peregrinum frumentum, quae sola alimenta ex insperato fortuna dederit, ab ore rapi, nisi Cn. Marcio vincti dedantur tribuni, nisi de tergo plebis Romanae satisfiat. Eum sibi carnificem novum exor-
2 tum, qui aut mori aut servire iubeat. In exeuntem e curia impetus factus esset, ni peropportune tribuni diem dixissent. Ibi ira est suppressa; se iudicem

[1] et *inserted by Postgate.*
[2] fruantur ς: fruantur utantur *VM*: utantur Ω.

the yoke and ransomed, as it were, from brigands, behold Sicinius in power? Shall I endure these humiliations any longer than I must? When I would not brook Tarquinius as king, must I brook Sicinius? Let him secede now and call out the plebs; the way lies open to the Sacred Mount and the other hills. Let them seize grain from our fields as they did two years ago. Let them enjoy the corn-prices they have brought about by their own madness. I make bold to say that this evil plight will so tame them that they will sooner till the land themselves than withdraw under arms and prevent its cultivation by others." It is not so easy to say whether it would have been right to do this, as it is clear, I think, that it lay within the Fathers' power to have made such conditions for reducing the price of corn as to have freed themselves from the tribunician authority and all the terms which they had unwillingly agreed to. B.C. 492–491

XXXV. Even the senate deemed the proposal too harsh, and the plebs were so angry that they almost resorted to arms. Starvation, they said, was now being employed against them, as though they were public enemies, and they were being defrauded of their food and sustenance; the imported corn, their only supply, unexpectedly bestowed on them by Fortune, was to be snatched from their mouths unless the tribunes should be delivered up in chains to Gnaeus Marcius, unless he should work his will on the persons of the Roman plebeians; in him a new executioner had risen up against them, who bade them choose between death and slavery. When he came out from the Curia they would have set upon him, had not the tribunes, in the nick of time, appointed a day to try him; whereupon their anger subsided, B.C. 491

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quisque, se dominum vitae necisque inimici factum
3 videbat. Contemptim primo Marcius audiebat minas tribunicias: auxilii, non poenae ius datum illi potestati, plebisque non patrum tribunos esse. Sed adeo infensa erat coorta plebs, ut unius poena defungen-
4 dum esset patribus. Restiterunt tamen adversae invidiae[1] usique sunt qua suis quisque, qua totius ordinis viribus. Ac primo temptata res est si dispositis clientibus absterrendo singulos a coitionibus
5 conciliisque disicere rem possent. Universi deinde processere—quidquid erat patrum, reos diceres—precibus plebem exposcentes unum sibi civem, unum senatorem, si innocentem absolvere nollent, pro no-
6 cente donarent. Ipse cum die dicta non adesset, perseveratum in ira est. Damnatus absens in Volscos exsulatum abiit minitans patriae hostilesque iam tum spiritus gerens. Venientem Volsci benigne excepere benigniusque in dies colebant, quo maior ira in suos eminebat crebraeque nunc querellae, nunc minae
7 percipiebantur.[2] Hospitio utebatur Atti Tulli. Longe is tum princeps Volsci nominis erat Romanisque semper infestus. Ita cum alterum vetus odium, alterum

[1] adversae invidiae *H. J. Müller*: aduersa inuidia Ω.
[2] percipiebantur *ed. Ald.* (*in Errata*): praecipiebantur Ω.

[1] The clients were a class distinct both from the plebs and the patricians. To the latter they stood in the feudal relation of vassal to lord. They were perhaps originally citizens of conquered towns, and were recruited by manumissions and immigration.

for every man saw that he was himself made his enemy's judge, and held over him the power of life and death. With contempt at first Marcius heard the threats of the tribunes, alleging that the right to help, not to punish, had been granted to that office, and that they were tribunes not of the Fathers, but of the plebs. But the commons had risen in such a storm of anger that the Fathers had to sacrifice one man to appease them. For all that, they resisted the hatred of their adversaries and called upon the private resources of the several senators, as well as the strength of the entire order. At first they tried, by posting their clients[1] here and there, to frighten persons from coming together for deliberation, in the hope that they might thereby break up their plans. Then they came out in a body—you would have said all the members of the senate were on their trial—and entreated the plebs to release to them one citizen, one senator; if they were unwilling to acquit him as innocent let them give him up, though guilty, as a favour. But when Marcius himself, on the day appointed for the hearing, failed to appear, men's hearts were hardened against him. Condemned in his absence, he went into exile with the Volsci, uttering threats against his country, and even then breathing hostility. When he came among the Volsci they received him with a kindness which increased from one day to the next, in proportion as he allowed a greater hatred of his own people to appear, and was more and more frequently heard to utter both complaints and threats. His host was Attius Tullius, at that time by far the foremost of the Volscian name and ever unfriendly to the Romans. And so, spurred on, the one by his inveterate hatred and B.C. 491

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ira recens stimularet, consilia conferunt de Romano
8 bello. Haud facile credebant plebem suam impelli posse ut totiens infeliciter temptata arma caperent: multis saepe bellis, pestilentia postremo amissa iuventute fractos spiritus esse; arte agendum in exoleto iam vetustate odio, ut recenti aliqua ira exacerbarentur animi.

XXXVI. Ludi forte ex instauratione magni Romae parabantur. Instaurandi haec causa fuerat. Ludis mane servum quidam pater familiae nondum commisso spectaculo sub furca caesum medio egerat circo; coepti inde ludi, velut ea res nihil ad religio-
2 nem pertinuisset. Haud ita multo post T. Latinio, de plebe homini, somnium fuit; visus Iuppiter dicere sibi ludis praesultatorem displicuisse; nisi magnifice instaurarentur ei ludi, periculum urbi fore; iret, ea
3 consulibus nuntiaret. Quamquam haud sane liber erat religione animus, verecundia tamen maiestatis magistratuum timorque[1] vicit, ne in ora hominum
4 pro ludibrio abiret. Magno illi ea cunctatio stetit; filium namque intra paucos dies amisit. Cuius repentinae cladis ne causa dubia esset, aegro animi eadem illa in somnis obversata species visa est rogi-

[1] timorque *H. J. Müller*: timorem Ω

[1] *i.e.* the Roman Games (cf. I. xxxv. 9).

the other by fresh resentment, they took counsel B.C. 491
together how they might make war on Rome. They believed that it would be no easy matter to induce the Volscian commons to take up the arms which they had so often unluckily essayed; the destruction of their young men in oft-repeated wars, and finally by the plague, had, they supposed, broken their spirit; artifice must be invoked, where hate had grown dull with lapse of time, that they might find some new cause of anger to exasperate men's hearts.

XXXVI. It so happened that at Rome preparations were making to repeat the Great Games.[1] The reason of the repetition was as follows: at an early hour of the day appointed for the games, before the show had begun, a certain householder had driven his slave, bearing a yoke, through the midst of the circus, scourging the culprit as he went. The games had then been begun, as though this circumstance had in no way affected their sanctity. Not long after, Titus Latinius, a plebeian, had a dream. He dreamt that Jupiter said that the leading dancer at the games[2] had not been to his liking; that unless there were a sumptuous repetition of the festival the City would be in danger; that Latinius was to go and announce this to the consuls. Though the man's conscience was by no means at ease, nevertheless the awe he felt at the majesty of the magistrates was too great; he was afraid of becoming a laughing-stock. Heavy was the price he paid for his hesitation, for a few days later he lost his son. Lest this sudden calamity should leave any uncertainty as to its cause in the mind of the wretched man, the same phantom appeared again before him in his dreams, and asked

[2] *i.e.* the slave who had been scourged through the circus.

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tare, satin magnam spreti numinis haberet mercedem; maiorem instare, ni eat propere ac nuntiet
5 consulibus. Iam praesentior res erat. Cunctantem tamen ac prolatantem ingens vis morbi adorta est
6 debilitate subita. Tunc enimvero deorum ira admonuit. Fessus igitur malis praeteritis instantibusque consilio propinquorum adhibito cum visa atque audita et obversatum totiens somno Iovem, minas irasque caelestes repraesentatas casibus suis exposuisset, consensu inde haud dubio[1] omnium qui aderant in forum
7 ad consules lectica defertur. Inde in curiam iussu consulum delatus eadem illa cum patribus ingenti omnium admiratione enarrasset, ecce aliud miracu-
8 lum. Qui captus omnibus membris delatus in curiam esset, eum functum officio pedibus suis domum redisse traditum memoriae est.

XXXVII. Ludi quam amplissimi ut fierent senatus decrevit. Ad eos ludos auctore Attio Tullio vis
2 magna Volscorum venit. Priusquam committerentur ludi, Tullius, ut domi compositum cum Marcio fuerat, ad consules venit; dicit esse quae secreto agere de
3 re publica velit. Arbitris remotis "Invitus," inquit, "quod sequius sit de meis civibus loquor. Non tamen admissum quicquam ab iis criminatum venio,

[1] dubio *ed. Ald.*: dubie (*or* -ae) Ω.

him, as he thought, whether he had been sufficiently B.C. 491
repaid for spurning the gods; for a greater recompense was at hand unless he went quickly and informed the consuls. This brought the matter nearer home. Yet he still delayed and put off going, till a violent attack of illness suddenly laid him low. Then at last the anger of the gods taught him wisdom. And so, worn out with his sufferings, past and present, he called a council of his kinsmen and explained to them what he had seen and heard, how Jupiter had so often confronted him in his sleep, and how the threats and anger of the god had been instantly fulfilled in his own misfortunes. Then, with the unhesitating approval of all who were present, he was carried on a litter to the consuls in the Forum; and thence, by their command, to the Curia, where he had no sooner told the same story to the Fathers, greatly to the wonder of them all, when—lo, another miracle! For it is related that he who had been carried into the senate-house afflicted in all his members, returned home, after discharging his duty, on his own feet.

XXXVII. Games of the greatest possible splendour were decreed by the senate, and to see them came, at the suggestion of Attius Tullius, a host of Volsci. Before the beginning of the spectacle Tullius, in pursuance of the plan he and Marcius had formed at home, went to the consuls and told them that he had something of public importance which he wished to discuss with them in private. When the bystanders had been removed, "I am loath," he said, "to tell concerning my countrymen what may discredit them. Still I do not come to charge them with having committed any crime, but to put you on your

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4 sed cautum ne admittant. Nimio plus quam velim
5 nostrorum ingenia sunt mobilia. Multis id cladibus sensimus, quippe qui non nostro merito sed vestra patientia incolumes simus. Magna hic nunc Volscorum multitudo est; ludi sunt; spectaculo intenta
6 civitas erit. Memini quid per eandem occasionem ab Sabinorum iuventute in hac urbe commissum sit; horret animus ne quid inconsulte ac temere fiat. Haec nostra vestraque causa prius dicenda vobis,
7 consules, ratus sum. Quod ad me attinet, extemplo hinc domum abire in animo est, ne cuius facti dictive contagione praesens violer." Haec locutus abiit.
8 Consules cum ad patres rem dubiam sub auctore certo detulissent, auctor magis, ut fit, quam res ad praecavendum vel ex supervacuo movit; factoque senatus consulto ut urbe[1] excederent Volsci, praecones dimittuntur qui omnes eos proficisci ante noctem
9 iuberent. Ingens pavor primo discurrentis ad suas res tollendas in hospitia perculit; proficiscentibus deinde indignatio oborta se ut conscleratos contaminatosque ab ludis, festis diebus, coetu quodam modo hominum deorumque abactos esse. XXXVIII. Cum prope continuato agmine irent, praegressus Tullius ad caput Ferentinum, ut quisque veniret,[2] primores eorum excipiens querendo indignandoque,

[1] urbe $H\zeta$: urbem Ω. [2] veniret ζ: eueniret Ω.

guard lest they should commit one. The disposition B.C. 491
of our people is far more fickle than I could wish. Many disasters have taught us the truth of this, since it is not to our own merit, but to your patience, that we owe our preservation. A great crowd of Volsci is now in Rome; there are games; the citizens will be intent upon the spectacle. I remember what the Sabine youths did in this City on the same opportunity arising; I tremble lest something ill-advised and rash may happen. It has seemed to me that both on our account and on yours I ought to tell you this beforehand, consuls. For my own part I intend to go home at once, lest being on the spot I might be implicated in some act or word and be compromised." With this he departed. The consuls laid before the senate this vague warning which came from so reliable a source. It was the source, as often happens, rather than the story, which induced them to take precautions, even though they might prove superfluous. The senate decreed that the Volsci should leave the City, and heralds were sent about to command them all to depart before nightfall. At first they were stricken with a great alarm, as they hurried this way and that to the houses of their hosts to get their things. But when they had started, their hearts swelled with indignation, that like malefactors and polluted persons, they should have been driven off from the games at a time of festival, and excluded, in a way, from intercourse with men and gods. XXXVIII. As they journeyed on in an almost unbroken line, Tullius, who had gone ahead, arrived before them at the source of the Ferentina. There, when any of their chief men arrived, he met them with words of complaint and

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et eos ipsos sedulo audientes secunda irae verba et per eos multitudinem aliam in subiectum viae cam-
2 pum deduxit. Ibi in contionis modum orationem exorsus, "Ut omnia," inquit, "obliviscamini alia, veteres populi Romani iniurias cladesque gentis Volscorum,[1] hodiernam hanc contumeliam quo tandem animo fertis, qua per nostram ignominiam ludos
3 commisere? An non sensistis triumphatum hodie de vobis esse? Vos omnibus, civibus, peregrinis, tot finitimis populis, spectaculo abeuntes fuisse, vestras coniuges, vestros liberos traductos per ora hominum?
4 Quid eos qui audivere vocem praeconis, quid qui nos videre abeuntes, quid eos qui huic ignominioso agmini fuere obvii existimasse putatis, nisi aliquod profecto nefas esse, quod, si intersimus spectaculo, violaturi simus ludos piaculumque meriturі, ideo nos
5 ab sede piorum, coetu concilioque abigi? Quid deinde? Illud non succurrit, vivere nos quod maturarimus proficisci? Si hoc profectio et non fuga est. Et hanc urbem vos non hostium ducitis, ubi si unum diem morati essetis, moriendum omnibus fuit? Bellum vobis indictum est, magno eorum malo qui
6 indixere, si viri estis." Ita et sua sponte irarum

[1] *The words* veteres . . . Volscorum, *placed here by Walters, are given in the MSS. after* exorsus.

indignation. These leaders, eagerly drinking in the words with which he ministered to their anger, he conducted and, thanks to their influence, the rest of the throng also, to a field which lay below the road. There he launched out upon a speech like a general's harangue. "Though you should forget all else," he cried, "the ancient wrongs done by the Roman People and the disasters that have overtaken the Volscian race, with what feelings, pray, can you bear the insult which this day has brought to us, making our humiliation serve as the opening of their festival? Or did you not feel that they were triumphing over you to-day? That you furnished a spectacle to everybody when you departed—to the citizens, to the strangers, to all the neighbouring nations? That your wives and children were made a mock in the eyes of the world? What of those who heard the words of the herald? What of those who saw us going away? What of those who have met this ignominious procession? What think you they all supposed, but that we were certainly attainted of some sin; that because, were we to be present at the spectacle, we should pollute the games and incur the god's displeasure—for that reason we were being expelled from the seat of the righteous and from their gathering and their council? Moreover, does it not occur to you that we are alive because we hastened to depart?—if, indeed, this is a departure and not rather a flight. And this City—do you not regard it as a city of enemies, when if you had delayed there a single day, you would all have had to die? War has been declared upon you, and greatly shall they rue it who have been responsible, if you are men." So, their spontaneous anger fanned to a B.C. 491

A.U.C. 263 pleni et incitati domos inde digressi sunt instigandoque suos quisque populos effecere ut omne Volscum nomen deficeret.

A.U.C. 266 XXXIX. Imperatores ad id bellum de omnium populorum sententia lecti Attius Tullius et Cn. Marcius, exsul Romanus, in quo aliquanto plus spei re- 2 positum. Quam spem nequaquam fefellit, ut facile appareret ducibus validiorem quam exercitu rem Romanam esse. Circeios profectus primum colonos inde Romanos expulit liberamque eam urbem Volscis 3 tradidit; Satricum, Longulam, Poluscam, Coriolos, 4 novella haec Romanis oppida ademit; inde Lavinium recepit; inde in Latinam viam transversis tramitibus transgressus,[1] tunc deinceps Corbionem, Veteliam, 5 Trebium, Labicos, Pedum cepit. Postremum ad urbem a Pedo ducit et ad fossas Cluilias[2] quinque ab urbe milia passuum castris positis populatur inde 6 agrum Romanum custodibus inter populatores missis, qui patriciorum agros intactos servarent, sive infensus plebi magis, sive ut discordia inde inter patres 7 plebemque oreretur. Quae profecto orta esset—adeo tribuni iam ferocem per se plebem criminando in primores civitatis instigabant,—sed externus timor, maximum concordiae vinculum, quamvis suspectos 8 infensosque inter se iungebat animos. Id modo non conveniebat, quod senatus consulesque nusquam alibi spem quam in armis ponebant, plebes omnia quam 9 bellum malebat. Sp. Nautius iam et Sex. Furius

[1] *The words* inde in Latinam . . . transgressus, *placed here by Conway and Walters, are found in the MSS. between* tradidit *and* Satricum.

[2] Cluilias *Glareanus* (*cf.* I. xxii. 4): cluuilias (*or* cluuillas *or* cliuillas *or* cluullas *or* duuillias) Ω.

flame, they dispersed to their several homes, and, B.C. 491
every man arousing his own people, they brought about a revolt of the entire Volscian name.

XXXIX. As generals for this war the nations all B.C. 488
agreed in choosing Attius Tullius and Gnaeus Marcius, the Roman exile, who inspired rather more hope than did his colleague. This hope he by no means disappointed, so that it was easy to see that Rome's commanders were a greater source of strength to her than her armies were. Marching first to Circei, he drove out the Roman colonists from that city and turned it over, thus liberated, to the Volsci. He took Satricum, Longula, Polusca, and Corioli, places which the Romans had recently acquired. He then recovered Lavinium, and then, passing over by cross-roads into the Latin Way, captured in succession Corbio, Vetelia, Trebium, Labici, and Pedum. From Pedum he finally led his army against Rome and, pitching his camp at the Cluilian Trenches, five miles from the City, laid waste the Roman territory from that base, sending out guards with the pillagers to preserve intact the farms of the patricians, whether from anger at the plebs, or to sow dissension between them and the Fathers. And no doubt it would have sprung up, so vehemently did the tribunes seek by their accusations to rouse the already headstrong commons against the nation's leaders, but dread of invasion, the strongest bond of harmony, tended to unite their feelings, however they might suspect and dislike one another. In this one point they were unable to agree, that the senate and the consuls saw no hope anywhere but in arms, while the plebs preferred anything to war. Spurius Nautius and Sextus

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consules erant. Eos recensentes legiones, praesidia per muros aliaque in quibus stationes vigiliasque esse placuerat loca distribuentis multitudo ingens pacem poscentium primum seditioso clamore conterruit, deinde vocare senatum, referre de legatis ad Cn. 10 Marcium mittendis coegit. Acceperunt relationem patres, postquam apparuit labare plebis animos, mis- 11 sique de pace ad Marcium oratores. Atrox responsum rettulerunt: si Volscis ager redderetur, posse agi de pace; si praeda belli per otium frui velint, memorem se et civium iniuriae et hospitum beneficii adnisurum ut appareat exsilio sibi inritatos non 12 fractos animos esse. Iterum deinde iidem missi non recipiuntur in castra. Sacerdotes quoque suis insignibus velatos isse supplices ad castra hostium traditum est; nihilo magis quam legatos flexisse animum.

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XL. Tum matronae ad Veturiam, matrem Coriolani, Volumniamque uxorem frequentes coeunt. Id publicum consilium an muliebris timor fuerit parum 2 invenio; pervicere certe ut et Veturia, magno natu mulier, et Volumnia duos parvos ex Marcio ferens filios secum in castra hostium irent et, quoniam armis viri defendere urbem non possent, mulieres precibus 3 lacrimisque defenderent. Ubi ad castra ventum est

[1] Livy implies that they were not the immediate successors of the consuls for 491, and in fact he seems to have omitted two sets, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus and Serg. Larcius Flavus (490), and C. Julius Iulus and P. Pinarius Rufus (489), though at III. xxxiii. 1 and v. liv. 5 he reckons in these two years. The missing names are supplied by Dion. Hal. vii. 68 and viii. 1.

Furius were now consuls.[1] While they were reviewing their levies and distributing garrisons about the walls and the other places where they had seen fit to place pickets and sentries, a great multitude of people demanding peace first terrified them with their rebellious clamour, and then forced them to call the senate together and propose the sending of envoys to Gnaeus Marcius. The Fathers consented to propose it when they saw that the plebeians were growing discouraged, and ambassadors were sent to Marcius to treat for peace. Stern was the answer they brought back. If the land of the Volsci were restored to them the question of peace could be taken up; if the Romans wished to enjoy the spoils of war without doing anything, he would forget neither the wrong his fellow-citizens had done him nor the kindness of his hosts, but would strive to show that exile had quickened his courage, not broken it. When the same envoys were sent back a second time, they were denied admittance to the camp. Even priests, wearing the appropriate fillets, are said to have gone as suppliants to the enemy's camp, where they were no more able than the envoys had been to alter the determination of Marcius. B.C. 488

XL. Then the married women gathered in large numbers at the house of Veturia, the mother of Coriolanus, and Volumnia, his wife. Whether this was public policy or woman's fear I cannot find out; in any case they prevailed with them that both Veturia, an aged woman, and Volumnia should take the two little sons of Marcius and go with them to the camp of the enemy; and that, since the swords of the men could not defend the City, the women should defend it with their prayers and tears. When they reached B.C. 488–487

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nuntiatumque Coriolano est adesse ingens mulierum agmen, ut[1] qui nec publica maiestate in legatis nec in sacerdotibus tanta offusa oculis animoque religione motus esset, multo obstinatior adversus lacrimas
4 muliebres erat. Dein familiarium quidam qui insignem maestitia inter ceteras cognoverat Veturiam inter nurum nepotesque stantem, "Nisi me frustrantur," inquit, "oculi, mater tibi coniunxque et liberi
5 adsunt." Coriolanus prope ut amens consternatus ab sede sua cum ferret matri obviae complexum, mulier in iram ex precibus versa "Sine, priusquam complexum accipio, sciam," inquit, "ad hostem an ad filium venerim, captiva materne in castris tuis sim.
6 In hoc me longa vita et infelix senecta traxit, ut
7 exsulem te, deinde hostem viderem? Potuisti popularī hanc terram, quae te genuit atque aluit? Non tibi quamvis infesto animo et minaci perveneras ingredienti fines ira cecidit? Non, cum in conspectu Roma fuit, succurrit 'Intra illa moenia domus ac
8 penates mei sunt, mater coniunx liberique'? Ergo ego nisi peperissem, Roma non oppugnaretur; nisi filium haberem, libera in libera patria mortua essem. Sed ego nihil iam pati nec tibi turpius nec[2] mihi miserius possum nec, ut sum miserrima, diu futura
9 sum: de his videris, quos, si pergis, aut immatura

[1] agmen ut *O*$_2$: agmen in (ut *B*) primo ut Ω.

[2] nec *Bekker*: quam Ω: *Conway and Walters read* <us>-quam *with M. Müller, and order the words thus*, ego mihi miserius nihil iam pati nec tibi turpius usquam possum.

the camp, and the word came to Coriolanus that a great company of women was at hand, at first, as might have been expected of one whom neither the nation's majesty could move, as represented in its envoys, nor the awfulness of religion, as conveyed to heart and eye by the persons of her priests, he showed even greater obduracy in resisting women's tears. Then one of his friends, led by Veturia's conspicuous sadness to single her out from amongst the other women, as she stood between her son's wife and his babies, said: "Unless my eyes deceive me, your mother is here and your wife and children." Coriolanus started up like a madman from his seat, and running to meet his mother would have embraced her, but her entreaties turned to anger, and she said: "Suffer me to learn, before I accept your embrace, whether I have come to an enemy or a son; whether I am a captive or a mother in your camp. Is it this to which long life and an unhappy old age have brought me, that I should behold in you an exile and then an enemy? Could you bring yourself to ravage this country, which gave you birth and reared you? Did not your anger fall from you, no matter how hostile and threatening your spirit when you came, as you passed the boundary? Did it not come over you, when Rome lay before your eyes: 'Within those walls are my home and my gods, my mother, my wife, and my children?' So then, had I not been a mother Rome would not now be besieged! Had I no son I should have died a free woman, in a free land! But I can have nothing now to suffer which could be more disgraceful to you or more miserable for myself; nor, wretched though I am, shall I be so for long: it is these you must consider, for whom, if you keep on, untimely death or

B.C. 488–487

A.U.C. 266–267

mors aut longa servitus manet." Uxor deinde ac liberi amplexi, fletusque ab omni turba mulierum ortus et comploratio sui patriaeque fregere tandem
10 virum. Complexus inde suos dimittit: ipse retro ab urbe castra movit. Abductis deinde legionibus ex agro Romano invidia rei oppressum perisse tradunt alii alio leto. Apud Fabium, longe antiquissimum auctorem, usque ad senectutem vixisse eundem in-
11 venio; refert certe hanc saepe eum exacta aetate usurpasse vocem, multo miserius seni exsilium esse. Non inviderunt laude sua mulieribus viri Romani—
12 adeo sine obtrectatione gloriae alienae vivebatur,—monumentoque[1] quod esset, templum Fortunae muliebri aedificatum dedicatumque est.

Rediere deinde Volsci adiunctis Aequis in agrum Romanum, sed Aequi Attium Tullium haud ultra
13 tulere ducem. Hinc ex certamine, Volsci Aequine imperatorem coniuncto exercitui darent, seditio, deinde atrox proelium ortum. Ibi fortuna populi Romani duos hostium exercitus haud minus pernicioso quam pertinaci certamine confecit.

14 Consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volsci, Aquilio Hernici—nam ii quoque in armis erant—provincia evenit. Eo anno Hernici devicti: cum Volscis aequo Marte discessum est.

[1] monumentoque *Gronov.*: monumento quoque Ω.

[1] For another account of Coriolanus, see Dion. Hal. viii. 12 and viii. 17–56.

long enslavement is in store." The embraces of his wife and children, following this speech, and the tears of the entire company of women, and their lamentations for themselves and their country, at last broke through his resolution. He embraced his family and sent them back, and withdrew his forces from before the City. Having then led his army out of Rome's dominions he is said to have perished beneath the weight of resentment which this act caused, by a death which is variously described. I find in Fabius, by far the oldest authority, that Coriolanus lived on to old age. At least he reports that this saying was often on his lips, that exile was a far more wretched thing when one was old. There was no envy of the fame the women had earned, on the part of the men of Rome—so free was life in those days from disparagement of another's glory—and to preserve its memory the temple of Fortuna Muliebris was built and dedicated.[1] B.C. 488–487

Afterwards the Volsci again invaded Roman soil, in conjunction with the Aequi, but these would no longer put up with Attius Tullius for their general. Whereupon the dispute as to whether the Volsci or the Aequi should furnish a commander for the allied army, led to a quarrel, and this to a bloody battle. There the good fortune of the Roman People destroyed two hostile armies in one struggle, which was no less ruinous than it was obstinately fought.

The consulship of Titus Sicinius and Gaius Aquilius. Sicinius got the Volscian war for his command, and Aquilius that with the Hernici—for they too were up in arms. This year the Hernici were conquered, while the campaign against the Volsci was indecisive.

A.U.C. 268–269

XLI. Sp. Cassius deinde et Proculus Verginius consules facti. Cum Hernicis foedus ictum; agri partes duae ademptae. Inde dimidium Latinis, dimi- 2 dium plebi divisurus consul Cassius erat. Adiciebat huic muneri agri aliquantum, quem publicum possideri a privatis criminabatur. Id multos quidem patrum, ipsos possessores, periculo rerum suarum terrebat; sed et publica patribus sollicitudo inerat, largitione consulem periculosas libertati opes struere. 3 Tum primum lex agraria promulgata est, numquam deinde usque ad hanc memoriam sine maximis moti- 4 bus rerum agitata. Consul alter largitioni resistebat auctoribus patribus nec omni plebe adversante, quae primo coeperat fastidire munus volgatum a civibus 5 esse in socios; saepe deinde et Verginium consulem in contionibus velut vaticinantem audiebat, pestilens collegae munus esse, agros illos servitutem iis qui 6 acceperint[1] laturos, regno viam fieri. Quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum? Quid attinuisse[2] Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut hae gentes pro Coriolano duce 7 Cassium habeant? Popularis iam esse dissuasor et

[1] acceperint *Grynaeus*: acceperant Ω.
[2] attinuisse $R^2D^2\zeta$-: attinuisset Ω.

XLI. Spurius Cassius and Proculus Verginius were then made consuls. A treaty was struck with the Hernici, and two-thirds of their land was taken from them. Of this the consul Cassius proposed to divide one half amongst the Latins and the other half amongst the plebeians. To this gift he wished to add some part of that land which, he charged, was held by individuals, although it belonged to the state. Whereupon many of the Fathers, being themselves in possession of the land, took fright at the danger which threatened their interests. But the senators were also concerned on public grounds, namely, that the consul by his largesses should be building up an influence perilous to liberty. This was the first proposal for agrarian legislation, and from that day to within living memory it has never been brought up without occasioning the most serious disturbances. The other consul resisted the largess, and the Fathers supported him; nor were the commons solidly against him, for to begin with, they had taken offence that the bounty had been made general, being extended to include allies as well as citizens; and again, they often heard the consul Verginius declare in his speeches, as though he read the future, that destruction lurked in the gift proposed by his colleague; that those lands would bring servitude to the men who should receive them, and were being made a road to monarchy. For what reason had there been, he asked, in including the allies and the Latin name, and in restoring to the Hernici, who had been enemies a short time before, a third of the land which had been taken from them, if it were not that these tribes might have Cassius in the room of Coriolanus for their captain? Popular

B.C. 486–485

A.U.C. 268–269

intercessor legis agrariae coeperat. Uterque deinde consul, ut certatim, plebi indulgere. Verginius dicere passurum se adsignari agros, dum ne cui nisi civi
8 Romano adsignentur: Cassius, quia in agraria largitione ambitiosus in socios eoque civibus vilior erat, ut alio munere sibi reconciliaret civium animos, iubere pro Siculo frumento pecuniam acceptam retribui
9 populo. Id vero haud secus quam praesentem mercedem regni aspernata plebes; adeo propter suspicionem insitam regni, velut abundarent omnia,
10 munera eius[1] respuebantur. Quem, ubi primum magistratu abiit, damnatum necatumque constat. Sunt qui patrem auctorem eius supplicii ferant: eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse; signum inde factum
11 esse et inscriptum, "ex Cassia familia datum." Invenio apud quosdam, idque propius fidem est, a quaestoribus Caesone Fabio et L. Valerio diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, dirutas publice aedes. Ea est area ante Telluris aedem.
12 Ceterum, sive illud domesticum sive publicum fuit iudicium, damnatur Servio Cornelio Q. Fabio consulibus.

[1] *After* eius *the MSS. give* in animis hominum, *which is bracketed by Conway* (*after Vielhaber, who also ejects* insitam).

favour now began to go over to the opponent and vetoer of the land-legislation. Each consul then began, as if vying with the other, to pamper the plebs. Verginius said that he would permit lands to be assigned, provided they were assigned to none but Roman citizens. Cassius, having by his proposed agrarian grants made a bid for the support of the allies and thereby lowered himself in the eyes of the Romans, desired to regain the affection of his fellow-citizens by another donation, and proposed that the money received from the Sicilian corn should be paid back to the people. But this the people spurned, as a downright attempt to purchase regal power; to such an extent did their instinctive suspicion of monarchy render them scornful of his gifts, as if they had possessed a superfluity of everything; and Cassius had no sooner laid down his office than he was condemned and executed, as all authorities agree. There are those who say that his father was responsible for his punishment: that he tried the case in his house, and that, after causing his son to be scourged and put to death, he consecrated to Ceres his personal property, from the proceeds of which a statue was made and inscribed "the gift of the Cassian family." I find in certain authors, and this is the more credible account, that the quaestors Caeso Fabius and Lucius Valerius brought him to trial for treason, and that he was found guilty by judgment of the people and his house pulled down by popular decree. Its site is now the open space in front of the temple of Tellus. But whether it was a domestic or a state trial, he was condemned in the consulship of Servius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius.

B.C 486-485

A.U.C. 270–271

XLII. Haud diuturna ira populi in Cassium fuit. Dulcedo agrariae legis ipsa per se dempto auctore subibat animos, accensaque ea cupiditas est malignitate patrum, qui devictis eo anno Volscis Aequisque
2 militem praeda fraudavere. Quidquid captum ex hostibus est, vendidit Fabius consul ac redegit in publicum. Invisum erat Fabium nomen plebi propter novissimum consulem; tenuere tamen patres, ut
3 cum L. Aemilio Caeso Fabius consul crearetur. Eo infestior facta plebes seditione domestica bellum externum excivit. Bello deinde civiles discordiae intermissae. Uno animo patres ac plebs rebellantes Volscos et Aequos duce Aemilio prospera pugna
4 vicere. Plus tamen hostium fuga quam proelium absumpsit, adeo pertinaciter fusos insecuti sunt
5 equites. Castoris aedes eodem anno idibus Quintilibus dedicata est. Vota erat Latino bello a Postumio[1] dictatore: filius eius duumvir ad id ipsum creatus dedicavit.

6 Sollicitati et eo anno sunt dulcedine agrariae legis animi plebis. Tribuni plebi popularem potestatem lege populari celebrabant: patres satis superque gratuiti furoris in multitudine credentes esse, largi-

[1] a Postumio *du Rieu*: Postumio Ω.

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[1] The temple was erected in honour of both Castor and Pollux, but was commonly referred to by the name of the former alone (*e.g.* Cicero, *Mil.* 91). The *duumviri* were a committee of two, appointed to oversee the construction and

XLII. It was not long before the people forgot the anger they had felt against Cassius. The inherent attractiveness of the agrarian legislation appealed to them on its own account, when its author had been removed, and their desire for it was enhanced by the meanness of the Fathers, who after the defeat in that year of the Volsci and the Aequi defrauded the soldiers of their booty. Whatever was taken from the enemy Fabius sold and placed the proceeds in the public treasury. The Fabian name was hateful to the plebs, on the last consul's account; nevertheless the patricians succeeded in procuring the election of Caeso Fabius to that office, along with Lucius Aemilius. This increased the rancour of the plebeians, and by their seditions at home they brought about a foreign war. The war then caused domestic strife to be interrupted, while with one mind and purpose patricians and plebeians met the rebellious Volsci and Aequi and, led by Aemilius, defeated them in a successful action. Yet more of the enemy perished in flight than in the battle, so relentlessly did the cavalry pursue their routed forces. Castor's temple was dedicated the same year, on the fifteenth of July. It had been vowed during the Latin war by Postumius, the dictator. His son, being made duumvir for this special purpose, dedicated it.[1] B.C. 484–483

The desires of the plebs were this year again excited by the charms of the land-law. The tribunes of the plebs endeavoured to recommend their democratic office by a democratic law, while the senators, who thought there was frenzy enough and to spare in the populace, without rewarding it, shuddered at

[1] dedication of a temple when the man who had vowed it died without accomplishing his task.

A.U.C. 270–271

7 tiones temeritatisque invitamenta horrebant. Acerrimi patribus duces ad resistendum consules fuere. Ea igitur pars rei publicae vicit nec in praesens modo sed in venientem etiam annum M. Fabium, Caesonis fratrem, et magis invisum alterum plebi accusatione
8 Sp. Cassi, L. Valerium, consules dedit. Certatum eo quoque anno cum tribunis est. Vana lex vanique legis auctores iactando inritum munus facti. Fabium inde nomen ingens post tres continuos consulatus unoque velut tenore omnes expertos tribuniciis certaminibus habitum; itaque, ut bene locatus, mansit in ea familia aliquamdiu honos. Bellum inde Veiens
9 initum, et Volsci rebellarunt. Sed ad bella externa prope supererant vires, abutebanturque iis inter
10 semet ipsos certando. Accessere ad aegras iam omnium mentes prodigia caelestia, prope cotidianas in urbe agrisque ostentantia minas; motique ita numinis causam nullam aliam vates canebant publice privatimque nunc extis nunc per aves consulti, quam haud
11 rite sacra fieri. Qui terrores tandem [1] eo evasere ut Oppia virgo Vestalis damnata incesti poenas dederit.

[1] tandem *Madvig*: tamen Ω: *omitted in O.*

[1] For the next four years, making seven successive years in all, the Fabii were represented in the consulate.

the thought of land-grants and encouragements to rashness. The most strenuous of leaders were at hand for the senatorial opposition, in the persons of the consuls. Their party was therefore victorious and not only won an immediate success but, besides, elected as consuls for the approaching year Marcus Fabius, Caeso's brother, and one whom, on account of the prosecution of Spurius Cassius, the people hated even more, namely, Lucius Valerius. This year also there was a conflict with the tribunes. Nothing came of the legislation, and its supporters fell into contempt, from boasting of a measure which they could not carry through. The Fabii were thenceforward held in great repute, after their three successive consulships, which had all without interruption been subjected to the proof of struggles with the tribunes; accordingly the office, as if well invested, was permitted to remain some time in that family.[1] War then broke out with Veii, and the Volsci revolted. But for foreign wars there was almost a superabundance of resources, and men misused them in quarrelling amongst themselves. To increase the general anxiety which was now felt, portents implying the anger of the gods were of almost daily occurrence in the City and the country. For this expression of divine wrath no other reason was alleged by the soothsayers, when they had enquired into it both officially and privately, sometimes by inspecting entrails and sometimes by observing the flight of birds, than the failure duly to observe the rites of religion. These alarms at length resulted in the condemnation of Oppia, a Vestal virgin, for unchastity, and her punishment.

B.C. 484–483

A.U.C. 272–274

XLIII. Q. Fabius inde et C. Iulius[1] consules facti. Eo anno non[2] segnior discordia domi et bellum foris atrocius fuit. Ab Aequis arma sumpta: Veientes agrum quoque Romanorum populantes inierunt. Quorum bellorum crescente cura Caeso Fabius et Sp. Furius consules fiunt. Ortonam, Latinam urbem, Aequi oppugnabant: Veientes pleni iam populationum Romam ipsam se oppugnaturos minabantur. Qui terrores cum compescere deberent, auxere insuper animos plebis; redibatque non sua sponte plebi mos detractandi militiam, sed Sp. Licinius tribunus plebis, venisse tempus ratus per ultimam necessitatem legis agrariae patribus iniungendae, susceperat rem militarem impediendam. Ceterum tota invidia tribuniciae potestatis versa in auctorem est, nec in eum consules acrius quam ipsius[3] collegae coorti sunt, auxilioque eorum dilectum consules habent. Ad duo simul bella exercitus scribitur; ducendus Fabio in Aequos, Furio datur in Veientes. In Veientes nihil dignum memoria gestum; et in Aequis quidem Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum civibus quam cum hostibus fuit.[4] Unus ille vir, ipse consul, rem publicam sustinuit, quam exercitus odio consulis, quantum in se fuit, prodebat. Nam cum consul praeter ceteras imperatorias artes, quas parando gerendoque bello edidit plurimas, ita

[1] Iulius *Sigonius* (*from Dion. Hal.* viii. 90. 5 *and Cassiod. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 101): tullius Ω.

[2] anno non Ω : anno *M* (*cf.* § 4).

[3] ipsius M_5: ipsius eius Ω.

[4] *The words* ducendus *to* fuit *give the text as restored by Conway and Walters* (*cf. Class. Quart.* 1910, *p.* 276): *the good MSS. order the words thus:* ducendus Fabio in Veientes, in Aequos Furio datur, et in Aequis quidem nihil dignum memoria gestum est; Fabio aliquanto plus negotii cum ciuibus quam cum hostibus fuit.

XLIII. Quintus Fabius and Gaius Julius were then made consuls. This year there was no less discord at home, and the menace of war was greater. The Aequi took up arms, and the Veientes even made a foray into Roman territory. During the increasing anxiety occasioned by these campaigns Caeso Fabius and Spurius Furius were elected to the consulship. Ortona, a Latin city, was being besieged by the Aequi; while the Veientes, who by this time had their fill of rapine, were threatening to attack Rome itself. These alarms, though they should have restrained the animosity of the plebeians, actually heightened it; and they resumed their custom of refusing service, though not of their own initiative; for it was Spurius Licinius, tribune of the plebs, who, deeming that the moment had come for forcing a land-law on the patricians by the direst necessity, had undertaken to obstruct the preparations for war. But he drew upon his own head all the odium attaching to the tribunician office, nor did the consuls inveigh against him more fiercely than did his own colleagues, and with their help the consuls held a levy. Armies were enlisted for two wars at the same time; the command of one, which was to invade the Aequi, was given to Fabius, while with the other Furius was to oppose the Veientes. Against the Veientes nothing worth recording was accomplished; and in the Aequian campaign Fabius had somewhat more trouble with his fellow-Romans than with the enemy. That one man, the consul himself, preserved the state, which the army in its hatred of the consul would, so far as it was able, have betrayed. For when the consul, besides the many other instances of good generalship which he displayed in

B.C. 482–480

A.U.C. 272-274

instruxisset aciem, ut solo equitatu emisso exercitum
8 hostium funderet, insequi fusos pedes noluit; nec illos, etsi non adhortatio invisi ducis, suum saltem flagitium et publicum in praesentia dedecus, postmodo periculum, si animus hosti redisset, cogere potuit gradum adcelerare aut, si aliud nihil, stare[1]
9 instructos. Iniussu signa referunt maestique—crederes victos—exsecrantes nunc imperatorem nunc
10 navatam ab equite operam, redeunt in castra. Nec huic tam pestilenti exemplo remedia ulla ab imperatore quaesita sunt; adeo excellentibus ingeniis citius defuerit ars qua civem regant, quam qua hostem
11 superent. Consul Romam rediit non tam belli gloria aucta quam inritato exacerbatoque in se militum odio. Obtinuere tamen patres ut in Fabia gente consulatus maneret; M. Fabium consulem creant, Fabio collega Cn. Manlius[2] datur.

A.U.C. 274

XLIV. Et hic annus tribunum auctorem legis agrariae habuit. Tib. Pontificius fuit. Is eandem viam velut processisset Sp. Licinio ingressus dilec-
2 tum paulisper impediit. Perturbatis iterum patribus Ap. Claudius victam tribuniciam potestatem dicere priore anno, in praesentia re, exemplo in perpetuum,

[1] stare *Muretus*: instare (instrare *O*) Ω.

[2] Manlius *ed. Ald.* (*from* II. xlvii. 1, *Dion. Hal.* ix. 5. 1, *and Diod.* xi. 50; *but Cassiod. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 101 *has* Cn. Mallius): Manilius (*or* Mam-) Ω.

preparing for the war and in his conduct of it, had so drawn up the battle-line that a charge of the cavalry alone sufficed to rout the enemy's army, the foot refused to pursue the flying foe; nor could even their own sense of guilt—to say nothing of the exhortation of their hated general,—nor even the thought of the immediate disgrace to all, and the danger they must presently incur if the enemy should recover his courage, compel them to quicken their pace, or, if nothing else, to stand in their ranks. Contrary to orders they retreated and returned to their camp, in such dejection that you would have supposed them beaten, now uttering execrations against their leader and now against the efficient services of the horse. Ruinous though their example was, the general found no remedy for it; so true is it that noble minds are oftener lacking in the qualities by which men govern their fellow-citizens than in those by which they conquer an enemy. The consul returned to Rome, having purchased more hatred of his irritated and embittered soldiers than won increase in military fame. Nevertheless the Fathers held out for the retention of the consulship in the Fabian family. Marcus Fabius was the man they elected, and they gave him Gnaeus Manlius as a colleague. B.C. 482–480

XLIV. This year also had a tribune who advocated a land-law, Tiberius Pontificius. He set out on the same path that Spurius Licinius had trodden, as though Licinius had been successful, and for a time obstructed the levy. The senators were again thrown into consternation, but Appius Claudius told them that the tribunician power had been overcome the year before, actually for the time being, and potentially B.C. 480

A.U.C. 274

quando inventum sit suis ipsam viribus dissolvi.
3 Neque enim umquam defuturum qui et ex collega victoriam sibi et gratiam melioris partis bono publico velit quaesitam; et plures, si pluribus opus sit, tribunos ad auxilium consulum paratos fore, et unum
4 vel adversus omnes satis esse. Darent modo et consules et primores patrum operam ut, si minus omnes, aliquos tamen ex tribunis rei publicae ac senatui
5 conciliarent. Praeceptis Appi moniti patres et universi comiter ac benigne tribunos appellare, et consulares, ut cuique eorum privatim aliquid iuris adversus singulos erat, partim gratia partim auctoritate obtinuere ut tribuniciae potestatis vires salubres
6 vellent rei publicae esse; quattuorque[1] tribunorum adversus unum moratorem publici commodi auxilio dilectum consules habent.

7 Inde ad Veiens bellum profecti, quo undique ex Etruria auxilia convenerant, non tam Veientium gratia concitata quam quod in spem ventum erat discordia intestina dissolvi rem Romanam posse.
8 Principesque in omnium Etruriae populorum conciliis fremebant aeternas opes esse Romanas, nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus saeviant. Id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repertam,

[1] quattuorque ς (*cf.* II. xxxiii. 2; III. xxx. 7): nouemque (noque *M*) Ω (*?* ix *for* iv).

for ever, since a way had been discovered for employing its resources to its own undoing. For there would always be some tribune who would be willing to gain a personal victory over his colleague, and obtain the favour of the better element, while doing the nation a service. There would be a number of tribunes, if a number should be needed, who would be ready to help the consuls; and a single one was enough, though opposed to all the rest. Only let the consuls, and the leading senators as well, make a point of winning over, if not all, at any rate some of the tribunes to the state and the senate. Acting on the instructions of Appius, the Fathers began as a class to address the tribunes in a courteous and kindly manner; and those who were of consular rank, when it happened that any of them had any private claim upon an individual tribune, brought it about, in part by personal influence, in part by political, that those officials were disposed to use their powers for the good of the state; and four of them, as against one who would have hindered the general good, assisted the consuls to hold the muster. B.C. 480

The army then set out for a war with the Veientes, to whose help forces had rallied from every quarter of Etruria, not so much roused by goodwill towards the men of Veii as by hopes that civil discord might effect the downfall of the Roman state. And indeed the leading men in the councils of all the Etrurian peoples were wrathfully complaining that there would be no end to the power of the Romans unless factional quarrels should set them to fighting amongst themselves. They asserted that this was the only poison, the only decay which had been found to work upon

A.U.C. 274

9 ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum, partim patrum consiliis partim patientia plebis, iam ad extrema venisse. Duas civitates ex una factas, suos cuique parti magistratus, suas leges
10 esse. Primum in dilectibus saevire solitos, eosdem in bello tamen paruisse ducibus. Qualicumque urbis statu manente disciplina militari sisti potuisse; iam non parendi magistratibus morem in castra quoque
11 Romanum militem sequi. Proximo bello in ipsa acie, in ipso certamine consensu exercitus traditam ultro victoriam victis Aequis, signa deserta, imperatorem
12 in acie relictum, iniussu in castra reditum. Profecto, si instetur, suo milite vinci Romam posse. Nihil aliud opus esse quam indici ostendique bellum; cetera sua sponte fata et deos gesturos. Hae spes Etruscos armaverant, multis in vicem casibus victos victoresque. XLV. Consules quoque Romani nihil praeterea aliud quam suas vires, sua arma horrebant. Memoria pessimi proximo bello exempli terrebat ne rem committerent eo ubi duae simul acies timendae
2 essent. Itaque castris se tenebant, tam ancipiti periculo aversi: diem tempusque forsitan ipsum leni-

opulent states, so as to make great empires transitory. B.C. 480
For a long time the Romans had withstood this evil, thanks partly to the prudence of the senate, partly to the patience of the plebs; but they had now come to a crisis. Two states had been created out of one: each faction had its own magistrates, its own laws. At first, though they had a way of fiercely opposing the levies, yet when war began they had obeyed their generals. No matter what the condition of things in the City, so long as military discipline held it had been possible to make a stand; but now the fashion of disobeying magistrates was following the Roman soldier even to his camp. In their latest war, when the army was already drawn up for battle, and at the very instant of conflict, they had with one accord actually handed over the victory to the conquered Aequi, had deserted their standards, had left their general on the field, and had returned, against his orders, to their camp. Assuredly if her enemies pressed forward they could vanquish Rome by means of her own soldiers. There needed nothing more than to make a declaration and a show of war; Fate and the gods would of their own will do the rest. Such were the hopes which had led the Etruscans to take up arms, after many a shifting hazard of defeat and victory. XLV. The Roman consuls also felt that they had nothing else to dread but their own forces and their own arms. The recollection of the heinous example set in the last war deterred them from offering battle in a situation where they would be in danger from two armies at the same time. Accordingly they kept within their camp, restrained by the thought of so grave a peril: time and circumstances would perhaps assuage the anger of the men

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3 turum iras sanitatemque animis allaturum. Veiens hostis Etruscique eo magis praepropere agere; lacessere ad pugnam primo obequitando castris provocandoque, postremo, ut nihil movebant, qua consules
4 ipsos qua exercitum increpando: simulationem intestinae discordiae remedium timoris inventum, et consules magis non confidere quam non credere suis militibus; novum seditionis genus, silentium otiumque inter armatos. Ad haec in novitatem generis
5 originisque qua falsa, qua vera iacere. Haec cum sub ipso vallo portisque streperent, haud aegre consules pati; at imperitae multitudini nunc indignatio, nunc pudor pectora versare et ab intestinis avertere malis; nolle inultos hostes, nolle successum non patribus, non consulibus; externa et domestica odia
6 certare in animis. Tandem superant externa, adeo superbe insolenterque hostis eludebat. Frequentes in praetorium conveniunt; poscunt pugnam, postu-
7 lant ut signum detur. Consules velut deliberabundi capita conferunt, diu conloquuntur. Pugnare cupiebant, sed retro revocanda et abdenda[1] cupiditas erat, ut adversando remorandoque incitato semel militi
8 adderent impetum. Redditur responsum immaturam

[1] abdenda ς *Gebhard*: addenda Ω.

[1] The headquarters of the consul, who was originally called praetor.

and bring them to their senses. Their enemies the Veientes and the other Etruscans were for that reason the more in haste to act; they attempted to provoke the Romans to fight, at first by riding up to their camp and challenging them to come out, and finally, when they gained nothing by this, by shouting insults both at the consuls themselves and at the army. They said that their pretended want of harmony amongst themselves had been resorted to in order to conceal their fear, and that the consuls distrusted the courage of their men even more than their loyalty; it was a strange kind of mutiny where armed men were silent and inactive. To these taunts they added others upon the newness of their race and origin, partly false and partly true. This abuse, noisily uttered beneath the very rampart and the gates, was endured unconcernedly enough by the consuls. But the inexperienced rank and file, stirred now by indignation and now by shame, were diverted from the thought of their domestic troubles; they were unwilling that their enemies should go unpunished; they were unwilling that the patricians, that the consuls should obtain a success; hatred of the foe contended in their bosoms with hatred of their fellow-citizens. At length the former feeling got the upper hand, so proud and insolent was the jeering of the enemy. They gathered in crowds at the praetorium,[1] demanded battle, requested that the signal should be given. The consuls, as though considering the matter, put their heads together and conferred for a long time. They desired to fight, but it was needful to keep back their desire and conceal it, that by opposition and delay they might stimulate to fury the already eager soldiery. The men were therefore told that the B.C. 480

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rem agi, nondum tempus pugnae esse; castris se tenerent. Edicunt inde ut abstineant pugna: si quis 9 iniussu pugnaverit, ut in hostem animadversuros. Ita dimissis, quo minus consules velle credunt, crescit ardor pugnandi. Accendunt insuper hostes ferocius multo, ut statuisse non pugnare consules cognitum 10 est: quippe impune se insultaturos, non credi militi arma, rem ad ultimum seditionis erupturam, finemque venisse Romano imperio. His freti occursant portis, ingerunt probra, aegre abstinent quin castra oppug- 11 nent. Enimvero non ultra contumeliam pati Romanus posse; totis castris undique ad consules curritur; non iam[1] sensim, ut ante, per centurionum principes postulant, sed passim omnes clamoribus agunt. Ma- 12 tura res erat; tergiversantur tamen. Fabius deinde ad crescentem tumultum iam metu seditionis collega concedente, cum silentium classico fecisset: "Ego istos, Cn. Manli,[2] posse vincere scio; velle ne scirem 13 ipsi fecerunt. Itaque certum atque decretum est non dare signum, nisi victores se redituros ex hac pugna iurant. Consulem Romanum miles semel in acie fefellit, deos numquam fallet." Centurio erat

[1] iam R_{ζ}: tam Ω. [2] Manli ζ: Manili Ω.

thing was premature, that the time for battle had B.C. 480
not yet come; that they must keep within the camp. Then the consuls issued an order to abstain from fighting, declaring that if any man fought without orders they should treat him as an enemy. Dismissed with these words, the less inclination the soldiers discovered in the consuls the greater became their own eagerness for the fray. They were still further exasperated by the enemy, who were much bolder even than before, when the consuls' determination not to fight became known: it was clear that they could insult the Romans with impunity; their soldiers were not trusted with weapons, the affair would culminate in absolute mutiny, and the end of the Roman power had come. Relying on these convictions, they charged up to the gates, flung gibes at their defenders, and scarcely refrained from assaulting the camp. At this the Romans could no longer brook their insults; from all over the camp they came running to the consuls. There were no more cautious requests, preferred through the chief centurions, but on all sides arose a general clamour. The time was ripe; nevertheless the consuls hung back. Then Fabius, when his colleague, beginning to fear mutiny, was on the point of yielding to the growing tumult, commanded silence by a trumpet-blast and said: "I know, Gnaeus Manlius, that these men have the power to conquer, but their will to do so I know not; and for this they are themselves to blame. I am therefore resolved and determined not to give the signal unless they swear that they will return victorious from this engagement. Once, in a battle, the soldiers betrayed a Roman consul: they will never betray the gods." There was a centurion named

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M. Flavolcius, inter primores pugnae flagitator. 14 "Victor," inquit, "M. Fabi, revertar ex acie." Si fallat, Iovem patrem Gradivumque Martem aliosque iratos invocat deos. Idem deinceps omnis exercitus in se quisque iurat. Iuratis datur signum; arma capiunt; eunt in pugnam irarum speique pleni. 15 Nunc iubent Etruscos probra iacere, nunc armati 16 sibi quisque lingua promptum hostem offerri. Omnium illo die, qua plebis qua patrum, eximia virtus fuit; Fabium nomen[1] maxime enituit. Multis civilibus certaminibus infensos plebis animos illa pugna sibi reconciliare statuunt.

XLVI. Instruitur acies, nec Veiens hostis Etruscaeque legiones detractant. Prope certa spes erat non magis secum pugnaturos quam pugnaverint cum Aequis; maius quoque aliquod in tam inritatis animis et occasione ancipiti haud desperandum esse facinus. 2 Res aliter longe evenit; nam non alio ante bello infestior Romanus—adeo hinc contumeliis hostes, hinc consules mora exacerbaverant—proelium iniit. 3 Vix explicandi ordinis spatium Etruscis fuit, cum pilis inter primam trepidationem abiectis temere magis quam emissis pugna iam in manus, iam ad 4 gladios, ubi Mars est atrocissimus, venerat. Inter

[1] Fabium nomen *Madvig*: fabium nomen fabia gens Ω.

Marcus Flavoleius, who had been among the foremost in demanding battle. "I will return victorious from the field, Marcus Fabius," he cried, and invoked the wrath of Father Jupiter, Mars Gradivus, and the other gods, if he failed to keep his vow. The same pledge was then taken in order by the entire army, each man invoking its penalties upon himself. When they had sworn, the signal sounded. They armed and entered the fight, angry and confident. Now let the Etruscans fling their taunts! Now —they all cried—now, when they were armed, let the lip-bold enemy face them! On that day they all showed splendid courage, both commoners and nobles, but the Fabian name was especially distinguished. In the course of many political struggles they had estranged the plebs, and they resolved to regain their goodwill in that battle. B.C. 480

XLVI. The line was drawn up, nor did the Veientes and the Etruscan levies shun the encounter. They felt almost certain that the Romans would no more fight with them than they had fought with the Aequi. That they might even be guilty of some greater enormity, exasperated as they were, and possessed of a critical opportunity, was not too much to hope. But it turned out quite otherwise. For there had never been a war when the Romans went into battle with a keener hostility—so embittered had they been, on the one hand by the enemy's insults, on the other by the procrastination of the consuls. The Etruscans had barely had time to deploy when their enemies, who in the first excitement had rather cast their javelins at random than fairly aimed them, were already come to sword-strokes at close quarters, where fighting is the fiercest. The Fabian clan was

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primores genus Fabium insigne spectaculo exemploque civibus erat. Ex his Q. Fabium—tertio hic anno ante consul fuerat—principem in confertos Veientes euntem ferox viribus et armorum arte Tuscus, incautum inter multas versantem[1] hostium manus, gladio per pectus transfigit; telo extracto
5 praeceps Fabius in volnus cadit.[2] Sensit utraque acies unius viri casum, cedebatque inde Romanus, cum M. Fabius consul transiluit iacentis corpus obiectaque parma, "Hoc iurastis," inquit, "milites,
6 fugientes vos in castra redituros? Adeo ignavissimos hostes magis timetis quam Iovem Martemque, per quos iurastis? At ego iniuratus aut victor revertar aut prope te hic, Q. Fabi, dimicans cadam." Consuli tum Caeso[3] Fabius, prioris anni consul: "Verbisne istis, frater, ut pugnent te impetraturum
7 credis? Di impetrabunt, per quos iuravere; et nos, ut decet proceres, ut Fabio nomine est dignum, pugnando potius quam adhortando accendamus militum animos!" Sic in primum infensis hastis provolant duo Fabii totamque moverunt secum aciem.

XLVII. Proelio ex parte una restituto nihilo segnius in cornu altero Cn. Manlius consul pugnam
2 ciebat, ubi prope similis fortuna est versata. Nam ut altero in cornu Q. Fabium, sic in hoc ipsum

[1] versantem D^2 (*or* D^1) ς: uersantes Ω.
[2] cadit *H. J. Müller*; abiit Ω.
[3] Caeso ς: gaius Ω: c̄ *U*: graus *H*.

conspicuous among the foremost, a spectacle and encouragement to their fellow-citizens. One of them, the Quintus Fabius who had been consul three years before, was leading the attack on the closely marshalled Veientes, when a Tuscan, exulting in his strength and skill at arms, caught him unawares in the midst of a crowd of his enemies and drove his sword through his breast. As the blade was withdrawn Fabius fell headlong upon his wound. It was but the fall of one man, but both armies felt it; and the Romans were giving way at that point, when Marcus Fabius the consul leaped over the prostrate corpse and, covering himself with his target, cried, "Was this your oath, men, that you would return to your camp in flight? Do you then fear the most dastardly of foes more than Jupiter and Mars, by whom you swore? But I, though I have sworn no oath, will either return victorious or fall fighting here by you, Quintus Fabius!" To this speech of the consul Caeso Fabius, consul of the year before, made answer, "Think you that your words will persuade them to fight, brother? The gods will persuade them, by whom they have sworn. And let us, as is meet for nobles, as is worthy of the name of Fabius, kindle by fighting rather than by exhortation the courage of our soldiers!" With that the two Fabii rushed into the press with levelled spears and carried the whole line forward with them. B.C. 480

XLVII. Thus the fortune of the day was retrieved in one part of the field. On the other wing Gnaeus Manlius the consul was urging on the fight with no less vigour, when almost the same thing happened. For as Quintus Fabius had done on the

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consulem Manlium iam velut fusos agentem hostes et inpigre milites secuti sunt et, ut ille gravi volnere ictus ex acie cessit, interfectum rati
3 gradum rettulere; cessissentque loco, ni consul alter cum aliquot turmis equitum in eam partem citato equo advectus, vivere clamitans collegam, se victorem fuso altero cornu adesse, rem inclinatam
4 sustinuisset. Manlius quoque ad restituendam aciem se ipse coram offert. Duorum consulum cognita ora accendunt militum animos. Simul et vanior iam erat hostium acies, dum abundante multitudine freti subtracta subsidia mittunt ad castra op-
5 pugnanda. In quae haud magno certamine impetu facto, dum[1] praedae magis quam pugnae memores tererent tempus, triarii Romani, qui primam inruptionem sustinere non potuerant, missis ad consules nuntiis quo loco res essent, conglobati ad praetorium
6 redeunt et sua sponte ipsi proelium renovant. Et Manlius consul revectus in castra ad omnes portas milite opposito hostibus viam clauserat. Ea desperatio Tuscis rabiem magis quam audaciam accendit. Nam cum incursantes, quacumque exitum ostenderet spes, vano aliquotiens impetu issent, globus iuvenum unus in ipsum consulem insignem armis invadit.

[1] dum Ω (*including* M^1 *or* M^2) : cum *Gronov. M.*

other flank, so here the consul Manlius was personally leading the attack upon the enemy, whom he had almost routed, for his soldiers followed him valiantly, when he was severely wounded and retired from the fighting line. His men believed him to be dead, and faltered; and they would have yielded the position, had not the other consul ridden up at a gallop, with some few troops of horse, and calling out that his colleague was alive, and that he himself had defeated and routed the other wing and was come to help them, in that way put a stop to their wavering. Manlius also showed himself among them, helping to restore the line; and the soldiers, recognizing the features of their two consuls, plucked up courage. At the same time the battle-line of the enemy was now less strong, for, relying on their excess of numbers, they had withdrawn their reserves and dispatched them to storm the Roman camp. There, having forced an entrance without encountering much opposition, they were frittering away their time, their thoughts more taken up with the booty than with the battle, when the Roman reserves, which had been unable to withstand the first onset, sent word to the consuls how things stood, and then closed up their ranks, returned to the praetorium, and of themselves resumed the battle. Meanwhile Manlius the consul had ridden back to the camp, and by posting men at all the gates had cut off the enemy's egress. In desperation at this turn the Etruscans had been inflamed to the point rather of madness than of recklessness. For when, as they rushed in whatever direction there seemed a prospect of escape, they had made several charges to no purpose, one band of youths made a dash at the consul himself, whose arms made him con- B.C. 480

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7 Prima excepta a circumstantibus tela; sustineri deinde vis nequit. Consul mortifero volnere ictus
8 cadit, fusique circa omnes. Tuscis crescit audacia; Romanos terror per tota castra trepidos agit, et ad extrema ventum foret, ni legati rapto consulis cor-
9 pore patefecissent una porta hostibus viam. Ea erumpunt; consternatoque agmine abeuntes in victorem alterum incidunt consulem. Ibi iterum caesi fusique passim. Victoria egregia parta, tristis tamen
10 duobus tam claris funeribus. Itaque consul decernente senatu triumphum, si exercitus sine imperatore triumphare possit, pro eximia eo bello opera facile passurum respondit; se, familia funesta Q. Fabi fratris morte, re publica ex parte orba, consule altero amisso, publico privatoque deformem luctu lauream
11 non accepturum. Omni acto triumpho depositus triumphus clarior fuit; adeo spreta in tempore gloria interdum cumulatior rediit. Funera deinde duo deinceps collegae fratrisque ducit, idem in utroque laudator, cum concedendo illis suas laudes ipse maxi-
12 mam partem earum ferret. Neque immemor eius, quod initio consulatus imbiberat, reconciliandi ani-

spicuous. Their first discharge of javelins was parried B.C. 480
by the soldiers who surrounded him, but after that there was no withstanding their violence. The consul fell, mortally wounded, and all about him fled. The Etruscans grew more reckless than before; the Romans were driven, quaking with terror, right across the camp, and their case would have been desperate, had not the lieutenants caught up the body of the consul and opened a way for the enemy by one of the gates. By that they burst forth, and escaping in a disordered column, fell in the way of the other, the victorious consul, where they were again cut to pieces, and dispersed in all directions. A victory of great importance had been won, but it was saddened by the death of two so famous men. The consul therefore made answer to the senate, when it would have voted him a triumph, that if the army could triumph without its general, its services in that war had been so remarkable that he would readily grant his consent; as for himself, when his family was in mourning for the death of Quintus Fabius his brother, and the state was half orphaned by the loss of the other consul, he would not accept a laurel which was blighted with national and private sorrow. No triumph ever celebrated was more famous than was his refusal to accept a triumph, so true is it that a seasonable rejection of glory sometimes but increases it. The consul then solemnized, one after the other, the funerals of his colleague and his brother, and pronounced the eulogy of each; but while yielding their meed of praise to them, he gained for himself the very highest praises. Nor was he unmindful of that policy which he had adopted in the beginning of his consulship, of winning the affections of the plebs, but billeted the

A.U.C. 274 mos plebis, saucios milites curandos dividit patribus. Fabiis plurimi dati, nec alibi maiore cura habiti. Inde populares iam esse Fabii nec hoc ulla[1] nisi salubri rei publicae arte.[2]

A.U.C. 275 XLVIII. Igitur non patrum magis quam plebis studiis Caeso[3] Fabius cum T. Verginio consul factus neque belli[4] neque dilectus neque ullam aliam priorem curam agere quam ut iam aliqua ex parte incohata concordiae spe primo quoque tempore cum
2 patribus coalescerent animi plebis. Itaque principio anni censuit, priusquam quisquam agrariae legis auctor tribunus exsisteret, occuparent patres ipsi suum munus facere, captivum agrum plebi quam maxime aequaliter darent: verum esse habere eos quorum
3 sanguine ac sudore partus sit. Aspernati patres sunt; questi quoque quidam nimia gloria luxuriare et evanescere vividum quondam illud Caesonis ingenium. Nullae deinde urbanae factiones fuere.
4 Vexabantur incursionibus Aequorum Latini. Eo cum exercitu Caeso missus in ipsorum Aequorum agrum depopulandum transit. Aequi se in oppida receperunt murisque se tenebant. Eo nulla pugna memorabilis fuit.

5 At a Veiente hoste clades accepta temeritate alte-

[1] ulla *Gruter*: ulla re Ω: nulla re *PFB*: ualerem *DL*.
[2] rei publicae arte *Gruter* (*now confirmed by* reiparte *FB*): reip. parte Ω.
[3] Caeso (*i.e.* Ceso) $R^2\varsigma$ (*cf. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 101): c, *M* (*Conway and Walters think this may be a corruption of* ce = cae-): c. (*or* g. *or* q.) Ω.
[4] belli *Hearne D*?: bella Ω.

wounded soldiers on the patricians, to be cared for. B.C. 480
To the Fabii he assigned the largest number, nor did they anywhere receive greater attention. For this the Fabii now began to enjoy the favour of the people, nor was this end achieved by aught but a demeanour wholesome for the state.

XLVIII. The senators were now therefore not B.C. 479
more forward than the plebeians in choosing Caeso Fabius to be consul, along with Titus Verginius. On taking office his first concern was neither war nor the raising of troops nor anything else, save that the prospect of harmony which had been already partly realized should ripen at the earliest possible moment into a good understanding between the patricians and the plebs. He therefore proposed at the outset of his term that before one of the tribunes should rise up and advocate a land-law, the Fathers themselves should anticipate him by making it their own affair and bestowing the conquered territory upon the plebs with the utmost impartiality; for it was right that they should possess it by whose blood and toil it had been won. The senators scorned the proposal, and some even complained that too much glory was spoiling and dissipating that vigorous intellect which Caeso had once possessed. In the sequel there were no outbreaks of strife and faction in the City, but the Latins were plagued with incursions of the Aequi. Thither Caeso was dispatched with an army, and passed over into the Aequians' own country to lay it waste. The Aequi retired to their towns and kept within their walls. For this reason there was no memorable battle.

But the Veientes inflicted a defeat on the Romans owing to the rashness of the other consul; and the

A.U.C. 275 rius consulis, actumque de exercitu foret, ni K. Fabius in tempore subsidio venisset. Ex eo tempore neque pax neque bellum cum Veientibus fuit; res proxime 6 formam[1] latrocinii venerat. Legionibus Romanis cedebant in urbem; ubi abductas senserant legiones, agros incursabant, bellum quiete quietem bello in vicem eludentes. Ita neque omitti tota res nec perfici poterat. Et alia bella aut praesentia instabant, ut ab Aequis Volscisque, non diutius quam recens dolor proximae cladis transiret quiescentibus, aut mox moturos[2] esse apparebat Sabinos semper in- 7 festos Etruriamque omnem. Sed Veiens hostis, adsiduus magis quam gravis, contumeliis saepius quam periculo animos agitabat, quod nullo tempore neglegi 8 poterat aut averti alio sinebat. Tum Fabia gens senatum adiit. Consul pro gente loquitur: "Adsiduo magis quam magno praesidio, ut scitis, patres conscripti, bellum Veiens eget. Vos alia bella curate, Fabios hostes Veientibus date. Auctores sumus tu- 9 tam ibi maiestatem Romani nominis fore. Nostrum id nobis velut familiare bellum privato sumptu gerere in animo est: res publica et milite illic et pecunia 10 vacet." Gratiae ingentes actae. Consul e curia egressus comitante Fabiorum agmine, qui in vestibulo curiae senatus consultum exspectantes stet-

[1] formam ς : in formam Ω.
[2] moturos *Madvig* : moturos sɵ Ω.

army would have been destroyed if Caeso Fabius B.C. 479
had not come, in the nick of time, to its rescue. Thenceforward there was neither peace nor war with the Veientes, but something very like freebooting. In the face of the Roman legions they would retreat into their city; when they perceived the legions to be withdrawn they would make raids upon the fields, evading war by a semblance of peace, and peace in turn by war. Hence it was impossible either to let the whole matter go or to end it. Other wars, too, were immediately threatening—like the one with the Aequi and the Volsci, who would observe peace only so long as the suffering involved in their latest defeat was passing away,—or were soon to be begun, by the always hostile Sabines and all Etruria. But the enmity of the Veientes, persistent rather than perilous, and issuing in insults oftener than in danger, kept the Romans in suspense, for they were never permitted to forget it or to turn their attention elsewhere. Then the Fabian clan went before the senate, and the consul said, speaking for the clan: "A standing body of defenders rather than a large one is required, Conscript Fathers, as you know, for the war with Veii. Do you attend to the other wars, and assign to the Fabii the task of opposing the Veientes. We undertake that the majesty of the Roman name shall be safe in that quarter. It is our purpose to wage this war as if it were our own family feud, at our private costs: the state may dispense with furnishing men and money for this cause." The thanks of the Fathers were voted with enthusiasm. The consul came out from the senate-house, and escorted by a column of the Fabii, who had halted in the vestibule of the curia while awaiting

A.U.C. 275

erant, domum redit. Iussi armati postero die ad limen consulis adesse; domos inde discedunt.

A.U.C. 275-276

XLIX. Manat tota urbe rumor; Fabios ad caelum laudibus ferunt: familiam unam subisse civitatis onus, Veiens bellum in privatam curam, in privata
2 arma versum. Si sint duae roboris eiusdem in urbe gentes, deposcant haec Volscos sibi, illa Aequos, populo Romano tranquillam pacem agente omnes finitimos subigi populos posse. Fabii postera die
3 arma capiunt; quo iussi erant conveniunt. Consul paludatus egrediens in vestibulo gentem omnem suam instructo agmine videt; acceptus in medium signa ferri iubet. Numquam exercitus neque minor numero neque clarior fama et admiratione hominum
4 per urbem incessit. Sex et trecenti milites, omnes patricii, omnes unius gentis, quorum neminem ducem sperneres,[1] egregius quibuslibet temporibus senatus, ibant, unius familiae viribus Veienti populo pestem
5 minitantes. Sequebatur turba, propria alia cognatorum sodaliumque, nihil medium, nec spem nec curam, sed immensa omnia volventium animo, alia publica sollicitudine excitata, favore et admiratione
6 stupens. Ire fortes, ire felices iubent, inceptis even-

[1] sperneres *Madvig*: sperneret Ω.

[1] The crimson *paludamentum*.

the senate's decision, returned to his house. After receiving the command to present themselves armed next day at the consul's threshold, they dispersed to their homes. B.C. 479

XLIX. The news spreads to every part of the City and the Fabii are lauded to the skies. Men tell how a single family has taken upon its shoulders the burden of a state, how the war with Veii has been turned over to private citizens and private arms. If there were two other clans of equal strength in the City, the one might undertake the Volsci, the other the Aequi, and the Roman People might enjoy the tranquillity of peace, while all the neighbouring nations were being subdued. On the following day the Fabii arm and assemble at the designated place. The consul, coming forth in the cloak of a general,[1] sees his entire clan drawn up in his vestibule, and being received into their midst gives the order to march. Never did an army march through the City less in number or more distinguished by the applause and the wonder of men: three hundred and six soldiers, all patricians, all of one blood, no one of whom you would have rejected as a leader, and who would have made an admirable senate in any period, were going out to threaten the existence of the Veientine nation with the resources of a single house. They were followed by a throng partly made up of people belonging to them, their kinsmen and close friends, whose thoughts were busy with no mean matters, whether of hope or of fear, but with boundless possibilities; partly of those who were moved with concern for the commonwealth, and were beside themselves with enthusiasm and amazement. "Go," they cry, "in your valour, go with good B.C. 479–478

A.U.C. 275–276

tus pares reddere; consulatus inde ac triumphos,
7 omnia praemia ab se, omnes honores sperare. Praetereuntibus Capitolium arcemque et alia templa, quidquid deorum oculis, quidquid animo occurrit, precantur ut illud agmen faustum atque felix mittant, sospites brevi in patriam ad parentes restituant.
8 In cassum missae preces. Infelici via, dextro iano portae Carmentalis, profecti ad Cremeram flumen perveniunt. Is opportunus visus locus communiendo praesidio.
9 L. Aemilius inde et C. Servilius consules facti. Et donec nihil aliud quam in populationibus res fuit, non ad praesidium modo tutandum Fabii satis erant, sed tota regione qua Tuscus ager Romano adiacet, sua tuta omnia, infesta hostium vagantes per utrum-
10 que finem fecere. Intervallum deinde haud magnum populationibus fuit, dum et Veientes accito ex Etruria exercitu praesidium Cremerae oppugnant, et Romanae legiones ab L. Aemilio consule adductae cominus cum Etruscis dimicant acie. Quamquam
11 vix dirigendi aciem spatium Veientibus fuit; adeo inter primam trepidationem, dum post signa ordines introeunt subsidiaque locant, invecta subito ab latere Romana equitum ala non pugnae modo incipiendae
12 sed consistendi ademit locum. Ita fusi retro ad Saxa Rubra—ibi castra habebant—pacem supplices

[1] A name afterwards given to the arch from the result of this expedition.

fortune, and crown your undertaking with success as great!" They bid them look forward to receiving consulships at their hands for this work, and triumphs, and all rewards and all honours. As they pass by the Capitol and the citadel and the other temples, they beseech whatever gods present themselves to their eyes and their thoughts to attend that noble band with blessings and prosperity, and restore them soon in safety to their native land and their kindred. Their prayers were uttered in vain. Setting out by the Unlucky Way,[1] the right arch of the Porta Carmentalis, they came to the river Cremera, a position which seemed favourable for the erection of a fort. B.C. 479–478

Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Servilius were then chosen consuls. And so long as nothing more than plundering was afoot the Fabii were not only an adequate garrison for the fort, but in all that region where the Tuscan territory marches with the Roman they afforded universal security to their own countrymen and annoyance to the enemy, by ranging along the border on both sides. Then came a brief interruption to these depredations, while the men of Veii, having called in an army from Etruria, attacked the post on the Cremera, and the Roman legions, led thither by Lucius Aemilius the consul, engaged them in a pitched battle; though in truth the Veientes had scarcely time to draw up a battle-line, for at the first alarm, while the ranks were falling in behind the standards and the reserves were being posted, a division of Roman cavalry made a sudden charge on their flank and deprived them of the power not only of attacking first, but even of standing their ground. And so they were driven back upon Saxa Rubra, where they had their camp, and sued for peace. It

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petunt; cuius impetratae ab insita animis levitate ante deductum Cremera Romanum praesidium paenituit.

A.U.C. 277

L. Rursus cum Fabiis erat Veienti populo sine ullo maioris belli apparatu certamen, nec erant incursiones modo in agros aut subiti impetus in incursantes,[1] sed aliquotiens aequo campo conlatisque
2 signis certatum, gensque una populi Romani saepe ex opulentissima, ut tum res erant, Etrusca civitate
3 victoriam tulit. Id primo acerbum indignumque Veientibus est visum; inde consilium ex re natum insidiis ferocem hostem captandi; gaudere etiam
4 multo successu Fabiis audaciam crescere. Itaque et pecora praedantibus aliquotiens, velut casu incidissent, obviam acta, et agrestium fuga vasti relicti agri, et subsidia armatorum ad arcendas populationes missa saepius simulato quam vero pavore refugerunt.
5 Iamque Fabii adeo contempserant hostem ut sua invicta arma neque loco neque tempore ullo crederent sustineri posse. Haec spes provexit ut ad conspecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora, quamquam rara hostium apparebant arma,
6 decurrerent. Et cum improvidi effuso cursu insidias circa ipsum iter locatas superassent, palatique passim vaga, ut fit pavore iniecto, raperent pecora, subito ex

[1] in incursantes *Goebel*: incursantes ium *P*: incursantes lupi *M*: incursantium Ω.

was granted, but their instinctive fickleness caused them to weary of the pact before the Roman garrison was withdrawn from the Cremera. B.C. 479–478

L. Again the Fabii were pitted against the people of Veii. No preparations had been made for a great war, yet not only were raids made upon farming lands, and surprise attacks upon raiding parties, but at times they fought in the open field and in serried ranks; and a single clan of the Roman People often carried off the victory from that most mighty state, for those days, in all Etruria. At first the Veientes bitterly resented this; but they presently adopted a plan, suggested by the situation, for trapping their bold enemy, and they even rejoiced as they saw that the frequent successes of the Fabii were causing them to grow more rash. And so they now and then drove flocks in the way of the invaders, as if they had come there by accident; and the country folk would flee from their farms and leave them deserted; and rescuing parties of armed men, sent to keep off pillagers, would flee before them in a panic more often feigned than real. By this time the Fabii had conceived such scorn for the enemy that they believed themselves invincible and not to be withstood, no matter what the place or time. This confidence so won upon them that on catching sight of some flocks at a distance from the Cremera, across a wide interval of plain, they disregarded the appearance here and there of hostile arms, and ran down to capture them. Their rashness carried them on at a swift pace past an ambuscade which had been laid on both sides of their very road. They had scattered this way and that and were seizing the flocks, which had dispersed in all directions, as they do if terrified, B.C. 477

A.U.C. 277

insidiis consurgitur, et adversi et undique hostes
7 erant. Primo clamor circumlatus exterruit, dein tela
ab omni parte accidebant;[1] coeuntibusque Etruscis
iam continenti agmine armatorum saepti, quo magis
se hostis inferebat, cogebantur breviore spatio et
8 ipsi orbem colligere, quae res et paucitatem[2] eorum
insignem et multitudinem Etruscorum multiplicatis
9 in arto ordinibus faciebat. Tum omissa pugna quam
in omnes partes parem intenderant, in unum locum
se omnes inclinant. Eo nisi corporibus armisque
10 rupere cuneo viam. Duxit via in editum leniter[3]
collem. Inde primo restitere; mox, ut respirandi
superior locus spatium dedit recipiendique a pavore
tanto animum, pepulere etiam subeuntes; vincebat-
que auxilio loci paucitas, ni iugo circummissus Veiens
in verticem collis evasisset. Ita superior rursus hostis
11 factus. Fabii caesi ad unum omnes praesidiumque
expugnatum. Trecentos sex perisse satis convenit,
unum prope puberem aetate relictum, stirpem genti
Fabiae dubiisque rebus populi Romani saepe domi
bellique vel maximum futurum auxilium.

A.U.C. 277–278

LI. Cum haec accepta clades est,[4] iam C. Horatius
et T. Menenius consules erant. Menenius adversus

[1] accidebant *Gebhard*: accedebant Ω.
[2] et paucitatem *V*? M_7: paucitatem Ω.
[3] leniter $_7$: leuiter Ω.
[4] est *Crevier*: esset Ω (*but* clade se etiam *DV*).

[1] This was that Fabius, according to the legend, who was to become consul ten years later! See III. x.

when suddenly the ambush rose up, and enemies were in front and on every side of them. First the shout which echoed all along the Etruscan line filled them with consternation, and then the javelins began to fall upon them from every quarter; and as the Etruscans drew together and the Romans were now fenced in by a continuous line of armed men, the harder the enemy pressed them the smaller was the space within which they themselves were forced to contract their circle, a thing which clearly revealed both their own fewness and the vast numbers of the Etruscans, whose ranks were multiplied in the narrow space. The Romans then gave up the fight which they had been directing equally at every point, and all turned in one direction. Thither, by dint of main strength and arms, they forced their way with a wedge. Their road led up a gentle acclivity. There they at first made a stand; presently, when their superior position had afforded them time to breathe and to collect their spirits after so great a fright, they actually routed the troops which were advancing to dislodge them; and a handful of men, with the aid of a good position, were winning the victory, when the Veientes who had been sent round by the ridge emerged upon the crest of the hill, thus giving the enemy the advantage again. The Fabii were all slain to a man, and their fort was stormed. Three hundred and six men perished, as is generally agreed; one, who was little more than a boy in years,[1] survived to maintain the Fabian stock, and so to afford the very greatest help to the Roman People in its dark hours, on many occasions, at home and in the field. B.C. 477

LI. When this disaster befel, Gaius Horatius and Titus Menenius had begun their consulship. B.C. 477–476

A.U.C. 277-278

2 Tuscos victoria elatos confestim missus. Tum quoque male pugnatum est, et Ianiculum hostes occupavere; obsessaque urbs foret super bellum annona premente—transierant enim Etrusci Tiberim,—ni Horatius consul ex Volscis esset revocatus. Adeoque id bellum ipsis institit moenibus ut primo pugnatum ad Spei sit aequo Marte, iterum ad portam
3 Collinam. Ibi quamquam parvo momento superior Romana res fuit, meliorem tamen militem recepto pristino animo in futura proelia id certamen fecit.
4 A. Verginius et Sp. Servilius consules fiunt. Post acceptam proxima pugna[1] cladem Veientes abstinuere acie; populationes erant, et velut ab arce Ianiculo[2] passim in Romanum agrum impetus dabant; non usquam pecora tuta, non agrestes erant.
5 Capti deinde eadem arte sunt qua ceperant Fabios. Secuti dedita opera passim ad inlecebras propulsa pecora praecipitavere in insidias. Quo plures erant,
6 maior caedes fuit. Ex hac clade atrox ira maioris cladis causa atque initium fuit. Traiecto enim nocte Tiberi castra Servili consulis adorti sunt oppugnare. Inde fusi magna caede in Ianiculum se aegre rece-
7 pere. Confestim consul et ipse transit Tiberim,

[1] proxima pugna *Gronov.* *D*?: proxime pugna *D or* D^1: proxime pugnae D^2: proximam pugnae Ω.
[2] Ianiculo *Madvig*: Ianiculi Ω.

Menenius was at once sent out to confront the Etruscans, elated by their victory. Again the Roman arms were unsuccessful, and Janiculum was taken by the enemy. They would also have laid siege to Rome, which was suffering not only from war but from a scarcity of corn—for the Etruscans had crossed the Tiber—had not the consul Horatius been recalled from the Volscian country; and so nearly did that invasion approach the very walls of the City that battles were fought first at the temple of Hope, where the result was indecisive, and again at the Colline Gate. There, although the advantage to the Roman side was but slight, still the engagement restored their old-time spirit to the troops and made them the better soldiers for the battles that were to come. B.C. 477–476

Aulus Verginius and Spurius Servilius were made consuls. After the defeat the Veientes had suffered in the last fight, they avoided a battle and took to pillaging. From Janiculum, as from a citadel, they sent out expeditions far and wide into the territory of the Romans; there was no security anywhere for flocks or country-folk. After a time they were caught by the same trick with which they had caught the Fabii. Having pursued the flocks which had been driven out here and there on purpose to lure them on, they plunged into an ambush, and as their numbers exceeded those of the Fabii so did their losses. This disaster threw them into a violent rage, which proved the cause and the beginning of a greater reverse. For they crossed the Tiber in the night and assaulted the camp of the consul Servilius. There they were routed with heavy losses and regained Janiculum with difficulty. Forthwith the

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castra sub Ianiculo communit. Postero die luce orta nonnihil et hesterna felicitate pugnae ferox, magis tamen quod inopia frumenti quamvis in praecipitia, dum celeriora essent, agebat[1] consilia, temere adverso
8 Ianiculo ad castra hostium aciem erexit, foediusque inde pulsus quam pridie pepulerat, interventu colle-
9 gae ipse exercitusque est servatus. Inter duas acies Etrusci, cum in vicem his atque illis terga darent, occidione occisi. Ita oppressum temeritate felici Veiens bellum.

A.U.C. 278–279

LII. Urbi cum pace laxior etiam annona rediit, et advecto ex Campania frumento et, postquam timor sibi cuique futurae inopiae abiit, eo quod abditum
2 fuerat prolato. Ex copia deinde otioque lascivire rursus animi, et pristina mala, postquam foris de-
3 erant, domi quaerere. Tribuni plebem agitare suo veneno, agraria lege; in resistentes incitare patres nec in universos modo, sed in singulos. Q. Considius et T. Genucius, auctores agrariae legis, T. Menenio diem dicunt. Invidiae erat amissum Cremerae praesidium, cum haud procul inde stativa consul
4 habuisset; ea oppressit,[2] cum et patres haud minus

[1] agebat $R^2D^2U_7$: agebant Ω.
[2] ea oppressit *Gronov. M*?: eam oppressit (*or* -erunt) Ω.

[1] What was the charge? Perhaps that he had failed to support the Fabii; perhaps that he had lost Janiculum by his incompetence.

consul himself crossed the Tiber and fortified a camp beneath the hill. Next day at dawn, partly because he was emboldened by the successful battle of the day before, but more because the want of corn drove him to the rashest kind of measures, provided only they were speedy, he was so reckless as to lead his army up Janiculum to the enemy's camp, and after suffering a more disgraceful repulse than he had administered the day before, owed his own rescue and that of his army to the arrival of his colleague. Caught between two lines, the Etruscans turned their backs first on one and then on the other, and were cut down with great slaughter. Thus the Veientine invasion was defeated by a lucky temerity. B.C. 477–476

LII. There came to the City with the return of peace a relaxation in the corn-market; for not only was grain imported from Campania, but now that each had ceased to fear for his own future want, men brought out the stores which they had concealed. As a consequence of plenty and idleness a spirit of licence again began to affect men's minds, and they began to seek at home for the old troubles which were no longer to be met with abroad. The tribunes roused the plebs to madness with their usual poison, a land-law. The Fathers resisted, but the tribunes incited the people against them, not as a body merely, but as individuals. Quintus Considius and Titus Genucius, the proposers of the agrarian measure, cited Titus Menenius to appear for trial.[1] He had incurred the dislike of the plebs owing to the loss of the outpost on the Cremera, when he as consul had occupied a permanent camp not far away; and this unpopularity was his undoing, though the senators exerted themselves in his behalf no less B.C. 476–475

A.U.C. 278–279

quam pro Coriolano adnisi essent, et patris Agrippae favor hauddum exolevisset. In multa temperarunt tribuni; cum capitis anquisissent, duorum milium[1] aeris damnato multam dixerunt.[2] Ea in caput vertit. Negant tulisse ignominiam aegritudinemque; inde morbo absumptum esse.

6 Alius deinde reus Sp. Servilius, ut consulatu abiit, C. Nautio et P. Valerio consulibus, initio statim anni ab L. Caedicio et T. Statio tribunis die dicta non, ut Menenius, precibus suis aut patrum, sed cum multa fiducia innocentiae gratiaeque tribunicios impetus 7 tulit. Et huic proelium cum Tuscis ad Ianiculum erat crimini. Sed fervidi animi vir, ut in publico periculo ante, sic tum in suo, non tribunos modo sed plebem oratione feroci refutando, exprobrandoque T. Meneni damnationem mortemque, cuius patris munere restituta quondam plebs eos ipsos quibus tum saeviret magistratus, eas leges haberet, peri- 8 culum audacia discussit. Iuvit et Verginius collega testis productus, participando laudes; magis tamen Menenianum—adeo mutaverant animi—profuit iudicium.

LIII. Certamina domi finita: Veiens bellum exortum, quibus Sabini arma coniunxerant. P. Valerius

[1] duorum milium *Reid*: duo milia Ω: duo *O*.
[2] multam dixerunt ς: multam (multa *R*) edixerunt (eduxerunt *H*) Ω.

than they had done for Coriolanus, and though the favour enjoyed by his father Agrippa had not yet passed away. In respect to the penalty the tribunes showed restraint; though they had charged him with a capital offence, they fixed the fine of the condemned at two thousand *asses*. But it cost him his life; they say that he could not endure the shame and grief, and from this cause fell ill and died. B.C. 476–475

Another man was then put upon his trial, namely Spurius Servilius. He had laid down the consulship and been succeeded by Gaius Nautius and Publius Valerius, when he was cited, in the very beginning of the year, by the tribunes Lucius Caedicius and Titus Statius. Unlike Menenius, he did not meet the attacks of the tribunes with entreaties, preferred by himself or the senators, but with high confidence in his innocence and popularity. He, too, was accused in connection with the battle against the Etruscans at Janiculum. But the fiery courage of the man had not been more in evidence in the nation's hour of peril than it was then in his own, and he confuted not only the tribunes but the plebs, upbraiding them, in a daring speech, with the condemnation and death of Menenius, to whose father, he declared, the plebs formerly owed their restoration and the possession of those very magistrates and laws which were the tools of their cruelty. This boldness swept away the danger. He was helped, too, by Verginius, his colleague, who, being called as a witness, shared his own credit with Servilius. But the trial of Menenius stood him in even better stead, so great a revulsion of feeling had set in.

LIII. Domestic strife was at an end; but war broke out with the Veientes, with whom the Sabines had united their arms. Publius Valerius the consul was

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consul accitis Latinorum Hernicorumque auxiliis cum exercitu Veios missus castra Sabina, quae pro moenibus sociorum locata erant, confestim adgreditur tantamque trepidationem iniecit ut, dum dispersi alii alia manipulatim excurrunt ad arcendam hostium vim, ea porta cui signa primum intulerat caperetur. 2 Intra vallum deinde caedes magis quam proelium esse. Tumultus e castris et in urbem penetrat; tamquam Veiis captis, ita pavidi Veientes ad arma currunt. Pars Sabinis eunt subsidio, pars Romanos toto 3 impetu intentos in castra adoriuntur. Paulisper aversi turbatique sunt; deinde et ipsi utroque versis signis resistunt, et eques ab consule immissus Tuscos fundit fugatque; eademque hora duo exercitus, duae potentissimae et maximae finitimae gentes superatae sunt.

4 Dum haec ad Veios geruntur, Volsci Aequique in Latino agro posuerant castra populatique fines erant. Eos per se ipsi Latini adsumptis Hernicis sine Ro- 5 mano aut duce aut auxilio castris exuerunt; ingenti praeda praeter suas reciperatas res potiti sunt. Missus tamen ab Roma consul in Volscos C. Nautius; mos, credo, non placebat sine Romano duce exercituque socios propriis viribus consiliisque bella

dispatched to Veii with an army to which had been added auxiliaries from the Latins and the Hernici. He at once advanced upon the Sabine camp, which had been established in front of the walls of their allies, and threw the enemy into such confusion that, while they were running out in small groups, some one way and some another, to repel the attack of the Romans, he captured the gate against which he had directed his first assault. What followed within the stockade was a massacre rather than a battle. The sounds of confusion in the camp penetrated even to the city, and the frightened inhabitants ran hastily to their weapons, as though Veii had been surprised. Some went to the rescue of the Sabines, others assailed the Romans, who were wholly preoccupied with the camp. For a moment the Romans were disconcerted and thrown into disorder; then they, too, faced both ways and made a stand, and the horse which the consul sent into the fight dispersed and routed the Etruscans. In one and the same hour two armies, two of the greatest and most powerful neighbouring nations, were defeated. B.C. 476–475

While these victories were being won at Veii, the Volsci and the Aequi had encamped on Latin soil, and had laid waste the country. These the Latins, acting independently, with the assistance of the Hernici, but without either general or aid from Rome, despoiled of their camp. Immense booty, in addition to property of their own which they recovered, fell into their hands. Nevertheless a consul, Gaius Nautius, was sent from Rome against the Volsci. The precedent, I suppose, of allies waging wars, without a Roman commander and army, by means of their own forces and their own strategy, was not welcome.

A.U.C. 278–279

6 gerere. Nullum genus calamitatis contumeliaeque non editum in Volscos est, nec tamen perpelli[1] potuere ut acie dimicarent.

A.U.C. 280–281

LIV. L. Furius inde et C. Manlius[2] consules. Manlio Veientes provincia evenit. Non tamen bellatum; indutiae in annos quadraginta petentibus datae
2 frumento stipendioque imperato. Paci[3] externae confestim continuatur discordia domi. Agrariae legis tribuniciis stimulis plebs furebat. Consules, nihil Meneni damnatione, nihil periculo deterriti Servili, summa vi resistunt. Abeuntes magistratu Cn. Genucius tribunus plebis arripuit.

3 L. Aemilius et Opiter Verginius consulatum ineunt; Vopiscum Iulium pro Verginio in quibusdam annalibus consulem invenio. Hoc anno—quoscumque consules habuit—rei ad populum Furius et Manlius[4] circumeunt sordidati non plebem magis quam
4 iuniores patrum. Suadent, monent, honoribus et administratione rei publicae abstineant; consulares vero fasces, praetextam curulemque sellam nihil aliud quam pompam funeris putent; claris insignibus velut
5 infulis velatos ad mortem destinari. Quod si consulatus tanta dulcedo sit, iam nunc ita in animum inducant consulatum captum et oppressum ab tribunicia potestate esse; consuli, velut apparitori tribunicio,

[1] perpelli $R^2\zeta$: perpeti Ω.
[2] Manlius *O* (*below* Manlio *OM*): Manilius (*below* Manilio) Ω, *and Cassiod. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 103. [3] paci ζ: pacis Ω: facis *M*.
[4] Manlius *MOHRDL*: Manilius *PFÛB*.

There was no species of disaster or indignity which was not visited upon the Volsci, yet they could not be forced into giving battle. B.C. 476–475

LIV. Lucius Furius and Gaius Manlius were the next consuls. To Manlius fell the command against the Veientes. But there was no war; a truce for forty years was granted, at their solicitation, and corn and a money-indemnity were exacted of them. The foreign peace was immediately succeeded by quarrels at home. The land-law with which the tribunes goaded the plebs excited them to the pitch of madness. The consuls, not a jot intimidated by the condemnation of Menenius, not a jot by the danger of Servilius, resisted the measure with the utmost violence. As their term expired, Gnaeus Genucius, a plebeian tribune, haled them to trial. B.C. 474–473

Lucius Aemilius and Opiter Verginius entered upon the consulship. Vopiscus Julius I find given as consul in certain annals, instead of Verginius. This year—whoever its consuls were—Furius and Manlius went about among the people as men accused, in garments of mourning, seeking out the younger patricians, as well as the plebeians. They advised them, they warned them to forbear from office-holding and the administration of the public business; as for the consular fasces, the purple-bordered toga, and the curule chair,—these they should regard in no other light than as the pageantry of burial; for splendid insignia, like the fillets placed on victims, doomed the wearer to death. But if the consulship was so alluring to them, let them recognize at once that it had been fettered and enslaved by the might of the tribunes; that the consul, as though an attendant upon those officials, must be subject in all

A.U.C. 280–281

omnia ad nutum imperiumque tribuni agenda esse;
6 si se commoverit, si respexerit patres, si aliud quam plebem esse in re publica crediderit, exsilium Cn. Marci, Meneni damnationem et mortem sibi propo-
7 nat[1] ante oculos. His accensi vocibus patres consilia[2] inde non publica, sed in privato seductaque a plurium conscientia habuere. Ubi cum id modo constaret, iure an iniuria eripiendos esse reos, atrocissima quaeque maxime placebat sententia, nec
8 auctor quamvis audaci facinori deerat. Igitur iudicii die, cum plebs in foro erecta exspectatione staret, mirari primo quod non descenderet tribunus; dein, cum iam mora suspectior fieret, deterritum a primoribus credere et desertam ac proditam causam publi-
9 cam queri; tandem qui obversati vestibulo tribuni fuerant nuntiant domi mortuum esse inventum. Quod ubi in totam contionem pertulit rumor, sicut acies funditur duce occiso, ita dilapsi passim alii alio. Praecipuus pavor tribunos invaserat, quam nihil auxilii sacratae leges haberent morte collegae moni-
10 tos. Nec patres satis moderate ferre laetitiam; adeoque neminem noxiae paenitebat ut etiam insontes fecisse videri vellent, palamque ferretur malo domandam tribuniciam potestatem.

[1] proponat $U?\zeta$: proponant Ω.
[2] consilia Ω: concilia *Gronov.*

[1] *i.e.* from his home: the Forum was lower than the residential parts of Rome.

he did to their beck and call; if he should bestir himself, if he should show consideration for the patricians, if he should believe that the state comprised any other element than the plebs—let him call to mind the exile of Gnaeus Marcius, the condemnation of Menenius and his death. Fired by these speeches, the senators began to hold councils, no longer publicly, but in private, where the people could not learn their plans. In these deliberations there was but one guiding principle, that by fair means or foul the defendants must be got off. The more truculent a suggestion was, the greater was the favour it evoked, and an agent was not wanting for the most daring crime. Well then, on the day of the trial the plebeians were in the Forum, on tiptoe with expectation. At first they were filled with amazement because the tribune did not come down;[1] then, when at length his delay began to look suspicious, they supposed he had been frightened away by the nobles, and fell to complaining of his desertion and betrayal of the people's cause; finally, those who had presented themselves at the tribune's vestibule brought back word that he had been found dead in his house. When this report had spread through all the gathering, the crowd, like an army which takes to flight at the fall of its general, melted away on every side. The tribunes were particularly dismayed, for the death of their colleague warned them how utterly ineffectual to protect them were the laws that proclaimed their sanctity. Nor did the senators place a proper restraint upon their satisfaction; so far, indeed, was anyone from repenting of the guilty deed that even the innocent desired to be thought its authors, and men openly asserted that chastisement must be employed to curb the power of the tribunes.

B.C. 474–473

A.U.C. 281

LV. Sub hanc pessimi exempli victoriam[1] dilectus edicitur, paventibusque tribunis sine intercessione 2 ulla consules rem peragunt. Tum vero irasci plebs tribunorum magis silentio quam consulum imperio, et dicere actum esse de libertate sua, rursus ad antiqua reditum; cum Genucio una mortuam ac sepultam tribuniciam potestatem. Aliud agendum ac cogi- 3 tandum, quomodo resistatur patribus; id autem unum consilium esse ut se ipsa plebs, quando aliud nihil auxilii habeat, defendat. Quattuor et viginti lictores apparere consulibus et eos ipsos plebis homines; nihil contemptius neque infirmius, si sint qui contemnant; sibi quemque ea magna atque horrenda 4 facere. His vocibus alii alios cum incitassent, ad Voleronem Publilium, de plebe hominem, quia, quod ordines duxisset, negaret se militem fieri debere, 5 lictor missus est a consulibus. Volero appellat tribunos. Cum auxilio nemo esset, consules spoliari hominem et virgas expediri iubent. "Provoco," inquit "ad populum" Volero, "quoniam tribuni civem Romanum in conspectu suo virgis caedi malunt quam ipsi in lecto suo a vobis trucidari." Quo ferocius clamitabat, eo infestius circumscindere et spoliare 6 lictor. Tum Volero et praevalens ipse et adiuvantibus advocatis repulso lictore, ubi indignantium pro

[1] hanc . . . victoriam *Gronov.*: hac . . . uictoria Ω.

[1] Livy mentions another instance of a conscript's objecting to serve in a rank lower than that he had previously held, in XLII. XXXIII. 3; but it does not appear that the men had any prescriptive right in the matter.

LV. Immediately following this pernicious victory a levy was proclaimed, which the timorousness of the tribunes allowed the consuls to push through without ever a veto. But this time the commons were fairly roused to anger, more by the silence of the tribunes than by the consuls' power. They declared that it was all up with their liberty; that men had gone back to their old ways; that with Genucius the tribunician power had suffered death and burial. They must adopt another course and other plans to resist the patricians; but the only way was this: that the plebs should undertake their own defence, since they had no one else to help them. Twenty-four lictors were all the retinue of the consuls, and even these were plebeians. Nothing was more contemptible or weaker, if there were any to contemn; it was every man's own imagination that made them great and awe-inspiring. They had incited one another with arguments of this sort when the consuls sent a lictor to arrest Volero Publilius, a plebeian, who, on the ground that he had been a centurion, denied their right to make him a common soldier.[1] Volero called upon the tribunes. When no one came to aid him, the consuls gave orders to strip the man and get out the rods. "I appeal," cried Volero, "to the people, since the tribunes would rather a Roman citizen should be scourged with rods before their eyes than themselves be murdered in their beds by you." But the more boldly he shouted the more roughly the lictor fell to tearing off his clothes and stripping him. Then Volero, who was himself a powerful man and was helped by those he had called to his assistance, beat off the lictor and, choosing the place where the uproar of his sympathisers B.C. 473

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se acerrimus erat clamor, eo se in turbam confertissimam recipit clamitans: "Provoco et fidem plebis
7 imploro. Adeste cives, adeste commilitones; nihil est quod exspectetis tribunos, quibus ipsis vestro
8 auxilio opus est." Concitati homines veluti ad proelium se expediunt; apparebatque omne discrimen adesse, nihil cuiquam sanctum non publici fore, non
9 privati iuris. Huic tantae tempestati cum se consules obtulissent, facile experti sunt parum tutam maiestatem sine viribus esse. Violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti
10 quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam. Conticescente deinde tumultu cum in senatum vocari iussissent, queruntur iniurias suas, vim plebis, Voleronis audaci-
11 am. Multis ferociter dictis sententiis vicere seniores, quibus ira patrum adversus temeritatem plebis certari non placuit.

A.U.C. 282-283

LVI. Voleronem amplexa favore plebs proximis comitiis tribunum plebi creat in eum annum qui
2 L. Pinarium P. Furium consules habuit. Contraque omnium opinionem, qui eum vexandis prioris anni consulibus permissurum tribunatum credebant, post publicam causam privato dolore habito, ne verbo quidem violatis consulibus, rogationem tulit ad populum ut plebeii magistratus tributis comitiis fierent.
3 Haud parva res sub titulo prima specie minime

[1] It is not clear how Livy supposed that these officials had formerly been elected. Perhaps Volero merely aimed at securing by legal sanction what the state had always recognized in practice, viz. that plebeian magistrates should be chosen by none but plebeians. But this was not Livy's view, as is clear from lviii. 1.

was the angriest, plunged into the thick of the crowd, B.C. 473
calling out, "I appeal, and implore the protection of the plebs; help, citizens! help, fellow-soldiers! It is useless for you to wait for the tribunes, who themselves stand in need of aid from you." In their excitement men made ready as if to fight a battle, and it was evident that anything might happen, that nobody would respect any right, whether public or private. The consuls, exposed to this furious tempest, were quickly convinced of the insecurity of majesty when unaccompanied with force. The lictors were roughly handled and their rods were broken, while the consuls themselves were driven out of the Forum into the Curia, with no means of knowing how far Volero might use his victory. Afterwards, when the uproar began to die away, they summoned the Fathers into the senate-house and complained of the insults they had suffered, the violence of the plebs, and Volero's outrageous conduct. Though many daring opinions were expressed, the wishes of the older men prevailed, who had no mind to a conflict between an angry senate and a reckless plebs.

LVI. Volero, having been taken into favour by B.C. 472–471
the plebs, was at the next election made plebeian tribune for that year which had Lucius Pinarius and Publius Furius for consuls. And contrary to the expectation of all, who believed that he would employ his tribuneship in persecuting the consuls of the preceding year, he set the general welfare above his private grievance, and without attacking the consuls by so much as a word, brought a bill before the people providing that plebeian magistrates should be chosen in the tribal assembly.[1] It was no trivial matter which he proposed under this form, which at

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atroci ferebatur, sed quae patriciis omnem potestatem per clientium suffragia creandi quos vellent tri-
4 bunos auferret. Huic actioni gratissimae plebi cum summa vi resisterent patres nec, quae una vis ad resistendum erat, ut intercederet aliquis ex collegio, auctoritate aut consulum aut principum adduci posset, res tamen suo ipsa molimine gravis certaminibus
5 in annum extrahitur. Plebs Voleronem tribunum reficit: patres, ad ultimum dimicationis rati rem venturam, Ap. Claudium Appi filium, iam inde a paternis certaminibus invisum infestumque plebi, consulem faciunt. Collega ei T. Quinctius datur.
6 Principio statim anni nihil prius quam de lege agebatur. Sed ut inventor legis Volero, sic Laetorius collega eius auctor cum recentior tum acrior
7 erat. Ferocem faciebat belli gloria ingens, quod aetatis eius haud quisquam manu promptior erat. Is, cum Volero nihil praeterquam de lege loqueretur, insectatione abstinens consulum, ipse accusationem[1] Appi familiaeque superbissimae ac crudelissimae in
8 plebem Romanam exorsus, cum a patribus non consulem, sed carnificem ad vexandam et lacerandam plebem creatum esse contenderet, rudis in militari homine lingua non suppetebat libertati animoque.
9 Itaque deficiente oratione, "Quando quidem non

[1] accusationem *Crevier*: in accusationem Ω.

first sight appeared so harmless, but one that completely deprived the patricians of the power of using their clients' votes to select what tribunes they liked. This measure was extremely welcome to the plebs; the Fathers opposed it with all their might, yet the only effectual resistance—to wit, a veto by some member of the tribunician college—neither consuls nor nobles were sufficiently influential to command. Nevertheless the legislation, which its very importance rendered difficult, was drawn out by party strife to the end of the year. The plebs re-elected Volero tribune: the senators, thinking the quarrel was sure to proceed to extremities, made Appius Claudius, son of Appius, consul, a man whose unpopularity with the plebs and hostility towards them went back to the struggles between their fathers. For colleague they gave him Titus Quinctius. B.C. 472-471

The new year was no sooner begun than discussion of the law took precedence of everything else, and it was urged not only by its author, Volero, but by his colleague Laetorius as well, whose advocacy of it was at once fresher and more acrimonious. He was emboldened by the great reputation he enjoyed as a soldier, since no one of that generation surpassed him in physical prowess. While Volero spoke of nothing but the law, and forbore to inveigh against the consuls' persons, Laetorius launched out into an arraignment of Appius and his family, as most cruel and arrogant towards the Roman plebs. But when he strove to show that the patricians had elected, not a consul, but an executioner, to harass and torture the plebeians, the inexperienced tongue of the soldier was inadequate to express his audacity and spirit. Accordingly when words began to fail him he cried,

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tam[1] facile loquor," inquit, "Quirites, quam quod locutus sum praesto, crastino die adeste. Ego hic aut in conspectu vestro moriar aut perferam legem."
10 Occupant tribuni templum postero die; consules nobilitasque ad impediendam legem in contione consistunt. Summoveri Laetorius iubet, praeterquam
11 qui suffragium ineant. Adulescentes nobiles stabant nihil cedentes viatori. Tum ex his prendi quosdam Laetorius iubet. Consul Appius negare ius esse tribuno in quemquam nisi in plebeium; non enim
12 populi sed plebis eum magistratum esse; nec illum ipsum[2] summovere pro imperio posse more maiorum, quia ita dicatur: "Si vobis videtur, discedite, Quirites." Facile[3] contemptim de iure disserendo per-
13 turbare Laetorium poterat. Ardens igitur ira tribunus viatorem mittit ad consulem, consul lictorem ad tribunum, privatum esse clamitans, sine imperio, sine
14 magistratu; violatusque esset tribunus, ni et contio omnis atrox coorta pro tribuno in consulem esset, et concursus hominum in forum ex tota urbe concitatae multitudinis fieret. Sustinebat tamen Appius perti-
15 nacia tantam tempestatem; certatumque haud incruento proelio foret, ni Quinctius, consul alter, consularibus negotio dato ut collegam vi, si aliter non

[1] tam *inserted by* ς *Madvig.*
[2] illum ipsum Ω: illam ipsam (*i.e.* plebem) *Conway.*
[3] facile *Drakenborch* ς: facile et Ω.

[1] The word *templum* might be applied to any space duly marked off by augural ceremonies. Here it means the speakers' platform in the *comitium.*

"Since speech is not so easy for me, Quirites, as it is to make good what I have spoken, be at hand to-morrow. I will either die here in your sight or carry through the law." The tribunes were the first on the scene next day, and possessed themselves of the rostra;[1] the consuls and nobles took their stand in the assembly, with the purpose of obstructing the passage of the law. Laetorius ordered the removal of all but those who were voting. The youthful nobles stayed where they were and would not give way at the officer's behest. Then certain of them were ordered by Laetorius to be seized. The consul Appius declared that the tribune had no authority over anybody but a plebeian, seeing that he was not a magistrate of the people, but of the plebs; and even if he were, he could not, consistently with the custom of the Fathers, command the removal of anyone, by virtue of his authority, since the formula ran thus: "If it seems good to you, depart, Quirites." It was an easy matter to throw Laetorius into a passion by these contemptuous remarks about his rights. It was therefore in a blaze of anger that the tribune dispatched his attendant to the consul; while the consul sent his lictor to the tribune, crying out that Laetorius was a private citizen, without power, and no magistrate; and the tribune would have been mishandled, had not the whole assembly rallied fiercely to his support against the consul, while men rushed into the Forum from all over the City, in an excited throng. Still, Appius was obstinately holding out, despite the fury of the tempest, and a sanguinary battle would have ensued, if Quinctius, the other consul, had not entrusted the senators of consular rank with the task of getting his colleague out

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possent, de foro abducerent, ipse nunc plebem saevientem precibus lenisset, nunc orasset tribunos ut
16 concilium dimitterent: darent irae spatium; non vim suam illis tempus adempturum, sed consilium viribus additurum, et patres in populi et consulem in patrum fore potestate.

A.U.C. 283

LVII. Aegre sedata ab Quinctio plebs, multo
2 aegrius consul alter a patribus. Dimisso tandem concilio plebis senatum consules habent. Ubi cum timor atque ira in vicem sententias variassent, quo magis spatio interposito ab impetu ad consultandum avocabantur,[1] eo plus abhorrebant a certatione animi, adeo ut Quinctio gratias agerent, quod
3 eius opera mitigata discordia esset. Ab Appio petitur ut tantam consularem maiestatem esse vellet quanta esse in concordi civitate posset: dum tribuni consulesque ad se quisque omnia trahant, nihil relictum esse virium in medio; distractam laceratamque rem publicam; magis quorum in manu sit quam ut
4 incolumis sit quaeri. Appius contra testari deos atque homines rem publicam prodi per metum ac deseri, non consulem senatui sed senatum consuli deesse; graviores accipi leges quam in Sacro monte acceptae sint. Victus tamen patrum consensu quie-

[1] avocabantur ζ: aduocabantur (-batur *M*) Ω.

of the Forum, by force, if they could not achieve it otherwise; while he himself now appealed to the raging populace with soothing entreaties, and now besought the tribunes to dismiss the council. Let them give their anger time: time would not rob them of their power, but would add wisdom to their strength; the Fathers would be subject to the people, and the consul to the Fathers. B.C. 472–471

LVII. It was hard for Quinctius to still the plebs; much harder for the senators to quiet the other consul. At length the council of the plebs was adjourned, and the consuls convened the senate. At this meeting alternating hope and fear gave rise to conflicting opinions. But in proportion as their passions cooled with the lapse of time and gave way to deliberation, their minds more and more revolted from the struggle; insomuch that they passed a vote of thanks to Quinctius, because it was due to him that the quarrel had been abated. They desired Appius to be content that the majesty of the consul should be no greater than was compatible with harmony in the state, pointing out that while tribunes and consuls were each striving to carry things his own way there was no strength left in the nation at large, and the commonwealth was torn and mangled, the question being rather in whose power it was than how it might be safe. Appius, on the other hand, called gods and men to witness that the state was being betrayed through cowardice, and abandoned; that it was not the consul who was failing the senate, but the senate the consul; that harder terms were being accepted than had been accepted on the Sacred Mount. Nevertheless he was borne down by the senate's unanimity and held his peace. B.C. 471

a.u.c. 283

vit. Lex silentio perfertur. LVIII. Tum primum tributis comitiis creati tribuni sunt. Numero etiam additos[1] tres, perinde ac duo antea fuerint, Piso
2 auctor est. Nominat quoque tribunos, Cn. Siccium, L. Numitorium, M. Duillium,[2] Sp. Icilium,[3] L. Maecilium.[4]
3 Volscum Aequicumque[5] inter seditionem Romanam est[6] bellum coortum. Vastaverant agros ut, si qua secessio plebis fieret, ad se receptum haberet;
4 compositis deinde rebus castra retro movere. Ap. Claudius in Volscos missus, Quinctio Aequi provincia evenit. Eadem in militia saevitia Appi quae domi esse, liberior quod sine tribuniciis vinculis erat.
5 Odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio: quid? se[7] victum ab ea, se unico consule electo adversus tribuniciam potestatem perlatam legem esse, quam minore conatu, nequaquam tanta patrum spe, priores impe-
6 dierint[8] consules? Haec ira indignatioque ferocem animum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulabat. Nec ulla vi domari poterat, tantum certamen
7 animis imbiberant. Segniter, otiose, neglegenter, contumaciter omnia agere; nec pudor nec metus coercebat; si citius agi vellet agmen, tardius sedulo

[1] additos ς: addito Ω.
[2] Duillium ς: Duellium Ω.
[3] Icilium ς: ilicium (*or* illi-) Ω.
[4] Maecilium *Conway*: Mecilium (*or* melicium) Ω.
[5] Aequicumque ς: et quicumque Ω.
[6] est ς: et Ω.
[7] odio: quid? se *Weissenborn*: odio quod se (*or* odio se) Ω.
[8] impedierint *Rhenanus*: impedierunt (*or* -rant) Ω.

The law was passed without opposition. LVIII. Then for the first time tribunes were elected in the tribal assembly. That their number was also increased by three, as if there had been only two before, is stated by Piso. He also gives the names of the tribunes: Gnaeus Siccius, Lucius Numitorius, Marcus Duillius, Spurius Icilius, Lucius Maecilius. B.C. 471

While Rome was thus distracted, the Volsci and the Aequi began war. They had laid waste the fields in order that the plebeians, if they should secede, might find a refuge with them.[1] Then, when the matter was settled, they withdrew their camp. Appius Claudius was sent against the Volsci; to Quinctius fell the command against the Aequi. In his conduct in the field Appius displayed the same violence that he had shown in Rome, and it now had freer play because it was not hampered by the tribunes. He hated the plebs with a hatred that surpassed his father's: What? Had he been beaten by them? Was it in his consulship, who had been chosen as pre-eminently fitted to resist the tribunician power, that a law had been passed which former consuls had prevented, with less effort and by no means so much hope of success on the part of the patricians? His wrath and indignation at this thought drove his fierce spirit to torment the army with a savage exercise of authority. Yet he was unable by any violence to subdue them, so deeply had their spirits drunk of opposition. Sloth, idleness, neglect, and obstinacy were in all they did. Neither shame nor fear restrained them. If he wished the column to advance more rapidly they deliberately retarded their pace;

[1] To *lay waste* Roman lands they must first *enter* them, and the purpose clause depends really upon this implied meaning of *vastaverant*.

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incedere; si adhortator operis adesset, omnes sua
8 sponte motam remittere industriam; praesenti voltus demittere,[1] tacite praetereuntem exsecrari, ut invictus ille odio plebeio animus interdum moveretur.
9 Omni nequiquam acerbitate prompta nihil iam cum militibus agere, a centurionibus corruptum exercitum dicere, tribunos plebei cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare.

LIX. Nihil eorum Volsci nesciebant, instabantque eo magis sperantes idem certamen animorum adversus Appium habiturum exercitum Romanum
2 quod adversus Fabium consulem habuisset. Ceterum multo Appio quam Fabio violentior fuit; non enim vincere tantum noluit, ut Fabianus exercitus, sed vinci voluit. Productus in aciem turpi fuga petit castra, nec ante restitit quam signa inferentem Volscum munimentis vidit foedamque ex-
3 tremi agminis caedem. Tum expressa vis ad pugnandum ut victor iam a vallo submoveretur hostis, satis tamen appareret capi tantum castra militem Romanum noluisse, alibi[2] gaudere sua clade atque
4 ignominia. Quibus nihil infractus ferox Appi animus cum insuper saevire vellet contionemque advocaret, concurrunt ad eum legati tribunique monentes

[1] demittere ς: dimittere Ω.
[2] alibi *Weissenborn*: alii Ω: alioqui *Walters*.

if he stood by to encourage their work, they would all relax the industry they had manifested of their own accord. In his presence they sunk their gaze; as he passed by they cursed him under their breath; till that proud spirit, which the hatred of the plebs had never broken, was at times disturbed. After exhausting every species of severity without effect, he would have no more to do with the men; the centurions, he said, had corrupted the army, and he sometimes sneeringly dubbed them "tribunes of the plebs" and "Voleros." B.C. 471

LIX. Every one of these circumstances was known to the Volsci, and they pressed their enemy the harder, hoping that the Roman army would exhibit the same spirited opposition to Appius which it had evinced towards the consul Fabius. But Appius found his men far more unruly than had Fabius; for not only were they unwilling to conquer, as the Fabian army had been, but they wished to be conquered. Being drawn out into battle-order, they basely fled and sought their camp; nor did they make a stand until they saw the Volsci advancing against their fortifications and inflicting a disgraceful slaughter upon their rearguard. This compelled them to exert themselves and fight, with the result that the enemy was dislodged from the stockade in the moment of victory. Yet it was evident enough that the capture of their camp was the only thing at which the Roman soldiers balked, and that elsewhere they rejoiced at their own defeat and ignominy. These things in no wise daunted the haughty spirit of Appius. But when he would have gone further and have vented his rage upon the army, and was issuing orders for an assembly, the lieutenants and tribunes gathered hurriedly about

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ne utique experiri vellet imperium cuius vis omnis in
5 consensu oboedientium esset. Negare volgo milites
se ad contionem ituros, passimque exaudiri voces
postulantium ut castra ex Volsco agro moveantur.
hostem victorem paulo ante prope in portis ac vallo
fuisse, ingentisque mali non suspicionem modo sed
6 apertam speciem obversari ante oculos. Victus tan-
dem, quando quidem nihil praeter tempus noxae
lucrarentur, remissa contione iter in insequentem
diem pronuntiari cum iussisset, prima luce classico
7 signum profectionis dedit. Cum maxime agmen e
castris explicaretur, Volsci, ut eodem signo excitati,
novissimos adoriuntur. A quibus perlatus ad primos
tumultus eo pavore signaque et ordines turbavit ut
neque imperia exaudiri neque instrui acies posset.
8 Nemo ullius nisi fugae memor. Ita effuso agmine
per stragem corporum armorumque evasere ut prius
9 hostis desisteret sequi quam Romanus fugere. Tan-
dem conlectis ex dissipato cursu militibus consul,
cum revocando nequiquam suos persecutus esset, in
pacato agro castra posuit; advocataque contione in-
vectus haud falso in proditorem exercitum militaris
10 disciplinae, desertorem signorum, ubi signa, ubi
arma essent singulos rogitans, inermes milites, signo

him and warned him upon no account to seek a test of his authority, when its effectiveness all depended on the goodwill of those obeying it. The men, they reported, were saying that they would not go to be harangued, and everywhere voices were overheard demanding that the camp be removed from Volscian territory. The victorious enemy had a little while before been almost in their gates and on their wall, and a great disaster was not merely to be apprehended, but was openly hovering before their eyes. Giving way at last, since the soldiers were gaining nothing but a postponement of their punishment, he relinquished the idea of an assembly, and commanded a march for the following day. At daybreak he caused the signal for departure to be sounded on the trumpet. At the very instant when the column was getting clear of the camp, the Volsci, as though set in motion by the same signal, fell upon their rear. Thence the confusion spread to the van, and the panic so disordered the standards and the ranks that it was impossible either to hear commands or to form a line. Nobody thought of anything but flight, and so demoralised was the rout, as the men escaped over fallen bodies and discarded weapons, that the enemy sooner ceased to pursue than the Romans to flee. When at last the soldiers had been collected from their scattered flight, the consul, who had followed his men in a vain attempt to call them back, pitched his camp on friendly soil. Then he summoned an assembly and soundly rated them, not without reason, as an army which had been false to military discipline and had deserted its standards. Asking them all in turn where their arms and where their standards were, he caused the unarmed soldiers and B.C. 471

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11 amisso signiferos, ad hoc centuriones duplicariosque qui reliquerant ordines virgis caesos securi percussit; cetera multitudo sorte decimus quisque ad supplicium lecti.

LX. Contra ea in Aequis inter consulem ac milites comitate ac beneficiis certatum est. Et natura Quinctius erat lenior, et saevitia infelix collegae quo 2 is magis gauderet ingenio suo effecerat. Huic tantae concordiae ducis exercitusque non ausi offerre se Aequi, vagari populabundum hostem per agros passi; 3 nec ullo ante bello latius inde acta est praeda. Ea omnis[1] militi data est. Addebantur et laudes, quibus haud minus quam praemio gaudent militum animi. Cum duci tum propter ducem patribus quoque placatior exercitus rediit, sibi parentem alteri exercitui dominum datum ab senatu memorans.

4 Varia fortuna belli, atroci discordia domi forisque annum exactum insignem maxime comitia tributa efficiunt, res maior victoria suscepti certaminis quam 5 usu; plus enim dignitatis comitiis ipsis detractum est patres[2] ex concilio summovendo quam virium aut plebi additum est aut demptum patribus.

[1] acta est praeda. Ea omnis *Conway*: acte (*or* -ae) praede (*or* -ae) ea (*omitted by all but M*) omnis (domn *M*, omnes *H*) Ω. [2] patres *Alschefski*: patribus Ω.

[1] This was granted in recognition of unusual valour. So the Victoria Cross is accompanied by a small stipend.

the standard-bearers who had lost their standards, B.C. 471
and in addition to these the centurions and the recipients of a double ration[1] who had quitted their ranks, to be scourged with rods and beheaded; of the remaining number every tenth man was selected by lot for punishment.

LX. To contrast with all this, in the Aequian campaign there subsisted between consul and soldiers an emulation of goodwill and kindness. Not only was it natural to Quinctius to be more gentle, but the unfortunate harshness of his colleague had given him the more reason to be content with his own disposition. Against this complete harmony between commander and army the Aequi ventured no opposition, but suffered their enemies to devastate their fields at will; and in fact no previous war had ever yielded a larger booty from that country. This was all given to the troops, and to the spoils were added encomiums, which are no less efficacious than rewards in rejoicing a soldier's heart. Not only their leader, but for their leader's sake the Fathers, too, were looked upon with greater kindness by the army when they returned. They declared that to them the senate had given a parent, to the other army a tyrant.

Varying fortune in war, grievous discord at home and in the field, had characterized the year just ended; but it was chiefly distinguished by the tribal assembly, a matter more important because the men had won a victory in the struggle which they had undertaken than in its practical results; for the loss of dignity to the assembly itself, caused by the removal from it of the patricians, was greater than the gain in strength by the plebeians or the loss of it by the Fathers.

A.U.C. 284

LXI. Turbulentior inde annus excepit L. Valerio T. Aemilio consulibus, cum propter certamina ordinum de lege agraria tum propter iudicium Ap. Claudi, 2 cui, acerrimo adversario legis causamque possessorum publici agri tamquam tertio consuli sustinenti, 3 M. Duillius et Cn. Siccius diem dixere. Numquam ante tam invisus plebi reus ad iudicium vocatus populi est, plenus suarum, plenus paternarum irarum. 4 Patres quoque non temere pro ullo aeque adnisi sunt: propugnatorem senatus maiestatisque vindicem suae, ad omnes tribunicios plebeiosque oppositum tumultus, modum dumtaxat in certamine egressum, 5 iratae obici plebi. Unus e patribus, ipse Ap. Claudius, et tribunos et plebem et suum iudicium pro nihilo habebat. Illum non minae plebis, non senatus preces perpellere umquam potuere, non modo ut vestem mutaret aut supplex prensaret homines, sed ne ut ex consueta quidem asperitate orationis, cum ad populum agenda causa esset, aliquid leniret atque 6 submitteret. Idem habitus oris, eadem contumacia in voltu, idem in oratione spiritus erat, adeo ut magna pars plebis Appium non minus reum timeret, 7 quam consulem timuerat. Semel causam dixit, quo semper agere omnia solitus erat accusatorio spiritu;

LXI. A stormier year succeeded, under the consuls Lucius Valerius and Titus Aemilius, partly owing to strife between the classes about the land-law, partly to the trial of Appius Claudius. He was the bitterest opponent of the law, and was upholding the claim of those who had possession of the public domain as if he had been a third consul, when Marcus Duillius and Gnaeus Siccius lodged an accusation against him. Never before had a defendant whom the plebs so detested been brought to trial before the people, burdened as he was with men's hatred, both of himself and of his father. The patricians, for their part, had not lightly put forth such exertions in behalf of any man. They felt that the champion of the senate and the guardian of their own dignity, who had stood firm against all sorts of tribunician and plebeian outbreaks, though he had possibly gone too far in the heat of the struggle, was being exposed to the angry commons. Alone amongst the Fathers, Appius Claudius himself regarded tribunes, plebs, and his own trial with perfect unconcern. He was not one whom the threats of the plebeians or the entreaties of the senate could ever prevail upon, I do not say to put on mourning, or to seek men out with appeals for mercy, but even to soften and subdue in a slight degree the accustomed sharpness of his tongue, though it was before the people he must plead. There was the same expression on his countenance, the same arrogance in his glance, the same fire in his speech; so markedly, in fact, that a great part of the plebs feared Appius no less when a defendant than they had feared him as consul. Once only did he plead his cause, in the tone he had been wont to use on all occasions, namely, that of a B.C. 470

A.U.C. 284

adeoque constantia sua et tribunos obstupefecit et plebem ut diem ipsi sua voluntate prodicerent,[1] trahi
8 deinde rem sinerent. Haud ita multum interim temporis fuit; ante tamen quam prodicta dies veniret
9 morbo moritur. Cuius laudationem cum[2] tribuni plebis[3] impedire conarentur,[4] plebs fraudari sollemni honore supremum diem tanti viri noluit et laudationem tam aequis auribus mortui audivit quam vivi accusationem audierat, et exsequias frequens celebravit.

LXII. Eodem anno Valerius consul cum exercitu in Aequos profectus cum hostem ad proelium elicere non posset, castra oppugnare est adortus. Prohibuit foeda tempestas cum grandine ac tonitribus caelo
2 deiecta. Admirationem deinde auxit signo receptui dato adeo tranquilla serenitas reddita ut velut[5] numine aliquo defensa castra oppugnare iterum religio fuerit. Omnis ira belli ad populationem agri vertit.
3 Alter consul Aemilius in Sabinis bellum gessit. Et ibi, quia hostis moenibus se tenebat, vastati agri
4 sunt. Incendiis deinde non villarum modo sed etiam vicorum, quibus frequenter habitabatur, Sabini exciti cum praedatoribus occurrissent, ancipiti proelio digressi postero die rettulere castra in tutiora loca.
5 Id satis consuli visum cur pro victo relinqueret hostem, integro inde decedens bello.

[1] prodicerent *OH*: prodiicerent *M*: producerent (*om.* *L*) Ω.
[2] laudationem cum *V Conway and Walters*: cum laudationem Ω (*but RD have* conlaudationem cum, *and* *L* conlaudationem).
[3] tribuni plebis *V*?ς: tr. pl. Ω: tribunus plebis ς.
[4] conarentur *V*ς: conaretur Ω. [5] velut *H*ς: uel Ω.

prosecutor; and so completely did his firmness over- B.C. 470
whelm the tribunes and the commons that they themselves voluntarily adjourned the trial to a later day, and then allowed the affair to drag. The interval was not very long, but before the appointed day came round Appius fell sick and died. When his eulogy was being pronounced, the tribunes of the plebs attempted to interfere, but the plebs were not willing that the funeral-day of so great a man should be defrauded of the customary honours. They listened to his praises with as great goodwill, now he was dead, as they had heard the living man accused, and attended his burial in crowds.

LXII. The same year Valerius the consul, having marched with an army against the Aequi, was unable to entice the enemy into a battle, and directed an assault upon their camp. This was foiled by an awful storm that descended upon them with hail and claps of thunder. Their amazement was soon increased, on the signal for retreat being given, by the reappearance of so tranquil and cloudless a sky, that, as though some god had defended the camp, they scrupled to attack it a second time, and directed all their hostility towards devastating the fields. The other consul, Aemilius, conducted a campaign in the Sabine country. There, too, the enemy kept within his walls, and the Romans laid waste his fields. Afterwards, by setting fire not only to farmhouses but even to the villages, where the people lived close together, they aroused the Sabines, who, having met the pillagers and fought a drawn battle with them, next day withdrew their camp to a safer position. This seemed to the consul a sufficient pretext for leaving the enemy, as conquered, and he retired ere the campaign had fairly begun.

A.U.C. 285

LXIII. Inter haec bella manente discordia domi consules T. Numicius Priscus A. Verginius facti. 2 Non ultra videbatur latura plebes dilationem agrariae legis, ultimaque vis parabatur, cum Volscos adesse fumo ex incendiis villarum fugaque agrestium cognitum est. Ea res maturam iam seditionem ac 3 prope erumpentem repressit. Consules, coacti extemplo ab senatu, ad bellum educta ex urbe iuven- 4 tute tranquilliorem ceteram plebem fecerunt. Et hostes quidem, nihil aliud quam perfusis vano timore 5 Romanis, citato agmine abeunt: Numicius Antium adversus Volscos, Verginius contra Aequos profectus. Ibi ex insidiis prope magna accepta clade virtus militum rem prolapsam neglegentia consulis restituit. 6 Melius in Volscis imperatum est; fusi primo proelio hostes fugaque in urbem Antium, ut tum res erant, opulentissimam, acti. Quam consul oppugnare non ausus, Caenonem, aliud oppidum nequaquam tam 7 opulentum, ab Antiatibus cepit. Dum Aequi Volscique Romanos exercitus tenent, Sabini usque ad portas urbis populantes incessere. Deinde ipsi paucis post diebus ab duobus exercitibus, utroque per iram consule ingresso in finis, plus cladium quam intulerant acceperunt.

LXIII. While these wars were going on and there was still discord at home, Titus Numicius Priscus and Aulus Verginius were elected consuls. It was clear that the plebs would endure no further postponement of the land-law, and were preparing to use violent measures, when the approach of a Volscian army was announced by the smoke which rose from burning farmhouses and by the flight of the country people. By this circumstance the insurrection, which was already matured and on the point of breaking out, was repressed. The consuls, being at once commanded to do so by the senate, led the young men out of the City to the war, a policy which diminished the restlessness of the plebeians who were left behind. As for the enemy, they did no more than cause the Romans a needless panic, and hastily retreated. Numicius marched to Antium against the Volsci, Verginius against the Aequi. In the Aequian campaign an ambush nearly resulted in a severe defeat for the Romans, but the courage of the soldiers restored the day, which the carelessness of the consul had almost lost. The Volscian expedition was better directed: the enemy were routed in the first engagement and driven in flight to Antium, a very opulent city for those days. This place the consul did not venture to assail, but he captured from the Antiates another town, named Caeno, of far less wealth. While the Aequi and Volsci kept the Roman armies busy, the Sabines advanced clear to the gates of the City on a plundering raid. A few days after this they themselves had to confront two armies, for both the consuls indignantly invaded their borders, and they suffered greater losses than they had themselves inflicted. B.C. 469

A.U.C. 285–286

LXIV. Extremo anno pacis aliquid fuit sed, ut semper alias, sollicitae[1] certamine patrum et plebis. 2 Irata plebs interesse consularibus comitiis noluit; per patres clientesque patrum consules creati T. Quinctius Q. Servilius. Similem annum priori habent,[2] seditiosa initia, bello deinde externo tran- 3 quilla. Sabini Crustuminos campos citato agmine transgressi cum caedes et incendia circum Anienem flumen fecissent, a porta prope Collina moenibusque pulsi ingentes tamen praedas hominum pecorumque 4 egere. Quos Servilius consul infesto exercitu insecutus ipsum quidem agmen adipisci aequis locis non potuit, populationem adeo effuse fecit ut nihil bello intactum relinqueret, multiplicique capta praeda re- 5 diret. Et in Volscis res publica egregie gesta cum ducis tum militum opera. Primum aequo campo signis conlatis pugnatum ingenti caede utrimque, 6 plurimo sanguine. Et Romani, quia paucitas damno sentiendo propior erat, gradum rettulissent, ni salubri mendacio consul fugere hostes ab cornu altero clamitans concitasset aciem. Impetu facto, dum se putant 7 vincere vicere. Consul metuens ne nimis instando 8 renovaret certamen, signum receptui dedit. Inter-

[1] sollicitae ζ: sollicitae pacis Ω.
[2] habent *Gronov.*: consules habent Ω.

[1] Held in the centuriate comitia.

LXIV. Towards the close of the year there was a brief season of peace, but, as always on other occasions, a peace distracted by the strife of patricians and plebeians. The angry plebs refused to take part in the consular elections:[1] by the votes of the patricians and their clients Titus Quinctius and Quintus Servilius were chosen consuls. They experienced a year like the preceding one: dissensions, to begin with, then a foreign war and tranquillity. The Sabines executed a rapid march across the Crustuminian plains, bringing fire and sword to the country about the river Anio. When almost at the Colline Gate and the City walls they were beaten back, yet they carried off immense spoils of men and cattle. Servilius the consul pursued them with an army, and though he could not overtake the column itself on ground which was suitable for offering battle, he devastated the country so extensively as to leave nothing untouched by the ravages of war, and returned with many times the plunder which the Romans had lost. Operations in the Volscian country, too, were very successful, thanks both to the general and to his soldiers. First, there was a pitched battle in the open field, with enormous numbers killed and wounded on both sides. The Romans indeed, whose fewness made them feel their loss more sensibly, would have fallen back, had it not been for a salutary falsehood told by the consul, who shouted that the enemy were running away on the other wing, and so aroused the spirits of his troops. The Romans charged and, believing themselves to be conquering, they conquered. The consul feared lest by pressing the enemy too hard he might cause a renewal of the struggle. He therefore gave the signal for the recall. For a few

B.C. 469–468

A.U.C. 285–286

cessere pauci dies, velut tacitis indutiis utrimque quiete sumpta, per quos ingens vis hominum ex omnibus Volscis Aequisque populis in castra venit, haud 9 dubitans si senserint Romanos nocte abituros. Itaque tertia fere vigilia ad castra oppugnanda veniunt. 10 Quinctius sedato tumultu quem terror subitus exciverat, cum manere in tentoriis quietum militem iussisset, Hernicorum cohortem in stationem educit, cornicines tubicinesque in equos impositos canere ante vallum iubet sollicitumque hostem ad lucem 11 tenere. Reliquum noctis adeo tranquilla omnia in castris fuere, ut somni quoque Romanis copia esset. Volscos species armatorum peditum, quos et plures esse et Romanos putabant, fremitus hinnitusque equorum, qui et insueto sedente equite et insuper aures agitante sonitu saeviebant, intentos velut ad impetum hostium tenuit.

A.U.C. 286

LXV. Ubi inluxit, Romanus integer satiatusque somno productus in aciem fessum stando et vigiliis 2 Volscum primo impetu perculit; quamquam cessere magis quam pulsi hostes sunt, quia ab tergo erant clivi, in quos post principia integris ordinibus tutus receptus fuit. Consul, ubi ad iniquum locum ventum est, sistit aciem. Miles aegre teneri, clamare, et 3 poscere ut perculsis instare liceat. Ferocius agunt equites; circumfusi duci vociferantur se ante signa

[1] The Romans divided the night into four equal watches, beginning at sunset.

days both sides rested, as if they had tacitly agreed on a truce. Meanwhile a great force of men came in from all their tribes to the camp of the Volsci and Aequi. They made no question but that the Romans, if they had perceived them, would retreat in the night, and accordingly at about the third watch[1] they came to attack the camp. Quinctius stilled the tumult which the sudden alarm had raised, and bidding the soldiers remain quietly in their tents, led out a cohort of Hernici to an outpost, and mounting trumpeters and buglers upon horses, ordered them to blow their instruments in front of the rampart and keep the enemy in suspense till daybreak. For the remainder of the night all was so peaceful in camp that the Romans were even able to sleep. But the Volsci, beholding armed footsoldiers, whom they supposed to be more numerous than they were, and to be Romans; and hearing the stamping and neighing of the horses, which were infuriated not only at finding unaccustomed riders on their backs, but also by the blare of the trumpets, were kept on the alert in anticipation of an attack. B.C. 469–468

LXV. As soon as it was light, the Romans, who were fresh and had enjoyed a good sleep, were led out into line of battle. The Volsci, weary from standing and from loss of sleep, were driven back at the first assault; though it was rather a retreat than a rout, for behind them were hills, to which, under cover of the first line, they withdrew safely and in good order. The consul ordered a halt when his army reached rising ground. The infantry could hardly be restrained, noisily demanding permission to press on after the fleeing enemy. Still more ardent were the cavalry. They swarmed about the general, and shouted that B.C. 468

A.U.C. 286

ituros. Dum cunctatur consul virtute militum fretus, loco parum fidens, conclamant se ituros, clamoremque res est secuta. Fixis in terram pilis, quo leviores
4 ardua evaderent, cursu subeunt. Volscus effusis ad primum impetum missilibus telis saxa obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes, turbatosque ictibus crebris urget ex superiore loco. Sic prope oneratum est sinistrum Romanis cornu, ni referentibus iam gradum consul increpando simul temeritatem simul
5 ignaviam pudore metum excussisset. Restitere primo obstinatis animis; deinde, ut obtinentes locum vim pro vi referebant,[1] audent ultro gradum inferre et clamore renovato commovent aciem; tum rursus impetu capto enituntur atque exsuperant iniquitatem
6 loci. Iam prope erat ut in summum clivi iugum evaderent, cum terga hostes dedere effusoque cursu paene agmine uno fugientes sequentesque castris incidere. In eo pavore castra capiuntur. Qui Vols-
7 corum effugere potuerunt Antium petunt. Antium et Romanus exercitus ductus. Paucos circumsessum dies deditur, nulla oppugnantium nova vi, sed quod iam inde ab infelici pugna castrisque amissis ceciderant animi.

[1] vim pro vi referebant *Conway and Walters*: uires ferebant Ω: vires refecerant *Weissenborn*: vires reficiebant *Madvig*.

they were going on before the standards. While the consul was hesitating, feeling certain of the valour of his troops but doubtful of the ground, the men cried out that they were going, and instantly made good their word. Planting their spears in the ground, that they might be the lighter for the ascent, they went up at a run. The Volsci, having discharged their javelins at the first onset, picked up the stones which lay about under their feet, and flung them at their enemies as they mounted. Confused by this rain of missiles from above, the left wing of the Romans was nearly overwhelmed, and had already begun to retreat, when the consul, reproaching them at once with rashness and with cowardice, succeeded in shaming them out of their fear. First they made a resolute stand; then, after holding their ground and returning blow for blow, they even dared to press forward and, renewing their cheers, set their line in motion; then with another rush they struggled upward and scaled the height; and they were just emerging upon the summit of the ridge, when the enemy turned and fled. Running at full speed, and almost in one body, the pursued and the pursuers reached the Volscian camp, which was captured in the panic. Those of the Volsci who succeeded in escaping made for Antium, and to Antium marched the Roman army also. After a blockade of a few days the place surrendered; the besiegers had not delivered any new attack, but the Volsci had lost heart from the moment of their unsuccessful battle and the capture of their camp. B.C. 468

LIBRI II PERIOCHA

Brutus iureiurando populum adstrinxit neminem Romae regnare passuros. Tarquinium Collatinum collegam suum propter adfinitatem Tarquiniorum suspectum coegit consulatu se abdicare et civitate cedere. Bona regum diripi iussit, agrum Marti consecravit, qui campus Martius nominatus est. Adulescentes nobiles, in quibus suos quoque et fratris filios, quia coniuraverant de recipiendis regibus, securi percussit. Servo indici, cui Vindicio nomen fuit, libertatem dedit; ex cuius nomine vindicta appellata. Cum adversus reges, qui contractis Veientum et Tarquiniensium copiis bellum intulerant, exercitum duxisset, in acie cum Arrunte filio Superbi commortuus est; eumque matronae anno luxerunt. P. Valerius[1] consul legem de provocatione ad populum tulit. Capitolium dedicatum est. Porsenna, Clusinorum rex, bello pro Tarquiniis suscepto cum ad Ianiculum venisset, ne Tiberim transiret virtute Coclitis Horati prohibitus est, qui, dum alii pontem Sublicium rescindunt, solus Etruscos sustinuit et ponte rupto armatus in flumen se misit et ad suos transnavit. Accessit alterum virtutis exemplum in Mucio. Qui cum ad feriendum Porsennam castra hostium intrasset, occiso scriba, quem regem esse existimaverat, conprehensus inpositam manum altaribus, in quibus sacrificatum erat, exuri passus est dixitque tales ccc esse. Quorum admiratione coactus Porsenna pacis con-

[1] P. Valerius *Sigonius*: l. ualerius *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK II

BRUTUS bound the people with an oath to allow no one to reign in Rome. Tarquinius Collatinus, his colleague, who had incurred suspicion because of his relationship to the Tarquinii, he forced to abdicate the consulship and withdraw from the state. He ordered the king's goods to be plundered, and consecrated his land to Mars. It was named the Campus Martius. Certain noble youths—among them his own sons and his brother's—he beheaded, because they had conspired to bring back the kings. To the slave who gave the information, a man called Vindicius, he gave his freedom; from his name came the word *vindicta*. Having led an army against the princes, who had collected forces from Veii and Tarquinii and begun a war, he fell in the battle, together with Arruns, the son of Superbus, and the matrons mourned for him a year. Publius Valerius the consul proposed a law about appealing to the people. The Capitol was dedicated. Porsenna, king of Clusium, made war in behalf of the Tarquinii and came to Janiculum, but was prevented from crossing the Tiber by the bravery of Horatius Cocles, who, while the others were cutting down the Sublician Bridge, kept the Etruscans at bay, single-handed, and when the bridge had been destroyed, threw himself armed into the river and swam across to his fellows. Another example of courage was exhibited by Mucius. Having entered the camp of the enemy with the purpose of killing Porsenna, he slew a secretary, whom he had taken for the king. Being arrested, he placed his hand upon the altar, where sacrifice had been made, and suffering it to be burned off, declared that there were three hundred others as determined as himself. Overcome with astonishment at their daring, Porsenna proposed terms of peace and, having

diciones ferre bellum omisit acceptis obsidibus. Ex quibus virgo una Cloelia deceptis custodibus per Tiberim ad suos transnavit et cum reddita esset, a[1] Porsenna honorifice remissa equestri statua donata est. Adversus Tarquinium Superbum cum Latinorum exercitu bellum inferentem Aulus Postumius[2] dictator prospere pugnavit. Appius Claudius ex Sabinis Romam transfugit. Ob hoc Claudia tribus adiecta est numerusque tribuum ampliatus est, ut essent XXI. Plebs cum propter nexos ob aes alienum in Sacrum montem secessisset, consilio Meneni Agrippae a seditione revocata est. Idem Agrippa cum decessisset, propter paupertatem publico inpendio elatus est. Tribuni plebis quinque creati sunt. Oppidum Vulscorum Corioli captum est virtute et opera Cn. Marci, qui ob hoc Coriolanus vocatus est. T. Latinius,[3] vir de plebe, cum in visu admonitus ut de quibusdam religionibus ad senatum perferret id[4] neglexisset, amisso filio pedibus debilis factus, postquam delatus ad senatum lectica eadem illa indicaverat, usu pedum recepto domum reversus est. Cum Cn. Marcius Coriolanus, qui in exilium erat pulsus, dux Vulscorum factus exercitum hostium urbi admovisset, et missi ad eum primum legati, postea sacerdotes frustra deprecati essent ne bellum patriae inferret, Veturia mater et Volumnia uxor impetraverunt ab eo, ut recederet. Lex agraria primum lata est. Spurius Cassius consularis regni crimine damnatus est necatusque. Opillia[5] virgo Vestalis ob incestum viva defossa est. Cum vicini Veientes incommodi magis quam graves essent, familia Fabiorum id bellum gerendum depoposcit misitque in id trecentos et sex armatos, qui ad Cremeram praeter unum

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[1] a *supplied by edd.*

[2] Postumius *edd.*: postumus *MSS.*

[3] Latinius *Sigonius*: latinus *MSS.*

[4] id *Drakenborch*: et *MSS.*

[5] Opillia *Hertz*: illia (ilia) *MSS.*: *Livy*, II. xlii. 11, *has* Oppia: *Dion. Hal.* viii. 89, Ὀπιμία: *Oros.* II. viii. 13, Popilia.

taken hostages, relinquished the war. One of the hostages, the maiden Cloelia, evaded the sentinels and swam across the Tiber to her people. She was given up to Porsenna, but was restored by him with marks of honour, and was presented with an equestrian statue. Aulus Postumius the dictator fought a successful battle against Tarquinius Superbus, who was advancing with an army of Latins. Appius Claudius came over from the Sabines to the Romans. On this account the Claudian tribe was added and the number of tribes was increased to twenty-one. The plebs, after seceding to the Sacred Mount because of those who had been enslaved for debt, were induced by the advice of Menenius Agrippa to cease from their rebellion. The same Agrippa when he died was buried, owing to his poverty, at the state's expense. Five plebeian tribunes were elected. The Volscian town of Corioli was captured by the valiant efforts of Gnaeus Marcius, who acquired from this circumstance the name of Coriolanus. Titus Latinius, a man of the plebs, was warned in a dream to inform the senate regarding certain offences against religion. Having neglected to do it, he lost a son and was paralysed in his feet. When he had been carried to the senate in a litter and had revealed these same matters, he recovered the use of his feet and returned to his house. When Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus, who had been driven into exile and had been made general of the Volsci, had led a hostile army nearly to Rome, and when the envoys who had been sent to him at first and afterwards the priests had vainly besought him not to make war upon his native land, his mother Veturia and his wife Volumnia persuaded him to withdraw. For the first time a land-law was proposed. Spurius Cassius, the ex-consul, charged with aspiring to be king, was condemned and put to death. Opillia, a Vestal Virgin, was buried alive for unchastity. The neighbouring Veientes being a troublesome rather than a dangerous enemy, the Fabian family asked to be allowed to carry on that war, and dispatched thither 306 armed men,

ab hostibus caesi sunt. Appius Claudius cos. cum adversus Vulscos contumacia exercitus male pugnatum esset, decimum quemque militum fuste percussit. Res praeterea adversus Vulscos et Hernicos et Veientes et seditiones inter patres plebemque continet.

who were all but one killed by the enemy at the Cremera. When Appius Claudius the consul had sustained a defeat at the hands of the Volsci, owing to the contumacy of his army, he caused every tenth soldier to be scourged to death. It contains besides campaigns against the Volsci, the Hernici, and the Veientes, and the quarrels between the patricians and the plebs.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

II

BOOKS III AND IV

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER III

A.U.C. 287

I. Antio capto T. Aemilius et Q. Fabius consules fiunt. Hic erat Fabius[1] qui unus exstinctae ad Cremeram genti superfuerat. Iam priore consulatu 2 Aemilius dandi agri plebi fuerat auctor; itaque secundo quoque consulatu eius et agrarii se in spem legis erexerant, et tribuni, rem contra consules saepe temptatam adiutore utique consule obtineri posse rati, suscipiunt; et consul manebat in sententia sua. 3 Possessores et magna pars patrum, tribuniciis se iactare actionibus principem civitatis et largiendo de alieno popularem fieri querentes, totius invidiam 4 rei a tribunis in consulem averterant. Atrox certamen aderat, ni Fabius consilio neutri parti acerbo

[1] Fabius ς : Fabius Quinctius Ω.

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK III

I. After the capture of Antium, Titus Aemilius and Quintus Fabius were elected consuls. This was that Fabius who had been the sole survivor of his family destroyed at the Cremera.[1] In his former consulship Aemilius had already supported the assignment of land to the plebs. Consequently, when he entered a second time upon the office, not only had the agrarians begun to have hopes of a law, but the tribunes, who had often tried to carry the measure against the opposition of the consuls, now took it up in the belief that with the co-operation of a consul it could certainly be made good; and the consul continued of the same mind. The possessors of the land, comprising a large proportion of the patricians, complained that the head of the state was openly supporting tribunician policies and making himself popular by a generosity exhibited at other men's expense; they thus diverted the resentment awakened by the whole affair from the tribunes to the consul. A bitter struggle was impending, when Fabius, by a proposal which neither side found injurious, set the B.C. 467

[1] See II. l. 11.

A.U.C. 287

rem expedisset: T. Quincti[1] ductu et auspicio agri captum[2] priore anno aliquantum a Volscis esse; Antium, opportunam[3] et maritimam urbem, coloniam deduci posse; ita sine querellis possessorum plebem in agros ituram, civitatem in concordia fore. Haec sententia accepta est. Triumviros agro dando creat T. Quinctium A. Verginium P. Furium. Iussi nomina dare qui agrum accipere vellent. Fecit statim, ut fit, fastidium copia, adeoque pauci nomina dedere ut ad explendum numerum coloni Volsci adderentur; cetera multitudo poscere Romae agrum malle quam alibi accipere. Aequi a Q. Fabio—is eo cum exercitu venerat—pacem petiere, inritamque eam ipsi subita incursione in agrum Latinum fecere.

A.U.C. 288–289

II. Q. Servilius[4] insequenti anno—is enim cum Sp. Postumio consul fuit—in Aequos missus in Latino agro stativa habuit.[5] Quies necessaria morbo implicitum exercitum tenuit. Extractum in tertium annum bellum est Q. Fabio et T. Quinctio consulibus. Fabio extra ordinem, quia is victor pacem Aequis dederat, ea provincia data. Qui haud dubia spe profectus famam nominis sui pacaturam Aequos, legatos in concilium gentis missos nuntiare iussit Q. Fabium consulem dicere se ex Aequis pacem

[1] T. Quincti R_5: L. Quincti (*or* Quinti) Ω.
[2] captum *Cobet*: capti Ω.
[3] opportunam *Madvig*: propinquam opportunam Ω.
[4] Q. Servilius $_5$: Quintius (*or* Quinctius) Seruilius Ω.
[5] stativa habuit POH_5: statiua habuit castra $MURDL_5$: statiua abiit; castra *F*.

matter right. Under the leadership and auspices of Titus Quinctius, as he pointed out, a considerable territory had been conquered the year before from the Volsci; Antium, a well-situated maritime city, could be made the seat of a colony; in this way the plebs would obtain farms without causing the landholders to complain, and the state would be at harmony. This suggestion was adopted. As commissioners for distributing the land Fabius appointed Titus Quinctius, Aulus Verginius, and Publius Furius, and it was ordered that those who wished to receive grants should give in their names. There at once appeared the fastidiousness which usually attends abundance, and so few persons enrolled that Volscian colonists were added to fill out the number; the rest of the populace preferred demanding land at Rome to receiving it elsewhere. The Aequi begged Quintus Fabius, who had invaded their country, to grant them peace; and broke it themselves by a sudden raid on Latin territory. B.C. 467

II. Quintus Servilius, being sent against the Aequi in the following year—when he and Spurius Postumius were consuls—made a permanent camp in the Latin country, where the army was attacked by a pestilence which deprived it of the power to act. The war dragged on into its third year, the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Titus Quinctius. To Fabius was given the command against the Aequi, without the customary drawing of lots, since he had been victorious over them and had granted them peace. Setting out in the full expectation that the glory of his name would bring the enemy to terms, he sent envoys to their national council and bade them announce that Quintus Fabius the consul said that B.C. 466–465

A.U.C. 288-289

Romam tulisse, ab Roma Aequis bellum adferre eadem dextera armata quam pacatam illis antea dederat. Quorum id perfidia et periurio fiat deos nunc testes esse, mox fore ultores. Se tamen, utcumque sit, etiam nunc paenitere sua sponte Aequos quam pati hostilia malle. Si paeniteat, tutum receptum ad expertam clementiam fore: sin periurio gaudeant, dis magis iratis quam hostibus gesturos bellum. Haec dicta adeo nihil moverunt quemquam ut legati prope violati sint exercitusque in Algidum adversus Romanos missus. Quae ubi Romam sunt nuntiata, indignitas rei magis quam periculum consulem alterum ab urbe excivit. Ita duo consulares exercitus ad hostem accessere acie instructa ut confestim dimicarent. Sed cum forte haud multum diei superesset, unus ab statione hostium exclamat: "Ostentare hoc est, Romani, non gerere bellum. In noctem imminentem aciem instruitis; longiore luce ad id certamen quod instat nobis opus est. Crastino die oriente sole redite in aciem; erit copia pugnandi; ne timete." His vocibus inritatus miles in diem posterum in castra reducitur, longam venire noctem ratus quae moram certamini faceret. Tum quidem corpora cibo somnoque curant; ubi inluxit postero

he had brought peace from the Aequi to Rome, and was then bringing war from Rome to the Aequi in the same right hand, now armed, which he had formerly given them in friendship. Whose faithlessness and perjury were responsible for this, the gods were even then witnesses, and would presently punish the offenders. Yet however that might be, he would himself prefer that the Aequi should even now freely repent, instead of suffering the penalties of war. If they did so, they could count on a safe refuge in the clemency they had already proved; but if they rejoiced in perjury, it was rather with the angry gods than with their enemies that they would be at war. So far were these words from having the slightest effect on anyone, that the envoys narrowly escaped violation, and an army was dispatched to Algidus against the Romans. On the arrival of this news at Rome, the insult, rather than the danger, brought the other consul out from the City. And so two consular armies approached the enemy, drawn up in line of battle, that they might instantly engage them. But since it happened to be near the end of the day, a man called out to them from an outpost of the enemy, "This, Romans, is making a parade of war, not waging it. When night is about to fall, you draw up your battle-line; we need more hours of daylight for the struggle which is close at hand. To-morrow at sunrise form your battle-line again; there will be opportunity for fighting, never fear!" Galled by these words the troops were led back to their camp to await the morrow; the night would be a long one, they felt, that must intervene before the combat. Meanwhile they refreshed themselves with food and

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a u.c. 288–289

die, prior aliquanto constitit Romana acies; tandem
11 et Aequi processere. Proelium fit utrimque vehemens, quod et Romanus ira odioque pugnabat et Aequos conscientia contracti culpa periculi et desperatio futurae sibi postea fidei ultima audere
12 et experiri cogebat. Non tamen sustinuere aciem Romanam Aequi; pulsique cum in fines suos se recepissent, nihilo inclinatioribus ad pacem animis ferox multitudo increpare duces, quod in aciem, qua pugnandi arte Romanus excellat, commissa res sit;
13 Aequos populationibus incursionibusque meliores esse, et multas passim manus quam magnam molem unius exercitus rectius bella gerere.

III. Relicto itaque castris praesidio egressi tanto cum tumultu invasere fines Romanos ut ad urbem
2 quoque terrorem pertulerint. Necopinata etiam res plus trepidationis fecit, quod nihil minus quam ne victus ac prope in castris obsessus hostis memor
3 populationis esset timeri poterat, agrestesque pavidi incidentes portis non populationem nec praedonum parvas manus, sed omnia vano augentes timore exercitus et legiones adesse hostium et infesto
4 agmine ruere ad urbem clamabant. Ab his proximi[1] audita incerta eoque vaniora ferre ad alios. Cursus

[1] proximi ς: proxume *MRD*: proxime *VL*: proximum (-umum *H*) Ω.

sleep. When it grew light next morning, the Roman army took the field, some time before the enemy. At last the Aequi too came out. The battle raged fiercely on both sides, for the Romans fought with exasperation and hatred, while the Aequi were conscious that the danger in which they were involved was due to their own fault, and this, with their despair of ever being trusted again, incited them to the last degree of daring and exertion. Nevertheless they were unable to withstand the attack of the Romans. And yet, when they had been defeated and had fallen back to their own territory, the warlike soldiers, their spirit as little inclined to peace as ever, complained against their generals for having staked the cause on a pitched battle, a species of fighting in which the Romans excelled; the Aequi, they said, were better at pillaging and raiding, and a number of scattered bands could make war more effectively than the great mass of a single army. B.C. 466–465

III. Leaving a garrison, therefore, in their camp, they crossed the Roman border in so headlong an incursion as to carry terror even to the City. Moreover, the unexpectedness of the inroad added to the alarm, for nothing could have been apprehended less than that an enemy who was defeated and almost shut up in his camp should be thinking of a raid; and the country people who in their fright came tumbling in through the gates told not of pillaging nor of small bands of raiders, but, exaggerating everything in their senseless fear, cried out that whole armies of the enemy were close at hand and rushing on the City in a serried column. The very vagueness of these rumours led to further exaggera-

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clamorque vocantium ad arma haud multum a pavore
5 captae urbis abesse. Forte ab Algido Quinctius consul redierat Romam. Id remedium timori fuit; tumultuque sedato victos timeri increpans hostes
6 praesidia portis imposuit. Vocato dein senatu cum ex auctoritate patrum iustitio indicto profectus ad tutandos fines esset Q. Servilio praefecto urbis relicto,
7 hostem in agris non invenit. Ab altero consule res gesta egregie est; qui, qua venturum hostem sciebat, gravem praeda eoque impeditiore agmine incedentem
8 adgressus funestam populationem fecit. Pauci hostium evasere ex insidiis; praeda omnis recepta est. Sic finem iustitio, quod quadriduum fuit, reditus Quincti consulis in urbem fecit.
9 Census deinde actus et conditum ab Quinctio lustrum. Censa civium capita centum quattuor milia septingenta[1] quattuordecim dicuntur praeter orbos
10 orbasque. In Aequis nihil deinde memorabile actum. In oppida sua se recepere, uri sua popularique passi. Consul, cum aliquotiens per omnem hostium agrum infesto agmine populabundus isset, cum ingenti laude praedaque Romam rediit.

A.U.C. 290

IV. Consules inde A. Postumius[2] Albus Sp.

[1] septingenta *Weissenborn* (*cf. Periocha*): acc Ω: et cc *RL*: et cc (*with suprascript* ti) *D*.

[2] A. Postumius *R*? *Pighius* (*cf. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 103): an Postumius *M*: Postumius Ω.

[1] The *iustitium* also involved the closing of shops and a general suspension of business.

tion as the bystanders passed them on to others. The running and shouting of men as they called "To arms!" was almost like the panic in a captured city. It chanced that the consul Quinctius had returned from Algidus to Rome. This circumstance allayed men's fears, and when the confusion had been stilled, he indignantly reminded them that the enemy they dreaded had been conquered, and posted watches at the gates. He then convened the senate, and in accordance with a resolution which the Fathers passed, proclaimed a suspension of the courts.[1] After that he set out to defend the frontier, leaving Quintus Servilius as prefect of the City, but did not meet with the enemy in the field. The other consul campaigned with great success. Knowing where the enemy would come, he fell upon them when they were weighed down with the booty which incumbered their advancing column, and caused them bitterly to rue their pillaging. But few of them escaped the ambush, and the spoils were all recovered. So the suspension of the courts, which had lasted four days, was lifted on the return of the consul Quinctius to the City. B.C. 466–465

The census was then taken and Quinctius solemnized the concluding purification. There are said to have been registered 104,714 citizens, besides orphans and widows. In the Aequian country there was no memorable action after that; the people retired to their towns, and permitted their farms to be burnt and ravaged. The consul made a number of forays with his army throughout the enemy's territory, and returned to Rome with great renown and huge spoils.

IV. The next consuls were Aulus Postumius B.C. 464

A.U.C. 250

Furius Fusus.[1] Furios Fusios[2] scripsere quidam; id admoneo, ne quis immutationem virorum ipsorum
2 esse quae nominum est putet. Haud dubium erat quin cum Aequis alter consulum bellum gereret. Itaque Aequi ab Ecetranis Volscis praesidium petiere; quo cupide oblato—adeo civitates hae[3] perpetuo in Romanos odio certavere—bellum summa
3 vi parabatur. Sentiunt Hernici et praedicunt Romanis Ecetranum ad Aequos descisse. Suspecta et colonia Antium fuit, quod magna vis hominum inde, cum oppidum captum esset, confugisset ad Aequos; isque miles per bellum Aequicum vel acerrimus fuit.
4 Compulsis deinde in oppida Aequis ea multitudo dilapsa cum Antium redisset, sua sponte iam infidos
5 colonos Romanis abalienavit. Necdum matura re cum defectionem parari delatum ad senatum esset, datum negotium est consulibus ut principibus coloniae
6 Romam excitis quaererent quid rei esset. Qui cum haud gravate venissent, introducti a consulibus ad senatum ita responderunt ad interrogata, ut magis suspecti quam venerant dimitterentur.
7 Bellum inde haud dubium haberi. Sp. Furius, consulum alter, cui ea provincia evenerat, profectus in Aequos Hernicorum in agro populabundum hostem invenit ignarusque multitudinis, quia nusquam uni-

[1] Fusus *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 116): Fuscus Ω.
[2] Furios Fusios ς: Furios (*or* -us) Fusios Fabios Ω.
[3] hae *O*: haec *H*: eae *VD*³: ae *or* aee *or* se (*omitted by U*) Ω.

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[1] *Fusius* is in fact only an earlier form of *Furius*. By 300 B.C. intervocalic *s* had developed into *r*. Livy is puzzled by the same thing in chap. viii.

Albus and Spurius Furius Fusus. (Some writers spell the name Fusius instead of Furius, which I note lest anybody should regard as a substitution of one man for another what is really only a matter of names.)[1] There was no doubt but that one consul would make war on the Aequi, and these accordingly appealed to the Ecetranian Volsci for help. It was eagerly granted them—such was the rivalry between these nations in inveterate hatred of Rome—and the most vigorous preparations were made for war. The Hernici perceived, and warned the Romans, that Ecetra had gone over to the Aequi. Suspicion already rested on the colony of Antium, on the ground that a large body of men, escaping from the place at the time of its capture, had taken refuge with the Aequi; and in fact they fought with the greatest spirit all through the Aequian war; afterwards, when the Aequi had been shut up in their towns, this company dispersed, returned to Antium, and won over the colonists, who were even then at heart disloyal to the Romans. The plot was not yet ripe when their proposed defection was reported to the senate, and the consuls were instructed to summon the leaders of the colony to Rome and inquire what was going on. These men made no objection to coming, but on being introduced into the senate by the consuls returned such answers to the questions they were asked that they were under a stronger suspicion when dismissed than they had been on their arrival. B.C. 464

War was from that moment regarded as certain. Spurius Furius, one of the consuls, having received that command, set out against the Aequi. In the country of the Hernici he found the enemy engaged

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versa conspecta fuerat, imparem copiis exercitum
8 temere pugnae commisit. Primo concursu pulsus
se intra castra recepit. Neque is finis periculi fuit;
namque et proxima nocte et postero die tanta vi
castra sunt circumsessa atque oppugnata ut ne
9 nuntius quidem inde mitti Romam posset. Her-
nici et male pugnatum et consulem exercitumque
obsideri nuntiaverunt tantumque terrorem incussere
patribus ut, quae forma senatus consulti ultimae
semper necessitatis habita est, Postumio, alteri con-
sulum, negotium daretur videret ne quid res publica
10 detrimenti caperet. Ipsum consulem Romae manere
ad conscribendos omnes qui arma ferre possent opti-
mum visum est: pro consule T. Quinctium subsidio
11 castris cum sociali exercitu mitti; ad eum explendum
Latini Hernicique et colonia Antium dare Quinctio
subitarios milites—ita tum repentina auxilia appella-
bant—iussi.

V. Multi per eos dies motus multique impetus
hinc atque illinc facti, quia superante multitudine
hostes carpere multifariam vires Romanas, ut non
2 suffecturas ad omnia, adgressi sunt; simul castra
oppugnabantur, simul pars exercitus ad populandum
agrum Romanum missa urbemque ipsam, si qua
3 fortuna daret, temptandam. L. Valerius ad praesi-
dium urbis relictus, consul Postumius ad arcendas

[1] The *ultimum senatus consultum* conferred dictatorial powers on the consul, and amounted to declaring a state of martial law.

in marauding, and being ignorant of their strength, B.C. 464
because they had never all been seen together, rashly offered battle with an army which was no match for theirs in numbers. At the first attack he was repulsed and withdrew into his camp. Nor did this end his danger, for both that night and the following day his camp was so vigorously hemmed in and assaulted that not even a messenger could be got off to Rome. The Hernici reported the defeat and blockade of the consul and his army, striking such terror into the hearts of the senators that they passed a decree which has always been held to signify the direst necessity: that Postumius, the other consul, should be commissioned to see to it that the republic took no hurt.[1] It was deemed wisest that the consul himself should remain in Rome, to enroll all who were capable of bearing arms; and that a proconsul, Titus Quinctius, should be sent, with an army of the allies, to relieve the camp. In order to fill out this army the Latins and the Hernici and the colony of Antium were commanded to furnish Quinctius with "emergency-men," as they used then to term hastily-levied auxiliaries.

V. There was much manœuvring during the days that followed, and many attacks were delivered in one place or another, for the enemy, having a preponderance of numbers, set about harassing the Roman forces in many places, with the expectation that they would prove unequal to all the demands that were made upon them; at the same time that they were besieging the camp, a part of their army was sent to devastate the Roman fields and to attack the City itself, should an opportunity offer. Lucius Valerius was left to defend the City, while the consul

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4 populationes finium missus. Nihil remissum ab ulla parte curae aut laboris; vigiliae in urbe, stationes ante portas, praesidiaque in muris disposita, et quod necesse erat in tanto tumultu, iustitium per aliquot
5 dies servatum. Interim in castris Furius consul cum primo quietus obsidionem passus esset, in incautum hostem decumana porta erupit, et cum persequi posset, metu substitit, ne qua ex parte altera in castra
6 vis fieret. Furium legatum—frater idem consulis erat—longius extulit cursus; nec suos ille redeuntes persequendi studio neque hostium ab tergo incursum vidit. Ita exclusus multis saepe frustra conatibus captis ut viam sibi ad castra faceret, acriter dimicans
7 cecidit, et consul nuntio circumventi fratris conversus ad pugnam, dum[1] se temere magis quam satis caute in mediam dimicationem infert, volnere accepto aegre ab circumstantibus ereptus et suorum animos turbavit
8 et ferociores hostes fecit; qui caede legati et consulis volnere accensi nulla deinde vi sustineri potuere, ut[2] compulsi in castra Romani rursus obsiderentur nec spe nec viribus pares; venissetque in periculum summa rerum, ni T. Quinctius peregrinis copiis,
9 Latino[3] Hernicoque exercitu, subvenisset. Is in-

[1] pugnam, dum ζ: pugnandum Ω.
[2] ut *Conway and Walters*: cum Ω.
[3] Latino *Madvig*: cum Latino Ω.

[1] The *porta decumana* was normally in the west wall, in these wars usually farthest from the enemy, hence its use in this surprise attack.

Postumius was sent out to protect the frontier from pillage. There was no relaxation anywhere of vigilance or effort; watches were set in the City, outposts were established before the gates, and troops were posted on the walls; and, as was necessary in the midst of such confusion, the courts were suspended for several days. In camp meanwhile the consul Furius, having begun by submitting tamely to the blockade, caught the Aequi off their guard, and made a sortie by the decuman gate.[1] He might have pursued the enemy, but stopped for fear the camp might be assailed from the opposite quarter. The lieutenant Furius, a brother of the consul, was carried a good way off by his charge, nor did he observe, in the ardour of pursuit, either that his friends were retiring or that the enemy were moving up to attack him in the rear. His retreat was thus cut off, and after repeated but unsuccessful attempts to force his way back to the camp, he perished, fighting bravely. The consul too, upon learning that his brother was surrounded, set his face towards the battle and plunged into the midst of the mellay, with more rashness than prudence; for he received a wound, and was barely rescued by the men about him. This misfortune dismayed his own troops and quickened the courage of the enemy, who were so inspirited by the death of the lieutenant and the wounding of the consul that from that moment no force could withstand them, and the Romans were driven into their camp and again besieged, being no match for their opponents either in confidence or strength. The very existence of the army would have been imperilled, had not Titus Quinctius come up with the foreign troops, the Latins and Hernici. B.C. 464

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tentos in castra Romana Aequos legatique caput ferociter ostentantes ab tergo adortus simul ad signum a se procul editum ex castris eruptione facta magnam vim hostium circumvenit. Minor caedis, fuga effusior Aequorum in agro fuit Romano, in quos palatos praedam agentes Postumius aliquot locis, quibus opportuna imposuerat praesidia, impetum dedit. Hi vagi dissipato agmine fugientes in Quinctium victorem cum saucio [1] consule revertentem incidere. Tum consularis exercitus egregie [2] consulis volnus, legati et cohortium ultus est caedem. Magnae clades ultro citroque illis diebus et inlatae et acceptae. Difficile ad fidem est in tam antiqua re quot pugnaverint ceciderintve exacto adfirmare numero; audet tamen Antias Valerius concipere summas: Romanos cecidisse in Hernico agro quinque milia octingentos: ex praedatoribus Aequorum qui populabundi in finibus Romanis vagabantur ab A. Postumio consule duo milia et quadringentos caesos: ceteram multitudinem praedam agentem, quae inciderit in Quinctium, nequaquam pari defunctam esse caede: interfecta inde quattuor milia et, exsequendo subtiliter numerum, ducentos ait et triginta. Ut Romam reditum est,[3] iustitium remissum.[4] Caelum visum est ardere plurimo igni, portentaque

[1] cum saucio $D^2\zeta$: a saucio O: cum (*or* tum) a saucio (*or* sautio) Ω.
[2] egregie *Conway*: egregiae M: egregia pugna Ω.
[3] reditum est et *Conway and Walters*: reditum est Ω.
[4] remissum *Gruter*: remissum est Ω.

He found the Aequi intent on the Roman camp, and truculently displaying the head of the lieutenant. Attacking them in the rear, while the besieged, in answer to a signal he had given them from afar, were making a sally from the camp, he intercepted a large body of them. There was less carnage but a more headlong rout in the case of the Aequi who were in Roman territory. These men were dispersed and collecting booty when they were attacked by Postumius at several points where he had opportunely stationed troops. The pillagers, fleeing in a disordered crowd, fell in with Quinctius, who was returning from his victory with the wounded consul; whereupon the consular army splendidly avenged the consul's wound and the slaughter of the lieutenant and his cohorts. Heavy losses were inflicted and sustained on both sides at that time. It is hard to make a trustworthy statement, in a matter of such antiquity, as to just how many fought and how many fell; yet Valerius Antias ventures to specify the totals, saying that the Romans lost five thousand eight hundred in the country of the Hernici; that of the Aequian marauders who were roaming about and pillaging within the Roman borders two thousand four hundred were slain by Aulus Postumius, the consul; and that the rest of the expedition, which stumbled upon Quinctius as they were driving off their booty, got off by no means so lightly, for their killed amounted, so he says, with minute particularity, to four thousand two hundred and thirty. B.C. 464

When the army had returned to Rome, and the suspension of the courts was ended, the heavens were seen to blaze with numerous fires, and other

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alia aut obversata oculis aut vanas exterritis ostentavere species. His avertendis terroribus in triduum feriae indictae, per quas omnia delubra pacem deum exposcentium virorum mulierumque turba impleбantur. Cohortes inde Latinae Hernicaeque ab senatu gratiis ob impigram militiam actis remissae domos. Antiates mille milites, quia serum auxilium post proelium venerant, prope cum ignominia dimissi.

A.U.C. 291

VI. Comitia inde habita; creati consules L. Aebutius P. Servilius. Kal. Sextilibus, ut tunc principium anni agebatur, consulatum ineunt. Grave tempus et forte annus pestilens erat urbi agrisque nec hominibus magis quam pecori; et auxere vim morbi terrore populationis pecoribus agrestibusque in urbem acceptis. Ea conluvio[1] mixtorum omnis generis animantium et odore insolito urbanos et agrestem confertum in arta tecta aestu ac vigiliis angebat, ministeriaque in vicem ac contagio ipsa volgabant morbos. Vix instantes sustinentibus clades repente legati Hernici nuntiant in agro suo Aequos Volscosque coniunctis copiis castra posuisse, inde exercitu ingenti fines suos depopulari. Praeterquam quod infrequens senatus indicio erat sociis adflictam civitatem pestilentia esse, maestum etiam responsum

[1] conluvio ς: conluuione Ω.

[1] The official year began at various times in different periods, until, in 153 B.C., the 1st of January was adopted.

portents either were actually seen or were due to the illusions of the terror-stricken observers. To avert these alarms a three days' season of prayer was ordered, and during this period all the shrines were crowded with a throng of men and women beseeching the pardon of the gods. After that the cohorts of the Latins and the Hernici were thanked by the senate for their energetic service and sent home. A thousand men from Antium who had come too late to help, when the battle was over, were dismissed, almost in disgrace. B.C. 464

VI. The elections were then held, and Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius were chosen consuls. On the first of August, then the beginning of the year, they entered office.[1] It was the sickly season, and chanced to be a year of pestilence both in the City and in the country, for beasts as well as men; and the people increased the virulence of the disease, in their dread of pillage, by receiving flocks and country-folk into the City. This conflux of all kinds of living things distressed the citizens with its strange smells, while the country-people, being packed into narrow quarters, suffered greatly from the heat and want of sleep; and the exchange of ministrations and mere contact spread the infection. The Romans could scarce endure the calamities which pressed hard upon them, when suddenly envoys from the Hernici appeared, announcing that the Aequi and the Volsci had joined forces and established a camp in their territory, from which base they were devastating their land with an enormous army. Not only did the reduced numbers of the senate show their allies that the nation was prostrated by the pestilence, but they also returned a melancholy answer to B.C. 463

A.U.C 201 tulere, ut per se ipsi Hernici cum Latinis res suas tutarentur: urbem Romanam subita deum ira morbo populari; si qua eius mali quies veniat, ut anno ante,
6 ut semper alias, sociis opem laturos. Discessere socii pro tristi nuntio tristiorem domum reportantes,[1] quippe quibus per se sustinendum bellum erat, quod
7 vix Romanis fulti viribus sustinuissent. Non diutius se in Hernico hostis continuit; pergit inde infestus in agros Romanos etiam sine belli iniuria vastatos. Ubi cum obvius nemo ne inermis quidem fieret perque omnia non praesidiis modo deserta sed etiam cultu agresti transirent, pervenere ad tertium lapidem Gabina via.

8 Mortuus Aebutius erat Romanus consul; collega eius Servilius exigua in spe trahebat animam; adfecti plerique principum, patrum maior pars, militaris fere aetas omnis, ut non modo ad expeditiones, quas in tanto tumultu res poscebat, sed vix ad quietas
9 stationes viribus sufficerent. Munus vigiliarum senatores, qui per aetatem ac valetudinem poterant, per se ipsi obibant; circumitio ac cura aedilium plebi erat; ad eos summa rerum ac maiestas consularis imperii venerat.

[1] reportantes *V*: referentes Ω.

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[1] The plebeian aedileship had been created at the same time as the plebeian tribuneship, but was not mentioned by Livy at II. xxxiii. 2.

their suit, that the Hernici, namely, with the help of the Latins, must defend their own possessions; for the City of Rome, in a sudden visitation of divine displeasure, was being ravaged by disease; if there should come any respite from their suffering, they would help their friends, as they had done the year before and on every other occasion. The allies departed, bearing home, in return for their sad tidings, a reply that was even sadder, since it meant that their people must sustain by themselves a war which they could hardly have sustained with the powerful assistance of the Romans. No longer did the enemy confine themselves to the country of the Hernici; they proceeded thence to invade the Roman fields, which had been made desolate even without the violence of war. Encountering no one there, not even an unarmed man, and passing through a country wholly destitute not only of defenders but also of cultivation, they came to the third milestone on the Gabinian Way. B.C. 463

Death had taken Aebutius, the Roman consul; for his colleague Servilius there was little hope, though he still breathed; the disease had attacked most of the leading men, the greater part of the senators, and almost all of military age, so that their numbers were not only insufficient for the expeditions which so alarming a situation called for, but were almost too small for mounting guard. The watchmen's duty was performed by those of the senators themselves whose years and strength admitted of it; the rounds were made and the watches supervised by the plebeian aediles;[1] into their hands had passed the supreme control, and the majesty of consular authority.

A.U.C. 291

VII. Deserta omnia, sine capite, sine viribus, di praesides ac fortuna urbis tutata est, quae Volscis Aequisque praedonum potius mentem quam hostium
2 dedit; adeo enim nullam spem non potiundi modo, sed ne adeundi quidem Romana moenia animus[1] eorum cepit tectaque procul visa atque imminentes
3 tumuli avertere mentes eorum, ut totis passim castris fremitu orto, quid in vasto ac deserto agro inter tabem pecorum hominumque desides sine praeda tempus tererent, cum integra loca, Tusculanum agrum opimum copiis, petere possent, signa repente convellerent transversisque itineribus per Labicanos[2] agros in Tusculanos colles transirent. Eo vis omnis tempestas-
4 que belli conversa est. Interim Hernici Latinique, pudore etiam, non misericordia solum moti, si nec obstitissent communibus hostibus infesto agmine Romanam urbem petentibus nec opem ullam obsessis sociis ferrent, coniuncto exercitu Romam pergunt.
5 Ubi cum hostes non invenissent, secuti famam ac vestigia obvii fiunt descendentibus ab Tusculana[3] in Albanam vallem. Ibi haudquaquam aequo proelio pugnatum est, fidesque sua sociis parum felix in praesentia fuit.

6 Haud minor Romae fit morbo strages quam quanta ferro sociorum facta erat. Consul qui unus supererat moritur; mortui et alii clari viri, M. Valerius,[4] T.

[1] animus ζ: animos Ω.
[2] Labicanos *V*: lauicanos Ω.
[3] Tusculana *VMHD*? *L*: Tusculano *PFUBOD*[3].
[4] M. Valerius Ω: M'. Valerius (*identifying him with the M'. Valerius of* II. XXX. 5, *and* (?) III. XXV. 2) *Pighius.*

VII. In this helpless plight, without a leader and without strength, the commonwealth was saved by its tutelary gods and the good fortune of the City, which inspired the Volsci and Aequi with the spirit of plunderers rather than of soldiers. For they were so far from entertaining any hope of approaching, not to speak of capturing, the walls of Rome, and the distant sight of her roofs and beetling hills so damped their ardour, that the entire army began to murmur, and to ask why they should waste their time in desolate and abandoned fields, where bodies of beasts and men lay rotting and there was no booty, when they might be invading an unspoiled country, the land of Tusculum, abounding in wealth; so they suddenly pulled up their standards, and passed by cross-roads through the Labican fields to the hills of Tusculum, and on that point all the impetus and fury of the war converged. Meanwhile the Hernici and Latins, moved not by pity alone but by shame, if they should fail to oppose the common enemy, advancing in force against the City of Rome, and should bring no assistance to their besieged allies, united their armies and proceeded to the City. Failing to find the enemy there, but following the report and traces of his march, they met him as he was coming down from the Tusculan valley into that of Alba. There they engaged the invaders on far from equal terms, and their loyalty to their friends was for the moment not attended with success. B.C. 463

In Rome the ravages of the disease were no less fatal than those of the sword had been amongst her allies. The surviving consul died; and death took other famous men, the augurs Marcus Valerius and

A.U.C. 291

Verginius Rutulus[1] augures, Ser. Sulpicius curio
7 maximus; et per ignota capita late vagata est vis
morbi. Inopsque senatus auxilii humani ad deos
populum ac vota vertit. Iussi cum coniugibus ac
liberis supplicatum ire pacemque exposcere deum,
8 ad id quod sua quemque mala cogebant auctoritate
publica evocati omnia delubra implent. Stratae passim
matres crinibus templa verrentes veniam irarum
caelestium finemque pesti exposcunt.

A.U.C. 292

VIII. Inde paulatim seu pace deum impetrata
seu graviore tempore anni iam circumacto defuncta
2 morbis corpora salubriora esse incipere; versisque
animis iam ad publicam curam, cum aliquot interregna
exissent, P. Valerius Publicola tertio die quam inter-
regnum inierat consules creat L. Lucretium Tricipi-
tinum et T. Veturium Geminum, sive ille Vetusius
3 fuit. Ante diem tertium idus Sextiles consulatum
ineunt iam satis valida civitate ut non solum arcere
4 bellum sed ultro etiam inferre posset. Igitur nun-
tiantibus Hernicis in fines suos transcendisse hostes
impigre promissum auxilium. Duo consulares exercitus
scripti. Veturius missus in Volscos ad bellum ultro
5 inferendum: Tricipitinus populationibus arcendis
sociorum agro oppositus non ultra quam in Hernicos
procedit. Veturius primo proelio hostes fundit fu-
6 gatque: Lucretium, dum in Hernicis sedet, prae-

[1] Rutulus *Conway*: Rutilus *Sigonius*: Rutilius Ω.

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[1] Each of the thirty wards, or *curiae* (an account of their origin is given at I. xiii. 6), had a priest called a *curio*, to preside over its religious ceremonies. These thirty *curiones* were themselves under the presidency of a *curio maximus*.

[2] See note on chap. iv. § 1.

Titus Verginius Rutulus, and the head curio,[1] Servius Sulpicius; as for the base rabble, the violence of the plague stalked at large amongst them; until the senate, finding no help in man, sent the people to the gods in prayer, commanding them to take their wives and children and supplicate Heaven for forgiveness. Thus summoned by the state's authority to do what each was impelled to by his own distress, they crowded all the shrines. Everywhere were prostrate matrons, sweeping the floors of the temples with their hair, while they besought the angry gods to grant them pardon and end the pestilence. B.C. 463

VIII. After that, little by little, whether it was that the gods had been persuaded to forgive or that the sickly season was now past, those whose disease had run its course began to regain their health; and men's thoughts now turned to the commonwealth. Several interregna had expired, when Publius Valerius Publicola, three days after being made interrex, declared the election to the consulship of Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus and Titus Veturius Geminus—or Vetusius, if that was his name.[2] On the 11th of August they took office, the nation being by that time so strong that it was able not only to defend itself, but even to assume the offensive. Accordingly, when the Hernici reported that the enemy had crossed their borders, they were promptly offered assistance. Two consular armies were enlisted; Veturius was sent to carry the war into the country of the Volsci; while Tricipitinus, having been appointed to secure the territory of the allies from inroads, proceeded no further than the land of the Hernici. Veturius in his first battle defeated and routed his opponents; Lucretius, while B.C. 462

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donum agmen fefellit supra montes Praenestinos ductum, inde demissum [1] in campos. Vastavere agros Praenestinum Gabinumque; ex Gabino in Tuscu-
7 lanos flexere colles; urbi quoque Romae ingens praebitus terror, magis in re subita quam quod ad arcendam vim parum virium esset. Q. Fabius praeerat urbi. Is armata iuventute dispositisque praesidiis
8 tuta omnia ac tranquilla fecit. Itaque hostes praeda ex proximis locis rapta adpropinquare urbi non ausi, cum circumacto agmine redirent quanto longius ab urbe hostium abscederent eo solutiore cura, in Lucretium incidunt consulem, iam ante exploratis itineribus
9 suis instructum et ad certamen intentum. Igitur praeparatis animis repentino pavore perculsos adorti aliquanto pauciores multitudinem ingentem fundunt fugantque et compulsos in cavas valles, cum exitus
10 haud in facili essent, circumveniunt. Ibi Volscum nomen prope deletum est. Tredecim milia quadringentos septuaginta cecidisse in acie ac fuga, mille septingentos quinquaginta vivos captos, signa viginti septem militaria relata in quibusdam annalibus invenio; ubi etsi adiectum aliquid numero sit, magna
11 certe caedes fuit. Victor consul ingenti praeda potitus

[1] demissum *U*: missum *VH*: dimissum Ω.

encamped among the Hernici, was eluded by a company of raiders, who marched over the mountains of Praeneste and thence down into the campagna; there they laid waste the Praenestine and Gabinian fields; and from the latter district turned towards the hills about Tusculum. The City of Rome itself received a great fright, more on account of the surprise than from any lack of resources for defence. Quintus Fabius was in charge of the City. Arming the young men and disposing his defences, he made everything secure and tranquil. And so the enemy, having laid hold of the plunder in their immediate neighbourhood, did not venture to approach Rome, but making a detour, set out towards home. The farther they got from the hostile City the less was their anxiety, till they came unexpectedly upon Lucretius the consul, who having already marked their line of march, had drawn up his troops and was eager to fight. The spirits of the Romans were therefore prepared for their task, while the enemy were stricken with a sudden panic on being attacked, though by somewhat inferior numbers. The Romans completely routed the great multitude, and driving them into deep valleys, from which escape was difficult, surrounded them. There the Volscian name was almost blotted out. Thirteen thousand four hundred and seventy fell in the battle and the flight, seventeen hundred and fifty were taken alive, and twenty-seven military standards were brought in, as I find recorded in certain annals; and though there may be some exaggeration of the numbers, it was beyond question a great slaughter. The victorious consul, in possession of enormous spoils, returned to the permanent camp he had

B.C. 462

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eodem in stativa rediit. Tum consules castra coniungunt, et Volsci Aequique adflictas vires suas in unum contulere. Tertia illa pugna eo anno fuit. Eadem fortuna victoriam dedit; fusis hostibus etiam castra capta.

IX. Sic res Romana in antiquum statum rediit, secundaeque belli res extemplo urbanos motus ex-
2 citaverunt. C. Terentilius Harsa tribunus plebis eo anno fuit. Is consulibus absentibus ratus locum tribuniciis actionibus datum, per aliquot dies patrum superbiam ad plebem criminatus, maxime in consulare imperium tamquam nimium nec tolerabile liberae
3 civitati invehebatur. Nomine enim tantum minus invidiosum, re ipsa prope atrocius quam regium esse;
4 quippe duos pro uno dominos acceptos, immoderata, infinita potestate, qui soluti atque effrenati ipsi omnis metus legum omniaque supplicia verterent in plebem.
5 Quae ne aeterna illis licentia sit, legem se promulgaturum ut quinque viri creentur legibus de imperio consulari scribendis; quod populus in se ius dederit, eo consulem usurum; non ipsos libidinem ac licen-
6 tiam suam pro lege habituros. Qua promulgata lege cum timerent patres ne absentibus consulibus iugum acciperent,[1] senatus a praefecto urbis Q. Fabio vocatur, qui adeo atrociter in rogationem latoremque

[1] acciperent $M^3\zeta$: acciperet Ω.

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[1] Terentilius probably aimed at restricting the power of the patricians by a codification of *all* the laws, not merely those, as Livy seems to think, which limited the authority of the consuls. The Fasti refer to the similar board actually created ten years later, as *decemviri consulari imperio legibus scribundis* ("decemvirs with consular authority for writing the laws"), and Livy has perhaps misunderstood some such phrase in the annalist he was here following.

occupied before. Then the consuls encamped together, and the Volsci and Aequi united their shattered forces. The ensuing battle was the third of that year. Fortune bestowed the victory where she had done before; the enemy were routed, and even lost their camp. B.C. 462

IX. Rome was thus restored to her former condition, and the success of the campaign at once occasioned disturbances in the City. Gaius Terentilius Harsa was tribune of the plebs that year. Thinking that the absence of the consuls afforded the tribunes an opportunity for action, he employed some days in complaining to the people of the pride of the patricians, and inveighed especially against the authority of the consuls, as a thing excessive and intolerable in a free state. For it was only in name, he said, that it was less hateful than that of a king; in reality it was almost crueler, since in place of one master they had now got two, who possessed an unregulated and unlimited power, and while free themselves and without restraint, brought to bear all the terrors of the law and all its punishments upon the plebs. That they might not for ever have this licence, he was about to propose a law providing for the appointment of five men to write out the statutes pertaining to the consular power;[1] such authority over them as the people had granted the consuls they should enjoy, but they should not make a law of their own whims and caprices. When this measure had been promulgated, the Fathers were alarmed lest they might be humbled, in the absence of the consuls; the prefect of the City, Quintus Fabius, convened the senate, and attacked the measure and its author himself with

A.U.C. 292

ipsum est invectus ut nihil, si ambo consules infesti circumstarent tribunum, relictum minarum atque
7 terroris sit: insidiatum eum et tempore capto adortum
8 rem publicam. Si quem similem eius priore anno inter morbum bellumque irati di tribunum dedissent, non potuisse sisti. Mortuis duobus consulibus, iacente aegra civitate, in conluvione omnium rerum, ad tollendum rei publicae consulare imperium laturum leges fuisse, ducem Volscis Aequisque ad oppugnan-
9 dam urbem futurum. Quid tandem? Illi non licere, si quid consules superbe in aliquem civium aut crudeliter fecerint, diem dicere, accusare iis ipsis
10 iudicibus quorum in aliquem saevitum sit? Non illum[1] consulare imperium, sed tribuniciam potestatem invisam intolerandamque facere; quam placatam[2] reconciliatamque patribus de integro in antiqua redigi mala. Neque illum se deprecari, quo minus pergat
11 ut coeperit; "Vos" inquit Fabius, "ceteri tribuni, oramus, ut primum omnium cogitetis potestatem istam ad singulorum auxilium, non ad perniciem universorum comparatam esse; tribunos plebis vos
12 creatos, non hostes patribus. Nobis miserum, invidiosum vobis est desertam rem publicam invadi. Non ius vestrum, sed invidiam minueritis. Agite cum collega ut rem integram in adventum consulum

[1] illum ζ: illud Ω. [2] placatam *M*: pacatam Ω.

such bitterness that if both the consuls had been present to outface the tribune there was nothing they could have added to his threats and denunciations. Terentilius, he said, had laid an ambush and watching his opportunity had attacked the state. If the angry gods had given them a tribune like him the year before, when they were suffering from war and disease, it would have been impossible to save the situation. Finding both consuls dead, the citizens plague-stricken, and confusion everywhere, he would have proposed a law to do away with consular government, and would have led the Volsci and the Aequi to besiege the City. Pray what did he desire? Was he not at liberty, if the consuls had committed any act of pride or cruelty against a citizen, to call them into court and accuse them where the judges would be the very men against one of whom the injury had been done? It was not the authority of the consul but the power of the tribune that he was making hateful and intolerable; this power had been reconciled and brought into harmony with the senate, but was now being degraded again to its former evil state. Yet he would not supplicate Terentilius to abandon the course on which he had embarked. "It is you other tribunes," he cried, "whom we beg to reflect, as a matter of the last importance, that your power was obtained for the purpose of assisting individuals, not for the destruction of us all; that you were elected tribunes of the plebs, not enemies of the senate. To us it is a source of sorrow, to you of odium, that the state should be attacked in the absence of its defenders. You will be diminishing, not your authority, but your unpopularity, if you plead with your colleague B.C. 462

A.U.C. 292 differat. Ne Aequi quidem ac Volsci morbo absumptis priore anno consulibus crudeli superboque nobis bello
13 institere." Agunt cum Terentilio [1] tribuni, dilataque in speciem actione, re ipsa sublata, consules extemplo arcessiti.

A.U.C. 293 X. Lucretius cum ingenti praeda, maiore multo gloria rediit. Et auget gloriam adveniens exposita omni in campo Martio praeda, ut suum quisque per triduum cognitum abduceret. Reliqua vendita, quibus
2 domini non exstitere. Debebatur omnium consensu consuli triumphus, sed dilata res est tribuno de lege
3 agente; id antiquius consuli fuit. Iactata per aliquot dies cum in senatu res, tum apud populum est. Cessit ad ultimum maiestati consulis tribunus et destitit. Tum imperatori exercituique honos suus redditus;
4 triumphavit de Volscis Aequisque, triumphantem secutae suae legiones. Alteri consuli datum, ut ovans sine militibus urbem iniret.

5 Anno deinde insequenti lex Terentilia [2] ab toto relata collegio novos adgressa consules est; erant
6 consules P. Volumnius Ser. Sulpicius. Eo anno caelum ardere visum, terra ingenti concussa motu est. Bovem locutam, cui rei priore anno fides non fuerat, creditum. Inter alia prodigia et carne pluit,

[1] Terentilio *F. Niebuhr*: terentillo (*or* terr-) Ω.
[2] Terentilia *edd.* (*from chap.* ix): terentilla Ω: tarentilla *U.*

[1] The ovation was a lesser triumph, granted for a comparatively easy or bloodless victory.

to postpone the question, as it stands, until the arrival of the consuls. Even the Aequi and the Volsci, when disease last year had carried off the consuls, refrained from pressing a cruel and pitiless war against us." The tribunes pleaded with Terentilius, and the measure having been ostensibly postponed, but in reality killed, the consuls were immediately summoned. B.C. 462

X. Lucretius returned with vast spoils and far greater glory; and this he increased, on his arrival, by exposing all the booty in the Campus Martius, where it lay for three days, that every man might identify and carry off what belonged to him. The other things, for which no owner appeared, were sold. That the consul had earned a triumph all agreed; but the matter was put off, for the tribune was urging his law, and this was a question of more importance in the eyes of Lucretius. The measure was debated several days, not only in the senate but before the people. Finally the tribune gave way to the majesty of the consul and desisted. The general and his army then received their meed of honour; Lucretius triumphed over the Volsci and the Aequi, and his own legions followed the triumphal chariot. The other consul was permitted to enter the City in an ovation,[1] without soldiers. B.C. 461

In the following year the Terentilian law was brought up again by the entire college and menaced the new consuls, to wit, Publius Volumnius and Servius Sulpicius. This year the heavens were seen to blaze, and the earth was shaken with a prodigious quake. That a cow had spoken—a thing which had found no credence the year before—was now believed. Among other portents there was even a rain of flesh,

A.U.C. 293

quem imbrem ingens numerus avium intervolitando rapuisse fertur; quod intercidit, sparsum ita iacuisse
7 per aliquot dies, ut nihil odor mutaret. Libri per duumviros sacrorum aditi; pericula a conventu alienigenarum praedicta, ne qui in loca summa urbis impetus caedesque inde fierent; inter cetera monitum ut seditionibus abstineretur. Id factum ad impediendam legem tribuni criminabantur, ingensque aderat certa-
8 men. Ecce, ut idem in singulos annos orbis volveretur, Hernici nuntiant Volscos et Aequos, etsi abscisae[1] res sint, reficere exercitus; Antii summam rei positam, Ecetrae[2] Antiates colonos palam concilia facere; id
9 caput, eas vires belli esse. Ut haec dicta in senatu sunt, dilectus edicitur. Consules belli administrationem inter se dispertiri iussi, alteri ut Volsci, alteri
10 ut Aequi provincia esset. Tribuni coram in foro personare fabulam compositam Volsci belli, Hernicos ad partes paratos. Iam ne virtute quidem premi liberta-
11 tem populi Romani, sed arte eludi.[3] Quia occidione prope occisos Volscos et Aequos movere sua sponte arma posse iam fides abierit, novos hostes quaeri;
12 coloniam fidam, propinquam infamem fieri. Bellum innoxiis Antiatibus indici, geri cum plebe Romana,

[1] abscisae Ω: accisae *Weissenborn-Mueller* (*after Rhenanus*).
[2] Ecetrae *Vorm.* ?: eceterae (*or similar corruptions*) Ω.
[3] eludi *D* ? ς: ludi Ω.

which is said to have been intercepted by vast numbers of birds flying round in the midst of it; what fell to the ground lay scattered about for several days, but without making any stench. The two commissioners for sacred rites consulted the Sibylline Books, where it was predicted that there was danger to come from a concourse of foreigners, lest they attack the highest places of the City, and blood be shed; amongst other things was a warning to avoid factions. The tribunes charged them with trying to hinder their law, and a violent struggle was impending; when lo!—that the same cycle of events might recur each year—the Hernici announced that the Volsci and the Aequi, despite the losses they had sustained, were again fitting out their armies; that Antium was the centre of the enterprise; that at Ecetra Antian colonists were holding public meetings; and that the Antiates were the head and sinews of the war. After listening to this report, the senate decreed a levy, and directed the consuls to divide between them the direction of the war, so that one might operate against the Volsci, the other against the Aequi. The tribunes openly and loudly protested in the Forum that the Volscian war was a prearranged farce, and that the nobles had employed the Hernici to act a part in it: they no longer used manhood even, to suppress the liberty of the Roman People, but cajoled and tricked them. Inasmuch as the almost total destruction of the Volsci and Aequi made it incredible that they should be going to war on their own initiative, new enemies were trumped up, and a loyal and neighbouring colony was traduced. It was against the innocent Antiates that war was being declared; it was being B.C. 461

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quam oneratam armis ex urbe praecipiti agmine acturi essent, exsilio et relegatione civium ulciscentes
13 tribunos. Sic—ne quid aliud actum putent—victam legem esse, nisi, dum in integro res sit, dum domi, dum togati sint, caveant ne possessione urbis pellan-
14 tur, ne iugum accipiant. Si animus sit, non defore auxilium; consentire omnes tribunos. Nullum terrorem externum, nullum periculum esse; cavisse deos priore anno ut tuto libertas defendi posset. Haec tribuni.

XI. At ex parte altera consules in conspectu eorum positis sellis dilectum habebant. Eo decurrunt tribuni contionemque secum trahunt. Citati pauci velut rei
2 experiundae causa, et statim vis coorta. Quemcumque lictor iussu consulis prendisset, tribunus mitti iubebat; neque suum cuique ius modum faciebat, sed virium spes, et manu obtinendum erat, quod intenderes.
3 Quem ad modum se tribuni gessissent in prohibendo dilectu, sic patres se[1] in lege, quae per omnes comitiales dies ferebatur, impedienda gere-
4 bant. Initium erat rixae, cum discedere populum iussissent tribuni, quod patres se submoveri haud sinebant. Nec fere seniores rei intererant, quippe

[1] patres se *Luterbacher* (patress *D*): patres Ω.

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[1] There was required to be an interval of twenty-four days (*trinum nundinum*) between meetings of the comitia.

[2] For the purpose of forming by centuries, in order to vote.

waged against the Roman plebeians, whom the B.C. 461
consuls would load with arms and lead out of the City in hot haste, exiling and banishing citizens to avenge themselves upon the tribunes. By these means—and they need not think that anything else had been intended—the law was already defeated, unless, while the situation was still intact, while they were at home, while they still wore the toga, they should guard themselves against expulsion from the City and submitting to the yoke. If they proved courageous, help would not be wanting; the tribunes were all of one mind. There was no fear of foreign foes, no danger; the gods had seen to it the previous year that they might defend their liberties in safety. To this purport the tribunes.

XI. But the consuls, on the other hand, had placed their chairs in full sight of the tribunes, and began to hold the levy. The tribunes hastened to the place, drawing the people after them. A few were cited, as if by way of a test, and immediately a riot began. As often as a lictor arrested a man on the consul's order, a tribune would command that he be released; in every case it was not a man's right that determined his conduct, but the confidence he had in his strength; and one had to make good by force what one meant to do.

Precisely as the tribunes had borne themselves in preventing the levy, so did the senators in blocking the law, which was brought forward every day the comitia could be held.[1] The quarrel broke out when the tribunes had ordered the people to separate,[2] since the patricians would not permit themselves to be removed. And yet the older nobles for the most part took no share in an affair which was not to be

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quae non consilio regenda, sed permissa temeritati audaciaeque esset.[1] Multum et consules se abstinebant, ne cui in conluvione rerum maiestatem suam contumeliae offerrent.

Caeso erat Quinctius, ferox iuvenis, qua nobilitate gentis qua corporis magnitudine et viribus. Ad ea munera data a dis et ipse addiderat multa belli decora facundiamque in foro, ut nemo, non lingua non manu, promptior in civitate haberetur. Hic cum in medio patrum agmine constitisset eminens inter alios, velut omnes dictaturas consulatusque gerens in voce ac viribus suis, unus impetus tribunicios popularesque procellas sustinebat. Hoc duce saepe pulsi foro tribuni, fusa ac fugata plebes est; qui obvius fuerat, mulcatus nudatusque abibat, ut satis appareret, si sic agi liceret, victam legem esse. Tum prope iam perculsis aliis tribunis A. Verginius ex collegio unus Caesoni capitis diem dicit. Atrox ingenium accenderat eo facto magis quam conterruerat; eo acrius obstare legi, agitare plebem, tribunos velut iusto persequi bello. Accusator pati reum ruere invidiaeque flammam ac materiam criminibus suis suggerere; legem interim non tam ad spem perferendi quam ad lacessendam Caesonis temeritatem ferre. Ibi multa[2] saepe

[1] esset $F^3L^2\varsigma$: essent Ω.
[2] ibi multa Ω: multa ibi *V*.

[1] A capital charge if proven carried with it loss of *caput*, *i. e.* "the full legal status of a Roman citizen." (See Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, p. 31.) From chap. xii. § 6, it appears that a sentence of banishment rather than death was anticipated in the present instance.

guided by wisdom, but had been committed to rash- B.C. 461
ness and impudence. To a considerable extent the consuls too kept aloof, lest they should expose their dignity to some affront in the general confusion.

There was a young man, Caeso Quinctius, emboldened not only by his noble birth but also by his great stature and physical strength; and to these gifts of the gods he had himself added many honours in the field, and also forensic eloquence, so that no citizen was held to be readier, whether with tongue or with hand. When this man had taken his place in the midst of the band of senators, towering above his fellows as though wielding all the might of dictators and consuls in his voice and strength of body, he would sustain unaided the attacks of the tribunes and the fury of the rabble. His leadership often drove the tribunes from the Forum and ignominiously routed the plebeians; the man who crossed his path came off bruised and stripped; so that it was clear that if things were allowed to go on in this way the law was beaten. Finally, when the other tribunes had already been pretty well cowed, one of their college named Aulus Verginius summoned Caeso to stand trial on a capital charge.[1] The man's fierce nature was rather aroused by this than terrified; and he continued all the more bitterly to resist the law, to harry the plebs, and to assail the tribunes as if in actual warfare. The accuser permitted the defendant to storm, and to fan the flames of popular resentment, while furnishing fresh materials for the charges which he intended to bring against him; meanwhile he continued to urge the law, not so much from any hope of carrying it as to provoke Caeso to reckless-

A.U.C. 293 ab iuventute inconsulte dicta factaque in unius
12 Caesonis suspectum incidunt ingenium. Tamen legi resistebatur. Et A. Verginius identidem plebi: "Ecquid sentitis iam vos, Quirites, Caesonem simul civem et legem quam cupitis habere non posse?
13 Quamquam quid ego legem loquor? Libertati obstat; omnes Tarquinios superbia exsuperat. Exspectate, dum consul aut dictator fiat, quem privatum viribus et audacia regnantem videtis." Adsentiebantur multi pulsatos se querentes, et tribunum ad rem peragendam ultro incitabant.

XII. Iam aderat iudicio dies apparebatque volgo homines in damnatione Caesonis libertatem agi credere. Tum demum coactus cum multa indignitate prensabat singulos. Sequebantur necessarii, principes
2 civitatis. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, qui ter consul fuerat, cum multa referret sua familiaeque decora,
3 adfirmabat neque in Quinctia gente neque in civitate Romana tantam indolem tam maturae virtutis unquam exstitisse; suum primum militem fuisse, se
4 saepe vidente pugnasse in hostem; Sp. Furius, missum ab Quinctio Capitolino sibi eum in dubiis suis rebus venisse subsidio; neminem unum esse cuius

ness. In these circumstances it was Caeso alone, B.C. 461
as being a suspected character, who got all the blame for many a rash word and act which proceeded from the young aristocrats. Nevertheless the law continued to meet resistance. And Aulus Verginius kept saying to the plebeians: "I suppose you see now, Quirites, that you cannot at the same time have Caeso for a fellow-citizen and obtain the law you desire? And yet why do I say *law?* It is *liberty* he is thwarting; in all the Tarquinian house was no such arrogance. Wait till this man becomes consul or dictator, whom you see lording it over us while a private citizen, by virtue of his strength and impudence!" There were many who agreed with him; they complained of the beatings they had received, and freely urged the tribune to see the business through.

XII. The day of the trial now drew near, and it was clearly the general opinion that liberty depended on Caeso's condemnation. Then at last he was obliged, though greatly disdaining such a course, to sue for the support of individuals. He was accompanied by his friends, the chief men of the state. Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had thrice been consul, rehearsed the many honours which had come to himself and his family, and declared that neither in the Quinctian clan nor in the Roman state had there ever been such native qualities, so early ripening into manly worth; Caeso had been his best soldier, and had often fought under his own eyes. Spurius Furius testified that Caeso had been sent to him by Quinctius Capitolinus, and had come to his aid when he was in a dangerous plight; that there was no single person whose services he considered to

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5 magis opera putet rem restitutam. L. Lucretius,[1] consul anni prioris, recenti gloria nitens, suas laudes participare cum Caesone, memorare pugnas, referre egregia facinora, nunc in expeditionibus nunc in acie
6 suadere et monere iuvenem egregium, instructum naturae fortunaeque omnibus bonis, maximum momentum rerum eius civitatis, in quamcumque venisset,
7 suum quam alienum mallent civem esse. Quod offendat in eo, fervorem et audaciam, aetatem cottidie magis auferre ; quod desideretur, consilium, id in dies crescere. Senescentibus vitiis, maturescente virtute
8 sinerent tantum virum senem in civitate fieri. Pater inter hos L. Quinctius, cui Cincinnato cognomen erat, non iterando laudes, ne cumularet invidiam, sed veniam errori atque adulescentiae petendo, sibi, qui non dicto, non facto quemquam offendisset, ut con-
9 donarent filium orabat. Sed alii aversabantur preces aut verecundia aut metu ; alii se suosque mulcatos querentes atroci responso iudicium suum praeferebant.

XIII. Premebat reum praeter volgatam invidiam crimen unum, quod M. Volscius Fictor, qui ante aliquot annos tribunus plebis fuerat, testis exstiterat
2 se, haud multo post quam pestilentia in urbe fuerat,

[1] L. Lucretius *V* (*cf.* viii. 2) : p. lucretius Ω : p. f. lucretius *MF*?

have been more effectual in saving the day. Lucius Lucretius, the consul of the year before, in the splendour of his new-won renown, shared his glory with Caeso, told of the young man's combats, and recounted his wonderful exploits on raids or in the field of battle; he earnestly advised the people to prefer that a distinguished youth, endowed with every advantage of nature and of fortune, and sure to be an important factor in the affairs of any state which he might join, should rather be their own than the citizen of another nation. Those qualities in him which gave offence, impetuosity and rashness, were diminishing each day, as he grew older: that in which he was deficient, namely prudence, was daily increasing. They should suffer a man of his greatness—his worth maturing as he outlived his faults—to grow old in the possession of his citizenship. The young man's father, Lucius Quinctius, surnamed Cincinnatus, was among his advocates. He did not dwell on Caeso's praises, lest he should add to his unpopularity; but, craving indulgence for his errors and his youth, he begged them to acquit the son as a favour to the father, who had offended no man either in word or deed. But some turned away from the petitioner, through either embarrassment or fear; while others complained of the injuries which Caeso had inflicted on themselves or their friends, and showed by their harsh replies how they meant to vote. B.C. 461

XIII. There was one charge, besides the general dislike of him, which bore hard upon the accused. Marcus Volscius Fictor, who had been a tribune of the plebs a few years before, had certified that shortly after the epidemic had been in the City he

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in iuventutem [1] grassantem in Subura incidisse. Ibi rixam natam esse, fratremque suum maiorem natu, necdum ex morbo satis validum, pugno ictum ab
3 Caesone cecidisse ; semianimem inter manus domum ablatum mortuumque inde arbitrari, nec sibi rem exsequi tam atrocem per consules superiorum annorum licuisse. Haec Volscio clamitante adeo concitati homines sunt ut haud multum afuerit quin impetu populi
4 Caeso interiret. Verginius arripi iubet hominem et in vincula duci. Patricii vi contra vim resistunt. T. Quinctius clamitat, cui rei capitalis dies dicta sit et de quo futurum propediem iudicium, eum indem-
5 natum indicta causa non debere violari. Tribunus supplicium negat sumpturum se de indemnato ; servaturum tamen in vinculis esse ad iudicii diem ut, qui hominem necaverit, de eo supplicii sumendi copia
6 populo Romano fiat. Appellati tribuni medio decreto ius auxilii sui expediunt : in vincla conici vetant ; sisti reum, pecuniamque ni sistatur populo promitti placere
7 pronuntiant. Summam pecuniae quantam aequum esset promitti, veniebat in dubium ; id ad senatum reicitur. Reus, dum consulerentur patres, retentus
8 in publico est. Vades dari [2] placuit ; unum vadem tribus milibus aeris obligarunt ; [3] quot darentur per-

[1] in iuventutem *V* : iuuentutem Ω.
[2] dari *Madvig* : dare Ω.
[3] obligarunt Ω : obligarent *PF*? *UB* : obligauerunt *M*.

[1] A populous street lying in the hollow between the Quirinal and the Viminal on the one hand, and the Esquiline on the other.

[2] The tribunes had been created to protect plebeians against the oppression of the nobles, but there were several other occasions when patricians did not disdain to avail themselves of their help. See II. lvi. 5 ; IX. xxvi. 16.

had fallen in with a band of young men swaggering through the Subura.[1] There a brawl had arisen, and his elder brother, who had not yet fully recovered from the disease, had been felled by a blow from Caeso's fist; he had been picked up half-alive and carried home, and his death, Volscius considered, had resulted from this hurt; yet under the consuls of previous years he had been unable to avenge that wicked crime. As Volscius shouted out this story, men became so excited that Caeso had nearly perished by the fury of the people. Verginius gave orders to seize the fellow and throw him into prison. The patricians resisted force with force. Titus Quinctius cried out that a man who had been charged with a capital crime and whose day of trial was at hand ought not to suffer violence, uncondemned and unheard. The tribune answered that he did not propose to punish him uncondemned, but that he should keep him in prison notwithstanding, till the day of trial, that the Roman People might have it in their power to punish a homicide. The other tribunes, on being appealed to,[2] asserted by a compromise their prerogative of protection: they forbade the imprisonment of the accused, but declared it to be their pleasure that he be produced for trial, and that money be pledged to the people in the event of a failure to produce him. How great a sum was proper to be guaranteed was a doubtful point; it was referred to the senate, and Caeso was detained in custody till the Fathers could be consulted. They voted that sureties should be furnished, and fixed the responsibility of one surety at 3,000 asses; how many sureties should be given they left the tribunes to determine. They decided B.C. 461

A.U.C. 293 missum tribunis est. Decem finierunt. Tot vadibus accusator vadatus est reum. Hic primus vades publico[1] dedit. Dimissus e foro nocte proxima in Tuscos in 9 exsilium abiit. Iudicii die cum excusaretur solum vertisse exsilii causa, nihilo minus Verginio comitia habente collegae appellati dimisere concilium. 10 Pecunia a patre exacta crudeliter, ut divenditis omnibus bonis aliquamdiu trans Tiberim veluti relegatus devio[2] quodam tugurio viveret.

A.U.C. 294 XIV. Hoc iudicium et promulgata lex exercuit 2 civitatem: ab externis armis otium fuit. Cum velut victores tribuni perculsis patribus Caesonis exsilio prope perlatam esse crederent legem et, quod ad seniores patrum pertineret, cessissent possessione 3 rei publicae, iuniores, id maxime quod Caesonis sodalicium[3] fuit, auxere iras in plebem, non minuerunt animos; sed ibi plurimum profectum est, quod modo 4 quodam temperavere impetus suos. Cum primo post Caesonis exsilium lex coepta ferri est, instructi paratique cum ingenti clientium exercitu sic tribunos, ubi primum submoventes praebuere causam, adorti

[1] publico *Gronovius*: publicos Ω.
[2] devio *V* (*conj. by Campanus and Rhenanus before the discovery of this MS.*): deuo (*or* de ullo) Ω.
[3] sodalicium *V*: sodalium Ω.

[1] Verginius wished to try Caeso *in absentia*, but his colleagues, by adjourning the meeting, acquiesced in the view that a defendant had the right to avoid conviction by going into voluntary exile. In similar cases the tribes subsequently passed a resolution the effect of which was to give to this voluntary exile the binding force of a legal sentence (XXV. iv. 9; XXVI. iii. 12).

on ten, and with this number of sureties the B.C. 461
accuser admitted the accused to bail. Caeso was the first that ever gave sureties to the people. Being allowed to leave the Forum, he departed that night and went into exile amongst the Etruscans. On the day of trial, when it was pleaded that he had gone into voluntary exile, Verginius nevertheless attempted to hold the comitia, but an appeal was taken to his colleagues, who dismissed the assembly.[1] The money was exacted from Caeso's father without pity, so that he was obliged to sell all that he had and live for some time on the other side of the Tiber,[2] like one banished, in a certain lonely hovel.

XIV. This trial and the promulgation of the law[3] kept the citizens in a turmoil: from foreign wars there was a respite. The tribunes, assuming that the rebuff sustained by the patricians in Caeso's exile had given themselves the victory, believed the law to be as good as passed; and so far as the older senators were concerned, they had indeed relinquished their grasp upon the government; but the juniors, especially those who had been of Caeso's fellowship, grew more bitter against the plebs, and their courage ran as high as ever. Yet they greatly promoted their cause by tempering their fury with a kind of moderation. At the first attempt after Caeso's exile to pass the law, they were organized and ready, and fell upon the tribunes with a great army of clients, as soon as the tribunes gave them an excuse by attempting to remove them; in such wise that no single patrician came off with any

[2] The *Trastevere* was not incorporated in the City till Augustus made of it his fourteenth region.

[3] The Terentilian Law. See chap. ix.

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sunt ut nemo unus inde praecipuum quicquam gloriae domum invidiaeve ferret, mille pro uno Caesones exstitisse plebes quereretur. Mediis diebus quibus tribuni de lege non agerent, nihil eisdem illis placidius aut quietius erat. Benigne salutare, adloqui plebis homines, domum invitare, adesse in foro, tribunos ipsos cetera pati sine interpellatione concilia habere, numquam ulli neque publice neque privatim truces esse, nisi cum de lege agi coeptum esset; alibi popularis iuventus erat. Ne voce quidem incommodi, nedum ut ulla vis fieret, paulatim permulcendo tractandoque mansuefecerant plebem. His per totum annum artibus lex elusa est. Nec cetera modo tribuni tranquillo peregere, sed refecti quoque in insequentem annum.[1]

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XV. Accipiunt civitatem placidiorem consules C. Claudius Appi filius et P. Valerius Publicola. Nihil novi novus annus attulerat; legis ferendae aut accipiendae cura civitatem tenebat. Quantum iuniores patrum plebi se magis insinuabant, eo acrius contra tribuni tendebant ut plebi suspectos eos criminando facerent: coniurationem factam; Caesonem Romae esse; interficiendorum tribunorum, trucidandae ple-

[1] nec cetera, etc. *The MSS. put this sentence after* iuuentus erat. *The transposition is due to Conway and Walters.*

conspicuous share of glory or unpopularity, and the plebeians complained that a thousand Caesos had sprung up in the place of one. During the intervening days on which the tribunes took no action about the law, nothing could have been more peaceable or quiet than these same youths. They would salute plebeians courteously, converse with them, invite them to their houses, assist them in the courts, and permit the tribunes themselves to hold their other assemblies without interruption. They never displayed arrogance towards any one, either openly or in private, except when the law came up; at other times they were democratic. By avoiding so much as an offensive word, to say nothing of any sort of violence, they managed little by little, with gentleness and tact, to disarm the hostility of the plebs. By such arts the law was evaded for an entire year. And yet not only did the tribunes carry through their other measures without opposition, but they were even re-elected for the following twelvemonth. B.C. 461

XV. The state was less distracted when the consuls Gaius Claudius, the son of Appius, and Publius Valerius Publicola assumed control. No new difficulty had come in with the new year; anxiety to pass the law on the one side, and on the other the dread of having to accept it, occupied the thoughts of the citizens. The more the younger patricians tried to ingratiate themselves with the plebs, the more sharply were they opposed by the tribunes, who endeavoured by bringing charges against their adversaries to make the plebeians suspect them: A conspiracy had been formed; Caeso was in Rome; plans had been laid to kill the tri- B.C. 460

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bis consilia inita; id negotii datum ab senioribus patrum ut iuventus tribuniciam potestatem e re publica tolleret formaque eadem civitatis esset quae
4 ante Sacrum montem occupatum fuerat. Et a Volscis et Aequis statum iam ac prope sollemne in singulos annos bellum timebatur, propiusque aliud novum
5 malum necopinato exortum. Exsules servique, ad duo milia[1] hominum et quingenti, duce Ap. Herdonio Sabino nocte Capitolium atque arcem occu-
6 pavere. Confestim in arce facta caedes eorum qui coniurare et simul capere arma noluerant: alii inter tumultum praecipites pavore in forum devolant. Alternae voces "Ad arma!" et "Hostes in urbe
7 sunt" audiebantur. Consules et armare plebem et inermem pati timebant incerti quod malum repentinum, externum an intestinum, ab odio plebis an ab servili fraude, urbem invasisset. Sedabant tumultus, sedando interdum movebant; nec enim poterat pavida et consternata multitudo regi imperio.
8 Dant tamen arma, non volgo, tantum ut incerto hoste praesidium satis fidum ad omnia esset. Solliciti reliquum noctis incertique qui homines, quantus numerus hostium esset, in stationibus disponendis ad opportuna omnis urbis loca egere. Lux deinde
9 aperuit bellum ducemque belli. Servos ad liberta-

[1] duo milia ↄ: ∞ ∞ milia Ω: ccc milia *O*: cccc milia P^2FUBD^3 (*cf. Dion. Hal.* x. xiv. 1).

[1] Livy implies that Coriolanus and Caeso were not the only citizens who had been compelled to leave Rome during the quarrels between senate and plebs.

bunes and massacre the plebs; the elder patricians had intrusted the younger men with the task of abolishing the tribunician power from the commonwealth, that the state might have the same aspect it had worn before the occupation of the Sacred Mount. Also men feared the Volsci and Aequi, whose attack was by this time almost a regular and stated custom of annual recurrence; and a new and unexpected danger sprang up nearer home. Exiles [1] and slaves to the number of twenty-five hundred, led by Appius Herdonius, the Sabine, came by night and seized the Capitol and the Citadel. They at once put to the sword those in the Citadel who refused to conspire and take up arms with them. Some escaped in the confusion and ran down terror-stricken into the Forum. Alternating cries were heard, "To arms!" and "The enemy is in the City!" The consuls were afraid either to arm the plebs or to leave them unarmed, not knowing whence this sudden attack upon the City had come, whether from without or from within, from the hatred of the plebs or the treachery of slaves. They tried to still the uproar, and sometimes by their efforts made it the greater; for the trembling, panic-stricken multitude could not be controlled by authority. Nevertheless they gave out arms, not to everybody, but only so far as to insure, in the uncertainty regarding their foe, that there should be a fairly dependable defence for any emergency. Filled with concern, and wondering who their enemy was and what his numbers, they employed the rest of the night in disposing pickets at suitable points throughout the City. Then came daylight and disclosed the nature of the war and its

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tem Ap. Herdonius ex Capitolio vocabat: se miserrimi cuiusque suscepisse causam, ut exsules iniuria pulsos in patriam reduceret et servitiis grave iugum demeret. Id malle populo Romano auctore fieri: si ibi spes non sit, se Volscos et Aequos et omnia extrema temptaturum et concitaturum.

XVI. Dilucere res magis patribus atque consulibus. Praeter ea tamen quae denuntiabantur, ne Veientium neu Sabinorum id consilium esset timere, 2 et, cum tantum in urbe hostium esset, mox Sabinae Etruscaeque legiones ex composito adessent, tum aeterni hostes, Volsci et Aequi, non ad populandos, ut ante, fines sed ad urbem ut ex parte captam 3 venirent. Multi et varii timores; inter ceteros eminebat terror servilis, ne suus cuique domi hostis esset, cui nec credere nec non credendo, ne infestior 4 fieret, fidem abrogare satis erat tutum; vixque concordia sisti videbatur posse. Tantum superantibus aliis ac mergentibus malis nemo tribunos aut plebem timebat; mansuetum id malum et per aliorum quietem malorum semper exoriens tum quiesse[1] pere- 5 grino terrore sopitum videbatur. At[2] id prope unum

[1] tum quiesse *Scheller*: tumque esse Ω. [2] at $U\zeta$: ad Ω.

[1] Caeso had taken refuge with the Etruscans (chap. xiii. § 8).

leader. From the Capitol Herdonius was calling the B.C. 460
slaves to freedom; he had undertaken, he said, the cause of all the wretched, that he might bring back to their native land the exiles who had been wrongfully expelled, and release the slaves from their heavy yoke; he had rather this were done with the approval of the Roman people: if there were no hope in that quarter, he would call in the Volsci and the Aequi and leave no desperate measure unattempted.

XVI. The situation became clearer to the senators and the consuls. Still, besides the dangers with which they were publicly threatened, they were afraid that this might be a ruse of the Veientes or the Sabines, and that while there were so many enemies within the City, Sabine and Etruscan levies might presently combine for an invasion;[1] or again that their perpetual foes, the Volsci and Aequi, might come, not as before to lay waste their fields, but to the City, which they would regard as already partly captured. Men's fears were many and various; above all the rest stood out their dread of the slaves. Everybody suspected that he had an enemy in his own household, whom it was safe neither to trust, nor, from want of confidence, to refuse to trust, lest his hostility should be intensified; and it seemed hardly possible that even co-operation between the classes should arrest the danger. So greatly did other evils overtop and threaten to engulf them that no one feared the tribunes or the plebeians; that seemed a milder mischief, and springing up, as it always did, when other troubles were quieted, appeared now to have been lulled to sleep by the foreign peril. But in fact it bore down almost

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maxime inclinatis rebus incubuit. Tantus enim tribunos furor tenuit ut non bellum sed vanam imaginem belli ad avertendos ab legis cura plebis animos Capitolium insedisse contenderent; patriciorum hospites clientesque si perlata lege frustra tumultuatos esse se sentiant, maiore quam venerint silentio
6 abituros. Concilium inde legi[1] perferendae habere avocato[2] populo ab armis. Senatum interim consules habent alio se maiore ab tribunis metu ostendente, quam quem nocturnus hostis intulerat.

XVII. Postquam arma poni et discedere homines ab stationibus nuntiatum est, P. Valerius collega senatum retinente se ex curia proripit, inde in tem-
2 plum ad tribunos venit. "Quid hoc rei est" inquit, "tribuni? Ap. Herdonii ductu et auspicio rem publicam eversuri estis? Tam felix vobis corrumpendis fuit qui servitia non commovit auctor? Cum hostes supra caput sint, discedi ab armis legesque ferri
3 placet?" Inde ad multitudinem oratione versa: "Si vos urbis, Quirites,[3] si vestri nulla cura tangit, at vos veremini deos vestros ab hostibus captos. Iuppiter optimus maximus, Iuno regina et Minerva, alii di deaeque obsidentur; castra servorum publicos vestros
4 penates tenent; haec vobis forma sanae civitatis videtur? Tantum hostium non solum intra muros est

[1] legi Ω: legis *O*. [2] avocato ς F^3U^2: aduocato Ω.
[3] urbis, Quirites *Sabellicus*: urbisque Ω.

[1] The word *templum* means any place marked off with augural rites. The *templum* meant here is the Comitium.

more heavily than anything else upon their sinking fortunes. For so frenzied were the tribunes that they asserted it was no war which had taken possession of the Capitol, but an idle mimicry of war, got up to divert the minds of the plebeians from thinking about the law; the patricians' friends and retainers would depart, when the passing of the law showed them how useless had been their insurrection, even more silently than they had come. They then convened an assembly to carry the measure through, having called the people away from their service as soldiers. Meantime the consuls were holding a meeting of the senate, where more fear of the tribunes was manifested than the night-attack of the enemy had caused. B.C. 160

XVII. On being informed that the men were laying down their arms and quitting their posts, Publius Valerius left his colleague to keep the senate together, and hurrying from the Curia sought out the tribunes in their meeting-place.[1] "What means this, tribunes?" he exclaimed, "Are you going to overturn the state under the leadership and auspices of Appius Herdonius? Has he who could not arouse the slaves been so successful in corrupting you? With the enemy over your heads can you choose to quit your arms and legislate?" Then, turning to the crowd, he continued: "If you feel no concern, Quirites, for your City, or for yourselves, yet fear your gods, whom the enemy hold captive. Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Queen Juno, and Minerva, and the other gods and goddesses, are beleaguered; a camp of slaves is in possession of the tutelary deities of your country; does this seem to you a healthy polity? All these foes are not merely

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sed in arce supra forum curiamque ; comitia interim in foro sunt, senatus in curia est ; velut cum otium superat, senator sententiam dicit, alii Quirites suffra-
5 gium ineunt. Non quidquid patrum plebisque est, consules, tribunos, deos hominesque omnes armatos opem ferre, in Capitolium currere, liberare ac pacare augustissimam illam domum Iovis optimi maximi de-
6 cuit? Romule pater, tu mentem tuam, qua quondam arcem ab his iisdem Sabinis auro captam recepisti, da stirpi tuae ; iube hanc ingredi viam, quam tu dux, quam tuus ingressus exercitus est! Primus en ego consul, quantum mortalis deum possum, te ac tua vestigia
7 sequar." Ultimum orationis fuit : se arma capere, vocare omnes Quirites ad arma. Si qui impediat, iam se consularis imperii, iam tribuniciae potestatis sacratarumque legum oblitum, quisquis ille sit, ubicumque sit, in Capitolio, in foro, pro hoste habiturum.
8 Iuberent tribuni, quoniam in Ap. Herdonium vetarent, in P. Valerium consulem sumi arma ; ausurum se in tribunis, quod princeps familiae suae ausus in regibus
9 esset. Vim ultimam apparebat futuram spectaculoque seditionem Romanam hostibus fore. Nec lex tamen ferri nec ire in Capitolium consul potuit. Nox certamina coepta oppressit. Tribuni cessere
10 nocti, timentes consulum arma. Amotis inde sedi-

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[1] Publius Valerius, son of Volesus (I. lviii. 6), afterwards called Publicola (II. viii. 1).

within our walls, but in the Citadel, above the Forum and the Curia; the people meanwhile are assembled in the Forum, and in the Curia sits the senate; as when peace reigns supreme, the senator gives voice to his opinion, the other Quirites vote. Should not every patrician and plebeian, the consuls, the tribunes, gods, and men, all have drawn the sword and helped; have rushed upon the Capitol; have brought liberty and peace to that most august house of Jupiter Optimus Maximus? Father Romulus, grant thou to thy descendants that spirit in which thou didst aforetime regain thy Citadel from these same Sabines, when they had captured it with gold; bid them advance by that road where thou didst lead, and thy army followed. Lo, I the consul will be the first, so far as mortal can emulate a god, to follow in thy footsteps!" He ended by announcing that he drew his sword and called to arms all the Quirites; if any hindered, he should no longer remember consular authority, nor tribunician power, nor the guarantees of sanctity; whoever the man, wherever he might be,—on the Capitol, in the Forum, —he should hold him a public enemy. Since the tribunes forbade them to arm against Appius Herdonius, let them order an attack on Publius Valerius the consul; he would not fear to deal with tribunes as the founder of his family[1] had dealt with kings. It was evident that there would soon be an appeal to force, and that the enemy would be afforded the spectacle of mutiny among the Romans. Yet it was equally impossible for the law to be carried and for the consul to go up into the Capitol. Night put an end to the struggle. The tribunes retired as darkness fell, fearing the armed strength B.C. 460

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tionis auctoribus patres circumire plebem inserentesque se in circulos sermones tempori aptos serere, admonere ut viderent in quod discrimen rem publi-
11 cam adducerent: non inter patres ac plebem certamen esse, sed simul patres plebemque, arcem urbis, templa deorum, penates publicos privatosque hostibus dedi.
12 Dum haec in foro sedandae discordiae causa aguntur, consules interim, ne Sabini neve Veiens[1] hostis moveretur, circa portas murosque discesserant.

XVIII. Eadem nocte et Tusculum de arce capta Capitolioque occupato et alio turbatae urbis statu
2 nuntii veniunt. L. Mamilius Tusculi tum dictator erat. Is confestim convocato senatu atque intro-
3 ductis nuntiis magno opere censet ne exspectent dum ab Roma legati auxilium petentes veniant; periculum ipsum discrimenque ac sociales deos fidemque foederum id poscere. Demerendi[2] beneficio tam potentem, tam propinquam civitatem numquam
4 parem occasionem daturos deos. Placet ferri auxilium; iuventus conscribitur, arma dantur. Romam prima luce venientes procul speciem hostium praebuere; Aequi aut Volsci venire visi sunt; deinde ubi vanus terror abiit, accepti in urbem agmine in

[1] neve Veiens *MHR*: ne ueiens *PFUODL*: ne ueniens *F*? *B*.

[2] demerendi ς: demereno (*or* de merendo) Ω: demorendo *B*.

of the consuls. When the instigators of insurrection were once out of the way, the Fathers went about among the plebs, and mingling with the different groups, talked to them in a strain adapted to the crisis. They warned them to have a care into what straits they brought the nation: It was not between patricians and plebeians that the conflict lay; patricians and plebeians alike, the Citadel of the City, the temples of the gods, and the guardian deities of the state and of private citizens, were being surrendered to enemies. Such were the means employed in the Forum to allay dissension. Meanwhile the consuls, lest Sabine or Veientine enemies might be afoot, had set out to make the round of the gates and walls. B.C. 46

XVIII. That same night Tusculum received tidings of the capture of the Citadel, the seizure of the Capitol, and the general disorder in the City. Lucius Mamilius was then dictator at Tusculum. He at once convoked the senate; and having introduced the messengers, expressed an earnest conviction that they ought not to wait till ambassadors should come from Rome requesting help; her perilous and critical situation spoke for itself—the gods of their alliance and the obligations of their treaty called on them to act. Heaven would never bestow on them an equal opportunity to earn the gratitude of so powerful and so near a state, by doing it a service. The senate resolved to help. The young men were enrolled, and arms were issued. As they marched towards Rome in the early dawn, the Tusculans, who were seen a long way off, were taken for enemies; it looked like an invasion of the Aequi or the Volsci. When the alarm proved groundless, they were

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5 forum descendunt. Ibi iam P. Valerius relicto ad
6 portarum praesidia collega instruebat aciem. Auctoritas viri moverat adfirmantis Capitolio reciperato et urbe pacata si edoceri se sissent,[1] quae fraus ab tribunis occulta in lege ferretur, memorem se maiorum suorum, memorem cognominis quo populi colendi velut hereditaria cura sibi a maioribus tradita esset,
7 concilium plebis non impediturum. Hunc ducem secuti nequiquam reclamantibus tribunis in clivum Capitolinum erigunt aciem. Adiungitur et Tusculana legio. Certare socii civesque, utri reciperatae arcis suum decus facerent; dux uterque suos adhortatur.
8 Trepidare tum hostes, nec ulli satis rei praeterquam loco fidere; trepidantibus inferunt signa Romani sociique, iam in vestibulum perruperant templi, cum P. Valerius inter primores pugnam ciens interficitur.
9 P. Volumnius consularis vidit cadentem. Is dato negotio suis ut corpus obtegerent, ipse in locum vicemque consulis provolat. Prae ardore impetuque tantae rei sensus non pervenit ad militem; prius
10 vicit quam se pugnare sine duce sentiret. Multi exsulum caede sua foedavere templa,[2] multi vivi capti, Herdonius interfectus. Ita Capitolium reci-

[1] si edoceri se sissent *Rhenanus*: si se doceri sensissent Ω: si se doceri siuissent U^2_5.

[2] templa *V*: templum (templi *DL*) Ω.

received into the City, and marched in column down into the Forum. There they found Publius Valerius, who had left his colleague to protect the gates and was marshalling his army. The personal influence of the man had prevailed. He had assured the people that when the Capitol should be won back and peace restored in the City, if they would permit him to point out to them the mischief which lurked in the law the tribunes were proposing, he would remember his forefathers and the surname with which he had, as it were, inherited from those forefathers the charge of caring for the people, nor would he interfere with the council of the plebs. Following him as their leader, despite the idle efforts of the tribunes to restrain them, they advanced up the Clivus Capitolinus, accompanied by the troops from Tusculum. It was a contest between the allies and the citizens, which should obtain the honour of recovering the Citadel. The leader of each party urged on his followers. The enemy now began to quake with fear, having no great confidence in anything but their position. As they stood there quaking, the Romans and their allies assailed them. They had already burst into the vestibule of the temple, when Publius Valerius was killed, as he was directing the attack in the van. Publius Volumnius, a former consul, saw him fall. Charging his men to cover up the body, he threw himself into the consul's place. In the ardour and enthusiasm of the soldiers so important an event passed unnoticed; and they had won the victory before they realized that they were fighting without their leader. Many of the exiles stained the temples with their blood; many were taken alive; Herdonius was slain. Thus the Capitol B.C. 460

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peratum. De captivis, ut quisque liber aut servus esset, suae fortunae a quoque sumptum supplicium est; Tusculanis gratiae actae; Capitolium purgatum
11 atque lustratum. In consulis domum plebes quadrantes ut funere ampliore efferretur[1] iactasse fertur.

XIX. Pace parta instare tum tribuni patribus ut P. Valeri fidem exsolverent, instare C. Claudio,[2] ut collegae deos manes fraude liberaret, agi de lege sineret. Consul antequam collegam sibi subrogasset
2 negare passurum agi de lege. Hae tenuere contentiones usque ad comitia consulis subrogandi. Decembri mense summo patrum studio L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, pater Caesonis, consul creatur, qui
3 magistratum statim occiperet. Perculsa erat plebes consulem habitura iratum, potentem favore patrum, virtute sua, tribus liberis, quorum nemo Caesoni cedebat magnitudine animi, consilium et modum
4 adhibendo ubi res posceret priores erant. Is ut magistratum iniit, adsiduis contionibus pro tribunali non in plebe coercenda quam senatu castigando vehementior fuit, cuius ordinis languore perpetui iam tribuni plebis, non ut in re publica populi Romani sed ut in perdita domo lingua criminibusque

[1] efferretur F^3 (*over erasure*): referretur *RDL*: ferretur (amplio referretur *H*) Ω.
[2] C. Claudio *H. J. Mueller*: Claudio Ω.

[1] *Cf.* the funeral of his father (II. xvi. 7), and of Menenius Agrippa (II. xxxiii. 11).

was regained. The captives, according as they were free or slave, paid the penalty appropriate in each case to their condition; the Tusculans were thanked; the Capitol was purged and ceremonially purified. It is said that the plebeians flung their coppers into the consul's house, that he might be given a grander funeral.[1] B.C. 460

XIX. When peace had been established, the tribunes began to urge the patricians to fulfil the promise made by Publius Valerius; and to urge Gaius Claudius to absolve the manes of his colleague from deceit, and allow the law to be discussed. The consul refused to permit discussion of the law, until he should have accomplished the election of a colleague. These disputes continued up to the time when the comitia met to fill the vacant consulate. In December, thanks to extraordinary zeal on the part of the patricians, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Caeso's father, was declared consul, to enter upon the office at once. The plebs were filled with dismay at the prospect of a consul incensed against themselves and strong in the favour of the senate, his own worth, and his three sons, none of whom was inferior to Caeso in courage, while they surpassed him in using wisdom and restraint when the need arose. Cincinnatus, having taken up the magistracy, harangued the people incessantly from the tribunal; yet was no more vehement in repressing the plebs than in castigating the senate. It was owing, he declared, to the apathy of that order that the tribunes of the plebs, whose tenure was now become permanent, exercised such a tyranny of speech and accusation as might be expected in a disordered household, but not in the public affairs of the Roman

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5 regnarent. Cum Caesone filio suo virtutem, constantiam, omnia iuventutis belli domique decora pulsa ex urbe Romana et fugata esse; loquaces, seditiosos, semina discordiarum, iterum ac tertium tri-
6 bunos pessimis artibus regia licentia vivere. "Aulus" inquit "ille Verginius, quia in Capitolio non fuit, minus supplicii quam Ap. Herdonius meruit? Plus hercule aliquanto, qui vere rem aestimare velit. Herdonius, si nihil aliud, hostem se fatendo prope denuntiavit ut arma caperetis; hic negando bellum[1] esse arma vobis ademit nudosque servis vestris et
7 exsulibus obiecit. Et vos—C. Claudi pace et P. Valeri mortui loquar—prius in clivum Capitolinum signa intulistis quam hos hostes de foro tolleretis? Pudet deorum hominumque. Cum hostes in arce, in Capitolio essent, exsulum et servorum dux profanatis omnibus in cella Iovis optimi maximi habitaret, Tusculi ante quam Romae sumpta sunt arma;
8 in dubio fuit, utrum L. Mamilius, Tusculanus dux, an P. Valerius et C. Claudius consules Romanam arcem liberarent; et qui ante Latinos ne pro se quidem ipsis, cum in finibus hostem haberent, attingere arma passi sumus, nunc, nisi Latini sua sponte
9 arma sumpsissent, capti et deleti eramus. Hoc est, tribuni, auxilium plebi ferre, inermem eam hosti trucidandam obicere? Scilicet, si quis vobis humil-

[1] bellum *Madvig*: bella Ω.

People. With his son Caeso, manhood, steadfast- B.C. 460
ness, and all the qualities which honour youth in war and in civil life had been driven from Rome and put to rout. Garrulous, seditious, sowers of discord, obtaining office—by the most wicked practices—for a second and even a third term, the tribunes led as lawless a life as kings. "Did Aulus Verginius," he cried, "because he was not in the Capitol, deserve less punishment than Appius Herdonius? Nay, somewhat more, if one were disposed to be fair. Herdonius had one thing to his credit: by professing himself an enemy, he as good as warned you to arm; the other, denying the existence of a war, took away your arms and exposed you unprotected to your slaves and exiles. And did you—without offence to Gaius Claudius and the dead Publius Valerius be it said,—did you carry your standards against the Capitoline Hill before clearing these enemies out of the Forum? I am ashamed in the sight of gods and men. When foes were in the Citadel, foes in the Capitol, when the captain of slaves and exiles, profaning everything, was quartered in the very shrine of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, it was Tusculum—not Rome—where the first sword was drawn. It was a question whether Lucius Mamilius, the Tusculan general, or Publius Valerius and Gaius Claudius, the consuls, would free the Roman Citadel; and we who until then did not allow the Latins to touch their weapons, even in their own defence, though they had an enemy within their borders, had now, unless the Latins had armed of their own free will, been taken captive and destroyed. Is this, tribunes, what you mean by helping the plebs,—to deliver them over unarmed to be slaughtered by the enemy? Why,

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limus homo de vestra plebe, quam partem velut abruptam a cetero populo vestram patriam peculiaremque rem publicam fecistis, si quis ex his domum suam obsessam[1] a familia armata nuntiaret, ferendum
10 auxilium putaretis: Iuppiter optimus maximus exsulum atque servorum saeptus armis nulla humana ope dignus erat? Et hi postulant ut sacrosancti habeantur, quibus ipsi di neque sacri neque sancti sunt?
11 At enim divinis humanisque obruti sceleribus legem vos hoc anno perlaturos dictitatis. Tum hercule illo die quo ego consul sum creatus, male gesta res publica est, peius multo, quam cum P. Valerius
12 consul periit,—si tuleritis. Iam primum omnium" inquit, "Quirites, in Volscos et Aequos mihi atque collegae legiones ducere in animo est. Nescio quo fato magis bellantes quam pacati propitios habemus deos. Quantum periculum ab illis populis fuerit, si Capitolium ab exsulibus obsessum scissent, suspicari de praeterito quam re ipsa experiri est melius."

XX. Moverat plebem oratio consulis; erecti patres restitutam credebant rem publicam. Consul alter, comes animosior quam auctor, suscepisse collegam priorem actiones[2] tam graves[3] facile passus, in peragendis consularis officii partem ad se vindicabat.
2 Tum tribuni, eludentes velut vana dicta persequi

[1] obsessam Ω: oppressam *V*. [2] actiones , : actionem Ω.
[3] graves ς: grauis Ω.

if the humblest man belonging to your plebs, a part of the people which you have sundered, as it were, from the rest and made a country of your own and a state apart,—if one of these, I say, had announced that his slaves had armed and seized his house, you would have thought yourselves bound to help him; was Jupiter Optimus Maximus, beset by the swords of exiles and slaves, too mean to merit any man's assistance? And do these tribunes demand that they be held sacred and inviolable, in whose eyes the very gods are neither the one nor the other? So! Weighed down with crimes against gods and men you assert that you will carry through your law this year! Then, by Heaven, it was an evil day for the nation when I was chosen consul, far more evil than when Publius Valerius the consul fell,—if indeed you carry it! First of all then, Quirites," he concluded, "I and my colleague are resolved to lead the legions against the Volsci and the Aequi. We are somehow fated to enjoy the favour of the gods in larger measure when warring than when at peace. How dangerous these peoples would have been, had they known that the Capitol was seized by exiles, we may more profitably conjecture from the past than ascertain by trying it." B.C. 460

XX. The consul's speech had moved the plebs, and the senators took courage, believing that the state was on its feet again. The other consul, more spirited in co-operation than invention, had been quite willing that his colleague should take the lead in initiating such weighty measures; but in carrying them out he claimed for himself a share of the duties of the consulship. Then the tribunes, jeering at what they termed the idle words of Cincin-

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quaerendo quonam modo exercitum educturi consules essent quos dilectum habere nemo passurus
3 sit.[1] "Nobis vero" inquit Quinctius "nihil dilectu opus est, cum, quo tempore P. Valerius ad recipiundum Capitolium arma plebi dedit, omnes in verba iuraverint conventuros se iussu consulis nec iniussu
4 abituros. Edicimus itaque, omnes qui in verba iurastis crastina die armati ad lacum Regillum adsitis." Cavillari tum tribuni et populum exsolvere religione velle: privatum eo tempore Quinctium
5 fuisse cum sacramento adacti sint. Sed nondum haec quae nunc tenet saeculum neglegentia deum venerat, nec interpretando sibi quisque ius iurandum et leges aptas faciebat, sed suos potius mores ad ea
6 accommodabat. Igitur tribuni, ut impediendae rei nulla spes erat, de proferendo exitu[2] agere, eo magis, quod et augures iussos adesse ad Regillum lacum fama exierat, locumque inaugurari ubi auspicato cum populo agi posset, ut quidquid Romae vi tribunicia rogatum esset id comitiis ibi abrogaretur:
7 omnes id iussuros quod consules velint;[3] neque enim provocationem esse longius ab urbe mille passuum, et tribunos, si eo veniant, in alia turba
8 Quiritium subiectos fore consulari imperio. Terrebant haec; sed ille maximus terror animos agitabat,

[1] sit *PFUBO*: esset *MHRDL*.
[2] de proferendo exitu *Perizonius*: de proferendo exercitu Ω.
[3] velint *V*: vellent Ω.

natus, proceeded to inquire how the consuls were going to lead out an army, when no one would permit them to hold a levy. "But we have no need of a levy," said Quinctius, "for when Publius Valerius gave arms to the people for the recovery of the Capitol, they all made oath that they would assemble at the bidding of the consul and not depart without his order. We therefore command that all you who took the oath report to-morrow, armed, at Lake Regillus." Whereupon the tribunes, seeking to release the people from their obligation, resorted to a quibble: Quinctius had been a private citizen at the time when they bound themselves by the oath. But there had not yet come about that contempt for the gods which possesses the present generation; nor did everybody seek to construe oaths and laws to suit himself, but rather shaped his own practices by them. Accordingly the tribunes, as there was no prospect of thwarting the design, concerned themselves with retarding the departure; the more so since a story was about that the augurs had been commanded to present themselves at Lake Regillus, there to inaugurate a place where the auspices could be taken and matters brought before the people, to the end that whatever had been enacted at Rome—thanks to the violence of the tribunes—might there be repealed by the comitia; everybody, they said, would vote as the consuls wished; for there was no appeal when one was more than a mile from the City, and the tribunes, if they should come there, would be subjected, amongst the rank and file of the citizens, to the consular authority. These were terrifying rumours, but far the greatest terror that preyed B.C. 460

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quod saepius Quinctius dictitabat se consulum comitia non habiturum; non ita civitatem aegram esse ut consuetis remediis sisti possit;[1] dictatore opus esse rei publicae, ut qui se moverit ad sollicitandum statum civitatis sentiat sine provocatione dictaturam esse.

XXI. Senatus in Capitolio erat; eo tribuni cum perturbata plebe veniunt. Multitudo clamore ingenti nunc consulum, nunc patrum fidem implorant nec ante moverunt de sententia consulem quam tribuni se in auctoritate patrum futuros esse polliciti
2 sunt. Tunc referente consule de tribunorum et plebis postulatis senatus consulta fiunt ut[2] neque tribuni legem eo anno ferrent neque consules ab urbe exercitum educerent; in reliquum magistratus continuari et eosdem[3] tribunos refici iudicare sena-
3 tum contra rem publicam esse. Consules fuere in patrum potestate: tribuni reclamantibus consulibus refecti. Patres quoque, ne quid cederent plebi, et ipsi L. Quinctium consulem reficiebant. Nulla toto
4 anno vehementior actio consulis fuit. "Mirer" inquit, "si vana vestra, patres conscripti, auctoritas ad plebem est? Vos elevatis eam; quippe qui quia[4] plebs senatus consultum continuandis[5] magistratibus
5 solvit, ipsi quoque solutum voltis, ne temeritati

[1] possit ς: posset Ω. [2] fiunt ut *V*: fiunt Ω.
[3] eosdem V_{ς}: eos Ω.
[4] qui quia *Madvig*: quia quia *V*: quia Ω.
[5] continuandis *Madvig*: in continuandis Ω.

upon their spirits was this, that Quinctius repeatedly declared that he would hold no consular election; the disease of the commonwealth was not one that could be cured by ordinary remedies; the nation needed a dictator, that whoever went about to disturb the state might learn that the dictatorship knew no appeal. B.C. 460

XXI. The senate was in the Capitol. Thither came the tribunes with the troubled plebs. The multitude loudly besought protection, now of the consuls, now of the senators. Yet they could not move the consul from his purpose, until the tribunes had promised that they would submit to the authority of the Fathers. The consul then brought up the demands of the tribunes and the plebs, and the senate resolved that neither should the tribunes proceed with the law that year, nor the consuls lead the army out of the City; that as regarded the future, it was the sense of the senate that for magistrates to succeed themselves and for the same tribunes to be re-elected was contrary to the general welfare. The consuls acquiesced in the authority of the Fathers; the tribunes, in spite of the protests of the consuls, were returned to office. Then the patricians also, that they might yield in no respect to the plebs, would themselves have re-elected Lucius Quinctius consul. At no time during the entire year did the consul express himself with greater vehemence. "Can I wonder," he cried, "if your influence with the people, Conscript Fathers, is unavailing? You yourselves impair it, when, because the people have disregarded the senate's resolution regarding successive terms, you desire to disregard it yourselves, that you may not lag behind

A.U.C. 294 multitudinis cedatis, tamquam id sit plus posse in civitate plus levitatis ac licentiae habere. Levius enim vaniusque profecto est sua decreta et consulta
6 tollere quam aliorum. Imitamini, patres conscripti, turbam inconsultam, et qui exemplo aliis esse debetis aliorum exemplo peccate[1] potius quam alii vestro recte faciant, dum ego ne imiter tribunos nec me contra senatus consultum consulem renuntiari
7 patiar. Te vero, C. Claudi, adhortor, ut et ipse populum Romanum hac licentia arceas et de me hoc tibi persuadeas, me ita accepturum ut non honorem meum a te impeditum, sed gloriam spreti honoris auctam, invidiam quae[2] ex continuato eo impenderet
8 levatam putem." Communiter inde edicunt ne quis L. Quinctium consulem faceret; si quis fecisset, se
A.U.C. 295 id suffragium non observaturos. XXII. Consules creati Q. Fabius Vibulanus tertium et L. Cornelius Maluginensis. Census actus eo anno: lustrum propter Capitolium captum, consulem occisum condi religiosum fuit.
2 Q. Fabio L. Cornelio consulibus principio anni statim res turbulentae. Instigabant plebem tribuni; bellum ingens a Volscis et Aequis Latini atque Hernici nuntiabant: iam Antii Volscorum legiones esse. Et ipsam coloniam ingens metus erat defec-

[1] peccate *Klock*: peccatis Ω.
[2] invidiam quae *VH*: inuuidiamque quae Ω: inuuidiam quaeque *D*? *L*.

the multitude in rashness; as if to be more inconstant and more lawless were to possess more power in the state. For surely it is more fickle and light-minded to nullify one's own decrees and resolutions, than those of others. Pattern yourselves, Conscript Fathers, after the thoughtless crowd; and do you, who ought to set others an example, err rather by the example of those others, than permit them to follow yours and do right. But I, with your leave, will not imitate the tribunes, nor suffer myself to be named consul against the senate's resolution. As for you, Gaius Claudius, I urge that you too restrain the Roman People from this lawlessness; and for my own part be assured I shall not feel that your action has stood in the way of my election, but that my renown has gained by my refusal of the office, and that the odium which threatened me from its continuation has been removed." They then united in an edict that no one should vote for Lucius Quinctius for consul; if any man should do so they would disregard his vote. B.C. 430

XXII. The consuls elected were Quintus Fabius Vibulanus (for the third time) and Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis. The census was taken that year, but there were scruples against performing the lustral sacrifice, on account of the seizure of the Capitol and the slaying of the consul. B.C. 459

The consulship of Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cornelius was a stormy one from the very beginning of the year. The tribunes egged on the plebs; the Latins and the Hernici reported that a great attack was being launched by the Volsci and the Aequi, and that Volscian levies were already at Antium. There was much apprehension too lest the colony

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turam; aegreque impetratum a tribunis ut bellum
3 praeverti sinerent. Consules inde partiti provincias: Fabio ut legiones Antium duceret datum, Cornelio[1] ut Romae praesidio esset, ne qua pars hostium, qui
4 Aequis mos erat, ad populandum veniret. Hernici et Latini iussi milites dare ex foedere, duaeque partes sociorum in exercitu, tertia civium fuit. Postquam ad diem praestitutum venerunt socii, consul extra portam Capenam castra locat. Inde lustrato exercitu Antium profectus haud procul oppido sta-
5 tivisque hostium consedit. Ubi cum Volsci, quia nondum ab Aequis venisset exercitus, dimicare non ausi, quem ad modum quieti vallo se tutarentur, pararent, postero die Fabius non permixtam unam sociorum civiumque sed trium populorum tres separatim acies circa vallum hostium instruxit; ipse erat
6 medius cum legionibus Romanis. Inde signum observare iussit, ut pariter et socii rem inciperent referrentque pedem, si receptui cecinisset. Equites
7 item suae cuique parti post principia collocat. Ita trifariam adortus castra circumvenit et, cum undique instaret, non sustinentes impetum Volscos vallo deturbat. Transgressus inde munitiones pavidam turbam inclinatamque in partem unam castris ex-
8 pellit. Inde effuse fugientes eques, cui superare

[1] Cornelio ς: Cornelius Ω.

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[1] *i. e.* over their law.

itself should revolt; and the tribunes were hardly prevailed upon to allow the war to have precedence.[1] Then the consuls divided the commands, appointing Fabius to take the legions to Antium, and Cornelius to defend Rome, lest some part of the enemy, in accordance with the Aequian custom, should make a foray. The Hernici and the Latins were bidden to furnish soldiers, as by treaty bound; two-thirds of the army were allies, one-third citizens. When the allies had reported on the appointed day, the consul encamped outside the Porta Capena. Thence, after purifying the army, he set out for Antium, and took up a position at no great distance from the town and the standing camp of the enemy. There the Volsci, not daring to give battle—for the Aequian army had not yet come up—sought to protect themselves, without fighting, behind their rampart. The next day Fabius, instead of mingling allies and citizens in one line of battle, drew up the three nations in three separate armies, about the enemy's works, taking the centre himself with the Roman legions. He then commanded them all to wait for the signal, that the allies might act with the citizens in beginning the fight, and in retreating, if he should sound the recall. He also stationed the cavalry belonging to each division behind its first line. Advancing thus in three sections he surrounded the camp, and attacking sharply on every side, dislodged the Volsci, who were unable to sustain his charge, from their intrenchments. Passing over these, he drove the frightened rabble before him in one direction and cleared the camp of them. As they dispersed in flight, the cavalry, who had found it difficult to surmount the rampart and had hitherto been mere

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vallum haud facile fuerat, cum ad id spectator pugnae adstitisset, libero campo adeptus parte victoriae fruitur territos caedendo. Magna et in castris et extra munimenta caedes fugientium fuit, sed praeda maior, quia vix arma secum efferre hostis potuit. Deletusque exercitus foret, ni fugientis silvae texissent.

XXIII. Dum ad Antium haec geruntur, interim Aequi robore iuventutis praemisso arcem Tusculanam improviso nocte capiunt; reliquo exercitu haud procul moenibus Tusculi considunt ut distenderent hostium copias. Haec celeriter Romam, ab Roma in castra Antium perlata movent Romanos haud secus quam si Capitolium captum nuntiaretur; adeo et recens erat Tusculanorum meritum et similitudo ipsa periculi reposcere datum auxilium videbatur. Fabius omissis omnibus praedam ex castris raptim Antium convehit; ibi modico praesidio relicto citatum agmen Tusculum rapit. Nihil praeter arma et quod cocti[1] ad manum fuit cibi ferre militi licuit; commeatum ab Roma consul Cornelius subvehit. Aliquot menses Tusculi bellatum. Parte exercitus consul castra Aequorum oppugnabat, partem Tusculanis dederat ad arcem reciperandam. Vi nunquam eo subiri[2]

[1] cocti D^1 (*or* D^2) ς: coacti Ω.
[2] subiri *U* (*confirming Gronovius*): subire Ω.

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[1] The soldiers ordinarily carried a ration of corn.

spectators of the battle, having now a clear field before them played their part in the victory by cutting off the fugitives. Great was the slaughter inflicted on the enemy as they attempted to escape, both in the camp and outside the works; but the booty was still greater, since they had barely been able to carry away their arms. If the forests had not covered the flight, their army would have been utterly destroyed. B.C. 459

XXIII. While this battle was being fought near Antium, the Aequi had sent forward the flower of their troops, and by a surprise attack at night, had captured the Tusculan citadel. The rest of their army they stationed at a short distance from the walls of the town, in order to induce the enemy to extend his forces. The news of these events being speedily carried to Rome and thence to the camp at Antium, had the same effect upon the Romans as if it had been announced that the Capitol was taken,—so fresh in their recollection was the service done them by the Tusculans, and so strongly did the similarity of the risk which their allies now ran seem to call for repayment of the assistance they had given. Letting everything else go, Fabius quickly conveyed the plunder of the camp to Antium, and leaving there a moderate garrison, hastened by forced marches to Tusculum. The soldiers were allowed to take nothing but their arms and such bread as happened to be at hand;[1] supplies were sent them from Rome by the consul Cornelius. The fighting at Tusculum lasted for some months. With a part of his army the consul laid siege to the camp of the Aequi; a part he had given to the Tusculans to use in recovering the citadel. The place could

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potuit; fames postremo inde detraxit[1] hostem. Qua[2] postquam ventum ad extremum est, inermes nudique omnes sub iugum ab Tusculanis missi. Hos ignominiosa fuga domum se recipientes Romanus consul in
6 Algido consecutus ad unum omnes occidit. Victor ad Columen—id loco nomen est—exercitu reducto[3] castra locat. Et alter consul, postquam moenibus iam Romanis pulso hoste periculum esse desierat,
7 et ipse ab Roma profectus. Ita bifariam consules ingressi hostium fines ingenti certamine hinc Volscos, hinc Aequos populantur. Eodem anno descisse Antiates apud plerosque auctores invenio; L. Cornelium consulem id bellum gessisse oppidumque cepisse. Certum adfirmare, quia nulla apud vetustiores scriptores eius rei mentio est, non ausim.

XXIV. Hoc bello perfecto tribunicium domi bellum patres territat. Clamant fraude fieri, quod foris teneatur exercitus; frustrationem eam legis tollendae esse; se nihilo minus rem susceptam
2 peracturos. Obtinuit tamen L. Lucretius,[4] praefectus urbis, ut actiones tribuniciae in adventum consulum
3 differrentur. Erat et nova exorta causa motus. A. Cornelius et Q. Servilius quaestores M. Volscio, quod falsus haud dubie testis in Caesonem exstitisset,

[1] detraxit Ω: traxit *UH.* [2] qua *M*? *Gronovius*: quo Ω.
[3] reducto *V* (*confirming Rubenius and Crevier*): relicto Ω.
[4] L. Lucretius *V*: p. l. lucretius *M*: p. lucretius Ω.

[1] Unidentified. Dion. Hal., x. xxi., calls the town Algidum.

never be entered by assault; but the enemy were finally driven out by hunger. Having thus reduced them to extremities, the Tusculans took away their arms, and stripping them to the tunic, sent them under the yoke. As they were ignominiously fleeing homeward, the Roman consul overtook them on Mount Algidus, and slew them, every man. The victor led his army back to Columen—this is the name of a place[1]—and went into camp. The other consul too, now that the defeat of the enemy had removed all danger from the walls of Rome, set out himself from the City. Thus at two points the consuls invaded the enemy's borders, and with keen rivalry devastated the lands of the Volsci on the one hand, and those of the Aequi on the other. I find in a good many writers that the Antiates revolted that same year; and that Lucius Cornelius the consul conducted the war and took the town. I should not venture to affirm it for a certainty, since there is no mention of the matter in the older historians. B.C. 459

XXIV. This war was no sooner finished, than the patricians were alarmed by one waged against them at home, by the tribunes, who cried out that the army was dishonestly kept afield—a trick intended to frustrate the passage of the law; which, notwithstanding, they had undertaken and proposed to carry through. Still, Lucius Lucretius, the prefect of the City, obtained the postponement of any action by the tribunes until the consuls should have come. There had also arisen a new cause for disquiet. Aulus Cornelius and Quintus Servilius, the quaestors, had summoned Marcus Volscius to trial, on the charge that he had been guilty of undoubted perjury

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4 diem dixerant. Multis enim emanabat indiciis neque fratrem Volsci ex quo semel fuerit aeger unquam non modo visum in publico sed ne adsurrexisse quidem ex morbo, multorumque tabe mensum mortuum, nec iis[1] temporibus in quae testis crimen coniecisset Caesonem Romae visum, adfirmantibus qui una meruerant secum eum tum frequentem ad signa sine ullo commeatu fuisse. Nisi ita esset, multi privatim ferebant Volscio iudicem. Cum ad iudicium ire non auderet, omnes eae res[2] in unum congruentes haud magis dubiam damnationem Volsci quam Caesonis Volscio teste fuerat[3] faciebant. In mora tribuni erant, qui comitia quaestores habere de reo, nisi prius habita de lege essent, passuros negabant. Ita extracta utraque res in consulum adventum est. Qui ubi triumphantes victore cum exercitu urbem inierunt, quia silentium de lege erat, perculsos magna pars credebant tribunos. At illi—etenim extremum anni iam erat,—quartum adfectantes tribunatum, in comitiorum disceptationem ab lege certamen averterant. Et cum consules nihilo minus adversus continuationem tribunatus quam si lex minuendae suae maiestatis causa promulgata ferretur tetendissent, victoria certaminis penes tribunos fuit.

10 Eodem anno Aequis pax est petentibus data.

[1] nec iis *Madvig*: nec his Ω: ne his *H*.
[2] eae res $F^3D^3\zeta$: ease res *M*: eas res Ω.
[3] fuerat $F^3OL^3\zeta$: fuerant Ω.

[1] Livy seems here to have accepted the account of the late annalists which he had suspected in chap. xxiii. 7. An extant inscription (*C.I.L.* xv. 44) commemorating the triumph of Fabius over the Aequi and Volsci and that of Cornelius over the Antiates shows that his suspicion was unfounded.

against Caeso. For it was becoming generally known, B.C. 459
from many witnesses, first, that the brother of Volscius after having once fallen ill had not only never appeared in public, but had not even got up from his sick-bed, where he had died of a wasting disease which lasted many months; and secondly, that within the period to which Volscius, in his testimony, had referred the crime, Caeso had not been seen in Rome; for those who had served with him affirmed that he had often during that time been in their company at the front, without taking any furlough. To prove this contention, many persons offered Volscius to refer the question of fact to a private arbitrator. Since he did not dare proceed to arbitration, all these things, pointing in one direction, made the condemnation of Volscius as certain as that of Caeso had been made by Volscius's evidence. The tribunes delayed matters by refusing to allow the quaestors to hold an assembly for his trial until one should first have been held to consider the law. So both affairs dragged on till the arrival of the consuls. When they had entered the City in triumph[1] with their victorious army, nothing was said about the law, and many people thought the tribunes had been daunted. But the tribunes were seeking a fourth term of office—for the end of the year was now at hand—and had diverted their efforts from the law to the contest for the election. And though the consuls strove quite as vehemently against the re-election of the incumbents to the tribuneship, as if a law were being urged which had been promulgated to curtail their own majesty, the contest resulted in victory for the tribunes.

That same year the Aequi sought and obtained

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Census, res priore anno incohata, perficitur; idque lustrum ab origine urbis decimum conditum ferunt. Censa[1] civium capita centum septendecim milia[2] 11 trecenta undeviginti.[3] Consulum magna domi belli-que eo anno gloria fuit, quod et foris pacem peperere, et domi etsi non concors, minus tamen quam alias infesta civitas fuit.

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XXV. L. Minucius inde et C. Nautius[4] consules facti duas residuas anni prioris causas exceperunt. 2 Eodem modo consules legem, tribuni iudicium de Volscio impediebant; sed in quaestoribus novis maior vis, maior auctoritas erat. Cum M. Valerio, Mani[5] filio, Volesi nepote quaestor erat T. Quinctius Capito- 3 linus, qui ter consul fuerat. Is, quoniam neque Quinctiae familiae Caeso neque rei publicae maximus iuvenum restitui posset, falsum testem qui dicendae causae innoxio potestatem ademisset, iusto ac pio 4 bello persequebatur. Cum Verginius maxime ex tribunis de lege ageret, duum mensum spatium consulibus datum est ad inspiciendam legem ut cum edocuissent populum quid fraudis occultae ferretur, sinerent deinde suffragium inire. Hoc intervalli 5 datum res tranquillas in urbe fecit. Nec diuturnam quietem Aequi dederunt, qui rupto foedere quod

[1] ferunt. Censa ζ: fuerunt censa Ω: fuerant censa *D*.

[2] centum septendecim milia (*i. e.* $\overline{\text{CXVII}}$) *MPFUB*: $\overline{\text{CXIIII}}$ *O*: $\overline{\text{CXXXII}}$ *H*: $\overline{\text{CXXXII}}$ $\overline{\text{CXVII}}$ *RL*: CXXXII CCCXVIII *D*.

[3] trecenta undeviginti (*i.e.* CCCXVIIII *MO*: CCCXVIII *PFUBH*: *as before, the numbers are conflated in RDL* (CXVII CCCXVIIII *D*).

[4] C. Nautius *Glareanus and Sigonius* (*cf. Dion. Hal.* x. xxii. 1; *Diod.* xi. lxxxviii. 1; *C.I.L.* i², *p.* 104: L. Nautius Ω.

[5] Mani *Sigonius* (*cf.* ii. xxx. 5 *and* (?) iii. vii. 6): Valerii Ω.

peace. The census, which had been begun the year before, was completed; and this, they say, was the tenth lustral sacrifice performed since the founding of the City. There were enrolled 117,319 citizens. This year the consuls won great renown, at home and in the field; not only had they brought about peace with other nations, but at home also, though the state was not yet harmonious, yet it was less troubled than at other times. B.C. 459

XXV. Lucius Minucius and Gaius Nautius were chosen to be the next consuls, and inherited the two causes left over from the preceding year. As before, the consuls obstructed the passage of the law, and the tribunes the trial of Volscius; but the new quaestors were men of superior force and influence. Marcus Valerius, son of Manius, and grandson of Volesus, shared the magistracy with Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who had thrice been consul. Capitolinus, since it was beyond his power to restore Caeso to the Quinctian family and the greatest of her young men to the state,[1] waged war, as justice and loyalty demanded, on the false witness who had deprived an innocent man of the power to plead his cause. Verginius was the most active amongst the tribunes in working for the law. The consuls were allowed two months' time to inspect the measure, that having explained to the people what hidden mischief was being proposed they might then permit them to vote. The granting of this breathing-space brought tranquillity to the City. But the Aequi did not suffer it to remain long at rest; breaking the treaty B.C. 458

[1] Livy here assumes that Caeso is dead, and possibly thinks of him as having perished with Herdonius.

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ictum erat priore anno cum Romanis imperium ad Gracchum Cloelium deferunt; is tum longe prin-
6 ceps in Aequis erat. Graccho duce in Labicanum[1] agrum, inde in Tusculanum hostili populatione veniunt plenique praedae in Algido castra locant. In ea castra Q. Fabius, P. Volumnius, A. Postumius legati ab Roma venerunt questum iniurias et ex
7 foedere[2] res repetitum. Eos Aequorum imperator quae mandata habeant ab senatu Romano ad quercum iubet dicere; se alia interim acturum. Quercus, ingens arbor, praetorio imminebat, cuius umbra opaca
8 sedes erat. Tum ex legatis unus abiens "et haec" inquit, "sacrata quercus et quidquid deorum est audiant foedus a vobis ruptum, nostrisque et nunc querellis adsint et mox armis, cum deorum homi-
9 numque simul violata iura exsequemur." Romam ut[3] rediere legati, senatus iussit alterum consulem contra Gracchum in Algidum exercitum ducere, alteri populationem finium Aequorum provinciam dedit. Tribuni suo more impedire dilectum et forsitan ad ultimum impedissent; sed novus subito additus terror est.

XXVI. Vis Sabinorum ingens prope ad moenia urbis infesta populatione venit; foedati agri, terror iniectus urbi est. Tum plebs benigne arma cepit; reclamantibus frustra tribunis magni duo exercitus

[1] Labicanum *Cluverius and Gruter* (cf. chap. vii. § 3): *lanuuinum* Ω.
[2] ex foedere ς: ex eo foedere Ω.
[3] Romam ut *ViMς*: Romam Ω.

which they had made with the Romans the year before, they intrusted the command of their forces to Cloelius Gracchus, at that time by far the most eminent man in their state. Under this man's leadership they invaded the territory of Labici, and from there the territory of Tusculum, with fire and sword, and, loaded with booty, pitched their camp on Algidus. To this camp came Quintus Fabius, Publius Volumnius, and Aulus Postumius, envoys from Rome, to complain of the wrongs done and demand restitution, as provided in the treaty. The Aequian general bade them recite the message of the Roman senate to the oak, saying that he would meantime attend to other matters. (The oak, a mighty tree, overhung head-quarters and with its dense shade afforded a cool resting-place.) Thereupon one of the envoys said, as he departed, "Let both this sacred oak and whatever gods there are hear that the treaty has been broken by you; and let them attend now to our complaints and presently support our arms, when we shall avenge the simultaneous violation of the rights of gods and men." On the return of the envoys to Rome, the senate ordered one consul to lead an army to Algidus, against Gracchus, and to the other assigned the task of devastating the territories of the Aequi. The tribunes sought in their usual fashion to prevent the levy, and might perhaps have held out against it to the end; but suddenly a fresh alarm supervened. B.C. 458

XXVI. A great body of Sabines made a hostile incursion almost to the walls of Rome, wasting the fields and terrifying the citizens. Thereupon the plebeians willingly enlisted, and despite the unavailing protests of the tribunes, two large armies were

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2 scripti. Alterum Nautius contra Sabinos duxit castrisque ad Eretum positis, per expeditiones parvas, plerumque nocturnis incursionibus, tantam vastitatem in Sabino agro reddidit ut comparati ad eam
3 prope intacti bello fines Romani viderentur. Minucio neque fortuna nec vis animi eadem in gerendo negotio fuit; nam cum haud procul ab hoste castra posuisset, nulla magnopere clade accepta
4 castris se pavidus tenebat. Quod ubi senserant hostes, crevit ex metu alieno, ut fit, audacia, et nocte adorti castra postquam parum vis aperta profecerat, munitiones postero die circumdant. Quae priusquam undique vallo obiectae clauderent exitus quinque equites inter stationes hostium emissi Romam
5 pertulere consulem exercitumque obsideri. Nihil tam inopinatum nec tam insperatum accidere potuit. Itaque tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit quanta si
6 urbem, non castra hostes obsiderent. Nautium consulem arcessunt. In quo cum parum praesidii videretur dictatoremque dici placeret qui rem perculsam restitueret, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus consensu omnium dicitur.

7 Operae pretium est audire qui omnia prae divitiis humana spernunt neque honori magno locum neque virtuti putant esse, nisi ubi effuse[1] afluant[2] opes.
8 Spes unica imperii populi Romani L. Quinctius

[1] effuse *Vorm*? *FB*: effusae Ω.
[2] afluant *M*: affluant Ω: effluant *D*?: afluent *P*: affluent *P F*?*UB*.

enrolled. One of these Nautius led against the Sabines. Pitching his camp at Eretum, he sent out little expeditions, chiefly nocturnal raiding parties, and so liberally repaid on their own fields the depredations of the Sabines, that the Roman territories in comparison seemed scarcely to have been touched by war. Minucius had neither the same good fortune nor equal spirit in conducting his campaign; for he encamped not far from the enemy, and without having suffered any considerable defeat, kept timidly within his breastworks. When the enemy perceived this, their audacity was heightened, as is usually the case, by their opponents' fear, and they attacked the camp by night. Failing to accomplish anything by open force, they next day surrounded the place with earthworks; but before these could be thrown up on every side of the camp and so shut off all egress, five horsemen were sent out through the enemy's outposts and carried to Rome the news that the consul and his army were beleaguered. Nothing more surprising or unlooked-for could have happened. And so the alarm and consternation were as great as if it had been the City, not the camp, which the enemy were investing. They sent for the consul Nautius; but deeming him unequal to their defence, and resolving to have a dictator to restore their shattered fortunes, they agreed unanimously on the nomination of Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus. B.C. 458

What followed merits the attention of those who despise all human qualities in comparison with riches, and think there is no room for great honours or for worth but amidst a profusion of wealth. The sole hope of the empire of the Roman People, Lucius

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trans Tiberim, contra eum ipsum locum ubi nunc navalia sunt, quattuor iugerum colebat agrum, quae
9 prata Quinctia vocantur. Ibi ab legatis—seu fossam fodiens palae[1] innixus seu cum araret, operi certe, id quod constat, agresti intentus—salute data in vicem redditaque rogatus ut, quod bene verteret ipsi reique publicae, togatus mandata senatus audiret, admiratus rogitansque "satin salve?"[2] togam propere e tugurio proferre uxorem Raciliam iubet.
10 Qua simul absterso pulvere ac sudore velatus processit, dictatorem eum legati gratulantes consalutant, in urbem vocant, qui terror sit in exercitu
11 exponunt. Navis Quinctio publice parata fuit, transvectumque tres obviam egressi filii excipiunt, inde alii propinqui atque amici, tum patrum maior pars. Ea frequentia stipatus antecedentibus lictoribus de-
12 ductus est domum. Et plebis concursus ingens fuit; sed ea nequaquam tam laeta Quinctium vidit, et imperium[3] nimium et virum ipso[4] imperio vehementiorem rata. Et illa quidem nocte nihil praeterquam vigilatum est in urbe.

XXVII. Postero die dictator cum ante lucem in forum venisset, magistrum equitum dicit L. Tarquitium,[5] patriciae gentis, sed qui,[6] cum stipendia pedibus

[1] palae *Sabellicus*: paleae *V*: palo Ω: paulo *O*.
[2] satin salve *VP*: satisne salva essent omnia Ω.
[3] imperium *Walters*: imperi (*or* -ii) Ω.
[4] virum ipso *Christ* ς: uirum in ipso Ω.
[5] Tarquitium *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 16): Tarquinium Ω.
[6] qui *Conway*: qui cum *V Vorm. R*?: qui tum Ω: tum qui *H*.

[1] Strictly speaking, a trifle less than three acres, since the *iugerum* contained only 28,800 square feet.

Quinctius, cultivated a field of some four acres[1] across the Tiber, now known as the Quinctian Meadows, directly opposite the place where the dockyards are at present. There he was found by the representatives of the state. Whether bending over his spade as he dug a ditch, or ploughing, he was, at all events, as everybody agrees, intent upon some rustic task. After they had exchanged greetings with him, they asked him to put on his toga, to hear (and might good come of it to himself and the republic!) the mandates of the senate. In amazement he cried, "Is all well?" and bade his wife Racilia quickly fetch out his toga from the hut. When he had put it on, after wiping off the dust and sweat, and came forth to the envoys, they hailed him Dictator, congratulated him, and summoned him to the City, explaining the alarming situation of the army. A boat was waiting for him, provided by the state; and as he reached the other side his three sons came out to receive him; after them came his other kinsmen and friends; and after them the greater part of the senate. Attended by this throng and preceded by his lictors he was escorted to his house. The plebeians too were gathered in great numbers; but they were by no means so rejoiced at the sight of Quinctius, because they thought that not only was his authority excessive, but that the man was even more dangerous than the authority itself. That night nothing more was done than to keep a watch in the City. B.C. 458

XXVII. On the following day the dictator, coming before dawn into the Forum, named as his master of the horse Lucius Tarquitius, a man of patrician birth, but one who had served as a foot-soldier because of

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propter paupertatem fecisset, bello tamen primus
2 longe Romanae iuventutis habitus esset. Cum magistro equitum in contionem venit, iustitium edicit, claudi tabernas tota urbe iubet, vetat quem-
3 quam privatae quicquam rei agere. Tum, quicumque aetate militari essent, armati cum cibariis in dies quinque coctis vallisque duodenis ante solis
4 occasum Martio in campo adessent; quibus aetas ad militandum gravior esset, vicino militi, dum is arma pararet vallumque peteret, cibaria coquere
5 iussit. Sic iuventus discurrit ad vallum petendum. Sumpsere unde cuique proximum fuit; prohibitus nemo est; impigreque omnes ad edictum dictatoris
6 praesto fuere. Inde composito agmine non itineri magis apti quam proelio, si res ita tulisset, legiones ipse dictator, magister equitum suos equites ducit. In utroque agmine quas tempus ipsum poscebat
7 adhortationes erant: adderent gradum; maturato opus esse ut nocte ad hostem perveniri[1] posset; consulem exercitumque Romanum obsideri, tertium diem iam clausos esse; quid quaeque nox aut dies ferat, incertum esse; puncto saepe temporis maxi-
8 marum rerum momenta verti. "Adcelera signifer!" "Sequere miles!" inter se quoque gratificantes ducibus clamabant. Media nocte in Algidum perveniunt et, ut sensere se iam prope hostes esse, signa constituunt.

[1] perveniri $F^3\zeta$: peruenire Ω: peruenere *B*: *wanting in V.*

[1] The Roman soldier usually carried three or four stakes, to use in making a palisade.

poverty, though in war he had been esteemed by far the best of the Roman youth. With his master of the horse the dictator appeared before the people; proclamed a suspension of the courts; ordered the shops to be closed all over the City; and forbade anybody to engage in any private business. He then commanded all those who were of military age to come armed, before sunset, to the Campus Martius, bringing each enough bread to last five days, and twelve stakes;[1] those who were too old for war he ordered to prepare food for their neighbours who were soldiers, while the latter were getting their arms in order and looking for stakes. So the young men ran this way and that in search of stakes, and every one took them from the nearest source, nor was anyone interfered with; and all presented themselves promptly as the dictator had commanded. Then, having drawn up their column so as to be ready for fighting as well as for marching, if need were, the dictator himself led the legions, the master of the horse his cavalry. In each division were spoken such words of encouragement as the occasion called for: Let them mend their pace; there was need of speed, that they might reach the enemy's camp in the night; a consul and a Roman army were being besieged, and it was now the third day of their investment; what each night or day might bring forth was uncertain; a single instant was often the turning-point of a great event. The soldiers also, in complaisance to their commanders, cried out to one another, "Make haste, standard-bearer!" "Follow me, men!" At midnight they came to Algidus, and perceiving that they were now close to the enemy, halted. B.C. 458

A.U.C. 296

XXVIII. Ibi dictator quantum nocte prospici poterat equo circumvectus contemplatusque qui tractus castrorum quaeque forma esset, tribunis militum imperavit, ut sarcinas in unum conici iubeant, militem cum armis valloque redire in ordines suos. 2 Facta quae imperavit. Tum, quo fuerant ordine in via, exercitum omnem longo agmine circumdat hostium castris et ubi signum datum sit clamorem omnes tollere iubet, clamore sublato ante se quem- 3 que ducere fossam et iacere[1] vallum. Edito imperio signum secutum est. Iussa miles exsequitur; clamor hostes circumsonat; superat inde castra 4 hostium et in castra consulis venit; alibi pavorem, alibi gaudium ingens facit. Romani civilem esse clamorem atque auxilium adesse inter se gratulantes ultro ex stationibus ac vigiliis territant hostem. 5 Consul differendum negat; illo clamore non adventum modo significari, sed rem ab suis coeptam; mirumque esse ni iam exteriore parte castra hostium 6 oppugnentur. Itaque arma suos capere et se subsequi iubet. Nocte initum proelium est; legionibus dictatoris clamore significant ab ea quoque parte 7 rem in discrimine esse. Iam se ad prohibenda circumdari opera Aequi parabant cum ab interiore hoste proelio coepto, ne per media sua castra fieret eruptio, a munientibus ad pugnantes introrsum versi

[1] iacere *HRDL*$_5$: facere *PFUBO*.

XXVIII. Then the dictator, having ridden about and observed, as well as he could for the night, the extent of the camp and its shape, directed the military tribunes to make the soldiers throw down their packs in one place, and return, with arms and stakes, to their proper ranks. They did as he commanded. Then, keeping the order of the march, he led out the whole army in a long column and surrounded the enemy's camp, commanding that at a given signal the troops should all raise a shout, and that after shouting every man should dig a trench in front of his own position and erect a palisade. The signal followed close on the announcement. The men did as they had been bidden. Their cheer resounded on all sides of the enemy, and passing over their camp, penetrated that of the consul; in the one it inspired panic, in the other great rejoicing. The Romans, congratulating one another that it was their fellow-citizens who shouted, and that help was at hand, on their own part began to threaten the enemy with attacks from their pickets and outposts. The consul said that they ought to act without delay; the shout not only signified that their friends were come, but that they had begun to fight; and it would be surprising if they were not already assailing the enemy's camp from without. He accordingly bade his men stand to arms and follow him. It was night when they entered the battle; with a cheer they gave the legions of the dictator to know that on their side as well the issue had been joined. The Aequi were already preparing to resist the work of circumvallation, when the attack was begun upon their inner line. Lest a sortie should be made through the midst of their B.C. 458

A.U.C. 296

vacuam noctem operi dedere; pugnatumque cum
8 consule ad lucem est. Luce prima iam circumvallati ab dictatore erant et vix adversus unum exercitum pugnam sustinebant. Tum a Quinctiano exercitu, qui confestim a perfecto opere ad arma rediit, invaditur vallum. Hic instabat nova pugna: illa nihil
9 remiserat prior. Tum ancipiti malo urgente a proelio ad preces versi hinc dictatorem, hinc consulem orare, ne in occidione victoriam ponerent, ut inermes se inde abire sinerent Ab consule ad dictatorem
10 ire iussi; is[1] ignominiam infensus addidit; Gracchum Cloelium ducem principesque alios vinctos ad se adduci iubet, oppido Corbione decedi. Sanguinis se Aequorum non egere; licere abire; sed, ut exprimatur tandem confessio subactam domitamque
11 esse gentem, sub iugum abituros. Tribus hastis iugum fit humi fixis duabus superque eas transversa una deligata. Sub hoc iugum[2] dictator Aequos misit.

XXIX. Castris hostium receptis plenis omnium rerum—nudos enim emiserat—praedam omnem suo
2 tantum militi dedit; consularem exercitum ipsumque

[1] iussi; is *Ruperti*: iussis Ω.
[2] iugum *Duker*: iugo Ω.

camp, they turned their backs on those who were entrenching, and faced the attacking forces; and, leaving the others free to work all night, they fought till break of day with the soldiers of the consul. At early dawn they had already been shut in by the dictator's rampart, and were scarcely maintaining the battle against one army. Then the troops of Quinctius, who had at once, on completing the works, resumed their weapons, assailed the rampart of the Aequi. Here was a new battle on their hands, and the other not yet in the least abated. At this, hard-driven by a double danger, they turned from fighting to entreaties, and on the one hand implored the dictator, on the other the consul, not to make the victory a massacre, but to take their arms and let them go. The consul referred them to the dictator, who in his anger added ignominy to their surrender. He commanded that Cloelius Gracchus, their commander, and the other captains, be brought to him in chains, and that the town of Corbio be evacuated. He said that he did not require the blood of the Aequi; they might go; but, that they might at last be forced to confess that their nation had been defeated and subdued, they should pass beneath the yoke as they departed. A yoke was fashioned of three spears, two being fixed in the ground and the third laid across them and made fast. Under this yoke the dictator sent the Aequi. B.C. 458

XXIX. Having taken possession of the enemy's camp, which abounded in all sorts of supplies—for he had sent them out with nothing but their tunics—he gave all the booty to his own troops exclusively, rebuking the consular army and the

A.U.C. 296

consulem increpans, "Carebis" inquit "praedae parte, miles, ex eo hoste cui prope praedae fuisti; et tu, L. Minuci, donec consularem animum incipias habere, 3 legatus his legionibus praeeris." Ita se Minucius abdicat consulatu iussusque ad exercitum manet. Sed adeo tum imperio meliori animus mansuete oboediens erat ut beneficii magis quam ignominiae hic exercitus memor et coronam auream dictatori libram pondo decreverit et proficiscentem eum 4 patronum salutaverit. Romae a Q. Fabio praefecto urbis senatus habitus triumphantem Quinctium quo veniebat agmine urbem ingredi iussit. Ducti ante currum hostium duces, militaria signa praelata, secu- 5 tus exercitus praeda onustus. Epulae instructae dicuntur fuisse ante omnium domus, epulantesque cum carmine triumphali et [1] sollemnibus iocis comi- 6 santium modo currum secuti sunt. Eo die L. Mamilio Tusculano adprobantibus cunctis civitas data est. Confestim se dictator magistratu abdicasset, ni comitia M. Volsci, falsi testis, tenuissent. Ea ne im- 7 pedirent tribuni dictatoris obstitit metus. Volscius damnatus Lanuvium in exsilium [2] abiit. Quinctius sexto decimo die dictatura in sex menses accepta se abdicavit. Per eos dies consul Nautius ad Eretum cum Sabinis egregie pugnat; ad vastatos agros ea

[1] et *VD*[1]: ex Ω.
[2] in exsilium ς: exsilium Ω: exsulatum ϛ.

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[1] Livy thinks of Cincinnatus as removing (or perhaps only suspending) Minucius from the consulship, in virtue of his superior authority. In 509 B.C. (II. ii. 7 ff.) Lucius Tarquinius had been compelled to resign by his colleague Brutus and other leading men.

[2] The first recorded instance of the bestowal of citizenship in requital of service done the state.

consul himself in these terms: "You shall have no share, soldiers, in the spoils of that enemy to whom you almost fell a spoil; and you, Lucius Minucius, until you begin to have the spirit of a consul, shall command these legions as my lieutenant." So Minucius abdicated the consulship, and remained, as he was ordered to do, with the army.[1] But so tame and submissive was the temper of this army now towards a better commander, that, considering rather the benefit they had received at his hands than the humiliation, they voted the dictator a golden chaplet of a pound in weight, and when he departed, saluted him as their protector. At Rome the senate, being convened by Quintus Fabius, the prefect of the City, commanded Quinctius to enter the gates in triumph, with the troops that accompanied him. Before his chariot were led the generals of the enemy; the military standards were borne on ahead; after them came the soldiers, laden with booty. It is said that tables were spread before all the houses, and the troops, feasting as they marched, with songs of triumph and the customary jokes, followed the chariot like revellers. On that day Lucius Mamilius the Tusculan was granted citizenship, with the approval of all.[2] Cincinnatus would at once have resigned his office, had not the trial of Marcus Volscius, the false witness, caused him to delay. The awe in which the tribunes held the dictator prevented them from interfering with the trial. Volscius was condemned and went into exile at Lanuvium. On the sixteenth day Quinctius surrendered the dictatorship which he had received for six months. During that period the consul Nautius fought a successful engagement at Eretum with the Sabines, who in addition to the B.C. 458

A.U.C. 296

quoque clades accessit Sabinis. Minucio Fabius[1] 8 successor in Algidum missus. Extremo anno agitatum de lege ab tribunis est; sed quia duo exercitus aberant, ne quid ferretur ad populum patres tenuere; plebes vicit ut quintum eosdem tribunos crearet.[2] 9 Lupos visos in Capitolio ferunt a canibus fugatos; ob id prodigium lustratum Capitolium esse. Haec eo anno gesta.

A.U.C. 297

XXX. Sequuntur consules Q. Minucius M. Horatius[3] Pulvillus. Cuius initio anni cum foris otium esset, domi seditiones iidem tribuni, eadem lex 2 faciebat; ulteriusque ventum foret—adeo exarserant animis—ni velut dedita opera nocturno impetu Aequorum Corbione amissum praesidium nuntiatum 3 esset. Senatum consules vocant; iubentur subitarium scribere exercitum atque in Algidum ducere. Inde posito legis certamine nova de dilectu contentio 4 orta; vincebaturque consulare imperium tribunicio auxilio cum alius additur terror, Sabinum exercitum praedatum descendisse in agros Romanos, inde ad 5 urbem venire. Is metus perculit ut scribi militem tribuni sinerent, non sine pactione tamen ut quoniam ipsi quinquennium elusi essent parvumque id plebi praesidium foret, decem deinde tribuni plebis crearen-

[1] Fabius ς: Fabius Quinctius (*or* Quintius) Ω: Fabius Quintus *O*.

[2] crearet *V*: crearent Ω.

[3] M. Horatius Ω (*Diod.* XI. xci. 1): C. Horatius *Glareanus and Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 104; *Dion. Hal.* x. xxvi. 1).

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[1] They had not been able to pass the *Lex Terentilia*.

devastation of their fields now suffered this new disaster. Fabius was sent to Mount Algidus to succeed Minucius. At the close of the year there was some agitation for the law on the part of the tribunes; but since two armies were abroad, the senators insisted that no proposal should be laid before the people; the plebs were successful in electing the same tribunes for the fifth time. It is said that wolves were seen on the Capitol, pursued by dogs; because of which prodigy the Capitol was purified. Such were the events of this year. B.C. 458

XXX. The next consuls were Quintus Minucius and Marcus Horatius Pulvillus. At the beginning of the year, though foreign relations were peaceful, at home there were dissensions, inspired by the same tribunes and the same law; and they would have proceeded to even greater lengths—so inflamed were men's passions—had it not been announced, as if designedly, that the garrison at Corbio had perished in a night-attack made by the Aequi. The consuls convoked the senate, and were directed to make a summary levy and lead the army to Mount Algidus. From that moment the quarrel over the law was laid aside, and a fresh dispute arose, concerning the levy; in this consular authority was in a fair way to be defeated, by the help of the tribunes, when a new alarm was reported: that a Sabine army bent on pillage had descended upon the Roman fields, and was thence approaching the City. This was such staggering news that the tribunes permitted the enrolment of troops; yet not without having obtained an agreement that since they had themselves been baffled for five years,[1] and the existing tribunate was an insufficient protection to the plebs, ten tribunes B.C. 457

A.U.C. 297

6 tur. Expressit hoc necessitas patribus; id modo excepere ne postea eosdem tribunos viderent. Tribunicia comitia, ne id quoque post bellum ut cetera vanum
7 esset, extemplo habita. Tricensimo sexto anno a primis tribuni plebis decem creati sunt, bini ex singulis classibus, itaque cautum est ut postea crearen-
8 tur. Dilectu deinde habito Minucius contra Sabinos profectus non invenit hostem. Horatius, cum iam Aequi Corbione interfecto praesidio Ortonam etiam cepissent, in Algido pugnat; multos mortalis occidit; fugat hostem non ex Algido modo, sed a Corbione Ortonaque. Corbionem etiam diruit propter proditum praesidium.

A.U.C. 298-300

XXXI. Deinde M. Valerius, Sp. Verginius consules facti. Domi forisque otium fuit; annona propter aquarum intemperiem laboratum est. De Aventino publicando lata lex est. Tribuni plebis
2 iidem refecti. Hi sequente anno T. Romilio C. Veturio consulibus legem omnibus contionibus suis celebrabant:[1] pudere se numeri sui nequiquam aucti, si ea res aeque suo biennio iaceret ac toto superiore
3 lustro iacuisset. Cum maxime haec agerent, trepidi nuntii ab Tusculo veniunt Aequos in agro Tusculano esse. Fecit pudorem recens eius populi meritum

[1] celebrabant *VHRDL*$_7$: celebrant Ω.

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[1] The lowest class, paying no *tributum*, had no representation.

should in future be elected. To this the patricians were compelled to agree, only stipulating that they should not thereafter see the same men tribunes. The tribunician election was held immediately, lest when the war was over this promise too might be broken, as the others had been. In the thirty-sixth year from the first plebeian tribunes ten men were elected, two from each class,[1] and it was enacted that they should be chosen thus thereafter. The levy was then held, and Minucius marched against the Sabines, but did not find the enemy. Horatius, after the Aequi, having put the garrison at Corbio to the sword, had also captured Ortona, fought a battle with them on Mount Algidus, killed many men, and drove off the enemy, not only from Algidus, but from Corbio and Ortona. Corbio he razed because of its betrayal of the garrison. B.C. 457

XXXI. Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius succeeded to the consulship. Affairs were quiet both at home and abroad; but there was a shortage in the corn-supply, due to excessive rains. A law was passed opening up the Aventine to settlement. The same tribunes of the plebs were returned; and in the following year, when Titus Romilius and Gaius Veturius were consuls, they took occasion to urge the law in all their speeches: They were ashamed, they said, of the futile increase in their numbers, if this measure was to lie disregarded during their own two years of office, precisely as it had done throughout the five preceding years. Just when this agitation was at its height, there came a disquieting report from Tusculum that the Aequi were in Tusculan territory. Men were ashamed, in view of the recent service of that nation, to delay in sending aid. Both B.C. 456–454

A.U.C. 293–300

morandi auxilii. Ambo consules cum exercitu missi
4 hostem in sua sede, in Algido, inveniunt. Ibi pugnatum. Supra septem milia hostium caesa, alii fugati; praeda parta ingens. Eam propter inopiam aerarii consules vendiderunt. Invidiae tamen res ad exercitum fuit eademque tribunis materiam crimi-
5 nandi ad plebem consules praebuit. Itaque ergo, ut magistratu abiere Sp. Tarpeio [1] A. Aternio [2] consulibus, dies dicta est, Romilio ab C. Calvio Cicerone tribuno plebis, Veturio ab L. Alieno aedile plebis.
6 Uterque magna patrum indignatione damnatus, Romilius decem milibus aeris, Veturius quindecim. Nec haec priorum calamitas consulum segniores novos fecerat consules; et se damnari posse aiebant, et
7 plebem et tribunos legem ferre non posse. Tum abiecta lege, quae promulgata consenuerat, tribuni lenius agere cum patribus: finem tandem certaminum facerent; si plebeiae leges displicerent, at illi communiter legum latores et ex plebe et ex patribus, qui utrisque utilia ferrent quaeque aequan-
8 dae libertatis essent sinerent creari. Rem non aspernabantur patres: laturum [3] leges neminem nisi ex patribus aiebant. Cum de legibus conveniret, de

[1] Sp. Tarpeio ς: spurio p. tarpeio Ω: p. tarpeio *U*: spuerio p̃. tarpio *B*.
[2] A. Aternio *Pighius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 104): a. aeternio (*or* et- Ω: a. ethernio *U*: aeternio *D*.
[3] laturum *Klock*: daturum Ω.

[1] See chap. ix. § 5 and note. Apparently the codification contemplated by Terentilius was to have been in the hands of a plebeian board.

consuls were dispatched with an army; and finding the enemy on their usual ground, Mount Algidus, they there engaged them. Above seven thousand of the enemy were slain; the rest were put to flight; and immense spoils were taken. These the consuls sold, owing to the impoverished condition of the treasury. Nevertheless, their action made them unpopular with the army, and it also furnished the tribunes with an occasion for impeaching the consuls before the plebs. Accordingly when they laid down their office and Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius became consuls, they were brought to trial; Romilius by Gaius Calvius Cicero, a plebeian tribune, Veturius by Lucius Alienus, an aedile of the plebs. Both were condemned, greatly to the indignation of the patricians; Romilius was fined 10,000 asses, Veturius 15,000. And yet this disaster to their predecessors did not diminish the energy of the new consuls; they said that it was possible that they should themselves be condemned, but that it was not possible that the plebs and the tribunes should carry their law. Then the tribunes, discarding the law, which, in the time it had been before the people, had lost its vitality, began to treat more moderately with the patricians: Let them at last put an end, they said, to these disputes; if the plebeian measure were not agreeable to them, let them permit framers of laws to be appointed jointly from both the plebs and the nobility, that they might propose measures which should be advantageous to both sides, and secure equal liberty.[1] The patricians did not reject the principle; but they declared that no one should propose laws unless he were a patrician. Since they were agreed in regard to the laws, and

B.C. 456–454

A.U.C. 299-300

latore tantum discreparet, missi legati Athenas Sp. Postumius Albus A. Manlius P. Sulpicius Camerinus iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere et aliarum Graeciae civitatium instituta mores iuraque noscere.

A.U.C. 101-302

XXXII. Ab externis bellis quietus annus fuit, quietior insequens P. Curiatio[1] et Sex. Quinctilio consulibus perpetuo silentio tribunorum, quod primo legatorum qui Athenas ierant legumque pere-
2 grinarum exspectatio praebuit, dein duo simul mala ingentia exorta, fames pestilentiaque, foeda homini, foeda pecori. Vastati agri sunt, urbs adsiduis exhausta funeribus; multae et clarae lugubres domus.
3 Flamen Quirinalis Ser. Cornelius mortuus, augur C. Horatius Pulvillus;[2] in cuius locum C. Veturium eo cupidius quia damnatus a plebe erat, augures legere.
4 Mortuus consul Quinctilius, quattuor tribuni plebi. Multiplici clade foedatus annus; ab hoste otium fuit.
5 Inde consules C. Menenius P. Sestius[3] Capitolinus. Neque eo anno quicquam belli externi fuit: domi
6 motus orti. Iam redierant legati cum Atticis legibus. Eo intentius instabant tribuni ut tandem scribendarum legum initium fieret. Placet creari decemviros sine provocatione, et ne quis eo anno alius
7 magistratus esset. Admiscerenturne plebeii,[4] con-

[1] Curiatio ς (*cf. chap.* xxxiii. § 3 and *C.I.L.* i², *p.* 104): curatio (curacio *H*: curario *U*) Ω.
[2] Pulvillus ς: pulvilius Ω.
[3] Sestius *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xxxiii. § 4 and *C.I.L.* i², *p.* 104): sextius (textius *P*: sextilius *D*) Ω.
[4] plebeii *R*?ς: plebi Ω.

only differed about the mover, they sent Spurius Postumius Albus, Aulus Manlius, and Publius Sulpicius Camerinus on a mission to Athens, with orders to copy the famous laws of Solon, and acquaint themselves with the institutions, customs, and laws of the other Greek states. B.C. 456–454

XXXII. No foreign wars disturbed the quiet of that year; but even more quiet was the year that followed, when Publius Curiatius and Sextus Quinctilius were consuls, for the tribunes preserved an unbroken silence. This was due in the first place to their waiting for the commissioners who had gone to Athens, and for the foreign laws; in the second place two terrible misfortunes had come at the same time, famine and pestilence, baneful alike to men and beasts. The fields were left untenanted; the City was emptied by incessant funerals; many distinguished families were in mourning. The flamen of Quirinus, Servius Cornelius, died, and the augur Gaius Horatius Pulvillus, in whose place the augurs elected Gaius Veturius, the more eagerly because of his condemnation by the plebs. Death took the consul Quinctilius, and four tribunes of the plebs. The numerous losses made it a gloomy year; but Rome's enemies did not molest her. B.C. 453–452

The next consuls were Gaius Menenius and Publius Sestius Capitolinus. In this year likewise there was no foreign war, but disturbances arose at home. The commissioners had now returned with the laws of Athens. The tribunes were therefore the more insistent that a beginning should be made at last towards codification. It was resolved to appoint decemvirs, subject to no appeal, and to have no other magistrates for that year. Whether plebeians should

A.U.C. 301-302

troversia aliquamdiu fuit; postremo concessum patribus, modo ne lex Icilia [1] de Aventino aliaeque sacratae leges abrogarentur.

A.U.C. 303

XXXIII. Anno trecentensimo [2] altero quam condita Roma erat iterum mutatur forma civitatis, ab consulibus ad decemviros, quem ad modum ab regibus ante ad consules venerat, translato imperio. Minus
2 insignis, quia non diuturna, mutatio fuit. Laeta enim principia magistratus eius nimis luxuriavere; eo citius lapsa res est repetitumque duobus uti man-
3 daretur consulum nomen imperiumque. Decemviri creati Ap. Claudius T. Genucius P. Sestius [3] L. Veturius C. Iulius A. Manlius P. Sulpicius P. Curia-
4 tius T. Romilius [4] Sp. Postumius. Claudio et Genucio, quia designati consules in eum annum fuerant, pro honore honos redditus, et Sestio, alteri consulum prioris anni, quod eam rem collega invito
5 ad patres rettulerat. His proximi habiti legati tres qui Athenas ierant, simul ut pro legatione tam longinqua praemio esset honos, simul peritos legum peregrinarum ad condenda nova iura usui fore
6 credebant. Supplevere ceteri numerum. Graves quoque aetate electos novissimis suffragiis ferunt, quo minus ferociter aliorum scitis adversarentur.
7 Regimen totius magistratus penes Appium erat

[1] Icilia *Glareanus* ς : acilia (*or other corruptions*) Ω.
[2] trecentensimo *Conway and Walters*: trecentesimo Ω.
[3] Sestius (*cf. chap.* xxxii. § 5): Sextius Ω.
[4] Romilius *D* (*cf. chap.* xxxi. § 2 and *Dion. Hal.* x. lvi. 2): Romulius (Romolius) Ω.

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[1] The reference is especially to the law establishing the tribunate (II. xxxiii. 1). The violation of a *sacrata lex* entailed outlawry on the offender.
[2] A circumstance which Livy did not notice in chap. xxxii.

be permitted a share in the work was for some time disputed; in the end they yielded to the patricians, only bargaining that the Icilian law about the Aventine and the other sacred laws [1] should not be abrogated. B.C. 453–452

XXXIII. In the three hundred and second year from the founding of Rome the form of the polity was changed again, with the transfer of supreme authority from consuls to decemvirs, even as before it had passed from kings to consuls. It was not so remarkable a change, because it did not last long. For the luxuriant beginnings of this magistracy took on too rank a growth; and in consequence it soon died down, and the custom was resumed of entrusting to two men the name and authority of consuls. The decemvirs chosen were Appius Claudius, Titus Genucius, Publius Sestius, Lucius Veturius, Gaius Julius, Aulus Manlius, Publius Sulpicius, Publius Curiatius, Titus Romilius, and Spurius Postumius. To Claudius and Genucius, the consuls-elect for that year, the new office was given in compensation for the other; and to Sestius, one of the consuls of the year before, because he had brought the measure before the senate against his colleague's will.[2] Next to these were honoured the three envoys who had gone to Athens, not only that the office might serve to reward them for so distant a mission, but also in the belief that their knowledge of foreign laws would be useful in compiling a new code. The other four filled up the number. It is said that old men were chosen for the last places, that they might make a less vigorous opposition to the measures proposed by the rest. The guiding hand in the whole magistracy was that of Appius, thanks to the favour of the B.C. 451

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favore[1] plebis; adeoque novum sibi ingenium induerat ut plebicola repente omnisque aurae popularis captator evaderet pro truci saevoque insectatore
8 plebis. Decimo die ius populo singuli reddebant. Eo die penes praefectum iuris fasces duodecim erant: collegis novem singuli accensi apparebant. Et in unica concordia inter ipsos, qui consensus privatis interdum inutilis est,[2] summa adversus alios aequitas
9 erat. Moderationis eorum argumentum exemplo unius rei notasse satis erit. Cum sine provocatione creati essent, defosso cadavere domi apud P. Sestium,[3]
10 patriciae gentis virum, invento prolatoque in contionem, in re iuxta manifesta atque atroci C. Iulius decemvir diem Sestio[4] dixit et accusator ad populum exstitit, cuius rei iudex legitimus erat, decessitque iure[5] suo, ut demptum de vi magistratus populi libertati adiceret.

XXXIV. Cum promptum hoc ius velut ex oraculo incorruptum pariter ab iis summi infimique ferrent, tum legibus condendis opera dabatur; ingentique hominum exspectatione propositis decem tabulis
2 populum ad contionem advocaverunt, et quod bonum,

[1] favore P^3 *marg.* $F^3OR^2D^1\varsigma$: pauore Ω: auore P: $^{l}_{p}$auore P^1: p. l. auore *B*.
[2] est *Doering*: esset Ω.
[3] P. Sestium ς (*chap.* xxxii. § 5): p. sextium Ω: sextium *Vorm. M*.
[4] Sestio *PFUHL*: festio *M*: sextio *BOD*.
[5] iure ς: ex iure Ω.

[1] This sentence and the reference to Claudius's years and honours in chap. xxxiii. § 3 seem inapplicable to a young man,

plebs; and so novel a character had he assumed, B.C. 451
that from being a harsh and cruel persecutor of the plebs, he came out all at once as the people's friend, and caught at every breath of popularity.[1] Sitting each one day in ten they administered justice to the people. On that day he who presided in court had twelve fasces;[2] his nine colleagues were each attended by a single orderly. And while they maintained an unparalleled harmony amongst themselves—a unanimity sometimes prejudicial to the governed,—they treated others with the utmost fairness. As proof of their moderation, it will suffice to note a single example. Though they had been chosen to a magistracy from which there was no appeal, yet when a corpse was found buried in the house of Publius Sestius, a patrician, and produced before the assembly, and the man's guilt was as clear as it was heinous, Gaius Julius the decemvir summoned Sestius to trial, and appeared before the people to prosecute a man of whose guilt he was the lawful judge, surrendering his own prerogative that he might add to the liberty of the people what he subtracted from the power of the magistracy.

XXXIV. While this prompt justice, as pure as though derived from an oracle, was being meted out impartially by the decemvirs to the highest and the lowest, they were also busily engaged in framing laws. Men's expectations were running high, when they set up ten tables, and summoning the people

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and it is probable that the decemvir was, in reality, the consul of 471 B.C. (see II. lvi. 5), not the nephew of C. Claudius, as Livy thought (chap. xxxv. § 9), which would make him the *son* of the consul of 471.

[2] "Fasces" is here equivalent to "lictors."

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faustum felixque rei publicae ipsis liberisque eorum
3 esset, ire et legere leges propositas iussere. Se,
quantum decem hominum ingeniis provideri potuerit,
omnibus, summis infimisque, iura aequasse; plus
4 pollere multorum ingenia consiliaque. Versarent in
animis secum unamquamque rem, agitarent deinde
sermonibus, atque in medium quid in quaque re plus
5 minusve esset conferrent. Eas leges habiturum
populum Romanum quas consensus omnium non
6 iussisse latas magis quam tulisse videri posset. Cum
ad rumores hominum de unoquoque legum capite
editos [1] satis correctae viderentur, centuriatis comitiis
decem tabularum leges perlatae sunt, qui nunc [2]
quoque, in hoc immenso aliarum super alias acerva-
tarum legum cumulo, fons omnis publici privatique
7 est iuris. Volgatur deinde rumor duas deesse tabulas
quibus adiectis absolvi posse velut corpus omnis
Romani iuris. Ea exspectatio, cum dies comitiorum
adpropinquaret, desiderium decemviros iterum cre-
8 andi fecit. Iam plebs, praeterquam quod consulum
nomen haud secus quam regum perosa erat, ne tribu-
nicium quidem auxilium cedentibus in vicem appel-
latione [3] decemviris quaerebat.

XXXV. Postquam vero comitia decemviris creandis
2 in trinum nundinum indicta sunt, tanta exarsit am-

[1] editos *Duker*: edito Ω.
[2] qui nunc *VD*? ς: quae (*or* que) nunc Ω: nunc *P*.
[3] appellatione Ω: appellationem *BL*[s]: appellationi *Drakenborch*.

[1] This sentence supports Mommsen's view that the new legislation was intended originally to *substitute* for tribunician intercession a limitation of the consular power by written law.

to assemble, commanded them—with a prayer that the result might be prosperous, favourable, and fortunate, for the commonwealth, for themselves, and for their children—to go and read the proposed statutes. They themselves, they said, so far as the capacities of ten men could forecast the event, had equalized the rights of all, both high and low; but there was greater efficacy in the capacities and counsels of many. Let them consider each single point in their own minds, then discuss it with their fellows, and lastly state in public what excess or shortcoming there was in the several articles; the Roman People should have only such laws as their unanimity might fairly be considered not only to have passed, but to have proposed. When it appeared that the laws had been sufficiently amended, in the light of the opinions that men expressed concerning each separate section, the centuriate comitia met and adopted the Laws of the Ten Tables; which even now, in this great welter of statutes piled one upon another, are the fountain-head of all public and private law. Afterwards the opinion was general that there lacked two tables, by the addition of which a corpus, so to speak, of all the Roman law could be rounded out. The hope of filling this lack made people desirous, when election day drew near, of choosing decemvirs again. The plebs, besides the fact that they hated the name of consul quite as much as that of king, had already ceased to require even the help of the tribunes, since the decemvirs yielded to one another when an appeal was taken.[1] B.C. 451

XXXV. But when the comitia for the election of decemvirs had been announced to take place in four-

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bitio ut primores quoque civitatis—metu, credo, ne tanti possessio imperii vacuo ab se relicto loco haud satis dignis pateret—prensarent homines, honorem summa ope a se impugnatum ab ea plebe cum qua 3 contenderant [1] suppliciter petentes. Demissa [2] iam in discrimen dignitas ea aetate iisque honoribus actis stimulabat Ap. Claudium. Nescires utrum inter de- 4 cemviros an inter candidatos numerares. Propior interdum petendo quam gerendo magistratui erat. Criminari optimates, extollere candidatorum levissimum quemque humillimumque, ipse medius inter 5 tribunicios, Duillios [3] Icilioque,[4] in foro volitare, per illos se plebi venditare, donec collegae quoque, qui unice illi dediti fuerant ad id tempus, coniecere in 6 eum oculos, mirantes quid sibi vellet: apparere nihil sinceri esse; profecto haud gratuitam in tanta superbia comitatem fore: nimium in ordinem se ipsum cogere et volgari cum privatis non tam properantis abire magistratu quam viam ad continuandum magis- 7 tratum quaerentis esse. Propalam obviam ire cupiditati parum ausi obsecundando mollire impetum adgrediuntur. Comitiorum illi habendorum, quando 8 minimus natu sit, munus consensu iniungunt. Ars haec erat, ne semet ipse creare posset, quod praeter tribunos plebi—et id ipsum pessimo exemplo—nemo

[1] contenderant $R^2\varsigma$: contenderent Ω.
[2] demissa ς: dimissa (dimissa *B*) Ω.
[3] Duillius F^3 *Madvig* (II. lviii. 2): duellios Ω.
[4] Icilios que *H*: silicisosque (silitiosque *O*) Ω.

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[1] A *nundinum* contained 8 days. The name (novem = nine), came from the Roman way of counting the Sunday, as it were, with the old week, as well as the new.

and-twenty days,[1] there was a great outburst of canvassing; even the chief men in the state—from fear, I doubt not, that if they left the field this great power might fall into unworthy hands—solicited men's votes and humbly begged for an office which they had themselves opposed with all their influence, from those plebeians with whom they had contended. The risk of losing his position, at his time of life, and after holding the offices he had held, acted as a spur to Appius Claudius. One would not have known whether to reckon him among the decemvirs or the candidates. He was at times more like one who sought a magistracy than like one who exercised it. He vilified the nobles; praised all the most insignificant and low-born candidates; and surrounding himself with former tribunes, like Duillius and Icilius, bustled about the Forum, and through them recommended himself to the plebs; till even his colleagues, who had been singularly devoted to him until then, looked askance at him and wondered what this could mean. It was evident there could be nothing genuine about it; so proud a man would certainly not be affable for nothing; excessive self-abasement and mingling with private citizens were not so much the marks of one who was in haste to retire from office as of one who sought the means of re-election. Open opposition to his desires being more than they dared venture, they endeavoured by a show of complaisance to lessen its intensity; and unanimously appointed him, as their youngest colleague, to preside at the election. This was a trick, that he might be unable to declare himself elected, a thing which none but tribunes of the plebs (and even there the precedent was most

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unquam fecisset. Ille enimvero, quod bene vertat,
9 habiturum se comitia professus, impedimentum pro occasione arripuit, deiectisque honore per coitionem[1] duobus Quinctiis, Capitolino et Cincinnato, et patruo suo C. Claudio, constantissimo viro in optimatium causa, et aliis eiusdem fastigii civibus, nequaquam
10 splendore vitae pares decemviros creat, se in primis, quod haud secus factum improbabant boni quam
11 nemo facere ausurum crediderat. Creati cum eo M. Cornelius Maluginensis M. Sergius L. Minucius Q. Fabius Vibulanus Q. Poetelius[2] T. Antonius Merenda K. Duillius[3] Sp. Oppius Cornicen M'. Rabuleius.

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XXXVI. Ille finis Appio alienae personae ferendae fuit. Suo iam inde vivere ingenio coepit novosque collegas, iam priusquam inirent magistratum, in suos
2 mores formare. Cottidie coibant remotis arbitris; inde impotentibus instructi consiliis, quae secreto ab aliis coquebant, iam haud dissimulando superbiam, rari aditus, conloquentibus difficiles, ad idus Maias

[1] coitionem *Sigonius*: contionem (contentionem *M*) Ω.
[2] Poetelius *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *pp.* 126, 130): poetilius Ω.
[3] K. Duillius ς (*cf.* II. lviii. 2; *Inscr. Hal.* x. lviii. 4): c. duillius *M*: c. duilius Ω: eduilius *RD*.

[1] *Coitio* is an understanding between two candidates whereby the stronger transfers a part of his support to the weaker, in order to defeat a third candidate.

vicious) had ever done. But Appius, strange as it may seem, having promised, with a prayer for Heaven's blessing, to convene the comitia, turned the obstacle into an opportunity. He effected by collusion [1] the defeat of the two Quinctii, Capitolinus and Cincinnatus, of his uncle Gaius Claudius, a steadfast champion of the aristocratic cause, and of other citizens of the same exalted rank; and declared the election of decemvirs who were no match for these men in excellence. His own name he announced among the first, a thing which good citizens condemned with as perfect unanimity, now it was done, as they had before believed he would not dare to do it. With him were elected Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, Quintus Poetelius, Titus Antonius Merenda, Caeso Duillius, Spurius Oppius Cornicen, Manius Rabuleius.[2] B.C. 451

XXXVI. Appius now threw off the mask he had been wearing, and began from that moment to live as his true nature prompted him. His new colleagues too he commenced, even before they entered upon office, to fashion after his own character. Every day they met together without witnesses. The tyrannical designs which they there adopted they matured in secret. They now no longer sought to conceal their pride; they were difficult of access, and surly towards those who sought to speak with them. Thus they carried matters until the Ides of B.C. 450

[2] Dion. Hal. xi. xxiii. says that Poetelius, Duillius, and Oppius were plebeians, as were probably Antonius and Rabuleius as well. But Livy tells us (iv. iii. 17) that they were all patricians.

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3 rem perduxere. Idus tum Maiae sollemnes ineundis magistratibus erant. Inito igitur magistratu [1] primum honoris diem denuntiatione ingentis terroris insignem fecere. Nam cum ita priores decemviri servassent ut unus fasces haberet et hoc insigne regium in orbem, suam cuiusque vicem, per omnes iret, subito omnes
4 cum duodenis fascibus prodiere. Centum viginti lictores forum impleverant et cum fascibus secures inligatas praeferebant; nec attinuisse demi securem, cum sine provocatione creati essent, interpreta-
5 bantur. Decem regum species erat multiplicatusque terror non infimis solum sed primoribus patrum, ratis caedis causam ac principium quaeri, ut si quis memorem libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut in populo [2] misisset statim virgae securesque etiam ad
6 ceterorum metum expedirentur. Nam praeterquam quod in populo nihil erat praesidii sublata provocatione, intercessionem quoque consensu sustulerant, cum priores decemviri appellatione collegae corrigi reddita ab se iura tulissent et quaedam, quae sui iudicii videri possent, ad populum reiecissent.
7 Aliquamdiu aequatus inter omnes terror fuit; paulatim totus vertere in plebem coepit. Abstinebatur a patribus; in humiliores libidinose crudeliterque consule-

[1] Inito igitur magistratu *Madvig* (*after Duker*) : initio igitur magistratus Ω.
[2] in populo ς : in populum Ω.

[1] May 15th.

May,[1] at that time the traditional date for beginning a term of office. So then, when they had taken up their duties, they signalized the first day of their administration by a terrible threat. For whereas the former decemvirs had kept to the rule that only one should have the fasces, and that this regal emblem should pass from one to another in rotation, so that each should have his turn, they suddenly appeared in public, every man with his twelve fasces. A hundred and twenty lictors crowded the Forum, and before them, bound up in the rods, they carried axes. And indeed the decemvirs explained that there had been no reason for removing the axe, since the office to which they had been chosen was without appeal. They seemed like ten kings; and the terror they inspired, not only in the humblest citizens but in the leaders of the senate, was intensified by the belief that the decemvirs were merely seeking a pretext and an opening for bloodshed, so that if anybody should pronounce a word in praise of liberty, either in the senate or before the people, the rods and axes might instantly be made ready, were it only to frighten the rest. For besides that there was no help in the people, the right of appeal having been taken away, they had further agreed not to interfere with each other's decisions; whereas their predecessors had allowed their judgments to be revised upon appeal to one of their colleagues; and certain cases which might have been held to be within their own competence they had referred to the people. For a brief period the terror was shared equally by all; but little by little its full force began to fall upon the plebs. The patricians were left unmolested; humbler folk were dealt with B.C. 450

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batur. Hominum, non causarum toti erant, ut apud
8 quos gratia vim aequi haberet. Iudicia domi conflabant, pronuntiabant in foro. Si quis collegam appellasset, ab eo ad quem venerat ita discedebat ut
9 paeniteret non prioris decreto stetisse. Opinio etiam sine auctore exierat non in praesentis modo temporis eos iniuriam conspirasse, sed foedus clandestinum inter ipsos iure iurando ictum, ne comitia haberent perpetuoque decemviratu possessum semel obtinerent imperium.

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XXXVII. Circumspectare tum patriciorum voltus plebeii et inde libertatis captare auram unde servitutem timendo in eum statum rem publicam ad-
2 duxerant. Primores patrum odisse decemviros, odisse plebem; nec probare quae fierent, et credere haud indignis accidere; avide ruendo ad libertatem in
3 servitutem elapsos iuvare nolle, cumulari[1] quoque iniurias, ut taedio praesentium consules duo tandem
4 et status pristinus rerum in desiderium veniant. Iam et processerat pars maior anni et duae tabulae legum ad prioris anni decem tabulas erant adiectae, nec quicquam iam supererat, si eae quoque leges centuriatis comitiis perlatae essent, cur eo magistratu rei
5 publicae opus esset. Exspectabant quam mox consulibus creandis comitia ederentur. Id modo

[1] cumulari *Madvig*: cumulare (cumm. *H*) Π.

arbitrarily and cruelly. It was all a question of persons, B.C. 450
not of causes, with the decemvirs, since influence held with them the place of right. They concocted their judgments in private, and pronounced them in the Forum. If anybody sought redress from another decemvir, he came away regretting that he had not accepted the decision of the first. Moreover a report had got out, though it was not vouched for, that they had not only conspired for present wrong-doing but had ratified with an oath a secret agreement amongst themselves not to call an election, but by means of a perpetual decemvirate to hold the power they had once for all acquired.

XXXVII. The plebeians then fell to searching the B.C. 449
countenances of the patricians, and would catch at the breath of freedom in that quarter where they had so feared enslavement as to have reduced the state to its present plight. The leading senators hated the decemvirs and hated the plebs. They could not approve of the things that were being done; still they believed them to be not undeserved. They had no desire to help those who in their greedy rush for liberty had fallen upon servitude, preferring that their wrongs should even be multiplied, that disgust at their actual situation might in the end arouse a longing for the two consuls and the former status of affairs. And now the greater part of the year had passed, and the two tables of laws had been added to the ten of the year before; nor was there any further business to make the decemvirate necessary to the republic, so soon as those statutes too should have been enacted in the centuriate assembly. People were anxiously looking forward to the time when the comitia for the election of consuls should

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plebes[1] agitabat, quonam modo tribuniciam potestatem, munimentum libertati, rem intermissam, repararent; cum interim mentio comitiorum nulla
6 fieri. Et decemviri, qui primo tribunicios homines, quia id populare habebatur, circum se ostentaverant plebi, patriciis iuvenibus saepserant latera. Eorum
7 catervae tribunalia obsederant. Hi ferre agere plebem plebisque res, cum fortuna, quidquid[2] cupitum foret,
8 potentioris esset. Et iam ne tergo quidem abstinebatur; virgis caedi, alii securi subici; et ne gratuita crudelitas esset, bonorum donatio sequi domini supplicium. Hac mercede iuventus nobilis corrupta non modo non ire obviam iniuriae, sed propalam licentiam suam malle quam omnium libertatem.

XXXVIII. Idus Maiae venere. Nullis subrogatis magistratibus privati pro decemviris neque animis ad imperium inhibendum imminutis neque ad speciem honoris insignibus prodeunt. Id vero regnum haud
2 dubie videri. Deploratur in perpetuum libertas, nec vindex quisquam exsistit aut futurus videtur. Nec ipsi solum desponderant animos, sed contemni coepti erant a finitimis populis, imperiumque ibi esse ubi
3 non esset libertas indignabantur. Sabini magna manu incursionem in agrum Romanum fecere; lateque

[1] plebes *HR*²: plebs *O*: plebe *PR*? *DL*: plebem P^2FUBD^3.
[2] quidquid *Duker*: qua quidquid (qui quicquid *H*) Ω.

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[1] Rome enjoyed no hegemony over Sabines and Aequians at this time, though Livy evidently thinks she did.

be announced. The plebeians felt only one concern: how were they ever going to restore the tribunician power (their bulwark of liberty) which had been suspended? Meanwhile there was no mention of an election. And the decemvirs, who had at first exhibited themselves to the plebs in the society of former tribunes, because this had been thought a recommendation to the people, had now assumed a retinue of young patricians. Their bands blocked the tribunals. They bullied the plebs and plundered their possessions; for success attended the strong, no matter what they coveted. And now they ceased even to respect a man's person; some they scourged with rods, others they made to feel the axe; and, that cruelty might not go unrequited, they bestowed the victim's property upon his slayer. Corrupted by these wages, the young nobles not only made no stand against wrong-doing, but frankly showed that they preferred licence for themselves to liberty for all. B.C. 449

XXXVIII. The Ides of May came. Without causing any magistrates to be elected, the decemvirs, now private citizens, appeared in public with no abatement either of the spirit with which they exercised their power or the insignia which proclaimed their office. But this was unmistakable tyranny. Men mourned for liberty as for ever lost; nor did any one arise, or seem likely to do so, in its defence. And not only had the people themselves lost heart; but they had begun to be despised by the neighbouring nations, who could ill brook the existence of imperial power where there was no liberty.[1] The Sabines made an incursion with a large force into Roman territory, which they every-

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populati, cum hominum atque pecudum inulti praedas egissent, recepto ad Eretum [1] quod passim vagatum erat agmine castra locant, spem in discordia Romana
4 ponentes: eam impedimentum dilectui fore. Non nuntii solum sed per urbem agrestium fuga trepidationem iniecit. Decemviri consultant quid opus facto sit, destituti inter patrum et plebis odia. Addit [2] ter-
5 rorem insuper alium fortuna. Aequi alia ex parte castra in Algido locant depopulanturque inde excursionibus Tusculanum agrum. Legati ea [3] ab Tusculo
6 praesidium orantes nuntiant. Is pavor perculit decemviros ut senatum simul duobus circumstantibus urbem bellis consulerent. Citari iubent in curiam patres haud ignari quanta invidiae immineret tem-
7 pestas: omnes vastati agri periculorumque imminentium causas in se congesturos, temptationemque eam fore abolendi sibi magistratus, ni consensu resisterent imperioque inhibendo acriter in paucos praeferocis
8 animi conatus aliorum comprimerent. Postquam audita vox in foro est praeconis patres in curiam ad decemviros vocantis, velut nova res, quia intermiserant iam diu morem consulendi senatus, mirabundam plebem convertit, quidnam incidisset, cur ex
9 tanto intervallo rem desuetam usurparent; hostibus

[1] ad Eretum ς: ad fretum Ω: ac eretum *M*?: ad efretum *PFU*.
[2] addit Ω: addidit *VHRDL*.
[3] legati ea *V*: legatie *D*?: legati Ω.

where laid waste. Having safely driven off their booty, comprising men and beasts, they withdrew their army, which had ranged far and wide, to Eretum. There they established a camp, hoping that the want of harmony at Rome would interfere with the levying of troops. Not only the messengers who came, but the flight of the country-people, who thronged the City, inspired a feeling of dismay. The decemvirs considered what they had best do; for they were left in the lurch by the hatred of the patricians on the one side and of the plebs on the other. Moreover Fortune sent an additional alarm. The Aequi came from another quarter and encamped on Algidus, and from there raided the lands of Tusculum. Tusculan envoys brought tidings of these acts, and besought protection. The fright which this occasioned drove the decemvirs, now that the City was hemmed in between two simultaneous wars, to consult the senate. They ordered the Fathers to be summoned to the Curia, though they were not ignorant how great a storm of unpopularity was brewing: the devastation of the land and the dangers which impended would be laid by everybody at their doors; and this would lead to an attempt being made to abolish their magistracy, unless they presented a united resistance, and by sharply exercising their power upon the few really daring spirits, put a stop to the efforts of the rest. When the crier's voice was heard in the Forum, calling the senators to meet the decemvirs in the Curia, it was like an innovation, so long had they disregarded the custom of consulting the senate, and it aroused the attention of the plebs, who wondered what in the world could have happened, that after so long an interval they

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belloque gratiam habendam, quod solitum quicquam liberae civitati[1] fieret. Circumspectare omnibus fori
10 partibus senatorem raroque usquam noscitare; curiam inde ac solitudinem circa decemviros intueri, cum et ipsi[2] consensu invisum imperium et plebs, quia privatis ius non esset vocandi senatum, non convenire patres interpretarentur: iam caput fieri libertatem repetentium, si se plebs comitem senatui det, et quem ad modum patres vocati non coeant in senatum, sic plebs
11 abnuat dilectum. Haec fremunt plebes. Patrum haud fere quisquam in foro, in urbe rari erant. Indignitate rerum cesserant in agros, suarumque rerum erant amissa publica, tantum ab iniuria se abesse rati, quantum a coetu congressuque impotentium
12 dominorum se amovissent. Postquam citati non conveniebant, dimissi circa domos apparitores simul ad pignera capienda sciscitandumque num consulto detrectarent referunt senatum in agris esse. Laetius id decemviris accidit quam si praesentes detrectare
13 imperium referrent. Iubent acciri omnes, senatumque in diem posterum edicunt; qui aliquanto

[1] civitati *Drakenborch* (*confirmed by V*): ciuitatis Ω.
ipsi Ω: ipsis *M*: ipsi suum *Conway and Walters*.

should be reviving a forgotten usage; the enemy and B.C. 449
the war deserved men's gratitude, if anything whatever was being done which was usual in a free state. Men looked about in every corner of the Forum to discover a senator, and seldom recognized one anywhere; then their glances rested on the Curia and the decemvirs sitting there alone. Meantime the decemvirs themselves explained the Fathers' failure to assemble as owing to the universal detestation of their rule; the commons as due to their having no authority, being private citizens, to convoke the senate: a beginning, it seemed, was already being made towards the recovery of freedom, if the plebs would join with the senate; and if, even as the Fathers were refusing, when summoned, to attend the session, so they, for their part, would reject the levy. Such were the murmurs of the plebs. Of senators there was scarce one in the Forum, and there were but few in the City. In their resentment at the situation they had withdrawn to their farms and were absorbed in their private affairs, disregarding those of the nation; for they felt that they were secure from insult only so far as they removed themselves from contact and association with their tyrannical masters. When on being cited they failed to appear, officers were sent round to their houses, for the double purpose of exacting fines and of ascertaining whether their recalcitrancy were deliberate. They reported that the senators were in the country. This was more pleasing to the decemvirs than if they had announced that the Fathers were in town and repudiated their authority. They commanded them all to be summoned, and proclaimed a meeting of the senate for the following day. This session

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spe ipsorum frequentior convenit. Quo facto proditam a patribus plebs libertatem rata, quod iis qui iam magistratu abissent privatisque, si vis abesset, tamquam iure cogentibus senatus paruisset.

XXXIX. Sed magis oboedienter ventum in curiam[1] 2 quam obnoxie dictas sententias accepimus. L. Valerium Potitum proditum memoriae est post relationem Ap. Claudi, priusquam ordine sententiae rogarentur, postulando ut de re publica liceret dicere, prohibentibus minaciter decemviris prodituram se ad 3 plebem denuntiantem tumultum excivisse. Nec minus ferociter M. Horatium Barbatum isse in certamen, decem Tarquinios appellantem admonentemque Va- 4 leriis et Horatiis ducibus pulsos reges. Nec nominis homines tum pertaesum esse, quippe quo Iovem appellari fas sit, quo Romulum, conditorem urbis, deincepsque reges,[2] quod sacris etiam ut sollemne retentum sit: superbiam violentiamque tum perosos 5 regis. Quae si in rege tum[3] aut in filio regis ferenda non fuerint, quem eadem[4] laturum in tot privatis? 6 Viderent ne vetando in curia libere homines loqui extra curiam etiam moverent vocem; neque se videre

[1] in curiam *Madvig*: in curiam est (esse *M*) Ω.
[2] reges *Madvig*: reges appellatos Ω.
[3] rege tum *Walters*: rege tum eodem Ω.
[4] quem eadem laturum *Walters*: quem laturum Ω: qua laturiam *R*: quam laturiam *DL*.

[1] Livy did not mention Horatius in his account of the expulsion of the kings, but he is named by Dion. Hal. IV. lxxxv. Here Livy and Dion. Hal. (XI. v.), are in agreement, and are perhaps following the account of Licinius Macer.
[2] See II. ii. 1.

was somewhat better attended than they had themselves expected. Whereupon the plebs concluded that liberty had been betrayed by the senators, since those who had already gone out of office and were mere private citizens, save for the force they exercised, were obeyed by them as though they had the authority to command. B.C. 449

XXXIX. But their obedience in coming to the senate-house was greater, we are told, than their submissiveness in the expression of their views. It is related that Lucius Valerius Potitus, after Appius Claudius had proposed his motion and before the senators were called upon in order for their opinions, demanded leave to speak on the state of the nation; and when the decemvirs tried with threats to prevent his doing so, stirred up a violent commotion by declaring that he would go before the plebs. With equal spirit, it is said, did Marcus Horatius Barbatus enter the dispute, calling them ten Tarquinii, and warning them that the Valerii and the Horatii had been leaders in the expulsion of the kings.[1] Nor was it the name, said he, which had then disgusted men, since by this name Jupiter was duly called; and Romulus, the founder of the City; and the successive kings; and it had even been retained for religious rites as a solemn title.[2] No, it was the pride and violence of the king which men had hated in those days; and if these qualities had then been intolerable in a king, or the son of a king, who would endure them in so many private citizens? Let them beware lest by denying men freedom of speech in the Curia they should set them a-talking outside the Curia as well. He could not see, he continued, how, as a private citizen, he was

qui[1] sibi minus privato ad contionem populum vocare
7 quam illis senatum cogere liceat. Ubi vellent experirentur quanto fortior dolor in libertate[2] sua vindicanda quam cupiditas in iniusta dominatione
8 esset. De bello Sabino eos referre, tamquam maius ullum populo Romano bellum sit quam cum iis[3] qui legum ferendarum causa creati nihil iuris in civitate reliquerint, qui comitia, qui annuos magistratus, qui vicissitudinem imperitandi, quod unum exaequandae sit libertatis, sustulerint; qui privati fasces et regium
9 imperium habeant. Fuisse regibus exactis patricios magistratus, creatos postea post secessionem plebis plebeios; cuius illi partis essent, rogitare. Populares? Quid enim eos per populum egisse? Optimates? Qui anno iam prope senatum non habuerint, nunc[4] ita
10 habeant, ut de re publica loqui prohibeant? Ne nimium in metu alieno spei ponerent; graviora quae patiantur videri iam hominibus quam quae metuant.

XL. Haec vociferante Horatio cum decemviri nec irae nec ignoscendi modum reperirent nec quo evasura
2 res esset cernerent, C. Claudi, qui patruus Appi decemviri erat, oratio fuit precibus quam iurgio similior,[5] orantis per sui fratris parentisque eius manes ut

[1] qui *UOL*[2]: quin Ω.
[2] in libertate $L^2D^4\varsigma$: libertate Ω.
[3] iis ς: is *MPO*: his Ω.
[4] nunc *Scheller*: tunc Ω.
[5] similior L^2 *Ascensius*: similis Ω.

less entitled to assemble the people for a speech than they were to convene the senate. When they liked they might learn by making the experiment how much stronger indignation was in the vindication of a man's own liberty than was ambition in defence of unjust power. The decemvirs talked of a Sabine war, as if any war were more important to the Roman People than war with those who, though they had been appointed to propose statutes, had left no law in the state; who had done away with elections, with annual magistracies, with the succession of new governors—the only means of equalizing liberty;—and who, though private citizens, had the rods and the power of kings. Following the expulsion of the kings there had been patrician magistrates; later, after the secession of the plebs, plebeian magistrates had been elected. Of what party, he asked, were they? Of the popular party? Pray what had they done through the agency of the people? Of the aristocratic party? When they had held no meeting of the senate for close upon a year, and were now so conducting it as to suppress discussion of the national welfare? Let them not trust too much to other men's fears; the things men were enduring now seemed more grievous to them than the things they feared. B.C. 449

XL. While Horatius was thus declaiming, the decemvirs were at a loss to know how far they could afford either to resent or to overlook it; nor could they make out what the upshot was likely to be. But Gaius Claudius, the uncle of Appius the decemvir, made a speech, approaching more nearly to entreaty than expostulation, in which he implored him in the name of his own brother's and his father's departed

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civilis potius societatis, in qua natus esset, quam foederis nefarie icti cum collegis meminisset. Multo id magis se illius causa orare quam rei publicae; quippe rem publicam, si a volentibus nequeat, ab invitis ius expetituram; sed ex magno certamine magnas excitari ferme iras; earum eventum se horrere. Cum aliud praeterquam de quo rettulissent decemviri dicere prohiberent, Claudium interpellandi verecundia fuit. Sententiam igitur peregit nullum placere senatus consultum fieri. Omnesque ita accipiebant, privatos eos a Claudio iudicatos; multique ex consularibus verbo adsensi sunt. Alia sententia, asperior in speciem, vim minorem aliquanto habuit, quae patricios coire ad prodendum interregem iubebat. Censendo enim quodcumque [1] magistratus esse qui senatum haberent iudicabant, quos privatos fecerat auctor nullius senatus consulti faciendi. Ita labente iam causa decemvirorum L. Cornelius Maluginensis, M. Corneli decemviri frater, cum ex consularibus ad ultimum dicendi locum consulto servatus esset, simulando curam belli fratrem collegasque eius tuebatur, quonam fato incidisset mirari se dictitans ut decemviros, qui decemviratum petissent—aut soli ii aut [2] maxime—oppugnarent; aut quid ita, cum per tot

[1] quodcumque *Madvig*: quoscumque (quiscunque *F*) Ω.

[2] aut soli ii aut *Conway*: aut soli aut ii *Crevier*: aut solii aut hi ς: aut socii aut ii (*or* hi) Ω.

spirits to remember rather the civil society in which he had been born than the wicked compact he had entered into with his colleagues. This he begged much more for Appius's own sake than for the sake of the nation; indeed the nation would demand its rights in spite of the decemvirs, if they did not accord them voluntarily; but a great struggle usually aroused great passions, and he shuddered to think what these might lead to. Although the decemvirs wished to prevent discussion of anything but the subject they had introduced, they were ashamed to interrupt Claudius, who accordingly brought his speech to a conclusion, with the proposal that the senate should take no action. Everybody accepted this as meaning that Claudius held the decemvirs to be private citizens; and many of consular rank signified their approval, without discussion. Another motion, ostensibly harsher, but in reality somewhat less drastic, directed the patricians to assemble and proclaim an interrex. For by passing any measure whatsoever they declared those who presided over the senate to be magistrates; whereas they had been rated as mere citizens by him who advised the senate against adopting any resolution. Thus the cause of the decemvirs was already collapsing, when Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis, brother of Marcus Cornelius the decemvir, who had purposely been reserved to be the last speaker among the ex-consuls, defended his brother and his brother's colleagues by feigning anxiety about the war. He said he wondered by what fatality it had come about that the decemvirs were being attacked solely, or at least chiefly, by those who had sought election to that office; or why it was that during B.C 449

A.U.C. 385 menses vacua civitate nemo iustine magistratus summae rerum praeessent controversiam fecerit,[1] nunc demum cum hostes prope ad portas sint, civiles discordias serant, nisi quod in turbido minus perspicuum
11 fore putent quid agatur. Ceterum—nonne enim[2] maiore cura occupatis animis verum esse praeiudicium rei tantae auferri?—sibi placere de eo quod Valerius Horatiusque ante idus Maias decemviros abisse magistratu[3] insimulent, bellis quae immineant perfectis, re publica in tranquillum redacta, senatu
12 disceptante agi, et iam nunc ita se parare Ap. Claudium ut comitiorum quae decemviris creandis decemvir ipse habuerit sciat sibi rationem reddendam esse utrum in unum annum creati sint, an donec
13 leges quae deessent perferrentur. In praesentia omnia praeter bellum omitti placere; cuius si falso famam volgatam, vanaque non nuntios solum sed Tusculanorum etiam legatos adtulisse putent, speculatores mittendos censere qui certius explorata
14 referant; sin fides et nuntiis et legatis habeatur, dilectum primo quoque tempore haberi et decemviros quo cuique eorum videatur exercitus ducere nec rem aliam praeverti.

XLI. In hanc sententiam ut discederetur iuniores

[1] fecerit F^3U: fecerint (fecerunt O) Ω.
[2] nonne enim *Walters*: neminem (nemini se M?) Ω.
[3] magistratu F^3 (*or* F^2) D^x: magistratum Ω.

[1] Apparently the decemvirs were technically within their rights in claiming that they held office until the tables were ratified by popular vote.

the many months in which the state had been at peace nobody had raised the question whether regular magistrates were at the head of affairs, and only now, when the enemy were almost at their gates, were men sowing political dissension; unless it was because they thought that in troubled waters it would be harder to discern what was going on. For the rest, was it not right that when men's attention was taken up with the larger concern, all prejudgment of so important a matter should be eliminated? He therefore proposed, concerning the charge brought by Valerius and Horatius that the official term of the decemvirs had expired on the day before the Ides of May, that they should first conclude the impending wars and restore the state's tranquillity, and then refer the question to the senate for settlement; and that Appius Claudius should at once make up his mind to recognize that he must explain, regarding the comitia which he had held for the election of decemvirs—being one himself—whether they were chosen for one year or until the missing laws should be enacted.[1] For the present he thought they should pay no attention to anything but the war. If the current rumours about it seemed to them to be false, and if they supposed that not only the couriers but the Tusculan envoys also had brought them idle stories, he suggested that they send out scouts to investigate and return with more certain information. But if they trusted both couriers and envoys, a levy should be held at the earliest possible moment; and the decemvirs should lead the armies whither it seemed good to each of them, giving precedence to no other business. B.C. 449

XLI. The younger senators were about to force

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patrum evincebant. Ferocioresque iterum coorti Valerius Horatiusque vociferari ut de re publica liceret dicere; dicturos ad populum, si in senatu per factionem non liceat; neque enim sibi privatos aut in curia aut in contione posse obstare, neque se imaginariis fasci-
2 bus eorum cessuros esse. Tum Appius, iam prope esse ratus ut ni violentiae eorum pari resisteretur
3 audacia victum imperium esset, "Non erit melius" inquit, "nisi de quo consulimus vocem misisse," et ad Valerium, negantem se privato reticere, lictorem
4 accedere iussit. Iam Quiritium fidem implorante Valerio a curiae limine, L. Cornelius complexus Appium, non cui[1] simulabat consulendo, diremit certamen; factaque per Cornelium Valerio dicendi gratia quae vellet, cum libertas non ultra vocem ex-
5 cessisset, decemviri propositum tenuere. Consulares quoque ac seniores ab residuo tribuniciae potestatis odio, cuius desiderium plebi multo acrius quam consularis imperii rebantur esse, prope malebant postmodo ipsos decemviros voluntate abire magistratu
6 quam invidia eorum exsurgere rursus plebem: si leniter ducta res sine populari strepitu ad consules redisset, aut bellis interpositis aut moderatione consulum in imperiis exercendis posse in oblivionem tribunorum plebem adduci.

[1] non cui *Vorm.*? (*Rhenanus*): non quid cui *M*: non quid (*qd. O*) Ω: non quod U_5.

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[1] He pretended concern for Valerius, but was really prompted by a wish to further the ends of Appius, by preventing an undesirable test of men's temper.

this motion through on a division, when Valerius and Horatius, in a second and more impassioned outburst, demanded that they be permitted to speak about the state of the nation. They would address the people, they said, if they were restrained by a faction from speaking in the senate; for neither could private citizens prevent them, whether in the senate-house or in an assembly, nor would they yield to the emblems of a fictitious authority. Thereupon Appius, thinking the moment was at hand when, unless he opposed their violence with equal boldness, his authority was doomed, cried out, "It will be safer not to utter a word except on the subject of debate!" And when Valerius asserted that he would not be silenced by a mere citizen, he sent a lictor to arrest him. Valerius was imploring the citizens for help, from the threshold of the Curia, when Lucius Cornelius, throwing his arms about Appius, and feigning to be concerned for the other man,[1] stopped the quarrel. At his request Valerius was permitted to say what he wished. But liberty went no further than speech; the decemvirs made good their design. Even the ex-consuls and the elder senators, in consequence of their lingering hatred of the tribunician power, which they thought the plebs regretted much more keenly than they did the authority of the consuls, almost preferred that at some later time the decemvirs should voluntarily abdicate than that hatred of them should lead to another rising of the plebs. If gentle measures should restore the government to the consuls, without any popular outcry, they might, either through the intervention of wars, or through the moderation of the consuls in the exercise of their power, bring the plebeians to forget the tribunes.

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7 Silentio patrum edicitur dilectus. Iuniores, cum sine provocatione imperium esset, ad nomina respondent. Legionibus scriptis inter se decemviri comparant,[1] quos ire ad bellum, quos praeesse exercitibus oporteret. Principes inter decemviros erant
8 Q. Fabius et Ap. Claudius. Bellum domi maius quam foris apparebat. Appi violentiam aptiorem rati ad comprimendos urbanos motus; in Fabio minus in bono constans potius quam[2] navum in malitia
9 ingenium esse. Hunc enim virum, egregium olim domi militiaeque, decemviratus collegaeque ita mutaverant, ut Appi quam sui similis mallet esse. Huic bellum in Sabinis M'. Rabuleio[3] et Q. Poetelio[4]
10 additis collegis mandatum. M. Cornelius in Algidum missus cum L. Minucio et T. Antonio et K. Duillio et M. Sergio.[5] Sp. Oppium Ap. Claudio adiutorem ad urbem tuendam aequo omnium decemvirorum imperio decernunt.

XLII. Nihilo militiae quam domi melius res
2 publica administrata est. Illa modo in ducibus culpa quod ut odio essent civibus fecerant; alia omnis penes milites noxia erat, qui ne quid ductu atque auspicio decemvirorum prospere usquam gereretur vinci se per suum atque illorum dedecus patiebantur.
3 Fusi et ab Sabinis ad Eretum[6] et in Algido ab Aequis

[1] comparant *Cobet*: comparabant Ω.
[2] constans potius quam *H. J. Mueller*: constans quam Ω.
[3] M'. Rabuleio *R Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xxxv. § 11; *Dion. Hal.* x. lviii. 4): m̄. rabulleio (-bule- *D*) Ω.
[4] Poetelio *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xxxv. § 11): poetilio Ω: poetioli *B*: petilio F^3 (petelio *F*?).
[5] M. Sergio ς (*cf. chap.* xxxv. § 11): l. sergio Ω: Sergio *U*.
[6] Eretum ς: fretum Ω.

The senators permitted in silence the proclamation of a levy. The young men answered to their names, since the authority of the decemvirs was without appeal. When the legions were enrolled, the decemvirs settled among themselves who ought to go to the front and who command the armies. Chief among the ten were Quintus Fabius and Appius Claudius. The war at home seemed more important than that abroad. The violence of Appius was, they thought, more adapted to quell disturbances in the City; while Fabius was of a character deficient in steady rectitude rather than actively bad. For this man, once pre-eminent in civil and in military affairs, had been so altered by the decemvirate and by his colleagues that he chose rather to be like Appius than like himself. To him was intrusted the war in the Sabine country, and Manius Rabuleius and Quintus Poetelius were given him as colleagues. Marcus Cornelius was sent to Mount Algidus, with Lucius Minucius, Titus Antonius, Caeso Duillius, and Marcus Sergius. Spurius Oppius they assigned to Appius Claudius, to help him in looking out for the City; and they gave them the same powers as had been exercised by the entire board. B.C. 449

XLII. The business of the nation was managed no better in the field than at home. The only fault of the generals was that they had made the citizens detest them; the rest of the blame belonged to the soldiers, who, that nothing might anywhere prosper under the command and auspices of the decemvirs, permitted themselves to be beaten, to their own disgrace and that of their commanders. Their armies were routed, both by the Sabines near Eretum, and on Algidus by the Aequi. From Eretum they

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exercitus erant. Ab Ereto[1] per silentium noctis profugi propius urbem, inter Fidenas Crustumeriamque, 4 loco edito castra communierant; persecutis hostibus nusquam se aequo certamine committentes, natura loci 5 ac vallo, non virtute aut armis tutabantur. Maius flagitium in Algido, maior etiam clades accepta; castra quoque amissa erant, exutusque omnibus utensilibus miles Tusculum se, fide misericordiaque victurus hospitum, 6 quae tamen non fefellerunt, contulerat.[2] Romam tanti erant terrores allati ut posito iam decemvirali odio patres vigilias in urbe habendas censerent, omnes qui per aetatem arma ferre possent custodire moenia 7 ac pro portis stationes agere iuberent, arma Tusculum ac[3] supplementum decernerent decemvirosque ab arce Tusculi degressos in castris militem habere; castra alia a Fidenis in Sabinum agrum transferri, belloque ultro inferendo deterreri hostes a consilio urbis oppugnandae.

XLIII. Ad clades ab hostibus acceptas duo nefanda 2 facinora decemviri belli domique adiciunt. L. Siccium in Sabinis, per invidiam decemviralem tribunorum creandorum secessionisque mentiones ad volgus militum sermonibus occultis serentem, prospeculatum ad 3 locum castris capiendum mittunt. Datur negotium militibus quos miserant expeditionis eius comites ut

[1] Ereto $M\zeta$: efreto (*or* freto) Ω.
[2] contulerat $U\zeta$: contulerant (*wanting in V*) Ω.
[3] ac *VM*: ad Ω.

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[1] Surnamed Dentatus, and known, according to Aulus Gellius (II. xi.) as the Roman Achilles. Dion. Hal. (XI. xxv. f.) tells the story at greater length and somewhat differently.

fled in the silence of the night, and intrenched B.C. 449
themselves near the City, between Fidenae and Crustumeria, on elevated ground. When the enemy followed them up, they nowhere ventured to fight in the open field, but defended themselves by the position and their rampart, not by bravery and arms. The disgrace on Algidus was worse, and a worse disaster was sustained; even the camp was lost, and stripped of all their baggage, the soldiers fled to Tusculum, to subsist by the loyalty and compassion of their hosts,—which nevertheless did not fail them. To Rome came such alarming reports that the patricians, laying aside now their hatred of the decemvirs, voted to establish watches in the City, and commanded all who were of an age to bear arms to guard the walls and do outpost duty before the gates. They decreed that arms should be dispatched to Tusculum, and reinforcements, and that the decemvirs should descend from the Tusculan citadel and hold their troops in camp; that the other camp should be transferred from Fidenae to Sabine territory, so that by taking the offensive they might frighten the enemy into abandoning his design to besiege the City.

XLIII. To the disaster suffered at the hands of the enemy the decemvirs added two shameful crimes, one committed in the field, the other at home. Lucius Siccius[1] was serving in the Sabine campaign. Taking advantage of the hatred entertained for the decemvirs, he would scatter hints, in secret conversations with the common soldiers, that they should elect tribunes and secede. So the generals sent him to look out a place for an encampment; and instructed the men whom they assigned to share his expedition to set

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4 eum opportuno adorti loco interficerent. Haud inultum interfecere; nam circa repugnantem aliquot insidiatores cecidere, cum ipse se praevalidus pari
5 viribus animo circumventus tutaretur. Nuntiant in castra ceteri praecipitatum in insidias esse; Siccium egregie pugnantem militesque quosdam cum eo
6 amissos. Primo fides nuntiantibus fuit; profecta deinde cohors ad sepeliendos qui ceciderant decemvirorum permissu, postquam nullum spoliatum ibi corpus Sicciumque in medio iacentem armatum [1] omnibus in eum versis corporibus videre, hostium neque corpus ullum nec vestigia abeuntium, profecto ab suis inter-
7 fectum memorantes rettulere corpus. Invidiaeque plena castra erant, et Romam ferri protinus Siccium placebat, ni decemviri funus militare ei publica inpensa facere maturassent. Sepultus ingenti militum maestitia, pessima decemvirorum in volgus fama est.

XLIV. Sequitur aliud in urbe nefas ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat, ut non finis solum idem decemviris qui regibus sed causa etiam eadem imperii amittendi
2 esset. Ap. Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido cepit. Pater virginis, L. Verginius, honestum

[1] armatum *V*: armatumque Ω.

upon him when they had got to a suitable spot, B.C. 449
and kill him. He died not unavenged. For he laid about him, and several of the assassins fell, for he was very strong, and though surrounded, defended himself with a courage equal to his strength. The others reported at the camp that they had fallen into an ambuscade, and that Siccius had perished, fighting valiantly, and with him certain soldiers. At first their report was believed; afterwards a cohort set out, by permission of the decemvirs, to bury the slain; and finding that none of the bodies there had been despoiled, and that Siccius lay armed in the midst, with all the bodies facing him, while the enemy had left no dead nor any indication of having withdrawn, they brought back the corpse, and declared that Siccius had certainly been murdered by his own men. The camp was ablaze with indignation, and it was resolved that Siccius should be carried to Rome forthwith; but the decemvirs made haste to give him a military funeral at the public cost. The soldiers sorrowed greatly at his burial, and the worst reports were current about the decemvirs.

XLIV. This outrage was followed by another, committed in Rome, which was inspired by lust and was no less shocking in its consequences than that which had led, through the rape and the death of Lucretia, to the expulsion of the Tarquinii from the City and from their throne; thus not only did the same end befall the decemvirs as had befallen the kings, but the same cause deprived them of their power. Appius Claudius was seized with the desire to debauch a certain maiden belonging to the plebs. The girl's father, Lucius Verginius, a

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ordinem in Algido ducebat, vir exempli recti domi militiaeque. Perinde uxor instituta fuerat liberique 3 instituebantur. Desponderat filiam L. Icilio tribunicio, viro acri et pro causa plebis expertae virtutis. 4 Hanc virginem adultam forma excellentem Appius amore amens pretio ac spe perlicere adortus, postquam omnia pudore saepta animadvertit,[1] ad 5 crudelem superbamque vim animum convertit. M. Claudio clienti negotium dedit ut virginem in servitutem adsereret neque cederet secundum libertatem postulantibus vindicias, quod pater puellae abesset 6 locum iniuriae esse ratus. Virgini venienti in forum —ibi namque in tabernaculis litterarum ludi erant— minister decemviri libidinis manum iniecit, serva sua[2] natam servamque appellans, sequique se iubebat:[3] 7 cunctantem vi abstracturum. Pavida puella stupente ad clamorem nutricis fidem Quiritium implorantis fit concursus. Vergini patris sponsique Icili populare nomen celebrabatur.[4] Notos gratia eorum, turbam 8 indignitas rei virgini conciliat. Iam a vi tuta erat, cum adsertor nihil opus esse multitudine concitata ait; se iure grassari, non vi. Vocat puellam in ius.

[1] animadvertit *V*: animaduerterat Ω.
[2] serva sua *VDX*: seruam suam Ω.
[3] sequique se iubebat *Gronov.*: esse sequique se iubebat Ω: sequi iubebat V_2: esse sequique seuiebat *DL*.
[4] celebrabatur Ω: celebratur *ORDL*: celebratum *V*.

centurion of rank, was serving on Algidus, a man of exemplary life at home and in the army. His wife had been brought up in the same principles, and his children were being trained in them. He had betrothed his daughter to the former tribune Lucius Icilius, an active man of proven courage in the cause of the plebeians. She was a grown girl, remarkably beautiful, and Appius, crazed with love, attempted to seduce her with money and promises. But finding that her modesty was proof against everything, he resolved on a course of cruel and tyrannical violence. He commissioned Marcus Claudius, his client, to claim the girl as his slave, and not to yield to those who demanded her liberation, thinking that the absence of the maiden's father afforded an opportunity for the wrong. As Verginia was entering the Forum—for there, in booths, were the elementary schools—the minister of the decemvir's lust laid his hand upon her, and calling her the daughter of his bond-woman and herself a slave, commanded her to follow him, and threatened to drag her off by force if she hung back. Terror made the maiden speechless, but the cries of her nurse imploring help of the Quirites quickly brought a crowd about them. The names of Verginius her father and of her betrothed Icilius were known and popular. Their acquaintance were led to support the girl out of regard for them; the crowd was influenced by the shamelessness of the attempt. She was already safe from violence, when the claimant protested that there was no occasion for the people to become excited; he was proceeding lawfully, not by force. He then summoned the girl to court. She was advised by her supporters to B.C. 449

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9 Auctoribus qui aderant ut Sequeretur, Ad tribunal Appi perventum est. Notam iudici fabulam petitor, quippe apud ipsum auctorem argumenti, peragit: puellam domi suae natam furtoque inde in domum
10 Vergini translatam suppositam ei esse; id se indicio compertum adferre probaturumque vel ipso Verginio iudice, ad quem maior pars iniuriae eius pertineat;
11 interim dominum sequi ancillam aequum esse. Advocati puellae, cum Verginium rei publicae causa dixissent abesse, biduo adfuturum si nuntiatum ei
12 sit, iniquum esse absentem de liberis dimicare, postulant ut rem integram in patris adventum differat, lege ab ipso lata vindicias det secundum libertatem, neu patiatur virginem adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.

XLV. Appius decreto praefatur,[1] quam libertati faverit eam ipsam legem declarare quam Vergini
2 amici postulationi suae praetendant; ceterum ita in ea firmum libertati fore praesidium si nec causis nec personis variet; in aliis[2] enim qui adserantur in

[1] praefatur *F*: praefatus Ω.
[2] in aliis *Karsten*: in iis *R*: in his Ω.

[1] Dion. Hal. (XL. iv.) mentions Icilius and Numitorius as offering to be Verginia's *vindices*, *i. e.* to put in a claim to interim custody of the girl, till the suit determining her status should be decided.

follow him, and they went before the tribunal of Appius. The plaintiff acted out a comedy familiar to the judge, since it was he and no other who had invented the plot: The girl had been born, said Marcus, in his house, and had thence been stealthily conveyed to the home of Verginius and palmed off upon him as his own; he had good evidence for what he said, and would prove it even though Verginius himself were judge, who was more wronged than he was; meanwhile it was right that the hand-maid should follow her master. The friends of the girl said that Verginius was absent on the service of the state; he would be at hand in two days' time if he were given notice of the matter; it was unjust that a man should be involved in litigation about his children when away from home; they therefore requested Appius to leave the case open until the father arrived, and in accordance with the law he had himself proposed, grant the custody of the girl to the defendants,[1] nor suffer a grown maiden's honour to be jeopardized before her freedom should be adjudicated. B.C 449

XLV. Appius prefaced his decision by saying that it was evident how much he favoured liberty from that very law which the friends of Verginius made the pretext for their claim; but the law would afford liberty a sure protection only if it varied neither with causes nor with persons; for in the case of others who were claimed as free, the demand was legal, since any one might bring an action: in the case of one who was under the authority of a father there was no one else to whom the master ought to yield the custody; accordingly he decreed that the father should be summoned, and that meanwhile the

libertatem quia quivis lege agere possit, id iuris esse: in ea quae in patris manu sit neminem esse
3 alium cui dominus possessione cedat. Placere itaque patrem arcessiri, interea iuris sui iacturam adsertorem non facere quin ducat puellam sistendamque in adventum eius qui pater dicatur promittat.
4 Adversus iniuriam decreti cum multi magis fremerent quam quisquam unus recusare auderet, P. Numitorius,
5 puellae avus,[1] et sponsus Icilius interveniunt; dataque inter turbam via, cum multitudo Icili maxime interventu resisti posse Appio crederet, lictor decresse ait vociferantemque Icilium submovet.
6 Placidum quoque ingenium tam atrox iniuria accendisset. "Ferro hinc tibi submovendus sum, Appi" inquit, "ut tacitum feras quod celari vis. Virginem ego hanc sum ducturus nuptamque pudicam habi-
7 turus. Proinde omnes collegarum quoque lictores convoca; expediri virgas et secures iube; non
8 manebit extra domum patris sponsa Icili. Non, si tribunicium auxilium et provocationem plebi Romanae, duas arces libertatis tuendae, ademistis, ideo in liberos quoque nostros coniugesque regnum
9 vestrae libidini datum est. Saevite in tergum et in cervices nostras: pudicitia saltem in tuto sit. Huic si vis adferetur, ego praesentium Quiritium pro sponsa, Verginius militum pro unica filia, omnes

[1] avus Ω : auunculus ς (*cf. Dion. Hal.* XI. xxviii. 7).

[1] Appius argued that Verginia was either the slave of his client or under her father's control, and in neither case free, so that an action for recovering her freedom did not lie, and it was merely a question of title between Verginius and Marcus Claudius.

claimant should not relinquish his right, but should take the girl in charge and guarantee that she should be produced at the coming of him who was called her father.[1] B.C. 449

Against the injustice of the decree, though many murmured their disapproval, there was not a single man who dared to stand out; when Publius Numitorius, the girl's great-uncle,[2] and her lover Icilius, arrived on the scene. When a path had been opened for them through the throng, since the crowd believed that the intervention of Icilius would be particularly effectual in resisting Appius, the lictor cried that the case had been decided, and as Icilius began to protest, attempted to thrust him aside. Even a placid nature would have been incensed by so violent an insult. "You must use iron to rid yourself of me, Appius," he cried, "that you may carry through in silence what you desire should be concealed. This maiden I am going to wed; and I intend that my bride shall be chaste. So call together all your colleagues' lictors too; bid them make ready rods and axes: the promised wife of Icilius shall not pass the night outside her father's house. No! If you have taken from the Roman plebs the assistance of the tribunes and the right of appeal, two citadels for the defence of liberty, it has not therefore been granted to your lust to lord it over our children and our wives as well! Vent your rage upon our backs and our necks: let our chastity at least be safe. If that shall be assailed, I will call on the Quirites here present to protect my bride, Verginius will

[2] Some take *avus* literally, as "grandfather." See chap. liv. 11, note.

A.U.C. 305 deorum hominumque implorabimus fidem, neque tu istud unquam decretum sine caede nostra referes. 10 Postulo, Appi, etiam atque etiam consideres quo 11 progrediare. Verginius viderit de filia ubi venerit quid agat; hoc tantum sciat, sibi si huius vindiciis cesserit condicionem filiae quaerendam esse. Me vindicantem sponsam in libertatem vita citius deseret quam fides."

XLVI. Concitata multitudo erat certamenque instare videbatur. Lictores Icilium circumsteterant; nec ultra minas tamen processum est, cum Appius 2 non Verginiam defendi ab Icilio, sed inquietum hominem et tribunatum etiam nunc spirantem 3 locum seditionis quaerere diceret. Non praebiturum se illi eo die materiam; sed ut iam sciret non id petulantiae suae sed Verginio absenti et patrio nomini et libertati datum, ius eo die se non dicturum neque decretum interpositurum: a M. Claudio petiturum, ut decederet iure suo vindi- 4 carique puellam in posterum diem pateretur; quod nisi pater postero die adfuisset, denuntiare se Icilio similibusque Icili, neque legi suae latorem neque decemviro constantiam defore. Nec se utique collegarum lictores convocaturum ad coercendos seditionis auctores: contentum se suis lictoribus fore. 5 Cum dilatum tempus iniuriae esset secessissentque

invoke the help of the soldiers in behalf of his only daughter, and all of us will implore the protection of gods and men; nor shall you ever repeat that decree of yours without shedding our blood. I ask you, Appius, to consider earnestly whither you are going. Let Verginius decide what to do about his daughter, when he comes; but of one thing he may rest assured: if he yields to this man's claim, he will have to seek a husband for her. As for me, in defence of the freedom of my bride I will sooner die than prove disloyal." B.C. 449

XLVI. The crowd was deeply moved and a conflict appeared to be imminent. The lictors had surrounded Icilius, but had nevertheless gone no further than to threaten him, since Appius declared that it was not a question of Verginia's defence by Icilius, but of a turbulent fellow, who even now breathed the spirit of the tribunate, seeking an opportunity to stir up strife. He would furnish him no excuse for it that day; but that he might know now that the concession had not been made to his own wantonness but to the absent Verginius, to the name of father, and to liberty, he would not pronounce judgment that day nor deliver a decision; he would request Marcus Claudius to waive his right and suffer the girl to remain at large until the morrow; but unless the father should appear the next day, he gave notice to Icilius and to those like Icilius that the proposer of his law would not fail to support it, nor the decemvir be wanting in firmness; and in any case he should not call together his colleagues' lictors to repress the instigators of sedition, but rest content with his own.

The time for accomplishing the wrong having

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advocati puellae, placuit omnium primum fratrem Icili filiumque Numitori, impigros iuvenes, pergere inde recta ad portam, et quantum adcelerari posset 6 Verginium acciri e castris: in eo verti puellae salutem, si postero die vindex iniuriae ad tempus praesto esset. Iussi pergunt citatisque equis nun- 7 tium ad patrem perferunt. Cum instaret adsertor puellae ut vindicaret sponsoresque daret, atque id ipsum agi diceret Icilius, sedulo tempus terens dum praeciperent iter nuntii[1] missi in castra, manus tollere undique multitudo et se quisque paratum 8 ad spondendum Icilio ostendere. Atque ille lacrimabundus "Gratum est" inquit; "crastina die vestra opera utar; sponsorum nunc satis est." Ita vindi- 9 catur Verginia spondentibus propinquis. Appius paulisper moratus ne eius rei causa sedisse videretur, postquam omissis rebus aliis prae cura unius nemo adibat, domum se recepit collegisque in castra scribit, ne Verginio commeatum dent atque etiam in cu- 10 stodia habeant. Improbum consilium serum, ut debuit, fuit, et iam commeatu sumpto profectus Verginius prima vigilia erat, cum postero die mane de retinendo eo nequiquam litterae redduntur.

XLVII. At in urbe prima luce cum civitas in foro

[1] iter nuntii *Vorm*?D^{4}_{5}: internuntii Ω.

been postponed, the girl's supporters went apart by themselves, and decided that first of all the brother of Icilius and the son of Numitorius, active young men, should proceed straight to the City gate and make all possible haste to the camp, to summon Verginius; for the maiden's safety turned on her protector's being at hand in time. They set out the moment they got their orders, and galloping their horses, carried the message through to the father. When the claimant of the girl pressed Icilius to furnish the sureties required of her guarantor, and Icilius said that it was precisely that which he was considering (though he was doing his best to consume time, that the messengers who had been dispatched to the camp might get a start on the way), the people began on every side to raise their hands, and every man of them to indicate his readiness to go bail for Icilius. And Icilius said, with tears in his eyes, "I am grateful to you; to-morrow I will use your services; of sureties I now have enough." So Verginia was surrendered, on the security of her kinsmen. Appius waited a little while, that he might not appear to have sat for this case only, and when nobody applied to him—for all other matters were forgotten in men's concern over this,—he went to his house and wrote to his colleagues in camp that they should grant no furlough to Verginius, and should even detain him in custody. His base design was too late, as it deserved to be; Verginius had already got his leave, and had set out in the fore-part of the night, nor was it until early the next morning that the letters for detaining him were delivered, to no purpose. B.C. 449

XLVII. But in the City, as the citizens at break

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exspectatione erecta staret, Verginius sordidatus filiam secum obsoleta veste comitantibus aliquot matronis cum ingenti advocatione in forum deducit. 2 Circumire ibi et prensare homines coepit et non orare solum precariam opem, sed pro debita petere: Se pro liberis eorum ac coniugibus cottidie in acie stare, nec alium virum esse cuius strenue ac fortiter[1] facta in bello plura memorari possent; quid prodesse si, incolumi urbe, quae capta ultima timeantur liberis 3 suis sint patienda? Haec prope contionabundus circumibat homines. Similia his ab Icilio iacta- 4 bantur. Comitatus muliebris plus tacito fletu quam ulla vox movebat. Adversus quae omnia obstinato animo Appius—tanta vis amentiae verius quam amoris mentem turbaverat—in tribunal escendit,[2] et ultro querente pauca petitore quod ius sibi[3] pridie per ambitionem dictum non esset, priusquam aut ille postulatum perageret aut Verginio respondendi 5 daretur locus, Appius interfatur. Quem decreto sermonem praetenderit, forsan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint: quia nusquam ullum in tanta foeditate decreti veri similem invenio, id quod constat nudum videtur proponendum, decresse

[1] fortiter *Doujat*: ferociter Ω.
[2] escendit *MP*: ascendit Ω.
[3] ius sibi $D^1\varsigma$: sibi Ω.

of day were standing in the Forum, agog with B.C. 449
expectation, Verginius, dressed in sordid clothes and leading his daughter, who was also meanly clad and was attended by a number of matrons, came down into the market-place with a vast throng of supporters. He then began to go about and canvass people, and not merely to ask their aid as a favour, but to claim it as his due, saying that he stood daily in the battle-line in defence of their children and their wives; that there was no man of whom more strenuous and courageous deeds in war could be related—to what end, if despite the safety of the City those outrages which were dreaded as the worst that could follow a city's capture must be suffered by their children? Pleading thus, as if in a kind of public appeal, he went about amongst the people. Similar appeals were thrown out by Icilius; but the women who attended them were more moving, as they wept in silence, than any words. In the face of all these things Appius hardened his heart—so violent was the madness, as it may more truly be called than love, that had overthrown his reason—and mounted the tribunal. The plaintiff was actually uttering a few words of complaint, on the score of having been balked of his rights the day before through partiality, when, before he could finish his demand, or Verginius be given an opportunity to answer, Appius interrupted him. The discourse with which he led up to his decree may perhaps be truthfully represented in some one of the old accounts, but since I can nowhere discover one that is plausible, in view of the enormity of the decision, it seems my duty to set forth the naked fact, upon which all agree, that

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6 vindicias secundum servitutem. Primo stupor omnes admiratione rei tam atrocis defixit; silentium inde aliquamdiu tenuit. Dein cum M. Claudius circumstantibus matronis iret ad prehendendam virginem, lamentabilisque eum mulierum comploratio excepisset, Ver-
7 ginius intentans in Appium manus, "Icilio" inquit, "Appi, non tibi filiam despondi et ad nuptias, non ad stuprum educavi. Placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promisce in concubitus ruere? Passurine haec isti sint, nescio: non spero esse passuros illos, qui arma habent."
8 Cum repelleretur adsertor virginis a globo mulierum circumstantiumque advocatorum, silentium factum per praeconem. XLVIII. Decemvir alienatus ad libidinem animo negat ex hesterno[1] tantum convicio Icili violentiaque Vergini, cuius testem populum Romanum habeat, sed certis quoque indiciis compertum se habere nocte tota coetus in urbe factos esse ad movendam seditionem.
2 Itaque se haud inscium eius dimicationis cum armatis descendisse, non ut quemquam quietum violaret, sed ut turbantes civitatis otium pro maiestate imperii
3 coerceret. "Proinde quiesse erit melius. I," inquit,[2] "lictor, submove turbam et da viam domino ad

[1] ex hesterno *Vorm.*? ex haesterno *M*: **ex sterno** *P*: esterno *U*: hesterno F^3OD^4: externo *BHRDL*.

[2] i, inquit R^2D^2, : ii inquit *RDL*: **inquit** (inquid *B*) **Ω.**

he adjudged Verginia to him who claimed her as his slave. At first everybody was rooted to the spot in amazement at so outrageous a proceeding, and for a little while after the silence was unbroken. Then, when Marcus Claudius was making his way through the group of matrons to lay hold upon the girl, and had been greeted by the women with wails and lamentations, Verginius shook his fist at Appius and cried, "It was to Icilius, Appius, not to you that I betrothed my daughter; and it was for wedlock, not dishonour, that I brought her up. Would you have men imitate the beasts of the field and the forest in promiscuous gratification of their lust? Whether these people propose to tolerate such conduct I do not know: I cannot believe that those who have arms will endure it." B.C. 449

The claimant of the maiden was being forced back by the ring of women and supporters who surrounded her, when silence was commanded by a herald; (XLVIII.) and the decemvir, crazed with lust, declared that he knew, not only from the abusive words uttered by Icilius the day before and the violence of Verginius, which he could prove by the testimony of the Roman People, but also from definite information, that all through the night meetings had been held in the City to promote sedition. Accordingly, having been aware of the approaching struggle, he had come down into the Forum with armed men, not that he might do violence to any peaceable citizen, but to coerce, conformably to the dignity of his office, those who would disturb the nation's peace. "You will therefore," he cried, "best be quiet! Go, lictor, remove the mob and open a way for the master

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prehendendum mancipium." Cum haec intonuisset plenus irae, multitudo ipsa se sua sponte dimovit
4 desertaque praeda iniuriae puella stabat. Tum Verginius ubi nihil usquam auxilii vidit, "Quaeso" inquit, "Appi, primum ignosce patrio dolori, si quo[1] inclementius in te sum invectus; deinde sinas hic coram virgine nutricem percontari quid hoc rei sit, ut si falso pater dictus sum aequiore hinc animo
5 discedam." Data venia seducit filiam ac nutricem prope Cloacinae ad tabernas quibus nunc novis est nomen atque ibi ab lanio cultro arrepto, "Hoc te uno quo possum" ait "modo, filia, in libertatem vindico." Pectus deinde puellae transfigit respectansque ad tribunal "Te" inquit, "Appi, tuumque caput sanguine
6 hoc consecro." Clamore ad tam atrox facinus orto excitus Appius comprehendi Verginium iubet. Ille ferro quacumque ibat viam facere, donec multitudine etiam prosequentium tuente ad portam perrexit.
7 Icilius Numitoriusque exsangue corpus sublatum ostentant populo; scelus Appi, puellae infelicem
8 formam, necessitatem patris deplorant. Sequentes clamitant matronae: eamne liberorum procreandorum condicionem, ea pudicitiae praemia esse?—cetera quae in tali re muliebris dolor, quo est maestior imbecillo animo, eo miserabilia magis querentibus

[1] si quo *Weissenborn* (*cf.* v. i. 5): si quod (qđ *H*) Ω: si quot *RDL*: si quid ς: si *Alschefski*.

to seize his slave!" When he had wrathfully thundered out these words, the crowd parted spontaneously and left the girl standing there, a prey to villainy. Then Verginius, seeing no help anywhere, said, "I ask you, Appius, first to pardon a father's grief if I have somewhat harshly inveighed against you; and then to suffer me to question the nurse here, in the maiden's presence, what all this means, that if I have been falsely called a father, I may go away with a less troubled spirit." Permission being granted, he led his daughter and the nurse apart, to the booths near the shrine of Cloacina, now known as the "New Booths," and there, snatching a knife from a butcher, he exclaimed, "Thus, my daughter, in the only way I can, do I assert your freedom!" He then stabbed her to the heart, and, looking back to the tribunal, cried, "'Tis you, Appius, and your life I devote to destruction with this blood!" The shout which broke forth at the dreadful deed roused Appius, and he ordered Verginius to be seized. But Verginius made a passage for himself with his knife wherever he came, and was also protected by a crowd of men who attached themselves to him, and so reached the City gate. Icilius and Numitorius lifted up the lifeless body and showed it to the people, bewailing the crime of Appius, the girl's unhappy beauty, and the necessity that had constrained her father. After them came the matrons crying aloud, "Was it on these terms that children were brought into the world? Were these the rewards of chastity?" —with such other complaints as are prompted at a time like this by a woman's anguish, and are so much the more pitiful as their lack of self-control

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9 subicit. Virorum et maxime Icili vox tota tribuniciae potestatis ac provocationis ad populum ereptae publicarumque indignationum erat.

XLIX. Concitatur multitudo partim atrocitate sceleris, partim spe per occasionem repetendae
2 libertatis. Appius nunc vocari Icilium, nunc retractantem arripi, postremo, cum locus adeundi apparitoribus non daretur, ipse cum agmine patriciorum iuvenum per turbam vadens in vincula duci
3 iubet. Iam circa Icilium non solum multitudo sed duces quoque multitudinis erant, L. Valerius et M. Horatius, qui repulso lictore, si iure ageret, vindicare se a privato Icilium aiebant; si vim adferre con-
4 aretur, ibi quoque haud [1] impares fore. Hinc atrox rixa oritur. Valerium Horatiumque lictor decemviri invadit: franguntur a multitudine fasces. In contionem Appius escendit: [2] sequuntur Horatius Valeriusque. Eos contio audit: decemviro ob-
5 strepitur. Iam pro imperio Valerius discedere a privato lictores iubebat, cum fractis animis Appius vitae metuens in domum se propinquam foro insciis
6 adversariis capite obvoluto recipit. Sp. Oppius, ut auxilio collegae esset, in forum ex altera parte

[1] haud $V?M_5^-$: se haud Ω
[2] escendit PM^2: aescendit M: ascendit Ω.

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[1] Livy doubtless means the crime of Appius rather than the justifiable though shocking deed of Verginius (see chap. xlviii. § 7, and chap. l. § 5).

makes them the more give way to grief. The men, and especially Icilius, spoke only of the tribunician power; of the right of appeal to the people which had been taken from them; and of their resentment at the nation's wrongs. B.C. 449

XLIX. The wildest excitement prevailed amongst the people, occasioned in part by the atrocity of the crime,[1] in part by the hope of improving the opportunity to regain their liberty. Appius first commanded that Icilius be summoned; then, on his resisting, that he be arrested; and at last, when the crowd would not allow his attendants to approach the man, he headed a band of patrician youths in person, and advancing through the mob, bade them drag his enemy off to prison. By this time Icilius was supported not only by the populace but by the leaders of the populace as well, Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who, forcing the lictor back, declared that if Appius proceeded legally, they would protect Icilius from the prosecution of a mere citizen; if he sought to make use of violence, there too they would be a match for him. This led to a desperate struggle. The decemvir's lictor now made a rush at Valerius and Horatius; his rods were broken by the mob. Appius mounted the platform; Horatius and Valerius followed him. To them the crowd listened; the decemvir's voice they drowned with noise. And now, as though vested with authority, Valerius was commanding the lictors to withdraw from one who was a private citizen; when Appius, broken in spirit and fearing for his life, covered up his head and sought refuge in a house near the Forum, unobserved by his opponents. Spurius Oppius, wishing to assist his colleague, burst into the Forum from the other

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inrumpit. Videt imperium vi victum. Agitatus deinde consiliis ad quae [1] ex omni parte adsentiendo multis auctoribus trepidaverat, senatum postremo 7 vocari iussit. Ea res, quod magnae parti patrum displicere acta decemvirorum videbantur, spe per senatum finiendae potestatis eius multitudinem se- 8 davit. Senatus nec plebem inritandam censuit et multo magis providendum ne quid Verginii adventus in exercitu motus faceret.

L. Itaque missi iuniores patrum in castra, quae tum in monte Vecilio erant, nuntiant decemviris 2 ut omni ope ab seditione milites contineant. Ibi Verginius maiorem quam reliquerat in urbe motum 3 excivit. Nam praeterquam quod agmine prope quadringentorum hominum veniens, qui ab urbe indignitate rei accensi comites ei se dederant, conspectus est, strictum etiam telum respersusque ipse cruore tota in se castra convertit. Et togae multifariam in castris visae maioris aliquanto quam erat 4 speciem urbanae multitudinis fecerant. Quaerentibus quid rei esset flens diu vocem non misit; tandem, ut iam ex trepidatione concurrentium turba constitit ac silentium fuit, ordine cuncta, ut gesta 5 erant, exposuit. Supinas deinde tendens manus

[1] ad quae *Stroth* : atque Ω.

quarter. He saw that authority had been overcome B.C. 449
by force. Distracted then by the suggestions which came from every side, and timidly agreeing first with one and then with another of his many advisers, he ended by ordering the senate to be summoned. This course, inasmuch as a great proportion of the patricians appeared to disapprove of the decemvirs' acts, afforded hopes that the senators would end their power, and so quieted the multitude. The senate decided that the plebs must not be provoked, and that it was even more necessary to see to it that the arrival of Verginius in the army should not occasion any turbulence.

L. Accordingly certain of the younger senators were dispatched to the camp, which was then on Mount Vecilius, and carried word to the decemvirs that they must employ all their resources to keep the troops from mutiny. There Verginius aroused a greater commotion than he had left in Rome. For besides that he was seen approaching attended by a body of nearly four hundred men, who had joined him when he left the City, in their anger and resentment at the affair, the weapon in his hand and the gore with which he was spattered drew the attention of the entire camp upon him. Then too the appearance of togas in the camp, in many places, produced the effect of a greater company of civilians than were actually there. Being asked what the matter was, Verginius wept, and for a long time answered never a word; at length, when the bustle and confusion of the gathering had subsided and silence had ensued, he gave an orderly account of all that had taken place. Then, lifting up his hands in an attitude of prayer, and addressing the

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commilitones appellans orabat ne quod scelus Ap. Claudi esset sibi attribuerent neu se ut parricidam
6 liberum aversarentur. Sibi vitam filiae sua[1] cariorem fuisse, si liberae ac pudicae[2] vivere licitum fuisset: cum velut servam ad stuprum rapi videret, morte amitti melius ratum quam contumelia liberos, miseri-
7 cordia se in speciem crudelitatis lapsum. Nec se superstitem filiae futurum fuisse, nisi spem ulciscendae mortis eius in auxilio commilitonum habuisset. Illis quoque enim filias sorores coniugesque esse, nec cum filia sua libidinem Ap. Claudi exstinctam esse,
8 sed quo impunitior sit, eo effrenatiorem fore. Aliena calamitate documentum datum illis cavendae similis iniuriae. Quod ad se attineat, uxorem sibi fato ereptam, filiam, quia non ultra pudica victura fuerit,
9 miseram sed honestam mortem occubuisse; non esse iam Appi libidini locum in domo sua: ab alia violentia eius eodem se animo suum corpus vindicaturum quo vindicaverit filiae: ceteri sibi ac liberis suis
10 consulerent. Haec Verginio vociferanti succlamabat multitudo nec illius dolori nec suae libertati se defuturos. Et immixti turbae militum togati, eadem[3] illa querendo docendoque quanto visa quam audita indigniora potuerint videri, simul profligatam iam

[1] sua ς: suae Ω.

[2] liberae ac pudicae ς: libere ac pudicae $F\varsigma$: libere ac pudice Ω.

[3] eadem ς: cum eadem Ω: simul eadem Zingerle.

crowd as his fellow-soldiers, he besought them not B.C. 449
to attribute to him the crime of which Appius Claudius stood guilty, nor to repudiate him as one who had murdered his child. To him the life of his daughter had been dearer than his own, if she had been permitted to live pure and chaste; when he saw her being carried off like a slave to be dishonoured, thinking it better to lose his children by death than by outrage, he had been impelled by pity to an act of seeming cruelty; nor would he have survived his daughter, had he not hoped to avenge her death by the help of his fellow-soldiers. They too had daughters, sisters, and wives; the lust of Appius Claudius had not been extinguished with the life of Verginia, but its lawlessness would be proportioned to its impunity. In the calamity of another they had been given a warning to be on their guard against similar wrongs. So far as he was concerned, his wife had been taken from him in the course of nature, his daughter, because she could no longer have lived chaste, had died a pitiful but an honourable death; for the lust of Appius there was now no longer in his house any scope; from other forms which his violence might take he would defend his own person with no less spirit than he had shown in defence of his daughter; the others must look out for themselves and for their own children. As Verginius spoke these words in a loud voice, the multitude signified with responsive shouts that they would not forget his sufferings nor fail to vindicate their liberty. And the civilians, mingling with the crowd, repeated the same complaints and told them how much more shameful the thing would have appeared if they could have seen it instead of

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11 rem nuntiando Romae esse, insecutis[1] qui Appium prope interemptum in exsilium abisse dicerent, perpulerunt ut ad arma conclamaretur vellerentque
12 signa et Romam proficiscerentur. Decemviri simul iis quae videbant iisque quae acta Romae audierant perturbati, alius in aliam partem castrorum ad sedandos motus discurrunt. Et leniter[2] agentibus responsum non redditur: imperium si quis inhiberet,
13 et viros et armatos se esse respondetur. Eunt agmine ad urbem et Aventinum insidunt, ut quisque occurrerat plebem ad repetendam libertatem creandosque
14 tribunos plebis adhortantes. Alia vox nulla violenta audita est. Senatum Sp. Oppius habet. Nihil placet aspere agi; quippe ab ipsis datum locum seditioni[3]
15 esse. Mittuntur tres legati consulares, Sp. Tarpeius C. Iulius P. Sulpicius, qui quaererent senatus verbis, cuius iussu castra deseruissent aut quid sibi vellent qui armati Aventinum obsedissent belloque averso ab
16 hostibus patriam suam cepissent. Non defuit quod responderetur: deerat qui daret responsum nullodum certo duce nec satis audentibus singulis invidiae se offerre. Id modo a multitudine conclamatum est ut L. Valerium et M. Horatium ad se mitterent: his[4] se daturos responsum.

[1] insecutis *Walters* (*after Alschefski*): insecutosque Ω: insecutique ς.
[2] Et leniter ς: et leuiter Ω: Sed leniter *Madvig*.
[3] seditioni *V* Glareanus: seditionis Ω.
[4] his *MHRDL*: iis *PFBO*.

[1] Viz. by the senate and decemvirs.

hearing about it; at the same time they reported B.C. 449
that the decemvirate was already overthrown at Rome; and on the arrival of later tidings, to the effect that Appius had almost lost his life and had gone into exile, they induced the troops to raise the cry "To arms!" and to pluck up their standards and set out for Rome. The decemvirs, troubled alike by what they saw and by what they heard had taken place in Rome, rushed through the camp, one this way, another that, to still the rising. And so long as they mildly remonstrated, they got no answer; but if one of them tried to use his authority, they told him that they were men, and armed. They marched in column to the City and took possession of the Aventine, urging the plebeians, as often as they fell in with one, to make an effort to regain their liberty and to elect plebeian tribunes. Save this, no violent proposals were heard. The senate was convened by Spurius Oppius. It was resolved that no harsh action should be taken, seeing that occasion for the mutiny had been given by themselves.[1] Three delegates of consular rank, Spurius Tarpeius, Gaius Julius, and Publius Sulpicius, were dispatched in the name of the senate to inquire by whose orders the men had deserted the camp, and what they meant, who with arms had seized the Aventine, and, abandoning the enemy, had captured their native City. The men were at no loss for an answer: what they lacked was some one to make it, since they had as yet no definite leader, nor did individuals quite dare to single themselves out for enmity. But the crowd called out in unison that they should send them Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, to whom they would intrust their reply.

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LI. Dimissis legatis admonet milites Verginius in re non maxima paulo ante trepidatum esse quia sine capite multitudo fuerit, responsumque quamquam non inutiliter, fortuito tamen magis consensu quam 2 communi consilio esse. Placere decem creari qui summae rei[1] praeessent militarique honore tribunos 3 militum appellari.[2] Cum ad eum ipsum primum is honos deferretur, "Melioribus meis vestrisque rebus 4 reservate" inquit "ista de me iudicia; nec mihi filia inulta[3] honorem ullum iucundum esse patitur, nec in perturbata re publica eos utile est praeesse 5 vobis qui proximi invidiae sint. Si quis usus mei 6 est, nihilo minor ex privato capietur." Ita decem numero tribunos militares creant.

7 Neque in Sabinis quievit exercitus. Ibi quoque auctore Icilio Numitorioque secessio ab decemviris facta est, non minore motu animorum Sicci caedis memoria renovata quam quem nova fama de virgine 8 adeo foede ad libidinem petita accenderat. Icilius ubi audivit tribunos militum in Aventino creatos, ne comitiorum militarium praerogativam urbana comitia 9 iisdem tribunis plebis creandis sequerentur, peritus rerum popularium imminensque ei[4] potestati et ipse,

[1] rei ς: ..i *V*: reip̄ (*i.e.* rei publicae) Ω.
[2] appellari ς: appellare (*wanting in V*) Ω.
[3] inulta *V*: inuita Ω.
[4] imminensque ei *Rhenanus*: imminensque (inm -*B*) et Ω: imminensque *OH*.

[1] *Comitia* is here used untechnically of the extemporized election called by Verginius.

LI. After the delegates had been dismissed, B.C. 449
Verginius reminded the soldiers that they had been thrown into confusion a few minutes before, over a matter of no very great importance, because the multitude had been without a head; and although a very good answer had been returned, yet this had been due rather to their happening to feel alike about the matter than to a concerted plan. He recommended that ten men should be chosen to have supreme command, and that they should be styled, by a military title, tribunes of the soldiers. When they would have tendered Verginius himself the first appointment to this office, he replied, "Reserve your good opinion of me till my own affairs and yours are in a better plight; to me no honour can be agreeable while my daughter is unavenged; nor is it well for you, with the state in such confusion, to be led by those who are most exposed to hatred. If I can render any service, it shall not be less because I am a private citizen." So they chose ten military tribunes.

Nor was the army in the Sabine country inactive. There too, at the instigation of Icilius and Numitorius, a secession from the decemvirate was brought about; men's anger on being reminded of the murder of Siccius being no less violent than that which was kindled in them by the new story of the maiden whose dishonour had been so foully sought. Icilius, on hearing that military tribunes had been elected on the Aventine, feared lest the City comitia might take their cue from the comitia of the soldiers[1] and elect the same men to be tribunes of the plebs, for he was experienced in the ways of the people; and having designs upon that office himself,

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priusquam iretur ad urbem, pari potestate eundem
10 numerum ab suis creandum curat. Porta Collina urbem intravere sub signis, mediaque urbe agmine in Aventinum pergunt. Ibi coniuncti alteri exercitui viginti tribunis militum negotium dederunt ut ex suo numero duos crearent qui summae rerum praeessent. M. Oppium Sex. Manilium creant.

11 Patres solliciti de summa rerum cum senatus cottidie esset iurgiis saepius terunt tempus quam
12 consiliis. Sicci caedes decemviris et Appiana libido et dedecora militiae obiciebantur. Placebat Valerium Horatiumque ire in Aventinum. Illi negabant se aliter ituros quam si decemviri deponerent insignia
13 magistratus eius quo anno iam ante abissent. Decemviri querentes se in ordinem cogi non ante quam perlatis legibus quarum causa creati essent deposituros imperium se aiebant.

LII. Per M. Duillium,[1] qui tribunus plebis fuerat, certior facta plebs contentionibus adsiduis nihil transigi, in Sacrum montem ex Aventino transit
2 adfirmante Duillio[2] non prius quam deseri urbem videant curam in animos patrum descensuram; admoniturum Sacrum montem constantiae plebis, sciturosque sine restituta potestate tribunicia[3] redigi

[1] Duillium $F^3\zeta$: duilium Ω: diluluum *B*: diluiuum B^1.

[2] Duillio $F^3O\zeta$: duellio *Vorm*: duilio *PUR*: c. duilio *MF?BHDL*.

[3] tribunicia *inserted by Gronovius*.

he saw to it, before they marched to the City, that B.C. 449
the same number of men, vested with equal power, were chosen by his own army. They entered Rome under their standards, by the Colline Gate, and marched right through the midst of the City to the Aventine. There they joined the other army, and directed the twenty military tribunes to appoint two of their number to exercise supreme command. Marcus Oppius and Sextus Manilius were appointed.

The Fathers were alarmed about the state; but, though the senate held daily sessions, they spent more time in recriminations than in deliberating. Siccius's murder was cast in the teeth of the decemvirs, as well as the lust of Appius, and their disgraces in the field. It was decided that Valerius and Horatius should go to the Aventine. They agreed to go only on condition that the decemvirs would put off the insignia of that magistracy which they had already ceased to hold the year before. The decemvirs, complaining that they were being deprived of their office, asserted that they would not lay down their authority until after the enactment of the laws which had been the reason of their appointment.

LII. Having learned from Marcus Duillius, who had been a plebeian tribune, that nothing was coming of the endless bickerings of the senate, the commons quitted the Aventine for the Sacred Mount, since Duillius assured them that not until the patricians beheld the City deserted would they feel any real concern; the Sacred Mount would remind them of the firmness of the plebs, and they would know whether it were possible or not that affairs should be reduced to harmony without the

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3 in concordiam resne queant.[1] Via Nomentana, cui tum Ficolensi[2] nomen fuit, profecti castra in monte Sacro locavere modestiam patrum suorum nihil violando imitati. Secuta exercitum plebs nullo qui per
4 aetatem ire posset retractante. Prosequuntur coniuges liberique, cuinam se relinquerent in ea urbe in qua nec pudicitia nec libertas sancta esset miserabiliter rogitantes.
5 Cum vasta Romae omnia insueta solitudo fecisset, in foro praeter paucos seniorum nemo esset, vocatis utique in senatum patribus desertum apparuisset forum, plures[3] iam quam Horatius ac Valerius
6 vociferabantur: "Quid exspectabitis, patres conscripti? Si decemviri finem pertinaciae non faciunt, ruere ac deflagrare omnia passuri estis? Quod autem istud imperium est, decemviri, quod amplexi te-
7 netis? Tectis ac parietibus iura dicturi estis? Non pudet lictorum vestrorum maiorem prope numerum in foro conspici quam togatorum aliorum?[4] Quid si hostes ad urbem veniant facturi estis? Quid si plebs mox, ubi parum secessione moveamur, armata veniat?
8 Occasune urbis voltis finire imperium? Atqui aut plebs non est habenda aut habendi sunt tribuni plebis. Nos citius caruerimus patriciis magistratibus
9 quam illi plebeiis. Novam inexpertamque eam potestatem eripuere patribus nostris; ne nunc dulce-

[1] resne queant *Harant*: res nequeant Ω.
[2] Ficolensi *O*: ficulensi ς (*cf.* I. xxxviii. 4): figulensi Ω: figulensi figulensi *M*: fingulensi *R*.
[3] plures ς: pluresque Ω.
[4] aliorum ς: aliorumque Ω.

restoration of the tribunician power. Marching out B.C. 449
by the Via Nomentana, then called Ficulensis, they pitched their camp on the Sacred Mount, having imitated the good behaviour of their fathers and made no depredations. Following the army came the plebeian civilians; nor did any one who was of an age to go hold back. They were attended a little way forth by their wives and children, who inquired pathetically to whose protection they were leaving them, in that City where neither chastity nor liberty was sacred.

Now that all Rome was desolate with an unwonted loneliness, and there was nobody in the Forum but a few old men, and it appeared, particularly when the Fathers had been summoned to the senate-house, quite deserted, there were many others besides Horatius and Valerius who remonstrated. "What will you wait for, Conscript Fathers?" they cried out. "If the decemvirs persist in their obstinacy, will you suffer everything to go to wrack and ruin? Pray what is that authority, decemvirs, to which you cling with such tenacity? Is it to roofs and walls you will render judgment? Are you not ashamed that your lictors should be seen in the Forum in almost larger numbers than the other citizens? What do you mean to do if the enemy should come to the City? What if, by and bye, the plebs, finding us unmoved by their secession, come with sword in hand? Do you wish the downfall of the City to be the end of your rule? And yet, either we must have no plebs, or we must have plebeian tribunes. We will sooner dispense with patrician magistrates than they with plebeian. It was a new and untried power when they extorted it from our fathers: now

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dine semel capti ferant desiderium, cum praesertim nec nos temperemus imperiis, quo minus illi auxilii egeant." Cum haec ex omni parte iactarentur, victi consensu decemviri futuros se, quando ita videatur, in potestate patrum adfirmant. Id modo simul orant ac monent, ut ipsis ab invidia caveatur nec suo sanguine ad supplicia patrum plebem adsuefaciant.

LIII. Tum Valerius Horatiusque missi ad plebem condicionibus quibus videretur revocandam componendasque res, decemviris quoque ab ira et impetu multitudinis praecavere iubentur. Profecti gaudio ingenti plebis in castra accipiuntur, quippe liberatores haud dubie et motus initio et exitu rei. Ob haec iis[1] advenientibus gratiae actae; Icilius pro multitudine verba facit. Idem, cum de condicionibus ageretur, quaerentibus legatis quae postulata plebis essent, composito iam ante adventum legatorum consilio ea postulavit ut appareret in aequitate rerum plus quam in armis reponi spei. Potestatem enim tribuniciam provocationemque repetebant, quae ante decemviros creatos auxilia plebis fuerant, et ne cui fraudi esset concisse milites aut plebem ad repe-

[1] haec iis ς: haec his Ω: haec *RDL*.

that they have once been captivated by its charm, B.C. 449
they would be even less willing to forgo it, especially when we on our side do not so temper the exercise of our authority that they stand in no need of help." As these reproaches were flung at them from every quarter, the decemvirs were overborne by the consensus of opinion and gave assurances that they would submit, since it was thought best, to the authority of the senate. They had but this one request to make—which was also a warning,—that their persons might be protected from men's hate, and that their blood might not be the means of accustoming the plebs to punish senators.

LIII. Valerius and Horatius were then sent to bring back the plebs and adjust all differences, on such terms as might seem good to them; and they were also instructed to secure the decemvirs against the anger and violence of the people. Having proceeded to the camp, they were received with great rejoicings by the plebs, as undoubted champions of liberty both in the beginning of the disturbance and in the sequel. In recognition of this they were thanked on their arrival, Icilius speaking on behalf of the multitude. And it was Icilius too who, when terms were discussed and the commissioners inquired what the plebeians demanded, made such requests, in pursuance of an understanding already reached before the arrival of the envoys, that it was apparent they based their hope more on equity than on arms. For the recovery of the tribunician power and the appeal were the things they sought—things which had been the help of the plebs before the election of decemvirs;—and that it should not be held against any man that he had incited the soldiers or the people

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5 tendam per secessionem libertatem. De decemvirorum modo supplicio atrox postulatum fuit; dedi quippe eos aequum censebant vivosque igni concre-
6 maturos minabantur. Legati ad ea: "Quae consilii fuerunt adeo aequa postulastis ut ultro vobis deferenda fuerint; libertati enim ea praesidia petitis,
7 non licentiae ad impugnandos alios. Irae vestrae magis ignoscendum quam indulgendum est, quippe qui crudelitatis odio in crudelitatem ruitis et prius paene quam ipsi liberi sitis dominari iam in adver-
8 sarios voltis. Numquamne quiescet[1] civitas nostra a suppliciis aut patrum in plebem Romanam aut
9 plebis in patres? Scuto vobis magis quam gladio opus est. Satis superque humili[2] est, qui iure aequo in civitate vivit nec inferendo iniuriam nec patiendo.
10 Etiam si quando metuendos vos praebituri estis, cum reciperatis magistratibus legibusque vestris iudicia penes vos erunt de capite nostro fortunisque, tunc ut quaeque causa erit statuetis: nunc libertatem repeti satis est."

LIV. Facerent ut vellent permittentibus cunctis mox redituros se legati rebus perfectis adfirmant.
2 Profecti cum mandata plebis patribus exposuissent, alii decemviri, quando quidem praeter spem ipsorum supplicii sui nulla mentio fieret, haud quicquam

[1] quiescet $R^2\varsigma$: quiesctt M: quiescit Ω.
[2] humili PD?: humilis Ω.

to recover their liberties by secession. Only in regard to the punishment of the decemvirs was their demand a harsh one; for they thought it just that the decemvirs should be delivered up to them, and threatened to burn them alive. To these proposals the commissioners replied: "The demands which have been prompted by your judgment are so right that they ought to have been accorded you voluntarily; for you seek in them guarantees of liberty, not of a licence to make attacks on others. But your anger calls for pardon rather than indulgence, seeing that hatred of cruelty is driving you headlong into cruelty, and almost before you are free yourselves you are wishing to lord it over your adversaries. Will the time never come when our state shall rest from punishments visited either by the patricians on the Roman plebs or by the plebs on the patricians? A shield is what you need more than a sword. It is enough and more than enough for a lowly citizen when he lives in the enjoyment of equal rights in the state, neither inflicting an injury nor receiving one. Even if you are one day to make yourselves dreaded, when you have got back your magistrates and laws and possess authority to put us on trial for our lives and fortunes, you shall then give judgment in accord with the merits of each particular case: for the present it is enough to regain your liberty." B.C. 449

LIV. When the people all consented that they should do as they saw fit, the envoys assured them that they would settle matters and presently return. So they departed and explained to the Fathers the demands of the plebs. The other decemvirs, when they found that, contrary to their expectation, no mention was made of any punishment of themselves,

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3 abnuere: Appius truci ingenio et invidia praecipua odium in se aliorum suo in eos metiens odio, "Haud
4 ignaro" inquit "imminet fortuna. Video donec arma adversariis tradantur differri adversus nos certamen. Dandus invidiae est sanguis. Nihil ne ego quidem moror quo minus decemviratu abeam."
5 Factum senatus consultum ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu abdicarent, Q. Furius pontifex maximus tribunos plebis crearet, et ne cui fraudi esset secessio militum plebisque.
6 His senatus consultis perfectis dimisso senatu decemviri prodeunt in contionem abdicantque se magistratu ingenti hominum laetitia. Nuntiantur
7 haec plebi. Legatos quidquid in urbe hominum supererat prosequitur. Huic multitudini laeta alia turba ex castris occurrit. Congratulantur libertatem
8 concordiamque civitati restitutam. Legati pro contione: "Quod bonum faustum felixque sit vobis reique publicae, redite in patriam ad penates, coniuges liberosque vestros; sed qua hic modestia fuistis, ubi nullius ager in tot rerum usu necessario tantae multitudini est violatus, eam modestiam ferte in urbem. In Aventinum ite, unde profecti estis.
9 Ibi felici loco, ubi prima initia incohastis libertatis vestrae, tribunos plebi creabitis. Praesto erit pontifex

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[1] Asconius (ed. Clark, p. 77) commenting on Cicero's speech *Pro Cornelio de Maiestate* (which states that the plebs on this occasion "elected ten plebeian tribunes, through the instrumentality of the pontifex, because there was no magistrate") gives the name of the *pontifex maximus* as M. Papirius. This is the first time that Livy has mentioned the *pontifex maximus*, thus implying the existence of a *college* of pontiffs. See IV. xliv.

made no objection to anything: Appius, hard-hearted, B.C. 449
knowing himself peculiarly unpopular, and measuring other men's hatred of himself by his own of them, exclaimed, "I am not unaware of the lot which threatens me. I perceive that the attack upon us is only being postponed till arms are handed over to our adversaries. Hatred must have its offering of blood. I too am willing to relinquish the decemvirate." A decree was passed by the senate that the decemvirs should abdicate the magistracy at the earliest possible moment; that Quintus Furius, the Pontifex Maximus,[1] should hold an election of plebeian tribunes; and that no one should be made to suffer for the secession of the soldiers and the plebs.

Having so decreed the senate adjourned and the decemvirs went before the people and laid down their office, to the great delight of all. These events were reported to the plebs, the envoys being accompanied by all the people left in the City. The multitude was met by another joyful throng from the camp, and they exchanged congratulations on the restoration of freedom and harmony to the state. The commissioners addressed the people as follows: "Prosperity, favour, and good fortune to you and the Republic! Return to your native City, to your homes, to your wives, and your children; but let the self-restraint you have shown here, where no man's farm has been violated, though so many things were useful and necessary to so great a multitude, be preserved when you return to the City. Go to the Aventine, whence you set out. There in the auspicious place where you first laid the foundations of your liberty, you shall choose tribunes of the plebs. The

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10 maximus qui comitia habeat." Ingens adsensus alacritasque cuncta adprobantium fuit. Convellunt inde signa profectique Romam certant cum obviis gaudio. Armati per urbem silentio in Aventinum
11 perveniunt. Ibi extemplo pontifice maximo comitia habente tribunos plebis creaverunt, omnium primum L. Verginium,[1] inde L. Icilium et P. Numitorium, avunculum Verginiae,[2] auctores secessionis, tum
12 C. Sicinium, progeniem eius, quem primum tribunum plebis creatum in Sacro monte proditum memoriae est, et M. Duillium, qui tribunatum insignem ante decemviros creatos gesserat nec in decemviralibus
13 certaminibus plebi defuerat. Spe deinde magis quam meritis electi M. Titinius M. Pomponius
14 C. Apronius Ap. Villius C. Oppius. Tribunatu inito L. Icilius extemplo plebem rogavit et plebs scivit ne cui fraudi esset secessio ab decemviris facta.
15 Confestim de consulibus creandis cum provocatione M. Duillius rogationem pertulit. Ea omnia in pratis Flaminiis concilio plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant.

LV. Per interregem deinde consules creati L. Valerius M. Horatius, qui extemplo magistratum occeperunt. Quorum consulatus popularis sine ulla
2 patrum iniuria nec sine offensione fuit; quidquid

[1] L. Verginium *Sigonius* (III. xliv. 2 *and* lviii. 5): aulum uerginium Ω.

[2] Verginiae *D*? *Sabellicus* (chap. xlvi. § 5): uergini (*or* ii) Ω.

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[1] *Avunculus* means properly "uncle," but sometimes "great-uncle," as I have here translated it, taking it to refer to the P. Numitorius who in chap. xlv. § 4 is called *puellae avus.*

Pontifex Maximus will be at hand to hold the election." With loud applause and great alacrity the people showed their approval of all that had been said. They pulled up their standards from the place and set out for Rome, vying with those whom they met in joyful demonstrations. Armed, they proceeded in silence through the City to the Aventine. There the Pontifex Maximus at once held the comitia, and they elected tribunes of the plebs; first of all Lucius Verginius; then Lucius Icilius and Publius Numitorius, Verginia's great-uncle,[1] the instigators of the secession; then Gaius Sicinius, son of the man who is related to have been the first plebeian tribune chosen on the Sacred Mount; and Marcus Duillius, who had filled the tribuneship with distinction before the decemvirs were appointed, and had not failed the plebs in their contentions with the decemvirs. Then, more by reason of their promise than for any deserts of theirs, they elected Marcus Titinius, Marcus Pomponius, Gaius Apronius, Appius Villius, and Gaius Oppius. As soon as they had taken office, Lucius Icilius proposed to the people, and they so voted, that no man should suffer for the secession from the decemvirs. Immediately a bill that consuls should be elected subject to appeal was offered by Marcus Duillius and was carried. These matters were all transacted by the council of the plebs, in the Flaminian Meadows, which men now call the Flaminian Circus. B.C. 449

LV. Then, through an interrex, they elected to the consulship Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius, who at once assumed office. Their administration was favourable to the people, without in any way wronging the patricians, though not without offending

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enim libertati plebis caveretur, id suis decedere
3 opibus credebant. Omnium primum, cum velut in controverso iure esset tenerenturne patres plebi scitis, legem centuriatis comitiis tulere ut quod tributim plebes iussisset populum teneret; qua lege tribuniciis rogationibus telum acerrimum datum est.
4 Aliam deinde consularem legem de provocatione, unicum praesidium libertatis, decemvirali potestate eversam, non restituunt modo, sed etiam in posterum
5 muniunt sanciendo novam legem, ne quis ullum magistratum sine provocatione crearet; qui creasset, eum ius fasque esset occidi, neve ea caedes capitalis
6 noxae haberetur. Et cum plebem hinc provocatione hinc tribunicio auxilio satis firmassent, ipsis quoque tribunis, ut sacrosancti viderentur, cuius rei prope iam memoria aboleverat, relatis quibusdam ex magno
7 intervallo caerimoniis renovarunt, et cum religione inviolatos eos tum lege etiam fecerunt, sanciendo ut qui tribunis plebis aedilibus iudicibus decemviris nocuisset, eius caput Iovi sacrum esset, familia ad
8 aedem Cereris Liberi Liberaeque venum iret. Hac lege iuris[1] interpretes negant quemquam sacro-

[1] lege iuris M^2 *or* M^1 : iuris lege Ω : iuris legem *RDL*.

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[1] *i. e.* the plebeian aediles, two in number, elected by the plebeians to assist the tribunes, as the quaestors did the consuls, and take charge of the archives of the plebs, kept in the temple of Ceres (see 13).

[2] These *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis* judged cases involving liberty or citizenship.

them; for whatever was done to protect the liberty of the plebs they regarded as a diminution of their own strength. To begin with, since it was virtually an undecided question whether the patricians were legally bound by plebiscites, they carried a statute in the centuriate comitia enacting that what the plebs should order in the tribal organization should be binding on the people—a law which provided the rogations of the tribunes with a very sharp weapon. Next they not only restored a consular law about the appeal, the unique defence of liberty, which had been overthrown by the decemviral power, but they also safeguarded it for the future by the solemn enactment of a new law, that no one should declare the election of any magistrate without appeal, and that he who should so declare might be put to death without offence to law or religion, and that such a homicide should not be held a capital crime. And having sufficiently strengthened the plebs, by means of the appeal on the one hand and the help of the tribunes on the other, they revived, in the interest of the tribunes themselves, the principle of their sacrosanctity (which was a thing that had now come to be well-nigh forgotten) by restoring certain long-neglected ceremonies; and they rendered those magistrates inviolate, not merely on the score of religion but also by a statute, solemnly enacting that he who should hurt the tribunes of the plebs, the aediles,[1] or the decemviral judges[2] should forfeit his head to Jupiter, and that his possessions should be sold at the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera. Expounders of the law deny that any one is sacrosanct by virtue of this statute, but maintain that B.C. 449

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sanctum esse, sed eum qui eorum cui [1] nocuerit, Iovi
9 sacrum [2] sanciri; itaque aedilem prendi ducique
a maioribus magistratibus, quod etsi non iure fiat
—noceri enim ei cui hac lege non liceat—tamen
argumentum esse non haberi pro sacro sanctoque [3]
10 aedilem; tribunos vetere [4] iure iurando plebis, cum
primum eam potestatem creavit, sacrosanctos esse.
11 Fuere qui interpretarentur eadem hac Horatia lege
consulibus quoque et praetoribus, quia eisdem auspi-
ciis quibus consules crearentur, cautum esse : iudicem
12 enim consulem appellari. Quae refellitur inter-
pretatio, quod iis temporibus nondum consulem
13 iudicem sed praetorem appellari mos fuerit. Hae
consulares leges fuere. Institutum etiam ab iisdem
consulibus ut senatus consulta in aedem Cereris ad
aediles plebis deferrentur, quae antea arbitrio con-
14 sulum supprimebantur vitiabanturque. M. Duillius
deinde tribunus plebis plebem rogavit plebesque
scivit qui plebem sine tribunis reliquisset, quique
magistratum sine provocatione creasset, tergo ac
15 capite puniretur. Haec omnia ut invitis, ita non

[1] cui ς: cuiquam cui *FB*: quecui *P*: cuiquem MP^2: cuiquam UD^4: quem Ω.
[2] Iovi sacrum *H. J. Mueller* : id (*or* id ad) sacrum Ω.
[3] sacro sanctoque *MRDL* : sacrosancto Ω.
[4] vetere ς : ueteres Ω.

[1] The legal experts seem to have held that there was a distinction between the status of the tribunes and that of the aediles based on the belief that the former had been given *sacrosanctitas* at the time their office and that of the aediles was established, and that any violation of their persons automatically made the violator an outlaw (*sacer*);

the man who has injured any of these officials is B.C. 449
solemnly forfeited to Jupiter; hence the aedile may be arrested and imprisoned by the greater magistrates, an act which, though it be unlawful—for he is thereby injured who, according to this statute, may not be injured,—is nevertheless a proof that the aedile is not regarded as sacrosanct; whereas the tribunes are sacrosanct in consequence of the ancient oath taken by the plebs, when they first created this magistracy.[1] There were some who taught that by this same Horatian law the consuls also were protected, and the praetors, inasmuch as they were created under the same auspices as the consuls; for the consul was called "judge." But this interpretation is refuted by the fact that it was not yet the custom in those days for the consul to be called "judge," but "praetor." Such were the consular laws. The practice was also instituted by the same consuls that the decrees of the senate should be delivered to the aediles of the plebs at the temple of Ceres. Up to that time they were wont to be suppressed or falsified, at the pleasure of the consuls. Marcus Duillius, the tribune of the plebs, then proposed to the plebs, and they so decreed, that whosoever should leave the plebs without tribunes and whosoever should declare the election of a magistrate without appeal should be scourged and beheaded. All these measures, though they were passed against the will of the patricians, were yet not opposed by them,

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whereas it was necessary for an aedile to bring suit against the higher magistrate and convict him of the violation, before the man became *sacer*.

A.U.C. 305 adversantibus patriciis transacta, quia nondum in quemquam unum saeviebatur.

LVI. Fundata deinde et potestate tribunicia et plebis libertate tum tribuni adgredi singulos tutum maturumque iam rati accusatorem primum Verginium
2 et Appium reum deligunt. Cum diem Appio Verginius dixisset et Appius stipatus patriciis iuvenibus in forum descendisset, redintegrata extemplo est omnibus memoria foedissimae potestatis, cum ipsum
3 satellitesque eius vidissent. Tum Verginius "Oratio" inquit, "rebus dubiis inventa est; itaque neque ego accusando apud vos eum tempus teram a cuius crudelitate vosmet ipsi armis vindicastis, nec istum ad cetera scelera impudentiam in defendendo se
4 adicere patiar. Omnium igitur tibi, Ap. Claudi, quae impie nefarieque per biennium alia super alia es ausus, gratiam facio: unius tantum criminis nisi iudicem dices, te ab libertate in servitutem contra leges vindicias non dedisse, in vincla te duci iubebo."
5 Nec in tribunicio auxilio Appius nec in iudicio populi ullam spem habebat; tamen [1] et tribunos appellavit et, nullo morante arreptus a viatore, "Provoco"
6 inquit. Audita vox una vindex libertatis, ex eo

[1] tamen *Madvig*: attamen Ω.

[1] Verginius did not mean to deprive Appius of the right to speak eventually in his own defence, as we see in chap. lvii. § 6, but merely to abridge the preliminary hearing. He therefore proposed a *sponsio* (*cf.* chap. xxiv. § 5) to determine the guilt or innocence of Appius on one essential point.

since, so far, no one person had been singled out for attack. B.C. 449

LVI. Then, when the tribunician power and the liberty of the plebs were firmly established, the tribunes, believing that it was now safe to proceed against individuals and that the time was ripe for doing so, selected Verginius to bring the first accusation and Appius to be defendant. When Verginius had cited Appius to appear, and the latter, attended by a crowd of young patricians, had come down into the Forum, there was instantly revived in the minds of all the recollection of that most wicked power, as soon as they caught sight of the man himself and his satellites. Then Verginius said, "Oratory was invented for doubtful matters; and so I shall neither waste time in arraigning before you the man from whose cruelty you freed yourselves with arms, nor shall I suffer him to add to his other crimes the impudence of defending himself.[1] I therefore pardon you, Appius Claudius, all the impious and wicked deeds which you dared, during two years, to heap one upon another; on one charge only, unless you shall name a referee to establish your innocence of having illegally assigned custody of a free person to him who claimed her as his slave, I shall order you to be taken to prison." Neither in the protection of the tribunes nor in the decision of the people had Appius anything to hope; yet he called upon the tribunes, and when none of them would stay proceedings, and he had been arrested by an officer, he cried, "I appeal." The sound of this word, the one safeguard of liberty, coming from that mouth by which, shortly before, a free person had been given into the

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missa ore quo vindiciae nuper ab libertate dictae
7 erant, silentium fecit. Et dum pro se quisque deos tandem esse et non neglegere humana fremunt, et superbiae crudelitatique etsi seras, non leves tamen
8 venire poenas—provocare qui provocationem sustulisset, et implorare praesidium populi qui omnia iura populi obtrisset, rapique in vincla egentem iure libertatis, qui liberum corpus in servitutem addixisset,—ipsius Appi inter contionis murmur fidem populi
9 Romani implorantis vox audiebatur. Maiorum merita in rem publicam domi militiaeque commemorabat, suum infelix erga plebem Romanam studium, quo aequandarum legum causa cum maxima offensione patrum consulatu abisset, suas leges, quibus manenti-
10 bus lator earum in vincla ducatur. Ceterum sua propria bona malaque, cum causae dicendae data facultas sit, tum se experturum; in praesentia se communi iure civitatis civem Romanum die dicta postulare ut dicere liceat, ut iudicium populi Romani experiri. Non ita se invidiam pertimuisse ut nihil in aequitate et misericordia civium suorum spei habeat.
11 Quod si indicta causa in vincla ducatur, iterum se tribunos plebei appellare, et monere ne imitentur

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[1] The Twelve Tables.

custody of one who claimed her as a slave, produced a hush. And while the people muttered, each man to himself, that there were gods after all, who did not neglect the affairs of men; and that pride and cruelty were receiving their punishment, which though late was nevertheless not light—that he was appealing who had nullified appeal; that he was imploring the protection of the people who had trodden all the rights of the people under foot; that he was being carried off to prison, deprived of his right to liberty, who had condemned the person of a free citizen to slavery—the voice of Appius himself was heard amidst the murmurs of the assembly, beseeching the Roman People to protect him. He reminded them of the services his forefathers had rendered the state in peace and in war; of his own unfortunate affection for the Roman plebs, in consequence of which he had given up his consulship—in order to make the laws equal for all—with great offence to the patricians;—of the laws he had himself drawn up,[1] which were still standing while their author was being dragged off to prison. For the rest, when he should be given an opportunity to plead his cause, he would try what would come of his own peculiar services and shortcomings; at present he asked that, in accordance with the common right of citizenship, he be permitted, being a Roman citizen and under accusation, to speak, and to be judged by the Roman People. He did not so fear men's malice as to have no hope in the justice and pity of his fellow citizens. But if he was to be imprisoned, his cause unheard, he appealed once more to the tribunes of the plebs, and warned them not to B.C. 449

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12 quos oderint. Quod si tribuni eodem foedere obligatos se fateantur tollendae appellationis [1] in quod [2] conspirasse decemviros criminati sint, at [3] se provocare ad populum, implorare leges de provocatione et
13 consulares et tribunicias, eo ipso anno latas. Quem enim provocaturum, si hoc indemnato indicta causa non liceat? Cui plebeio et humili praesidium in legibus fore, si Ap. Claudio non sit? Se documento futurum utrum novis legibus dominatio an libertas firmata sit, et appellatio provocatioque adversus iniuriam magistratuum ostentata tantum inanibus litteris an vere data sit.

LVII. Contra ea Verginius unum Ap. Claudium et legum expertem et civilis et humani foederis esse
2 aiebat: respicerent tribunal homines, castellum omnium scelerum, ubi decemvir ille perpetuus, bonis, tergo, sanguini civium infestus, virgas securesque omnibus minitans, deorum hominumque contemptor,
3 carnificibus, non lictoribus stipatus, iam ab rapinis et caedibus animo ad libidinem verso virginem ingenuam in oculis populi Romani, velut bello captam, ab complexu patris abreptam ministro cubiculi sui
4 clienti dono dederit; ubi crudeli decreto nefandisque vindiciis dextram patris in filiam armaverit; ubi tollentis corpus semianime virginis sponsum avum-

[1] appellationis *V*: appellationis causa (causam *RDL*) Ω.
[2] in quod *Crevier* ς: in quam Ω: in qua *BD*χ: inquam in quã *M*.
[3] at *Iac. Gronovius*: ait Ω.

imitate those whom they hated. And if the tribunes should confess that they were bound by the same agreement which they charged the decemvirs with having entered into, not to hear an appeal, he still appealed to the people, and invoked the laws, both consular and tribunician, which had been enacted concerning appeals that very year. For who, he asked, should make an appeal, if a man who had not been condemned, whose cause had not been heard, might not do so? What humble plebeian would find protection in the laws, if they afforded none to Appius Claudius? His own case would show whether the new statutes had established tyranny or freedom, and whether the appeal to the tribunes and that to the people against the injustice of magistrates had been merely a parade of meaningless forms, or had been really granted. B.C. 449

LVII. Against this plea Verginius asserted that Appius Claudius alone was beyond the pale of the laws and of the rights of citizens and men. He bade his hearers look on the tribunal, the stronghold of all crimes, where that man, as perpetual decemvir, deadly foe to their fortunes, their persons, and their lives, threatening them all with rods and axes, despising gods and men, backed by executioners instead of lictors, had began to turn his thoughts from rapine and murder to lust; and, in full sight of the Roman People, had torn a free maiden from her father's arms, as though she had been a captive taken in war, and bestowed her as a gift upon his pimp and client;—the tribunal where, by his tyrannical decree and wicked judgments, he had armed a father's right hand against his daughter; where, as they were lifting up the body of the dying girl, he had

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que[1] in carcerem duci iusserit, stupro interpellato magis quam caede motus. Et illi carcerem aedificatum esse quod domicilium plebis Romanae vocare
5 sit solitus. Proinde ut ille iterum ac saepius provocet, sic se iterum ac saepius iudicem illi ferre ni vindicias ab libertate in servitutem dederit; si ad iudicem
6 non eat, pro damnato in vincla duci iubere. Ut haud quoquam improbante sic magno motu animorum, cum tanti viri supplicio suamet plebi iam nimia libertas videretur, in carcerem est coniectus. Tribunus ei diem prodixit.

7 Inter haec ab Latinis et Hernicis legati gratulatum de concordia patrum ac plebis Romam venerunt, donumque ob eam Iovi optumo maximo coronam auream in Capitolium tulere parvi ponderis, prout res haud opulentae erant colebanturque religiones
8 pie magis quam magnifice. Iisdem auctoribus cognitum est Aequos Volscosque summa vi bellum
9 apparare. Itaque partiri provincias consules iussi. Horatio Sabini, Valerio Aequi evenere. Cum ad ea bella dilectum edixissent, favore plebis non iuniores

[1] avumque Ω: auunculumque *Sabellicus* (*cf. note on chap.* xlv. § 4).

[1] And the Volsci, apparently, see chap. lx. § 1.

ordered her betrothed and her uncle to be haled to B.C. 449
prison—more moved by the disappointing of his pleasure than by her death. For Appius too had been built that prison which he was wont to call the home of the Roman plebs. Accordingly, though he should again and repeatedly appeal, he would himself again and repeatedly challenge him to prove before a referee that he had not adjudged a free citizen to the custody of one who claimed her as a slave. Should he refuse to go before a referee, he bade him be led to gaol, as one found guilty. Though none raised his voice in disapproval, there were yet profound misgivings on the part of the plebs when he was cast into prison, since they saw in the punishment of so great a man a sign that their own liberty was already grown excessive. The tribune appointed a day for the continuance of the trial.

Meanwhile from the Latins and the Hernici came envoys to congratulate the Romans upon the harmony subsisting between the patricians and the plebs; and to commemorate it they brought a gift for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to the Capitol. This was a golden crown, of no great weight, for their states were not rich, and they observed the worship of the gods with piety rather than magnificence. From these same envoys came the information that the Aequi and the Volsci were making strenuous preparations for war. The consuls were therefore bidden to divide the commands between them. To Horatius fell the campaign against the Sabines; to Valerius that against the Aequi.[1] When they had proclaimed a levy for these wars, the plebs showed so much good-will

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modo sed emeritis etiam stipendiis pars magna voluntariorum ad nomina danda praesto fuere, eoque non copia modo sed genere etiam militum, veteranis admixtis, firmior exercitus fuit. Priusquam urbe egrederentur, leges decemvirales, quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen, in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt. Sunt qui iussu tribunorum aediles functos eo ministerio scribant.

LVIII. C. Claudius, qui perosus decemvirorum scelera et ante omnes fratris filii superbiae infestus Regillum, antiquam in patriam, se contulerat, is magno iam natu, cum ad pericula eius deprecanda redisset cuius vitia fugerat, sordidatus cum gentilibus clientibusque in foro prensabat singulos orabatque ne Claudiae genti eam inustam maculam vellent ut carcere et vinculis viderentur digni. Virum [1] honoratissimae imaginis futurum ad posteros, legum latorem conditoremque Romani iuris, iacere vinctum inter fures nocturnos ac latrones. Averterent ab ira parumper ad cognitionem cogitationemque animos, et potius unum tot Claudiis deprecantibus condonarent quam propter unius odium multorum preces aspernarentur. Se quoque id generi ac nomini dare nec cum eo in gratiam redisse cuius adversae fortunae velit succursum. Virtute liber-

[1] virum $O^3A^3\zeta$: verum Ω.

that not only the juniors but also a great number of volunteers who had served their time presented themselves for enrolment, with the result that not alone in numbers but in the quality of the troops as well, owing to the admixture of veterans, the army was stronger than usual. Before they left the City, the consuls had the decemviral laws, which are known as the Twelve Tables, engraved on bronze, and set them up in a public place. Some authors say that the aediles, acting under orders from the tribunes, performed this service. B.C. 449

LVIII. Gaius Claudius, who loathed the wickedness of the decemvirs and was particularly offended by his nephew's insolence, had retired to Regillus, the ancient seat of his family. He was advanced in years, but he returned to Rome to beg for the pardon of the man whose vices he had fled. In sordid garments, accompanied by his clansmen and clients, he went about the Forum, soliciting the support of one citizen after another, beseeching them that they would not seek to brand the Claudian race with the shame of being held to merit imprisonment and chains. A man whose portrait-mask would be held in the highest honour by coming generations, the framer of statutes and the founder of Roman law, lay in prison among night-prowling thieves and banditti. Let them turn their minds from wrath, for a moment, to consider and reflect upon the matter; and let them sooner forgive one man, at the entreaty of so many Claudii, than scorn, in their hatred of one, the prayers of many. He was doing this, he said, out of regard to his family and his name; nor had there been any reconciliation between him and the man whose adversity he sought to succour. By

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tatem reciperatam esse: clementia concordiam ordinum stabiliri posse. Erant quos moveret sua magis pietate quam eius pro quo agebat causa; sed Verginius sui potius ut misererentur orabat filiaeque, nec gentis Claudiae regnum in plebem sortitae sed necessariorum Verginiae trium tribunorum preces audirent, qui ad auxilium plebis creati ipsi plebis fidem atque auxilium implorarent. Iustiores hae lacrimae videbantur. Itaque spe incisa, priusquam prodicta dies adesset, Appius mortem sibi conscivit.

Subinde arreptus a P. Numitorio Sp. Oppius, proximus invidiae, quod in urbe fuerat cum iniustae vindiciae a collega dicerentur. Plus tamen facta iniuria Oppio quam non prohibita invidiae fecit. Testis productus, qui septem et viginti enumeratis stipendiis octiens extra ordinem donatus donaque ea gerens in conspectu populi, scissa veste tergum laceratum virgis ostendit, nihilum deprecans quin si quam suam noxam reus dicere posset, privatus iterum in se saeviret. Oppius quoque ductus in vincula est, et ante iudicii diem finem ibi vitae fecit. Bona Claudi Oppique tribuni publicavere. Collegae

courage they had got back their liberty; by showing mercy they had it in their power to establish harmony between the orders. There were some whom he moved, more by his family-loyalty than by the cause of the man for whom he pleaded. But Verginius begged them rather to pity himself and his daughter, and to hearken, not to the entreaties of the Claudian family, whose province it was to tyrannize over the plebs, but instead to those of Verginia's relations, the three plebeian tribunes, who had been appointed to help the plebs but were themselves imploring the plebs to protect and comfort them. Men found more reason in his tears. And so Appius, cut off from hope, did not wait for the appointed day to come, but killed himself. B.C. 449

Immediately thereafter Publius Numitorius caused the arrest of Spurius Oppius, who stood next in point of unpopularity, because he had been in the City when the unjust verdict was pronounced by his colleague. Yet a wrong which Oppius committed was more responsible for men's bitterness towards him than the one which he failed to prevent. A witness was produced who, after enumerating his twenty-seven campaigns, during which he had eight times received special decorations, which he wore in full sight of the people, tore open his tunic and exhibited his back, scored by the rods, professing that if the defendant could name any crime of which he had been guilty, he would suffer him without complaining, private citizen though he was, to vent his rage upon him a second time. Oppius too was led to prison, and before the day of trial he there put an end to his life. The property of Claudius and that of Oppius was con-

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eorum exsilii causa solum verterunt; bona publicata
10 sunt. Et M. Claudius, adsertor Verginiae, die dicta
damnatus, ipso remittente Verginio ultimam poenam
11 dimissus Tibur exsulatum abiit, manesque Verginiae,
mortuae quam vivae felicioris,[1] per tot domos ad
petendas poenas vagati nullo relicto sonte tandem
quieverunt.

LIX. Ingens metus incesserat patres, voltusque
iam iidem[2] tribunorum erant qui decemvirorum
fuerant, cum M. Duillius tribunus plebis inhibito
2 salubriter modo nimiae potestati "Et libertatis"
inquit, "nostrae et poenarum ex inimicis satis est;
itaque hoc anno nec diem dici cuiquam nec in vincla
3 duci quemquam sum passurus. Nam neque vetera[3]
peccata repeti iam oblitterata placet, cum[4] nova
expiata sint decemvirorum suppliciis, et nihil ad-
missum iri, quod vim tribuniciam desideret spondet
perpetua consulum amborum in libertate vestra
4 tuenda cura." Ea primum moderatio tribuni metum
patribus dempsit, eademque auxit consulum invidiam,
quod adeo toti plebis fuissent ut patrum salutis
libertatisque prior plebeio magistratui quam patricio
cura fuisset, et ante inimicos satietas poenarum

[1] felicioris *Gulielmus* ς: feliciores Ω.
[2] iidem D^4ς: idem ς: inde Ω: indies *R*: indie *D?L*: iam die *A*.
[3] vetera D^4ς: ũra (= vestra) Ω.
[4] placet, cum ς (*Rhenanus*): placet et cum *Vorm.* *M*: placet cum et Ω: placet cum etiam ς.

fiscated by the tribunes. Their colleagues in the decemvirate went into exile, and their possessions were forfeited. Marcus Claudius also, the claimant of Verginia, was cited and condemned, but at the instance of Verginius himself the extreme penalty was remitted; and being allowed to depart, he went into exile at Tibur. And so the manes of Verginia, who was more fortunate after her death than she had been while alive, after ranging through so many houses in quest of vengeance, were finally at peace; for no guilty man remained. B.C. 449

LIX. A great fear had come over the patricians, and the bearing of the tribunes was now just what that of the decemvirs had been, when Marcus Duillius, a tribune of the plebs, placed a salutary check upon their excessive power. "Our own liberty," he declared, "and the exaction of penalties from our enemies have gone far enough; I shall therefore this year allow no one to be arraigned or thrown into gaol. For on the one hand it is not good to rake up old offences, already blotted out of memory, now that recent crimes have been expiated by the punishment of the decemvirs; and on the other hand we have a guarantee that no wrong will be attempted that could call for the intervention of tribunician authority, in view of the unceasing care both consuls take to protect your liberty." It was this moderation on the tribune's part which first relieved the patricians of their fear. It also increased their dislike of the consuls, since the latter had been so wholly devoted to the plebs that the safety and independence of the patricians had been dearer to a plebeian magistracy than to their own, and their opponents had grown sated

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suarum cepisset quam obviam ituros licentiae eorum consules appareret. Multique erant qui mollius consultum dicerent, quod legum ab iis latarum patres auctores fuissent, neque erat dubium quin turbato rei publicae statu tempori succubuissent.

LX. Consules rebus urbanis compositis fundatoque plebis statu in provincias diversi abiere. Valerius adversus coniunctos iam in Algido exercitus Aequorum Volscorumque sustinuit consilio bellum; quod si extemplo rem fortunae commisisset, haud scio an, qui tum animi ab decemvirorum infelicibus auspiciis Romanis hostibusque erant, magno detrimento certamen staturum fuerit. Castris mille passuum ab hoste positis copias continebat.[1] Hostes medium inter bina castra spatium acie instructa complebant, provocantibusque ad proelium responsum Romanus nemo reddebat. Tandem fatigati stando ac nequiquam exspectando certamen Aequi Volscique, postquam concessum propemodum de victoria credebant, pars in Hernicos, pars in Latinos praedatum abeunt; relinquitur magis castris praesidium quam satis virium ad certamen. Quod ubi consul sensit, reddit inlatum antea terrorem instructaque acie ultro hostem lacessit. Ubi illi conscientia quid abesset

[1] continebat $R^2A^3\zeta$: continebant Ω.

with punishing them before the consuls evinced any intention of opposing their licence. And there were many who said that the senate had shown a want of resolution in having voted for the measures proposed by the consuls; and indeed there was no doubt that in the troubled state of public affairs they had yielded to the times. B.C. 449

LX. The consuls, having set affairs in order in the City and established the position of the plebs, departed to their respective commands. Valerius, facing the armies of the Aequi and Volsci, which had already effected a junction on Mount Algidus, deliberately postponed engaging them; had he risked an immediate decision, it is likely—such was the difference in spirit between the Romans and the enemy, in consequence of the godless dealings of the decemvirs—that the struggle would have cost him a severe defeat. He established his camp a mile from the enemy and kept his men within the works. The enemy repeatedly drew up their troops in fighting order on the ground between the camps, and challenged the Romans to come out and engage them; but no one answered them. At length, weary with standing and waiting, to no purpose, for the battle, the Aequi and Volsci concluded that the Romans had virtually yielded them the victory; and marched off to pillage, some against the Hernici, others against the Latins, leaving behind what was rather a garrison for the camp than a sufficient force for giving battle. On perceiving this the consul repaid the fear he had previously been made to feel, and forming a line of battle, himself provoked the enemy. Since they declined the combat, conscious of their want of strength, the

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virium detractavere pugnam, crevit extemplo Romanis animus, et pro victis habebant paventes intra
7 vallum. Cum per totum diem stetissent intenti ad certamen, nocti cessere. Et Romani quidem pleni spei corpora curabant: haudquaquam pari hostes animo nuntios passim trepidi ad revocandos praedatores dimittunt. Recurritur ex proximis locis:
8 ulteriores non inventi. Ubi inluxit, egreditur castris Romanus vallum invasurus ni copia pugnae fieret. Et postquam multa iam dies erat neque movebatur quicquam ab hoste, iubet signa inferri consul; motaque acie indignatio Aequos et Volscos incessit, si victores exercitus vallum potius quam virtus et arma tegerent. Igitur et ipsi efflagitatum ab du-
9 cibus signum pugnae accepere. Iamque pars egressa portis erat, deincepsque alii servabant ordinem in suum quisque locum descendentes, cum consul Romanus, priusquam totis viribus fulta constaret
10 hostium acies, intulit signa; adortusque nec omnes dum eductos, nec qui erant, satis explicatis ordinibus, prope fluctuantem turbam trepidantium huc atque illuc circumspectantiumque se ac suos, addito turbatis mentibus clamore atque impetu invadit.
11 Rettulere primo pedem hostes; deinde, cum animos

Romans felt an immediate access of courage, and B.C. 449
regarded their opponents, cowering behind the palisade, as beaten men. After standing in line all day intent on fighting, the Romans withdrew at nightfall. And they, on their side, were full of hope, as they ate their evening meal; but the enemy's spirits were by no means so high, and they sent out couriers far and wide, in great alarm, to recall the marauders. The nearest of these hastened back; but those who were farther afield could not be found. As soon as it was light, the Romans sallied from their camp, intending to assault the rampart, unless the enemy gave battle. So, when the day was now far spent and the enemy made no move, the consul ordered an advance. The Roman line having got in motion, the Aequi and Volsci were ashamed that their victorious armies should depend for protection upon stockades, instead of valour and the sword. Accordingly they too demanded of their leaders, and received, the signal to attack. A part had already passed out through the gates and the rest were following in good order, each man coming out into his proper place; when the Roman consul, not waiting till the enemy's line should be strongly posted in full force, advanced to the charge. The attack, which he delivered before their troops had all been brought out, and when those who had been were insufficiently deployed, found little more than a surging mob of men, who as they hurried this way and that cast anxious looks at one another and wished for their missing friends. The shouting and the fury of the onset increased their agitation, and at first they fell back; then, when they had collected their wits and on

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collegissent et undique duces victisne cessuri essent increparent, restituitur pugna.

LXI. Consul ex altera parte Romanos meminisse iubebat illo die primum liberos pro libera urbe Romana pugnare: sibimet ipsis victuros, non ut
2 decemvirorum victores praemium essent. Non Appio duce rem geri, sed consule Valerio, ab liberatoribus populi Romani orto, liberatore ipso. Ostenderent prioribus proeliis per duces, non per
3 milites stetisse ne vincerent; turpe esse contra cives plus animi habuisse quam contra hostes, et domi
4 quam foris servitutem magis timuisse. Unam Verginiam fuisse cuius pudicitiae in pace periculum esset, unum Appium civem periculosae libidinis; at si fortuna belli inclinet, omnium liberis ab tot
5 milibus hostium periculum fore; nolle ominari quae nec Iuppiter nec Mars pater passuri sint iis auspiciis conditae urbi accidere. Aventini Sacrique montis admonebat, ut ubi libertas parta esset paucis ante
6 mensibus, eo imperium inlibatum referrent, ostenderentque eandem indolem militibus Romanis post exactos decemviros esse quae ante creatos fuerit, nec aequatis legibus imminutam virtutem populi
7 Romani esse. Haec ubi inter signa peditum dicta

every side heard their officers wrathfully demanding if they meant to yield to troops whom they had beaten, they rallied and held their own. B.C. 449

LXI. The consul, on the other side, bade the Romans remember that on that day they were for the first time fighting as free men for a free Rome. They would be conquering for themselves, not that they might become the spoil of decemvirs in the hour of victory. It was no Appius who was commanding them, but the consul Valerius, descendant of liberators of the Roman People, and himself their liberator. Let them show that in previous battles it had been the fault of the generals, not of the soldiers, that they had failed to win. It would be disgraceful to have shown more courage in facing their fellow citizens than in facing the enemy, and to have been more fearful of enslavement at home than abroad. No one's chastity but Verginia's had been in danger while they were at peace, no citizen but Appius had been possessed of a dangerous lust; but if the fortune of war turned against them, the children of all of them would be in danger from all those thousands of enemies; yet he would not utter an omen which neither Jupiter nor Mars their Father would suffer to come home to a City founded with such auspices. He reminded them of the Aventine and the Sacred Mount, that they might bring back an undiminished power to the spot where liberty had a few months before been won, and might show that the nature of Rome's soldiers was the same after the expulsion of the decemvirs that it had been before they were elected, and that equality before the law had not lessened the courage of the Roman People. Having pronounced these words

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dedit, avolat deinde ad equites: "Agite, iuvenes" inquit, "praestate virtute peditem ut honore atque
8 ordine praestatis. Primo concursu pedes movit hostem, pulsum vos immissis equis exigite e campo. Non sustinebunt impetum, et nunc cunctantur magis
9 quam resistunt." Concitant equos permittuntque in hostem pedestri iam turbatum pugna et perruptis ordinibus elati ad novissimam aciem, pars libero spatio circumvecti iam fugam undique capessentes plerosque a castris avertunt praeterequitantesque
10 absterrent. Peditum acies et consul ipse visque omnis belli fertur in castra, captisque cum ingenti caede maiore praeda potitur.

11 Huius pugnae fama perlata non in urbem modo sed in Sabinos ad alterum exercitum, in urbe laetitia[1] celebrata est, in castris animos militum ad
12 aemulandum decus accendit. Iam Horatius eos excursionibus[2] proeliisque levibus[3] experiundo adsuefecerat sibi potius fidere quam meminisse ignominiae decemvirorum ductu acceptae, parvaque cer-
13 tamina in summam totius profecerant spei. Nec cessabant Sabini, feroces ab re priore anno bene gesta, lacessere atque instare, rogitantes quid latrocinii modo procursantes pauci recurrentesque tere-

[1] laetitia *V*: laetitia modo Ω.
[2] excursionibus *V*: excursionibus sufficiendo Ω: ex incursionibus sufficiendo Ω.
[3] levibus V_5: lenibus Ω: lenius *PFUB*.

amid the standards of the infantry, he hastened to the cavalry. "Come, young men," he cried, "surpass the foot-soldiers in daring as you do in honour and in rank! At the first encounter the infantry have forced the enemy back; now that they are repulsed, do you give rein to your horses and drive them from the field. They will not sustain the shock; even now they are rather hesitating than resisting." Clapping spurs to their horses they charged the enemy, already disordered by the infantry-attack, and penetrating his lines, dashed through to the rear; while another division made a detour over unoccupied ground, and finding the enemy everywhere in flight turned most of them back from their camp and frightened them off by riding across their course. The infantry and the consul himself swept on into the camp in the full tide of battle, and took possession of it. The enemy's losses in men were great, but in booty were even greater. B.C. 449

The report of this battle having been brought not only to Rome but also to the Sabine country and the other army, was celebrated in the City with rejoicings, and in the camp inspired the soldiers with a desire to emulate the glorious achievement. Horatius had already accustomed them, by practice in raids and skirmishes, to be self-reliant, instead of dwelling on the disgrace they had incurred under the leadership of the decemvirs; and small engagements had encouraged the highest hopes of the general outcome. Nor were the Sabines backward—emboldened as they were by their victory of the year before—with challenges and threats. Why, they asked, did the Romans waste their time advancing swiftly in small companies, like brigands, and as hurriedly retreating;

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rent tempus et in multa proelia parvaque carperent
14 summam unius belli? Quin illi congrederentur acie
inclinandamque semel fortunae rem darent?

LXII. Ad id quod sua sponte satis conlectum animorum erat indignitate etiam Romani accendebantur: iam alterum exercitum victorem in urbem rediturum, sibi ultro per contumelias hostem insultare; quando autem se, si tum non sint, pares
2 hostibus fore? Ubi haec fremere militem in castris consul sensit, contione advocata "Quem ad modum" inquit, "in Algido res gesta sit, arbitror vos, milites, audisse. Qualem liberi populi exercitum decuit esse, talis fuit. Consilio[1] collegae, virtute militum
3 victoria parta est. Quod ad me attinet, id consilii animique habiturus sum quod vos mihi feceritis.[2] Et trahi bellum salubriter et mature perfici potest.
4 Si trahendum est, ego ut in dies spes virtusque vestra crescat, eadem qua institui disciplina efficiam: si iam satis animi est decernique placet, agitedum clamorem qualem in acie sublaturi estis tollite hic
5 indicem voluntatis virtutisque vestrae." Postquam ingenti alacritate clamor est sublatus, quod bene vertat gesturum se illis morem posteroque die in aciem deducturum adfirmat. Reliquum diei apparandis armis consumptum est.

[1] consilio $P^2A^2\varsigma$: Gy consulto H: consilio consulto ML: consul consilto P: consilto FB: consulto Ω: . . . V.

[2] mihi feceritis *Crevier*: . . hi f . . eritis . . . . . s V: milites geritis *Vorm* MA^2: tegeritis H: mihi tegaritis feceritis O: mihi tegeritis RL: mihi . . . . feceritis P: mihi effeceritis P^2FUBD^3: michi . . . . geritis D.

thus dissipating in many little combats the issues of one pitched battle? Why did they not attack in line and suffer fortune to decide the matter once for all? B.C. 449

LXII. Besides the fact that they had of themselves accumulated a good store of confidence, the Romans were also kindled with indignation. The other army, they said, would presently be returning victorious to the City; they themselves were actually being insulted and reviled by the enemy; but when should they be a match for him, if they were not at that moment? When the consul became aware how the soldiers were murmuring in the camp, he called them together. "Soldiers," said he, "you have heard, I suppose, how matters have gone on Algidus. The army has proved to be such as it was fitting that the army of a free people should be. By my colleague's strategy and the bravery of his men a victory has been won. As for me, my strategy and my courage will be what you make them yourselves. It is within our power either to prolong the war with advantage or to bring it to a speedy and successful end. If it is to be prolonged, I shall seek to increase your hopes and courage from day to day by the same course of training I have begun; if your spirits are already high enough and you wish the war to be decided, come, give a shout here in the camp, to show your good-will and your courage, like the cheer you will raise in the battle!" The shout was given with great alacrity, and the consul promised, invoking good fortune on the enterprise, that he would do as they wished and lead them forth to battle on the morrow. The rest of the day they spent in making ready their arms.

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6 Postero die simul instrui Romanam aciem Sabini videre et ipsi, iam pridem avidi certaminis, procedunt. Proelium fuit, quale inter fidentes sibimet ambo exercitus, veteris perpetuaeque alterum gloriae, 7 alterum nuper nova victoria elatum. Consilio etiam Sabini vires adiuvere; nam cum aequassent aciem, duo extra ordinem milia quae in sinistrum cornu Romanorum in ipso certamine impressionem facerent 8 tenuere. Quae ubi inlatis ex transverso signis degravabant prope circumventum cornu, equites duarum legionum sescenti[1] fere ex equis desiliunt cedentibusque iam suis provolant in primum simulque et hosti se opponunt et aequato primum periculo, pudore deinde animos peditum accendunt; 9 verecundiae erat equitem suo alienoque Marte pugnare, peditem ne ad pedes quidem degresso equiti parem esse.

LXIII. Vadunt igitur in proelium ab sua parte omissum et locum ex quo cesserant repetunt; momentoque non restituta modo pugna, sed inclinatur 2 etiam Sabinis cornu. Eques inter ordines peditum tectus se ad equos recipit. Transvolat inde in partem alteram suis victoriae nuntius; simul et in

[1] sescenti ϛ: sescentis *V*: ac (*or* a͞c *or* aĉ) *i.e.* *DC* Ω.

Next day, as soon as the Sabines saw the Romans forming, they came out themselves, for they had long been eager to fight. It was a battle such as takes place when both armies are confident; for the glory of the one was ancient and unbroken, and the other was exalted by its recent unaccustomed victory. Moreover the Sabines employed a stratagem to increase their strength; for when they had marshalled a front of equal extent with the Roman, they held two thousand men in reserve to hurl against their opponent's left, as soon as the battle should be under way. These troops, attacking in flank, had almost encompassed that wing, and were beginning to overpower it; when the cavalry of the two legions, numbering about six hundred, leaped down from their horses and rushed to the front, where their comrades were already giving ground. There they made a stand against the foe and at the same time roused the courage of the infantry, first by sharing the danger on equal terms, and then by causing them to feel ashamed. They felt humiliated that the cavalry should be fighting in their own fashion and in that of infantry too, and that the infantry should not be as good as the horsemen, even when these were dismounted. B.C. 449

LXIII. They therefore renewed the battle which on their flank had been given up, and advanced again into the position from which they had retreated, and in a trice the fighting was not merely even, but the Sabine wing had begun to yield. The horsemen, under cover of the ranks of infantry, regained their mounts. Then they galloped across to the other wing, announcing the victory to their friends; and at the same time they made a charge against the

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hostes iam pavidos, quippe fuso suae partis validiore cornu, impetum facit. Non aliorum eo proelio virtus
3 magis enituit. Consul providere omnia, laudare fortis, increpare sicubi segnior pugna esset. Castigati fortium statim virorum opera edebant, tantumque hos pudor quantum alios laudes excitabant.
4 Redintegrato clamore undique omnes conisi hostem avertunt, nec deinde Romana vis sustineri potuit. Sabini fusi passim per agros castra hosti ad praedam relinquunt. Ibi non sociorum sicut in Algido res, sed suas Romanus populationibus agrorum amissas recipit.

5 Gemina victoria duobus bifariam proeliis parta maligne senatus in unum diem supplicationes consulum nomine decrevit. Populus iniussu et altero die frequens iit supplicatum;[1] et haec vaga popularisque supplicatio studiis prope celebratior fuit.
6 Consules ex composito eodem biduo ad urbem accessere senatumque in Martium campum evocavere. Ubi cum de rebus ab se gestis agerent, questi primores patrum senatum inter milites dedita opera
7 terroris causa haberi. Itaque inde consules, ne criminationi locus esset, in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est—iam tum Apollinare appellabant,—

[1] supplicatum ϛ : supplicatumque est Ω : supplicatumque e *D*.

enemy, who were already panic-stricken, as they might well be when the stronger of their wings had been defeated. No other troops showed more conspicuous courage in that battle. The consul looked out for every contingency, commended the brave, and upbraided any who fought listlessly. Being rebuked they would at once begin to acquit themselves like men,—shame proving as powerful an incentive to them as praise to the others. With a fresh cheer all along the line the Romans made a concerted effort and drove the enemy back, and from that moment there was no resisting the violence of their onset. The Sabines fled in confusion through the fields and left their camp to be plundered by their foes. There the Romans won back not the possessions of their allies, as on Algidus, but their own which had earlier been lost to them through the raids on their lands. B.C. 449

Though a double victory had been gained in two separate battles, the senate was so mean as to decree thanksgivings in the name of the consuls for one day only. The people went unbidden on the second day also in great numbers, to offer up thanks to the gods; and this unorganized and popular supplication was attended with an enthusiasm which almost exceeded that of the other. The consuls had arranged to approach the City within a day of one another, and summoned the senate out into the Campus Martius. While they were there holding forth on the subject of their victories, complaints were made by leading senators that the senate was being held in the midst of the army on purpose to inspire fear. And so the consuls, to allow no room for the accusation, adjourned the senate from that place to the Flaminian Meadows, where the temple of Apollo

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8 avocavere senatum. Ubi cum ingenti consensu patrum negaretur triumphus, L. Icilius tribunus plebis tulit ad populum de triumpho consulum
9 multis dissuasum prodeuntibus, maxime C. Claudio vociferante de patribus, non de hostibus consules triumphare velle, gratiamque pro privato merito in tribunum, non pro virtute honorem peti. Numquam ante de triumpho per populum actum; semper aestimationem arbitriumque eius honoris penes senatum
10 fuisse; ne reges quidem maiestatem summi ordinis imminuisse; ne ita omnia tribuni potestatis suae implerent, ut nullum publicum consilium sinerent esse; ita demum liberam civitatem fore, ita aequatas leges, si sua quisque iura ordo, suam maiestatem
11 teneat. In eandem sententiam multa et a ceteris senioribus patrum cum essent dicta, omnes tribus eam rogationem acceperunt. Tum primum sine auctoritate senatus populi iussu triumphatum est.

LXIV. Haec victoria tribunorum plebisque prope in haud salubrem luxuriam vertit conspiratione inter tribunos facta ut iidem tribuni reficerentur, et quo sua minus cupiditas emineret, consules quoque con-
2 tinuarent magistratum. Consensum patrum causabantur, quo per contumeliam consulum iura tri-
3 bunorum plebis labefactata[1] essent. Quid futurum

[1] labefactata $DA^3\varsigma$: labe factata A: labefacta tum V: labefactor F: labefacta (lebe- B) Ω.

[1] It was not the last time, however (*cf.* VII. xvii. 9). Sometimes the consul triumphed without the authorization of either senate or plebs (X. xxxvii. 8), in which case the ceremony took place on the Alban Mount; sometimes by virtue of a plebiscite confirmed by resolution of the senate (IV. xx. 1). But unless granted by the senate the triumph was paid for by the victorious consul, instead of by the state.

is now, and which was called even then Apollo's Precinct. When the Fathers, meeting there, refused with great unanimity to grant a triumph, Lucius Icilius the plebeian tribune laid the issue before the people. Many came forward to dissuade them, and Gaius Claudius was particularly vehement. It was a triumph, he said, over the patricians, not Rome's enemies, which the consuls desired; they were seeking a favour in return for personal services they had done the tribune, not an honour in requital of valour. Never before had a triumph been voted by the people; the decision whether this honour had been deserved had always rested with the senate; not even the kings had infringed the majesty of the highest order in the state; let not the tribunes so dominate all things as not to suffer the existence of any public council; if each order retained its own rights and its own dignity, then, and only then, would the state be free and the laws equal for all. After many speeches had been made to the same purpose by the other older members of the senate, all the tribes voted in favour of the motion. Then, for the first time, a triumph which lacked the authorization of the senate was celebrated at the bidding of the people.[1] B.C. 449

LXIV. This victory of the tribunes and the commons had nearly resulted in a dangerous abuse; for the tribunes conspired together to obtain their re-election, and, that their own ambition might be less conspicuous, to procure as well the return to office of the consuls. Their pretext was the solidarity of the patricians, which had operated, by injurious treatment of the consuls, to break down the authority of the tribunes of the plebs. What

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nondum firmatis legibus, si novos tribunos per factionis suae[1] consules adorti essent? Non enim semper Valerios Horatiosque consules fore, qui libertati plebis suas opes postferrent. Forte quadam utili ad tempus ut comitiis praeesset potissimum M. Duillio sorte evenit, viro prudenti et ex continuatione magistratus invidiam imminentem cernenti. Qui cum ex veteribus tribunis negaret se ullius rationem habiturum, pugnarentque collegae ut liberas tribus in suffragium mitteret aut concederet sortem comitiorum collegis, habituris e lege potius comitia quam ex voluntate patrum, iniecta contentione Duillius consules ad subsellia accitos cum interrogasset quid de comitiis consularibus in animo haberent, respondissentque se novos consules creaturos, auctores populares sententiae haud popularis[2] nactus in contionem cum iis processit. Ubi cum consules producti ad populum interrogatique, si eos populus Romanus, memor libertatis per illos receptae domi, memor militiae rerum[3] gestarum, consules iterum faceret, quidnam facturi essent, nihil sententiae suae mutassent, conlaudatis consulibus quod perseverarent ad ultimum dissimiles decemvirorum esse, comitia habuit; et quinque tribunis plebi creatis cum prae studiis aperte peten-

[1] factionis suae *Madvig M*?: factionis sua *V*: factiones suas Ω.

[2] populares sententiae haud popularis *Stroth*: popularis sententiae haud popularis ζ: popularis sententiae haud populari *V*: popularis sententiae haud populares Ω (*but for* haud *F has* auc, *BL* aut).

[3] militiae rerum *Iac. Gronovius*: militiae quae rerum *V*: militiae rerumque Ω.

would happen if, ere the laws were firmly estab- B.C. 449
lished, the new tribunes should be assailed through the agency of consuls belonging to the patricians' own party? For there would not always be consuls like Valerius and Horatius, who preferred the liberty of the plebs to their own interests. By a fortunate chance in this emergency the superintendence of the elections fell by lot to none other than Marcus Duillius, a far-seeing man who perceived that the re-election of the magistrates would be fraught with odium. But when he asserted that he would not consider the candidacy of any of the former tribunes, his colleagues vehemently insisted that he should receive the suffrages of the tribes without restriction, or else resign the presidency of the election to his fellow-tribunes, who would conduct the voting in accordance with the law rather than the desires of the patricians. A controversy having thus arisen, Duillius summoned the consuls before the benches of the tribunes and asked them what course they meant to pursue in the consular elections; and finding, by their replying that they should have new consuls chosen, that he had got in them popular supporters of his unpopular policy, he went with them before the assembly. When the consuls, on being there brought forth to the people and asked what they would do if the Roman People, mindful of their help in the recovery of liberty at home and remembering their military successes, should again elect them to office, declined to alter their determination, Duillius first praised the consuls for persisting to the end in their unlikeness to the decemvirs, and then held the election. And after five tribunes had been chosen

A.U.C. 305

tium novem tribunorum alii candidati tribus non explerent, concilium dimisit nec deinde comitiorum
9 causa habuit. Satisfactum legi aiebat, quae numero nusquam praefinito tribuni modo ut relinquerentur sanciret, et ab iis qui creati essent cooptari collegas
10 iuberet; recitabatque rogationis carmen, in quo sic erat:[1] "Si tribunos plebei decem rogabo; si qui vos minus hodie decem tribunos plebei feceritis,[2] tum ut ii[3] quos hi sibi collegas cooptassint[4] legitimi eadem lege tribuni plebei sint ut illi quos hodie tribunos
11 plebei feceritis." Duillius cum ad ultimum perseverasset negando quindecim tribunos plebei rem publicam habere posse, victa collegarum cupiditate pariter patribus plebeique acceptus magistratu abiit.

A.U.C. 306-307

LXV. Novi tribuni plebis in cooptandis collegis patrum voluntatem foverunt; duos etiam patricios consularesque, Sp. Tarpeium et A. Aternium,[5] co-
2 optavere. Consules creati Sp. Herminius T. Verginius Caelimontanus, nihil magnopere ad patrum aut plebis
3 causam inclinati, otium domi ac foris habuere. L.

[1] sic erat: "Si *Foster*: sic erat *H. J. Mueller*: sic esset: "Si *Conway and Walters*: est *Madvig*: si Ω.

[2] feceritis *V*?: fecerint iis (*or* his *or* ii *or* ut *or* hi) Ω.

[3] tum ut ii *Weissenborn*: tum uti Ω.

[4] cooptassint *Rhenanus*: cooptassent *V*: cooptassent ut illi Ω: coaptassent ut illi *U*.

[5] A. Aternium *D*? *Alschefski* (*chap.* xxxi. § 5): a. aeternum Ω: a. aethernium *U*: a. aeternum *H*: a. eternium BD^3A.

[1] More accurately "fourteen," since the reference is to the five whose election Duillius recognized, together with the nine incumbents who claimed re-election.

and no other candidates obtained a majority of the tribes, on account of the eagerness with which the nine incumbents openly sought re-election, he dismissed the assembly, nor did he afterwards convene it for an election. He declared that the law had been satisfied, which, without anywhere prescribing the number, provided only that the tribunate should not be left vacant; and directed that those who had been elected should co-opt colleagues. He recited too the formula of the announcement, in which the following words occurred: "If I shall call for your suffrages for ten tribunes of the plebs; if for any reason you shall elect to-day less than ten tribunes of the plebs, then let those whom the elected tribunes co-opt as their colleagues be as legally tribunes of the plebs as those whom you shall this day have chosen to that office." Having persevered to the end in denying that the state could have fifteen plebeian tribunes,[1] and having defeated the cupidity of his colleagues, Duillius laid down his magistracy, approved by patricians and plebs alike. B.C. 449

LXV. The new tribunes of the plebs consulted the wishes of the nobles in the co-optation of colleagues; they even chose two who were patricians and ex-consuls, Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aternius.[2] The new consuls, Spurius Herminius and Titus Verginius Caelimontanus, being specially devoted neither to the cause of the patricians nor to that of the plebs, enjoyed a peaceful year both at home B.C. 448–447

[2] The *lex sacrata* (II. XXXIII. 1) denied patricians access to the tribunate, but apparently there was at this time a disposition to wink at their co-optation. Tarpeius and Aternius had been consuls in 454 B.C.

A.U.C. 306-307

Trebonius tribunus plebis, infestus patribus quod se ab iis[1] in cooptandis tribunis fraude captum proditumque a collegis aiebat, rogationem tulit ut qui
4 plebem Romanam tribunos plebi rogaret, is usque eo rogaret dum decem tribunos plebi faceret; insectandisque patribus, unde Aspero etiam inditum est cognomen, tribunatum gessit.
5 Inde M. Geganius Macerinus[2] et C. Iulius consules facti contentiones tribunorum adversus nobilium iuventutem ortas sine insectatione potestatis eius
6 conservata maiestate patrum sedavere. Plebem decreto ad bellum Volscorum et Aequorum dilectu sustinendo rem ab seditionibus continuere, urbano otio foris quoque omnia tranquilla esse adfirmantes,
7 per discordias civiles externos tollere animos. Cura pacis concordiae quoque intestinae causa fuit. Sed alter semper ordo gravis alterius modestiae erat; quiescenti plebi ab iunioribus patrum iniuriae fieri
8 coeptae. Ubi tribuni auxilio humilioribus essent, in primis parum proderat; deinde ne ipsi quidem inviolati erant, utique postremis mensibus, cum et per coitiones potentiorum iniuria fieret et vis potestatis omnis aliquanto posteriore anni parte languidior
9 ferme esset. Iamque plebs ita in tribunatu ponere

[1] ab iis *V*?: ab hiis *A*: ab his Ω.
[2] Macerinus *Sigonius* (IV. viii. 1; IV. xvii. 7): macrinus *UO*: m̄. acrinus *MPFB*: m̄. agrinus *HRDLA*.

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[*] When they co-opted patricians.

and abroad. Lucius Trebonius, a tribune of the commons, being angry with the patricians, because, as he said, he had been defrauded by them in the co-optation of the tribunes and had been betrayed by his colleagues,[1] proposed a law that he who called upon the Roman plebs to elect tribunes should continue to call upon them until he should effect the election of ten; and he so baited the nobles during his year of office as even to gain the surname of *Asper*, or "the Truculent." B.C. 448-447

Next, Marcus Geganius Macerinus and Gaius Julius became consuls, and assuaged the strife of the tribunes with the young nobles, without censuring those magistrates or sacrificing the dignity of the patricians. They withheld the plebs from sedition by suspending a levy which had been decreed with a view to making war on the Volsci and the Aequi, averring that so long as the City was quiet their foreign relations were likewise entirely peaceful; that it was discord in Rome which made other nations take heart. The pains they were at to maintain peace were also productive of internal harmony. But the one order was always taking advantage of the moderation of the other; the plebs were tranquil, but the younger patricians began to insult them. When the tribunes attempted to assist the lowly, at first their services were of little effect; and later they did not even escape violence themselves, especially in the last months of their term, since not only were wrongs committed through cabals of the more powerful, but the effectiveness of every magistrate rather languished, as a rule, in the latter part of the year. By this time the plebs had ceased to count upon

A.U.C. 306-307

aliquid spei, si similes Icilio tribunos haberet: nomina
10 tantum se biennio habuisse. Seniores contra patrum, ut nimis feroces suos credere iuvenes esse, ita malle, si modus excedendus esset, suis quam adversariis
11 superesse animos. Adeo moderatio tuendae libertatis, dum aequari velle simulando ita se quisque extollit ut deprimat alium, in difficili est, cavendoque ne metuant, homines metuendos ultro se efficiunt, et iniuriam a nobis repulsam, tamquam aut facere aut pati necesse sit, iniungimus aliis.

A.U.C. 308

LXVI. T. Quinctius Capitolinus quartum et Agrippa Furius consules inde facti nec seditionem domi nec foris bellum acceperunt; sed imminebat
2 utrumque. Iam non ultra[1] discordia civium reprimi poterat et tribunis et plebe incitata in patres, cum dies alicui nobilium dicta novis semper certaminibus
3 contiones turbaret. Ad quarum primum strepitum velut signo accepto arma cepere Aequi ac Volsci, simul quod persuaserant iis duces, cupidi praedarum, biennio ante dilectum indictum haberi non potuisse abnuente iam plebe imperium; eo adversus se non
4 esse[2] missos exercitus. Dissolvi licentia militandi

[1] non ultra Ω: nec ultra *V*.
[2] esse Ω: nosse *V*.

the tribunate, unless they could have tribunes like Icilius; for two years they had had mere names. The elder patricians, for their part, though they thought their young men too headstrong, yet preferred, if moderation must be left behind, that the excess of spirits should be on their side rather than with their adversaries. So difficult is it to be moderate in the defence of liberty, since everyone, while pretending to seek fair-play, so raises himself as to press another down; while insuring themselves against fear, men actually render themselves fearful to others; and having defended ourselves from an injury, we proceed—as though it were necessary either to do or suffer wrong—to inflict injury upon our neighbour. B.C. 448–447

LXVI. Titus Quinctius Capitolinus (for the fourth time) and Agrippa Furius were then made consuls. They experienced neither domestic sedition nor foreign war, but were threatened with both. The strife between citizens could now no longer be repressed, since tribunes and plebs alike were inflamed against the patricians, and the trial of one or another of the nobles was continually embroiling the assemblies in new quarrels. At the first disturbance in these meetings the Aequi and Volsci took up arms, as though they had received a signal, and also because their leaders, being eager for plunder, had convinced them that the Romans had found it impossible, the year before, to carry out the levy which they had proclaimed, since the plebs were no longer amenable to authority; and that this had been the reason why armies were not dispatched against themselves. Lawlessness was breaking down their martial traditions, nor was B.C. 446

A.U.C. 308

morem, nec pro communi iam patria Romam esse. Quidquid irarum simultatiumque cum externis fuerit in ipsos verti. Occaecatos lupos intestina rabie opprimendi occasionem esse. Coniunctis exercitibus Latinum primum agrum perpopulati sunt; deinde postquam ibi nemo vindex occurrebat, tum vero exsultantibus belli auctoribus ad moenia ipsa Romae populabundi regione portae Esquilinae accessere vastationem agrorum per contumeliam urbi ostentantes. Unde postquam inulti praedam prae se agentes retro ad Corbionem agmine iere, Quinctius consul ad contionem populum vocavit.

LXVII. Ibi in hanc sententiam locutum accipio: "Etsi mihi nullius noxae conscius, Quirites, sum, tamen cum pudore summo in contionem in conspectum vestrum [1] processi. Hoc vos .scire, hoc posteris memoriae traditum iri, Aequos et Volscos, vix Hernicis modo pares, T. Quinctio quartum consule ad moenia urbis Romae impune armatos venisse! Hanc ego ignominiam, quamquam iam diu ita vivitur ut [2] nihil boni divinet animus, si huic potissimum imminere anno scissem, vel exsilio vel morte, si alia fuga honoris non esset, vitassem. Ergo si viri arma illa habuissent quae in portis fuere nostris, capi Roma me consule potuit. Satis honorum, satis superque

[1] in contionem in conspectum vestrum *Walters*: in contionem (*or* conc-) vestram Ω: in conspectum ves . . . m *V*.
[2] vivitur ut *Karsten*: uiuitur is status rerum est ut (*cf. note of Conway and Walters*) Ω.

[1] Alluding to the wolf that suckled Romulus and Remus.

Rome any longer a united nation; all the hostility and quarrelsomeness they had formerly entertained towards other nations was now being turned against themselves; the wolves[1] were blinded with mad rage at one another, and there was now an opportunity to destroy them. Combining their armies, they first desolated the country of the Latins, and then, when it appeared that there was no one in that region to punish them, they carried their marauding, amidst the triumphant rejoicings of the advocates of war, to the very walls of Rome, in the direction of the Esquiline Gate, where they insolently exhibited to the inhabitants of the City the devastation of their lands. After they had withdrawn unmolested, and driving their booty before them had marched to Corbio, the consul Quinctius summoned the people to an assembly. B.C. 446

LXVII. There he spoke, as I understand, to the following effect: "Although I am conscious, Quirites, of no wrong-doing, nevertheless it is with great shame that I have come to this assembly to confront you. To think that you know, to think that future generations will be told, that the Aequi and the Volsci, but now scarce a match for the Hernici, have in the fourth consulship of Titus Quinctius approached the walls of the City of Rome—with impunity, and armed! We have now for a long time been living under such conditions that my mind could foresee nothing good; yet had I known that such a disgrace was in store for this year, of all others, I should have shunned it even at the cost of exile or of death, in default of other means of escaping office. So! Had they been men whose swords were there at our gates, Rome might have been captured in my consulship!

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4 vitae erat; mori consulem tertium oportuit. Quem tandem ignavissimi hostium contempsere? Nos consules an vos, Quirites? Si culpa in nobis est, auferte imperium indignis, et si id parum est, insuper poenas
5 expetite: si in vobis, nemo deorum nec hominum sit qui vestra puniat peccata, Quirites: vosmet tantum eorum paeniteat. Non illi vestram ignaviam contempsere nec suae virtuti confisi sunt; quippe totiens fusi fugatique, castris exuti, agro multati, sub
6 iugum missi et se et vos novere: discordia ordinum et[1] venenum urbis huius, patrum ac plebis certamina, dum nec nobis imperii nec vobis libertatis est modus, dum taedet vos patriciorum, nos[2] plebei-
7 orum magistratuum, sustulere illis[3] animos. Pro deum fidem quid vobis voltis? Tribunos plebis concupistis; concordiae causa concessimus. Decemviros desiderastis; creari passi sumus. Decemvirorum vos
8 pertaesum est; coegimus abire magistratu. Manente in eosdem privatos ira vestra mori atque exsulare nobilissimos viros honoratissimosque passi sumus.
9 Tribunos plebis creare iterum voluistis; creastis; consules facere vestrarum partium; etsi patribus videbamus iniquum, patricium quoque magistratum plebi donum fieri vidimus.[4] Auxilium tribunicium,

[1] et *Madvig VD*?: est Ω. [2] nos *Gruter V*: hos Ω.
[3] illis *Clericus*: illi Ω.
[4] vidimus *Welz*: quidem Ω: quid . . *V*.

I had enjoyed honours enough, I had had enough, B.C. 446
and more than enough, of life; death should have come to me in my third consulship. For whom, pray, did the most dastardly of our enemies feel such contempt? For us, the consuls, or for you, Quirites? If the fault is ours, deprive us of authority we do not merit; and if that is not enough, then punish us to boot: if yours, may neither god nor man seek to punish your sins, Quirites; only may you yourselves repent of them! It was not cowardice in you that they despised, nor was it their own courage in which they put their trust; in truth they have been too often beaten and routed, despoiled of their camps, stripped of their lands, and sent under the yoke, not to know both themselves and you: it was the discord betwixt the classes, and the quarrels—poison of this City—between the patricians and the plebs that roused their hopes, as they beheld our greed for power and yours for liberty; your disgust at the patrician magistracies and ours at the plebeian. In Heaven's name what would you have? You conceived a longing for tribunes of the plebs; for the sake of harmony we granted them. You desired decemvirs; we allowed them to be elected. You grew exceedingly weary of the decemvirs; we compelled them to abdicate. When your resentment against them persisted in their retirement to private life, we permitted men of the highest birth and the most distinguished careers to suffer death and exile. Again you desired to choose tribunes of the plebs, and chose them; to appoint consuls of your own faction, and though we saw that this was unfair to the patricians, we beheld even the patrician magistracy presented to the plebs. That you should

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provocationem ad populum, scita plebis iniuncta patribus, sub titulo aequandarum legum nostra iura
10 oppressa tulimus et ferimus. Qui finis erit discordiarum? Ecquando[1] unam urbem habere, ecquando communem hanc esse patriam licebit? Victi nos
11 aequiore animo quiescimus quam vos victores. Satisne est nobis vos metuendos esse? Adversus nos Aventinum capitur, adversus nos Sacer occupatur mons; Esquilias vidimus ab hoste prope captas, et scandentem in aggerem Volscum. Hostem[2] nemo submovit: in nos viri, in nos armati estis.

LXVIII. "Agitedum, ubi hic curiam circumsederitis et forum infestum feceritis et carcerem impleveritis principibus, iisdem istis ferocibus animis
2 egredimini extra portam Esquilinam, aut si ne hoc quidem audetis, ex muris visite agros vestros ferro ignique vastatos, praedam abigi, fumare incensa
3 passim tecta. At enim communis res per haec loco est peiore; ager uritur, urbs obsidetur, belli gloria penes hostes est. Quid tandem? Privatae res vestrae quo statu sunt? Iam unicuique ex agris
4 sua damna nuntiabuntur. Quid est tandem domi

[1] ecquando ζ: et quando Ω (*so also at the second occurrence of the expression, but there V has* ecquando).
[2] Volscum. Hostem *Madvig's punctuation.*

enjoy the support of tribunes and the right of appeal B.C. 446
to the people; that the decrees of the plebs should be made binding upon the patricians; that on the pretext of equalizing the laws our rights should be trodden under foot—all this we have endured and are now enduring. What end will there be to our dissensions? Will a time ever come when we can have a united City? Will a time ever come when this can be our common country? We, the beaten party, accept the situation with more equanimity than do you, the victors. Is it not enough that we must fear you? It was against us that the Aventine was taken; against us that the Sacred Mount was occupied; we have seen the Esquiline almost captured by the enemy, and the Volscian mounting our rampart. The enemy found none to drive him back; against us you show your manhood; against us you have drawn the sword.

LXVIII. "Come now, when you have laid siege to the senate-house here, and rendered the Forum unsafe, and filled the gaol with our leading men, go out in that same valorous spirit beyond the Esquiline Gate; or if your courage is not equal even to that, behold from the walls how your fields have been laid waste with fire and sword, how your cattle are being driven off, while far and wide the smoke is rising from burning buildings. 'But,' you may say, 'it is the community that suffers by these things: the fields are burned; the City is besieged; the glory of the war rests with the enemy.' How now? In what plight are your private interests? Every man of you will presently be getting from the country a report of his personal losses. Pray what resources do you command for

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unde ea expleatis? Tribuni vobis amissa reddent ac restituent? Vocis verborumque quantum voletis ingerent et criminum in principes et legum aliarum super alias et contionum; sed ex illis contionibus nunquam vestrum quisquam re, fortuna domum 5 auctior rediit. Ecquis rettulit aliquid ad coniugem ac liberos praeter odia offensiones simultates publicas privatasque? A quibus semper non vestra virtute 6 innocentiaque, sed auxilio alieno tuti sitis. At hercules cum stipendia nobis consulibus, non tribunis ducibus, et in castris, non in foro faciebatis, et in acie vestrum clamorem hostes, non in contione patres Romani horrebant, praeda parta, agro ex hoste capto, pleni fortunarum gloriaeque simul publicae simul privatae triumphantes domum ad penates redibatis: nunc oneratum vestris fortunis hostem 7 abire sinitis. Haerete adfixi contionibus et in foro vivite: sequetur[1] vos necessitas militandi quam fugitis. Grave erat in Aequos et Volscos proficisci: ante portas est bellum. Si inde non pellitur, iam intra moenia erit et arcem et Capitolium scandet et 8 in domos vestras vos persequetur. Biennio ante senatus dilectum haberi et educi exercitum in Algidum iussit: sedemus desides domi mulierum ritu inter nos altercantes, praesenti pace laeti nec

[1] sequetur *V*: sequitur Ω.

supplying the want of these things? Shall the B.C. 446
tribunes restore and make good to you your losses? Resounding words they will pour forth to your hearts' content, and accusations against prominent men, and laws one after another, and assemblies; but from those assemblies there was never one of you returned home the better off in circumstances or in fortune. Has ever one of you carried aught back to wife and children but animosities, complaints, and quarrels, both public and private?—from which you always fly for refuge, not to your own bravery and innocence, but to the help of others. But, by Hercules! when you used to serve under us, the consuls, instead of under tribunes, and in camp instead of in the Forum; when your shout was raised in the battle-line, not the assembly, and caused not the Roman nobles but the enemy to shudder;—in those days, I say, you were wont to capture booty, to strip the enemy of his lands, and crowned with success and glory—for the state no less than for yourselves—to return in triumph to your homes and your household gods; now you suffer the foe to load himself with your riches and depart. Hold fast to your assemblies and live your lives in the Forum; you shall still be pursued by the necessity of that service which you seek to evade. It was hard to march against the Aequi and Volsci; the war is before your gates. If it is not driven back, it will soon be within the walls and will scale Citadel and Capitol and pursue you into your homes. Last year the senate commanded that an army should be levied and led out to Algidus: we are still sitting idly at home, scolding each other like so many women, rejoicing in the temporary peace, and not perceiving that we shall soon be

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cernentes ex otio illo brevi multiplex bellum reditu-
9 rum. His ego gratiora dictu alia esse scio; sed me
vera pro gratis loqui, etsi meum ingenium non
moneret, necessitas cogit. Vellem equidem vobis
placere, Quirites; sed multo malo vos salvos esse,
10 qualicumque erga me animo futuri estis. Natura
hoc ita comparatum est ut qui apud multitudinem
sua causa loquitur gratior eo sit cuius mens nihil
praeter publicum commodum videt; nisi forte adsen-
tatores publicos, plebicolas istos, qui vos nec in
armis nec in otio esse sinunt, vestra vos causa incitare
11 et stimulare putatis. Concitati aut honori aut
quaestui illis estis, et quia in concordia ordinum
nullos se usquam esse vident, malae rei se quam
12 nullius duces[1] esse volunt. Quarum rerum si vos
taedium tandem capere potest et patrum vestrosque
antiquos mores voltis pro his novis sumere, nulla
13 supplicia recuso, nisi paucis diebus hos populatores
agrorum nostrorum fusos fugatosque castris exuero
et a portis nostris moenibusque ad illorum urbes
hunc belli terrorem quo nunc vos attoniti estis
transtulero."

LXIX. Raro alias tribuni popularis oratio acceptior
2 plebi quam tunc severissimi consulis fuit. Iuventus
quoque, quae inter tales metus detractationem
militiae telum acerrimum adversus patres habere

[1] duces *Kirsten*: turbarum ac seditionum duces Ω.

paying for this brief repose with a war many times B.C. 446
as great. I know that there are other things more pleasant to hear; but even if my character did not prompt me to say what is true in preference to what is agreeable, necessity compels me. I could wish to give you pleasure, Quirites, but I had far sooner you should be saved, no matter what your feeling towards me is going to be. It has been ordained by nature that he who addresses a crowd for his own selfish ends should be more acceptable to it than he whose mind regards nothing but the general welfare; unless perhaps you suppose that it is for your sakes that the public flatterers—I mean your courtiers of the plebs, who will suffer you neither to be at war nor to keep the peace—are exciting you and urging you on. Once thoroughly aroused you are a source of political advancement or of profit to them; and because they see that so long as the orders are harmonious they themselves count for nothing anywhere, they had rather lead an evil cause than none. If you are capable at last of feeling a disgust for these things, and are willing to resume your fathers' and your own old-fashioned manners, in place of these new-fangled ones, I give you leave to punish me as you like, if within a few days I have not defeated and routed these devastators of our fields, stripped them of their camp, and shifted this alarm of war which now dismays you from our gates and walls to the cities of our enemies."

LXIX. Rarely has the speech of a popular tribune been more agreeable to the plebs than was at that time this speech by the sternest of consuls. Even the young men, who amid such alarms were wont to regard a refusal to enlist as their sharpest weapon

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solita erat, arma et bellum spectabat. Et agrestium fuga spoliatique in agris et volnerati, foediora iis quae subiciebantur oculis nuntiantes, totam urbem 3 ira implevere. In senatum ubi ventum est, ibi vero in Quinctium omnes versi ut unum vindicem maiestatis Romanae intueri, et primores patrum dignam dicere contionem imperio consulari, dignam tot consulatibus ante actis, dignam vita omni, plena[1] 4 honorum saepe gestorum, saepius meritorum. Alios consules aut per proditionem dignitatis patrum plebi adulatos aut acerbe tuendo iura ordinis asperiorem domando multitudinem fecisse : T. Quinctium orationem memorem maiestatis patrum concordiaeque 5 ordinum et temporum in primis habuisse. Orare eum collegamque ut capesserent rem publicam ; orare tribunos ut uno animo cum consulibus bellum ab urbe ac moenibus propulsari vellent plebemque oboedientem in re tam trepida patribus praeberent ; appellare tribunos communem patriam auxiliumque eorum implorare vastatis agris, urbe prope oppugnata. 6 Consensu omnium dilectus decernitur habeturque. Cum consules in contione pronuntiassent tempus non esse causas cognoscendi ; omnes iuniores postero

[1] plena Ω : plenam *MRDL.*

against the nobles, began to look forward to war B.C. 446
and arms. And the flight of the country-people and the presence of those who had been plundered while on their farms and wounded, and who reported worse outrages than those which met the eyes of the citizens, filled all Rome with resentment. When the senate had met, then in truth all turned to Quinctius, whom they looked on as the sole champion of Roman majesty. The foremost senators declared that his speech had been worthy of the consular authority, worthy of the many consulships he had held in the past, worthy of his whole life, crowded as it had been with honours which, often as he had received them, he had still oftener deserved. Other consuls had either flattered the plebs by betraying the dignity of the patricians, or by harshly inforcing the rights of their order had exasperated the populace while seeking to subjugate them; Titus Quinctius had spoken without forgetting the dignity of the patricians, or the harmony of the orders, or—what was particularly important—the existing crisis. They begged him and his colleague to undertake the guidance of the state; they besought the tribunes to unite with the consuls in a single-minded effort to repel their enemies from the walls of the City, and to cause the plebs to yield obedience to the patricians in so alarming a situation; the appeal to the tribunes came, they said, from their common country, which implored their assistance for its wasted fields and its well-nigh beleaguered City. By general consent a levy was proclaimed and held. The consuls announced in the assembly that there was no time to consider excuses; that all the juniors should present them-

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7 die prima luce in campo Martio adessent; cognoscendis causis eorum qui nomina non dedissent bello perfecto se daturos tempus; pro desertore futurum cuius non probassent causam;—omnis iuventus adfuit
8 postero die. Cohortes sibi quaeque centuriones legerunt, bini senatores singulis cohortibus praepositi. Haec omnia adeo mature perfecta accepimus ut signa eo ipso die a quaestoribus ex aerario prompta delataque in campum quarta diei hora mota ex campo sint exercitusque novus paucis cohortibus veterum militum voluntate sequentibus manserit ad decimum
9 lapidem. Insequens dies hostem in conspectum dedit, castraque ad Corbionem castris sunt coniuncta.
10 Tertio die, cum ira Romanos, illos, cum totiens rebellassent, conscientia culpae ac desperatio inritaret, mora dimicandi nulla est facta.

LXX. In exercitu Romano cum duo consules essent potestate pari, quod saluberrimum in administratione magnarum rerum est, summa imperii concedente Agrippa penes collegam erat; et praelatus ille facilitati[1] summittentis se comiter respondebat communicando consilia laudesque et aequando im-
2 parem sibi. In acie Quinctius dextrum cornu, Agrippa sinistrum tenuit; Sp. Postumio Albo legato

[1] facilitati $U\varsigma$: facilitate Ω.

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[1] On the Latin Way.

selves at dawn of the following day in the Campus Martius; that they would take time when the war was over to listen to the excuses of those who had failed to hand in their names; and that any man whose excuse they did not approve would be treated as a deserter. Next day the entire body of young men appeared. The cohorts each chose their own centurions, and two senators were put in command of every cohort. We are told that all these measures were carried out so promptly that the standards were fetched from the treasury by the quaestors that very day, and being carried to the Campus Martius, headed the line of march from the mustering ground at ten o'clock in the morning; and the newly recruited army, with the voluntary escort of a few cohorts of veterans, encamped over night at the tenth mile-stone.[1] The following day brought the enemy into view, and the Roman camp was established close to theirs, near Corbio. On the third day, the Romans being urged on by indignation, and the enemy, who had so often revolted, by the consciousness of their guilt and by despair, no attempt was made to delay the battle. B.C. 446

LXX. Although the two consuls were of equal authority in the Roman army, yet they made an arrangement which is extremely advantageous in the administration of important measures, by which Agrippa yielded the supreme command to his colleague. The latter, thus preferred, responded courteously to the ready self-effacement of the other by admitting him to a share in his plans and his achievements, and treating him as an equal, despite his inferiority. In the battle-line Quinctius held the right wing, Agrippa the left; to Spurius Postumius

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datur media acies tuenda, legatum alterum P. Sul-
3 picium equitibus praeficiunt. Pedites ab dextro cornu egregie pugnavere haud segniter resistentibus
4 Volscis. P. Sulpicius per mediam hostium aciem cum equitatu perrupit. Unde cum eadem reverti posset ad suos priusquam hostis turbatos ordines reficeret, terga impugnare hostium satius visum est; momentoque temporis in aversam incursando aciem ancipiti terrore dissipasset hostes, ni suo proprio eum proelio equites Volscorum et Aequorum ex-
5 ceptum aliquamdiu tenuissent. Ibi vero Sulpicius negare cunctandi tempus esse, circumventos interclusosque ab suis vociferans, ni equestre proelium
6 conixi omni vi perficerent. Nec fugare equitem integrum satis esse: conficerent equos virosque, ne quis reveheretur inde ad proelium aut integraret pugnam; non posse illos resistere sibi, quibus[1] con-
7 ferta peditum acies cessisset. Haud surdis auribus dicta. Impressione una totum equitatum fudere, magnam vim ex equis praecipitavere, ipsos equosque
8 spiculis confodere. Is finis pugnae equestris fuit. Tunc adorti peditum aciem nuntios ad consules rei gestae mittunt, ubi iam inclinabatur hostium acies. Nuntius deinde et vincentibus Romanis animos auxit

[1] sibi, quibus Ω: quibus sibi *MPFUB*: quibus *Conway* (*in note*).

[1] Livy is thinking chiefly of Quinctius. From § 10 it appears that Agrippa's victory came later.

Albus, the lieutenant, they gave the centre in B.C. 446
charge; and the other lieutenant, Publius Sulpicius, they put in command of the horse. The infantry on the right fought brilliantly, and were vigorously resisted by the Volsci. Publius Sulpicius broke through the enemy's centre with his cavalry. He might have returned to the Roman side the way he went, before the enemy could re-form their broken ranks; but it seemed better to assail them in the rear. It would have been but the work of a moment to charge them from behind and throw them into confusion between the two attacks; but the Volscian and Aequian cavalry met him with his own kind of troops and held him in check for some little while. Thereupon Sulpicius cried out that there was no time for hesitation; they were surrounded and cut off from their fellows, unless they put forth all their might and disposed of the enemy's cavalry. Nor was it enough to rout them and let them get safely off; they must destroy them, horse and man, that none might ride back into the battle or renew the fight. It would be impossible, he said, for their cavalry to resist his men, when the close ranks of their infantry had given way before them. His words did not fall upon deaf ears. With a single rush the Romans routed the entire body of cavalry. Hurling great numbers of them from their horses, they transfixed men and steeds with their javelins. This ended the cavalry-battle. Then they fell upon the hostile infantry, and sent off gallopers to announce their success to the consuls, where the enemy's line was already beginning to give way.[1] The tidings at once aroused fresh ardour in the conquering Romans and

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9 et referentes gradum perculit Aequos. In media primum acie vinci coepti, qua permissus equitatus
10 turbaverat ordines; sinistrum deinde cornu ab Quinctio consule pelli coeptum; in dextro plurimum laboris fuit. Ibi Agrippa, aetate viribusque ferox, cum omni parte pugnae melius rem geri quam apud se videret, arrepta[1] signa ab signiferis ipse inferre, quaedam iacere etiam in confertos hostes coepit;
11 cuius ignominiae metu concitati milites invasere hostem. Ita aequata ex omni parte victoria est Nuntius tum a Quinctio venit victorem iam se imminere hostium castris; nolle inrumpere antequam
12 sciat debellatum et in sinistro cornu esse: si iam fudisset hostes, conferret ad se signa, ut simul omnis
13 exercitus praeda potiretur. Victor Agrippa cum mutua gratulatione ad victorem collegam castraque hostium venit. Ibi paucis defendentibus momentoque fusis sine certamine in munitiones inrumpunt, praedaque ingenti compotem exercitum suis etiam rebus reciperatis quae populatione agrorum amissae erant
14 reducunt. Triumphum nec ipsos postulasse nec delatum iis ab senatu accipio, nec traditur causa

[1] arrepta *Duker*: accepta Ω.

filled the faltering Aequi with confusion. It was B.C. 446
in the centre that their defeat began, where the attack of the troopers had thrown their ranks into disorder; then the left wing began to fall back before the consul Quinctius. The Romans experienced most difficulty on the right; there Agrippa, young, active, and courageous, perceiving that the battle was everywhere going better than on his own front, snatched the standards from the men who bore them, and began to carry them forward himself, and even to fling some of them into the press of the enemy. The disgrace with which his soldiers were thus threatened spurred them to the attack, and the victory was extended to every part of the line. A message then came from Quinctius, saying that he had beaten the enemy and was already threatening their camp, but did not wish to storm it until he knew that the fight had been decided on the left wing also; if Agrippa had already defeated his opponents, let him bring up his troops, that the entire army might enter together into possession of the spoils. The victorious Agrippa accordingly joined his victorious colleague, with mutual congratulations, in front of the enemy's camp. Its handful of defenders was speedily put to flight, and the Romans burst into the entrenchments without encountering resistance. The consuls led their army back to the City laden with a vast quantity of booty, as well as with the goods which they had lost by the pillage of their fields but had now recovered. I do not find either that the consuls themselves asked for a triumph or that one was offered them by the senate; nor is there any record of the reason why

A.U.C. 308 15 spreti aut non sperati honoris. Ego quantum in tanto intervallo temporum conicio, cum Valerio atque Horatio consulibus, qui praeter Volscos et Aequos Sabini etiam belli perfecti gloriam pepererant, negatus ab senatu triumphus esset, verecundiae fuit pro parte dimidia rerum consulibus petere triumphum, ne etiamsi impetrassent magis hominum ratio quam meritorum habita videretur.

LXXI. Victoriam honestam ex hostibus[1] partam turpe domi de finibus sociorum iudicium populi 2 deformavit. Aricini atque Ardeates de ambiguo agro cum saepe bello certassent, multis in vicem cladibus fessi iudicem populum Romanum cepere. 3 Cum ad causam orandam venissent, concilio populi a magistratibus dato magna contentione actum. Iamque editis testibus cum tribus vocari et populum inire suffragium oporteret, consurgit P. Scaptius de plebe magno natu et "Si licet" inquit, "consules, de re publica dicere, errare ego populum in hac 4 causa non patiar." Cum ut vanum eum negarent consules audiendum esse vociferantemque prodi publicam causam submoveri iussissent, tribunos appel- 5 lat. Tribuni, ut fere semper reguntur a multitudine

[1] ex hostibus Ω : omitted in *HRDLA*.

they despised the honour or did not hope for it. B.C. 446
The best conjecture I myself can offer, after so long an interval of time, is this: since the consuls Valerius and Horatius, who besides beating the Volsci and Aequi had also attained renown by bringing the Sabine war to a successful conclusion, had been refused a triumph by the senate, they were ashamed to ask for that distinction in recompense of an achievement only half as great, lest even if it should be granted, it might seem that account had been taken rather of persons than of deserts.

LXXI. The glory of defeating the enemy was sullied by a shameful judgment given by the people in Rome regarding the boundaries of her allies. The men of Aricia and those of Ardea had often gone to war over a territory which both cities claimed. Exhausted by the many defeats which each had experienced, they referred their quarrel to the Roman People for decision. When they had come to plead their cause, and a popular assembly had been granted them by the magistrates, they argued their respective claims with great vehemence. The testimony had already been taken, and the time had come for the tribes to be summoned and the people to give their votes, when Publius Scaptius, an aged plebeian, arose and said: "If I am permitted, consuls, to speak concerning the nation's interests, I will not suffer the people to go wrong in this matter." The consuls declared that he was an untrustworthy fellow and ought not to be listened to, and when he protested noisily that the public cause was being betrayed, they ordered him to be removed; whereat he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, as almost always

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magis quam regunt, dedere cupidae audiendi plebi
6 ut quae vellet Scaptius diceret. Ibi infit annum se tertium et octogensimum agere et in eo agro de quo agitur militasse, non iuvenem, vicesima iam stipendia merentem, cum ad Coriolos sit bellatum. Eo rem se vetustate oblitteratam, ceterum suae memoriae
7 infixam adferre, agrum de quo ambigitur finium Coriolanorum fuisse captisque Coriolis iure belli publicum populi Romani factum. Mirari se quonam ore[1] Ardeates Aricinique, cuius agri ius nunquam usurpaverint incolumi Coriolana re, eum se a populo Romano, quem pro domino iudicem fecerint, inter-
8 cepturos sperent. Sibi exiguum vitae tempus superesse; non potuisse se tamen inducere in animum quin, quem agrum miles pro parte virili manu cepisset, eum senex quoque voce, qua una posset, vindicaret. Magnopere se suadere populo, ne inutili pudore suam ipse causam damnaret.

LXXII. Consules, cum Scaptium non silentio modo, sed cum adsensu etiam audiri animadvertissent, deos hominesque testantes flagitium ingens fieri
2 patrum primores arcessunt. Cum iis circumire tribus,[2] orare ne pessimum facinus peiore exemplo

[1] ore *M*? *D*³? *Klock*: in more *D*: more Ω.
[2] tribus *Perizonius*: tribunos Ω.

happens, were swayed by the crowd, instead of B.C. 446
swaying it, and, to please the greedy ears of the plebs, gave Scaptius leave to say what he wished. He therefore began, and said that he was eighty-two years old and had fought in the army, in that district which was under discussion, not as a youth, but as one already in his twentieth year of service at the time of the campaign before Corioli. Hence it came that he was telling them of a matter forgotten with the lapse of years, but fixed in his own memory, namely that the disputed land had been a part of the territory of Corioli, and had consequently, on the capture of that town, become, by right of conquest, the property of the Roman People. He marvelled, he said, at the effrontery with which the men of Ardea and Aricia hoped to deprive the Roman People—whom they had made the judge, in place of being the owner—of a territory over which they had never exercised any authority so long as the state of Corioli was intact. He had himself but a little while to live; yet he had not been able to convince himself that, having as a soldier done his part to conquer the land, he should not defend it, even in his old age, with the only weapon left him, to wit his voice. He earnestly counselled the people not to condemn their own cause from an unreasonable motive of propriety.

LXXII. When the consuls had perceived that Scaptius was listened to not only in silence but actually with approval, they called on gods and men to witness that a great outrage was being perpetrated, and sent for the leaders of the senate. With them they went about among the tribes and implored

A.U.C. 508

admitterent iudices in suam rem litem vertendo, cum praesertim etiam si fas sit curam emolumenti sui iudici esse, nequaquam tantum agro intercipiendo adquiratur, quantum amittatur alienandis iniuria so-
3 ciorum animis. Nam famae quidem ac fidei damna maiora esse quam quae aestimari possent. Hoc legatos referre domum, hoc volgari, hoc socios audire, hoc
4 hostes, quo cum dolore hos, quo cum gaudio illos! Scaptione[1] hoc, contionali seni, adsignaturos putarent finitimos populos? Clarum hac fore imagine Scaptium; sed[2] populum Romanum quadruplatoris et
5 interceptoris litis alienae personam laturum. Quem enim hoc privatae rei iudicem fecisse ut sibi controversiosam adiudicaret rem? Scaptium ipsum id quidem, etsi praemortui iam sit pudoris, non fac-
6 turum. Haec consules, haec patres vociferantur; sed plus cupiditas et auctor cupiditatis Scaptius valet. Vocatae tribus iudicaverunt agrum publicum populi
7 Romani esse. Nec abnuitur ita fuisse, si ad iudices alios itum foret; nunc haud sane quicquam bono

[1] Scaptione E^2A^2 (*or* A^3): scaptioni Ω: sp cationi *D*: spacioni *A*.
[2] Scaptium; sed *Alschefski*: scaptium esse Ω.

them not to be guilty of an act which, utterly wrong B.C. 416
in itself, would establish a precedent that was even worse, by diverting to their own possession, as judges, the property in dispute; and that too when, even if it were right that a judge should be concerned for his own advantage, they would by no means gain so much by the seizure of the land as they would lose by the wrongful estrangement of their allies. For reputation at least and trustworthiness were things the loss of which was beyond all reckoning. Was this to be the report carried home by the envoys? Was this to be noised abroad and come to the ears of allies and enemies? What grief it would cause the former, and what joy the latter! Did they suppose that Scaptius, a meddling old hanger-on of assemblies, would be held responsible for this by the neighbouring nations? It would be a famous thing for Scaptius to have inscribed beneath his portrait, but the Roman People would be playing a rôle of chicanery and of usurpation of the claims of others. For what umpire in a private suit would have thought of awarding to himself the object of litigation? Even Scaptius, though he had already outlived all sense of shame, would not do that. These arguments were loudly urged both by the consuls and by the Fathers; but they were less convincing than men's cupidity, or than Scaptius, who had aroused it. The tribes, being called upon to vote, decided the territory to be public land belonging to the Roman People. Nor is it denied that such would have been the verdict if recourse had been had to another court; but in the circumstances the excellence of the cause did not in the slightest degree extenuate the disgrace of the judgment,

A.U.C. 308 causae levatur dedecus iudicii; idque non Aricinis Ardeatibusque quam patribus Romanis foedius atque acerbius visum. Reliquum anni quietum ab urbanis motibus et ab externis mansit.

which seemed no less scandalous and harsh to the Roman senators than to the men of Aricia and Ardea. The remainder of the year passed without disturbances in either domestic or foreign relations. B.C 446

LIBRI III PERIOCHA

Seditiones de agrariis legibus fuere. Capitolium ab exulibus et servis occupatum caesis his receptum est. Census bis actus est. Priore lustro censa sunt civium capita VIII milia DCCXIIII praeter orbos orbasque, sequenti CXVII milia CCXVIIII. Cum adversus Aequos male gesta res esset, L. Quintius Cincinnatus dictator factus, cum rure intentus operi rustico esset, ad id bellum gerendum arcessitus est. Is victos hostes sub iugum misit. Tribunorum plebis numerus ampliatus est, ut essent X, tricesimo sexto anno a[1] primis tribunis plebis. Petitis per legatos et adlatis Atticis legibus ad constituendas eas proponendasque X viri pro consulibus sine ullis aliis magistratibus creati altero et trecentesimo[2] anno quam Roma condita erat, et ut a regibus ad consules, ita a consulibus ad X viros imperium translatum. Hi X tabulis legum positis cum modeste se in eo honore gessissent et ob id in alterum quoque annum eundem esse magistratum placuisset, duabus tabulis[3] ad X adiectis cum complura inpotenter fecissent, magistratum noluerunt deponere et in tertium annum retinuerunt, donec inviso eorum imperio finem adtulit libido Appi Claudi. Qui cum in amorem Virginiae virginis incidisset, summisso, qui eam in servitutem peteret, necessitatem patri eius Virginio inposuit. Rapto ex taberna proxima cultro filiam occidit, cum aliter effici non posset ne in potestatem stuprum inlaturi veniret. Hoc tam magnae iniuriae exemplo pleps concitata montem

[1] a *omitted in the MSS.*
[2] altero et trecentesimo *Ald.* : nono trigesimo *MSS.*
[3] placuisset, duabus tabulis *Sigonius* : *omitted in MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK III

THERE were quarrels about land-laws. The Capitol was seized by exiles and slaves; who were slain and the Capitol recovered. The census was taken twice. By the earlier enumeration there were returned 8714[1] citizens, besides male and female wards; by the second 117,219. After a defeat had been sustained at the hands of the Aequi, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, being appointed dictator, was summoned to the control of the war while engaged in working on his farm. He defeated the enemy and sent them under the yoke. The number of tribunes was increased to ten in the 36th year from the election of the first ones. After the laws of Athens had been searched out and brought to Rome by envoys, decemvirs with consular powers were chosen, without any other magistrates, to draw up and publish them. It was in the 302nd year after the founding of Rome that the power was transferred from consuls to decemvirs, as it had formerly been from kings to consuls. When the decemvirs had posted up ten tables of laws, after such moderation in the conduct of their office that it had been voted to continue the same magistracy for another year, they added two tables to the ten; and after many insolent acts refused to lay down their authority, but retained it for a third year, till the lust of Appius Claudius put an end to their hated dominion. Having fallen in love with the maiden Verginia, he suborned an agent to claim her as his slave, and obliged her father Verginius to act. Seizing a knife from the nearest stall, he slew his daughter, since there was no other way to keep her from falling into the hands of the man who meditated her dishonour. By this great wrong the plebeians were roused to action,

[1] Livy III. iii. 9 gives the numbers as 104,714. Apparently there has been a mistake in copying the Periochae due to the confusion of CIIII and VIII.

Aventinum occupavit coegitque x viros abdicare se magistratu. Ex quibus Appius, qui praecipuam poenam meruerat, in carcerem coniectus est; ceteri in exilium acti. Res praeterea contra Sabinos et Vulscos prospere gestas continet et parum honestum populi Romani iudicium, qui iudex inter Ardeates et Aricinos sumptus agrum de quo ambigebatur sibi adiudicavit.

and occupying the Aventine, forced the decemvirs to abdicate. Of these, Appius, who had been most guilty, was flung into prison; the rest were exiled. The book contains also successful campaigns against the Sabines and the Volsci, and a discreditable judgment rendered by the Roman People, who, being chosen umpire between the Ardeates and the Aricini, awarded to themselves the territory in dispute.

BOOK IV

LIBER IV

A.U.C. 309

I. Hos secuti M. Genucius et C. Curtius[1] consules. Fuit annus domi forisque infestus. Nam[2] principio et de conubio patrum et plebis C. Canuleius tribunus 2 plebis rogationem promulgavit, qua contaminari sanguinem suum patres confundique iura gentium rebantur, et mentio primo sensim inlata a tribunis, ut alterum ex plebe consulem liceret fieri, eo processit deinde ut rogationem novem tribuni pro- 3 mulgarent, ut populo potestas esset, seu de plebe seu de patribus vellet, consules faciendi; id vero si fieret, non volgari modo cum infimis, sed prorsus auferri a primoribus ad plebem summum imperium 4 credebant. Laeti ergo audiere patres Ardeatium populum ob iniuriam agri abiudicati descisse, et Veientes depopulatos extrema agri Romani, et Volscos Aequosque ob communitam Verruginem fremere; adeo vel infelix bellum ignominiosae paci 5 praeferebant. His itaque in maius etiam acceptis, ut inter strepitum tot bellorum conticiscerent actiones tribuniciae, dilectus haberi, bellum armaque

[1] C. Curtius *Sigonius* (*cf. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 108; *Diod.* xii. xxxi. 1—*who however gives the prænomen as* Ἀγριππαν;—Varro, *L.L.* v. 150): p. curatius Ω.

[2] Nam *Conway and Walters*: nam anni (ani *B*, animi *PU*) Ω: anni nam *M*.

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[1] This is Livy's first mention of Verrugo, which was situated on a steep hill in the Trerus valley.

BOOK IV

I. Marcus Genucius and Gaius Curtius succeeded B.C. 445
these men as consuls. It was a year of quarrels both at home and abroad. For at its commencement Gaius Canuleius, a tribune of the plebs, proposed a bill regarding the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians which the patricians looked upon as involving the debasement of their blood and the subversion of the principles inhering in the *gentes*, or families; and a suggestion, cautiously put forward at first by the tribunes, that it should be lawful for one of the consuls to be chosen from the plebs, was afterwards carried so far that nine tribunes proposed a bill giving the people power to choose consuls as they might see fit, from either the plebs or the patriciate. To carry out this last proposal would be, in the estimation of the patricians, not merely to give a share of the supreme authority to the lowest of the citizens, but actually to take it away from the nobles and bestow it on the plebs. The Fathers therefore rejoiced to hear that the people of Ardea had revolted because of the unjust decision which deprived them of their land; that the men of Veii had ravaged the Roman frontier; and that the Volsci and Aequi were murmuring at the fortification of Verrugo;[1] so decidedly did they prefer even an unfortunate war to an ignominious peace. Accordingly they made the most of these threats, that the proposals of the tribunes might be silenced amidst the

A.U.C. 309

vi summa apparari iubent, si quo intentius possit,
6 quam T. Quinctio consule apparatum sit. Tum C. Canuleius pauca in senatu vociferatus: nequiquam territando consules avertere plebem a cura novarum legum; nunquam eos se vivo dilectum habituros, antequam ea quae promulgata ab se collegisque essent plebes scivisset,[1] confestim ad contionem advocavit.

II. Eodem tempore et consules senatum in tribunum et tribunus populum in consules incitabat. Negabant consules iam ultra ferri posse furores tribunicios; ventum iam ad finem esse; domi plus belli concitari quam foris. Id adeo non plebis quam patrum neque tribunorum magis quam consulum
2 culpa accidere. Cuius rei praemium sit in civitate, eam maximis semper auctibus crescere; sic pace
3 bonos, sic bello fieri. Maximum Romae praemium seditionum esse; ideo [2] singulis universisque semper
4 honori fuisse. Reminiscerentur quam maiestatem senatus ipsi a patribus accepissent, quam liberis traditurі essent, vel [3] quem ad modum plebs gloriari posset auctiorem amplioremque se esse.[4] Finem ergo non fieri nec futuram donec quam felices seditiones tam honorati seditionum auctores essent.
5 Quas quantasque res C. Canuleium adgressum! Conluvionem gentium, perturbationem auspiciorum

[1] scivisset ς: sciuisset et Ω.
[2] ideo *F*? *Weissenborn*: id et Ω.
[3] vel *Conway and Walters*: ut Ω.
[4] se esse ς (se est *D*): esse Ω.

din of so many wars; and ordered levies to be held B.C. 445
and military preparations to be made with the utmost energy, and if possible, even more strenuously than had been done when Titus Quinctius was consul. Thereupon Gaius Canuleius curtly proclaimed in the senate that it was in vain the consuls sought to frighten the plebs out of their concern for the new laws; and, declaring that they should never hold the levy, while he lived, until the plebs had voted on the measures which he and his colleagues had brought forward, at once convened an assembly.

II. At one and the same time the consuls were inciting the senate against the tribune, and the tribune was arousing the people against the consuls. The consuls declared that the frenzy of the tribunes could no longer be endured; the end had now been reached, and there was more war being stirred up at home than abroad. This state of things was, to be sure, as much the fault of the senators as of the plebs, and the consuls were as guilty as the tribunes. That tendency which a state rewarded always attained the greatest growth; it was thus that good men were produced, both in peace and in war. In Rome the greatest reward was given to sedition, which had, therefore, ever been held in honour by all and sundry. Let them recall the majesty of the senate when they had taken it over from their fathers, and think what it was likely to be when they passed it on to their sons, and how the plebs could glory in the increase of their strength and consequence. There was no end in sight, nor would be, so long as the fomenters of insurrection were honoured in proportion to the success of their projects. What tremendous schemes had Gaius Canuleius set on foot! He was aiming to contaminate the *gentes* and

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publicorum privatorumque adferre, ne quid sinceri, ne quid incontaminati sit, ut discrimine omni sublato
6 nec se quisquam nec suos noverit. Quam enim aliam vim conubia promiscua habere nisi ut ferarum prope ritu volgentur concubitus plebis patrumque? Ut qui natus sit ignoret, cuius sanguinis, quorum sacrorum sit; dimidius patrum sit, dimidius plebis, ne
7 secum quidem ipse concors. Parum id videri, quod omnia divina humanaque turbentur; iam ad consulatum volgi turbatores accingi. Et primo ut alter consul ex plebe fieret, id modo sermonibus temptasse; nunc rogari ut seu ex patribus seu ex plebe velit populus consules creet. Et creaturos haud dubie ex plebe seditiosissimum quemque;
8 Canuleios igitur Iciliosque consules fore. Ne id Iuppiter optimus maximus sineret regiae maiestatis imperium eo recidere; et se miliens morituros potius quam ut tantum dedecoris admitti patiantur.
9 Certum habere maiores quoque, si divinassent concedendo omnia non mitiorem in se plebem, sed asperiorem alia ex aliis iniquiora postulando cum prima impetrasset futuram, primo quamlibet dimicationem subituros fuisse potius quam eas leges
10 sibi imponi paterentur. Quia tum concessum sit
11 de tribunis, iterum concessum esse; finem non

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[1] The right to ascertain the will of the gods by auspices was claimed as an exclusively patrician prerogative. *Cf.* chap. vi. § 1.

[2] This is inaccurate. We see from chap. i. § 2 that the suggestion was that one of the consuls *might* be (not *should* be) a plebeian.

throw the auspices, both public and private, into B.C. 445
confusion, that nothing might be pure, nothing unpolluted; so that, when all distinctions had been obliterated, no man might recognise either himself or his kindred.[1] For what else, they asked, was the object of promiscuous marriages, if not that plebeians and patricians might mingle together almost like the beasts? The son of such a marriage would be ignorant to what blood and to what worship he belonged; he would pertain half to the patricians, half to the plebs, and be at strife even with himself. It was not enough for the disturbers of the rabble to play havoc with all divine and human institutions: they must now aim at the consulship. And whereas they had at first merely suggested in conversations that one of the two consuls should be chosen from the plebeians,[2] they were now proposing a law that the people should elect consuls at its pleasure from patriciate or plebs. Its choice would without doubt always fall upon plebeians of the most revolutionary sort, and the result would be that they would have consuls of the type of Canuleius and Icilius. They called on Jupiter Optimus Maximus to forbid that a power regal in its majesty should sink so low. For their parts, they would sooner die a thousand deaths than suffer so shameful a thing to be done. They felt certain that their forefathers too, had they divined that all sorts of concessions would make the commons not more tractable but more exacting, and that the granting of their first demands would lead to others, ever more unjust, would rather have faced any conflict whatsoever than have permitted such laws to be imposed upon them. Because they had yielded then, in the matter of the tribunes, they had

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fieri posse si in[1] eadem civitate tribuni[2] plebis et patres essent;[3] aut hunc ordinem aut illum magistratum tollendum esse, potiusque sero quam nunquam obviam eundum audaciae temerita-
12 tique. Illine ut impune primo discordias serentes concitent finitima bella, deinde adversus ea, quae concitaverint, armari civitatem defendique prohibeant, et cum hostes tantum non arcessierint, exercitus conscribi adversus hostes non patiantur,
13 sed audeat Canuleius in senatu proloqui se, nisi suas leges tamquam victoris patres accipi sinant, dilectum haberi prohibiturum? Quid esse aliud quam minari se prodituram patriam, oppugnari atque capi passurum! Quid eam vocem animorum non plebi Romanae, sed Volscis et Aequis et Veientibus alla-
14 turam! Nonne Canulcio duce se speraturos Capitolium atque arcem scandere posse? Nisi[4] patribus tribuni cum iure ac maiestate adempta animos etiam eripuerint, consules paratos esse duces prius adversus scelus civium quam adversus hostium arma.

III. Cum maxime haec in senatu agerentur, Canuleius pro legibus suis et adversus consules ita
2 disseruit: "Quanto opere vos, Quirites, contemnerent patres, quam indignos ducerent qui una secum urbe intra eadem moenia viveretis, saepe

[1] posse si in *Conway*: posse sin *F*: posse iin *M*: posse in Ω.
[2] tribuni *PFBD*: tribunos F^3UOH: tr̄ *MLA*.
[3] essent *Conway*: ĕĕ *ML*: esse Ω.
[4] nisi *Luterbacher*: si Ω: ni *Madvig*.

yielded a second time; it was impossible there B.C. 445
should be any settlement of the trouble, if in one and the same state there were both plebeian tribunes and patricians; one thing or the other must go,— the patriciate or the tribunate. It was better late than never to oppose their rashness and temerity. Were they to be suffered with impunity first to sow discord and stir up neighbouring wars, and then to prevent the state from arming and defending itself against the wars they had raised themselves? When they had all but invited in the enemy, should they refuse to allow the enrolment of armies to oppose that enemy; while Canuleius had the hardihood to announce in the senate that unless the Fathers permitted his laws to be received, as though he were a conqueror, he would forbid the levy? What else was this than a threat that he would betray his native City to attack and capture? How must that speech encourage, not the Roman plebs, but the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Veientes! Would they not hope that, led by Canuleius, they would be able to scale the Capitol and the Citadel? Unless the tribunes had robbed the patricians of their courage when they took away their rights and their dignity, the consuls were prepared to lead them against criminal citizens sooner than against armed enemies.

III. At the very time when these opinions were finding expression in the senate, Canuleius held forth in this fashion in behalf of his laws and in opposition to the consuls: "How greatly the patricians despised you, Quirites, how unfit they deemed you to live in the City, within the same walls as themselves, I think I have often observed before, but never more clearly than at this very moment,

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equidem et ante videor animadvertisse, nunc tamen maxime quod adeo atroces in has rogationes nostras coorti sunt, quibus quid aliud quam admonemus cives nos eorum esse, et si non easdem opes habere, eandem tamen patriam incolere? Altera conubium petimus, quod finitimis externisque dari solet—nos quidem civitatem, quae plus quam conubium est, hostibus etiam victis dedimus;—altera nihil novi ferimus, sed id quod populi est repetimus atque usurpamus, ut quibus velit populus Romanus honores mandet. Quid tandem est cur caelum ac terras misceant, cur in me impetus modo paene in senatu sit factus, negent se manibus temperaturos vio- laturosque denuntient sacrosanctam potestatem? Si populo Romano liberum suffragium datur, ut quibus velit consulatum mandet, et non praeciditur spes plebeio quoque, si dignus summo honore erit, api- scendi summi honoris, stare urbs haec non poterit? De imperio actum est? Et perinde hoc valet, plebeiusne consul fiat, tamquam servum aut liber- tinum aliquis consulem futurum dicat? Ecquid[1] sentitis in quanto contemptu vivatis? Lucis vobis huius partem, si liceat, adimant; quod spiratis, quod vocem mittitis, quod formas hominum habetis, indig- nantur; quin etiam, si dis placet, nefas aiunt esse consulem plebeium fieri. Obsecro vos, si non ad

[1] Ecquid *M*: et quid Ω.

when they are rallying so fiercely against these proposals of ours. Yet what else do we intend by them than to remind our fellow citizens that we are of them, and that, though we possess not the same wealth, still we dwell in the same City they inhabit? In the one bill we seek the right of intermarriage, which is customarily granted to neighbours and foreigners—indeed we have granted citizenship, which is more than intermarriage, even to defeated enemies;—in the other we propose no innovation, but reclaim and seek to exercise a popular right, to wit that the Roman People shall confer office upon whom it will. What reason is there, pray, why they should confound heaven and earth; why they should almost have attacked me just now in the senate; why they should declare that they will place no restraint on force, and should threaten to violate our sacrosanct authority? If the Roman People is granted a free vote, that so it may commit the consulship to what hands it likes, if even the plebeian is not cut off from the hope of gaining the highest honours—if he shall be deserving of the highest honours—will this City of ours be unable to endure? Is her dominion at an end? When we raise the question of making a plebeian consul, is it the same as if we were to say that a slave or a freedman should attain that office? Have you any conception of the contempt in which you are held? They would take from you, were it possible, a part of this daylight. That you breathe, that you speak, that you have the shape of men, fills them with resentment. Nay, they assert, if you please, that it is sinning against Heaven to elect a plebeian consul. Tell me, if we are not admitted to consult the B.C. 445

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fastos, non ad commentarios pontificum admittimur, ne ea quidem scimus quae omnes peregrini etiam sciunt, consules in locum regum successisse nec aut iuris aut maiestatis quicquam habere quod non in
10 regibus ante fuerit? En unquam[1] creditis fando auditum esse Numam Pompilium, non modo non patricium sed ne civem quidem Romanum, ex Sabino agro accitum, populi iussu, patribus auctoribus[2]
11 Romae regnasse? L. deinde Tarquinium, non Romanae modo, sed ne Italicae quidem gentis, Demarati Corinthii filium, incolam ab Tarquiniis,
12 vivis liberis Anci, regem factum? Ser. Tullium post hunc, captiva Corniculana natum, patre nullo, matre serva, ingenio virtute regnum tenuisse? Quid enim de T. Tatio Sabino dicam, quem ipse Romulus,
13 parens urbis, in societatem regni accepit? Ergo dum nullum fastiditur genus in quo eniteret virtus, crevit imperium Romanum. Paeniteat nunc vos plebeii consulis, cum maiores nostri advenas reges non fastidierint et ne regibus quidem exactis clausa
14 urbs fuerit peregrinae virtuti? Claudiam certe gentem post reges exactos ex Sabinis non in civitatem modo accepimus sed etiam in patriciorum

[1] En unquam MA^1 (*or* A^2): en umquam *O*: enim quam *PB*: en inquam P^2F^2U: ennumquam *HDLA*: nunquam *Karsten*: et unquam *F*?

[2] auctoribus ς: *omitted by* Ω.

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[1] *Dies fasti* were the days on which it was lawful to pronounce judgment. *Fasti* often means, as here, the calendar kept by the pontiffs on which such days were marked. It was not until 304 B.C., when Cn. Flavius posted a list of them in the Forum (IX. xlvi. 5), that the plebeians could know with certainty when they fell.

Fasti[1] or the Commentaries of the Pontiffs,[2] are we B.C. 445
therefore ignorant of what all men, even foreigners, know, viz. that the consuls succeeded to the place of the kings, and possess no jot nor tittle of right or dignity that belonged not to the kings before? Come! Would you believe the story was ever heard how Numa Pompilius—not only no patrician, but not even a Roman citizen—was sent for from the country of the Sabines, and reigned at Rome, by command of the people and with the senators' consent? And again, how Lucius Tarquinius, who was not even of Italian stock—not to mention Roman—being the son of Demaratus of Corinth, and an immigrant from Tarquinii, was made king, while the sons of Ancus were still living? And how after him Servius Tullius, son of a captive woman from Corniculum, who had nobody for his father and a bond-woman for his mother, held the royal power by his innate ability and worth? For why should I speak of Titus Tatius the Sabine, with whom Romulus himself, the Father of the City, shared his sovereignty? Well then, so long as men despised no family that could produce conspicuous excellence, the dominion of Rome increased. And are you now to scorn a plebeian consul, when our ancestors were not above accepting alien kings, and when the City was not closed against the meritorious foreigner, even after the expulsion of the kings? The Claudian family at least we not only received from the Sabine country, after the kings had been driven out, and gave them citizenship, but even admitted them to the number of patricians. Shall the son of a stranger

[2] Minutes of the proceedings of the pontifical college. They probably furnished guidance regarding ceremonies.

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15 numerum. Ex peregrinone patricius, deinde consul fiat, civis Romanus si sit ex plebe, praecisa consulatus
16 spes erit? Utrum tandem non credimus fieri posse ut vir fortis ac strenuus, pace belloque bonus, ex plebe sit, Numae, L. Tarquinio, Ser. Tullio similis,
17 an, ne si sit quidem, ad gubernacula rei publicae accedere eum patiemur, potiusque decemviris, taeterrimis mortalium, qui tamen[1] omnes ex patribus erant, quam optimis regum, novis hominibus, similes consules sumus habituri?

IV. "At enim nemo post reges exactos de plebe consul fuit. Quid postea? Nullane res nova institui debet, et quod nondum est factum—multa enim nondum sunt facta in novo populo,—ea ne si utilia
2 quidem sint fieri oportet? Pontifices, augures Romulo regnante nulli erant; ab Numa Pompilio creati sunt. Census in civitate et discriptio[2] centuriarum classiumque non erat; ab Ser. Tullio est
3 facta. Consules nunquam fuerant;[3] regibus exactis creati sunt. Dictatoris nec imperium nec nomen fuerat: apud patres esse coepit. Tribuni plebi, aediles, quaestores nulli erant; institutum est, ut fierent. Decemviros legibus scribendis intra decem hos annos et creavimus et e re publica sustulimus.
4 Quis dubitat quin in aeternum urbe condita, in immensum crescente nova imperia, sacerdotia, iura
5 gentium hominumque instituantur? Hoc ipsum, ne

[1] tamen ζ: tum Ω.
[2] discriptio *H. J. Mueller*: descriptio Ω.
[3] fuerant ζ: fuerunt Ω.

become patrician and then consul, but a Roman citizen, if plebeian, be cut off from all hope of the consulship? Do we not believe it possible that a bold and strenuous man, serviceable both in peace and in war, should come from the plebs,—a man like Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, or Servius Tullius? Or shall we refuse, even if such an one appear, to let him approach the helm of state? Must we rather look forward to consuls like the decemvirs, the vilest of mortals, who nevertheless were all of patrician birth, than to such as shall resemble the best of the kings, new men though they were? B.C. 445

IV. "'But,' you will say, 'from the time the kings were expelled no plebeian has ever been consul.' Well, what then? Must no new institution be adopted? Ought that which has not yet been done —and in a new nation many things have not yet been done—never to be put in practice, even if it be expedient? There were neither pontiffs nor augurs in the reign of Romulus; Numa Pompilius created them. There was no census in the state, no registration of centuries and classes; Servius Tullius made one. There had never been any consuls; when the kings had been banished, consuls were elected. Neither the power nor the name of dictator had ever been known; in the time of our fathers they began. Plebeian tribunes, aediles, and quaestors, there were none; men decided to have them. Within the past ten years we have elected decemvirs for drawing up the laws, and removed them from the commonwealth. Who can question that in a city founded for eternity and of incalculable growth, new powers, priesthoods, and rights of families and individuals, must be established? Was not this very

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conubium patribus cum plebe esset, non decemviri tulerunt paucis his annis pessimo publico,[1] cum summa iniuria plebis? An esse ulla maior aut insignitior contumelia potest quam partem civitatis
6 velut contaminatam indignam conubio haberi? Quid est aliud quam exsilium intra eadem moenia, quam relegationem pati? Ne adfinitatibus, ne propinquitatibus immisceamur cavent,[2] ne societur sanguis.
7 Quid? Hoc si polluit nobilitatem istam vestram, quam plerique oriundi ex Albanis et Sabinis non genere nec sanguine sed per cooptationem in patres habetis, aut ab regibus lecti aut post reges exactos iussu populi, sinceram servare privatis consiliis non poteratis, nec ducendo ex plebe neque vestras filias
8 sororesque ecnubere[3] sinendo e patribus? Nemo plebeius patriciae virgini vim adferret; patriciorum ista libido est; nemo invitum pactionem nuptialem
9 quemquam facere coegisset. Verum enimvero lege id prohiberi et conubium tolli patrum ac plebis, id demum contumeliosum plebi est. Cur enim non fertis,[4] ne sit conubium divitibus ac pauperibus?
10 Quod privatorum consiliorum ubique semper fuit, ut in quam cuique feminae convenisset domum nuberet, ex qua pactus esset vir domo in matrimonium duceret, id vos sub legis superbissimae vincula conicitis, qua dirimatis societatem civilem

[1] pessimo publico *Klock*: pessimo exemplo publico VMA^2: pessimo exemplo Ω (publico *added in marg. of P, by second hand*).

[2] cavent ς: caueant Ω: caueamur *D*: caueantur *A*.

[3] ecnubere *M*: enubere ς: et nubere (nubere *U*) Ω.

[4] cur enim non fertis *Madvig*: cur enim non confertis Ω: cur ent ñ confertis *FB*: curent non confertis *P*: cur non confertis *U*.

provision, that patricians and plebeians might not B.C. 445
intermarry, enacted by the decemvirs a few years since, with the worst effect on the community and the gravest injustice to the plebs? Or can there be any greater or more signal insult than to hold a portion of the state unworthy of intermarriage, as though it were defiled? What else is this but to suffer exile within the same walls and banishment? They guard against having us for connections or relations, against the mingling of our blood with theirs. Why, if this pollutes that fine nobility of yours—which many of you, being of Alban or of Sabine origin, possess not by virtue of race or blood, but through co-optation into the patriciate, having been chosen either by the kings, or, after their expulsion, by decree of the people—could you not keep it pure by your own private counsels, neither taking wives from the plebs nor permitting your daughters and sisters to marry out of the patriciate? No plebeian would offer violence to a patrician maiden: that is a patrician vice. No one would have compelled anybody to enter a compact of marriage against his will. But let me tell you that in the statutory prohibition and annulment of intermarriage between patricians and plebeians we have indeed at last an insult to the plebs. Why, pray, do you not bring in a law that there shall be no intermarrying of rich and poor? That which has always and everywhere been a matter of private policy, that a woman might marry into whatever family it had been arranged, that a man might take a wife from that house where he had engaged himself, you would subject to the restraint of a most arrogant law, that thereby you might break up our civil

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11 duasque ex una civitate[1] faciatis. Cur non sancitis ne vicinus patricio sit plebeius nec[2] eodem itinere eat, ne idem convivium ineat, ne in foro eodem consistat? Quid enim in re est aliud, si plebeiam patricius duxerit, si patriciam plebeius? Quid iuris tandem mutatur? Nempe patrem sequuntur liberi.
12 Nec quod nos ex conubio vestro petamus quicquam est, praeterquam ut hominum, ut civium numero simus, nec vos, nisi in contumeliam ignominiamque nostram certare iuvat, quod contendatis quicquam est.

V. "Denique utrum tandem populi Romani an vestrum summum imperium est? Regibus exactis utrum vobis dominatio an omnibus aequa libertas
2 parta est? Oportet licere populo Romano, si velit, iubere legem; an, ut quaeque rogatio promulgata erit, vos dilectum pro poena decernetis, et, simul ego tribunus vocare tribus in suffragium coepero, tu statim consul sacramento iuniores adiges et in castra educes et minaberis plebi, minaberis tribuno?
3 Quid si non quantum istae minae adversus plebis consensum valerent, bis iam experti essetis? Scilicet quia nobis[3] consultum volebatis, certamine abstinuistis; an ideo non est dimicatum, quod quae pars
4 firmior eadem modestior fuit? Nec nunc erit certamen, Quirites; animos vestros illi temptabunt
5 semper, vires non experientur. Itaque ad bella

[1] civitate Ω: ciuitates MA^3. [2] nec Ω: ne $U\varsigma$.
[3] nobis ς: uobis Ω.

[1] In the plebeian secessions of 494 and 449 B.C.

society and make two states out of one. Why do you not enact that a plebeian shall not live near a patrician, nor go on the same road? That he shall not enter the same festive company? That he shall not stand by his side in the same Forum? For what real difference does it make if a patrician takes a plebeian wife, or a plebeian a patrician? What right, pray, is invaded? The children of course take the father's rank. There is nothing we are seeking to gain from marriage with you, except that we should be accounted men and citizens. Neither have you any reason to oppose us, unless you delight in vying with each other how you may outrage and humiliate us. B.C. 445

V. "Finally I would ask, is it you, or the Roman People, who have supreme authority? Did the banishment of the kings bring you dominion, or to all men equal liberty? Ought the Roman People to be permitted, if it so desire, to enact a law; or shall you, as each proposal is brought up, proclaim a levy by way of penalty, and so soon as I, the tribune, begin to summon the tribes to vote, shall you, the consul, at once administer the oath to those of military age and march them out to camp, with threats against the plebs and with threats against the tribune? How would it be if you had not twice [1] already proved how little those threats of yours are worth against the unanimous will of the plebs? I suppose it was consideration for our good that made you refrain from fighting? Or was this rather the reason there was no strife, because the stronger side was also the more moderate? Neither will there be any struggle now, Quirites; they will always test your courage; but will never put your strength to the proof. And

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ista, seu falsa seu vera sunt, consules, parata vobis plebes est, si conubiis redditis unam hanc civitatem tandem facitis; si coalescere, si iungi miscerique vobis privatis necessitudinibus possunt; si spes, si aditus ad honores viris strenuis et fortibus datur; si in consortio, si in societate rei publicae esse, si, quod aequae libertatis est, in vicem annuis magis-
6 tratibus parere atque imperitare licet. Si haec impediet aliquis, ferte sermonibus et multiplicate fama bella; nemo est nomen daturus, nemo arma capturus, nemo dimicaturus pro superbis dominis, cum quibus nec in re publica honorum nec in privata conubii societas est."

VI. Cum in contionem consules processissent et res a perpetuis orationibus in altercationem vertisset, interroganti tribuno cur plebeium consulem fieri
2 non oporteret, ut fortasse vere, sic parum utiliter in praesens Curtius[1] respondit, "Quod nemo plebeius auspicia haberet, ideoque decemviros conubium diremisse ne incerta prole auspicia turba-
3 rentur." Plebes ad id maxime indignatione exarsit, quod auspicari, tamquam invisi dis immortalibus, negarentur posse; nec ante finis contentionum fuit, cum et tribunum acerrimum auctorem plebes nacta esset et ipsa cum eo pertinacia certaret, quam

[1] Curtius *Walters*: certamen Ω.

so the commons are ready, consuls, for those wars B.C. 445
you deal in, be they feigned or genuine, if you give them back their right of intermarriage, and make this a single state at last; if you enable them to coalesce, to unite, to merge with you in domestic alliances; if the hope of attaining honours is held out to strenuous men and brave; if they are granted a share in the partnership of government; if, in the enjoyment of equal liberty, they are allowed to govern and obey in turn, with the annual change of magistrates. If anyone shall prevent these reforms, you may talk of wars, and multiply them in the telling; but nobody will give in his name, nobody will take up arms, nobody will fight for haughty masters with whom he has no association in the honours of the state nor in the marriages of private life."

VI. When the consuls had come forth to the people and set speeches had given place to wrangling, the tribune demanded what reason there was why a plebeian should not be chosen consul; to whom Curtius replied, with truth perhaps, yet, in the circumstances, to little purpose, "because no plebeian has the auspices, and that is the reason the decemvirs have forbidden intermarriages, lest the auspices should be confounded by the uncertain standing of those born of them." At this the plebs fairly blazed with indignation, because it was declared that they could not take auspices, as though they were hated by the immortal gods; nor was the controversy ended—for the plebeians had got a most energetic champion in their tribune, and rivalled him themselves in determination,—until at last the patricians were beaten, and allowed the law regard-

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victi tandem patres ut de conubio ferretur con-
4 cessere,[1] ita maxime rati contentionem de plebeiis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros aut post bellum dilaturos esse, contentamque interim conubio plebem paratam dilectui fore.

5 Cum Canuleius victoria de patribus et plebis favore ingens esset, accensi alii tribuni ad certamen pro rogatione sua summa vi pugnant et crescente
6 in dies fama belli dilectum impediunt. Consules, cum per senatum intercedentibus tribunis nihil agi posset, concilia[2] principum domi habebant. Apparebat aut hostibus aut civibus de victoria concedendum
7 esse. Soli ex consularibus Valerius atque Horatius non intererant consiliis. C. Claudi sententia consules armabat in tribunos; Quinctiorum, Cincinnatique et Capitolini, sententiae abhorrebant a caede violandisque quos foedere icto cum plebe sacro-
8 sanctos accepissent. Per haec consilia eo deducta est res ut tribunos militum consulari potestate promisce[3] ex patribus ac plebe creari sinerent, de consulibus creandis nihil mutaretur; eoque contenti
9 tribuni, contenta plebs fuit. Comitia tribunis con-

[1] concessere *Rhenanus*: consensere concessere *V*?: consenserere concessere *M*: consensere Ω.
[2] concilia *Gronov*: consilia Ω.
[3] promisce *Conway*: promiscue *UOHA*: promiscuae Ω.

[1] The first recorded instance of the tribunician veto being exercised upon a decree of the senate.
[2] Leaders of that element in the senate which stood for a policy of conciliation, and authors of the Valerio-Horatian laws (III. li.–lv.).

ing intermarriage to be passed, chiefly because they B.C. 445
thought that so the tribunes would either wholly give over their contention for plebeian consuls or would postpone it until after the war, and that the plebs meantime, contented with the right to intermarry, would be ready to submit to the levy.

But since Canuleius was grown so great through his victory over the patricians and the favour of the plebs, the other tribunes were encouraged to take up the quarrel; and they fought for their measure with the utmost violence, hindering the levy, though the rumours of war increased from day to day. The consuls, since they were powerless to do anything through the senate when the tribunes interposed their veto,[1] held councils of their leading men in private. It was clear that they must submit to be conquered either by the enemy or by their fellow citizens. Of all the consulars only Valerius and Horatius [2] took no part in their deliberations. Gaius Claudius spoke in favour of arming the consuls against the tribunes; the Quinctii, both Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, were opposed to bloodshed and to injuring those whom they had acknowledged by a solemn treaty with the plebs to be inviolable. The upshot of these consultations was this, that they permitted military tribunes with consular authority to be chosen indifferently from the patriciate and the plebs,[3] but made no change in the election of consuls. With this decision both tribunes and commons were content. An election was called, for

[3] The office thus instituted (very probably by a special law, *cf.* chap. xxxv. § 10) was not finally given up till 367 B.C. During this period consuls were chosen twenty-two times and tribunes fifty-one times.

A.U.C. 309 sulari potestate tribus creandis indicuntur. Quibus indictis extemplo quicumque aliquid seditiose dixerat aut fecerat unquam,[1] maxime tribunicii, et prensare homines et concursare toto foro candidati coepere, 10 ut patricios desperatio primo inritata plebe apiscendi honoris, deinde indignatio, si cum his gerendus esset honos, deterreret. Postremo coacti tamen a primoribus petiere, ne cessisse possessione 11 rei publicae viderentur. Eventus eorum comitiorum docuit alios animos in contentione libertatis dignitatisque, alios secundum deposita certamina incorrupto iudicio esse; tribunos enim omnes patricios creavit populus, contentus eo quod ratio habita 12 plebeiorum esset. Hanc modestiam aequitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tum populi universi fuit?

A.U.C. 310 VII. Anno trecentesimo decimo quam urbs Roma condita erat primum tribuni militum pro consulibus magistratum ineunt, A. Sempronius Atratinus L. Atilius T. Cloelius,[2] quorum in magistratu con- 2 cordia domi pacem etiam foris praebuit. Sunt qui propter adiectum Aequorum Volscorumque bello et Ardeatium defectioni Veiens bellum, quia duo consules obire tot simul bella nequirent, tribunos militum tres creatos dicant, sine mentione promulgatae

[1] unquam *Crevier*: hunc quam Ω.

[2] Cloelius *Sigonius* (*Dion. Hal.* XI. lxi. 3): caecilius (*or* cecilius) Ω: caelius (*or* celius) *ADL*.

[1] Other Atilii were plebeians (see *e. g.* Liv. v. xiii. 3), hence Niebuhr conjectured that Livy was in error in stating that the three tribunes were all patricians.

choosing three tribunes with consular powers. No B.C. 445
sooner was it proclaimed than everybody who had ever spoken or acted in a seditious manner, especially those who had been tribunes, fell to canvassing voters and bustling about all over the Forum in the white robes of candidates; so that the patricians, what with despair of obtaining office now that the plebs were so wrought up, and what with scorn if they must share its administration with these fellows, were deterred from standing. At last, however, they were compelled by their leaders to compete, lest they might seem to have surrendered the control of the commonwealth. The outcome of this election showed how different are men's minds when struggling for liberty and station from what they are when they have laid aside their animosities and their judgment is unbiassed; for the people chose all the tribunes from among the patricians, quite satisfied that plebeians should have been allowed to stand. Where shall you now find in one single man that moderation, fairness, and loftiness of mind, which at that time characterized the entire people?

VII. In the year three hundred and ten from B.C. 441
the founding of Rome, military tribunes for the first time took office in place of consuls. Their names were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius,[1] and Titus Cloelius. During their administration domestic harmony insured peace abroad, as well. (Some say that on account of a war with Veii, which broke out in addition to the war with the Aequi and Volsci and the revolt of the men of Ardea, two consuls were unable to cope with so many wars at once, and therefore three military tribunes were created. These writers say nothing of the pro-

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legis de consulibus creandis ex plebe, et imperio
3 et insignibus consularibus usos. Non tamen pro firmato iam stetit magistratus eius ius, quia tertio mense quam inierunt, augurum decreto perinde ac vitio creati, honore abiere, quod C. Curtius,[1] qui comitiis eorum praefuerat, parum recte tabernaculum cepisset.
4 Legati ab Ardea Romam venerunt, ita de iniuria querentes ut si demeretur ea in foedere atque
5 amicitia mansuros restituto agro appareret. Ab senatu responsum est iudicium populi rescindi ab senatu non posse, praeterquam quod nullo nec exemplo nec iure fieret, concordiae etiam ordinum
6 causa: si Ardeates sua tempora exspectare velint arbitriumque senatui levandae iniuriae suae permittant, fore ut postmodo gaudeant se irae moderatos, sciantque patribus aeque curae fuisse ne qua iniuria
7 in eos oreretur ac ne orta diuturna esset. Ita legati cum se rem integram relaturos dixissent, comiter dimissi.

Patricii, cum sine curuli magistratu res publica esset, coiere et interregem creavere. Contentio consulesne an tribuni militum crearentur in inter-

[1] C. Curtius *Sigonius* (*cf.* chap. i. § 1): centum curiatius *MA*[2]: c. curiatius (c. curatius *V*) Ω.

[1] The lictors, with their rods and axes.

[2] The *tabernaculum* was a tent erected on the *templum*, or place marked out for the augural ceremony. Through an aperture in its roof the sky was watched for the flight of birds. Any flaw in the procedure would vitiate the subsequent election.

mulgation of a law about the election of consuls B.C. 441
from the plebs, but record that the three tribunes enjoyed the authority and insignia[1] of consuls.) Still, the power of that magistracy was not yet upon a firm footing, for three months after they had taken up their office they laid it down, the augurs having decreed that there had been a flaw in their election, because Gaius Curtius, who had presided over the assembly, had not properly selected the ground for the tent.[2]

Ambassadors from Ardea came to Rome, complaining of the injustice done them, and with such fairness that it was evident that if they were granted redress, through the restoration of their land, they would abide by the treaty and remain friendly. The senate replied that the judgment of the people could not be rescinded by them, not only because they had no precedent or authority for such action, but also because they had regard to the harmony between the orders. If the Ardeates would bide their time and leave the senate to decide upon a remedy for the injury done them, the day would come when they would be glad that they had controlled their anger, and they would learn that the senators had been equally concerned that no wrong should be done them and that what had been done should be speedily redressed. So the ambassadors, having said that they would refer the whole matter to their people, were courteously dismissed.

The patricians, since the state was without any curule magistrate, met and chose an interrex. A dispute whether consuls or military tribunes should be appointed kept the state in an interregnum for

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8 regno rem dies complures tenuit. Interrex ac senatus consulum comitia, tribuni plebis et plebs tribunorum militum ut habeantur tendunt. Vicerunt patres, quia et plebs, patriciis seu hunc seu illum 9 delatura honorem, frustra certare supersedit, et principes plebis ea comitia malebant quibus non haberetur ratio sua, quam quibus ut indigni praeterirentur. Tribuni quoque plebi certamen sine effectu in beneficio apud primores patrum reliquere. 10 T. Quinctius Barbatus interrex consules creat L. Papirium Mugillanum,[1] L. Sempronium Atratinum. His consulibus cum Ardeatibus foedus renovatum est; idque monumenti est consules eos illo anno fuisse, qui neque in annalibus priscis neque in libris 11 magistratuum inveniuntur. Credo quod tribuni militum initio anni fuerunt, eo perinde ac si totum annum in imperio fuerint, suffectos iis consules 12 praetermissos. Nomina[2] consulum horum Licinius Macer auctor est et in foedere Ardeatino et in linteis libris ad Monetae inventa. Et foris, cum tot terrores a finitimis ostentati essent, et domi otium fuit.

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VIII. Hunc annum, seu tribunos modo seu tribunis suffectos consules quoque habuit, sequitur annus

[1] Mugillanum ~ *Sigonius* (*cf. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 112; *Dion. Hal.* xi. lxii. 2): mugilanum Ω.

[2] suffectos iis consules praetermissos. Nomina *Madvig*: suffectis (suffecti *U*) iis (his *O*) consulibus praetermissa nomina Ω.

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[1] Perhaps the *Annales Maximi*.

[2] Livy perhaps has in mind *libri consulares*, or lists of consuls.

several days. The interrex and the senate held out for the election of consuls; the plebeian tribunes and the plebs were for military tribunes. Victory rested with the senators, not only because the plebs gave up the idle contest whether they should confer this honour or that upon the patricians, but also because the leaders of the plebs preferred an election in which they would not be reckoned candidates to one in which they would be passed over as unworthy. The tribunes, too, of the plebs relinquished the unavailing contest in favour of the leaders of the patricians. Titus Quinctius Barbatus, as interrex, declared the election of Lucius Papirius Mugillanus and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus. In their consulship the treaty with the Ardeates was renewed; and in this lies the proof that these men were consuls that year, although their names are found neither in the ancient annals [1] nor in the lists of magistrates;[2] I suppose that, because there were military tribunes in the beginning of the year, the consuls who were elected in their place were passed over as if the tribunes had been in power throughout the year. Licinius Macer testifies that the names of these consuls were given both in the treaty with Ardea and in the Linen Rolls in the temple of Moneta.[3] Things were quiet both abroad and at home, despite the numerous alarms which neighbouring states had caused. B.C. 444

VIII. This year, whether it had tribunes only or tribunes succeeded by consuls, was followed by one B.C. 443

[3] The temple of Juno Moneta was erected on the Capitoline Hill in 344 B.C. (VII. xxviii. 6). The Linen Rolls which Livy tells us were preserved there contained chronological lists of magistrates.

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haud dubiis consulibus, M. Geganio Macerino iterum T. Quinctio Capitolino quintum.[1] Idem hic annus censurae initium fuit, rei a parva origine ortae, quae deinde tanto incremento aucta est ut morum disciplinaeque Romanae penes eam regimen, senatui[2] equitumque centuriis decoris dedecorisque discrimen sub dicione eius magistratus, ius publicorum[3] privatorumque locorum, vectigalia populi Romani sub nutu atque arbitrio eius[4] essent. Ortum autem initium est rei, quod in populo per multos annos incenso neque differri census poterat neque consulibus, cum tot populorum bella imminerent, operae erat id negotium agere. Mentio inlata ad senatum[5] est rem operosam ac minime consularem suo proprio magistratu egere, cui scribarum ministerium custodiaeque tabularum[6] cura, cui arbitrium formulae censendi subiceretur. Et patres quamquam rem parvam, tamen quo plures patricii magistratus in re publica essent, laeti accepere, id quod evenit, futurum, credo, etiam rati, ut mox opes eorum qui praeessent ipsi honori ius maiestatemque adicerent; et tribuni, id quod tunc erat, magis necessarii[7] quam speciosi ministerii procurationem intuentes, ne in

[1] quintum *Gronovius*: quintum consule (consulem *O*) Ω.
[2] senatui *M. Mueller*: senatu Ω.
[3] publicorum *M*: publicorum ius Ω.
[4] arbitrio eius *Luterbacher*: arbitrio Ω.
[5] ad senatum *I²Alschefski*: ab senatum *MPB*: ab senatu Ω.
[6] tabularum *Crevier*: et tabularum Ω: et tabularis *M*?
[7] necessarii *Madvig*: necessarium Ω.

which had consuls about whom there is no question. B.C. 443
These were Marcus Geganius Macerinus, for the second time, and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, for the fifth time. This same year saw the adoption of the censorship, an institution which originated in a small way but afterwards grew to such dimensions that it was invested with the regulation of the morals and discipline of the Romans. The distribution of honour and ignominy amongst the senate and the centuries of the knights was controlled by this magistracy, while jurisdiction over public and private sites, together with the revenues of the Roman People, were entirely subject to its discretion. What first gave rise to the office was this: the people had not been rated for many years and the census could not be postponed; yet the consuls, when so many nations threatened war, had no time for this work. The subject was brought up in the senate, where it was held that the task, which was a laborious one and beneath the dignity of a consul, required its own proper magistrates, who should have a staff of clerks, assume the custody of the records, and regulate the form of the census. The senators, though it was a small matter, nevertheless gladly welcomed the suggestion, in order that there might be more patrician magistracies in the administration of the state. They thought even then, I imagine, as afterwards proved to be the case, that it would not be long before the consequence of those who held the office would lend authority and dignity to the office itself. The tribunes also, regarding it as a necessary rather than a showy service, as in those days it actually was, did not hold out against the plan, lest they

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parvis quoque rebus incommode adversarentur, haud
7 sane tetendere. Cum a primoribus civitatis spretus honor esset, Papirium Semproniumque, quorum de consulatu dubitatur,[1] ut eo magistratu parum solidum consulatum explerent, censui agendo populus suffragiis praefecit. Censores ab re appellati sunt.

IX. Dum haec Romae geruntur, legati ab Ardea veniunt pro veterrima societate renovataque [2] foedere recenti auxilium prope eversae urbi implorantes.
2 Frui namque pace optimo consilio cum populo Romano servata per intestina arma non licuit; quorum causa atque initium traditur ex certamine
3 factionum ortum, quae fuerunt eruntque pluribus populis exitio [3] quam bella externa, quam fames morbive, quaeque alia in deum iras velut ultima
4 publicorum malorum vertunt. Virginem plebeii generis maxime forma notam duo [4] petiere iuvenes, alter virgini genere par, tutoribus fretus, qui et ipsi eiusdem corporis erant, nobilis alter, nulla re praeter-
5 quam forma captus. Adiuvabant eum optumatium studia, per quae in domum quoque puellae certamen partium penetravit. Nobilis superior iudicio matris esse, quae quam splendidissimis nuptiis iungi puellam volebat: tutores in ea quoque re partium memores
6 ad suum tendere. Cum res peragi intra parietes

[1] dubitatur ς: dubitur *H*: dubitabatur Ω.
[2] renovataque *Conway*: renouatoque Ω.
[3] exitio *Wesenberg*: magis exitio Ω.
[4] notam duo *Kichl*: notam Ω.

[1] *i.e.* the aristocratic party.

might seem to be vexatiously obstinate even in trifles. The principal men in the state scorned the office, and the taking of the census was, by the votes of the people, committed to Papirius and Sempronius (whose consulship is questioned), that they might round out their incomplete year of office with this magistracy. They were called censors from their function. B.C. 443

IX. While these things were going on in Rome, there came envoys from Ardea begging the Romans in the name of their ancient alliance, renewed by the recent treaty, to send help to their city, which was on the brink of ruin. For the enjoyment of peace, which they had most wisely preserved with the Roman People, had been denied them, owing to civil war. This is said to have had its cause and origin in the rivalry of factions, which have been and will be fraught with destruction to more nations than foreign wars, or famine and pestilence, or whatsoever other scourges men attribute, as the most desperate national calamities, to the wrath of Heaven. A maiden of plebeian family who was famous for her beauty had two youthful suitors. One was of her own class and relied on the approval of her guardians, who were themselves of the same standing. The other was a noble, captivated solely by her good looks, who was supported by the favour of the optimates,[1] which resulted in the introduction of party strife into the household of the girl herself. The noble was preferred by the mother, who wished her daughter to make as grand a match as possible. The guardians, mindful even in a matter like this of political interests, held out for their fellow plebeian. When the dispute could not be settled

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nequisset, ventum in ius est. Postulatu audito matris tutorumque magistratus secundum parentis arbitrium
7 dant ius nuptiarum. Sed vis potentior fuit; namque tutores, inter suae partis homines de iniuria decreti palam in foro contionati, manu facta virginem ex
8 domo matris rapiunt; adversus quos infestior coorta optumatium acies sequitur accensum iniuria iuvenem. Fit proelium atrox. Pulsa plebs, nihil Romanae plebi similis, armata ex urbe profecta colle quodam capto in agros optumatium cum ferro ignique excursiones
9 facit; urbem quoque omni [1] etiam expertium [2] ante certaminis multitudine opificum ad spem praedae
10 evocata obsidere parat; nec ulla species cladesque belli abest velut contacta civitate rabie duorum iuvenum funestas nuptias ex occasu patriae peten-
11 tium. Parum parti utrique domi armorum bellique est visum; optumates Romanos ad auxilium urbis obsessae, plebs ad expugnandam secum Ardeam
12 Volscos excivere. Priores Volsci duce Aequo Cluilio [3] Ardeam venere et moenibus hostium vallum obiecere.
13 Quod ubi Romam est nuntiatum, extemplo M. Geganius consul cum exercitu profectus tria milia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit praecipitique

[1] omni *Morstadt*: omnis Ω.
[2] expertium *Walters*: expertem Ω.
[3] Cluilio ς: ciuilio VD^1A^2 (*or* A^3): ciuili Ω.

[1] The injustice probably lay in the disregard of the guardians' traditional right to dispose of the hand of their ward. The mother herself would be a ward.

[2] This looks as though the Volscian party were free lances, since a regular army would hardly have been led by an Aequian.

privately, a suit was instituted. After listening to the pleas of the mother and the guardians, the magistrates decreed that the mother should have power to decide as she saw fit about the marriage. But violence was stronger than they; for the guardians, after openly addressing a crowd of their own party in the market-place, on the injustice[1] of the decision, collected a party and carried the girl off from her mother's house. To confront them an even more warlike band of nobles gathered, under the leadership of the injured and indignant youth, and a desperate battle followed. The plebs were routed, but, unlike the Roman plebs, having armed and withdrawn from their city and encamped upon a certain hill, they sallied forth, sword and torch in hand, to sack the farms of the nobles. They even prepared to besiege the city itself, for the entire body of artizans, even those who had hitherto had no part in the quarrel, had been called out by the hope of plunder; nor was there wanting any form of the horrors of war, as though the nation had been infected with the madness of the two young men who sought a fatal marriage in the ruin of their country. Neither side saw that there had been enough of war and arms at home; the optimates called upon the Romans to relieve their beleaguered city; the plebeians sent for the Volsci to help them capture Ardea. The Volsci, with the Aequian Cluilius for their leader,[2] were the first to reach Ardea, and threw up intrenchments against the walls of their enemies. When the news was brought to Rome, Marcus Geganius the consul immediately set out with an army. When three miles from the enemy he chose a place for his camp; and as the day was B.C. 443

A.U.C. 311 iam die curare corpora milites iubet. Quarta deinde vigilia signa profert, coeptumque opus adeo adproperatum est ut sole orto Volsci firmiore se munimento ab Romanis circumvallatos quam a se urbem
14 viderent; et alia parte consul muro Ardeae bracchium iniunxerat, qua ex oppido sui commeare possent.

X. Volscus imperator, qui ad eam diem non commeatu praeparato sed ex populatione agrorum rapto in diem frumento aluisset militem, postquam saeptus vallo repente inops omnium rerum erat, ad conloquium consule evocato, si solvendae obsidionis causa venerit Romanus, abducturum se inde Volscos ait.
2 Adversus ea consul victis condiciones accipiendas esse, non ferendas respondit, neque ut venerint ad oppugnandos socios populi Romani suo arbitrio, ita
3 abituros Volscos esse. Dedi imperatorem, arma poni iubet, et fatentes victos se esse[1] imperio parere; aliter tam abeuntibus quam manentibus se hostem infensum victoriam potius ex Volscis quam pacem
4 infidam Romam relaturum. Volsci exiguam spem in armis alia undique abscisa cum temptassent, praeter cetera adversa loco quoque iniquo ad pugnam con-

[1] et fatentes victos se esse *Walters*: fatentes uictos se esse et Ω.

[1] Apparently the Volsci had not succeeded in drawing their lines completely round the city.

now fast drawing to a close, ordered his soldiers to refresh themselves. Then in the fourth watch he marched out, and commencing a contravallation, made such speed that at sunrise the Volsci perceived that they were more securely hemmed in by the Romans than was the city by themselves; and on one side the consul had thrown out a work to join the walls of Ardea, in order that his friends in the town might be enabled to come and go.[1] B.C. 443

X. The Volscian commander, who had maintained his men up to that time not out of a store provided in advance, but with corn taken from day to day in pillaging the country-side, was no sooner shut in by the rampart than he found himself all at once destitute of everything. He therefore invited the consul to a parley, and said that if the Roman general had come for the purpose of raising the siege, he would lead the Volscians off. The consul replied that it was for the conquered to accept terms, not to make them; the Volsci had consulted their own pleasure in coming to attack the allies of the Roman People; it would be otherwise with their departure. He ordered them to surrender their general, to lay down their arms, and, confessing themselves defeated, to yield to his authority; if they did not, he would be their determined enemy, whether they attempted to go or to stay, and would rather bring back to Rome a victory over the Volsci than a treacherous peace with them. The Volsci, testing the small hope that arms held out to them —for all other hope had been cut off—fought, not to speak of other disadvantages, in a position that was unfavourable for battle and still more unfavourable

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gressi, iniquiore ad fugam, cum ab omni parte caederentur, ad preces a certamine versi, dedito imperatore traditisque armis sub iugum missi cum singulis vestimentis ignominiae cladisque pleni dimittuntur; et cum haud procul urbe Tusculo consedissent, vetere Tusculanorum odio inermes oppressi 6 dederunt poenas vix nuntiis caedis relictis. Romanus Ardeae turbatas seditione res principibus eius motus securi percussis bonisque eorum in publicum Ardeatium redactis composuit; demptamque iniuriam iudicii tanto beneficio populi Romani Ardeates credebant; senatui superesse aliquid ad delendum publicae 7 avaritiae monumentum videbatur. Consul triumphans in urbem redit Cluilio [1] duce Volscorum ante currum ducto praelatisque spoliis quibus dearmatum exercitum hostium sub iugum miserat.

8 Aequavit, quod haud facile est, Quinctius consul togatus armati gloriam collegae, quia concordiae pacisque domesticae [2] curam iura infimis summisque moderando ita tenuit ut eum et patres severum con- 9 sulem et plebs satis comem crediderint. Et adversus tribunos auctoritate plura quam certamine tenuit; quinque consulatus eodem tenore gesti vitaque omnis consulariter acta verendum paene

[1] Cluilio *Vascosanus*: ciuilio *MOHDLA*: ciuili *V*? *PFUE*.
[2] domesticae *Jac. Gronov.*: domesticam Ω.

[1] Whereby certain land over which Ardea and Aricia were in litigation was awarded by the Roman People to themselves. See III. lxxi. and IV. i. 4.

for flight; and being cut to pieces on every side, B.C. 443
left off fighting and fell to entreaties; and after giving up their general and handing over their weapons, were sent under the yoke, with a single garment each, and so dismissed, overwhelmed with shame and disaster. But on their encamping not far from the city of Tusculum, the Tusculans, upon an old grudge, attacked them in their defenceless state, and exacted so heavy a penalty that they scarce left any to report the massacre. The Roman commander, finding Ardea distracted by sedition, composed its troubles by beheading the ringleaders of the revolt and confiscating their property to the public treasury of the Ardeates. The townsmen thought that the great service which the Roman People had thus rendered them had cancelled the injustice of the judgment,[1] but the Roman senate felt that something still remained to do in order to wipe out that reminder of the national greed. The consul returned to the City and triumphed, making Cluilius, the leader of the Volsci, walk before his chariot, and displaying the spoils which he had taken from the hostile army, before sending them under the yoke.

It is no easy thing to do, but the consul Quinctius equalled in civil life the fame of his armed colleague; for so well did he maintain domestic peace and concord, by tempering the law to high and low, that the Fathers regarded him as a strict consul, and the plebs as mild enough. He held his own, too, with the tribunes, more by his personal influence than by contending with them. Five consulships administered on the self-same principles, and a life which had been throughout of consular

A.U.C. 311 ipsum magis quam honorem faciebant. Eo tribunorum militarium nulla mentio his consulibus fuit.

A.U.C. 312 XI. Consules creantur[1] M. Fabius Vibulanus, 2 Postumus Aebutius Cornicen. Fabius et Aebutius consules, quo maiori gloriae rerum domi forisque gestarum succedere se cernebant, maxime autem memorabilem annum apud finitimos socios hostesque esse, quod Ardeatibus in re praecipiti tanta foret 3 cura subventum, eo impensius, ut delerent prorsus ex animis hominum infamiam iudicii, senatus consultum fecerunt ut, quoniam civitas Ardeatium intestino tumultu redacta ad paucos esset, coloni eo 4 praesidii causa adversus Volscos scriberentur. Hoc palam relatum in tabulas, ut plebem tribunosque falleret iudicii rescindendi consilium initum; consenserant autem ut multo maiore parte Rutulorum colonorum quam Romanorum scripta nec ager ullus divideretur nisi is, qui interceptus iudicio infami erat, nec ulli prius Romano ibi quam omnibus Rutu- 5 lis divisus esset, gleba ulla agri adsignaretur. Sic ager ad Ardeates rediit. Triumviri ad coloniam Ardeam deducendam creati Agrippa Menenius T. 6 Cloelius[2] Siculus, M. Aebutius Helva; qui praeter minime populare ministerium, agro adsignando sociis quem populus Romanus suum iudicasset cum plebem

[1] creantur *V*: creant Ω (*which give the names following in the acc., while V has the nom.*).

[2] Cloelius ζ: cluilius *VMPFB*: ciuilius *OHD*^{3}*LA*: ciuiuus *D*: duilius *UP*.

[1] As a *senatus consultum*, to be submitted to the people for ratification.

dignity, made the man himself almost more revered B.C. 443
than his office. Hence there was no talk of military tribunes while these men were consuls.

XI. Marcus Fabius Vibulanus and Postumus B.C. 443
Aebutius Cornicen were elected to the consulship. These men, perceiving that they succeeded to a period of great renown for civil and military achievements, and that nothing made the year so memorable in the eyes of neighbouring peoples, both allies and enemies, as the earnestness with which the Romans had come to the assistance of the Ardeates in their dangerous crisis, were the more concerned to erase completely from men's minds the disgrace of the judgment. They accordingly caused the senate to decree that inasmuch as the citizens of Ardea had been reduced by domestic troubles to a small number, colonists should be enrolled to defend that city against the Volsci. This was the form in which the decree was drawn up and published,[1] that the plebs and the tribunes might not perceive that a plan was on foot for rescinding the judgment; but the senators had privately agreed that they would enrol as colonists a much larger proportion of Rutulians than Romans, and that no land should be parcelled out except that which had been sequestered by the infamous decision, nor a single clod assigned there to any Roman until all the Rutulians had been provided for. Thus the land reverted to the Ardeates. As triumvirs for establishing the colony at Ardea they appointed Agrippa Menenius, Titus Cloelius Siculus, Marcus Aebutius Helva. These men not only had a far from popular service to perform, and offended the plebs by assigning to the allies land which the Roman People

A.U.C. 312

offendissent, ne primoribus quidem patrum satis
7 accepti, quod nihil gratiae cuiusquam dederant, vexationes ad populum iam die dicta ab tribunis, remanendo[1] in colonia, quam testem integritatis iustitiaeque habebant, vitavere.

A.U.C. 313-314

XII. Pax domi forisque fuit et hoc et insequente anno C. Furio Paculo[2] et M. Papirio Crasso consuli-
2 bus. Ludi ab decemviris per secessionem plebis a patribus ex senatus consulto voti eo anno facti sunt.
3 Causa seditionum nequiquam a Poetelio[3] quaesita, qui tribunus plebis iterum ea ipsa denuntiando factus
4 neque ut de agris dividendis plebi referrent consules ad senatum pervincere potuit, et cum magno certamine obtinuisset ut consulerentur patres, consulum an tribunorum placeret comitia haberi, consules
5 creari iussi sunt; ludibrioque erant minae tribuni denuntiantis se dilectum impediturum, cum quietis finitimis neque bello neque belli apparatu opus esset.
6 Sequitur hanc tranquillitatem rerum annus Proculo Geganio Macerino L. Menenio Lanato consulibus multiplici clade ac periculo insignis, seditionibus, fame, regno prope per largitionis dulcedinem in
7 cervices accepto; unum afuit bellum externum; quo si adgravatae res essent, vix ope deorum omnium

[1] remanendo *V*: coloni adscripti remanendo (adscribiti *M*; colonis *D*; coloni adscripta *F*) Ω.
[2] Paculo *Conway*: pacilio Ω.
[3] Poetelio *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 126): poetilio (poetirio M; potilio F; petilio *BOA*) Ω.

had adjudged to be its own ; but failed to satisfy even B.C. 442
the great patricians, because they had done nothing to conciliate any man's goodwill. They therefore avoided vexatious attacks before the people—where the tribunes had already summoned them for trial—by remaining in the colony, which bore witness to their integrity and justice.

XII. There was peace at home and abroad during B.C. 441-440
this and the following year, when Gaius Furius Paculus and Marcus Papirius Crassus were consuls. The games which the decemvirs had vowed in pursuance of a decree of the senate, during the secession of the plebs from the patricians, were that year celebrated. Occasion for dissension was sought in vain by Poetelius, who though he had got himself elected plebeian tribune for the second time, by proclaiming that he would carry through these very measures, was unsuccessful in forcing the consuls to lay before the senate a proposal for assigning land to the plebs; and when, after a hard struggle, he obtained a vote of the senate to determine whether consuls or tribunes should be elected, the decision was for consuls. Men only laughed when the tribune threatened to hold up the levy, for the neighbouring peoples were quiet, and war and warlike preparations were alike uncalled for.

To this tranquil period succeeded the consulship of Proculus Geganius Macerinus and Lucius Menenius Lanatus, a year conspicuous for numerous deaths and dangers, for seditions, famine, and for the yoke of sovereignty, to which, won over by largesses, men almost bowed their necks. The one thing lacking was foreign war, and if that had been added to their burden they could hardly have held out, though all

A.U.C. 313-314

resisti potuisset. Coepere a fame mala, seu adversus annus frugibus fuit, seu dulcedine contionum et urbis deserto agrorum cultu; nam utrumque traditur. Et patres plebem desidem et tribuni plebis nunc fraudem nunc neglegentiam consulum accusabant.
8 Postremo perpulere plebem haud adversante senatu ut L. Minucius praefectus annonae crearetur, felicior in eo magistratu ad custodiam libertatis futurus quam ad curationem ministerii sui, quamquam postremo annonae quoque levatae haud immeritam et gratiam
9 et gloriam tulit. Qui cum multis circa finitimos populos legationibus terra marique nequiquam missis, nisi quod ex Etruria haud ita multum frumenti advectum est, nullum momentum annonae fecisset,
10 et revolutus ad dispensationem inopiae, profiteri cogendo frumentum et vendere quod usui menstruo superesset, fraudandoque parte diurni cibi servitia, criminando inde et obiciendo irae populi frumentarios, acerba inquisitione aperiret magis quam
11 levaret inopiam, multi ex plebe, spe amissa, potius quam ut cruciarentur trahendo animam, capitibus obvolutis se in Tiberim praecipitaverunt.

A.U.C. 314-315

XIII. Tum Sp. Maelius ex equestri ordine, ut illis temporibus praedives, rem utilem pessimo exemplo
2 peiore consilio est adgressus. Frumento namque ex

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[1] As the ancients usually did when conscious that they were about to die. *Cf.* the story of Caesar's death in Suetonius (*Iulius*, lxxxii).

[2] The *ordo equester* here means the eighteen centuries of cavalry, and must not be confused with the later *ordo equester*, consisting of all citizens below senatorial rank, whose property was assessed at 400,000 sesterces. Maelius was a plebeian *eques*.

the gods had aided them. The troubles began with a dreadful famine, whether because the season was unfavourable for crops, or that the attraction of assemblies and city-life had left the fields uncultivated; for both explanations have been given. The patricians accused the plebeians of idleness, and the tribunes of the plebs accused the consuls now of dishonesty, now of carelessness. In the end they brought the plebs, with no opposition on the senate's part, to elect Lucius Minucius prefect of the corn-supply. He was destined, while filling this magistracy, to be more successful in safe-guarding liberty than in discharging the duties of his office, although in the end he also earned and received both gratitude and glory for relieving the scarcity. For although he had dispatched to neighbouring peoples many embassies by land and sea without result—save that a little corn was brought in from Etruria—he found that he had not materially improved the supply. He then fell back upon the plan of distributing the shortage. He forced men to declare their stocks of corn and to sell the surplus above the requirements of a month; he deprived the slaves of a portion of their daily ration; he brought charges against the dealers and exposed them to the anger of the people; and by this bitter inquisition rather revealed than alleviated the scarcity, so that many of the plebeians lost hope, and sooner than suffer torment by prolonging their existence, covered up their heads[1] and threw themselves into the Tiber. B.C. 441–440

XIII. Then Spurius Maelius, of the equestrian order,[2] a man for those times very rich, undertook to do a useful thing in a way that set a very bad example and had a motive still worse. For having B.C. 440–439

A U.C. 314-315

Etruria privata pecunia per hospitum clientiumque ministeria coempto, quae, credo, ipsa res ad levandam publica cura annonam impedimento fuerat, 3 largitiones frumenti facere instituit; plebemque hoc munere delenitam, quacumque incederet, conspectus elatusque supra modum hominis privati, secum trahere, haud dubium consulatum favore ac spe 4 despondentem. Ipse, ut est humanus animus insatiabilis eo quod fortuna spondet, ad altiora et non concessa tendere, et quoniam consulatus quoque eripiendus invitis patribus esset, de regno agitare: id unum dignum tanto apparatu consiliorum et certamine, quod ingens exsudandum esset, praemium 5 fore. Iam comitia consularia instabant; quae res eum necdum compositis maturisve satis consiliis 6 oppressit. Consul sextum creatus T. Quinctius Capitolinus, minime opportunus vir novanti res; collega additur ei Agrippa Menenius, cui Lanato 7 erat cognomen; et L. Minucius praefectus annonae seu refectus seu, quoad res posceret, in incertum creatus; nihil enim constat, nisi in libros linteos utroque anno relatum inter magistratus praefecti 8 nomen. Hic Minucius eandem publice [1] curationem agens quam Maelius privatim agendam susceperat, cum in utraque domo genus idem hominum versaretur, rem compertam ad senatum

[1] eandem publice *Florebellus*: eandem rēip. (*or* reip̄) Ω: eandem rēp. *M*: ead.. reip. *V*.

[1] *i.e.* corn-dealers.

bought up corn in Etruria with his own money, through the agency of friends and clients there— which very circumstance had hindered, I can well believe, the public efforts to bring down prices—he set about distributing it gratis. The plebeians were captivated by this munificence; wherever he went, conspicuous and important beyond the measure of a private citizen, they followed in his train; and the devotion and hope he inspired in them gave him no uncertain assurance of the consulship. He himself, so insatiable of fortune's promises is the heart of man, began to cherish a loftier and less allowable ambition; and since even the consulship would have to be wrested from unwilling nobles, considered how he might be king: nothing else, he felt, would adequately reward him for his elaborate schemes and the toil and moil of the great struggle he must make. The consular election was now at hand, and found him with his plans not yet fully ripened. For the sixth time Titus Quinctius Capitolinus was chosen consul, a most unsuitable man for the purposes of a would-be revolutionary. For colleague he was given Agrippa Menenius, surnamed Lanatus; and Lucius Minucius either was reappointed prefect of the corn-supply or had been named for an indefinite period, so long as the situation should require; for authorities do not agree, but the name of the prefect is entered in the Linen Rolls among the magistrates for both years. This Minucius was discharging the same function in his public capacity which Maelius had undertaken to perform as a private citizen, and the same sort of men[1] were coming and going in both their houses. Thus Minucius discovered the affair and reported to the senate that weapons were

B.C. 440-439

A.U.C. 314-315

9 defert: tela in domum Maeli[1] conferri, eumque contiones domi habere, ac non dubia regni consilia esse. Tempus agendae rei nondum stare: cetera iam convenisse: et tribunos mercede emptos ad prodendam libertatem et partita ducibus multitudinis ministeria esse. Serius se paene quam tutum fuerit, ne cuius incerti vanique auctor esset, ea deferre. 10 Quae postquam sunt audita, cum[2] undique primores patrum et prioris anni consules increparent quod eas largitiones coetusque plebis in privata domo passi essent fieri, et novos consules quod exspectassent donec a praefecto annonae tanta res ad senatum deferretur, quae consulem non auctorem solum 11 desideraret sed etiam vindicem; tum Quinctius consules immerito increpari ait, qui constricti legibus de provocatione ad dissolvendum imperium latis, nequaquam tantum virium in magistratu ad eam rem pro atrocitate vindicandam quantum animi haberent. Opus esse non forti solum viro, sed 12 etiam libero exsolutoque legum vinclis. Itaque se dictatorem L. Quinctium dicturum; ibi animum parem tantae potestati esse. Adprobantibus cunctis primo Quinctius abnuere et quid sibi vellent rogitare, qui se aetate exacta tantae dimicationi obicerent. 13 Dein cum undique plus in illo senili animo non consilii modo, sed etiam virtutis esse quam in omnibus aliis dicerent laudibusque haud immeritis onerarent,

[1] Maeli *Conway and Walters*: maelii (*or* melii) Ω: maeuii *V*.
[2] cum *Alschefski*: et Ω.

being collected at the house of Maelius, that he was haranguing people there, and that they were certainly contriving a kingdom; the time for executing the plot was not yet fixed; all else had been agreed upon: the tribunes had been bribed to betray liberty, and the leaders of the mob had been assigned their parts. He said that he had withheld his report of these things almost longer than was safe, that he might not become voucher for anything of an uncertain or trivial nature. On hearing this the leaders of the senate loudly blamed the consuls of the year before because they had suffered these donations and plebeian gatherings to take place in a private house, and the new consuls because they had waited till information of so grave a crime was laid before the senate by the prefect of the corn-supply, though it wanted a consul not only to report it but to punish it; but Quinctius said that the consuls were blamed unjustly, for, constrained by the laws of appeal, which had been enacted in order to break down their authority, they had by no means so much power in their office as they had will to punish so heinous an offence in the way it deserved. There was need, he continued, of a man, and one who was not only brave, but free and unfettered by the laws. He would therefore name Lucius Quinctius dictator; there was a spirit whose stature was equal to that great power. Despite the universal approval of this step, Quinctius at first refused, and asked what they meant by exposing him at the end of his life to so fierce a struggle. Then, when men called out on every side that there was not only more wisdom but more courage in that old man's heart than in all the rest and loaded him with not

B.C. 440–439

A.U.C. 314-315

14 et consul nihil remitteret, precatus tandem deos immortales Cincinnatus ne senectus sua in tam trepidis rebus damno dedecorive rei publicae esset, dictator a consule dicitur. Ipse deinde C. Servilium Ahalam magistrum equitum dicit.

A.U.C. 315

XIV. Postero die dispositis praesidiis cum in forum descendisset conversaque in eum plebs novitate rei ac miraculo esset, et Maeliani atque ipse dux eorum 2 in se intentam vim tanti imperii cernerent, expertes consiliorum regni qui tumultus, quod bellum repens aut dictatoriam maiestatem aut Quinctium post octogesimum annum rectorem rei publicae quaesisset 3 rogitarent, missus ab dictatore Servilius magister equitum ad Maelium "Vocat te" inquit, "dictator." Cum pavidus ille quid vellet quaereret Serviliusque causam dicendam esse proponeret crimenque a 4 Minucio delatum ad senatum diluendum, tunc Maelius recipere se in catervam suorum, et primum circumspectans tergiversari, postremo cum apparitor iussu magistri equitum duceret, ereptus a circumstantibus fugiensque fidem plebis Romanae implorare, 5 et opprimi se consensu patrum dicere, quod plebi benigne fecisset; orare ut opem sibi ultimo in discrimine ferrent neve ante oculos suos trucidari

unmerited compliments, and when the consul would not recede from his purpose, at length Cincinnatus uttered a prayer to the immortal gods that they would not suffer his old age to bring harm or shame to the republic in so perilous a case, and was pronounced dictator by the consul. He then himself named Gaius Servilius Ahala his master of the horse. B.C. 440-439

XIV. The next day, after disposing guards at several points he went down into the Forum, where the novel and surprising sight drew upon him the attention of the plebs. The followers of Maelius and their leader himself perceived that it was against them that the force of that high authority was aimed; while those who knew nothing of the plans for setting up a king asked what outbreak or what sudden war had called for the majesty of a dictator or for Quinctius (now past his eightieth year) to direct the state. Then Servilius, the master of the horse, being sent by the dictator to Maelius, said: "The dictator summons you." When Maelius, trembling, asked what he wanted, Servilius replied that he must stand his trial and clear himself of a charge which Minucius had lodged against him with the senate. Then Maelius drew back into the crowd of his retainers, and at first, glancing this way and that, attempted to avoid the issue; but finally, when the attendant, being so commanded by the master of the horse, would have led him away, he was torn from his grasp by the bystanders and fled, calling on the Roman plebs to protect him, declaring that he was overthrown by a plot of the patricians because he had acted kindly by the commons, and begging them to help him in his extremity and not permit him to be murdered before their eyes. While B.C. 439

A.U.C. 315

6 sinerent. Haec eum vociferantem adsecutus Ahala Servilius obtruncat, respersusque cruore,[1] stipatus caterva patriciorum iuvenum, dictatori renuntiat vocatum ad eum Maelium repulso apparitore concitantem multitudinem poenam meritam habere. 7 Tum dictator "Macte virtute" inquit, "C. Servili, esto liberata re publica."

XV. Tumultuantem deinde multitudinem incerta existimatione facti ad contionem vocari iussit et Maelium iure caesum pronuntiavit etiam si regni crimine insons fuerit, qui vocatus a magistro equitum 2 ad dictatorem non venisset. Se ad causam cognoscendam consedisse, qua cognita habiturum fuisse Maelium similem causae fortunam; vim parantem 3 ne iudicio se committeret, vi coercitum esse. Nec cum eo tamquam cum cive agendum fuisse, qui natus in libero populo inter iura legesque, ex qua urbe reges exactos sciret eodemque anno sororis filios regis et liberos consulis, liberatoris patriae, propter pactionem indicatam recipiendorum in urbem regum 4 a patre securi esse percussos, ex qua Collatinum Tarquinium consulem nominis odio abdicare se magistratu atque exsulare iussum, in qua de Sp. Cassio post aliquot annos propter consilia inita de

[1] cruore *V*: cruore obtruncati Ω.

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[1] This is inexact; from I. lvi. 7 we learn that it was Brutus, the father of the young men in question, who was nephew to the king, on the mother's side.

[2] See II. xli.

he was screaming out these appeals, Servilius Ahala B.C. 439
overtook and slew him; then, bespattered with his blood and guarded by a company of young nobles, he returned to the dictator and reported that Maelius, having been summoned to appear before him, had repulsed the attendant and was rousing up the populace when he received the punishment he had deserved. Whereat the dictator exclaimed, "Well done, Gaius Servilius; you have delivered the commonwealth!"

XV. Then, as the crowd was in a turmoil, not knowing what to think of the deed, he bade convoke them to an assembly. There he asserted that Maelius had been justly slain, even though he had been innocent of plotting to make himself king, since he had been cited before the dictator by the master of the horse and had not obeyed. He himself, he said, had sat to hear the cause, and if the hearing had been concluded Maelius would have prospered as his cause deserved; but, planning violence to avoid undergoing trial, he had been repressed by violence. Neither would it have been right to deal with Maelius as with a citizen. The man had been born amongst a free people enjoying rights and laws, in a City from which he knew that the kings had been banished, and how in that very year the king's nephews,[1] sons of the consul who had freed his country, had, on the exposure of a compact they had made to bring the princes back to Rome, been beheaded by their father's orders. He knew that in this City the consul Tarquinius Collatinus had been commanded, out of hatred for the name he bore, to lay down his office and go into exile; that here, some years after, Spurius Cassius [2] had been punished for aiming at

A.U.C. 315

regno supplicium sumptum, in qua nuper decemviros bonis, exsilio, capite multatos ob superbiam regiam, 5 in ea Sp. Maelius spem regni conceperit. Et quis homo? Quamquam nullam nobilitatem, nullos honores, nulla merita cuiquam ad dominationem pandere viam; sed tamen Claudios, Cassios consulatibus, decemviratibus, suis maiorumque honoribus, splendore familiarum sustulisse animos quo 6 nefas fuerit: Sp. Maelium, cui tribunatus plebis magis optandus quam sperandus fuerit, frumentarium divitem, bilibris farris sperasse libertatem se civium suorum emisse, ciboque obiciendo ratum victorem finitimorum omnium populum in servitutem perlici 7 posse, ut quem senatorem concoquere civitas vix posset regem ferret, Romuli conditoris, ab dis orti,[1] recepti ad deos, insignia atque imperium habentem. Non pro scelere id magis quam pro monstro haben- 8 dum, nec satis esse sanguine eius expiatum, nisi tecta parietesque intra quae tantum amentiae conceptum esset dissiparentur bonaque contacta pretiis regni mercandi publicarentur. Iubere itaque quaestores vendere ea bona atque in publicum redigere.

XVI. Domum deinde, ut monumento area esset oppressae nefariae spei, dirui extemplo iussit. Id

ab dis (*spelled, as often,* diis) orti Ω: ab diis sorti *MPH*: ad diis *B*.

[1] The reference is to Appius Claudius the decemvir.

royalty; that here, but lately, the decemvirs had B.C. 439
been visited with confiscation, banishment, and death, because of kingly arrogance. Yet in this same City a Spurius Maelius had conceived the hope of reigning. And who was this fellow? To be sure, no nobility, no honours, no merits, opened wide the road to tyranny for any man; nevertheless the Claudii [1] and Cassii had been encouraged by consulships and decemvirates, by their own honours and those of their forefathers, and by the splendour of their families, to aim at forbidden heights; Spurius Maelius, a rich corn-dealer, a man who might have desired but ought scarcely to have hoped to become a plebeian tribune, had flattered himself that for a couple of pounds of spelt he had purchased the liberty of his fellow citizens; he had imagined that by flinging food to them he could entice into slavery a people who had conquered all their neighbours, so that a state which could scarce have stomached him as a senator would endure him for its king, having the insignia and authority of Romulus its founder, who was descended from the gods and had returned to them. This ought to be regarded as a thing no less monstrous than wicked; nor was his blood sufficient expiation, unless the roof and walls within which such madness had been conceived should be demolished, and the goods which had been tainted with the offer of them as the price to buy a tyranny be confiscated; he therefore bade the quaestors sell those goods and place the proceeds in the public treasury.

XVI. Quinctius then commanded the man's house B.C. 438
to be pulled down, that the bare site might commemorate the frustration of his wicked purpose. The

A.U.C. 316

2 Aequimaelium appellatum est. L. Minucius bove et statua aurata [1] extra portam Trigeminam est donatus ne plebe quidem invita quia frumentum Maelianum 3 assibus in modios aestimatum plebi divisit. Hunc Minucium apud quosdam auctores transisse a patribus ad plebem undecimumque tribunum plebis cooptatum seditionem motam ex Maeliana caede 4 sedasse invenio ; ceterum vix credibile est numerum tribunorum patres augeri passos, idque potissimum exemplum a patricio homine introductum, nec deinde id plebem [2] concessum semel obtinuisse aut certe temptasse. Sed ante omnia refellit falsum imaginis titulum paucis ante annis lege cautum ne tribunis 5 collegam cooptare liceret. Q. Caecilius, Q. Iunius, Sex. Titinius soli ex collegio tribunorum neque tulerant de honoribus Minuci legem et criminari nunc Minucium nunc Servilium apud plebem queri- 6 que indignam necem Maeli non destiterant. Pervicerunt igitur ut tribunorum militum potius quam consulum comitia haberentur, haud dubii quin sex locis—tot enim iam creari licebat—et plebeii aliqui profitendo se ultores fore Maelianae caedis, crea- 7 rentur. Plebs, quamquam agitata multis eo anno et variis motibus erat, nec pluris quam tres tribunos

[1] bove et statua aurata *Conway* (*in note, but cites against his conj.* XL. xxxiv. 5) : boue aurato (aturato *M*) Ω.
[2] plebem ς : plebi Ω.

[1] The Aequimaelium was in the Vicus Iugarius, below the Capitol. Cicero derives the name from *aequus* "just," because Maelius was justly punished (*de Domo*, 101); Varro from *aequus* "level" (*L.L.* V. 157).
[2] The Lex Trebonia of 448 B.C. (III. lxv. 4) required the election officials to continue the voting until ten tribunes had been chosen, but said nothing about the co-optation of an eleventh.

place was named Aequimaelium.[1] Lucius Minucius B.C. 438
was presented with an ox and a gilded statue outside the Porta Trigemina, without opposition even on the part of the plebs, since Minucius divided the corn of Maelius among them at the price of one *as* the peck. I find it stated by some historians that this Minucius went over from the patricians to the plebeians, and being co-opted an eleventh tribune of the plebs, allayed the rebellious feeling which arose from the killing of Maelius; but it is hardly credible that the patricians should have permitted the number of tribunes to be increased, and that this precedent, of all others, should have been introduced by a patrician; or that the plebs, having once obtained this concession, should not have held fast to it, or at least have tried to do so. But what proves more conclusively than anything the falsity of the inscription on his portrait is this, that it was enacted by law a few years before that the tribunes might not co-opt a colleague.[2] Quintus Caecilius, Quintus Junius, and Sextus Titinius were the only members of the college of tribunes who had not supported the law conferring honours on Minucius, and had never ceased to accuse now Minucius, now Servilius, before the plebs, and to complain of the unmerited death of Maelius. So they forced through a measure providing that military tribunes should be elected instead of consuls, not doubting that for some of the six places—for this was now the number that might be filled—plebeians would be chosen, if they would promise to avenge the death of Maelius. The plebeians, though they had been aroused that year by many different commotions, elected no more than three tribunes with consular powers, and among

A.U.C. 316 consulari potestate creavit et in his L. Quinctium, Cincinnati filium, ex cuius dictaturae invidia tumultus 8 quaerebatur. Praelatus suffragiis Quinctio Mamercus Aemilius, vir summae dignitatis; L. Iulium tertium creant.

A.U.C. 317 XVII. In horum magistratu Fidenae, colonia Romana, ad Lartem Tolumnium[1] ac Veientes de- 2 fecere. Maius additum defectioni scelus: C. Fulcinium Cloelium Tullum Sp. Antium[2] L. Roscium, legatos Romanos, causam novi consilii quaerentes, 3 iussu Tolumni interfecerunt. Levant quidam regis facinus: in tesserarum prospero iactu vocem eius ambiguam, ut occidi iussisse videretur, a Fidenatibus exceptam causam mortis legatis fuisse,—rem incredi- 4 bilem, interventu Fidenatium, novorum sociorum, consulentium de caede ruptura ius gentium, non aversum ab intentione lusus animum nec deinde 5 in errorem versum facinus. Propius est fidem obstringi Fidenatium populum ne respicere spem ullam ab Romanis posset conscientia tanti sceleris 6 voluisse. Legatorum qui Fidenis caesi erant statuae publice in Rostris positae sunt. Cum Veientibus Fidenatibusque, praeterquam finitimis populis, ab causa etiam tam nefanda bellum exorsis atrox dimicatio instabat.

[1] Tolumnium *H. J. Mueller*: Tolumnium Veientium (uenientium *B*) regem Ω.

[2] Sp. Antium (espantium *M*; spuantium *V*) Ω: Sp. Nautium *Mommsen* (*cf. Plin. N.H.* XXXIV. vi. 23).

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[1] A slight anachronism, as the speaker's platform in the Forum was not called Rostra till 338 B.C., when Gaius Menenius decorated it with the *rostra* (beaks) of the ships taken at Antium (VIII. xiv. 12).

these Lucius Quinctius, son of Cincinnatus, from whose dictatorship men were trying to derive the odium for inspiring a mutiny. Aemilius Mamercus, a man of the highest standing, was ahead of Quinctius in the voting; Lucius Julius was elected third. B.C. 438

XVII. During the term of these magistrates, Fidenae, a Roman colony, revolted to Lars Tolumnius and the Veientes. To their defection they added a worse crime, for when Gaius Fulcinius, Cloelius Tullus, Spurius Antius, and Lucius Roscius, Roman envoys, came to inquire the reason of this new policy, at the command of Tolumnius they put them to death. Some persons seek to palliate the king's act, saying that an ambiguous expression of his upon a lucky throw of dice, which made him seem to order them to kill the envoys, was heard by the Fidenates and was responsible for the men's death. But it is quite incredible that the king on being interrupted by the Fidenates, his new allies, come to consult him about a murder that would violate the law of nations, should not have withdrawn his attention from the game, and that the attribution of the crime to a mistake did not come later. It is easier to believe that he wished the people of Fidenae to be involved by the consciousness of so heinous a deed, that it might be impossible for them to hope for any reconciliation with the Romans. The envoys who had been slain at Fidenae were honoured, at the public cost, with statues on the Rostra.[1] With the Veientes and Fidenates, not only because they were neighbouring peoples, but also in consequence of the nefarious act with which they had begun the war, a bitter struggle now impended. B.C. 437

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7 Itaque ad curam summae rerum quieta plebe tribunisque eius nihil controversiae fuit quin consules crearentur M. Geganius Macerinus tertium
8 et L. Sergius Fidenas. A bello credo quod deinde gessit appellatum; hic enim primus cis Anienem cum rege Veientium secundo proelio conflixit, nec incruentam victoriam rettulit. Maior itaque ex civibus amissis dolor quam laetitia fusis hostibus fuit, et senatus ut in trepidis rebus dictatorem dici
9 Mamercum Aemilium iussit. Is magistrum equitum ex collegio prioris anni, quo simul tribuni militum consulari potestate fuerant, L. Quinctium Cincin-
10 natum, dignum parente iuvenem, dixit. Ad dilectum a consulibus habitum centuriones veteres belli periti adiecti et numerus amissorum proxima pugna expletus. Legatos T. Quinctium[1] Capitolinum et
11 M. Fabium Vibulanum sequi se dictator iussit. Cum potestas maior tum vir quoque potestati par hostes ex agro Romano trans Anienem submovere; collesque inter Fidenas atque Anienem ceperunt referentes castra, nec ante in campos degressi[2] sunt quam
12 legiones Faliscorum auxilio[3] venerunt. Tum demum castra Etruscorum pro moenibus Fidenarum posita. Et dictator Romanus haud procul inde ad confluentes consedit in utriusque ripis amnis, qua sequi muni-

[1] T. Quinctium *H. J. Mueller*: quinctium *L*: quintium *V*: quintum Ω.
[2] degressi *Sigonius*: digressi Ω.
[3] Faliscorum auxilio *Kiehl*: Faliscorum auxiliorum *V*: auxilio Faliscorum Ω.

Accordingly, out of regard for the general welfare, B.C. 437
the plebeians and their tribunes kept quiet, and raised no opposition to the election as consuls of Marcus Geganius Macerinus (for the third time) and Lucius Sergius Fidenas. I suppose that the name was given him from the war which he then waged; for he was the first who fought a successful battle on this side the Anio with the king of the Veientes; but he gained no bloodless victory, and so there was more grief for the citizens who were lost than rejoicing over the defeat of the enemy; and the senate, as is usual in an alarming situation, commanded the appointment of a dictator, Mamercus Aemilius. He named as his master of the horse a man who had been his colleague the year before, when they had both been military tribunes with consular authority, namely Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, a young man worthy of his father. To the troops which the consuls levied were added veteran centurions experienced in war, and the losses of the last battle were made good. The dictator bade Titus Quinctius Capitolinus and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus follow him as his lieutenants. The high authority of the dictatorship, in the hands of one who was equal to it, drove the enemy out of Roman territory and across the Anio. They withdrew their camp and pitched upon the hills between Fidenae and the Anio; nor did they descend into the plains until the forces of the Faliscans had come to their support. Then, and not till then, did the Etruscans encamp before the walls of Fidenae. The Roman dictator likewise went into camp not far off, on the banks of both rivers, at their confluence, and threw up a rampart between his army and the enemy, where he

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mento poterat vallo interposito. Postero die in aciem eduxit.

XVIII. Inter hostes variae fuere sententiae. Faliscus, procul ab domo militiam aegre patiens satisque fidens sibi, poscere pugnam: Veienti Fidenatique plus spei in trahendo bello esse. Tolumnius, quamquam suorum magis placebant consilia, ne longinquam militiam non paterentur Falisci, postero die se pugnaturum edicit. Dictatori ac Romanis, quod detractasset pugnam hostis, animi accessere; posteroque die iam militibus castra urbemque se oppugnaturos frementibus ni copia pugnae fiat, utrimque acies inter bina castra in medium campi procedunt. Veiens multitudine abundans, qui inter dimicationem castra Romana adgrederentur post montes circummisit. Trium populorum exercitus ita stetit instructus ut dextrum cornu Veientes, sinistrum Falisci tenerent, medii Fidenates essent. Dictator dextro cornu adversus Faliscos, sinistro contra Veientem Capitolinus Quinctius intulit signa; ante mediam aciem cum equitatu magister equitum processit. Parumper silentium et quies fuit nec Etruscis, nisi cogerentur, pugnam inituris et dictatore arcem Romanam respectante, ut ex ea ab[1] auguribus, simul aves rite admisissent, ex composito tolleretur signum. Quod simul[2] conspexit, primos

[1] ex ea ab *Alschefski*: ex (auguribus) Ω: ex (auribus) *M.*
[2] simul ς: simul ubi Ω.

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[1] *i.e.* where the distance from bank to bank was not too great.
[2] Their city Falerii (now Civitá Castellana) was about twenty-five miles north of Rome.

was able to span the interval with intrenchments.[1] B.C. 437
Next day he formed up in line of battle.

XVIII. The enemy were of several minds. The Faliscans, chafing under service performed away from home[2] and fairly self-confident, demanded battle: the Veientes and Fidenates anticipated greater success from a prolongation of the war. Tolumnius, though the views of his own followers were more agreeable to him, announced that he would fight on the following day, lest the Faliscans might not tolerate a protracted campaign. The dictator and the Romans were encouraged at the enemy's reluctance; and the next day, on the soldiers threatening that they would at once attack the camp and the city, unless the enemy came to an engagement, both armies marched out in line of battle into the plain between the two camps. The Veientes, having men to spare, dispatched a party round the mountains to assail the camp of the Romans during the engagement. The army of the three nations was so drawn up that the Veientes held the right wing, the Faliscans the left, and the Fidenates formed the centre. The dictator advanced on the right, against the Faliscans, and Quinctius Capitolinus on the left, to meet the Veientes; while the master of the horse, with the cavalry, led the attack on the centre. For a brief moment all was hushed and still; since the Etruscans were resolved not to begin fighting unless they were forced, and the dictator kept looking back to the Citadel of Rome, that the augurs might thence make him a signal, as they had arranged to do, the moment the omens were propitious. As soon as he descried the signal, he first sent his cavalry against the enemy,

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equites clamore sublato in hostem emisit; secuta
8 peditum acies ingenti vi conflixit. Nulla parte legiones Etruscae sustinuere impetum Romanorum; eques maxime resistebat; equitumque longe fortissimus ipse rex ab omni parte effuse sequentibus obequitans Romanis trahebat certamen.

XIX. Erat tum inter equites tribunus militum A. Cornelius Cossus, eximia pulchritudine corporis, animo ac viribus par memorque generis, quod amplissimum acceptum maius auctiusque reliquit
2 posteris. Is cum ad impetum Tolumni, quacumque se intendisset, trepidantes Romanas videret turmas, insignemque eum regio habitu volitantem tota acie
3 cognosset, "Hicine est" inquit, "ruptor foederis humani violatorque gentium iuris? Iam ego hanc mactatam victimam, si modo sancti quicquam in terris esse di volunt, legatorum manibus dabo."
4 Calcaribus subditis infesta cuspide in unum fertur hostem; quem cum ictum equo deiecisset, confestim
5 et ipse hasta innixus se in pedes excepit. Adsurgentem ibi regem umbone resupinat repetitumque saepius cuspide ad terram adfixit. Tum exsangui detracta spolia caputque abscisum victor spiculo gerens terrore caesi regis hostes fundit.[1] Ita equi-

[1] fundit Ω: fudit *MDA*ς: perfudit *Madvig.*

cheering as they charged; and the infantry followed B.C. 437
with a furious attack. At no point could the Etruscan legions withstand the onset of the Romans; their horse made the chief resistance, and of all their horse by far the bravest was the king himself, who rode against the Romans, as they scattered in every direction for the pursuit, and prolonged the struggle.

XIX. There was at that time among the cavalrymen a tribune of the soldiers named Aulus Cornelius Cossus, a man of strikingly handsome person and no less distinguished for courage and strength. Proud of his name, which was very famous when it came to him, he left to his descendants one still greater and more glorious. This man, seeing how Tolumnius, wherever he charged, brought confusion to the Roman squadrons, and recognizing him, conspicuous in his royal dress, as he galloped swiftly up and down the line, exclaimed, "Is this the breaker of human leagues, the violater of the law of nations? I will speedily offer him up as a sacrificial victim, if only it is the will of Heaven that there should be aught sacred on this earth, to the manes of the envoys!" Clapping spurs to his charger and levelling his spear, he made for his one enemy. Having struck and unhorsed his man, he himself leaped quickly to the ground by the help of his lance, and as the king struggled to his feet flung him back with the boss of his shield, and plunging the spear again and again into his body, pinned him to earth. Then stripping the spoils from the corpse and cutting off the head, he bore it victoriously on the point of his spear and drove the enemy before him, panic-stricken at the sight of their slain king. Thus

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tum quoque fusa acies, quae una fecerat anceps
6 certamen. Dictator legionibus fugatis instat et ad castra compulsos caedit. Fidenatium plurimi locorum notitia effugere in montes. Cossus Tiberim cum equitatu transvectus ex agro Veientano ingentem
7 detulit praedam ad urbem. Inter proelium et ad castra Romana pugnatum est adversus partem copiarum ab Tolumnio, ut ante dictum est, ad castra
8 missam. Fabius Vibulanus corona primum vallum defendit; intentos deinde hostes in vallum, egressus dextra principali cum triariis, repente invadit. Quo pavore iniecto caedes minor, quia pauciores erant, fuga non minus trepida quam in acie fuit.

XX. Omnibus locis re bene gesta dictator senatus consulto iussuque populi triumphans in urbem re-
2 diit. Longe maximum triumphi spectaculum fuit Cossus spolia opima regis interfecti gerens. In eum milites carmina incondita aequantes eum Ro-
3 mulo canere. Spolia in aede Iovis Feretri prope Romuli spolia quae, prima opima appellata, sola ea tempestate erant, cum sollemni dedicatione dono fixit; averteratque in se a curru dictatoris civium ora et celebritatis eius diei fructum prope solus

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[1] A Roman camp was divided by the Via Principalis, which ran from one side to the other, with a gate at each end of it, called respectively *Porta Principalis dextra*, and *P. P. sinistra*.

[2] The *triarii* were experienced troops, a body of which made a part of each legion. They were usually, as here, kept in reserve until a crisis called for their employment (*cf.* VIII. viii.).

even the cavalry was routed, which alone had made B.C. 437
the issue of the contest doubtful. The dictator pressed on after the flying legions, and pursuing them to their camp cut them to pieces. Large numbers of the Fidenates escaped, thanks to their knowledge of the ground, into the mountains. Cossus crossed the Tiber with his cavalry, and from the fields of the Veientes brought a vast quantity of booty back to town. During the battle there was also fighting at the Roman camp with a part of the forces of Tolumnius which he had dispatched against it, as has been said before. Fabius Vibulanus first manned the rampart with a cordon of defenders; and then, when the attention of the enemy was fixed on the wall, sallied out of the Porta Principalis, on the right,[1] with his reserves,[2] and fell suddenly upon them. In consequence of the panic thus occasioned, though the slaughter was less, because fewer were engaged, yet the rout was quite as complete as in the battle-line.

XX. Having been everywhere victorious, the dictator, as decreed by the senate and ratified by the people, returned to the City in triumphal procession. By far the greatest spectacle in the triumph was Cossus, bearing the spoils of honour of the slain king, while the soldiers sang rude verses about him, comparing him to Romulus. The spoils he fastened up as an offering, with solemn dedication, in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near the spoils of Romulus, which had been the first to be called *opima*, and were at that time the only ones. Cossus had drawn the gaze of the citizens away from the car of the dictator upon himself, and the honours of that crowded festival were virtually his alone. The

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4 tulerat. Dictator coronam auream, libram pondo, ex publica pecunia populi iussu in Capitolio Iovi donum posuit.

5 Omnes ante me auctores secutus, A. Cornelium Cossum tribunum militum secunda spolia opima
6 Iovis Feretrii templo intulisse exposui; ceterum, praeterquam quod ea rite opima spolia habentur quae dux duci detraxit, nec ducem novimus nisi cuius auspicio bellum geritur, titulus ipse spoliis inscriptus illos meque arguit consulem ea Cossum
7 cepisse. Hoc ego cum Augustum Caesarem, templorum omnium conditorem aut restitutorem, ingressum aedem Feretri Iovis, quam vetustate dilapsam refecit, se ipsum in thorace linteo scriptum legisse audissem, prope sacrilegium ratus sum Cosso[1] spoliorum suorum Caesarem, ipsius templi auctorem,
8 subtrahere testem. Quis[2] ea in re sit error, quod tam veteres annales quodque magistratuum libri, quos linteos in aede repositos Monetae Macer Licinius citat identidem auctores, septimo[3] post demum anno cum T. Quinctio Poeno A. Cornelium Cossum consulem habeant, existimatio communis omnibus
9 est. Nam etiam illud accedit, ne tam clara pugna in eum annum transferri posset, quod imbelle triennium ferme pestilentia inopiaque frugum circa A. Cornelium consulem fuit, adeo ut quidam annales

[1] Cosso ς: Cossum Ω.
[2] quis *Gronovius*: qui si Ω.
[3] septimo Ω: nono ς *Sigonius*: decimo *Glareanus*: undecimo *Conway and Walters* (*in note*).

[1] Nepos tells us (*Att.* xx. 3) that the restoration of this temple was undertaken at the suggestion of Atticus. It was therefore probably done not later than 32 B.C., the year in which Atticus died.

dictator, at the people's behest, presented to Jupiter B.C. 437
on the Capitol a golden chaplet of a pound in weight, from the public treasury.

Following all previous historians, I have stated that Aulus Cornelius Cossus was a military tribune when he brought the second spoils of honour to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But besides that only those are properly held to be "spoils of honour" which one commander has taken from another commander, and that we know no "commander" but him under whose auspices the war is waged, the very words inscribed upon the spoils disprove their account and mine, and show that it was as consul that Cossus captured them. Having heard from the lips of Augustus Caesar, the founder or renewer of all the temples, that he had entered the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius, which he repaired when it had crumbled with age, and had himself read the inscription on the linen breast-plate, I have thought it would be almost sacrilege to rob Cossus of such a witness to his spoils as Caesar, the restorer of that very temple.[1] Where the error in regard to this matter lies, in consequence of which such ancient annals and also the books of the magistrates, written on linen and deposited in the temple of Moneta, which Licinius Macer cites from time to time as his authority, only give Aulus Cornelius Cossus as consul (with Titus Quinctius Poenus) seven years later, is a matter on which everybody is entitled to his opinion. For there is this further reason why so famous a battle could not be transferred to the later year, that the consulship of Cossus fell within a period of about three years when there were no wars, owing to a pestilence and a dearth of crops, so that

A.U.C. 317 velut funesti nihil praeter nomina consulum sug-
10 gerant. Tertius ab consulatu Cossi annus tribunum eum militum consulari potestate habet, eodem anno magistrum equitum; quo in imperio alteram in-
11 signem edidit pugnam equestrem. Ea libera coniectura est, sed, ut ego arbitror, vana; aversari enim[1] omnes opiniones licet, cum auctor pugnae recentibus spoliis in sacra sede positis, Iovem prope ipsum, cui vota erant, Romulumque intuens, haud spernendos falsi tituli testes, se A. Cornelium Cossum consulem scripserit.

A.U.C. 318-319 XXI. M. Cornelio Maluginense L. Papirio Crasso consulibus exercitus in agrum Veientem ac Faliscum
2 ducti, praedae abactae hominum pecorumque; hostis in agris nusquam inventus neque pugnandi copia facta; urbes tamen non oppugnatae, quia pestilentia
3 populum invasit. Et seditiones domi quaesitae sunt nec motae tamen ab Sp. Maelio tribuno plebis, qui favore nominis moturum se aliquid ratus et Minucio diem dixerat et rogationem de publicandis bonis
4 Servili Ahalae tulerat, falsis criminibus a Minucio circumventum Maelium arguens, Servilio caedem civis indemnati obiciens. Quae vaniora ad popu-
5 lum ipso auctore fuere. Ceterum magis vis morbi ingravescens curae erat terroresque ac prodigia,

[1] vana; aversari enim *Wagner and Madvig*: uana (una *FB*) uersare in Ω.

[1] It is possible that this paragraph was inserted by Livy, without altering the context, some time after the original publication of Books I–V. This would account for the appearance in the preceding paragraph of the version which Livy now rejects, and also for its reappearance in chap. xxxii. *Cf.* Niebuhr, *Röm. Gesch.* ii. 517.

certain annals, as though death-registers, offer nothing but the names of the consuls. The third year after Cossus's consulship saw him military tribune with consular powers, and in the same year he was master of the horse, in which office he fought another famous cavalry-engagement. Here is freedom for conjecture, but in my opinion it is idle; for one may brush aside all theories when the man who fought the battle, after placing the newly-won spoils in their sacred resting-place, testified in the presence of Jupiter himself, to whom he had vowed them, and of Romulus—witnesses not to be held lightly by a forger—that he was Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul.[1] B.C. 437

XXI. When Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and Lucius Papirius Crassus were consuls, armies invaded the country of the Veientes and the Faliscans and drove off booty consisting of men and flocks; they nowhere encountered their enemies in the fields nor met with any opportunity to give them battle; still, they besieged no cities, for a pestilence attacked the people. And seditions were attempted at home, but not brought about, by Spurius Maelius, tribune of the plebs, who, imagining that the popularity of his name would enable him to stir up trouble, had appointed a day for the prosecution of Minucius, and had also proposed a law for confiscating the goods of Servilius Ahala, maintaining that Maelius had been circumvented by Minucius with false accusations, and flinging it up to Servilius that he had killed a citizen who had not been condemned. These charges were even less regarded by the people than was their author. But the increasing virulence of the disease gave concern, and so did certain alarms and prodigies; B.C. 436–435

A.U.C. 318–319

maxime quod crebris motibus terrae ruere in agris nuntiabantur tecta. Obsecratio itaque a populo duumviris praeeuntibus est facta.

6 Pestilentior inde annus C. Iulio iterum et L. Verginio consulibus tantum metus et vastitatis[1] in urbe agrisque fecit, ut non modo praedandi causa quisquam ex agro Romano exiret bellive inferendi 7 memoria patribus aut plebi esset, sed ultro Fidenates, qui se primo aut montibus aut muris tenuerant, populabundi descenderent in agrum Romanum. 8 Deinde Veientium exercitu accito—nam Falisci perpelli ad instaurandum bellum neque clade Romanorum neque sociorum precibus potuere—duo populi transiere Anienem atque haud procul Collina porta signa habuere. Trepidatum itaque non in 9 agris magis quam in urbe est. Iulius consul in aggere murisque explicat copias, a Verginio senatus 10 in aede Quirini consulitur. Dictatorem dici Q. Servilium[2] placet, cui Prisco alii, alii Structo fuisse cognomen tradunt. Verginius dum collegam consuleret moratus, permittente eo nocte dictatorem dixit. Is sibi magistrum equitum Postumum[3] Aebutium Helvam[4] dicit.

XXII. Dictator omnes luce prima extra portam Collinam adesse iubet. Quibuscumque vires suppe- 2 tebant ad arma ferenda praesto fuere. Signa ex

[1] metus et vastitatis *Conway and Walters*: metum uastitatis (uastatis *H*) Ω.

[2] Q. Servilium *U*$_2$ *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xxvi. § 7 ; *chap.* xlvi. § 4 ; *C.I.L.* i^2, *p.* 17): a. seruilium (seruilius *M*) Ω.

[3] Postumum *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xi. § 1) : postumium Ω.

[4] Helvam *A*^{2} *ς*: heluam heluium *M*: heluium Ω.

[1] *i.e. duumviri sacrorum*, in charge of the Sibylline books,

in particular that it was frequently announced that farm-buildings had been thrown down by earthquakes. A supplication was therefore offered up by the people under the direction of the duumviri.[1] B.C. 436–435

The pestilence was worse next year, when Gaius Julius (for the second time) and Lucius Verginius were the consuls, and caused such fears and ravages in the City and the country that not only did no one go out beyond the Roman marches to pillage, nor either patricians or plebs have any thought of waging war, but the men of Fidenae, who at first had kept to their mountains or their city walls, actually came down into Roman territory, bent on plunder. Then, when they had called in an army from Veii—for the Faliscans could not be driven into renewing the war either by the calamity of the Romans or the entreaties of their allies,—the two peoples crossed the Anio and set up their standards not far from the Colline Gate. The consternation in the City was therefore no less than in the fields; the consul Julius disposed his troops on the rampart and walls, and Verginius took counsel with the senate in the temple of Quirinus. It was resolved that Quintus Servilius, whose surname some give as Priscus, others as Structus, should be appointed dictator. Verginius delayed till he could consult his colleague; then, with his consent, he that night named the dictator, who appointed as his master of the horse Postumus Aebutius Helva.

XXII. The dictator commanded everybody to be outside the Colline Gate at break of day. All those who were able to bear arms were at hand. The

from which they derived the form of prayer used in this service.

A.U.C. 318–319

aerario prompta feruntur ad dictatorem. Quae cum agerentur, hostes in loca altiora concessere. Eo dictator agmine infesto subit, nec procul Nomento signis conlatis fudit Etruscas legiones; compulit 3 inde in urbem Fidenas valloque circumdedit; sed neque scalis capi poterat urbs alta et munita neque in obsidione vis ulla erat, quia frumentum non necessitati modo satis sed copiae quoque abunde ex 4 ante convecto sufficiebat. Ita expugnandi pariter cogendique ad deditionem spe amissa, dictator in locis propter propinquitatem notis ab aversa[1] parte urbis, maxime neglecta quia suapte natura tutissima 5 erat, agere in arcem cuniculum instituit. Ipse diversissimis locis subeundo ad moenia quadrifariam diviso exercitu qui alii aliis succederent ad pugnam, continenti die ac nocte proelio ab sensu operis hostes 6 avertebat, donec perfosso monte[2] erecta in arcem via est, intentisque Etruscis ad vanas a certo periculo minas clamor supra caput hostilis captam urbem ostendit.

7 Eo anno C. Furius Paculus[3] et M. Geganius Macerinus censores villam publicam in campo Martio probaverunt, ibique primum census populi est actus.

[1] aversa ζ: aduersa Ω.
[2] monte *L*: a castris monte (a . . . . . mo . . . *V*) Ω.
[3] Paculus *Conway*: Pacilus *Sigonius*: p̄. acilius *MPUOHD*[1] (*or D*) *LA*[3]: pacilius *D*? *A*?: *wanting in V.*

standards were taken out of the treasury and brought to the dictator. While this was going on, the enemy withdrew to a more elevated position. Thither the dictator marched under arms, and not far from Nomentum joined battle with the Etruscan forces and put them to rout. From there he drove them into the city of Fidenae, which he surrounded with a rampart; but could not capture it with scaling-ladders, since it was a lofty, well-fortified town, nor accomplish anything by blockade, for they not only had corn enough for their necessities, but in fact were lavishly supplied with it from stores which they had collected in advance. In despair therefore alike of storming the place and of forcing it to surrender, the dictator, operating in a region which was familiar from its nearness to Rome, began, on the farthest side of the city, which was least guarded because its peculiar character made it the safest of all, to drive a mine into the citadel. He himself, advancing against the city from widely separated points—with his army in four divisions, that they might relieve one another in the attack—by fighting continuously day and night distracted the enemy's attention from the work, until a tunnel had been dug through the hill and a passage-way constructed up into the citadel; when the Etruscans, intent on groundless alarms and unmindful of their real danger, were apprised by the shouts of the enemy above their heads that their city had been taken. B.C 436-435

In that year Gaius Furius Paculus and Marcus Geganius Macerinus the censors approved a public building erected in the Campus Martius, and the census of the people was taken there for the first time.

A.U.C. 320

XXIII. Eosdem consules insequenti anno refectos, Iulium tertium, Verginium iterum, apud Macrum
2 Licinium invenio: Valerius Antias atque Q. Tubero M. Manlium et Q. Sulpicium consules in eum annum edunt. Ceterum in tam discrepanti editione et Tubero et Macer libros linteos auctores profitentur; neuter tribunos militum eo anno fuisse traditum a
3 scriptoribus antiquis dissimulat. Licinio libros haud dubie sequi linteos placet:[1] Tubero incertus veri est. Sit inter[2] cetera vetustate cooperta[3] hoc quoque in incerto positum.
4 Trepidatum in Etruria est post Fidenas captas non Veientibus solum exterritis metu similis excidii, sed etiam Faliscis memoria initi primo cum iis belli,
5 quamquam rebellantibus non adfuerant. Igitur cum duae civitates legatis circa duodecim populos missis impetrassent ut ad Voltumnae fanum indiceretur omni Etruriae concilium, velut magno inde tumultu imminente senatus Mam. Aemilium dictatorem iterum
6 dici iussit. Ab eo A. Postumius Tubertus magister equitum est dictus; bellumque tanto maiore quam proximo conatu apparatum est quanto plus erat ab omni Etruria periculi quam ab duobus populis fuerat.

[1] placet *Muretus*: placet et Ω: placuit *V*.
[2] Sit inter *Muretus*: . . t inter *V*: set inter *A*: sed inter Ω.
[3] cooperta *Mommsen*: conperta *VM*: incomperta (inconperta M^1) Ω.

[1] It is typical of Livy's indifference to documents that he should not have taken the trouble to consult the Linen Rolls himself. As to the fact, Diodorus Siculus, xii. 53, gives Marcus Manlius, Quintus Sulpicius, and Servius Cornelius Cossus as military tribunes for the year 320 B.C., and the statement of Antias and Tubero may have arisen from the loss of the third name, and the consequent assumption that consuls were in office.

XXIII. That the same consuls were re-elected B.C. 434
the following year (Julius for a third and Verginius for a second term) I find stated by Licinius Macer: Valerius Antias and Quintus Tubero give Marcus Manlius and Quintus Sulpicius as the consuls for that year. For the rest, in spite of the great discrepancy in their statements, both Tubero and Macer cite the authority of the Linen Rolls; neither writer dissembles the fact that the elder historians had recorded that there were military tribunes for that year. Licinius sees fit to follow without hesitation the Linen Rolls: Tubero is uncertain where the truth lies. With all the other matters which are shrouded in antiquity this question too may be left undecided.[1]

There was great alarm in Etruria in consequence of the capture of Fidenae. Not only were the people of Veii terrified by the fear of a similar disaster, but the Faliscans too remembered that they had commenced the war in alliance with the Fidenates, although they had not supported them in their revolt. Accordingly when the two states, sending envoys round amongst the twelve cities, had obtained their consent to have a council proclaimed for all Etruria at the shrine of Voltumna, the senate, feeling that they were threatened with a great outbreak in that quarter, ordered that Mamercus Aemilius be again named dictator. By him Aulus Postumius Tubertus was appointed master of the horse, and preparations for war were set about as much more energetically than on the last occasion, as the danger from all Etruria was greater than it had been from two cities.

A.U.C. 320

XXIV. Ea res aliquanto exspectatione omnium
2 tranquillior fuit. Itaque cum renuntiatum a mercatoribus esset negata Veientibus auxilia, iussosque suo consilio bellum initum suis viribus exsequi nec adversarum rerum quaerere socios, cum quibus spem
3 integram communicati non sint,[1] tum dictator, ne nequiquam creatus esset, materia quaerendae bello gloriae adempta, in pace aliquid operis edere quod monumentum esset dictaturae cupiens, censuram minuere parat seu nimiam potestatem ratus seu non tam magnitudine honoris quam diuturnitate offensus.
4 Contione itaque advocata rem publicam foris gerendam ait tutaque omnia praestanda deos immortales suscepisse: se, quod intra muros agendum esset, libertati populi Romani consulturum; maximam autem eius custodiam esse si magna imperia diuturna non essent et temporis modus imponeretur quibus
5 iuris imponi non posset; alios magistratus annuos esse, quinquennalem censuram; grave[2] esse iisdem per tot annos magna parte vitae obnoxios vivere; se legem laturum, ne plus quam annua ac semestris
6 censura esset. Consensu ingenti populi legem postero die pertulit et "Ut re ipsa" inquit "sciatis, Quirites, quam mihi diuturna non placeant imperia,

[1] communicati non sint Ω: communicanti non sint *DLH*: communicari non sirint *Jac. Gronov*: communicare noluerint *H. J. Mueller*.

[2] grave *D*? ς: grauem Ω: *wanting in V*.

[1] This implies that the meetings of the league were made occasions for fairs. Cp. the fair at the shrine of Feronia, I. xxx. 5.

XXIV. This affair ended a good deal more quietly B.C. 434
than anybody had anticipated. It was reported by merchants[1] that the Veientes had been refused assistance and had been told that having embarked on the war at their own discretion they must prosecute it with their own forces nor seek the alliance of those in their adversity with whom they had not shared the prospect of success. Whereupon the dictator, that his appointment might not have been for nothing, was desirous, being deprived of the means of winning military renown, of accomplishing some peaceful achievement to signalize his dictatorship. He therefore laid his plans to weaken the censorship, either thinking its powers excessive, or troubled less by the greatness of the office than by its long duration. So, calling an assembly, he said that the immortal gods had undertaken to manage the foreign relations of the state and to make everything safe: he himself would do what needed to be done within the City, and would defend the liberty of the Roman People. Now the greatest safeguard was that great powers should not be long-continued, but that a limit of time should be imposed on them, since no limit of jurisdiction could be. Other magistracies were tenable for one year, the censorship for five. It was a serious matter for the same man to have authority over people for so many years, in a great part of their affairs. He announced that he should propose a law that the censorship might not last longer than a year and a half. With vast enthusiasm on the part of the people the law was next day enacted, and Mamercus exclaimed, "That you may have positive proof, Quirites, how little I approve prolonged authority, I lay down my

A.U.C. 320

7 dictatura me abdico." Deposito suo magistratu, imposito fine alteri, cum gratulatione ac favore ingenti populi domum est reductus. Censores aegre passi Mamercum quod magistratum populi Romani minuisset tribu moverunt octiplicatoque censu aera-
8 rium fecerunt. Quam rem ipsum ingenti animo tulisse ferunt causam potius ignominiae intuentem quam ignominiam; primores patrum, quamquam deminutum censurae ius noluissent, exemplo acerbitatis censoriae offensos, quippe cum se quisque diutius ac saepius subiectum censoribus fore cerneret quam
9 censuram gesturum: populi certe tanta indignatio coorta dicitur ut vis a censoribus nullius auctoritate praeterquam ipsius Mamerci deterreri quiverit.

A.U.C. 321-322

XXV. Tribuni plebi adsiduis contentionibus prohibendo consularia comitia cum res prope ad interregnum perducta esset, evicere tandem ut tribuni
2 militum consulari potestate crearentur. Victoriae praemium quod petebatur, ut plebeius crearetur, nullum[1] fuit; omnes patricii creati sunt, M. Fabius
3 Vibulanus M. Folius L. Sergius Fidenas. Pestilentia eo anno aliarum rerum otium praebuit. Aedis Apollini pro valetudine populi vota est. Multa duumviri ex libris placandae deum irae averten-

[1] nullum A^2 *or* A^3 ς: nullus Ω.

[1] The *aerarii* were the lowest class of citizens. They could neither vote nor hold office; were not eligible for service in the legion; and shared in the burdens of the state only by the payment of taxes—*aes*—assessed by the censors, instead of being determined by the citizen's sworn declaration, as was the case with members of the five classes.

[2] *Viz.* the Sibylline Books.

dictatorship." Thus, having resigned his own magis- B.C. 434
tracy and assigned a limit for the other, he was escorted to his home by the people, with striking manifestations of rejoicing and good-will. The censors, in their indignation that Mamercus had abridged a magistracy of the Roman People, removed him from his tribe, and assessing him at eight times his former tax, disfranchised him.[1] This they say Mamercus bore with great fortitude, having regard rather to the cause of his humiliation than to the humiliation itself. The leading patricians, though they had opposed the curtailment of the jurisdiction of the censorship, were offended by this example of censorial ruthlessness, since each of them perceived that he should be subjected to the censor for a longer period and more frequently than he should hold the censor's office. The people at any rate are said to have been so enraged that no man's influence but that of Mamercus himself could have shielded the censors from their violence.

XXV. The tribunes of the plebs by persistent B.C. 433-432
opposition prevented the consular elections from taking place. At last, when matters had been brought almost to an interregnum, they succeeded in their contention that military tribunes with consular powers should be chosen. Though they hoped their victory would be rewarded by the choice of a plebeian, they were disappointed: all those who were elected were patricians, Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Folius, Lucius Sergius Fidenas. An epidemic that year afforded a respite from other troubles. A temple was vowed to Apollo in behalf of the people's health. The duumviri did many things by direction of the Books[2] for the

A.U.C. 321–322

4 daeque a populo pestis causa fecere; magna tamen clades in urbe agrisque promiscua[1] hominum pecorumque pernicie accepta. Famem quoque ex pestilentia morbo implicitis[2] cultoribus agrorum timentes in Etruriam Pomptinumque agrum et Cumas, postremo in Siciliam quoque frumenti causa misere.
5 Consularium comitiorum nulla mentio habita est; tribuni militum consulari potestate omnes patricii creati sunt, L. Pinarius Mamercus L. Furius Medullinus Sp. Postumius Albus.
6 Eo anno vis morbi levata neque a penuria frumenti, quia ante provisum erat, periculum fuit.
7 Consilia ad movenda bella in Volscorum Aequorumque conciliis et in Etruria ad fanum Voltumnae
8 agitata. Ibi prolatae in annum res, decretoque cautum ne quod ante concilium fieret, nequiquam Veiente populo querente eandem qua Fidenae deletae sint imminere Veiis fortunam.
9 Interim Romae principes plebis, iam diu nequiquam imminentes spei maioris honoris dum foris otium esset, coetus indicere in domos tribunorum
10 plebis; ibi secreta consilia agitare; queri se a plebe adeo spretos, ut cum per tot annos tribuni militum consulari potestate creentur, nulli unquam plebeio
11 ad eum honorem aditus fuerit. Multum providisse

[1] promiscua *Gronovius*: promiscuae *VPOHR*: promiscue Ω.
[2] quoque ex pestilentia morbo implicitis *V* (inp.): *wanting in* Ω.

purpose of appeasing the angry gods and averting the plague from the people. Nevertheless the losses were severe, both in the City and the country, and men and cattle were stricken without distinction. They even feared that famine would succeed the epidemic, since the farmers were down with the disease. They therefore sent to Etruria and the Pomptine district, and to Cumae, and finally to Sicily itself, for corn. Nothing was said about consular elections; military tribunes with consular authority were chosen as follows: Lucius Pinarius Mamercus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Spurius Postumius Albus—all patricians. B.C. 433-432

This year the violence of the disease was mitigated, and there was no risk of a dearth of corn, since precautions had been taken in advance. Schemes for instigating war were discussed in the councils of the Volsci and Aequi, and in Etruria at the shrine of Voltumna. There the enterprise was put over for a year, and it was decreed that no council should convene before that date, though the Veientes complained—without effect—that Veii was threatened with the same destruction as had overtaken Fidenae.

Meanwhile in Rome the leaders of the plebs, who had now for a long time, while there was peace with other nations, been thwarted in their hopes of attaining to greater honours, began to appoint meetings at the houses of the plebeian tribunes. There they considered their plans in secret; they complained that they were held in such contempt by the plebs that although military tribunes with consular powers had been elected for so many years, no plebeian had ever been admitted to that office. Their ancestors had shown great foresight in pro-

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suos maiores, qui caverint ne cui patricio plebeii magistratus paterent; aut patricios habendos fuisse tribunos plebi; adeo se suis etiam sordere nec a 12 plebe minus quam a patribus contemni. Alii purgare plebem, culpam in patres vertere: eorum ambitione artibusque fieri ut obsaeptum plebi sit ad honorem iter; si plebi respirare ab eorum mixtis precibus minisque liceat, memorem eam suorum inituram suffragia esse et parto auxilio imperium quo- 13 que adscituram. Placet tollendae ambitionis causa tribunos legem promulgare ne cui album in vestimentum addere petitionis causa liceret. Parva nunc res et vix serio agenda videri possit, quae tunc 14 ingenti certamine patres ac plebem accendit. Vicere tamen tribuni ut legem perferrent; apparebatque inritatis animis plebem ad suos studia inclinaturam. Quae ne libera essent, senatus consultum factum est ut consularia comitia haberentur.

A.U.C. 323

XXVI. Tumultus causa fuit, quem ab Aequis et 2 Volscis Latini atque Hernici nuntiarant. T. Quinctius L. f. Cincinnatus—eidem et Poeno cognomen 3 additur—et Cn.[1] Iulius Mento consules facti. Nec ultra terror belli est dilatus. Lege sacrata, quae

[1] et Cn. ς: et gneus Ω: g. nus *M*: et gneneus *O*: et genucius en *V* (*which omits* Mento): et C. *Sigonius* (*from Diod. Sic.* XII. xxxviii. 1).

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[1] *Auxilium* alludes to the plebeian tribunate, *imperium* to the military tribunate with consular powers.

[2] *sc.* the plebeian tribunes.

[3] The office-seeker pipe-clayed his toga; hence *candidatus*, "candidate."

[4] Whoever offended against such a law was forfeited (*sacer*) to the gods.

viding that no patrician should be eligible for the plebeian magistracies; otherwise they would have been obliged to have patricians as tribunes of the plebs, so contemptible did they appear, even to their own class, being no less despised by the commons than by the nobles. Others exonerated the plebs and threw the blame upon the patricians: it was owing to their artful canvassing that the plebeians found the road to office blocked; if the plebs might have a breathing-spell from the mingled prayers and menaces of the nobles, they would think of their friends when they went to vote, and to the protection they had already won would add authority.[1] It was resolved in order to do away with canvassing, that the tribunes[2] should propose a law forbidding anyone to whiten his toga, for the purpose of announcing himself a candidate.[3] This may now appear a trivial thing and one scarcely to be considered seriously, but at that time it kindled a furious struggle between the patricians and the plebs. Yet the tribunes prevailed and carried their law; and it was clear that the plebeians in their irritated mood would support the men of their own order. That they might not be at liberty to do so, the senate decreed that consuls should be elected. B.C. 433–432

XXVI. The reason alleged was a sudden outbreak of hostilities on the part of the Aequi and Volsci, which the Latins and the Hernici had reported. Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, son of Lucius—the same who is given the added surname Poenus,—and Gnaeus Julius Mento were made consuls. Nor was the fear of war deferred. After a levy, held under a *lex sacrata*[4] which was their most effective B.C. 431

A.U.C. 323

maxima apud eos vis cogendae militiae erat, dilectu habito utrimque validi exercitus profecti in Algidum convenere, ibique seorsum Aequi, seorsum Volsci castra communivere, intentiorque quam unquam ante muniendi exercendique militem cura ducibus erat. Eo plus nuntii terroris Romam attulere. Senatui dictatorem dici placuit, quia etsi saepe victi populi maiore tamen conatu quam alias unquam rebellarant, et aliquantum Romanae iuventutis morbo absumptum erat. Ante omnia pravitas consulum discordiaque inter ipsos et certamina in consiliis omnibus terrebant. Sunt qui male pugnatum ab his consulibus in Algido auctores sint eamque causam dictatoris creandi fuisse. Illud satis constat ad alia discordes in uno adversus patrum voluntatem consensisse ne dicerent dictatorem, donec cum alia aliis terribiliora adferrentur nec in auctoritate senatus consules essent, Q. Servilius Priscus, summis honoribus egregie usus, "Vos" inquit, "tribuni plebis, quoniam ad extrema ventum est, senatus appellat ut in tanto discrimine rei publicae dictatorem dicere consules pro potestate vestra cogatis." Qua voce audita occasionem oblatam rati tribuni augendae potestatis secedunt proque collegio pronuntiant placere consules senatui dicto audientes esse; si adversus

means of collecting soldiers, strong armies marched B.C. 431
out from both nations and met on Algidus, where the Aequi encamped in one place and the Volsci in another, and their generals took more pains than ever before to intrench, and to drill their men. For this reason the report occasioned the more dismay in Rome. The senate resolved that a dictator should be appointed, since, though often beaten, those nations had renewed the war with greater efforts than at any previous time, and a considerable proportion of the young Romans had been carried off by the plague. Above all, men were frightened by the wrong-headedness of the consuls, their want of harmony between themselves, and their opposition to each other in all their plans. Some writers say that these consuls were defeated on Algidus, and that this was the reason of the dictator's being named. Thus much is clear: though they might differ in other matters, they were agreed on one thing, to oppose the wishes of the Fathers for the appointment of a dictator; until, as the reports grew more and more alarming, and the consuls refused to be guided by the senate, Quintus Servilius Priscus, a man who had filled with distinction the highest offices, cried out, "To you, tribunes of the plebs, since matters have come to an extremity, the senate appeals, that in this great national crisis you may compel the consuls, by virtue of your authority, to name a dictator." Hearing this the tribunes felt that an opportunity had come for increasing their power; they conferred apart, and then announced, in behalf of the college, that they were resolved that the consuls should obey the senate; if they persisted further

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consensum amplissimi ordinis ultra tendant, in vincla
10 se duci eos iussuros. Consules ab tribunis quam ab senatu vinci maluerunt, proditum a patribus summi imperii ius datumque sub iugum tribuniciae potestati consulatum memorantes, si quidem cogi aliquid pro potestate ab tribuno consules et—quo quid ulterius privato timendum foret?—in vincla etiam duci
11 possent. Sors, ut dictatorem diceret—nam ne id quidem inter collegas convenerat — T. Quinctio evenit. Is A. Postumium Tubertum, socerum suum, severissimi imperii virum, dictatorem dixit; ab eo
12 L. Iulius magister equitum est dictus. Dilectus simul edicitur et iustitium, neque aliud tota urbe agi quam bellum apparari. Cognitio vacantium militiae munere post bellum differtur; ita dubii quoque inclinant ad nomina danda. Et Hernicis Latinisque milites imperati; utrimque enixe oboeditum dictatori est.

XXVII. Haec omnia celeritate ingenti acta; relictoque Cn. Iulio consule ad praesidium urbis et L. Iulio magistro equitum ad subita belli ministeria, ne qua res qua eguissent in castris moraretur, dic-

[1] For fear that—their claims being then disallowed—they would be treated as deserters.

to oppose the unanimous opinion of that most honourable order, they should command them to be put in prison. The consuls preferred to be defeated by the tribunes rather than by the senate. They declared that the senators had betrayed the rights of the highest office in the state and had ignominiously surrendered the consulship to the tribunician power, since apparently it was possible for the consuls to be subjected to the official compulsion of a tribune, and even—what could a private citizen fear more than that?—be carried off to gaol. It was determined by lot—for the colleagues had not been able to agree even about this—that Titus Quinctius should name the dictator. He appointed Aulus Postumius Tubertus, his father-in-law, a man of the sternest authority; and by him Lucius Julius was chosen master of the horse. At the same time a levy was proclaimed and a cessation of legal business, and it was ordered that nothing else should be done in all the City but prepare for war. The examination of those who claimed exemption from military service was put over till after the war, and so even those whose cases were uncertain were disposed to give in their names.[1] Men were required also of the Hernici and the Latins, and in both instances the dictator was zealously obeyed. B.C. 431

XXVII. These measures were all carried out with great dispatch. Gnaeus Julius the consul was left behind to protect the city; and Lucius Julius, the master of the horse, to meet the sudden demands which arise in war, that the troops might not be hampered in camp by the want of anything that they might need. The dictator, repeating the words

A.U.C. 323 tator praeeunte A. Cornelio pontifice maximo ludos
2 magnos tumultus causa vovit, profectusque ab urbe
diviso cum Quinctio consule exercitu ad hostes per-
3 venit. Sicut bina castra hostium parvo inter se
spatio distantia viderant,[1] ipsi quoque mille ferme
passus ab hoste dictator Tusculo, consul Lanuvio
4 propiorem locum castris ceperunt. Ita quattuor ex-
ercitus totidem munimenta planitiem in medio non
parvis modo excursionibus ad proelia, sed vel ad
explicandas utrimque acies satis patentem habebant.
5 Nec ex quo castris castra conlata sunt cessatum a
levibus proeliis est, facile patiente dictatore confer-
endo vires spem universae victoriae temptato pau-
6 latim eventu certaminum suos praecipere. Itaque
hostes nulla in proelio iusto relicta spe, noctu adorti
castra consulis rem in casum ancipitis eventus com-
mittunt. Clamor subito ortus non consulis modo
vigiles, exercitum deinde omnem, sed dictatorem
7 quoque ex somno excivit. Ubi praesenti ope res
egebant, consul nec animo defecit nec consilio: pars
militum portarum stationes firmant,[2] pars corona
8 vallum cingunt. In alteris apud dictatorem castris
quo minus tumultus est, eo plus animadvertitur quid
opus facto sit. Missum extemplo ad castra subsidium,
cui Sp. Postumius Albus legatus praeficitur: ipse

[1] viderant Ω: uideret *V*: uiderunt ς: videre, ita *Madvig.*
[2] firmant ς: firmat Ω.

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[1] Not to be confounded with the annual *Ludi Magni* established by A. Postumius after his victory at Lake Regillus, 499 B.C. The present reference is to votive games to be given, in the event of victory, as payment in full for the assistance of the gods.

after Aulus Cornelius the pontifex maximus, vowed B.C. 431
to celebrate great games[1] if he succeeded in quelling the outbreak, and, dividing his army with the consul Quinctius, set out from Rome and came to the enemy. Seeing that the opposing forces occupied two camps with a little space between, the Roman generals followed their example and encamped about a mile from the enemy, the dictator nearer to Tusculum and the consul to Lanuvium. Thus the four armies in their four intrenchments had in their midst a field of sufficient extent not merely for small preliminary skirmishes but even for drawing up lines of battle on both sides. Nor from the moment the Romans had pitched their camp near that of the enemy did they once cease skirmishing; and the dictator was well content that his men should match their strength against their adversaries, and by trying the outcome of these contests come, little by little, to count upon a general victory. The enemy in consequence abandoned all hope of success in a regular battle and attacked the consul's camp at night, committing their cause to the hazard of a dangerous enterprise. The shout which suddenly broke out aroused not only the consul's sentries and after them his entire army, but the dictator as well. When circumstances required instant action, the consul proved to be wanting neither in resolution nor in judgment. With a part of his soldiers he reinforced the guards at the gates; with a part he lined the palisade. In the other camp, with the dictator, there was less confusion and a correspondingly clearer perception what was needful to be done. Reinforcements were immediately sent to the consul's camp, under Spurius Postumius Albus

a.u.c. 323 parte copiarum parvo circuitu locum maxime secretum ab tumultu petit unde ex necopinato aversum[1] 9 hostem invadat. Q. Sulpicium legatum praeficit castris; M. Fabio legato adsignat equites, nec ante lucem movere iubet manum inter nocturnos tumultus moderatu difficilem. Omnia, quae vel alius imperator prudens et impiger in tali re praeciperet 10 ageretque, praecipit ordine atque agit; illud eximium consilii animique specimen et neutiquam volgatae laudis, quod ultro ad oppugnanda castra hostium, unde maiore agmine profectos[2] exploratum fuerat, 11 M. Geganium cum cohortibus delectis misit. Qui postquam intentos homines in eventum periculi alieni pro se incautos neglectis vigiliis stationibusque est adortus, prius paene cepit castra quam oppugnari 12 hostes satis scirent. Inde fumo, ut convenerat, datum signum ubi conspectum ab dictatore est, exclamat capta hostium castra nuntiarique passim iubet.

XXVIII. Et iam lucescebat omniaque sub oculis erant. Et Fabius cum equitatu impetum dederat et consul eruptionem e castris in trepidos iam hostes fece- 2 rat; dictator autem parte altera subsidia et secundam

[1] aversum A^2 ς: aduersum (-s *M*) Ω.
[2] profectos ς: profectus Ω.

the lieutenant: the dictator himself, taking a part of B.C. 431
his forces, marched by a slight detour to a place absolutely screened from the fighting, that he might thence strike the enemy unawares as he faced the other way. The lieutenant Quintus Sulpicius he put in charge of the camp; to the lieutenant Marcus Fabius he assigned the cavalry, but ordered him not to move his command till daybreak, as it would be hard to control in the confusion of the night. Everything that any wise and active general could have commanded and carried out in such a situation was duly commanded and carried out by him; but an unusual proof of judgment and daring and one which reflects no ordinary credit upon him was this, that he actually attacked the enemy's camp (from which, as he ascertained, they had marched out with more than half their troops), dispatching Marcus Geganius with some chosen cohorts on that service. This officer found his foes absorbed in the issue of the dangerous work undertaken by their fellows, and with no thought for themselves, neglecting their sentinels and outguards; he attacked them, captured their camp almost before they fully realized that they were assailed, and sent up a prearranged signal of smoke, on seeing which the dictator cried out that the enemy's camp was taken and bade spread the news.

XXVIII. By this time the day was breaking and everything could be seen. Fabius had delivered a charge with his cavalry; the consul had made a sally from the camp against the enemy, who were already wavering; while the dictator, on the other side of the field, attacking the supports and the second line, had fallen upon the foe from every side, as they

A.U.C. 325 aciem adortus circumagenti se [1] ad dissonos clamores ac subitos tumultus hosti undique obiecerat victorem
3 peditem equitemque. Circumventi igitur iam in medio ad unum omnes poenas rebellionis dedissent, ni Vettius Messius ex Volscis, nobilior vir factis quam genere, iam orbem volventes suos increpans
4 clara voce "Hic praebituri" inquit, "vos telis hostium estis indefensi, inulti? Quid igitur arma habetis aut quid ultro bellum intulistis, in otio tumultuosi, in bello segnes? Quid hic stantibus spei est? An deum aliquem protecturum vos rapturumque hinc putatis?
5 Ferro via facienda est. Hac, qua me praegressum videritis, agite, qui visuri domos parentes coniuges liberos estis, ite mecum! Non murus nec vallum sed armati armatis obstant. Virtute pares, necessitate, quae ultimum ac maximum telum est, superiores
6 estis." Haec locutum exsequentemque dicta redintegrato clamore secuti dant impressionem qua Postumius Albus cohortes obiecerat; et moverunt victorem, donec dictator pedem iam referentibus
7 suis advenit, eoque omne proelium versum est. Uni viro Messio fortuna hostium innititur. Multa utrimque volnera, multa passim caedes est. Iam ne duces
8 quidem Romani incruenti pugnant. Unus Postumius ictus saxo perfracto capite acie excessit, non dicta-

[1] circumagenti se ς: circumagenti A^2 (*or* A^3): circumagentes Ω: agentes *M*.

wheeled about to meet the wild shouts and sudden B.C. 431
onsets, with his victorious foot and horse. Accordingly, being now hemmed in on every side, the enemy would have suffered to a man the penalty of their rebellion, had not Vettius Messius, a Volscian more distinguished by his deeds than by his birth, called out in a clear voice to his men, who were already crowding together in a circle, "Are you going to offer yourselves up here to the weapons of the enemy, defenceless and unavenged? To what end then are you armed, or why without provocation did you make war, turbulent in peace and sluggards in the field? What hope is there while you stand here? Do you think that some god will protect you and deliver you from this plight? It is your swords must make a way for you! Come, where you see me go before, there you must follow, if you would look on homes, parents, wives and children! It is not a wall or rampart that blocks your path, but armed men like yourselves. In courage you are their equals; in necessity, which is the last and chiefest weapon, you are the better men." So he spoke, and acted on the word. Renewing their shouts they followed after, and hurled themselves against the Romans where the cohorts of Postumius Albus had confronted them. And they forced the victors to give ground, until the dictator came up, as his men were already falling back, and the fighting all centred on that spot. On one single warrior, Messius, hung the fortunes of the enemy. Many were the wounds on either side, and great was the slaughter everywhere. Now even the Roman leaders were bleeding as they fought. Only Postumius left the battle, struck by a stone that broke his head.

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torem umerus volneratus, non Fabium prope adfixum equo femur, non bracchium abscisum consulem ex tam ancipiti proelio submovit.

XXIX. Messium impetus per stratos caede hostes cum globo fortissimorum iuvenum extulit ad castra Volscorum, quae nondum capta erant. Eodem omnis
2 acies inclinatur. Consul effusos usque ad vallum persecutus ipsa castra vallumque adgreditur; eodem
3 et dictator alia parte copias admovet. Non segnior oppugnatio est quam pugna fuerat. Consulem signum quoque intra vallum iniecisse ferunt, quo milites acrius subirent, repetendoque signo primam impressionem factam. Et dictator proruto vallo iam in
4 castra proelium intulerat. Tum abici passim arma ac dedi hostes coepti, castrisque et his captis hostes praeter senatores omnes venum dati sunt. Praedae pars sua cognoscentibus Latinis atque Hernicis reddita, partem sub hasta dictator vendidit; praepositoque consule castris ipse triumphans invectus
5 urbem dictatura se abdicavit. Egregiae dictaturae tristem memoriam faciunt, qui filium ab A. Postumio, quod occasione bene pugnandi captus iniussu decesserit[1] praesidio, victorem securi percussum tra-
6 dunt. Nec libet credere, et licet in variis opinioni-

[1] decesserit *Gronovius*: discesserit (-ceserit *A*) Ω.

A wounded shoulder could not drive the dictator from so critical a fight; nor would Fabius retire for a thigh almost pinned to his horse; nor the consul for an arm that was hewn away. B.C. 431

XXIX. Messius pressed on with a band of courageous youths over the slain bodies of his enemies, and reached the Volscian camp, which had not yet been taken; and on that point the entire battle converged. The consul, after pursuing his opponents clear up to the rampart, assailed the camp itself and the palisade; and thither from another part of the field the dictator brought up his troops. The assault was no less vigorous than the battle had been. They say that the consul even cast his standard into the stockade, to make his men the more eager in the charge, and that in seeking to recover it they made the first breach. The dictator too had breached the rampart and had already carried the fighting into the camp. Then the enemy began on every hand to throw down their arms and surrender. Finally the camp itself was captured, and the enemy were all sold into slavery, except the senators. A portion of the booty was restored to the Latins and the Hernici, on their identifying it as their own; a part was sold at auction by the dictator; who then left the consul in command of the camp and returning himself in triumph to the City laid down his office. The memory of the noble dictatorship assumes a sombre hue in a tradition that Aulus Postumius' son, who, tempted by an opportunity of fighting to advantage, had left his post unbidden, was in the hour of his victory beheaded by his father's orders. One is loath to believe this story, and the diversity of opinion allows one to reject it. It is an indication

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bus; et argumento est, quod imperia Manliana,[1] non Postumiana appellata sunt,[2] cum[3] qui prior auctor tam saevi exempli foret, occupaturus insignem titulum crudelitatis fuerit. Imperioso quoque Manlio cognomen inditum; Postumius nulla tristi nota est insignitus.

7 Cn. Iulius[4] consul aedem Apollinis absente collega sine sorte dedicavit. Aegre id passus Quinctius cum dimisso exercitu in urbem redisset, nequiquam in senatu est conquestus.

8 Insigni magnis rebus anno additur nihil tum ad rem Romanam pertinere visum, quod Carthaginienses, tanti hostes futuri, tum primum per seditiones Siculorum ad partis alterius auxilium in Siciliam exercitum traiecere.

A.U.C. 324–327

XXX. Agitatum in urbe ab tribunis plebis ut tribuni militum consulari potestate crearentur nec obtineri potuit. Consules fiunt L. Papirius Crassus L. Iulius. Aequorum legati foedus ab senatu cum petissent et pro foedere deditio ostentaretur, indutias 2 annorum octo impetraverunt: Volscorum res super acceptam in Algido cladem pertinaci certamine inter pacis bellique auctores in iurgia et seditiones versa: 3 undique otium fuit Romanis. Legem de multarum

[1] Manliana *Vorm.*: Malliana Ω. [2] sunt ς: sint Ω.
[3] cum *Rhenanus*: quem Ω.
[4] Cn. Iulius Ω: cn. c. iulius *DLA*: C. Iulius *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xxvi. § 2 *and note*).

[1] Alluding to the story told at VIII. vii. 1.

[2] A mistake. The Carthaginians had obtained a foothold in Sicily long before this time, and (according to Herodotus, vii. 166), were defeated in a great naval battle by the Sicilians on the same day that Salamis was fought (480 B.C.).

[3] The same who had been consul in 435? Livy usually notes the second election to a consulship with the word

of its falsity that we speak of Manlian,[1] not Postumian discipline, whereas he who had first established so rigorous a precedent would himself have received that notorious stigma of cruelty. Besides, Manlius was given the surname *Imperiosus*—"the Despotic" —while Postumius received no such grim distinction. B.C. 431

Gnaeus Julius the consul dedicated the temple of Apollo in the absence of his colleague, without drawing lots. Quinctius resented this, when he had dismissed his army and returned to the City; but his complaint of it in the senate was without effect.

To the history of a year famous for its great events, is appended a statement—as though the incident was then regarded as of no importance to the Roman state—that the Carthaginians, destined to be such mighty enemies, then for the first time sent over an army into Sicily to assist one of the factions in the domestic quarrels of the Sicilians.[2]

XXX. An effort was made in the City by the tribunes of the plebs to procure the election of military tribunes with consular powers, but it was unsuccessful. Lucius Papirius Crassus[3] and Lucius Julius were chosen consuls. The Aequi, through their envoys, sought a treaty from the senate. Instead of granting a treaty, the senate suggested that they surrender; but they asked and obtained a truce for eight years. The Volscian commonwealth, in addition to the disaster it had suffered on Algidus, had become involved in quarrels and seditions, in consequence of an obstinate struggle between the advocates of peace and those of war. The Romans everywhere enjoyed peace. A law concerning the B.C. 430-427

iterum. Diodorus, xii. 72, gives our consul's name as Gaius.

A.U.C. 324–327

aestimatione pergratam populo cum ab tribunis parari consules unius ex collegio proditione excepissent, ipsi praeoccupaverunt ferre.

4 Consules L. Sergius Fidenas iterum Hostius[1] Lucretius Tricipitinus. Nihil dignum dictu actum his consulibus. Secuti eos consules A. Cornelius 5 Cossus T. Quinctius Poenus iterum. Veientes in agrum Romanum excursiones fecerunt. Fama fuit quosdam ex Fidenatium iuventute participes eius populationis fuisse, cognitioque eius rei L. Sergio et 6 Q. Servilio et Mam. Aemilio permissa. Quidam Ostiam relegati, quod cur per eos dies a Fidenis afuissent parum constabat. Colonorum additus numerus agerque iis bello interemptorum adsignatus, 7 Siccitate eo anno plurimum laboratum est, nec caelestes modo defuerunt aquae sed terra quoque ingenito umore egens vix ad perennes suffecit amnes 8 Defectus alibi aquarum circa torridos fontes rivosque stragem siti pecorum morientum dedit; scabie alia absumpta; volgatique contactu in homines morbi. Et primo in agrestes ingruerant servitiaque; urbs 9 deinde impletur. Nec corpora modo adfecta tabo, sed animos quoque multiplex religio et pleraque externa invasit, novos ritus sacrificandi vaticinando

[1] Hostius Ω (I. xii. 2): Hostus *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 111).

[1] An earlier law (*Menenia Sextia*, 452 B.C.) had fixed the limit of fines which magistrates might impose on their own responsibility at two sheep for poor men and thirty oxen for rich men. The present law (*Papiria Iulia*) provided for a uniform money equivalent for these fines, *viz.* twenty and three thousand asses respectively.

valuation of fines was most welcome to the people. Having learned through the treachery of a member of the college that the tribunes were drawing one up, the consuls anticipated their action and themselves proposed it.[1] B.C. 430 427

The next consuls were Lucius Sergius Fidenas (for the second time) and Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus. Nothing noteworthy was done this year. They were succeeded in the consulship by Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Titus Quinctius Poenus, who was elected for the second time. The Veientes made inroads into Roman territory. It was rumoured that certain young men of Fidenae had shared in the pillaging. The investigation of this report was intrusted to Lucius Sergius, Quintus Servilius, and Mamercus Aemilius; and certain men were banished to Ostia, because it was not clear why they had been away from Fidenae during those days. A number of settlers were added to the colony, and land was assigned them which had belonged to men who had fallen in the war. A drought that year caused great suffering. Not only did the skies provide too little rain, but the earth as well was deficient in native moisture and could hardly supply the perennial streams. In some cases the failure of the sources caused the dry springs and brooks to be lined with cattle perishing of thirst; others were carried off by a mange, and their diseases were by contact communicated to mankind. At first they attacked country people and slaves; then the City was infected. And not only were men's bodies smitten by the plague, but a horde of superstitions, mostly foreign, took possession of their minds, as the class of men who find their profit in superstition-ridden souls intro-

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inferentibus in domos, quibus quaestui sunt capti
10 superstitione animi, donec publicus iam pudor ad primores civitatis pervenit cernentes in omnibus vicis sacellisque peregrina atque insolita piacula
11 pacis deum exposcendae. Datum inde negotium aedilibus ut animadverterent ne qui nisi Romani di neu quo alio more quam patrio colerentur.
12 Irae adversus Veientes in insequentem annum, C. Servilium Ahalam L. Papirium Mugillanum[1] consules,
13 dilatae sunt. Tunc quoque ne confestim bellum indiceretur neve exercitus mitterentur religio obstitit; fetiales prius mittendos ad res repetendas
14 censuere. Cum Veientibus nuper acie dimicatum ad Nomentum et Fidenas fuerat, indutiaeque inde, non pax facta, quarum et dies exierat et ante diem rebellaverant; missi tamen fetiales; nec eorum, cum more patrum iurati repeterent res, verba sunt audita.
15 Controversia inde fuit utrum populi iussu indiceretur bellum an satis esset senatus consultum. Pervicere tribuni, denuntiando impedituros se dilectum, ut Quinctius consul de bello ad populum ferret.
16 Omnes centuriae iussere. In eo quoque plebs superior fuit, quod tenuit ne consules in proximum annum crearentur.

A.U.C. 328

XXXI. Tribuni militum consulari potestate quat-
tuor creati sunt, T. Quinctius Poenus ex consulatu
2 C. Furius M. Postumius A. Cornelius Cossus. Ex

[1] Mugillanum *Drakenborch*: mugilanum Ω: mugillano *OH*: mugilano ς.

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[1] For the procedure of the fetials see I. xxxii.

[2] If the war was a new war it must be sanctioned by vote of the people; if merely a continuation of the old war this was unnecessary.

duced strange sacrificial rites into their homes, pretending to be seers; until the public shame finally reached the leading citizens, as they beheld in every street and chapel outlandish and unfamiliar sacrifices being offered up to appease Heaven's anger. The aediles were then commissioned to see to it that none but Roman gods should be worshipped, nor in any but the ancestral way. B.C. 430-427

Revenge on the men of Veii was postponed till the following year, when Gaius Servilius Ahala and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus were consuls. Even then a religious scruple prevented the immediate declaration of war and dispatch of armies; they resolved that fetials must first be sent to require restitution. Not long before there had been a battle with the Veientes near Nomentum and Fidenae, and this had been followed not by peace but by a truce. Its time had now run out, and indeed the enemy had begun to fight again before its expiration; nevertheless fetials were sent; yet their words, when they sought reparation after taking the customary oath,[1] were not attended to. A dispute then arose whether war should be declared by command of the people, or whether a senatorial decree was enough.[2] The tribunes prevailed, by threatening to hinder the levy, and forced the consul Quinctius to refer the question of war to the people. All the centuries voted for it. In this respect also the plebs had the better, that they made good their wish that consuls should not be elected for the following year.

XXXI. Four military tribunes with consular powers were elected, Titus Quinctius Poenus, who had just been consul, Gaius Furius, Marcus Postumius, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. Of these, Cossus had charge B.C. 426

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his Cossus praefuit urbi, tres dilectu habito profecti sunt Veios documentoque fuere quam plurium imperium bello inutile esset. Tendendo ad sua quisque consilia, cum aliud alii videretur, aperuerunt ad
3 occasionem locum hosti; incertam namque aciem, signum aliis dari, receptui aliis cani iubentibus, invasere opportune Veientes. Castra propinqua
4 turbatos ac terga dantes accepere; plus itaque ignominiae quam cladis est acceptum. Maesta civitas fuit vinci insueta; odisse tribunos, poscere dictatorem: in eo verti spes civitatis. Et cum ibi quoque religio obstaret ne non posset nisi ab consule dici dictator, augures consulti eam religionem
5 exemere. A. Cornelius dictatorem Mam. Aemilium[1] dixit et ipse ab eo magister equitum est dictus; adeo, simul fortuna civitatis virtute vera eguit, nihil censoria animadversio effecit quo minus regimen rerum ex notata indigne domo peteretur.

6 Veientes re secunda elati missis circum Etruriae populos legatis iactando tres duces Romanos ab se uno proelio fusos, cum tamen nullam publici consilii societatem movissent, voluntarios undique ad spem
7 praedae adsciverunt. Uni Fidenatium populo rebellare placuit; et tamquam nisi ab scelere bellum ordiri nefas esset, sicut legatorum ante, ita tum

[1] Mam. Aemilium ϛ (*cf. chap.* xxiii. § 5): m (*or* m̄) aemilium Ω: martium aemilium *E*.

[1] See chap. xxiv.

of the City; the three others held a levy and marching against Veii gave a demonstration how unprofitable it was in war to parcel out authority. By pursuing each his own counsels, one having this opinion, another that, they gave the enemy room to take them at a disadvantage; for their army was confused when some bade sound the charge, while others commanded the recall; and at this favourable moment the Veientes fell upon them. The camp, which was close by, received the demoralized and fleeing men, and so they suffered more disgrace than actual harm. The nation was filled with grief, for it was not used to being conquered; disgusted with the tribunes, people demanded a dictator: therein, they said, lay the hope of the state. And when they seemed likely to be thwarted in that also, by a scrupulous feeling that no one but a consul could name a dictator, the augurs were consulted and removed the impediment. Aulus Cornelius named as dictator Mamercus Aemilius and was himself appointed by Mamercus master of the horse, so true is it that when the fortune of the state required real worth, the animadversion of the censor could by no means prevent men's seeking a director of their affairs in a house undeservedly stigmatized.[1] B.C. 426

The Veientes, elated by their success, dispatched envoys round about to the peoples of Etruria, boasting that they had routed three Roman commanders in one fight. Nevertheless they obtained no general support from the league, though they attracted volunteers from all quarters by the prospect of booty. Only the people of Fidenae voted to renew the war; and, as though it were forbidden to commence war without a crime, as before in the blood

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novorum colonorum caede imbutis armis Veientibus
8 sese coniungunt. Consultare inde principes duorum populorum Veios an Fidenas sedem belli caperent. Fidenae visae opportuniores; itaque traiecto Tiberi
9 Veientes Fidenas transtulerunt bellum. Romae terror ingens erat. Accito exercitu a Veiis, eoque ipso ab re male gesta perculso castra locantur ante portam Collinam, et in muris armati dispositi, et iustitium in foro tabernaeque clausae fiuntque omnia castris quam urbi similiora (XXXII), cum trepidam civitatem praeconibus per vicos dimissis
2 dictator ad contionem advocatam increpuit quod animos ex tam levibus momentis fortunae suspensos gererent ut parva iactura accepta, quae ipsa non virtute hostium nec ignavia Romani exercitus sed discordia imperatorum accepta sit, Veientem hostem sexiens victum pertimescant Fidenasque prope saepius
3 captas quam oppugnatas. Eosdem et Romanos et hostes esse qui per tot saecula fuerint; eosdem animos, easdem corporis vires, eadem arma gerere; se quoque eundem dictatorem Mam.[1] Aemilium esse qui antea Veientium Fidenatiumque adiunctis
4 Faliscis ad Nomentum exercitus fuderit, et magi-

[1] Mam. ς: $\bar{\text{m}}$ (*or* m) Ω: marcium *E*.

of the ambassadors, so now they imbued their swords B.C. 426
in that of the new settlers, and joined the men of Veii. Consultations followed between the leaders of the two nations whether they should take Veii or Fidenae for the headquarters of their campaign. Fidenae seemed the fitter; and accordingly the Veientes crossed the Tiber and transferred the war to Fidenae. At Rome there was a wild alarm. The troops were recalled from Veii, though even their spirits were much daunted in consequence of their failure, and encamped before the Colline Gate. Armed men were disposed along the walls, a cessation of the courts was proclaimed in the Forum, the shops were closed, and everything assumed more the look of a camp than of a city. XXXII. The dictator, sending heralds this way and that through the streets, summoned the frightened citizens to an assembly, where he rebuked them for possessing hearts so easily dismayed by trivial fluctuations of fortune that on sustaining a slight reverse—and that not due to the valour of the enemy or the cowardice of the Roman army, but to a disagreement among their generals—they were seized with dread of the Veientine enemy whom they had six times defeated, and of Fidenae which they had captured almost more often than they had attacked it. Both the Romans and their enemies were the same as they had been for so many generations; they had the same courage, the same bodily vigour, the same weapons; he was himself the same dictator Mamercus Aemilius who had formerly put to flight the armies of the Veientes and the Fidenates, with the Faliscans added, before Nomentum; and, as master of the horse, Aulus

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strum equitum A. Cornelium eundem in acie fore qui priore bello tribunus militum, Larte Tolumnio rege Veientium in conspectu duorum exercituum occiso, spolia opima Iovis Feretri templo intulerit. Proinde memores secum triumphos, secum spolia, secum victoriam esse, cum hostibus scelus legatorum contra ius gentium interfectorum, caedem in pace Fidenatium colonorum, indutias ruptas, septimam infelicem defectionem, arma caperent. Simul castra castris coniunxissent, satis confidere nec sceleratissimis hostibus diuturnum ex ignominia exercitus Romani gaudium fore, et populum Romanum intellecturum quanto melius de re publica meriti sint qui se dictatorem tertium dixerint quam qui [1] ob ereptum censurae regnum labem secundae dictaturae suae imposuerint. Votis deinde nuncupatis profectus mille et quingentos passus citra Fidenas castra locat, dextra montibus, laeva Tiberi amne saeptus. T. Quinctium Poenum legatum occupare montes iubet occultumque id iugum capere quod ab tergo hostibus foret.

Ipse postero die cum Etrusci pleni animorum ab pristini [2] diei meliore occasione quam pugna in aciem processissent, cunctatus parumper, dum speculatores referrent Quinctium evasisse in iugum propinquum

[1] quam qui *Tan. Faber*: quam eos qui Ω.
[2] ab pristini ς: ac pristini Ω.

Cornelius would be the same man in battle that B.C. 426
he had shown himself in the former war, when as military tribune he had slain Lars Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, in full sight of both armies, and had borne the spoils of honour to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. Let them remember then that theirs were the triumphs, theirs the spoils, theirs the victory; while their enemies were stained with the crime of putting envoys to death against the law of nations, with the slaughter in time of peace of settlers at Fidenae, with the broken truce, with rebelling unsuccessfully for the seventh time. Let them think of these things and arm. When once they should have pitched their camp near the camp of the enemy, he was very confident the dastardly foe would not long rejoice over the humiliation of a Roman army; but that the Roman People would perceive how much better those men had served the state who had named him for the third time dictator, than had those who, because he had torn from the censorship its tyrannical powers, had fixed a stigma upon his second dictatorship. Then, having offered vows to the gods, he marched out and encamped a mile and a half this side of Fidenae, protected on his right by mountains, on his left by the river Tiber. His lieutenant Titus Quinctius Poenus he commanded to secure the mountains and secretly to occupy the ridge which lay to the enemy's rear.

On the morrow, when the Etruscans, in high feather at what, on the previous day, had been more good luck than good fighting, sallied forth to offer battle, the dictator delayed a little, till his scouts should report that Quinctius had come out

A.U.C 328 arci Fidenarum, signa profert peditumque aciem
11 instructam pleno gradu in hostem inducit; magistro equitum praecipit ne iniussu pugnam incipiat: se cum opus sit equestri auxilio signum daturum; tum ut memor regiae pugnae, memor opimi doni Romu-
12 lique ac Iovis Feretri rem gereret. Legiones impetu ingenti confligunt. Romanus odio accensus impium Fidenatem, praedonem Veientem, ruptores indutiarum, cruentos legatorum infanda caede, respersos sanguine colonorum suorum, perfidos socios, imbelles hostes compellans, factis simul dictisque odium explet.

XXXIII. Concusserat primo statim congressu hostem, cum repente patefactis Fidenarum portis nova erumpit acies inaudita ante id tempus invisi-
2 tataque. Ignibus armata ingens multitudo facibusque ardentibus tota conlucens velut fanatico instincta furore[1] cursu in hostem ruit, formaque
3 insolitae pugnae Romanos parumper exterruit. Tum dictator magistro equitum equitibusque, tum ex montibus Quinctio accito proelium ciens ipse in sinistrum cornu, quod, incendio similius quam proelio, territum cesserat flammis, accurrit claraque
4 voce "Fumone victi" inquit, "velut examen apum

[1] fanatico instincta furore *H. J. Mueller* (furore instincta *Cornelissen*): fanatico instincta Ω.

on the ridge near the citadel of Fidenae; and then B.C. 426
forming his infantry in line of battle led them at the double against the enemy. He directed the master of the horse not to begin to fight until he got his orders: when he required the help of the cavalry, he would himself give the signal; let him then bear himself as one mindful of his battle with a king, of his glorious offering, of Romulus and Jupiter Feretrius. The armies came together with great fury. The Romans were consumed with hatred. "Traitors" was the name they gave the Fidenates, and "brigands" the men of Veii; they called them breakers of truces, stained with the horrid murder of ambassadors, sprinkled with the gore of their own settlers, faithless allies and cowardly enemies; and fed their rage at once with deeds and with words.

XXXIII. They had shaken the enemy's resistance at the very first onset, when suddenly the gates of Fidenae were flung open and a strange kind of army, never seen before or heard of, came pouring out. Fire was the weapon of that vast multitude, and blazing torches threw a glare upon the entire throng when, as though inspired with a wild insanity, they rushed headlong on their enemy. For an instant the strangeness of this kind of battle dismayed the Romans. Then the dictator, calling up the master of the horse and his cavalry, sending for Quinctius to come down from the mountains, and urging on the fight himself, hurried to the left wing, which, as though it found itself in a conflagration rather than a line of battle, had shrunk back in terror from the flames, and in a loud voice cried out: "Will you quit your post,

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loco vestro exacti inermi cedetis hosti? Non ferro exstinguetis[1] ignes? Non faces has ipsas pro se quisque, si igni, non telis pugnandum est, ereptas 5 ultro inferetis? Agite, nominis Romani ac virtutis patrum vestraeque memores vertite incendium hoc in hostium urbem et suis flammis delete Fidenas, quas vestris beneficiis placare non potuistis. Legatorum hoc vos vestrorum colonorumque sanguis 6 vastatique fines monent." Ad imperium dictatoris mota cuncta acies. Faces partim emissae excipiuntur, partim vi eripiuntur: utraque acies armatur 7 igni. Magister equitum et ipse novat pugnam equestrem. Frenos ut detrahant equis imperat et ipse princeps calcaribus subditis evectus effreno equo in medios ignes infertur, et alii concitati equi 8 libero cursu ferunt equitem in hostem. Pulvis elatus mixtusque fumo lucem ex oculis virorum equorumque aufert. Ea, quae militem terruerat species nihil terruit equos. Ruinae igitur similem 9 stragem eques quacumque pervaserat dedit. Clamor deinde accidit novus; qui cum utramque mirabundam in se aciem vertisset, dictator exclamat Quinctium legatum et suos ab tergo hostem adortos; 10 ipse redintegrato clamore infert acrius signa. Cum

[1] exstinguetis ς: exstinguitis (extinguitis *EA*) Ω.

subdued with smoke like a swarm of bees, and yield B.C. 426
to an unarmed foe? Will you not extinguish fire with the sword? Will you not seize these self-same brands, and each for himself—if we must fight with fire, not with javelins—attack them with their own weapons? Come, call to mind the Roman name, your fathers' valour and your own; turn this blaze upon the enemy's city and destroy Fidenae with its own flames, since your kindness was powerless to gain its friendship! The blood of your envoys and your colonists and your devastated borders exhort you to do as I say." At the dictator's command the whole array was set in motion. Here they caught up torches which had been flung away; there they wrested them violently from their bearers: both sides were armed with fire. The master of the horse on his part invented a new kind of cavalry-fighting. Commanding his men to pull off the bridles from their horses, he led the way, and setting spurs to his own, was carried by the unbridled charger into the midst of the flames. The other horses too were urged on and bore their riders at full tilt against the enemy; while the dust that rose and mingled with the smoke darkened the eyes both of the men and of their mounts. But the sight which had frightened the infantry had no terror for the horses, and the cavalry overthrew their enemies in heaps wherever they advanced. Then a new shout was heard. Both armies in astonishment looked that way; and when the dictator called out that Quinctius the lieutenant and his followers had assailed the enemy in the rear, the cheering was renewed, and he pressed home his own attack more sharply.

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duae acies, duo diversa proelia circumventos Etruscos et a fronte et ab tergo urgerent neque in castra retro neque in montes, unde se novus hostis obiecerat, iter fugae esset, et equitem passim liberis frenis distulissent equi, Veientium maxima pars Tiberim effusi petunt, Fidenatium qui supersunt ad urbem Fidenas
11 tendunt. Infert pavidos fuga in mediam caedem; obtruncantur in ripis; alios in aquam compulsos gurgites ferunt; etiam peritos nandi lassitudo et volnera et pavor degravant; pauci ex multis tranant.
12 Alterum agmen fertur per castra in urbem. Eodem et Romanos sequentes impetus rapit, Quinctium maxime et cum eo degressos modo de montibus, recentissimum ad laborem militem, quia ultimo proelio advenerat.

XXXIV. Hi postquam mixti hostibus portam intravere, in muros evadunt suisque capti oppidi
2 signum ex muro tollunt. Quod ubi dictator conspexit—iam enim et ipse in deserta hostium castra penetraverat,—cupientem militem discurrere ad praedam spe iniecta maioris in urbe praedae ad portam ducit receptusque intra muros in arcem,
3 quo ruere fugientium turbam videbat, pergit. Nec

Now that two battle-fronts and two distinct attacks B.C. 426
hemmed in the Etruscans and forced them back from front and rear; and there was no way for them to flee, either back into their camp or into the mountains, whence a new foe had appeared to block their path; and the horses, with loose reins, had borne their riders far and wide;—the Veientes for the most part ran in disorder to the Tiber, while those of the Fidenates who survived turned towards the city of Fidenae. In their panic they fled into the middle of the carnage. Some were cut down on the banks of the river; others, forced into the water, were swept away by the current; even experienced swimmers were borne down by weariness and wounds and fear; only a few out of the many swam across. The other party was carried on through the camp to the city. Thither the Romans too pushed forward in the impetuosity of the pursuit—especially Quinctius, and with him those who had just come down from the hills and were the freshest soldiers for the work, having arrived at the close of the battle.

XXXIV. After these troops, mingling with the enemy, had entered the gate, they made their way on to the wall, where they raised a signal to show their friends that the town was taken. When the dictator saw it—for by this time he had himself penetrated to the deserted camp of the enemy,—he checked his soldiers, who were eager to scatter in search of booty, by encouraging the hope that they would find larger spoils in the city; and, leading them to the gate, was received within the walls and marched directly to the citadel, whither he saw that the throng of fugitives was rushing Nor was

A.U.C. 328 minor caedes in urbe quam in proelio fuit, donec abiectis armis nihil praeter vitam petentes dictatori deduntur. Urbs castraque diripiuntur. Postero die singulis captivis ab equite ac[1] centurionibus[2] sorte ductis, et quorum eximia virtus fuerat, binis, aliis sub corona venundatis exercitum victorem opulentumque praeda triumphans dictator Romam reduxit; iussoque magistro equitum abdicare se magistratu ipse deinde abdicat die sexto decimo reddito in pace imperio, quod in bello trepidisque rebus acceperat. Classi quoque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Veientibus quidam in annales rettulere, rem aeque difficilem atque incredibilem nec nunc lato satis ad hoc amne et tum aliquanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, artiore, nisi in traiectu forte fluminis prohibendo aliquarum navium concursum in maius, ut fit, celebrantes navalis victoriae vanum titulum appetivere.

A.U.C. 329-330 XXXV. Insequens annus tribunos militares consulari potestate habuit A. Sempronium Atratinum L. Quinctium Cincinnatum L. Furium Medullinum L. Horatium Barbatum. Veientibus annorum viginti indutiae datae et Aequis triennii, cum plurium annorum petissent; et a seditionibus urbanis otium fuit. Annum insequentem neque bello foris neque domi seditione insignem ludi bello voti celebrem et

[1] equite ac $\bar{}$: equite (*or* aeq-) ad Ω : equitum *P* : equi.... *V* : acquitem ad *D*.

[2] centurionibus *Weissenborn* : centurionis *V* : centurionem (-e $M^2L\bar{}$) Ω.

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[1] *sc.* under the portrait of Aemilius. Livy is thinking of the partiality characteristic of such family records.

the slaughter in the city less than it had been in the battle, until they threw away their arms, and asking nothing but their lives, surrendered to the dictator. The city and the camp were sacked. Next day the cavalrymen and centurions drew lots for a single captive each, while those who had shown conspicuous bravery received two. The rest were sold at auction, and the dictator marched his victorious army, enriched with plunder, back to Rome, and triumphed. After commanding his master of the horse to lay down his office, he himself abdicated, giving up in peace on the sixteenth day the supreme authority he had received in time of war and danger. Certain annalists have recorded that there was a naval battle also with the Veientes, near Fidenae, a thing equally difficult and incredible; for even to-day the river is not wide enough for that, and in those times it was somewhat narrower, as we learn from the old writers; unless possibly there were a few ships assembled to dispute the passage of the river and this was exaggerated, as so often happens, by those who added to the inscription [1] the false claim of a naval victory. B.C. 426

XXXV. The next year there were military tribunes with consular powers, namely Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Horatius Barbatus. The Veientes were granted a truce of twenty years, and the Aequi one of three, though they had asked for a longer one. There was a respite also from civil disturbances. B.C. 425–424

The following year was noteworthy neither for foreign war nor dissension at home, but gained celebrity from the games which had been vowed

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tribunorum militum apparatu et finitimorum con-
4 cursu fecere. Tribuni consulari potestate erant Ap. Claudius[1] Crassus Sp. Nautius[2] Rutulus[3] L. Sergius[4] Fidenas Sex. Iulius Iulus.[5] Spectaculum comitate etiam hospitum, ad quam publice con-
5 senserant,[6] aduenis gratius fuit. Post ludos contiones seditiosae tribunorum plebi fuerunt, obiurgantium multitudinem quod admiratione eorum quos odisset
6 stupens, in aeterno se ipsa teneret seruitio, et non modo ad spem consulatus in partem revocandam adspirare non auderet, sed ne in tribunis quidem militum creandis, quae communia essent comitia patrum
7 ac plebis, aut sui aut suorum meminisset. Desineret ergo mirari cur nemo de commodis plebis ageret; eo impendi laborem ac periculum unde emolumentum atque honos speretur; nihil non adgressuros homines
8 si magna conatis magna praemia proponantur; ut quidem aliquis tribunus plebis ruat caecus in certamina periculo ingenti, fructu nullo, ex quibus pro certo habeat patres, adversus quos tenderet,[7] bello inexpiabili se persecuturos, apud plebem, pro qua dimicaverit, nihilo se honoratiorem fore, neque
9 sperandum neque postulandum esse. Magnos animos magnis honoribus fieri. Neminem se plebeium

[1] Ap. Claudius *Glareanus* (*chap.* xxxvi. § 5): Claudius Ω.
[2] Nautius ς (*chap.* xliv. § 13, *and* § 6 *infra*): naeuius Ω.
[3] Rutulus *Conway* (*after Sigonius, cf.* III. vii. 6, *and C.I.L.* i², *p.* 114): rutilius (ritilius *E*) Ω.
[4] L. Sergius *Sigonius* (*chap.* xxv. 2; xlv. 5; *Diod.* xii. 82): titus (*or* t) sergius (-as *E*) Ω.
[5] Iulus *Sigonius* (*cf.* Fasti Cap., e. g. *C.I.L.* i², *p.* 106): tullus *MPUE*: tullius *HDLA*: *omitted in V.*
[6] publice consenserant *Gronovius*: consenserant consilio publico consensu uenerant *M*: publico consensu uenerant Ω.
[7] tenderet Ω: tendere L^3 (*over erasure*): tetenderit *Madvig.*

during the war and were splendidly carried out by the military tribunes and attended by a great concourse of neighbouring peoples. The tribunes with consular authority were Appius Claudius Crassus, Spurius Nautius Rutulus, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, and Sextus Julius Iulus. The spectacle was rendered the more agreeable to the visitors by the courtesy which their hosts had united in a resolution to extend to them. After the games seditious speeches were made by the plebeian tribunes, who berated the populace because, in their besotted admiration of the men they hated, they kept themselves in perpetual servitude, and not only dared not aspire to claim participation in the consulship, but even in the matter of choosing military tribunes—an election open alike to patricians and plebeians—took no thought either for themselves or for their friends. Let them cease therefore to wonder why no one busied himself for the good of the plebs; toil was bestowed and danger risked, they said, in causes which held out hopes of emolument and honour; there was nothing men would not attempt if those who made great efforts were afforded the prospect of great rewards; but that some one plebeian tribune should rush blindly into a struggle where the risk was enormous and the reward was nothing, and in consequence of which he might be certain that the patricians, against whom he would be striving, would pursue him with relentless animosity, and that the plebs, for whom he would have fought, would not add the least tittle to his honours, was a thing to be neither expected nor demanded. Great hearts were begotten of great honours. No plebeian would despise himself when plebeians should cease

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contempturum, ubi contemni desissent. Experiundam rem denique in uno aut altero esse sitne aliqui plebeius ferendo magno honori, an portento simile miraculoque sit fortem ac strenuum virum
10 aliquem exsistere ortum ex plebe. Summa vi expugnatum esse ut tribuni militum consulari potestate et ex plebe crearentur. Petisse viros domi militiaeque spectatos; primis annis suggillatos, repulsos, risui patribus fuisse; desisse postremo praebere ad
11 contumeliam os. Nec se videre cur non lex quoque abrogetur, qua id liceat quod nunquam futurum sit; minorem quippe ruborem fore in iuris iniquitate quam si per indignitatem ipsorum praetereantur.

XXXVI. Huius generis orationes cum adsensu auditae incitavere quosdam ad petendum tribunatum militum, alium alia de commodis plebis laturum se
2 in magistratu profitentem. Agri publici dividendi coloniarumque deducendarum ostentatae spes et vectigali possessoribus agrorum imposito in stipendium
3 militum erogandi aeris. Captatum deinde tempus ab tribunis militum, quo per discessum hominum ab urbe, cum patres clandestina denuntiatione revocati ad diem certam essent, senatus consultum fieret ab-
4 sentibus tribunis plebi ut quoniam Volscos in Hernicorum agros praedatum exisse fama esset, ad rem inspiciendam tribuni militum proficiscerentur consula-

[1] The first attempt to tax the patricians enjoying the use of the public land for the purpose of paying the soldiers, who had always been required to serve gratis. See chap. lix. § 11.

to be despised. It was high time they made trial in one or two cases, to see whether there were some plebeian fit to hold high office, or whether it were almost a portent and a miracle that there should exist any brave and energetic man of plebeian origin. By exerting their utmost force they had carried the point that military tribunes with consular powers might be chosen even from the plebs. Men whose worth had been proven at home and in the field had stood for the office; during the first years they had been buffeted about, rejected, and laughed at by the patricians; finally, they had ceased to expose themselves to insult. They could see no reason, they said, why they should not even repeal a statute which authorized something that would never come; there would surely be less shame in the injustice of the law than in being passed over on account of their own unworthiness. B.C. 425-424

XXXVI. Speeches of this sort, being listened to with approval, incited certain men to stand for the military tribuneship, with the promise that they would propose in their term of office such and such measures of advantage to the plebs. Hopes were held out of dividing up the public domain and planting colonies, and of levying a tax on the occupants of the land and distributing the money as pay for the soldiers.[1] The military tribunes then watched for an opportunity when people were out of town, and recalling the senators by a secret notification, got the senate to pass a resolution, in the absence of the tribunes of the plebs, that since the Volsci were rumoured to have made a plundering expedition into the country of the Hernici, the tribunes of the soldiers should go and investigate

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riaque comitia haberentur. Profecti Ap. Claudium, filium decemviri, praefectum urbis relinquunt, impigrum iuvenem et iam inde ab incunabulis imbutum odio tribunorum plebisque. Tribuni plebi nec cum absentibus iis, qui senatus consultum fecerant, nec cum Appio, transacta re quod contenderent, fuit.

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XXXVII. Creati consules sunt C. Sempronius Atratinus Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

Peregrina res, sed memoria digna traditur eo anno facta, Volturnum, Etruscorum urbem, quae nunc Capua est, ab Samnitibus captam Capuamque ab duce eorum Capye[1] vel, quod propius
2 vero est, a campestri agro appellatam. Cepere autem prius bello fatigatis Etruscis in societatem urbis agrorumque accepti, deinde festo die graves somno epulisque incolas veteres novi coloni nocturna caede adorti.
3 His rebus actis consules ii quos diximus idibus Decembribus magistratum occepere.[2] Iam non
4 solum qui ad id missi erant rettulerant imminere Volscum bellum, sed legati quoque ab Latinis et Hernicis nuntiabant non ante unquam Volscos nec ducibus legendis nec exercitui scribendo intentiores
5 fuisse; volgo fremere aut in perpetuum arma bellumque oblivioni danda iugumque accipiendum, aut iis cum quibus de imperio certetur nec virtute nec

[1] Capye *Vorm.*: capue A^2 *marg.*: capio Ω.
[2] occepere ζ (*cf.* I. vii. 6): accepere Ω: ceperunt *H.*

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[1] The name is now connected with Greek *κῆπος* "orchard" or "garden" not (as Livy thought) with *campus* "plain."
[2] The events described in chap. xxxvi.

the affair, and that a consular election should be held. The tribunes set out, leaving Appius Claudius, the decemvir's son, as prefect of the City. He was an energetic young man and imbued from his very cradle with hatred of the tribunes and the plebs. The plebeian tribunes had no ground of contention either with the absent officials who had obtained the resolution of the senate, or with Appius, now that the thing was done. XXXVII. Gaius Sempronius Atratinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus were elected consuls. B.C. 425–424 B.C. 423

A foreign episode, but worth relating, is ascribed to this year, viz. that Volturnum, the Etruscan city which is now Capua, was taken by the Samnites, and named Capua from their leader Capys, or, as is more probable, from its champaign country.[1] Now they captured it after being admitted by the Etruscans—who were worn out with fighting—to a share in the city and its fields; then, on a holiday, when the old settlers were heavy with sleep and feasting, the newcomers fell upon them in the night and slew them.

In the train of these events,[2] the consuls whom I have named took up their duties, on the 13th of December. By this time not only had those who had been dispatched for this purpose reported that a Volscian invasion was imminent, but envoys from the Latins, and the Hernici as well, announced that never before had the Volscians been more energetic, whether in selecting generals or in levying an army; that everywhere men were muttering that they must either give up for ever all thoughts of arms and war, and submit to the yoke, or must not lag behind those with whom they were contending for

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patientia nec disciplina rei militaris cedendum esse. 6 Haud vana attulere; sed nec perinde patres moti sunt, et C. Sempronius, cui ea provincia sorti evenit, tamquam constantissimae rei fortunae fretus, quod victoris populi adversus victos dux esset, omnia 7 temere ac neglegenter egit, adeo ut disciplinae Romanae plus in Volsco exercitu quam in Romano esset. Ergo fortuna, ut saepe alias, virtutem est 8 secuta. Primo proelio, quod ab Sempronio incaute inconsulteque commissum est, non subsidiis firmata 9 acie, non equite apte locato concursum est. Clamor indicium primum fuit quo[1] res inclinatura esset, excitatior crebriorque ab hoste sublatus: ab Romanis dissonus, impar, segnius saepe iteratus prodidit[2] 10 pavorem animorum. Eo ferocior inlatus hostis urgere scutis, micare gladiis. Altera ex parte nutant circumspectantibus galeae, et incerti trepidant 11 applicantque se turbae; signa nunc resistentia deseruntur ab antesignanis, nunc inter suos manipulos recipiuntur. Nondum fuga certa, nondum victoria erat; tegi magis Romanus quam pugnare; Volscus inferre signa, urgere aciem, plus caedis hostium videre quam fugae.

[1] quo *Frag. Haverk.*[2] (*cf. chap.* xxxiii. § 12 *and* xxv. xxi. 4): qua Ω: quam *PUDL.*

[2] prodidit *Gruter*: incerto clamore prodidit Ω.

supremacy, either in courage or in endurance or in B.C. 423
military discipline. Their tidings were true, but they caused no answerable activity among the senators; and Gaius Sempronius, to whom the command had been assigned by lot, trusting to fortune as though it were the most constant thing in the world, because he had commanded the victorious nation against the people they had defeated, conducted everything so carelessly and rashly that Roman discipline was more in evidence in the Volscian army than in the Roman. Accordingly Fortune, as on many another occasion, waited on desert. In the first battle, which Sempronius entered without caution or deliberation, his line was not strengthened with reserves nor was his cavalry skilfully posted, when the fighting began. The battle-cries were the first intimation how the affair was likely to go; for the enemy's was louder and fuller, that of the Romans dissonant and uneven and, dragging more with each repetition, betrayed the faintness of their hearts. This caused the enemy to charge the more boldly, thrusting with shields and making play with swords. On the Roman side helmets nodded, as their wearers looked this way and that for help, and irresolute soldiers made falteringly for the nearest group; at one moment the standards would be left behind by the retreat of the front-rankers, at the next they would be falling back among their proper maniples. It was not yet a definite flight, not yet a victory; the Romans sought rather to protect themselves than to fight; the Volscians advanced and bore hard against the Roman line, but saw more of their enemies killed than running away.

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XXXVIII. Iam omnibus locis ceditur nequiquam Sempronio consule obiurgante atque hortante. Nihil nec imperium nec maiestas valebat, dataque mox terga hostibus forent, ni Sex. Tempanius, decurio equitum, labante[1] iam re praesenti animo subvenisset. Qui cum magna voce exclamasset ut equites qui salvam rem publicam vellent esse ex equis desilirent, omnium turmarum equitibus velut ad consulis imperium motis, "Nisi haec" inquit, "parmata[2] cohors sistit impetum hostium, actum de imperio est. Sequimini pro vexillo cuspidem meam; ostendite Romanis Volscisque neque equitibus vobis ullos equites nec peditibus esse pedites pares." Cum clamore comprobata adhortatio esset, vadit alte cuspidem gerens. Quacumque incedunt, vi viam faciunt; eo se inferunt obiectis parmis ubi suorum plurimum laborem vident. Restituitur omnibus locis pugna, in quae eos impetus tulit; nec dubium erat quin, si tam pauci simul obire omnia possent, terga daturi hostes fuerint.

XXXIX. Et cum iam parte nulla sustinerentur, dat signum Volscus imperator ut parmatis, novae cohorti hostium, locus detur, donec impetu inlati ab suis excludantur. Quod ubi est factum, interclusi equites nec perrumpere eadem qua transierant

[1] labante *Gronovius*: labente Ω.
[2] parmata *Scheelius*: armata Ω.

[1] The *decurion* commanded a *decuria* (ten men). There were three *decuriae* in a *turma*, or squadron, and ten *turmae* in the three centuries of horse which accompanied a legion.

[2] The *parma* ("buckler" or "target") was the trooper's shield, much smaller than the *scutum* of the foot-soldier.

[3] The *vexillum*, a small red flag, was used as a cavalry ensign.

XXXVIII. But now the Romans were everywhere falling back, and it was in vain that Sempronius the consul upbraided or encouraged them. There was no virtue either in his authority or in his dignity; and his men would presently have shown the enemy their backs, had not a cavalry decurion[1] named Sextus Tempanius, just as the situation was becoming desperate, come with prompt courage to the rescue. In a loud voice he cried out that the horsemen who wished to save the state should leap down from their horses, and when the troopers in every squadron had bestirred themselves as if at the command of the consul, he added: "Unless this bucklered[2] cohort stops the enemy's rush it is all over with our supremacy. Follow my spear as your guidon;[3] show Romans and Volscians that when you are mounted no cavalry are your equals, nor any infantry, when you fight on foot!" When a cheer had shown their approval of this exhortation, he advanced with uplifted spear. Wherever they went they forced a passage; holding their targets up before them, they charged where they saw the distress of their friends was greatest. The fortune of the day was restored at every point where their onset carried them; nor was there any doubt that if those few men could have been present everywhere at the same time the enemy would have turned tail. B.C. 423

XXXIX. When the Volscian general saw that their attack could not anywhere be stopped, he ordered his troops to give ground to the men with bucklers, the enemy's new cohort, until, carried forward in their rush, they should be cut off from their friends. On this being done, the horsemen were intercepted, and were unable to break through in

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posse, ibi maxime confertis hostibus qua viam fecerant, et consul legionesque Romanae cum quod
3 tegumen modo omnis exercitus fuerat nusquam viderent, ne tot fortissimos viros interclusos oppri-
4 meret hostis, tendunt in quemcumque casum. Diversi Volsci hinc consulem ac legiones sustinere, altera fronte instare Tempanio atque equitibus; qui cum saepe conati nequissent perrumpere ad suos, tumulo quodam occupato in orbem se tutabantur, nequaquam inulti; nec pugnae finis ante noctem
5 fuit. Consul quoque nusquam remisso certamine
6 dum quicquam superfuit lucis, hostem tenuit. Nox incertos diremit; tantusque ab imprudentia eventus utraque castra tenuit pavor ut relictis sauciis et magna parte impedimentorum ambo pro victis exer-
7 citus se in montes proximos reciperent. Tumulus tamen circumsessus ultra mediam noctem est. Quo cum circumsedentibus nuntiatum esset castra deserta esse, victos rati suos et ipsi, qua quemque in te-
8 nebris pavor tulit fugerunt. Tempanius metu insidiarum suos ad lucem tenuit. Degressus[1] deinde ipse cum paucis speculatum cum ab sauciis hostibus sciscitando comperisset castra Volscorum deserta esse, laetus ab tumulo suos devocat et in castra

[1] degressus *Sigonius*: digressus (-os *P*) Ω.

the same way as they had got over, since their enemies B.C. 423
were most thickly crowded together where they had made their path. When the consul and the Roman legions could nowhere see the soldiers who a moment before had been a shield to the entire army, they pressed forward to save at any cost so many heroic men from being surrounded and borne down by the enemy. The Volscians, facing two ways, sustained on one side the onset of the consul and the legions, and on the other front pressed home their attack upon Tempanius and his troopers; who, having failed, in spite of many attempts, to force their way through to their friends, had seized a certain mound and, forming a circle, were defending themselves, not without taking vengeance on their assailants. The battle did not end till nightfall. Neither did the consul relax his efforts anywhere, but kept the enemy engaged as long as there was any light. Darkness put a stop to the indecisive struggle, and the terror in each camp was such, in consequence of men's ignorance of the outcome, that both armies, abandoning their wounded and a good part of their baggage, retreated to the nearest hills, as though defeated. Nevertheless the mound was besieged till after midnight. But when word was brought to the besiegers that their camp was abandoned, they too supposed that their side had been defeated, and every man fled where his panic led him in the darkness. Tempanius feared an ambush and kept his soldiers close till daylight. Then, descending with a few followers to reconnoitre, he discovered by questioning some wounded enemies that the camp of the Volscians was deserted, whereupon he joyfully called his men down from the hill and made his way

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9 Romana penetrat. Ubi cum vasta desertaque omnia atque eandem quam apud hostes foeditatem invenisset, priusquam Volscos cognitus error reduceret, quibus poterat sauciis ductis secum, ignarus quam regionem consul petisset, ad urbem proximis itineribus pergit

XL. Iam eo fama pugnae adversae castrorumque desertorum perlata erat, et ante omnia deplorati erant equites non privato magis quam publico luctu, Fabi-
2 usque consul terrore urbi quoque iniecto stationem ante portas agebat, cum equites procul visi non sine terrore ab dubiis quinam essent, mox cogniti tantam ex metu laetitiam fecere ut clamor urbem pervaderet
3 gratulantium salvos victoresque redisse equites, et ex maestis paulo ante domibus quae conclamaverant suos, procurreretur in vias, pavidaeque matres ac coniuges oblitae prae gaudio decoris obviam agmini occurrerent, in suos quaeque simul corpore atque
4 animo vix prae gaudio compotes effusae. Tribunis plebi qui M. Postumio et T. Quinctio diem dixerant, quod ad Veios eorum opera male pugnatum esset, occasio visa est per recens odium Semproni consulis
5 renovandae in eos invidiae. Itaque advocata con-

into the Roman camp. There he found everything B.C. 423
abandoned and forlorn and the same desolation he had met with on the ground of the enemy; and, before the Volsci could learn of their blunder and return, he carried with him such of the wounded as he was able, and not knowing what way the consul had gone, took the nearest road to the City.

XL. Thither the rumour of an unsuccessful engagement and the abandonment of the camp had already made its way, and more than all the rest the horsemen had been mourned, with public as well as private lamentations. The consul Fabius was keeping watch before the gates—for the panic had permeated even the City—when cavalry were espied a long way off, and caused no little trepidation, since men knew not who they could be. But being soon after recognized, they turned the people's fear to such rejoicing that the City was filled with the noise of congratulations on the safe and victorious return of the horse; and from the houses which a little while before had been filled with sadness and had bewailed their sons as dead, the inhabitants ran out into the street, and trembling mothers and wives, heedless of decorum in their happiness, hurried to meet the troops, and flung themselves with utter abandonment into the arms of their loved ones, being scarcely able to control themselves for joy. The plebeian tribunes, who had set a day for the trial of Marcus Postumius and Titus Quinctius, because of their responsibility for the reverse at Veii, thought a favourable opportunity was afforded by the odium recently incurred by the consul Sempronius for renewing men's displeasure with them. So, having called a meeting, they loudly declared that the state

A.U.C. 331 tione cum proditam Veiis rem publicam esse ab ducibus, proditum deinde, quia illis impune fuerit, in Volscis ab consule exercitum, traditos ad caedem fortissimos equites, deserta foede castra vociferati
6 essent, C. Iunius,[1] unus ex tribunis, Tempanium equitem vocari iussit coramque ei "Sex. Tempani" inquit, "quaero de te, arbitrerisne C. Sempronium consulem aut in tempore pugnam inisse aut firmasse subsidiis aciem aut ullo boni consulis functum officio,
7 et tune ipse victis legionibus Romanis tuo consilio equitem ad pedes deduxeris restituerisque pugnam; excluso deinde ab acie nostra tibi atque equitibus num aut consul ipse subvenerit aut miserit prae-
8 sidium; postero denique die ecquid praesidii usquam habueris, an tu cohorsque in castra vestra virtute perruperitis; ecquem in castris consulem, ecquem exercitum inveneritis, an deserta castra, relictos
9 saucios milites. Haec pro virtute tua fideque, qua una hoc bello res publica stetit, dicenda tibi sunt hodie; denique ubi C. Sempronius, ubi legiones nostrae sint; desertus sis an deserueris consulem exercitumque; victi denique simus an vicerimus."

A.U.C. 332 XLI. Adversus haec Tempani oratio incompta fuisse dicitur, ceterum militariter gravis, non suis vana
2 laudibus, non crimine alieno laeta. Quanta prudentia rei bellicae in C. Sempronio esset, non militis

[1] Iunius ς (*cf. Mommsen, Römische Forschungen*, i. 115): iulius Ω

had been betrayed at Veii by its generals; and that B.C. 423
then, because they had gone scot free, the army fighting with the Volsci had been betrayed by the consul, their heroic cavalry given over to slaughter, and the camp basely abandoned. Then Gaius Junius, one of the tribunes, commanded the cavalryman Tempanius to be called, and turning to him spoke as follows: "Sextus Tempanius, I ask you whether you think that Gaius Sempronius the consul either joined battle at a suitable moment, or strengthened his line with supports, or performed any of the duties of a good consul; and whether you yourself, when the Roman legions had been beaten, dismounted the cavalry of your own motion and restored the fortunes of the battle; then, when you and your troopers had been cut off from our line, if either the consul himself came to your rescue or sent supports; furthermore, whether you had any help anywhere next day, or you and your cohort forced a way to the camp by your own valour; whether you found any consul in the camp and any army, or a deserted camp and wounded and forsaken soldiers. In the name of your courage and your loyalty, which alone have preserved the republic in this war, you must now answer these questions; finally you must tell us where Gaius Sempronius and our legions are; whether you were abandoned, or yourself abandoned the consul and the army;—in one word, whether we have been defeated or victorious."

XLI. To these questions Tempanius is said to have replied in homely terms but with a soldierly dignity, in which was neither self-praise nor self-complacent criticism of others. Touching the degree of skill in military matters possessed by Gaius Sempronius, it

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de imperatore existimationem esse, sed populi Romani fuisse, cum eum comitiis consulem legeret. 3 Itaque ne ab se imperatoria consilia neu consulares artes exquirerent, quae pensitanda magnis quoque[1] animis atque ingeniis essent; sed quod viderit 4 referre posse. Vidisse autem se, priusquam ab acie intercluderetur, consulem in prima acie pugnantem, adhortantem, inter signa Romana telaque hostium 5 versantem. Postea se a conspectu suorum ablatum ex strepitu tamen et clamore sensisse usque ad noctem extractum certamen, nec ad tumulum quem ipse tenuerat prae multitudine hostium credere 6 perrumpi potuisse. Exercitus ubi esset se nescire; arbitrari, velut ipse in re trepida loci praesidio se suosque sit tutatus, sic consulem servandi exercitus 7 causa loca tutiora castris cepisse; nec Volscorum meliores res esse credere quam populi Romani; fortunam noctemque omnia erroris mutui implesse. Precantemque deinde, ne se fessum labore ac volneribus tenerent, cum ingenti laude non virtutis 8 magis quam moderationis dimissum. Cum haec agerentur, iam consul via Labicana[2] ad fanum Quietis erat. Eo missa plaustra iumentaque alia ab urbe exercitum adfectum proelio ac via nocturna

[1] magnis quoque *H. J. Mueller*: quoque magnis Ω.
[2] Labicana *editors* (*conformably to the evidence of* Ω *in most places*): lauicana Ω.

[1] *i. e.* Sleep or Repose.

was not for a soldier, he said, to appraise a general: B.C. 423
that had been the Roman People's business when it elected Sempronius consul at the comitia. It was not, therefore, to him that they must address inquiries concerning the strategy of commanders and the qualifications of consuls; even the weighing of such abilities demanded great mental and intellectual powers. But that which he had seen he was able to report; and he had seen the consul, before he had himself been cut off from the main army, fighting in the front line, encouraging his men, and moving about amidst the standards of the Romans and the enemy's missiles. He had afterwards been carried out of sight of his friends; but still, from the din and shouting, he had made out that the struggle had been prolonged till nightfall, and he did not believe that it had been possible to break through to the hillock which he himself had held, in view of the enemy's numbers. Where the army was, he did not know; he supposed that, just as he himself had protected himself and his men by taking up a strong position, so likewise the consul, in order to save his army, had occupied a place of greater security than the camp. And he did not believe that the Volsci were any better off than the Roman People; chance and darkness had at every point confused both armies. On his going on to beg that they would not detain him, exhausted by toil and wounds, it is said that he was dismissed with the highest praise, no less for his moderation than for his bravery. Meanwhile the consul had already reached the shrine of Quies[1] on the Labican road. Thither wagons and beasts of burden were dispatched from the City, and brought the soldiers back, weary from fighting and the night-

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9 excepere. Paulo post in urbem est ingressus consul, non ab se magis enixe amovens culpam quam
10 Tempanium meritis laudibus ferens. Maestae civitati ab re male gesta et iratae ducibus M. Postumius reus obiectus, qui tribunus militum pro consule ad Veios fuerat, decem milibus aeris gravis damnatur.
11 T. Quinctium collegam eius, quia et in Volscis consul auspicio dictatoris Postumi Tuberti et ad Fidenas legatus dictatoris alterius Mam. Aemili res prospere gesserat, totam culpam eius temporis in praedamnatum collegam transferentem omnes tribus absol-
12 verunt. Profuisse ei Cincinnati patris memoria dicitur, venerabilis viri, et exactae iam aetatis Capitolinus Quinctius suppliciter orans ne se brevi reliquo vitae spatio tam tristem nuntium ferre ad Cincinnatum paterentur.

XLII. Plebs tribunos plebi absentes Sex. Tempanium M. Asellium [1] Ti. Antistium Ti. Spurillium [2] fecit, quos et pro centurionibus sibi praefecerant Tempanio
2 auctore equites. Senatus, cum odio Semproni consulare nomen offenderet, tribunos militum consulari potestate creari iussit. Creati sunt L. Manlius [3] Capitolinus Q. Antonius Merenda L. Papirius Mu-
3 gillanus.[4] Principio statim anni L. Hortensius

[1] M. Asellium *Mommsen*: a. sellium Ω.
[2] Ti. Antistium, Ti. Spurillium *Mommsen*: et antistium et spurillium (sparillium *H*) Ω.
[3] Manlius ς: manilius Ω.
[4] Mugillanus E^2 *or* E^3 ς: mugilanus *U*: mugilianus Ω.

[1] *Aes grave* ("heavy bronze") is used to distinguish the original *as libralis* (*i. e.* of a pound in weight) from the reduced *as* of a later time.
[2] When they had dismounted to fight as infantry; see chap. xxxviii.

march. A little later the consul entered the City, B.C. 423
and showed no less concern to extol Tempanius with well-merited praise than to clear himself of blame. While the citizens were grieving over their defeat, and were filled with resentment against their commanders, Marcus Postumius, who had been military tribune with consular authority at Veii, was brought before them for trial and condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds of bronze.[1] Titus Quinctius his colleague, having been victorious both in the Volscian country, when consul under the auspices of the dictator Postumius Tubertus, and at Fidenae, as lieutenant to the other dictator, Mamercus Aemilius, shifted all the blame for the present campaign upon his colleague who had already been condemned, and was acquitted by all the tribes. It is said that the memory of his father Cincinnatus, whom the people venerated, was a help to him, and also the fact that Quinctius Capitolinus, now well-stricken in years, supplicated and implored them not to suffer him, who had but a little time to live, to be the bearer of such sad news to Cincinnatus.

XLII. The plebs elected in their absence Sextus B.C. 422
Tempanius, Marcus Asellius, Tiberius Antistius, and Tiberius Spurillius to be plebeian tribunes. These were men whom the cavalry had also chosen, at the instance of Tempanius, to act as centurions over them.[2] The senate, feeling that the hatred of Sempronius made the title of consul offensive, ordered the election of military tribunes with consular powers. The successful candidates were Lucius Manlius Capitolinus, Quintus Antonius Merenda, Lucius Papirius Mugillanus. At the very beginning of the year Lucius Hortensius, tribune of the plebs, brought an

A.U.C. 332 tribunus plebis C. Sempronio, consuli anni prioris, diem dixit. Quem cum quattuor collegae inspectante populo Romano orarent ne imperatorem suum innoxium, in quo nihil praeter fortunam reprehendi 4 posset, vexaret, aegre Hortensius pati, temptationem eam credens esse perseverantiae suae nec precibus tribunorum, quae in speciem modo iactentur, sed 5 auxilio confidere reum. Itaque modo ad eum conversus, ubi illi patricii spiritus, ubi subnixus et fidens innocentiae animus esset quaerebat; sub tribunicia 6 umbra consularem virum delituisse? modo ad collegas: "Vos autem, si reum perago, quid acturi estis? an erepturi ius populo et eversuri tribuniciam potes- 7 tatem?" Cum illi et de Sempronio et de omnibus summam populi Romani potestatem esse dicerent nec se iudicium populi tollere aut velle aut posse, sed si preces suae pro imperatore, qui sibi parentis 8 esset loco, non valuissent, se vestem cum eo mutaturos, tum Hortensius "Non videbit" inquit, "plebs Romana sordidatos tribunos suos. C. Sempronium nihil moror, quando hoc est in imperio consecutus, 9 ut tam carus esset militibus." Nec pietas quattuor tribunorum quam Hortensi tam placabile ad iustas preces ingenium pariter plebi patribusque gratius fuit.

10 Non diutius fortuna Aequis indulsit, qui ambi-

[1] Livy perhaps begins at this point to follow another annalist, who had described a successful campaign of the Aequi not noticed by his authority for what has just preceded.

action against Gaius Sempronius, consul of the year before. The tribune's four colleagues besought him in full sight of the Roman People not to persecute their general, in whom nothing could be reckoned amiss save his ill-fortune; but this Hortensius would not brook, regarding it as a test of his perseverance and persuaded that the defendant was relying not on the entreaties of the tribunes, which were thrown out merely to preserve appearances, but on their veto. And so, turning now to Sempronius, he demanded to be told where the well-known patrician spirit was, and where the courage that placed its confident reliance upon innocence; was it in the shadow of the tribunate that a former consul had found a hiding-place? And again, addressing his colleagues, he asked, "But what do you mean to do, if I persist in prosecuting the defendant? Will you rob the people of their rights and overthrow the authority of the tribunes?" When they replied that the authority of the Roman People was supreme over Sempronius and all other men, and that they neither desired nor were able to annul the people's judgment; but that if their entreaties in behalf of their commander, who stood in the relation of a parent to them, should prove ineffectual, they would put on mourning with him, then Hortensius declared, "The Roman plebs shall not see its tribunes clad in mourning. Gaius Sempronius may go free, for me, since his command has gained him this, to be so beloved by his soldiers." Nor was the loyalty of the four tribunes more pleasing to both plebs and senators than was the disposition of Hortensius to yield so readily to reasonable entreaties. B.C. 422

Fortune now ceased to favour the Aequi,[1] who had

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guam victoriam Volscorum pro sua amplexi fuerant. XLIII. Proximo anno Num.[1] Fabio Vibulano T. Quinctio Capitolini filio Capitolino consulibus ductu Fabii, cui sorte ea provincia evenerat, nihil dignum
2 memoratu actum. Cum trepidam tantum ostendissent aciem Aequi, turpi fuga funduntur haud magno consulis decore. Itaque triumphus negatus, ceterum ob Sempronianae cladis levatam ignominiam ut ovans urbem intraret concessum est.
3 Quemadmodum bellum minore quam timuerant dimicatione erat perfectum, sic in urbe ex tranquillo necopinata moles discordiarum inter plebem ac patres exorta est, coepta ab duplicando quaestorum
4 numero. Quam rem—praeter duos urbanos ut crearentur alii quaestores duo qui[2] consulibus ad ministeria belli praesto essent—a consulibus relatam cum et patres summa ope adprobassent,[3] tribuni plebi certamen intulerunt ut pars quaestorum—nam ad id tempus[4] patricii creati erant—ex plebe fieret.
5 Adversus quam actionem primo et consules et patres summa ope adnisi sunt; concedendo deinde ut, quemadmodum in tribunis consulari potestate creandis, sic[5] in quaestoribus liberum esset arbitrium populi, cum parum proficerent, totam rem de augendo
6 quaestorum numero omittunt. Excipiunt omissam tribuni, aliaeque subinde, inter quas et agrariae legis,

[1] Num. *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 112): cñ. m̃ *HLDA*: cñ. *MPUE*.

[2] ut crearentur alii quaestores duo qui *Conway and Walters*: quaestores duo qui Ω.

[3] adprobassent *Weissenborn*: adprobassent a consulibus Ω.

[4] ad id tempus A^3 ς: id tempus Ω.

[5] sic *Conway and Walters*: usi sunt adaeque (ad eq̃ *A*) Ω.

accepted the dubious victory of the Volsci as their own. XLIII. The next year Numerius Fabius Vibulanus and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, the son of Capitolinus, were consuls. Under the leadership of Fabius, to whom this command had been assigned by lot, nothing worthy of relation was accomplished. The Aequi had scarce made an irresolute show of battle when they were routed and driven disgracefully from the field, and the consul got no credit by the affair. He was accordingly denied a triumph; but because he had relieved the ignominy incurred by Sempronius's defeat, he was allowed to enter the City in an ovation. B.C. 422 B.C. 421

But while the war had been concluded with less of a struggle than men had feared, in the City tranquillity gave place to unexpected and serious quarrels, which broke out between the plebs and the senators, and began over the duplication of the number of quaestors. This measure—that besides the two city quaestors two others should be elected to assist the consuls in the administration of wars—was proposed by the consuls and received the hearty approval of the senate, but the tribunes of the plebs made a fight to have half of the quaestors—hitherto patricians had been chosen—taken from the plebs. Against this provision both consuls and senators at first exerted themselves with all their might; afterwards they were ready to concede that, just as in the case of tribunes with consular powers, so likewise with the quaestors, the people should be unrestricted in their choice; but making no headway with this offer, they dropped the whole question of enlarging the number of quaestors. It was then taken up where they had left it by the tribunes; and other

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seditiosae actiones exsistunt. Propter quos motus cum senatus consules quam tribunos creari mallet, neque posset per intercessiones tribunicias senatus 7 consultum fieri, res publica a consulibus ad interregnum, neque id ipsum—nam coire patricios tribuni prohibebant—sine certamine ingenti, redit. 8 Cum pars maior insequentis anni per novos tribunos plebi et aliquot interreges certaminibus extracta esset modo prohibentibus tribunis patricios coire ad prodendum interregem, modo interregem interpel- 9 lantibus, ne senatus consultum de comitiis consularibus faceret, postremo L. Papirius Mugillanus proditus interrex castigando nunc patres, nunc tribunos plebi desertam omissamque ab hominibus rem publicam, deorum providentia curaque exceptam memorabat Veientibus indutiis et cunctatione 10 Aequorum stare. Unde si quid increpet terroris, sine patricio magistratu placere rem publicam opprimi? Non exercitum, non ducem scribendo exercitui esse? An bello intestino bellum externum 11 propulsaturos? Quae si in unum conveniant, vix deorum opibus quin obruatur Romana res resisti posse. Quin illi remittendo de summa quisque iuris 12 mediis consiliis[1] copularent concordiam, patres patiendo tribunos militum pro consulibus fieri, tribuni

[1] mediis consiliis *Walters (in note)*: mediis Ω.

revolutionary schemes came to the fore in quick succession, among them one for enacting an agrarian law. When the senate, because of these disturbances, preferred that consuls be elected rather than tribunes, yet was unable to pass a resolution on account of tribunician vetoes, the government passed from the consuls to an interrex; nor was even this accomplished without a violent struggle, for the tribunes tried to prevent the patricians from holding a meeting. The greater part of the ensuing year dragged on with contests between the new tribunes and several interreges. At one time the tribunes would keep the patricians from meeting to appoint an interrex; at another time they would interpose their veto against the interrex, that the senate might not pass a resolution to hold the consular elections. Finally Lucius Papirius Mugillanus was named interrex, and upbraiding now the senators, now the tribunes of the plebs, reminded them how the state, abandoned and forsaken by men, had been protected by the providential care of Heaven, and existed by the grace of the Veientine truce and the dilatory policy of the Aequi. If an alarm should break out in that quarter, was it their pleasure that the republic should be caught without a patrician magistrate? that there should be no army, no general to enrol an army? Or did they expect to beat off a foreign foe with a civil war? But if both should come at once, the help of the gods themselves would scarce suffice to stay the destruction of the Roman commonwealth. Why would they not every man abate somewhat of his full rights and compromise harmoniously on a middle course, the Fathers consenting that military tribunes should be chosen instead of consuls, the B.C. 421

A.U.C. 333 plebi non intercedendo quo minus quattuor quaestores promisce de plebe ac patribus libero suffragio populi fierent?

A.U.C. 334-335 XLIV. Tribunicia primum comitia sunt habita. Creati tribuni consulari potestate omnes patricii, L. Quinctius Cincinnatus tertium[1] L. Furius[2] Medullinus iterum M. Manlius[3] A. Sempronius Atratinus. 2 Hoc tribuno comitia quaestorum habente petentibusque inter aliquot plebeios filio A. Antisti[4] tribuni plebis et fratre alterius tribuni plebis Sex. Pompili, nec potestas nec suffragatio horum valuit quin quorum patres avosque consules viderant eos nobilitate praeferrent. 3 Furere omnes tribuni plebi, ante omnes Pompilius Antistiusque, repulsa suorum accensi. 4 Quidnam id rei esset?[5] Non suis beneficiis, non patrum iniuriis, non denique ius usurpandi[6] libidine, cum liceat quod ante non licuerit, si non tribunum militarem, ne quaestorem quidem quemquam ex plebe 5 factum! Non valuisse patris pro filio, fratris pro fratre preces, tribunorum plebis, potestatis sacrosanctae ad auxilium libertatis creatae. Fraudem profecto in re esse, et A. Sempronium comitiis plus artis adhibuisse quam fidei. Eius iniuria queri suos honore deiectos.

[1] tertium ς: tertio (*or* -cio) Ω.
[2] L. Furius *Sigonius* (*chap.* xxv. § 5, *and chap.* xxv. § 1, *and C.I.L.* i², *p.* 112): sextus (*or* sex.) furius Ω.
[3] Manlius ς (*C.I.L. ibid.*): mallius Ω.
[4] A. Antisti *Luterbacher*: antisti (*or* -ii) Ω: antistiit *D.*
[5] esset ς: esset quod Ω.
[6] ius usurpandi *Karsten*: usurpandi Ω.

tribunes interposing no veto to prevent four quaestors being taken promiscuously from plebeians and patricians by free election of the people? B.C. 421

XLIV. The election of tribunes was held first. The tribunes with consular powers who were chosen were all patricians, namely Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus (for the third time), Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the second time), Marcus Manlius, and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus. The last-named held the election for quaestors. Among the several plebeians who sought the place were the son of a plebeian tribune, named Aulus Antistius, and the brother of another, Sextus Pompilius. Yet neither the authority nor the support of these men could prevent the people from giving the preference, because of their noble birth, to men whose fathers and grandfathers they had seen consuls. This made all the tribunes furious, but more than all the rest Pompilius and Antistius, who were incensed at the defeat of their kinsmen. What in the world, they asked, was the meaning of this? Had neither their own services nor the wrongs which the patricians had inflicted, nor even the pleasure of exercising a right—since what had before been unlawful was now permitted—availed to elect a single quaestor from the plebs, let alone a military tribune? Of no avail had been a father's entreaties for his son, a brother's for his brother, not though they had been tribunes of the plebs, and invested with an inviolable office, created for the protection of liberty. There was fraud in the matter, beyond question, and Aulus Sempronius had employed more artifice than honesty in the election. It was by his wrong-doing, they complained, that their relations had been defeated for office. And so, B.C. 420

A.U.C. 334-335

6 Itaque cum in ipsum et innocentia tutum et magistratu, in quo tunc erat, impetus fieri non posset, flexere iras in C. Sempronium, patruelem Atratini, eique ob ignominiam Volsci belli adiutore collega M.
7 Canuleio diem dixere. Subinde ab iisdem tribunis mentio in senatu de agris dividendis inlata est, cui actioni semper acerrime C. Sempronius restiterat, ratis,[1] id quod erat, aut deposita causa leviorem futurum apud patres reum aut perseverantem sub
8 iudicii tempus plebem offensurum. Adversae invidiae obici maluit et suae nocere causae quam
9 publicae deesse; stetitque in eadem sententia ne qua largitio, cessura in trium gratiam tribunorum, fieret; nec tum agrum plebi, sed sibi invidiam quaeri; se quoque subiturum eam tempestatem forti animo; nec senatui tanti se civem aut quemquam alium debere esse, ut in parcendo uni malum publicum
10 fiat. Nihilo demissiore animo, cum dies venit, causa ipse[2] pro se dicta, nequiquam omnia expertis patribus ut mitigarent plebem, quindecim milibus aeris damnatur.
11 Eodem anno Postumia virgo Vestalis de incestu causam dixit crimine innoxia, ab suspicione[3] propter

[1] ratis ς: ratus Ω.
[2] causa ipse A^2 (*or* A^1) ς: causa ipsa *U*: causa ipsa ipse *PEHDLA*: causa ipse sa ipse *M*.
[3] ab suspicione *Gronovius*: ob suspicionem (-tionem *RD*) Ω.

since they could not attack the man himself, secure B.C. 420
as he was not only in his innocence but in the magistracy which he was filling, they turned their anger upon Gaius Sempronius, the cousin of Atratinus; and prosecuted him, with the co-operation of their colleague Marcus Canuleius, on the score of the humiliation suffered in the Volscian war. The same tribunes frequently mentioned in the senate the division of the public lands, a measure which Gaius Sempronius had always stoutly resisted, for they reckoned—and rightly—that either he would abandon the cause and his defence would become a matter of less concern to the patricians, or that persevering in his attitude he would give offence, up to the moment of his trial, to the plebeians. He chose to face the storm of unpopularity and to injure his own cause rather than be found wanting in that of the nation; and he held fast to the same opinion, that there should be no largess, for that would redound to the advantage of the three tribunes. It was not land for the plebs they were then looking for, he declared, but hatred for himself; he was as ready as another to confront that tempest with a courageous heart; nor ought the senate to set so high a value upon himself or any other citizen that their tenderness for him should bring about a general disaster. His spirit was not a whit less firm when the day of trial came. He pleaded his own cause; the senators exerted in vain every means of mollifying the plebs; and he was condemned to pay a fine of fifteen thousand *asses*.

The same year a Vestal virgin named Postumia was put on trial for unchastity. She was innocent of the charge, though open to suspicion because of her

A.U.C. 334-335

cultum amoeniorem ingeniumque liberius quam
12 virginem decet parum abhorrens. Eam[1] ampliatam, deinde absolutam pro collegii sententia pontifex maximus abstinere iocis colique sancte potius quam scite iussit. Eodem anno a Campanis Cumae, quam Graeci tum urbem tenebant, capiuntur.

13 Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari potestate habuit Agrippam Menenium Lanatum P. Lucretium Tricipitinum Sp. Nautium Rutulum[2] A.U.C. 336 (XLV.), annus felicitate populi Romani periculo potius ingenti quam clade insignis. Servitia urbem ut incenderent distantibus locis coniurarunt, populoque ad opem passim ferendam tectis intento ut arcem
2 Capitoliumque armati occuparent. Avertit nefanda consilia Iuppiter, indicioque duorum comprehensi sontes poenas dederunt. Indicibus dena milia gravis aeris, quae tum divitiae habebantur, ex aerario numerata et libertas praemium fuit.

3 Bellum inde ab Aequis reparari coeptum; et novos hostes Labicanos[3] consilia cum veteribus iungere haud
4 incertis auctoribus Romam est allatum. Aequorum iam velut anniversariis armis adsueverat civitas: Labicos legati missi cum responsa inde rettulissent dubia, quibus nec tum bellum parari nec diuturnam pacem fore appareret, Tusculanis negotium datum adverterent animos ne quid novi tumultus Labicis oreretur.

[1] eam M^2: eam am M: famam (*omitted by P*) Ω.

[2] Rutulum *Conway* (*cf. chap.* xxxv. § 4): rutilium MA^2: *omitted by* Ω.

[3] Labicanos . . . . Labicis . . . . Labicanos . . . . Labicanis *as* Ω *reads at* II. xxxix. 4 *and several other places* (*in* § 4 Labicos *MPRL*): lauicanos, *etc.* Ω.

pretty clothes and the unmaidenly freedom of her wit. After she had been remanded and then acquitted, the pontifex maximus, in the name of the college, commanded her to abstain from jests, and to dress rather with regard to sanctity than coquetry. In this same year Cumae, a city which the Greeks then held, was captured by the Campanians. B.C. 420

The ensuing year had as military tribunes with consular powers Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Spurius Nautius Rutulus.

XLV. It was a year remarkable, thanks to the good fortune of the Roman People, for a great danger but not a disaster. The slaves conspired to set fire to the City at points remote from one another, and, while the people should be busy everywhere with rescuing their houses, to seize the Citadel and the Capitol with an armed force. Jupiter brought their wicked schemes to naught, and on the evidence of two of their number the guilty were arrested and punished. Each informant was rewarded from the public treasury with ten thousand pounds of bronze—which passed for wealth in those days—and with freedom. B.C. 419–18

The Aequi then began to prepare again for war; and word was brought to Rome on good authority that new enemies, the Labicani, were making common cause with the old ones. As for the Aequi, the citizens had by now grown accustomed to war with them, as to an annual occurrence; but they dispatched envoys to Labici, and having got them back with an ambiguous answer, from which it appeared that though war was not as yet being organized, yet peace would not long continue, they commissioned the Tusculans to watch that no fresh outbreak should occur at that place.

A.U.C. 336

5 Ad insequentis anni tribunos militum consulari potestate inito magistratu legati ab Tusculo venerunt, L. Sergium Fidenatem M. Papirium Mugillanum[1] C. Servilium Prisci filium, quo dictatore Fidenae 6 captae fuerant. Nuntiabant legati Labicanos arma cepisse et cum Aequorum exercitu depopulatos agrum 7 Tusculanum castra in Algido posuisse. Tum Labicanis bellum indictum; factoque senatus consulto ut duo ex tribunis ad bellum proficiscerentur, unus res Romae curaret, certamen subito inter tribunos exortum; se quisque belli ducem potiorem ferre, curam 8 urbis ut ingratam ignobilemque aspernari. Cum parum decorum inter collegas certamen mirabundi patres conspicerent, Q. Servilius "Quando nec ordinis huius ulla" inquit, "nec rei publicae est verecundia, patria maiestas altercationem istam dirimet. Filius meus extra sortem urbi praeerit. Bellum utinam qui adpetunt consideratius concordiusque quam cupiunt gerant."

XLVI. Dilectum haberi non ex toto passim populo placuit; decem tribus sorte ductae sunt. Ex iis scriptos iuniores duo tribuni ad bellum duxere. 2 Coepta inter eos in urbe certamina cupiditate eadem imperii multo impensius in castris accendi; nihil sentire idem, pro sententia pugnare; sua consilia 3 velle, sua imperia sola rata esse; contemnere in

[1] Mugillanum *Sigonius*: mugilanum Ω.

To the military tribunes with consular authority who held office the ensuing year, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Marcus Papirius Mugillanus, and Gaius Servilius, son of the Priscus who as dictator had captured Fidenae, there came, just as they had entered on their magistracy, ambassadors from Tusculum, who announced that the Labicani had armed and, after devastating the Tusculan countryside in company with an Aequian army, had encamped on Algidus. Thereupon war was declared against the Labicani, and the senate resolved that two of the tribunes should proceed to the front, while one attended to matters in Rome. At this a dispute immediately broke out amongst the tribunes, each of whom boasted of his superiority as a general and spurned the care of the City as a thankless and ignoble task. While the astonished senators watched this unseemly rivalry amongst the colleagues, Quintus Servilius exclaimed, "Since you have no respect for this order nor for the republic, a father's authority shall end your quarrel. My son shall preside over the City, without recourse to lots. I only hope that those who are eager to make the campaign may conduct it with more consideration and harmony than they display in seeking it." B.C. 419–418

XLVI. It was determined not to make a general levy on the entire people, but ten tribes were chosen by lot. From these the two tribunes enrolled the men of military age and led them to war. The bickerings which had commenced between them in the City grew much hotter in the camp, from the same eagerness to command; they could not agree on anything; each strove for his own opinion; each desired his own plans and his own orders to be the

A.U.C. 336

vicem et contemni, donec castigantibus legatis tandem ita comparatum est ut alternis diebus summam imperii haberent. Quae cum allata Romam essent, dicitur Q. Servilius, aetate et usu doctus precatus ab dis[1] immortalibus ne discordia tribunorum damnosior rei publicae esset quam ad Veios fuisset, et velut haud dubia clade imminente institisse filio ut milites scriberet et arma pararet. Nec falsus vates fuit. Nam ductu L. Sergi, cuius dies imperii erat, loco iniquo sub hostium castris, cum, quia simulato metu receperat se hostis ad vallum, spes vana expugnandi castra eo traxisset, repentino impetu Aequorum per supinam vallem fusi sunt, multique in ruina maiore quam fuga oppressi obtruncatique. Castraque eo die aegre retenta, postero die circumfusis iam magna ex parte hostibus per aversam portam fuga turpi deseruntur. Duces legatique et quod circa signa roboris de exercitu fuit Tusculum petiere: palati alii per agros passim multis itineribus maioris quam accepta erat cladis nuntii Romam contenderunt. Minus trepidationis fuit, quod eventus timori hominum congruens fuerat, et quod subsidia quae respicerent in re trepida praeparata erant ab

[1] dis *Conway and Walters*: diis Ω.

only valid ones; each despised the other and was in turn despised by him, until at last, reproved by their lieutenants, they arranged to exercise the supreme command on alternate days. When the report of this reached Rome, it is said that Quintus Servilius, taught by years and experience, besought the immortal gods that the strife between the tribunes might not result more disastrously to the republic than had been the case at Veii, and as though certain defeat were imminent, urged his son to enlist soldiers and make ready arms. Nor was he a false prophet. For under the leadership of Lucius Sergius, whose day it was to command, the Romans found themselves in an unfavourable position close to the enemy's camp, whither they had been drawn, when the Aequi feigned fear and retired to their rampart, by the vain hope of capturing it; and there they were suddenly attacked by the Aequi and driven pellmell down a sloping valley, where many of them, as they rather tumbled down than retreated, were overtaken and put to the sword. That day they defended their camp with difficulty, and on the next, when the enemy had almost surrounded it, they abandoned it by a disgraceful flight through the opposite gate. The generals and their lieutenants and such of the army's strength as kept to the standards made for Tusculum: the others, scattering through the fields, this way and that, hastened to Rome by divers roads and reported a much heavier defeat than had been sustained. There was the less dismay for the reason that the event had tallied with men's apprehensions, and because reserves which they could look to in the hour of danger had been made ready by the tribune

B.C. 419–418

A.U.C. 336

9 tribuno militum. Iussuque eiusdem per minores magistratus sedato in urbe tumultu speculatores propere missi nuntiavere Tusculi duces exercitumque
10 esse, hostem castra loco non movisse. Et, quod plurimum animorum fecit, dictator ex senatus consulto dictus Q. Servilius[1] Priscus, vir cuius providentiam in re publica cum multis aliis tempestatibus ante experta civitas erat tum eventu eius belli, quod uni certamen tribunorum suspectum ante rem male
11 gestam fuerat. Magistro equitum creato a quo ipse tribuno militum dictator erat dictus, filio suo—ut tradidere quidam; nam alii Ahalam Servilium magis-
12 trum equitum eo anno fuisse scribunt,—novo exercitu profectus ad bellum accitis qui Tusculi erant, duo milia passuum ab hoste locum castris cepit.

A.U.C. 337-338

XLVII. Transierat ex re bene gesta superbia neglegentiaque ad Aequos quae in Romanis ducibus
2 fuerat. Itaque primo statim proelio cum dictator equitatu immisso antesignanos hostium turbasset, legionum inde signa inferri propere iussit signi-
3 ferumque ex suis unum cunctantem occidit. Tantus ardor ad dimicandum fuit ut impetum Aequi non tulerint, victique acie cum fuga effusa petissent castra, brevior tempore et certamine minor[2] castrorum op-
4 pugnatio fuit quam proelium fuerat. Captis direptisque castris cum praedam dictator militi concessisset

[1] Servilius $A^2 \varsigma$: sulpicius (-tius DL) Ω.

[2] brevior tempore et certamine minor $E^2\ D?\ \varsigma$: breuior et certamine et tempore $H^1?$: breuiore tempore et certamine minor Ω.

of the soldiers. It was by his orders too that the lesser magistrates had quieted the confusion in the City, when the scouts whom he had hurriedly sent out reported that the generals and the army were at Tusculum, and that the enemy had not broken camp. And—what raised men's courage most—Quintus Servilius Priscus was in consequence of a senatorial decree named dictator—a man whose clear vision in public affairs the state had proved on many previous occasions, but particularly in the outcome of this war, because he alone had viewed the quarrel of the tribunes with anxiety, before their defeat. Having appointed his son, by whom, when military tribune, he had himself been pronounced dictator, to be master of the horse,—as some authorities have recorded; for others write that Servilius Ahala was master of the horse that year,—he set out with a fresh army for the war, sent for the troops which were at Tusculum, and fixed his camp two miles from the enemy. B.C. 419–418

XLVII. In consequence of their success, the Aequi had taken over the arrogance and carelessness which the Roman generals had shown, and the result was seen in the very first battle. When the dictator had attacked with his cavalry and had thrown the enemy's front ranks into confusion, he ordered the legions to advance rapidly, and when one of his standard-bearers hesitated, cut him down. So eager for combat were the troops, that the Aequi could not stop their rush, and when, defeated in the field, they had withdrawn to their camp in a disordered flight, it was stormed with less expenditure of time and effort than the battle itself had cost. Having captured and sacked the camp, the dictator relin- B.C. 417–416

A.U.C. 357-338

secutique fugientem ex castris hostem equites renuntiassent omnes Labicanos victos, magnam partem
5 Aequorum Labicos confugisse, postero die ad Labicos ductus exercitus oppidumque corona circumdata scalis
6 captum ac direptum est. Dictator exercitu victore Romam reducto die octavo quam creatus erat magistratu se abdicavit; et opportune senatus priusquam ab tribunis plebi agrariae seditiones mentione inlata de agro Labicano dividendo fierent, censuit frequens
7 coloniam Labicos deducendam. Coloni ab urbe mille et quingenti missi bina iugera acceperunt.[1]

Captis Labicis deinde[2] tribunis militum consulari potestate Agrippa Menenio Lanato et C. Servilio[3]
8 Structo et P. Lucretio Tricipitino, iterum omnibus his, et Sp. Rutilio Crasso, et insequente anno A. Sempronio Atratino tertium, et duobus iterum, M. Papirio Mugillano[4] et Sp. Nautio Rutulo[5] biennium tranquillae externae res, discordia domi ex agrariis legibus fuit.

XLVIII. Turbatores volgi erant Sp. Maecilius quartum et M. Metilius[6] tertium[7] tribuni plebis,
2 ambo absentes creati. Ei[8] cum rogationem promulgassent ut ager ex hostibus captus viritim divideretur, magnaeque partis nobilium eo plebi scito

[1] acceperunt A^2 ς: acceperant (accepant A) Ω.
[2] deinde *L. Mueller*: ac deinde Ω.
[3] C. Servilio *Glareanus* (*cf.* IV. xlv. 5 *and Diod.* XIII. vii. 1): l. seruilio Ω: seruilio M: *omitted by E* (*which also omits* Structo).
[4] Mugillano (*as at* IV. vii. 10): mugilano Ω.
[5] Rutulo (*as at* III. vii. 6): rutilio (rutulio P) Ω.
[6] M. Metilius *Alschefski*: metilius (*or* -cilius) Ω.
[7] quartum . . . tertium ς: quarto . . . tertio (*or* -cio) Ω.
[8] ei D? *Madvig*: et Ω.

[1] The *iugerum* was about five-eighths of an acre.

quished the plunder to his soldiers; and the cavalry, which had pursued the enemy as they fled from their encampment, came back with the report that all the Labicani, after their defeat, and a great part of the Aequi, had taken refuge in Labici. Next day the army marched to Labici and, drawing a cordon about the town, stormed it with ladders and plundered it. Leading his victorious army back to Rome, the dictator resigned his office eight days after his appointment; and the senate seized the opportunity, before the tribunes of the plebs could stir up agrarian troubles by proposing a division of the Labican territory, to resolve, in a largely-attended meeting, that a colony should be planted in Labici. Fifteen hundred colonists were sent from the City, and each received two *iugera*.[1] B.C. 417-416

The year that followed the capture of Labici, having as military tribunes with consular powers Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Gaius Servilius Structus, and Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus (all these for the second time), together with Spurius Rutilius Crassus; and the succeeding year, with Aulus Sempronius Atratinus (for his third term) and Marcus Papirius Mugillanus and Spurius Nautius Rutulus (for their second) were a period of tranquillity in foreign relations but of civil discord arising out of agrarian laws.

XLVIII. Those who stirred up the people were Spurius Maecilius, tribune of the plebs for the fourth time, and Marcus Metilius, for the third, both having been elected in their absence. On their proposing a law that the land which had been captured from enemies should be divided up among the citizens, a plebiscite which would mean the confiscation of the

A.U.C. 337-338

3 publicarentur fortunae—nec enim ferme quicquam agri, ut in urbe alieno solo posita, non armis partum erat, nec quod venisset adsignatumve publice esset
4 praeterquam plebs habebat,—atrox plebi patribusque propositum videbatur certamen. Nec tribuni militum nunc in senatu, nunc conciliis[1] privatis principum
5 cogendis viam consilii inveniebant, cum Ap. Claudius, nepos eius qui decemvir legibus scribendis fuerat,
6 minimus natu ex patrum concilio, dicitur dixisse vetus se ac familiare consilium domo adferre; proavum enim suum Ap. Claudium ostendisse patribus viam unam dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis per
7 collegarum intercessionem. Facile homines novos auctoritate principum de sententia deduci, si temporum interdum potius quam maiestatis memor ad-
8 hibeatur oratio. Pro fortuna illis animos esse; ubi videant collegas principes agendae rei gratiam omnem ad plebem praeoccupasse nec locum in ea relictum sibi,
9 haud gravate adclinaturos se ad causam senatus, per quam cum universo ordini, tum [2] primoribus se patrum
10 concilient. Adprobantibus cunctis et ante omnes Q. Servilio Prisco, quod non degenerasset ab stirpe

[1] conciliis *Crévier*: in conciliis ς: in consiliis Ω.
[2] cum universo ordini, tum *Tan. Faber*: cumiuerso (?) ordine tum *D*: uniuerso ordine cum Ω.

[1] Really his great-great-grandfather (*abavus*).
[2] The term *novus homo* was usually applied to a man who was the first of his family to hold a curule office (curule aedileship, praetorship, consulship).

fortunes of a great part of the nobles—for there was scarcely any land, as might be expected in the case of a city situated on alien soil, which had not been gained by force of arms; nor was much, if any, of that which had been sold or assigned by the state held by other than plebeians,—it appeared that a desperate struggle was at hand between the plebs and the patricians. The military tribunes had hit upon no plan of action either in the senate or in the private conferences which they held with the leading men, when Appius Claudius, grandson of him who had been decemvir for drawing up the laws, himself the youngest of the council of senators, announced—so the story goes—that he was bringing them from his house an old family device; for it had been his great-grandfather[1] Appius Claudius who had pointed out to the senators that the only way to break the power of the tribunes lay through the veto of their colleagues. It was not difficult for the leading men of the state to induce upstart politicians[2] to change their minds, if they would but suit their discourse meantime rather to the exigencies of the crisis than to their lofty station. The sentiments of such fellows varied with their fortunes: when they saw that their colleagues, by taking the lead in the management of affairs, had appropriated all the favour of the populace in advance and had left no room there for themselves, they would incline without reluctance to the cause of the senate, by supporting which they might gain the goodwill not only of the order as a whole, but also of the foremost senators. When they had all expressed their approval, and especially Quintus Servilius Priscus, who praised the young man as

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Claudia conlaudante iuvenem, negotium datur ut quos quisque posset ex collegio tribunorum ad inter-
11 cessionem perlicerent. Misso senatu prensantur ab principibus tribuni. Suadendo monendo pollicendoque, gratum id singulis privatim, gratum universo senatui fore, sex ad intercessionem comparavere.
12 Posteroque die cum ex composito relatum ad senatum esset de seditione quam Maecilius Metiliusque largi-
13 tione pessimi exempli concirent, eae orationes a primoribus patrum habitae sunt ut pro se quisque iam nec consilium sibi suppetere diceret nec se ullam opem cernere aliam usquam praeterquam in tribunicio auxilio; in eius potestatis fidem circumventam rem publicam, tamquam privatum inopem,
14 confugere; praeclarum ipsis potestatique esse non ad vexandum senatum discordiamque ordinum movendam plus in tribunatu virium esse quam ad re-
15 sistendum improbis collegis. Fremitus deinde universi senatus ortus, cum ex omnibus partibus curiae tribuni appellarentur. Tum silentio facto ii qui praeparati erant gratia principum, quam rogationem a collegis promulgatam senatus censeat dissolvendae rei publicae esse, ei se intercessuros ostendunt. Gratiae inter-
16 cessoribus ab senatu actae. Latores rogationis con-

one who had not degenerated from the Claudian stock, everybody was given the task of inducing such of the tribunician college as he could to interpose their vetoes. The senate adjourned and the leading members began to canvass the tribunes. By arguments in which they mingled warnings with the promise that their action would earn the tribunes the personal gratitude of individuals, as well as that of the senate as a body, they got six men to promise their opposition. Next day when the senate, in accordance with a preconcerted plan, had taken up the question of the sedition which Maecilius and Metilius were beginning by proposing a donation of the most objectionable type, the principal senators made speeches in which each took occasion to say that he could think of nothing to suggest and saw no help for the situation anywhere save in the assistance of the tribunes; this was the power to whose protection the harassed republic, like a private citizen in distress, now fled for succour; it was a glorious thing both for the men themselves and for their office that the tribunate possessed no less strength for the resistance of its wicked colleagues than for troubling the senate and promoting discord between the orders. Loud shouts were then heard from the entire senate and appeals were addressed to the tribunes from every part of the Curia. Then, after silence had been obtained, those who had been won over by the favour of the chief senators declared their readiness to veto the measure which their colleagues had proposed but the senate deemed subversive of the republic. The thanks of the senate were voted the protesters. The authors of the bill convened an assembly, and accusing their

B.C. 417–416

A.U.C. 337-338 tione advocata proditores plebis commodorum ac servos consularium appellantes aliaque truci oratione in collegas invecti actionem deposuere.

A.U.C. 339-340 XLIX. Duo bella insequens annus habuisset, quo P. Cornelius Cossus C. Valerius Potitus Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus Num. Fabius [1] Vibulanus tribuni militum 2 consulari potestate fuerunt, ni Veiens bellum religio principum distulisset, quorum agros Tiberis super 3 ripas effusus maxime ruinis villarum vastavit. Simul Aequos triennio ante accepta clades prohibuit Bo- 4 lanis,[2] suae gentis populo, praesidium ferre. Excursiones inde in confinem agrum Labicanum [3] factae 5 erant novisque colonis bellum inlatum. Quam noxam cum se consensu omnium Aequorum defensuros sperassent, deserti ab suis ne memorabili quidem bello, per obsidionem levemque unam pugnam et 6 oppidum et fines amisere. Temptatum ab L. Decio [4] tribuno plebis, ut rogationem ferret qua Bolas quoque, sicut Labicos, coloni mitterentur, per intercessionem collegarum, qui nullum plebi scitum nisi ex auctoritate senatus passuros se perferri ostenderunt, discussum est.

7 Bolis insequente anno receptis Aequi coloniaque eo deducta novis viribus oppidum firmarunt, tribunis militum Romae consulari potestate Cn. Cornelio Cosso L. Valerio Potito Q. Fabio Vibulano iterum

[1] Num. Fabius *Sigonius* (*cf.* IV. xliii. 1): marcus (*or* m̃) Ω.
[2] Bolanis *Sigonius and Cluverius*: uolanis Ω: uolentes *U* (*the same correction throughout the chap.*).
[3] Labicanum *as at chap.* xlv. § 3: lauic- Ω (*so* lauicos *infra*).
[4] L. Decio ς: l. quintio decio *U*: l. sextio A^3: l. dexio *MHDLA*: l. q. dexio *PE*.

colleagues of being traitors to the interests of the plebs and slaves of the consulars, and in other ways bitterly denouncing them, withdrew their measure. B.C 417-416

XLIX. There would have been two wars in the ensuing year, in which Publius Cornelius Cossus, Gaius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus, and Numerius Fabius Vibulanus were military tribunes with consular powers, had not the war with Veii been delayed, thanks to the superstition of the Veientine leaders, whose farms an overflow of the Tiber had laid waste, chiefly by ruining the farmhouses. At the same time the Aequi were deterred by the defeat they had suffered three years before from marching to the assistance of the Bolani, a tribe of their own race. These people had made incursions into the neighbouring territory of Labici and attacked the new settlers. The consequences of this outrage they had hoped to avoid by means of the co-operation of all the Aequi; but, having been abandoned by their friends, they lost their town and their lands, in a war which does not even merit description, as the result of a siege and a single skirmish. An attempt on the part of Lucius Decius, a plebeian tribune, to carry a law providing that colonists should be sent to Bolae too, as well as to Labici, was frustrated through the intervention of his colleagues, who intimated that they would permit no plebiscite to pass unless it had the warrant of the senate. B.C 415-414

Bolae was retaken the next year, and the Aequi planted a colony there and strengthened the town with new defenders. Rome now had the following military tribunes with consular powers, Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus (for the second time), and Marcus

A.U.C. 339–340

8 M. Postumio Regillensi.[1] Huic bellum adversus Aequos permissum est, pravae mentis homini, quam 9 tamen victoria magis quam bellum ostendit. Nam exercitu impigre scripto ductoque ad Bolas cum levibus proeliis Aequorum animos fregisset, postremo in oppidum inrupit. Deinde ab hostibus in cives certamen vertit et cum inter oppugnationem praedam militis fore edixisset, capto oppido fidem mutavit. 10 Eam magis adducor ut credam irae causam exercitui fuisse quam quod in urbe nuper direpta coloniaque nova minus praedicatione tribuni praedae fuerit. 11 Auxit eam iram, postquam ab collegis arcessitus propter seditiones tribunicias in urbem revertit, audita vox eius in contione stolida ac prope vecors, qua M. Sextio[2] tribuno plebis legem agrariam ferenti, simul Bolas quoque ut mitterentur coloni laturum se dicenti—dignum[3] enim esse qui armis cepissent, eorum urbem agrumque Bolanum esse—"Malum quidem militibus meis" inquit, "nisi quieverint." Quod auditum non contionem magis quam mox 12 patres offendit. Et tribunus plebis, vir acer nec infacundus, nactus inter adversarios superbum ingenium immodicamque linguam, quam inritando agitandoque in eas impelleret voces quae invidiae non

[1] Regillensi *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i[1], *p.* 444, *note*): regiliensi Ω: re giliensi *M*: rei giliensi M^1: religiensi *UHA*.

[2] qua M. Sextio U^2 ς: quam sextio Ω: q) Sextio *H*: q. Sextio E^3.

[3] dignum *Tan. Faber*: dignos Ω.

Postumius Regillensis. To this last was intrusted the campaign against the Aequi. He was a wrong-headed man, yet he showed it more in the hour of victory than during the campaign. For he was energetic in raising an army and leading it to Bolae, where, after breaking the spirit of the Aequi in some trifling engagements, he finally forced an entrance into the town. He then diverted the quarrel from the enemy to his fellow-citizens; and though he had proclaimed at the time of the attack that the booty should belong to the soldiers, when he had taken the town he broke his promise. This, I am inclined to believe, was the cause of the army's resentment, rather than the fact that in a recently-plundered city inhabited by new settlers, there was less booty than the tribune had predicted. The ill-feeling was increased, when, being sent for by his colleagues on account of tribunician disturbances, he had returned to the City, by a stupid and almost insane remark he was heard to make in an assembly, where Marcus Sextius, a plebeian tribune, in introducing an agrarian measure, announced that he should propose also that colonists be dispatched to Bolae—for it was proper, he said, that the city and lands of the Bolani should belong to those who had captured them in war. "Woe to my soldiers," exclaimed Postumius, "unless they hold their peace!"—a saying which presently, on being reported to the senators, offended them no less than it had the assembly. And the tribune of the plebs, a keen and not uneloquent man, having got for one of his adversaries a man of haughty spirit and unbridled tongue, whom he could irritate and provoke to say things that would not only make himself disliked

B.C. 415–414

A.U.C. 339-340

ipsi tantum sed causae atque universo ordini essent, neminem ex collegio tribunorum militum saepius
13 quam Postumium in disceptationem trahebat. Tum vero secundum tam saevum atque inhumanum dictum "Auditis" inquit, "Quirites, sicut servis malum
14 minantem militibus? Tamen haec belua dignior vobis tanto honore videbitur quam qui vos urbe agrisque donatos in colonias mittunt, qui sedem senectuti vestrae prospiciunt, qui pro vestris commodis adversus tam crudeles superbosque adversarios
15 depugnant? Incipite deinde mirari cur pauci iam vestram suscipiant causam. Quid ut a vobis sperent? An honores, quos adversariis vestris potius quam po-
16 puli Romani propugnatoribus datis? Ingemuistis modo voce huius audita. Quid id refert? Iam si suffragium detur, hunc qui malum vobis minatur iis qui agros sedesque ac fortunas stabilire volunt praeferetis."

A.U.C. 340

L. Perlata haec vox Postumi ad milites multo in castris maiorem indignationem movit: praedaene interceptorem fraudatoremque etiam malum minari
2 militibus? Itaque cum fremitus aperte esset, et quaestor P. Sestius [1] eadem violentia coerceri putaret seditionem posse qua mota erat, misso ad vociferantem quendam militem lictore cum inde clamor et iurgium oreretur, saxo ictus turba excedit, insuper increpante
3 qui volneraverat, habere quaestorem quod imperator

[1] Sestius *Sigonius* (*as at* III. xxxii. 4): sextius (Sexius *H*) Ω.

but his cause and the entire senate as well, made a point of involving Postumius in a dispute more often than any other member of the college of military tribunes. On this particular occasion, after that savage and brutal threat, he cried, "Do you hear him, Quirites, threatening his soldiers with punishment like slaves? Shall this wild beast seem to you, notwithstanding, more deserving of so great an office than those who would present you with a city and with lands, and send you out to colonies; who would provide a home for your old age; who fight for your interests against these cruel and insolent adversaries? And does it surprise you that so few espouse your cause? What are they to expect of you? Those offices which you give by preference to your opponents, rather than to the champions of the Roman People? You groaned just now when you heard his remark. What of it? If you should be asked to vote this very moment, you would elect this man who threatens you with chastisement in preference to those who wish to secure you lands and houses and fortunes." B.C. 415-414

L. When this saying of Postumius reached the troops, it stirred up much greater indignation in the camp: did the man who had fraudulently cut off his soldiers from their spoils also threaten them with punishment? And while they murmured openly, the quaestor Publius Sestius, thinking that the mutiny could be quelled with the same violence which had occasioned it, sent a lictor to arrest a certain brawling soldier; whereupon shouts and objurgations broke forth, and Sestius was hit with a stone and retreated from the scuffle, while the man who had wounded him thundered after him that the quaestor B.C. 414

A.U.C. 340

4 esset militibus minatus. Ad hunc tumultum accitus Postumius asperiora omnia fecit acerbis quaestionibus, crudelibus suppliciis. Postremo cum modum irae nullum faceret, ad vociferationem eorum quos necari sub crate iusserat concursu facto, ipse ad interpel-
5 lantes[1] poenam vecors de tribunali decurrit. Ibi cum submoventes passim lictores centurionesque vexarent turbam, eo indignatio erupit ut tribunus militum ab exercitu suo lapidibus cooperiretur.
6 Quod tam atrox facinus postquam est Romam nuntiatum, tribunis militum de morte collegae per senatum quaestiones decernentibus tribuni plebis intercede-
7 bant. Sed ea contentio ex certamine alio pendebat, quod cura incesserat patres ne metu quaestionum plebs iraque tribunos militum ex plebe crearet, tende-
8 bantque summa ope ut consules crearentur. Cum senatus consultum fieri tribuni plebis non paterentur, iidem intercederent consularibus comitiis, res ad interregnum rediit. Victoria deinde penes patres fuit.

A.U.C. 341

LI. Q. Fabio Vibulano interrege comitia habente consules creati sunt A. Cornelius Cossus L. Furius[2]
2 Medullinus. His consulibus principio anni senatus consultum factum est, ut de quaestione Postumianae caedis tribuni primo quoque tempore ad plebem

[1] interpellantes *Gronovius*: interpellandis *M*: interpellantis Ω.

[2] L. Furius ς: Furius Ω.

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[1] See the account, in I. li. 9, of the execution of Herdonius. Here water is not mentioned, and the victim was probably placed on the ground and crushed beneath the stones which were heaped upon the hurdle.

[2] Providing for the investigation of the murder of Postumius.

had got what the general had threatened to give his men. Being summoned to deal with this disturbance, Postumius aggravated everything by his harsh inquisitions and savage punishments. Finally his anger got beyond all bounds, and when the shout of those whom he had ordered to be put to death under a hurdle[1] had caused a crowd to gather, he ran down in a frenzy of passion from his tribunal to those who would have interrupted the execution. There, when the lictors and centurions assailed the mob and tried to drive them back, on this side and on that, resentment ran so high that a military tribune was overwhelmed with a volley of stones from his own soldiers. This dreadful deed having been announced in Rome, the tribunes of the soldiers wished to institute a senatorial inquiry into the death of their colleague, but the plebeian tribunes interposed their vetoes. The dispute was closely connected with another struggle. The senators had become apprehensive lest the plebs, what with their fear of investigations and their indignation, should elect military tribunes from their own class; they therefore used all their efforts to have consuls chosen. Since the plebeian tribunes would not allow the resolution of the senate[2] to go through, and also vetoed the election of consuls, the state reverted to an interregnum. The victory then rested with the senators. B.C. 414

LI. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, acting as interrex, held an election, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus were chosen consuls. In their consulship, early in the year, a senatorial resolution was passed that the tribunes should bring the investigation of Postumius's murder before the plebs at the earliest possible moment, and that the B.C. 413

A.U.C. 341

ferrent plebesque praeficeret quaestioni quem vellet. A plebe consensu[1] consulibus negotium mandatur; 3 qui summa moderatione ac lenitate per paucorum supplicium, quos sibimet ipsos conscisse mortem satis creditum est, transacta re, nequivere tamen consequi, 4 ut non aegerrime id plebs ferret: iacere tam diu inritas actiones quae de suis commodis ferrentur, cum interim de sanguine ac supplicio suo latam legem confestim exerceri et tantam vim habere. 5 Aptissimum tempus fuerat vindicatis seditionibus delenimentum animis Bolani[2] agri divisionem obici, quo facto minuissent desiderium agrariae legis quae possesso[3] per iniuriam agro publico patres pellebat; 6 tunc haec ipsa indignitas angebat animos: non in retinendis modo publicis agris quos vi[4] teneret pertinacem nobilitatem esse, sed ne vacuum quidem agrum nuper ex hostibus captum plebi dividere, mox paucis, ut cetera, futurum praedae.

7 Eodem anno adversus Volscos populantes Hernicorum fines legiones ductae a Furio consule cum hostem ibi non invenissent, Ferentinum, quo magna 8 multitudo Volscorum se contulerat, cepere. Minus praedae quam speraverant fuit, quod Volsci, postquam spes tuendi exigua erat, sublatis rebus nocte

[1] consensu *Crevier*: populi consensu Ω.
[2] Bolani *E*? (IV. xlix. 3): uolani (uolam *A*) Ω.
[3] possesso A^2 *or* A^3 ς: possessio Ω: posset sio (*or* possit sio) *E*.
[4] quos vi ς: quos ut Ω.

plebs should appoint whomsoever they wished to B.C. 413
have charge of the inquiry. The plebs unanimously referred the matter to the consuls. They accomplished their task with the utmost moderation and leniency, punishing a few only,—and these are generally believed to have committed suicide;—yet they were unable to prevent the transaction from being bitterly resented by the plebs, who complained that the measures which had been proposed in their interests lay all this while neglected, whereas the law that was passed concerning their punishment and their lives was carried out at once, and most effectually. It would have been a very suitable occasion, now that the mutiny had been avenged, to appease their anger by offering to divide the Bolan territory. Had the senators done this, they would have lessened men's desire for the agrarian law which was meant to expel the patricians from their wrongful occupation of the public domain. As it was, a sense of injury was aroused by the very circumstance that the nobility not only persisted in retaining the public lands, which they held by force, but would not even divide among the plebeians the unoccupied ground which had recently been taken from the enemy and would soon, they thought, become, like all the rest, the booty of a few.

The same year the Volsci laid waste the borders of the Hernici, and the legions were led out to meet them by the consul Furius. Not finding the enemy there, they captured Ferentinum, to which a great number of Volsci had retired. There was less plunder there than they had expected, because the Volsci, having small hopes of defending the town, removed their possessions by night and abandoned

A.U.C. 341 oppidum reliquerunt; postero die prope desertum capitur. Hernicis ipsum agerque[1] dono datus.

A.U.C. 342–343 LII. Annum modestia tribunorum quietum excepit tribunus plebis L. Icilius[2] Q. Fabio Ambusto
2 C. Furio Paculo[3] consulibus. Is cum principio statim anni, velut pensum nominis familiaeque,
3 seditiones agrariis legibus promulgandis cieret, pestilentia coorta, minacior tamen quam perniciosior, cogitationes hominum a foro certaminibusque publicis ad domum curamque corporum nutriendorum avertit; minusque eam damnosam fuisse, quam
4 seditio futura fuerit credunt. Defuncta civitate plurimorum morbis, perpaucis funeribus, pestilentem annum inopia frugum neglecto cultu agrorum, ut plerumque fit, excepit, M. Papirio Atratino C. Nautio
5 Rutulo[4] consulibus. Iam fames quam pestilentia tristior erat, ni dimissis circa omnes populos legatis qui Etruscum mare quique Tiberim accolunt ad frumentum mercandum, annonae foret subventum.
6 Superbe ab Samnitibus qui Capuam habebant Cumasque legati prohibiti commercio sunt, contra ea benigne ab Siculorum tyrannis adiuti; maximos commeatus summo Etruriae studio Tiberis devexit.
7 Solitudinem in civitate aegra experti consules sunt, cum in legationes non plus singulis senatoribus

[1] ipsum agerque *Weissenborn*: ipse agerque *M*: ipse ager Ω.
[2] L. Icilius ϛ: lucilius Ω: icilius *U*: lucius *E*.
[3] Paculo *Conway* (*cf. chap.* xii. § 1): Pacilo *Sigonius*: pactilo Ω: pactilio *MU*: patilo *A*: paculio A^2 (*or* A^3).
[4] Rutulo *cf. chap.* xlvii. § 8: rutilio Ω: rutulio *PFB*.

[1] Livy probably has Dionysius I. in mind; though in reality it was several years later when he became tyrant of Syracuse.

it; next day, when it was taken, it was practically deserted. The town itself and its territory were given to the Hernici. B.C. 413

LII. After this year, which the moderation of the tribunes had made a quiet one, came the plebeian tribuneship of Lucius Icilius, when Quintus Fabius Ambustus and Gaius Furius Paculus were consuls. While Icilius, at the very outset of the year, was endeavouring to stir up sedition by the promulgation of agrarian laws, as if it had been the appointed task of his name and family, a pestilence broke out, which, though it was more threatening than fatal, diverted men's thoughts from the Forum and political conflicts to their homes and the care of the sick, and is thought to have been less hurtful than the sedition would have been. The state had escaped with very few deaths, considering the great number of those who had fallen ill, when the year of pestilence was succeeded, in the consulship of Marcus Papirius Atratinus and Gaius Nautius Rutulus, by a scarcity of corn, owing to the neglect of tillage usual at such times. Indeed the famine would have been more baneful than the disease, had they not supplemented the supply of corn by dispatching emissaries to all the peoples round about who dwelt on the Tuscan sea or by the Tiber, to purchase it. The Samnites who held Capua and Cumae insolently refused to permit the envoys to trade with them, but the Sicilian tyrants,[1] on the contrary, lent them generous assistance; and the largest supplies of all were brought down the Tiber, with the hearty goodwill of the Etruscans. The consuls experienced a lack of men in the afflicted City, and, being unable to find more than one senator for an embassy, were obliged to add B.C. 412–411

A.U.C. 342–343

invenientes coacti sunt binos equites adicere. 8 Praeterquam ab morbo annonaque nihil eo biennio intestini externive incommodi fuit. At ubi eae sollicitudines discessere, omnia quibus turbari solita erat civitas, domi discordia, foris bellum exortum.

A.U.C. 344

LIII. M. Aemilio C. Valerio Potito consulibus bellum Aequi parabant, Volscis, quamquam non publico consilio capessentibus arma, voluntariis mercede 2 secutis militiam. Ad quorum famam hostium—iam enim in Latinum Hernicumque transcenderant agrum —dilectum habentem Valerium consulem M. Menenius tribunus plebis, legis agrariae lator, cum impediret auxilioque tribuni nemo invitus sacramento 3 diceret, repente nuntiatur arcem Carventanam ab 4 hostibus occupatam esse. Ea ignominia accepta cum apud patres invidiae Menenio fuit, tum ceteris tribunis, iam ante praeparatis intercessoribus legis agrariae, praebuit iustiorem causam resistendi col- 5 legae. Itaque cum res diu ducta per altercationem esset, consulibus deos hominesque testantibus quidquid ab hostibus cladis ignominiaeque aut iam acceptum esset aut immineret culpam penes Menenium fore, 6 qui dilectum impediret, Menenio contra vociferante, si iniusti domini possessione agri publici cederent, 7 se moram dilectui non facere, decreto interposito novem tribuni sustulerunt certamen pronuntiave-

two knights to each. With the exception of the disease and the shortage of corn, there was no internal or foreign trouble during these two years. But no sooner had these anxieties departed, than there came an outbreak of all the ills which were wont to harass the state, domestic quarrels and war abroad. B.C. 412-411

LIII. In the consulship of Marcus Aemilius and Gaius Valerius Potitus the Aequi prepared to go to war, and the Volsci, though they did not take up arms as a nation, made the campaign as volunteers serving for pay. When, on the rumour of their advance,—for they had already crossed over into Latin and Hernican territory,—Valerius the consul was raising troops, and Marcus Menenius, tribune of the plebs and proposer of an agrarian law, was obstructing the levy, and everybody who did not wish to go was availing himself of the tribune's protection and refusing the oath, on a sudden came the news that the citadel of Carventum had been seized by the enemy. This humiliation not only gave the patricians the means of stirring up feeling against Menenius, but supplied the rest of the tribunes, who had already been persuaded to veto the agrarian law, with a more justifiable pretext for resisting their colleague. The dispute was long drawn out. The consuls called gods and men to witness that the responsibility for whatever defeat or disgrace had already been or threatened to be visited on them by the enemy would rest with Menenius, because of his interference with the levy; Menenius, on the other hand, protested loudly that if the occupants of the public domain would surrender their illegal possession of it, he was prepared to withdraw his opposition to the muster. At this juncture nine tribunes interposed a resolution B.C. 410

A.U.C. 344

runtque ex collegii sententia C. Valerio consuli se, damnum aliamque coercitionem adversus intercessionem collegae dilectus causa detractantibus militiam inhibenti, auxilio futuros esse. Hoc decreto consul armatus cum paucis appellantibus tribunum collum torsisset, metu ceteri sacramento dixere. Ductus exercitus ad Carventanam arcem, quamquam invisus infestusque consuli erat, impigre primo statim adventu deiectis qui in praesidio erant arcem recipit; praedatores ex praesidio per neglegentiam dilapsi occasionem aperuere ad invadendum. Praedae ex adsiduis populationibus, quod omnia in locum tutum congesta erant, fuit aliquantum. Venditum sub hasta consul in aerarium redigere quaestores iussit, tum praedicans participem praedae fore exercitum, cum militiam non abnuisset. Auctae inde plebis ac militum in consulem irae. Itaque cum ex senatus consulto urbem ovans introiret, alternis inconditi versus militari licentia iactati, quibus consul increpitus, Meneni celebre nomen laudibus fuit, cum ad omnem mentionem tribuni favor circumstantis populi plausuque et adsensu cum vocibus militum certaret. Plusque ea res quam prope sollemnis militum lascivia in consulem curae patribus iniecit; et tamquam haud dubius inter tribunos militum

which ended the contention. They proclaimed in B.C. 410
the name of the college that they would support the consul Gaius Valerius if, in enforcing the levy, he resorted, despite the veto of their colleague, to fines and other forms of coercion against those who refused to serve. Armed with this decree, the consul caused the few who appealed to the tribune to be haled before him; the rest were cowed into taking the oath. The army marched to the citadel of Carventum; and although the soldiers were hated by the consul and returned his hostility, yet the moment they came to the place, they manfully drove out the garrison and recovered the stronghold, which had been laid open to attack by the negligence that had permitted men to slip away from the garrison in quest of booty. There was a considerable accumulation of spoils from this constant raiding, because everything had been heaped up there for safety. All this the consul ordered the quaestors to sell at auction and place the proceeds in the public treasury, giving out word that the army should share in the plunder only when the men had not refused to serve. This increased the enmity of plebs and soldiers towards the consul. And so when he entered the City in an ovation, as the senate had decreed, the soldiers, with military freedom, shouted out rude verses now abusing the consul and now praising Menenius, while at every mention of the tribune's name the enthusiasm of the attendant populace vied with the voices of the men in cheers and applause. This circumstance caused the patricians more anxiety than the sauciness of the soldiers towards the consul, which was virtually an established custom; and as though they made no question that Menenius would be chosen for one of the military tribunes, if he were

A.U.C. 344 honos Meneni, si peteret, consularibus comitiis est exclusus.

A.U.C. 345 LIV. Creati consules sunt Cn. Cornelius Cossus
2 L. Furius Medullinus iterum. Non alias aegrius plebs tulit tribunicia comitia sibi non commissa. Eum dolorem quaestoriis comitiis simul ostendit et ulta est tunc primum plebeiis quaestoribus creatis,
3 ita ut in quattuor creandis uni patricio K. Fabio[1] Ambusto relinqueretur locus, tres plebei Q. Silius P. Aelius P. Pupius clarissimarum familiarum iuvenibus
4 praeferrentur. Auctores fuisse tam liberi populo suffragii Icilios accipio, ex familia infestissima patribus tres in eum annum tribunos plebis creatos, multarum magnarumque rerum molem avidissimo ad ea populo
5 ostentantes, cum adfirmassent nihil se moturos si ne quaestoriis quidem comitiis, quae sola promiscua plebei patribusque reliquisset senatus, satis animi populo esset ad id quod tam diu vellent et per
6 leges liceret. Pro ingenti itaque victoria id fuit plebi, quaesturamque eam non honoris ipsius fine aestimabant, sed patefactus ad consulatum ac triumphos locus novis hominibus videbatur. Patres contra
7 non pro communicatis sed pro amissis honoribus

[1] K. Fabio *Pighius* (*cf.* IV. lxi. 4; V. x. 1; V. xxiv. 1): 2. fabio Ω: claudio fabio *E*.

a candidate, they held a consular election and excluded him. B.C. 410

LIV. The consuls elected were Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus and (for the second time) Lucius Furius Medullinus. Never before had the plebs felt so aggrieved that they were not allowed to choose military tribunes. They showed their disappointment, and likewise avenged it, at the election of quaestors, when plebeians were for the first time chosen to that office; though among the four to be elected room was made for one patrician, Caeso Fabius Ambustus. Three plebeians, Quintus Silius, Publius Aelius, and Publius Pupius, were preferred before young men of the most distinguished families. I find that those who encouraged the people to make so free with their votes were the Icilii. Three members of that family, a family most hostile to the patricians, had been made plebeian tribunes for that year, in consequence of the many great hopes they had held out to the populace, always more than eager to accept such promises. These men had declared that they would make no move in their behalf, if even in the election of quaestors—the only election which the senate had left open to both classes—the people could not find sufficient resolution to accomplish what they had so long wished to do and the laws permitted. And so the plebs felt that they had won a great victory, not estimating the significance of that quaestorship by the limits of the office itself, but feeling that the way to consulships and triumphs was thrown open to new men. The patricians, on the other hand, were as angry as though they had not merely shared their offices with the plebs but had lost them. They said that if such B.C. 401

A.U.C. 345

fremere; negare, si ea ita sint, liberos tollendos esse, qui pulsi maiorum loco cernentesque alios in possessione dignitatis suae, salii flaminesque nusquam alio quam ad sacrificandum pro populo sine imperiis
8 ac potestatibus relinquantur. Inritatis utriusque partis animis cum et spiritus plebs sumpsisset et tres ad popularem causam celeberrimi nominis haberet duces, patres omnia quaestoriis comitiis ubi utrumque plebi liceret similia fore cernentes, tendere ad consulum comitia quae nondum promiscua essent:
9 Icilii contra tribunos militum creandos dicere[1] et tandem aliquando impertiendos plebi honores.

LV. Sed nulla erat consularis actio quam impediendo id quod petebant exprimerent, cum mira opportunitate Volscos et Aequos praedatum extra fines exisse in agrum Latinum Hernicumque adfertur.
2 Ad quod bellum ubi ex senatus consulto consules dilectum habere occipiunt, obstare tunc enixe tribuni sibi plebique eam fortunam oblatam memorantes.
3 Tres erant et omnes acerrimi viri generosique iam, ut inter plebeios. Duo singuli singulos sibi consules adservandos adsidua opera desumunt; uni contionibus data nunc detinenda, nunc concienda plebs.

[1] dicere *Aldus*: dicerent Ω.

[1] The *salii* were a very ancient college of priests whose name was derived from a weapon-dance which figured in their ritual. The *flamen* ('kindler') was the special priest of some god, thus the *Flamen Dialis* was attached to the cult of Jupiter, the *Flamen Martialis* to that of Mars, etc.

things were to be, it was wrong for them to rear B.C. 409
children, who after being driven out from the places of their forefathers would behold others in possession of their honours, and would be left, without power or authority, to serve no other purpose than to offer up sacrifices, as salii and flamens,[1] for the people. The feelings of both sides were overwrought. The plebs had plucked up courage and they had three very distinguished leaders for the popular cause. The patricians, perceiving that every election where the plebs were free to choose either sort of candidate would be like that of the quaestors, strove to bring about a consular election, which was not yet open to both orders. The Icilii, on the contrary, maintained that military tribunes should be chosen; it was high time, they said, that the plebs were given their share of honours.

LV. But the consuls had no measure on foot which the tribunes could oppose and so wring from them what they wanted, when, by a wonderful piece of luck, the Volsci and Aequi were reported to have crossed the border and raided the lands of the Latins and the Hernici. As the consuls, in order to meet this invasion, were commencing to raise an army, in pursuance of a resolution of the senate, the tribunes obstructed the levy with all their might, declaring that the incident had been a fortunate one for the plebeians and themselves. There were three of them, and they were all very active and belonged to a family which might now be called noble, considering that they were plebeians. Two of them assumed the task of keeping constant watch on the consuls, each taking one of them; to the third was given the duty of haranguing the plebs, for the purpose, now of re-

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4 Nec dilectum consules nec comitia quae petebant tribuni expediebant. Inclinante deinde se fortuna ad causam plebis nuntii veniunt arcem Carventanam dilapsis ad praedam militibus qui in praesidio erant, Aequos interfectis paucis custodibus arcis invasisse; alios recurrentes in arcem, alios palantes in agris 5 caesos. Ea adversa civitati[1] res vires tribuniciae actioni adiecit. Nequiquam enim temptati ut tum denique desisterent impediendo bello, postquam non cessere nec publicae tempestati nec suae invidiae, pervincunt ut senatus consultum fiat de tribunis 6 militum creandis, certo tamen pacto ne cuius ratio haberetur qui eo anno tribunus plebis esset, neve 7 quis reficeretur in annum tribunus plebis, haud dubie Icilios denotante senatu, quos mercedem seditiosi tribunatus petere consulatum insimulabant. Tum dilectus haberi bellumque omnium ordinum consensu 8 apparari coeptum. Consules ambo profecti sint ad arcem Carventanam, an alter ad comitia habenda substiterit, incertum diversi auctores faciunt; illa pro certo habenda, in quibus non dissentiunt, ab arce Carventana, cum diu nequiquam oppugnata esset, recessum, Verruginem in Volscis eodem exer-

[1] civitati $L^4\zeta$: ciuitatis Ω: ciuitas D?.

[1] Livy here employs "consulship" as a convenient, if not quite accurate, substitute for "consular tribuneship."

[2] See IV. i. 4. Livy has not mentioned the previous loss of Verrugo to the Volsci.

straining, now of urging them on. The consuls could B.C. 409
neither bring about the levy, nor the tribunes the election, they desired. Then, as fortune was inclining to the cause of the plebs, came couriers who reported that while the soldiers who were in garrison at the citadel of Carventum had dispersed to plunder, the Aequi had come, and killing the few guards, had rushed the place. Some of the soldiers had been cut down as they were hurrying back to the fortress, others as they roamed the fields. This national reverse added strength to the contention of the tribunes. It was in vain they were importuned to cease at last their opposition to the war. They yielded neither to the public need nor to men's hatred of themselves, and carried their point—that the senate should pass a decree for the election of military tribunes. It was, however, expressly provided that no one should be accepted as a candidate who had that year been tribune of the plebs, and that no tribune of the Plebs should be re-elected. It is evident that the senate wished to stigmatize the Icilii, whom they charged with seeking the consulship[1] as a reward for their seditious conduct while tribunes. The levy was then begun and preparation made for war, with the consent of all the orders. Whether both consuls marched to the citadel of Carventum, or one stayed behind to hold an election, is uncertain in view of the contradictory accounts of the authorities. Thus much is clear (for in this they do not differ), that the Romans, after a long and futile siege, retired from the citadel of Carventum and recaptured Verrugo,[2] in the Volscian country, with the same army, which spread great

A.U.C. 345 citu receptam, populationesque et praedas et in Aequis et in Volsco agro ingentes factas.

A.U.C. 346 LVI. Romae sicut plebis victoria fuit in eo ut quae mallent comitia haberent, ita eventu comitiorum 2 patres vicere; namque tribuni militum consulari potestate contra spem omnium tres patricii creati sunt, C. Iulius Iulus[1] P. Cornelius Cossus C. Servilius 3 Ahala. Artem adhibitam ferunt a patriciis, cuius eos Icilii tum quoque insimulabant, quod turbam indignorum candidatorum intermiscendo dignis taedio sordium in quibusdam insignium populum a plebeiis avertissent.

4 Volscos deinde et Aequos, seu Carventana arx retenta in spem seu Verrugine amissum praesidium ad iram cum impulisset, fama adfertur summa vi ad 5 bellum coortos; caput rerum Antiates esse; eorum legatos utriusque gentis populos circumisse castigantes[2] ignaviam, quod abditi intra muros populabundos in agris vagari Romanos priore anno et 6 opprimi Verruginis praesidium passi essent. Iam non exercitus modo armatos sed colonias etiam in suos finis mitti; nec ipsos modo Romanos sua divisa habere, sed Ferentinum etiam de se captum Her- 7 nicis donasse. Ad haec cum inflammarentur animi, ut ad quosque ventum erat, numerus iuniorum conscribebatur. Ita omnium populorum iuventus Antium contracta; ibi castris positis hostem opperiebantur.

[1] Iulus *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 114): tullius *MHDL*: tullus *PFUBEa*: *omitted, together with the following* P., *by V.*

[2] castigantes $a\zeta$: castigantis *V*: castigantesque Ω.

devastation both among the Aequi and in the territory of the Volsci, and gathered enormous spoils. B.C. 409

LVI. At Rome, though the plebeians were so far victorious as to have the election they preferred, yet in the outcome of the election the patricians won the day. For the military tribunes with consular authority were all three, contrary to the universal expectation, chosen from the patricians, viz., Gaius Julius Iulus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, and Gaius Servilius Ahala. The patricians are said to have employed a ruse (and the Icilii taxed them with it at the time), in that they mixed a rabble of unworthy competitors with the deserving, and the disgust which the notorious turpitude of certain of them provoked turned the people against the plebeian candidates. B.C. 408

Then came a rumour that the Volsci and Aequi, whether encouraged by their defence of the citadel of Carventum or angered by the loss of the garrison at Verrugo, had risen in prodigious strength; that the Antiates were the head and front of the war; that their envoys had gone about among the tribes of both races, upbraiding their cowardice in having hidden behind their walls the year before and allowed the Romans to pillage their lands and overwhelm the garrison at Verrugo. They would presently be sending out, not merely armed expeditions across their borders, but colonies too; and not only, they said, had the Romans divided up their possessions amongst themselves, but they had even taken Ferentinum from them and bestowed it on the Hernici. These words aroused indignation, and a number of young men were enlisted wherever the envoys went. So the forces of all the tribes drew together at Antium, where they encamped and waited for the enemy.

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8 Quae ubi tumultu maiore etiam quam res erat nuntiantur Romam, senatus extemplo, quod in rebus trepidis ultimum consilium erat, dictatorem dici
9 iussit. Quam rem aegre passos Iulium Corneliumque ferunt magnoque certamine animorum rem
10 actam, cum primores patrum nequiquam conquesti non esse in auctoritate senatus tribunos militum postremo etiam tribunos plebi appellarent et consulibus quoque ab ea potestate vim super tali re inhibitam referrent, tribuni plebi laeti discordia
11 patrum nihil esse in se iis[1] auxilii dicerent, quibus non civium, non denique hominum numero essent:
12 si quando promiscui[2] honores, communicata res publica esset, tum se animadversuros ne qua superbia
13 magistratuum inrita senatus consulta essent: interim patricii soluti legum magistratuumque viverent[3] verecundia, per se quoque[4] tribuni[5] agerent.

A.U.C. 317

LVII. Haec contentio minime idoneo tempore,
2 cum tantum belli in manibus esset, occupaverat cogitationes hominum, donec ubi diu alternis Iulius Corneliusque cum ad id bellum ipsi satis idonei duces essent, non esse aequum mandatum sibi a
3 populo eripi honorem disseruere, tum Ahala Servilius tribunus militum tacuisse se tam diu ait, non quia incertus sententiae fuerit—quem enim bonum civem secernere sua a publicis consilia?—sed quia maluerit

[1] in se iis *Gronovius*: in iis Ω: in hiis *Va*: in his *UE*: unus *B*.

[2] promiscui *VUEL*[3]*a*: promiscii *P*: promisci Ω.

[3] viverent *Conway and Walters*: uia... *V*: *omitted by* Ω.

[4] per se quoque Ω: pro se quoque *H*: *space of* 5 *letters in V*.

[5] tribuni *Conway and Walters*: tribuni tum potestatem *H*: tribuniciam (*or* -tiam) potestatem Ω: tribunitiam potestatemque *Frag. Haverk.*: potestatemquae tribuniciam *V*.

When these things had been reported at Rome, B.C. 408
amid excitement even greater than the situation warranted, the senate at once had recourse to its final counsel in emergencies, and ordered the appointment of a dictator. It is said that Julius and Cornelius resented this, and that a very bitter discussion took place. In vain the leading senators complained that the military tribunes were not amenable to senatorial control, and eventually appealed to the tribunes of the plebs and reminded them that their authority had in a similar case operated to restrain the consuls. But the tribunes of the plebs were delighted with the want of harmony amongst the senators. They could give no assistance, they said, to men who did not regard them as citizens, or even as human beings. If some day offices were thrown open to all, and they were given a share in the government, they would then see to it that no proud magistrate thwarted the decrees of the senate. Meanwhile let the patricians live with no regard for laws and magistracies, and let the tribunes act as they saw fit.

LVII. This quarrel, so inopportune at a time when B.C. 407
a great war was in hand, had quite taken possession of men's thoughts, and for a long time Julius and Cornelius—first one and then the other—had argued that, since they were themselves quite capable of directing that campaign, it was unfair that they should be summarily deprived of the office which the people had intrusted to them; when Servilius Ahala arose and said that he had been so long silent not because of any doubt as to his opinion—for what good citizen considered his own interests apart from those of the nation?—but because he had

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collegas sua sponte cedere auctoritati senatus quam tribuniciam potestatem adversus se implorari patetrentur. Tum quoque si res sineret, libenter se daturum tempus iis fuisse ad receptum nimis pertinacis sententiae; sed cum belli necessitates non exspectent humana consilia, potiorem sibi collegarum gratia rem publicam fore, et si maneat in sententia senatus, dictatorem nocte proxima dicturum ac, si quis intercedat senatus consulto, auctoritate se fore contentum. Quo facto cum haud immeritam laudem gratiamque apud omnis tulisset, dictatore P. Cornelio dicto ipse ab eo magister equitum creatus[1] exemplo fuit collegas eumque intuentibus, quam gratia atque honos opportuniora interdum non cupientibus essent. Bellum haud memorabile fuit. Uno atque eo facili proelio caesi ad Antium hostes; victor exercitus depopulatus Volscum agrum; castellum ad lacum Fucinum vi expugnatum, atque in eo tria milia hominum capta ceteris Volscis intra moenia compulsis nec defendentibus agros. Dictator bello ita gesto ut tantum non defuisse fortunae videretur, felicitate quam gloria maior in urbem rediit magistratuque se abdicavit. Tribuni militum mentione nulla comitiorum consularium habita—credo ob iram dictatoris creati—tribunorum militum comitia edixerunt. Tum vero gravior cura patribus incessit, quippe

[1] creatus $D^{x}\gamma$: creatus est Ω: creatus et U: est creatus α.

wished that his colleagues should of their own free B.C. 407
will give in to the senators' authority, instead of suffering the power of the tribunes to be invoked against them. Even then, if the circumstances allowed of it, he would gladly, he said, have given them time to retreat from their too obstinate contention; but since war's necessity did not wait upon man's deliberations, he should place the public welfare above the favour of his colleagues; and if the senate held to its opinion, he should name a dictator that night, contenting himself, if any one vetoed the senate's resolution, with the expression of its wishes. Having by this course gained the well-merited praise and friendly support of all, he named as dictator Publius Cornelius, by whom he was himself appointed master of the horse, thus showing such persons as considered the case of his colleagues and himself that favour and high office sometimes come more easily when men do not covet them. The war was no way noteworthy. In a single battle, and an easy one, they defeated the enemy at Antium. The victorious army laid waste the Volscian country and took by storm a fortress at Lake Fucinus, where three thousand men were taken prisoners, the rest being driven within their city-walls, leaving their fields defenceless. The dictator, after so conducting the campaign that he seemed barely to have taken advantage of his luck, returned to the City, with more good fortune than renown, and resigned his magistracy. The tribunes of the soldiers, without saying a word about electing consuls, —I suppose because of their indignation at the appointment of a dictator,—proclaimed an election of military tribunes. At that the patricians were

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11 cum prodi causam ab suis cernerent. Itaque sicut priore anno per indignissimos ex plebeiis candidatos omnium, etiam dignorum, taedium fecerant, sic tum primoribus patrum splendore gratiaque ad petendum praeparatis omnia loca obtinuere, ne cui plebeio
12 aditus esset. Quattuor creati sunt, omnes iam functi eo honore, L. Furius Medullinus C. Valerius Potitus Num.[1] Fabius Vibulanus C. Servilius Ahala, hic re fectus continuato honore cum ob alias virtutes, tum ob recentem favorem unica moderatione partum.

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LVIII. Eo anno, quia tempus indutiarum cum Veienti populo exierat, per legatos fetialesque res repeti coeptae. Quibus venientibus ad finem legatio
2 Veientium obvia[2] fuit. Petiere ne priusquam ipsi senatum Romanum adissent Veios iretur. Ab senatu impetratum, quia discordia intestina laborarent Veientes, ne res ab iis repeterentur; tantum afuit ut ex incommodo alieno sua occasio peteretur.
3 Et in Volscis accepta clades amisso Verrugine praesidio; ubi tantum in tempore fuit momenti ut cum precantibus opem militibus, qui ibi a Volscis obsidebantur, succurri si maturatum esset potuisset,

[1] Num. *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 114 *has* N. Fabius): cn (*or* cñ *or* c n) Ω.
[2] obvia $a\varsigma$: obuiam Ω: obuia. (*with space for one letter, which has been obliterated*) *V*.

more concerned than ever, as they might well be B.C. 407
when they saw their cause betrayed by their own fellows. Accordingly, just as in the preceding year they had used the least worthy of the plebeian competitors to arouse a dislike of them all, even the deserving, so at this time, by setting up as candidates the senators of the greatest splendour and popularity, they secured all the places, in order that no plebeian might be chosen. Four men were elected, all of whom had held that office before. They were Lucius Furius Medullinus, Gaius Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and Gaius Servilius Ahala. This last was continued in office partly for his other good qualities, partly because of the approval he had just gained by his singular moderation.

LVIII. In that year, since the term of the truce B.C. 406
with Veii had run out, steps were taken to demand restitution, through ambassadors and fetials. Arriving at the frontier, these men were met by an embassy of the Veientes, who asked them not to proceed to Veii until they themselves should have gone before the Roman senate. The senate, considering that the Veientes were in the throes of civil discord, agreed not to demand a settlement of them; so far were they from taking advantage of another people's difficulties. And in the Volscian country the Romans suffered a disaster, in the loss of their garrison at Verrugo. On that occasion the element of time was of such moment that, although the troops who were being besieged there by the Volsci appealed for help and might have been relieved if their friends had made haste, yet the army dispatched for that purpose only arrived in season to surprise

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ad id venerit exercitus subsidio missus ut ab recenti caede palati ad praedandum hostes opprimerentur. 4 Tarditatis causa non in senatu[1] magis fuit quam tribunis, qui, quia summa vi restari nuntiabatur,[2] parum cogitaverunt nulla virtute superari humanarum 5 virium modum. Fortissimi milites non tamen nec vivi nec post mortem inulti fuere.

6 Insequenti anno P. et Cn. Corneliis Cossis Num.[3] Fabio Ambusto L. Valerio Potito tribunis militum consulari potestate Veiens bellum motum ob superbum responsum Veientis senatus, qui legatis 7 repetentibus res, ni facesserent propere urbe finibusque, daturos quod Lars Tolumnius dedisset 8 responderi iussit. Id patres aegre passi decrevere ut tribuni militum de bello indicendo Veientibus 9 primo quoque die ad populum ferrent. Quod ubi primo promulgatum est, fremere iuventus nondum debellatum cum Volscis esse; modo duo praesidia occidione occisa, cetera cum[4] periculo retineri; nullum 10 annum esse quo non acie dimicetur; et tamquam paeniteat laboris, novum bellum cum finitimo populo et potentissimo parari qui omnem Etruriam sit concitaturus.

11 Haec sua sponte agitata insuper tribuni plebis 12 accendunt. Maximum bellum patribus cum plebe esse dictitant; eam de industria vexandam militia

[1] non in senatu *Weissenborn*: in senatu Ω: in senatum *DL*.
[2] restari nuntiabatur *Mommsen*: restari nuntiabantur (*or* nunc-) Ω: res stare nunciabantur D^2: resistere nuntiabantur *a*.
[3] Num *Sigonius*: cn. Ω: Gneo *a*: cum F^3 (*over erasure*).
[4] cetera cum *Schenkl*: et cum *VMa*: . cum *OED*: cum Ω: alia cum *Madvig*.

[1] *i. e.* death (see chap. xvii).

the enemy as they were dispersed in quest of booty, B.C. 406
just after putting the garrison to the sword. The delay was due quite as much to the tribunes as to the senate, for they got reports that the garrison was making a strenuous resistance and failed to consider that no valour can transcend the limits of human endurance. But the heroic soldiers were not unavenged, living or dead.

The following year, when Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus were consular tribunes, war broke out with Veii on account of the insolent reply of the Veientine senate, who, when envoys demanded restitution of them, bade them be answered that unless they got quickly out from their city and their borders, they would give them what Lars Tolumnius had given the others.[1] This angered the Fathers, and they decreed that the military tribunes should propose to the people a declaration of war on the Veientes at the earliest possible day. As soon as this was promulgated, the young men protested loudly that the Volscian war was not yet brought to a conclusion; two garrisons had just been destroyed, and the other outposts were being held at great risk; not a year went by without a pitched battle; and as though they had not troubles enough, a new war was being started with a neighbouring and very powerful people, who were sure to raise all Etruria against them.

This smouldering discontent was fanned into a blaze by the plebeian tribunes. They persistently declared that it was the plebs with whom the senators were chiefly at war; them they deliberately plagued with campaigning and exposed to be

A.U.C. 348 trucidandamque hostibus obici; eam procul urbe haberi atque ablegari, ne domi per otium memor libertatis coloniarumque aut agri publici aut suffragii
13 libere ferendi consilia agitet. Prensantesque veteranos stipendia cuiusque et volnera ac cicatrices numerabant, quid iam integri esset[1] in corpore loci ad nova volnera accipienda, quid super sanguinis,
14 quod dari pro re publica posset rogitantes. Haec cum in sermonibus contionibusque interdum agitantes avertissent plebem ab suscipiendo bello, profertur tempus ferundae legis quam si subiecta invidiae esset antiquari apparebat.

LIX. Interim tribunos militum in Volscum agrum ducere exercitum placuit; Cn. Cornelius unus Romae
2 relictus. Tres tribuni, postquam nullo loco castra Volscorum esse nec commissuros se proelio apparuit,
3 tripertito ad devastandos fines discessere. Valerius Antium petit, Cornelius Ecetras;[2] quacumque incessere, late populati sunt tecta agrosque, ut distinerent Volscos; Fabius, quod maxime petebatur, ad Anxur[3] oppugnandum sine ulla populatione
4 accessit. Anxur[4] fuit, quae nunc Tarracinae sunt,
5 urbs prona in paludes. Ab ea parte Fabius oppugnationem ostendit. Circummissae quattuor

[1] esset ς: esse Ω.

[2] Ecetras ς: ecetram a^2: egitras *PFUBL*^{3}: egitrans *Ma*: et girus *H*: et giras *OEL*: alteras et *V*.

[3] ad Anxur ς: ad anexyr *HDL*: ad anexir *OE*: ad anxyr *D*^{2}: ad anxir *I*^{2}*FUa*: ad anexy *M*: ad anxi *P*: ad anxie *B*: *wanting in V*.

[4] Anxur ς: anxyr *MD*^{2}: anexyr *HD*: anexir *OELa*: anxir *B*: anxii *PFU*: anxis *V*.

slaughtered by the enemy; them they kept at a B.C. 406
distance from the City, and assigned to foreign service, lest they might have thoughts, if they remained peaceably at home, of liberty and colonies, and might agitate for public lands or the free use of their votes. And laying hold of veteran soldiers, they enumerated the campaigns of each and his wounds and scars; asking where one could now find a whole place on their bodies to receive fresh wounds, or what blood they had left to shed for their country. When the tribunes by repeating these arguments in their talk and in their speeches had produced in the plebs a reluctance to undertake the war, the authors of the bill put off the time for voting on it, since it was clear that if subjected to the storm of disapproval it would fail to pass.

LIX. Meantime it was determined that the military tribunes should lead the army into the country of the Volsci; only Gnaeus Cornelius was left in Rome. The three tribunes, on its appearing that the Volsci had no camp anywhere and did not propose to risk a battle, divided their army into three and advanced in different directions to lay waste the country. Valerius marched upon Antium, Cornelius against Ecetrae, and wherever they went they plundered farms and buildings far and wide, to divide the forces of the Volsci; Fabius led his troops to Anxur, the principal object of their attack, and laid siege to it, without doing any pillaging. Anxur, the Tarracinae of our day,[1] was a city which sloped down towards the marshes. On this side Fabius threatened an assault, while four cohorts

[1] Anxur was likely the Volscian name. The present form of the name is Terracina.

A.U.C. 348 cohortes cum C. Servilio Ahala cum imminentem urbi collem cepissent, ex loco altiore, qua nullum erat praesidium, ingenti clamore ac tumultu moenia 6 invasere. Ad quem tumultum obstupefacti qui adversus Fabium urbem infimam tuebantur locum dedere scalas admovendi; plenaque hostium cuncta erant, et immitis diu caedes pariter fugientium ac resistentium, armatorum atque inermium fuit. 7 Cogebantur itaque victi, quia cedentibus spei nihil erat, pugnam inire, cum pronuntiatum repente, ne quis praeter armatos[1] violaretur, reliquam omnem 8 multitudinem voluntariam exuit armis; quorum ad duo milia et quingenti vivi capiuntur. A cetera praeda Fabius militem abstinuit, donec collegae venirent, 9 ab illis quoque exercitibus captum Anxur dictitans esse, qui ceteros Volscos a praesidio eius loci 10 avertissent. Qui ubi venerunt, oppidum vetere fortuna opulentum tres exercitus diripuere; eaque primum benignitas imperatorum plebem patribus 11 conciliavit. Additum deinde omnium maxime tempestivo principum in multitudinem[2] munere, ut ante mentionem ullam plebis tribunorumve decerneret senatus ut stipendium miles de publico acciperet, cum ante id tempus de suo quisque functus eo munere esset.

LX. Nihil acceptum unquam a plebe tanto gaudio

[1] armatos $a\zeta$: armatus Ω.
[2] in multitudinem $I^{A}a^{2}$ *Rhenanus*: in multitudine Ω.

marched round under Gaius Servilius Ahala, and B.C. 406
seizing the hill which overhangs the city, assailed the walls from this superior position, where there was no force to oppose them, with great noise and confusion. Hearing the din, the soldiers who were defending the lowest part of the town against Fabius were bewildered, and permitted him to bring up scaling-ladders; and soon the whole place was alive with enemies, who for a long time gave no quarter, slaughtering without distinction those who fled and those who resisted, the armed and the unarmed. And so the vanquished, since they could hope for no mercy if they yielded, were compelled to fight; when suddenly the command was given that none should be hurt but those who carried weapons. Thereupon, all the survivors voluntarily laid down their arms, and about twenty-five hundred of them were taken alive. Fabius made his soldiers leave the rest of the spoils until his colleagues could come up, saying that their armies had helped to capture Anxur by diverting the rest of the Volsci from the defence of that place. When they arrived, the three armies sacked the town, which long years of prosperity had filled with riches. It was this generous treatment on the part of their commanders which first reconciled the plebs to the patricians. In addition to this the senate then granted the people the most seasonable boon which has ever been bestowed on them by the chiefs of the state, when they decreed, without waiting for any suggestion by the plebs or their tribunes, that the soldiers should be paid from the public treasury, whereas till then every man had served at his own costs.

LX. Nothing, it is said, was ever welcomed by

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traditur. Concursum itaque ad curiam esse prensatasque exeuntium manus et patres vere appellatos, effectum esse fatentibus ut nemo pro tam munifica patria, donec quicquam virium superesset, corpori
2 aut sanguini suo parceret. Cum commoditas iuvaret rem familiarem saltem adquiescere eo tempore quo corpus addictum atque operatum rei publicae esset, tum quod ultro sibi oblatum esset, non a tribunis plebis unquam agitatum, non suis sermonibus efflagitatum, id efficiebat multiplex gaudium cumu-
3 latioremque gratiam rei. Tribuni plebis, communis ordinum laetitiae concordiaeque soli expertes, negare tam id laetum patribus civibus universis[1] nec prosperum fore quam ipsi crederent. Consilium specie prima melius fuisse quam usu appariturum.
4 Unde enim eam pecuniam confici posse nisi tributo populo indicto? Ex alieno igitur aliis largitos. Neque id etiamsi ceteri ferant passuros eos, quibus iam emerita stipendia essent, meliore condicione alios militare quam ipsi militassent, et eosdem in sua
5 stipendia impensas fecisse et in aliorum facere. His vocibus moverunt partem plebis. Postremo indicto iam tributo edixerunt etiam tribuni auxilio se futuros si quis in militare stipendium tributum non

[1] patribus nec prosperum civibus universis *Conway*: patribus uniuersis nec prosperum Ω: partibus uniuersis nec prosperum *U*.

the plebs with such rejoicing. Crowds gathered at B.C. 406
the Curia and men grasped the hands of the senators as they came out, saying that they were rightly called Fathers, and confessing that they had brought it to pass that no one, so long as he retained a particle of strength, would grudge his life's blood to so generous a country. Not only were they pleased at the advantage that their property would at least not diminish while their bodies were impressed for the service of the state, but the voluntary character of the offer, which had never been mooted by plebeian tribunes nor extorted by any words of their own, multiplied their satisfaction and increased their gratitude. The tribunes of the plebs were the only persons who did not partake in the general joy and good-feeling of both orders. They said that the measure would neither be so agreeable to the Fathers nor so favourable to the whole body of the citizens as the latter believed; it was a plan which at first sight had promised to be better than experience would prove it. For where, they asked, could the money be got together, save by imposing a tribute on the people? The senators had therefore been generous at other men's expense; and even though everyone else should submit to it, those who had already earned their discharge would not endure that others should serve on better terms than they had themselves enjoyed, and that the same men who had paid their own expenses should also contribute to the expenses of others. By these arguments they influenced a part of the plebs. Finally, when the assessment had already been proclaimed, the tribunes even announced that they would protect anybody who should refuse to contribute to a tax for paying the soldiers. The

A.U.C. 348

6 contulisset. Patres bene coeptam rem perseveranter tueri; conferre ipsi primi, et quia nondum argentum signatum erat, aes grave plaustris quidam ad aerarium convehentes speciosam etiam conlationem
7 faciebant. Cum senatus summa fide ex censu contulisset, primores plebis, nobilium amici, ex
8 composito conferre incipiunt. Quos cum et a patribus conlaudari et a militari aetate tamquam bonos cives conspici volgus hominum vidit, repente spreto tribunicio auxilio certamen conferendi est ortum.
9 Et lege perlata de indicendo Veientibus bello exercitum magna ex parte voluntarium novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Veios duxere.

A.U.C. 349–350

LXI. Fuere autem tribuni T. Quinctius Capitolinus Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus C. Iulius Iulus[1] iterum
2 A. Manlius L. Furius Medullinus tertium M'. Aemilius Mamercus. Ab iis primum circumsessi Veii sunt. Sub cuius initium obsidionis cum Etruscorum concilium ad fanum Voltumnae frequenter habitum esset, parum constitit bellone publico gentis
3 universae tuendi Veientes essent. Ea oppugnatio segnior insequenti anno fuit, parte tribunorum exercitusque ad Volscum avocata bellum.
4 Tribunos militum consulari potestate is annus habuit C. Valerium Potitum tertium M'. Sergium Fidenatem P. Cornelium Maluginensem Cn. Cornelium Cossum C. Fabium Ambustum Sp. Nautium

[1] Iulius Iulus *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 114): iulius tullus Ω.

[1] The elder Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiii. 42) says that the Romans did not use coined silver until the defeat of King Pyrrhus (275 B.C.)

Fathers had made a good beginning and persevered B.C. 406
in supporting it. They were themselves the first to contribute, and since there was as yet no silver coinage,[1] some of them brought uncoined bronze in waggons to the treasury, and even made a display of their contributing. After the senators had paid most faithfully, according to their rating, the chief men of the plebs, friends of the nobles, began, as had been agreed, to bring in their quota. When the crowd saw that these men were applauded by the patricians and were looked upon as good citizens by those of military age, they quickly rejected the protection of the tribunes and vied with one another who should be the first to pay. And on the law being passed declaring war on the Veientes, an army consisting in great part of volunteers marched, under command of the new military tribunes, upon that city.

LXI. Now the tribunes were Titus Quinctius B.C. 405–404
Capitolinus, Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Gaius Julius Iulus (for the second time), Aulus Manlius, Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the third time), and Manius Aemilius Mamercus. By them Veii was for the first time besieged. Shortly after this siege began, the Etruscans held a numerously attended council at the shrine of Voltumna, but could reach no decision as to whether the entire nation should go to war in defence of the Veientes. The siege languished during the year that followed, for some of the tribunes and a part of the army were called away to fight the Volsci.

The military tribunes with consular powers for this year were Gaius Valerius Potitus (for the third time), Manius Sergius Fidenas, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Gaius Fabius Ambustus, and (for the second time) Spurius Nautius

A.U.C. 349-350

5 Rutulum[1] iterum. Cum Volscis inter Ferentinum
6 atque Ecetram[2] signis conlatis dimicatum; Romanis secunda fortuna pugnae fuit. Artena inde, Volscorum oppidum, ab tribunis obsideri coepta. Inde inter eruptionem temptatam compulso in urbem hoste occasio data est Romanis inrumpendi, praeterque[3] arcem cetera capta; in arcem munitam natura globus armatorum concessit; infra arcem caesi
7 captique multi mortales. Arx deinde obsidebatur; nec aut vi capi poterat, quia pro spatio loci satis praesidii habebat, aut spem dabat deditionis omni publico frumento priusquam urbs caperetur in arcem
8 convecto; taedioque recessum inde foret, ni servus arcem Romanis prodidisset. Ab eo milites per locum arduum accepti cepere; a quibus cum custodes trucidarentur, cetera multitudo repentino pavore
9 oppressa in deditionem venit. Diruta et arce et urbe Artena, reductae legiones ex Volscis, omnisque
10 vis Romana Veios conversa est. Proditori praeter libertatem duarum familiarum bona in praemium data; Servius Romanus vocitatus. Sunt qui Artenam
11 Veientium, non Volscorum, fuisse credant. Praebet errorem quod eiusdem nominis urbs inter Caere atque Veios fuit; sed eam reges Romani delevere, Caeretumque, non Veientium fuerat; altera haec nomine eodem in Volsco agro fuit, cuius excidium est dictum.

[1] Rutulum *as at chap.* xxxv. § 4: rutilum *L*: rutilium Ω.
[2] Ecetram a^2: eceteram Ω*a*: et ceteram *B*: e cetere *L*.
[3] praeterque ζ: praeterquam Ω: propterquam *B*.

[1] Later it was the custom to give a slave thus manumitted by the state the name of the officiating magistrate.
[2] Livy does not mention the incident in Book I.

Rutulus. A pitched battle was fought with the Volsci between Ferentinum and Ecetra, in which fortune favoured the Romans. The tribunes then laid siege to Artena, a Volscian town. While attempting a sortie the enemy were driven back into the city and afforded the Romans an opportunity of forcing an entrance, so that the whole place, except the citadel, was captured; to this fortress, which was naturally strong, a band of armed men retired; below the citadel a large number were killed or taken prisoner. The citadel was then besieged, but could neither be taken by assault, having a sufficient garrison in proportion to its area, nor appeared likely to surrender, for the whole public store of grain had been conveyed into the fortress before the capture of the town. The Romans would have withdrawn, discouraged, had not a slave betrayed the place into their hands. This man admitted some soldiers by way of a steep approach, and they captured it and slew the sentries; whereupon the rest of the garrison was seized with a sudden panic and surrendered. After demolishing the citadel and the town of Artena, the legions were withdrawn from the Volsci and all the might of Rome was brought to bear upon Veii. The traitor was given the property of two families as a reward, besides his liberty, and was named Servius Romanus.[1] There are those who think that Artena had belonged to the Veientes, not to the Volsci. Their mistake is due to the fact that there was a city of the same name between Caere and Veii; but this place was destroyed by the Roman kings,[2] and it had been a dependency of Caere, not of Veii; the other town of the same name, whose overthrow I have just related, was in Volscian territory.

B.C. 405–404

Lex de conubio patrum et plebis a tribunis contentione magna patribus repugnantibus perlata est. Tribuni * * plebis. Aliquot annos res populi R. domi militiaeque per hoc genus magistratus administratae sunt. Item censores tunc primum creati sunt. Ager Ardeatibus[1] populi iudicio ablatus missis in eum colonis restitutus est. Cum fame populus R. laboraret, Sp. Maelius eques R. frumentum populo sua inpensa largitus est et ob hoc factum conciliata sibi plebe regnum adfectans a C.[2] Servilio Ahala magistro equitum iussu Quinti Cincinnati dictatoris occisus est; L. Minucius[3] iudex bove aurata donatus est. Legatis Romanorum a Fidenatibus occisis, quoniam ob rem p. morte occubuerant, statuae in rostris positae sunt. Cossus Cornelius tribunus militum occiso Tolumnio, Veientum rege, opima spolia secunda rettulit. Mam. Aemilius[4] dictator censurae honorem, qui antea per quinquennium gerebatur, anni et sex mensum spatio finit; ob eam rem a censoribus notatus est. Fidenae in potestatem redactae eoque[5] coloni missi sunt; quibus occisis Fidenates cum defecissent, ab Mam. Aemilio[6] dictatore victi sunt et Fidenae captae. Coniuratio servorum oppressa est. Postumius tribunus militum propter crudelitatem ab exercitu occisus est. Stipendium ex aerario tum primum militibus datum est. Res praeterea gestas adversus Vulscos et Fidenates et Faliscos[7] continet.

[1] Ardeatibus *Delrius*: ardeatinus (*or* ardeatinis) *MSS.*
[2] a C. *edd.*: ex (*or* et) *MSS.*
[3] L. Minucius *editio princeps*: T. minucius (*or* minutius) *MSS.*
[4] Mam. Aemilius *Drakenborch*: m. aemilius *MSS.*
[5] eoque *editio princeps*: eaque *MSS.*
[6] Mam Aemilio *Drakenborch*: m. aemilio (*or simply* emilio) *MSS.*
[7] Faliscos *edd.*: labs cos (*or* labascos *or* babscos) *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK IV

A LAW about the marriage of patricians and plebeians was carried by the tribunes, after a violent struggle, against the opposition of the patricians. The tribunes . . .[1] of the plebs. For some years the affairs of the Roman People at home and in the field were administered through this kind of magistracy. Likewise censors were then elected for the first time. The land taken from the Ardeates by the decision of the people was restored and colonists were sent out to it. When the Roman People was in sore straits on account of a famine, Spurius Maelius, a Roman knight, distributed corn to the people at his own expense. Having by this act gained the favour of the plebs, he aimed at royal power and was killed by Gaius Servilius Ahala, the master of the horse, at the command of the dictator Quintus[2] Cincinnatus; Lucius Minucius gave evidence against him and was presented with a gilded ox. When the envoys of the Romans had been slain by the Fidenates, because they had fallen in the service of the state, statues were erected to them on the rostra. Cornelius Cossus, the military tribune, killed Tolumnius, king of the Veientes, and returned with the second spoils of honour. Mamercus Aemilius, the dictator, limited the office of censor, which was wont to be held for five years, to the period of eighteen months; for this he was stigmatized by the senators. Fidenae was subjugated and colonists were sent thither; the Fidenates, having slain these men and revolted, were defeated by Mamercus Aemilius the dictator, and Fidenae was captured. A conspiracy of the slaves was suppressed. Postumius, the military tribune, was for his cruelty put to death by his army. Pay from the public treasury was then for the first time given the soldiers. It contains also campaigns waged against the Volsci and the Fidenates and the Faliscans.

[1] The institution of military tribunes was evidently recorded in the words that have been lost.

[2] A mistake for Quinctius.

LIVY

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

III

BOOKS V, VI AND VII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER V

A.U.C. 351

I. Pace alibi parta Romani Veiique in armis erant tanta ira odioque, ut victis finem adesse appareret. Comitia utriusque populi longe diversa ratione facta
2 sunt. Romani auxere tribunorum militum consulari potestate numerum; octo, quot nunquam antea, creati, M.'[1] Aemilius Mamercus iterum L. Valerius Potitus tertium Ap. Claudius Crassus M. Quinctilius Varus L. Iulius Iulus[2] M. Postumius M. Furius Camil-
3 lus M. Postumius Albinus. Veientes contra taedio annuae ambitionis, quae interdum discordiarum causa erat, regem creavere. Offendit ea res populorum Etruriae animos, non maiore odio regni quam ipsius
4 regis. Gravis iam is antea genti fuerat opibus superbiaque, quia sollemnia ludorum, quos intermitti nefas

[1] M.' *Sigonius* (*cf.* IV. lxi. 1): m̄ (*or* m) Ω.

[2] L. Iulius Iulus ς (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 116): m̄. iulius rullus Ω: m̄. iulius tullus *a*: m iulius publius *L*: m̄ uilius publius *D*.

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[1] Livy seems to have erred through including the names of the censors, Camillus and Albinus, in his list of tribunes,

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK V

I. PEACE was now established elsewhere, but B.C. 403
Romans and Veientes were at war, and their rage and animosity were such that the end was clearly at hand for those that should be vanquished. Each people held an election very different from that of the other. The Romans enlarged the number of their military tribunes with consular authority, and elected eight,[1] a greater number than ever before, to wit, Manius Aemilius Mamercus (for the second time), Lucius Valerius Potitus (for the third), Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quinctilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus. But the Veientes, weary of annual canvassing, which was sometimes the cause of brawls, chose a king. This gave offence to the feelings of the Etruscan peoples, who loathed not more the institution of kings than the King himself. He had for some time been hateful to the nation by reason of his wealth and arrogance, since he had violently broken up a solemn

[1] of whom there were at this time but six. See chap. x. § 1 and chap. xiv. § 5 and notes there.

A U.C. 351
5 est, violenter diremisset, cum ob iram repulsae, quod suffragio duodecim populorum alius sacerdos ei praelatus esset, artifices, quorum magna pars ipsius servi
6 erant, ex medio ludicro repente abduxit. Gens itaque ante omnes alias eo magis dedita religionibus, quod excelleret arte colendi eas, auxilium Veientibus
7 negandum donec sub rege essent decrevit; cuius decreti suppressa fama est Veiis propter metum regis, qui a quo tale quid dictum referretur, pro seditionis eum principe, non vani sermonis auctore[1]
8 habebat. Romanis etsi quietae res ex Etruria nuntiabantur, tamen quia omnibus conciliis eam rem
9 agitari adferebatur, ita muniebant ut ancipitia munimenta essent: alia in urbem et contra oppidanorum eruptiones versa, aliis frons in Etruriam spectans, auxiliis si qua forte inde venirent obstruebatur.

II. Cum spes maior imperatoribus Romanis in obsidione quam in oppugnatione esset, hibernacula etiam, res nova militi Romano, aedificari coepta, consiliumque erat hiemando continuare bellum.
2 Quod postquam tribunis plebis, iam diu nullam novandi res causam invenientibus, Romam est allatum, in contionem prosiliunt, sollicitant plebis
3 animos, hoc illud esse dictitantes quod aera militibus sint constituta; nec se fefellisse id donum inimi-
4 corum veneno inlitum fore. Venisse libertatem

[1] auctore *MPFUBD*[4]; auctorem *Vorm.*? M^2 (*or* M^1) *POEHDLa.*

festival, which it is impious to interrupt, in his resentment of a political rebuff; and because the suffrages of the Twelve Peoples had returned another man as priest in preference to him, he had suddenly carried off the actors, most of whom were his own slaves, in the middle of the games. And so the nation which was devoted beyond all others to religious rites (and all the more because it excelled in the art of observing them) voted to refuse its help to the men of Veii, so long as they should obey a king. This vote the Veientes would not suffer to be mentioned, in their fear of the King, who had a way of treating the man by whom any such saying was reported as a leader in sedition, not as the bearer of an idle tale. Although the Romans got word that things were quiet in Etruria, still, because they heard that this question came up at all their meetings, they so constructed their works as to have a double fortification, one facing Veii, to oppose the sallies of the townsfolk, the other confronting Etruria, to shut off any assistance that might come from thence. B.C. 403

II. As the Roman generals hoped more from a siege than from an assault, they even began the erection of winter quarters—a new thing to the Roman soldier—and planned to carry the campaign on, straight through the winter. When news of this came to Rome, to the plebeian tribunes, who had now for a long time been unable to hit upon any pretext for agitation, they hurried before the assembly and set to work upon the passions of the commons: So this was the reason that the soldiers had been granted pay! They had not been mistaken in thinking that this gift of their opponents would be smeared with poison. The liberty of the

A.U.C. 351

plebis; remotam in perpetuum et ablegatam ab urbe et ab re publica iuventutem iam ne hiemi quidem aut tempori anni cedere ac domos ac res invisere suas. Quam putarent continuatae militiae causam esse? Nullam profecto aliam inventuros quam ne quid per frequentiam iuvenum eorum in quibus vires omnes plebis essent agi de commodis eorum posset. Vexari praeterea et subigi multo acrius quam Veientes; quippe illos hiemem sub tectis suis agere, egregiis muris situque naturali urbem tutantes, militem Romanum in opere ac labore nivibus pruinisque obrutum sub pellibus durare ne hiemis quidem spatio, quae omnium bellorum terra marique sit quies, arma deponentem. Hoc neque reges neque ante tribuniciam potestatem creatam superbos illos consules neque triste dictatoris imperium neque importunos decemviros iniunxisse servitutis, ut perennem militiam facerent.[1] Quidnam illi consules dictatoresve facturi essent, qui consularem[2] imaginem tam saevam ac trucem fecerint? Sed id accidere haud immerito. Non fuisse ne in octo quidem tribunis militum locum ulli plebeio. Antea trina loca cum contentione summa patricios explere solitos: nunc iam octoiuges ad imperia obtinenda ire, et ne in turba quidem haerere plebeium quemquam qui, si nihil aliud,

[1] *After* facerent *the MSS. have*: quod tribuni militum in plebe Romana regnum exercerent. *Conway and Walters bracket these words*; *cf. Class. Quart.* V. (1911) *p.* 10.

[2] consularem *Conway and Walters in their note*: proconsularem Ω.

commons had been sold; the young men, having B.C. 403
been permanently removed and banished from the City and from the state, were no longer free, even in winter and the stormy season, to see to their homes and their affairs. What, they asked, did their hearers suppose to be the reason for making the service continuous? They would assuredly find no other motive than this: lest, through the presence in large numbers of the young men in whom lay all the vigour of the commons, something might be accomplished for the people's good. Moreover, they were far more ruthlessly abused and trodden down than were the Veientes, who, for their part, spent the winter in their houses, safeguarding their city by means of strong walls and natural defences, whilst the Roman soldiers were enduring toil and danger, overwhelmed with snows and frosts, in tents, not even laying aside their weapons in the winter time, a season of respite from all wars both by land and by sea. Such slavery as this neither kings, nor the proud consuls who came before the establishment of the tribunician power, nor the stern authority of a dictator, nor harsh decemvirs, had laid upon them,—that they should wage perennial war. Pray what would those men do if they should become consuls or dictators, who had made the semblance of consular authority so savage and truculent? But the commons were only getting their deserts. There had been no room even amongst eight military tribunes for a single plebeian. Heretofore the patricians had been wont with the utmost exertion to fill three places in a year: now they were advancing eight abreast to make good their authority, and there was never a commoner hanging on to the crowd, were it

A.U.C. 351

admoneat collegas liberos et cives eorum, non servos, militare, quos hieme saltem in domos ac tecta reduci oporteat et aliquo tempore anni parentes liberosque ac coniuges invisere et usurpare libertatem et creare magistratus.

13 Haec taliaque vociferantes adversarium haud imparem nacti sunt Ap. Claudium, relictum a collegis ad tribunicias seditiones comprimendas, virum imbutum iam ab iuventa certaminibus plebeiis, quem auctorem aliquot annis ante fuisse memoratum est per collegarum intercessionem tribuniciae potestatis dissolvendae.

III. Is tum iam non promptus ingenio tantum sed usu etiam exercitatus, talem orationem habuit: "Si unquam dubitatum est, Quirites,[1] utrum tribuni plebis vestra an sua causa seditionum semper auctores fuerint, id ego hoc anno desisse dubitari certum habeo; et cum laetor tandem longi erroris vobis finem factum esse, tum, quod secundis potissimum vestris rebus hic error est sublatus, et vobis et propter vos rei publicae gratulor. An est quisquam qui dubitet nullis iniuriis vestris, si quae forte aliquando fuerunt, unquam aeque quam munere patrum in plebem, cum aera militantibus constituta sunt, tribunos plebis offensos ac concitatos esse? Quid illos

[1] Quirites D^4a: quiř OE^1D?: qur H: qui in PD?: quin P^2F? UBE: quis L: qui V: *omitted by M.*

[1] See Book IV, chap. xlviii. The Appius Claudius here mentioned was a grandson of the decemvir.

only to remind his colleagues that their soldiers were B.C. 403
not slaves but freemen and fellow citizens; whom, at least in winter, they were bound to bring back to the shelter of their houses, and to leave them some portion of the year to look after their parents, their children, and their wives, and to use their liberty and elect magistrates.

As they shouted forth these and suchlike arguments, they found an opponent not unequal to them in Appius Claudius, whom his colleagues had left behind to repress sedition on the part of the tribunes. He was a man experienced from his youth up in contentions with the plebs, and I have related how, some years before, he had advised that the intervention of their colleagues be used to break the power of the tribunes.[1]

III. The man not only had a nimble wit but was already a practised orator, and he delivered on this occasion a speech to the following effect: "If it has ever been a question, Quirites, whether it was for your sake or their own that the tribunes of the commons have always encouraged sedition, I am certain that the doubt has this year been resolved; and not only do I rejoice that you have at length cleared up a long misunderstanding, but I congratulate both you, and on your account the state as well, that it has happened at a time, of all others, when your affairs are prospering. Or is there anyone who doubts that no wrongs which you have suffered, if haply such there have sometimes been, have ever so offended and stirred up the plebeian tribunes as has the boon which the Fathers bestowed upon the commons, when they granted pay for military service? What else do you believe they

A.U.C. 351 aliud aut tum timuisse creditis aut hodie turbare velle nisi concordiam ordinum, quam dissolvendae
6 maxime tribuniciae potestatis rentur esse? Sic hercule tamquam artifices improbi opus quaerunt; quippe[1] semper aegri aliquid esse in re publica volunt, ut sit ad cuius curationem a vobis adhibean-
7 tur. Utrum enim defenditis an impugnatis plebem? Utrum militantium adversarii estis an causam agitis? Nisi forte hoc dicitis: 'Quidquid patres faciunt displicet, sive illud pro plebe sive contra plebem est,'
8 et quemadmodum servis[2] suis vetant domini quicquam rei cum alienis hominibus esse pariterque in iis beneficio ac maleficio abstineri aequum censent, sic vos interdicitis patribus commercio plebis, ne nos comitate ac munificentia nostra provocemus plebem nec plebs nobis dicto audiens atque oboediens sit.
9 Quanto tandem, si quicquam in vobis, non dico civilis, sed humani esset, favere vos magis et quantum in vobis esset indulgere potius comitati patrum atque
10 obsequio plebis oportuit? Quae si perpetua concordia sit, quis non spondere ausit maximum hoc imperium inter finitimos brevi futurum esse?

IV. "Atqui[3] ego, quam hoc consilium collegarum meorum, quo[4] abducere (infecta re) a Veiis exercitum noluerunt, non utile solum sed etiam necessarium fuerit, postea disseram: nunc de ipsa condicione
2 dicere militantium libet; quam orationem non apud vos solum sed etiam in castris si habeatur, ipso

[1] quippe *Büttner*: qui et Ω: *wanting in V*: et *Muretus*: qui *Conway*.
[2] servis *Ald.*: cum (tum *L*) seruis Ω.
[3] Atqui *OEH*: atque Ω.
[4] quo Ω: quod *VB*.

were afraid of then, or are seeking now to shatter, B.C. 403
but the harmony of the orders, which they regard as very apt to overthrow the tribunician authority? Indeed they are like quack-salvers seeking employment, since they desire that there should always be some disease in the body politic, that there may be something which you may call them in to cure. Pray, are you tribunes defending the commons, or attacking them? Are you adversaries of the soldiers, or their advocates? Or perhaps this is your plea: 'Whatever the Fathers do displeases us, be it in behalf of the commons or against them'; and just as masters forbid outsiders to have aught to do with their slaves, and think it right that they should abstain alike from benefiting and from harming them, so you deny the Fathers intercourse with the commons, lest we by our friendliness and liberality encourage them, or they become dutiful and obedient to us. How much more, if you had in you the slightest—I say not patriotism, but—humanity, ought you rather to have favoured, and, so far as in you lay, to have encouraged the kindly spirit of the Fathers and the complaisance of the plebs? And if this harmony should last, who would not make bold to warrant that our empire would soon be the greatest among the neighbouring peoples?

IV. "I shall presently explain, in regard to this plan of my colleagues, who have not been willing to withdraw the army from Veii with its task unaccomplished,—how not merely profitable but even necessary it was. But first I wish to speak about the actual condition of the soldiers; and I think that if I should express my meaning not in your presence only but also in the camp, the army itself

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exercitu disceptante aequam arbitror videri posse. In qua si mihi ipsi nihil quod dicerem in mentem venire posset, adversariorum certe orationibus con-
3 tentus essem. Negabant nuper danda esse aera militibus, quia nunquam data essent. Quonam modo igitur nunc indignari possunt, quibus aliquid novi adiectum commodi sit, eis laborem etiam novum
4 pro portione iniungi? Nusquam nec opera sine emolumento nec emolumentum ferme sine impensa opera est. Labor voluptasque, dissimillima natura, societate quadam inter se naturali sunt iuncta.
5 Moleste antea ferebat miles se suo sumptu operam rei publicae praebere; gaudebat idem partem anni se agrum suum colere, quaerere unde domi militiae-
6 que se ac suos tueri posset: gaudet nunc fructui sibi rem publicam esse et laetus stipendium accipit; aequo igitur animo patiatur se ab domo ac re familiari, cui gravis impensa non est, paulo diutius abesse.
7 An si ad calculos eum res publica vocet, non merito dicat: 'annua aera habes, annuam operam ede; an tu aequum censes militia semestri solidum te sti-
8 pendium accipere?' Invitus in hac parte orationis, Quirites, moror; sic enim agere debent qui mercennario milite utuntur; nos tamquam cum civibus agere volumus agique tamquam cum patria nobiscum
9 aequum censemus. Aut non suscipi bellum oportuit aut geri pro dignitate populi Romani et perfici quam
10 primum oportet. Perficietur autem si urgemus obsessos, si non ante abscedimus quam spei nostrae

would judge it reasonable. Indeed, though I were B.C. 403
unable to think of anything to urge myself, I could be quite content with the speeches of my opponents. They were lately insisting that pay ought not to be given to the men, because it never had been given. How then can they object, if to those who have gained some new advantage be allotted new labour also, in proportion. Nowhere, as a rule, is service given without recompense, nor recompense except for service; toil and pleasure, most unlike in nature, have been linked together in a sort of natural bond. Formerly the soldier was vexed that he must serve the state at his own cost; yet he was happy to be able, for a half of the year, to till his own field and gain the means of keeping himself and his family, whether he were at home or with the army. Now he is happy that the state affords him gain, and is glad to receive his pay. Let him therefore be resigned to remaining away a little longer from his home and his property, which is now under no heavy charges. Why, if the commonwealth should call him to a reckoning, would it not justly say, 'You have a year's stipend, render a year's service; do you think it right that for a campaign of six months you should receive the pay of twelve?' I dislike to dwell upon this point, Quirites; for it is thus that men who employ mercenaries ought to argue; we would deal as though with fellow citizens, and we think it only right that you deal with us as with your native country. Either we ought not to have undertaken the war, or we ought to conduct it as befits the Roman People, and end it as quickly as possible. And we shall end it, if we press our beleaguered foes, and quit them not till we have fulfilled our

A.U.C. 351 finem captis Veiis imposuerimus. Si hercules nulla alia causa, ipsa indignitas perseverantiam imponere
11 debuit. Decem quondam annos urbs oppugnata est ob unam mulierem ab universa Graecia, quam procul
12 ab domo? quot terras, quot maria distans? Nos intra vicesimum lapidem in conspectu prope urbis nostrae annuam oppugnationem perferre piget? Scilicet quia levis causa belli est nec satis quicquam iusti doloris est quod nos ad perseverandum stimulet.
13 Septiens rebellarunt; in pace nunquam fida fuerunt; agros nostros miliens depopulati sunt; Fidenates deficere a nobis coegerunt; colonos nostros ibi inter-
14 fecerunt; auctores fuere contra ius caedis impiae legatorum nostrorum; Etruriam omnem adversus nos concitare voluerunt hodieque id moliuntur; res repetentes legatos nostros haud procul afuit quin violarent.

V. "Cum his molliter et per dilationes bellum geri oportet? Si nos tam iustum odium nihil movet, ne
2 illa quidem, oro vos, movent? Operibus ingentibus saepta urbs est, quibus intra muros coercetur hostis;
3 agrum non coluit, et culta evastata sunt bello; si reducimus exercitum, quis est qui dubitet illos non a cupiditate solum ulciscendi, sed etiam necessitate imposita ex alieno praedandi, cum sua amiserint, agrum nostrum invasuros? Non differimus igitur bellum isto consilio, sed intra fines nostros accipimus.

hopes and captured Veii. Truly, if there were no B.C. 403
other reason, the very indignity of the thing should compel us to persist! Did all Greece once, for one woman's sake, war ten years against a city so far from home, with all those lands and seas between? And does it irk us, being less than twenty miles away and almost within sight of Rome, to maintain a siege for a single year? Doubtless our reason for fighting is a trivial one, and we have no proper and sufficient grievance to incite us to persevere! Seven times have they renewed the war; never have they kept faith in peace; our fields they have pillaged a thousand times; they forced the Fidenates to forsake us; our settlers there they put to death; it was they who instigated, in violation of the law of nations, the impious murder of our envoys; they sought to raise up all Etruria against us, and they are striving to this end to-day; when our ambassadors sought redress they well-nigh did them bodily injury.

V. "With such enemies ought we to wage a faint-hearted and dilatory war? If so just grounds of resentment have no power to move us, pray have the following considerations none? The city is hemmed in with vast siege-works, which confine the enemy within his walls; he has not cultivated his land, and what was cultivated has been laid waste in the war; if we bring our army back, who can doubt that not only a desire for revenge, but also necessity, constraining them to plunder others since they have lost their own possessions, will cause them to invade our territory? So we are not postponing the war, if we act on your advice, but are receiving it within our own borders. And what of that matter which

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4 Quid? Illud quod proprie ad milites pertinet, quibus boni tribuni plebis tum stipendium[1] extorquere voluerunt, nunc consultum repente volunt, quale est? 5 Vallum fossamque, ingentis utrumque[2] operis, per tantum spatii duxerunt: castella primo pauca, postea exercitu aucto creberrima fecerunt; munitiones non in urbem modo sed in Etruriam etiam spectantes,[3] si 6 qua inde auxilia veniant, opposuere; quid turres, quid vineas testudinesque et alium[4] oppugnandarum urbium apparatum loquar? Cum tantum laboris exhaustum sit et ad finem iam operis tandem perventum, relinquendane haec censetis, ut ad aestatem rursus novus de integro his instituendis exsudetur 7 labor? Quanto est minus operae[5] tueri facta et instare ac perseverare defungique cura? Brevis enim profecto res est, si uno tenore peragitur nec ipsi per intermissiones has intervallaque lentiorem 8 spem nostram facimus. Loquor de operae et[6] de temporis iactura. Quid? Periculi, quod differendo bello adimus, num[7] oblivisci nos haec tam crebra Etruriae concilia de mittendis Veios auxiliis patiun- 9 tur? Ut nunc res se habet, irati sunt, oderunt, negant missuros; quantum in illis est, capere Veios licet. Quis est qui spondeat eundem, si differtur 10 bellum, animum postea fore, cum si laxamentum dederis, maior frequentiorque legatio itura sit, cum

[1] tum stipendium ς *Madvig*: cum stipendium Ω: olim stipendium *Heidenhain*: stipendium *V*.

[2] utrumque *Drakenborch*: utramque rem *V* F^2(*or* F^3) *a*: utrumque rem Ω.

[3] spectantes F^3a: spec. antis *V*: expectantes Ω: ex specstantes *D*?: exspectantes *PE*.

[4] et alium D^2a *Rhenanus*: et talium Ω (*Vorm*?): et talem *H*: *wanting in V*.

[5] operae *Hell*: opera Ω.

specially concerns the soldiers, whom the worthy plebeian tribunes formerly wished to rob of their pay, but are now desirous of protecting? How does it stand with them? The rampart and the trench, each involving prodigious toil, they have carried all that distance; forts they erected only a few at first, but since then, with the growth of the army, they have built very many; they have thrown up earthworks, not only against the city, but also facing Etruria, if any aid should come from that side; what need to speak of towers, mantlets, penthouses, and the rest of the equipment for storming towns? When they have expended all this labour, and the end of their task is at last in sight, do you vote for abandoning these things, that when summer comes they may sweat and toil again to produce them afresh? How much less effort it requires to guard what is already made, and to press on and persevere and put an end to our anxiety! For surely it is a thing soon done, if we carry it through without stopping, and do not ourselves drag out our hopes with these interruptions and delays. I talk of the loss of time and labour; what of the danger that we run by putting off the war? Do the frequent debates in Etruria about the dispatch of succours to Veii allow us to forget it? Just now they are angry and resentful, and declare that they will send none; for all they care, we may capture Veii. But who is to guarantee that if we postpone the campaign they will hereafter feel the same: since if you slacken, a greater and more numerous embassy will set out, B.C. 403

[6] operae et *Ussing*: opere et Ω: operis D^3: operum D^1: opera et *V*.
[7] num ς: nunc Ω.

A.U.C. 351 id quod nunc offendit Etruscos, rex creatus Veiis, mutari spatio interposito possit vel consensu civitatis, ut eo reconcilient Etruriae animos, vel ipsius voluntate regis, qui obstare regnum suum saluti civium
11 nolit? Videte quot res quam inutiles sequantur illam viam consilii, iactura operum tanto labore factorum, vastatio imminens finium nostrorum, Etrus-
12 cum bellum pro Veiente concitatum. Haec sunt, tribuni, consilia vestra, non hercule dissimilia ac si quis aegro qui curari se fortiter passus extemplo convalescere possit, cibi gratia praesentis aut potionis longinquum et forsitan insanabilem morbum efficiat.

VI. "Si mediusfidius, ad hoc bellum nihil pertineret, ad disciplinam certe militiae plurimum intererat insuescere militem nostrum non solum parata[1] victoria
2 frui, sed, si etiam res lentior sit, pati taedium et quamvis serae spei exitum exspectare et si non sit aestate perfectum bellum, hiemem opperiri nec, sicut aestivas aves, statim autumno tecta ac recessus[2]
3 circumspicere. Obsecro vos, venandi studium ac voluptas homines per nives ac pruinas in montes silvasque rapit: belli necessitatibus eam patientiam non adhibebimus quam vel lusus[3] ac voluptas elicere
4 solet? Adeone effeminata corpora militum nostrorum esse putamus, adeo molles animos, ut hiemem

[1] parata $U\varsigma$: parta Ω: parua *O*.
[2] recessus *V*: recessum (recensum *B*) Ω.
[3] vel lusus *early edd.*: uel usus (lusus *D*) Ω.

and since what now offends the Etruscans—the setting up of a king at Veii—may be altered with the lapse of time or by agreement of the citizens, to the end that thereby they may regain the good-will of Etruria; or with the consent of the King himself, who would not wish his sovereignty to hurt the safety of his people? See how many undesirable consequences attend that line of policy: the loss of works constructed with such effort; the imminent devastation of our fields; the Etruscans, instead of the Veientes only, aroused to war with us. It is thus, tribunes, that you would manage matters, much as though in dealing with a sick man, who if he would undergo a strict regimen might begin at once to recover, you should protract his illness and perhaps render it incurable, by indulging his immediate desire for meat and drink. B.C. 403

VI. "If it were of no moment to this war, it was yet, I assure you, of the utmost importance for military discipline that our soldiers become accustomed not only to pluck a victory within their grasp, but if a campaign should be even more protracted, to put up with the tedium and await the outcome of their hopes, however long-deferred; and if a war be not finished in a summer, to stay for winter, nor, like birds of passage, cast about at once, on the approach of autumn, for shelter and covert. Do the eagerness, pray, and delight that men have in hunting carry them through snow and frost into the mountains and the forests; and shall not we use in the stress of war the same resolution which even sport and pleasure are wont to call out? Do we think the bodies of our soldiers so effeminate, their hearts so faint, that they cannot endure to be one

A.U.C. 351 unam durare in castris, abesse ab domo non possint? Ut tamquam navale bellum tempestatibus captandis et observando tempore anni gerant, non aestus, non frigora pati possint? Erubescant profecto si quis eis haec obiciat, contendantque et animis et corporibus suis virilem patientiam inesse, et se iuxta hieme atque aestate bella gerere posse nec se patrocinium mollitiae inertiaeque mandasse tribunis, et meminisse hanc ipsam potestatem non in umbra nec in tectis maiores suos creasse.

6 "Haec virtute militum vestrorum, haec Romano nomine sunt digna, non Veios tantum nec hoc bellum intueri quod instat, sed famam et ad alia[1] bella et ad 7 ceteros populos in posterum quaerere. An mediocre discrimen opinionis secuturum ex hac re putatis, utrum tandem finitimi populum Romanum eum esse putent cuius si qua urbs primum illum brevissimi temporis sustinuerit impetum, nihil deinde timeat, 8 an hic sit terror nominis nostri ut exercitum Romanum non taedium longinquae oppugnationis, non vis hiemis ab urbe circumsessa semel amovere possit, nec finem ullum alium belli quam victoriam noverit nec impetu 9 potius bella quam perseverantia gerat? Quae in omni quidem genere militiae, maxime tamen in obsidendis urbibus necessaria est, quarum plerasque munitionibus ac naturali situ inexpugnabiles fame 10 sitique tempus ipsum vincit atque expugnat,—sicut

[1] et ad alia *early edd.*: et alia Ω: ad alia ς.

winter in camp, away from home; that like sailors B.C. 403
they must wage war with an eye on the weather, observing the seasons, incapable of withstanding heat or cold? They would certainly blush if anyone should charge them with this, and would maintain that manly endurance was in their souls and bodies, and that they could campaign as well in winter as in summer; that they had given the tribunes no commission to protect softness and idleness; and that they were mindful that their grandsires had not founded the tribunician power in the shade or under roofs.

"It is due to the valour of your soldiers, it is due to the Roman name, that you should look not merely to Veii and this present war that is upon us, but should seek for the years to come a reputation that will serve you in other wars and amongst all other nations. Do you suppose there will be no great difference in men's opinion of us, whether our neighbours conclude the Roman People to be such, that if a city withstand the brunt of their first assault for a very brief time, it need thenceforward have no fears; or whether our name inspire such dread, that men believe that once a Roman army has sat down before a town, it will never budge, either from the weariness of a protracted siege or from the rigours of winter, that it knows no other end of war but victory, and relies in its campaigns not more on swiftness than on perseverance? For perseverance, needful in every kind of warfare, is especially so in besieging cities, since fortifications and natural advantages make most of them impregnable, and time itself subdues them, with hunger and thirst, and captures them, as it shall capture Veii, unless

A.U.C. 351 Veios expugnabit, nisi auxilio hostibus tribuni plebis fuerint, et Romae invenerint praesidia Veientes quae nequiquam in Etruria quaerunt.

11 "An est quicquam quod Veientibus optatum aeque contingere possit quam ut seditionibus primum urbs Romana, deinde velut ex contagione castra imple-
12 antur? At hercule apud hostes tanta modestia est ut non obsidionis taedio, non denique regni quicquam apud eos novatum sit, non negata auxilia ab Etruscis
13 inritaverint animos; morietur enim extemplo quicumque erit seditionis auctor, nec cuiquam dicere ea
14 licebit, quae apud vos impune dicuntur. Fustuarium meretur qui signa relinquit aut praesidio decedit: auctores signa relinquendi et deserendi castra non uni aut alteri militi, sed universis exercitibus palam
15 in contione audiuntur; adeo quidquid tribunus plebi loquitur, etsi prodendae patriae dissolvendaeque rei publicae est, adsuestis aequi[1] audire et dulcedine potestatis eius capti quaelibet sub ea scelera latere
16 sinitis. Reliquum est ut quae hic vociferantur, eadem in castris et apud milites agant et exercitus corrum-
17 pant ducibusque parere non patiantur, quoniam ea demum Romae libertas est, non senatum, non magistratus, non leges, non mores maiorum, non instituta patrum, non disciplinam vereri militiae."

VII. Par iam etiam in contionibus erat Appius tribunis plebis, cum subito, unde minime quis crederet, accepta calamitas apud Veios et superiorem Appium

[1] aequi *Rhenanus*: qui (*omitted by UO: space of not more than four letters in V*): ei E^2: quidem D^4: Quirites *Gulielmus*: quieti *Welz.*

[1] Livy implies that the speech which he has reported above was delivered in the Senate.

the plebeian tribunes help our enemies, and the B.C. 403
Veientes find in Rome those succours which they are seeking to no purpose in Etruria.

"Could anything happen which would so please the Veientes as that factions should spring up, first in the City of Rome, and then, as though by contagion, in the camp? But our enemies, by Heaven, are so well disciplined that no weariness of the blockade nor even of kingly rule has occasioned the smallest revolt among them; neither has the Etruscans' denial of help provoked their spirit; for whosoever prompts sedition shall forthwith die the death; nor shall any man there have licence to say what is said with impunity to you. Death by cudgelling is the wage of him who forsakes the standards or quits his post; but those who advise the men to abandon their standards and desert the camp gain a hearing, not with one or two soldiers, but with whole armies, openly, in public meetings; so accustomed are you to hear with complacency whatever a tribune says, even if it tends to betray the City and to undo the state; and captivated by the charm of that authority, you suffer any wickedness whatsoever to lurk beneath it. It only remains for them to utter in camp and in the presence of the soldiers the view which they noisily publish here, and to corrupt the armies and not to suffer them to obey their leaders. For in the upshot liberty has come to mean at Rome, that a man respect neither senate nor magistrates, nor laws, nor ancestral customs, nor institutions of the fathers, nor military discipline."

VII. Appius was already holding his own with the tribunes of the plebs, even in public meetings,[1] when a sudden disaster, from a source which could

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in causa et concordiam ordinum maiorem ardoremque
2 ad obsidendos pertinacius Veios fecit. Nam cum agger promotus ad urbem vineaeque tantum non iam iniunctae moenibus essent, dum opera interdiu fiunt intentius quam nocte custodiuntur, patefacta repente porta ingens multitudo facibus maxime armata ignes
3 coniecit, horaeque momento simul aggerem ac vineas, tam longi temporis opus, incendium hausit; multique ibi mortales nequiquam opem ferentes ferro ignique
4 absumpti sunt. Quod ubi Romam est nuntiatum, maestitiam omnibus, senatui curam metumque iniecit, ne tum vero sustineri nec in urbe seditio nec in castris posset et tribuni plebis velut ab se victae
5 rei publicae insultarent, cum repente quibus census equester erat, equi publici non erant adsignati, concilio prius inter sese habito senatum adeunt factaque dicendi potestate equis se suis stipendia facturos
6 promittunt. Quibus cum amplissimis verbis gratiae ab senatu actae essent famaque ea forum atque urbem pervasisset, subito ad curiam concursus fit
7 plebis; pedestris ordinis aiunt nunc esse operam[1] rei publicae extra ordinem polliceri, seu Veios seu quo alio ducere velint; si Veios ducti sint, negant

[1] aiunt nunc esse operam *Cuper*: se aiunt nunc esse operamque Ω: seiciunt nunc esse operamque *B*.

least have been anticipated, befell the army before B.C. 403
Veii, giving Appius the advantage in the argument, while it increased the mutual good-will of the orders and their ardour for a more vigorous prosecution of the siege. For when they had pushed forward the terrace towards the town, and had all but brought the mantlets into contact with the walls,—more intent upon erecting their works by day than on guarding them by night,—the gate was suddenly flung open, and a vast horde, most of them armed with torches, hurled fire on the works, and in an hour's time terrace and mantlets, that had taken so long to make, were consumed in the flames; and many men perished by the sword or the fire, in vain efforts to save them. When the news of this came to Rome, it filled the City with sadness, the senate with anxiety and apprehension, lest they might now indeed be unable to check the disaffection, either in the City or the camp, and the tribunes might crow over the commonwealth as though they had overthrown it; when lo! those who were of equestrian rating, but had not received horses from the state, having first taken counsel together, came to the senate, and being granted a hearing, volunteered to serve on their own horses. These men had no sooner received a vote of thanks from the senate, in the most honourable terms, and the report of it had spread to the Forum and the City, than the plebeians suddenly ran together to the Curia, and declared that it was now the turn of the foot-soldiers to proffer extraordinary service to the state, whether it would have them march to Veii, or anywhere else; if they should be led to Veii, they promised that they would not quit their ground

A.U.C. 351 se inde prius quam capta urbe hostium redituros
8 esse. Tum vero iam superfundenti se laetitiae vix
temperatum est; non enim, sicut equites, dato magi-
9 stratibus negotio laudari iussi, neque aut in curiam
vocati quibus responsum daretur, aut limine curiae
continebatur senatus; sed pro se quisque ex superiore
loco ad multitudinem in comitio stantem voce mani-
10 busque significare publicam laetitiam, beatam urbem
Romanam et invictam et aeternam illa concordia
dicere, laudare equites, laudare plebem, diem ipsum
laudibus ferre, victam esse fateri comitatem benig-
11 nitatemque senatus. Certatim patribus plebique
manare gaudio lacrimae, donec revocatis in curiam
patribus senatus consultum factum est ut tribuni
militares contione advocata peditibus equitibusque
12 gratias agerent, memorem pietatis eorum erga patriam
dicerent senatum fore; placere autem omnibus his
voluntariam extra ordinem professis militiam aera
procedere; et equiti certus numerus aeris est ad-
13 signatus. Tum primum equis suis merere equites
coeperunt. Voluntarius ductus exercitus Veios non
amissa modo restituit opera, sed nova etiam instituit.
Ab urbe commeatus intentiore quam antea subvehi
cura, ne quid tam bene merito exercitui ad usum
deesset.

A.U.C. 352 VIII. Insequens annus tribunos militum consulari
potestate habuit C. Servilium Ahalam tertium Q.
Servilium L. Verginium Q. Sulpicium A. Manlium
2 iterum M.' Sergium[1] iterum. His tribunis, dum

[1] M.' Sergium *a Sigonius* (Sergium *C.I.L.* i², *p.* 116): m sergium (*or* marcum sergium) Ω: martum sergium *F*: marcum seruium *DL*.

[1] *i. e.* from the steps that led down to the Comitium.

until they had taken the enemy's city. Then B.C. 403
indeed the senate could scarce control its already overflowing joy; for they did not, as with the knights, issue an order to the magistrates to thank them, nor did they call them into the Curia to receive an answer, neither did the senate keep within the House; but each for himself cried out from above,[1] to the multitude standing in the Comitium, and by speech and gesture signified the general joy. Rome was blest, they said, and invincible and eternal, by reason of this noble harmony; they praised the knights, they praised the plebeians, they extolled the very day itself, and confessed that the courtesy and good-will of the senate had been surpassed. Fathers and commoners mingled their tears of joy, till the Fathers were recalled into the senate-house, and decreed that the military tribunes should hold an assembly and thank the infantry and the knights, and say to them that the senate would remember their loyalty to their country, and that it was voted that all who had volunteered to serve out of their due order should receive pay. The knights, too, were granted a definite money allowance. Then for the first time cavalry-men began to serve on their own horses. The volunteer army, having marched to Veii, not only replaced the works that had been lost, but added new ones. The city dispatched provisions with more than its former zeal, that nothing might be lacking to an army that had deserved so well.

VIII. The ensuing year had for consular tribunes B.C. 402
Gaius Servilius Ahala (for the third time), Quintus Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius (for the second time), and Manius Sergius

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cura omnium in Veiens bellum intenta est, neglectum Anxuri[1] praesidium vacationibus militum et Volscos mercatores volgo receptando proditis repente portarum custodibus oppressum est. Minus militum periit, quia praeter aegros lixarum in modum omnes per agros vicinasque urbes negotiabantur. Nec Veiis melius gesta res, quod tum caput omnium curarum publicarum erat; nam et duces Romani plus inter se irarum quam adversus hostes animi habuerunt, et auctum est bellum adventu repentino Capenatium atque Faliscorum. Hi duo Etruriae populi, quia proximi regione erant, devictis Veiis bello quoque Romano se proximos fore credentes, Falisci propria etiam causa infesti, quod Fidenati bello se iam antea immiscuerant, per legatos ultro citroque missos iure iurando inter se obligati, cum exercitibus necopinato ad Veios accessere. Forte ea regione qua[2] M.' Sergius tribunus militum praeerat castra adorti sunt ingentemque terrorem intulere, quia Etruriam omnem excitam sedibus magna mole adesse Romani crediderant. Eadem opinio Veientes in urbe concitavit. Ita ancipiti proelio castra Romana oppugnabantur; concursantesque cum huc atque illuc signa transferrent, nec Veientem satis cohibere intra munitiones nec suis munimentis arcere vim ac tueri se ab ex-

[1] Anxuri a^2 *Bekker*: anxyri (*or* ancxyri, *or* anxiri) Ω (*not in V*).

[2] qua M.' Sergius *Sigonius*: qua m sergius *HDL*: quam sergius M^1 *or* M^2 *PFBa*: qua sergius *MUOE*.

[1] See IV. xvii. 11.

(for the second time). In their term of office, while B.C. 402
everyone was intent on the war with Veii, the garrison at Anxur was neglected; soldiers were given furlough, Volscian traders were admitted without discrimination, and, the sentinels at the gates being suddenly overpowered, the town was taken. Not many soldiers perished, because they were all, except the sick, occupied, like sutlers, with trafficking in the country-side and the towns near by. Nor were things any better at Veii, which was at that time the nation's chief concern; for the Roman commanders showed more jealousy of one another than spirit in dealing with the enemy, whose forces moreover were enlarged by the unexpected accession of the Capenates and the Faliscans. These two Etruscan peoples, being nearest in situation, believed that if the Veientes were conquered it would be their turn next to face a Roman invasion. The Faliscans, besides, had incurred hostility on their own account, because they had been mixed up before in the war with Fidenae.[1] So they exchanged embassies, bound themselves by an oath, and their armies suddenly appeared before Veii. It happened that they attacked the camp at that point where the tribune Manius Sergius was in command, and great was the terror they inspired, since the Romans thought that all Etruria had risen and was come with a mighty array against them. The same belief roused up the Veientes in the town. Thus a two-fold attack was directed against the camp. The soldiers rallied into groups, facing now this way and now that, yet were unable either quite to confine the Veientes within the siege-lines, or to ward off the attack upon their own defences and protect

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9 teriore poterant hoste. Una spes erat si ex maioribus castris subveniretur, ut diversae legiones aliae adversus Capenatem ac Faliscum, aliae contra eruptionem oppidanorum pugnarent; sed castris praeerat
10 Verginius, privatim Sergio invisus infestusque. Is, cum pleraque castella oppugnata, superatas munitiones, utrimque invehi hostem nuntiaretur, in armis milites tenuit, si opus foret auxilio collegam dictitans
11 ad se missurum. Huius adrogantiam pertinacia alterius aequabat, qui, ne quam opem ab inimico videretur petisse, vinci ab hoste quam vincere per civem
12 maluit. Diu in medio caesi milites; postremo desertis munitionibus perpauci in maiora castra, pars maxima atque ipse Sergius Romam pertenderunt. Ubi cum omnem culpam in collegam inclinaret, acciri Verginium ex castris, interea praeesse legatos placuit.
13 Acta deinde in senatu res est certatumque inter collegas maledictis. Pauci rei publicae, plerique[1] huic atque illi, ut quosque studium privatim aut gratia occupaverat,[2] adsunt.

IX. Primores patrum, sive culpa sive infelicitate imperatorum tam ignominiosa clades accepta esset, censuere non exspectandum iustum tempus comitiorum, sed extemplo novos tribunos militum creandos

[1] plerique *inserted by Kiehl.*
[2] occupaverat ζ: occupauerant *U*: occupauerunt Ω (*not in V*).

themselves from the enemy outside. Their only B.C. 402
hope was if help should come from the larger camp, so that the legions might face different ways, some of them confronting the Capenates and Faliscans, and others the sortie of the townsfolk. But that camp was under the command of Verginius, who was privately hated by Sergius and returned his enmity. This man, though word was brought that many bastions had been stormed and the ramparts scaled, and that the enemy were attacking on both sides, held his troops under arms, saying that if his colleague needed help he would let him know. His pride found a match in the other's obstinacy, and Sergius, lest he should seem to have required any aid of his rival, preferred defeat at the hands of the enemy to victory gained through a fellow citizen. For a long time the Romans were slaughtered between the two attacking armies; finally they abandoned their works, and a very few escaped into the larger camp, while Sergius himself, with the chief part of his men, kept on to Rome. It was there decided, on his throwing all the blame upon his colleague, to summon Verginius from camp, and in the meanwhile put lieutenants in command of it. The affair was then debated in the senate and the colleagues heaped abuse on one another. There were but few who spoke for the commonwealth: most of them argued for one or the other disputant, according as each was swayed by private interest or favour.

IX. The leading senators held, that whether the fault or the misfortune of the commanders were the cause of this shameful disaster, they ought not to await the regular time for elections, but proceed at once to choose new military tribunes, to begin

A.U.C. 353 esse, qui kalendis Octobribus magistratum occipe-
2 rent. In quam sententiam cum pedibus iretur, ceteri
3 tribuni militum nihil contradicere; at enimvero Sergius Verginiusque, propter quos paenitere magistratuum eius anni senatum apparebat, primo deprecari ignominiam, deinde intercedere senatus consulto, negare se ante idus Decembres, sollemnem ineundis
4 magistratibus diem, honore abituros esse. Inter haec tribuni plebis, cum in concordia hominum secundisque rebus civitatis inviti silentium tenuissent, feroces repente minari tribunis militum, nisi in auctoritate senatus essent, se in vincla eos duci iussuros esse.
5 Tum C. Servilius Ahala tribunus militum: "Quod ad vos attinet, tribuni plebis, minasque vestras, ne ego libenter experirer quam non plus in iis iuris
6 quam in vobis animi esset; sed nefas est tendere adversus auctoritatem senatus. Proinde et vos desinite inter nostra certamina locum iniuriae quaerere, et collegae aut facient quod censet senatus, aut, si pertinacius tendent, dictatorem extemplo dicam qui
7 eos abire magistratu cogat." Cum omnium adsensu comprobata oratio esset gauderentque patres sine tribuniciae potestatis terriculis inventam esse aliam
8 vim maiorem ad coercendos magistratus, victi consensu omnium comitia tribunorum militum habuere qui kalendis Octobribus magistratum occiperent, seque ante eam diem magistratu abdicavere.

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[1] The *senatus consultum* was no more than a 'resolution' which the presiding magistrate might, if he chose, refuse to carry out.

their magistracy on the first of October. While the members were voting for this proposal, the other military tribunes raised no objection; but of all people Sergius and Verginius, the very men on account of whom it was evident that the senate was disgusted with the magistrates of that year, first begged to be spared the humiliation, then vetoed the senate's decree,[1] declaring that they would not resign their authority before the thirteenth of December, the accustomed day for entering upon office. Whereupon the tribunes of the plebs, who so long as harmony prevailed and the affairs of the City prospered, had reluctantly held their tongues, suddenly broke out and threatened the tribunes of the soldiers, that unless they submitted to the senate they would send them to prison. Then Gaius Servilius Ahala, a military tribune, said: "So far as concerns you, tribunes of the commons, and your menaces, I should indeed willingly put it to the proof how you have in your threats as little legality as courage; but it is impious to oppose the authority of the senate. Accordingly do you give over seeking in our quarrels occasion for working mischief, and my colleagues shall either do as the senate decrees, or if they persist in stubborn opposition, I will forthwith name a dictator, to compel them to lay down their authority." This speech was universally approved, and the Fathers rejoiced that they needed not the trumpery threats of the tribunician power, but had found another and a greater force to coerce the magistrates; and the latter, overborne by the unanimity of feeling, held an election of military tribunes, to begin service on October the first, and before that date resigned their office. B.C. 402

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X. L. Valerio Potito quartum M. Furio Camillo iterum M.' Aemilio[1] Mamerco tertium Cn. Cornelio Cosso iterum K. Fabio Ambusto L. Iulio Iulo[2] tribunis militum consulari potestate multa domi militiaeque gesta. Nam et bellum multiplex fuit eodem tempore, ad Veios et ad Capenam et ad Falerios[3] et in Volscis, ut Anxur ab hostibus reciperaretur, et Romae simul dilectu simul tributo conferendo laboratum est, et de tribunis plebi cooptandis contentio fuit, et haud parvum motum duo iudicia eorum qui paulo ante consulari potestate fuerant excivere. Omnium primum tribunis militum fuit dilectum habere, nec iuniores modo conscripti sed seniores etiam coacti nomina dare ut urbis custodiam agerent. Quantum autem augebatur militum numerus, tanto maiore pecunia in stipendium opus erat, eaque tributo conficiebatur[4] invitis conferentibus qui domi remanebant, quia tuentibus urbem opera quoque militari laborandum serviendumque rei publicae erat. Haec, per se gravia, indigniora[5] ut viderentur tribuni plebis seditiosis contionibus faciebant, ideo aera militibus constituta esse arguendo, ut plebis partem militia, partem tributo conficerent. Unum bellum annum iam tertium trahi et consulto male geri ut diutius gerant. In quattuor deinde bella uno dilectu

[1] M.' Aemilio *Sigon.* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 116): m̄ (*or* m *or* marco) aemilio Ω (*cf. Diod.* XIV. xliv. 1).
[2] Iulio Iulo *Sigon.*: iulio tullo Ω: iulio tullio *HDL.*
[3] Falerios L^3 a^1 ς: ualerios Ω.
[4] conficiebatur *Madvig*: conferebatur Ω.
[5] gravia indigniora *Vorm.*¹ ς: grauia indignioraque Ω: graui indignioraque *B.*

[1] Really the first term of Camillus. The error here and in chap. i. § 2 (see note) is tacitly corrected in chap. xiv. § 5.
[2] Not the same man as mentioned in chap. i. § 2.

X. The consular tribuneship of Lucius Valerius B.C. 401
Potitus (for the fourth term), Marcus Furius Camillus (for the second [1]), Manius Aemilius Mamercus (for the third), Gnaeus Cornelius Cossus (for the second), Caeso Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Julius Iulus,[2] was a time of great activity both at home and in the field. For they made war at many points simultaneously, before Veii, at Capena, at Falerii, and in the Volscian country—to recover Anxur from the enemy;—and in Rome both the levy and the payment of the war-tax occasioned difficulties, a quarrel sprang up over the co-optation of plebeian tribunes, and the trials of the two who had lately exercised consular powers aroused no small commotion. The first concern of the military tribunes was to levy troops, and they not only enrolled the younger men, but also compelled the seniors to enlist for service in guarding the City. But the more they increased the number of the soldiers, the more money they required for pay. This they tried to collect by taxation; but those who remained at home contributed with reluctance, because they had also in defence of the City to perform the labour of soldiers and serve the commonwealth. To make this obligation, heavy in itself, seem yet more grievous, the tribunes of the plebs delivered seditious speeches, in which they alleged that the senators had established pay for the troops for this reason, that they might ruin one half of the plebs with fighting and the other half with taxation. They were now drawing out a single war into its third year, and were purposely misconducting it, that they might conduct it the longer. Again, with one levy they had enrolled armies for four wars, and

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exercitus scriptos et pueros quoque ac senes ex-
8 tractos. Iam non aestatis nec hiemis discrimen esse,
ne ulla quies unquam miserae plebi sit, quae nunc[1]
9 etiam vectigalis ad ultimum facta sit, ut cum con-
fecta labore volneribus postremo aetate corpora rettu-
lerint incultaque omnia diutino dominorum desiderio
domi invenerint, tributum ex adfecta re familiari
pendant aeraque militaria, velut fenore accepta,
multiplicia rei publicae reddant.
10 Inter dilectum tributumque et occupatos animos
maiorum rerum curis comitiis tribunorum plebis
11 numerus expleri nequiit.[2] Pugnatum inde in loca
vacua ut patricii cooptarentur. Postquam obtineri non
poterat, tamen labefactandae legis[3] causa effectum
est ut cooptarentur tribuni plebis C. Lacerius et
M. Acutius, haud dubie patriciorum opibus.

XI. Fors ita tulit ut eo anno tribunus plebis Cn.
Trebonius esset, qui nomini ac familiae debitum
2 praestare videretur Treboniae legis patrocinium. Is
quod petissent patres quondam[4] primo incepto re-
pulsi, tandem[5] tribunos militum expugnasse ait[6]
vociferans legem Treboniam sublatam et cooptatos
tribunos plebis non suffragiis populi sed imperio

[1] quae nunc *Ald.*: quae ne Ω: quin *Vorm.*[2] $P^{2}FUB$.
[2] nequiit ς: nequit (*or* nequid) Ω.
[3] legis *Madvig*: legis tribuniciae Ω.
[4] quondam *Haupt*: quidam (*omitted in a*) Ω.
[5] tandem *Weissenborn*: tamen Ω.
[6] expugnasse ait (expugnasse ς) *Luterbacher*: expugnassent Ω.

[1] From the beginning no patrician might become a tribune of the plebs (II. xxxiii. 1) and in 448 the Trebonian law forbade co-optation to that office (III. lxv. 4).

had haled away even boys and old men. Now they B.C. 401
were confounding winter with summer, to allow no rest ever to the unhappy commons, on whom finally they had even imposed a tax; that when they should drag home their bodies spent with toil, with wounds, and at last with old age, and should then find all things gone to waste in the long absence of the owners, they might pay tribute out of their diminished property, and return to the state many times, as it were with usury, the wages they had received as soldiers.

What with the levy and the tax and the weightier cares that preoccupied men's minds, they were unable on the day of election to return the full number of plebeian tribunes. An effort was then made to obtain the co-optation of patricians for the vacant places. When this failed, nevertheless, in order to invalidate the law, it was brought about that Gaius Lacerius and Marcus Acutius should be chosen tribunes, without doubt through patrician influence.[1]

XI. It so happened that in that year one of the tribunes was Gnaeus Trebonius, whose name and family seemed to make it his duty to defend the Trebonian law. This man said that what the Fathers had formerly aimed at (and had been foiled on their first attempting), the tribunes of the soldiers had finally extorted; he asseverated that the Trebonian law had been done away with, and that the tribunes of the plebs had been appointed not by the votes of the people but at the dictation of the nobles; that things had come to such a pass, that they must perforce have either patricians or the satellites of patricians for tribunes of the plebs; their sacred laws were being taken

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patriciorum; eo[1] revolvi rem ut aut patricii aut patriciorum adseculae habendi tribuni plebis sint; eripi sacratas leges, extorqueri tribuniciam potestatem; id fraude patriciorum, scelere ac proditione collegarum factum arguere.

Cum arderent invidia non patres modo sed etiam tribuni plebis, cooptati pariter et qui cooptaverant, tum ex collegio tres, P. Curatius M. Metilius M. Minucius, trepidi rerum suarum, in Sergium Verginiumque, prioris anni tribunos militares, incurrunt; in eos ab se iram plebis invidiamque die dicta avertunt. Quibus dilectus, quibus tributum, quibus diutina militia longinquitasque belli sit gravis, qui clade accepta ad Veios doleant, qui amissis liberis fratribus, propinquis adfinibus, lugubres domos habeant, his publici privatique doloris exsequendi ius potestatemque ex duobus noxiis capitibus datam ab se memorant. Omnium namque malorum in Sergio Verginioque causas esse; nec id accusatores[2] magis arguere quam fateri reos, qui noxii ambo alter in alterum causam conferant, fugam Sergi Verginius, Sergius proditionem increpans Vergini. Quorum adeo incredibilem amentiam fuisse ut multo veri similius sit compecto eam rem et communi fraude patriciorum actam. Ab his et prius datum locum Veientibus ad incendenda opera belli trahendi causa,

[1] eo *Weissenborn*: et Ω: et eo *Vorm.*? D^4.
[2] accusatores *Giers*: accusatorem Ω.

[1] Perhaps these three were held accountable for the illegal step which the college had taken.

away, the tribunician power wrested from them. B.C. 401
This was done, he declared, by the knavery of the patricians, the rascality and the treason of his colleagues.

Men were burning with resentment, not only against the patricians, but also against the tribunes of the plebs, both those who had been co-opted and those who had co-opted them, when three of the college, Publius Curatius, Marcus Metilius, and Marcus Minucius, being alarmed at their own situation,[1] fell violently upon Sergius and Verginius, the military tribunes of the previous year, and by appointing them a day for trial turned against them the anger and displeasure which the plebs had evinced towards themselves. They reminded their hearers, that those who were aggrieved by the levy, or the tax, or the protracted service and the long duration of the war, those who sorrowed for the calamity that befell at Veii, those whose houses were in mourning for the loss of sons, brothers, kinsmen or connexions,—that all those now had the right and the power, thanks to the speakers, of avenging the nation's grief and their own private sorrow on the two culprits; for of all their sufferings Sergius and Verginius were the cause; and this their accusers were not more forward to maintain than the defendants to confess, who, equally guilty, threw the blame on one another, Verginius taxing Sergius with his flight, while Sergius complained of Verginius's treachery. Their madness had been so incredible, that it was much more probable that they had done the thing upon agreement, with the collusion of the senators; who having before given opportunity to the Veientes to set fire to their works, in order to

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et nunc proditum exercitum, tradita Faliscis Romana
9 castra. Omnia fieri ut consenescat ad Veios iuventus
nec de agris nec de aliis commodis plebis ferre
ad populum tribuni frequentiaque urbana celebrare
actiones et resistere conspirationi patriciorum possint.
10 Praeiudicium iam de reis et ab senatu et ab populo
11 Romano et ab ipsorum collegio[1] factum esse; nam
et senatus consulto eos ab re publica remotos esse,
et recusantes abdicare se magistratu dictatoris metu
ab collegis coercitos esse, et populum Romanum
tribunos creasse qui non idibus Decembribus, die
sollemni, sed extemplo kalendis Octobribus magi-
stratum occiperent, quia stare diutius res publica his
12 manentibus in magistratu non posset; et tamen eos,
tot iudiciis confossos praedamnatosque venire ad
populi iudicium et existimare defunctos se esse
satisque poenarum dedisse quod duobus mensibus
13 citius privati facti sint, neque intellegere nocendi
sibi diutius tum potestatem ereptam esse, non poenam
inrogatam; quippe et collegis abrogatum imperium,
14 qui certe nihil deliquissent. Illos repeterent animos
Quirites quos recenti clade accepta habuissent, cum
fuga trepidum, plenum volnerum ac pavoris[2] inci-
dentem portis exercitum viderint non fortunam aut

[1] collegio *Walters*: collegiis (collegis D^2 *or* D^4a^2) Ω.
[2] pavoris *Gronov.*: pauore Ω.

prolong the war, had now betrayed the army and B.C. 401
delivered up a Roman camp to the Faliscans. They were doing everything to wear out the young men before Veii, and prevent the tribunes from bringing before the people the question of land and other advantages to the plebs, and from pushing their measures in well-attended assemblies and thwarting the conspiracy of the patricians. Judgment was already given against the accused both by the senate and by the Roman People, and also by their own college; for the senate had by its decree removed them from authority, and when they refused to abdicate their office, their colleagues had coerced them by threatening to appoint a dictator, and the Roman People had elected tribunes to assume their duties, not on the thirteenth of December, the usual date, but immediately, on October the first, believing that the state could endure no longer if the incumbents should remain in place; yet, in spite of all, these men, stigmatized and fore-judged by so many adverse verdicts, presented themselves for trial by the people, and fancied that they were quit and sufficiently mulcted because they were made private citizens two months before their time; not perceiving that they had then merely been deprived of the power to do further mischief, not punished, since their colleagues, too, were turned out of office, though they had certainly done no wrong. Let the Quirites call back the spirit they had shown when the recent calamity had occurred, when they had beheld the flight and confusion of their troops, as they stumbled, wounded and dismayed, through the City gates, accusing neither fortune nor any of the gods, but these their

A.U.C. 353 15 quemquam deorum, sed hos duces accusantem. Pro certo se habere neminem in contione stare qui illo die non caput domum fortunasque L. Vergini ac 16 M.' Sergi sit exsecratus detestatusque. Minime convenire quibus iratos quisque deos precatus sit in iis sua potestate, cum liceat et oporteat, non uti. Nunquam deos ipsos admovere nocentibus manus; satis esse si occasione ulciscendi laesos arment.

A.U.C. 354 XII. His orationibus incitata plebs denis milibus aeris gravis reos condemnat, nequiquam Sergio Martem communem belli fortunamque accusante, Verginio deprecante ne infelicior domi quam militiae 2 esset. In hos versa ira populi cooptationis tribunorum fraudisque contra legem Treboniam factae memoriam obscuram fecit.

3 Victores tribuni, ut praesentem mercedem iudicii plebes haberet, legem agrariam promulgant tribu- 4 tumque conferri prohibent, cum tot exercitibus stipendio opus esset resque militiae[1] ita prospere gererentur ut nullo bello veniretur ad exitum spei. Namque Veiis castra quae amissa erant reciperata castellis praesidiisque firmantur; praeerant tribuni 5 militum M.' Aemilius[2] et K. Fabius.[3] A M. Furio in Faliscis, a[4] Cn. Cornelio in Capenate agro hostes nulli extra moenia inventi; praedae actae incendiisque villarum ac frugum vastati fines; oppida nec 6 oppugnata nec obsessa sunt. At in Volscis depopu-

[1] militiae *Gronovius*: miliae *H*: militia Ω.
[2] M.' Aemilius *a*: m. (*or* m̄.) aemilius (aemelius *B*) Ω.
[3] K. Fabius *cf. chap.* x, § 1: q. (*or* quintus) fabius Ω.
[4] a M^1: et Ω.

leaders. They were sure that there was not a man B.C. 401
present in the assembly who had not on that day cursed and execrated the lives, the houses, and the fortunes of Lucius Verginius and Manius Sergius. It was not reasonable that their hearers, having a legal and moral right in the matter, should not use their power against those upon whom each one of them had invoked the wrath of Heaven. The gods themselves never laid hands upon the guilty; it was enough if they armed with an opportunity for vengeance those who had been wronged.

XII. Incited by these speeches, the plebs con- B.C. 400
demned the accused to pay each a fine of 10,000 pounds of bronze. It was in vain that Sergius blamed Fortune and the common chance of war, while Verginius begged that he might not be more unlucky at home than he had been in the campaign. On them the wrath of the people was poured out, and the co-optation of the tribunes and the evasion of the Trebonian law were almost forgotten.

The victorious tribunes, that the plebs might have an immediate reward for its judgment, proposed a land-law and forbade the gathering of the war-tax, notwithstanding that pay was needed for so many armies, whose campaigning, though successful, yet failed to realize the desired end in any war. Thus, at Veii, they recovered the lost camp and strengthened it with fortresses and garrisons, led by the military tribunes Manius Aemilius and Caeso Fabius; Marcus Furius in the Faliscan country, and Gnaeus Cornelius in the territory of Capena, meeting no enemies afield, drove off booty, and burning farmhouses and crops, laid waste the land, but the towns they neither assaulted nor besieged; in the Volscian

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[4] a M^1: et Ω.

leaders. They were sure that there was not a man B.C. 401
present in the assembly who had not on that day cursed and execrated the lives, the houses, and the fortunes of Lucius Verginius and Manius Sergius. It was not reasonable that their hearers, having a legal and moral right in the matter, should not use their power against those upon whom each one of them had invoked the wrath of Heaven. The gods themselves never laid hands upon the guilty; it was enough if they armed with an opportunity for vengeance those who had been wronged.

XII. Incited by these speeches, the plebs con- B.C. 400
demned the accused to pay each a fine of 10,000 pounds of bronze. It was in vain that Sergius blamed Fortune and the common chance of war, while Verginius begged that he might not be more unlucky at home than he had been in the campaign. On them the wrath of the people was poured out, and the co-optation of the tribunes and the evasion of the Trebonian law were almost forgotten.

The victorious tribunes, that the plebs might have an immediate reward for its judgment, proposed a land-law and forbade the gathering of the war-tax, notwithstanding that pay was needed for so many armies, whose campaigning, though successful, yet failed to realize the desired end in any war. Thus, at Veii, they recovered the lost camp and strengthened it with fortresses and garrisons, led by the military tribunes Manius Aemilius and Caeso Fabius; Marcus Furius in the Faliscan country, and Gnaeus Cornelius in the territory of Capena, meeting no enemies afield, drove off booty, and burning farmhouses and crops, laid waste the land, but the towns they neither assaulted nor besieged; in the Volscian

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lato agro Anxur nequiquam oppugnatum loco alto situm et, postquam vis inrita erat, vallo fossaque obsideri coeptum. Valerio Potito Volsci provincia evenerat.

7 Hoc statu militarium rerum seditio intestina maiore mole coorta quam bella tractabantur; et cum tributum conferri per tribunos non posset[1] nec stipendium imperatoribus mitteretur aeraque militaria flagitaret miles, haud procul erat quin castra quoque
8 urbanae seditionis contagione turbarentur. Inter has iras plebis in patres cum tribuni plebi nunc illud tempus esse dicerent stabiliendae libertatis et ab Sergiis Verginiisque ad plebeios viros fortes ac
9 strenuos transferendi summi honoris, non tamen ultra processum est quam ut unus ex plebe, usurpandi iuris causa, P. Licinius Calvus tribunus militum con-
10 sulari potestate crearetur; ceteri patricii creati, P. Manlius[2] L. Titinius[3] P. Maelius L. Furius Medul-
11 linus L. Publilius[4] Volscus. Ipsa plebes mirabatur se tantam rem obtinuisse, non is modo qui creatus erat, vir nullis ante honoribus usus, vetus tantum
12 senator et aetate iam gravis; nec satis constat cur primus ac potissimus ad novum delibandum honorem sit habitus. Alii Cn. Corneli fratris, qui tribunus militum priore anno fuerat triplexque stipendium

[1] posset $D^{?}\varsigma$: possit Ω.

[2] Manlius D^{1} (*or* D^{2}) ς: manilius Ω: mamilius *PFUB*: mamlius (*or* manilius) *D*.

[3] L. Titinius *Sigon.* (v. xviii. 2, *and Diod.* XIV. xc. 1) p. titinius Ω: et p. titinius *EDA*.

[4] Publilius *Sigon.* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 116): popilius Ω: populius *U*.

[1] Or, perhaps, step-brother.

country, however, after ravaging the fields, they B.C. 400
made a futile attack on Anxur, which was seated on an eminence, and finding force to be unavailing, began to invest it with a stockade and trench, under Valerius Potitus, who had got the command against the Volsci.

While military affairs were in this posture, a quarrel that broke out at home aroused more energy than went to their making of wars; and since the tax could not be taken up, on account of the tribunes, and the generals were sent no money, while the soldiers were clamouring for their pay, the camp, too, was like to have been disrupted by the contagion of mutiny in the City. In the midst of this hostility which the plebs felt towards the patricians, though the plebeian tribunes said that the time was now come to establish liberty, and to transfer the highest office from such as Sergius and Verginius to stout and courageous commoners, yet they got no further than the election of one plebeian (by way of asserting their right), namely, Publius Licinius Calvus, to be military tribune with consular powers; the others chosen were patricians: Publius Manlius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Maelius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Publilius Volscus. The plebeians themselves were amazed that they had gained so important a point, and not alone the man who had been chosen, one that had held no offices before, but was only a senator of long standing, now well on in years. There is no unanimity of opinion why he was selected as the first and fittest to taste of the new honours. Some think it was the favour of his cousin[1] Gnaeus Cornelius, who as tribune of the soldiers the year before had granted triple pay

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equitibus dederat, gratia extractum ad tantum honorem credunt, alii orationem ipsum tempestivam de concordia ordinum patribus plebique gratam habuisse.
13 Hac victoria comitiorum exsultantes tribuni plebis, quod maxime rem publicam impediebat de tributo remiserunt. Conlatum oboedienter missumque ad exercitum est.

XIII. Anxur in Volscis brevi receptum est neglectis die festo custodiis urbis. Insignis annus hieme gelida ac nivosa fuit, adeo ut viae clausae, Tiberis innavigabilis fuerit. Annona ex ante convecta copia
2 nihil mutavit. Et quia P. Licinius, ut ceperat haud tumultuose magistratum maiore gaudio plebis quam indignatione patrum, ita etiam gessit, dulcedo invasit proximis comitiis tribunorum militum plebeios
3 creandi. Unus M. Veturius ex patriciis candidatis locum tenuit: plebeios alios tribunos militum consulari potestate omnes fere centuriae dixere, M. Pomponium Cn. Duillium Voleronem Publilium[1] Cn. Genucium L. Atilium.
4 Tristem hiemem, sive ex intemperie caeli raptim mutatione in contrarium facta sive alia qua de causa, gravis pestilensque omnibus animalibus aestas ex-
5 cepit. Cuius insanabili pernicie quando nec causa nec finis inveniebatur, libri Sibyllini ex senatus con-

[1] Publilium *Sigon.*: publicium (*or* -litium, *or* -licum) Ω.

[1] In chap. vii. § 5, there is no mention of pay; Livy means that the cavalryman received thrice the pay of the foot-soldier.

to the cavalrymen,[1] that got him his promotion to so great an office; others, that he himself made a timely speech on the harmony of the orders, which pleased both patricians and plebeians. Overjoyed at their victory in this election, the tribunes of the plebs withdrew that opposition to the tax which was the greatest obstacle to the business of the state, and it was obediently paid in and dispatched to the army. B.C. 399

XIII. Anxur of the Volsci was speedily recaptured, a holiday having relaxed the vigilance of their guard. This year was remarkable for so cold and snowy a winter, that the roads were blocked and the Tiber became unnavigable. The price of corn, owing to the supply which they had brought in before, did not go up. Publius Licinius had obtained his magistracy without any disorders, rejoicing the commons more than he offended the patricians, and in the same spirit he conducted it; the people therefore became desirous of returning plebeians at the next election of consular tribunes. Marcus Veturius was the sole patrician candidate to get in; all the other military tribunes with consular authority were commoners, as the result of an all but unanimous vote of the centuries. Their names were Marcus Pomponius, Gnaeus Duillius, Volero Publilius, Gnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius.

The severe winter was succeeded, whether in consequence of the sudden change from such inclement weather to the opposite extreme, or for some other reason, by a summer that was noxious and baleful to all living creatures. Unable to discover what caused the incurable ravages of this distemper, or would put an end to them, the senate voted to consult the Sibylline Books. The duumvirs

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6 sulto aditi sunt. Duumviri sacris faciundis lectisternio tunc primum in urbe Romana facto per dies octo Apollinem Latonamque et Dianam, Herculem Mercurium atque Neptunum tribus quam amplissime
7 tum apparari poterat stratis lectis placavere. Privatim quoque id sacrum celebratum est. Tota urbe patentibus ianuis promiscuoque usu rerum omnium in propatulo posito, notos ignotosque passim advenas in hospitium ductos ferunt et cum inimicis quoque benigne ac comiter sermones habitos, iurgiis ac
8 litibus temperatum; vinctis quoque dempta in eos dies vincula; religioni deinde fuisse quibus eam opem di tulissent vinciri.
9 Interim ad Veios terror multiplex fuit tribus in unum bellis conlatis. Namque eodem quo antea modo circa munimenta cum repente Capenates Faliscique subsidio venissent, adversus tres exercitus
10 ancipiti proelio pugnatum est. Ante omnia adiuvit memoria damnationis Sergi ac Vergini. Itaque e maioribus [1] castris, unde antea cessatum fuerat, brevi spatio circumductae copiae Capenates in vallum Romanum versos ab tergo adgrediuntur; inde pugna
11 coepta et Faliscis intulit terrorem, trepidantesque eruptio ex castris opportune facta avertit. Repulsos deinde insecuti victores ingentem ediderunt caedem.
12 Nec ita multo post iam forte [2] oblati populatores
13 Capenatis agri reliquias pugnae absumpsere. Et

[1] e maioribus *Perizonius*: maioribus Ω.
[2] iam forte *Conway*: iam palantes (palentes *H*) veluti forte Ω.

[1] From *lectus*, "couch" and *sternere*, "to spread." The images of the gods were placed on banqueting couches and served with food.

in charge of the sacred rites then celebrated the B.C. 399
first lectisternium[1] ever held in Rome, and for the space of eight days sacrificed to Apollo, to Latona and Diana, to Hercules, to Mercury and to Neptune, spreading three couches for them with all the splendour then attainable. They also observed the rite in their homes. All through the City, they say, doors stood wide open, all kinds of viands were set out for general consumption, all comers were welcomed, whether known or not, and men even exchanged kind and courteous words with personal enemies; there was a truce to quarrelling and litigation; even prisoners were loosed from their chains for those days, and they scrupled thenceforth to imprison men whom the gods had thus befriended.

Meantime alarms were multiplied at Veii, where three wars were rolled into one. For, precisely as before, the Capenates and the Faliscans came suddenly to raise the siege, and the Romans fought about their works against three armies, which attacked them on both sides. What helped them most, was the recollection how Sergius and Verginius had been condemned. And so from the principal camp, where the delay had occurred on the former occasion, troops were dispatched by a short circuit and fell upon the Capenates in the rear, as they faced the rampart of the Romans. Beginning there, the battle carried terror even among the Faliscans, who were wavering, when a timely sally from the camp put them to flight. Then, as they retreated, the victors pursued them with great slaughter; and not long after a party that was raiding the territory of the Capenates happened to fall in with them and destroyed such as had survived the battle. Of the

A.U.C. 355 Veientium refugientes in urbem multi ante portas caesi, dum prae metu, ne simul Romanus inrumperet, obiectis foribus extremos suorum exclusere.

A.U.C. 356 XIV. Haec eo anno acta. Et iam comitia tribunorum militum aderant, quorum prope maior patribus quam belli cura erat, quippe non communicatum modo cum plebe sed prope amissum cernentibus
2 summum imperium. Itaque clarissimis viris ex composito praeparatis ad petendum quos praetereundi verecundiam crederent fore, nihilo minus ipsi, perinde ac si omnes candidati essent, cuncta experientes non homines modo sed deos etiam exciebant,[1] in religionem vertentes comitia biennio
3 habita: priore anno intolerandam hiemem prodigiisque divinis similem coortam, proximo non prodigia,
4 sed iam eventus: pestilentiam agris urbique inlatam haud dubia ira deum, quos pestis eius arcendae causa placandos esse in libris fatalibus inventum sit; comitiis auspicato quae fierent indignum dis visum honores volgari discriminaque gentium confundi.
5 Praeterquam maiestate petentium, religione etiam attoniti homines patricios omnes, partem magnam honoratissimum quemque, tribunos militum consulari potestate creavere, L. Valerium Potitum quintum M.[2] Valerium Maximum M. Furium Camillum iterum

[1] exciebant *Drakenborch*: excipiebant (-bat *F*) Ω.
[2] quintum M. *Dſ*: quintum (*or* q̄) Ω: q. (*i. e.* que) *LA*?

Veientes likewise, many, as they fled back to the town, were slain before the gates, when their friends, fearing lest the Romans should burst in along with them, had closed the portals, and barred out the hindmost of their own people. B.C. 398

XIV. Such were the events of this year. And now the time drew near for choosing military tribunes and the Fathers were almost more concerned about the election than about the war, perceiving that the highest authority had been not merely shared with the plebs, but well-nigh lost to themselves. They therefore arranged that their most distinguished members should stand,—men whom they believed the electors would be ashamed to pass over,—and at the same time they themselves, as if they had all been candidates, left no stone unturned, and called to their aid not only men, but the gods as well, by raising a religious scruple anent the election held two years before. In the year before the last, they said, there had been an intolerable winter, like a warning from Heaven. Last year had come not prodigies but actual realities: a pestilence had descended upon the fields and the City, clearly proceeding from the anger of the gods, whom they must propitiate in order to avert the plague, as the fateful Books had indicated; it had seemed to the gods an affront that an election held under their auspices should prostitute honours and confound family distinctions. The people were awed not only by the dignity of the candidates, but by the fear of Heaven, and to be military tribunes with consular powers chose all patricians, and chiefly the most illustrious among them, as follows: Lucius Valerius Potitus (for the fifth time), Marcus Valerius Maximus, Marcus Furius Camillus (for the second B.C. 398

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L. Furium Medullinum tertium Q. Servilium Fide-
6 natem iterum Q. Sulpicium Camerinum iterum. His
tribunis ad Veios nihil admodum memorabile actum
7 est; tota vis in populationibus fuit. Duo summi
imperatores, Potitus a Faleriis, Camillus a Capena
praedas ingentes egere nulla incolumi relicta re cui
ferro aut igni noceri posset.

XV. Prodigia interim multa nuntiari, quorum
pleraque, et quia singuli auctores erant, parum
credita spretaque, et quia hostibus Etruscis, per
2 quos ea procurarent, haruspices non erant: in unum
omnium curae versae sunt, quod lacus in Albano
nemore sine ullis caelestibus aquis causave qua alia
quae rem miraculo eximeret, in altitudinem insolitam
3 crevit. Quidnam eo di portenderent prodigio missi
4 sciscitatum oratores ad Delphicum oraculum. Sed
propior interpres fatis oblatus senior quidam Veiens,
qui inter cavillantes in stationibus ac custodiis milites
Romanos Etruscosque vaticinantis in modum cecinit
priusquam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa foret nun-
5 quam potiturum Veiis Romanum. Quod primo velut
temere iactum sperni, agitari deinde sermonibus
coeptum est, donec unus ex statione Romana per-
contatus proximum oppidanorum iam per longin-
quitatem belli commercio sermonum facto, quisnam
is esset qui per ambages de lacu Albano iaceret,
6 postquam audivit haruspicem esse, vir haud intacti

time), Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the third), Q. B.C. 398
Servilius Fidenas (for the second), Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus (for the second). These tribunes achieved absolutely nothing noteworthy at Veii, but employed all their strength in pillaging. The two chief commanders, Potitus and Camillus,—one at Falerii, the other at Capena,—carried off huge spoils and left nothing untouched that iron or fire could destroy.

XV. Meanwhile many portents were reported, most of which, because they had only one witness each to vouch for them, obtained no credence and were slighted; and, besides, when the Etruscans, whose services they employed to avert evil omens, were at war with them, they had no soothsayers. One thing occasioned universal anxiety, namely that the lake in the Alban Wood, without any rains or other cause to make it less than a miracle, rose to an unwonted height. To inquire what the gods could possibly foretell by that prodigy, envoys were sent to the Delphic oracle. But a nearer interpreter of the fates presented himself, an old man of Veii, who, while the Roman and Etruscan soldiers were scoffing at one another as they stood guard at the outposts, declared in a prophetic strain that until the water should be drawn off from the Alban Lake the Romans never could take Veii. At first they made light of this as an idle taunt; then they began to talk it over; presently one of the Roman outpost inquired of the townsman nearest him (for owing to the long continuance of the war they had now got into the way of conversing together) who that man was who threw out mysterious hints regarding the Alban Lake. When he heard that he was a soothsayer, being himself not without a touch of

A.U.C. 356 religione animi, causatus de privati portenti procuratione si operae illi esset consulere velle, ad
7 conloquium vatem elicuit. Cumque progressi ambo a suis longius essent inermes sine ullo metu, praevalens iuvenis Romanus senem infirmum in conspectu omnium raptum nequiquam tumultuantibus Etruscis
8 ad suos transtulit. Qui cum perductus ad imperatorem, inde Romam ad senatum missus esset, sciscitantibus quidnam id esset quod de lacu Albano
9 docuisset, respondit profecto iratos deos Veienti populo illo fuisse die quo sibi eam mentem obiecissent
10 ut excidium patriae fatale proderet. Itaque quae tum cecinerit divino spiritu instinctus, ea se nec ut indicta sint revocare posse et tacendo forsitan quae di immortales volgari velint haud minus quam
11 celanda effando nefas contrahi. Sic [1] igitur libris fatalibus, sic disciplina Etrusca traditum esse, quando [2] aqua Albana abundasset, tum si eam Romanus rite emisisset victoriam de Veientibus dari; antequam id fiat deos moenia Veientium deserturos
12 non esse. Exsequebatur inde quae sollemnis derivatio esset. Sed auctorem levem nec satis fidum super tanta re patres rati decrevere legatos sortesque oraculi Pythici exspectandas.

A.U.C. 357 XVI. Priusquam a Delphis oratores redirent Albanive prodigii piacula invenirentur, novi tribuni

[1] sic ς: his Ω.
[2] quando *Duker*: ut quando Ω: ut $\overline{\text{qn}}$ *A*.

[1] A tunnel to drain the flood-waters of the Alban Lake, 1300 yards long and from seven to ten feet high, was actually cut through the solid rock, not to bring about the capture of Veii, but to save a few hundred acres of arable land on the sloping edge within the crater (Tenney Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, p. 7).

superstition, he alleged a desire to consult him B.C. 398
about the averting of a domestic portent, if he could spare the time, and so enticed the seer to a conference. And when they had walked a little way apart from the friends of both, unarmed and fearing nothing, the stalwart young Roman laid hold of the feeble old man in the sight of them all, and despite an unavailing hubbub raised by the Etruscans, bore him off to his own fellows. There they had him before the general, who sent him on to Rome, to the senate. When the Fathers questioned him what it was he had meant about the Alban Lake, he answered that the gods must surely have been incensed at the people of Veii on the day when they put it into his mind to reveal the destruction destined to befall his native city; and so what he had then uttered under divine inspiration, he could not now unsay and recall; and perhaps in concealing what the immortal gods wished to be published guilt was incurred no less than by disclosing what should be hid. Thus then it was written in the books of fate, thus handed down in the lore of the Etruscans, that when the Alban water should overflow, if then the Romans should duly draw it off, they would be given the victory over the Veientes; until that should come to pass, the gods would not abandon the walls of Veii. He then went on to explain the appointed method of draining it. But the senators, making slight account of his authority, as not sufficiently trustworthy in so grave a matter, determined to wait for their deputies with the response of the Pythian oracle.[1]

XVI. But before these envoys could return from B.C. 397
Delphi or an expiation be devised for the Alban

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militum consulari potestate L. Iulius Iulus[1] L. Furius[2] Medullinus quartum L. Sergius Fidenas A. Postumius Regillensis[3] P. Cornelius Maluginensis
2 A. Manlius magistratum inierunt. Eo anno Tarquinienses novi hostes exorti. Qui quia[4] multis simul bellis, Volscorum ad Anxur, ubi praesidium obsidebatur, Aequorum ad Labicos,[5] qui Romanam ibi coloniam oppugnabant, ad hoc Veientique et Falisco et Capenati bello occupatos videbant Romanos, nec intra muros quietiora negotia esse
3 certaminibus patrum ac plebis, inter haec locum iniuriae rati esse praedatum in agrum Romanum cohortes expeditas mittunt: aut enim passuros inultam eam iniuriam Romanos, ne novo bello se onerarent, aut exiguo eoque parum valido exercitu
4 persecuturos. Romanis indignitas maior quam cura populationis Tarquiniensium fuit; eo nec magno
5 conatu suscepta nec in longum dilata res est. A. Postumius[6] et L. Iulius non iusto dilectu—etenim ab tribunis plebis impediebantur—sed prope voluntariorum quos adhortando incitaverant coacta manu per agrum Caeretem obliquis tramitibus egressi redeuntes a populationibus gravesque praeda Tar-
6 quinienses oppressere. Multos mortales obtruncant, omnes exuunt impedimentis, et receptis agrorum

[1] Iulus *Sigonius*: tullus *HDLA*: utullus *PFBOE*: uitullus *U*: silius tullus *MA*[2].
[2] L. Furius ς: p̄ furius Ω: p̄ silius furius *PFUB*: praesilius (pre- *O*) furius *OE*.
[3] Regillensis *Sigon.*: regiliensis *MOE*: religiensis Ω.
[4] Qui quia *Duker*: quia Ω.
[5] Labicos Ω *at* II. XXXIX. 4: lauicos Ω.
[6] A. Postumius ς: aurelius postumius Ω.

[1] For the second time (*cf.* chap. X. § 1).
[2] For the third time (*cf.* chap. VIII. § 1).

portent, new military tribunes with consular authority B.C. 397
came in; these were Lucius Julius Iulus,[1] Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the fourth time), Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius Regillensis, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, and Aulus Manlius.[2] In that year a new enemy arose in the Tarquinienses, who seeing the Romans beset with many wars at once,—against the Volsci, who were laying siege to the garrison at Anxur, against the Aequi, who were attacking the Roman colony at Labici, and also against the men of Veii, of Falerii, and of Capena,—and perceiving that affairs within the City were no less troubled, owing to contentions betwixt the patricians and the plebs, believed that in these circumstances they had an opportunity to do the Romans a hurt, and sent out light-armed detachments to raid their territory; for they thought that either the Romans would put up with the wrong, to avoid the burden of another war, or would take the field with a small and therefore inadequate army. The indignation of the Romans was greater than their concern for the damage wrought by the Tarquinienses; so they neither made strenuous efforts to prepare, nor deferred taking action to a distant date. Aulus Postumius and Lucius Iulus, without holding a regular levy—for this the plebeian tribunes hindered—but with a company consisting almost solely of volunteers whom they had induced to join by their exhortations, marched out by cross-country ways through the territory of Caere, and surprised the Tarquinienses as they were returning from their depradations laden with booty. Many men they slew, all they stripped of their baggage; and having recovered the spoils of their own fields,

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7 suorum spoliis Romam revertuntur. Biduum ad recognoscendas res datum dominis; tertio incognita —erant autem ea pleraque hostium ipsorum—sub hasta veniere, quodque inde redactum militibus est divisum.

8 Cetera bella maximeque Veiens incerti exitus erant. Iamque Romani desperata ope humana fata et deos spectabant, cum legati ab Delphis venerunt sortem oraculi adferentes congruentem responso
9 captivi vatis: "Romane, aquam Albanam cave lacu contineri, cave in mare manare suo flumine sinas; emissam per agros rigabis dissipatamque rivis exstin-
10 gues; tum tu insiste audax hostium muris, memor quam per tot annos obsides urbem ex ea tibi his
11 quae nunc panduntur fatis victoriam datam. Bello perfecto donum amplum victor ad mea templa portato, sacraque patria, quorum omissa cura est, instaurata ut adsolet facito."

XVII. Ingens inde haberi captivus vates coeptus, eumque adhibere tribuni militum Cornelius Postumiusque ad prodigii Albani procurationem ac deos
2 rite placandos coepere; inventumque tandem est ubi neglectas caerimonias intermissumve sollemne di arguerent: nihil profecto aliud esse quam magistratus vitio creatos Latinas sacrumque in Albano
3 monte non rite concepisse; unam expiationem eorum

[1] *i. e.* at public auction, the spear being set up to advertise such a sale.

returned to Rome. Two days were allowed the B.C. 397
owners to identify their property; on the third all that had not been recognized—chiefly things belonging to the enemy themselves—was sold under the spear[1] and the proceeds divided amongst the soldiers.

The other campaigns, especially the one at Veii, were indecisive. And now the Romans, despairing of human aid, were looking to destiny and the gods, when the deputies returned from Delphi, bringing the oracle's response, which corresponded with the utterance of the captive seer: "Roman, see that thou suffer not the Alban water to be confined within the lake, nor to fret its own channel to the sea; thou shalt draw it forth and water the fields withal, and spread it abroad till it be lost in rivulets; after that press boldly on against the walls of the foe, and know that over that city which thou dost beleaguer for so many years, the fates now disclosed have given thee the victory. When thou hast ended the war with conquest, bring to my temple an ample gift, and repeat and accomplish in customary wise the ancestral rites thou hast neglected."

XVII. The captive soothsayer began from that moment to be held in great repute, and the military tribunes, Cornelius and Postumius, set out to employ him about the expiation of the Alban prodigy and the due appeasement of the gods. At length it was discovered wherein the gods taxed them with neglecting ceremonies or omitting a festival: it was assuredly nothing else than that magistrates in whose election there had been a flaw had improperly proclaimed the Latin games and the sacrifice on the

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esse ut tribuni militum abdicarent se magistratu, auspicia de integro repeterentur, et interregnum
4 iniretur. Ea ita facta sunt ex senatus consulto. Interreges tres deinceps fuere, L. Valerius Q.
5 Servilius Fidenas M. Furius Camillus. Nunquam desitum interim turbari, comitia interpellantibus tribunis plebis donec convenisset prius ut maior pars tribunorum militum ex plebe crearetur.
6 Quae dum aguntur, concilia Etruriae ad fanum Voltumnae habita, postulantibusque Capenatibus ac
7 Faliscis ut Veios communi animo consilioque omnes Etruriae populi ex obsidione eriperent, responsum est antea se id Veientibus negasse quia unde consilium non petissent super tanta re auxilium petere
8 non deberent; nunc iam pro se fortunam suam illis negare. Maxima iam in parte[1] Etruriae gentem invisitatam,[2] novos accolas esse,[3] cum quibus nec pax
9 satis fida nec bellum pro certo sit. Sanguini tamen nominique et praesentibus periculis consanguineorum id dari ut si qui iuventutis suae voluntate ad id
10 bellum eant non impediant. Eum magnum advenisse hostium numerum fama Romae erat; eoque mitescere discordiae intestinae metu communi, ut fit, coepere.[4]

[1] maxima iam in parte *Luterbacher*: maxime in ea parte Ω.
[2] invisitatam E^1D^2: inuisitatem (*or* inusitatam *or* inuis sitatam) Ω.
[3] esse *Conway and Walters*: Gallos esse Ω.
[4] coepere *Weissenborn*: coeptae Ω.

[1] The Latin Festival (in honour of Jupiter Latiaris, who presided over the Latin League) was held each year, and was followed by a sacrifice, on the date proclaimed by the new consuls, or consular tribunes.

Alban Mount[1]; only one atonement for these errors B.C. 397
was open to them, to make the tribunes of the soldiers resign their office, to take the auspices afresh, and to begin an interregnum. By decree of the senate these things were done. There were three successive interreges, Lucius Valerius, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, Marcus Furius Camillus. In the meantime there were continuous disturbances, and the plebeian tribunes blocked the election, until it had first been agreed that the majority of the military tribunes should be chosen out of the commons.

While this was going on, the Etruscans met in council at the Fane of Voltumna; where the Capenates and Faliscans proposed that all the nations of Etruria should unite in a common resolution and design to raise the siege of Veii. The council made answer that they had before refused the Veientes this request, on the ground that they had no right to ask help from those whom they had not cared to look to for advice in so weighty a matter. Just then, however, the plight of their country itself denied the petition. There was now in the greatest part of Etruria a strange race, new settlers, with whom they were neither securely at peace nor yet certain to have war. Nevertheless, out of regard for the blood and the name and the present perils of their kinsmen, they would grant that if any of their young men wished to serve in that war, they might do so without let or hindrance. Of such recruits it was said at Rome that a great number had come in; and so domestic differences began to subside, as generally happens, in the face of a common danger.

A.U.C. 358

XVIII. Haud invitis patribus P. Licinium Calvum praerogativae[1] tribunum militum non petentem creant, moderationis expertae in priore magistratu virum, ceterum iam tum exactae aetatis; omnesque deinceps ex collegio eiusdem anni refici apparebat, L. Titinium P. Maenium[2] Cn. Genucium L. Atilium. Qui priusquam renuntiarentur iure vocatis tribubus, permissu interregis P. Licinius Calvus ita verba fecit: "Omen concordiae, Quirites, rei maxime in hoc tempus utili, memoria nostri magistratus vos his comitiis petere in insequentem annum video; sed collegas[3] eosdem reficitis, etiam usu meliores factos, me iam non eundem sed umbram nomenque P. Licini relictum videtis. Vires corporis adfectae, sensus oculorum atque aurium hebetes, memoria labat, vigor animi obtunsus. En vobis" inquit "iuvenem," filium tenens, "effigiem atque imaginem eius quem vos antea tribunum militum ex plebe primum fecistis. Hunc ego institutum disciplina mea vicarium pro me rei publicae do dicoque vosque quaeso, Quirites, delatum mihi ultro honorem huic petenti meisque pro eo adiectis precibus mandetis." Datum id petenti patri, filiusque eius P. Licinius tribunus militum consulari potestate cum iis quos supra scripsimus declaratus. Titinius Genuciusque

[1] praerogativae *Sigonius*: praerogatiua (progatiua *P*) Ω.
[2] P. Maenium Ω: P. Maenium Q. Manlium *Niebuhr*: Q. Manlium P. Maenium *Madvig* (*cf.* v. xii. 10, *and C.I.L.* i,[2] *p.* 118).
[3] sed collegas *Madvig*: sit (*or* et sit *or* et si *or* et ii *or* si et *or* sic) collegas Ω.

[1] The *praerogatives* were the eighteen centuries of knights, which voted first; if they agreed, the other centuries were not called. See I. xliii. 11.

XVIII. It occasioned the Fathers no displeasure B.C. 396
when the prerogative centuries[1] chose Publius Licinius Calvus tribune of the soldiers, without his seeking office; he was a man whose moderation had been proven in his former term, but was now become superannuated. It was clear that all who had been his colleagues in that same year would also be returned, one after the other, to wit: Lucius Titinius, Publius Maenius, Gnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius. But before they were declared to the duly assembled tribes, Licinius spoke as follows, having obtained permission of the interrex: "It is an omen of harmony, as I perceive, Quirites, a thing most needful at this juncture, that you seek for the ensuing year, when in your voting you remember our former magistracy; but whereas in my colleagues you are choosing again the same men, and all the better for experience, in me you see no longer the same Publius Licinius, of whom but the shadow and the name are left. My strength of body is decayed, my sight and hearing dulled, memory fails me, and the vigour of my mind is impaired. Here," he cried, laying hold of his son, "here is a young man, the effigy and likeness of him you formerly chose for military tribune first of all plebeians. Him have I bred up in my own principles, and in my stead I give and dedicate him to the state, and I pray you, Quirites, who without my seeking have offered me the office, that you grant it to him, who seeks it, and to the prayers I have added in his behalf." The father was granted his request, and the son, Publius Licinius, was declared military tribune with consular powers, together with those I have named above. Titinius and Genucius, tribunes of the soldiers,

A.U.C. 358 tribuni militum profecti adversus Faliscos Capenatesque, dum bellum maiore animo gerunt quam consilio, 8 praecipitavere se in insidias. Genucius morte honesta temeritatem luens ante signa inter primores cecidit; Titinius in editum tumulum ex multa trepidatione militibus collectis aciem restituit, nec se tamen aequo 9 loco hosti commisit. Plus ignominiae erat quam cladis acceptum, quae prope in cladem ingentem vertit; tantum inde terroris non Romae modo, quo multiplex fama pervenerat, sed in castris quoque 10 fuit ad Veios. Aegre ibi miles retentus a fuga est cum pervasisset castra rumor ducibus exercituque caeso victorem Capenatem ac Faliscum Etruriaeque 11 omnem iuventutem haud procul inde abesse. His tumultuosiora Romae, iam castra ad Veios oppugnari, iam partem hostium tendere ad urbem agmine infesto, crediderant; concursumque in muros est et matronarum, quas ex domo conciverat publicus pavor, obsecrationes in templis factae, precibusque ab dis 12 petitum, ut exitium ab urbis tectis templisque ac moenibus Romanis arcerent Veiosque eum averterent terrorem, si sacra renovata rite, si procurata prodigia essent.

XIX. Iam ludi Latinaeque instaurata erant, iam ex lacu Albano aqua emissa in agros, Veiosque fata 2 adpetebant. Igitur fatalis dux ad excidium illius

having marched against the Faliscans and Capenates, B.C. 396
brought more spirit than generalship to their conduct of the war, and plunged into an ambush. Genucius, atoning for his rashness by an honourable death, fell fighting among the foremost, in front of the standards; Titinius rallied his men, who had been thrown into great confusion, on a little eminence, and made a stand, yet he would not risk an engagement on level ground. The disgrace outweighed the defeat, which had almost proved disastrous, so great was the panic which it caused, not only in Rome, where a greatly exaggerated report of the affair had been received, but also in the camp before Veii. There the soldiers could hardly be restrained from flight, for a rumour had run through the camp that the victorious Capenates and Faliscans, having slaughtered the Roman commanders and their army, were close at hand, with all the manhood of Etruria. Accounts even more alarming had been credited at Rome: that the camp at Veii was already under attack; that already a division of the enemy was marching to assail the City. There was a rush to the walls, and the women, drawn from their houses by the general consternation, betook themselves to prayer in the temples, and besought the gods to ward off destruction from the houses and shrines of the City and from the walls of Rome, and to turn that panic against Veii, if the sacred rites had been duly renewed and the portents expiated.

XIX. And now the games and the Latin Festival had been repeated, now the water had been let out from the Alban Lake upon the fields, and the doom of Veii drew on apace. Accordingly the commander destined to destroy that city and to save his country,

A.U.C. 358 urbis servandaeque patriae, M. Furius Camillus, dictator dictus magistrum equitum P. Cornelium
3 Scipionem dixit. Omnia repente mutaverat imperator mutatus; alia spes, alius animus hominum, fortuna
4 quoque alia urbis videri. Omnium primum in eos qui a Veiis in illo pavore fugerant more militari animadvertit, effecitque ne hostis maxime timendus militi esset. Deinde indicto dilectu in diem certam ipse interim Veios ad confirmandos militum animos
5 intercurrit; inde Romam ad scribendum novum exercitum redit nullo detractante militiam. Peregrina etiam iuventus, Latini Hernicique, operam
6 suam pollicentes ad id bellum venere; quibus cum gratias in senatu egisset dictator, satis iam omnibus ad id bellum paratis ludos magnos ex senatus consulto vovit Veiis captis se facturum aedemque Matutae Matris refectam dedicaturum, iam ante ab rege
7 Ser. Tullio dedicatam. Profectus cum exercitu ab urbe exspectatione hominum maiore quam spe in agro primum Nepesino cum Faliscis et Capenatibus
8 signa confert. Omnia ibi summa ratione consilioque acta fortuna etiam, ut fit, secuta est. Non proelio tantum fudit hostes, sed castris quoque exuit ingentique praeda est potitus; cuius pars maxima ad quaestorem redacta est, haud ita multum militi datum.
9 Inde ad Veios exercitus ductus, densioraque castella

[1] Livy's brevity here makes the sentence a little obscure. No doubt the Latins and Hernicans first sent envoys, and these were introduced into the senate and there thanked by the dictator.

[2] *i.e.* votive games in recognition of some special favour of the gods.

Marcus Furius Camillus, was appointed dictator, and a.c. 396
named Publius Cornelius Scipio as his master of the horse. The change in the command at once made a change in all things else; there was new hope and a new spirit, and even the fortune of the City seemed to be renewed. The dictator's first act was to visit military punishment upon those who had fled from Veii in the panic there, and to teach his men that the enemy was not the worst thing they had to fear. He then fixed the levy for a certain day, and in the interval hastened to Veii to encourage his soldiers; thence he returned to Rome to enroll the new army, and found no one who refused to serve. Even foreign troops, Latins and Hernicans, came with promises to help in this war, and the dictator thanked them in the senate.[1] All things being now in readiness for the campaign, Camillus vowed, in pursuance of a senatorial decree, to celebrate the great games,[2] if he should capture Veii, and to restore and dedicate anew the temple of Mater Matuta, which in time gone by had been consecrated by King Servius Tullius. Marching out from the City, where he left a greater feeling of suspense than of confidence, he first engaged the Faliscans and Capenates, in the Nepesine country. There all his measures, being executed with consummate skill and prudence, were attended, as generally happens, with good fortune. Not only did he rout the enemy in battle, but he also deprived them of their camp and got possession of enormous booty, the chief part of which was made over to the quaestor, and no great quantity given to the soldiers. He then led his army to Veii, where he increased the number of redoubts, and withdrawing the troops from the

a.u.c. 358 facta et a procursationibus, quae multae temere inter murum ac vallum fiebant, edicto ne quis iniussu
10 pugnaret, ad opus milites traducti. Operum fuit omnium longe maximum ac laboriosissimum cuniculus in arcem hostium agi coeptus. Quod ne intermit-
11 teretur opus neu sub terra continuus labor eosdem conficeret, in partes sex munitorum numerum divisit; senae horae in orbem operi attributae sunt; nocte ac die nunquam ante omissum quam in arcem viam facerent.

XX. Dictator cum iam in manibus videret victoriam esse, urbem opulentissimam capi, tantumque praedae fore quantum non omnibus in unum conlatis ante
2 bellis fuisset, ne quam inde aut militum iram ex malignitate praedae partitae aut invidiam apud patres ex prodiga largitione caperet, litteras ad senatum
3 misit, deum immortalium benignitate suis consiliis patientia militum Veios iam fore in potestate populi
4 Romani; quid de praeda faciendum censerent? Duae senatum distinebant sententiae, senis P. Licini, quem primum dixisse a filio interrogatum ferunt, edici palam placere populo ut qui particeps esse
5 praedae vellet in castra Veios iret, altera Ap. Claudi, qui largitionem novam prodigam inaequalem incon-

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[1] Livy is perhaps following Licinius Macer (Introd. Vol. I, p. xxix), in recording the very irregular procedure by which the tribune passed over the patrician senators to honour his plebeian father.

[2] The booty was regularly sold and the proceeds placed in the treasury.

skirmishes which frequently took place, on the spur B.C 396
of the moment, in the space between the town wall and the stockade, by an edict forbidding any man to fight without orders, he employed them in digging. Of all the works, much the greatest and most laborious was a mine they began to drive into the enemy's citadel. That this work might not be interrupted nor the same men become exhausted by perpetually toiling under ground, he divided the workers into six parties and assigned them six-hour shifts in rotation; night and day the work went on unceasingly, till they had made a way into the citadel.

XX. The dictator saw that victory was at last within his grasp, and that a city of great wealth was on the point of being taken, with booty more than if all previous wars had been put together. Lest, therefore, he might incur either the resentment of the soldiers, in consequence of a niggardly division of the spoils, or the ill-will of the Fathers, if he were lavish in sharing them out, he wrote to the senate, that thanks to the favour of the immortal gods, his own direction, and the patient efforts of his troops, Veii would presently be in the power of the Roman People, and asked what disposition they proposed making of the plunder. The senate was divided between two opinions; the aged Publius Licinius, who was the first, they say, that his son called upon to speak,[1] advised making public proclamation that the people decreed that whoso desired a share in the spoils should proceed to the camp at Veii; the other plan was that of Appius Claudius, who declared that such largess was without example,[2] reckless, unfair, and ill-advised; if they were per-

A.U.C. 358

sultam arguens, si semel nefas ducerent captam ex hostibus in aerario exhausto bellis pecuniam esse, auctor erat stipendii ex ea pecunia militi numerandi
6 ut eo minus tributi plebes conferret; eius enim doni societatem sensuras aequaliter omnium domos, non avidas in direptiones manus otiosorum urbanorum praerepturas fortium bellatorum praemia esse, cum ita ferme eveniat ut segnior sit praedator, ut quisque laboris periculique praecipuam petere partem soleat.
7 Licinius contra suspectam et invisam semper eam pecuniam fore aiebat causasque criminum ad plebem, seditionum inde ac legum novarum praebituram;
8 satius igitur esse reconciliari eo dono plebis animos, exhaustis atque exinanitis tributo tot annorum succurri, et sentire praedae fructum ex eo bello in quo prope consenuerint. Gratius id fore laetiusque quod quisque sua manu ex hoste captum domum rettulerit quam si multiplex alterius arbitrio accipiat.
9 Ipsum dictatorem fugere invidiam ex eo criminaque; eo delegasse ad senatum; senatum quoque debere reiectam rem ad se permittere plebi ac pati habere
10 quod cuique fors belli dederit. Haec tutior visa sententia est quae popularem senatum faceret. Edictum itaque est ad praedam Veientem quibus videretur in castra ad dictatorem proficiscerentur.

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[1] The patricians also paid the tax; but it bore harder upon the plebeians, owing to their poverty.

suaded once for all that it was wicked that money B.C. 396
captured from the enemy should lie in the treasury, which had been exhausted by the wars, he urged them to pay the soldiers out of it, that the plebs might have so much the less war-tax to contribute[1]; this was a boon of which all families alike would feel the benefit, nor would the hands of idle city-folk, greedy of pillage, pluck away the rewards of valiant fighting men—since it commonly turned out that in proportion as a man was prone to seek a leading share of toil and danger, he was slow in plundering. Licinius argued, on the other hand, that this money would breed endless suspicion and hate, and would furnish grounds for accusations before the plebs, and so for agitation and revolutionary laws; it was better, therefore, to win over by this gift the sympathies of the commons, to succour them, exhausted and impoverished as they were by so many years' taxation, and to let them enjoy the spoils and fruits of that war in which they had well-nigh grown old men; there would in every instance be more satisfaction and pleasure in what a man took with his own hand from the enemy and brought home, than if he received many times its value at the discretion of another; the dictator himself would fain avoid the enmity and charges arising from this business, and therefore had handed it over to the senate; the senate, likewise, in its turn, should refer the question to the plebs, and let every man keep what the fortune of war might give him. This policy seemed the safer, since it would make the senate popular. Accordingly, proclamation was made that all who liked might go to the dictator in camp, to share in the plunder of Veii.

A.U.C. 358

XXI. Ingens profecta multitudo replevit castra. Tum dictator auspicato egressus cum edixisset ut
2 arma milites caperent, "Tuo ductu" inquit, "Pythice Apollo, tuoque numine instinctus pergo ad delendam urbem Veios tibique hinc decimam partem praedae
3 voveo. Te simul, Iuno regina, quae nunc Veios colis, precor, ut nos victores in nostram tuamque mox futuram urbem sequare, ubi te dignum amplitu-
4 dine tua templum accipiat." Haec precatus superante multitudine ab omnibus locis urbem adgreditur, quo minor ab cuniculo ingruentis periculi sensus esset.
5 Veientes ignari se iam a suis vatibus, iam ab externis oraculis proditos, iam in partem praedae suae vocatos deos, alios votis ex urbe sua evocatos hostium templa novasque sedes spectare, seque ultimum illum diem
6 agere, nihil minus timentes quam subrutis cuniculo moenibus arcem iam plenam hostium esse, in muros
7 pro se quisque armati discurrunt, mirantes quidnam id esset quod, cum tot per dies nemo se ab stationibus Romanus movisset, tum velut repentino icti furore improvidi currerent ad muros.
8 Inseritur huic loco fabula: immolante rege Veientium vocem haruspicis, dicentis qui eius hostiae exta prosecuisset ei victoriam dari, exauditam in cuniculo

[1] The Latin word is a technical term which is used of carving up, in a specified way, the entrails (*prosiciae*) which were to be burnt on the altar.

XXI. A vast throng went out, and filled the camp. B.C. 396
Then the dictator, after taking the auspices, came forth and commanded the troops to arm. "Under thy leadership," he cried, "Pythian Apollo, and inspired by thy will, I advance to destroy the city of Veii, and to thee I promise a tithe of its spoils. At the same time I beseech thee, Queen Juno, that dwellest now in Veii, to come with us, when we have gotten the victory, to our City—soon to be thine, too—that a temple meet for thy majesty may there receive thee." These prayers uttered, he set forward with overwhelming numbers to assault the town on every side, that the inhabitants might not perceive the danger pressing upon them from the mine. The Veientes, unconscious that they were already given up by their own soothsayers, and by foreign oracles, that some of the gods had already been invited to share in their despoiling, while others having been entreated to quit their city were beginning to look to new homes in the temples of their enemies, and that this was the last day they were themselves to live, feared nothing less than that their defences were undermined and their citadel already filled with foemen, and, each for himself, took up arms and ran out to the ramparts; marvelling what it meant that whereas for so many days not a Roman had stirred from his post, they should now, as though they had suddenly gone mad, be rushing blindly against the walls.

At this point men introduce a tale, how, as the King of the Veientes was sacrificing, the Roman soldiers in the mine overheard the soothsayer declare that to him who should cut up [1] the inwards of that victim would be given the victory, and were

A.U.C. 358 movisse Romanos milites ut adaperto cuniculo exta
9 raperent et ad dictatorem ferrent. Sed in rebus tam antiquis si quae similia veri sint pro veris accipiantur, satis habeam: haec ad ostentationem scaenae gaudentis miraculis aptiora quam ad fidem neque adfirmare neque refellere est operae pretium.
10 Cuniculus delectis militibus eo tempore plenus in aedem[1] Iunonis, quae in Veientana arce erat, armatos repente edidit, et pars aversos in muris invadunt hostes, pars claustra portarum revellunt, pars cum ex tectis saxa tegulaeque a mulieribus ac
11 servitiis iacerentur, inferunt ignes. Clamor omnia variis terrentium ac paventium vocibus mixto mulie-
12 rum ac puerorum ploratu complet. Momento temporis deiectis ex muro undique armatis patefactisque portis cum alii agmine inruerent, alii desertos scanderent muros, urbs hostibus impletur; omnibus locis
13 pugnatur; deinde multa iam edita caede senescit pugna, et dictator praecones edicere iubet ut ab
14 inermi abstineatur. Is finis sanguinis fuit. Dedi inde inermes coepti, et ad praedam miles permissu dictatoris discurrit. Quae cum ante oculos eius aliquantum spe atque opinione maior maiorisque pretii rerum ferretur, dicitur manus ad caelum tollens
15 precatus esse ut si cui deorum hominumque nimia sua fortuna populique Romani videretur, ut eam

[1] in aedem ς: in aede Ω

[1] With this sentence compare Livy's Preface, § 6.

moved to open the mine and seize the entrails, B.C. 396
which they bore off to the dictator. But in matters of so great antiquity I should be content if things probable were to be received as true: this story, more fit to be displayed on the stage, that delights in wonders, than to be believed, it is worth while neither to affirm nor to refute.[1]

The mine, which was then filled with picked troops, suddenly discharged its armed men into the temple of Juno, on the Veientine citadel; some of them assailed the backs of their enemies, who were on the walls; others wrenched off the bars that made fast the gates; others, when the women and slaves cast down stones and tiles from roofs, fetched fire against them. The air resounded with shouts; discordant threats of the attackers and despairing shrieks of the defenders were blended with the wailing of women and children. In a moment the armed soldiers were everywhere hurled from the walls, and the gates thrown open. A part of the Romans poured through them in a body, others scaled the deserted walls; the city was overrun with enemies; the battle raged in every quarter; then, when there had already been great carnage, the fighting began to flag, and the dictator bade the heralds proclaim that those without arms should be spared. This ended the slaughter. The unarmed began to give themselves up, and the Romans scattered, with the dictator's permission, in quest of booty. When this was brought before him, and he saw that it was considerably larger and comprised effects of greater value than he had hoped or thought, it is said that he raised his hands to heaven and prayed that if any god or man deemed his good fortune and that of the Roman People to be excessive, it might be granted

A.U.C. 358 invidiam lenire quam minimo suo privato incommodo
16 publicoque populi Romani liceret. Convertentem se inter hanc venerationem traditur memoriae prolapsum cecidisse; idque omen pertinuisse postea eventu rem coniectantibus visum ad damnationem ipsius Camilli, captae deinde urbis Romanae, quod
17 post paucos accidit annos, cladem. Atque ille dies caede hostium ac direptione urbis opulentissimae est consumptus.

XXII. Postero die libera corpora dictator sub corona vendidit. Ea sola pecunia in publicum redigitur, haud sine ira plebis; et quod rettulere secum praedae, nec duci, qui ad senatum, malignitatis auc-
2 tores quaerendo, rem arbitrii sui reiecisset, nec senatui, sed Liciniae familiae, ex qua filius ad senatum rettulisset, pater tam popularis sententiae
3 auctor fuisset, acceptum referebant. Cum iam humanae opes egestae a Veiis essent, amoliri tum deum dona ipsosque deos, sed colentium magis quam
4 rapientium modo, coepere. Namque delecti ex omni exercitu iuvenes pure lautis corporibus, candida veste, quibus deportanda Romam regina Iuno adsignata erat, venerabundi templum iniere primo religiose
5 admoventes manus, quod id signum more Etrusco nisi certae gentis sacerdos attractare non esset

[1] Literally, "under the chaplet," alluding to the garlands worn by captives when they were put up for sale (Aulus Gellius, VI. iv.).

him to appease that envy with the least harm to his own private interests and to the public welfare of the Roman People. As he turned, while making this prayer, tradition states that he slipped and fell, and that this omen was seen (when men came later to gather its meaning from the event) to point to the condemnation of Camillus himself, and in the second place, to the capture of Rome, a disaster which befell a few years afterwards. So that day was spent in the slaughter of enemies and the sack of a most opulent city. B.C. 396

XXII. On the following day the dictator sold the free-born inhabitants into slavery.[1] This was the only money that went into the state treasury, but the commons were angry about it; as for the booty they brought back themselves, they gave the credit not to their commander, who had referred to the Fathers, that they might support his niggardliness, a matter which had lain within his own discretion, nor yet to the senators, but to the house of the Licinii, whose son had brought to a vote in the senate that popular measure which his father had proposed. When the wealth that belonged to men had now been carried away out of Veii, they began to remove the possessions of the gods and the gods themselves, but more in the manner of worshippers than of pillagers. For out of all the army youths were chosen, and made to cleanse their bodies and to put on white garments, and to them the duty was assigned of conveying Queen Juno to Rome. Reverently entering her temple, they scrupled at first to approach her with their hands, because this image was one that according to Etruscan practice none but a priest of a certain family was wont to

A.U.C. 358 solitus. Dein cum quidam seu spiritu divino tactus seu iuvenali ioco, "Visne Romam ire, Iuno?" dixis-
6 set, adnuisse ceteri deam conclamaverunt. Inde fabulae adiectum est vocem quoque dicentis velle auditam; motam certe sede sua parvi molimenti adminiculis sequentis modo accepimus levem ac facilem tralatu fuisse, integramque in Aventinum,
7 aeternam sedem suam quo vota Romani dictatoris vocaverant, perlatam, ubi templum ei postea idem qui voverat Camillus dedicavit.

8 Hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultima clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa cum plus aliquanto cladium intulisset quam accepisset, postremo iam fato quoque urgente, operibus tamen, non vi expugnata est.

XXIII. Romam ut nuntiatum est Veios captos, quamquam et prodigia procurata fuerant et vatum responsa et Pythicae sortes notae, et quantum humanis adiuvari consiliis potuerat res ducem M. Furium maximum imperatorum omnium legerant,
2 tamen, quia tot annis varie ibi bellatum erat multaeque clades acceptae, velut ex insperato immensum
3 gaudium fuit, et priusquam senatus decerneret plena omnia templa Romanarum matrum grates dis agen-

touch; when one of them, whether divinely inspired B.C. 396
or out of youthful jocularity, asked, "Wilt thou go, Juno, to Rome?"—whereat the others all cried out that the goddess had nodded assent. It was afterwards added to the story that she had also been heard to say that she was willing. At all events we are told that she was moved from her place with contrivances of little power, as though she accompanied them voluntarily, and was lightly and easily transferred and carried safe and sound to the Aventine, the eternal home to which the prayers of the Roman dictator had called her; and there Camillus afterwards dedicated to her the temple which he himself had vowed.

Such was the fall of Veii, the wealthiest city of the Etruscan race, which gave evidence of its greatness even in its final overthrow; since after a blockade of ten continuous summers and winters, during which time it had inflicted considerably heavier losses than it had sustained, it yet was ultimately taken, when at last even destiny fought against it, by siege-works and not by force.

XXIII. When word came to Rome that Veii was taken, although the portents had been averted and the answers of the soothsayers and the Pythian oracle were known; and though they had done all that human wisdom could do to help, in choosing Marcus Furius Camillus, greatest of all generals, to lead them; nevertheless, because they had warred there so many years with varying fortune and had suffered many a reverse, their joy, as though unexpected, knew no bounds; and ere the senate could act, the temples were all thronged with Roman matrons giving thanks to the gods. The

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tium erant. Senatus in quadriduum, quot dierum
4 nullo ante bello, supplicationes decernit. Adventus quoque dictatoris omnibus ordinibus obviam effusis celebratior quam ullius unquam antea fuit, triumphusque omnem consuetum honorandi diei illius[1]
5 modum aliquantum excessit. Maxime conspectus ipse est curru equis albis iuncto urbem invectus; parumque id non civile modo sed humanum etiam
6 visum. Iovis Solisque equis aequiperatum dictatorem in religionem etiam trahebant, triumphusque ob eam unam maxime rem clarior quam gratior fuit.
7 Tum Iunoni reginae templum in Aventino locavit dedicavitque Matutae Matris; atque his divinis humanisque rebus gestis dictatura se abdicavit.
8 Agi deinde de Apollinis dono coeptum. Cui se decimam vovisse praedae partem cum diceret Camillus, pontifices solvendum religione populum
9 censerent, haud facile inibatur ratio iubendi referre praedam populum, ut ex ea pars debita in sacrum
10 secerneretur. Tandem eo quod lenissimum videbatur decursum est, ut qui se domumque religione exsolvere vellet, cum sibimet ipse praedam aestimasset suam, decimae pretium partis in publicum
11 deferret, ut ex eo donum aureum, dignum amplitudine templi ac numine dei, ex dignitate populi

[1] diei illius $F^2\varsigma$: diem illius (illus H) Ω.

[1] Livy is probably mistaken in ascribing the unpopularity of the triumph to the supposed presumption of Camillus, since it was traditional for the triumphator to suggest a likeness to Jupiter, both in his chariot and in his costume. Resentment over the disposal of the booty is more likely to have been the reason.

[2] This temple was in the cattle-market, the Forum Boarium.

senate decreed supplications for four days, a longer B.C. 396
period than in any former war. Moreover, as the dictator drew near, all sorts and conditions of men ran forth to meet him in such numbers as had never welcomed a general before, and the triumph far exceeded the measure of honour usual on that day. He was himself the most conspicuous object in it, as he rode into the City on a chariot drawn by white horses; an act which struck men as being not only undemocratic, but irreverent, for they were troubled at the thought that in respect to his steeds the dictator was made equal to Jupiter and the sun-god; and the triumph, chiefly for this one reason, was more brilliant than popular.[1] He then let the contract for the temple of Queen Juno on the Aventine, and dedicated one to Mater Matuta;[2] and having fulfilled these obligations to gods and men, laid down the dictatorship.

The next thing to be discussed was the gift to Apollo, to whom Camillus said that he had solemnly promised a tenth part of the spoils. The pontiffs ruled that the people must discharge this obligation, but it was not easy to devise a method for compelling them to return the booty, that out of it the due proportion might be set apart for the sacred object. They finally resorted to what seemed the least oppressive plan, namely, that whosoever wished to acquit himself and his household of obligation on the score of the vow, should appraise his own share of the spoils, and pay in a tenth part of its value to the public treasury, to the end that it might be converted into an offering of gold befitting the grandeur of the temple and the power of the god and corresponding to the majesty of the Roman

A.U.C. 358 Romani fieret. Ea quoque conlatio plebis animos
12 a Camillo alienavit. Inter haec pacificatum legati a Volscis et Aequis venerunt, impetrataque pax, magis ut fessa tam diutino bello adquiesceret civitas quam quod digni peterent.

A.U.C. 359 XXIV. Veiis captis sex tribunos militum consulari potestate insequens annus habuit, duos P. Cornelios, Cossum et Scipionem, M. Valerium Maximum iterum K. Fabium Ambustum tertium [1] L. Furium Medul-
2 linum quintum Q. Servilium tertium. Corneliis Faliscum bellum, Valerio ac Servilio Capenas sorte evenit. Ab iis non urbes vi aut operibus temptatae, sed ager est depopulatus praedaeque rerum agrestium actae; nulla felix arbor, nihil frugiferum in agro
3 relictum. Ea clades Capenatem populum subegit; pax petentibus data; in Faliscis bellum restabat.
4 Romae interim multiplex seditio erat, cuius leniendae causa coloniam in Volscos, quo tria milia civium Romanorum scriberentur, deducendam censuerant, triumvirique ad id creati terna iugera et septunces
5 viritim diviserant. Ea largitio sperni coepta, quia spei maioris avertendae solacium obiectum censebant: cur enim relegari plebem in Volscos, cum pulcherrima urbs Veii agerque Veientanus in con-
6 spectu sit, uberior ampliorque Romano agro? Urbem

[1] tertium *Sigon.* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 118): iterum (*wanting in V*) Ω.

[1] See chap. xxii. § 1 and chap. xxiii. § 5.
[2] The *iugerum* contained 28,800 square feet, while the English acre contains 43,560.

People. This contribution still further alienated B.C. 396
the affections of the commons from Camillus.[1] In the midst of these affairs came envoys from the Volsci and the Aequi seeking peace, and their suit was granted, more that the state, worn out with so long a war, might be at rest, than because the petitioners deserved it.

XXIV. The year which followed the capture of B.C. 395
Veii had six consular tribunes, to wit, the two Publii Cornelii, Cossus and Scipio, Marcus Valerius Maximus (for the second time), Caeso Fabius Ambustus (for the third), Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the fifth), Quintus Servilius (for the third). To the Cornelii was allotted the Faliscan war, to Valerius and Servilius the war with Capena. They attempted no cities, either by assault or by siege, but wasted the countryside and despoiled the farmers of their possessions, leaving not one fruit-tree in the land nor any productive plant. This devastation overcame the resistance of the Capenates; they begged for peace and it was granted. In the Faliscan country the war went on.

At Rome, meanwhile, there were disturbances of many sorts, to quiet which the senate had voted to plant a colony on the Volscian frontier, and to enroll for that destination three thousand Roman citizens, to each of whom a board of three, appointed for the purpose, had proposed to assign three iugera[2] and seven-twelfths. This donation men were disposed to spurn, regarding it as a sop intended to divert their hopes from greater things: for why should the plebs be banished to the Volscian country, when the fair city of Veii and the Veientine lands (more fertile and extensive than those of Rome) were there

A.U.C. 359 quoque urbi Romae vel situ vel magnificentia publicorum privatorumque tectorum ac locorum praepone-
7 bant. Quin illa quoque actio movebatur, quae post captam utique Romam a Gallis celebratior fuit,
8 transmigrandi Veios. Ceterum partem plebis, partem senatus destinabant ad habitandos [1] Veios, duasque urbes communi re publica [2] incoli a populo Romano posse.

9 Adversus quae cum optimates ita tenderent ut morituros se citius dicerent in conspectu populi Romani quam quicquam earum rerum rogaretur;
10 quippe nunc in una urbe tantum dissensionum esse: quid in duabus [3] fore? victamne ut quisquam victrici patriae praeferret sineretque maiorem fortunam captis esse Veiis, quam incolumibus fuerit? Postremo
11 se relinqui a civibus in patria posse: ut relinquant patriam atque cives nullam vim unquam subacturam, et T. Sicinium—is enim ex tribunis plebis rogationis eius lator erat—conditorem Veios sequantur relicto deo Romulo, dei filio, parente et auctore urbis Romae.

XXV. Haec cum foedis certaminibus agerentur—nam partem tribunorum plebi patres in suam sententiam traxerant,—nulla res alia manibus temperare
2 plebem cogebat quam quod, ubi rixae committendae causa clamor ortus esset, principes senatus primi tur-

[1] ad habitandos *Heerwagen*: a habitandos *P*: habitandos Ω: habitando *V*.

[2] communi re publica (republica) *Weissenborn*: communi re *V*: communes reipublicae Ω.

[3] duabus *DLA*: duabus urbibus Ω.

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[1] See chap. xlix.

[2] Only two, in fact, according to chap. xxix. § 6, but one was enough to veto the motion.

in plain sight? The city, too, they preferred to B.C. 395
the City of Rome, whether for situation, or for the splendour of its public and private buildings and its places. Nay, they even mooted the plan which certainly had a great following later, when the Gauls had captured Rome, of migrating to Veii.[1] For the rest, they intended that half of the plebs and half of the senate should dwell in Veii, regarding it as possible for the Roman people to inhabit two cities with a common polity.

This proposal the patricians opposed with such vehemence as to declare that they would sooner die in the sight of the Roman People than suffer anything of the sort to come to a vote; for when there was already so much dissension in a single city, what would it be in two? Was it possible that any man should prefer a vanquished to a victorious city, and suffer Veii captured to enjoy a greater fortune than Veii free? In fine, it was conceivable that they should be left behind in their native city by their fellow Romans; but to forsake their country and their fellow-citizens no violence should ever force them; they had no mind to follow Titus Sicinius—the tribune of the plebs who had proposed the bill—to Veii, as their founder, abandoning the god Romulus, the son of a god, the Father and Author of the Roman City.

XXV. These differences gave rise to disgraceful contentions—for the Fathers had won over some of the plebeian tribunes[2] to their opinion—and the only thing that compelled the plebs to stay their hands was this, that as often as they raised a shout, in order to begin a riot, the leaders of the senate were the first to confront the mob, bidding them visit blows,

A.U.C. 359

bae offerentes se peti feririque atque occidi iubebant. 3 Ab horum aetatibus dignitatibusque et honoribus violandis dum abstinebatur, et ad reliquos similes conatus verecundia irae obstabat. 4 Camillus identidem omnibus locis contionabatur: haud mirum id quidem esse, furere civitatem, quae damnata voti omnium rerum potiorem curam quam 5 religione se exsolvendi habeat. Nihil de conlatione dicere, stipis verius quam decumae, quando ea se quisque privatim obligaverit, liberatus sit populus. 6 Enimvero illud se tacere suam conscientiam non pati quod ex ea tantum praeda quae rerum moventium sit decuma designetur: urbis atque agri capti, quae et ipsa voto contineatur, mentionem nullam fieri. 7 Cum ea disceptatio, anceps senatui visa, delegata ad pontifices esset, adhibito Camillo visum collegio, quod eius ante conceptum votum Veientium fuisset et post votum in potestatem populi Romani venisset, eius partem decimam Apollini sacram esse. Ita in 8 aestimationem urbs agerque venit. Pecunia ex aerario prompta, et tribunis militum consularibus ut aurum ex ea coemerent negotium datum. Cuius cum copia non esset, matronae coetibus ad eam rem consultandam habitis communi decreto pollicitae tribunis militum aurum, et omnia ornamenta sua in 9 aerarium detulerunt. Grata ea res ut quae maxime

wounds, and death on them. The grey hairs of these men, their distinctions, and their honours, they shrank from outraging, and shame thwarted their rage in all similar attempts. B.C. 395

Camillus harangued the people constantly, and in all places. It was no wonder, he said, that the citizens had gone mad, since, bound though they were to carry out their vow, they were more concerned about everything else than about the discharge of their obligation. He would say nothing of their penny contribution—a truer name for it than tithe—since in this regard each man had bound himself as an individual, and the state was freed; but there was one thing his conscience would not suffer him to pass over in silence; to wit, that the tithe should be defined as consisting of that part only of the booty which was movable; and that nothing should be said of the captured city and its territory, which were likewise included in the vow.

Unable to agree on this point, the senate referred it to the pontiffs, who decided, after consulting with Camillus, that so far as these things had belonged to the Veientes before the vow was made, and had subsequently come into the possession of the Roman People, a tithe thereof was sacred to Apollo. Thus the city and the land came into the estimate. Money was drawn from the treasury, and the tribunes of the soldiers with consular rank were directed to purchase gold with it; and there being not enough of this metal, the matrons held meetings to consider the need, and binding themselves by a common resolution to supply the tribunes with gold, brought in all their ornaments to the treasury. No act was ever more acceptable to the senate, and to

A.U.C. 359 senatui unquam fuit; honoremque ob eam munificentiam ferunt matronis habitum ut pilento ad sacra ludosque, carpentis festo profestoque uterentur. 10 Pondere ab singulis auri accepto aestimatoque ut pecuniae solverentur, crateram auream fieri placuit quae donum Apollini Delphos portaretur. 11 Simul ab religione animos remiserunt, integrant seditionem tribuni plebis; incitatur multitudo in 12 omnes principes, ante alios in Camillum; eum praedam Veientanam publicando sacrandoque ad nihilum redegisse. Absentes ferociter increpant; praesentium, cum se ultro iratis offerrent, verecundiam 13 habent. Simul extrahi rem ex eo anno viderunt, tribunos plebis latores legis in annum eosdem reficiunt; et patres hoc idem de intercessoribus legis adnisi. Ita tribuni plebis magna ex parte iidem refecti.

A.U.C. 360 XXVI. Comitiis tribunorum militum patres summa ope evicerunt ut M. Furius Camillus crearetur. Propter bella simulabant parari ducem; sed largitionis[1] 2 tribuniciae adversarius quaerebatur. Cum Camillo creati tribuni militum consulari potestate L. Furius Medullinus sextum C. Aemilius L. Valerius Publicola 3 Sp. Postumius P. Cornelius iterum. Principio anni tribuni plebis nihil moverunt, donec M. Furius

[1] The proposed law mentioned in chap. xxiv. § 7.
[2] For the third time. See chap. xiv. § 5.
[3] *i. e.*, their proposal to divide up the lands of Veii.
[4] Either Scipio or Cossus (chap. xxiv. § 1), or possibly Maluginensis (chap. xiv. § 1).

honour the matrons for their generosity, it is said to B.C. 395
have voted that they might drive in four-wheeled carriages to festivals and games, and in two-wheeled cars on holy and working days. When the gold received from each had been appraised, in order that the moneys might be repaid, it was determined to make a golden bowl and carry it to Delphi as an offering to Apollo.

No sooner had they eased their minds of the vow, than the tribunes of the commons began again their agitation, inflaming the populace against all the nobles, but especially against Camillus, whom they charged with having reduced to naught the spoils of Veii, by devoting them to the state and to religion. If any of the leaders were absent, they were fiercely denounced; being present they outfaced their angry critics and shamed them into silence. As soon as the people saw that the question would be carried over from that year, they worked for the re-election of the tribunes of the plebs who were backing the measure;[1] and the patricians exerted themselves to do the same for its opponents. So, for the most part, the same tribunes were returned to office.

XXVI. At the voting for military tribunes, the B.C. 394
senators with much ado obtained the election of Marcus Furius Camillus.[2] The need of a commander for the wars was their pretext, but what they really wanted was a man who would combat the lavishness of the tribunes.[3] With Camillus were elected to that office, Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the sixth time), Gaius Aemilius, Lucius Valerius Publicola, Spurius Postumius, and (for the second time) Publius Cornelius.[4] At the outset of the year the tribunes of the commons made no move, until Marcus Furius

A.U.C. 360 Camillus in Faliscos, cui id bellum mandatum erat proficisceretur. Differendo deinde elanguit res, et Camillo, quem adversarium maxime metuebant, 4 gloria in Faliscis crevit. Nam cum primo moenibus se hostes tenerent tutissimum id rati, populatione agrorum atque incendiis villarum coegit eos egredi 5 urbe. Sed timor longius progredi prohibuit; mille fere passuum ab oppido castra locant nulla re alia fidentes ea satis tuta esse quam difficultate aditus, asperis confragosisque circa et partim artis partim 6 arduis viis. Ceterum Camillus captivum indidem [1] ex agris secutus ducem castris multa nocte motis prima luce aliquanto superioribus locis se ostendit. 7 Trifariam Romani muniebant, alius exercitus proelio intentus stabat. Ibi impedire opus conatos hostes fundit fugatque; tantumque inde pavoris Faliscis iniectum est ut effusa fuga castra sua quae propiora 8 erant praelati urbem peterent. Multi caesi volneratique priusquam paventes portis inciderent. Castra capta; praeda ad quaestores redacta cum magna militum ira; sed severitate imperii victi eandem 9 virtutem et oderant et mirabantur. Obsidio inde urbis et munitiones, et interdum per occasionem impetus oppidanorum in Romanas stationes proelia-

[1] indidem *Kern*: indecem *M*: indicem Ω.

Camillus should march against the Faliscans, for to him this war had been committed. Then came delays, and men's enthusiasm waned, while Camillus, the opponent whom they chiefly feared, won fresh renown in the Faliscan country. For though at first the enemy kept within their walls, deeming this their safest course, he compelled them, by ravaging their fields and burning their farm-houses, to come out of their city. Still, they were afraid to advance very far, and pitched their camp about a mile from the town, trusting that it was quite safe, without other reason than the difficulty of approaching it; for the ground about it was rough and broken, and the roads were either narrow or steep. But Camillus, employing a prisoner taken in that very region for his guide, broke camp in the dead of night, and showed himself at earliest dawn in a considerably superior position. The Romans, divided into three shifts, began to build a rampart, the soldiers who were not working standing by in readiness to fight. There, when the enemy sought to hinder the work, he defeated and routed them; and so great was the panic that came over the Faliscans, that they fled in disorder past their camp, which was the nearer refuge, and made for the town; and many were slain or wounded, before, in their terror, they could rush in through the gates. The camp was taken, and the booty was paid over to the quaestors. This incensed the troops, but they were overborne by the strictness of the discipline, and admired, while they detested, their general's probity. Then came a blockade of the town, and the construction of siege-works; and sometimes, when opportunity offered, the townsfolk would raid the Roman outposts and B.C. 394

A.U.C. 360 que parva fieri, et teri tempus neutro inclinata spe, cum frumentum copiaeque aliae ex ante convecto largius obsessis quam obsidentibus suppeterent. Videbaturque aeque diuturnus futurus labor ac Veiis fuisset, ni fortuna imperatori Romano simul et cognitae rebus bellicis virtutis specimen et maturam victoriam dedisset.

XXVII. Mos erat Faliscis eodem magistro liberorum et comite uti, simulque plures pueri, quod hodie quoque in Graecia manet, unius curae demandabantur. Principum liberos, sicut fere fit, qui scientia videbatur praecellere erudiebat. Is cum in pace instituisset pueros ante urbem lusus exercendique causa producere, nihil eo more per belli tempus intermisso, modo[1] brevioribus modo longioribus spatiis trahendo eos a porta lusu sermonibusque variatis, longius solito ubi res dedit progressus inter stationes eos hostium castraque inde Romana in praetorium ad Camillum perduxit. Ibi scelesto facinori scelestiorem sermonem addit, Falerios se in manus Romanis tradidisse, quando eos pueros quorum parentes capita ibi rerum sint in potestatem[2] dederit. Quae ubi Camillus audivit, "Non ad similem" inquit "tui nec populum nec imperatorem scelestus ipse cum scelesto munere venisti. Nobis cum Faliscis

[1] modo *Hertz*: dum modo Ω.
[2] in potestatem *Ald.*: in potestate Ω.

skirmishes would ensue. Time wore on, without B.C. 394
bringing hope to either side; the besieged had corn and other supplies, which they had laid up beforehand in greater abundance than the besiegers; and it began to seem as though the struggle would be as long drawn out as at Veii, had not Fortune, at one stroke, given the Roman general an opportunity to display the magnanimity already familiar from his exploits in war, and an early victory.

XXVII. It was customary amongst the Faliscans to employ the same person as teacher and attendant of their children, and they used to intrust a number of lads at the same time to the care of one man, a practice which still obtains in Greece. The children of the chief men, as is commonly the case, were under the tuition of one who was regarded as their foremost scholar. This man had in time of peace got into the way of leading the boys out in front of the city for play and exercise, and during the war made no change in his routine, but would draw them sometimes a shorter, sometimes a longer distance from the gate, with this and that game and story, until being farther away one day than usual, he seized the opportunity to bring them amongst the enemy's outposts, and then into the Roman camp, to the headquarters of Camillus. He then followed up his villainous act with an even more villainous speech, saying that he had given Falerii into the hands of the Romans, having delivered up to them the children of those whose fathers were in power there. On hearing this Camillus answered: "Neither the people nor the captain to whom you are come, you scoundrel, with your scoundrel's gift, is like yourself. Between us and the Faliscans is no fellow-

A.U.C. 360 quae pacto fit humano societas non est: quam ingeneravit natura utrisque est eritque. Sunt et belli sicut pacis iura, iusteque ea non minus quam fortiter 7 didicimus gerere. Arma habemus non adversus eam aetatem cui etiam captis urbibus parcitur, sed adversus armatos et ipsos, qui nec laesi nec lacessiti a nobis 8 castra Romana ad Veios oppugnarunt. Eos tu quantum in te fuit novo scelere vicisti: ego Romanis artibus, virtute opere armis, sicut Veios vincam." 9 Denudatum deinde eum manibus post tergum inligatis reducendum Falerios pueris tradidit, virgasque eis quibus proditorem agerent in urbem verberantes 10 dedit. Ad quod spectaculum concursu populi primum facto, deinde a magistratibus de re nova vocato senatu tanta mutatio animis est iniecta ut qui modo efferati odio iraque Veientium exitum paene quam Capenatium pacem mallent, apud eos pacem universa 11 posceret civitas. Fides Romana, iustitia imperatoris in foro et curia celebrantur; consensuque omnium legati ad Camillum in castra, atque inde permissu Camilli Romam ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios 12 proficiscuntur. Introducti ad senatum ita locuti traduntur: "Patres conscripti, victoria cui nec deus nec homo quisquam invideat victi a vobis et impera-

ship founded on men's covenants; but the fellowship B.C. 394
which nature has implanted in both sides is there and will abide. There are rights of war as well as of peace, and we have learnt to use them justly no less than bravely. We bear no weapons against those tender years which find mercy even in the storming of a city, but against those who are armed themselves, who, without wrong or provocation at our hands, attacked the Roman camp at Veii. Those people you have done your best to conquer by an unheard-of crime. I shall conquer them, as I conquered Veii, in the Roman way, by dint of courage, toil, and arms." He then had the fellow stripped, his hands bound behind his back, and gave him up to the boys to lead back to Falerii, providing them with rods to scourge the traitor as they drove him into town. To behold this spectacle, there was at first a great gathering together of the people, and presently the magistrates called a meeting of the senate about the strange affair, and men underwent such a revulsion of feeling, that those who a short time before, in the fury of their hate and resentment would almost have preferred the doom of Veii to the peace of Capena, were now calling for peace, with the voice of an entire city. The honesty of the Romans, and the justice of their general, were praised in market-place and senate-house, and, with the consent of all, envoys proceeded to Camillus in his camp, and thence, by his permission, to the Roman senate, to surrender Falerii. Being introduced into the Curia they are said to have spoken as follows: "Conscript Fathers, you and your general have won a victory over us which no one, whether God or man, could begrudge you, and we

A.U.C. 360 tore vestro dedimus nos vobis, rati, quo nihil victori pulchrius est, melius nos sub imperio vestro quam 13 legibus nostris victuros. Eventu huius belli duo salutaria exempla prodita humano generi sunt: vos fidem in bello quam praesentem victoriam maluistis; 14 nos fide provocati victoriam ultro detulimus. Sub dicione vestra sumus; mittite qui arma, qui obsides, 15 qui urbem patentibus portis accipiant. Nec vos fidei nostrae nec nos imperii vestri paenitebit." Camillo et ab hostibus et a civibus gratiae actae. Faliscis in stipendium militum eius anni, ut populus Romanus tributo vacaret, pecunia imperata. Pace data exercitus Romam reductus.

XXVIII. Camillus, meliore multo laude quam cum triumphantem albi per urbem vexerant equi insignis, iustitia fideque hostibus victis cum in urbem redisset, taciti[1] eius verecundiam non tulit senatus quin sine 2 mora voti liberaretur; crateramque auream donum Apollini Delphos legati qui ferrent, L. Valerius L. Sergius A. Manlius, missi longa una nave haud procul freto Siculo a piratis Liparensium excepti deve- 3 huntur Liparas. Mos erat civitatis velut publico latrocinio partam praedam dividere. Forte eo anno in summo magistratu erat Timasitheus quidam, 4 Romanis vir similior quam suis; qui legatorum nomen

[1] taciti *Gronovius V*: tacite Ω.

give ourselves into your hands, believing (than which B.C. 394
nothing can be more honourable to a victor) that we shall be better off under your government than under our own laws. The outcome of this war has afforded the human race two wholesome precedents: you have set fair-dealing in war above immediate victory; and we, challenged by your fair-dealing, have freely granted you that victory. We are under your sway; send men to receive our arms and hostages, and our city, the gates of which stand open. Neither shall you be disappointed in our fidelity nor we in your rule." Camillus was thanked both by his enemies and by his fellow citizens. The Faliscans were commanded to pay the soldiers for that year, that the Roman People might be exempted from the war tax. Peace being granted, the Roman army was led home.

XXVIII. Camillus, having returned to the City distinguished by a far better kind of glory than when he had entered it in triumph drawn by white horses—for he had conquered his enemies by justice and fair-dealing—uttered no reproaches, but the senators were ill-at-ease till they should free him, without delay, from the obligation of his vow. And so, to carry the golden bowl as a gift to Apollo at Delphi, they appointed Lucius Valerius, Lucius Sergius, and Aulus Manlius, who, being dispatched in a single warship, were captured by Liparaean pirates not far from the Sicilian Straits and carried to Liparae. It was the manner of that people to divide up the booty which they had obtained by a kind of public piracy, but it chanced that year that one Timasitheus was chief magistrate, a man more resembling the Romans than his own countrymen;

A.U.C. 360 donumque et deum cui mitteretur et doni causam veritus ipse multitudinem quoque, quae semper ferme regenti est similis, religionis iustae implevit adductosque in publicum hospitium legatos cum praesidio etiam navium Delphos prosecutus, Romam inde 5 sospites restituit. Hospitium cum eo senatus consulto est factum donaque publice data.

Eodem anno in Aequis varie bellatum, adeo ut in incerto fuerit et apud ipsos exercitus et Romae vicis- 6 sent victine essent. Imperatores Romani fuere ex tribunis militum C. Aemilius Sp. Postumius. Primo rem communiter gesserunt; fusis inde acie hostibus Aemilium praesidio Verruginem obtinere placuit, 7 Postumium fines vastare. Ibi eum incomposito agmine neglegentius ab re bene gesta euntem adorti Aequi terrore iniecto in proximos compulere tumulos; pavorque inde Verruginem etiam ad praesidium 8 alterum est perlatus. Postumius suis in tutum receptis cum contione advocata terrorem increparet ac fugam, fusos esse ab ignavissimo ac fugacissimo hoste, conclamat universus exercitus merito se ea audire et fateri admissum flagitium, sed eosdem correcturos esse neque diuturnum id gaudium hostibus

who, himself revering the title of the envoys and their gift, as well as the god to whom it was being sent and the cause of the oblation, imbued also the people, who are almost always like their ruler, with a due sense of religious awe; and after entertaining the ambassadors in the guest-house of the state, even sent ships to convoy them to Delphi, and thence brought them safely back to Rome. A covenant of hospitality was made with him by decree of the senate, and gifts were presented him in the name of the state. B.C. 394

The same year there was a war with the Aequi, of so varied fortune that it was not clear, either at the front itself or in Rome, whether the upshot had been victory or defeat. The Roman generals were two of the military tribunes, Gaius Aemilius and Spurius Postumius. At first they exercised the command conjointly; afterwards, when they had routed the enemy in battle, they arranged that Aemilius should hold Verrugo with a garrison, while Postumius should lay waste the country. As he was leading his troops in irregular formation, somewhat carelessly in consequence of his success, the Aequi fell upon them and throwing them into confusion drove them to the nearest hills, whence the panic spread even to Verrugo, to the other army. Postumius having rallied his men in a position of safety, called them together and chid them for their alarm and flight, telling them they had been discomfited by the most craven and fugitive of foes. Whereat the army cried out as one man, that they deserved his reproaches, and confessed the enormity of their misconduct, but promised that they would themselves mend it, and that their

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9 fore. Poscentes ut confestim inde ad castra hostium duceret—et in conspectu erant posita in plano—nihil poenae recusabant ni ea ante noctem expug-
10 nassent. Conlaudatos corpora curare paratosque esse quarta vigilia iubet. Et hostes nocturnam fugam ex tumulo Romanorum ut ab ea via quae ferebat Verruginem excluderent, fuere obvii, proeliumque ante lucem—sed luna pernox erat—commissum est.
11 Haud[1] incertius diurno proelium fuit; sed clamor Verruginem perlatus, cum castra Romana crederent oppugnari, tantum iniecit pavoris ut nequiquam retinente atque obsecrante Aemilio Tusculum palati
12 fugerent. Inde fama Romam perlata est Postumium exercitumque occisum. Qui, ubi prima lux metum insidiarum effuse sequentibus sustulit, cum perequitasset aciem promissa repetens, tantum iniecit ardoris
13 ut non ultra sustinuerint impetum Aequi. Caedes inde fugientium, qualis ubi ira magis quam virtute res geritur, ad perniciem hostium facta est; tristemque ab Tusculo nuntium nequiquam exterrita civitate litterae a Postumio laureatae sequuntur, victoriam populi Romani esse, Aequorum exercitum deletum.

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XXIX. Tribunorum plebis actiones quia nondum

[1] Haud *Madvig*: et haud (aut *FB*) Ω.

enemies' joy should be short-lived. Demanding to B.C. 394
be led forthwith against the camp of the Aequi—
which was in full sight in the plain where they
had pitched it—they professed themselves willing
to undergo any punishment if they should not have
stormed it before nightfall. Postumius commended
them and bade them sup and be ready at the fourth
watch. The enemy, too, that they might cut off
any retreat by night along the road to Verrugo,
from the hill where the Romans lay, were afield
and met them, and the battle began before day-
light, but there was a moon all night. They could
see to fight as well as in the daytime; but the
shouts were heard in Verrugo, the soldiers believed
the Roman camp was being attacked, and so great
was their consternation that, despite the efforts of
Aemilius to check them and despite his appeals,
they fled in a scattered rout to Tusculum. From
thence a rumour was carried to Rome that Postumius
and the army were destroyed. But Postumius, as
soon as the first rays of light had removed all
fear of ambuscades in case of a wide-spread pursuit,
rode down the line, reminding his men of the
promises they had given him, and inspired such
ardour that the Aequi could no longer withstand
their charge, and were slaughtered while they fled
(as happens when rage is more concerned than
valour), till their army was clean destroyed; and
the gloomy tidings from Tusculum which had thrown
the City into a needless fright, were succeeded by
a laurel-wreathed letter from Postumius, announcing
the victory of the Roman People and the annihilation
of the Aequian army.

XXIX. The measures introduced by the tribunes B.C. 393

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invenerant finem, et plebs continuare latoribus legis tribunatum et patres reficere intercessores legis adnisi sunt; sed plus suis comitiis plebs valuit. Quem dolorem ulti patres sunt senatus consulto facto ut consules, invisus plebi magistratus, crearentur. Annum post quintum decimum creati consules L. Lucretius Flavus Ser.[1] Sulpicius Camerinus. Principio huius anni ferociter, quia nemo ex collegio intercessurus erat, coortis ad perferendam legem tribunis plebis nec segnius ob id ipsum consulibus resistentibus omnique civitate in unam eam curam conversa Vitelliam coloniam Romanam in suo agro Aequi expugnant. Colonorum pars maxima incolumis, quia nocte proditione oppidum captum liberam per aversa urbis fugam dederat, Romam perfugere. L. Lucretio consuli ea provincia evenit. Is cum exercitu profectus acie hostes vicit, victorque Romam ad maius aliquanto certamen redit. Dies dicta erat tribunis plebis biennii superioris A. Verginio et Q. Pomponio, quos defendi patrum consensu ad fidem senatus pertinebat; neque enim eos aut vitae ullo crimine alio aut gesti magistratus quisquam arguebat praeterquam quod gratificantes patribus rogationi tribuniciae intercessissent. Vicit tamen gratiam senatus

[1] Ser. ς (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 119 *and Diod.* xv. viii. 1): Sergius Ω.

[1] Providing for the division of the Roman People between Rome and Veii. See chap. xxiv. § 7.

of the plebs being still undecided, the commons B.C. 393
strove to prolong the tenure of the supporters of the bill,[1] and the patricians to re-elect the tribunes who had vetoed it; but in the election of their own magistrates the plebeians proved the stronger, a disappointment which the Fathers avenged by passing a resolution in the senate providing for the election of consuls—a magistracy odious to the plebs. There had been no consuls for fifteen years, when they elected Lucius Lucretius Flavus, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. In the beginning of this year, the tribunes united in a spirited attempt—for none of the college was disposed to object—to carry the bill; and the consuls, for that very reason, were quite as active in opposing them. While the whole body politic was absorbed in this one concern, Vitellia, a Roman colony, was captured by the Aequi, in whose territory it was situated. The greatest part of the settlers escaped, for the place was taken by treachery at night and their flight through the opposite quarter of the town was unopposed, and made their way to Rome in safety. To Lucius Lucretius the consul fell the command in this affair. Marching out with his army, he defeated the enemy in a battle and returned victorious to the City, where he found a far more serious struggle impending. A day of trial had been appointed for the plebeian tribunes of two years before, namely Aulus Verginius and Quintus Pomponius, to defend whom the senate, as the patricians all agreed, was in honour bound; for no man brought any charge against their lives or the conduct of their office, except their having, out of complaisance to the Fathers, opposed the tribunician law. But the in-

A.U.C. 361 plebis ira, et pessimo exemplo innoxii denis milibus
8 gravis aeris condemnati sunt. Id aegre passi patres. Camillus palam sceleris plebem arguere, quae iam in suos versa non intellegeret se pravo iudicio de tribunis intercessionem sustulisse, intercessione sublata
9 tribuniciam potestatem evertisse[1]; nam quod illi sperarent effrenatam licentiam eius magistratus patres laturos, falli eos. Si tribunicia vis tribunicio auxilio repelli nequeat, aliud telum patres inventu-
10 ros esse. Consulesque increpabat quod fide publica decipi tribunos eos taciti tulissent qui senatus auctoritatem secuti essent. Haec propalam contionabundus in dies magis augebat iras hominum.

XXX. Senatum vero incitare adversus legem haud desistebat: ne aliter descenderent in forum, cum dies ferendae legis venisset, quam ut qui meminissent sibi pro aris focisque et deum templis ac solo in quo
2 nati essent dimicandum fore. Nam quod ad se privatim attineat, si suae gloriae sibi inter dimicationem patriae meminisse sit fas, sibi amplum quoque esse urbem ab se captam frequentari, cottidie se frui

[1] evertisse *Rhenanus*: euertissent Ω.

fluence of the senators was out-weighed by the resentment of the plebs, and a shameful precedent was set, when the innocent men were condemned each to pay a fine of 10,000 asses. This roused the indignation of the senate. Camillus frankly denounced the depravity of the commons, who having turned against their own representatives, failed to perceive that they had by their wicked judgment of the tribunes done away with the veto, and that in doing away with the veto they had overthrown the tribunician power. For if they supposed that the unbridled licence of that office would be tolerated by the Fathers, they were mistaken; if tribunician violence could not be resisted by the help of tribunes, the senators must find some other weapon. He rebuked the consuls also, because they had, without protesting, allowed those tribunes who had followed the guidance of the senate to suffer for their reliance on the guarantee of state protection. By such sentiments, publicly expressed in speeches, he angered the people more and more from day to day. B.C. 393

XXX. As to the senate, he ceased not to encourage it in opposing the law: they must go down into the Forum, when the day should arrive for voting on it, in no other spirit than that of men who realized that they had to fight for hearth and home, for the temples of their gods, and for the soil of their birth. So far, indeed, as the question touched his private interest, it would actually be an honour to him, if it were not sinful to be thinking of his own renown while his country was struggling for life, that the city he had won should be thronged with people; that he should

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monumento gloriae suae et ante oculos habere urbem latam in triumpho suo, insistere omnes vestigiis
3 laudum suarum; sed nefas ducere desertam ac relictam ab dis immortalibus incoli urbem, et in captivo solo habitare populum Romanum et victrice patria victam mutari.
4 His adhortationibus principis[1] concitati patres, senes iuvenesque, cum ferretur lex agmine facto in forum venerunt, dissipatique per tribus suos quisque
5 tribules prensantes orare cum lacrimis coepere ne eam patriam pro qua fortissime felicissimeque ipsi ac patres eorum dimicassent desererent, Capitolium, aedem Vestae, cetera circa templa deorum osten-
6 tantes; ne exsulem, extorrem populum Romanum ab solo patrio ac dis penatibus in hostium urbem agerent, eoque rem adducerent ut melius fuerit non capi
7 Veios, ne Roma desereretur. Quia non vi agebant sed precibus et inter preces multa deorum mentio erat, religiosum parti maximae fuit, et legem una[2]
8 plures tribus antiquarunt quam iusserunt. Adeoque ea victoria laeta patribus fuit ut postero die referentibus consulibus senatus consultum fieret ut agri Veientani septena iugera plebi dividerentur, nec patribus familiae tantum, sed ut omnium in domo

[1] principis ς: principes Ω.
[2] una $A^2\varsigma$: unam Ω.

[1] Livy is thinking of the custom which grew up later of exhibiting in the triumphal procession models or pictures of towns, rivers, and mountains, belonging to the conquered nation.
[2] There were at this time twenty-one tribes.

daily be reminded of his glory, and have before his B.C. 393
eyes the town which had figured in his triumph;[1] that all men should tread in the footsteps of his fame. But he thought it an offence against Heaven that a city deserted and forsaken by the immortal gods should be inhabited, and that the Roman People should dwell on conquered soil, exchanging their victorious City for a vanquished one.

These earnest words of their leading member so stirred the senators, old men as well as young, that on the day the law was proposed they formed in a body and came into the Forum, where they dispersed among the tribes, and canvassing every man his own tribesmen, began with tears to beseech them, that they would not forsake that City for which both they and their fathers had fought with the greatest courage and good fortune. They pointed to the Capitol, to the shrine of Vesta, and to the other temples standing all about them; they begged them not to drive the Roman People, an exile, and a wanderer from its native land and its household gods, to the city of its enemies, nor to carry things so far that it would be better that Veii had not been taken, so that Rome might not be deserted. Since the patricians used not force but entreaties, and in their entreaties made many a reference to the gods, the greater part felt the prick of conscience, and the law was rejected by one more tribe than voted in its favour.[2] And so greatly did this victory rejoice the Fathers, that next day, at the instance of the consuls, a decree was passed by the senate, that seven *iugera* of the Veientine land should be apportioned to every plebeian, and not alone to the heads of families, but so as to reckon in all the free-born members of the

A.U.C. 361 liberorum capitum ratio haberetur, vellentque in eam spem liberos tollere.

A.U.C. 362 XXXI. Eo munere delenita plebe nihil certatum est quo minus consularia comitia haberentur. Creati consules L. Valerius Potitus M. Manlius, cui Capitolino postea fuit cognomen. Hi consules magnos ludos fecere, quos M. Furius dictator voverat Veienti bello. Eodem anno aedes Iunonis reginae ab eodem dictatore eodemque bello vota dedicatur, celebratamque dedicationem ingenti matronarum studio tradunt.

Bellum haud memorabile in Algido cum Aequis gestum est, fusis hostibus prius paene quam manus consererent. Valerio, quod perseverantior iis caedendis [1] in fuga fuit, triumphus, Manlio ut ovans ingrederetur urbem, decretum est. Eodem anno novum bellum cum Volsiniensibus exortum; quo propter famem pestilentiamque in agro Romano ex siccitate caloribusque nimiis ortam exercitus duci nequivit. Ob quae Volsinienses Sappinatibus [2] adiunctis superbia inflati ultro agros Romanos incursavere; bellum inde duobus populis indictum.

C. Iulius censor decessit; in eius locum M. Cornelius suffectus, quae res postea religioni fuit quia eo

[1] iis caedendis *Weissenborn*: caedendis (*or* ce-) Ω: caed..dis *V*: gaedendis *M*: gerendis *BP*[2]*FU* (*omitted by P*): gerendis (*with* c *above*) *E*.

[2] Sappinatibus *Mommsen* (*cf. chap.* xxxii. § 2): salpinatibus Ω: sapienatibus *V*: scalpinatibus *M*.

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[1] At vi. xvii. 5 Livy implies that Manlius was given the cognomen because of his defence of the Capitol (chap. xlvii.), but at iv. xlii. 2 a L. Manlius Capitolinus had been mentioned, and the surname was probably due to the family's residing on the Capitoline.

household, that with such a prospect before them men might be willing to rear children. B.C. 393

XXXI. Appeased by this largess, the plebs made no objection to an assembly for the election of consuls, and the choice fell on Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius, afterwards surnamed Capitolinus.[1] These consuls celebrated the Great Games, which Marcus Furius the dictator had vowed in the war with Veii. This year saw also the dedication of a temple to Queen Juno, vowed by the same dictator in the same war; and tradition relates that the ceremony was attended by throngs of enthusiastic matrons. B.C. 392

A campaign in no way memorable was fought with the Aequi on Mount Algidus, the enemy being routed before they had well begun to fight. Valerius was the more persistent in cutting them down as they fled, and to him was decreed a triumph; Manlius was allowed to enter the City in an ovation.[2] In this year also a new war broke out, namely with the people of Volsinii. Owing to a famine and pestilence which arose in the Roman territories on account of drought and excessive heat, it was impossible to send an army against them; and in consequence of this the Volsinienses, having added the Sappinates[3] to their forces, were puffed up with pride and made an incursion themselves into the fields of the Romans. War was then declared against both nations.

Gaius Julius, the censor, died, and Marcus Cornelius was substituted in his place, a circumstance

[1] A lesser triumph, in which the victorious general entered the City on foot.

[2] Sappinum, a town otherwise unknown, is presumed to have been situated near Volsinii.

A.U.C. 362 lustro Roma est capta; nec deinde unquam in de-
7 mortui locum censor sufficitur. Consulibusque morbo implicitis placuit per interregnum renovari auspicia.
8 Itaque cum ex senatus consulto consules magistratu se abdicassent, interrex creatur M. Furius Camillus, qui P. Cornelium Scipionem, is deinde L. Valerium
9 Potitum interregem prodidit. Ab eo creati sex tribuni militum consulari potestate ut, etiam si cui eorum incommoda valetudo fuisset, copia magistratuum rei publicae esset.

A.U.C. 363 XXXII. Kalendis Quinctilibus magistratum occepere L. Lucretius Ser. Sulpicius M. Aemilius L. Furius Medullinus septimum Agrippa Furius C.
2 Aemilius iterum. Ex his L. Lucretio et C. Aemilio Volsinienses [1] provincia evenit, Sappinates [2] Agrippae Furio et Ser. Sulpicio. Prius cum Volsiniensibus
3 pugnatum est. Bellum numero hostium ingens, certamine haud sane asperum fuit. Fusa primo concursu acies; in fugam versa milia octo armatorum ab equitibus interclusa positis armis in deditionem
4 venerunt. Eius belli fama effecit, ne se pugnae committerent Sappinates; moenibus armati se tutabantur. Romani praedas passim et ex Sappinati [3] agro et ex Volsiniensi nullo eam vim arcente egerunt;

[1] Volsinienses *Madvig*: Vols . . . . ses *V*: uolsiniensis (*or* uuls-) Ω.
[2] Sappinates *HDL* (*here and in* § 4): salpinates (salpp- *P*) Ω: sal sappinates *M*: *wanting in V*.
[3] Sappinati *Mommsen*: salpinati Ω: sa . pinati *V*.

[1] Thereafter the survivor resigned and two new censors were appointed (IX. XXXIV. 21).

which was afterwards thought to have offended the gods, because in this lustrum Rome was captured; nor from that day has a censor ever been appointed in the room of one who has died.[1] The consuls, too, caught the plague, and it was voted that fresh auspices should be obtained by means of an interregnum. Accordingly, when the consuls, in obedience to the senate's decree, had abdicated, Marcus Furius Camillus was appointed interrex, and named as his successor Publius Cornelius Scipio, who, in turn, named Lucius Valerius Potitus interrex; under whom they elected six military tribunes of consular rank, so that even if any of them should fall ill the state might still have magistrates. B.C. 392

XXXII. On the first day of July they entered office, to wit, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Aemilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus (for the seventh time), Furius Agrippa, and (for the second time) Gaius Aemilius. Of these, Lucius Lucretius and Gaius Aemilius were assigned the war with Volsinii as their province, while the Sappinates fell to Agrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius. The Volsinienses were encountered first, in a campaign of great magnitude in respect to the enemy's numbers, though the engagement with them was no very sharp affair. Their line broke at the first assault, and in the rout eight thousand soldiers were cut off by the cavalry, and laying down their arms, surrendered. When the Sappinates heard of this campaign, they refused to risk a battle, but retired within their walls and prepared to defend themselves. The Romans plundered right and left, both the lands of Sappinum and those of Volsinii, without finding any to resist their force, until the Volsini- B.C. 391

A.U.C. 363

5 donec Volsiniensibus fessis bello ea condicione ut res populo Romano redderent stipendiumque eius anni exercitui praestarent, in viginti annos indutiae datae.

6 Eodem anno M. Caedicius de plebe nuntiavit tribunis se in Nova via, ubi nunc sacellum est supra aedem Vestae, vocem noctis silentio audisse clariorem humana, quae magistratibus dici iuberet Gallos ad-
7 ventare. Id, ut fit, propter auctoris humilitatem spretum et quod longinqua eoque ignotior gens erat. Neque deorum modo monita ingruente fato spreta, sed humanam quoque opem, quae una erat, M.
8 Furium ab urbe amovere. Qui die dicta ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis propter praedam Veientanam, filio quoque adulescente per idem tempus orbatus cum accitis domum tribulibus clientibusque, quae [1] magna pars plebis erat, percontatus animos eorum responsum tulisset se conlaturos quanti damnatus esset,
9 absolvere eum non posse, in exsilium abiit, precatus ab dis immortalibus si innoxio sibi ea iniuria fieret, primo quoque tempore desiderium sui civitati ingratae facerent. Absens quindecim milibus gravis aeris damnatur.

XXXIII. Expulso cive quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi clade legati ab Clusinis veniunt

[1] clientibusque, quae ς: clientibus quae (que *E*: quae E^3 *or* E^2: q *BD*: q que D^4) Ω: eo clientibus quae *M*: et clientilus quae A^1: *wanting in V.*

enses wearied of the war; and upon their agreeing B.C. 391
to restore the goods of the Roman People and furnish pay for the army for that campaign, they were granted a truce of twenty years.

The same year Marcus Caedicius, a plebeian, reported to the tribunes, that in the Nova Via, where the chapel now stands above the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the silence of the night a voice more distinct than a man's, which bade him tell the magistrates that the Gauls were approaching. This portent was neglected, as often happens, because of the informant's humble station, and because that race was remote and therefore not well known. And not only did they reject the warnings of Heaven, as their doom drew nearer, but they even sent away from the City the only human assistance present with them, in the person of Marcus Furius. He had been indicted by Lucius Apuleius, tribune of the plebs, on account of the spoils of Veii, just at the time of losing his youthful son. Summoning to his house his fellow tribesmen and his clients (who formed a good part of the plebs), he sounded their feelings, and having been answered that they would make up such an amount as he might be fined, but that they could not acquit him, he departed into exile, beseeching the immortal gods that if he were an innocent man to whom that wrong was done they would speedily make his thankless fellow citizens wish to have him back. He was fined in his absence in the sum of 15,000 asses.

XXXIII. After the expulsion of that citizen whose presence, if anything in this life is certain, would have made the capture of Rome impossible, disaster approached the ill-fated City with the arrival of

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2 auxilium adversus Gallos petentes. Eam gentem traditur fama dulcedine frugum maximeque vini, nova tum voluptate, captam Alpes transisse agrosque
3 ab Etruscis ante cultos possedisse; et invexisse in Galliam vinum inliciendae gentis causa Arruntem Clusinum ira corruptae uxoris ab Lucumone, cui tutor is fuerat,[1] praepotente iuvene et a quo expeti poenae, nisi externa vis quaesita esset, nequirent;
4 hunc transeuntibus Alpes ducem auctoremque Clusium oppugnandi fuisse. Equidem haud abnuerim Clusium Gallos ab Arrunte seu quo alio Clusino
5 adductos; sed eos qui oppugnaverint Clusium non fuisse qui primi Alpes transierint satis constat. Ducentis quippe annis ante quam Clusium oppugnarent urbemque Romam caperent, in Italiam Galli
6 transcenderunt; nec cum his primum Etruscorum sed multo ante cum iis qui inter Appenninum Alpesque incolebant saepe exercitus Gallici pugnavere.
7 Tuscorum ante Romanum imperium late terra marique opes patuere. Mari supero inferoque, quibus Italia insulae modo cingitur, quantum potuerint nomina sunt argumento, quod alterum Tuscum com-
8 muni vocabulo gentis, alterum Hadriaticum[2] ab Hatria,[3] Tuscorum colonia, vocavere Italicae gentes; Graeci eadem Tyrrhenum atque Adriaticum vocant.
9 Ei[4] in utrumque mare vergentes incoluere urbibus

[1] is fuerat *Conway*: ipse fuerat *V*: is (es *M*) fuerat ipse Ω: fuerat ipse A^2.

[2] Hadriaticum ς: hadriatium *V*: atriaticum *MPFUB*: adriaticum $M^1OEHDLA$.

[3] ab Hatria *Conway* (*The Italic Dialects*, *p.* 450): mare ab atria (*or* adria) Ω.

[4] vocant. Ei ς: uocant et Ω: uocante. *PFBE*^{1}: uocantes *U*: uocat. Et M^2: uocant. Et M^3: uocant OE^2.

envoys from the men of Clusium seeking help against the Gauls. The story runs that this race, allured by the delicious fruits and especially the wine—then a novel luxury—had crossed the Alps and possessed themselves of lands that had before been tilled by the Etruscans; and that wine had been imported into Gaul expressly to entice them, by Arruns of Clusium, in his anger at the seduction of his wife by Lucumo. This youth, whose guardian he had been, was so powerful that he could not have chastised him without calling in a foreign force. He it was who is said to have guided the Gauls across the Alps, and to have suggested the attack on Clusium. Now I would not deny that Arruns or some other citizen brought the Gauls to Clusium, but that those who besieged Clusium were not the first who had passed the Alps is generally agreed. Indeed it was two hundred years before the attack on Clusium and the capture of Rome, that the Gauls first crossed over into Italy; neither were the Clusini the first of the Etruscans with whom they fought; but long before that the Gallic armies had often given battle to those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps. B.C. 391

The Tuscan sway, down to the rise of the Roman domination, stretched over a wide expanse of land and sea. How great their power was on the upper and the lower seas, by which Italy is surrounded like an island, is apparent from the names, since the Italian races have called one of them Tuscan, the general designation of the race, and the other Hadriatic, from Hatria, an Etruscan colony; and the Greeks know the same seas as Tyrrhenian and Adriatic. In the lands which slope on either side

A.U.C. 363 duodenis terras, prius cis Appenninum ad inferum mare, postea trans Appenninum totidem, quot capita
10 originis erant, coloniis missis, quae trans Padum omnia loca, excepto Venetorum angulo qui sinum
11 circumcolunt maris, usque ad Alpes tenuere. Alpinis quoque ea gentibus haud dubie origo est, maxime Raetis,[1] quos loca ipsa efferarunt ne quid ex antiquo praeter sonum linguae, nec eum incorruptum, retinerent.

XXXIV. De transitu in Italiam Gallorum haec accepimus: Prisco Tarquinio Romae regnante Celtarum, quae pars Galliae tertia est, penes Bituriges summa imperii fuit; ii regem Celtico dabant.
2 Ambigatus is fuit, virtute fortunaque cum sua tum publica praepollens, quod in imperio eius Gallia adeo frugum hominumque fertilis fuit ut abundans multi-
3 tudo vix regi videretur posse. Hic magno natu ipse iam exonerare praegravante turba regnum cupiens, Bellovesum ac Segovesum, sororis filios, impigros iuvenes, missurum se esse in quas di dedissent auguriis sedes ostendit: quantum ipsi vellent numerum
4 hominum excirent, ne qua gens arcere advenientes posset. Tum Segoveso sortibus dati Hercynei saltus;

[1] Raetis *Madvig*: raetiis(*or* retiis *or* reciis) Ω: ratiis *D*?: ratus *A*.

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[1] The *Hercynei saltus* were the upland districts of South Germany (including the Black Forest, Bohemia, and the Hartz) where both Caesar and Tacitus intimate that Celts had formerly established settlements (*B.G.* VI. XXIV.; *Germ.* XXVIII.).

towards one of these seas, they had twice twelve B.C. 391
cities; first the twelve on this side the Apennines, towards the lower sea; to which afterwards they added the same number beyond the Apennines, sending over as many colonies as there were original cities, and taking possession of all the transpadane region (except the angle belonging to the Veneti who dwell about the gulf) as far as the Alps. The Alpine tribes have also, no doubt, the same origin, especially the Raetians; who have been rendered so savage by the very nature of the country as to retain nothing of their ancient character save the sound of their speech, and even that is corrupted.

XXXIV. Concerning the migration of the Gauls into Italy we are told as follows: While Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome, the Celts, who make up one of the three divisions of Gaul, were under the domination of the Bituriges, and this tribe supplied the Celtic nation with a king. Ambigatus was then the man, and his talents, together with his own and the general good fortune, had brought him great distinction; for Gaul under his sway grew so rich in corn and so populous, that it seemed hardly possible to govern so great a multitude. The king, who was now an old man and wished to relieve his kingdom of a burdensome throng, announced that he meant to send Bellovesus and Segovesus, his sister's sons, two enterprising young men, to find such homes as the gods might assign to them by augury; and promised them that they should lead as large a number of emigrants as they themselves desired, so that no tribe might be able to prevent their settlement. Whereupon to Segovesus were by lot assigned the Hercynian highlands[1]; but to Bello-

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Belloveso haud paulo laetiorem in Italiam viam dabant. Is quod eius ex populis abundabat, Bituriges Arvernos Senones Haeduos[1] Ambarros Carnutes Aulercos excivit. Profectus ingentibus peditum equitumque copiis in Tricastinos[2] venit.

6 Alpes inde oppositae erant; quas inexsuperabiles visas haud equidem miror nulladum via, quod quidem continens memoria sit, nisi de Hercule fabulis credere 7 libet, superatas. Ibi cum velut saeptos montium altitudo teneret Gallos circumspectarentque quanam per iuncta caelo iuga in alium orbem terrarum transirent, religio etiam tenuit quod allatum est advenas quae- 8 rentes agrum ab Saluum gente oppugnari. Massilienses erant ii, navibus a Phocaea profecti. Id Galli fortunae suae omen rati adiuvere ut quem primum in terram egressi occupaverant locum patientibus Saluis[3] communirent. Ipsi per Taurinos saltus saltumque 9 Duriae Alpes[4] transcenderunt; fusisque acie Tuscis haud procul Ticino flumine, cum in quo consederant agrum Insubrium appellari audissent, cognominem Insubribus, pago Haeduorum, ibi omen sequentes loci condidere urbem; Mediolanium appellarunt.

XXXV. Alia subinde manus Cenomanorum[5] Eti-

[1] Haeduos *H. J. Mueller*: aeduos Ω.

[2] Tricastinos ς (*cf.* XXI. XXXI. 9): tricaspinos Ω: tris caspinos *D.*

[3] patientibus Saluis *Valesius*: patentibus (petentibus *B*) siluis Ω.

[4] saltumque Duriae Alpes *Conway*: saltusque iuriae alpes *H*: saltusque iuliae alpis (alpes M^1 *or* M^2A^2) Ω: saltusque (*or* quae) iuliae alte (alta *U*) alpis (alpes F^2) *PE?FBU.*

[5] Cenomanorum *Glareanus*: germanorum Ω.

[1] Tribes in central Gaul some of whose names survive in the modern Bourges, Auvergne, Sens, and Chartres. The Tricastini were in the Roman province (Provence).

vesus the gods proposed a far pleasanter road, into Italy. Taking out with him the surplus population of his tribes, the Bituriges, Arverni, Senones, Haedui, Ambarri, Carnutes, and Aulerci, he marched with vast numbers of infantry and cavalry into the country of the Tricastini.[1] B.C. 391

There the Alps stood over against them; and I for one do not wonder that they seemed insuperable, for as yet no road had led across them—as far back at all events as tradition reaches—unless one chooses to believe the stories about Hercules. While they were there fenced in as it were by the lofty mountains, and were looking about to discover where they might cross, over heights that reached the sky, into another world, superstition also held them back, because it had been reported to them that some strangers seeking lands were beset by the Salui. These were the Massilians, who had come in ships from Phocaea. The Gauls, regarding this as a good omen of their own success, lent them assistance, so that they fortified, without opposition from the Salui, the spot which they had first seized after landing. They themselves crossed the Alps through the Taurine passes and the pass of the Duria; routed the Etruscans in battle not far from the river Ticinus, and learning that they were encamped in what was called the country of the Insubres, who bore the same name as an Haeduan canton, they regarded it as a place of good omen, and founded a city there which they called Mediolanium.[2]

XXXV. Presently another band, consisting of Cenomani led by Etitovius, followed in the tracks

[2] Now Milan.

A.U.C 363 tovio duce vestigia priorum secuta eodem saltu favente Belloveso cum transcendisset Alpes, ubi nunc
2 Brixia ac Verona urbes sunt locos tenuere. Libui considunt post hos Salluviique[1] prope antiquam gentem Laevos Ligures incolentes circa Ticinum amnem. Poenino deinde[2] Boii Lingonesque transgressi cum iam inter Padum atque Alpes omnia tenerentur, Pado ratibus traiecto non Etruscos modo sed etiam Umbros agro pellunt; intra Appenninum
3 tamen sese tenuere. Tum Senones, recentissimi advenarum, ab Utente flumine usque ad Aesim fines habuere. Hanc gentem Clusium Romamque inde venisse comperio: id parum certum est, solamne an ab omnibus Cisalpinorum Gallorum populis adiutam.
4 Clusini novo bello exterriti cum multitudinem, cum formas hominum invisitatas cernerent et genus armorum, audirentque saepe ab iis cis Padum ultraque legiones Etruscorum fusas, quamquam adversus Romanos nullum eis ius societatis amicitiaeve erat, nisi quod Veientes consanguineos adversus populum Romanum non defendissent, legatos Ro-
5 mam qui auxilium ab senatu peterent, misere. De auxilio nihil impetratum; legati tres M. Fabi Ambusti filii missi, qui senatus populique[3] Romani nomine agerent cum Gallis ne a quibus nullam iniuriam accepissent socios populi Romani atque
6 amicos oppugnarent. Romanis eos bello quoque, si

[1] Salluviique *Madvig*: salluui (*or* salluii *or* saluuii) qui Ω.

[2] poenino deinde $E^3\varsigma$: poeni nonne inde *M*: poeninon deinde *Vorm.* M^2 (*or* M^1) UO^1E^1H: paeni non deinde *PL*: peninon deinde *FBA*: poeninen deinde *O*: poenis non deinde *E*: pene noti D^2 (*over erasure*).

[3] populique A^1 (*or* A^2) ς *Ald.*: populi Ω.

of the earlier emigrants; and having, with the approval of Bellovesus, crossed the Alps by the same pass, established themselves where the cities of Brixia and Verona are now. After these the Libui came and settled, and the Salluvii—taking up their abode hard by the ancient tribe of the Laevi Ligures, about the river Ticinus. Then, over the Poenine Pass, came the Boii and Lingones, who finding everything taken up between the Po and the Alps, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove out not only the Etruscans, but also the Umbrians from their lands; nevertheless, they kept on the further side of the Apennines. Then the Senones, the latest to come, had their holdings from the river Utens all the way to the Aesis. This was the tribe, I find, which came to Clusium and from thence to Rome, but whether alone or assisted by all the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul, is uncertain. B.C. 391

The men of Clusium, alarmed by this strange invasion, when they beheld the numbers and the unfamiliar figures of the men and their novel weapons, and heard that on many a field, this side the Po and beyond it, they had put to flight the levies of Etruria; though they had no rights of alliance or of friendship with the Romans, except that they had refused to defend their kinsmen the Veientes against the Roman People; did yet dispatch envoys to Rome to ask help of the senate. As for the help, they were unsuccessful; but the three sons of Marcus Fabius Ambustus were sent as ambassadors to remonstrate with the Gauls, in the name of the senate and the Roman People, against their attack on those who had done them no wrong, and were the Roman People's allies and friends. The Romans,

A.U.C. 363 res cogat, tuendos esse; sed melius visum bellum ipsum amoveri, si posset, et Gallos, novam gentem, pace potius cognosci quam armis.

A.U.C. 364 XXXVI. Mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes habuisset. Quibus postquam mandata ediderunt in concilio 2 Gallorum datur responsum: etsi novum nomen audiant Romanorum, tamen credere viros fortes esse, quorum auxilium a Clusinis in re trepida sit implora- 3 tum; et quoniam legatione adversus se maluerint quam armis tueri socios, ne se quidem pacem quam illi adferant aspernari, si Gallis egentibus agro, quem latius possideant quam colant Clusini, partem finium 4 concedant; aliter pacem impetrari non posse. Et responsum coram Romanis accipere velle, et si negetur ager coram iisdem Romanis dimicaturos, ut nuntiare domum possent quantum Galli virtute cete- 5 ros mortales praestarent. Quodnam id ius esset agrum a possessoribus petere aut minari arma Romanis quaerentibus et quid in Etruria rei Gallis esset, cum illi se in armis ius ferre et omnia fortium virorum esse ferociter dicerent, accensis utrimque

they said, would be obliged to defend them, even B.C. 391
going to war, if circumstances should make it necessary; but it had seemed preferable that the war itself should, if possible, be avoided, and that they should make the acquaintance of the Gauls—a new race to them—in a friendly rather than in a hostile manner.

XXXVI. It was a peaceful embassy, had it not B.C. 390
been for the violence of the ambassadors, who were more like Gauls than Romans. To them, when they had made known their mission in the council, the Gauls replied, that although they then heard for the first time the name of Roman, they could yet believe them to be stout-hearted men, since the Clusini had sought their aid in time of danger; and inasmuch as they had chosen to defend their allies by negotiation rather than by the sword, they would not, for their own part, spurn the peace which the Romans proposed, if the men of Clusium, who possessed more land than they could till, would surrender to the Gauls, who needed land, a portion of their territory; on no other terms could they consider granting peace. They added that they desired to be answered in the presence of the Romans, and that if land were refused them, it was under the eyes of these same Romans that they meant to fight, that they might be able to tell their friends how greatly the Gauls excelled all other men in prowess. When the Romans asked what conceivable right they had to demand land of its occupants under threat of war, and what business Gauls had in Etruria, they were truculently informed, that the new-comers carried their right at the point of the sword and that all things belonged to the brave. So, angry passions

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A.U.C. 364 animis ad arma discurritur et proelium conseritur. 6 Ibi iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt. Nec id clam esse potuit cum ante signa Etruscorum tres nobilissimi fortissimique Romanae iuventutis pugnarent; tantum 7 eminebat peregrina virtus. Quin etiam Q. Fabius evectus extra aciem equo ducem Gallorum ferociter in ipsa signa Etruscorum incursantem per latus transfixum hasta occidit; spoliaque eius legentem Galli agnovere, perque totam aciem Romanum lega- 8 tum esse signum datum est. Omissa inde in Clusinos ira receptui canunt minantes Romanis. Erant qui extemplo Romam eundum censerent; vicere seniores ut legati prius mitterentur questum iniurias postulatumque ut pro iure gentium violato Fabii dede- 9 rentur. Legati Gallorum cum ea, sicut erant mandata, exposuissent, senatui nec factum placebat Fabiorum et ius postulare barbari videbantur; sed ne id quod placebat decerneretur in tantae nobilita- 10 tis viris ambitio obstabat. Itaque ne penes ipsos culpa esset cladis forte Gallico bello acceptae, cognitionem de postulatis Gallorum ad populum reiciunt; ubi tanto plus gratia atque opes valuere ut quorum de poena agebatur tribuni militum consulari potestate

being kindled on both sides, they ran to their B.C. 390
weapons and joined battle; and the envoys, impelled by the fate which was even then urging Rome to its doom, took up arms, in defiance of the law of nations. Nor could it pass unnoticed, when in the very fore-front of the Tuscan line there were fighting three of the noblest and most valiant of the Roman youth, so conspicuous was the strangers' bravery. Nay, Quintus Fabius even rode out in front of the line, and meeting the Gallic leader as he charged boldly at the very standards of the Etruscans, ran his spear through his side and killed him. As he was engaged in despoiling his man, the Gauls recognized him, and the word passed through all the army that it was the Roman envoy. Thereupon, they gave over their anger at the Clusini and sounded the retreat, uttering threats against the Romans. Some were for marching at once on Rome; but the older men brought them over to send envoys first to complain of their wrongs, and to demand the surrender of the Fabii, in satisfaction for their violation of the law of nations. When the Gallic emissaries had stated their mission according to instructions, the senate disapproved of the conduct of the Fabii and felt the demands of the barbarians to be just; but private interest could not suffer them, in the case of men of such exalted station, to decree what they approved. And so, that the blame might not rest with the senate, if a Gallic war should chance to bring disaster, they referred the demands of the Gauls to the people for consideration; and with them wealth and influence carried so much more weight, that the men whose punishment was under discussion were elected consular tribunes for

A.U.C. 364

11 in insequentem annum crearentur. Quo facto haud secus quam dignum erat infensi Galli bellum propalam minantes ad suos redeunt. Tribuni militum cum tribus Fabiis creati Q. Sulpicius Longus Q. Servilius quartum P. Cornelius[1] Maluginensis.

XXXVII. Cum tanta moles mali instaret—adeo obcaecat animos fortuna ubi vim suam ingruentem refringi non volt—civitas quae adversus Fidenatem ac Veientem hostem aliosque finitimos populos ultima experiens auxilia dictatorem multis tempestati-
2 bus dixisset, ea tunc invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente, nihil extraordinarii imperii aut auxilii quaesivit.
3 Tribuni quorum temeritate bellum contractum erat summae rerum praeerant, dilectumque nihilo accuratiorem quam ad media bella haberi solitus erat,
4 extenuantes etiam famam belli, habebant. Interim Galli postquam accepere ultro honorem habitum violatoribus iuris humani elusamque legationem suam esse, flagrantes ira, cuius impotens est gens, confestim signis convolsis citato agmine iter ingredi-
5 untur. Ad quorum praetereuntium raptim tumultum cum exterritae urbes ad arma concurrerent fugaque agrestium fieret, Romam se ire magno clamore significabant quacumque ibant, equis virisque longe ac
6 late fuso agmine immensum obtinentes loci. Sed antecedente fama nuntiisque Clusinorum, deinceps

[1] P. Cornelius *H. J. Mueller* (*cf. Diod.* XV. XX. 1): p. seruilius (*omitted by H*) Ω.

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[1] According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (XII. xix) four legions were embodied, and so many allies and auxiliary troops that at the Allia the Roman army numbered 40,000 (*cf.* Plut. *Cam.* XVIII).

the ensuing year. At this the Gauls were enraged, B.C. 390
as they had every right to be, and returned to their people with open threats of war. The tribunes of the soldiers chosen with the three Fabii were Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius (for his fourth term), and Publius Cornelius Maluginensis.

XXXVII. Now that so heavy a calamity drew towards,—such is the blindness Fortune visits on men's minds when she would have her gathering might meet with no check,—that state which against the Fidenates and Veientes and other neighbouring tribes had on many occasions resorted to the last expedient and named a dictator—that state, I say, though now an enemy never yet seen or heard of was rousing up war from the ocean and the remotest corners of the world, had recourse to no unusual authority or help. The tribunes whose rashness had brought on the war were in supreme command; they conducted the levy with no greater care than had usually been employed in preparing for ordinary campaigns,[1] and even disparaged the rumoured seriousness of the danger. The Gauls, meanwhile, on learning that honours had actually been conferred on men who had violated the rights of mankind and that their embassy had been made light of, were consumed with wrath (a passion which their race is powerless to control), and straightway catching up their standards, set their column in rapid motion. As they marched swiftly and noisily on, the terrified cities armed in haste, and the peasants fled; but they signified with loud cries, wherever they came, that Rome was their goal, and their horse and foot in an extended line covered a vast tract of ground. Yet, though rumour and the report of the Clusini preceded them, and

A.U.C. 364

inde aliorum populorum, plurimum terroris Romam
7 celeritas hostium tulit, quippe quibus velut tumultuario exercitu raptim ducto aegre ad undecimum lapidem occursum est, qua flumen Allia Crustuminis montibus praealto defluens alveo haud multum infra
8 viam Tiberino amni miscetur. Iam omnia contra circaque hostium plena erant, et nata in vanos tumultus gens truci cantu clamoribusque variis horrendo cuncta compleverant sono.

XXXVIII. Ibi tribuni militum non loco castris ante capto, non praemunito vallo quo receptus esset, non deorum saltem, si non hominum memores, nec auspicato nec litato, instruunt aciem diductam in cornua, ne circumveniri multitudine hostium pos-
2 sent; nec tamen aequari frontes poterant cum extenuando infirmam et vix cohaerentem mediam aciem haberent. Paulum erat ab dextera editi loci, quem subsidiariis repleri placuit; eaque res ut initium
3 pavoris ac fugae, sic una salus fugientibus fuit. Nam Brennus regulus Gallorum in paucitate hostium artem maxime timens, ratus ad id captum superiorem locum ut ubi Galli cum acie legionum recta fronte concucurrissent subsidia in aversos transversosque
4 impetum darent, ad subsidiarios signa convertit, si eos

[1] The exact position of the battlefield is uncertain, as the town Crustumerium has disappeared and left no trace. A brook called *Fosso Maestro*, which empties into the Tiber about eleven miles from Rome, has been thought to be the ancient Allia.

after that successive messages from other peoples, B.C. 390
the utmost consternation was wrought in Rome by the enemy's swiftness, which was such that the army, albeit levied as it were *en masse* and hurriedly led out, barely covered eleven miles before confronting him, at the point where the river Allia descends in a very deep channel from the Crustuminian mountains, and mingles, not far south of the highway, with the waters of the Tiber.[1] The Gauls had already overrun all the ground in front and on both sides, and—the race being naturally given to vainglorious outbursts—their wild songs and discordant shouts filled all the air with a hideous noise.

XXXVIII. There the tribunes of the soldiers, without having selected a place for a camp or fortified a position to which they might retreat, and, forgetting even the gods, to say nothing of men, without auspices or sacrificial omens, drew up their line with the wings extended to prevent being outflanked by the numbers of the enemy; yet could not stretch their front as wide as his, though they thinned it till the centre was weak and scarce held together. There was a little eminence on the right which they decided to occupy with their reserves, a measure which, though it was the beginning of their panic and flight, was also the sole salvation of the fugitives. For Brennus, the Gallic chieftain, seeing the Romans to be so few, was especially apprehensive of a stratagem. He supposed that they had seized the higher ground for this purpose, that when the Gauls had made a frontal attack on the battle-line of the legions, the reserves might assail them in the flank and rear. He therefore directed his assault against the reserves, not doubting that, if he could

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loco depulisset haud dubius facilem in aequo campi tantum superanti multitudini victoriam fore; adeo non fortuna modo sed ratio etiam cum barbaris
5 stabat. In altera acie nihil simile Romanis, non apud duces, non apud milites erat. Pavor fugaque occupaverat animos et tanta omnium[1] oblivio ut multo maior pars Veios in hostium urbem, cum Tiberis arceret, quam recto itinere Romam ad
6 coniuges ac liberos fugerent. Parumper subsidiarios tutatus est locus; in reliqua acie simul est clamor proximis ab latere, ultimis ab tergo auditus, ignotum hostem prius paene quam viderent, non modo non temptato certamine sed ne clamore quidem reddito,
7 integri intactique fugerunt; nec ulla caedes pugnantium fuit; terga caesa suomet ipsorum certamine
8 in turba impedientium fugam. Circa ripam Tiberis, quo armis abiectis totum sinistrum cornu defugit, magna strages facta est, multosque imperitos nandi aut invalidos, graves loricis aliisque tegminibus, hau-
9 sere gurgites; maxima tamen pars incolumis Veios perfugit, unde non modo praesidii quicquam sed ne
10 nuntius quidem cladis Romam est missus. Ab dextro cornu, quod procul a flumine et magis sub monte steterat, Romam omnes petiere et ne clausis quidem portis urbis in arcem confugerunt.

[1] omnium *Gronovius D²*: hominum Ω.

dislodge them, it would be easy for his greatly B.C. 390
superior numbers to obtain a victory in the plain. Thus not only luck but generalship as well were on the side of the barbarians. In the other army there was no resemblance to Romans, either amongst officers or private soldiers. Terror and dismay had got hold of their spirits, and such complete forgetfulness of everything that a much greater number fled to Veii, a hostile city, though the Tiber was across their way, than by the straight road to Rome, to their wives and children. For a little while the reserves were protected by their position. In the rest of the field, no sooner had those who were nearest heard the shouting on their flank, and those who were farthest the outcry in their rear, than—fresh and unhurt—they ran away from their strange enemies, almost before they had caught sight of them; and so far were they from risking a combat, that they did not even return their battle-cry. None were slain in fight; but they were cut down from behind as they blocked their escape by their own struggles in the disordered rout. On the bank of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing had fled, after throwing away their arms, there was great slaughter, and many who could not swim, or lacked the strength, weighed down by their corslets and other armour, sank beneath the flood. Nevertheless, the chief part got safely to Veii, whence they not only sent no succours to Rome, but dispatched not even a messenger to tell of the defeat. From the right wing, which had stood at a distance from the river and closer to the foot of the mountain, the fugitives all made for Rome, and without stopping even to shut the city gates, sought refuge in the Citadel.

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XXXIX. Gallos quoque velut obstupefactos miraculum victoriae tam repentinae tenuit, et ipsi pavore defixi primum steterunt, velut ignari quid accidisset; deinde insidias vereri; postremo caesorum spolia legere armorumque cumulos, ut mos eis est, coacer-
2 vare; tum demum postquam nihil usquam hostile cernebatur viam ingressi, haud multo ante solis occasum ad urbem Romam perveniunt. Ubi cum praegressi equites non portas clausas, non stationem pro portis excubare, non armatos esse in muris rettulissent, aliud priori simile miraculum eos sustinuit;
3 noctemque veriti et ignotae situm urbis inter Romam atque Anienem consedere exploratoribus missis circa moenia aliasque portas quaenam hostibus in perdita
4 re consilia essent. Romani cum pars maior ex acie Veios petisset quam Romam, nemo superesse quemquam praeter eos qui Romam refugerant crederet,[1] complorati omnes pariter vivi mortuique totam prope
5 urbem lamentis impleverunt. Privatos deinde luctus stupefecit publicus pavor, postquam hostes adesse nuntiatum est; mox ululatus cantusque dissonos vagantibus circa moenia turmatim barbaris audiebant.
6 Omne inde tempus suspensos ita tenuit animos usque ad lucem alteram ut identidem iam in urbem futurus videretur impetus: primo adventu, quia

[1] crederet $F^2A^1\zeta$: crederent Ω.

XXXIX. The very Gauls themselves, stunned by the marvellous victory they had so suddenly gained, at first stood rooted to the spot with amazement, like men that knew not what had happened; then they feared an ambush; after that they fell to collecting the spoils of the slain and erecting piles of arms, as their custom is; then at last having discovered no hostile movement anywhere, they began their march, and a little before sunset reached the environs of Rome. There, when the cavalry had reconnoitred and had reported that the gates were not closed, that no out-guards were watching before the gates, that no armed men were on the walls, astonishment held them spell-bound as before; and fearful of the night and the lie of the unknown City, they went into camp between Rome and the Anio, after sending off patrols about the walls and the rest of the gates, to find out what the enemy in their desperate case could possibly be at. As for the Romans, inasmuch as more, on escaping from the battle, had fled to Veii than to Rome, and no one supposed that any were left alive except those who had found refuge in the City, they mourned for all alike, both the living and the dead, and well nigh filled the City with lamentation. But presently their personal griefs were overwhelmed in a general panic, with the announcement that the enemy was at hand; and soon they could hear the dissonant howls and songs of the barbarians, as their squadrons roamed about the walls. During all the time that intervened before the following morning their hearts were in such suspense, that each moment they anticipated an immediate attack: on the first arrival of the enemy, because they had come close to the B.C. 390

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accesserant ad urbem—mansuros enim ad Alliam
7 fuisse nisi hoc consilii foret;—deinde sub occasum solis, quia haud multum diei supererat, ante noctem rati sunt[1] invasuros; tum in noctem dilatum con-
8 silium esse, quo plus pavoris inferrent. Postremo lux appropinquans exanimare, timorique perpetuo ipsum malum continens fuit cum signa infesta portis sunt inlata. Nequaquam tamen ea nocte neque insequenti die similis illi quae ad Alliam tam pavide
9 fugerat civitas fuit. Nam cum defendi urbem posse tam parva relicta manu spes nulla esset, placuit cum coniugibus ac liberis iuventutem militarem senatusque robur in arcem Capitoliumque concedere,
10 armisque et frumento conlato inde ex loco munito[2] deos hominesque et Romanum nomen defendere;
11 flaminem sacerdotesque Vestales sacra publica a caede, ab incendiis procul auferre, nec ante deseri cultum eorum quam non superessent qui colerent.
12 Si arx Capitoliumque, sedes deorum, si senatus, caput publici consilii, si militaris iuventus superfuerit imminenti ruinae urbis, faci em iacturam esse seniorum
13 relictae in urbe utique periturae turbae. Et quo id aequiore animo de plebe multitudo ferret, senes triumphales consularesque simul se cum illis palam dicere obituros nec his corporibus quibus non arma

[1] rati sunt *Walters* (*Class. Quart.* V (1911) *p.* 14): rati (ratu *B*) se Ω: rati *V*: enim *Walters* (*Oxford Text*).
[2] inde ex loco munito *Reid*: ex loco inde munito Ω.

City—for they would have stopped at the Allia, had B.C. 390
this not been their design;—again, towards sundown, because there was little daylight left, they thought that they would enter the City before nightfall; then they concluded that they had put it off till night, to strike more fear into them. Finally the approach of dawn put them beside themselves, and close upon these restless apprehensions came the evil they were dreading, when the hostile forces entered the city gates. Yet neither that night nor the following day did the citizens at all resemble those who had fled in such consternation at the Allia. For having no hopes that they could protect the City with so small a force as remained to them, they resolved that the men of military age and the able-bodied senators should retire into the Citadel and the Capitol, with their wives and children; and, having laid in arms and provisions, should from that stronghold defend the gods, the men, and the name of Rome; that the flamen and the priestesses of Vesta should remove the sacred objects pertaining to the State far from the bloodshed and the flames, nor should their cult be abandoned till none should be left to cherish it. If the Citadel and the Capitol, where dwelt the gods; if the senate, the source of public wisdom; if the young men capable of bearing arms survived the impending destruction of the City, they could easily bear to lose the crowd of old men left behind them, who were bound to die in any case. And in order that the multitude of commoners might endure it with the more composure, the old men who had triumphed and those who had been consuls declared publicly that they would perish with those others, nor burden with bodies

A.U.C. 364 ferre, non tueri patriam possent, oneraturos inopiam armatorum.

XL. Haec inter seniores morti destinatos iactata solacia. Versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur, commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis per trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis 2 victricis quaecumque reliqua esset fortuna. Digredientibus qui spem omnem atque opem secum ferebant ab iis qui captae urbis non superesse statuerant 3 exitio cum ipsa res speciesque miserabilis erat, tum muliebris fletus et concursatio incerta nunc hos nunc illos sequentium rogitantiumque viros natosque cui se fato darent, nihil quod humani superesset mali[1] 4 relinquebant. Magna pars tamen earum in arcem suos persecutae sunt nec prohibente ullo nec vocante, quia quod utile obsessis ad minuendam imbellem 5 multitudinem id parum humanum erat. Alia maxime plebis turba, quam nec capere tam exiguus collis nec alere in tanta inopia frumenti poterat, ex urbe effusa 6 velut agmine iam uno petiit Ianiculum. Inde pars per agros dilapsi, pars urbes petunt finitimas, sine ullo duce aut consensu suam quisque spem, sua consilia communibus deploratis sequentes.[2]

7 Flamen interim Quirinalis virginesque Vestales

[1] humani superesset mali *Finckh*: humanis superesset malis Ω.

[2] sequentes *Madvig*: exsequentes (exe- *B*) Ω.

incapable of bearing arms in defence of the country a.c. 390
the scanty stores of the fighting men.

XL. Such were the consolations which the old men appointed to die exchanged among themselves; then, directing their encouragement to the band of youths whom they were escorting to the Capitol and the Citadel, they committed to their valour and their young strength whatever fortune might yet be in store for a City that for three hundred and sixty years had been victorious in every war. On the departure of those who carried with them all hope and help, from those who had resolved not to survive the capture and destruction of their City, though the separation was a pitiful thing to see, yet the tears of the women, as they ran distractedly up and down, and following now these, now those, demanded of husbands and sons to what fate they were consigning them, supplied the final touch of human wretchedness. Still, the greater part of them followed their sons into the Citadel, though none either forbade or encouraged it, since what would have helped the besieged to lessen the number of non-combatants would have been inhuman. Another host—consisting chiefly of plebeians—too large for so small a hill to receive, or to support with so meagre a supply of corn, streamed out of the City as though forming at last one continuous line, and took their way towards Janiculum. Thence some of them scattered through the country-side, and others made for the towns near by. They had neither leader nor concerted plan; each followed the promptings of his own hopes and his own counsels, in despair of the commonwealth.

Meanwhile the flamen of Quirinus and the Vestal

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omissa rerum suarum cura, quae sacrorum secum ferenda, quae quia vires ad omnia ferenda deerant relinquenda essent consultantes, quisve ea locus fideli 8 adservaturus custodia esset, optimum ducunt condita in doliolis sacello proximo aedibus flaminis Quirinalis, ubi nunc despui religio est, defodere; cetera inter se onere partito ferunt [1] via quae sublicio ponte ducit 9 ad Ianiculum. In eo clivo eas cum L. Albinius de plebe homo conspexisset plaustro coniugem ac liberos avehens [2] inter ceteram turbam quae inutilis bello 10 urbe excedebat salvo etiam tum discrimine divinarum humanarumque rerum religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicas sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique ac suos in vehiculo conspici, descendere uxorem ac pueros iussit, virgines sacraque in plaustrum imposuit et Caere, quo iter sacerdotibus erat, pervexit.

XLI. Romae interim satis iam omnibus, ut in tali re, ad tuendam arcem compositis turba seniorum domos regressi adventum hostium obstinato ad 2 mortem animo exspectabant. Qui eorum curules gesserant magistratus, ut in fortunae pristinae honorumque ac virtutis insignibus morerentur, quae augustissima vestis est tensas ducentibus triumphantibusve, ea vestiti medio aedium eburneis sellis

[1] ferunt ς: feruntur Ω.
[2] avehens *Madvig*: uehens ς: habens Ω.

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[1] Cars used in the games of the Circus to carry the images of the Gods.

[2] The curule chair was inlaid with ivory. At this period the only curule magistrates were dictators, masters of the horse, consuls, and censors.

virgins, with no thought for their own belongings, B.C. 390
were consulting which of the sacred things they should carry with them, and which, because they were not strong enough to carry them all, they must leave behind, and, finally, where these objects would be safe. They judged it best to place them in jars and bury them in the shrine adjoining the flamen's house, where it is now forbidden to spit; the rest of the things they carried, sharing the burden amongst them, along the road which leads by the Sublician Bridge to Janiculum. As they mounted the hill they were perceived by a plebeian named Lucius Albinius, who had a waggon in which he was conveying his wife and children, amidst the throng of those who, unfit for war, were leaving the City. Preserving even then the distinction between divine and human, and holding it sacrilege that the priestesses of his country should go afoot, bearing the sacred objects of the Roman People, while his family were seen in a vehicle, he commanded his wife and children to get down, placed the virgins and their relics in the waggon, and brought them to Caere, whither the priestesses were bound.

XLI. At Rome meantime such arrangements for defending the Citadel as the case admitted of were now fairly complete, and the old men returned to their homes to await the coming of their enemies with hearts that were steeled to die. Such of them as had held curule magistracies, that they might face death in the trappings of their ancient rank and office, as beseemed their worth, put on the stately robes which are worn by those who conduct the *tensae*[1] or celebrate a triumph, and, thus habited, seated themselves on ivory chairs[2] in the middle of

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3 sedere. Sunt qui M. Folio pontifice maximo praefante carmen devovisse eos se pro patria Quiritibusque Romanis tradant.

4 Galli et quia interposita nocte a contentione pugnae remiserant animos et quod nec in acie ancipiti usquam certaverant proelio nec tum impetu aut vi capiebant urbem, sine ira, sine ardore animorum ingressi postero die urbem patente Collina porta in forum perveniunt, circumferentes oculos ad templa
5 deum arcemque solam belli speciem tenentem. Inde modico relicto praesidio ne quis in dissipatos ex arce aut Capitolio impetus fieret, dilapsi ad praedam vacuis occursu hominum viis pars in proxima quaeque tectorum agmine ruunt, pars ultima, velut ea
6 demum intacta et referta praeda, petunt. Inde rursus ipsa solitudine absterriti, ne qua fraus hostilis vagos exciperet, in forum ac propinqua foro loca
7 conglobati redibant[1]; ubi eos, plebis aedificiis obseratis, patentibus atriis principum, maior prope cunctatio tenebat aperta quam clausa invadendi;
8 adeo haud secus quam venerabundi intuebantur in aedium vestibulis sedentes viros praeter ornatum habitumque humano augustiorem maiestate etiam quam voltus gravitasque oris prae se ferebat simillimos dis.

[1] redibant F^{3} (*or* F^{2})$D^{2}A^{2}$: rediebant Ω.

their houses. Some historians record that Marcus B.C. 390
Folius, the pontifex maximus, led in the recitation of a solemn vow, by which they devoted themselves to death, in behalf of their country and the Roman Quirites.

The Gauls found their lust for combat cooled by the night which had intervened. At no point in the battle had they been pushed to desperate exertions, nor had they now to carry the City by assault. It was therefore without rancour or excitement that they entered Rome, on the following day, by the Colline Gate (which lay wide open), and made their way to the Forum, gazing about them at the temples of the gods and at the Citadel, which alone presented some show of war. Thence, after leaving a moderate guard to prevent any attack upon their scattered forces from Citadel or Capitol, they dispersed in quest of booty through streets where there was none to meet them, some rushing in a body into whatever houses were nearest, while others sought out the most remote, as though supposing that only such would be intact and full of plunder. But being frightened out of these by their very solitude, lest the enemy should by some ruse entrap them as they wandered apart, they came trooping back to the Forum and the places near it. There they found the dwellings of the plebeians fastened up, but the halls of the nobles open; and they hesitated almost more to enter the open houses than the shut,—so nearly akin to religious awe was their feeling as they beheld seated in the vestibules, beings who, besides that their ornaments and apparel were more splendid than belonged to man, seemed also, in their majesty of countenance and in the gravity of their expression, most like to gods.

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9 Ad eos velut simulacra versi cum starent, M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse atque ab eo initium caedis ortum, ceteros in sedibus suis truci-
10 datos; post principum caedem nulli deinde mortalium parci, diripi tecta, exhaustis inici ignes.

XLII. Ceterum, seu non omnibus delendi urbem libido erat, seu ita placuerat principibus Gallorum et ostentari quaedam incendia terroris causa, si compelli ad deditionem caritate sedum suarum
2 obsessi possent, et non omnia concremari tecta ut quodcumque superesset urbis, id pignus ad flectendos hostium animos haberent, nequaquam perinde atque in capta urbe primo[1] die aut passim aut late vagatus
3 est ignis. Romani ex arce plenam hostium urbem cernentes vagosque per vias omnes cursus, cum alia atque alia parte nova aliqua clades oreretur, non mentibus solum consipere,[2] sed ne auribus quidem
4 atque oculis satis constare poterant. Quocumque clamor hostium,[3] mulierum puerorumque ploratus, sonitus flammae et fragor ruentium tectorum avertisset, paventes ad omnia animos oraque et oculos flectebant velut ad spectaculum a fortuna positi

[1] primo *H. J. Mueller*: prima Ω.
[2] consipere *Lipsius*: concipere Ω: incipere *E*.
[3] clamor hostium A^2 (*or* A^3) ς: clamor sonitus hostium Ω.

While they stood reverentially before them, as B.C. 390
if they had been images, it is related that a Gaul stroked the beard of one of them, Marcus Papirius,—which he wore long, as they all did then,—whereat the Roman struck him over the head with his ivory mace, and, provoking his anger, was the first to be slain; after that the rest were massacred where they sat; and when the nobles had been murdered, there was no mercy then shown to anyone; the houses were ransacked, and after being emptied were given to the flames.

XLII. But whether it was that not all the Gauls desired to destroy the City, or that their leaders had resolved to make a certain show of burning, to inspire alarm, in hopes that the besieged might be driven to capitulate by affection for their homes, but not to burn up all the houses, in order that they might hold whatever remained of the City as a pledge to work on the feelings of their enemies—however this may have been, the fire spread by no means so freely or extensively on the first day as is commonly the case in a captured town. As the Romans looked down from their fastness and saw the City full of enemies running up and down in all the streets, while first in one quarter and then in another some new calamity would be occurring, they were unable, I do not say to keep their heads, but even to be sure of their ears and eyes. Wherever the shouting of the invaders, the lamentations of the women and children, the crackling of the flames, and the crash of falling buildings drew their attention, trembling at each sound, they turned their thoughts and their gaze that way, as though Fortune had placed them there to witness the

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occidentis patriae nec ullius rerum suarum relicti praeterquam corporum vindices, tanto ante alios miserandi magis qui unquam obsessi sunt quod interclusi a patria obsidebantur, omnia sua cernentes in hostium potestate. Nec tranquillior nox diem tam foede actum excepit; lux deinde noctem inquieta[1] insecuta est, nec ullum erat tempus quod a novae semper cladis alicuius spectaculo cessaret. Nihil tamen tot onerati atque obruti malis flexerunt animos quin, etsi omnia flammis ac ruinis aequata vidissent, quamvis inopem parvumque quem tenebant collem libertati relictum virtute defenderent; et iam cum eadem cottidie acciderent, velut adsueti malis abalienaverant ab sensu rerum suarum animos, arma tantum ferrumque in dextris velut solas reliquias spei suae intuentes.

XLIII. Galli quoque per aliquot dies in tecta modo urbis nequiquam bello gesto cum inter incendia ac ruinas captae urbis nihil superesse praeter armatos hostes viderent nec quicquam tot cladibus territos nec flexuros ad deditionem animos [ni vis adhiberetur, experiri ultima et impetum facere in arcem] statuunt. Prima luce signo dato multitudo omnis in foro instruitur; inde clamore sublato ac testudine facta subeunt. Adversus quos Romani

[1] inquiota *Gronovius*: inquietam Ω.

pageant of their dying country. Of all their possessions nothing was left them to defend save their persons alone; and so much more wretched was their plight than that of all others who have ever been beleaguered, that they were cut off from their native City and confined where they could see all that belonged to them in the power of their enemies. Nor was the night more tranquil, after a day of such distress; and the night was followed by a restless day, with never a moment that had not still some fresh calamity to unfold. Yet, oppressed as they were, or rather overwhelmed, by so many misfortunes, nothing could alter their resolve; though they should see everything laid low in flames and ruins, they would stoutly defend the hill they held, however small and naked, which was all that Liberty had left. And now that the same events were occurring every day, like men grown used to grief, they had ceased to feel their own misfortunes, looking solely to their shields and the swords in their right hands as their only remaining hope. B.C. 390

XLIII. The Gauls likewise, having vainly for some days waged war against only the buildings of Rome, when they saw that there was nothing left amidst the smouldering ruins of the captured City but armed enemies, who for all their disasters were not a jot appalled nor likely to yield to anything but force, took a desperate resolution to attack the Citadel. At daybreak the signal was made; and the entire host, having formed up in the Forum, gave a cheer, and raising their shields above their heads and locking them, began the ascent. The defenders on the other hand did nothing rashly

A.U.C. 364 nihil temere nec trepide; ad omnis aditus stationibus firmatis, qua signa ferri videbant ea robore virorum opposito scandere hostem sinunt, quo successerit magis in arduum eo pelli posse per proclive facilius
3 rati. Medio fere clivo restitere, atque inde ex loco superiore, qui prope sua sponte in hostem inferebat impetu facto, strage ea ac[1] ruina fudere Gallos ut nunquam postea nec pars nec universi temptaverint
4 tale pugnae genus. Omissa itaque spe per vim atque arma subeundi obsidionem parant, cuius ad id tempus immemores et quod in urbe fuerat frumentum incendiis urbis absumpserant, et ex agris
5 per eos ipsos dies raptum omne Veios erat. Igitur exercitu diviso partim per finitimos populos praedari placuit, partim obsideri arcem, ut obsidentibus frumentum populatores agrorum praeberent.
6 Proficiscentis Gallos ab urbe ad Romanam experiendam virtutem fortuna ipsa Ardeam, ubi Camillus
7 exsulabat, duxit; qui maestior ibi fortuna publica quam sua cum dis hominibusque accusandis senesceret, indignando mirandoque ubi illi viri essent qui secum Veios Faleriosque cepissent, qui alia bella
8 fortius semper quam felicius gessissent, repente audit Gallorum exercitum adventare atque de eo pavidos

[1] strage ea ac *Madvig*: strage ac Ω.

or in confusion. At all the approaches they had B.C. 390
strengthened the guard-posts, and where they saw the enemy advancing they stationed their best soldiers, and suffered them to come up, persuaded that the higher they mounted up the steep the easier it would be to drive them down. They made their stand about the middle of the declivity, and there, launching their attack from the higher ground, which seemed of itself to hurl them against the foe, dislodged the Gauls, with such havoc and destruction that they never attempted to attack in that manner again, with either a part or the whole of their strength. So, relinquishing all hope of getting up by force of arms, they prepared for a blockade. Having never till that moment considered such a thing, they had destroyed all the corn in the City with their conflagrations, and what was in the fields had all been hurriedly carried off, within the last few days, to Veii. They therefore arranged to divide their army, and employ part of it to pillage the neighbouring nations and part to invest the Citadel, in order that those who held the lines might be provisioned by the foragers.

When the Gauls departed from the City, Fortune's own hand guided them to Ardea, that they might make trial of Roman manhood. Camillus was languishing there in exile, more grieved by the nation's calamity than by his own; and as he sorrowfully inveighed against gods and men, and asked, with wonder and humiliation, where those heroes were who had shared with him in the capture of Veii and Falerii, and whose gallantry in other wars had ever outrun their success, of a sudden he heard that the army of the Gauls was coming, and that the Ardeates

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Ardeates consultare. Nec secus quam divino spiritu tactus cum se in mediam contionem intulisset abstinere suetus ante talibus conciliis, (XLIV.) "Ardeates" inquit, "veteres amici, novi etiam cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc eguit mea, nemo vestrum condicionis meae oblitum me huc processisse putet; sed res ac periculum commune cogit quod quisque possit in re trepida praesidii in medium conferre. Et quando ego vobis pro tantis vestris in me meritis gratiam referam, si nunc cessavero? Aut ubi usus erit mei vobis, si in bello non fuerit? Hac arte in patria steti et invictus bello, in pace ab ingratis civibus pulsus sum. Vobis autem, Ardeates, fortuna oblata est et pro tantis populi Romani beneficiis, quanta ipsi meministis— nec enim exprobranda ea[1] apud memores sunt— gratiae referendae et huic urbi decus ingens belli ex hoste communi pariendi. Quae effuso agmine adventat gens est cui natura corpora animosque magna magis quam firma dederit; eo in certamen omne plus terroris quam virium ferunt. Argumento sit clades Romana. Patentem cepere urbem: ex arce Capitolioque iis exigua resistitur manu: iam obsidionis taedio victi abscedunt vagique per agros palantur. Cibo vinoque raptim hausto repleti, ubi

[1] exprobranda ea *Alschefski U*: exprobrandae *P*: exprobranda *VOEHA*: exprobrande *MD²FB*: exprobandae E^2: exprobanda *L*: exprobrando D^3 *or* D^4A^2.

in alarm were deliberating what to do about it. With B.C. 390
an inspiration nothing less than divine, he pushed into the midst of their conference,—though before accustomed to avoid these councils—and there, (XLIV.) "Men of Ardea," he said, "my ancient friends, and of late my fellow citizens,—since your goodness would have it so and my own fortune has made it necessary,—let none of you suppose me to have come forward in forgetfulness of my condition; but circumstances and our common peril oblige every man at this crisis to contribute what he can to the general defence. And when shall I show gratitude for your great kindnesses to me, if I am backward now? Or when shall you have need of me, if not in war? 'Twas by this art that I stood secure in my native City: unbeaten in war, I was driven out in time of peace by the thankless citizens. But you, men of Ardea, have now an opportunity of requiting the Roman People for such great benefits as you yourselves are mindful of,—nor need I cast up to you things which you remember;—and your city has an opportunity to win from our common enemy great renown in war. That people now drawing near in loose array has been endowed by nature with bodily size and courage, great indeed but vacillating; which is the reason that to every conflict they bring more terror than strength. This may be seen in their defeat of the Romans. They captured the City, which lay wide open; but a handful of men in the Citadel and the Capitol are holding them at bay; already, oppressed by the tedium of the siege, they are departing and roaming aimlessly through the country-side. They greedily gorge themselves with food and wine, and when

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nox adpetit prope rivos aquarum sine munimento, sine stationibus ac custodiis passim ferarum ritu sternuntur, nunc ab secundis rebus magis etiam 7 solito incauti. Si vobis in animo est tueri moenia vestra nec pati haec omnia Galliam fieri, prima vigilia capite arma frequentesque [1] me sequimini ad caedem, non ad pugnam. Nisi vinctos somno velut pecudes trucidandos tradidero, non recuso eundem Ardeae rerum mearum exitum, quem Romae habui."

XLV. Aequis iniquisque persuasum erat tantum bello virum neminem usquam ea tempestate esse. Contione dimissa corpora curant intenti quam mox signum daretur. Quo dato primae silentio noctis ad 2 portas Camillo praesto fuere. Egressi haud procul urbe, sicut praedictum erat, castra Gallorum intuta neglectaque ab omni parte nacti cum ingenti clamore 3 invadunt. Nusquam proelium, omnibus locis caedes est; nuda corpora et soluta somno trucidantur. Extremos tamen pavor cubilibus suis excitos, quae aut unde vis esset ignaros, in fugam et quosdam in hostem ipsum improvidos tulit. Magna pars in agrum Antiatem delati incursione ab oppidanis in palatos facta circumveniuntur.

4 Similis in agro Veienti Tuscorum facta strages

[1] frequentesque *V*: frequentes Ω.

night approaches they erect no rampart, and without B.C. 390
pickets or sentries, throw themselves down anywhere beside a stream, in the manner of wild beasts. Just now success has rendered them even more careless than they are wont to be. If you have a mind to protect your city and not to suffer all this country to become Gaul, arm yourselves in the first watch, and follow me in force, not to a battle but a massacre. If I do not deliver them up to you fast asleep, to be butchered like cattle, I am ready to submit at Ardea to the same fate that I endured at Rome."

XLV. Well-wishers and opponents were alike persuaded that there was no such warrior in those days anywhere. Breaking up the council, they supped, and waited intently for the signal. On its being given, in the silence of the early night, they presented themselves before Camillus at the gates. They had not left the city very far behind them, when they came to the camp of the Gauls, unguarded, just as he had prophesied, and open on every side, and, giving a loud cheer, rushed upon it. There was no resistance anywhere: the whole place was a shambles, where unarmed men, relaxed in sleep, were slaughtered. Those, however, who were farthest off were frightened from the places where they lay, and ignorant of the nature of the attack or its source, fled panic-stricken, and some ran unawares straight into the enemy. The most of them were carried into the territory of Antium, where they wandered about until the townspeople sallied out and cut them off.

A similar overthrow was experienced, in the region of Veii, by the Etruscans. So far were they from

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est, qui urbis iam prope quadringentesimum annum vicinae, oppressae ab hoste invisitato, inaudito, adeo nihil miseriti sunt ut in agrum Romanum eo tempore incursiones facerent plenique praedae Veios etiam praesidiumque, spem ultimam Romani nominis, in 5 animo habuerint oppugnare. Viderant eos milites Romani vagantes per agros et congregato agmine praedam prae se agentis, et castra cernebant haud 6 procul Veiis posita. Inde primum miseratio sui, deinde indignitas atque ex ea ira animos cepit: Etruscisne[1] etiam, a quibus bellum Gallicum in se 7 avertissent, ludibrio esse clades suas? Vix temperavere animis quin extemplo impetum facerent; compressi a Q. Caedicio centurione, quem sibimet 8 ipsi praefecerant, rem in noctem sustinuere. Tantum par Camillo defuit auctor: cetera eodem ordine eodemque fortunae eventu gesta. Quin etiam ducibus captivis, qui caedi nocturnae superfuerant, ad aliam manum Tuscorum ad salinas profecti nocte insequenti ex improviso maiorem caedem edidere, duplicique victoria ovantes Veios redeunt.

XLVI. Romae interim plerumque obsidio segnis et utrimque silentium esse ad id tantum intentis Gallis ne quis hostium evadere inter stationes posset, cum repente iuvenis Romanus admiratione in se

[1] Etruscisne *Vorm.*? ς: etruscin *MPHDLA*: etruscis $P^{a}FUBOED^{a}A^{a}$.

[1] Established according to tradition, by King Ancus (I. xxxiii. 9), on the right bank of the Tiber, not far from Ostia.

pitying a City that had been their neighbour for close upon four hundred years, and was now overwhelmed by an enemy never seen or heard of before, that they chose that time to make incursions into the lands of the Romans; and laden with spoils, even meditated an attack on Veii and its garrison, the last hope of the Roman name. The Roman soldiers had seen them, as they ranged through the fields and afterwards, gathering in a body, drove the booty off before them, and could descry their camp, which was pitched not far from Veii. This made them at first to compassionate themselves; then they were seized with resentment, which soon gave way to rage: were even the Etruscans, whom they had saved from the Gauls by incurring war themselves, to make sport of their calamities? They could hardly curb an impulse to assail them on the instant; but being restrained by the centurion Quintus Caedicius, whom they had chosen to be their commander, they postponed the affair till dark. The only thing wanting was a leader like Camillus; in all else the order followed was the same, and the same success was achieved. Indeed, under the guidance of captives who had survived the nocturnal massacre, they set out on the following night and came to another band of Etruscans, at the salt-works,[1] whom they surprised and defeated with even greater carnage; and so, rejoicing in their double victory, returned to Veii. B.C. 390

XLVI. At Rome meanwhile the siege was for the most part languishing and all was quiet on both sides, the Gauls being solely concerned with preventing the escape of any enemy through their lines, when suddenly a young Roman attracted the

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2 cives hostesque convertit. Sacrificium erat statum in Quirinali colle genti Fabiae. Ad id faciendum C. Fabius Dorsuo Gabino cinctu incinctus[1] sacra manibus gerens cum de Capitolio descendisset, per medias hostium stationes egressus nihil ad vocem cuiusquam terroremve motus in Quirinalem collem
3 pervenit; ibique omnibus sollemniter peractis eadem revertens similiter constanti vultu graduque, satis sperans propitios esse deos quorum cultum ne mortis quidem metu prohibitus deseruisset, in Capitolium ad suos rediit seu attonitis Gallis miraculo audaciae seu religione etiam motis, cuius haudquaquam neglegens gens est.
4 Veiis interim non animi tantum in dies sed etiam vires crescebant. Nec Romanis solum eo convenientibus ex agris qui aut proelio adverso aut clade captae urbis palati fuerant, sed etiam ex Latio voluntariis confluentibus ut in parte praedae essent,
5 maturum iam videbatur repeti patriam eripique ex hostium manibus; sed corpori valido caput deerat.
6 Locus ipse admonebat Camilli, et magna pars militum erat qui ductu auspicioque eius res prospere gesserant; et Caedicius negare se commissurum cur sibi aut deorum aut hominum quisquam imperium finiret potius quam ipse memor ordinis sui posceret
7 imperatorem. Consensu omnium placuit ab Ardea

[1] cinctu incinctus *Walters*: cinctus (cintus *B*: cunctus *F*) Ω: cinctu *V Rhenanus*.

[1] This was a mode of girding up the toga traditional in religious ceremonies.

wondering admiration of fellow citizens and foes. B.C. 390
There was an annual sacrifice to be made on the Quirinal Hill by the family of the Fabii. To celebrate it Gaius Fabius Dorsuo, in the Gabinian cincture,[1] with the sacred vessels in his hands, descended from the Capitol, passed out through the midst of the enemy's pickets, and regardless of any words or threats, proceeded to the Quirinal, where he duly accomplished all the rites. He then returned by the same way, with the like resolute countenance and gait, in the full assurance of the favour of the gods whose service not even the fear of death could cause him to neglect, and rejoined his friends on the Capitol, leaving the Gauls dumbfounded by his astonishing audacity, or perhaps even moved by religious awe, a sentiment to which that race is far from indifferent.

At Veii, all this while, they were gathering from day to day, not courage merely, but strength as well. Not only were Romans coming in from the country-side,—men who had been wanderers since the defeat, or the capture of the City,—but volunteers were also pouring in from Latium, that they might share in the spoils. It seemed therefore that the time was now ripe to return to their native City and wrest it from the hands of the enemy; but their strong body lacked a head. The place itself reminded men of Camillus, and there were many of the soldiers who had fought successfully under his leadership and auspices. Moreover, Caedicius declared that he would suffer neither god nor man to put an end to his authority, but, remembering his station, would himself demand the appointment of a general. With the consent of all they resolved

A.U.C. 364 Camillum acciri, sed antea consulto senatu, qui Romae esset: adeo regebat omnia pudor, discrimina- 8 que rerum prope perditis rebus servabant. Ingenti periculo transeundum per hostium custodias erat. Ad eam rem Pontius Cominus,[1] impiger iuvenis, operam pollicitus incubans cortici secundo Tiberi ad 9 urbem defertur. Inde qua proximum fuit a ripa, per praeruptum eoque neglectum hostium custodiae saxum in Capitolium evadit, et ad magistratus ductus 10 mandata exercitus edit. Accepto inde senatus consulto uti comitiis curiatis revocatus de exsilio iussu populi Camillus dictator extemplo diceretur militesque haberent imperatorem quem vellent, eadem de- 11 gressus[2] nuntius Veios contendit; missique Ardeam legati ad Camillum Veios eum perduxere, seu—quod magis credere libet non prius profectum ab Ardea quam compererit[3] legem latam, quod nec iniussu populi mutari finibus posset nec nisi dictator dictus auspicia in exercitu habere—lex curiata lata est dictatorque absens dictus.

XLVII. Dum haec Veiis agebantur, interim arx Romae Capitoliumque in ingenti periculo fuit. 2 Namque Galli seu vestigio notato humano, qua nuntius a Veiis pervenerat, seu sua sponte animadverso ad Carmentis saxo ascensu aequo, nocte

[1] Cominus *E Sigonius* (*Conway, Italic Dialects, p.* 15): quominus Ω: comminus *MO?*: cominius E^2 (*or* E^3) ς.
[2] degressus *Sigonius*: digressus (digresū *B*: digressu B^1) Ω.
[3] compererit ς: comperit Ω: comperet *M.*

[1] The mother of Evander, whose name appears in I. vii. 8 in the form Carmenta.

to send for Camillus from Ardea, but not till the B.C. 390
senate at Rome had been consulted; so modest were they in their conduct of everything, preserving the proper distinctions even in their well-nigh desperate case. It was necessary at enormous risk to pass the enemy's outposts. This an active youth named Pontius Cominus undertook to do, and supporting himself on a strip of cork, floated down the Tiber to the City. Once there, he passed by the shortest way from the bank up a cliff so steep that the enemy had neglected to guard it, to the Capitol, and being brought before the magistrates delivered to them the message from the army. Then, on the senate's resolving that the *curiate comitia* should recall Camillus from exile, and that, even as the people commanded he should straightway be appointed dictator, and the soldiers have the general they desired, the messenger returned by the same route and came in haste to Veii; whence envoys were despatched to Ardea for Camillus, and fetched him to Veii; or rather—as I prefer to believe that he did not quit Ardea until he had learnt that the law was passed, since he could not change his residence without the People's command, nor take the auspices in the army till he had been appointed dictator—the curiate law was passed and Camillus declared dictator, in his absence.

XLVII. While this was going on at Veii, the Citadel of Rome and the Capitol were in very great danger. For the Gauls had noticed the tracks of a man, where the messenger from Veii had got through, or perhaps had observed for themselves that the cliff near the shrine of Carmentis [1] afforded an easy ascent. So on a starlit night they first sent

A.U.C. 364 sublustri cum primo inermem qui temptaret viam praemisissent, tradentes inde arma ubi quid iniqui esset, alterni innixi sublevantesque in vicem et 3 trahentes alii alios, prout postularet locus, tanto silentio in summum evasere ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad 4 nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. Anseres non fefellere quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinebatur. Quae res saluti fuit; namque clangore eorum alarumque crepitu excitus M. Manlius qui triennio ante consul fuerat, vir bello egregius, armis arreptis simul ad arma ceteros ciens vadit, et dum ceteri trepidant, Gallum qui iam in summo 5 constiterat umbone ictum deturbat. Cuius casus prolapsi cum proximos sterneret, trepidantes alios armisque omissis saxa quibus adhaerebant manibus amplexos trucidat.[1] Iamque et alii congregati telis missilibusque saxis proturbare hostes, ruinaque tota 6 prolapsa acies in praeceps deferri. Sedato deinde tumultu reliquum noctis, quantum in turbatis mentibus poterat, cum praeteritum quoque periculum 7 sollicitaret, quieti datum est. Luce orta vocatis classico ad concilium militibus ad tribunos, cum et recte et perperam facto pretium deberetur, Manlius primum ob virtutem laudatus donatusque non ab

[1] trucidat ς: trucidant Ω.

forward an unarmed man to try the way; then B.C. 390
handing up their weapons when there was a steep place, and supporting themselves by their fellows or affording support in their turn, they pulled one another up, as the ground required, and reached the summit, in such silence that not only the sentries but even the dogs—creatures easily troubled by noises in the night—were not aroused. But they could not elude the vigilance of the geese, which, being sacred to Juno, had, notwithstanding the dearth of provisions, not been killed. This was the salvation of them all; for the geese with their gabbling and clapping of their wings woke Marcus Manlius,—consul of three years before and a distinguished soldier,—who, catching up his weapons and at the same time calling the rest to arms, strode past his bewildered comrades to a Gaul who had already got a foothold on the crest and dislodged him with a blow from the boss of his shield. As he slipped and fell, he overturned those who were next to him, and the others in alarm let go their weapons and grasping the rocks to which they had been clinging, were slain by Manlius. And by now the rest had come together and were assailing the invaders with javelins and stones, and presently the whole company lost their footing and were flung down headlong to destruction. Then after the din was hushed, the rest of the night—so far as their excitement would permit, when even a past peril made them nervous—was given up to sleep. At dawn the trumpet summoned the soldiers to assemble before the tribunes. Good conduct and bad had both to be requited. First Manlius was praised for his courage and presented with gifts, not only by

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tribunis solum militum sed consensu etiam militari; 8 cui universi selibras farris et quartarios vini ad aedes eius, quae in arce erant, contulerunt,—rem dictu parvam, ceterum inopia fecerat eam argumentum ingens caritatis, cum se quisque victu suo fraudans detractum corpori atque usibus necessariis 9 ad honorem unius viri conferret. Tum vigiles eius loci qua fefellerat adscendens hostis citati; et cum in omnes more militari se animadversurum Q. 10 Sulpicius[1] tribunus militum pronuntiasset, consentiente clamore militum in unum vigilem conicientium culpam deterritus, a ceteris abstinuit, reum haud dubium eius noxae adprobantibus cunctis de 11 saxo deiecit. Inde intentiores utrimque custodiae esse, et apud Gallos, quia volgatum erat inter Veios Romamque nuntios commeare, et apud Romanos ab nocturni periculi memoria.

XLVIII. Sed ante omnia obsidionis bellique mala 2 fames utrumque exercitum urgebat, Gallos pestilentia etiam, cum loco iacente inter tumulos castra habentes, tum ab incendiis torrido et vaporis pleno cineremque non pulverem modo ferente cum quid 3 venti motum esset. Quorum intolerantissima gens umorique ac frigori adsueta cum aestu et anguore vexata volgatis velut in pecua morbis morerentur, iam pigritia singulos sepeliendi promisce acervatos

[1] Q. Sulpicius *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xxxvi. § 11): p. (*or* publius *or* pubblius) sulpicius (*or* sulpitius) Ω.

the tribunes of the soldiers, but by agreement B.C. 390
amongst the troops, who brought each half a pound of spelt and a gill of wine to his house, which stood in the Citadel. It is a little thing to tell, but the scarcity made it a great token of affection, since everyone robbed himself of his own sustenance and bestowed what he had subtracted from his physical necessities to do honour to one man. Then the watchmen of the cliff which the enemy had scaled without being discovered were called up. Quintus Sulpicius, the tribune, announced his intention to punish them all in the military fashion; but deterred by the cries of the soldiers, who united in throwing the blame upon a single sentinel, he spared the others. This man was guilty beyond a doubt, and was flung from the rock with the approval of all. From that time the guards on both sides were more alert: the Gauls, because it had been put about that messengers were passing between Veii and Rome, the Romans, from their recollection of the peril of the night.

XLVIII. But worse than all the evils of the blockade and the war was the famine with which both armies were afflicted. The Gauls suffered also from a pestilence, being encamped between hills on low ground, parched and heated by the conflagration, where the air was filled with ashes, as well as dust, whenever a breeze sprang up. These annoyances were intolerable to a race accustomed to damp and cold, and when, distressed by the suffocating heat, they began to sicken of diseases that spread as though the victims had been cattle, they were soon too slothful to bury their dead singly, and piling the bodies up in promiscuous heaps, they burned them,

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cumulos hominum urebant; bustorumque inde Gal-
4 licorum nomine insignem locum fecere. Indutiae deinde cum Romanis factae et conloquia permissu imperatorum habita; in quibus cum identidem Galli famem obicerent eaque necessitate ad deditionem vocarent, dicitur avertendae eius opinionis causa multis locis panis de Capitolio iactatus esse in
5 hostium stationes. Sed iam neque dissimulari neque ferri ultra fames poterat. Itaque dum dictator dilectum per se Ardeae habet, magistrum equitum L. Valerium a Veiis adducere exercitum iubet, parat instruitque quibus haud impar adoriatur hostes,
6 interim Capitolinus exercitus stationibus vigiliisque [1] fessus superatis tamen humanis omnibus malis cum famem unam natura vinci non sineret, diem de die prospectans ecquod auxilium ab dictatore appareret,
7 postremo spe quoque iam non solum cibo deficiente et cum stationes procederent prope obruentibus infirmum corpus armis, vel dedi vel redimi se quacumque pactione possent iussit, iactantibus non obscure Gallis haud magna mercede se adduci
8 posse ut obsidionem relinquant. Tum senatus habitus tribunisque militum negotium datum ut paciscerentur. Inde inter Q. Sulpicium [2] tribunum militum et Brennum regulum Gallorum

[1] vigiliisque D^4_7: et uigiliis O: uigiliis Ω.
[2] Q. Sulpicium *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xlvii. § 9): p. sulpicium (-tum L) Ω.

[1] Livy tells us in XXII. xiv. 11, that the *Busta Gallica* were in the middle of the City, but the exact site cannot be determined.

causing the place to be known from that circum- B.C. 390
stance as the Gallic Pyres.[1] A truce was afterwards made with the Romans, and the commanders allowed their soldiers to talk together. Since in these conversations the Gauls used frequently to taunt their enemies with their famished state, and call on them to yield to that necessity and surrender, the Romans are said, in order to do away with this opinion, to have cast bread down from the Capitol in many places, into the outposts of the enemy. Yet at last they could neither dissemble their hunger nor endure it any longer. The dictator was now holding a levy of his own at Ardea, and having ordered the master of the horse, Lucius Valerius, to bring up his army from Veii, was mustering and drilling a force with which he might cope with the Gauls on equal terms. But the army on the Capitol was worn out with picket duty and mounting guard; and though they had got the better of all human ills, yet was there one, and that was famine, which nature would not suffer to be overcome. Day after day they looked out to see if any relief from the dictator was at hand; but at last even hope, as well as food, beginning to fail them, and their bodies growing almost too weak to sustain their armour when they went out on picket duty, they declared that they must either surrender or ransom themselves, on whatever conditions they could make; for the Gauls were hinting very plainly that no great price would be required to induce them to raise the siege. Thereupon the senate met, and instructed the tribunes of the soldiers to arrange the terms. Then, at a conference between Quintus Sulpicius the tribune and the Gallic chieftain Brennus, the affair

A.U.C. 364 conloquio transacta res est, et mille pondo auri pretium populi gentibus mox imperaturi factum. 9 Rei foedissimae per se adiecta indignitas est: pondera ab Gallis allata iniqua, et tribuno recusante additus ab insolente Gallo ponderi gladius, auditaque intoleranda Romanis vox, Vae victis.[1]

XLIX. Sed diique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos. Nam forte quadam, priusquam infanda merces perficeretur, per altercationem nondum omni auro adpenso, dictator intervenit auferrique aurum de medio et Gallos summoveri iubet. 2 Cum illi renitentes pactos dicerent sese, negat eam pactionem ratam esse quae, postquam ipse dictator creatus esset, iniussu suo ab inferioris iuris magistratu facta esset, denuntiatque Gallis ut se ad 3 proelium expediant. Suos in acervum conicere sarcinas et arma aptare ferroque non auro reciperare[2] patriam iubet, in conspectu habentes fana deum et coniuges et liberos et solum patriae deforme belli malis et omnia quae defendi repetique et ulcisci 4 fas sit. Instruit deinde aciem, ut loci natura patiebatur, in semirutae solo urbis et natura inaequali, et omnia quae arte belli secunda suis eligi praepararive 5 poterant providit. Galli nova re trepidi arma capi-

[1] Vae victis *Duker*: uae (ue *PFlUOA*: ut F^{e}) uictis esse Ω: . . . . ictis esse *V*.

[2] reciperare *Conway and Walters* (*cf. their note on* I. xii. 1): recuperare (*and in* § 7) Ω.

was settled, and a thousand pounds of gold was agreed on as the price of a people that was destined presently to rule the nations. The transaction was a foul disgrace in itself, but an insult was added thereto: the weights brought by the Gauls were dishonest, and on the tribune's objecting, the insolent Gaul added his sword to the weight, and a saying intolerable to Roman ears was heard,—Woe to the conquered! B.C. 390

XLIX. But neither gods nor men would suffer the Romans to live ransomed. For, by some chance, before the infamous payment had been consummated, and when the gold had not yet, owing to the dispute, been all weighed out, the dictator appeared and commanded the gold to be cleared away and the Gauls to leave. They objected vehemently, and insisted on the compact; but Camillus denied the validity of that compact which, subsequently to his own appointment as dictator, an inferior magistrate had made without his authorization, and warned them to prepare for battle. His own men he ordered to throw their packs in a heap, make ready their weapons, and win their country back with iron instead of gold; having before their eyes the temples of the gods, their wives and their children, the soil of their native land, with the hideous marks of war upon it, and all that religion called upon them to defend, recover, or avenge. He then drew up his line, as well as the ground permitted, on the naturally uneven surface of the half-ruined City, and saw to it that his soldiers had every advantage in choice of position and in preparation which the art of war suggested. The Gauls were taken aback; they armed, and, with more rage than judgment,

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unt iraque magis quam consilio in Romanos incurrunt. Iam verterat fortuna, iam deorum opes humanaque consilia rem Romanam adiuvabant. Igitur primo concursu haud maiore momento fusi
6 Galli sunt quam ad Alliam vicerant. Iustiore altero deinde proelio ad octavum lapidem Gabina via, quo se ex fuga contulerant, eiusdem ductu auspicioque Camilli vincuntur. Ibi caedes omnia obtinuit; castra
7 capiuntur et ne nuntius quidem cladis relictus. Dictator reciperata ex hostibus patria triumphans in urbem redit, interque iocos militares, quos inconditos iaciunt, Romulus ac parens patriae conditorque alter urbis haud vanis laudibus appellabatur.

8 Servatam deinde bello patriam iterum in pace haud dubie servavit cum prohibuit migrari Veios, et tribunis rem intentius agentibus post incensam urbem et per se inclinata magis plebe ad id consilium; eaque causa fuit non abdicandae post triumphum dictaturae senatu obsecrante ne rem publicam in incerto relinqueret statu. L. Omnium primum, ut erat diligentissimus religionum cultor, quae ad deos immortales
2 pertinebant rettulit et senatus consultum facit: fana omnia, quoad [1] ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur terminarentur expiarenturque, expiatioque eorum in

[1] quoad *Mommsen*: quod Ω.

charged the Romans. But now fortune had turned; a.c. 390
now the might of Heaven and human wisdom were engaged in the cause of Rome. Accordingly, at the first shock the Gauls were routed with as little effort as they had themselves put forth to conquer on the Allia. They afterwards fought a second, more regular engagement, eight miles out on the Gabinian Way, where they had rallied from their flight, and again the generalship and auspices of Camillus overcame them. Here the carnage was universal; their camp was taken; and not a man survived to tell of the disaster. The dictator, having recovered his country from her enemies, returned in triumph to the city; and between the rough jests uttered by the soldiers, was hailed in no unmeaning terms of praise as a Romulus and Father of his Country and a second Founder of the City.

His native City, which he had saved in war, he then indubitably saved a second time, now that peace was won, by preventing the migration to Veii: though the tribunes were more zealous for the plan than ever, now that the City lay in ashes, and the plebs were of themselves more inclined to favour it. This was the reason of his not resigning the dictatorship after his triumph, for the senate besought him not to desert the state in its hour of uncertainty. L. His first act, in conformity with his scrupulous attention to religion, was to lay before the senate such matters as pertained to the immortal gods, and to obtain the passage of a decree that all shrines, in so far as they had been in the enemy's possession, should be restored, their boundaries established, and rites of purification celebrated, and that the duumvirs should

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3 libris per duumviros quaereretur; cum Caeritibus hospitium publice fieret quod sacra populi Romani ac sacerdotes recepissent, beneficioque eius populi
4 non intermissus honos deorum immortalium esset; ludi Capitolini fierent, quod Iuppiter optimus maximus suam sedem atque arcem populi Romani in re trepida tutatus esset; collegiumque ad eam rem M. Furius dictator constitueret ex iis[1] qui in Capitolio
5 atque arce habitarent. Expiandae etiam vocis nocturnae quae nuntia cladis ante bellum Gallicum audita neglectaque esset mentio inlata, iussumque
6 templum in Nova via Aio Locutio[2] fieri. Aurum quod Gallis ereptum erat quodque ex aliis templis inter trepidationem in Iovis cellam conlatum, cum quo[3] referri oporteret confusa memoria esset, sacrum
7 omne iudicatum et sub Iovis sella poni iussum. Iam ante in eo religio civitatis apparuerat quod cum in publico deesset aurum, ex quo summa pactae mercedis Gallis confieret, a matronis conlatum acceperant ut sacro auro abstineretur. Matronis gratiae actae honosque additus ut earum sicut virorum post
8 mortem sollemnis laudatio esset. His peractis, quae ad deos pertinebant quaeque per senatum agi po-

[1] iis ς: hiis *A*: eis *VU*: his Ω.
[2] iu Nova via Aio Locutio *Sigonius* (*cf.* *Gellius* XVI. xvii. 2, *Cic. Div.* I. 101, II. 69): in noua ia locutio *M*: in noua iam locutio (*or similar corruptions*) Ω.
[3] quo *Mommsen*: quo re *V*: in quae (inique *H*) Ω.

[1] The Sybilline Books.
[2] The god of Utterance. This "temple" is evidently the "chapel" spoken of at chap. xxxii. § 6.

search the Books[1] for the proper rites; that a covenant B.C. 390
of hospitality should be entered into by the state with the people of Caere, because they had received the holy things of the Roman People and its priests, and thanks to their good offices worship of the immortal gods had not been interrupted; that Capitoline Games should be held, because Jupiter Optimus Maximus had protected his own abode and the Citadel of the Roman People in its time of danger; and that Marcus Furius the dictator should to that end constitute a board consisting of men who lived on the Capitol and the Citadel. A proposal was made, too, for propitiating the voice which was heard in the night to foretell disaster before the Gallic War, and was disregarded, and a temple was ordered to be built in the Nova Via to Aius Locutius.[2] The gold which had been carried away from the Gauls and that which had been collected from other temples during the alarm and carried into the shrine of Jupiter, since there was no clear recollection where it ought to be returned, was all adjudged to be sacred and ordered to be deposited under the throne of Jupiter. Even before this the scrupulousness of the citizens had been apparent in this connexion, for when the gold in the public coffers was insufficient to make up to the Gauls the stipulated sum, they had accepted what the matrons got together, that they might not touch the sacred gold. For this a vote of thanks was given to the matrons, and they were granted the honour of having eulogies pronounced at their funerals, as in the case of the men. After these measures, which related to the gods and lay within the competence of the senate, had been enacted, then, and only then, heeding the importunity of the

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terant, tum demum agitantibus tribunis plebem adsiduis contionibus, ut relictis ruinis in urbem paratam Veios transmigrarent, in contionem universo senatu prosequente escendit atque ita verba fecit:

LI. "Adeo mihi acerbae sunt, Quirites, contentiones cum tribunis plebis, ut nec tristissimi exsilii solacium aliud habuerim, quoad Ardeae vixi, quam quod procul ab his certaminibus eram, et ob eadem haec non si miliens senatus consulto[1] populique 2 iussu revocaretis, rediturus unquam fuerim. Nec nunc me ut redirem mea voluntas mutata sed vestra fortuna perpulit; quippe ut in sua sede maneret patria, id agebatur, non ut ego utique in patria essem. Et nunc quiescerem ac tacerem libenter, nisi haec quoque pro patria dimicatio esset; cui deesse, quoad vita suppetat, aliis turpe, Camillo 3 etiam nefas est. Quid enim repetiimus,[2] quid obsessam ex hostium manibus eripuimus, si reciperatam ipsi deserimus? Et cum victoribus Gallis capta tota urbe Capitolium tamen atque arcem dique et homines Romani tenuerint,[3] victoribus Romanis reciperata urbe arx quoque et Capitolium deseretur, et plus vastitatis huic urbi secunda nostra fortuna 4 faciet quam adversa fecit? Equidem si nobis cum urbe simul positae traditaeque per manus religiones

[1] si miliens senatus consulto *Weissenborn*: si mille sīc̄ S *M*: simile senatus consulti *V*: simillae sic (*or other corruptions*) Ω.

[2] repetiimus ς: repetimus Ω.

[3] tenuerint *Conway*: tenuerint habitauerint Ω (*but there is a punct. in a space before and in one after* habitauerint *in PFO, and after it in E, and D*^{4} *marks it as interpolated, while F writes it with a capital* H): tenuerint et habitauerint *V*.

tribunes, who were urging the plebs unceasingly to quit their ruins and emigrate to a city ready to their hand at Veii, Camillus went up into the assembly, attended by the entire senate, and discoursed as follows: B.C. 390

LI. "So painful to me, Quirites, are these controversies with the tribunes of the plebs, that my most bitter exile knew no other solace but this, all the time that I lived at Ardea, that I was far away from these contentions. And they are likewise the cause that though you had a thousand times recalled me by resolution of the senate and the people's vote, I intended never to return. Nor have I now been induced to do so by any change in my desires, but by the alteration in your fortunes. For the issue was this, that my countrymen should abide in their own home, not that I, at any or all costs, should be with my countrymen. Even now I would gladly stop and hold my peace, were not this too the quarrel of my country; whom to fail while life endures is in other men disgraceful, but in Camillus impious. For why did we seek to win her back, why rescue her, when besieged, from the hands of the enemy, if, now that she is recovered, we voluntarily abandon her? And although, while the Gauls were victorious and in possession of the entire City, the Capitol nevertheless and the Citadel were held by the gods and men of Rome, shall we now, when the Romans are victorious and the City is regained, desert even Citadel and Capitol? Shall our prosperity make Rome more desolate than our adversity has done? Indeed, if we had no religious rites established with the founding of the City and by tradition handed down,

A.U.C. 364 nullae essent, tamen tam evidens numen hac tempestate rebus adfuit Romanis ut omnem neglegentiam 5 divini cultus exemptam hominibus putem. Intuemini enim horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res vel adversas; invenietis omnia prospera evenisse 6 sequentibus deos, adversa spernentibus. Iam omnium primum Veiens bellum—per quot annos quanto labore gestum!—non ante cepit finem quam monitu 7 deorum aqua ex lacu Albano emissa est. Quid haec tandem urbis nostrae clades nova? Num ante exorta est quam spreta vox caelo emissa de adventu Gallorum, quam gentium ius ab legatis nostris violatum, quam a nobis, cum vindicari deberet, eadem negle- 8 gentia deorum praetermissum? Igitur victi captique ac redempti tantum poenarum dis hominibusque de- 9 dimus ut terrarum orbi documento essemus. Adversae deinde res admonuerunt religionum. Confugimus in Capitolium ad deos, ad sedem Iovis optimi maximi; sacra in ruina rerum nostrarum alia terra[1] celavimus, alia avecta in finitimas urbes amovimus ab hostium oculis; deorum cultum deserti ab dis hominibusque 10 tamen non intermisimus. Reddidere igitur patriam et victoriam et antiquum belli decus amissum; et in hostes qui caeci avaritia in pondere auri foedus ac fidem fefellerunt verterunt terrorem fugamque et caedem.

[1] terra ς *Gronovius*: terrae Ω.

yet so manifest has at this time the divine purpose B.C. 390
been in the affairs of Rome, that I for one should suppose it no longer possible for men to neglect the worship of the gods. For consider these past few years in order, with their successes and reverses; you will find that all things turned out well when we obeyed the gods, and ill when we spurned them. First of all, the war with Veii. How many years we fought, and with what painful exertion! And the end came not, until, admonished by Heaven, we drew the water off from the Alban Lake. What, I beseech you, of this strange disaster that lately overwhelmed our City? Did it come before we disregarded the voice from Heaven that announced the approach of the Gauls? before the law of nations was violated by our envoys? before we, that ought to have punished their fault, had passed it by, with the same indifference towards the gods? Therefore were we conquered, led captive, and put to ransom; and suffered such punishments at the hands of gods and men as to be a warning to all the world. Adversity then turned our thoughts upon religion. We fled for refuge to the Capitol and its gods, to the seat of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; of our holy things, some, in the ruin of our fortunes, we concealed in the earth, others we removed to neighbouring cities out of sight of our enemies; in the worship of the gods, albeit forsaken of gods and men, yet were we unceasing. Therefore have they given us our native land again, and victory, and our ancient renown in war that we had forfeited; and against our enemies, who, blinded with greed, broke treaty and troth in the weighing of the gold, have they turned dismay and rout and slaughter.

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LII. "Haec culti neglectique numinis tanta momenta[1] in rebus humanis cernentes ecquid sentitis, Quirites, quantum vixdum e naufragiis prioris culpae
2 cladisque emergentes paremus nefas? Urbem auspicato inauguratoque conditam habemus; nullus locus in ea non religionum deorumque est plenus; sacrificiis sollemnibus non dies magis stati quam loca
3 sunt, in quibus fiant. Hos omnes deos publicos privatosque, Quirites, deserturi estis? Quam par vestrum factum ei est,[2] quod in obsidione nuper in egregio adulescente C. Fabio non minore hostium admiratione quam vestra conspectum est, cum inter Gallica tela degressus[3] ex arce sollemne Fabiae
4 gentis in colle Quirinali obiit? An gentilicia sacra ne in bello quidem intermitti, publica sacra et Romanos deos etiam in pace deseri placet, et pontifices flaminesque neglegentiores publicarum religionum
5 esse quam privatus in sollemni gentis fuerit? Forsitan aliquis dicat aut Veiis ea nos facturos aut huc inde missuros sacerdotes nostros qui faciant; quorum
6 neutrum fieri salvis caerimoniis potest. Et ne omnia generatim sacra omnesque percenseam deos, in Iovis epulo num alibi quam in Capitolio pulvinar suscipi
7 potest? Quid de aeternis Vestae ignibus signoque quod imperii pignus custodia eius templi tenetur loquar? Quid de ancilibus vestris, Mars Gradive

[1] momenta ς: monumenta (*or* -nim-) Ω: munimenta *MBO*.
[2] factum ei est *Drakenborch*: factum est Ω.
[3] degressus *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xlvi § 10): digressus Ω.

[1] On the 15th of November the senate held a stately banquet at which a couch was placed for Jupiter, and Juno and Minerva occupied stools on either side of the god.
[2] The image of Pallas (Palladium), fabled to have been brought to Italy by Aeneas.

LII. "As you consider these momentous effects B.C. 390
upon the affairs of men, of serving the deity and of neglecting him, do you begin, Quirites, to perceive how, though yet scarce clear of the wreckage of our former guilt and calamity, we are headed towards a grievous sin? We have a City founded with due observance of auspice and augury; no corner of it is not permeated by ideas of religion and the gods; for our annual sacrifices, the days are no more fixed than are the places where they may be performed. Do you intend, Quirites, to abandon all these gods, both of state and of family? How squares your conduct with that of the noble young man Gaius Fabius in the recent siege, which the enemy beheld with no less astonishment and admiration than yourselves, when he descended from the Citadel through the missiles of the Gauls and offered the annual sacrifice of the Fabian clan on the Quirinal Hill? What? Would you suffer no interruption, even in war, of family rites, but desert the national worship and the gods of Rome in time of peace? Would you have the pontiffs and the flamens less careful of the ceremonies of the state religion than a private citizen has been of the anniversary of his clan? Perhaps someone may say that we shall either do these things at Veii, or thence dispatch our priests to Rome to do them; but of these courses neither can be followed without violation of the sacred usages. For, not to enumerate all the kinds of rites and all the gods, is it possible at the feast of Jupiter[1] that the couch should be spread elsewhere than in the Capitol? Why need I speak of Vesta's eternal fires, and the image[2] which is preserved as a pledge of empire in her temple? or of your sacred

A.U.C. 364 tuque, Quirine pater? Haec omnia in profano deseri placet sacra aequalia urbi, quaedam vetustiora origine urbis?

8 "Et videte quid inter nos ac maiores intersit. Illi sacra quaedam in monte Albano Laviniique[1] nobis facienda tradiderunt. An ex hostium urbibus Romam ad nos transferri sacra religiosum fuit, hinc sine piaculo in hostium urbem Veios transferemus?
9 Recordamini, agite dum, quotiens sacra instaurentur, quia aliquid ex patrio ritu neglegentia casuve praetermissum est. Modo quae res post prodigium Albani lacus nisi instauratio sacrorum auspiciorumque renovatio adfectae Veienti bello rei publicae
10 remedio fuit? At etiam, tamquam veterum religionum memores, et peregrinos deos transtulimus Romam et instituimus novos. Iuno regina transvecta a Veiis nuper in Aventino quam insigni ob excellens matronarum studium celebrique dedicata est die!
11 Aio Locutio[2] templum propter caelestem vocem exauditam in Nova via iussimus fieri; Capitolinos ludos sollemnibus aliis addidimus collegiumque ad
12 id novum auctore senatu condidimus; quid horum opus fuit suscipi, si una cum Gallis urbem Romanam relicturi fuimus, si non voluntate mansimus in Capitolio per tot menses obsidionis, sed ab hostibus metu
13 retenti sumus? De sacris loquimur et de templis;

[1] Laviniique *Gronovius*: lauinioque *MHDL* '*antiqua lectio*' *Rhenanus*; lauinoque Ω.
[2] Aio Locutio *Gebhard*: aputu locutio *V*: ad locutio *D*: ad locucio *A*: allocutio (*and similar corruptions*) Ω.

[1] See I. xx. 4, and note.

shields,[1] O Mars Gradivus and Quirinus our Father? All these holy things would you leave behind on unconsecrated ground—things coeval with the City, and some more ancient than its origin? B.C. 390

"And mark what a difference between us and our forefathers! They handed down to us certain rites to be solemnized on the Alban Mount and in Lavinium. But if we scrupled to transfer sacred rites from hostile cities to ourselves in Rome, can we shift them without sin from Rome to Veii, city of our enemies? Recollect, I beg you, how often sacrifices are renewed because some point of antique ritual has been, through carelessness or accident, omitted. What was it, a while ago, after the portent of the Alban Lake, that brought relief to the commonwealth—then in the throes of war with Veii—if not a renewal of the sacred rites and auspices? But, more than that, like men mindful of their old religious fervour, we have both brought in foreign deities to Rome and established new ones. Queen Juno was lately conveyed from Veii and enshrined on the Aventine, and how notable was that day, for the zeal of the matrons and the throng! We have ordered a temple to be built for Aius Locutius because of the voice from heaven, clearly heard in the Nova Via. We have added Capitoline Games to the other annual festivals, and by authority of the senate have established a new college for this purpose. Was there any of these things we needed to have undertaken, if we meant to retire from Rome along with the Gauls; if we remained not voluntarily in the Capitol, through so many months of siege, but constrained by fear of the enemy? We talk of sacred rites and temples;

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quid tandem de sacerdotibus? Nonne in mentem venit quantum piaculi committatur? Vestalibus nempe una illa sedes est, ex qua eas nihil unquam praeterquam urbs capta movit; flamini Diali noctem unam manere extra urbem nefas est; hos Veientis
14 pro Romanis facturi estis sacerdotes, et Vestales tuae te deserent, Vesta, et flamen peregre habitando in singulas noctes tantum sibi reique publicae piaculi
15 contrahet? Quid alia quae auspicato agimus omnia fere intra pomerium, cui oblivioni aut cui negle-
16 gentiae damus? Comitia curiata, quae rem militarem continent, comitia centuriata, quibus consules tribunosque militaris creatis, ubi auspicato, nisi ubi ad-
17 solent, fieri possunt? Veiosne haec transferemus? An comitiorum causa populus tanto incommodo in desertam hanc ab dis hominibusque urbem conveniet?

LIII. "At enim apparet quidem pollui omnia[1] nec ullis piaculis expiari posse, sed res ipsa cogit vastam incendiis ruinisque relinquere urbem et ad integra omnia Veios migrare nec hic aedificando inopem
2 plebem vexare. Hanc autem iactari magis causam quam veram esse, ut ego non dicam, apparere vobis, Quirites, puto, qui meministis ante Gallorum adventum salvis tectis publicis privatisque, stante incolumi

[1] quidem pollui omnia *Madvig*: quidem P (*or* I) . . . . . nia *V*: *the other MSS. omit* at enim—expiari posse.

[1] Livy has in mind one important exception: the centuriate comitia met outside the pomerium, usually in the Campus Martius.

pray, what about the priests? Do you never think B.C. 390
what a sacrilege you are about? The Vestals surely have but that one dwelling-place, from which nothing ever caused them to remove but the capture of the City; the Flamen Dialis may not lie for a single night outside the City, without sin. Will you make these priests Veientine instead of Roman? Shall thy Virgins forsake thee, Vesta, and the Flamen, as he dwells abroad, bring, night after night, such guilt upon himself and the republic? What about the other matters nearly all of which[1] we transact, after taking auspices, within the pomerium? To what oblivion and neglect do we consign them? The curiate comitia which deals with the business of war, the centuriate comitia, where you elect the consuls and military tribunes—where can these be held, with due observance of the auspices, save in the customary places? Shall we transfer them to Veii? Or shall the people, for the sake of the comitia assemble with enormous inconvenience in this City, forsaken of god and man?

LIII. "'But,' you will say, 'while it is obvious that everything will be polluted beyond all possibility of purification, yet the situation itself compels us to leave a City which fires and falling buildings have made a wilderness, and emigrate to Veii, where everything is untouched, nor vex the helpless commons with building here.' But that this is rather a pretext than a true reason is, I think, apparent to you, Quirites, without my saying so; for you remember how, before the coming of the Gauls, when our roof-trees, public and private, were unharmed and our City stood uninjured, that this same proposal was

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urbe, hanc eandem rem actam esse ut Veios trans-
3 migraremus. Et videte quantum inter meam sententiam vestramque intersit, tribuni. Vos, etiamsi tunc faciendum non fuerit, nunc utique faciendum putatis: ego contra—nec id mirati sitis priusquam quale sit audieritis—etiamsi tum migrandum fuisset incolumi tota urbe, nunc has ruinas relinquendas
4 non censerem. Quippe tum causa nobis in urbem captam migrandi victoria esset, gloriosa nobis ac posteris nostris; nunc haec migratio nobis misera
5 ac turpis, Gallis gloriosa est. Non enim reliquisse victores sed amisisse victi patriam videbimur: hoc ad Alliam fuga, hoc capta urbs, hoc circumsessum Capitolium necessitatis imposuisse, ut desereremus penates nostros exsiliumque ac fugam nobis ex eo loco conscisceremus quem tueri non possemus. Et Galli evertere potuerunt Romam, Romani[1] restituere
6 non videbuntur potuisse? Quid restat nisi ut, si iam novis copiis veniant—constat enim vix credibilem multitudinem esse—et habitare in capta ab se,
7 deserta a vobis hac urbe velint, sinatis? Quid? si non Galli hoc sed veteres hostes vestri, Aequi Volscive, faciant ut commigrent Romam, velitisne illos Romanos, vos Veientes esse? An non[2] malitis hanc solitudinem vestram quam urbem hostium esse? Non equidem video quid magis nefas sit. Haec scelera, quia piget aedificare, haec dedecora

[1] Romani *Madvig*: quam Romani Ω.

[2] An non *Conway and Walters* (*note*): an Ω: Non D^2: non D^1: ñ *HLA*.

[1] Chap. xxiv. § 7.

urged, of migrating to Veii.[1] And consider, tribunes, B.C. 396
how wide is the difference between my view and yours. You think that even if then it ought not to have been done, yet now at any rate it ought; I on the contrary—and be not astonished at this, till you have heard what my meaning is,—even if it had been right to migrate then, with the City all intact, should not think it right to abandon these ruins now. For then our victory would have been a reason for migrating to a captured city—a reason glorious to ourselves and our posterity; but now such a removal is for us a wretched and humiliating course, and a glory to the Gauls. For we shall not seem to have left our country as victors, but to have lost it as men vanquished. It will be thought that the rout on the Allia, the capture of the City, the blockade of the Capitol, have compelled us to forsake our family gods, and sentence ourselves to banishment and exile from that place which we were powerless to defend. Have Gauls then been able to cast Rome down; and must Romans appear unable to have raised her up? What remains, if they should presently come with fresh forces—for all agree that their numbers are scarce to be believed,—and should wish to dwell in this City which they have captured and you have abandoned, but that you should suffer them? What if not the Gauls but your ancient foes the Volsci and Aequi should migrate to Rome? Should you like them to be Romans, and yourselves Veientes? Or should you not prefer this to be your wilderness, rather than the city of your enemies? For my part I do not see what could be more abominable. Are you ready to stomach these outrages, these infamies, because it

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8 pati parati estis? Si tota urbe nullum melius ampliusve tectum fieri possit quam casa illa conditoris est nostri, non in casis ritu pastorum agrestiumque habitare est satius inter sacra penatesque nostros
9 quam exsulatum publice ire? Maiores nostri, convenae pastoresque, cum in his locis nihil praeter silvas paludesque esset, novam urbem tam brevi aedificarunt: nos Capitolio atque arce[1] incolumi, stantibus templis deorum aedificare incensa piget? Et quod singuli facturi fuimus, si aedes nostrae deflagrassent, hoc in publico incendio universi recusamus facere?

LIV. "Quid tandem? Si fraude, si casu Veiis incendium ortum sit, ventoque, ut fieri potest, diffusa flamma magnam partem urbis absumat, Fidenas inde aut Gabios aliamve quam urbem quaesituri sumus
2 quo transmigremus? Adeo nihil tenet solum patriae nec haec terra quam matrem appellamus, sed in superficie tignisque caritas nobis patriae pendet? Et
3 quidem—fatebor vobis, etsi minus iniuriae vestrae[2] meminisse iuvat—cum abessem, quotienscumque patria in mentem veniret, haec omnia occurrebant, colles campique et Tiberis et adsueta oculis regio et hoc caelum sub quo natus educatusque essem; quae vos, Quirites, nunc moveant potius caritate sua ut maneatis in sede vestra, quam postea, cum relique-
4 ritis eam, macerent desiderio. Non sine causa di

[1] atque arce *Wesenberg*: arce Ω.
[2] iniuriae vestrae *Conway and Walters*: iniuriae vestrae quam meae calamitatis (quam calamitatis meae *HDLA*) Ω.

[1] The *casa Romuli* stood on the Palatine, on the side next the Circus Maximus, and a hut which went by this name was preserved and venerated as late as Livy's own time.

irks you to build? If in all the City no house could B.C. 390
be put up better or bigger than is the famous Hut of our Founder,[1] would it not be better to live in huts, as shepherds and rustics do, amongst our sacred monuments and our household gods, than to go forth as a nation into exile? Our ancestors, refugees and herdsmen, at a time when there was nothing in this region but forests and marshes, built quickly a new City; and are we loath, though Capitol and Citadel are untouched and the temples of the gods are standing, to rebuild what has been destroyed by fire? And what each would have done for himself, if his house had been burned, shall we refuse to do together after this common conflagration?

LIV. "Or suppose that by crime or chance a fire should break out at Veii, and that the wind should spread the flames, as may easily happen, until they consume a great part of the city; are we to quit it, and seek out Fidenae, or Gabii, or any other town you like, and migrate thither? Have the soil of our native City and this land which we call our mother so slight a hold on us? Is our love of country confined to buildings and rafters? And in truth I will confess to you—though I like not to recall the wrong you did me—that as often, during my absence, as I thought of my native place, all these objects came into my mind: the hills and the fields and the Tiber and the region familiar to my eyes, and this sky beneath which I had been born and reared. And I wish these things may rather move you now with love, Quirites, to make you abide in your own home, than afterwards, when you have left it, torment you with vain regrets. Not without cause did gods and men select this

A.U.C. 364 hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt, saluberrimos colles, flumen opportunum, quo ex mediterraneis locis fruges devehantur, quo maritimi commeatus accipiantur, mare vicinum ad commoditates nec expositum nimia propinquitate ad pericula classium externarum, regionem Italiae mediam,[1] 5 ad incrementum urbis natum unice locum. Argumento est ipsa magnitudo tam novae urbis. Trecentensimus sexagensimus quintus annus urbis, Quirites, agitur; inter tot veterrimos populos tam diu bella geritis, cum interea, ne singulas loquar urbes, non coniuncti cum Aequis Volsci, tot tam valida oppida, non universa Etruria tantum terra marique pollens atque inter duo maria latitudinem obtinens Italiae 6 bello vobis par est. Quod cum ita sit, quae, malum, ratio est haec expertis alia[2] experiri, cum, iam ut virtus vestra transire alio possit, fortuna certe loci 7 huius transferri non possit? Hic Capitolium est, ubi quondam capite humano invento responsum est eo loco caput rerum summamque imperii fore; hic cum augurato liberaretur Capitolium, Iuventas Terminusque maximo gaudio patrum vestrorum moveri se non passi; hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis di."

LV. Movisse eos Camillus cum alia oratione tum ea quae ad religiones pertinebat maxime dicitur; sed

[1] regionem Italiae mediam *Madvig*: regionum (geonum *E* regionum E^1 *or* E^2) Italiae medium Ω.

[2] haec expertis alia *Walters*: expertis alia *MOHDLA*: expertis latos alia *PFUE*: expertis latos aia *B*.

place for establishing our City—with its healthful hills; its convenient river, by which crops may be floated down from the midland regions and foreign commodities brought up; its sea, near enough for use, yet not exposing us, by too great propinquity, to peril from foreign fleets; a situation in the heart of Italy—a spot, in short, of a nature uniquely adapted for the expansion of a city. This is proved by the very greatness of so new a place. It is now, Quirites, in its three hundred and sixty-fifth year. Amongst all these ancient nations you have for so long a time been waging wars; and all this while—to say nothing of single cities—neither the Volsci joined with the Aequi, and all their powerful towns, nor all Etruria, with its enormous strength on land and water, and its occupancy of the entire breadth of Italy from sea to sea, has been a match for you in war. Since this is so, what a plague is the reason why you that have experienced these things should experiment with others? Granting that your valour may go elsewhere, yet surely the fortune of this place could not be taken along! Here is the Capitol, where men were told, when of old they discovered there a human head, that in that place should be the head of the world and the seat of empire; here, when the Capitol was being cleared with augural rites, Juventas and Terminus, to the vast joy of your fathers, refused to be removed; here are Vesta's fires, here the shields that were sent down from heaven, here are all the gods propitious, if you remain." B.C. 390

LV. The speech of Camillus is said to have moved them, particularly where he touched upon religion; but the doubtful issue was resolved by a word

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rem dubiam decrevit vox opportune emissa, quod cum senatus post paulo de his rebus in curia Hostilia haberetur cohortesque ex praesidiis revertentes forte agmine forum transirent, centurio in comitio exclamavit: "Signifer, statue signum; hic manebimus optime." Qua voce audita et senatus accipere se omen ex curia egressus conclamavit et plebs circumfusa adprobavit. Antiquata deinde lege promisce urbs aedificari coepta. Tegula publice praebita est; saxi materiaeque caedendae, unde quisque vellet ius factum praedibus acceptis eo anno aedificia perfectu-ros. Festinatio curam exemit vicos dirigendi, dum omisso sui alienique discrimine in vacuo aedificant. Ea est causa ut veteres cloacae, primo per publicum ductae, nunc privata passim subeant tecta, formaque urbis sit occupatae magis quam divisae similis.

that was let fall in the nick of time. It was B.C. 390
while the senate, a little later, was deliberating about these matters in the Curia Hostilia; some cohorts returning from guard-duty were marching through the Forum, and as they came to the Comitium a centurion cried out, "Standard-bearer, fix your ensign; here will be our best place to remain." Hearing this sentence the senators came out from the Curia and shouted their acceptance of the omen, and the commons gathering round them signified approval. The bill was then rejected, and people began in a random fashion to rebuild the City. The state supplied tiles, and granted everybody the right to quarry stone and to hew timber where he liked, after giving security for the completion of the structures within that year. In their haste men were careless about making straight the streets, and paying no attention to their own and others' rights, built on the vacant spaces. This is the reason that the ancient sewers, which were at first conducted through the public ways, at present frequently run under private dwellings, and the appearance of the City is like one where the ground has been appropriated rather than divided.

LIBRI V PERIOCHA

In obsidione Veiorum tabernacula[1] militibus facta sunt. Ea res cum esset nova, indignationem tribunorum plebis movit querentium non dari plebi nec per hiemem militiae requiem. Equites tum primum equis suis mereri coeperunt. Cum inundatio ex lacu Albano facta esset, vates qui eam rem interpretaretur ex hostibus captus est. Furius Camillus dictator X annis obsessos Veios cepit, simulacrum Iunonis[2] Romam transtulit, decimam praedae Delphos Apollini misit. Idem[3] tribunus militum cum Faliscos obsideret, proditos hostium filios parentibus remisit statimque deditione facta Faliscorum victoriam iustitia consecutus est. Cum alter ex censoribus C. Iulius decessisset, in locum eius M. Cornelius suffectus est. Nec id postea factum est, quoniam eo lustro a Gallis Roma capta est. Furius Camillus, cum dies ei a L. Apuleio tribuno pl. dicta esset, in exilium abit. Cum Galli Senones Clusium obsiderent et legati a senatu missi ad conponendam inter eos et Clusinos pacem pugnantes contra Gallos starent in acie Clusinorum, hoc facto eorum concitati Senones urbem infesto exercitu petierunt, fusisque ad Aliam Romanis cepere urbem praeter Capitolium, quo se iuventus contulerat ; maiores natu cum insignibus honorum quos quisque gesserat in vestibulis aedium sedentes occiderunt Et cum per aversam partem Capitoli iam in summum evasissent, proditi clangore anserum M. Manli praecipue opera

[1] tabernacula *MSS*: hibernacula *Vascosanus* (*cf.* V. xi. i).
[2] Iunonis *om. MSS.*
[3] Idem *edito princeps*: item *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK V

At the siege of Veii winter quarters were constructed for the soldiers. This, being a new departure, stirred the ire of the tribunes of the plebs, who complained that the plebs were given no rest from warfare even in winter. The cavalry began then for the first time to serve on their own mounts. An inundation from the Alban Lake having occurred, a soothsayer was captured from the enemy that he might explain it. Furius Camillus the dictator captured Veii in a ten years' siege, transferred to Rome the image of Juno, and sent a tithe of the spoils to Apollo at Delphi. When the same man was besieging the Falisci as military tribune, he restored to their parents the sons of the enemy who had been betrayed, whereupon the Falisci surrendered and he obtained the victory by his justice. On the death of one of the censors, Gaius Julius, Marcus Cornelius was chosen to fill out his term, but this was never afterwards done because in that five-year period Rome was taken. Furius Camillus, having been cited for trial by Lucius Apuleius, a tribune of the plebs, went into exile. When the Gallic Senones were besieging Clusium and the envoys sent by the senate to arrange a peace between them and the Clusini fought in the army of the Clusini, the Senones were angered and marched to the attack of Rome. Defeating the Romans on the Allia they captured the City, all but the Capitol, in which the Romans of fighting age had taken refuge, and slew the elders, who, dressed in the insignia of the offices which they had held, were sitting in the vestibules of their houses. And when, climbing up on the other side of the Capitol, they had already come out on the top of it, they were betrayed by the gabbling of geese and—chiefly by the efforts of Marcus Manlius—were flung down. Later the

deiecti[1] sunt. Coactis deinde propter famem Romanis eo[2] descendere ut M. pondo auri darent et hoc[3] pretio finem obsidionis emerent, Furius Camillus dictator absens creatus inter ipsum conloquium quo de pacis condicionibus agebatur cum exercitu venit et Gallos post sextum mensem urbe expulit ceciditque. Dictum est ad Veios migrandum esse propter incensam et dirutam urbem, quod consilium Camillo auctore discussum est. Movit populum vocis quoque omen ex centurione auditae qui, cum in forum venisset, manipularibus suis dixerat: "Sta miles, hic optime manebimus." Aedis Iovi Capitolino facta est, quod ante urbem captam vox audita erat adventare Gallos.

[1] deiecti *editio princeps*: detecti *MSS.*
[2] eo *inserted by Gronovius.*
[3] et hoc *editio princeps*: ut hoc *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK V

Romans were reduced so low by hunger as to offer a thousand pounds of gold and with this price to purchase an end of the siege. Furius Camillus, having been appointed dictator in his absence, came up with his army in the midst of this very conference about the terms of peace, and six months after their coming drove out the Gauls from Rome and cut them to pieces. Men said that they ought to remove to Veii because the City had been burned and overthrown, but this counsel was rejected, at the instance of Camillus. The people were moved also by the omen of certain words that a centurion was heard to utter, when having come into the Forum he said to his company: "Halt, soldiers, we shall do well to stop here." A temple was erected to Jupiter Capitolinus, because a voice had been heard before the capture of the City, which declared that the Gauls were coming.

BOOK VI

LIBER VI

A.U.C. 365

I. QUAE ab condita urbe Roma ad captam eandem[1] Romani sub regibus primum, consulibus deinde ac dictatoribus decemvirisque ac tribunis consularibus gessere, foris bella, domi seditiones, 2 quinque libris exposui, res cum vetustate nimia obscuras, velut quae magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum, et quod, etiam si quae in commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis privatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere. 3 Clariora deinceps certioraque ab secunda origine velut ab stirpibus laetius feraciusque renatae urbis gesta domi militiaeque exponentur.

4 Ceterum primo quo adminiculo erecta erat eodem innixa M. Furio principe stetit, neque eum abdicare 5 se dictatura nisi anno circumacto passi sunt. Comitia in insequentem annum tribunos habere, quorum in magistratu capta urbs esset, non placuit; res ad

[1] eandem ς *Muretus*: urbem eandem (*or* eandem urbem) Ω.

[1] Livy means the year (ending June 30th) for which the consular tribunes were elected whom Camillus, as dictator, superseded.

BOOK VI

I. THE history of the Romans from the founding B.C. 389
of the City of Rome to the capture of the same—at first under kings and afterwards under consuls and dictators, decemvirs and consular tribunes—their foreign wars and their domestic dissensions, I have set forth in five books, dealing with matters which are obscure not only by reason of their great antiquity—like far-off objects which can hardly be descried—but also because in those days there was but slight and scanty use of writing, the sole trustworthy guardian of the memory of past events, and because even such records as existed in the commentaries of the pontiffs and in other public and private documents, nearly all perished in the conflagration of the City. From this point onwards a clearer and more definite account shall be given of the City's civil and military history, when, beginning for a second time, it sprang up, as it were from the old roots, with a more luxuriant and fruitful growth.

Now it stood at first by leaning on the same support by which it had raised itself up, that is on Marcus Furius, its foremost citizen; neither would men suffer him to resign the dictatorship till the completion of the year.[1] That elections for the ensuing year should be held by the tribunes, in whose magistracy the City had been captured, was considered inadvisable, and the state reverted to an

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6 interregnum rediit. Cum civitas in opere ac labore assiduo reficiendae urbis teneretur, interim Q. Fabio, simul primum magistratu abiit, ab Cn. Marcio tribuno plebis dicta dies est, quod in Gallos,[1] ad quos missus
7 erat orator, contra ius gentium pugnasset; cui iudicio eum mors, adeo opportuna ut voluntariam
8 magna pars crederet, subtraxit. Interregnum initum: P. Cornelius Scipio interrex et post eum M. Furius Camillus.[2] Is tribunos militum consulari potestate creat L. Valerium[3] Publicolam iterum L. Verginium P. Cornelium A. Manlium L. Aemilium L. Postumium.

9 Hi ex interregno cum extemplo magistratum inissent, nulla de re prius quam de religionibus
10 senatum consuluere. In primis foedera ac leges— erant autem eae duodecim tabulae et quaedam regiae leges — conquiri, quae comparerent,[4] iusserunt. Alia ex eis edita etiam in volgus: quae autem ad sacra pertinebant, a pontificibus maxime ut religione obstrictos haberent multitudinis animos
11 suppressa. Tum de diebus religiosis agitari coeptum, diemque a. d. XV Kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Alliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Alliensem appellarunt reique[5] nullius

[1] in Gallos *Cobet*: legatus (-tos *Ot*: -tis *E*) Ω.
[2] Camillus *Duker*: camillus iterum Ω.
[3] L. Valerium *Glareanus*, *Sigonius* (v. xxvi. 2, vi. v. 7): a ualerium *P*[a]*FUBt*: ã ualerium *VOEHL*: am ualerium *M*: ualerium *DA*: m. ualerium A^1 (*αὖλον Diod.* xv. xxii).
[4] comparerent $A^2\varsigma$: non comparerent *V*: comparerent (comparare *B*) Ω.
[5] reique *Karsten*: insignemque rei (*A adds* publice) Ω.

[1] On July 6th at the earliest.

interregnum. While the citizens were engrossed in unremitting toil and labour to restore the City, Quintus Fabius had no sooner quitted his magistracy than he was indicted by Gnaeus Marcius, a tribune of the plebs, on the ground of his having fought in violation of the law of nations against the Gauls, to whom he had been sent as an envoy—a trial which he escaped by a death so opportune that the majority believed it voluntary. The interregnum began: Publius Cornelius Scipio was interrex; and after him Marcus Furius Camillus, who effected the election, as tribunes of the soldiers with consular authority, of Lucius Valerius Publicola (for the second time) Lucius Verginius, Publius Cornelius, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Aemilius, and Lucius Postumius. B.C. 389

Having, immediately[1] after the interregnum, entered upon their term, they consulted the senate before everything else on questions of religious observance. Among the first decrees they passed was one for searching out the treaties and laws—to wit, the twelve tables and certain laws of the kings,—so far as they could be discovered. Some of these were made accessible even to the common people, but such as dealt with sacred rites were kept private by the pontiffs, chiefly that they might hold the minds of the populace in subjection through religious fear. Then they proceeded to deliberate about days of evil omen. The 18th of July was notorious for a double misfortune, since it was on that day that the Fabii were massacred at the Cremera and that subsequently the rout at the Allia occurred, which resulted in the destruction of the City. From the latter disaster they named it the Day of the Allia, and forbade any public or

A.U.C. 365 12 publice privatimque agendae fecerunt. Quidam, quod postridie Idus Quintiles non litasset Sulpicius tribunus militum neque inventa pace deum post diem tertium obiectus hosti exercitus Romanus esset, etiam postridie Idus rebus divinis supersederi iussum; inde, ut postridie Kalendas quoque ac Nonas eadem religio esset, traditum putant.

II. Nec diu licuit quietis consilia erigendae ex 2 tam gravi casu rei publicae secum agitare. Hinc Volsci, veteres hostes, ad exstinguendum nomen Romanum arma ceperant: hinc Etruriae principum ex omnibus populis coniurationem de bello ad fanum 3 Voltumnae factam mercatores adferebant. Novus quoque terror accesserat defectione Latinorum Hernicorumque, qui post pugnam ad lacum Regillum factum per annos prope centum nunquam ambigua fide in amicitia populi Romani fuerant. 4 Itaque cum tanti undique terrores circumstarent appareretque omnibus non odio solum apud hostes sed contemptu etiam inter socios nomen Romanum 5 laborare, placuit eiusdem auspiciis defendi rem publicam cuius reciperata[1] esset, dictatoremque 6 dici M. Furium Camillum. Is dictator C. Servilium Ahalam magistrum equitum dixit, iustitioque indicto dilectum iuniorum habuit ita ut seniores quoque,

[1] reciperata, *Walters and Conway* (*cf. their note on* I. xii. 1): recuperata Ω.

private business to be done that day. Some think, B.C. 389
because Sulpicius had, on the day after the Ides of July, made an unacceptable sacrifice, and, without having gained the divine approval, had two days later exposed the Roman army to the enemy, that therefore religious rites were omitted also on the days after the several Ides; and that afterwards it became traditional that the morrow after Kalends and Nones should likewise be avoided, from the same scruple.

II. But the Romans were not left long to the peaceful consideration of plans for raising their state after its grievous fall. On the one hand the Volsci, their ancient foes, had armed for the purpose of extinguishing the Roman name: on the other, merchants brought word from Etruria that the leading men of all her nations had met at the shrine of Voltumna and conspired to make war. A fresh alarm, too, was occasioned by the revolt of the Latins and the Hernici, who since the battle fought at Lake Regillus had continued for close upon a hundred years, with unquestioned loyalty, in the friendship of the Roman People. And so, when such dangers threatened them on every side, and it was clear to all that the name of Rome was not only held in hatred by her enemies, but even in contempt by her allies, it was resolved that the republic should be defended under the same auspices under which it had been redeemed and that Marcus Furius Camillus should be named dictator. Being appointed dictator he designated Gaius Servilius Ahala master of the horse, and after proclaiming a cessation of legal business, held a levy of the juniors, yet without excluding such of the older men as still

A.U.C. 365 quibus aliquid roboris superesset, in verba sua iuratos centuriaret.

7 Exercitum conscriptum armatumque trifariam divisit. Partem unam in agro Veiente Etruriae opposuit, alteram ante urbem castra locare iussit;
8 tribuni militum his A. Manlius, illis, qui adversus Etruscos mittebantur, L. Aemilius praepositus; tertiam partem ipse ad Volscos duxit nec procul a Lanuvio — ad Mecium is locus dicitur — castra
9 oppugnare est adortus. Quibus ab contemptu, quod prope omnem deletam a Gallis Romanam iuventutem crederent, ad bellum profectis tantum Camillus auditus imperator terroris intulerat ut vallo se ipsi, vallum congestis arboribus saepirent, ne qua intrare
10 ad munimenta hostis posset. Quod ubi animadvertit Camillus, ignem in obiectam saepem coici iussit; et forte erat vis magna venti versa in hostem;
11 itaque non aperuit solum incendio viam, sed flammis in castra tendentibus vapore etiam ac fumo crepituque viridis materiae flagrantis ita consternavit hostes ut minor moles superantibus vallum militibus munitum [1] in castra Volscorum Romanis fuerit quam transcendentibus saepem incendio absumptam fuerat.
12 Fusis hostibus caesisque cum castra impetu cepisset dictator, praedam militi dedit, quo minus speratam

[1] vallum militibus munitum *V*: uallum Ω.

possessed any vigour, to whom also he administered B.C. 389
the oath and mustered them into centuries.

Having enrolled the army and equipped it, he divided it into three parts. One division he stationed in the Veientine district to confront Etruria; a second he ordered to encamp before the City. These divisions were put under the command of military tribunes, Aulus Manlius for the home troops, Lucius Aemilius for those which were being dispatched against the Etruscans. The third division he led himself against the Volsci, and not far from Lanuvium—*ad Mecium* the place is called—advanced to attack their camp. The enemy had gone to war from a feeling of contempt for the Romans, believing that their fighting strength had been nearly wiped out by the Gauls, but merely on hearing that Camillus was their general, they were so terrified that they protected themselves with a rampart and the rampart with a barricade of logs, that the Romans might nowhere be able to penetrate to their defences. On perceiving this, Camillus ordered his men to throw fire on the barrier. It so happened that there was a high wind blowing towards the enemy, which not only caused the blaze to open a path, but what with the flames making towards the camp, and the heat and smoke and the crackling of the green wood, so alarmed the enemy, that the Roman soldiers experienced less difficulty in scaling the fortifications of the Volscian camp than they had met with in crossing the burnt barricade. Having routed and slain his enemies and taken their camp by assault, the dictator gave the booty to his soldiers, an act which, coming unexpectedly from a commander who

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13 minime largitore duce, eo militi gratiorem. Persecutus deinde fugientes cum omnem Volscum agrum depopulatus esset, ad deditionem Volscos
14 septuagesimo demum anno subegit. Victor ex Volscis in Aequos transiit et ipsos bellum molientes; exercitum eorum ad Bolas oppressit, nec castra modo sed urbem etiam adgressus impetu primo cepit.

III. Cum in ea parte in qua caput rei Romanae Camillus erat ea fortuna esset, aliam in partem terror
2 ingens ingruerat. Etruria prope omnis armata Sutrium, socios populi Romani, obsidebat; quorum legati opem rebus adfectis orantes cum senatum adissent, decretum tulere ut dictator primo quoque
3 tempore auxilium Sutrinis ferret. Cuius spei moram cum pati fortuna obsessorum non potuisset confectaque paucitas oppidanorum opere, vigiliis, volneribus, quae semper eosdem urgebant, per pactionem urbe hostibus tradita inermis cum singulis emissa vestimentis miserabili agmine penates relinqueret,
4 eo forte tempore Camillus cum exercitu Romano intervenit. Cui cum se maesta turba ad pedes provolvisset principumque orationem necessitate ultima expressam fletus mulierum ac puerorum, qui exsilii comites trahebantur, excepisset, parcere lamentis

[1] Writing of Tarquinius Superbus, Livy says (I. liii. 2) that he began a war with the Volsci which was to last more than two hundred years after his time. It is not known where he could have found the seventy years tradition.

was by no means open-handed, was all the more B.C. 389
acceptable to the men. Then after pursuing the fugitives and laying waste all the Volscian country-side, he forced the Volsci to surrender at last, after seventy years of war.[1] The victor, leaving the Volsci, crossed over to the Aequi, who were themselves making preparations for war; their army he surprised at Bolae, and carried not only their camp but their city, too, at the first assault.

III. While affairs were thus prosperous in that region where Camillus commanded for Rome, in another direction a great danger threatened. Well-nigh the whole of Etruria was in arms and was laying siege to Sutrium, an ally of the Roman People. Envoys of the Sutrines had appeared before the senate to beg for assistance in their distress, and had obtained a decree that the dictator should march to the aid of their people at the earliest opportunity. But the plight of the besieged would not admit of their waiting till this hope was realized; and the population of the little town, exhausted with the labour, guard-mounting, and wounds, which fell always to the lot of the same men, had come to terms, and having surrendered their city to the enemy, were leaving their homes in a sad procession, unarmed and with but a single garment each, when, as it chanced, Camillus appeared on the scene with a Roman army. The disconsolate rabble cast themselves at his feet, while their leading men addressed him with words drawn from them by the direst necessity and accompanied by the wailing of the women and children, who were being dragged along as the companions of their exile. He bade the Sutrines spare their lamentations; the Etruscans

A.U.C. 365 Sutrinos iussit: Etruscis se luctum lacrimasque ferre. Sarcinas inde deponi Sutrinosque ibi considere modico praesidio relicto, arma secum militem ferre iubet. Ita expedito exercitu profectus ad Sutrium, id quod rebatur, soluta omnia rebus, ut fit, secundis invenit, nullam stationem ante moenia, patentes portas, victorem vagum praedam ex hostium tectis egerentem. Iterum igitur eodem die Sutrium capitur; victores Etrusci passim trucidantur ab novo hoste, nec se conglobandi coeundique in unum aut arma capiundi datur spatium. Cum pro se quisque tenderent ad portas, si qua forte se in agros eicere possent, clausas — id enim primum dictator imperaverat — portas inveniunt. Inde alii arma capere, alii, quos forte armatos tumultus occupaverat, convocare suos ut proelium inirent; quod accensum ab desperatione hostium fuisset, ni praecones per urbem dimissi poni arma et parci inermi iussissent nec praeter armatos quemquam violari. Tum etiam quibus animi in spe ultima obstinati ad decertandum fuerant, postquam data spes vitae est, iactare passim arma inermesque, quod tutius fortuna fecerat, se hosti offerre. Magna multitudo in custo-

were those to whom he was bringing grief and tears. B.C. 380
He then gave orders that the packs should be set down; that the Sutrines should stop there, with a small guard which he left them; and that his soldiers should take their weapons and follow him. So, with his army in light marching order, he set out for Sutrium, where he was not surprised to find everything at loose ends, as a consequence—common enough—of their success; there was no outpost before the walls; the gates were open; and the victors had dispersed and were fetching the booty out of the houses of their enemies. For the second time, therefore, on the same day, Sutrium was captured. The victorious Etruscans were everywhere slaughtered by the new enemy, and had no time given them to assemble and unite their forces or to arm. As they tried, every man for himself, to reach the gates, if by chance they might somehow escape out into the fields, they found them shut, for so the general had ordered in the beginning. After that some caught up their swords; others, whom the sudden attack had found already armed, tried to call their fellows together for a battle, and this would have been hotly fought, because of the enemy's despair, had not heralds been dispatched through the town who made proclamation that arms should be laid down and the unarmed receive quarter, and that none should suffer any violence except those that carried weapons. Then even such as had in their extremity resolved to fight to the death, now that hope of life was held out to them, began everywhere to throw down their swords, and to go unarmed—for fortune had made this the safer way—to meet their enemies. The

A.U.C. 365 dias divisa; oppidum ante noctem redditum Sutrinis inviolatum integrumque ab omni clade belli, quia non vi captum sed traditum per condiciones fuerat.

A.U.C. 366 IV. Camillus in urbem triumphans rediit trium simul 2 bellorum victor. Longe plurimos captivos ex Etruscis ante currum duxit, quibus sub hasta venumdatis tantum aeris redactum est ut, pretio pro auro matronis persoluto, ex eo quod supererat tres paterae 3 aureae factae sint, quas cum titulo nominis Camilli ante Capitolium incensum in Iovis cella constat ante pedes Iunonis positas fuisse.

4 Eo anno in civitatem accepti qui Veientium Capenatiumque ac Faliscorum per ea bella transfugerant ad Romanos, agerque his novis civibus 5 adsignatus. Revocati quoque in urbem senatus consulto a Veiis, qui aedificandi Romae pigritia occupatis ibi vacuis tectis Veios se contulerant. Et primo fremitus fuit aspernantium imperium; dies deinde praestituta capitalisque poena, qui non remigrasset Romam, ex ferocibus universis singulos, metu 6 suo quemque, oboedientes fecit. Et Roma cum frequentia crescere, tum tota simul exsurgere aedificiis et re publica impensas adiuvante et aedilibus velut publicum exigentibus opus et ipsis privatis—

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[1] A sign that booty was to be sold at auction.
[2] See v. l. 6–7.
[3] July 6th, 83 B.C. The restoration of the temple was completed 69 B.C.

great throng was divided among companies of guards; and before night the town was restored to the Sutrines, unharmed and without scathe of war, because it had not been carried by assault, but had been surrendered upon terms. B.C. 389

IV. Camillus returned to the City and triumphed for his victories in three simultaneous wars. By far the greatest number of the captives led before his chariot were Etruscans; they were sold under the spear,[1] and fetched so large a sum that after the matrons had been repaid for their gold,[2] the surplus sufficed to make three golden bowls, which were inscribed, as is well known, with the name of Camillus, and kept, until the burning of the Capitol,[3] in the chapel of Jupiter, at Juno's feet. B.C. 388

This year were received into the state such of the Veientes, Capenates, and Faliscans as had come over to the Romans in the course of these wars, and lands were allotted to these new citizens. There were also recalled from Veii to the City, by senatorial decree, those who being too indolent to build in Rome had taken possession of empty houses in Veii and had gone there to live. They had indeed murmured at first, and had flouted the order; but the designation of a day and the threat of a capital penalty for failure to return to Rome reduced them from a defiant group to obedient individuals, as each became alarmed for himself. Rome was now growing in numbers, and in every part at once new buildings were springing up; the state contributed towards the costs, and the aediles forwarded the work as though it had been public business, while the citizens themselves, incited by their desire to be

A.U.C. 366 admonebat enim desiderium usus — festinantibus ad effectum operis; intraque annum nova urbs stetit.

7 Exitu anni comitia tribunorum militum consulari potestate habita. Creati T. Quinctius Cincinnatus Q. Servilius Fidenas quintum L. Iulius Iulus[1] L. Aquilius Corvus L. Lucretius Tricipitinus Ser.[2] Sul-
8 picius Rufus. Exercitum alterum in Aequos, non ad bellum — victos namque se fatebantur — sed ab odio ad pervastandos fines, ne quid ad nova consilia relinqueretur virium, duxere, alterum in agrum Tar-
9 quiniensem; ibi oppida Etruscorum Cortuosa et Contenebra vi capta. Ad Cortuosam nihil certaminis fuit: improviso adorti primo clamore atque impetu cepere; direptum oppidum atque incensum est.
10 Contenebra paucos dies oppugnationem sustinuit, laborque continuus, non die non nocte remissus, subegit eos. Cum in sex partes divisus exercitus Romanus senis horis in orbem succederet proelio, oppidanos eosdem integro semper certamini paucitas fessos obiceret, cessere tandem, locusque invadendi
11 urbem Romanis datus est. Publicari praedam tribunis placebat; sed imperium quam consilium segnius fuit; dum cunctantur, iam militum praeda erat nec nisi per invidiam adimi poterat.

12 Eodem anno, ne privatis tantum operibus cresceret urbs, Capitolium quoque saxo quadrato substructum

[1] L. Iulius Iulus *Sigon.* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 116): l. iulius VM: iulius. l. *PFB*: iulius *U*: iulius tullius OE^1L^3A: iulius tullius l *E*: iullus tullius *HTD*: iullus tullus L: lucius iulius A^3.

[2] Servius $A^3\varsigma$: seruilius (*cf. Diod.* xv. xxiii. 1) Ω.

using it, hurried their building to a conclusion; B.C. 388
and within the year there was a new City standing.

At the close of the year an election of military tribunes with consular powers was held. Those chosen were Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas (for the fifth time), Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Aquilius Corvus, Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus. These men led one army against the Aequi, not to war—for they confessed themselves vanquished—but from hatred, in order to waste their territories and leave them with no strength to make new trouble; with another they invaded the district of Tarquinii, where they captured by assault the Etruscan towns Cortuosa and Contenebra. At Cortuosa there was no struggle: in a surprise attack they carried the place at the first shout and onset, and then sacked and burned it. Contenebra held out for a few days, but the continuous fighting, without respite either day or night, overcame them. The Roman army had been divided into six corps, of which each in its turn went into battle for six hours; while the townsmen were so few that the same men were exposed to an attack that was constantly renewed, until at last they gave way and afforded the Romans an opening to enter the City. The tribunes decided that the booty should go to the state, but were less prompt in issuing orders than in planning; and, while they procrastinated, it was already in the hands of the soldiers and could not be taken away without offending them.

That same year, that the City might not grow in private buildings only, the Capitol was provided with a substructure of hewn stone, a work which even

A.U.C. 366

est, opus vel in hac magnificentia urbis conspiciendum.

V. Iam et tribuni plebis civitate aedificando occupata contiones suas frequentare legibus agrariis
2 conabantur. Ostentabatur in spem Pomptinus ager, tum primum post accisas a Camillo Volscorum res
3 possessionis haud ambiguae. Criminabantur multo eum infestiorem agrum ab nobilitate esse, quam a Volscis fuerit; ab illis enim tantum, quoad vires et
4 arma habuerint,[1] incursiones eo factas; nobiles homines in possessionem agri publici grassari, nec, nisi antequam omnia praecipiant divisus sit, locum
5 ibi plebi fore. Haud magno opere plebem moverunt[2] et infrequentem in foro propter aedificandi curam et eodem exhaustam impensis eoque agri immemorem, ad quem instruendum vires non essent.

6 In civitate plena religionum, tunc etiam ab recenti clade superstitiosis principibus, ut renovarentur auspicia res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges deinceps M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus,
7 L. Valerius Potitus. Hic demum tribunorum militum consulari potestate comitia habuit; L. Papirium C. Cornelium C. Sergium L. Aemilium iterum L.

[1] habuerint *Madvig*: habuerunt Ω.
[2] moverunt *Madvig*: mouerant (*or* -rat) Ω: moueunt *M*: mouent M^2 (*or* M^1).

amidst the present splendours of the City is deserving of remark. B.C. 388

V. And now, while the citizens were taken up with building, the tribunes of the plebs were trying to attract crowds to their meetings by proposals for agrarian laws. They held out hopes of the Pomptine district, of which the Romans had then for the first time—since the defeat inflicted on the Volsci by Camillus—acquired undisputed control. The tribunes brought the charge that this district was worse plagued by the nobility than it had been by the Volsci; for the latter, as long as they were strong enough and had arms, had done no more than make incursions into it; but the nobles were taking violent possession of the public domain, and unless it should be parcelled out before they seized it all, there would be no room there for the commons. They made no great impression on the plebs, who were seldom in the Forum, because they were so intent on building, and, exhausted with the expense thereby incurred, had no thought of land, which they lacked the means of stocking. B.C. 387

The citizens were much given to religious fears, and at that time, owing to the recent calamity, even the leaders were a prey to superstition; so, in order that new auspices might be had, the state went into an interregnum. The office of interrex was successively held by Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus. Finally, the last-named held an election of military tribunes and announced that the choice had fallen on Lucius Papirius, Gaius Cornelius, Gaius Sergius, Lucius Aemilius (for the second time), Lucius

A.U.C. 367 Menenium[1] L. Valerium Publicolam tertium creat
ii[2] ex interregno magistratum occepere.
Eo anno aedis Martis Gallico bello vota dedicata
8 est a T. Quinctio duumviro sacris faciendis. Tribus
quattuor ex novis civibus additae, Stellatina Tro-
mentina Sabatina Arniensis; eaeque viginti quinque
tribuum numerum explevere.

A.U.C. 368 VI. De agro Pomptino ab L. Sicinio tribuno plebis
actum ad frequentiorem iam populum mobilioremque
2 ad cupiditatem agri quam fuerat. Et de Latino
Hernicoque bello mentio facta in senatu maioris
belli cura, quod Etruria in armis erat, dilata est.
3 Res ad Camillum tribunum militum consulari
potestate rediit; collegae additi quinque: Ser. Cor-
nelius Maluginensis Q. Servilius Fidenas sextum
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus L. Horatius Pulvillus P.
4 Valerius. Principio anni aversae curae hominum
sunt a bello Etrusco, quod fugientium ex agro
Pomptino agmen repente inlatum in urbem attulit
Antiates in armis esse Latinorumque populos iuven-
5 tutem suam summisisse[3] ad id bellum, eo abnuentes
publicum fuisse consilium quod non prohibitos tan-
tummodo voluntarios dicerent militare ubi vellent.

[1] C. Cornelium C. Sergium L. Aemilium iterum L. Menenium *Sigonius*: Cn. Sergium L. Aemilium iterum Licinium Menenium (*H. omits* L. Aemilium Menenium) Ω.

[2] creat ; ii *Alschefski*: creat (*or* creati) hii (*or* hi) Ω.

[3] suam summisisse ς: summisisse (*but F. has* sub- *and various MSS. misspell* -misisse) Ω: suam misisse *VMA*[2] "*antiqua lectio*" *Rhenanus.*

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[1] The *duumviri* had charge of the Sibylline Books, which they were directed to consult in times of stress to ascertain what expiation Heaven demanded for the sins of the people.

Menenius and Lucius Valerius Publicola (for the third time). These men took office at the conclusion of the interregnum. B.C. 387

In that year the temple of Mars vowed in the Gallic war was dedicated by Titus Quinctius, duumvir for sacrifices.[1] Four additional tribes were formed out of the new citizens, the Stellatina, Tromentina, Sabatina, and Arniensis; these filled up the number of tribes to twenty-five.

VI. The question of the Pomptine territory was brought up by Lucius Sicinius, a tribune of the plebs, in popular meetings which were now more numerously attended, and by men more easily induced to covet land, than had been the case before. The senate talked also of war with the Latins and the Hernici, but dread of a greater war—Etruria being up in arms—caused them to defer it. B.C. 386

The government passed to Camillus, as tribune of the soldiers with consular authority. He was given five colleagues: Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Quintus Servilius Fidenas (for a sixth term), Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Horatius Pulvillus, and Publius Valerius. Early in the year the general concern was diverted from the Etruscan war, when a band of fugitives from the Pomptine district suddenly appeared in Rome with tidings that the Antiates were in arms. The Latin communities, so they reported, had sent their soldiers to help in the war, but asserted that their government was not involved, since they had merely, as they said, not forbidden their young men to serve, as volunteers, where they liked.

[1] Their number was raised to ten in 367 B.C. and later (in 51 B.C.) to fifteen.

A.U.C. 368

6 Desierant iam ulla contemni bella. Itaque senatus dis agere gratias quod Camillus in magistratu esset: dictatorem quippe dicendum eum fuisse si privatus esset; et collegae fateri regimen omnium
7 rerum, ubi quid bellici terroris ingruat, in viro uno esse, sibique destinatum id animo [1] esse Camillo summittere imperium, nec quicquam de maiestate sua detractum credere quod maiestati eius viri concessissent. Conlaudatis ab senatu tribunis et ipse
8 Camillus confusus animo gratias egit. Ingens inde ait onus a populo Romano sibi, qui se [2] iam quartum creasset, magnum a senatu talibus de se iudiciis [3] maximum tam honoratorum [4] collegarum obsequio
9 iniungi. Itaque si quid laboris vigiliarumque adici possit, certantem secum ipsum adnisurum ut tanto de se consensu civitatis opinionem, quae maxima sit,
10 etiam constantem efficiat. Quod ad bellum atque Antiates attineat, plus ibi minarum quam periculi esse; se tamen, ut nihil timendi, sic nihil contem-
11 nendi auctorem esse. Circumsederi urbem Romanam ab invidia et odio finitimorum; itaque et ducibus pluribus et exercitibus administrandam rem publicam
12 esse. "Te" inquit, "P. Valeri,[5] socium imperii consiliique legiones mecum adversus Antiatem ho-
13 stem ducere placet; te, Q. Servili, altero exercitu

[1] id animo *V*: in animo Ω: animo *L*.
[2] se *Madvig*: se dictatorem Ω.
[3] iudiciis *Karsten*: iudiciis eius ordinis Ω: iudiciis concordiis *U*.
[4] honoratorum *Ald.*: honorato V_{ζ}: honoratum (honer- *BHT*) Ω.
[5] P. Valeri (*cf.* § 3): L. Valeri Ω.

The Romans had ceased by this time to make light of any wars. And so the senate gave thanks to the gods that Camillus was in office, for in sooth they would have been obliged to make him dictator, if he had been a private citizen; and his colleagues declared that the general control, when any warlike danger threatened, belonged to one man alone, and that they were resolved to subordinate their own authority to Camillus; nor did they believe that there was any derogation of their own dignity in such concessions as they might make to his. The senate commended the tribunes, and Camillus himself, deeply moved, expressed his thanks. A heavy responsibility he said, was placed upon him by the Roman People, who had now elected him for the fourth time; no small one by the senate, in so judging of him; but the greatest of all proceeded from the deference accorded him by such distinguished colleagues. Accordingly, if it were possible to add to his exertions and his vigilance, he should vie with himself in an effort to make the very high opinion which his fellow citizens so unanimously entertained of him an abiding one. As for the war with the men of Antium, there was more bluster in that quarter than real danger; nevertheless, as he would have them fear nothing, so he would counsel them to despise nothing. The City of Rome was ringed about by the envy and ill-will of her neighbours; consequently there needed several generals and armies to administer the interests of the state. "It is my wish," said he, "that you, Publius Valerius, should share my authority and deliberations, and join me in leading the legions against the enemy at Antium; that you, Quintus Servilius, should organize B.C. 386

a.u.c. 368 instructo paratoque ad urbem[1] castra habere, intentum, sive Etruria se interim, ut nuper, sive nova haec cura, Latini atque Hernici moverint; pro certo habeo ita rem gesturum, ut patre avo teque
14 ipso ac sex tribunatibus dignum est. Tertius exercitus ex causariis senioribusque a L. Quinctio[2] scribatur, qui urbi moenibusque praesidio sit. L. Horatius arma, tela, frumentum quaeque alia belli
15 tempora poscent provideat. Te, Ser. Corneli, praesidem huius publici consilii, custodem religionum, comitiorum, legum, rerum omnium urbanarum collegae facimus."

16 Cunctis in partes muneris sui benigne pollicentibus operam, Valerius, socius imperii lectus, adiecit M. Furium sibi pro dictatore seque ei pro magistro
17 equitum futurum; proinde, quam opinionem de unico imperatore, eam spem de bello haberent. Se vero bene sperare patres et de bello et de pace
18 universaque re publica erecti gaudio fremunt, nec dictatore unquam opus fore rei publicae, si tales viros in magistratu habeat, tam concordibus iunctos animis, parere atque imperare iuxta paratos laudemque conferentes potius in medium quam ex communi ad se trahentes.

VII. Iustitio indicto dilectuque habito Furius ac

[1] ad urbem *V*: in urbem *A*: in urbe Ω.
[2] a L. Quinctio ς (*cf.* § 3): ab quinctio *V*; a tito quinctio Ω: attito quinctio *B*.

and equip a second army, and maintain your camp B.C. 386
near Rome, on the alert, in case any move should be made in the meantime from Etruria, as happened recently, or from this new source of anxiety, the Latins and Hernici; certain I am that you will discharge the commission in a manner worthy of your father, your grandfather, and yourself, and of your six tribuneships. Let a third army be enrolled by Lucius Quinctius, out of those who are invalided or over age, to defend the City and the walls. Let Lucius Horatius provide arms, missiles, corn, and what else the exigencies of the war demand. You, Servius Cornelius, we, your colleagues, appoint to be president of this state council, guardian of religious rites, of the elections, the laws, and all the affairs of the City."

All promised loyally to do their best in their respective departments of their office; and Valerius, who had been selected to share in the command, added that he should regard Marcus Furius as a dictator and himself as his master of the horse; in proportion therefore to men's confidence in their unique commander should be their hopes of the outcome of the war. Whereat the senators in their enthusiasm shouted that they hoped right well of the war, and of the peace, and of the common weal in general; adding that the state would never need a dictator if it might have such men in office, united in such loving concord, equally ready to command and obey, and rather contributing to the common stock of glory than drawing upon it for their own behoof.

VII. After proclaiming a suspension of legal business and holding a levy, Furius and Valerius set

A.U.C. 368 Valerius ad Satricum profecti, quo non Volscorum modo iuventutem Antiates ex nova subole lectam sed ingentem Latinorum Hernicorumque vim [1] conciverant ex integerrimis diutina pace populis. Itaque novus hostis veteri adiunctus commovit animos mi-
2 litis Romani. Quod ubi aciem iam instruenti Camillo centuriones renuntiaverunt, turbatas militum mentes esse, segniter arma capta, cunctabundosque et resistentes egressos castris esse, quin voces quoque auditas cum centenis hostibus singulos pugnaturos et aegre inermem tantam multitudinem, nedum
3 armatam, sustineri posse, in equum insilit et ante signa obversus in aciem ordines interequitans:

"Quae tristitia, milites, haec, quae insolita cunctatio est? Hostem an me an vos ignoratis? Hostis est quid aliud quam perpetua materia virtutis glori-
4 aeque vestrae? Vos contra me duce, ut Falerios Veiosque captos et in capta patria Gallorum legiones caesas taceam, modo trigeminae victoriae triplicem triumphum ex his ipsis Volscis et Aequis [2] et ex
5 Etruria egistis. An me, quod non dictator vobis sed tribunus signum dedi, non agnoscitis ducem? Neque ego maxima imperia in vos desidero, et vos in me nihil praeter me ipsum intueri decet; neque

[1] Hernicorumque vim *Madvig*: hernicorumque Ω.
[2] et Aequis Ω: ex Aequis *Heusinger*: et ex Aequis, *H. J. Mueller*.

[1] *i.e.*, since the disastrous defeat they had suffered in 389 (chap. ii. § 12).

out for Satricum, where the Antiates had collected B.C. 386
not only the fighting men of the Volsci, recruited from a new generation,[1] but also a large force of Latins and Hernici, nations which, having been long at peace, were extremely strong. The consequence of this addition of new enemies to their old ones was to trouble the spirit of the Roman soldiers. But when the centurions reported to Camillus, as he was already drawing up his line, that the men were demoralized; that they had been loath to arm and had hesitated and delayed in leaving the camp, nay, that some had even been heard to say that they would be one against a hundred in the battle, and that so great a host could hardly be withstood even though unarmed, much less when provided with weapons—being told of this, I say, Camillus vaulted upon his horse, and riding along the ranks in front of the standards, faced his troops and thus addressed them:

"Soldiers, what means this gloom and this unwonted reluctance? Are you strangers to the enemy, or to me, or to yourselves? The enemy—what else are they but inexhaustible material for you to fashion into glorious deeds of valour? As for yourselves, when acting as my soldiers, though I say nothing of your capturing Falerii and Veii and routing the Gallic legions in your captured City, you celebrated, only the other day, a three-fold triumph for a triple victory over these very Volsci and Aequi and over Etruria. Or is it that I, having given you the signal not as dictator but as tribune of the soldiers, am not recognized as your commander? And yet neither do I desire supreme authority over you, nor ought you to regard in me anything but myself; for

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enim dictatura mihi unquam animos fecit, ut ne
6 exsilium quidem ademit. Iidem igitur omnes sumus, et cum eadem omnia in hoc bellum adferamus, quae in priora attulimus, eundem eventum belli exspectemus. Simul concurreritis, quod quisque didicit ac consuevit faciet: vos vincetis, illi fugient."

VIII. Dato deinde signo ex equo desilit et proximum signiferum manu arreptum secum in hostem
2 rapit "Infer, miles," clamitans "signum." Quod ubi videre, ipsum Camillum, iam ad munera corporis senecta invalidum, vadentem in hostes, procurrunt pariter omnes clamore sublato "Sequere imperatorem" pro se quisque clamantes. Emissum etiam
3 signum Camilli iussu in hostium aciem ferunt, idque
4 ut repeteretur concitatos antesignanos; ibi primum pulsum Antiatem, terroremque non in primam tan-
5 tum aciem sed etiam ad subsidiarios perlatum. Nec vis tantum militum movebat excitata praesentia ducis, sed quod Volscorum animis nihil terribilius
6 erat quam ipsius Camilli forte oblata species; ita quocumque se intulisset victoriam secum haud dubiam trahebat. Maxime id evidens fuit, cum in laevum cornu prope iam pulsum arrepto repente equo cum scuto pedestri advectus conspectu suo proelium restituit ostentans vincentem ceteram
7 aciem. Iam inclinata res erat, sed turba hostium

the dictatorship could never give me resolution, nor B.C. 386
could even exile deprive me of it. We are all, therefore, exactly as we were, and since we bring the same qualities in all respects to this campaign that we brought to earlier ones, let us look forward to the same result. As soon as you have joined battle, every man will do what he has learned and has become accustomed to: you will conquer, they will run away."

VIII. He then sounded the charge, and leaping from his horse, caught hold of the nearest standard-bearer and hurried him towards the enemy, calling out: "Forward soldiers!" But when they saw Camillus, who for bodily feats was now grown old and infirm, advancing in person against the foe, they all gave a cheer and rushed forward together, and every man took up the cry of "Follow the General!" It is even said that Camillus bade the standard-bearer hurl his ensign into the press of enemies, and urging the front ranks to recover it, then for the first time discomfited the Antiates. The panic did not stop with the first line, but spread even to the troops in support. It was not only the dash of the Roman soldiers, inspired by their leader's presence, which overcame them; for nothing so daunted the spirits of the Volsci as the sight of Camillus himself, when they happened to encounter him—so surely, wherever he went, did he carry victory with him. This was especially apparent on the left. That wing had already nearly given way, when Camillus suddenly threw himself upon a horse, and, armed with an infantry-shield, rode up and by his presence retrieved the battle, calling out that the rest of the army was conquering. The fortune of the day had now turned,

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et fuga impediebatur[1] et longa caede conficienda multitudo tanta fesso militi erat, cum repente ingentibus procellis fusus imber certam magis victoriam
8 quam proelium diremit. Signo deinde receptui dato nox insecuta quietis Romanis perfecit bellum. Latini namque et Hernici relictis Volscis domos profecti sunt, malis consiliis pares adepti eventus;
9 Volsci, ubi se desertos ab eis videre, quorum fiducia rebellaverant, relictis castris moenibus Satrici se includunt. Quos primo Camillus vallo circumdare et aggere atque operibus oppugnare est adortus.
10 Quae postquam nulla eruptione impediri videt, minus esse animi ratus in hoste quam ut in eo tam lentae spei victoriam exspectaret, cohortatus milites, ne tamquam Veios oppugnantes in opere longinquo sese tererent, victoriam in manibus esse, ingenti militum alacritate moenia undique adgressus scalis oppidum cepit. Volsci abiectis armis sese dediderunt.

IX. Ceterum animus ducis rei maiori, Antio, imminebat: id caput Volscorum, eam fuisse ori-
2 ginem proximi belli. Sed quia nisi magno apparatu, tormentis machinisque, tam valida urbs capi non poterat, relicto ad exercitum collega Romam est profectus.

[1] fuga impediebatur *HTLR*: fuga im(*or* in-)pediebat Ω: fugam impediebat ς.

but the enemy's numbers were an obstacle even to B.C. 386
their flight, and a great multitude remained for the weary soldiers to dispatch with long-drawn massacre, when suddenly great gusts of wind brought on a downpour of rain, which broke off what was rather a certain victory than a battle. Thereupon the recall was sounded, and the night that followed finished the campaign for the Romans, while they slept. For the Latins and Hernici abandoned the Volsci and marched off to their homes, their evil counsels rewarded with as evil an outcome; and the Volsci, perceiving themselves to be deserted by those on whom they had relied in their rebellion, forsook their camp and shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum. Camillus at first set about confining them with a palisade and mound, intending to lay siege to them; but finding the enemy made no sorties to interrupt the work, he concluded they had not sufficient resolution to make him wait so long for victory. He therefore encouraged his troops not to wear themselves out with protracted toil, as though they were besieging Veii, when victory was within their grasp; and with great alacrity on the part of the soldiers, he approached the walls from every side and captured the town with scaling-ladders. The Volsci threw away their weapons and surrendered.

IX. But the general's thoughts were turning to a matter of greater moment, namely Antium, which, as being the Volscian capital, he held responsible for the last war. But because, without extensive equipment of artillery and engines, it was impossible to take so strong a town, he left his colleague in command of the army and proceeded to Rome, that he might

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3 ut senatum ad excidendum Antium hortaretur. Inter sermonem eius — credo rem Antiatem diuturniorem manere dis cordi fuisse — legati ab Nepete ac Sutrio auxilium adversus Etruscos petentes veniunt, brevem occasionem esse ferendi auxilii memorantes. Eo
4 vim Camilli ab Antio fortuna avertit. Namque cum ea loca opposita Etruriae et velut claustra inde portaeque essent, et illis occupandi ea cum quid novi molirentur, et Romanis reciperandi tuendique
5 cura erat. Igitur senatui cum Camillo agi placuit ut omisso Antio bellum Etruscum susciperet; legiones urbanae quibus Quinctius praefuerat ei
6 decernuntur. Quamquam expertum exercitum adsuetumque imperio qui in Volscis erat mallet, nihil recusavit; Valerium tantummodo imperii socium depoposcit. Quinctius Horatiusque successores Valerio in Volscos missi.

7 Profecti ab urbe Sutrium Furius et Valerius partem oppidi iam captam ab Etruscis invenere, ex parte altera intersaeptis itineribus aegre oppida-
8 nos vim hostium ab se arcentes. Cum Romani auxilii adventus tum Camilli nomen celeberrimum apud hostes sociosque et in praesentia rem inclinatam sustinuit et spatium ad opem ferendam dedit.
9 Itaque diviso exercitu Camillus collegam in eam

[1] With this remark compare I. iv. 1.

urge the senate to undertake the destruction of B.C. 386
Antium. While he was speaking—I suppose it was Heaven's will that the Antian state should continue somewhat longer[1]—envoys from Nepete and Sutrium appeared, who asked for help against the Etruscans, saying that the opportunity of lending aid would soon be past. To this quarter Fortune diverted the energies of Camillus, away from Antium. For since these places were on the frontier of Etruria, and were the barriers, so to speak, and gateways of that region, the Etruscans were concerned to seize them, as often as they had any new design in hand, and the Romans to recover or defend them. The senate therefore resolved to request of Camillus that he should relinquish Antium and undertake the Etruscan war, and voted him the city levies which had been under the command of Quinctius. Although Camillus would have preferred the army, disciplined and used to his authority, which lay in the Volscian country, he made no objection, only stipulating that Valerius should be associated with him in the command. Quinctius and Horatius were dispatched to succeed Valerius against the Volsci.

Leaving the City and marching to Sutrium, Furius and Valerius found that a part of the town was already captured by the Etruscans, and that in the other part the townspeople had barricaded the streets and were defending themselves with great difficulty from the onslaughts of their enemies. The arrival of succour from Rome, and particularly the great reputation which Camillus enjoyed with both friends and foes, checked for the moment the disastrous course of events and afforded time to render assistance. Accordingly, Camillus divided the army,

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partem circumductis copiis quam hostes tenebant moenia adgredi iubet, non tam a spe[1] scalis capi urbem posse quam ut aversis eo hostibus et oppidanis iam pugnando fessis laxaretur labor et ipse spatium
10 intrandi sine certamine moenia haberet. Quod cum simul utrimque factum esset ancepsque terror Etruscos circumstaret, et moenia summa vi oppugnari et intra moenia esse hostem viderent, porta
11 se quae una forte non obsidebatur trepidi uno agmine eiecere. Magna caedes fugientium et in urbe et per agros est facta. Plures a Furianis intra moenia caesi; Valeriani expeditiores ad persequendum[2] fuere, nec ante noctem, quae conspectum ademit, finem caedendi fecere.

12 Sutrio recepto restitutoque sociis Nepete exercitus ductus, quod per deditionem acceptum iam totum Etrusci habebant.

X. Videbatur plus in ea urbe recipienda laboris fore, non eo solum quod tota hostium erat, sed etiam quod parte Nepesinorum prodente civitatem
2 facta erat deditio; mitti tamen ad principes eorum placuit ut secernerent se ab Etruscis fidemque quam
3 implorassent ab Romanis, ipsi praestarent. Unde

[1] tam a spe A^2 *Heerwagen*: tanta spe Ω.
[2] persequendum *M. Mueller*: persequendos Ω.

and directed his colleague to make a circuit with his B.C. 386
forces and to attack the walls on the side which was held by the enemy. His hope was not so much that the city would be taken by escalade, as that the enemy might be diverted to that quarter —easing thereby the strain upon the townsmen, who were already worn out with fighting—and that he might himself have an opportunity of entering the place without encountering resistance. But on this plan being put into effect simultaneously at both points, the Etruscans, finding themselves threatened on either side and seeing that the walls were being violently assailed and that the enemy was inside the city, threw themselves out by the only gate which chanced to be unguarded, in one panic-stricken throng. Great was the carnage they suffered as they fled, both in the city and in the fields. Furius's men slew more within the walls; the soldiers of Valerius were more lightly equipped for pursuit, and kept up the massacre until night made it impossible to see.

Having retaken Sutrium and restored it to our allies, the army marched to Nepete, which had surrendered to the Etruscans, who were now in complete possession.

X. It appeared likely that this town would be more troublesome to recover, not only because it was wholly in the hands of the enemy, but also because a faction of the Nepesini had betrayed their state and arranged the capitulation. It was nevertheless decided to send word to their leaders, that they should sever themselves from the Etruscans and extend to the Romans the same trusty aid which they had requested at their hands. When the reply came

A.U.C. 368 cum responsum allatum esset nihil suae potestatis esse, Etruscos moenia custodiasque portarum tenere, primo populationibus agri terror est oppidanis ad- 4 motus; deinde, postquam deditionis quam societatis fides sanctior erat, fascibus sarmentorum ex agro conlatis ductus ad moenia exercitus completisque fossis scalae admotae, et clamore primo impetuque 5 oppidum capitur. Nepesinis inde edictum ut arma ponant, parcique iussum inermi: Etrusci pariter armati atque inermes caesi. Nepesinorum quoque auctores deditionis securi percussi: innoxiae multitudini redditae res, oppidumque cum praesidio 6 relictum. Ita duabus sociis urbibus ex hoste receptis victorem exercitum tribuni cum magna gloria Romam reduxerunt.

Eodem anno ab Latinis Hernicisque res repetitae quaesitumque cur per eos annos militem ex instituto 7 non dedissent. Responsum frequenti utriusque gentis concilio est nec culpam in eo publicam nec consilium fuisse quod suae iuventutis aliqui apud 8 Volscos militaverint; eos tamen ipsos pravi consilii poenam habere, nec quemquam ex his reducem esse; militis autem non dati causam terrorem adsiduum a Volscis fuisse, quam pestem adhaerentem lateri suo tot super alia aliis bellis exhauriri nequisse.

back that they were powerless, that the Etruscans held the walls and guarded the gates, the Romans first laid waste their fields, in an effort to frighten the townsfolk; then, when the sanctity of their surrender proved to be more binding on them than that of their alliance, they gathered osiers from the fields and made fascines, and the army being led against the walls filled up the moat, erected scaling-ladders, and carried the town at the first shout and charge. The Nepesini were then commanded to lay down their weapons and the order was given to spare such as were unarmed. The Etruscans were put to death, whether armed or not. Of the Nepesini, too, those who were responsible for the surrender were executed; the innocent populace were given back their possessions, and the town was left with a garrison. After thus regaining from the enemy two cities of the allies, the victorious army under its tribunes marched gloriously back to Rome. B.C. 386

The same year demands for reparation were made upon the Latins and the Hernici, and they were asked why, during recent years, they had furnished no soldiers, as they had agreed to do. Both nations replied in plenary assemblies that no blame or evil purpose attached to the state because a few of their young men had served with the Volsci. These men had, for that matter, paid the penalty for their distorted judgment, and not one of them had come back; as to their having furnished no soldiers, this had been due to their constant fear of the Volsci —a pest that clung so fast to them that with all that long succession of wars they had been unable to shake it off. On learning of this answer, the

A.U.C. 368 9 Quae relata patribus magis tempus quam causam non visa belli habere.

A.U.C. 369 XI. Insequenti anno A. Manlio P. Cornelio T. et L. Quinctiis Capitolinis L. Papirio Cursore iterum C. Sergio[1] iterum[2] tribunis consulari potestate 2 grave bellum foris, gravior domi seditio exorta, bellum ab Volscis adiuncta Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, seditio, unde minime timeri potuit, a patriciae gentis viro et inclitae famae, 3 M. Manlio Capitolino. Qui nimius animi cum alios principes sperneret, uni invideret, eximio simul honoribus atque virtutibus, M. Furio, aegre ferebat 4 solum eum in magistratibus, solum apud exercitus[3] tantum iam eminere ut iisdem auspiciis creatos non pro collegis sed pro ministris habeat, cum interim, si quis vere aestimare velit, a M. Furio recuperari patria ex obsidione hostium non potuerit, nisi a se 5 prius Capitolium atque arx servata esset; et ille inter aurum accipiendum et in spem pacis solutis animis Gallos adgressus sit, ipse armatos capientesque arcem depulerit; illius gloriae pars virilis apud omnes milites sit qui simul vicerint, suae victoriae neminem omnium mortalium socium esse 5 constet.[4] His opinionibus inflato animo, ad hoc

[1] iterum C. Sergio *added by Glareanus and Sigonius from chap.* v. § 7 *and chap.* xxvii. § 2.

[2] iterum A^2 *or* A^4: ii Ω: duobus M^3OE: u *L*: iii *H*: iis *U*.

[3] solum apud exercitus *Madvig*: solum apud exercitus esse Ω.

[4] esse constet *Harant*: esse Ω.

senators were of opinion that they lacked not so much the ground for war as a favourable opportunity. B.C. 398

XI. In the following year, when the consular tribunes were Aulus Manlius, Publius Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quinctius Capitolinus, Lucius Papirius Cursor (for the second time) and Gaius Sergius (for the second time), a serious foreign war broke out, and an even more serious domestic schism. The war was set on foot by the Volsci, in conjunction with a revolt on the part of the Latins and Hernici; the schism originated where such a thing was least to be apprehended, with a man of patrician family and high renown, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. This man, scorning, in his overweening pride, the other nobles, but envying the one who excelled them all in honours and good qualities, namely Marcus Furius, could ill endure that Camillus should at last have attained to such solitary eminence, both amongst the magistrates and in the armies, as to have those who had been chosen under the same auspices not for colleagues but for servants; whereas—if one considered the situation fairly—it would have been impossible for Marcus Furius to redeem his native City from the leaguer of her enemies, unless Manlius himself had before that saved the Capitol and Citadel. Camillus had assailed the Gauls while they were receiving the gold and while their resolution was relaxed by thoughts of peace; but he himself had driven them back, as they came on, sword in hand, in the act of taking the Citadel. Of the glory of Camillus a goodly portion belonged to all the soldiers who had conquered with him: in his own victory it was acknowledged that no mortal soever had a share. Puffed up with these B.C. 385

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vitio quoque ingenii vehemens et impotens, postquam inter patres non quantum aequum censebat
7 excellere suas opes animadvertit, primus[1] omnium ex patribus popularis factus cum plebeiis magistratibus consilia communicare; criminando patres, alliciendo ad se plebem iam aura,[2] non consilio ferri
8 famaeque magnae malle quam bonae esse. Et non contentus agrariis legibus, quae materia semper tribunis plebi seditionum fuisset, fidem[3] moliri coepit: acriores quippe aeris alieni stimulos esse, qui non egestatem modo atque ignominiam minentur sed nervo ac vinculis corpus liberum territent.
9 Et erat aeris alieni magna vis re[4] damnossima etiam divitibus, aedificando, contracta. Bellum itaque Volscum, grave per se, oneratum Latinorum atque Hernicorum defectione, in speciem causae iactatum
10 ut maior potestas quaereretur; sed nova consilia Manli magis compulere senatum ad dictatorem creandum. Creatus A. Cornelius Cossus magistrum equitum dixit T. Quinctium Capitolinum.

XII. Dictator etsi maiorem dimicationem propositam domi quam foris cernebat, tamen, seu quia celeritate ad bellum opus erat, seu victoria triumphoque dictaturae ipsi vires se additurum ratus, dilectu habito in agrum Pomptinum, quo a Volscis exercitum inductum[5] audierat, pergit.
2 Non dubito, praeter satietatem tot iam libris

[1] primus *U'ς Tan. Faber*: primu' *U*: primo *O*: primum Ω.
[2] plebem iam auram *Vorm.*? *MHTD*: plebem iam auriam *L.*: plebeiã auria *A*: plebeiam auram P^2 (plebeiam *P*) *FUBOE*$T^2D^2A^2$.
[3] fidem *Sigonius* (*after Faernus*): idem (*or* Idem) Ω: *omitted by A.*
[4] re ς Freinsheim: res Ω.
[5] inductum F^2U: indictum (inditum *A*) Ω: induci indictum MA^2: indictum induci *OE*: induci P^2 (*margin*).

opinions, and being besides, through a defect of B.C. 385
nature, impetuous and passionate, when he perceived that his abilities did not bring him that leadership amongst the nobles which he thought they merited, he was the first of all the patricians to turn demagogue and to cast in his lot with the plebeian magistrates. He abused the nobles, he courted the favour of the plebs; and swept along by the breath of popularity and not by good counsel chose rather to be reputed great than virtuous. Moreover, not content with agrarian proposals, which had ever served the tribunes to stir up sedition, he began an attack on credit; for he held that debt was a sharper goad, since it not only threatened poverty and shame, but terrified the freeman with the thought of shackles and imprisonment. And in fact there had been a vast piling up of debts, by reason of a thing that is ruinous even to the rich, to wit, building. And so the Volscian war, grave in itself and made still graver by the defection of the Latins and Hernici, was alleged as a reason for seeking a greater authority; but the revolutionary schemes of Manlius were the more compelling cause of the senate's naming a dictator. They appointed Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who appointed as his master of the horse Titus Quinctius Capitolinus.

XII. The dictator perceived that a greater struggle was impending at home than abroad. But either the war demanded haste, or he believed that by a victory and triumph he could add power to the dictatorship itself. So he mustered his forces and proceeded to the Pomptine territory, which he had heard was invaded by a Volscian army.

I doubt not that those who are surfeited with

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adsidua bella cum Volscis gesta legentibus illud quoque succursurum, quod mihi percensenti propiores temporibus harum rerum auctores miraculo fuit, unde totiens victis Volscis et Aequis suffecerint 3 milites. Quod cum ab antiquis tacitum praetermissum sit, cuius tandem ego rei praeter opinionem, quae sua cuique coniectanti esse potest, auctor sim? 4 Simile veri est aut intervallis bellorum, sicut nunc in dilectibus fit Romanis, alia atque alia subole iuniorum ad bella instauranda totiens usos esse, aut non ex iisdem semper populis exercitus scriptos, 5 quamquam eadem semper gens bellum intulerit, aut innumerabilem multitudinem liberorum capitum in eis fuisse locis quae nunc vix seminario exiguo militum relicto servitia Romana ab solitudine vin- 6 dicant. Ingens certe, quod inter omnes auctores conveniat, quamquam nuper Camilli ductu atque auspicio accisae res erant, Volscorum exercitus fuit; ad hoc Latini Hernicique accesserant et Circeiensium quidam et coloni etiam a Velitris Romani.

7 Dictator castris eo die positis, postero cum auspicato prodisset hostiaque caesa pacem deum adorasset, laetus ad milites iam arma ad propositum pugnae signum, sicut edictum erat, luce prima capientes 8 processit. "Nostra victoria est, milites," inquit,

[1] A red flag flown from the general's tent.

reading in all these books about endless wars waged B.C. 385
with the Volsci will ask, as with great astonishment I did myself, on examining the historians who were nearer in point of time to those events, where the so oft defeated Volsci and Aequi got their supply of soldiers. But since the ancients have passed over this question in silence, what can I adduce other than an opinion such as everyone can by conjecture arrive at for himself? It is probable either that in the intervals between wars successive generations sprang up—as happens nowadays in the levies of the Romans—which they used for their frequent renewals of war; or that it was not always the same tribes from which they enrolled their armies—though it was always the same nation which made war; or else that there was an innumerable multitude of freemen in those regions which in our day scarce afford a scanty seed-plot for soldiers, and are only saved from becoming a waste desert by gangs of Roman slaves. In any case, all the authorities would agree that the army of the Volsci was an enormous one, although their state had recently suffered a heavy blow from the generalship and auspices of Camillus. There were, besides, additional forces of Latins and Hernici, as well as a certain number from Circeii, and even Roman colonists from Velitrae.

On the morning after he had made his camp, the dictator took the auspices, and coming forth from his tent offered up a victim and besought the favour of Heaven. He then with great cheerfulness presented himself before the soldiers, who were already arming by the first rays of light, as they had been warned to do when the signal for battle[1] should be displayed. "Ours is the victory, soldiers," he ex-

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"si quid di vatesque eorum in futurum vident. Itaque, ut decet certae spei plenos et cum imparibus manus conserturos, pilis ante pedes positis gladiis tantum dextras armemus. Ne procurri quidem ab acie velim, sed obnixos vos stabili gradu impetum
9 hostium excipere. Ubi illi vana iniecerint missilia et effusi stantibus vobis se intulerint, tum micent gladii et veniat in mentem unicuique deos esse qui Romanum adiuvent, deos qui secundis avibus in
10 proelium miserint. Tu T. Quincti, equitem intentus ad primum initium moti certaminis teneas; ubi haerere iam aciem conlato pede videris, tum terrorem equestrem occupatis alio pavore infer invec-
11 tusque ordines pugnantium dissipa." Sic eques, sic pedes, ut praeceperat, pugnant; nec dux legiones nec fortuna fefellit ducem.

XIII. Multitudo hostium, nulli rei praeterquam numero freta et oculis utramque metiens aciem,
2 temere proelium iniit, temere omisit; clamore tantum missilibusque telis et primo pugnae impetu ferox gladios et conlatum pedem et voltum hostis
3 ardore animi micantem ferre non potuit. Impulsa frons prima et trepidatio subsidiis inlata; et suum terrorem intulit eques; rupti inde multis locis ordines motaque omnia et fluctuanti similis acies

claimed, "if the gods and the soothsayers who B.C. 385
interpret them can at all see what is coming. And so, as befits men who with sure confidence are about to fight with those who are no match for them, let us lay our javelins at our feet and arm our right hands with swords only. I would have none run out from the line, but all stand firmly planted and receive the onset of our enemies. When they have discharged their missiles without effect, and come thronging upon you where you stand, then let your blades flash out, and let every man of you bethink him that the gods are the Roman's helpers, that the gods have with fair omens sent him into battle. Do you, Titus Quinctius, hold back your cavalry and watch for the first beginning of the mellay; when you see that the lines are already close-locked, foot to foot, then loose the terrors of your horse against them, while they are taken up with another fear; charge them as they fight, and break their ranks." so horse and foot fought exactly as they had been ordered; the general failed not his legions, nor fortune the general.

XIII. The hostile multitude, relying on numbers only and measuring both armies with their eyes, recklessly began the fight and as recklessly gave it up; their boldness went no further than the battle-cry, the discharge of missiles, and the first fury of the onset; the play of swords, when foot met foot, and the glance of the foeman that darted out the fire of his spirit, they could not abide. Their front was first driven in and communicated its disorder to the supports; the horsemen, too, inspired a terror of their own; next the ranks were broken at many points, and all was in commotion, and the line re-

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erat. Dein postquam cadentibus primis iam ad se quisque perventuram caedem cernebat, terga vertunt. 4 Instare[1] Romanus; et donec armati confertique abibant, peditum labor in persequendo fuit; postquam iactari arma passim fugaque per agros spargi aciem hostium animadversum est, tum equitum turmae emissae dato signo ne in singulorum morando caede spatium ad evadendum interim multitudini 5 darent: satis esse missilibus ac terrore impediri cursum obequitandoque agmen teneri dum adsequi 6 pedes et iusta caede conficere hostem posset. Fugae sequendique non ante noctem finis fuit. Capta quoque ac direpta eodem die castra Volscorum, praedaque omnis praeter libera corpora militi con- 7 cessa est. Pars maxima captivorum ex Latinis atque Hernicis fuit, nec omnium[2] de plebe, ut credi posset mercede militasse, sed principes quidam iuventutis inventi, manifesta fides publica ope Volscos 8 hostes adiutos. Circeiensium quoque quidam cogniti et coloni a Velitris; Romamque omnes missi percontantibus primoribus patrum eadem quae dictatori defectionem sui quisque populi haud perplexe indicavere.

XIV. Dictator exercitum in stativis tenebat minime dubius bellum cum iis populis patres

[1] instare $A^2\zeta$: stare Ω.
[2] omnium F^2B: hominum Ω.

sembled a surging wave. Then, as soon as each B.C. 385
began to see that with the fall of those in front his own turn to be killed would soon be coming, they turned and fled. The Romans pressed on after them, and as long as they retained their arms and withdrew in masses, it was the infantry's task to pursue them; but when the enemy were seen to be throwing away their weapons on every hand and their army to be dispersed in flight over the fields; then the cavalry squadrons were let loose, with orders not to stop to kill single fugitives and afford meanwhile an opportunity to the main body of escaping; it was sufficient if by darting missiles at them to alarm them, and by riding across their path, they should hold the column in check, till the infantry could overtake the enemy and utterly destroy them. Flight and pursuit continued until nightfall. The Volscian camp was also captured the same day and sacked, and all the booty except the persons of freemen was turned over to the soldiers. The chief part of the prisoners consisted of Latins and Hernici, not all of whom were plebeians, such as might be supposed to have served as mercenaries, but certain youths of high rank were discovered, a clear proof that their states had publicly countenanced the Volscian enemy. Some, again, were recognized as being from Circeii and from the colony at Velitrae. They were all sent to Rome, and being questioned by the chief senators, gave the same answers they had given the dictator, and in no uncertain terms laid bare the defection of their respective peoples.

XIV. The dictator maintained his army in camp, not doubting in the least that the senate would

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iussuros, cum maior domi exorta moles coegit acciri Romam eum gliscente in dies seditione, quam solito magis metuendam auctor faciebat. Non enim iam orationes modo M. Manli sed facta, popularia in speciem, tumultuosa eadem qua mente fierent intuenti[1] erant. Centurionem, nobilem militaribus factis, iudicatum pecuniae cum duci vidisset, medio foro cum caterva sua accurrit et manum iniecit; vociferatusque de superbia patrum ac crudelitate feneratorum et miseriis plebis, virtutibus eius viri fortunaque, "tum vero ego" inquit "nequiquam hac dextra Capitolium arcemque servaverim, si civem commilitonemque meum tamquam Gallis victoribus captum in servitutem ac vincula duci videam." Inde rem creditori palam populo solvit libraque et aere liberatum emittit, deos atque homines obtestantem ut M. Manlio, liberatori suo, parenti plebis Romanae, gratiam referant. Acceptus extemplo in tumultuosam turbam et ipse tumultum augebat, cicatrices acceptas Veienti Gallico aliisque deinceps bellis ostentans: se militantem, se restituentem eversos penates, multiplici iam sorte exsoluta,

[1] intuenti *Gronovius*: intuenda Ω.

[1] Actually the senate could only recommend a declaration of war, the ultimate decision resting with the *comitia centuriata*.

[2] Symbolical of the *sale* by which the debtor was conceived to be transferred from the ownership of his creditor to that of Liberty.

declare war on those nations;[1] when a greater dis- B.C. 385
turbance broke out at home and obliged them to summon him to the City, where the sedition was increasing from day to day, and occasioned more than the usual alarm by reason of the man who was behind it. For now not only the speeches of Marcus Manlius, but his actions as well, while ostensibly democratic, were really revolutionary, considering the purpose which inspired them. A centurion renowned for military prowess had been condemned for debt. As he was being led away, Manlius caught sight of him, and hastening to his side through the midst of the Forum with his band of retainers, he laid hold of him, and exclaiming at the arrogance of the patricians, the heartlessness of the money-lenders, the sufferings of the plebs, and the merits and misfortunes of this man, "Then in very truth," he cried, "was it all in vain that with this right hand I saved the Capitol and the Citadel, if I am to see my fellow citizen and fellow soldier carried off a captive—as though the Gauls had conquered us—to servitude and chains!" He then paid the money to the creditor in full sight of the people, and with the ceremony of the scales and bronze[2] redeemed the debtor and set him free, to invoke the blessing of gods and men on Marcus Manlius, his liberator, the father of the Roman plebs. The man was at once received into the midst of a tumultuous throng, and added to the tumult by displaying the scars he had received in the Veientine, the Gallic, and other successive wars. While he had himself been fighting, he said, and rebuilding his ruined home, he had been overwhelmed with usury, though he had paid already many times the amount of the capital

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mergentibus semper sortem usuris, obrutum fenore
8 esse; videre lucem, forum, civium ora M. Manli opera; omnia parentum beneficia ab illo se habere; illi devovere corporis vitaeque ac sanguinis quod supersit; quodcumque sibi cum patria penatibus publicis ac privatis iuris fuerit, id cum uno homine
9 esse. His vocibus instincta plebes cum iam unius hominis esset, addita alia commodioris[1] ad omnia
10 turbanda consilii res. Fundum in Veienti, caput patrimonii, subiecit praeconi, "ne quem vestrum" inquit, "Quirites, donec quicquam in re mea superet, iudicatum addictumve duci patiar." Id vero ita accendit animos ut per omne fas ac nefas secuturi vindicem libertatis viderentur.

11 Ad hoc domi contionantis in modum sermones pleni criminum in patres; inter quos, omisso[2] discrimine vera an vana iaceret, thesauros Gallici auri occultari a patribus[3] nec iam possidendis publicis agris contentos esse nisi pecuniam quoque publicam avertant; ea res si palam fiat, exsolvi plebem aere
12 alieno posse. Quae ubi obiecta spes est, enimvero indignum facinus videri: cum conferendum ad redi-

[1] commodioris $A\varsigma$: commotioris Ω: accommodatioris *Weesenberg*.
[2] omisso ς *Drakenborch*: cum omisso Ω.
[3] occultari a patribus *Gronovius*: occultari a patribus iecit (iniecit *U*) Ω.

debt, for the interest always swallowed up the B.C 385
principal; that he beheld the light of day, the Forum, the faces of his fellow citizens, he owed to the generosity of Marcus Manlius, at whose hands he had experienced all the loving-kindness of parents; to him he solemnly devoted his remaining strength and life and blood; what ties soever bound him to native land and the gods of his state and family, bound him to one man alone. Excited by these words, the commons were already at the beck of a single man, when Manlius did another thing even better calculated to promote a general embroilment. For he gave a farm in the Veientine district, which formed the main part of his fortune, to an auctioneer to sell,—"that I may not suffer one of your number, Quirites," said he, "to be condemned, made over, and carried off to slavery, so long as anything of my estate remains." At this their ardour was so kindled that it was clear that in every measure, right or wrong, they would follow the champion of their liberty.

Besides this he delivered in his house harangues that were full of accusation against the patricians; amongst other things, he declared, with reckless indifference to truth or falsehood, that the patricians were concealing treasures of Gallic gold, and were no longer content with possessing the state lands, unless they could also divert to their own use the money of the state—money which, if it were employed for the common weal, would suffice to clear the plebs of debt. On this hope being held out to them, the commons felt that they were indeed ill-used. When, they said, it had been necessary to raise gold for the redemption of their City from the

A.U.C. 369 mendam civitatem a Gallis aurum fuerit, tributo conlationem factam, idem aurum ex hostibus captum
13 in paucorum praedam cessisse. Itaque exsequebantur quaerendo ubi tantae rei furtum occultaretur; differentique et tempore suo se indicaturum dicenti ceteris omissis eo versae erant omnium curae, apparebatque nec veri indicii gratiam mediam nec falsi offensionem fore.

XV. Ita suspensis rebus dictator accitus ab exercitu in urbem venit. Postero die senatu habito cum satis periclitatus voluntates hominum discedere senatum ab se vetuisset, stipatus ea multitudine, sella in comitio posita, viatorem ad M. Manlium
2 misit; qui dictatoris iussu vocatus, cum signum suis dedisset adesse certamen, agmine ingenti ad
3 tribunal venit. Hinc senatus, hinc plebs, suum quisque intuentes ducem, velut in acie constiterant.
4 Tum dictator silentio facto: "utinam" inquit "mihi patribusque Romanis ita de ceteris rebus cum plebe conveniat, quemadmodum quod ad te attinet eamque rem quam de te sum quaesiturus conven-
5 turum satis confido. Spem factam a te civitati video fide incolumi ex thesauris Gallicis, quos primores

Gauls, it had been collected by taxation; but this same gold, after being captured from the enemy, had become the spoil of a few. They therefore persistently demanded to be told where all that stolen money was hid; and when he put them off with the promise that he would tell them at the proper time, they dropped their other concerns and became one and all so absorbed in this, that it was evident he would reap no little gratitude if his report proved true, and no small offence if it turned out to be false. B.C. 385

XV. Such was the critical state of affairs when the dictator was sent for from the army and came to Rome. Next day he held a meeting of the senate, and having satisfied himself of the people's support, he commanded the senators not to leave him, and coming forth with a great company of them into the Comitium, he there set up his curule chair and dispatched an officer for Marcus Manlius. Being thus summoned by order of the dictator, Manlius signalled to his friends that the struggle was at hand, and advanced with a great train of followers to the tribunal. On this side were ranged the senators, on that the plebs, looking, every man of them, to his respective leader, as though they had formed up for battle. Then, having obtained silence, the dictator began: "I would," said he, "that I and the senators of Rome might agree with the plebs in all things else as readily as I am confident we shall do regarding you, Manlius, and the demand I am about to make of you. I perceive that you have caused the citizens to hope that the money which has been lent may be repaid, without injury to credit, out of Gallic treasure which prominent

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patrum occultent, creditum solvi posse. Cui ego rei tantum abest ut impedimento sim ut contra te, M. Manli, adhorter, liberes fenore plebem Romanam et istos incubantes publicis thesauris ex praeda
6 clandestina evolvas. Quod nisi facis, sive ut et ipse in parte praedae sis sive quia vanum indicium est, in vincla te duci iubebo nec diutius patiar a te multitudinem fallaci spe concitari."

7 Ad ea Manlius nec se fefellisse ait, non adversus Volscos, totiens hostes quotiens patribus expediat, nec adversus Latinos Hernicosque, quos falsis criminibus in arma agant, sed adversus se ac plebem Roma-
8 nam dictatorem creatum esse; iam omisso bello quod simulatum sit, in se impetum fieri; iam dictatorem profiteri patrocinium feneratorum adversus plebem; iam sibi ex favore multitudinis crimen et perniciem
9 quaeri. "Offendit" inquit "te, A. Corneli, vosque, patres conscripti, circumfusa turba lateri meo? Quin eam diducitis[1] a me singuli vestris beneficiis, intercedendo, eximendo de nervo cives vestros, prohibendo iudicatos addictosque duci, ex eo, quod afluit opibus vestris sustinendo necessitates aliorum?
10 Sed quid ego vos de vestro impendatis, hortor? Sortem reliquam[2] ferte: de capite deducite quod usuris pernumeratum est; iam nihilo mea turba

[1] diducitis *Vorm*? *MPFBOET*[2] (*but M has* quine audi ducitis): deducitis *UHTDLA*.
[2] reliquam *Madvig*: aliquam Ω: aliquando *E.S. Thompson*.

patricians are concealing. This proposal I am so far from hindering, that on the contrary I exhort you, Marcus Manlius, to free the Roman plebs from usury, and dislodge from their secret hoards those men who are brooding jealously over the public treasure; which if you do not, whether that you may share the spoil yourself, or because your story is a lie, I shall order you into custody, nor suffer you any longer to excite the multitude with delusive hopes." B.C. 385

To this Manlius replied that he had not failed to perceive that the appointment of a dictator was aimed, not at the Volsci, who were enemies whenever it suited the convenience of the patricians, nor at the Latins and Hernici, whom they were driving by false accusations to take up arms, but at himself and the Roman plebs. And now they had dropped their pretended war and were attacking him; now the dictator was coming out as the champion of the money-lenders against the plebs; and they were seeking now to derive from the people's friendliness to him some charge that might lead to his destruction. "Does it offend you," he asked, "Aulus Cornelius, and you, Conscript Fathers, that a crowd attends me? Why do you not take it from me by doing, each of you, acts of kindness, by saving debtors, by rescuing your fellow citizens from prison, by preventing the enslavement of those who have been condemned and assigned, by employing your superfluity of wealth to sustain the necessities of others? But why should I ask of you that you spend of your own money? Receive what is outstanding of the original debts, after deducting from the principal what has been paid in interest, and

A.U.C. 369 11 quam ullius conspectior erit. At enim quid ita solus ego civium curam ago? Nihilo magis quod respondeam habeo quam si quaeras quid ita solus Capitolium arcemque servaverim. Et tum universis 12 quam potui opem tuli et nunc singulis feram. Nam quod ad thesauros Gallicos attinet, rem suapte natura facilem difficilem interrogatio facit. Cur enim quaeritis quod scitis? cur quod in sinu vestro est excuti iubetis potius quam ponatis, nisi aliqua 13 fraus subest? Quo magis argui praestigias iubetis vestras, eo plus vereor ne abstuleritis observantibus etiam oculos. Itaque non ego vobis ut indicem praedas vestras, sed vos id cogendi estis ut in medium proferatis."

XVI. Cum mittere ambages dictator iuberet et aut peragere verum indicium cogeret aut fateri facinus insimulati falso crimine senatus oblataeque vani furti invidiae, negantem arbitrio inimicorum 2 se locuturum in vincla duci iussit. Arreptus a viatore "Iuppiter" inquit "optime maxime Iunoque regina ac Minerva ceterique di deaeque, qui Capitolium arcemque incolitis, sicine vestrum militem ac praesidem sinitis vexari ab inimicis? Haec dextra, qua Gallos fudi a delubris vestris, iam in vinclis et 3 catenis erit? Nullius nec oculi nec aures indignitatem ferebant; sed invicta sibi quaedam patientis-

my retinue will soon attract no more notice than B.C. 385
any man's. But why, you will ask, am I the only man to be concerned for my fellow citizens? I can no more answer you than if you were to ask why I was the only man to save the Capitol and Citadel. As then—to the best of my ability—I helped the people at large, so now will I help single persons. And touching the Gallic treasure—the thing itself is simple, but your questioning makes it difficult. For why do you ask about a thing you know? Why do you bid us shake out what is in your purses, and not rather lay it down yourselves—unless there is some cheat involved? The more you bid us expose your sleight-of-hand, the more I fear you may have robbed us even of our eyes, while we were watching you. And so it is not I that must be forced to tell of your plunder, but you that must be compelled to give it up."

XVI. But the dictator bade him cease to quibble, and insisted that he should either make his indictment good or confess to the crime of having accused the senate falsely and exposed it to the unmerited odium of a charge of theft; and when Manlius refused to speak at the pleasure of his enemies, he commanded him to be imprisoned. On being arrested by the attendant, Manlius cried out, "Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and Queen Juno and Minerva, and all ye other gods and goddesses that dwell in the Capitol and in the Citadel, is it thus ye suffer your soldier and protector to be tormented by his adversaries? Shall this right arm wherewith I routed the Gauls from your shrines be now chained and fettered?" There was none that could endure to behold or hear this shame; but there were

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sima iusti imperii civitas fecerat, nec adversus dictatoriam vim aut tribuni plebis aut ipsa plebs
4 attollere oculos aut hiscere audebant. Coniecto in carcerem Manlio satis constat magnam partem plebis vestem mutasse, multos mortales capillum ac barbam promisisse obversatamque vestibulo carceris maestam turbam.

5 Dictator de Volscis triumphavit, invidiaeque magis triumphus quam gloriae fuit; quippe domi non militiae partum eum actumque de cive non de hoste fremebant: unum defuisse tantum superbiae, quod
6 non M. Manlius ante currum sit ductus. Iamque haud procul seditione res erat; cuius leniendae causa postulante nullo largitor voluntarius repente senatus factus Satricum coloniam duo milia civium Romanorum deduci iussit. Bina iugera et semisses
7 agri adsignati; quod cum et parvum et paucis datum et mercedem esse prodendi M. Manli interpretaren-
8 tur, remedio inritatur seditio. Et iam magis insignis et sordibus et facie reorum turba Manliana erat, amotusque post triumphum abdicatione dictaturae terror et linguam et animos liberaverat hominum.

XVII. Audiebantur itaque propalam voces exprobrantium multitudini, quod defensores suos semper

[1] About one and two-thirds acres. The allotment of Veientine land had been seven *iugera*.

certain rules of conduct which the citizens, deeply B.C. 385
submissive to regular authority, had made inviolable; nor did either the tribunes of the plebs or the plebs themselves dare to lift their eyes or open their mouths against the power of the dictator. But after Manlius was cast into gaol, it is certain that a great part of the people put on mourning, and that many men permitted their hair and beards to grow, and that a mournful throng hung about the entrance to the prison.

The dictator triumphed over the Volsci, but gained more ill-will thereby than glory; for men murmured that he had earned it, not in the field, but at home, not over an enemy, but over a citizen; one thing only had been lacking to his arrogance, in that Marcus Manlius had not been led before his car. By this time the feeling was grown well-nigh seditious; and to appease it the senate—though none demanded it—became all at once a voluntary giver, and commanded two thousand Roman citizens to be led out to plant a colony at Satricum. Two *iugera* and a half[1] of land were allotted them; but since they chose to regard it as too little, and only given to a few, and as being the price of Manlius's condemnation, the remedy but aggravated the sedition. And now the Manlian party were more conspicuous than before, both for their sordid dress and for the sorrowful countenances of defendants; men's fears had been removed by the abdication of the dictator, following his triumph, and their tongues and spirits had been set free.

XVII. Accordingly one began to hear the opinion openly expressed that the people were to blame, because they always by their favours raised their

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in praecipitem locum favore tollat, deinde in ipso
2 discrimine periculi destituat: sic Sp. Cassium in agros plebem vocantem, sic Sp. Maelium ab ore civium famem suis impensis propulsantem oppressos, sic M. Manlium mersam et obrutam fenore partem civitatis in libertatem ac lucem extrahentem prodi-
3 tum inimicis; saginare plebem populares suos[1] ut iugulentur. Hocine patiendum fuisse, si ad nutum dictatoris non responderit vir consularis? Fingerent mentitum ante atque ideo non habuisse quod tum responderet; cui servo unquam mendacii poenam
4 vincula fuisse? Non obversatam esse memoriam noctis illius quae paene ultima atque aeterna nomini Romano fuerit? Non speciem agminis Gallorum per Tarpeiam rupem scandentis? Non ipsius M. Manli, qualem eum armatum, plenum sudoris ac sanguinis, ipso paene Iove erepto ex hostium manibus vidissent?
5 Selibrisne farris gratiam servatori patriae relatam? Et quem prope caelestem, cognomine certe Capitolino Iovi parem fecerint eum pati vinctum in carcere, in tenebris obnoxiam carnificis arbitrio ducere animam? Adeo in uno omnibus satis auxilii fuisse, nullam opem
6 in tam multis uni esse? Iam ne nocte quidem turba ex eo loco dilabebatur refracturosque carcerem minabantur, cum repente id[2] quod erepturi erant, ex

[1] populares suos Ω (*cf. Walters and Conway ad loc.*): populares *Duker*: suos *Madvig*: populares viros *Kraffert*.
[2] repente id *Luterbacher*: remisso id Ω: remisso *F*[2] *Douiatius Crévier*: remisso eo ς.

[1] See v. xlvii. 8.

champions to a dizzy eminence, and then at the B.C. 385
critical juncture left them in the lurch: it had been so with Spurius Cassius and with Spurius Maelius, of whom the former was destroyed while summoning the people to the land, and the latter while endeavouring at his own expense to stave off starvation from his fellow citizens; it was so with Marcus Manlius, who, finding a part of the citizens overwhelmed and sunk in debt, was dragging them out into light and liberty, when they betrayed him to his adversaries; the plebs fattened their own defenders for the shambles. Was this the penalty a consular must undergo, if he answered not when the dictator nodded to him? Let them assume that he had lied before, and for that reason was then unable to reply: what slave had ever been cast into prison for a lie? Did they not recall that night which had almost been the last eternal night of the Roman name? Could they not see the line of Gauls scaling the Tarpeian Rock? Could they not see Marcus Manlius himself, as they had seen him, covered with sweat and blood, when he had rescued as it were Jupiter himself from the hands of our enemies? Had their half-pound measures of meal requited the saviour of their country?[1] Would they suffer one whom they had well-nigh made a god, and in surname, at any rate, the equal of Jupiter Capitolinus, to be confined in prison, and to draw his breath in darkness, at the mercy of the executioner? When one man had been quite able to help them all, was there no help in so many men for one? By this time the crowd would not even leave the place at night and were threatening that they would force the gaol, when suddenly, just as

A.U.C. 369 senatus consulto Manlius vinclis liberatur. Quo facto non seditio finita, sed dux seditioni datus est.

7 Per eosdem dies Latinis et Hernicis, simul colonis Circeiensibus et a Velitris, purgantibus se Volsci crimine belli captivosque repetentibus ut suis legibus in eos animadverterent, tristia responsa reddita, tristiora colonis, quod cives Romani patriae oppu-
8 gnandae nefanda consilia inissent. Non negatum itaque tantum de captivis, sed, in quo ab sociis tamen temperaverant, denuntiatum senatus verbis facesserent propere ex urbe ab ore atque oculis populi Romani, ne nihil eos legationis ius, externo non civi comparatum, tegeret.

A.U.C. 370 XVIII. Recrudescente Manliana seditione sub exitum[1] anni comitia habita, creatique tribuni militum consulari potestate Ser.[2] Cornelius Maluginensis iterum P. Valerius Potitus iterum M. Furius Camillus quintum Ser. Sulpicius Rufus iterum C. Papirius Crassus T. Quinctius Cincinnatus iterum.
2 Cuius principio anni et patribus et plebi peropportune externa pax data: plebi, quod non avocata dilectu spem cepit, dum tam potentem haberet ducem, fenoris expugnandi: patribus, ne quo externo terrore avocarentur animi ab sanandis domesticis

[1] exitum *Madvig*: exitu (*or* excitu) Ω.
[2] Ser. *Sigonius*: sergius Ω.

they were about to rescue Manlius, the senate voted B.C. 385
to release him—an act which, instead of ending the sedition, supplied it with a leader.

At about this time came Latins and Hernici, with colonists from Circeii and from Velitrae, to clear themselves of the charge of joining in the Volscian war and to ask for the release of the captives, that they might punish them in accordance with their own laws. They were harshly answered—especially the colonists, because, though Roman citizens, they had formed the impious design of attacking their native country. And so they were not only denied the captives, but received a rebuke which the allies were spared; being commanded in the name of the senate to make haste and depart the City, out of the presence and sight of the Roman People, lest they should find no protection in the rights of envoys, which were meant for foreigners, not for citizens.

XVIII. The sedition of Manlius was breaking out B.C. 384
afresh, towards the end of the year, when an election was held which resulted in the choice of the following consular tribunes: Servius Cornelius Maluginensis (for the second time), Publius Valerius Potitus (for the second), Marcus Furius Camillus (for the fifth), Servius Sulpicius Rufus (for the second), Gaius Papirius Crassus, and (for the second time) Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus. The peace which was enjoyed in the early part of this year was equally advantageous to the patricians and to the plebs; to the plebs because, not being called to service by the levy, they had hopes that they might be able under their powerful leader to storm the stronghold of usury; to the patricians, because they desired not to be diverted by any foreign peril from healing the

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3 malis. Igitur cum pars utraque acrior aliquanto coorta esset, iam[1] propinquum certamen aderat. Et Manlius advocata domum plebe cum principibus novandarum rerum interdiu noctuque consilia agitat, plenior aliquanto animorum irarumque quam antea
4 fuerat. Iram accenderat ignominia recens in animo ad contumeliam inexperto: spiritus dabat, quod nec ausus esset idem in se dictator quod in Sp. Maelio Cincinnatus Quinctius fecisset, et vinculorum suorum invidiam non dictator modo abdicando dictaturam fugisset, sed ne senatus quidem sustinere potuisset.
5 His simul inflatus exacerbatusque iam per se accensos incitabat plebis animos.

"Quousque tandem ignorabitis vires vestras, quas natura ne beluas quidem ignorare voluit? Numerate saltem quot ipsi sitis, quot adversarios habeatis.
6 Quot enim clientes circa singulos fuistis patronos, tot nunc adversus unum hostem eritis.[2] Si singuli singulos adgressuri essetis, tamen acrius crederem vos pro libertate quam illos pro dominatione certaturos.
7 Ostendite modo bellum; pacem habebitis. Videant vos paratos ad vim; ius ipsi remittent. Audendum est aliquid universis, aut omnia singulis patienda.
8 Quousque me circumspectabitis? Ego quidem nulli vestrum deero; ne fortuna mea desit videte. Ipse

[1] iam *Gronovius*: iam in MA^2: in Ω.

[2] *The words* Quot enim—eritis *are given their position in the context by Walters and Conway: the MSS. have them after* certaturos. *The correction was suggested by the omission in HTDLA of* si singuli singulos adgressuri essetis, *for which DL give* his (*corruption of* h.s. = hic supple), *while the missing words are restored by the correctors of TDA. See Walters and Conway, ad loc.*

sores of the state. Accordingly both sides had taken B.C. 384
the field with much more spirit, and the hour of conflict was now at hand. Manlius indeed was inviting the plebeians to his house, and night and day discussing with their leaders plans for accomplishing the revolution, for he was much bolder and more resentful than before. His wrath had been kindled by his recent humiliations, for his pride was a stranger to insult; and his courage had waxed, as he considered that the dictator had not dared to serve him as Quinctius Cincinnatus had served Spurius Maelius, and that his imprisonment had aroused such hatred as not only the dictator had resigned his office to escape, but even the senate had been unable to endure. At once elated and exasperated by these thoughts, he began to work upon the already excited emotions of the plebs.

"How long, pray," he asked them, "will you remain ignorant of your own strength, which nature has willed that even brutes shall know? At least count up your numbers and the number of your adversaries. For as many as you were that gathered as clients about a single patron, so many shall you now be against a single enemy. If you were going to meet them man for man, I should still believe that you would fight more fiercely for your liberty than they for domination. Make but a show of war, and you shall have peace. Let them see you ready to resist, and they will give you your rights of their own accord. We must all unite in some bold stroke, or else, divided, submit to every evil. How long will you keep looking round for me? It is true I shall not fail a single one of you; but you must see to it that fortune fail not me. I myself, your champion,

A.U.C. 370 vindex vester, ubi visum inimicis est, nullus repente fui; et vidistis in vincula duci universi eum qui a
9 singulis vobis vincula depuleram. Quid sperem, si plus in me audeant inimici? An exitum Cassi Maeliique exspectem? Bene facitis, quod abominamini. Di prohibebunt haec; sed nunquam propter me de caelo descendent; vobis dent mentem oportet ut prohibeatis, sicut mihi dederunt armato togatoque ut vos a barbaris hostibus, a superbis defenderem
10 civibus. Tam parvus animus tanti populi est ut semper vobis auxilium adversus inimicos satis sit, nec ullum, nisi quatenus imperari vobis sinatis, certamen adversus patres noritis? Nec hoc natura
11 insitum vobis est, sed usu possidemini. Cur enim adversus externos tantum animorum geritis ut imperare illis aequum censeatis? Quia consuestis cum eis pro imperio certare, adversus hos temptare magis
12 quam tueri libertatem. Tamen, qualescumque duces habuistis, qualescumque ipsi fuistis, omnia adhuc quantacumque petistis, obtinuistis, seu vi seu fortuna
13 vestra. Tempus est etiam[1] maiora conari. Experimini modo et vestram felicitatem et me, ut spero, feliciter expertum; minore negotio qui imperet patribus imponetis quam qui resisterent imperanti-
14 bus imposuistis. Solo aequandae sunt dictaturae

[1] etiam Ω: omitted by *O*: iam *Gronovius*.

was suddenly brought to naught, when it pleased B.C. 384
your enemies; and you all beheld that man dragged off to prison who had protected each of yourselves from imprisonment. What can I expect, if my enemies grow bolder? Must I look forward to dying like Cassius and Maelius? You do well to express abhorrence. The gods *will* forbid such a thing; but they will never come down from heaven on my account; they must give you the inspiration to forbid it, as they gave me, in war and in peace, the inspiration to defend you from the barbarity of your foes and the arrogance of your fellow citizens. Is there so little spirit in this great people that you are always satisfied with the help your tribunes lend you against your adversaries, and never quarrel with the senators, save as to the length you will suffer them to go in ruling you? And this is no native trait in you, but you are slaves by use. Why, pray, are you so high and mighty with foreigners as to deem yourselves meet to be their lords? It is because you have been used to vie with them for sovereignty; but against these men, though you make attempts at gaining your liberty, you are not used to defend it. Nevertheless, with such leaders as you have had, and such courage as you yourselves could muster, you have thus far obtained, by violence or good fortune, whatever you have sought. The time has come to attempt even greater things. Do but make trial of your own good fortune and of me, whom, as I think, you have already happily proved; you will find it less trouble to impose a ruler on the patricians, than you encountered in imposing tribunes on them to resist their rule. Dictatorships and consulships must be levelled with

A.U.C. 370 consulatusque, ut caput attollere Romana plebes possit. Proinde adeste; prohibete ius de pecuniis dici; ego me patronum profiteor plebis, quod mihi
15 cura mea et fides nomen induit: vos si quo insigni magis imperii honorisve nomine vestrum appellabitis ducem, eo utemini potentiore ad obtinenda ea quae
16 voltis." Inde de regno agendi ortum initium dicitur; sed nec cum quibus nec quem ad finem consilia pervenerint satis planum traditur.

XIX. At in parte altera senatus de secessione in domum privatam plebis, forte etiam in arce positam,
2 et imminenti mole libertati[1] agitat. Magna pars vociferantur Servilio Ahala opus esse, qui non in vincla duci iubendo inritet publicum hostem sed
3 unius iactura civis finiat intestinum bellum. Decurritur ad leniorem verbis sententiam, vim tamen eandem habentem, ut videant magistratus ne quid ex perniciosis consiliis M. Manli res publica detri-
4 menti capiat. Tum tribuni consulari potestate tribunique plebi—nam et ei,[2] quia eundem suae[3] potestatis, quem libertatis omnium, finem cernebant, patrum auctoritati se dediderant—hi tum[4] omnes
5 quid opus facto sit consultant. Cum praeter vim et caedem nihil cuiquam occurreret, eam autem ingentis dimicationis fore appareret, tum M. Menenius et Q.
6 Publilius[5] tribuni plebis: "Quid patrum et plebis

[1] libertati ζ: libertatis Ω.
[2] et ei *Crévier and Stroth*: et Ω: ei *U*: ex *B*: *erased in F.*
[3] suae *Walters and Conway*: et suae Ω.
[4] hi tum $E\zeta$: hii tum Ω: ii tum P^2U: ii tantum $F?B$: hi tantum F^2. [5] Publilius *Glareanus*: publius Ω.

the ground, that the Roman plebs may be enabled B.C. 384
to lift its head. Stand by me, then; prevent all court-proceedings regarding moneys; I avow myself the patron of the commons—a title with which my zeal and loyalty have invested me: if you choose to give your leader a more striking title of authority or honour, you will find him the more able to make good your wishes." It was thus, they say, that the agitation for kingly power was begun; but there is no very clear tradition with whom or to what length his plans were matured.

XIX. On the other side the senate were discussing the secret gathering of the plebs in a private house —a house, too, that, as it happened, was situated in the Citadel—and the grave danger that threatened liberty. The majority exclaimed that a Servilius Ahala was needed, one who would not exasperate a public enemy by ordering his imprisonment, but would sacrifice a single citizen to end a domestic war. However, they had recourse to a proposal which sounded milder, though its force was identical, namely, that the magistrates should see to it that the republic took no harm by the ruinous devices of Marcus Manlius. Thereupon the consular tribunes and the tribunes of the plebs—for they too, perceiving that their own authority would come to an end with the general liberty, had made their submission to the Fathers—all these men, I say, thereupon took counsel together, what was needful to be done. They could none of them see any way but violence and bloodshed, which would clearly involve a mighty struggle, when Marcus Menenius and Quintus Publilius, tribunes of the plebs, addressed them as follows: "Why do we make a conflict between patricians and

A.U.C. 370 certamen facimus, quod civitatis esse adversus unum pestiferum civem debet? Quid cum plebe adgredimur eum quem per ipsam plebem tutius adgredi est ut
7 suis ipse oneratus viribus ruat? Diem dicere ei nobis in animo est. Nihil minus populare quam regnum est. Simul multitudo illa non secum certari viderint et ex advocatis iudices facti erunt et accusatores de plebe patricium reum intuebuntur et regni crimen in medio, nulli magis quam libertati favebunt suae."

XX. Adprobantibus cunctis diem Manlio dicunt. Quod ubi est factum, primo commota plebs est,
2 utique postquam sordidatum reum viderunt nec cum eo non modo patrum quemquam sed ne cognatos quidem aut adfines, postremo ne fratres quidem A. et T. Manlios, quod ad eum diem nunquam usu venisset, ut in tanto discrimine non et proximi
3 vestem mutarent: Ap. Claudio in vincula ducto C. Claudium inimicum Claudiamque omnem gentem sordidatam fuisse; consensu opprimi popularem virum, quod primus a patribus ad plebem defecisset.
4 Cum dies venit, quae praeter coetus multitudinis seditiosasque voces et largitionem et fallax indicium pertinentia proprie ad regni crimen ab accusatoribus obiecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio;

plebeians out of what ought to be the quarrel of the state with a single pestilent citizen? Why in attacking him do we attack the plebs as well, when it is safer to attack him by the help of this same plebs, that his very strength may bring about his ruin? We propose to summon him to trial. Nothing is less popular than kingly power. As soon as the populace, perceiving that our quarrel is not with them, are changed from supporters into judges, and see that the prosecutors are plebeians, the defendant a patrician, and the accusation that of seeking to set up a kingdom, they will not favour any man at the expense of their own liberty." B.C. 384

XX. This argument won universal approbation, and Manlius was indicted. The first effect of this was to rouse great feeling in the commons, especially when they saw the defendant meanly clad and not attended by a single senator, or even by his kinsmen or connexions, or indeed by his own brothers, Aulus and Titus Manlius. That a man's nearest friends should not join him in assuming mourning in an hour so fraught with danger to him, was something that had never until that day occurred. They remembered that on the imprisonment of Appius Claudius, his enemy Gaius Claudius and all the Claudian family had gone into mourning; and they concluded that there must be a general conspiracy to put down the people's friend because he had been the first to forsake the patricians for the plebs.

The day of the trial came, but I do not find it stated in any authority what facts were alleged by his accusers that bore directly on the charge of plotting to establish a kingdom, except gatherings of the populace and seditious expressions and his

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5 nec dubito haud parva fuisse, cum damnandi mora plebi non in causa sed in loco fuerit. Illud notandum videtur, ut sciant homines quae et quanta decora foeda cupiditas regni non ingrata solum sed 6 invisa etiam reddiderit: homines prope quadringentos produxisse dicitur, quibus sine fenore expensas pecunias tulisset, quorum bona venire, quos 7 duci addictos prohibuisset; ad haec decora quoque belli non commemorasse tantum sed protulissse etiam conspicienda, spolia hostium caesorum ad triginta, dona imperatorum ad quadraginta, in quibus insignes 8 duas murales coronas, civicas octo; ad hoc servatos ex hostibus cives [1] inter quos C. Servilium magistrum equitum absentem nominatum; et cum ea quoque quae bello gesta essent pro fastigio rerum oratione etiam magnifica, facta dictis aequando, memorasset, nudasse 9 pectus insigne cicatricibus bello acceptis et identidem Capitolium spectans Iovem deosque alios devocasse ad auxilium fortunarum suarum precatusque [2] esse ut, quam mentem sibi Capitolinam arcem protegenti ad salutem populi Romani dedissent, eam populo Romano in suo discrimine darent, et orasse singulos universosque ut Capitolium atque arcem intuentes, ut ad deos immortales versi, de se iudicarent.

10 In campo Martio cum centuriatim populus cita-

[1] cives *Rhenanus*: ciues produxit (*or* produ$\bar{x}$) Ω.
[2] precatusque *Rhenanus*: precatumque Ω: peccatumque *E*.

[1] The Campus Martius, from which they could see the Capitol (*cf.* § 10).
[2] A mural crown was conferred on the soldier who was the first to scale the enemy's wall, a civic crown on one who had saved a fellow citizen (Aulus Gellius v. vi. 11).
[3] The *comitia centuriata* being a military organisation might

largesses and false charge; and yet I doubt not they B.C. 384
were of moment, since the reluctance of the plebs to condemn him was not owing to his cause but to the place.[1] One thing appears worthy of remark, that men may know what great and glorious achievements a vile lust for regal power rendered not merely thankless but actually hateful. It is said that he brought forward nearly four hundred men to whom he had lent money without interest, thus saving their goods from being sold and their persons from enslavement; that besides this the military distinctions which he not only enumerated but produced for all to see, comprised the spoils of thirty enemies whom he had slain, and some forty decorations from his generals, amongst which were conspicuous two mural and eight civic crowns;[2] that he told, besides, of citizens saved from the enemy, and among these named Gaius Servilius, the master of the horse, who was not present. And after rehearsing his services in war, in a speech as magnificent as the height of his achievements and equalling his deeds with its words, he is said to have bared his breast, marked with the scars of battle, and gazing steadily at the Capitol to have called on Jupiter and the other gods to help him, that they might inspire the Roman People in his hour of danger with the same spirit they had given him when he defended the Capitoline Hill; and to have implored the Romans one and all to fix their eyes on the Capitol and Citadel, and turn to the immortal gods while they judged him.

In the Campus Martius, when the people were being called by centuries,[3] and the defendant,

not assemble within the pomerium. The meeting referred to in the preceding paragraph was a *contio*.

A.U.C. 370 retur et reus ad Capitolium manus tendens ab hominibus ad deos preces avertisset, apparuit tribunis, nisi oculos quoque hominum liberassent tanti memoria decoris, nunquam fore in praeoccupatis
11 beneficio animis vero crimini locum. Ita prodicta die in Petelinum lucum extra portam Flumentanam, unde conspectus in Capitolium non esset, concilium populi indictum est. Ibi crimen valuit et obstinatis animis triste iudicium invisumque etiam iudicibus
12 factum. Sunt qui per duumviros, qui de perduellione anquirerent creatos, auctores sint damnatum. Tribuni de saxo Tarpeio deiecerunt; locusque idem in uno homine et eximiae gloriae monumentum et poenae ultimae fuit.

13 Adiectae mortuo notae sunt: publica una, quod, cum domus eius fuisset ubi nunc aedes atque officina Monetae est, latum ad populum est ne quis
14 patricius in arce aut Capitolio habitaret; gentilicia altera, quod gentis Manliae decreto cautum est ne quis deinde M. Manlius vocaretur. Hunc exitum habuit vir, nisi in libera civitate natus esset, me-
15 morabilis. Populum brevi, postquam periculum ab eo nullum erat, per se ipsas recordantem virtutes desiderium eius tenuit. Pestilentia etiam brevi consecuta nullis occurrentibus tantae cladis causis ex
16 Manliano supplicio magnae parti videri orta: vio-

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[1] The *Porta Flumentana* was at a point in the wall between the Aventine and the Capitoline.

[2] For another instance of this procedure, see I. xxvi. 5.

The temple of Juno Moneta, vowed by Lucius Furius Camillus (345 B.C.) was dedicated June 1st, 344. Money was coined in this temple.

[4] As a matter of fact, no patrician Marcus Manlius of a later date is known to us.

stretching forth his hands to the Capitol, had turned B.C. 384
from men to make his prayers to the gods, the tribunes clearly saw that unless they could also emancipate men's eyes from the associations of so glorious a deed, no accusation, however true, could ever find lodgment in their grateful hearts. And so they adjourned the day of trial and appointed a council of the people to meet in the Peteline Wood outside the Flumentane Gate,[1] whence no prospect of the Capitol was afforded. There they made good their charge; men steeled their hearts and pronounced a dolorous judgment, abhorrent to the very ones who rendered it. Some authorities assert that he was condemned by duumvirs appointed to deal with a charge of treason.[2] The tribunes flung him from the Tarpeian Rock, and the same spot served to commemorate extraordinary fame and the extremity of punishment, as experienced by the self-same man.

To his death were added marks of ignominy: one of a public nature, because the people were asked to vote that, since his house had stood where the temple and mint of Moneta now are,[3] no patrician might dwell in the Citadel or the Capitol; the other proceeding from his family, in that the Manlian clan made a decree forbidding anyone thenceforth to bear the name of Marcus Manlius.[4] Such was the end of a man who, had he not been born in a free state, would have left a memorable name. In a short time the people, remembering—now that he was no longer a source of danger—only his good qualities, regretted him. Moreover a pestilence soon ensued, and caused a heavy mortality for which there were no obvious causes, and this many people ascribed to the execution of Manlius: the Capitol, they said, had

A.U.C. 370 latum Capitolium esse sanguine servatoris nec dis cordi fuisse poenam eius oblatam prope oculis suis, a quo sua templa erepta e manibus hostium essent.

A.U.C. 371 XXI. Pestilentiam inopia frugum et volgatam utriusque mali famam anno insequente multiplex bellum excepit L. Valerio quartum A. Manlio tertium Ser. Sulpicio tertium L. Lucretio,[1] L. Aemilio tertium M. Trebonio tribunis militum consulari potestate. Hostes novi praeter Volscos, velut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos, Circeiosque et Velitras colonias iam diu molientes defectionem et suspectum Latium Lanuvini etiam, quae fidelissima urbs fuerat, subito exorti. Id patres rati contemptu accidere, quod Veliternis civibus suis tam diu impunita defectio esset, decreverunt ut primo quoque tempore ad populum ferretur de bello eis indicendo. Ad quam militiam quo paratior plebes esset, quinqueviros Pomptino agro dividendo et triumviros Nepete coloniae deducendae creaverunt. Tum, ut bellum iuberent, latum ad populum est et nequiquam dissuadentibus tribunis plebis omnes tribus bellum iusserunt. Apparatum eo anno bellum est, exercitus propter pestilentiam non eductus, eaque cunctatio colonis spatium dederat deprecandi senatum; et magna hominum pars eo ut legatio supplex Romam

[1] Lucretio (*or* -cio) Ω: Lucretio tertium *Glareanus*.

[1] Livy has perhaps made a slip in ascribing this action to the *tribes*, as it was regularly the assembly of *centuries* which declared war.

been polluted by the blood of its saviour, and the gods had not been pleased that the man who had rescued their temples from the hands of the enemy, should be punished almost under their very eyes. B.C. 384

XXI. The pestilence was succeeded by a scarcity of corn, and in the following year, when the rumour of these two misfortunes had got abroad, by various wars. The consular tribunes were Lucius Valerius (for the fourth time), Aulus Manlius (for the third), Servius Sulpicius (for the third), Lucius Lucretius, Lucius Aemilius (for the third time) and Marcus Trebonius. Besides the Volsci, who had been provided, as it were by a kind of fatality, to furnish perpetual occupation for the Roman arms, and the colonies of Circeii and Velitrae, which had long been scheming a rebellion, and the Latins, whose loyalty was suspected, a new enemy suddenly rose up at Lanuvium, a city which until then had been very faithful. Believing that they were now actuated by contempt, on finding the revolt of the Veliterni, who were Roman citizens, to go so long unpunished, the senate decreed that a proposal should be laid before the people, at the earliest possible moment, for declaring war on them; and, to make the plebs readier for this campaign, they appointed five commissioners to divide up the Pomptine land, and three to conduct a colony to Nepete. They then asked the people for a declaration of war, and notwithstanding the opposition of the plebeian tribunes, all the tribes voted for war.[1] Preparations for the campaign were made that year, but owing to the pestilence the army did not take the field. This delay would have given the colonists time to sue the senate for pardon—and in fact a majority of them were in favour of B.C. 383

A.U.C. 371

7 mitteretur inclinabat, ni privato, ut fit, periculo publicum implicitum esset auctoresque defectionis ab Romanis metu, ne soli crimini subiecti piacula irae Romanorum dederentur, avertissent colonias a
8 consiliis pacis. Neque in senatu[1] solum per eos legatio impedita est sed magna pars plebis incitata ut praedatum in agrum Romanum exirent. Haec
9 nova iniuria exturbavit omnem spem pacis. De Praenestinorum quoque defectione eo anno primum fama exorta; arguentibusque eos Tusculanis et Gabinis et Labicanis, quorum in fines incursatum erat, ita placide ab senatu responsum est ut minus credi de criminibus, quia nollent ea vera esse, appareret.

A.U.C. 372–378

XXII. Insequenti anno Sp. et L. Papirii[2] novi tribuni militum consulari potestate Velitras legiones duxere, quattuor collegis Ser. Cornelio Maluginensi tertium Q. Servilio C. Sulpicio L. Aemilio quartum,[3] ad praesidium urbis et si qui ex Etruria novi motus nuntiarentur—omnia enim inde suspecta erant—
2 relictis. Ad Velitras adversus maiora paene auxilia Praenestinorum quam ipsam colonorum multitudinem secundo proelio pugnatum est ita ut propinquitas urbis hosti et causa maturioris fugae et unum ex
3 fuga receptaculum esset. Oppidi oppugnatione tribuni abstinuere, quia et anceps erat nec in perniciem coloniae pugnandum censebant. Litterae

[1] in senatu ς: in senatum Ω.
[2] Papirii ς: papirius (*or* -pyr-) Ω: papilius *T*.
[3] quartum ς: quartum tribunis Ω.

sending an embassy to Rome to make submission— but danger to the commonwealth was bound up, as often happens, with that of individuals, and the ring-leaders of the revolt were so afraid of the Romans—lest they alone might be charged with the crime and offered up as a sacrifice to Roman indignation—that they turned the colonies away from peaceful counsels. Moreover, not content with merely opposing the embassy in their senate, they egged on a great part of the commons to go out and pillage the Roman lands; and this new outrage destroyed all hope of peace. The Praenestines, too, were that year, for the first time, reported as disloyal; evidence against them was given by the Tusculans, the Gabini, and the Labicani, whose borders they had invaded; but the senate returned so mild an answer that it was evident that they refused to believe in the charges because they wished them not to be true. B.C. 383

XXII. The next year Spurius and Lucius Papirius, the new consular tribunes, led the levies to Velitrae, while their four colleagues, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis (in his third term), Quintus Servilius, Gaius Sulpicius, and Lucius Aemilius (in his fourth term), remained behind to protect the City and to guard against any fresh commotion which might be reported from Etruria—a quarter from which everything was suspected. Near Velitrae the Romans defeated an army in which auxiliaries from Praeneste almost outnumbered the colonists themselves; but the city was so close at hand that, as it occasioned their early retreat, so it afforded them their only refuge. The tribunes abstained from attacking the place; they were not certain of succeeding, nor did they think it right to aim at the extermination of the colony. In B.C. 382–381

A.U.C. 372–378

Romam ad senatum cum victoriae nuntiis acriores in Praenestinum quam in Veliternum hostem missae.

4 Itaque ex senatus consulto populique iussu bellum Praenestinis indictum; qui coniuncti Volscis anno insequente Satricum, coloniam populi Romani, pertinaciter a colonis defensam, vi expugnarunt foede-

5 que in captis exercuere victoriam. Eam rem aegre passi Romani M. Furium Camillum sextum[1] tribunum militum creavere. Additi collegae A. et L. Postumii Regillenses[2] ac L. Furius cum L. Lucretio et M. Fabio Ambusto.

6 Volscum bellum M. Furio extra ordinem decretum; adiutor ex tribunis sorte L. Furius datur, non tam e re publica quam ut collegae materia ad omnem laudem esset et publice, quod rem temeritate eius prolapsam restituit et privatim, quod ex errore gratiam potius eius sibi quam suam gloriam petiit.[3]

7 Exactae iam aetatis Camillus erat, comitiisque iurare parato in verba excusandae valetudini solita[4] consensus populi restiterat; sed vegetum ingenium in vivido pectore vigebat virebatque integris sensibus, et civiles iam res haud magnopere obeuntem bella

8 excitabant. Quattuor legionibus quaternum milium

[1] sextum (vi) Ω: vi (*or* iii) *P*: iii *OtE*: septimum (vii) ς *Drakenborch*.

[2] Regillenses *Mommsen C.I.L.* 1[1] *p.* 444 *marg.*: regilienses Ω: religienses *UHDLA*.

[3] petiit ς; petit Ω.

[4] solita *Rhenanus*: solitae (*or* -te) Ω: litae (*or* -te) *HDTLA*.

the letter which they sent to the senate in Rome, announcing the victory, they were more severe upon the enemies from Praeneste than upon those of Velitrae. B.C. 382–381

And so, by resolution of the senate and popular enactment, war was proclaimed against the people of Praeneste; who, uniting in the following year with the Volsci, attacked the Roman colony of Satricum, and having carried it, despite the obstinate resistance of the colonists, abused their victory by cruel treatment of the captives. This incensed the Romans, and they elected Marcus Furius Camillus tribune of the soldiers, for the sixth time. To be his colleagues they gave him Aulus and Lucius Postumius Regillensis and Lucius Furius, together with Lucius Lucretius and Marcus Fabius Ambustus.

The Volscian war was entrusted, out of the regular course, to Marcus Furius. Of the other tribunes, Lucius Furius was assigned him by lot for his assistant, not so much (it should seem) for the good of the commonwealth, as that he might be the source of all honour to his colleague; who gained it in his public capacity because he made good what the other's rashness had lost, and as a man because he used the error of Lucius to earn his gratitude rather than glory for himself. Camillus was now extremely old. At the election he was prepared to excuse himself by taking the customary oath on the score of health, had not the unanimous wishes of the people prevented him. But a lusty spirit flourished in his sturdy breast, and his senses were as keen as ever; and though he no longer much concerned himself with politics, wars excited him. He enrolled four legions, each of four thousand men, appointed

A.U.C. 372-378

scriptis, exercitu indicto ad portam Esquilinam in posteram diem, ad Satricum profectus. Ibi eum expugnatores coloniae haudquaquam perculsi, fidentes militum numero, quo aliquantum praestabant opperie-
9 bantur. Postquam appropinquare Romanos senserunt, extemplo in aciem procedunt, nihil dilaturi quin periculum summae rerum facerent: ita paucitati hostium nihil artes imperatoris unici, quibus solis confiderent, profuturas esse.

XXIII. Idem ardor et in Romano exercitu erat et in altero duce, nec praesentis dimicationis fortunam ulla res praeterquam unius viri consilium atque imperium morabatur, qui occasionem iuvandarum ratione virium trahendo bello quaerebat.
2 Eo magis hostis instare nec iam pro castris tantum suis explicare aciem sed procedere in medium campi et vallo prope hostium signa inferendo superbam
3 fiduciam virium ostentare. Id aegre patiebatur Romanus miles, multo aegrius alter ex tribunis militum, L. Furius, ferox cum aetate et ingenio tum multitudinis ex incertissimo sumentis animos
4 spe inflatus. Hic per se iam milites incitatos insuper instigabat elevando, qua una poterat, aetate auctoritatem collegae, iuvenibus bella data dictitans et cum corporibus vigere et deflorescere animos;
5 cunctatorem ex acerrimo bellatore factum et, qui adveniens castra urbesque primo impetu rapere sit

the army to assemble on the following day at the Esquiline Gate, and marched on Satricum. There the conquerors of the colony were waiting for him, undismayed, for they confided in their numbers, in which they possessed a considerable superiority. On perceiving the approach of the Romans they formed up at once. It was their purpose to engage immediately in a decisive battle; for so the numerical weakness of their enemies would derive no help from the skill of their unique commander, which constituted—so they assumed—their sole reliance. B.C. 382–381

XXIII. There was the same ardour in the Roman army, and in one of its generals. The hazard of an immediate battle was only postponed by the wisdom and the authority of one man, who sought an opportunity to supplement his resources with strategy, by prolonging the campaign. This made the enemy the more urgent, and, no longer content with deploying their line before the camp, they advanced into the middle of the field, and, marching up almost to the rampart of the Romans, displayed the proud confidence which their strength gave them. The Roman soldiers were mortified at this, and even more mortified was one of their two tribunes, Lucius Furius. His youth and native disposition made him head strong, and the utterly baseless enthusiasm of the rank and file filled him with assurance. The soldiers were already in a state of excitement, but he further instigated them by disparaging his colleague in the only possible way, on the score of age. Wars, he insisted, were the province of youth; the growth and decay of the spirit kept pace with those of the body; the most energetic of soldiers was become a procrastinator, and he who had been wont to storm a camp

A.U.C. 72-873

solitus, eum residem intra vallum tempus terere, quid accessurum suis decessurumve hostium viribus
6 sperantem? Quam occasionem, quod tempus, quem insidiis instruentem[1] locum? Frigere ac torpere
7 senis consilia. Sed Camillo cum vitae satis tum gloriae esse; quid attinere cum mortali corpore uno civitatis, quam immortalem esse deceat, pati consenescere vires?
8 His sermonibus tota in se averterat castra, et cum omnibus locis posceretur pugna, "Sustinere" inquit, "M. Furi, non possumus impetum militum, et hostis, cuius animos cunctando auximus, iam minime toleranda superbia insultat; cede unus omnibus et patere te vinci consilio ut maturius bello
9 vincas." Ad ea Camillus, quae bella suo unius auspicio gesta ad eam diem essent, negare in eis neque se neque populum Romanum aut consilii sui aut fortunae paenituisse; nunc scire se collegam habere iure imperioque parem, vigore aetatis prae-
10 stantem; itaque se quod ad exercitum attineat, regere consuesse, non regi: collegae imperium se non posse impedire. Dis bene iuvantibus ageret
11 quod e re publica duceret: aetati suae se veniam eam[2] petere, ne in prima acie esset; quae senis munia in bello sint, iis se non defuturum. Id a

[1] instruentem Ω: instruendis *Gron.*: instruendis quaerentem *Alschefski*.
[2] eam *Tanaquil Faber*: etiam Ω.

or a city on the first approach, was sitting still and wasting time behind intrenchments. What accession to his own strength did he look for, or what diminution of the enemy's? What opportunity, what favourable moment, what ground for an ambush was he making ready? The old man's strategy was cold and torpid. But why, though Camillus had had enough both of life and of glory, should they permit the state, which ought to be immortal, to sink into decrepitude in company with the mortal body of one man? B.C. 382–381

When he had won over the entire army by these speeches, and the men were everywhere demanding battle, he said to his colleague: "Marcus Furius, we can no longer resist the enthusiasm of the soldiers; and the enemy, whose courage we have augmented by our delay, is insulting us with an arrogance no longer to be endured. Give way, for you are alone against us all, and suffer yourself to be overcome in counsel, that you may overcome the sooner in war." To this Camillus replied that in the wars which up to that day had been conducted under his sole auspices neither the Roman People nor himself had repented of his strategy or fortune; he was aware that he had now a colleague of equal commission and authority, and of more vigorous years; and so, although—as regarded the army—he was accustomed not to be governed but to govern, yet he had no power to thwart the authority of his associate. Let him proceed, with Heaven's blessing, to do what he thought best for the commonwealth: for his own grey hairs he begged this favour, that he might not be assigned to the front; of such duties as belonged in war to an old man he would not be

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dis immortalibus precari ne qui casus suum consilium laudabile efficiat.

12 Nec ab hominibus salutaris sententia nec a dis tam piae preces auditae sunt. Primam aciem auctor pugnae instruit, subsidia Camillus firmat validamque stationem pro castris opponit; ipse edito loco spectator intentus in eventum alieni consilii constitit. XXIV. Simul primo concursu concrepuere arma, 2 hostis dolo non metu pedem rettulit. Lenis ab tergo clivus erat inter aciem et castra; et, quod multitudo suppeditabat, aliquot validas cohortes in castris armatas instructasque reliquerant, quae inter commissum iam certamen, ubi vallo appropinquasset 3 hostis, erumperent. Romanus cedentem hostem effuse sequendo in locum iniquum pertractus opportunus huic eruptioni fuit; versus itaque in victorem terror et novo hoste et supina valle Romanam inclinavit 4 aciem. Instant Volsci recentes qui e castris impetum fecerant; integrant et illi pugnam qui simulata cesserant fuga. Iam non recipiebat se Romanus miles sed immemor recentis ferociae veterisque decoris terga passim dabat atque effuso cursu castra re- 5 petebat, cum Camillus subiectus ab circumstantibus in equum et raptim subsidiis oppositis "Haec est" inquit, "milites, pugna, quam poposcistis? Quis 6 homo, quis deus est quem accusare possitis? Vestra

negligent. One thing he entreated of the immortal gods: that no mischance might occur, to make his own appear to have been the wiser plan. But neither did men heed these salutary words, nor the immortal gods his loyal prayers. The man responsible for the engagement marshalled the battle-line. Camillus provided adequate supports, and stationed a strong out-guard before the camp; he then took up his post on an eminence, and watched intently for the issue of another's strategy. XXIV. At the very instant of the first clash of arms the enemy gave ground, not out of fear, but guile. Behind them the ground sloped gently up from the battle-line to their camp; and having plenty of men they had left a few strong cohorts armed and drawn up within the camp, which were to sally forth when the fighting had got under way, and the Romans had approached the rampart. The Romans pursued the retreating enemy without order, and were drawn into an unfavourable position, where this attack could be made upon them with advantage. Thus the victors were threatened in their turn, and, what with the new foe and the declivity, the Roman line gave way. They were closely pressed by the fresh Volsci who had made the sortie, and those, too, who had pretended flight renewed the battle. And now the Roman soldiers were no longer retiring in order, but regardless of their late impetuosity and their ancient fame, had turned their backs and were everywhere in full flight towards the camp; when Camillus was lifted into the saddle by his attendants, and rapidly throwing his reserves into the fight, "Soldiers," he cried, "is this the battle you demanded? What man, what god is there, whom

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illa temeritas, vestra ignavia haec est. Secuti alium ducem sequimini nunc Camillum et quod ductu meo soletis vincite. Quid vallum et castra spectatis? Neminem vestrum illa nisi victorem receptura sunt."

7 Pudor primo tenuit effusos; inde, ut circumagi signa obvertique aciem viderunt in hostem, et dux, praeterquam quod tot insignis triumphis, etiam aetate venerabilis inter prima signa ubi plurimus labor periculumque erat se offerebat, increpare singuli se quisque et alios, et adhortatio in vicem totam alacri

8 clamore pervasit aciem. Neque alter tribunus rei defuit sed missus a collega restituente peditum aciem ad equites, non castigando—ad quam rem leviorem auctorem eum culpae societas fecerat—sed ab imperio totus ad preces versus orare singulos universosque ut se reum fortunae eius diei crimine

9 eximerent: "Abnuente ac prohibente collega temeritati[1] me omnium potius socium quam unius prudentiae dedi. Camillus in utraque vestra fortuna suam gloriam videt; ego, ni restituitur pugna, quod miserrimum est, fortunam cum omnibus infamiam

10 solus sentiam." Optimum visum est in fluctuante acie[2] tradi equos et pedestri pugna invadere hostem. Eunt insignes armis animisque qua premi parte

[1] temeritati $T^3\varsigma$: temeritatis Ω: temeritatos *H*.

[2] in fluctuante acie *Heerwagen*: in fluctuantem aciem (aciem *omitted by H*) Ω: inter fluctuantem aciem *Gronovius*.

you could accuse? Yours was the rashness then, now the infamy is yours. You have followed another leader: follow now Camillus, and, as your habit is when I am leading, conquer. Why do you look on the rampart and the camp? Not one of you shall find entrance there, save as a victor." B.C. 382–381

A sense of shame at first checked their headlong flight; then, as they saw the standards face about and the line form up against the enemy, while their general, distinguished for his many triumphs and rendered venerable by his age, exposed himself at the front amidst the ensigns, where the fighting and the danger were the greatest, they began each and every one to cry out against themselves and their fellows, and their mutual encouragements ran through the entire army in a ringing cheer. Nor was the other tribune behindhand, but being sent by his colleague—who was re-forming the line of foot—to rally the horse, he did not chide them—for his share in their fault would have made this of little use—but turning wholly from commands to entreaties, he besought them one and all to save him from the guilt of that day's mishap, for which he was responsible. "Notwithstanding," he said, "the refusal and the opposition of my colleague, I gave my adhesion to the general recklessness in preference to the prudence of one man. Camillus sees glory for himself, whichever way your fortune turns; but I, if the battle is not restored, shall experience the utter misery of sharing with everybody the disaster, while enduring the infamy alone." It seemed best, as the battle-line was wavering, to dismiss the horses and attack the enemy on foot. Conspicuous for their arms and their courage, they advanced where

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maxime peditum copias vident. Nihil neque apud duces neque apud milites remittitur a summo cer-
11 tamine animi. Sensit ergo eventus virtutis enixae opem, et Volsci, qua modo simulato metu cesserant, ea in veram fugam effusi, magna pars et in ipso certamine et post in fuga caesi, ceteri in castris, quae capta eodem impetu sunt; plures tamen capti quam occisi.

XXV. Ubi in recensendis captivis cum Tusculani aliquot noscitarentur, secreti ab aliis ad tribunos adducuntur percontantibusque fassi publico consilio
2 se militasse. Cuius tam vicini belli metu Camillus motus extemplo se Romam captivos ducturum ait, ne patres ignari sint Tusculanos ab societate descisse: castris exercituique interim, si videatur, praesit col-
3 lega. Documento unus dies fuerat, ne sua consilia melioribus praeferret; nec tamen aut ipsi aut in exercitu cuiquam satis placato animo Camillus laturus culpam eius videbatur, qua data in tam praecipitem
4 casum res publica esset; et cum in exercitu tum Romae constans omnium fama erat, cum varia fortuna in Volscis gesta res esset, adversae pugnae fugaeque in L. Furio culpam, secundae decus omne
5 penes M. Furium esse. Introductis in senatum captivis cum bello persequendos Tusculanos patres

[1] Niebuhr thinks that this battle was a pure invention, for there is no indication that it had any effect: Satricum was not taken, nor was a triumph decreed.

they saw the foot-soldiers hardest pressed. Neither generals nor soldiers relaxed their utmost efforts, and the help afforded by their brave exertions was felt in the result. The Volsci fled in a genuine panic over the ground where they had lately pretended fear. Great numbers of them were slain both in the battle itself and in the flight which followed; the others were cut down in the camp, which was captured in the same charge; but more were made prisoners than were slain.[1] B.C. 382–381

XXV. In taking account of the prisoners, they recognized some as being Tusculans. These were separated from the rest and brought before the tribunes, to whom they confessed, on being questioned, that they had served at the bidding of the state. The danger of so near a war disturbed Camillus, who declared that he would straightway carry the prisoners to Rome, that the Fathers might not be kept in ignorance how the Tusculans had broken the alliance. In the meantime he proposed that his colleague should, if agreeable, take charge of the camp and the army. A single day had taught Lucius Furius not to prefer his own to wiser counsels, yet neither he nor anyone in the army supposed that Camillus would condone his fault, which had plunged the commonwealth into such desperate peril; and everybody, not in the army only, but also in Rome, agreed in saying, that in the ups and downs of the Volscian war, the responsibility for the defeat and flight lay with Lucius Furius, and all the credit for the victory with Camillus. But when the prisoners had been introduced into the senate, and the Fathers, having decided that they must make war on Tusculum, had

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censuissent Camilloque id bellum mandassent, adiutorem sibi ad eam rem unum petit permissoque ut ex collegis optaret quem vellet, contra spem 6 omnium L. Furium optavit; qua moderatione animi cum collegae levavit infamiam, tum sibi gloriam ingentem peperit.

Nec fuit cum Tusculanis bellum: pace constanti vim Romanam arcuerunt[1] quam armis non poterant. 7 Intrantibus fines Romanis non demigratum ex propinquis itineri[2] locis, non cultus agrorum intermissus, patentibus portis urbis togati obviam frequentes imperatoribus processere; commeatus exercitui comiter in castra ex urbe et ex agris de- 8 vehitur. Camillus castris ante portas positis, eademne forma pacis quae in agris ostentaretur etiam intra 9 moenia esset scire cupiens, ingressus urbem ubi patentes ianuas et tabernis apertis proposita omnia in medio vidit intentosque opifices suo quemque operi et ludos litterarum strepere discentium vocibus ac repletas semitas inter volgus aliud puerorum et mulierum huc atque illuc euntium, qua quemque 10 suorum usuum causae ferrent, nihil usquam non pavidis modo sed ne mirantibus quidem simile, circumspiciebat omnia, anquirens[3] oculis ubinam 11 bellum fuisset; adeo nec amotae rei usquam nec oblatae ad tempus vestigium ullum erat, sed ita

[1] arcuerunt E^2T^1 (*or* T^2)D^2: arcuerant *PFUB*: arguerunt *MEHTDLA*.
[2] itineri ς: itineris Ω: itineribus ς.
[3] anquirens *Gebhard*: inquirens Ω.

designated Camillus to conduct it, he requested that he might have a single lieutenant to assist him, and being permitted to select any one of his colleagues whom he might desire, contrary to everybody's expectation he selected Lucius Furius—an instance of magnanimity which, while it lightened the disgrace of his colleague, also brought great honour to himself. B.C. 382–381

But no war was, in fact, waged with the Tusculans: by their steadfast adherence to peace they saved themselves from violation by the Romans, as they could not have done by resorting to arms. When the Romans entered their territory, they did not withdraw from the places near the line of march, nor break off their labour in the fields; the gates of their city stood wide open; the citizens, wearing the toga, came out in great numbers to meet the generals; and provisions for the army were obligingly brought into the camp from the city and the farms. Camillus set up his camp before the gates, and desirous of knowing whether the same aspect of peace prevailed within the walls that was displayed in the country, entered the city and beheld the house-doors open, the shops with their shutters off and all their wares exposed, the craftsmen all busy at their respective trades, the schools buzzing with the voices of the scholars, crowds in the streets, and women and children going about amongst the rest, this way and that, as their several occasions called them—with never anywhere an indication of surprise, much less of fear. He looked everywhere for any visible evidence that a war had been on foot; but there was no sign that anything had been either removed or brought out for the moment; everything looked so undisturbed and

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omnia constanti tranquilla pace ut eo vix fama belli perlata videri posset.

XXVI. Victus igitur patientia hostium senatum eorum vocari iussit. "Soli adhuc" inquit, "Tusculani, vera arma verasque vires quibus ab ira
2 Romanorum vestra tutaremini invenistis. Ite Romam ad senatum; aestimabunt patres, utrum plus ante poenae an nunc veniae meriti sitis; non praecipiam gratiam publici beneficii; deprecandi potestatem a me habueritis; precibus eventum vestris senatus quem videbitur dabit."

3 Postquam Romam Tusculani venerunt senatusque paulo ante fidelium sociorum maestus in vestibulo curiae est conspectus, moti extemplo patres vocari eos iam tum hospitaliter magis quam hostiliter
4 iussere. Dictator Tusculanus ita verba fecit: "Quibus bellum indixistis intulistisque, patres conscripti, sicut nunc videtis nos stantes in vestibulo curiae vestrae, ita armati paratique obviam imperatoribus
5 legionibusque vestris processimus. Hic noster, hic plebis nostrae habitus fuit eritque semper, nisi si quando a vobis proque vobis arma acceperimus. Gratias agimus et ducibus vestris et exercitibus, quod oculis magis quam auribus crediderunt, et ubi
6 nihil hostile erat ne ipsi quidem fecerunt. Pacem, quam nos praestitimus, eam a vobis petimus; bellum

[1] For a similar play on words see I. lviii. 8.

peaceful that it seemed scarce credible that so much as a rumour of war should have come there. B.C. 382–381

XXVI. Overcome therefore by the enemy's submissiveness, he commanded their senate to be called. "Men of Tusculum," he said, "until now you alone have discovered the right weapons and the right resources with which to defend your possessions from the resentment of the Romans. Go to Rome, to the senate; the Fathers will determine whether you have deserved more punishment hitherto or pardon now. I will not forestall them by accepting your gratitude for a favour that must be granted by the state; from me you shall have an opportunity to solicit mercy; the answer to your suit must be such as the senate sees fit to make."

When the Tusculans arrived in Rome, and the senators of a people who before had been faithful allies appeared in the vestibule of the Curia, covered with dejection, the Fathers were straightway moved, and in a spirit that had already more in it of hospitality than hostility [1] bade them be at once admitted. The Tusculan dictator thus addressed them: "Though you declared war on us and invaded our country, Conscript Fathers, we went forth to meet your generals and your legions armed and accoutred exactly as you now behold us standing in the entrance of your senate-house. Such has ever been our garb and the garb of our people—ay, and ever shall be—save at such times as we have been armed by you and for your defence. We give thanks to your commanders and your armies, since they have believed their eyes more than their ears, and where they encountered no hostility, themselves have showed none. The peace we have used towards you, we ask

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eo, sicubi est, avertatis precamur; in nos quid arma polleant vestra, si patiendo experiundum est, inermes experiemur. Haec mens nostra est[1]—di immortales
7 faciant—tam felix quam pia. Quod ad crimina attinet quibus moti bellum indixistis, etsi revicta rebus verbis confutare nihil attinet, tamen, etiam si vera sint, vel fateri nobis ea, cum tam evidenter paenituerit, tutum censemus. Peccetur in vos,
8 dum digni sitis, quibus ita satisfiat." Tantum fere verborum Tusculanis factum. Pacem in praesentia nec ita multo post civitatem etiam impetraverunt. Ab Tusculo legiones reductae.

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XXVII. Camillus, consilio et virtute in Volsco bello, felicitate in Tusculana expeditione, utrobique singulari adversus collegam patientia et moderatione
2 insignis, magistratu abiit creatis tribunis militaribus in insequentem annum L. et P. Valeriis—Lucio quintum, Publio tertium—et C. Sergio tertium L. Menenio[2] iterum, P. Papirio, Ser. Cornelio Malu-
3 ginense. Censoribus quoque eguit annus maxime propter incertam famam aeris alieni, adgravantibus summam etiam invidiae eius[3] tribunis plebis, cum ab iis elevaretur, quibus fide magis quam fortuna debentium laborare creditum videri expediebat.

[1] nostra est Ω: nostra sit *Karsten* (*after H. J. Mueller*).

[2] L. (lucio) Menenio *A Sigonius*: lucinio Menenio *F*: lic (*or* lit-)inio menenio Ω. *There is great uncertainty regarding the names, and in view of the reading of* Ω *here and at chap.* 5 § 7, *and chap.* 31 § 1, *it appears not improbable that Livy included Licinius in the list.*

[3] invidiae eius Ω *Walters and Conway*: invidiosius *Madvig*: invidiae causa *Perizonius*: invidiose *Duker*.

[1] *i. e.* the honour done you by our confiding in your mercy should outweigh the injury.

of you in return; direct your war, we beseech you, to that quarter where war, if anywhere, exists; if we must try, by suffering, what your arms can achieve against ourselves, we will try unarmed. Such is our resolution; Heaven send it be not less fortunate than loyal. As to the charges which stirred you to declare a war, though it skills not to disprove with words what facts have already confuted, still, even were they true, we think we might safely plead guilty to them, since our repentance is so evident. Let men wrong you, so long as you continue worthy to receive such amends."[1] To this purport was the speech of the Tusculans. They were granted peace for the present, and not long after were even admitted to be citizens. The legions were withdrawn from Tusculum. B.C. 382–381

XXVII. Renowned for his strategy and courage in the Volscian war and his success in the expedition against Tusculum, and for his singular gentleness and generosity on both occasions towards his colleague, Camillus laid down his office, after announcing the election of military tribunes for the ensuing year. The successful candidates were Lucius and Publius Valerius (Lucius for the fifth and Publius for the third time), Gaius Sergius (for the third time), Lucius Menenius (for the second time), Publius Papirius, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis. There was need also this year of censors, chiefly on account of the uncertain reports which were going about in regard to debt. The tribunes of the plebs even exaggerated the extent of this grievance, whereas it was understated by those who were interested in having it appear that loans were more in danger from the bad faith than the bad fortune of the debtors. The censors B.C. 380

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4 Creati censores C. Sulpicius Camerinus Sp. Postumius Regillensis, coeptaque iam res morte Postumi, quia collegam suffici censori religio erat, interpellata 5 est. Igitur cum Sulpicius abdicasset se magistratu censores alii vitio creati non gesserunt magistratum; tertios creari velut dis non accipientibus in eum 6 annum censuram religiosum fuit. Eam vero ludificationem plebis tribuni ferendam negabant: fugere senatum testes tabulas publicas census cuiusque, quia nolint conspici summam aeris alieni, quae indicatura sit demersam partem a parte civitatis, cum interim obaeratam plebem obiectari aliis atque aliis 7 hostibus. Passim iam sine ullo discrimine bella quaeri: ab Antio Satricum, ab Satrico Velitras, inde Tusculum legiones ductas; Latinis Hernicis Praenestinis iam intentari arma civium magis quam hostium odio, ut in armis terant plebem nec respirare in urbe aut per otium libertatis meminisse sinant aut consistere in contione, ubi aliquando audiant vocem tribuniciam de levando fenore et fine[1] aliarum in- 8 iuriarum agentem. Quod si sit animus plebi memor patrum libertatis, se nec addici quemquam civem Romanum ob creditam pecuniam passuros neque

[1] fine ς: finem Ω *Walters and Conway.*

[1] *Cf.* v. xxxi. 6.

chosen were Gaius Sulpicius Camerinus and Spurius B.C. 380
Postumius Regillensis, and they had already set about their task, when it was interrupted by the death of Postumius; for there were religious scruples against replacing the colleague of a censor.[1] So then, Sulpicius resigned, and other censors were elected, but, owing to a defect in the election, did not serve. The senate could not bring itself to proceed to a third election, being persuaded that the gods would permit no censorship that year. But this irresolution the tribunes characterized as an intolerable mockery of the plebs. The senate, they said, was seeking to avoid the evidence of witnesses and public records regarding the property of every man, because they were unwilling it should be seen how great was the volume of debt, which would show that half of the state had been ruined by the other half, while the debt-ridden plebs were in the meantime being exposed to one enemy after another; wars were now sought indiscriminately, far and wide; from Antium the legions had been marched to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitrae, from there to Tusculum; now it was the Latins, the Hernici and the Praenestini who were threatened with attack, more out of hatred of Rome's citizens than of her enemies. The object was to wear the plebeians out with service and give them no time to take breath in the City, or leisure to bethink them of liberty or to stand in the assembly, where they might sometimes hear the voice of a tribune urging the reduction of interest and the removal of their other grievances. But if the plebs had the spirit to recall their fathers' liberty, they would allow no Roman citizen to be bound to a creditor, nor any levy to be held, until the amount of

A.U.C. 374 dilectum haberi, donec inspecto aere alieno initaque ratione minuendi eius sciat unus quisque quid sui, quid alieni sit, supersit sibi liberum corpus an id quoque nervo debeatur.

9 Merces seditionis proposita confestim seditionem excitavit. Nam et addicebantur multi, et ad Praenestini famam belli novas legiones scribendas patres censuerant; quae utraque simul auxilio tribunicio
10 et consensu plebis impediri coepta; nam neque duci addictos tribuni sinebant neque iuniores nomina dabant. Cum patribus minor in praesens[1] cura creditae pecuniae iuris exsequendi quam dilectus esset—quippe iam a Praeneste profectos hostes in
11 agro Gabino[2] consedisse nuntiabatur—interim tribunos plebis fama ea ipsa inritaverat magis ad susceptum certamen quam deterruerat; neque aliud ad seditionem exstinguendam in urbe quam prope inlatum moenibus ipsis bellum valuit.

XXVIII. Nam cum esset Praenestinis nuntiatum nullum exercitum conscriptum Romae, nullum ducem certum esse, patres ac plebem in semet ipsos versos,
2 occasionem rati duces eorum raptim agmine acto[3] pervastatis protinus agris ad portam Collinam signa
3 intulere. Ingens in urbe trepidatio fuit. Conclamatum ad arma, concursumque in muros adque[4]

[1] in praesens *Stroth*: praesens Ω.
[2] Gabino *Iac. Gronovius*: Sabino Ω.
[3] acto ς *Sigonius*: facto Ω.
[4] adque *Gronovius*: atque Ω. (*but* A^2 *or* A^3 *has written* ad *over* in).

[1] *i. e.*, to their creditors, to work out their debts.

indebtedness had been examined and a plan for B.C. 380
lessening it put into operation, that every man might know what was his own and what another's, and whether his person was still free, or whether even that was owing to the gaol.

The reward held out to sedition soon brought sedition to a head. For many were being bound over,[1] and the senate had voted to enlist new levies on the rumour of hostilities at Praeneste. Both these proceedings began at the same time to be interfered with by the exercise of the tribunician protection and the common action of the plebs; for the tribunes would not allow those who had been bound over to be led away, nor would the young men give in their names. The patricians were for the moment less concerned with enforcing the law of debt than with the levy—not unnaturally, since the enemy were reported as having already set out from Praeneste and encamped in the territory of Gabii—but on the tribunes of the plebs this intelligence had acted more as an incentive to the struggle they had undertaken than as a deterrent, and the only thing that was able to allay the quarrel in the City was the approach of the enemy to its very walls.

XXVIII. For when the Praenestini were informed that no army had been enrolled in Rome, that there was no one definitely in command, that patricians and plebeians had turned against each other, their leaders concluded that their opportunity had come, and quickly putting their troops in motion, they devastated the fields along their line of march and advanced against the Colline Gate. Great was the consternation in the City. The call to arms was given, and men hurried to the walls and gates. They

A.U.C. 374 portas est, tandemque ab seditione ad bellum versi
4 dictatorem T. Quinctium Cincinnatum creavere. Is magistrum equitum A. Sempronium Atratinum dixit. Quod ubi auditum est—tantus eius magistratus terror erat,—simul hostes a moenibus recessere et iuniores Romani ad edictum sine retractatione convenere.

5 Dum conscribitur Romae exercitus, castra interim hostium haud procul Allia flumine posita; inde agrum late populantes fatalem se urbi Romanae
6 locum cepisse inter se iactabant: similem pavorem inde ac fugam fore ac bello Gallico fuerit; etenim si diem contactum religione insignemque nomine eius loci timeant Romani, quanto magis Alliensi die Alliam ipsam, monumentum tantae cladis, reformidaturos? Species profecto iis[1] ibi truces Gallorum
7 sonumque vocis in oculis atque auribus fore. Has inanium rerum inanes ipsas volventes cogitationes fortunae loci delegaverant spes suas. Romani contra, ubicumque esset Latinus hostis, satis scire eum esse quem ad Regillum lacum devictum centum
8 annorum pace obnoxia[2] tenuerint: locum insignem memoria cladis inritaturum se potius ad delendam memoriam dedecoris, quam ut timorem faciat, ne
9 qua terra sit nefasta victoriae suae; quin ipsi sibi Galli si offerantur illo loco, se ita pugnaturos ut Romae pugnaverint in repetenda patria ut postero

[1] iis *Weissenborn*: hiis *A*: his Ω: hio $D^2A^2\varsigma$.
[2] obnoxia Ω: obnoxium *U Häggström*.

had turned at last from domestic strife to war, and B.C. 380
proceeded to make Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus dictator, who named Aulus Sempronius Atratinus master of the horse. No sooner was this known—so great was the terror the dictatorship inspired—than the enemy at once withdrew from before the walls, and the Romans of military age assembled without offering objection, in accordance with the edict.

While the army was being enrolled at Rome, the enemy had gone into camp not far from the Allia. From this centre they pillaged in all directions, and boasted to one another that they had occupied a position that was fraught with fate for the City of Rome; there would be another rout there like the one in the Gallic war; for if the Romans feared a day infected with evil omen and marked it with the name of that place, how much more than the Day of the Allia would they dread the Allia itself, that memorial of their great defeat? They were sure to behold there apparitions of ruthless Gauls, and to have the sound of their voices in their ears. Indulging these idle speculations on idle themes, they had rested their hopes on the fortune of the place. The Romans on the other hand were well assured that wherever their Latin enemy was, he was one whom they had conquered at Lake Regillus and had held in peaceable subjection for a hundred years; a place notorious for the memory of disaster would rather inspire them to wipe out the recollection of the disgrace than cause them to fear that any ground was inauspicious for their victory; nay, if the Gauls themselves should confront them on that spot, they would fight as they had fought at Rome in recovering

A.U.C. 374 die ad Gabios, tunc cum effecerint ne quis hostis qui moenia Romana intrasset nuntium secundae adversaeque fortunae domum perferret.

XXIX. His utrimque animis ad Alliam ventum est. Dictator Romanus, postquam in conspectu hostes erant instructi intentique, "videsne tu" inquit, "A. Semproni, loci fortuna illos fretos ad Alliam constitisse? Nec illis di immortales certioris quicquam fiduciae maiorisve quod sit auxilii dede- 2 rint. At tu, fretus armis animisque, concitatis equis invade mediam aciem; ego cum legionibus in turbatos trepidantesque inferam signa. Adeste, di testes foederis, et expetite poenas debitas simul vobis violatis nobisque per vestrum numen deceptis." Non equitem, non peditem sustinuere Praenestini. 3 Primo impetu ac clamore dissipati ordines sunt; dein, postquam nullo loco constabat acies, terga vertunt consternatique et praeter castra etiam sua pavore praelati non prius se ab effuso cursu sistunt, 4 quam in conspectu Praeneste fuit. Ibi ex fuga dissipati [1] locum quem tumultuario opere communirent capiunt ne, si intra moenia se recepissent, extemplo ureretur ager depopulatisque omnibus obsidio 5 urbi inferretur. Sed postquam direptis ad Alliam castris victor Romanus aderat, id quoque munimentum relictum; et vix moenia tuta rati oppido 6 se Praeneste includunt. Octo praeterea oppida

[1] dissipati Ω: dissipata *Madvig*: dissipata contracti *Walters and Conway* (*note*).

their City and on the following day at Gabii, when B.C. 380
they left no enemy who had entered the walls of Rome, to bear home tidings either of weal or woe.

Such were the feelings on either side when the Romans arrived at the Allia. As they came within sight of the enemy, drawn up and eager for the fray, the dictator addressed Sempronius. "Do you see," he said, "how they have made their stand at the Allia, putting their trust in the fortune of the place? We shall find the immortal gods have given them no surer grounds for confidence nor any more substantial help. But do you confide in arms and valour, and charge their centre at the gallop; I, with the legions, will attack them when they are in disorder and confusion. Be with us, gods of the treaty, and exact the penalties due to you for the injury you have suffered and to us for the deception put upon us in your holy name!" The men of Praeneste could cope with neither horse nor foot. Their ranks were broken at the first shout and charge; then, as their line yielded at every point, they turned and fled, and in their confusion were carried even beyond their own camp; neither did they check their headlong flight until they had come within sight of Praeneste. There the scattered remnants of the rout took up a position which lent itself to hasty fortification, lest, if they sought refuge within the walls, they might immediately find the torch put to their crops, and, after losing everything, be subjected to a siege. But no sooner had the victorious Romans appeared, fresh from plundering the camp on the Allia, than they abandoned these defences also, and, regarding even walls as little enough protection, immured themselves in the town of Praeneste. There were eight

A.U.C. 374 erant sub dicione Praenestinorum. Ad ea circumlatum bellum deincepsque haud magno certamine captis Velitras exercitus ductus. Eae quoque ex-
7 pugnatae. Tum ad caput belli Praeneste ventum.
8 Id non vi, sed per deditionem receptum est. T. Quinctius semel acie victor, binis castris hostium, novem oppidis vi captis, Praeneste in deditionem accepto Romam revertit triumphansque signum Praeneste devectum Iovis Imperatoris in Capitolium
9 tulit. Dedicatum est inter cellam Iovis ac Minervae tabulaque sub eo fixa, monumentum rerum gestarum, his ferme incisa litteris fuit: "Iuppiter atque divi omnes hoc dederunt, ut T. Quinctius dictator oppida
10 novem caperet." Die vicesimo quam creatus erat dictatura se abdicavit.

A.U.C. 375 XXX. Comitia inde habita tribunorum militum consulari potestate, quibus aequatus patriciorum
2 plebeiorumque numerus. Ex patribus creati P. et C. Manlii[1] cum L. Iulio; plebes C. Sextilium M.
3 Albinium L. Antistium dedit. Manliis, quod genere plebeios, gratia Iulium anteibant, Volsci, provincia sine sorte, sine comparatione extra ordinem data; cuius et ipsos postmodo et patres qui dederant
4 paenituit. Inexplorato pabulatum cohortes misere; quibus velut circumventis, cum id falso nuntiatum

[1] Manlii P^2A^2: manli *MFBTL*: manlius *OE*: mallius *U*: manlio (manlio cum *over erasure in* A^1) PA^1: manlio ūis *H*: mallii D^2 (*over erasure*).

[1] According to Festus (p. 363) the offering was a golden crown weighing 2½ lbs.

other towns which were under the sway of the Praenestini. Against these the Romans directed their campaign, and having taken them, with no great exertion, one after the other, marched to Velitrae and stormed that place also. Coming then to Praeneste, the fountain-head of the war, they got possession of it not by force but through capitulation. Titus Quinctius had gained one pitched battle, captured two camps, taken nine towns by assault, and received the surrender of Praeneste. He returned to Rome bringing with him from Praeneste the image of Jupiter Imperator. This he bore in triumph to the Capitol, where he dedicated it, between the shrine of Jupiter and that of Minerva. Below it he placed a tablet, in commemoration of his deeds, with an inscription to the following effect: "Jupiter and all the gods granted Titus Quinctius the dictator that he should take nine towns."[1] On the twentieth day after his appointment he resigned the dictatorship. B.C. 380

XXX. In the ensuing election of military tribunes with consular powers, patricians and plebeians came off alike. Of the patricians Publius and Gaius Manlius were successful, along with Lucius Julius; the plebs returned Gaius Sextilius, Marcus Albinius, and Lucius Antistius. The Manlii were superior in birth to their plebeian colleagues, and in popularity to Julius. To them, therefore, by special enactment, without reference to the lot or to mutual agreement, was given the command against the Volsci—an honour which they rued in the upshot, as did also the senators who had conferred it. Without reconnoitring they sent some troops to forage, and believing them to be cut off, for they had received a false B.C. 379

A.U.C. 375 esset, dum praesidio ut essent citati feruntur, ne auctore quidem adservato qui eos hostis Latinus pro milite Romano frustratus erat, ipsi in insidias praecipitavere. Ibi dum iniquo loco sola virtute militum restantes caeduntur caeduntque, castra interim Romana iacentia in campo ab altera parte hostes invasere. Ab ducibus utrobique proditae temeritate atque inscitia res; quidquid superfuit fortunae populi Romani, id militum etiam sine rectore stabilis virtus tutata est. Quae ubi Romam sunt relata, primum dictatorem dici placebat; deinde, postquam quietae res ex Volscis adferebantur et apparuit nescire eos victoria et tempore uti, revocati etiam inde exercitus ac duces, otiumque inde, quantum a Volscis, fuit; id[1] modo extremo anno tumultuatum quod Praenestini concitatis Latinorum populis rebellarunt.

Eodem anno Setiam[2] ipsis querentibus penuriam hominum novi coloni adscripti. Rebusque haud prosperis bello domestica quies, quam tribunorum militum ex plebe gratia maiestasque inter suos obtinuit, solacium fuit.

A.U.C. 376 XXXI. Insequentis anni principia statim seditione ingenti arsere tribunis militum consulari potestate Sp. Furio Q. Servilio iterum L.[3] Menenio tertium

[1] fuit; id ς: fuisset id Ω: fuit seti id *H* (setiae *Harant*).
[2] anno Setiam *Sigonius*: annos etiam *MPT*: anno etiam Ω
[3] L. *Alschefski*: lucinio *MF*: licinio Ω. (*cf.* *chap.* xxvii. § 2).

report that such was the case, they hastened to B.C. 379
their assistance, without so much as securing the author of the story—a Latin enemy who had deceived them in the guise of a Roman soldier,—and plunged into an ambuscade. While they were making a stand there on unfavourable ground, by the sheer courage of the men, who were selling their lives dearly, the Roman camp which lay in the plain was attacked by the enemy on the opposite side. In both places victory was thrown away by the rashness and ignorance of the generals. Whatever was left of the good fortune of the Roman People was saved by the pluck of the soldiers, which continued steadfast even when it lacked guidance. On the announcement of these events at Rome, it was at first resolved to appoint a dictator; but later, when word came that things were quiet in the Volscian country, and it appeared that the enemy knew not how to use his victory and opportunity, even the armies and commanders which were there were withdrawn, and thereafter there was no trouble as far as the Volsci were concerned; the only disturbance—towards the close of the year—was a mutiny of the Praenestini, who had stirred the peoples of Latium to revolt.

That same year new colonists were enrolled for Setia, whose inhabitants themselves were complaining of their lack of men. For the ill success of the war there was consolation in the tranquillity at home, which was due to the influence of the plebeian military tribunes and the honour in which their order held them.

XXXI. The following year started off in a blaze B.C. 378
of party strife. The military tribunes with consular powers were Spurius Furius, Quintus Servilius (for

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2 P. Cloelio M. Horatio L. Geganio. Erat autem et materia et causa seditionis aes alienum; cuius noscendi gratia Sp. Servilius Priscus Q. Cloelius Siculus censores facti, ne rem agerent bello impediti sunt: 3 namque trepidi nuntii primo, fuga deinde ex agris legiones Volscorum ingressas fines popularique passim Romanum agrum attulere. 4 In qua trepidatione tantum afuit ut civilia certamina terror externus cohiberet, ut contra eo violentior potestas tribunicia impediendo dilectu esset, donec condiciones impositae patribus, ne quis, quoad bellatum esset, tributum daret aut ius de pecunia credita diceret. 5 Eo laxamento plebi sumpto mora dilectui non est facta. Legionibus novis scriptis placuit duos exercitus in agrum Volscum legionibus divisis duci. Sp. Furius M. Horatius dextrorsus in[1] maritimam oram atque Antium, Q. Servilius et L. Geganius[2] laeva ad montes 6 et Ecetram[3] pergunt. Neutra parte hostis obvius fuit; populatio itaque non illi vagae similis, quam Volscus latrocinii more, discordiae hostium fretus et virtutem metuens, per trepidationem raptim fecerat, sed ab iusto exercitu iusta ira facta, spatio quoque 7 temporis gravior. Quippe a Volscis timentibus ne interim exercitus ab Roma exiret incursiones in ex-

[1] dextrorsus in *Madvig*: dextrorsus Ω.
[2] L. Geganius ς (*cf.* § 1): M. Geganius Ω.
[3] et ecetram *Madvig*: et cetram *H*: et etram *B*: ecetram Ω: ecetra *E?L* (monte se cetra).

the second time), Lucius Menenius (for the third), B.C. 378
Publius Cloelius, Marcus Horatius, and Lucius Geganius. Now the subject and reason of the strife was debt. But when Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Cloelius Siculus had been made censors in order that they might investigate the situation, they were prevented from doing so by a war; for first frightened messengers, and then the country-folk fleeing from the fields, brought word that the Volscian legions had crossed the border, and were everywhere devastating Roman territory. Yet with all this alarm, the danger from abroad was so far from restraining dissensions at home, that on the contrary the tribunes but acted with the greater violence, in exerting their powers to block the levy; until the senate submitted to their terms, and agreed that till the war was finished no one should pay a war-tax or give judgment in a case of debt. The plebs, on obtaining this relief, ceased to obstruct the levy. When the new legions had been enrolled, it was resolved to divide them and form two armies to invade the country of the Volsci. Spurius Furius and Marcus Horatius marched to the right, towards Antium and the coast; Quintus Servilius and Lucius Geganius to the left, in the direction of Ecetra and the mountains. In neither region did they find the enemy. They accordingly laid waste the country, not in the desultory fashion of the Volsci, who like bandits, trusting in the discord of their foes but fearing their courage, had made a hasty foray in fear and trembling,—but with a regular army, justly provoked, and the more destructive in that they took more time. In fact, the Volsci had confined their pillaging to the borders, because of their fear lest an

A.U.C. 376 trema finium factae erant; Romano contra etiam in hostico morandi causa erat, ut hostem ad certamen
8 eliceret. Itaque omnibus passim tectis agrorum vicisque etiam quibusdam exustis, non arbore frugifera, non satis in spem frugum relictis, omni quae extra moenia fuit hominum pecudumque praeda abacta Romam utrimque exercitus reducti.

A.U.C. 377 XXXII. Parvo intervallo ad respirandum debitoribus dato postquam quietae res ab hostibus erant, celebrari de integro iuris dictio, et tantum abesse spes veteris levandi fenoris, ut tributo novum fenus contraheretur in murum a censoribus locatum saxo
2 quadrato faciundum. Cui succumbere oneri coacta plebes, quia quem dilectum impedirent non habe-
3 bant tribuni plebis. Tribunos etiam militares patricios omnes coacta principum opibus fecit: L. Aemilium P. Valerium quartum C. Veturium Ser.
4 Sulpicium L. et C. Quinctios Cincinnatos. Iisdem opibus obtinuere, ut adversus Latinos Volscosque, qui coniunctis legionibus ad Satricum castra habebant, nullo impediente omnibus iunioribus sacra-
5 mento adactis tres exercitus scriberent: unum ad praesidium urbis: alterum, qui, si qui alibi motus exstitisset, ad subita belli mitti posset: tertium longe validissimum P. Valerius et L. Aemilius ad
6 Satricum duxere. Ubi cum aciem instructam hosti-

[1] The reference is probably to a section of the city wall, damaged in the Gallic war.

army might come out from Rome while they were B.C. 378
at it; the Romans, on the contrary, were partly actuated, in remaining on hostile ground, by the desire of luring the enemy into a battle. So they burned all the farm-houses everywhere, and even certain villages, and leaving not a single fruit-tree nor the standing corn with its hope of harvest, they carried off as booty all the men and beasts outside the towns, and led both armies back to Rome.

XXXII. The debtors had been given a little time B.C. 377
for breathing, but no sooner did hostilities cease than the courts began once more to be alive with prosecutions, and not only was there no prospect of obtaining relief from the old debts, but further debts were incurred through the levying of a tax to build a wall of hewn stone,[1] which the censors had contracted for. To this burden the plebs were forced to submit, in the absence of any levy which their tribunes could obstruct. The nobles even possessed sufficient influence to oblige the plebs to elect all patricians to the military tribunate; these were Lucius Aemilius, Publius Valerius (for the fourth time), Gaius Veturius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius and Gaius Quinctius Cincinnatus. The same influence enabled them to carry through their plans against the Latins and the Volsci, who had united their forces and were encamped near Satricum. No one objected when the men of military age were all compelled to take the oath, and three armies were enrolled: one was intended to defend the City; another was for use in sudden expeditions, if a revolt should break out anywhere; a third—much the strongest—marched to Satricum, under Publius Valerius and Lucius Aemilius. There they found the

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um loco aequo invenissent, extemplo pugnatum; et ut nondum satis claram[1] victoriam, sic prosperae spei pugnam imber ingentibus procellis fusus diremit. 7 Postero die iterata pugna; et aliquamdiu aequa virtute fortunaque Latinae maxime legiones, longa societate militiam Romanam edoctae, restabant. 8 Sed eques immissus ordines turbavit, turbatis signa peditum inlata, quantumque Romana se invexit acies, tantum hostes gradu demoti; et, ut semel inclinavit pugna, iam intolerabilis Romana vis erat. 9 Fusi hostes cum Satricum, quod duo milia inde aberat, non castra peterent, ab equite maxime 10 caesi; castra capta direptaque. Ab Satrico nocte quae proelio proxima fuit fugae simili agmine petunt Antium; et cum Romanus exercitus prope vestigiis sequeretur, plus tamen timor quam ira celeritatis 11 habuit. Prius itaque moenia intravere hostes quam Romanus extrema agminis carpere aut morari posset. Inde aliquot dies vastando agro absumpti nec Romanis satis instructis apparatu bellico ad moenia adgredienda nec illis ad subeundum pugnae casum.

XXXIII. Seditio tum inter Antiates Latinosque coorta, cum Antiates victi malis subactique bello in quo et nati erant et consenuerant deditionem spectarent,[2] Latinos ex diutina pace nova defectio recentibus adhuc animis ferociores ad perseverandum in

[1] claram Ω (*cf. Walters and Conway, Class Quart.*, XII. (1918) *p.* 4): certam *Madvig*.

[2] spectarent ς: exsp(*or* exp-)ectarent Ω.

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[1] These words are really applicable to the Volsci in general, but not to the Antiates in particular. In § 4 the word *Volscos* is used as though equivalent to *Antiates*.

enemy drawn up in a strong position, and at once B.C. 377
attacked them; and though victory was not yet assured, yet the battle was in a hopeful state, when great gusts of wind brought on a heavy downpour of rain and interrupted it. Next day the combat was renewed, and for some little time the enemy—particularly the Latin legions, schooled in Roman discipline by their long alliance—resisted with equal courage and success. But the cavalry were sent against them and threw their ranks into confusion, and before they could recover, the infantry were upon them; in proportion as the Roman line advanced, was the enemy forced out of his position; and when once the tide of battle turned, there was no stopping the onrush of the Romans. The routed enemy made for Satricum, two miles away, instead of their camp, and suffered great slaughter, especially at the hands of the cavalry. Their camp was taken and sacked. The night after the battle they fled rather than marched towards Antium; and though the Roman army followed hard after, fear proved swifter than wrath. So the enemy got within the walls before the Romans could harass or delay their rear. A few days were then consumed in ravaging the land, since the Romans had not enough equipment to attack the walls, nor the enemy to risk a battle.

XXXIII. A quarrel now broke out between the Antiates and the Latins. The men of Antium, overwhelmed by their misfortunes and worn out by a war which had lasted from their birth to their old age,[1] were minded to capitulate: the Latins had but just revolted after a long peace; their spirits were still fresh; and they meant to continue boldly with

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bello faceret. Finis certaminis fuit postquam utrisque apparuit nihil per alteros stare quo minus
3 incepta persequerentur. Latini profecti ab societate[1] pacis, ut rebantur, inhonestae sese vindicaverunt, Antiates incommodis arbitris salutarium consiliorum remotis urbem agrosque Romanis de-
4 dunt. Ira et rabies Latinorum, quia nec Romanos bello laedere nec Volscos in armis retinere potuerant, eo erupit ut Satricum urbem, quae receptaculum primum eis adversae pugnae fuerat, igni concremarent; nec aliud tectum eius superfuit urbis, cum faces pariter sacris profanisque inicerent, quam
5 matris Matutae templum; inde eos nec sua religio nec verecundia deum arcuisse dicitur sed vox horrenda edita templo cum tristibus minis, ni nefandos
6 ignes procul delubris amovissent. Incensos ea rabie impetus Tusculum tulit ob iram, quod deserto communi concilio Latinorum non in societatem modo Romanam sed etiam in civitatem se dedissent.
7 Patentibus portis cum improviso incidissent, primo clamore oppidum praeter arcem captum est. In arcem oppidani refugere cum coniugibus ac liberis nuntiosque Romam, qui certiorem de suo casu sena-
8 tum facerent, misere. Haud segnius quam fide populi Romani dignum fuit exercitus Tusculum ductus; L. Quinctius et Ser. Sulpicius tribuni

[1] ab societate D^1 *or* D^2: ad societate D: ad societatem L: a societate Ω.

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[1] An ancient Italian deity worshipped by matrons and having to do with birth, and perhaps with the dawn. She had a temple in Rome and in Praeneste, and appears to have been the principal god of Satricum.

the war. The dispute came to an end as soon as B.C. 377
each party saw that the other could not prevent it in any way from carrying out its policy. The Latins departed, and freed themselves from all share in what they considered a degrading peace; the Antiates, being rid of inconvenient witnesses to their salutary measures, surrendered their city and lands to the Romans. The frenzied wrath of the Latins sought relief—since they could neither do the Romans any injury in war nor retain the Volsci under arms—in burning Satricum, the town which had been their first place of refuge after their defeat. They applied the torch without discrimination both to sacred and to secular buildings, and not one escaped destruction, except the temple of Mater Matuta;[1] from this they were kept away, according to the story, neither by their own scruples, nor by their reverence for the gods, but by an awe-inspiring voice that issued from the temple and threatened dire retribution if they did not remove those impious fires to a distance from the sacred walls. Crazed and infuriated, a sudden impulse carried them to Tusculum. They were angry that the Tusculans had deserted the common council of the Latins and had yielded themselves to be not only allies but citizens of Rome. The gates were open, for their attack was unexpected, and the first shout had not died away when the town was taken, all except the citadel. To this the townsfolk fled for safety, with their wives and children, and sent off messengers to Rome to let the senate know of their predicament. With a promptness worthy of the honour of the Roman People, an army marched to Tusculum, commanded by the military tribunes Lucius Quinctius

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militum duxere. Clausas portas Tusculi Latinosque simul obsidentium atque obsessorum animo hinc moenia[1] tueri vident, illinc arcem oppugnare, terrere una ac pavere. Adventus Romanorum mutaverat utriusque partis animos: Tusculanos ex ingenti metu in summam alacritatem, Latinos ex prope certa fiducia mox capiendae arcis, quoniam oppido potirentur, in exiguam de se ipsis spem verterat. Tollitur ex arce clamor ab Tusculanis; excipit[2] aliquanto maior ab exercitu Romano. Utrimque urgentur Latini; nec impetus Tusculanorum decurrentium ex superiore loco sustinent nec Romanos subeuntes moenia molientesque obices portarum arcere possunt. Scalis prius moenia capta; inde effracta claustra portarum; et cum anceps hostis et a fronte et a tergo urgeret nec ad pugnam ulla vis nec ad fugam loci quicquam superesset, in medio caesi ad unum omnes. Reciperato ab hostibus Tusculo exercitus Romam est reductus.

XXXIV. Quanto magis prosperis eo anno bellis tranquilla omnia foris erant, tantum[3] in urbe vis patrum in dies miseriaeque plebis crescebant, cum eo ipso, quod necesse erat solvi, facultas solvendi impediretur. Itaque cum iam ex re nihil dari posset, fama et corpore iudicati atque addicti cre-

[1] moenia ς: moenia Tusculi Ω.
[2] excipit *Alschefski*: excipitur Ω.
[3] tantum *Madvig* (*cf.* v. x. 5); tanto (*wanting in O*) Ω.

and Servius Sulpicius. They found the gates of B.C. 377
Tusculum closed and the Latins at once besiegers and besieged; on the one hand they were defending the walls of the town, on the other assailing the fortress, and they experienced themselves the same terror they inspired. The arrival of the Romans produced a change in the spirits of both sides: the Tusculans were roused from the depths of despair to the greatest cheerfulness; the Latins, who had felt almost certain that since the town was theirs they would soon possess the citadel, were reduced almost to despair of their own lives. The Tusculans in the citadel gave a cheer and were answered by one much louder from the Roman army. On both sides the Latins were hard pressed: they could neither resist the charges of the townsmen, as they rushed down from above, nor drive back the Romans, who were coming up under the walls and forcing the bars of the gates. The walls were first scaled and captured; then the fastenings of the gates were burst. The Latins were caught between two enemies, who assailed them hotly in front and rear; they had no strength to fight and no room to escape, and were slain where they stood, to the very last man. Having recovered Tusculum from its enemies, the army returned to Rome.

XXXIV. But in proportion as the successful wars of that year had everywhere secured tranquillity abroad, in the City the violence of the patricians and the sufferings of the plebs were increasing from one day to another, since the very fact that payment was compulsory made it more difficult to pay. And so, now that a man could make no compensation with his property, his reputation and his person

a.u.c. 377 ditoribus satisfaciebant, poenaque in vicem fidei
3 cesserat. Adeo ergo obnoxios summiserant animos non infimi solum sed principes etiam plebis, ut non modo ad tribunatum militum inter patricios pe-
4 tendum, quod tanta vi ut liceret tetenderant, sed ne ad plebeios quidem magistratus capessendos petendosque ulli viro acri experientique animus esset, possessionemque honoris usurpati modo a plebe per paucos annos reciperasse in perpetuum patres viderentur.

5 Ne id nimis laetum parti alteri esset, parva, ut plerumque solet, rem ingentem moliundi causa intervenit. M. Fabi Ambusti, potentis viri cum inter sui corporis homines tum etiam ad plebem, quod haudquaquam inter id genus contemptor eius habebatur, filiae duae nuptae, Ser. Sulpicio maior, minor C. Licinio Stoloni erat, illustri quidem viro tamen plebeio; eaque ipsa adfinitas haud spreta
6 gratiam Fabio ad volgum quaesierat. Forte ita incidit ut in Ser. Sulpici tribuni militum domo sorores Fabiae cum inter se, ut fit, sermonibus tempus tererent, lictor Sulpici, cum is de foro se domum reciperet, forem, ut mos est, virga percuteret. Cum ad id moris eius insueta expavisset minor Fabia[1], risui sorori fuit miranti ignorare id
7 sororem; ceterum is risus stimulos parvis mobili

[1] Father of the three envoys to the Gauls whose story is told at v. xxxv.–xxxvi.

were made over and assigned to his creditor by way B.C. 377
of satisfaction, and punishment had come to take the place of payment. So abject indeed was the surrender not only of the lowest of the plebs but even of their leaders, that, far from contending with patricians for the military tribuneship—a privilege for which they had striven with such energy—there was not a man of them of sufficient force and enterprise to seek or to administer the plebeian magistracies. The patricians seemed therefore to have regained possession in perpetuity of an office which the plebeians had merely assumed for some few years.

That this state of affairs might not inspire excessive joy in the patricians, a trivial cause—as often happens—set on foot a mighty change. Marcus Fabius Ambustus[1] was very influential, not only amongst his fellows, but with the plebs as well, for the members of that class felt that he was far from looking down upon it. This man had married his two daughters, the elder to Servius Sulpicius, the younger to Gaius Licinius Stolo, a man of mark, albeit a plebeian; and the very fact that he had not rejected such an alliance had won regard for Fabius with the common people. It fell out that the sisters Fabia were together in the house of Servius Sulpicius, then a consular tribune, and were whiling away the time in talk, as women will, when a lictor of Sulpicius, who was returning from the Forum, rapped on the door, in the usual manner, with his rod. At this the younger Fabia, being unused to the custom, went white, which made the elder laugh with surprise at her sister's ignorance. But that laugh rankled in the other's mind, for a woman's feelings

A.U.C. 377 rebus animo muliebri subdidit. Frequentia quoque prosequentium rogantiumque num quid vellet credo fortunatum matrimonium ei sororis visum suique ipsam, malo arbitrio quo a proximis quisque mi-
8 nime anteiri volt, paenituisse. Confusam eam ex recenti morsu animi cum pater forte vidisset, percontatus "Satin salvae?"[1] avertentem causam doloris, quippe nec satis piam adversus sororem nec
9 admodum in virum honorificam, elicuit comiter sciscitando ut fateretur eam esse causam doloris, quod iuncta impari esset, nupta in domo quam nec
10 honos nec gratia intrare posset. Consolans inde filiam Ambustus bonum animum habere iussit: eosdem propediem domi visuram honores quos
11 apud sororem videat. Inde consilia inire cum genero coepit adhibito L. Sextio, strenuo adulescente et cuius spei nihil praeter genus patricium deesset.

A.U.C. 379–383 XXXV. Occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes nisi suis in summo imperio locatis nullum speraret: accingendum ad eam cogitatio-
2 nem esse; conando agendoque iam eo gradum fecisse plebeios unde, si porro adnitantur, pervenire ad summa et patribus aequari tam honore
3 quam virtute possent. In praesentia tribunos plebis fieri placuit, quo in magistratu sibimet ipsi viam ad
4 ceteros honores aperirent. Creatique tribuni C.

[1] Satin salvae *U*: satin salue Ω.

[1] Livy has omitted the military tribunes for A.U.C. 378 = B.C. 376.

are influenced by trifles. I suppose, too, that the crowd of people who attended the tribune and took a ceremonious leave of him made her look upon her sister's marriage as a fortunate one and regret her own, in that ill-judging spirit which makes us all so very loath to be outdone by our nearest friends. She was still suffering from the smart of wounded pride, when her father, happening to see her, asked if anything was wrong. She would fain have concealed the reason of her grief, which was too little consistent with sisterly affection and did no great honour to her husband; but he brought her by tender inquiries to confess that she was unhappy in being mated to one beneath her, having married into a house where neither dignities nor influence could enter. Ambustus then comforted his daughter and bade her be of good cheer: she would see ere long in her own home the same state she beheld at her sister's. From that moment he began to make plans with his son-in-law, taking into their counsels also Lucius Sextius, a strenuous youth, whose aspirations were thwarted only by his lack of patrician blood. B.C. 377

XXXV. An opportunity for innovation was presented by the enormous load of debt, which the plebs could have no hope of lightening but by placing their representatives in the highest offices. They therefore argued that they must gird themselves to think of this: with toil and effort the plebeians had already advanced so far that it was in their power, if they continued to exert themselves, to reach the highest ground, and to equal the patricians in honours as well as in worth. For the present it was resolved that Gaius Licinius and B.C. 375-371

A.U.C. 379-383

Licinius et L. Sextius promulgavere leges omnes adversus opes patriciorum et pro commodis plebis, unam de aere alieno, ut deducto eo de capite quod usuris pernumeratum esset, id quod superesset tri-
5 ennio aequis pensionibus [1] persolveretur; alteram de modo [2] agrorum, ne quis plus quingenta iugera agri possideret; tertiam ne tribunorum militum comitia fierent consulumque utique alter ex plebe crearetur; cuncta ingentia et quae sine certamine maximo obtineri non possent.

6 Omnium igitur simul rerum, quarum immodica cupido inter mortales est, agri pecuniae honorum, discrimine proposito, conterriti patres cum trepidassent publicis privatisque consiliis, nullo remedio alio praeter expertam multis iam ante certaminibus intercessionem invento collegas adversus tribunicias
7 rogationes comparaverunt. Qui ubi tribus ad suffragium ineundum citari a Licinio Sextioque viderunt, stipati patrum praesidiis nec recitari rogationes nec sollemne quicquam aliud ad sciscendum plebi fieri
8 passi sunt. Iamque frustra saepe concilio advocato cum pro antiquatis rogationes essent: "Bene habet" inquit Sextius; "quando quidem tantum interces-

[1] pensionibus *Cuiacius* (*cf.* VII. xxvii. 3, XXX. xxxvii. 5): pertionibus *T*: portionibus Ω.
[2] modo D^2A^2: domo Ω: dono UA^2.

[1] This law appears to have had reference only to the public lands. The reduction of excessive holdings was intended to make the land accommodate a large number of poorer tenants. In the year 357 B.C. Licinius was punished for transgressing his own law (VII. xvi. 9).

Lucius Sextius should be elected tribunes of the plebs, a magistracy in which they might open for themselves a way to the other distinctions. Once elected, they proposed only such measures as abated the influence of the patricians, while forwarding the interests of the plebs. One of these had to do with debt, providing that what had been paid as interest should be deducted from the original sum, and the remainder discharged in three annual instalments of equal size. A second set a limit on lands, prohibiting anyone from holding more than five hundred *iugera*.[1] A third did away with the election of military tribunes, and prescribed that of the consuls one, at any rate, should be chosen from the plebs. These were all matters of great moment, and it would not be possible to carry them without a tremendous struggle. B.C. 375-371

Now when all the things that men immoderately covet, lands, money, and promotion, were jeopardized at once, the patricians became thoroughly alarmed; and failing, after frightened conference in public and private gatherings, to devise any other remedy than that veto which they had already tried before in many struggles, provided themselves with friends amongst the colleagues of the tribunes, to oppose their measures. These men, seeing Licinius and Sextius summon the tribes to vote, came up in the midst of a body-guard of patricians, and refused to permit the bills to be recited or anything else to be done that was usual in passing a resolution of the plebs. And now the assembly had been summoned repeatedly without avail, and the rogations were as though they had been voted down, when Sextius cried out, "So be it! Since it is your pleasure that

A.U.C. 379–383 sionem pollere placet, isto ipso telo tutabimur
9 plebem. Agitedum, comitia indicite, patres, tribunis militum creandis; faxo ne quid iuvet[1] vox ista 'veto,' qua nunc concinentes collegas nostros
10 tam laeti auditis." Haud inritae cecidere minae: comitia praeter aedilium tribunorumque plebi nulla sunt habita. Licinius Sextiusque tribuni plebis refecti nullos curules magistratus creari passi sunt; eaque solitudo magistratuum et plebe reficiente duos tribunos et iis comitia tribunorum militum tollentibus per quinquennium urbem tenuit.

A.U.C. 384–385 XXXVI. Alia bella opportune quievere: Veliterni coloni gestientes otio, quod nullus exercitus Romanus esset, et agrum Romanum aliquotiens incursavere et
2 Tusculum oppugnare adorti sunt; eaque res Tusculanis, veteribus sociis, novis civibus, opem orantibus verecundia maxime non patres modo sed etiam ple-
3 bem movit. Remittentibus tribunis plebis comitia per interregem sunt habita, creatique tribuni militum L. Furius A. Manlius Ser. Sulpicius Ser. Cornelius P.[2] et C. Valerii. Haudquaquam tam oboedientem
4 in dilectu quam in comitiis plebem habuere; ingentique contentione exercitu scripto profecti non ab Tusculo modo summovere hostem sed intra suamet
5 ipsum moenia compulere, obsidebanturque haud paulo vi maiore Velitrae quam Tusculum obsessum

[1] ne quid iuvet *Häggström*: ne qd iubet *U*: ne (ni? *M*) iuuet (*or* iuet *or* iubet) Ω.

[2] P. *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 129): A. Ω: *omitted by U: O is wanting at this point.*

the intercession should be so powerful, we will use that very weapon for the protection of the plebs. Come now, senators, and proclaim an assembly for the choice of military tribunes; I warrant you shall have no joy of that word *veto*, which you now hear with such satisfaction from the chorus of our colleagues." His threats were no idle ones: except for the aediles and tribunes of the plebs, there was not an election held. Licinius and Sextius were chosen again, and suffered no curule magistrates to be elected; and this dearth of magistrates continued in the City for five years, while the plebs continued to re-elect the two men tribunes, and they to prevent the election of military tribunes. B.C. 375–371

XXXVI. There was fortunately a respite from other wars, but the colonists of Velitrae, growing insolent in time of peace, because they knew that the Romans had no army, not only made several incursions into Roman territory, but went so far as to lay siege to Tusculum. This circumstance affected not only the senators but even the plebeians; that the Tusculans, who had long been their friends and were now their fellow citizens, should be imploring aid filled them with shame. The tribunes of the plebs relaxing their opposition, elections were held by an interrex, which resulted in the choice of the following military tribunes: Lucius Furius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Servius Cornelius, and Publius and Gaius Valerius. They found the plebs much less submissive to the levy than they had been to the election; but by strenuous efforts they enrolled an army, and, marching out, not only drove the enemy away from Tusculum, but even shut him up within his own walls, and Velitrae was besieged with far B.C. 370–369

a.u.c. 384-385

fuerat. Nec tamen ab eis a quibus obsideri coeptae
6 erant expugnari potuere; ante novi creati sunt tribuni militum Q. Servilius C. Veturius A. et M. Cornelii Q. Quinctius M. Fabius. Nihil ne ab his quidem tribunis ad Velitras memorabile factum.
7 In maiore discrimine domi res vertebantur. Nam praeter Sextium Liciniumque latores legum, iam octavum tribunos plebis refectos, Fabius quoque tribunus militum, Stolonis socer, quarum legum auctor fuerat, earum suasorem se haud dubium ferebat; et cum octo ex collegio tribunorum plebi primo
8 intercessores legum fuissent, quinque soli erant, et, ut ferme solent qui a suis desciscunt, capti et stupentes animi vocibus alienis id modo quod domi praeceptum erat intercessioni suae praetendebant:
9 Velitris in exercitu plebis magnam partem abesse; in adventum militum comitia differri debere, ut universa plebes de suis commodis suffragium ferret.
10 Sextius Liciniusque cum parte collegarum et uno ex tribunis militum Fabio, artifices iam tot annorum usu tractandi animos plebis, primores patrum productos interrogando de singulis quae ferebantur ad popu-
11 lum, fatigabant: auderentne postulare ut, cum bina iugera agri plebi dividerentur, ipsis plus quingenta

more vigour than Tusculum had been. Yet those who had begun the siege were not able to conclude it before the election of new military tribunes. The candidates chosen were Quintus Servilius, Gaius Veturius, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Quinctius, and Marcus Fabius. Even these tribunes accomplished nothing memorable at Velitrae. B.C. 370–369

At home the situation was more dangerous. For besides Sextius and Licinius, who had proposed the laws and were now for the eighth time re-elected tribunes of the plebs, the military tribune Fabius, Stolo's father-in-law, was openly advocating the adoption of the measures he had himself suggested. And whereas there had been at first eight members of the college of plebeian tribunes who opposed the bills, there were now but five; and these, puzzled and confounded, as is apt to be the case with men who forsake their party, were no more than mouthpieces, repeating in justification of their vetoes only what they had been privately schooled to say, to wit, that a majority of the plebeians were absent at Velitrae with the army; and that the assemblies ought to be put off until the return of the soldiers, so that the entire body of the plebs might vote on matters that concerned them. Sextius and Licinius, with some of their colleagues and one of the military tribunes, Fabius, being experts now—after so many years of practice—in the art of playing on the passions of the commons, would bring the leading senators forward and ply them with questions about each of the measures they were laying before the people: Had they the hardihood to demand that, when land was being assigned to the plebs in parcels of two *iugera*, they themselves should be authorized to hold more

A.U.C. 384–385

iugera habere liceret, ut singuli prope trecentorum civium possiderent agros, plebeio homini vix ad tectum necessarium aut locum sepulturae suus pateret
12 ager? An placeret fenore circumventam plebem, potius quam sortem[1] solvat, corpus in nervum ac supplicia dare, et gregatim cottidie de foro addictos duci et repleri vinctis nobiles domus, et ubicumque patricius habitet, ibi carcerem privatum esse?

XXXVII. Haec indigna miserandaque auditu cum apud timentes sibimet ipsos maiore audientium indig-
2 natione quam sua increpuissent, atqui nec agros occupandi modum nec fenore trucidandi plebem alium patribus unquam fore, adfirmabant, nisi alterum ex plebe consulem, custodem suae libertatis, fecissent.[2]
3 Contemni iam tribunos plebis, quippe quae potestas
4 iam suam ipsa[3] vim frangat intercedendo. Non posse aequo iure agi ubi imperium penes illos, penes se auxilium tantum sit; nisi imperio communicato nunquam plebem in parte pari rei publicae fore. Nec esse quod quisquam satis putet si plebeiorum ratio comitiis consularibus habeatur; nisi alterum consulem utique ex plebe fieri necesse sit, neminem
5 fore. An iam memoria exisse, cum tribunos militum idcirco potius quam consules creari placuisset, ut et

[1] potius quam sortem *Conway*: ni potius quam sortem creditum Ω (*but U has* sorte, *and O's text is uncertain*).
[2] libertatis fecissent *Walters*: libertatis plebi fecisset (fecissent *M or M*[1]) Ω.
[3] ipsa $A^{a}\zeta$: ipsam Ω.

[1] *Imperium*, which the tribunes of the plebs did not possess.

than five hundred *iugera*? Did they desire that single patricians should possess the allotments of almost three hundred citizens; and that the plebeian should have a farm scarce large enough to contain a shelter for his necessities or a place of burial? Or was it their wish that the plebs, undone with usury, should give up their bodies to imprisonment and torture, instead of paying the principal sums they owed? Did they mean every day to drag off gangs of condemned debtors from the Forum? to fill with prisoners the houses of the nobles? to make of every patrician's dwelling a private gaol? B.C. 370–369

XXXVII. The shame and pity of these conditions awoke more indignation in their hearers, who feared for their own safety, than the speakers had themselves felt in denouncing them. And yet the patricians—as they proceeded to assert—would never check their greed for land, nor cease murdering the plebs with usury, until the commons should elect one of the two consuls from their own number, to guard their liberties. Contempt, they argued, was now become the portion of the plebeian tribunes, for they used the veto to break down their own power. There could be no question of equal rights, where the other side commanded and they themselves could do nothing but protest. Until they shared in the authority,[1] the plebs would never have an equal footing in the state. And let no one think that it would be sufficient if plebeians were accepted as candidates at the consular elections: unless it were required that at least one consul must be chosen from the commons, none ever would be. Had they already forgotten, that although the election of tribunes of the soldiers rather than

A.U.C. 384–385

plebeiis pateret summus honos, quattuor et quadraginta annis neminem ex plebe tribunum militum
6 creatum esse? Qui crederent duobus nunc[1] in locis sua voluntate impertituros plebi honorem, qui octona loca tribunis militum creandis occupare soliti sint, et ad consulatum viam fieri passuros, qui tribunatum
7 saeptum tam diu habuerint? Lege obtinendum esse quod comitiis per gratiam nequeat, et seponendum extra certamen alterum consulatum, ad quem plebi sit aditus, quoniam in certamine relictus praemium
8 semper potentioris futurus sit. Nec iam posse dici id quod antea iactare soliti sint, non esse in plebeiis idoneos viros ad curulis magistratus; numquid enim socordius aut segnius rem publicam administrari post[2] P. Licini Calvi tribunatum, qui primus ex plebe creatus sit, quam per eos annos gesta sit quibus praeter patricios nemo tribunus militum fuerit? Quin contra patricios aliquot damnatos
9 post tribunatum, neminem plebeium. Quaestores quoque, sicut tribunos militum, paucis ante annis ex plebe coeptos creari nec ullius eorum populum Ro-
10 manum paenituisse. Consulatum superesse plebeiis; eam esse arcem libertatis, id columen. Si eo perventum sit, tum populum Romanum vere exactos ex urbe reges et stabilem libertatem suam existima-

[1] nunc *Iac. Gronovius*: ne (nc *L*?) Ω.
[2] post ϛ: potest post Ω: potens post *H*: potest *D*?*LA*: posse post A^2.

[1] In 400 B.C (v. xii. 9).

consuls had been resolved upon, expressly in order that the highest honour might be open even to plebeians, yet for four and forty years no commoner had been chosen to that office? How could they suppose, that with two places only now available, the patricians would of their own volition bestow the office on the plebs, when they had habitually claimed eight places in electing military tribunes? Would those men allow the consulship to be approached, who had blocked so long the road to the tribuneship? The law must make good for them what they could not gain by favour at the elections; one of the two consulships must be set apart for the undisputed use of the plebs, for if left in dispute it would always fall a prize to the more powerful. Neither could it any longer be maintained—as the nobles had been wont to assert—that among the plebeians were none who were suitable for curule magistracies. Had the public administration been a jot more indifferent or slipshod since the tribuneship of Publius Licinius Calvus, who was the first man elected from the plebs,[1] than it had been during those years in which none but patricians had been military tribunes? Nay, on the contrary, several patricians had been impeached after holding the tribuneship, but not one plebeian. Quaestors, too, like military tribunes, had begun a few years before to be elected from the commons, nor had the Roman People regretted it in a single case. The consulship remained for the commons to achieve; this was the citadel of liberty, this its pillar. If they attained to this, then would the Roman People hold that the kings had been really driven from the City, and their freedom

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11 turum; quippe ex illa die in plebem ventura omnia quibus patricii excellant, imperium atque honorem, gloriam belli, genus, nobilitatem, magna ipsis fruenda, maiora liberis relinquenda.

12 Huius generis orationes ubi accipi videre, novam rogationem promulgant, ut pro duumviris sacris faciundis decemviri creentur ita ut pars ex plebe, pars ex patribus fiat; omniumque earum rogationum comitia in adventum eius exercitus differunt qui Velitras obsidebat.

A.U.C. 386

XXXVIII. Prius circumactus est annus quam a Velitris reducerentur legiones; ita suspensa de legibus res ad novos tribunos militum dilata; nam plebis tribunos eosdem, duos utique qui[1] legum latores 2 erant, plebes reficiebat. Tribuni militum creati T. Quinctius Ser. Cornelius Ser. Sulpicius Sp. Ser- 3 vilius L. Papirius L. Veturius. Principio statim anni ad ultimam dimicationem de legibus ventum; et cum tribus vocarentur nec intercessio collegarum latoribus obstaret, trepidi patres ad duo ultima auxilia, summum imperium summumque ad civem decurrunt. 4 Dictatorem dici placet; dicitur M. Furius Camillus, qui magistrum equitum L. Aemilium cooptat. Legum quoque latores adversus tantum apparatum adver-

[1] qui ς: quia Ω: que *A*.

[1] The nobles were those who had held—or whose ancestors had held—curule chairs. Originally nobility had been confined to the patriciate, with which, indeed—since most patrician families could point to some office-holding ancestor, —it had been practically identical. The new nobility comprised plebeians as well as patricians, and owing to the tendency of the electorate to continue the same families in office, it became almost as exclusive a body as the old patriciate.

firmly based; for the commons would thenceforward be partakers in all that made the patricians now surpass them,—authority and honour, martial renown, birth and nobility,[1]—great things for themselves to enjoy, but even greater to bequeath to their children. B.C. 372–36

Perceiving that speeches of this sort were well received, they introduced a new measure, providing that in place of two men vested with superintendence of the sacred rites, a board of ten should be elected, with a proviso that half the number should be of the plebs, and half patricians; the voting on all these bills they deferred until the return of the army which was besieging Velitrae.

XXXVIII. A year rolled round before the legions could be brought back from Velitrae; consequently the question of the laws remained in abeyance and was put off until the coming in of the new military tribunes; for as to the tribunes of the plebs, the commons chose the same men over again—the two, at any rate, who had brought in the bills. The military tribunes chosen were Titus Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, Servius Sulpicius, Spurius Servilius, Lucius Papirius, and Lucius Veturius. At the very outset of the year came a final struggle over the laws; and when the tribes were summoned to vote, and the proposers of the measures would not yield to the vetoes of their colleagues, the frightened patricians were put to their two last shifts—the greatest office, and the greatest of the citizens. They voted to name a dictator, and appointed Marcus Furius Camillus, who chose Lucius Aemilius for his master of the horse. To meet these formidable preparations of their adversaries, the proposers B.C. 368

A.U.C 386 sariorum et ipsi causam plebis ingentibus animis armant concilioque plebis indicto tribus ad suffragium vocant.

5 Cum dictator, stipatus agmine patriciorum, plenus irae minarumque consedisset atque ageretur res solito primum certamine inter se tribunorum plebi ferentium legem intercedentiumque et, quanto iure potentior intercessio erat, tantum vinceretur favore legum ipsarum latorumque et "uti rogas" primae 6 tribus dicerent, tum Camillus "Quando quidem" inquit, "Quirites, iam vos tribunicia libido, non potestas regit, et intercessionem secessione quondam plebis partam vobis eadem vi facitis inritam qua peperistis, non rei publicae magis universae quam vestra causa dictator intercessioni adero eversumque 7 vestrum auxilium imperio tutabor. Itaque si C. Licinius et L. Sextius intercessioni collegarum cedunt, nihil patricium magistratum inseram concilio plebis; si adversus intercessionem tamquam captae civitati leges imponere tendent, vim tribuniciam a se ipsa dissolvi non patiar."

8 Adversus ea cum contemptim tribuni plebis rem nihilo segnius peragerent, tum percitus ira Camillus lictores qui de medio plebem emoverent misit et addidit minas, si pergerent, sacramento omnes

of the laws on their side armed the commons with tremendous enthusiasm for the cause, and proclaiming a council of the plebs, called up the tribes to vote. B.C. 368

Attended by a body of patricians, and breathing wrath and menaces, the dictator took his seat, and the affair began with the usual skirmish between the tribunes of the plebs, some of whom urged the passing of the law while others interposed their vetoes. But powerful as the veto was on the legal side, it was being overcome by the popularity of the bills themselves and their proposers, and the tribes which had been summoned first were voting "Ay," when Camillus addressed the people. "Quirites," he said, "since you are now swayed not by the authority of the tribunes but by their lawlessness, and are bringing to naught the right of protest—obtained through the secession of the plebs—with the same violence with which you won it; for your own sake no less than for the sake of the whole republic, I shall, as dictator, sustain the veto, and safeguard with my absolute authority your defence which you are overthrowing. If then Gaius Licinius and Lucius Sextius yield to the protest of their colleagues, I will in no way intrude a patrician magistracy upon a council of the plebs; but if, in defiance of the protest, they try to impose their terms, as though upon a conquered state, I will not permit the tribunician power to work its own undoing."

This warning the tribunes treated with contempt, and were proceeding with unabated energy to carry out their plans, when Camillus, in high dudgeon, sent his lictors to turn the commons out; and threatened, that if they continued in their course, he would

A.U.C. 386 iuniores adacturum exercitumque extemplo ex urbe
9 educturum. Terrorem ingentem incusserat plebi: ducibus plebis accendit magis certamine animos quam minuit. Sed re neutro inclinata magistratu se abdicavit, seu quia vitio creatus erat, ut scripsere quidam, seu quia tribuni plebis tulerunt ad plebem idque plebs scivit, ut, si M. Furius pro dictatore
10 quid egisset, quingentum milium ei multa esset; sed auspiciis magis quam novi exempli rogatione deterritum ut potius credam, cum ipsius viri facit ingenium, tum quod ei suffectus est extemplo P. Manlius dictator—quem quid creari attinebat ad id certamen quo
11 M. Furius victus esset?—et quod eundem M. Furium dictatorem insequens annus habuit, haud sine pudore certe fractum priore anno in se imperium repeti-
12 turum; simul quod eo tempore quo promulgatum de multa eius traditur aut et huic rogationi, qua se in ordinem cogi videbat, obsistere potuit, aut ne illas
13 quidem propter quas et haec lata erat impedire; et quod quicquid[1] usque ad memoriam nostram tribuniciis consularibusque certatum viribus est, dictaturae semper altius fastigium fuit.

XXXIX. Inter priorem dictaturam abdicatam novamque a Manlio initam ab tribunis velut per inter-

[1] quod quicquid *Rossbach* (*Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1920, *col.* 704): quod Ω.

administer the oath to all of military age, and forth- B.C. 368
with lead the army out of the City.

The plebs were greatly dismayed; but the courage of their leaders was rather kindled than damped by his vehemence. Yet before the matter had been decided either way, Camillus resigned his office, whether because there had been a flaw in his election —as certain writers have held—or because the tribunes proposed to the plebs and the plebs decreed, that if Marcus Furius should take any action in the capacity of dictator, he should be fined five hundred thousand asses. But that the auspices, and not a law without a precedent, were responsible for his withdrawal, the very nature of the man inclines me to believe; also the fact that Publius Manlius was at once made dictator in his place—for what good would his appointment do, in a struggle in which Marcus Furius had been beaten? Besides, Marcus Furius himself was dictator again in the following year, and he would surely have been ashamed to resume an authority which had broken down in his own hands the year before. Moreover at the time when the proposal to fine him is said to have been made, either he had the power to resist this order —which deprived him, as he could see, of all authority,—or else he lacked the power to obstruct even those measures in defence of which this order had been proposed. Finally, whatever conflicts have occurred between tribunes and consuls, down to the times we can ourselves remember, the dictatorship has always towered above them.

XXXIX. In the interval between the abdication of the earlier dictator and the entrance upon his office of the new one, Manlius, the tribunes—as

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regnum concilio plebis habito apparuit quae ex promulgatis plebi, quae latoribus gratiora essent. 2 Nam de fenore atque agro rogationes iubebant, de plebeio consule antiquabant; et perfecta utraque res esset, ni tribuni se in omnia simul consulere 3 plebem dixissent. P. Manlius deinde dictator rem in causam plebis inclinavit C. Licinio, qui tribunus militum fuerat, magistro equitum de plebe dicto. 4 Id aegre patres passos accipio; dictatorem propinqua cognatione Licini se apud patres excusare solitum, simul negantem magistri equitum maius quam tribuni consularis imperium esse.

5 Licinius Sextiusque, cum tribunorum plebi creandorum indicta comitia essent, ita se gerere ut negando iam sibi velle continuari honorem acerrime accenderent ad id quod dissimulando petebant ple- 6 bem: nonum se annum iam velut in acie [1] adversus optimates maximo privatim periculo, nullo publice emolumento stare. Consenuisse iam secum et rogationes promulgatas et vim omnem tribuniciae potesta- 7 tis. Primo intercessione collegarum in leges suas pugnatum esse, deinde ablegatione iuventutis ad Veliternum bellum, postremo dictatorium fulmen in

[1] in acie *UD*[3] *Gronovius* (1665): in aciem Ω.

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[1] *i. e.* the consular tribunes counted for nothing, and the tribunes of the plebs could proceed without let or hindrance.

[2] Not the tribune of the plebs, but possibly his father. Livy perhaps included him among the consular tribunes for 378 B.C. (*cf.* chap. xxxi. § 1; where the text is uncertain) or should have included him among those for the year 376 B.C., but has omitted the entire list (chap. xxxiv). *Diod.* xv. 57, gives Gaius Licinius as one of four consular tribunes for the year 378 B.C.

though there were an interregnum[1]—held a council B.C. 368
of the plebs, and it became evident which of the measures proposed were more acceptable to the plebeians, and which to their introducers. For the tribes were on the point of passing the bills relating to interest and land, and of rejecting the one about the plebeian consul, and both policies would have been finally disposed of, if the tribunes had not said that they were putting all these questions to the plebs collectively. Then Publius Manlius, becoming dictator, gave the affair a turn in favour of the plebs by naming Gaius Licinius,[2] who had been military tribune and was a commoner, his master of the horse. I find that the patricians took offence at this, but that the dictator was wont to excuse himself to them by alleging his close relationship to Licinius, and asserting that a master of the horse possessed no greater authority than a consular tribune.

Licinius and Sextius, when an assembly had been proclaimed for the election of plebeian tribunes, so bore themselves that while professing an unwillingness to be re-elected, they furnished the plebs with the strongest incentives to give them what they pretended not to covet. They said it was now nine years that they had stood embattled, as it were, against the optimates, with the greatest danger to themselves and no advantage to the public. The measures they had proposed and the whole power of the tribunate had, like themselves, grown old and useless. First the intercession of their colleagues had been employed to attack their laws; then the young men had been banished to the seat of war at Velitrae; finally they had themselves been menaced

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8 se intentatum. Iam nec collegas nec bellum nec dictatorem obstare, quippe qui etiam omen plebeio consuli magistro[1] equitum ex plebe dicendo dederit: 9 se ipsam plebem et commoda morari sua. Liberam urbem ac forum a creditoribus, liberos agros ab iniustis possessoribus extemplo, si velit, habere posse. 10 Quae munera quando tandem satis grato animo aestimaturos, si inter accipiendas de suis commodis rogationes spem honoris latoribus earum incidant? Non esse modestiae populi Romani id postulare ut ipse fenore levetur et in agrum iniuria possessum a potentibus inducatur, per quos ea consecutus sit senes tribunicios non sine honore tantum sed etiam 11 sine spe honoris relinquat. Proinde ipsi primum statuerent apud animos quid vellent deinde comitiis tribuniciis declararent voluntatem. Si coniuncte[2] ferre ab se promulgatas rogationes vellent, esse quod eosdem reficerent tribunos plebis; perlaturos 12 enim quae promulgaverint; sin quod cuique privatim opus sit id modo accipi velint, opus esse nihil invidiosa continuatione honoris; nec se tribunatum nec illos ea quae promulgata sint habituros.

XL. Adversus tam obstinatam orationem tribunorum cum prae indignitate rerum stupor silentiumque

[1] magistro Ω: magistrum *U Häggström*.
[2] coniuncte (*or* -tae) Ω: coniuxte *HTDLA*: coniunctim ς *Drakenborch*.

with the thunderbolt of the dictatorship. At present B.C. 368
they were thwarted neither by their colleagues, nor by war, nor even by the dictator, for he had actually given them a presage of plebeian consuls by appointing a plebeian master of the horse: no, it was the plebs themselves who stood in the way of their own advancement. A City and a Forum rid of creditors, and lands delivered from unlawful occupation, were things they might enjoy at once, if they would. When, pray, did they expect to weigh these blessings and be duly grateful, if at the very moment of entertaining measures for their own advantage they cut off all hope of office from the men who introduced them? It was not like the reasonableness of the Roman People to ask to be relieved themselves of usury and settled on lands which the nobles had unjustly held, while leaving the men to whom they owed these advantages to grow old as tribunicians—not only without honours, but even without the hope of them. So let them first make up their minds what it was they wished; and then declare their wishes at the election of the tribunes. If they desired to enact together the measures which the tribunes had brought forward, there was some reason for re-electing them; for they would carry through what they had advocated; but if every man cared only for the adoption of such clauses as concerned him personally, there was no use in an invidious prolongation of their term; they would do without the tribuneship, and the people would do without the proposed reforms.

XL. On hearing the tribunes make this stubborn speech, though the other senators were dazed and dumbfounded by such outrageous arguments, they

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2 inde ceteros patrum defixisset, Ap. Claudius Crassus, nepos decemviri, dicitur odio magis iraque quam spe ad dissuadendum processisse et locutus in hanc fere
3 sententiam esse: "Neque novum neque inopinatum mihi sit, Quirites, si, quod unum familiae nostrae semper obiectum est ab seditiosis tribunis, id nunc ego quoque audiam, Claudiae gentis[1] iam inde ab initio nihil antiquius in re publica patrum maiestate fuisse, semper plebis commodis adversatos esse.
4 Quorum alterum neque nego neque infitias eo, nos, ex quo adsciti sumus simul in civitatem et patres, enixe operam dedisse ut per nos aucta potius quam imminuta maiestas earum gentium inter quas nos esse
5 voluistis dici vere posset: illud alterum pro me maioribusque meis contendere ausim, Quirites, nisi quae pro universa re publica fiant ea plebi tamquam aliam incolenti urbem adversa quis putet, nihil nos neque privatos neque in magistratibus quod incommodum plebi esset scientes fecisse nec ullum factum dictumve nostrum contra utilitatem vestram, etsi quaedam
6 contra voluntatem fuerint, vere referri posse. An hoc, si Claudiae familiae non sim nec ex patricio sanguine ortus sed unus Quiritium quilibet, qui modo me duobus ingenuis ortum et vivere in libera civitate
7 sciam, reticere possim, L. illum Sextium et C. Licinium, perpetuos, si dis placet, tribunos, tantum licen-

[1] Claudiae gentis Ω (*cf. Walters and Conway ad loc.*): claudiae genti ς.

[1] See II. xvi. 4–5.

say that Appius Claudius Crassus, the decemvir's B.C. 368
grandson, moved more by hate and resentment than by hope, came forward to oppose them, and spoke to the following purpose: "It would be no strange or surprising thing to me, Quirites, if on this occasion I, too, should be taunted with the one reproach that rebellious tribunes have ever directed at our family, to wit, that the Claudian gens from its very origin has regarded no feature of our public life as more important than the majesty of the senate and has always opposed the interests of the plebs. The former of these charges I neither deny nor seek to refute—namely, that we have striven with all our might, from the day we were first called to be citizens and senators,[1] that, so far as in us lay, the dignity of those families with which you proposed to rank us might truthfully be said to have rather gained than lost; as to the other charge, I would venture to maintain, Quirites, speaking for myself and for my forefathers, that unless one should assume that what is done for the good of the whole nation is opposed to the welfare of the plebs,—as though they inhabited another city,—we have never wittingly done anything, whether as private citizens or magistrates, disadvantageous to the plebs; and that no word or act of ours can be truthfully alleged as being against your interests, though some there may have been which ran counter to your wishes. But were I not a Claudius, nor sprung from a patrician line, but were merely any one of the Quirites, assuming only that I knew my parents had both been born to freedom and that I lived in a free state, could I pass this by in silence? Are Lucius Sextius yonder and Gaius Licinius, our perpetual tribunes—

A.U.C. 386 tiae novem annis quibus regnant sumpsisse ut vobis negent potestatem liberam suffragii non in comitiis, non in legibus iubendis, se permissuros esse?

8 " ' Sub condicione ' inquit, ' nos reficietis decimum tribunos.' Quid est aliud dicere ' quod petunt alii nos adeo fastidimus ut sine mercede magna non
9 accipiamus '? Sed quae tandem ista merces est qua vos semper tribunos plebis habeamus? ' Ut rogationes ' inquit ' nostras, seu placent seu displicent seu utiles seu inutiles sunt, omnes coniunctim acci-
10 piatis.' Obsecro vos, Tarquinii tribuni plebis, putate me ex media contione unum civem succlamare, ' bona venia vestra liceat ex his rogationibus legere quas
11 salubres nobis censemus esse, antiquare alias.' ' Non ' inquit ' licebit tu [1] de fenore atque agris quod ad vos omnes pertinet iubeas, et hoc portenti non fiat in urbe Romana uti L. Sextium atque hunc C. Licinium consules, quod indignaris, quod abominaris, videas;
12 aut omnia accipe, aut nihil fero '; ut si quis ei quem urgeat fames venenum ponat cum cibo et aut abstinere eo quod vitale sit iubeat aut mortiferum vitali admisceat. Ergo si esset libera haec civitas, non tibi frequentes succlamassent, ' abi hinc cum tribunatibus ac rogationibus tuis! ' Quid? Si tu non tuleris quod commodum est populo accipere, nemo
13 erit eqi ferat? Illud si quis patricius, si quis—quod illi volunt invidiosius esse—Claudius diceret, ' aut

[1] licebit tu (tum *O*) Ω: licebit ut *Madvig*: licebit. Tu *H. J. Mueller, Luterbacher*: licebit. Tu—— videas? *Alschefski*: licebit ut et tu *Conway*.

[1] *i.e.*, tribunes as tyrannical as the Tarquin kings.

save the mark!—grown so presumptuous in the nine years of their reign, as to threaten that they will leave you free to exercise your right of suffrage neither in elections nor in enacting laws? B.C. 368

"'On a certain condition,' says one of them, 'you shall elect us tribunes for the tenth time'; as though he were to say, 'What others sue for we are so surfeited withal that we will not accept it without a great reward.' But what in short is that reward by the grant of which we may always have you for tribunes of the plebs? 'That you adopt,' says he, 'all our rogations in a lump, whether you like them or detest them,—be they good or bad.' I beseech you, Tarquin tribunes of the plebs,[1] imagine me a simple citizen calling out from the midst of the assembly, 'By your good leave, suffer us to choose from these proposals those we regard as wholesome for us, and to reject the rest.' 'No,' he answers, 'you shall not have leave to enact the measures that concern you all, touching interest and lands, unless you will put up with the monstrous sight in Rome of Lucius Sextius and Gaius Licinius here as consuls—an idea you loathe and abominate;—accept everything, or I offer nothing.' As though a man were starving, and one should serve poison to him with his food, and command him either to abstain from what would give him life, or mix the deadly with the life-giving. Well then! If this state were free, would not the people have cried out to you in full assembly, 'Begone, with your tribuneships and your rogations!' Come! If you will not propose what is profitable to the people to accept, shall there be none to do it? Suppose that some patrician, or—what those fellows would make out to be still more hateful—some

A U.C. 386 omnia accipite, aut nihil fero,' quis vestrum, Quirites,
14 ferret? Numquamne vos res potius quam auctores spectabitis sed omnia semper quae magistratus ille dicet secundis auribus, quae ab nostrum quo dicentur adversis accipietis?

15 "At hercule sermo est minime civilis. Quid? Rogatio qualis est, quam a vobis antiquatam indignantur? Sermoni, Quirites, simillima. 'Consules'
16 inquit, 'rogo ne vobis quos velitis facere liceat.' An aliter rogat qui utique alterum ex plebe fieri consulem iubet nec duos patricios creandi potestatem
17 vobis permittit? Si hodie bella sint, quale Etruscum fuit cum Porsinna[1] Ianiculum insedit, quale Gallicum modo, cum praeter Capitolium atque arcem omnia haec hostium erant, et consulatum cum hoc M. Furio et quolibet alio ex patribus L. ille Sextius peteret, possetisne ferre Sextium haud pro dubio
18 consule[2] esse, Camillum de repulsa dimicare? Ho cine est in commune honores vocare, ut duos plebeios fieri consules liceat, duos patricios non liceat? Et alterum ex plebe creari necesse sit, utrumque ex patribus praeterire liceat? Quaenam ista societas, quaenam consortio est? Parum est, si, cuius pars tua nulla adhuc fuit, in partem eius venis, nisi
19 partem petendo totum traxeris? 'Timeo' inquit, 'ne, si duos licebit creari patricios, neminem creetis

[1] *The form* Porsinna *is used throughout this edition, though* Ω *here read* Porsenna (persona *B*). *Cf. Conway and Walters on* II. ix. 1.

[2] consule *Madvig*: consulem Ω.

Claudius, should say, 'Either take all or I will propose nothing,' which of you, Quirites, would endure it? Will you never choose rather to look at facts than at advocates, but always lend ready ears to the utterances of that noble magistrate, and refuse to hear what is said by any of us? B.C. 368

"His *language*, you will admit, is far from appropriate in a free state; well, what of his *rogation*, which they resent your refusal to accept? Quirites, it is all of a piece with his words. 'I propose,' he says, 'that it shall not be permitted you to choose such consuls as you will.' For can aught else be his meaning, when he commands that in any case one consul be chosen from the plebs, and deprives you of the power to name two patricians? If wars should arise in these days, like the Etruscan war, when Porsinna held Janiculum, or like the Gallic war a little while ago, when all this City—except the Capitol and the Citadel—was in the hands of your enemies; and if Lucius Sextius were standing for the consulship, along with Marcus Furius here, and any other patrician whomsoever; could you endure that Lucius Sextius should be certain of election, while Camillus had to risk defeat? Is it thus they would equalize the opportunities of office? Would they authorize the election of two plebeian consuls, and forbid the choice of two patricians? Must we perforce take one plebeian, while for both places we may pass the patricians by? What sort of fellowship, of partnership, is this? Are you not satisfied to get a part of that in which you had no part before, unless in reaching for the part you can seize the whole? 'I fear' he replies, 'lest if it be permitted to choose two patricians, you may

A.U.C. 386 plebeium.' Quid est dicere aliud 'quia indignos vestra voluntate creaturi non estis, necessitatem 20 vobis creandi quos non voltis, imponam'? Quid sequitur, nisi ut ne beneficium quidem debeat populo, si cum duobus patriciis unus petierit plebeius et lege se, non suffragio, creatum dicat?

XLI. "Quomodo extorqueant, non quomodo petant honores, quaerunt; et ita maxima sunt adepturi, ut nihil ne pro minimis quidem debeant; et occasionibus potius quam virtute petere honores 2 malunt. Est aliquis, qui se inspici, aestimari fastidiat, qui certos sibi uni honores inter dimicantes competitores aequum censeat esse, qui se arbitrio vestro eximat, qui vestra necessaria suffragia pro 3 voluntariis et serva pro liberis faciat. Omitto Licinium Sextiumque, quorum annos in perpetua potestate tamquam regum in Capitolio numeratis: quis est hodie in civitate tam humilis cui non via ad consulatum facilior per istius legis occasionem quam nobis ac liberis nostris fiat? Si quidem nos ne cum volueritis quidem creare interdum poteritis, istos etiam si nolueritis necesse sit.

4 "De indignitate satis dictum est. At enim[1] dignitas ad homines pertinet. Quid de religionibus atque auspiciis, quae propria deorum immortalium contemptio atque iniuria est, loquar? Auspiciis hanc urbem conditam esse, auspiciis bello ac pace

[1] at enim *Madvig*: etenim Ω.

[1] Statues of the kings were set up on the Capitol, and on their bases were recorded the years they had reigned. But this had not yet been done in 368 B.C.

choose no one from the plebs.' His meaning is: B.C. 368
'Since of your own accord you will never choose unworthy men, I will make it obligatory on you to elect those whom you do not wish.' What follows? Why, a man would not owe the people so much as thanks, if he were the sole plebeian candidate along with two patricians: he would say that he had been elected not by your suffrages, but by the statute.

XLI. "They would force us, not invite us, to grant them office; and thus they mean to win the very highest honours without incurring even such obligations as would be imposed by the least important. They would make their canvass not on worth but on opportunity. There is many a man who resents being investigated and appraised, who thinks it right that he alone should be certain of success, while his competitors are struggling for office; who would withdraw himself from your judgment; who would have you vote for him from compulsion, not from choice—not as freemen, but as slaves. I say nothing of Licinius and Sextius, whose years of continuous power you reckon like those of the kings on the Capitol:[1] who is there in the state to-day so lowly that the opportunities afforded by that law would not make access to the consulship easier for him than for us and for our children? To elect us will sometimes be beyond your power, even though you wish it; but those persons you would be compelled to elect, even against your inclinations.

"Of the indignity of the thing I have said enough. But dignity after all is concerned with men: what of religious observances and auspices—for the immortal gods are involved in insult and disrespect to these? That this City was founded under auspices;

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domi militiaeque omnia geri, quis est qui ignoret? 5 Penes quos igitur sunt auspicia more maiorum? Nempe penes patres; nam plebeius quidem magis- 6 tratus nullus auspicato creatur; nobis adeo propria sunt auspicia ut non solum quos populus creat patricios magistratus non aliter quam auspicato creet, sed nos quoque ipsi sine suffragio populi auspicato interregem prodamus et privatim [1] auspicia habeamus, quae isti ne in magistratibus quidem 7 habent. Quid igitur aliud quam tollit ex civitate auspicia qui plebeios consules creando a patribus, 8 qui soli ea habere possunt, aufert? Eludant nunc licet religiones, 'quid enim esse, si pulli non pascantur,[2] si ex cavea tardius exierint, si occecinerit [3] avis?' Parva sunt haec; sed parva ista non contemnendo maiores vestri maximam hanc rem fece- 9 runt; nunc nos, tamquam iam nihil pace deorum opus sit, omnes caerimonias polluimus. Volgo ergo pontifices augures sacrificuli reges creentur; cuilibet apicem Dialem, dummodo homo sit, imponamus tradamus ancilia, penetralia, deos deorumque curam

[1] privatim Ω: privati *Crévier*.
[2] esse—pascantur *Madvig*: est—pascentur Ω.
[3] si occecinerit *PFBTL*: si occinerit *U*: si occecinerint *H*: si hoc cecinerit *DA*: hoc cecinerit *O*: *omitted by M* (*which has* exierit auis).

[1] The speaker alludes to two kinds of omens: (1) the general took with him to the field a coop of chickens, and if these, on being offered corn, came out and devoured it with avidity, the presage was favourable; this kind of divination was called *ex tripudiis*, from the way the corns danced upon the ground as they fell from the beaks of the greedy fowls; (2) the flight of certain birds was observed and any noise—such as the cry of a bird—was held to vitiate the auspice.

that all measures, warlike and peaceful, at home and B.C. 368
in the field, are carried out with auspices, who does not know? Who then control the auspices, by the tradition of our fathers? The patricians, to be sure; for no plebeian magistrate is elected under auspices; the auspices belong so exclusively to us, that not only are the patrician magistrates whom the people elect no otherwise elected than with auspices, but we ourselves even—without the people's suffrage—take auspices and nominate an interrex; and have, as private citizens, the right of taking them, which you plebeians have not even in your magistracies. He therefore deprives the state outright of auspices, who by electing plebeian consuls deprives the patricians of them—for they alone can take them. They may jeer now, if they like, at religious scruples. 'After all,' they will say, 'what difference does it make if the sacred chickens [1] will not feed; if they are slow to come out from the coop; if a bird utters an ill-omened cry?' These are trivial things; but because they did not scorn these trivial things, your fathers were able to build this great republic; and now we, as though we had no further use for Heaven's favour, are polluting all the ceremonies. Let pontiffs then, augurs, and kings of the sacrifices, be chosen from the vulgar herd; let us set the mitre of the Flamen Dialis on anybody's head, so he but be a man; let us make over the sacred shields, the inner shrine,[2] the gods and the service of the gods, to those whom we may not without sin intrust with them; let laws be proposed and magistrates elected

[1] In the Atrium of Vesta, where among other relics was preserved the Palladium.

U.C. 386 10 quibus nefas est; non leges auspicato ferantur, non magistratus creentur, nec centuriatis nec curiatis comitiis patres auctores fiant; Sextius et Licinius tamquam Romulus ac Tatius in urbe Romana regnent, quia pecunias alienas, quia agros dono dant.
11 Tanta dulcedo est ex alienis fortunis praedandi, nec in mentem venit altera lege solitudines vastas in agris fieri pellendo finibus dominos, altera fidem abrogari cum qua omnis humana societas tollitur?
12 Omnium rerum causa vobis antiquandas censeo istas rogationes. Quod faxitis deos velim fortunare.[1]"

A.U.C. 387 XLII. Oratio Appi ad id modo valuit ut tempus
2 rogationum iubendarum proferretur. Refecti decumum iidem [2] tribuni, Sextius et Licinius, de decemviris sacrorum ex parte de plebe creandis legem pertulere. Creat quinque patrum, quinque plebis; graduque eo iam via facta ad consulatum videbatur.
3 Hac victoria contenta plebes cessit patribus ut in praesentia consulum mentione omissa tribuni militum crearentur. Creati A. et M. Cornelii iterum M. Geganius P. Manlius L. Veturius P. Valerius sextum.
4 Cum praeter Velitrarum obsidionem, tardi magis rem exitus quam dubii, quietae externae res Romanis essent, fama repens belli Gallici allata perpulit civitatem ut M. Furius dictator quintum diceretur. Is T. Quinctium Poenum magistrum equitum dixit.

[1] velim fortunare ς: uel infortunare Ω: velinfortunare *PFT*.
[2] iidem ς: idem Ω: id est *P*.

[1] See chap. xxxvii. § 12.

without the approval of the auspices; neither to centuriate nor curiate comitia let the fathers give their sanction; let Sextius and Licinius bear sway in Rome, like Romulus and Tatius—because they give away the moneys and the lands of others. Is it so sweet to plunder others of their fortunes? Does it not occur to them that one of their laws will make vast deserts in the country-side, by driving the landlords out from their demesnes, while the other will wipe out credit, and with it all human intercourse? Upon every account I urge you to reject these bills; and may Heaven prosper what you do!" B.C. 368

XLII. The speech of Appius availed no further than to put off the passing of the measures. Returned for the tenth time to office, the tribunes Sextius and Licinius obtained the enactment of a law requiring that half the board of ten who had charge of sacred rites should be plebeians.[1] Having elected five patricians and five plebeians, the people felt that they had set a precedent for the consulship. Satisfied with their victory, the plebs gave way to the patricians, and relinquishing for the moment discussion about the consuls, permitted the election of military tribunes. Those chosen were Aulus and Marcus Cornelius (for their second terms), Marcus Geganius, Publius Manlius, Lucius Veturius, and (for the sixth time) Publius Valerius. B.C. 367

Rome's foreign relations were now peaceful everywhere except for the siege of Velitrae—the result of which, though delayed, was scarce in doubt—when a sudden rumour of a Gallic war drove the state to appoint Marcus Furius to his fifth dictatorship. He nominated Titus Quinctius Poenus to be

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5 Bellatum cum Gallis eo anno circa Anienem flumen auctor est Claudius inclitamque in ponte pugnam, qua T. Manlius Gallum, cum quo provocatus manus conseruit, in conspectu duorum exercituum caesum
6 torque spoliavit, tum pugnatam.[1] Pluribus auctoribus magis adducor ut credam decem haud minus post annos ea acta, hoc autem anno in Albano agro
7 cum Gallis dictatore M. Furio signa conlata. Nec dubia nec difficilis Romanis, quamquam ingentem Galli terrorem memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit. Multa milia barbarorum in acie, multa
8 captis castris caesa; palati alii Apuliam maxime petentes cum fuga se longinqua, tum quod passim eos simul pavor errorque[2] distulerant, ab hoste[3] tutati sunt. Dictatori consensu patrum plebisque triumphus decretus.
9 Vixdum perfunctum eum bello atrocior domi seditio excepit, et per ingentia certamina dictator senatusque victus, ut rogationes tribuniciae acciperentur; et comitia consulum adversa nobilitate habita, quibus L. Sextius de plebe primus consul
10 factus. Et ne is[4] quidem finis certaminum fuit. Quia patricii se auctores futuros negabant, prope

[1] pugnatam ς: pugnatum Ω.
[2] errorque *Haraut*: terrorque Ω.
[3] ab hoste *Crévier*: ab hoste sese Ω.
[4] ne is ς: in his (*or* hiis *or* is) Ω.

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[1] Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius, the annalist, *cf.* Vol. I., introd., p. xxx, and note 2.

[2] Livy himself narrates the episode as having occurred *six* years later cf. Book VII. chapters ix–x. (361 B.C.).

master of the horse. Claudius[1] relates that the battle with the Gauls took place that year near the river Anio; and that this was the occasion of the famous duel on the bridge in which Titus Manlius slew a Gaul who had challenged him to combat, and despoiled him of his chain, while the two armies looked on. But I am more inclined to believe, with the majority of our authorities, that this exploit took place no less than ten years later,[2] and that in the year of which I am now writing, the dictator, Marcus Furius, fought a battle against the Gauls on Alban soil. Notwithstanding the great terror occasioned by the invasion of the Gauls and the recollection of their old defeat, the Romans gained a victory that was neither difficult nor uncertain. Many thousands of barbarians fell in battle, and many after the camp was taken. The others roamed about, making mostly towards Apulia, and owed their escape from the Romans to their distant flight and the dispersion which resulted from their panic and their straggling. The dictator was awarded a triumph with the consent of both senate and plebs. B.C. 367

Hardly had Camillus brought the war to an end, when he was confronted with a fiercer opposition in the City. After desperate struggles the senate and the dictator were beaten, and the measures advocated by the tribunes were adopted. An election of consuls was held, against the wishes of the nobles, and resulted in the choice of Lucius Sextius, the first of the plebeians to attain that honour. Even this did not end their disputes. The patricians declared that they would not ratify the election, and the affair had almost led to a

A.U.C. 387 secessionem plebis res terribilesque alias minas
11 civilium certaminum venit, cum tandem[1] per dictatorem condicionibus sedatae discordiae sunt, concessumque ab nobilitate plebi de consule plebeio, a plebe nobilitati de praetore uno, qui ius in urbe
12 diceret, ex patribus creando. Ita ab diutina ira tandem in concordiam redactis ordinibus, cum dignam eam rem senatus censeret esse meritoque id, si quando unquam alias, deum immortalium fore[2] ut ludi maximi fierent et dies unus ad triduum adice-
13 retur, recusantibus id munus aedilibus plebis, conclamatum a patriciis est iuvenibus se id honoris
14 deum immortalium causa libenter facturos.[3] Quibus cum ab universis gratiae actae essent, factum senatus consultum ut duumviros aediles ex patribus dictator populum rogaret, patres auctores omnibus eius anni comitiis fierent.

[1] tandem *Perizonius*: tamen Ω: tum tamen ς *Gruter*.
[2] fore *Madvig*: causa libenter facturos fore Ω.
[3] facturos *Alschefski*: acturos Ω (*and after that the words* ut aediles fierent, *which Conway brackets* (*Class. Quart.* XII. (1918) *p.* 5).

secession of the plebs and threatened other terrible embroilments, when the dictator finally proposed a compromise which allayed the discord; the nobles gave way to the plebs in regard to the plebeian consul, and the plebs conceded to the nobles that they might elect from the patricians one praetor to administer justice in the City.[1] Thus after their long quarrel the orders were reconciled at last. The senate decided that this was a fitting occasion to honour the immortal gods—who deserved it then, if ever at any time—by celebrating the Great Games, and voted that one day should be added to the customary three; this burden the aediles of the plebs refused to shoulder, whereupon the young patricians called out that they would willingly do it for the sake of honouring the gods. The entire people united in thanks to them, and the senate decreed that the dictator should hold a popular election of two aediles[2] to be chosen from the patricians, and that the Fathers should ratify all the elections of that year. B.C. 367

[1] This step was made necessary by the growth of the City and the increasing burden laid upon the consuls; but, as Livy intimates, it also served as partial compensation to the patricians for the privileges they were now forced to share with the plebs—until, in 337 B.C. (*cf.* VIII. XV. 9), the praetorship, too, was thrown open to the plebs.

[2] Later known as *aediles curules*. The provision that only patricians might be chosen was modified in the following year (*cf.* VII. I.).

LIBRI VI PERIOCHA

Res adversus Vulscos et Aequos et Praenestinos prospere gestas continet. Quattuor tribus adiectae sunt, Stellatina Tromentina[1] Sabatina Arniensis. M. Manlius, qui Capitolium a Gallis defenderat, cum obstrictos aere alieno liberaret, nexos exsolveret, crimine adfectati regni damnatus de saxo deiectus est; in cuius notam S.C. factum est, ne cui de Manlia gente Marco nomen[2] esset. C. Licinius et L. Sextius tribuni pl. legem promulgaverunt ut consules ex plebe fierent, qui ex patribus creabantur, eamque cum magna contentione repugnantibus patribus, cum idem tribuni pl. per quinquennium soli magistratus fuissent, pertulerunt; et primus ex plebe consul L. Sextius creatus est. Lata est et altera lex, ne cui plus quingentis iugeribus agri liceret possidere.

[1] Tromentina *edd.*: promentina *MSS.*
[2] Marco nomen *Sigonius*: manli cognomen *or* manlia cogn. *or* marco cogn. *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK VI

THE book contains the victorious campaigns against the Volsci, the Aequi, and the Praenestini. Four tribes were added, the Stellatina, the Tromentina, the Sabatina, and the Arniensis. Marcus Manlius, who had defended the Capitol against the Gauls, after liberating the debtors and releasing those whose persons had been seized, was found guilty of aiming at sovereignty, and was flung from the Rock; to stigmatize him the senate decreed that none of the Manlian family should bear the name of Marcus.[1] Gaius Licinius and Lucius Sextius, tribunes of the plebs, proposed a law that the consuls, who were formerly chosen from the patricians, might be elected from the plebs, and in a strenuous struggle against the opposition of the patricians, carried their point, after these same tribunes of the plebs had for five years been the only magistrates,[2] and Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian to be elected consul. Another law was also passed, that none might hold above five hundred *iugera* of land.

[1] Livy himself ascribes the decree to the Manlian *gens* (chap. xx. § 14).

[2] *Cf.* Livy chap. xxxv. § 10.

BOOK VII

LIBER VII

A.U.C. 388–389

I. Annus hic erit insignis novi hominis consulatu, insignis novis duobus magistratibus, praetura et curuli aedilitate. Hos sibi patricii quaesivere honores pro concesso plebi altero consulatu. Plebes consulatum
2 L. Sextio, cuius lege partus erat, dedit: patres praeturam Sp. Furio M. f. Camillo, aedilitatem Cn. Quinctio Capitolino et P. Cornelio Scipioni, suarum gentium viris, gratia campestri ceperunt. L. Sextio collega ex patribus datus L. Aemilius Mamercus.[1]
3 Principio anni et de Gallis, quos primo palatos per Apuliam congregari iam fama erat, et de Hernicorum
4 defectione agitata mentio. Cum de industria omnia, ne quid per plebeium consulem ageretur, proferrentur, silentium omnium rerum ac iustitio simile
5 otium fuit, nisi quod non patientibus tacitum tribunis, quod pro consule uno plebeio tres patricios magistratus curulibus sellis praetextatos tamquam consules

[1] Mamercus Ω *Diod.* xv. lxxxii, i, *Cassiod.*: Mamercinus *Pighius* (*C.I.L.* I², *p.* 126).

[1] Where the voting took place.

BOOK VII

I. This year will stand out as the one in which a "new man" held the consulship, and also for the establishment of two new magistracies, the praetorship and the curule aedileship. These dignities the patricians had devised for themselves, to compensate them for the second consulship, which they had granted to the commons. The plebs bestowed their consulship on Lucius Sextius, by whose law it had been won. The patricians, through their influence in the Campus Martius,[1] obtained the praetorship for Spurius Furius Camillus, the son of Marcus, and the aedileship for Gnaeus Quinctius Capitolinus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, who belonged to their own houses. Lucius Aemilius Mamercus was chosen from the patricians as colleague of Lucius Sextius. Early in the year there was some talk about the Gauls—who having at first scattered through Apulia were now rumoured to be gathering—and about a defection on the part of the Hernici. The patricians purposely deferred all action, in order that the plebeian consul might have no hand in anything; it seemed from the general hush and lack of bustle as though a cessation of the courts had been proclaimed; save that the tribunes would not suffer it to pass in silence that the nobles, in return for one plebeian consul, had got three patrician magistrates for themselves, who wore the purple-bordered toga and sat, like consuls,

B.C. 366-365

A.U.C. 388-389

6 sedentes nobilitas sibi sumpsisset, praetorem quidem etiam iura reddentem et collegam consulibus atque iisdem auspiciis creatum, verecundia inde imposita est senatui ex patribus iubendi aediles curules creari. Primo ut alternis annis ex plebe fierent convenerat: postea promiscuum fuit.

7 Inde L. Genucio et Q. Servilio consulibus et ab seditione et a bello quietis rebus, ne quando a metu 8 ac periculis vacarent, pestilentia ingens orta. Censorem, aedilem curulem, tres tribunos plebis mortuos ferunt, pro portione et ex multitudine alia multa funera fuisse; maximeque eam pestilentiam insignem 9 mors quam matura, tam acerba M. Furi fecit. Fuit enim vere vir unicus in omni fortuna, princeps pace belloque, priusquam exsulatum iret, clarior in exsilio, vel desiderio civitatis, quae capta absentis imploravit opem, vel felicitate qua restitutus in patriam secum[1] 10 patriam ipsam restituit; par deinde per quinque et viginti annos—tot enim postea vixit—titulo tantae gloriae fuit dignusque habitus quem secundum a Romulo conditorem urbis Romanae ferrent.

A.U.C. 390

II. Et hoc et insequenti anno C.[2] Sulpicio Petico 2 C. Licinio Stolone consulibus pestilentia fuit. Eo nihil dignum memoria actum, nisi quod pacis deum

[1] restitutus in patriam secum Ω: restitutus secum *O*: restitutus *H*.

[2] C. *Glareanus, Sigonius* (*Diod.* xv. xcv. 1 *and Cassiod., cf. C.I.L.* I², *p.* 126 *and chap.* xvii. § 13): T. ..: L. *Li*: *omitted by A.*

in curule chairs, while the praetor even dealt out justice—having been elected as a colleague to the consuls and under the same auspices. In consequence of this criticism the senate was ashamed to order that the curule aediles be chosen from the patricians. At first it was arranged to take them from the plebs in alternate years: later the election was thrown open without distinction. B.C. 366–365

Then came the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius. There was neither party strife nor war to disturb the peace, but lest there should ever be freedom from fear and danger, a great pestilence broke out. It is stated that a censor, a curule aedile, and three plebeian tribunes died, with a correspondingly large number from the rest of the population. But what chiefly made this pestilence noteworthy was the death of Marcus Furius, who, though ripe in years, was bitterly regretted. For he was truly a man of singular excellence whether in good or evil fortune; foremost in peace and in war before his banishment, and in exile even more distinguished, whether one thinks of the yearning of his countrymen who called on him in his absence to save their captured City, or of the success with which on being restored to his country he restored the country itself at the same time; after this for five and twenty years—for he survived so long—he maintained his glorious reputation, and was deemed worthy of being named next after Romulus, as Rome's second Founder.

II. The pestilence lasted during both this and the following year, the consulship of Gaius Sulpicius Peticus and Gaius Licinius Stolo. In the latter year nothing memorable occurred, except that with the B.C. 364

A.U.C. 390 exposcendae causa tertio tum post conditam urbem
3 lectisternium fuit. Et cum vis morbi nec humanis consiliis nec ope divina levaretur, victis superstitione animis ludi quoque scenici, nova res bellicoso populo—nam circi modo spectaculum fuerat,—inter alia caelestis irae placamina instituti dicuntur;
4 ceterum parva quoque,[1] ut ferme principia omnia, et ea ipsa peregrina res fuit. Sine carmine ullo, sine imitandorum carminum actu, ludiones ex Etruria acciti ad tibicinis modos saltantes haud indecoros
5 motus more Tusco dabant. Imitari deinde eos iuventus, simul inconditis inter se iocularia fundentes versibus, coepere; nec absoni a voce motus erant.
6 Accepta itaque res saepiusque usurpando excitata. Vernaculis artificibus, quia ister Tusco verbo ludio vocabatur, nomen histrionibus inditum; qui non,
7 sicut ante, Fescennino versu similem incompositum[2] temere ac rudem alternis iaciebant, sed impletas modis saturas descripto iam ad tibicinem cantu motuque congruenti peragebant.

[1] parva quoque Ω: parua haec quoque *Eussner*: parva ea quoque *Madvig* (*which would require—as Walters and Conway note—the deletion of* ea *before* ipsa).

[2] incompositum Ω: compositum *Sigonius, Karsten.*

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[1] The first lectisternium was in 399 B.C., and is described at v. xiii. 5 sq. The second is not mentioned by Livy. It may have occurred in 392 (v. xxxi. 5).

[2] Livy distinguishes five stages in the development of scenic entertainments: (1) dances, accompanied by the flute; (2) improvisation of rude verses in addition to the music and dancing; (3) medleys, of a musical character, accompanied by flute and dance; (4) the comedy with a regular plot, special singers for the lyric parts, etc.; (5) the addition of an after-play, *exodium* or *Atellana*. With this account, Horace, *Epistles* II. i. 139 ff. should be compared.

object of appeasing the divine displeasure they made B.C. 364
a *lectisternium*, or banquet to the gods, being the third in the history of the City;[1] and when neither human wisdom nor the help of Heaven was found to mitigate the scourge, men gave way to superstitious fears, and, amongst other efforts to disarm the wrath of the gods, are said also to have instituted scenic entertainments. This was a new departure for a warlike people, whose only exhibitions had been those of the circus; but indeed it began in a small way, as most things do, and even so was imported from abroad.[2] Without any singing, without imitating the action of singers, players who had been brought in from Etruria danced to the strains of the flautist and performed not ungraceful evolutions in the Tuscan fashion. Next the young Romans began to imitate them, at the same time exchanging jests in uncouth verses, and bringing their movements into a certain harmony with the words. And so the amusement was adopted, and frequent use kept it alive. The native professional actors were called *histriones*, from *ister*, the Tuscan word for player; they no longer—as before—alternately threw off rude lines hastily improvised, like the Fescennines,[3] but performed medleys, full of musical measures, to melodies which were now written out to go with the flute, and with appropriate gesticulation.

[3] The name was derived by the ancients either from Fescennia, a place in Etruria, or from *fascinum*, a phallic symbol.

A.U.C. 390

8 Livius post aliquot annis, qui ab saturis ausus[1] est primus argumento fabulam serere, idem scilicet—id quod omnes tum erant—suorum carminum actor, 9 dicitur, cum saepius revocatus vocem obtudisset, venia petita puerum ad canendum ante tibicinem cum statuisset, canticum egisse aliquanto magis vigente motu, quia nihil vocis usus impediebat. 10 Inde ad manum cantari histrionibus coeptum, diver- 11 biaque[2] tantum ipsorum voci relicta. Postquam lege hac fabularum ab risu ac soluto ioco res avocabatur et ludus in artem paulatim verterat, iuventus histrionibus fabellarum actu relicto ipsa inter se more antiquo ridicula intexta versibus iactitare coepit; unde exorta quae exodia[3] postea appellata 12 consertaque fabellis potissimum Atellanis sunt; quod genus ludorum ab Oscis acceptum tenuit iuventus nec ab histrionibus pollui passa est; eo institutum manet ut actores Atellanarum nec tribu moveantur et stipendia, tamquam expertes artis ludicrae, faciant. 13 Inter aliarum parva principia rerum ludorum quoque prima origo ponenda visa est, ut appareret quam ab

[1] ausus Ω: aversus ausus *Cornelissen.*

[2] diverbiaque ς: deuerbiaque (deuerbia quae *M*: deuerbi atque *B*) Ω.

[3] unde exorta quae exodia *Alschefski*: unde exodia quae (*or* que) exordia $MA^2\varsigma$: quae (*or* que) exordia *HTDLAR*: quae (*or* que) unde exodia *PBO*?: quae inde exodia $F\varsigma$: quae exodia T^1 (*or* T^2) D^2: unde exodia *Conway.*

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[1] Livius Andronicus, a Greek captured at Tarentum, produced the first translation of a Greek play into Latin, in 240 B.C.

[2] Atella was a little town in Campania. *Atellanae* were coarse farces presenting certain stock characters, Maccus. Pappus, Bucco, and Dossenus. The Oscans were a branch of the Samnites and lived in Campania.

Livius [1] was the first, some years later, to abandon B.C. 364
saturae and compose a play with a plot. Like everyone else in those days, he acted his own pieces; and the story goes that when his voice, owing to the frequent demands made upon it, had lost its freshness, he asked and obtained the indulgence to let a boy stand before the flautist to sing the monody, while he acted it himself, with a vivacity of gesture that gained considerably from his not having to use his voice. From that time on actors began to use singers to accompany their gesticulation, reserving only the dialogue parts for their own delivery. When this type of performance had begun to wean the drama from laughter and informal jest, and the play had gradually developed into art, the young men abandoned the acting of comedies to professionals and revived the ancient practice of fashioning their nonsense into verses and letting fly with them at one another; this was the source of the after-plays which came later to be called *exodia*, and were usually combined with Atellan farces. The Atellan was a species of comedy acquired from the Oscans,[2] and the young men kept it for themselves and would not allow it to be polluted by the professional actors; that is why it is a fixed tradition that performers of Atellan plays are not disfranchised, but serve in the army as though they had no connexion with the stage.[3] Amongst the humble origins of other institutions it has seemed worth while to set down the early history of the play, that it might be seen how sober were the beginnings of

[3] Actors were regularly reckoned in the *aerarii* or lowest class of citizens, who were not permitted to serve in the army.

A.U.C. 390 sano initio res in hanc vix opulentis regnis tolerabilem insaniam venerit.

A.U.C. 391 III. Nec tamen ludorum primum initium procurandis religionibus datum aut religione animos 2 aut corpora morbis levavit; quin etiam, cum medios forte ludos circus Tiberi superfuso inrigatus impedisset, id vero, velut aversis iam dis aspernantibusque placamina irae, terrorem ingentem fecit. 3 Itaque Cn.[1] Genucio L. Aemilio Mamerco[2] iterum consulibus, cum piaculorum magis conquisitio animos quam corpora morbi adficerent, repetitum ex seniorum memoria dicitur pestilentiam quondam clavo ab dic- 4 tatore fixo sedatam. Ea religione adductus senatus dictatorem clavi figendi causa dici iussit; dictus L. Manlius Imperiosus L. Pinarium magistrum equitum dixit.

5 Lex vetusta est, priscis litteris verbisque scripta, ut qui praetor maximus sit idibus Septembribus clavum pangat; fixa fuit dextro lateri aedis Iovis optimi maximi, qua parte[3] Minervae templum est. 6 Eum clavum, quia rarae per ea tempora litterae erant, notam numeri annorum fuisse ferunt eoque Minervae templo dicatam legem quia numerus

[1] Cn. *Sigonius* (*cf Diod.* XVI. ii. 1, *C.I.L.* i², *p.* 126): C Ω: Claudio *O.*

[2] Mamerco Ω (*cf. chap.* i. § 2): Mamercino *Pighius* (*Diod. omits the cognomen here*).

[3] qua parte (*Walters in his note*): .ea. qua parte *H*: ea qua parte Ω: ea parte qua *U*: ex qua parte *Gronovius.*

an art that has nowadays reached a point where opulent kingdoms could hardly support its mad extravagance. B.C. 364

III. However, the plays thus for the first time introduced by way of expiation neither freed men's minds of religious fears nor their bodies of disease. Indeed, it fell out quite otherwise; for the games were in full swing when an inundation of the Tiber flooded the circus and put a stop to them, an accident which—as though the gods had already turned away, rejecting the proffered appeasement of their anger—filled the people with fear. And so when Gnaeus Genucius and Lucius Aemilius Mamercus (for the second time) were consuls, and men's minds were more troubled by the search for means of propitiation than were their bodies by disease, it is said that the elders recollected that a pestilence had once been allayed by the dictator's driving a nail.[1] Induced thereto by this superstition, the senate ordered the appointment of a dictator to drive the nail. Lucius Manlius Imperiosus was appointed, and named Lucius Pinarius master of the horse. B.C. 363

There is an ancient law, recorded in archaic words and letters, that the chief magistrate shall on the thirteenth of September drive a nail; the tablet was formerly affixed to the right side of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, where Minerva's chapel is. This nail served, they say, in those days of little writing, to mark the number of years, and the law was confided to the chapel of Minerva, for the reason

[1] The instance here referred to may have occurred in 435 B.C., when Quintus Servilius Priscus was dictator (IV. xxi. 6–9).

A.U.C. 391
7 Minervae inventum sit.—Volsiniis quoque clavos indices numeri annorum fixos in templo Nortiae, Etruscae deae, comparere diligens talium monu-
8 mentorum auctor Cincius adfirmat.—M. Horatius consul ea lege templum[1] Iovis optimi maximi dedicavit anno post reges exactos; a consulibus postea ad dictatores, quia maius imperium erat, sollemne clavi figendi translatum est. Intermisso deinde more digna etiam per se visa res propter quam
9 dictator crearetur. Qua de causa creatus L. Manlius, perinde ac rei gerendae ac non solvendae religionis gratia creatus esset, bellum Hernicum adfectans dilectu acerbo iuventutem agitavit; tandemque omnibus in eum tribunis plebis coortis seu vi seu verecundia victus dictatura abiit.

A.U.C. 392
IV. Neque eo minus principio insequentis anni, Q. Servilio Ahala L. Genucio consulibus, dies Manlio
2 dicitur a M. Pomponio tribuno plebis. Acerbitas in dilectu non damno modo civium sed etiam laceratione corporum lata,[2] partim virgis caesis qui ad nomina non respondissent, partim in vincula ductis, invisa
3 erat, et ante omnia invisum ipsum ingenium atrox cognomenque Imperiosi; grave liberae civitati, ab ostentatione saevitiae adscitum, quam non magis in

[1] ea lege templum *H. J. Mueller, Luterbacher* (*C.I.L.* iii. 1933): ex lege templum Ω: et legem et templum *Madvig.*
[2] lata Ω (*wanting in O*): inlata *van der Vliet*: laeta *Madvig*: cumulata *M. Mueller.*

[1] We do not know whether Livy alludes to a book or to an oral communication. It has been suggested that Cincius—not otherwise known—may have been an antiquary of Livy's own time.
[2] A goddess of Fortune.
[3] The text here is uncertain, but Livy seems to mean that Horatius in dedicating the temple also drove the first nail.

that number was an invention of that goddess. B.C. 363
(Cincius, a careful student of such memorials, asserts[1] that at Volsinii, too, nails may be seen in the temple of Nortia,[2] an Etruscan goddess, driven in to indicate the number of years.) Marcus Horatius the consul dedicated the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus in accordance with this law, in the year after the expulsion of the kings;[3] later the ceremony of driving the nail was transferred from consuls to dictators, because theirs was the higher authority. Then, after the custom had been allowed to lapse, it was thought to be of sufficient importance to warrant the appointment of a dictator for that very purpose. It was for this reason that Manlius was designated, who, however, as though appointed to wage war and not to discharge a religious obligation, aspired to conduct the war with the Hernici, and hunted down the men of military age in a rigorous levy; but in the upshot, opposed by the united efforts of all the tribunes of the plebs, he yielded either to force or to a sense of shame, and resigned his dictatorship.

IV. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the ensuing B.C. 362
year—the consulship of Quintus Servilius Ahala and Lucius Genucius—Manlius was put upon his trial by Marcus Pomponius, a tribune of the plebs. The people hated him for the severity of his levy, in which they had endured not only fines but bodily distress, some having suffered stripes for failure to respond to their names and others having been dragged off to prison; but more than all else they hated the man's cruel disposition and his surname, Imperiosus, which offended a free state and had been assumed in ostentation of the truculence which

A.U.C. 392 alienis quam in proximis ac sanguine ipse[1] suo
4 exerceret. Criminique ei tribunus inter cetera dabat quod filium iuvenem, nullius probri compertum, extorrem urbe domo penatibus, foro luce congressu aequalium prohibitum, in opus servile, prope in carcerem
5 atque in ergastulum dederit, ubi summo loco natus dictatorius iuvenis cotidiana miseria disceret vere imperioso patre se natum esse. At quam ob noxam?
6 Quia infacundior sit et lingua impromptus; quod naturae damnum utrum nutriendum patri, si quicquam in eo humani esset, an castigandum ac vexatione insigne faciendum fuisse? Ne mutas quidem bestias minus alere ac fovere si quid ex progenie sua parum
7 prosperum sit; at hercule L. Manlium malum malo augere filii et tarditatem ingenii insuper premere, et, si quid in eo exiguum naturalis vigoris sit, id exstinguere vita agresti et rustico cultu inter pecudes habendo.

V. Omnium potius his criminationibus quam ipsius iuvenis inritatus est animus; quin contra se quoque parenti causam invidiae atque criminum
2 esse aegre passus, ut omnes di hominesque scirent se parenti opem latam quam inimicis eius malle, capit consilium rudis quidem atque agrestis animi et[2] quamquam non civilis exempli, tamen pietate

[1] ipse ς: ipso Ω. [2] et Ω: sed *Wesenberg.*

he used as freely with his nearest friends and his own family as with strangers. Amongst other charges the tribune cited the man's behaviour to his son: the youth, he said, had been found guilty of no misconduct, yet Manlius had excluded him from the City, from his home and household gods, from the Forum, the light of day, and the fellowship of his young friends, consigning him to slavish drudgery in a kind of gaol or work-house, where a youth of distinguished birth and the son of a dictator might learn by his daily wretchedness how truly "imperious" was the father that had begot him. Yes, but what was the young man's fault? Why, he had been a little slow of speech—unready with his tongue! But ought not his father to have healed and mended this infirmity of nature—if he had a particle of humanity about him—instead of chastising it and by persecution making it conspicuous? Why even the dumb brutes, if one of their young is unfortunate, do none the less cherish it and foster it. But Lucius Manlius was aggravating his son's evil plight by evil treatment, and was doubling the burden on his heavy wits; and any spark of native talent that might be there he was quenching in the rustic life and clownish bringing up amongst the dumb brutes where he kept him. B.C. 362

V. Everyone was incensed by these charges, except the young man himself. He, on the contrary, was vexed to be the cause of additional dislike and accusation of his father; and that all gods and men might know that he had rather help his father than his father's enemies, he conceived a plan, in keeping to be sure with his rude and uncouth spirit, which, though it set no pattern of civic conduct, was yet

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3 laudabile. Inscientibus cunctis cultro succinctus mane in urbem atque a porta domum confestim ad M. Pomponium tribunum pergit; ianitori opus esse sibi domino eius convento extemplo ait; nuntiaret
4 T. Manlium L. filium esse. Mox introductus—etenim percitum ira in patrem spes erat aut criminis aliquid novi aut consilii ad rem agendam deferre—salute accepta redditaque esse ait quae cum eo agere
5 arbitris remotis velit. Procul inde omnibus abire iussis cultrum stringit et super lectum stans ferro intento, nisi in quae ipse concepisset verba iuraret se patris eius accusandi causa concilium plebis nunquam habiturum, se eum extemplo transfixurum
6 minatur. Pavidus tribunus, quippe qui ferrum ante oculos micare, se solum inermem, illum praevalidum iuvenem, et, quod haud minus timendum erat, stolide ferocem viribus suis cerneret, adiurat in quae adactus est verba; et, prae se deinde tulit ea vi subactum se
7 incepto destitisse. Nec perinde ut maluisset plebes sibi suffragii ferendi de tam crudeli et superbo reo potestatem fieri, ita aegre habuit filium id pro parente ausum; eoque id laudabilius erat quod animum eius tanta acerbitas patria nihil a pietate
8 avertisset. Itaque non patri modo remissa causae

praiseworthy for its filial piety. Without anybody's B.C. 362
knowledge, he girded himself with a knife in the early morning, and coming to the City, made his way at once from the gate to the house of Marcus Pomponius, the tribune. There he told the porter that he must see his master instantly, and bade him say that it was Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius. Being presently admitted—for it seemed likely that he was moved with wrath against his father, or was bringing some fresh charge or plan of action—he received and returned the salutation of his host, and then announced that there were matters of which he wished to speak to him without witnesses. When they had all been sent away, he drew his knife, and standing over the tribune's couch with his weapon ready, he threatened that unless the man should swear, in the terms he himself should dictate, never to hold a council of the plebs for the purpose of accusing his father, he would immediately stab him. The frightened tribune, seeing the blade flash in his face, and perceiving himself to be alone and unarmed, and the other to be a stalwart youth, and, what was no less terrifying, foolhardy by reason of his strength, took the oath that was required of him, and afterwards publicly declared that he had been compelled by force to relinquish his undertaking. And the plebs, however much they would have liked to be given the opportunity to cast their votes in the case of so cruel and insolent a defendant, were yet not displeased that a son had dared such a deed in defence of his parent; and they praised it all the more, because the father's shocking harshness had made no difference in the son's filial devotion. And so not only was the arraignment of the father dis-

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dictio est, sed ipsi etiam adulescenti ea res honori
9 fuit, et cum eo anno primum placuisset tribunos militum ad legiones suffragio fieri—nam antea,[1] sicut nunc quos Rufulos vocant, imperatores ipsi faciebant,—secundum in sex locis tenuit, nullis domi militiaeque ad conciliandam gratiam meritis, ut qui rure et procul coetu hominum iuventam egisset.

VI. Eodem anno, seu motu terrae seu qua vi alia, forum medium ferme specu vasto conlapsum in immensam altitudinem dicitur; neque eam voraginem
2 coniectu terrae, cum [2] pro se quisque gereret, expleri [3]
3 potuisse, priusquam deum monitu quaeri coeptum quo plurimum populus Romanus posset; id enim illi loco dicandum vates canebant, si rem publicam Romanam perpetuam esse vellent. Tum M. Curtium, iuvenem bello egregium, castigasse ferunt dubitantes an ullum magis Romanum bonum quam arma virtus-
4 que esset, et [4] silentio facto templa deorum immortalium, quae foro imminent, Capitoliumque intuentem et manus nunc in caelum nunc in patentes terrae hiatus ad deos manes porrigentem se devovisse;
5 equo deinde quam poterat maxime exornato insidentem armatum se in specum immisisse, donaque ac fruges super eum a multitudine virorum ac mulierum congestas, lacumque Curtium non ab

[1] nam antea *Duker*: nam et antea Ω.
[2] cum Ω: quam *Gronovius*. [3] expleri $D^3\varsigma$: explere Ω.
[4] esset, et *Madvig*: esset Ω.

[1] Pseudo-Asconius, on Cic. *Act.* 1 *in Verr.* 30 says: "There are two kinds of military tribunes, the first consisting of those called *Rufuli*; these are ordinarily appointed in the army; the others are the *comitiati*, who are designated at the comitia in Rome."

missed, but the youth himself gained distinction from B.C. 362
the affair; for in the election of military tribunes for the legions, which had that year for the first time been resolved upon—until then the generals themselves had nominated them, as they do to-day those who are known as *Rufuli*[1]—he was chosen second of the six, though neither at home nor in the field had he done aught to merit popularity, and no wonder, since his youth had been passed in the country, remote from the gatherings of men.

VI. That same year, whether owing to an earthquake or to some other violent force, it is said that the ground gave way, at about the middle of the Forum, and, sinking to an immeasurable depth, left a prodigious chasm. This gulf could not be filled with the earth which everyone brought and cast into it, until admonished by the gods, they began to inquire what it was that constituted the chief strength of the Roman People; for this the soothsayers declared that they must offer up, as a sacrifice to that spot, if they wished the Roman Republic to endure. Thereupon Marcus Curtius, a young soldier of great prowess, rebuked them, so the story runs, for questioning whether any blessing were more Roman than arms and valour. A hush ensued, as he turned to the temples of the immortal gods which rise above the Forum, and to the Capitol, and stretching forth his hands, now to heaven, and now to the yawning chasm and to the gods below, devoted himself to death. After which, mounted on a horse caparisoned with all possible splendour, he plunged fully armed into the gulf; and crowds of men and women threw offerings and fruits in after him. It was he, they say, and not Curtius Mettius, the soldier

A.U.C. 392 antiquo illo T. Tati milite Curtio Mettio sed ab
6 hoc appellatum. Cura non deesset, si qua ad verum via inquirentem ferret; nunc fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem; et lacus nomen ab hac recentiore insignitius fabula est.

7 Post tanti prodigii procurationem eodem anno de Hernicis consultus senatus cum fetiales ad res repetendas nequiquam misisset, primo quoque die ferendum ad populum de bello indicendo Hernicis censuit, populusque id bellum frequens iussit. L. Genucio
8 consuli ea provincia sorte evenit. In exspectatione civitas erat, quod primus ille de plebe consul bellum suis auspiciis gesturus esset, perinde ut evenisset res ita communicatos honores pro bene aut secus
9 consulto habitura. Forte ita tulit casus ut Genucius ad hostes magno conatu profectus in insidias praecipitaret et [1] legionibus necopinato pavore fusis consul circumventus ab insciis quem intercepissent [2] occi-
10 deretur. Quod ubi est Romam nuntiatum, nequaquam tantum publica calamitate maesti patres quantum feroces infelici consulis plebeii ductu, fremunt omnibus locis: irent crearent consules ex
11 plebe, transferrent auspicia quo nefas esset; potuisse patres plebi scito pelli honoribus suis: num etiam in deos immortales inauspicatam legem valuisse?

[1] praecipitaret et *Duker*: praecipitaret *M*: praecipitaretur Ω.
[2] intercepissent *Madvig*: interfecissent Ω.

[1] See i. xii. 10 and xiii. 5, with note.
[2] The law had been passed in an assembly presided over by a tribune, who had not the right to take auspices.

of Titus Tatius in days of old, who gave his name to B.C. 362
the Curtian Lake.[1] Diligence would not be wanting, were there any path which could lead the inquirer to the truth; as it is, one must hold by the tradition, where antiquity will not allow us to be certain; and the name of the pool is better known from this more recent legend.

After the expiation of this great portent, the senate dealt in the same year with the question of the Hernici, and having dispatched fetials to demand reparations, without avail, resolved to submit to the people for their approval, at the earliest possible day, a declaration of war against that nation. In a crowded assembly the people voted for war, and the consul Lucius Genucius was by lot intrusted with the conduct of it. The citizens were in a fever of suspense, since he would be the first plebeian consul to conduct a war under his own auspices, and they would judge by the sequel whether they had done well or ill to throw these honours open. It so happened that Genucius, marching in great force against the enemy, plunged into an ambuscade. The legions, in a sudden panic, were put to flight, and the consul was surrounded and slain by men who knew not whom they had taken. When the news reached Rome, the patricians, by no means so cast down by the general disaster as elated at the unlucky generalship of the plebeian consul, filled the City with their taunts. Let them go and choose consuls from the plebs! Let them transfer the auspices to those who might not have them without sin! They had been able by a plebiscite to expel the patricians from their rightful honours: had their unsanctioned[2] law prevailed also against the immortal gods? The gods them-

A.U.C. 392 Vindicasse ipsos suum numen, sua auspicia, quae ut primum contacta sint ab eo a quo nec ius nec fas fuerit, deletum cum duce exercitum documento fuisse ne deinde turbato gentium iure comitia 12 haberentur. His vocibus curia et forum personat. Ap. Claudium, quia dissuaserat legem, maiore nunc auctoritate eventum reprehensi ab se consilii incusantem, dictatorem consensu patriciorum Servilius consul dicit, dilectusque et iustitium indictum.

VII. Priusquam dictator legionesque novae in Hernicos venirent, ductu C. Sulpici legati res per 2 occasionem gesta egregie est. In Hernicos, morte consulis contemptim ad castra Romana cum haud dubia expugnandi spe succedentes, hortante legato et plenis irae atque indignitatis militum animis eruptio est facta. Multum ab spe adeundi valli res Hernicis afuit; adeo turbatis inde ordinibus 3 abscessere. Dictatoris deinde adventu novus veteri exercitus iungitur et copiae duplicantur; et pro contione dictator laudibus legati militumque, quorum virtute castra defensa erant, simul audientibus laudes meritas tollit animos, simul ceteros ad aemulandas 4 virtutes acuit. Neque segnius ad hostes bellum apparatur, qui et parti ante decoris memores neque

selves had vindicated their divine authority and their B.C. 362
auspices; for these had no sooner been touched by one who had no legal or religious warranty for so doing, than the army and its general had been annihilated, as a lesson never again to overturn the rights of the patrician families in conducting an election. Such words as these resounded through the Curia and the Forum. Appius Claudius had urged the rejection of the law, and this now gave his words the greater weight, as he denounced the outcome of a policy which he himself had censured. Him, therefore, the consul Servilius, with the approval of the patricians, appointed dictator. An enrolment was proclaimed, and the courts were suspended.

VII. But before the dictator and his new levies were got to the country of the Hernici, the lieutenant Gaius Sulpicius, profiting by a favourable opportunity, had fought a brilliant engagement. The Hernici, whom the consul's death had made contemptuous, approached the Roman camp with every expectation of taking it by storm; but the soldiers, heartened by their general and bursting with anger and resentment, made a sortie, and so far were the Hernici from attacking the stockade, as they had hoped to do, that they actually fell back in confusion from the ground. Then came the dictator, and the new army was joined to the old and the forces doubled. Calling the men together, Appius lauded the lieutenant and his soldiers, by whose bravery the camp had been defended; thus at the same stroke he encouraged those who heard themselves deservedly commended, and stimulated the others to emulation of their conduct. Nor were the enemy less energetic in making ready for the war; mindful of the glory they had won

A.U.C. 392 ignari auctarum virium hostis[1] suas quoque vires augent. Omne Hernicum nomen, omnis militaris aetas excitur; quadringenariae octo cohortes, lecta
5 robora virorum, scribuntur. Hunc eximium florem iuventutis eo etiam quod ut duplex acciperent stipendium decreverant, spei animorumque implevere; immunes quoque operum militarium erant, ut in unum pugnae laborem reservati plus sibi quam
6 pro virili parte adnitendum scirent; extra ordinem etiam in acie locati quo conspectior virtus esset.

Duum milium planities castra Romana ab Hernicis
7 dirimebat; ibi pari ferme utrimque spatio in medio pugnatum est. Primo stetit ambigua spe pugna nequiquam saepe conatis equitibus Romanis impetu
8 turbare hostium aciem. Postquam equestris pugna effectu quam conatibus vanior erat, consulto prius dictatore equites, permissu deinde eius relictis equis, clamore ingenti provolant ante signa et novam inte-
9 grant pugnam. Neque sustineri poterant, ni extraordinariae cohortes pari corporum animorumque robore se obiecissent.

VIII. Tunc inter primores duorum populorum res geritur; quidquid hinc aut illinc communis Mars belli[2] aufert, multiplex quam pro numero damnum est. Volgus aliud armatorum, velut delegata primoribus pugna, eventum suum in virtute aliena

[1] hostis Ω : hosti *Gronovius*.
[2] belli *Sigonius* : bello Ω.

before, and aware that the forces of their adversaries B.C. 362
had been augmented, they also strengthened theirs. All who bore the name of Hernici and were of military age were called upon, and eight cohorts were formed, each numbering four hundred of their best men. This choice flower of their manhood they inspired with additional hope and courage by a decree which allowed them double pay. They were exempted, also, from military tasks, in order that, being reserved for the one labour of fighting, they might be sensible of an obligation to exert themselves beyond the capacity of ordinary men. Finally, they were assigned a post in the battle outside the line, to make their bravery the more conspicuous.

A plain extending for two miles separated the Roman camp from the Hernici. In the middle of this plain, at a spot almost equidistant from both camps, the battle was fought. At first the event of the struggle was in doubt and nothing came of the oft-repeated attempts of the Roman horse to break the enemy's line. Finding their charges ineffectual, despite their efforts, they consulted the dictator and with his permission left their horses, and, rushing to the front with a mighty cheer, inaugurated a new kind of fighting. There would have been no stopping them, had it not been for the special cohorts, who flung themselves across their path with a vigour and gallantry equal to their own.

VIII. The struggle then lay between the best men of both nations, and whatever losses the chance of war inflicted on either side were serious out of all proportion to their number. The common herd of soldiers, as though they had made over the battle to their betters, rested their future on the bravery of

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ponit. Multi utrimque cadunt, plures volnera
2 accipiunt; tandem equites alius alium increpantes, quid deinde restaret quaerendo, si neque ex equis pepulissent hostem neque pedites quicquam momenti facerent? Quam tertiam exspectarent pugnam? Quid ante signa feroces prosiluissent et alieno pug-
3 narent loco?—his inter se vocibus concitati clamore renovato inferunt pedem et primum gradu moverunt hostem, deinde pepulerunt, postremo iam haud
4 dubie avertunt; neque, tam vires pares quae superaverit res facile dictu est, nisi quod perpetua fortuna utriusque populi et extollere animos et minuere
5 potuit. Usque ad castra fugientes Hernicos Romanus sequitur: castrorum oppugnatione, quia serum erat diei, abstinuere;—diu non perlitatum tenuerat dictatorem, ne ante meridiem signum dare posset;
6 eo in noctem tractum erat certamen.—Postero die deserta fuga castra Hernicorum et saucii relicti quidam inventi, agmenque fugientium ab Signinis,[1] cum praeter moenia eorum infrequentia conspecta signa essent, fusum ac per agros trepida fuga palatum
7 est. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit: quarta pars militum amissa, et ubi haud minus iacturae fuit, aliquot equites Romani cecidere.

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IX. Insequenti anno cum C. Sulpicius[2] et C. Licinius Calvus consules in Hernicos exercitum

[1] Signinis *Crévier*: signis Ω.
[2] C. Sulpicius *Sigonius* (*Diod.* XVI. vi. 1, *C.I.L.* i², p. 126) l. sulpicius Ω.

others. Many on both sides were slain and more were wounded. At length the knights began to rail at one another. What else, they asked, was there to do, if they had neither beaten the enemy when mounted, nor were able to accomplish anything on foot? What third kind of battle were they waiting for? What good had they done by dashing boldly out in front of the line and fighting in a place that belonged to others? Stirred by these mutual reproaches, they advanced with renewed cheering, and first they made the enemy yield, then forced them back, and finally routed them in no uncertain fashion. What it was that turned the scale, where forces were so evenly matched, would be hard to say, unless the fortune regularly attendant on each nation had the power to quicken or to daunt their resolution. The Romans chased the fleeing Hernici clear to their camp, which, owing to the lateness of the hour, they refrained from attacking;—the dictator had been unable to give the battle-signal before noon, having failed for a long time to obtain favourable omens, for which reason the struggle had been protracted until night.—On the following day the camp was discovered to have been deserted by the fleeing Hernici, and a few of their wounded were found, whom they had left behind. The column of fugitives was passing the walls of Signia, when the townsfolk espied their thinly attended ensigns, and falling upon them, scattered them in headlong flight across the country. Yet the Romans got no bloodless victory: they lost a fourth part of their foot, and a number of Roman horsemen fell, which was no less grave a loss. B.C. 362

IX. Next year the consuls Gaius Sulpicius and Gaius Licinius Calvus led an army against the B.C. 361

A.U.C. 393 duxissent neque inventis in agro hostibus Ferentinum urbem eorum vi cepissent, revertentibus inde
2 eis Tiburtes portas clausere. Ea ultima fuit causa, cum multae ante querimoniae ultro citroque iactatae essent, cur per fetiales rebus repetitis bellum Tiburti populo indiceretur,
3 Dictatorem T. Quinctium Poenum eo anno fuisse satis constat et magistrum equitum Ser. Cornelium
4 Maluginensem. Macer Licinius comitiorum habendorum causa et ab Licinio consule dictum scribit, quia collega comitia bello praeferre festinante ut continuaret consulatum, obviam eundum pravae
5 cupiditati fuerit. Quaesita ea propriae[1] familiae laus leviorem auctorem Licinium facit. Cum mentionem eius rei in vetustioribus annalibus nullam inveniam, magis ut belli Gallici causa
6 dictatorem creatum arbitrer inclinat animus. Eo certe anno Galli ad tertium lapidem Salaria via trans pontem Anienis castra habuere.

Dictator cum tumultus Gallici causa iustitium edixisset, omnes iuniores sacramento adegit ingentique exercitu ab urbe profectus in citeriore ripa
7 Anienis castra posuit. Pons in medio erat, neutris eum rumpentibus, ne timoris indicium esset. Proelia de occupando ponte crebra erant, nec qui poterentur

[1] propriae $A\varsigma$: propria Ω.

[1] Tribune of the plebs in 73 B.C. and author of annals written from the democratic standpoint (Introd. p. xxix).

Hernici, and not finding the enemy abroad, captured B.C. 361
their city of Ferentinum by assault. As they were returning thence, the men of Tibur closed their gates against them. Many complaints had before this been bandied back and forth between the two peoples, but this new offence made the Romans finally determine that after sending the fetials to demand redress they would declare war on the Tiburtine people.

It is well established that Titus Quinctius Poenus was dictator that year and that Servius Cornelius Maluginensis was master of the horse. Licinius Macer[1] states that the appointment was for the purpose of holding an election and was made by Licinius the consul, who, because his colleague was in haste to hold the election before the campaign, so that he might succeed himself in the consulship, felt obliged to thwart his evil designs. But the praise which he seeks to bestow on his own family makes the testimony of Licinius less weighty, and since I find no mention of the circumstance in the older annals, I am more disposed to think that it was a Gallic war which occasioned the appointment of a dictator. In any case, this was the year in which the Gauls encamped at the third milestone on the Salarian road, beyond the bridge over the Anio.

The dictator having, by reason of the Gallic rising, proclaimed a suspension of the courts, administered the oath to all of military age. Then marching out of the City with a great army he pitched his camp on the hither bank of the stream. The bridge lay between, and neither side would break it down, lest it be regarded as a sign of fear. There were frequent skirmishes for the possession of the bridge, and yet, so evenly matched were their forces, it could not be

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8 incertis viribus satis discerni poterat. Tum eximia corporis magnitudine in vacuum pontem Gallus processit et quantum maxima voce potuit, "Quem nunc" inquit "Roma virum fortissimum habet, procedat agedum ad pugnam, ut noster duorum eventus ostendat utra gens bello sit melior."

X. Diu inter primores iuvenum Romanorum silentium fuit, cum et abnuere certamen vererentur 2 et praecipuam sortem periculi petere nollent; tum T. Manlius L. filius, qui patrem a vexatione tribunicia vindicaverat, ex statione ad dictatorem pergit. "Iniussu tuo" inquit, "imperator, extra ordinem nunquam pugnaverim, non si certam victoriam 3 videam; si tu permittis, volo ego illi beluae ostendere, quando adeo ferox praesultat hostium signis, me ex ea familia ortum quae Gallorum 4 agmen ex rupe Tarpeia deiecit." Tum dictator "Macte virtute" inquit "ac pietate in patrem patriamque, T. Manli, esto. Perge et nomen 5 Romanum invictum iuvantibus dis praesta." Armant inde iuvenem aequales; pedestre scutum capit, Hispano cingitur gladio ad propiorem habili pugnam; armatum adornatumque adversus Gallum stolide laetum et—quoniam id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est—linguam etiam ab inrisu exseren- 6 tem producunt. Recipiunt inde se ad stationem, et duo in medio armati spectaculi magis more quam lege belli destituuntur, nequaquam visu ac specie 7 aestimantibus pares. Corpus alteri magnitudine

[1] The Spanish sword was short and pointed, and a sword of this type—required by the story—is what Livy means. The *name* for it is anachronistic here.

determined who were masters of it. Then a Gaul B.C. 361
of extraordinary size advanced upon the empty bridge, and making his voice as loud as possible, cried out, "Let him whom Rome now reckons her bravest man come out and fight, that we two may show by the outcome which people is the superior in war."

X. The young Roman nobles were for a long time silent. Ashamed to decline the challenge, they were loath to volunteer for a service of transcendent peril. Then Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius, who had rescued his father from the persecution of the tribune, left his station and went to the dictator. "Without your orders, General," he said, "I would fain never leave my place to fight, not though I saw that victory was assured; but if you permit me, I would show that beast who dances out so boldly before the standards of the enemy, that I come of the family that hurled the column of Gauls from the Tarpeian Rock." To whom the dictator made answer, "Success attend your valour, Titus Manlius, and your loyalty to father and to country! Go, and with Heaven's help make good the unconquerable Roman name." The young man's friends then armed him; he assumed the shield of a foot-soldier, and to his side he buckled a Spanish sword, convenient for close fighting.[1] Armed and accoutred, they led him forth to the Gaul, who in his stupid glee—for the ancients have thought even this worth mentioning—thrust his tongue out in derision. They then retired to their station, and the two armed men were left by themselves in the midst, like gladiators more than soldiers, and by no means evenly matched, to judge from outward show. One

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eximium, versicolori veste pictisque et auro caelatis refulgens armis: media in altero militaris statura modicaque in armis habilibus magis quam decoris
8 species. Non cantus, non exsultatio armorumque agitatio vana, sed pectus animorum iraeque tacitae plenum; omnem ferociam in discrimen ipsum certa-
9 minis distulerat. Ubi constitere inter duas acies, tot circa mortalium animis spe metuque pendentibus, Gallus velut moles superne imminens proiecto laeva scuto in advenientis arma hostis vanum caesim cum
10 ingenti sonitu ensem deiecit; Romanus mucrone subrecto,[1] cum scuto scutum imum perculisset totoque corpore interior periculo volneris factus insinuasset se inter corpus armaque, uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem atque inguina hausit et in spatium
11 ingens ruentem porrexit hostem. Iacentis inde corpus ab omni alia vexatione intactum uno torque spoliavit, quem respersum cruore collo circumdedit
12 suo. Defixerat pavor cum admiratione Gallos: Romani alacres ab statione obviam militi suo progressi,[2] gratulantes laudantesque ad dictatorem
13 perducunt. Inter carminum prope in modum[3] incondita quaedam militariter ioculantes Torquati

[1] subrecto (sur- D^3) Ω: *Walters and Conway suggest* suberecto (*cf.* VIII. viii. 10).
[2] progressi D^2 (*or* D^3) A^2 (*or* A^1): praegressi (*or* p̄-) Ω.
[3] in modum *Madvig*: modum Ω: modo *Conway* (*cf.* IV. xx. 2).

[1] *i.e.* the man with a chain, or necklace.

had a body extraordinary for its size, and resplendent B.C. 361
in a coat of shifting hues and armour painted and chased with gold: the other was of a middling stature for a soldier, and his arms were but indifferent to look at, being suitable but not ornate. He neither sang nor danced about with idle flourishes of his weapons, but his bosom swelled with courage and silent wrath, and all his ferocity was reserved for the crisis of the combat. When they had taken their ground between the two embattled armies, while the hearts of the surrounding multitude were suspended betwixt hope and fear, the Gaul, whose huge bulk towered above the other, advanced his shield with the left arm, to parry the attack of his oncoming enemy, and delivered a slashing stroke with his sword, that made a mighty clatter but did no harm. The Roman, with the point of his weapon raised, struck up his adversary's shield with a blow from his own against its lower edge; and slipping in between the man's sword and his body, so close that no part of his own person was exposed, he gave one thrust and then immediately another, and gashing the groin and belly of his enemy brought him headlong to the ground, where he lay stretched out over a monstrous space. To the body of his fallen foe he offered no other indignity than to despoil it of one thing—a chain which, spattered with blood, he cast round his own neck. The Gauls were transfixed with fear and wonder, while the Romans, quitting their station, ran eagerly to meet their champion and brought him with praise and gratulation to the dictator. Amidst the rude banter thrown out by the soldiers in a kind of verse, was heard the appellation of Torquatus,[1] and thereafter

A.U.C. 393 cognomen auditum; celebratum deinde posteris
14 etiam familiaeque honori fuit. Dictator coronam auream addidit donum mirisque pro contione eam pugnam laudibus tulit.

A.U.C. 394 XI. Et hercule tanti ea ad universi belli eventum momenti dimicatio fuit ut Gallorum exercitus proxima nocte relictis trepide castris in Tiburtem agrum atque inde societate belli facta commeatuque benigne ab Tiburtibus adiutus mox in Campaniam
2 transierit. Ea fuit causa cur proximo anno C. Poetelius[1] Balbus consul, cum collegae eius M. Fabio Ambusto Hernici provincia evenisset, adversus
3 Tiburtes iussu populi exercitum duceret. Ad quorum auxilium cum Galli ex Campania redissent, foedae populationes in Labicano Tusculanoque et Albano agro haud dubie Tiburtibus ducibus sunt factae;
4 et cum adversus Tiburtem hostem duce consule contenta res publica esset, Gallicus tumultus dictatorem creari coegit. Creatus Q. Servilius Ahala T. Quinctium magistrum equitum dixit et ex auctoritate patrum, si prospere id bellum evenisset, ludos
5 magnos vovit. Dictator, ad continendos proprio bello Tiburtes consulari exercitu iusso manere, omnes iuniores nullo detractante militiam sacra-
6 mento adegit. Pugnatum haud procul porta Collina

[1] Poetelius *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *pp.* 126, 130): poetilius Ω: petelius *B*: petilius B^1L: poetious (*t*) *D*: poetibus D^2 (*or* D^1): poetilib' *A*: potilius A^2. *Similar corruptions in* §§ 7, 9, 10.

this was given currency as an honoured surname, B.C. 361
used even by descendants of the family. The dictator gave him, besides, a golden chaplet, and loudly extolled that fight of his in a public speech.

XI. And in fact the combat was of so great B.C. 360
consequence to the issue of the whole war, that the army of the Gauls withdrew in trepidation from their camp on the succeeding night and crossed over into the territory of Tibur. There they formed a military alliance with the Tiburtes, and having been liberally assisted by them with provisions, they soon departed and went into Campania. This was the reason why in the following year the consul Gaius Poetelius Balbus, when his colleague Marcus Fabius Ambustus had been appointed to the campaign with the Hernici, was commanded by the people to march against the men of Tibur. To aid their allies, the Gauls returned from Campania, and the cruel devastations which ensued in the districts of Labici, Tusculum, and Alba were clearly instigated and directed by the Tiburtes. Against the Tiburtine foe the state was satisfied to be commanded by a consul; but the Gallic invasion required the appointment of a dictator. The choice fell on Quintus Servilius Ahala, who designated Titus Quinctius master of the horse, and, instructed by the senate, made a vow to celebrate the great games, in the event of a successful termination of the war. Directing the consular army to remain where they were, in order to confine the Tiburtes to their own field of action, the dictator administered the oath to all the young men, none of whom endeavoured to avoid the service. The battle was fought not far from the Colline

A.U.C. 394 est totius viribus urbis in conspectu parentum coniugumque ac liberorum quae magna etiam absentibus hortamenta animi tum subiecta oculis simul vere-
7 cundia misericordiaque militem accendebant. Magna utrimque edita caede avertitur tandem acies Gallorum. Fuga Tibur sicut arcem belli Gallici petunt; palati a consule Poetelio haud procul Tibure excepti, egressis ad opem ferendam Tiburtibus simul cum iis
8 intra portas compelluntur. Egregie cum ab dictatore tum ab consule res gesta est. Et consul alter Fabius proeliis primum parvis, postremo una insigni pugna, cum hostes totis adorti copiis essent, Hernicos
9 devincit. Dictator consulibus in senatu et apud populum magnifice conlaudatis et suarum quoque rerum illis remisso honore dictatura se abdicavit. Poetelius de Gallis Tiburtibusque geminum triumphum egit: Fabio satis visum ut ovans urbem iniret.

10 Inridere Poeteli triumphum Tiburtes: ubi enim eum secum acie conflixisse? Spectatores paucos fugae trepidationisque Gallorum extra portas egressos, postquam in se quoque fieri impetum viderint et sine discrimine obvios caedi, recepisse
11 se intra urbem: eam rem triumpho dignam visam Romanis. Ne nimis mirum magnumque censerent

Gate. The Romans put forth all their strength B.C. 360
in full sight of their parents and their wives and children. These are powerful incentives to courage even when unseen, but being then in full view, set the soldiers on fire with a sense of honour and compassion. The slaughter was great on both sides, but at last the Gallic army was driven off. In their flight they turned towards Tibur, as though it had been the stronghold of the Gallic war; as they straggled on, they encountered the consul Poetelius, not far from the town, and when the Tiburtes came out to their assistance they were beaten back through the gates along with the Gauls. The affair was admirably handled by the consul as well as by the dictator. And the other consul Fabius defeated the Hernici—at first in little skirmishes, but ultimately in one remarkable battle, in which the enemy attacked with all their forces. The dictator, having handsomely lauded the consuls in the senate and before the people, even giving them the credit for his own achievements, resigned his office. Poetelius celebrated a double triumph over the Gauls and the Tiburtes: it was thought enough for Fabius that he should enter the City in an ovation.

The Tiburtes ridiculed the triumph of Poetelius. Where was it, they asked, that he had fought a battle with them? A handful of people had gone outside the gates to look on at the flight and panic of the Gauls, and finding that they too were attacked and that all who came in the way of the Romans were cut down without discrimination, had retired within their walls; this was the great achievement that the Romans had deemed worthy of a triumph! That they might not regard it as too wonderful and

A.U.C. 394 tumultum exciere in hostium portis, maiorem ipsos trepidationem ante moenia sua visuros.

A.U.C. 395-396 XII. Itaque insequenti anno M. Popilio[1] Laenate Cn. Manlio consulibus primo silentio noctis ab Tibure agmine infesto profecti ad urbem Romam
2 venerunt. Terrorem repente ex somno excitatis subita res et nocturnus pavor praebuit, ad hoc multorum inscitia, qui aut unde hostes advenissent;
3 conclamatum tamen celeriter ad arma est et portae stationibus murique praesidiis firmati; et ubi prima lux mediocrem multitudinem ante moenia neque alium quam Tiburtem hostem ostendit, duabus portis egressi consules utrimque aciem subeuntium iam
4 muros adgrediuntur, apparuitque occasione magis quam virtute fretos venisse: adeo vix primum impetum Romanorum sustinuere. Quin etiam bono fuisse Romanis adventum eorum constabat orientemque iam seditionem inter patres et plebem metu tam propinqui belli compressam.
5 Alius adventus hostium fuit[2] agris terribilior[3]:
6 populabundi Tarquinienses fines Romanos, maxime qua ex parte Etruriam adiacent, peragravere rebusque nequiquam repetitis novi consules iis C. Fabius et C. Plautius iussu populi bellum indixere; Fabioque ea provincia, Plautio Hernici evenere.

[1] Popilio (*or* Popillio) *Sigonius* (*cf. Diod.* XVI. xv. 1 *and chap.* xxiii. § 1): põpilio *H*: ponpilio *B*: pompilio Ω.
[2] fuit *Madvig*: fuit proximo bello Ω.
[3] terribilior ς, *Walters*: quam terribilior urbi Ω: quam urbi terribilior D^3 (*or* D^2) E^2.

great a thing to cause a flurry at their enemy's gates, they should themselves behold a greater panic in front of their own walls. B.C. 360

XII. Accordingly, in the following year, when Marcus Popilius Laenas and Gnaeus Manlius were consuls, a hostile expedition set out from Tibur and arrived in the first silence of the night, at the walls of Rome. It was terrifying to be suddenly waked out of sleep by a surprise and a night alarm; moreover many of the people knew not who their enemies were nor whence they had come; nevertheless the call to arms was quickly given, and watches were set at the gates and the walls were manned. And when the first light showed the enemy before the City to be in no great force, and only the men of Tibur, the consuls sallied out at two gates and assailed them on both flanks as they were now drawing near the walls. It was evident that in coming they had relied more on opportunity than on courage, for they scarcely withstood the first shock of the Roman onset. In fact their expedition was confessedly a good thing for the Romans, and the fear occasioned by so near an enemy repressed a quarrel that was already in the air, between the patricians and the plebs. B.C. 359–358

Another hostile incursion was more terrifying to the countryside. The Tarquinienses, bent on plundering, ranged over the Roman territory, particularly that part which adjoins Etruria; and demands for reparation proving futile, the new consuls, Gaius Fabius and Gaius Plautius, declared war against them, as commanded by the people. This campaign fell to Fabius, that against the Hernici to Plautius.

A.U.C. 395–296

7 Gallici quoque belli fama increbrescebat. Sed inter multos terrores solacio fuit pax Latinis petentibus data, et magna vis militum ab iis[1] ex foedere vetusto, quod multis intermiserant annis, accepta. 8 Quo praesidio cum fulta res Romana esset, levius fuit quod Gallos mox Praeneste venisse atque inde 9 circa Pedum consedisse auditum est. Dictatorem dici C. Sulpicium placuit; consul ad id accitus C. Plautius dixit; magister equitum dictatori additus M. Valerius. Hi robora militum ex duobus consularibus exercitibus electa adversus Gallos duxerunt. 10 Lentius id aliquanto bellum, quam parti utrique placebat, fuit. Cum primo Galli tantum avidi certaminis fuissent, deinde Romanus miles ruendo in arma ac dimicationem aliquantum Gallicam ferociam 11 vinceret, dictatori neutiquam placebat, quando nulla cogeret res, fortunae se committere adversus hostem, quem tempus deteriorem in dies faceret, locis alienis[2] sine praeparato commeatu, sine firmo munimento morantem, ad hoc iis[3] corporibus animisque, quorum omnis in impetu vis esset, parva eadem languesceret mora.

12 His consiliis dictator bellum trahebat gravemque edixerat poenam, si quis iniussu in hostem pugnasset. Milites aegre id patientes primo in stationibus vigiliisque inter se dictatorem sermonibus carpere, in-

[1] iis ς: hiis *A*: his Ω.
[2] faceret locis alienis *Madvig*: et locis alienis faceret Ω: et locus alienus faceret ς *Gelenius, Gebhard.*
[3] iis ς: is *D*: hiis *A*: his Ω.

Rumours of a Gallic war began also to be rife. B.C. 359–358
But with many perils, there was this consolation, that they had granted peace to the Latins, at their desire, and had received a large force of soldiers from them, under the terms of an ancient treaty which the Latins had for many years disregarded. Thus strengthened, the Romans heard soon after with small concern that the Gauls had come to Praeneste and had then pitched their camp in the vicinity of Pedum. They resolved on making Gaius Sulpicius dictator, and sent for Gaius Plautius the consul to appoint him; Marcus Valerius was named as his master of the horse. These two marched against the Gauls, with the choicest troops from both the consular armies.

The war was considerably more protracted than was pleasing to either side. At first only the Gauls had been eager for battle; but later the Romans far exceeded the Gauls in the ardour with which they would run to arm themselves and fight. Yet the dictator was by no means willing, being under no compulsion, to hazard his fortune against an enemy whom each day made less formidable, as he lingered on in an unfriendly country, without a magazine of food, and without adequate defences—an enemy, too, whose strength and courage lay wholly in attacking, and languished as soon as there came a slight delay.

Upon these considerations the dictator spun out the war and threatened to punish anyone severely who should fight the enemy without his orders. The soldiers were mortified at this. At first they grumbled among themselves about the dictator, when on picket-duty or watching in the night, and

A.U.C. 395-396

terdum patres communiter increpare, quod non
13 iussissent per consules geri bellum: electum esse eximium imperatorem, unicum ducem, qui nihil agenti sibi de caelo devolaturam in sinum victoriam censeat. Eadem deinde haec interdiu propalam ac ferociora his iactare: se iniussu imperatoris aut dimi-
14 caturos aut agmine Romam ituros. Immiscerique militibus centuriones, nec in circulis modo fremere sed iam in principiis ac praetorio in unum sermones confundi atque in contionis magnitudinem crescere turba et vociferari ex omnibus locis ut extemplo ad dictatorem iretur; verba pro exercitu faceret Sex. Tullius, ut virtute eius dignum esset.

XIII. Septimum primum pilum iam Tullius ducebat, neque erat in exercitu, qui quidem pedestria
2 stipendia fecisset, vir factis nobilior. Is praecedens militum agmen ad tribunal pergit mirantique Sulpicio non turbam magis quam turbae principem Tullium,
3 imperiis oboedientissimum militem, "Si licet, dictator," inquit "condemnatum se universus exercitus a te ignaviae ratus et prope ignominiae causa destitutum sine armis oravit me ut suam causam apud te
4 agerem. Equidem, sicubi loco cessum, si terga data hosti, si signa foede amissa obici nobis possent, tamen

sometimes railed at the senators collectively for not having given the consuls charge of the war; a fine general they had chosen, a unique commander, who thought that without his lifting a finger victory would fly down from heaven into his lap! But they presently began to utter these same sentiments quite openly and in the light of day, and even bolder things than these: they would not wait, they declared, for the general's orders, but would either fight or go in a body to Rome. The centurions began to mingle with the soldiers; the murmuring was not confined to little knots of men, but in the main street and before the commander's tent there was now one general clamour; the throng increased to the bigness of an assembly, and on every side shouts were heard that they should go instantly to the dictator, and that Sextus Tullius should be spokesman for the army, as became his courage. B.C. 359–358

XIII. It was now the seventh campaign in which Tullius had served as first centurion, nor was there anyone in the army, at least among the foot-soldiers, more distinguished for his services. At the head of the men, who followed in a body, he approached the platform, where the amazement of Sulpicius on seeing the mob was not greater than at seeing it led by Tullius, a soldier most obedient to authority. "By your leave, Dictator," he began, "the entire army, deeming itself condemned in your mind for cowardice and almost deprived of its arms by way of humiliation, has asked me to plead its cause with you. For my part, even if we could be taunted with anywhere quitting a post, with turning our backs on the foe, with shamefully losing our standards, I should still think you ought to hearken

A.U.C. 395–396

hoc a te impetrari aequum censerem ut nos virtute culpam nostram corrigere et abolere flagitii memoriam
5 nova gloria patereris. Etiam ad Alliam fusae legiones eandem quam per pavorem amiserant patriam profectae postea a Veiis[1] virtute reciperavere. Nobis deum benignitate, felicitate tua populique Romani,
6 et res et gloria est integra. Quamquam de gloria vix dicere ausim, si nos et hostes haud secus quam feminas abditos intra vallum omnibus contumeliis eludunt, et tu imperator noster—quod aegrius patimur—exercitum tuum sine animis, sine armis, sine manibus iudicas esse, et, priusquam expertus nos esses, de nobis ita desperasti ut te mancorum ac
7 debilium ducem iudicares esse. Quid enim aliud esse causae credamus, cur veteranus dux, fortissimus bello, compressis, quod aiunt, manibus sedeas? Utcumque enim se habet res, te de nostra virtute
8 dubitasse videri quam nos de tua verius est. Sin autem non tuum istuc sed publicum est consilium, et consensus aliqui patrum, non Gallicum bellum, nos ab urbe a penatibus nostris ablegatos tenet, quaeso ut ea quae dicam non a militibus imperatori dicta censeas sed a plebe patribus,—quae si, ut[2] vos vestra habeatis consilia, sic se sua habituram
9 dicat, quis tandem succenseat?—milites nos esse, non servos vestros, ad bellum, non in exsilium missos; si quis det signum, in aciem educat, ut viris ac

[1] a Veiis *Alschefski* (*cf.* IV. XXXI. 8): ab Veis D^3 (*or* D^3): ab Veiis ς: ab eis Ω: ab eius *T*.
[2] si, ut *Madvig*: sicut Ω: siĉ *FB*: sic ut *D*: sit ut *L*.

to our entreaty that we be permitted to redeem our fault with valour, and by winning new renown blot out the memory of our disgrace. Even the legions that were routed at the Allia afterwards set out from Veii and by manful conduct won back the very City their cowardice had lost. In our case, thanks to the kindness of the gods and to your good fortune and that of the Roman People, both our cause and our glory are unimpaired. Yet I hardly dare to mention glory, since the enemy flout us with every species of insult, as though we were women cowering behind our rampart; and since you, our general—a thing far harder to bear—regard us as an army without spirit, without swords, and without hands, and ere you have given us a trial, have so despaired of us as to reckon yourself a commander of cripples and weaklings. For how else can we account for it, that you, an experienced and fearless general, should, as they say, be sitting down with folded hands? Indeed, however this may be, it is more reasonable that you should seem to distrust our bravery, than that we should seem to distrust yours. But if this is not your own but public policy, and if some agreement amongst the senators, and not the Gallic war, keeps us in exile from the City and from our homes, then I beg you to hear what I have to say, as though it were spoken not by his soldiers to a general but by the plebs to the patricians—for if the plebs, even as you have your policies, should assert that they proposed likewise to have theirs, who, pray, could be angry with them? I say, then, we are your soldiers, not your slaves; you have sent us to war, not into banishment; if anyone would give us the signal and lead us into battle, we are B.C. 359–358

A.U.C. 395–396

Romanis dignum sit, pugnaturos; si nihil armis opus sit, otium Romae potius quam in castris acturos. Haec dicta sint patribus. Te, imperator, milites tui oramus ut nobis pugnandi copiam facias. Cum vincere cupimus, tum te duce vincere, tibi lauream insignem deferre, tecum triumphantes urbem inire, tuum sequentes currum Iovis optimi maximi templum gratantes ovantesque adire." Orationem Tulli exceperunt preces multitudinis, et undique ut signum daret, ut capere arma iuberet, clamabant.

XIV. Dictator quamquam rem bonam exemplo haud probabili actam censebat, tamen facturum quod milites vellent in se[1] recepit, Tulliumque secreto quaenam haec res sit aut quo acta more percontatur. Tullius magno opere a dictatore petere ne se oblitum disciplinae militaris, ne sui neve imperatoriae maiestatis crederet: multitudini concitatae, quae ferme auctoribus similis esset, non subtraxisse se ducem ne quis alius, quales mota creare multitudo soleret, exsisteret; nam se quidem nihil non arbitrio imperatoris acturum. Illi quoque tamen videndum magno opere esse ut exercitum in potestate haberet; differri non posse adeo concitatos animos; ipsos sibi locum ac tempus pugnandi sumpturos, si ab imperatore non detur. Dum haec loquun-

[1] in ϑϑ *Weissenborn*: se Ω.

ready to quit us in the fight like men and Romans: but if there be no occasion for our arms, we had rather spend our leisure in Rome than in a camp. Thus much we would say to the patricians. But of you, our general, we, your soldiers, beg that you give us an opportunity of fighting. We are eager not only to conquer, but to conquer under your leadership; to win for you the glorious laurel; to enter the City with you in the march of triumph; and following your chariot, to approach the throne of Jupiter Optimus Maximus with gratulations and rejoicings." The speech of Tullius was supported by the entreaties of the crowd, who on all sides clamoured for the signal and the command to arm. B.C. 359–358

XIV. Though the dictator felt that a good thing had been carried out in a way to set a bad example, yet he undertook to do as the soldiers wished. In private he questioned Tullius what this proceeding meant and on what precedent he had acted. Tullius earnestly besought the dictator not to believe that he had forgotten the training of a soldier, nor forgotten himself and the honour due to his commander: the crowd, he said, had become excited; crowds were generally like their leaders, and he had not refused to lead it, for fear that some other might come forward, of the sort that an unruly mob was likely to choose; for his own part he would do nothing without the approval of his general. But Sulpicius, he continued, must none the less be very wary himself, to keep the army in hand; postponement would not do, where feelings were so exasperated; the men would choose for themselves a time and place for fighting, if their general did not provide them. While they were talking thus,

A.U.C. 395–396

tur, iumenta forte pascentia extra vallum Gallo abigenti duo milites Romani ademerunt. In eos saxa conlecta a Gallis; deinde ab Romana statione clamor ortus ac procursum utrimque est. Iamque haud procul iusto proelio res erat,[1] ni celeriter diremptum certamen per centuriones esset; adfirmata certe eo casu Tulli apud dictatorem fides est; nec recipiente iam dilationem re in posterum diem edicitur acie pugnaturos.

6 Dictator tamen, ut qui magis animis quam viribus fretus ad certamen descenderet, omnia circumspicere atque agitare coepit ut arte aliqua terrorem hostibus incuteret. Sollerti animo rem novam excogitat, qua deinde multi nostri atque externi imperatores, nostra 7 quoque quidam aetate, usi sunt. Mulis strata detrahi iubet binisque tantum centunculis relictis agasones partim captivis partim aegrorum armis ornatos im- 8 ponit. His fere mille effectis centum admiscet equites et nocte super castra in montes evadere ac silvis se occultare iubet neque inde ante movere 9 quam ab se acceperint[2] signum. Ipse, ubi inluxit, in radicibus montium extendere aciem coepit sedulo, 10 ut adversus montes consisteret hostis instructos[3] vani terroris apparatu, qui quidem terror plus paene

[1] erat ς: erant Ω.

[2] acceperint *Frag. Haverk.*: acceperent *PFB*: ac|caeperent *M*: acciperent Ω.

[3] instructos *Foster* (*adopting the punct. of Walters and Conway, instead of* hostis. Instructo—profuit, primo *of previous edd.*): instructo Ω.

[1] *e. g.* C. Marius at Aquae Sextiae (Frontinus, II. iv. 6), and Julius Caesar at Gergovia (*Bell. Gall.* VII. xlv. 2). Bannockburn has been cited as a modern instance.

it chanced that a Gaul attempted to drive off certain sumpter animals that were grazing outside of the stockade, and two Roman soldiers took them away from him. These men were stoned by the Gauls. Whereupon a shout arose in the Roman outpost, and men ran forward on both sides. And now the mellay was likely to end in a regular battle, had not the centurions speedily parted the combatants. Sulpicius was assured by this incident that Tullius spoke truth, and, the situation admitting of no delay, he announced a general engagement for the morrow. B.C. 359–358

Yet the dictator was entering a struggle in which he relied more on the spirit of his troops than on their strength. He began therefore to cast about and every way to consider how he might strike terror into the enemy by some stratagem. His cleverness produced a new expedient, which many generals both of our own and foreign countries—some even in the present age—have since employed.[1] Commanding the muleteers to remove the pack-saddles from the mules, leaving only a pair of saddle-cloths on each, and arming them, partly with captured weapons, partly with those belonging to the sick, he mounted them. Having in this way made out near a thousand, he mixed a hundred cavalrymen with them and ordered them to go up by night on to the mountains above the camp and conceal themselves in the woods, and not to stir from thence until they received a signal from him. The dictator himself, as soon as it was light, began to deploy his front along the lower slopes, on purpose to make the enemy take their stand facing the mountains where the preparations had been made for inspiring them with a fear which, groundless

A.U.C. 95–396

veris viribus profuit. Primo credere duces Gallorum non descensuros in aequum Romanos; deinde, ubi degressos repente viderunt, et ipsi avidi certaminis in proelium ruunt, priusque pugna coepit quam signum ab ducibus daretur.

XV. Acrius invasere Galli dextro[1] cornu; neque sustineri potuissent, ni forte eo loco dictator fuisset, 2 Sex. Tullium nomine increpans rogitansque sicine pugnaturos milites spopondisset? Ubi illi clamores sint arma poscentium, ubi minae iniussu imperatoris proelium inituros? En ipsum imperatorem clara voce vocare ad proelium et ire armatum ante prima signa; ecquis sequeretur eorum qui modo ducturi fuerint, 3 in castris feroces, in acie pavidi? Vera audiebant; itaque tantos pudor stimulos admovit, ut ruerent in hostium tela alienatis a memoria periculi animis. Hic primo impetus prope vecors turbavit hostes, 4 eques deinde emissus turbatos avertit. Ipse dictator, post quam labantem una parte vidit aciem, signa in laevum cornu confert, quo turbam hostium congregari cernebat, et iis qui in monte erant signum quod 5 convenerat dedit. Ubi inde quoque novus clamor

[1] dextro *Drakenborch* (*cf.* §§ 4 *and* 6): dextrum Ω.

though it was, yet served the Romans almost better than actual strength. At first the Gallic leaders supposed that the Romans would not come down into the plain; then, when they saw that they had suddenly begun to descend, they also, being themselves eager for the combat, rushed into battle, and the fighting began before the signal could be given by the generals. B.C. 359–358

XV. The right wing of the Gauls attacked fiercely, and it would have been impossible to stop them, if the dictator had not happened to be there. Calling out to Sextus Tullius by name, he chid him and asked if this was the kind of fighting he had promised that the men should do. Where were those shouts with which they had called for arms? Where were their threats that they would begin the battle without the general's orders? Here was their general himself, who with a loud voice summoned them to fight, and advanced, sword in hand, in the very van! Of those who but now were ready to lead, was there none to follow? They might swagger in camp; in the field they were arrant cowards. What he said was the truth, and so stung them with shame that they rushed on the weapons of the enemy in utter forgetfulness of danger. This well-nigh frenzied onset first threw their enemies into disarray, and before they could recover their confusion the cavalry charged and routed them. The dictator himself, as soon as he saw that a part of their line was wavering, turned the infantry attack against their left, where he descried a throng of the enemy gathering, and made the appointed signal to those on the mountain. And when they too raised a shout and were seen to

A.U.C. 395–396

ortus est[1] et tendere obliquo monte ad castra Gallorum visi sunt, tum metu ne excluderentur omissa pugna est cursuque effuso ad castra ferebantur. 6 Ubi cum occurrisset eis M. Valerius magister equitum, qui profligato dextro[2] cornu obequitabat hostium 7 munimentis, ad montes silvasque vertunt fugam plurimique ibi a fallaci equitum specie agasonibusque excepti sunt; et eorum quos pavor pertulerat[3] in silvas atrox caedes post sedatum proelium fuit. 8 Nec alius post M. Furium quam C. Sulpicius iustiorem de Gallis egit triumphum. Auri quoque ex Gallicis spoliis satis magnum pondus saxo quadrato saeptum in Capitolio sacravit.

9 Eodem anno et a consulibus vario eventu bellatum; nam Hernici a C. Plautio devicti subactique sunt. Fabius collega eius incaute atque inconsulte adversus 10 Tarquinienses pugnavit. Nec in acie tantum ibi cladis acceptum quam quod trecentos septem milites Romanos captos Tarquinienses immolarunt, qua foeditate supplicii aliquanto ignominia populi Romani 11 insignitior fuit. Accessit ad eam cladem et vastatio Romani agri, quam Privernates, Veliterni deinde, incursione repentina fecerunt.

12 Eodem anno duae tribus, Pomptina et Publilia,

[1] ortus est *Luterbacher*: ortus (hort' *H*) Ω.
[2] dextro Ω: sinistro *Glareanus*.
[3] pertulerat $D^3\varsigma$: perculerat Ω.

[1] Bringing up the total number at this time to twenty-seven.

be moving obliquely down the mountain in the direction of the Gallic camp, the enemy, fearing to be shut out, ceased fighting and rushed pell-mell for their entrenchments. There however they were met by Marcus Valerius, the master of the horse, who, having scattered the enemy's right wing, was then riding up to their works; whereupon they turned and fled towards the mountains and the woods, where very many of them were intercepted by the muleteers masquerading as cavalry; and those whose fright had carried them into the woods were pitilessly slaughtered, after the battle had died down. Not since the time of Marcus Furius has anyone celebrated a Gallic triumph that was better deserved than that of Gaius Sulpicius. He also collected from the spoils a considerable weight of gold, which he walled up with hewn stone in the Capitol, and so dedicated. B.C. 359–358

In the same year the consuls, too, waged war with varying success. Gaius Plautius defeated the Hernici and reduced them to subjection; his colleague Fabius showed neither prudence nor skill in his battle with the Tarquinienses. And yet the disaster experienced on the field was overshadowed by the fact that the Tarquinienses slew three hundred and seven captured Roman soldiers as a sacrifice—an act of savage cruelty that greatly emphasized the humiliation of the Roman People. In addition to this defeat, the Romans suffered the devastation of their fields in sudden incursions made by the Privernates, and afterwards by the Veliterni.

In the same year two tribes were added;[1] the Pomptine and the Publilian; the votive games,

A.U.C. 395–396

additae; ludi votivi, quos M. Furius dictator voverat, facti; et de ambitu ab C. Poetelio[1] tribuno plebis auctoribus patribus tum primum ad populum latum
13 est; eaque rogatione novorum maxime hominum ambitionem, qui nundinas et conciliabula obire soliti erant, compressam credebant.

A.U.C. 397

XVI. Haud aeque laeta patribus insequenti anno C. Marcio Cn. Manlio consulibus de unciario fenore a M. Duillio[2] L. Menenio tribunis plebis rogatio est perlata; et plebs aliquanto eam cupidius scivit.[3]
2 Ad bella nova priore anno destinata Falisci quoque hostes exorti duplici crimine, quod et cum Tarquiniensibus iuventus eorum militaverat et eos qui Falerios perfugerant cum male pugnatum est, repetentibus
3 fetialibus Romanis non reddiderant. Ea provincia Cn. Manlio obvenit. Marcius exercitum in agrum Privernatem, integrum pace longinqua, induxit militemque praeda implevit. Ad copiam rerum addidit munificentiam, quod nihil in publicum secernendo
4 augenti[4] rem privatam militi favit. Privernates cum ante moenia sua castris permunitis consedissent, vocatis ad contionem militibus "Castra nunc" inquit "vobis hostium urbemque praedae do, si mihi polli-

[1] Poetelio *C.I.L.* i², *pp.* 126, 130: poetilio (*or* petilio) Ω.
[2] Duillio *edd.*: duilio (*and other corruptions*) Ω.
[3] scivit *Weissenborn and Madvig*: sciuit accepit *M*: sciuit accepitque (*or* accepi- *or* accepti-) Ω.
[4] augenti ς: augendi (*wanting in O*) Ω.

[1] Tacitus tells us (*Annals* VI. xvi.) that the twelve Tables had forbidden a higher rate of interest. If so, the tribunes were merely reviving an obsolete enactment. The words *unciarium fenus* clearly mean a rate of one twelfth but just how that rate was applied is very doubtful. It may be $\frac{1}{12}$ of the whole principal or $\frac{1}{12}$ of 1 per cent.; the period may be one month or one year; and, finally, the year may be 10 months or 12. The rate in modern terms may then be 1 per cent. (as translated here), 8⅓ per cent. as assumed by Frank, *Economic Survey of*

which Marcus Furius had vowed as dictator, were given; and a statute against bribery was then for the first time laid before the people by Gaius Poetelius, tribune of the plebs, with the approbation of the senate. By this measure they thought to have suppressed corrupt practices, particularly on the part of men risen from the people, who were wont to haunt the country fairs and gathering-places. B.C. 359–358

XVI. Less agreeable to the senate was a measure which came up in the following year, in the consulship of Gaius Marcius and Gnaeus Manlius. It fixed the rate of interest at one per cent., and was carried through by Marcus Duillius and Lucius Menenius, tribunes of the plebs. The commons ratified it much more eagerly than they had done the other law.[1] B.C. 357

Besides the new wars determined on in the previous year, the Faliscans also rose up as enemies. They were charged with two offences: their youth had fought on the side of the Tarquinienses; and they had refused the demand of the fetials that they should give up the Romans who had taken refuge in Falerii, after the defeat. This command was assigned to Gnaeus Manlius. Marcius led an army into the territory of Privernum, unravaged during a long period of peace, and loaded his troops with booty. This abundance he administered bountifully, and sequestering nothing to the public treasury, encouraged the men to augment their private fortunes. The Privernates having encamped in front of their town, within strong intrenchments, Marcius called his soldiers together and thus addressed them: "I give you now for booty the camp and city of our enemies, if you promise me

Ancient Rome, I. 282), 10 per cent. (cf. Weissenborn *ad loc.*) or 100 per cent. (so apparently Last, Camb, Anc. Hist. VII. 476).

A.U.C. 397

"vobis hostium urbemque praedae do, si mihi pollicemini vos fortiter in acie operam navaturos nec praedae magis quam pugnae paratos esse." Signum poscunt ingenti clamore celsique et spe haud dubia feroces in proelium vadunt. Ibi ante signa Sex. Tullius, de quo ante dictum est, exclamat "Aspice, imperator" inquit, "quemadmodum exercitus tuus tibi promissa praestet," piloque posito stricto gladio in hostem impetum facit. Sequuntur Tullium antesignani omnes primoque impetu avertere hostem; fusum inde ad oppidum persecuti, cum iam scalas moenibus admoverent, in deditionem urbem acceperunt. Triumphus de Privernatibus actus.

Ab altero consule nihil memorabile gestum, nisi quod legem novo exemplo ad Sutrium in castris tributim de vicensima eorum qui manumitterentur tulit. Patres, quia ea lege haud parvum vectigal inopi aerario additum esset, auctores fuerunt; ceterum tribuni plebis, non tam lege quam exemplo moti, ne quis postea populum sevocaret, capite sanxerunt; nihil enim non per milites iuratos in consulis verba, quamvis perniciosum populo, si id liceret, ferri posse.

Eodem anno C. Licinius Stolo a M. Popilio Laenate sua lege decem milibus aeris est damnatus, quod mille iugerum agri cum filio possideret emancupandoque filium fraudem legi fecisset.

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[1] Within a distance of one mile from the walls a citizen might appeal from the decision of a consul, but beyond that point the consul's authority was absolute.

[2] From his paternal authority.

[3] By the Licinio-Sextian legislation of 367 it had been forbidden that anybody should hold more than 500 *iugera*. *cf.* VI. XXXV. 5.

that in the battle you will play the part of men, B.C. 357
and be not more ready to plunder than to fight." They clamoured loudly for the signal and entered the battle with spirit, emboldened by no uncertain expectations. There in the fore-front Sextus Tullius, who has been mentioned before, cried out, "Look, general, and see how your army keeps the promises it gave you!" Then, laying down his javelin, he drew his sword and charged the foe. All of the front line followed Tullius, and putting the enemy to flight at the first shock, pursued them to the town, where the Romans were already bringing up their scaling ladders to the wall, when the place surrendered. A triumph was celebrated over the Privernates.

The other consul accomplished nothing worth recording, except that without precedent he got a law passed in his camp before Sutrium—the men voting by tribes—which levied a tax of one-twentieth on manumissions. The Fathers ratified this law, since it brought in no small revenue to the empty treasury; but the tribunes of the plebs, troubled less by the law than by the precedent established, had it made a capital offence for anyone thereafter to summon the people to the comitia away from Rome. If this should be permitted, there was nothing, they argued, however baneful to the people, which could not be carried through by the votes of soldiers sworn to obey their consul.[1]

In the same year Gaius Licinius Stolo was prosecuted under his own statute by Marcus Popilius Laenas, and condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand *asses*, on the charge that he held with his son a thousand *iugera* of land, and by emancipating his son[2] had evaded the law.[3]

A.U.C. 398–399

XVII. Novi consules inde, M. Fabius Ambustus
2 iterum et M. Popilius Laenas iterum, duo bella habuere, facile alterum cum Tiburtibus, quod Laenas gessit, qui hoste in urbem compulso agros vastavit; Falisci Tarquiniensesque alterum consulem prima
3 pugna fuderunt. Inde terror maximus fuit quod sacerdotes eorum facibus ardentibus anguibusque praelatis incessu furiali militem Romanum insueta turbaverunt specie. Et tum quidem velut lymphati et attoniti munimentis suis trepido agmine inci-
4 derunt; deinde, ubi consul legatique ac tribuni puerorum ritu vana miracula paventes inridebant increpabantque, vertit animos repente pudor, et in
5 ea ipsa quae fugerant velut caeci ruebant. Discusso itaque vano apparatu hostium cum in ipsos armatos se intulissent, averterunt totam aciem; castrisque etiam eo die potiti praeda ingenti parta victores reverterunt, militaribus iocis cum apparatum hostium
6 tum suum increpantes pavorem. Concitatur deinde omne nomen Etruscum, et Tarquiniensibus Faliscisque ducibus ad Salinas perveniunt. Adversus eum terrorem dictator C. Marcius Rutulus[1] primus de plebe dictus magistrum equitum item de plebe C. Plau-
7 tium dixit. Id vero patribus indignum videri, etiam dictaturam iam in promiscuo esse; omnique ope

[1] Rutulus *Conway* (*cf. chap.* xxxviii. § 8 *and Conway's note at* iii. vii. 6): rutilius *UHA*[2]: utilius (*omitted by O*) Ω.

XVII. New consuls now came in, Marcus Fabius Ambustus and Marcus Popilius Laenas, each for the second time. They had two wars. One of these was easy; it was waged by Laenas against the Tiburtes, and he shut up the enemy within their city and pillaged their fields. The other consul was routed by the Faliscans and Tarquinienses in his first engagement. The panic was chiefly due to this, that their priests, bearing serpents and blazing torches before them, came rushing on like Furies, and utterly dismayed the Roman soldiers with the extraordinary sight. At first they were like men frantic and distraught, and flung themselves in a disordered mob into their own works. Then when the consul, the lieutenants and the tribunes laughed at them and upbraided them for being scared like children at idle tricks, shame caused a sudden revulsion in their feelings, and they rushed, as if blinded, on the very objects from which they had fled. In this spirit they brushed aside the enemy's vain paraphernalia, and hurling themselves on his real fighting men, they routed the whole army, and even captured the camp that day. As they returned victorious with the rich plunder they had won, they jested in soldier-fashion and scoffed not only at the enemy's devices but at their own fright as well. All who bore the Etruscan name then rose in arms, and led by the men of Tarquinii and Falerii, advanced as far as Salinae. To meet this fearful danger Gaius Marcius Rutulus was made dictator, the first that was ever appointed from the plebs, and he named a plebeian also, Gaius Plautius, to be master of the horse. But the patricians thought it shameful that even the dictatorship should now

B.C. 356–355

A.U.C. 398–399 impediebant ne quid dictatori ad id bellum decerneretur parareturve. Eo promptius cuncta ferente
8 dictatore populus iussit. Profectus ab urbe utraque parte Tiberis, ratibus exercitu, quocumque fama hostium ducebat, traiecto multos populatores agrorum
9 vagos palantes oppressit; castra quoque necopinato adgressus cepit et octo milibus hostium captis, ceteris aut caesis aut ex agro Romano fugatis sine auctoritate patrum populi iussu triumphavit.
10 Quia nec per dictatorem plebeium nec per consulem comitia consularia haberi volebant et alter consul Fabius bello retinebatur, res ad interregnum
11 redit. Interreges deinceps Q. Servilius Ahala M. Fabius Cn. Manlius C. Fabius C. Sulpicius L. Aemi-
12 lius Q. Servilius M. Fabius Ambustus. In secundo interregno orta contentio est, quod duo patricii consules creabantur, intercedentibusque tribunis interrex Fabius aiebat in duodecim tabulis legem esse ut quodcumque postremum populus iussisset, id ius ratumque esset; iussum populi et suffragia esse.
13 Cum intercedendo tribuni nihil aliud quam ut differrent comitia valuissent, duo patricii consules creati sunt, C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publi-
A.U.C. 400 cola, eodemque die magistratum inierunt, (XVIII.)

[1] Compare the story of Valerius and Horatius at III. lxiii. 11.

[2] Perhaps identical with the M. Fabius Ambustus of VI. xxii., xxxiv., xxxvi.; perhaps with the M. Fabius Dorsuo of VII. xxviii.

be common; and they exerted all their influence to prevent anything being decreed or made ready for the dictator, to carry on that war. For which reason the people voted the more promptly everything that the dictator proposed. Marching out from the City and setting his army across the Tiber by means of rafts, wherever a rumour of the enemy called him, he surprised many straggling pillagers as they roamed about the fields, on both sides of the river; he also captured their camp in a surprise attack, and with it eight thousand soldiers; and having slain the rest, or driven them out of Roman territory, was granted a triumph by the people, but without the authorization of the senate.[1] B.C. 356–355

The patricians were not willing that a consular election should be held by a plebeian, whether dictator or consul, and the other consul being detained by the war, the state relapsed into an interregnum. The office of interrex was held successively by Quintus Servilius Ahala, Marcus Fabius,[2] Gnaeus Manlius, Gaius Fabius, Gaius Sulpicius, Lucius Aemilius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus. In the second interregnum a controversy arose because two patricians were on the point of being named as consuls; and when the tribunes sought to veto the announcement, the interrex Fabius declared that the Twelve Tables enacted that whatsoever the people decreed last should have the binding force of law, and their votes were also a decree. The tribunes gained nothing more by their intervention than a postponement of the comitia, and two patrician consuls were elected, namely Gaius Sulpicius Peticus (for the third time) and Marcus Valerius Publicola. They entered office that very day, (XVIII.) B.C. 354

A.U.C. 400 quadringentesimo anno quam urbs Romana condita erat, quinto tricesimo quam a Gallis reciperata, ablato post undecimum[1] annum a plebe consulatu.[2]
2 Empulum[3] eo anno ex Tiburtibus haud memorando certamine captum, sive duorum consulum auspicio bellum ibi gestum est, ut scripsere quidam, seu per idem tempus Tarquiniensium quoque sunt vastati agri ab Sulpicio consule, quo Valerius adversus Tiburtes legiones duxit.
3 Domi maius certamen consulibus cum plebe ac tribunis erat. Fidei iam suae non solum virtutis ducebant esse, ut accepissent duo patricii consu-
4 latum, ita ambobus patriciis mandare: quin aut toto cedendum esse, ut[4] plebeius iam magistratus consulatus fiat, aut totum possidendum quam possessionem
5 integram a patribus accepissent. Plebes contra fremit: quid se vivere, quid in parte civium censeri, si, quod duorum hominum virtute, L. Sexti ac C. Licini, partum sit, id obtinere universi non possint?
6 Vel reges vel decemviros vel si quod tristius sit imperii nomen patiendum esse potius, quam ambos
7 patricios consules videant, nec in vicem pareatur atque imperetur, sed pars altera in aeterno imperio locata plebem nusquam alio natam quam ad servi-
8 endum putet. Non desunt tribuni auctores turbarum, sed inter concitatos per se omnes vix duces eminent.

[1] undecimum *Sigonius and Glareanus*: nonum (*or some corruption of* nonum) Ω.
[2] consulatu *Walters and Conway*: consulatu patricii consules ambo ex interregno magistratum iniere, C. Sulpicius Peticus tertium M. Valerius Publicola Ω.
[3] Empulum ς: emaepulum (*and other corruptions*) Ω.
[4] esse ut *Madvig*: esset si (est si *DL*) Ω.

in the four hundredth year from the founding of Rome and the thirty-fifth from its recovery from the Gauls, depriving the plebs of the consulship they had enjoyed for ten years. Empulum was won that year from the Tiburtes without any memorable battle being fought; whether, as some writers state, the campaign was conducted there under the auspices of the two consuls; or whether the lands belonging to Tarquinii were ravaged by the consul Sulpicius at the same time that Valerius led his legions against the Tiburtes. B.C. 354

The consuls had a harder struggle at home, with the plebs and the tribunes. They held that honour as well as courage required of them that, even as two patricians had received the consulship, so they should hand it over to successors who were both patricians: indeed they ought rather to withdraw from the consulship altogether, that it might at once become a plebeian magistracy, or else retain undivided that control which they had inherited entire from their fathers. On the other side, the plebeians were asking angrily why they lived, why they were counted a part of the state, if they were unable by their collective efforts to maintain what the courage of two men, Lucius Sextius and Gaius Licinius, had won for them. It were better to put up with kings or decemvirs, or —if possible—a more stern type of government than theirs, rather than see the consuls both patricians and have no turns at obeying and commanding, while a part of the people thought themselves established forever in authority and the commons born for no other end than servitude. There was no lack of tribunes to promote disturbances, but where all were so excited, to begin with, the leaders were hardly to

A.U.C. 400

9 Aliquotiens frustra in campum descensum cum esset multique per seditiones acti comitiales dies, postremo vicit[1] perseverantia consulum: plebis eo dolor erupit ut tribunos actum esse de libertate vociferantes relinquendumque non campum iam solum sed etiam urbem captam atque oppressam regno patriciorum maesta[2] sequeretur. Consules relicti a parte populi per infrequentiam comitia nihilo segnius perficiunt. Creati consules ambo patricii, M. Fabius Ambustus tertium T. Quinctius. In quibusdam annalibus pro T. Quinctio M. Popilium consulem invenio.

A.U.C. 401

XIX. Duo bella eo anno prospere gesta. Cum Tarquiniensibus Tiburtibusque[3] ad deditionem pugnatum. Sassula ex his urbs capta; ceteraque oppida eandem fortunam habuissent, ni universa gens positis armis in fidem consulis venisset. Triumphatum de Tiburtibus; alioquin mitis victoria fuit. In Tarquinienses acerbe saevitum; multis mortalibus in acie caesis ex ingenti captivorum numero trecenti quinquaginta octo delecti, nobilissimus quisque, qui Romam mitterentur; volgus aliud trucidatum. Nec populus in eos qui missi Romam erant mitior fuit: medio in foro omnes virgis caesi ac securi percussi. Id pro immolatis in foro Tarquiniensium Romanis poenae

[1] vicit *Conway*: uicta (victa *O*) Ω: uictae ς.
[2] maesta ς (*Alschefski*): maesta plebs Ω.
[3] Tarquiniensibus Tiburtibusque *Walters*: Tarquiniensibus Tiburtibusque cum Tiburtibus A^2: Tarquiniensibus Tiburtibusque cum Tiburtibus usque *Frag. Haverk.*: Tarquiniensibus Tiburtibusque usque *cod. Gaertn.*: Tiburtibus usque *Madvig*: Tiburtibusque Ω.

[1] Where the voting took place.

be discerned. After the people had several times gone down to the Campus Martius [1] to no purpose, and many meeting days had been spent in rioting, the persistence of the consuls finally prevailed. The plebs, thereupon, in a burst of resentment, followed their tribunes, who cried out that liberty was lost and that they ought now to leave not only the voting-field but the City, too, which was taken captive and enslaved by the tyranny of the patricians. The consuls, being deserted by half the people, nevertheless, despite the paucity of voters, completed the election. The successful candidates were both patricians, Marcus Fabius Ambustus (for the third time) and Titus Quinctius. In certain annals I find Marcus Popilius given as consul instead of Titus Quinctius. B.C. 354

XIX. Two wars were successfully prosecuted this year, and the Tarquinienses and Tiburtes were forced to make submission. From the latter their city of Sassula was taken, and the rest of their towns would have met with the same fortune, had the whole nation not laid down their arms and cast themselves upon the mercy of the consul. A triumph was celebrated over them, but in all other respects the victory was used with clemency. The men of Tarquinii were shown no ruth; many were slain in the field of battle, and out of the vast number taken prisoners three hundred and fifty-eight were selected—the noblest of them all—to be sent to Rome, and the rest of the populace were put to the sword. Neither were the People less stern towards those who had been sent to Rome, but scourged them all with rods in the middle of the Forum and struck off their heads. Such was the vengeance they exacted of their enemies for the Romans sacrificed B.C. 353

A.U.C. 401

4 hostibus redditum. Res bello bene gestae ut Samnites quoque amicitiam peterent effecerunt. Legatis eorum comiter ab senatu responsum; foedere in societatem accepti.

5 Non eadem domi quae militiae fortuna erat plebi Romanae. Nam etsi unciario fenore facto levata usura erat, sorte ipsa obruebantur inopes nexumque inibant; eo nec patricios ambo consules neque comitiorum curam publicave studia prae privatis incom-
6 modis plebs ad animum admittebat. Consulatus uterque apud patricios manet; consules creati C. Sulpicius Peticus quartum M. Valerius Publicola iterum.

In bellum Etruscum intentam civitatem, quia Caeritem populum misericordia consanguinitatis Tarquiniensibus adiunctum fama ferebatur, legati Latini ad Volscos convertere, nuntiantes exercitum conscriptum armatumque iam suis finibus imminere; inde populabundos in agrum Romanum venturos
7 esse. Censuit igitur senatus neutram neglegendam rem esse; utroque legiones scribi consulesque sortiri
8 provincias iussit. Inclinavit deinde pars maior curae in Etruscum bellum, postquam litteris Sulpici con-

[1] Chap. xv. § 10.

in the market-place of Tarquinii.[1] Their success in war induced the Samnites also to apply for their friendship. The senate made a courteous answer to their ambassadors, and granted them a treaty of alliance. B.C. 353

The Roman commons were not so fortunate at home as in the field. For notwithstanding they had been relieved of usury by the adoption of a one per cent. rate, the very poor found even the principal sum a crushing burden, and were being bound over to their creditors. Hence it was that neither the incumbency of two patrician consuls, nor concern for the elections or affairs of state, could divert the thoughts of the plebeians from their personal distresses. Accordingly both consulships continued in the hands of the patricians; Gaius Sulpicius Peticus was elected for the fourth time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola for the second.

While the citizens were occupied with thoughts of an Etruscan war—for it was rumoured that the people of Caere, out of compassion for their kinsmen of Tarquinii, had made common cause with them—came envoys from the Latins and turned their thoughts upon the Volsci, with a report that they had mustered and equipped an army, which was even then descending upon Latium, from whence it would invade and devastate the territory of the Romans. The senate therefore resolved that neither threat must be neglected; and ordered that legions should be enrolled for both campaigns, and that the consuls should decide the commands by lot. But the Etruscan war afterwards came to be their chief concern, on the receipt of a dispatch from the consul Sulpicius, who had received the assignment

A.U.C. 401 sulis, cui Tarquinii provincia evenerat, cognitum est depopulatum agrum circa Romanas salinas praedaeque partem in Caeritum fines avectam et haud dubie iuventutem eius populi inter praedatores fuisse. 9 Itaque Valerium consulem, Volscis oppositum castraque ad finem Tusculanum habentem, revocatum inde senatus dictatorem dicere iussit. T. Manlium 10 L. filium dixit. Is cum sibi magistrum equitum A. Cornelium Cossum dixisset, consulari exercitu contentus ex auctoritate patrum ac populi iussu Caeritibus bellum indixit.

XX. Tum primum Caerites, tamquam in verbis hostium vis maior ad bellum significandum quam in suis factis, qui per populationem Romanos lacessierant, esset, verus belli terror invasit, et quam non 2 suarum virium ea dimicatio esset cernebant; paenitebatque populationis et Tarquinienses exsecrabantur defectionis auctores; nec arma aut bellum quisquam apparare, sed pro se quisque legatos mitti iubebat 3 ad petendam erroris veniam. Legati senatum cum adissent, ab senatu reiecti ad populum deos rogaverunt, quorum sacra bello Gallico accepta rite procurassent, ut Romanos florentes ea sui misericordia caperet quae se rebus adfectis quondam populi 4 Romani cepisset; conversique ad delubra Vestae hospitium flaminum Vestaliumque ab se caste ac

[1] sc. Torquatus. See chap. v. § 3 and chap. x. § 13.
[2] See v. xl. 7 and l. 3.

to Tarquinii, with the news that the countryside lying near the Roman salt-works had been pillaged, and a part of the booty carried into the borders of the Caerites, whose soldiers had, without question, been amongst the depredators. And so the senate recalled Valerius the consul, who was opposing the Volsci and had his camp close to the Tusculan frontier, and ordered him to nominate a dictator. His choice fell upon Titus Manlius,[1] the son of Lucius, who appointed as master of the horse Aulus Cornelius Cossus. Asking for no more than the consular army, the dictator, by the senate's authority, and at the bidding of the people, proclaimed war on the Caerites. B.C. 353

XX. It was then that the Caerites realized for the first time the full danger of war, as if the words of their enemies conveyed a more emphatic hint of it than their own acts, though they had pillaged the Romans and harried them. Beginning then to perceive how inadequate was their strength to such a quarrel, they repented of their raid, and cursed the Tarquinienses, who had encouraged them to fall away. Nobody made ready his arms and prepared for war, but one and all bade dispatch ambassadors to Rome, to beg forgiveness for their error. The envoys, having approached the senate, were sent by them to be dealt with by the people. Calling on the gods whose sacred emblems they had received and religiously protected in the Gallic war, they besought them to inspire the Romans in their prosperity with such compassion for the men of Caere as they themselves had formerly shown for Rome in her time of tribulation.[2] Then, turning to the shrine of Vesta, they invoked the flamens and Vestals whom they had

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5 religiose cultum invocabant: eane meritos crederet quisquam hostes repente sine causa factos? aut, si quid hostiliter fecissent, consilio id magis quam furore lapsos fecisse, ut sua vetera beneficia, locata praesertim apud tam gratos, novis corrumperent maleficiis, florentemque populum Romanum ac felicissimum bello sibi desumerent hostem, cuius adflicti amicitiam petissent?[1] Ne appellarent consilium quae 6 vis ac necessitas appellanda esset. Transeuntes[2] agmine infesto per agrum suum Tarquinienses, cum praeter viam nihil petissent, traxisse quosdam agrestium populationis eius, quae sibi crimini detur, 7 comites. Eos seu dedi placeat, dedere se paratos esse, seu supplicio adfici, daturos poenas. Caere, sacrarium populi Romani, deversorium sacerdotum ac receptaculum Romanorum sacrorum, intactum inviolatumque crimine belli hospitio Vestalium cultisque 8 dis darent. Movit populum non tam causa praesens quam vetus meritum, ut maleficii quam beneficii potius immemores essent. Itaque pax populo Caeriti data, indutiasque in centum annos factas in aes[3]

[1] petissent *M*: cepissent Ω: coepissent *HTD*: . . pissent *O*.

[2] transeuntes A^1 *or* A^2: tanseuntes *H*: transeuntiq *PFTDLA*: transeundis *M*: *wanting in O*.

[3] aes *Madvig*: senatus consultum (sc̄) Ω.

entertained with a pure and scrupulous hospitality. B.C. 353
Could anyone, they asked, believe that those who had deserved so well of the Romans had suddenly turned enemies without reason? or that if they had in fact committed an act of hostility, it had been deliberately planned, and had not rather been owing to a fit of madness? Would they undo their own kindness of old, especially kindness to such grateful friends, with new misdeeds; and choose to be enemies of the Roman People in their flourishing state and at the height of their success in war, when they had sought their friendship in the hour of their adversity? Let them not give the name of "purpose" to what should properly be called "force" and "necessity." The Tarquinienses, marching in hostile array through their territories, had sought nothing of them save permission to pass, but had drawn certain rustics after them in their train, who had borne a part in the pillaging with which the people of Caere were now taxed. If it pleased the Romans that these men should be surrendered, they would surrender them; if they would have them punished, they should be made to suffer. But Caere, the sanctuary of the Roman People, the hostel of its priests and refuge of the Roman religion, let them preserve intact and unstained by the imputation of making war, for the sake of the hospitality it had shown their Vestals and the reverence it had paid their gods. The people were moved, not so much by their present claims as by their ancient merits, and chose rather to forget an injury than a kindness. So peace was granted to the people of Caere, and it was resolved that a truce of a hundred years be made, and recorded on a table of bronze. The

A.U.C. 401

9 referri placuit. In Faliscos eodem noxios crimine vis belli conversa est; sed hostes nusquam inventi. Cum populatione peragrati fines essent, ab oppugnatione urbium temperatum; legionibusque Romam reductis reliquum anni muris turribusque reficiendis consumptum et aedis Apollinis dedicata est.

A.U.C. 402

XXI. Extremo anno comitia consularia certamen patrum ac plebis diremit, tribunis negantibus passuros comitia haberi ni secundum Liciniam legem haberentur, dictatore obstinato tollere potius totum e re publica consulatum quam promiscuum patribus
2 ac plebi facere. Prolatandis igitur comitiis cum dictator magistratu abisset, res ad interregnum rediit. Infestam inde patribus plebem interreges cum accepissent, ad undecimum interregem seditioni-
3 bus certatum est. Legis Liciniae patrocinium tribuni iactabant; propior dolor plebi fenoris ingravescentis erat, curaeque privatae in certaminibus publicis
4 erumpebant. Quorum [1] taedio patres L. Cornelium Scipionem interregem concordiae causa observare legem Liciniam comitiis consularibus iussere. P. Valerio Publicolae datus e plebe collega C. Marcius
5 Rutulus.[2] Inclinatis semel in concordiam animis novi consules fenebrem quoque rem, quae distinere

[1] quorum $O\varsigma$: quarum Ω.
[2] Rutulus *Conway*: rutilius Ω.

[1] Brother of the Marcus Valerius of chap. xxiii. § 3.

brunt of the war was turned against the Faliscans, B.C. 353
who lay under the same accusation; but the enemy were nowhere encountered. Having ranged over their lands and laid them waste, the Romans refrained from attacking their cities, and led their legions home. The rest of the year was consumed in repairing the walls and towers, and a temple was dedicated to Apollo.

XXI. In the latter part of the year the consular B.C. 352
election was broken off by a quarrel between the patricians and the plebs: the tribunes refused to permit the assembly to be held unless it were held agreeably to the Licinian law, and the dictator was obstinately determined rather to remove the consulship root and branch out of the state than to throw it open to patricians and plebs without distinction. The assembly was therefore repeatedly adjourned, until the dictator's term had expired, and the state reverted to an interregnum. The interreges found the commons hostile to the patricians, and the factional struggle continued until there had been eleven interreges. The tribunes continually vaunted their backing of the Licinian law: the plebs were more concerned with the distress they suffered from the increasing weight of usury, and their private worries broke out into public quarrels. Worn out with these, the senate ordered Lucius Cornelius Scipio, the interrex, for harmony's sake to observe the Licinian law at the consular election. Publius Valerius Publicola[1] was elected, with a plebeian colleague named Gaius Marcius Rutulus. Now that the minds of men were once inclined to concord, the new consuls set themselves to obtain relief in the matter of usury also, which appeared to be the sole

A.U.C. 402 una animos[1] videbatur, levare adgressi solutionem alieni aeris in publicam curam verterunt quinqueviris creatis quos mensarios ab dispensatione pecuniae
6 appellarunt. Meriti aequitate curaque sunt, ut per omnium annalium monumenta celebres nominibus essent; fuere autem C. Duillius[2] P. Decius Mus
7 M. Papirius Q. Publilius[3] et T. Aemilius. Qui rem difficillimam tractatu et plerumque parti utrique, semper certe alteri gravem cum alia moderatione tum impendio magis publico quam iactura sustinue-
8 runt. Tarda enim nomina et impeditiora inertia debitorum quam facultatibus aut aerarium mensis cum aere in foro positis dissolvit, ut populo prius caveretur, aut aestimatio aequis rerum pretiis liberavit, ut non modo sine iniuria sed etiam sine querimoniis partis utriusque exhausta vis ingens aeris alieni sit.

9 Terror inde vanus belli Etrusci, cum coniurasse duodecim populos fama esset, dictatorem dici coegit. Dictus in castris—eo enim ad consules missum senatus consultum est—C. Iulius, cui magister equitum adiectus L. Aemilius. Ceterum foris tran-
A.U.C. 403 quilla omnia fuere: (XXII.) temptatum domi per dictatorem ut ambo patricii consules crearentur rem
2 ad interregnum perduxit. Duo interreges C. Sulpi-

[1] una animos ς Jenicke: unanimos Ω: in animos *DfA*.
[2] Duillius *A*^{a}: duellius Ω.
[3] Publilius *Glareanus*: publius Ω.

obstacle to harmony. They made the discharge of B.C. 352
debts a concern of the state, appointing five commissioners, whom they called bankers, from their having the disposition of the money. These men by their impartiality and diligence fairly earned the distinction which attaches, in all the histories, to the names of Gaius Duillius, Publius Decius Mus, Marcus Papirius, Quintus Publilius, and Titus Aemilius. In the discharge of a very difficult duty, involving always a hardship for one of the parties, and in most instances for both, they managed matters wisely in other respects, and, in particular, they expended without throwing away the public funds. For with long-standing accounts, embarrassed more by the debtors' neglect than by their lack of means, they dealt in one of the following ways: either they paid them out of the treasury—taking security for the people first—at the banking tables they had set up in the Forum; or they settled them upon a valuation, at fair prices, of the debtor's effects. And so, not only without injustice, but even without complaint from either side, a vast amount of indebtedness was cleared off.

A groundless fear of war with Etruria, on a report that the twelve nations had conspired, compelled the appointment of a dictator. The appointment was made in camp—for thither had the resolution of the senate been sent to the consuls—and Gaius Julius became dictator, with Lucius Aemilius for master of the horse. But abroad all was serene, (XXII.) while at home an attempt, made through the B.C. 351
dictator, to obtain the return of patricians to both consulships, brought the state to an interregnum. The two interreges who were put in, Gaius Sulpicius

A.U.C. 403

cius et M. Fabius interpositi obtinuere, quod dictator frustra tetenderat, mitiore iam plebe ob recens meritum levati aeris alieni, ut ambo patricii consules
3 crearentur. Creati ipse C. Sulpicius Peticus, qui prior interregno abiit, et T. Quinctius Poenus; quidam Caesonem, alii Gaium praenomen [1] Quinctio
4 adiciunt. Ad bellum ambo profecti, Faliscum Quinctius, Sulpicius Tarquiniense, nusquam acie congresso hoste cum agris magis quam cum hominibus urendo
5 populandoque gesserunt bella; cuius lentae velut tabis senio victa utriusque pertinacia populi est, ut primum a consulibus, dein permissu eorum ab senatu
6 indutias peterent. In quadraginta annos impetraverunt.

Ita posita duorum bellorum quae imminebant cura, dum aliqua ab armis quies esset, quia solutio aeris alieni multarum rerum mutaverat dominos,
7 censum agi placuit. Ceterum cum censoribus creandis indicta comitia essent, professus censuram se petere C. Marcius Rutulus,[2] qui primus dictator de plebe
8 fuerat, concordiam ordinum turbavit; quod videbatur quidem tempore alieno fecisse, quia ambo tum forte patricii consules erant, qui rationem eius se
9 habituros negabant; sed et ipse constantia inceptum obtinuit et tribuni omni vi, ut reciperaturi [3] ius con-

[1] Gaium praenomen (*i. e.* c̄pnomen) *Walters*: cognomen Ω: c. cognomen *Gelenius* ("*vetus lectio*"): C. nomen *Sigonius* (*Diod.* XVI. liii. 1, *has* Γάϊος).

[2] Rutulus *Conway*: rutilius Ω.

[3] vi ut reciperaturi *Conway*: vi reciperaturi *Weissenborn*: ni reciperantur *M*: ui recuperandos *O*: ui reci (*or* -cu-) perando Ω: ui recuperatū A^2: vi ut reciperaretur *Alschefski*.

and Marcus Fabius, brought to pass what the dictator had vainly striven for; and the plebs being now grown more tractable, thanks to the help lately granted them in the relief of debt, both men elected consuls were patricians. These were that very Gaius Sulpicius Peticus, who was the earlier of the two interreges, and Titus Quinctius Poenus. (Some give Caeso, others Gaius, as the praenomen of Quinctius.) Both marched out to fight, Quinctius against the Faliscans, Sulpicius against the Tarquinienses; but nowhere encountering their enemies in battle, they warred rather with the land, which they burnt and pillaged, than with men; until the obstinacy of both peoples was overcome, as by the wasting of a lingering illness, and they requested a truce, first of the consuls, and later, by their permission, of the senate. They were granted one for forty years. B.C. 351

The anxiety arising from two threatening wars being thus allayed, it was resolved that while there was some rest from arms they would take the census; for the settlement of debts had brought about the change of ownership in many properties. But when notice had been given of an assembly for the election of censors, an announcement that he should be a candidate on the part of Gaius Marcius Rutulus, who had been the first plebeian dictator, played havoc with the harmony of the orders; for he seemed to have taken this step at an untoward time, since both the consuls, as it fell out, were then patricians, who declared that they would receive no votes for him; but Rutulus himself held firmly to his purpose, and the tribunes aided him with all their power, in the hope of re-

A.U.C. 403 sularibus comitiis amissum, adiuverunt, et cum ipsius viri maiestas nullius honoris fastigium non aequabat, tum per eundem qui ad dictaturam aperuisset viam censuram quoque in partem vocari plebes volebat. 10 Nec variatum comitiis est, quin cum Manlio Naevio censor Marcius [1] crearetur.

Dictatorem quoque hic annus habuit M. Fabium nullo terrore belli, sed ne Licinia lex comitiis consularibus observaretur. Magister equitum dictatori 11 additus Q. Servilius. Nec tamen dictatura potentiorem eum consensum [2] patrum consularibus comitiis A.U.C. 404 fecit, quam censoriis [3] fuerat. XXIII. M. Popilius Laenas a plebe consul, a patribus L. Cornelius Scipio datus.

Fortuna quoque inlustriorem plebeium consulem 2 fecit; nam cum ingentem Gallorum exercitum in agro Latino castra posuisse nuntiatum esset, Scipione gravi morbo implicito Gallicum bellum Popilio extra 3 ordinem datum. Is impigre exercitu scripto, cum omnes extra portam Capenam ad Martis aedem convenire armatos iuniores iussisset signaque eodem quaestores ex aerario deferre, quattuor expletis legionibus quod superfuit militum P. Valerio Publi- 4 colae praetori tradidit, auctor [4] patribus scribendi

[1] Naevio (*or* neuio *or* ne uio *or* le uio *or* naebio *or* cnaebio) Ω. *The names are evidently corrupted: Walters thinks Livy wrote* cum Cn. Manlio T. f. C. Marcius crearetur.

[2] consensum ς: consensu Ω: *wanting in O.*

covering what they had lost in the election of B.C. 351
consuls; and not only was the man's own greatness equal to any honour, however lofty, but the plebs desired that they might be called to share the censorship by the same man who had opened up for them a path to the dictatorship. There was no dissenting opinion shown at the assembly, and Marcius was elected, along with Manlius Naevius.

There was a dictator in this year also, namely, Marcus Fabius, not because of any threatened war, but to prevent the observance of the Licinian law in the consular election. Quintus Servilius was assigned to the dictator as master of the horse. But the dictatorship made the unanimity of the patricians no more potent in the election of consuls than it had been in the election of censors. XXIII. B.C. 350
Marcus Popilius Laenas was chosen from the plebs, Lucius Cornelius Scipio from the patricians.

Fortune even made the plebeian consul the more illustrious, for the news that a huge army of Gauls had encamped in Latium found Scipio afflicted with a grave disorder, and the conduct of the war was entrusted by special arrangement to Popilius. He levied troops with energy, and ordered all the young men to assemble under arms outside the Porta Capena, at the temple of Mars, commanding the quaestors to convey the standards thither, from the treasury. After filling up four legions, he turned over the supernumeraries to the praetor, Publius Valerius Publicola, urging the senators to enroll

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[3] censoriis ς: censoris *HT*: censoris Ω: *wanting in O.*
[4] auctor Ω: auctori ς *Alschefski*: auctoribus ς.

A.U.C. 404 alterius exercitus, quod ad incertos belli eventus
5 subsidium rei publicae esset. Ipse iam satis omnibus instructis comparatisque ad hostem pergit. Cuius ut prius nosceret vires quam periculo ultimo temptaret, in tumulo quem proximum castris Gallorum capere
6 potuit vallum ducere coepit. Gens ferox et ingenii avidi ad pugnam cum procul visis Romanorum signis ut extemplo proelium initura explicuisset aciem, postquam neque in aequum demitti [1] agmen vidit et cum loci altitudine tum vallo etiam tegi Romanos, perculsos pavore rata, simul opportuniores quod intenti tum maxime operi essent, truci clamore ad-
7 greditur. Ab Romanis nec opus intermissum—triarii erant qui muniebant—et ab hastatis principibusque, qui pro munitoribus intenti armatique steterant,[2]
8 proelium initum. Praeter virtutem locus quoque superior adiuvit, ut pila omnia hastaeque non tamquam ex aequo missa vana, quod plerumque fit, caderent, sed omnia librata ponderibus figerentur;
9 oneratique telis Galli, quibus aut corpora transfixa aut praegravata inhaerentibus gerebant scuta, cum cursu paene in adversum subissent, primo incerti
10 restitere; dein, cum ipsa cunctatio et his animos minuisset et auxisset hosti, impulsi retro ruere alii

[1] demitti *Sigonius*: dimitti Ω.
[2] steterant ς: steterunt Ω: steterit *H*.

a second army as a national reserve against the B.C 350
uncertain emergencies of war. Having at length concluded all the necessary preparations, he himself marched against the enemy; and that he might first learn their strength before putting it to the test of a decisive battle, he seized and began to fortify an eminence as close as he could find to the camp of the Gauls. These, being a fierce people and by nature eager for the combat, on beholding the Roman ensigns in the distance, at once drew out their line, as if for instant battle. But perceiving that the Romans did not descend into the plain, but sought to protect themselves not only by their position but even with a rampart, they supposed them to be panic-stricken and at the same time the more open to attack for being just then taken up with their task. They advanced, therefore, with hideous yells. The Romans without a pause in their work, on which the reserves were engaged, began the action with their troops of the first and second lines, who had been standing alert and armed in front of the working party. Besides their valour, they had an advantage from the elevation, for their javelins and spears, instead of falling without effect, as they mostly do when thrown on a level field, were steadied by their own weight and all struck home. The Gauls were burdened with the missiles which had either transfixed their bodies, or, sticking in their shields, had made them very heavy; their dash had carried them almost up the slope, but first they halted, uncertain what to do, and then—for the mere delay had abated their ardour and increased that of their foes—they were thrown back, and falling one upon

A.U.C. 404 super alios stragemque inter se caede ipsa foediorem dare; adeo praecipiti turba obtriti plures quam ferro necati.

XXIV. Necdum certa Romanis victoria erat; alia 2 in campum degressis supererat moles; namque multitudo Gallorum, sensum omnem talis damni exsuperans, velut nova rursus exoriente acie integrum 3 militem adversus victorem hostem ciebat; stetitque suppresso impetu Romanus, et quia iterum fessis subeunda dimicatio erat, et quod consul, dum inter primores incautus agitat, laevo umero matari prope 4 traiecto cesserat parumper ex acie. Iamque omissa cunctando victoria erat, cum consul volnere alligato revectus ad prima signa "Quid stas, miles?" inquit; "non cum Latino Sabinoque hoste res est, quem 5 victum armis socium ex hoste facias; in beluas strinximus ferrum; hauriendus aut dandus est sanguis. Propulistis a castris, supina valle praecipites egistis, stratis corporibus hostium superstatis; complete eadem strage campos qua montes replestis. 6 Nolite exspectare, dum stantes vos fugiant; inferenda 7 sunt signa et vadendum in hostem." His adhortationibus iterum coorti pellunt loco primos manipulos Gallorum; cuneis deinde in medium agmen perrum-

another wrought greater carnage than even their enemies had done; for so headlong was the rout, that more were trodden under foot than slain with the sword. B.C. 350

XXIV. But the Romans were not yet sure of victory; on descending into the plain they found another fight awaiting them. For the Gallic host, superior to any feeling for such losses, sprang up like a new army, and urged their fresh troops against the victorious foe. The Romans, slowing down, came to a halt, for they were confronted, weary as they were, with a second struggle, and the consul, rashly exposing himself in the van, had received a javelin in his left shoulder that had like to have gone clean through it, and had withdrawn for a brief space from the fight. And now the delay had almost lost them the victory, when the consul, whose wound had been dressed, rode up again to the front. "Why are you standing there, my men?" he exclaimed. "You have no Latin or Sabine foe to deal with, whom you may overcome in fight and transform from an enemy into an ally; we have drawn the sword against wild beasts, and we must have their blood or yield them ours. You have repulsed them from your camp, you have driven them headlong down a sloping valley, you stand on heaps of your slain enemies; cover the plain with the same carnage you have spread upon the mountains. Do not wait for the enemy to flee from you, while you stand still; you must move forward and attack them." Roused once more to action by these exhortations, they drove back the foremost of the Gallic maniples, and then, forming in wedges, burst through into the midst of the main

A.U.C. 404 8 punt. Inde barbari dissipati, quibus nec certa imperia nec duces essent, vertunt impetum in suos; fusique per campos et praeter castra etiam sua fuga praelati, quod editissimum inter aequales tumulos 9 occurrebat oculis, arcem Albanam petunt. Consul non ultra castra insecutus, quia et volnus degravabat et subicere exercitum tumulis ab hoste occupatis nolebat, praeda omni castrorum militi data victorem exercitum opulentumque Gallicis spoliis Romam 10 reduxit. Moram triumpho volnus consulis attulit eademque causa dictatoris desiderium senatui fecit, ut esset qui aegris consulibus comitia haberet. 11 Dictator L. Furius Camillus dictus, addito magistro equitum P. Cornelio Scipione, reddidit patribus possessionem pristinam consulatus. Ipse ob id meritum ingenti patrum studio creatus consul collegam Ap. Claudium Crassum dixit.

A.U.C. 406 XXV. Prius quam inirent novi consules magistratum, triumphus a Popilio de Gallis actus magno favore plebis; mussantesque inter se rogitabant 2 num quem plebeii consulis paeniteret; simul dictatorem increpabant, qui legis Liciniae spretae mercedem[1] privata cupiditate quam publica iniuria foediorem cepisset, ut se ipse consulem dictator crearet.

[1] mercedem *Doering*: mercedem (*or* mercede) consulatum Ω.

[1] Livy seems to have in mind the summit now called Monte Cavo, though it is strangely described as *editissimum inter aequales tumulos*.

[2] Probably, at this time, on the 1st of July.

array; whereat the barbarians were thrown into confusion, having no definite orders nor commanders, and, turning, charged upon their fellows; and so, dispersed about the fields, and even carried past their own camp in the rout, they made for the highest point in the range of hills that met their eyes, namely, the Alban Citadel.[1] The consul did not pursue them beyond their camp, for his wound was troubling him, and he was unwilling to send his troops against the hills which the enemy had occupied. Giving over to his soldiers the entire booty of the camp, he led back his army, flushed with victory and enriched with the Gallic spoils, to Rome. The consul's triumph was delayed by reason of his wound, which also made the senate wish for a dictator, that there might be someone—in the illness of the consuls—who could hold the election. Lucius Furius Camillus was appointed to that office, and Publius Cornelius Scipio was made his master of the horse. Camillus restored to the patricians their ancient possession of the consulship, and in recognition of this service was himself, with their warm support, elected consul, and announced the election of Appius Claudius Crassus as his colleague. B.C. 350

XXV. Before the new consuls entered office,[2] Popilius celebrated his triumph over the Gauls, with great enthusiasm on the part of the plebeians, who, muttering low, would often ask each other if anyone regretted the choice of a plebeian consul. At the same time they railed against Camillus, who by declaring himself elected consul, when he was dictator, had got a reward, they said, for his contempt of the Licinian law more disgraceful for his personal cupidity than for the injury done the commonwealth. B.C. 348

A.U.C. 406

3 Annus multis variisque motibus fuit insignis: Galli ex Albanis montibus, quia hiemis vim pati nequiverant, per campos maritimaque loca vagi 4 populabantur; mare infestum classibus Graecorum erat oraque litoris Antiatis Laurensque tractus et Tiberis ostia, ut praedones maritimi cum terrestribus congressi ancipiti semel proelio decertarint[1] dubiique discesserint in castra Galli, Graeci retro ad 5 naves, victos se an victores putarent. Inter hos longe maximus exstitit terror concilia populorum Latinorum ad lucum Ferentinae habita responsumque haud ambiguum imperantibus milites Romanis datum, absisterent imperare iis,[2] quorum auxilio 6 egerent: Latinos pro sua libertate potius quam pro 7 alieno imperio laturos arma. Inter duo simul bella externa defectione etiam sociorum senatus anxius, cum cerneret metu tenendos quos fides non tenuisset, extendere omnes imperii vires consules dilectu habendo iussit: civili quippe standum exercitu esse, 8 quando socialis coetus desereret. Undique, non urbana tantum sed etiam agresti iuventute, decem legiones scriptae dicuntur quaternum milium et 9 ducenorum[3] peditum equitumque trecenorum,[4] quem nunc novum exercitum, si qua externa vis ingruat,

[1] decertarint ς: decertarent Ω.
[2] iis ς: is *MDL*: hiis *A*: his Ω.
[3] ducenorum ς: ducentorum Ω.
[4] trecenorum ς: c c c Ω.

The year was signalized by many and various B.C. 348
disturbances. The Gauls came down from the Alban hills, having been unable to endure the sharpness of the winter, and ranging over the plains and sea-coast, laid waste the country. The sea was infested by fleets of Greeks, and so were the seaboard of Antium, the Laurentine district, and the mouth of the Tiber. It happened once that the sea-robbers encountered the land-raiders, and a hard-fought battle ensued, from which the Gauls withdrew to their camp and the Greeks to their ships, alike uncertain whether they had been defeated or victorious. But by far the greatest of these alarms was occasioned by councils of the Latin tribes, assembled at the grove of Ferentina, and the unambiguous reply vouchsafed by them to a demand for soldiers. Let the Romans, they said, have done with issuing commands to those whose assistance they required: the Latins would sooner bear arms in behalf of their own liberty than of an alien domination. Involved in two foreign wars at once, and worried besides by the defection of their allies, the senate perceived that those whom loyalty had not restrained must be restrained by fear, and bade the consuls exert the full extent of their authority in levying troops: for they must depend on a soldiery of citizens, when their allies were leaving them. They say that soldiers were enlisted everywhere, not in the City alone but in the country, and ten legions were embodied, each of four thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse. The raising of a new army of this size to-day, in case of any aggression from abroad, could not easily be compassed by the concentration on one object of the

A.U.C. 406 hae vires populi Romani, quas vix terrarum capit orbis, contractae in unum haud facile efficiant; adeo in quae laboramus sola crevimus, divitias luxuriamque.

10 Inter cetera tristia eius anni consul alter Ap. Claudius in ipso belli apparatu moritur; redieratque [1]
11 res ad Camillum, cui unico consuli vel ob aliam dignationem haud subiciendam dictaturae vel ob omen faustum ad Gallicum tumultum cognominis dictatorem adrogari haud satis decorum visum est
12 patribus. Consul duabus legionibus urbi praepositis, octo cum L. Pinario praetore divisis, memor paternae virtutis Gallicum sibi bellum extra sortem sumit, praetorem maritimam oram tutari Graecosque arcere
13 litoribus iussit. Et cum in agrum Pomptinum descendisset, quia neque in campis congredi nulla cogente re volebat, et prohibendo populationibus quos rapto vivere necessitas cogeret satis domari credebat hostem, locum idoneum stativis delegit.

XXVI. Ubi cum in stationibus [2] quieti tempus tererent, Gallus processit magnitudine atque armis insignis; quatiensque scutum hasta cum silentium fecisset, provocat per interpretem unum ex Romanis
2 qui secum ferro decernat. M. erat Valerius tribunus militum adulescens, qui haud indigniorem eo decore

[1] redieratque $F^2\zeta$: redierant Ω.
[2] in stationibus *Madvig*: stationibus Ω.

[1] His father, the great Camillus, had defeated the Gauls after their capture of Rome (v. xlix.).

existing resources of the Roman People, though B.C. 348
the world hardly contains them; so strictly has our growth been limited to the only things for which we strive,—wealth and luxury.

Among the untoward occurrences of this year was the death of one of the consuls, Appius Claudius, in the midst of the preparations for war. The administration of the state passed to Camillus, over whom, as sole consul,—whether owing to his general high standing, which deserved not to be subordinated to the dictatorship, or to the happy omen, in a Gallic rising, of his surname,[1]—the Fathers concluded it not meet to set a dictator. The consul appointed two legions to defend the City, and divided the other eight with Lucius Pinarius the praetor. Having a lively recollection of his father's prowess, he took upon himself, without drawing lots, the conduct of the Gallic war, and commanded the praetor to secure the seaboard and prevent the Greeks from landing. Then, marching down into the Pomptine district, he chose a suitable site for a permanent camp; for he had no mind to meet the enemy in the field, unless compelled to do so, believing that he should effectually subdue them if he kept them from making raids, since they subsisted necessarily on plunder.

XXVI. While they were there quietly passing the time in guard-duty, a Gaul came out to them, remarkable for his great stature and his armour, and, smiting his spear against his shield and thereby obtaining silence, challenged the Romans, through an interpreter, to send a man to fight with him. There was a young tribune of the soldiers, named Marcus Valerius, who, regarding himself as no less

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se quam T. Manlium ratus, prius sciscitatus consulis
3 voluntatem in medium armatus processit. Minus insigne certamen humanum numine interposito deorum factum; namque conserenti iam manum Romano corvus repente in galea consedit, in hostem
4 versus. Quod primo ut augurium caelo missum laetus accepit tribunus, precatus deinde, si divus si diva esset qui sibi praepetem misisset, volens pro-
5 pitius adesset. Dictu mirabile, tenuit non solum ales captam semel sedem, sed quotienscumque certamen initum est, levans se alis os oculosque hostis rostro et unguibus appetit, donec territum prodigii talis visu oculisque simul ac mente turbatum Valerius obtruncat; corvus ex conspectu elatus orientem petit.
6 Hactenus quietae utrimque stationes fuere; postquam spoliare corpus caesi hostis tribunus coepit, nec Galli se statione tenuerunt et Romanorum cursus ad victorem etiam ocior fuit. Ibi circa iacentis Galli corpus contracto certamine pugna atrox con-
7 citatur. Iam non manipulis proximarum stationum sed legionibus utrimque effusis res geritur. Camillus laetum militem victoria tribuni, laetum tam praesentibus ac secundis dis ire in proelium iubet; ostentansque insignem spoliis tribunum, "hunc imitare, miles" aiebat, "et circa iacentem ducem sterne
8 Gallorum catervas." Di hominesque illi adfuere

worthy of that honour than Titus Manlius had been, B.C. 348
first ascertained the consul's wishes, and then armed himself and advanced into the midst. But the human interest of the combat was eclipsed by the intervention of the gods; for the Roman was in the very act of engaging, when suddenly a raven alighted on his helmet, facing his adversary. This the tribune first received with joy, as a heaven-sent augury, and then prayed that whosoever, be it god or goddess, had sent the auspicious bird might attend him with favour and protection. Marvellous to relate, the bird not only held to the place it had once chosen, but as often as the combatants closed, it rose on its wings and attacked the enemy's face and eyes with beak and talons, till he was terror-struck with the sight of such a portent, and bewildered at once in his vision and his mind, was dispatched by Valerius,—whereupon the raven flew off towards the east and was lost to sight. Hitherto the outguards on either side had stood quietly by; but when the tribune began to despoil the corpse of his fallen foe, the Gauls remained no longer at their station, and the Romans ran up even more swiftly to the victor. There a scuffle, arising over the body of the prostrate Gaul, led to a desperate fight that was not long confined to the maniples of the nearest outposts, for the legions, rushing out on both sides, carried on the battle. Camillus ordered his soldiers to fall on, elated as they were by the tribune's victory, elated too by the present assistance of the gods; and pointing to the tribune, decked out in his spoils, he cried, "Here is your pattern, soldiers! Bring down the Gauls in troops around their prostrate leader!"

A.U.C. 406 pugnae, depugnatumque haudquaquam certamine ambiguo cum Gallis est; adeo duorum militum eventum, inter quos pugnatum erat, utraque acies animis
9 praeceperat. Inter primos,[1] quorum concursus alios exciverat, atrox proelium fuit; alia multitudo, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret, terga vertit. Primo per Volscos Falernumque agrum dissipati sunt; inde Apuliam ac mare inferum [2] petierunt.
10 Consul contione advocata laudatum tribunum decem bubus aureaque corona donat; ipse iussus ab
11 senatu bellum maritimum curare cum praetore iunxit castra. Ibi quia res trahi segnitia Graecorum non committentium se in aciem videbantur,[3] dictatorem comitiorum causa T. Manlium Torquatum ex auctoritate senatus dixit. Dictator magistro equitum A.
12 Cornelio Cosso dicto comitia consularia habuit aemulumque decoris sui absentem M. Valerium Corvum—id enim illi deinde cognominis fuit—summo favore populi, tres et viginti natum annos, consulem renun-
13 tiavit. Collega Corvo de plebe M. Popilius Laenas, quartum consul futurus, datus est. Cum Graecis a Camillo nulla memorabilis gesta res; nec illi terra
14 nec Romanus mari bellator erat. Postremo cum litoribus arcerentur, aqua etiam praeter cetera neces-

[1] inter primos Ω: in primos *Harant.*
[2] inferum Ω: superum ς.
[3] videbantur Ω: uidebatur *H.*

Both gods and men helped in that battle, and they B.C. 348
fought it out with the Gauls to a conclusion that was never doubtful, so clearly had each side foreseen the result implicit in the outcome of the single combat. Between those who began the fray, and by their conflict drew in the others, there was a bitter struggle; but the rest of the Gallic host turned tail ere they came within the cast of a javelin. At first they scattered among the Volsci and through the Falernian countryside; from there they made their way into Apulia or to the Tuscan Sea.

The consul assembled his soldiers, and having eulogized the tribune, bestowed on him ten oxen and a golden coronet; Camillus himself was commanded by the senate to take charge of the operations on the coast, and accordingly joined forces with the praetor. The campaign there seemed likely to be long drawn out, for the Greeks were poltroons and refused to risk an engagement. He therefore, on the authorization of the senate, appointed Titus Manlius Torquatus to be dictator, that an election might be held. The dictator, after naming Aulus Cornelius Cossus master of the horse, presided over a consular election, and announced, amid great popular rejoicings, that the choice had fallen—in his absence—upon a youth of twenty-three, the Marcus Valerius Corvus—for this was his surname from that time—who had rivalled Manlius's own glorious achievement. As colleague of Corvus they elected the plebeian Marcus Popilius Laenas to be for the fourth time consul. With the Greeks, Camillus fought no memorable action; they were no warriors on land, nor were the Romans on the sea. In the end, being kept off shore, and their

A.U.C. 406 15 saria usui deficiente Italiam reliquere. Cuius populi ea cuiusque gentis classis fuerit nihil certi est. Maxime Siciliae fuisse tyrannos crediderim; nam ulterior Graecia ea tempestate intestino fessa bello iam Macedonum opes horrebat.

A.U.C. 407–408 XXVII. Exercitibus dimissis cum et foris pax et domi concordia ordinum otium esset, ne nimis laetae res essent pestilentia civitatem adorta coegit senatum imperare decemviris ut libros Sibyllinos inspicerent;
2 eorumque monitu lectisternium fuit. Eodem anno Satricum ab Antiatibus colonia deducta restitutaque urbs quam Latini diruerant. Et cum Carthaginiensibus legatis Romae foedus ictum, cum amicitiam ac societatem petentes venissent.
3 Idem otium domi forisque mansit T. Manlio Torquato [1] C. Plautio consulibus. Semunciarium tantum ex unciario fenus factum, et in pensiones aequas triennii, ita ut quarta praesens esset, solutio aeris
4 alieni dispensata est; et sic quoque parte plebis adfecta fides tamen publica privatis difficultatibus potior ad curam senatui fuit. Levatae maxime res, quia tributo ac dilectu supersessum.
5 Tertio anno post Satricum restitutum a Volscis M. Valerius Corvus [2] iterum consul cum C. Poetelio factus, cum ex Latio nuntiatum esset legatos ab

[1] T. Manlio Torquato ς: T. Manlio Torquato, (·ii·) Ω. (*Walters thinks this a corruption of* l. f., *i. e.* Luci filio.)
[2] Corvus Ω: coruinus *U*.

[1] For these commissioners see VI. xlii. 2.
[2] See v. xiii. 6 and note there.
[3] This is the first mention in Livy of a treaty with the Carthaginians, and Diodorus (XVI. lxix.) also speaks of it as the first, but Polybius (III. xxii.) tells of a treaty between Rome and Carthage made in the first year of the Republic (509 B.C.).
[4] *cf.* chap. xvi. § 1 and note.

water giving out, as well as other necessaries, they abandoned Italy. To what people or race their fleet belonged is uncertain. I am most inclined to think that they were Sicilian tyrants; for Greece proper was at that time exhausted with civil wars and trembled, even then, at the power of the Macedonians. B.C. 348

XXVII. When the armies had been disbanded, and there was peace with other nations, and—thanks to the goodwill betwixt the orders—quietness at home, that the happiness of the citizens might not pass all bounds, a pestilence attacked them and the senate was compelled to order the ten commissioners[1] to consult the Sibylline Books. By their direction a lectisternium[2] was held. In the same year a colony was sent out to Satricum by the Antiates, and that city, which had been destroyed by the Latins, was rebuilt. Further, a treaty was entered into at Rome with envoys of the Carthaginians, who had come seeking friendship and an alliance.[3] B.C. 347-346

The same peaceful conditions continued at home and abroad during the consulship of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Gaius Plautius. But the rate of interest was reduced from one to one-half per cent.,[4] and debts were made payable, one-fourth down and the remainder in three annual instalments; even so some of the plebeians were distressed, but the public credit was of greater concern to the senate than were the hardships of single persons. What did the most to lighten the burden was the omission of the war-tax and the levy.

In the second year after the rebuilding of Satricum by the Volsci, Marcus Valerius Corvus became consul for the second time, with Gaius Poetelius. A report having come out of Latium that emissaries of the

A.U.C. 407–408

Antio circumire populos Latinorum ad concitandum
6 bellum, priusquam plus hostium fieret Volscis arma inferre iussus, ad Satricum exercitu infesto pergit. Quo cum Antiates aliique Volsci praeparatis iam ante, si quid ab Roma moveretur, copiis occurrissent, nulla mora inter infensos diutino odio dimicandi
7 facta est. Volsci, ferocior ad rebellandum quam ad bellandum gens, certamine victi fuga effusa Satrici moenia petunt. Et ne in muris quidem satis firma spe cum corona militum cincta iam scalis caperetur urbs, ad quattuor milia militum [1] praeter multitudi-
8 nem imbellem sese dedidere. Oppidum dirutum atque incensum: ab aede tantum matris Matutae abstinuere ignem. Praeda omnis militi data. Extra praedam quattuor milia deditorum habita; eos vinctos consul ante currum triumphans egit; venditis deinde
9 magnam pecuniam in aerarium redegit. Sunt qui hanc multitudinem captivam servorum fuisse scribant, idque magis veri simile est quam deditos venisse.

A.U.C. 409–411

XXVIII. Hos consules secuti sunt M. Fabius Dorsuo Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus. Auruncum inde
2 bellum ab repentina populatione coeptum; metuque ne id factum populi unius consilium omnis nominis Latini esset, dictator—velut adversus [2] armatum iam

[1] ad $\overline{\text{IIII}}$ (*or* IIII milia) militum (militum *omitted by OHLA*) Ω.
[2] adversus ς: aduersum Ω.

[1] An Italian goddess associated with birth and the dawn, and widely worshipped; in Satricum apparently the chief deity. *cf.* Warde Fowler, *Festivals*, p. 155.

Antiates were circulating amongst the Latin peoples with a view to stir up war, Valerius was ordered to deal with the Volsci before more enemies should arise, and marched to the attack of Satricum. There he was opposed by the Antiates and the other Volsci, with forces which they had levied in advance, in case any measures should be taken by the Romans; and both sides being actuated by inveterate hatred, the battle was joined without delay. The Volsci, a race more spirited in beginning than in prosecuting war, were defeated in the struggle and fled in disorder to the walls of Satricum. Indeed, they put no great reliance even in their walls, for when the city had been encircled with troops and was on the point of being escaladed, they surrendered, being in number about four thousand soldiers, besides the unarmed populace. The town was dismantled and burnt; only the temple of Mater Matuta[1] was saved from the flames. All the booty was given to the soldiers. The four thousand who had surrendered were not reckoned a part of the spoils; these the consul sent in chains before his chariot when he triumphed, and they were subsequently sold, and brought in a great sum to the treasury. Some think that this multitude of captives consisted of slaves, and this is more likely than that surrendered men were sold. B.C. 347–346

XXVIII. These consuls were succeeded by Marcus Fabius Dorsuo and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. War then broke out with the Aurunci, in consequence of a raid which they unexpectedly executed. It was feared that this act of a single nation might be the joint design of all of the Latin name, and a dictator was appointed—as though to B.C. 345–343

A.U.C. 409–411

Latium—L. Furius creatus magistrum equitum Cn. 3 Manlium Capitolinum dixit; et cum—quod per magnos tumultus fieri solitum erat—iustitio indicto dilectus sine vacationibus habitus esset, legiones quantum maturari potuit in Auruncos ductae. Ibi praedonum magis quam hostium animi inventi; 4 prima itaque acie debellatum est. Dictator tamen, quia et ultro bellum intulerant et sine detractatione se certamini offerebant, deorum quoque opes adhibendas ratus inter ipsam dimicationem aedem Iunoni Monetae vovit; cuius damnatus voti cum victor 5 Romam revertisset, dictatura se abdicavit. Senatus duumviros ad eam aedem pro amplitudine populi Romani faciendam creari iussit; locus in arce destinatus, quae area aedium M. Manli Capitolini fuerat. 6 Consules dictatoris exercitu ad bellum Volscum usi Soram ex hostibus, incautos adorti, ceperunt.

Anno postquam vota erat aedes Monetae dedicatur C. Marcio Rutulo [1] tertium T. Manlio Torquato 7 iterum consulibus. Prodigium extemplo dedicationem secutum, simile vetusto montis Albani prodigio; namque et lapidibus pluit et nox interdiu visa intendi; librisque inspectis cum plena religione

[1] Rutulo *Conway*: rutilo Ω: rutilio *UO*.

[1] I. xxxi. 1.
[2] *i. e.* the Sibylline Books.

oppose a Latium already up in arms—in the person of Lucius Furius. After naming Gnaeus Manlius Capitolinus to be his master of the horse, he suspended the courts, and having levied troops without exemptions—as was customary in great emergencies—he led them with all possible speed against the Aurunci. These he discovered to possess the spirit of freebooters rather than of enemies, and so brought the war to a conclusion in the first engagement. Howbeit the dictator, considering that they had been the aggressors in the war and were accepting battle without shrinking, saw fit to summon even the gods to help him, and in the heat of the encounter vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. This vow the result made binding, and the dictator having returned to Rome victorious, resigned his authority. The senate ordered that two commissioners should be designated to erect the temple in a style becoming to the grandeur of the Roman People, and a site was appointed for it in the Citadel, where once had stood the house of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. The consuls, employing the dictator's army for the Volscian war, made a surprise attack upon the enemy and captured Sora. B.C. 345–343

The temple of Moneta was dedicated the next year after it was vowed, when Gaius Marcius Rutulus was consul for the third time and Titus Manlius Torquatus for the second. The dedication was immediately followed by a prodigy like the one which had happened long before on the Alban Mount;[1] for a shower of stones fell, and a curtain of night seemed to stretch across the sky; and when the Books[2] had been consulted and the City was filled with forebodings of divine displeasure, the

A.U.C. 409–411

civitas esset, senatui placuit dictatorem feriarum
8 constituendarum causa dici. Dictus P. Valerius Publicola; magister equitum ei Q. Fabius Ambustus datus est. Non tribus tantum supplicatum ire placuit sed finitimos etiam populos, ordoque iis, quo quisque
9 die supplicarent, statutus. Iudicia eo anno populi tristia in feneratores facta, quibus ab aedilibus dicta dies esset, traduntur. Et res haud ulla insigni ad
10 memoriam causa ad interregnum redit; ex interregno, ut id actum videri posset, ambo patricii consules creati sunt, M. Valerius Corvus tertium A. Cornelius Cossus.

XXIX. Maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et vel longinquitate regionum vel temporum spatio [1] quibus bellatum est dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gentem opibus armisque
2 validam, mota arma; Samnitium bellum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum Poeni secuti. Quanta rerum moles! Quotiens in extrema periculorum ventum, ut in hanc magnitudinem quae vix
3 sustinetur erigi imperium posset! Belli autem causa cum Samnitibus Romanis, cum societate amicitiaque iuncti essent, extrinsecus venit, non orta inter ipsos
4 est. Samnites Sidicinis iniusta arma, quia viribus plus poterant, cum intulissent, coacti inopes ad opu-

[1] et vel longinquitate regionum vel temporum spatio *Cornelissen*: et longinquitate uel regionum uel temporum spatio Ω (*but U transposes* regionum *and* temporum: *L has* religionum uel templorum: *HTD have* religionum).

senate resolved on the appointment of a dictator, to establish days of worship. The choice fell on Publius Valerius Publicola, who was given Quintus Fabius Ambustus as master of the horse. They determined that not only the Roman tribes but the neighbouring peoples also should offer supplications; and they appointed an order for them, on what day each should make entreaty. It is handed down that during this year the people rendered severe judgments against usurers, who had been brought to trial by the aediles. The state—for no specially memorable reason—reverted to an interregnum, which was followed—so that this might appear to have been intended—by the election to both consulships of patricians, namely Marcus Valerius Corvus, for the third time, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. B.C. 345–343

XXIX. Wars of greater magnitude, in respect both of the forces of our enemies and of the remoteness of their countries and the long periods of time involved, now fall to be related. For in that year the sword was drawn against the Samnites, a people powerful in arms and in resources; and hard upon the Samnite war, which was waged with varying success, came war with Pyrrhus, and after that with the Carthaginians. How vast a series of events! How many times the extremity of danger was incurred, in order that our empire might be exalted to its present greatness, hardly to be maintained! Now the cause of the war between the Romans and the Samnites, who had been united in friendship and alliance, was of external origin and not owing to themselves. The Samnites had unjustly attacked the Sidicini, because they happened to be more powerful than they, and the Sidicini, driven in their

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lentiorum auxilium confugere Campanis sese coniun-
5 gunt. Campani magis nomen ad praesidium sociorum quam vires cum attulissent, fluentes luxu ab duratis usu armorum, in Sidicino pulsi agro in se deinde
6 molem omnem belli verterunt. Namque Samnites, omissis Sidicinis ipsam arcem finitimorum Campanos adorti, unde aeque facilis victoria, praedae atque gloriae plus esset, Tifata, imminentes Capuae colles, cum praesidio firmo occupassent, descendunt inde quadrato agmine in planitiem quae Capuam Tifataque
7 interiacet. Ibi rursus acie dimicatum; adversoque proelio Campani intra moenia compulsi, cum robore iuventutis suae acciso nulla propinqua spes esset, coacti sunt ab Romanis petere auxilium.

XXX. Legati introducti in senatum maxime in hanc sententiam locuti sunt. "Populus nos Campanus legatos ad vos, patres conscripti, misit amicitiam in perpetuum, auxilium praesens a vobis petitum.
2 Quam si secundis rebus nostris petissemus, sicut coepta celerius ita infirmiore vinculo contracta esset; tunc enim, ut qui ex aequo nos venisse in amicitiam meminissemus, amici forsitan pariter ac nunc, subiecti
3 atque obnoxii vobis minus essemus; nunc, miseri-

need to fly for succour to a more wealthy nation, had attached themselves to the Campanians. The Campanians had brought reputation rather than real strength to the defence of their allies; enervated by luxury, they had encountered a people made hardy by the use of arms, and being defeated in the territory of the Sidicini, had then drawn down the full force of the war upon themselves. For the Samnites, disregarding the Sidicini and attacking the Campanians—the very stronghold of their neighbours,—from whom they would gain full as easy a victory and more plunder and renown, had seized and with a strong force occupied Tifata—a range of hills looking down on Capua—and thence had descended in battle-order into the plain that lies between. There a second battle had been fought, and the Campanians, being worsted, had been shut up within their walls; and having, after the loss of their choicest troops, no prospect of relief at hand, had been driven to seek assistance of the Romans. B.C. 345–343

XXX. Their ambassadors, on being introduced into the senate, spoke substantially as follows: "The Campanian people has sent us to you as ambassadors, Conscript Fathers, to solicit your lasting friendship and present help. Had we sought this amity when our affairs were prosperous, though it had been begun more quickly, yet had it been contracted with a weaker bond; for in that case, as those who remembered that they had joined with you in friendship on an equal footing, though perhaps as much your friends as now, we should have been less subject and beholden to you; as it is, attached to you by your compassion

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cordia vestra conciliati auxilioque in dubiis rebus defensi, beneficium quoque acceptum colamus oportet, ne ingrati atque omni ope divina humanaque indigni videamur. Neque hercule, quod Samnites priores amici sociique vobis facti sunt, ad id valere arbitror ne nos in amicitiam accipiamur, sed ut ii [1] vetustate et gradu honoris nos praestent; neque enim foedere Samnitium, ne qua nova iungeretis foedera, cautum est.

"Fuit quidem apud vos semper satis iusta causa amicitiae velle eum vobis amicum esse qui vos appeteret: Campani, etsi fortuna praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus vestris in amicitiam venimus vestram. Aequis Volscisque, aeternis hostibus huius urbis, quandocumque se moverint, ab tergo erimus; et quod vos pro salute nostra priores feceritis, id nos pro imperio vestro et gloria semper faciemus. Subactis his gentibus quae inter nos vosque sunt, quod propediem futurum spondet et virtus et fortuna vestra, continens imperium usque ad nos habebitis. Acerbum ac miserum est, quod fateri nos fortuna nostra cogit: eo ventum est, patres conscripti, ut aut amicorum aut inimicorum Campani simus. Si defenditis, vestri, si deseritis, Samnitium erimus; Capuam ergo et Campaniam

[1] ut ii *Walters*: ut hi *U*: ut Ω.

and defended in our time of trouble by your aid, B.C. 345–343
we must lovingly remember the benefit also, lest we appear as ingrates and undeserving of any help, divine or human. Nor do I think, in sober truth, that the circumstance of the Samnites having become your allies and friends before ourselves should make against our being received into your friendship, though it entitle them to an advantage over us in respect of priority and rank; and indeed there was no stipulation in your treaty with the Samnites that you should make no further treaties.

"It has ever been with you a sufficiently just cause for friendship that he who sought you desired to be friends with you. We Campanians, though our present plight will not suffer us to boast, are inferior neither in the splendour of our city, nor yet in the fertility of our soil, to any people but yourselves; and in associating ourselves with you we bring, as I think, no small accession to your prosperity. As often as the Aequi and the Volsci—perpetual enemies of this city—shall stir abroad, we shall be upon their backs, and what you will have done first for our preservation, that we will ever do for your empire and your glory. When once you have subdued these nations that lie between our boundaries and your own—a thing which your valour and good fortune guarantee will speedily come to pass—your rule will extend unbroken all the way to our frontier. Grievous and pitiful is the confession that our misfortune obliges us to make: to that pass, Conscript Fathers, are we Campanians come that we must be the chattels either of our friends or of our enemies. Defend us, and we are yours; desert us, and the Samnites will possess us. Consider there-

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omnem vestris an Samnitium viribus accedere malitis, deliberate.

11 "Omnibus quidem, Romani, vestram misericordiam vestrumque auxilium aequum est patere, iis[1] tamen maxime, qui, ea[2] implorantibus aliis[3] dum supra vires suas praestant, ante omnes[4] ipsi in hanc 12 necessitatem venerunt. Quamquam pugnavimus verbo pro Sidicinis re pro nobis, cum videremus finitimum populum nefario latrocinio Samnitium peti et, ubi conflagrassent Sidicini, ad nos traiecturum 13 illud incendium esse. Nec enim nunc quia dolent iniuriam acceptam Samnites, sed quia gaudent obla- 14 tam sibi esse causam, oppugnatum nos veniunt. An, si ultio irae haec et non occasio cupiditatis explendae esset, parum fuit quod semel in Sidicino agro iterum 15 in Campania ipsa legiones nostras cecidere? Quae est ista tam infesta ira quam per duas acies fusus sanguis explere non potuerit? Adde huc populationem agrorum, praedas hominum atque pecudum actas, incendia villarum ac ruinas, omnia ferro ignique 16 vastata. Hiscine ira expleri non potuit? Sed cupiditas explenda est. Ea ad oppugnandam Capuam rapit; aut delere urbem pulcherrimam aut ipsi pos- 17 sidere volunt. Sed vos potius, Romani, beneficio vestro occupate eam quam illos habere per maleficium sinatis. Non loquor apud recusantem iusta bella

[1] iis ς: hiis *A*: his Ω.
[2] ea *Madvig*: eam Ω: etiam *UO*ς.
[3] aliis *Madvig*: aliis auxilium (*wanting in O*) Ω.
[4] ante omnes *Buettner*: omnes Ω.

fore whether it be your preference that Capua and all Campania augment Rome's power, or that of Samnium. B.C. 345–343

"It is meet that your compassion, Romans, and your succour should be open to all mankind, but especially to those who in endeavouring beyond their strength to grant these blessings to the prayers of others, have come themselves to require them most of all. And yet we fought but ostensibly for the Sidicini, in reality for ourselves, since we saw that a people on our borders was being cruelly despoiled by the brigand Samnites, and that, once that conflagration had consumed the Sidicini, it would spread to us. Nor at this very moment are the Samnites come to attack us out of resentment for any injury received, but rejoicing rather that a pretext has been afforded them. Otherwise, if this were the satisfaction of revenge and not an opportunity to appease their greed, was it not enough that first in the territory of Sidicinum, and again in Campania itself, they made slaughter of our legions? What wrath is this, that is so implacable that the blood two armies have poured out cannot appease it? Add to this the devastation of our lands and the booty they have driven off, both men and cattle; add the burning and destruction of our farm-houses and the general havoc fire and sword have wrought. Could not all this placate their wrath? Nay, but their greed must be appeased. It is this that hurries them to the siege of Capua; they must needs either destroy the fairest of cities, or themselves become its masters. But do you, Romans, sooner gain it by your generosity than suffer them to have it by their malice. I am not speaking before a people that

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populum; sed tamen, si ostenderitis auxilia vestra,
18 ne bello quidem arbitror vobis opus fore. Usque ad nos contemptus Samnitium pervenit, supra non ascendit; itaque umbra vestri auxilii, Romani, tegi possumus, quidquid deinde habuerimus, quidquid
19 ipsi fuerimus,[1] vestrum id omne existimaturi. Vobis arabitur ager Campanus, vobis Capua urbs frequentabitur; conditorum, parentium, deorum immortalium numero nobis eritis; nulla colonia vestra erit, quae nos obsequio erga vos fideque superet.

20 "Adnuite, patres conscripti, nutum numenque[2] vestrum invictum Campanis et iubete sperare incolu-
21 mem Capuam futuram. Qua frequentia omnium[3] generum multitudinis prosequente creditis nos illinc profectos? Quam omnia votorum lacrimarumque plena reliquisse? In qua nunc exspectatione senatum populumque Campanum, coniuges liberosque nostros
22 esse? Stare omnem multitudinem ad portas viam hinc ferentem prospectantes certum habeo. Quid illis nos, patres conscripti, sollicitis ac pendentibus
23 animi[4] renuntiare iubetis?[5] Alterum responsum salutem victoriam lucem ac libertatem; alterum— ominari horreo quae ferat. Proinde ut aut de vestris futuris sociis atque amicis aut nusquam ullis futuris nobis consulite."

XXXI. Summotis deinde legatis cum consultus senatus esset, etsi magnae parti urbs maxima opulentissimaque Italiae, uberrimus ager marique propin-

[1] quidquid ipsi fuerimus A^2 (*or* A^1)ς: quidquid id ipsi fuerimus (*but M omits the whole phrase and H everything between* quidquid *and* arabitur) Ω.
[2] numenque Ω: nomenque $M\varsigma$.
[3] omnium M^3A^2: ominum D^2: hominum Ω.
[4] animi *Florebellus*: animis Ω: *wanting in O.*
[5] iubetis? *Madvig*: iubeatis Ω.

refuses righteous wars; still, if you make but a show of helping us, you will have, I think, no need of going to war. As far as to ourselves does the scorn of the Samnites reach, it mounts not higher; accordingly the shadow of your help is able, Romans, to protect us, and whatever thereafter we shall have, whatever we ourselves shall be, we shall consider wholly yours. For you shall be ploughed the Campanian plain, for you shall the city of Capua be crowded; you shall be to us as founders, parents, and immortal gods; you shall have no colony that surpasses us in obedience and loyalty. B.C. 345-343

"Grant the favour of your countenance, Conscript Fathers, and of your unconquered might, to the Campanians, and bid them hope that Capua will be saved. With what thronging crowds of every sort were we accompanied, think you, at our setting out? How did we leave on every hand prayers and tears! In what suspense are now the senate and the people of Campania, our wives and our children! Well I know that all the people are standing at the gates, their eyes fixed on the northern road. What message, Conscript Fathers, do you bid us carry back to their perplexed and troubled spirits? One answer would bring salvation, victory, light, and liberty; the other—I shrink from the ominous prediction! Do you therefore deliberate regarding us, as regarding those who shall either be your allies and friends, or else have no being anywhere."

XXXI. The ambassadors were then made to withdraw while the senate considered their request. It was evident to many that the largest and wealthiest city of Italy, with a very fertile territory near the

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quus ad varietates annonae horreum populi Romani fore videbatur, tamen anta utilitate fides antiquior fuit, responditque ita ex auctoritate senatus consul.
2 "Auxilio vos, Campani, dignos censet senatus; sed ita vobiscum amicitiam institui par est, ne qua vetustior amicitia ac societas violetur. Samnites nobiscum foedere iuncti sunt; itaque arma, deos prius quam homines violatura, adversus Samnites vobis negamus; legatos, sicut fas iusque est, ad socios atque amicos precatum mittemus, ne qua vobis
3 vis fiat." Ad ea princeps legationis—sic enim domo mandatum attulerant—"Quando quidem" inquit, "nostra tueri adversus vim atque iniuriam iusta vi
4 non voltis, vestra certe defendetis; itaque populum Campanum urbemque Capuam, agros, delubra deum, divina humanaque omnia in vestram, patres conscripti, populique Romani dicionem dedimus, quidquid deinde patiemur, dediticii vestri passuri."
5 Sub haec dicta omnes, manus ad consules tendentes, pleni lacrimarum in vestibulo curiae
6 procubuerunt. Commoti patres vice fortunarum humanarum, si ille praepotens opibus populus, luxuria superbiaque clarus, a quo paulo ante auxilium finitimi

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[1] *i. e.* the gods who were witnesses and guardians of the treaty.

sea, would in times of scarcity be a store-house for the Roman People. Yet this great advantage was of less moment with them than their honour, and the consul, being so instructed by the senate, returned the following answer to the ambassadors: "Men of Campania, the senate holds you worthy of assistance; but on such terms only can we become your friends as shall not violate an older friendship and alliance. The Samnites and we are united by a covenant; we must therefore refuse to make war in your behalf upon the Samnites, for this would be to wrong first gods,[1] and then men; we will, however, dispatch envoys, as is right and just, to entreat our allies and friends to do you no violence." To this the leader of the delegation answered—in accordance with instructions they had brought with them:—"Since you decline to use a righteous violence to protect from violence and injustice what belongs to us, you will at least defend your own; to your sovereignty, therefore, Conscript Fathers, and to the sovereignty of the Roman People, we surrender the people of Campania and the city of Capua, with our lands, the shrines of our gods, and all things else, whether sacred or profane; whatever we endure henceforth, we shall endure as your surrendered subjects." B.C. 345–343

When these words had been pronounced, they all stretched forth their hands in supplication to the consul, and weeping bitterly, threw themselves face downwards on the floor of the entrance to the Curia. The Fathers were profoundly moved by the vicissitudes of human fortune, considering how that great and opulent people, famed for its luxury and pride, of whom a little while before its neighbours

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petissent adeo infractos gereret animos ut se ipse
7 suaque omnia potestatis alienae faceret. Tum iam fides agi visa deditos non prodi; nec facturum aequa Samnitium populum censebant, si agrum urbemque per deditionem factam populi Romani oppugnarent.
8 Legatos itaque extemplo mitti ad Samnites placuit. Data mandata ut preces Campanorum, responsum senatus amicitiae Samnitium memor, deditionem
9 postremo factam Samnitibus exponerent; peterent pro societate amicitiaque, ut dediticiis suis parcerent neque in eum agrum qui populi Romani factus esset
10 hostilia arma inferrent; si leniter agendo parum proficerent, denuntiarent Samnitibus, populi Romani senatusque verbis, ut Capua urbe Campanoque agro
11 abstinerent. Haec legatis agentibus in concilio Samnitium adeo est ferociter responsum ut non solum gesturos se esse dicerent id bellum, sed magistratus eorum e curia egressi stantibus[1] legatis praefectos cohortium vocarent iisque clara voce
12 imperarent ut praedatum in agrum Campanum extemplo proficiscerentur.

XXXII. Hac legatione Romam relata positis omnium aliarum rerum curis patres fetialibus ad res repetendas missis belloque, quia non redderentur, sollemni more indicto decreverunt ut primo quoque

[1] stantibus Ω: astantibus *unknown scholar in marg. ed. Curionis.*

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[1] The Samnites were a loose federation comprising the following tribes: the Hirpini, the Caudini, the Pentri, the Caraceni, and perhaps the Frentani (Weissenborn).

[2] For the fetials and their procedure in declaring war, see I. xxiv. 4 and xxxii. 5, with notes.

had sought assistance, was become so broken in spirit as to yield itself up with all its possessions to the dominion of another. They now held it to be a point of honour not to betray those who were become their subjects; neither did they think that the Samnite people would deal justly, if they attacked a country and a city, which, by surrendering, had become the property of the Roman People. The senate accordingly voted to dispatch ambassadors to the Samnites, without loss of time. Their instructions were to inform the Samnites what the Campanians had asked, how the senate, mindful of the friendship of the Samnites, had replied to them, and lastly how they had surrendered; they were then to request that the Samnites, out of regard for the friendship and alliance of the Romans, would spare their subjects, and make no hostile incursion into a territory which belonged now to the Roman People; if soft words proved ineffectual, they were to warn the Samnites, in the name of the Roman People and the senate, not to meddle with the city of Capua or the Campanian domain. But the Samnites, when these things were represented to them in their council[1] by the envoys, behaved so insolently as not only to declare that they meant to carry on the war, but their magistrates stepping out of the senate-house—while the envoys stood by—summoned the commanders of their cohorts, and with a loud voice gave them orders to proceed at once to make a raid upon Campania. B.C. 345–343

XXXII. When the news of this embassy reached Rome, the Fathers, putting aside all other business, sent fetials to demand redress, and failing to obtain it, declared war after the customary fashion.[2] They

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2 tempore de ea re ad populum ferretur; iussuque populi consules ambo cum duobus exercitibus[1] profecti, Valerius in Campaniam Cornelius in Samnium, ille ad montem Gaurum[2] hic ad Saticulam[3] 3 castra ponunt. Priori Valerio Samnitium legiones—eo namque omnem belli molem inclinaturam censebant—occurrunt; simul in Campanos stimulabat ira tam promptos nunc ad ferenda nunc ad accersenda 4 adversus se auxilia. Ut vero castra Romana viderunt, ferociter pro se quisque signum duces poscere; adfirmare eadem fortuna Romanum Campano laturum opem qua Campanus Sidicino tulerit.

5 Valerius levibus certaminibus temptandi hostis causa haud ita multos moratus dies signum pugnae 6 proposuit, paucis suos adhortatus ne novum bellum eos novusque hostis terreret: quidquid ab urbe longius proferrent arma, magis magisque in imbelles 7 gentes eos prodire. Ne Sidicinorum Campanorumque cladibus Samnitium aestimarent virtutem; qualescumque inter se certaverint, necesse fuisse alteram partem vinci. Campanos quidem haud dubie magis nimio luxu fluentibus rebus mollitiaque sua quam vi 8 hostium victos esse. Quid autem esse duo prospera in tot saeculis bella Samnitium adversus tot decora

[1] exercitibus ς *Walters and Conway*: ab urbe exercitibus Ω: exercitibus ab urbe $M\varsigma$: *wanting in O.*

[2] Gaurum D^4A^2 *Frag. Haverk.* ς: caurum UHT^2A: c. aurum *MTDL*: caubrum *P*: claurum *F*: *illegible in O.*

[3] Saticulam *Sigonius*: satriculam Ω: satriaculam *T* satriculum *A*.

then voted that the people be asked to ratify this action at the earliest possible moment; and being commanded so to do, both consuls took the field; and Valerius marching into Campania and Cornelius into Samnium, the one encamped at the foot of Mount Gaurus, the other near Saticula. It was Valerius whom the Samnite levies encountered first —for that was the direction which they expected the invasion to take. The Campanians moreover had incurred their sharp resentment, having been so ready now to render aid against them, now to invoke it. But when they beheld the Roman camp, they began, every man for himself, to call loudly on their leaders for the battle-signal, affirming that the Romans would have no better fortune in helping the Campanians than these had experienced in helping the Sidicini. B.C. 345–343

Valerius, having delayed not many days for the purpose of testing the enemy in small skirmishes, hung out the signal for a battle. But first he spoke a few words of encouragement to his soldiers, bidding them have no fear of a strange war and a strange enemy. With every advance of their arms from Rome, he said, they came to nations that were more and more unwarlike. They must not judge of the courage of the Samnites by the defeats they had administered to the Sidicini and Campanians. Whatever their respective qualities, it was inevitable that when they fought together, one side should be vanquished. As for the Campanians, there was no question they had been beaten rather by the enervation resulting from excessive luxury and by their own effeminacy, than by the strength of their enemies. Furthermore, what were the Samnites' two successful wars in so many ages, as

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populi Romani, qui triumphos paene plures quam annos ab urbe condita numeret; qui omnia circa se, 9 Sabinos Etruriam Latinos Hernicos Aequos Volscos Auruncos, domita armis habeat [1] qui Gallos tot proeliis caesos postremo in mare ac naves fuga com- 10 pulerit? Cum gloria belli ac virtute sua quemque fretos ire in aciem debere, tum etiam intueri cuius ductu auspicioque ineunda pugna sit, utrum qui, 11 audiendus dumtaxat, magnificus adhortator sit, verbis tantum ferox, operum militarium expers, an qui et ipse tela tractare, procedere ante signa, versari media 12 in mole pugnae sciat. " Facta mea, non dicta vos, milites " inquit, " sequi volo, nec disciplinam modo sed exemplum etiam a me petere. Non factionibus [2] nec per coitiones [3] usitatas nobilibus, sed hac dextra mihi tres consulatus summamque laudem peperi. 13 Fuit cum hoc dici poterat: " Patricius enim eras et a liberatoribus patriae ortus, et eodem anno familia ista consulatum quo urbs haec consulem habuit ": 14 nunc iam nobis patribus vobisque plebei promiscuus consulatus patet nec generis, ut ante, sed virtutis est praemium. Proinde summum quodque spectate, 15 milites, decus. Non, si mihi novum hoc Corvini

[1] habeat A^1: habeant Ω: habebant (habebat D^2) D.
[2] factiones *Glareanus*: factionibus modo Ω.
[3] coitiones ς: c̄tiones (*or* c̄ciones, *or* conciones) Ω.

[1] This, the later form of the name, is found here and in chap. xl. § 3, though in other places Livy gives the earlier form, Corvus.

against the many glorious achievements of the Roman People, who could count almost more triumphs than the years since their City had been founded; who had subjugated by their arms all the nations round about them, the Sabines, Etruria, the Latins, the Hernici, the Aequi, the Volsci, and the Aurunci; who after beating the Gauls time after time in battle, had ended by compelling them to flee to the sea-board and their ships? He said that they ought, as they went into action, not only to rely every man on his own courage and martial glory, but also to consider under whose command and auspices they would have to fight; whether he were one who only merited a hearing as a brilliant orator, warlike only in his words, and ignorant of military operations, or one who knew himself how to handle weapons, to advance before the standards, and to play his part in the press and turmoil of a battle. "Soldiers," he cried, "it is my deeds and not my words I would have you follow, and look to me not only for instruction but for example. Not with factions, nor with the intrigues common amongst the nobles, but with this right hand, have I won for myself three consulships and the highest praise. Time was when it might have been said: 'Ah, but you were a patrician and sprung from the liberators of your country, and your family held the consulship in the very year that saw the institution of that office.' But now the consulship lies open on equal terms to us, the nobles, and to you plebeians, nor is it any longer a reward of birth, but of merit. Have regard, therefore, soldiers, in every instance, to great honours. Though you men have given me, with Heaven's sanction, my surname of Corvinus,[1] I have B.C. 345–343

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cognomen dis auctoribus homines dedistis, Publicolarum vetustum familiae nostrae cognomen memoria
16 excessit; semper ego plebem Romanam militiae domique, privatus, in magistratibus parvis magnisque, aeque tribunus ac consul, eodem tenore per omnes
17 deinceps consulatus colo atque colui. Nunc, quod instat, dis bene iuvantibus novum atque integrum de Samnitibus triumphum mecum petite."

XXXIII. Non alias militi familiarior dux fuit omnia inter infimos militum haud gravate munia obeundo.
2 In ludo praeterea militari, cum velocitatis viriumque inter se aequales certamina ineunt, comiter facilis; vincere ac vinci voltu eodem, nec quemquam asper-
3 nari parem qui se offerret; factis benignus pro re, dictis haud minus libertatis alienae quam suae dignitatis memor; et, quo nihil popularius est, quibus
4 artibus petierat magistratus iisdem gerebat. Itaque universus exercitus incredibili alacritate adhortationem prosecutus ducis castris egreditur.
5 Proelium, ut quod maxime unquam, pari spe utrimque, aequis viribus, cum fiducia sui sine con-
6 temptu hostium commissum est. Samnitibus ferociam augebant novae res gestae et paucos ante diei geminata victoria, Romanis contra quadringentorum annorum decora et conditae urbi aequalis victoria;

[1] *i. e.* "Friends of the People." See II. viii. 1.

not forgot the ancient surname of our family—the Publicolae:[1] at home and in the field, as a private citizen, in little magistracies and in great ones, as consul no less than as tribune, and with the same undeviating course through all my successive consulships, have I cherished, and cherish still, the Roman plebs. Now, with Heaven's good help, to the work we have in hand! Seek with me a novel triumph never yet won from the Samnites!" B.C. 345–343

XXXIII. There was never a commander who more endeared himself to his men by cheerfully sharing all their duties with the meanest of the soldiers. At the military sports, too, in which those of a like age contend with one another in strength and swiftness, he was easy-going and good-natured; he would win or lose without changing countenance, nor did he scorn to match himself with anyone who challenged him; in his acts his kindness was suited to the circumstances, in his speech he had regard to the liberty of others no less than to his own dignity; finally—and nothing can be more popular than this—he was the same in office that he had been while a candidate. It was therefore with incredible eagerness that the whole army, after listening to the general's speech, marched out of camp.

The battle began, if ever battle did, with like hopes on both sides and equal strength, and a self-confidence which yet was not mixed with contempt for the enemy. The Samnites were emboldened by their recent exploits and by their double victory of a few days before, the Romans on their part by the glories of four centuries and a victorious career that dated from the founding of

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7 utrisque tamen novus hostis curam addebat. Pugna indicio fuit quos gesserint animos; namque ita conflixerunt ut aliquamdiu in neutram partem inclina-
8 rent acies. Tum consul trepidationem iniciendam ratus, quando vi pelli non poterant, equitibus im-
9 missis turbare prima signa hostium conatur. Quos ubi nequiquam tumultuantes in spatio exiguo volvere turmas vidit nec posse aperire in hostes viam, revectus ad antesignanos legionum cum desiluisset ex equo,
10 "Nostrum" inquit "peditum illud, milites, est opus; agitedum, ut me videritis, quacumque[1] incessero in aciem hostium, ferro viam facientem, sic pro se quisque obvios sternite; illa omnia, qua nunc erectae
11 micant hastae, patefacta strage vasta cernetis." Vix haec[2] dicta dederat, cum equites consulis iussu discurrunt in cornua legionibusque in mediam aciem aperiunt viam. Primus omnium consul invadit hostem et cum quo forte contulit gradum obtruncat.
12 Hoc spectaculo accensi dextra laevaque ante se quisque memorandum proelium cient[3]; stant obnixi Samnites, quamquam plura accipiunt quam inferunt vulnera.

13 Aliquamdiu iam pugnatum erat, atrox caedes circa signa Samnitium, fuga ab nulladum parte erat: adeo
14 morte sola vinci destinaverant animis. Itaque

[1] quacumque $F^2A^3\varsigma$: quacū; *MFO*: quacum Ω: quācū *H*.
[2] vix haec *Luchs*: haec Ω.
[3] cient ς *Gronov.* (L^3 ?): ciet Ω.

the City; each side nevertheless experienced some anxiety at meeting an untried foe. The engagement testified how resolute they were, for they so fought that for some time neither battle-line gave ground. Then the consul, thinking that he must inspire his enemies with fear, since he could not drive them back by force, attempted by sending in the cavalry to throw their front ranks into disorder. But when he saw that nothing came of the confused fighting of the squadrons, as they tried to manœuvre in a narrow space, and that they could not break the enemy's line, he rode back to the front ranks of his legions, and, dismounting from his horse, exclaimed, "Soldiers, it is for us, the infantry, to accomplish yonder task! Come, as you shall see me making a path for myself with my sword wherever I advance against the enemy's line, so do you every man strike down whom you encounter; all that array where now uplifted spears are glancing you shall see laid open with great carnage." No sooner had he said these words, than the horsemen, by the consul's order, drew off towards the wings and left the legions room to attack the centre. The consul was the very foremost in the charge, and slew the man he chanced to meet with. Kindled by this sight, the Romans on the right and on the left pushed forward, every man of them, and fought a memorable combat; the Samnites stood manfully at bay, but they took more strokes than they delivered. B.C. 345–343

The battle had now lasted a considerable time; there was dreadful slaughter about the standards of the Samnites, but as yet no retreating anywhere, so determined were they to be overcome by naught but death. And so the Romans, who saw that their

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Romani cum et fluere iam lassitudine vires sentirent et diei haud multum superesse, accensi ira concitant
15 se in hostem. Tum primum referri pedem atque inclinari rem in fugam apparuit; tum capi, occidi Samnis; nec superfuissent multi, ni nox victoriam
16 magis quam proelium diremisset. Et Romani fatebantur nunquam cum pertinaciore hoste conflictum, et Samnites, cum quaereretur quaenam prima causa
17 tam obstinatos movisset in fugam, oculos sibi Romanorum ardere visos aiebant vesanosque voltus et furentia ora; inde plus quam ex alia ulla re terroris ortum. Quem terrorem non pugnae solum eventu
18 sed nocturna profectione confessi sunt. Postero die vacuis hostium castris Romanus potitur, quo se omnis Campanorum multitudo gratulabunda effudit.

XXXIV. Ceterum hoc gaudium magna prope clade in Samnio foedatum est. Nam ab Saticula[1] profectus Cornelius consul exercitum incaute in saltum cava valle pervium circaque insessum ab hoste induxit
2 nec prius quam recipi tuto signa non poterant im-
3 minentem capiti hostem vidit. Dum id morae Samnitibus est, quoad totum in vallem infimam demitteret agmen, P. Decius tribunus militum conspicit unum editum in saltu collem, imminentem hostium

[1] Saticula *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xxxii. § 2): satricula Ω.

strength was fast ebbing away in weariness and that little daylight yet remained, were filled with rage, and hurled themselves against the enemy. Then for the first time were there signs of giving way and the beginning of a rout; then were the Samnites captured or slain; nor would many have survived, if night had not ended what was now a victory rather than a battle. The Romans admitted that never had they fought with a more stubborn adversary; and the Samnites, on being asked what it was that first had turned them, resolute as they were, to flight, replied that it was the eyes of the Romans, which had seemed to blaze, and their frenzied expression and infuriated looks; this it was more than anything else that had caused their panic. And this panic stood confessed not alone in the outcome of the fight but in the night-retreat that followed. On the morrow the Romans took possession of the deserted camp, and thither the whole population of Capua streamed out to congratulate them. B.C. 345-343

XXXIV. But this rejoicing came near to being marred by a great reverse in Samnium. For the consul Cornelius, marching from Saticula, had unwarily led his army into a forest which was penetrated by a deep defile, and was there beset on either hand by the enemy; nor, until it was too late to withdraw with safety, did he perceive that they were posted on the heights above him. While the Samnites were only holding back till he should send down the whole column into the bottom of the valley, Publius Decius, a tribune of the soldiers, espied a solitary hill, which rising above the pass, commanded the enemy's camp, and though arduous

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castris, aditu arduum impedito agmini, expeditis haud
4 difficilem. Itaque consuli territo animi "Videsne tu"
inquit, "A. Corneli, cacumen illud supra hostem?
Arx illa est spei salutisque nostrae, si eam, quoniam
5 caeci reliquere Samnites, impigre capimus. Ne tu
mihi plus quam unius legionis principes hastatosque
dederis; cum quibus ubi evasero in summum, perge
hinc omni liber metu, teque et exercitum serva;
neque enim moveri hostis, subiectus nobis ad omnes
6 ictus, sine sua pernicie poterit. Nos deinde aut
fortuna populi Romani aut nostra virtus expediet."
7 Conlaudatus ab consule accepto praesidio vadit occul-
tus per saltum; nec prius ab hoste est visus quam loco
8 quem petebat appropinquavit. Inde admiratione
paventibus cunctis cum omnium in se vertisset
oculos, et spatium consuli dedit ad subducendum
agmen in aequiorem locum et ipse in summo con-
9 stitit vertice. Samnites dum huc illuc signa vertunt
utriusque rei amissa occasione neque insequi con-
sulem nisi per eandem vallem, in qua paulo ante
subiectum eum telis suis habuerant, possunt, nec
erigere agmen in captum super se ab Decio tumu-
10 lum; sed cum ira in hos magis, qui fortunam gerendae
rei eripuerant, tum propinquitas loci atque ipsa

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[1] The legion was drawn up in three lines; in the first were the *hastati*, in the second the *principes*, and behind these the *triarii*.

of access to an army encumbered with baggage, was not difficult for men in light marching order. He accordingly said to the consul, who was much perturbed: "Do you see, Aulus Cornelius, that summit that rises above the enemy? It is the fortress of our hope and safety, if we are prompt to seize it, since the Samnites have been so blind as to neglect it. Give me no more than the first and second lines of a single legion;[1] when with these I have mounted to the top, do you go forward fearlessly and save yourself and the army; for the enemy, exposed to all our missiles, will not be able to stir without bringing destruction on themselves. As for us, thereafter the fortune of the Roman People or our own manhood will extricate us." Being commended by the consul and receiving his detachment, he advanced under cover through the wood, nor did the enemy perceive him till he had nearly reached the place which he wished to gain. They were then all overcome with astonishment and dread, and while they turned, every man of them, and gazed at him, the consul was given time to withdraw his army to more favourable ground, and Decius himself took his post on the top of the hill. The Samnites, turning their standards now this way and now that, threw away both opportunities; they could not pursue the consul, except through the same defile where a little before they had held him at the mercy of their javelins, nor could they charge up the hill which Decius had captured over their heads. But not only did their resentment urge them rather against those who had snatched victory from their grasp, but so also did the nearness of the place and the fewness of its

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11 paucitas incitat; et nunc circumdare undique collem armatis volunt, ut a consule Decium intercludant, nunc viam patefacere, ut degressos in vallem adoriantur. Incertos quid agerent nox oppressit.

12 Decium primum [1] spes tenuit cum subeuntibus in adversum collem ex superiore loco se pugnaturum; deinde admiratio incessit quod nec pugnam inirent nec, si ab eo consilio iniquitate loci deterrerentur, 13 opere se valloque circumdarent. Tum centurionibus ad se vocatis: "Quaenam illa inscitia belli ac pigritia est, aut quonam modo isti ex Sidicinis Campanisque victoriam pepererunt? Huc atque illuc signa moveri ac modo in unum conferri modo educi [2] videtis; opus quidem incipit nemo, cum iam circumdati vallo 14 potuerimus esse. Tum vero nos similes istorum simus, si diutius hic moremur quam commodum sit. Agitedum, ite mecum ut, dum lucis aliquid superest, quibus locis praesidia ponant, qua pateat hinc exitus, 15 exploremus." Haec omnia sagulo gregali amictus centurionibus item manipularium militum habitu ductis,[3] ne ducem circumire hostes notarent, perlustravit.

XXXV. Vigiliis deinde dispositis ceteris omnibus tesseram dari iubet, ubi secundae vigiliae bucina da- 2 tum signum esset, armati cum silentio ad se conveni-

[1] primum (*wanting in O*) Ω: primo *Häggström* "*dubitanter.*"
[2] educi Ω: diduci *Weissenborn.*
[3] ductis (ductus *OL*) Ω: secum ductis *M. Mueller.*

defenders; and first they would be for surrounding the hill with troops, so as to cut Decius off from the consul, and next for leaving his road open, so that they might attack him when he was got down into the valley. Before they had made up their minds, night overtook them. B.C. 345–343

Decius at first had hopes of fighting from the higher ground, as they mounted the hill; then he marvelled that they neither began to attack, nor, if they were deterred from that design by the difficulty of the ground, attempted to shut him in with trench and rampart. Then, calling the centurions to him, he said: "What want of military skill, what slothfulness can that be? How did those people conquer the Sidicini and Campanians? You see their standards moving now this way, now that, first closing in together, then deploying, while no man falls to work, though we might ere this have been fenced in with a palisade. Then in truth should we be no better than they, were we to tarry here longer than suits our interest. Come on then and follow me, so that while there is yet a little light we may find out where they post their guards, and where the way out from this place lies open." Wrapped in a common soldier's cloak and accompanied by his centurions, who were also dressed like privates, lest the enemy should notice that the general was on his rounds, he investigated all these matters.

XXXV. Next, having disposed the sentries, he commanded that the word be passed to everybody, that on hearing the trumpet sound for the second watch they should silently arm and present themselves before him. When they had assembled there

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rent. Quo ubi, sicut edictumerat, taciti convenerunt, "Hoc silentium, milites," inquit, "omisso militari adsensu in me audiendo servandum est. Ubi sententiam meam vobis peregero, tum quibus eadem placebunt in dextram partem taciti transibitis; quae pars 3 maior erit, eo stabitur consilio. Nunc quae mente agitem audite. Non fuga delatos nec inertia relictos hic vos circumvenit hostis: virtute cepistis 4 locum, virtute hinc oportet evadatis. Veniendo huc exercitum egregium populo Romano servastis: erumpendo hinc vosmet ipsos servate; digni estis qui pauci pluribus opem tuleritis, ipsi nullius auxilio 5 egueritis. Cum eo hoste res est qui hesterno die delendi omnis exercitus fortuna per socordiam usus non sit, hunc tam opportunum collem imminentem capiti suo non ante viderit quam captum a nobis, 6 nos tam paucos tot ipse[1] milibus hominum nec ascensu arcuerit[2] nec tenentes locum, cum diei tantum superesset, vallo circumdederit. Quem videntem ac vigilantem sic eluseritis, sopitum oportet 7 fallatis, immo necesse est; in eo enim loco res sunt nostrae, ut vobis ego magis necessitatis vestrae 8 index quam consilii auctor sim. Neque enim maneatis an abeatis hinc deliberari potest, cum praeter arma et animos armorum memores nihil vobis fortuna reliqui fecerit fameque et siti moriendum sit,

[1] ipse ς: ipsi (*corrected by A from* ipsis) Ω.
[2] arcuerit ς: arcuerint A^2: arguerit *PFU*: arguerint Ω.

without a word, as he had ordered, he thus began: B.C. 345–343
"You must preserve this silence, soldiers, as you listen to me, omitting all soldier-like acclaim. When I have finished explaining my plan, then those of you who find it good will quietly pass over to the right; on whichever side the majority shall be, we will abide by their decision. Hear now what I have in mind. The enemy has not invested you here as men who ran away or were left behind through laziness: it was by valour that you took the place, and by valour you must escape from it. By coming hither you saved a splendid army for the Roman People; save yourselves by breaking out. You are worthy to have carried help, though few, to greater numbers, and to have needed no man's help yourselves. You have an enemy to deal with who neglected yesterday through indolence an opportunity of destroying our whole army; who failed to see the importance of this hill by which he is commanded, until we had taken it; who, though we were so few and his own thousands so many, neither kept us from gaining the ascent, nor, when the place was ours and much daylight still remained, surrounded us with entrenchments. An enemy whom you thus eluded while he was wide awake and watching, you ought to baffle when he is overcome with sleep. Indeed it is necessary that you do so, for our situation is such that I am rather pointing out your necessity to you than advocating a plan. Nor truly can it be a debatable question whether you should stay or go away from here, since Fortune has left you nothing but your arms and the spirit to employ them, and we must die of hunger and thirst, if we dread the

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si plus quam viros ac Romanos decet ferrum time-
9 amus. Ergo una est salus erumpere hinc atque abire; id aut interdiu aut nocte faciamus oportet.
10 Ecce autem aliud minus dubium; quippe si lux exspectetur, quae spes est non vallo perpetuo fossaque nos saepturum hostem, qui nunc corporibus suis subiectis undique cinxerit, ut videtis, collem? Atqui si nox opportuna est eruptioni, sicut est,
11 haec profecto noctis aptissima hora est. Signo secundae vigiliae convenistis, quod tempus mortales somno altissimo premit; per corpora sopita vadetis vel silentio incautos fallentes vel sentientibus clamore
12 subito pavorem iniecturi. Me modo sequimini, quem secuti estis; ego eandem quae duxit huc sequar fortunam. Quibus haec salutaria videntur, agitedum, in dextram partem pedibus transite."

XXXVI. Omnes transierunt, vadentemque per
2 intermissa custodiis loca Decium secuti sunt. Iam evaserant media castra, cum superscandens vigilum strata somno corpora miles offenso scuto praebuit sonitum; quo excitatus vigil cum proximum movisset erectique alios concitarent, ignari cives an hostes essent, praesidium erumperet an consul castra
3 cepisset, Decius, quoniam non fallerent, clamorem

sword's point more than it is fitting men and Romans should. Our one way of safety, then, is to break through and get away. We must do this either in the day-time or at night. But this, look you, is a question that is even less in doubt, for if we should wait for dawn, what hope is there that the enemy would not hem us in with a continuous trench and rampart, who has now, as you see, encompassed the hill on every hand with the bodies of his men lying below us. And yet, if night is favourable for our sally, as it is, this is surely the fittest hour of the night. You have come together on the signal of the second watch, when sleep lies heaviest on mortals: you will make your way among drowsy forms, either eluding them unsuspected in your silence, or ready, if they should perceive you, to affright them with a sudden shout. Do but follow me, whom you have followed hitherto; I will follow that same Fortune that has led us hither. Now then let those who approve my plan step over to the right."

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XXXVI. They all crossed over. Decius then made his way through the spaces left unguarded, and they followed him. They had already got half way through the camp, when a soldier in stepping over the bodies of some sleeping sentries struck his shield and made a sound. A sentry was awakened by this, and having shaken his neighbour, they stood up and began to rouse the rest, not knowing whether they had to do with friends or foes, whether the party on the hill were escaping, or the consul had captured the camp. Decius, seeing that they were discovered, gave the order to his men, and they set up such a shout that the Samnites,

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tollere iussis militibus torpidos somno insuper pavore exanimat, quo praepediti nec arma impigre capere 4 nec obsistere nec insequi poterant. Inter trepidationem tumultumque Samnitium praesidium Romanum obviis custodibus caesis ad castra consulis pervadit.

5 Aliquantum supererat noctis iamque in tuto videbantur esse, cum Decius "Macte virtute" inquit, "milites Romani, este;[1] vestrum iter ac reditum 6 omnia saecula laudibus ferent; sed ad conspiciendam tantam virtutem luce ac die opus est, nec vos digni estis quos cum tanta gloria in castra reduces silentium ac nox 7 tegat; hic lucem quieti opperiamur." Dictis obtemperatum; atque ubi primum inluxit, praemisso nuntio ad consulem castra ingenti gaudio concitantur et tessera data incolumes reverti, qui sua corpora pro salute omnium haud dubio periculo obiecissent, pro se quisque obviam effusi laudant, gratulantur, singulos universos servatores suos vocant, dis laudes 8 gratesque agunt, Decium in caelum ferunt. Hic Deci castrensis triumphus fuit incedentis per media castra cum armato praesidio coniectis in eum omnium oculis et omni honore tribunum consuli aequantibus. 9 Ubi ad praetorium ventum est, consul classico ad contionem convocat orsusque meritas Deci laudes 10 interfante ipso Decio distulit contionem; qui auctor

[1] Romani, este A^2: r̄ (*or* r.) este M^2 *or* M^1 (r este *M*) *PFOT*^{2}: recte *HTDLA*.

who had been stupefied with sleep, were now in addition breathless with terror, which prevented them from either arming promptly or making a stand against the Romans or pursuing them. During the fright and confusion amongst the Samnites, the Romans cut down such guards as they came across, and proceeded towards the consul's camp. B.C. 345–343

It wanted yet some time till daylight, and they now appeared to be in safety, when Decius said, "All honour to your courage, Roman soldiers! Your expedition and return shall be renowned through all the ages. But the light of day is needed to set off such gallantry, nor do you merit that your glorious return to camp should be accomplished in silence and under cover of night. Let us wait here quietly until the dawn." They did as he said. With the first rays of light they sent forward a courier to the consul, and the camp was woke with loud rejoicings. When word was sent round that those were returning safe and sound, who in behalf of the general safety, had exposed their bodies to no uncertain peril, they all poured out to meet them, and, each for himself, praised and congratulated them, calling them their saviours, one and all. To the gods they offered praise and thanks, and Decius they extolled to the skies. Now followed a triumph for Decius in the camp, as he marched through the midst with his battalion under arms. All eyes were directed towards him, and paid the tribune equal homage with the consul. When they reached headquarters, the consul bade the trumpet sound an assembly, and fell to lauding Decius, as he deserved. But Decius, interrupting him, induced him to defer his speech;

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omnia posthabendi dum occasio in manibus esset, perpulit consulem ut hostes et nocturno pavore attonitos et circa collem castellatim dissipatos adgrederetur: credere etiam aliquos ad se sequendum
11 emissos per saltum vagari. Iussae legiones arma capere egressaeque castris, cum per exploratores notior iam saltus esset, via patentiore ad hostem
12 ducuntur; quem incautum improviso adortae, cum palati passim Samnitium milites, plerique inermes, nec coire in unum nec arma capere nec recipere intra vallum se possent, paventem primum in castra compellunt, deinde castra ipsa turbatis stationibus
13 capiunt. Perfertur circa collem clamor fugatque ex suis quemque praesidiis. Ita magna pars absenti hosti cessit: quos intra vallum egerat pavor — fuere autem ad triginta milia[1] — omnes caesi, castra direpta.

XXXVII. Ita rebus gestis consul advocata contione P. Deci non coeptas solum ante sed cumulatas nova virtute laudes peragit et praeter militaria alia dona aurea corona eum et centum bubus eximioque
2 uno albo opimo auratis cornibus donat. Milites qui

[1] triginta milia Ω: tria milia *conj. Walters, assuming that* ꝏ ꝏ ꝏ *was corrupted to* XXX *or* xxx *mil.*

then, urging that all other considerations should be postponed whilst they had such an opportunity at hand, he persuaded him to attack the enemy. They were now, he said, bewildered by the night alarm and dispersed about the hill in separate detachments, and he doubted not that a party would have been sent out after him and would be wandering through the forest. The troops were commanded to arm, and marching out of camp, were led by a more open route—for, thanks to their scouts, the forest was now better known to them—in the direction of the enemy. These they caught quite off their guard by a surprise attack, for the Samnite soldiers were scattered far and wide, and most of them were without their weapons. Unable either to assemble or to arm or to regain their works, they were first driven headlong into their camp, and then the outposts were routed and the camp itself was taken. The shouting was heard all round the hill and sent the detachments flying from their several stations. Thus a great part of the Samnites fled without coming into contact with the enemy. Those whom panic had driven within the enclosure—to the number of some thirty thousand—were all put to the sword, and the camp was spoiled. B.C. 345–343

XXXVII. The battle having sped thus, the consul called an assembly, and pronounced a panegyric upon Decius, in which he rehearsed, in addition to his former services, the fresh glories which his bravery had achieved. Besides other military gifts, he bestowed on him a golden chaplet and a hundred oxen, and one choice white one, fat, and with gilded horns. The soldiers who had been on the

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in praesidio simul fuerant duplici frumento in perpetuum, in praesentia bubus privis binisque tunicis [1] donati. Secundum consulis donationem legiones gramineam coronam obsidialem, clamore donum approbantes, Decio imponunt; altera corona, eiusdem honoris index, a praesidio suo imposita est. 3 His decoratus insignibus bovem eximium Marti immolavit, centum boves militibus dono dedit qui secum in expeditione fuerant. Iisdem militibus legiones libras farris et sextarios vini contulerunt; omniaque ea ingenti alacritate per clamorem militarem, indicem omnium adsensus, gerebantur. 4 Tertia pugna ad Suessulam commissa est, quia fugatus a M. Valerio Samnitium exercitus omni robore iuventutis domo accito certamine ultimo fortunam experiri statuit. 5 Ab Suessula nuntii trepidi Capuam, inde equites citati ad Valerium consulem 6 opem oratum veniunt. Confestim signa mota relictisque impedimentis castrorum cum [2] valido praesidio raptim agitur agmen; nec procul ab hoste locum perexiguum, ut quibus praeter equos ceterorum iumentorum calonumque turba abesset, castris cepit. 7 Samnitium exercitus, velut haud ulla mora pugnae futura esset, aciem instruit; deinde, postquam nemo obvius ibat, infestis signis ad castra hostium succedit. 8 Ibi ut militem in vallo vidit missique ab omni parte

[1] bubus privis binisque tunicis *Weissenborn*: singulis bobus binisque priuis $O\varsigma$: singulis b. priuisque binisque (bonisque *T*) HT^1DLAR: singulis b. binisque $MPFUT^2$ (*or* T^1) A^2 (*or* A^3) R^2 (*but* P^1 *has* priuisque *in marg.*).

[2] castrorum cum ς: cum castrorum ***Madvig***: ac castrorum *Weissenborn*: castrorum Ω: castrorumque *Klock.*

[1] This decoration was next in importance to the *corona aurea* or *triumphalis*. It was made of green grass plucked from the place which had been beleaguered.

hill with him were rewarded with a double ration in perpetuity, and for the present an ox apiece and two tunics. Following the consul's award, the legions, accompanying the gift with their cheers, placed on Decius's head a wreath of grass,[1] to signify his rescuing them from a siege; and his own detachment crowned him with a second wreath, indicative of the same honour. Adorned with these insignia, he sacrificed the choice ox to Mars, and presented the hundred others to the soldiers who had served with him on the expedition. To these same soldiers the legions contributed a pound of spelt and a pint of wine for each man. All these awards were carried out amid the greatest cheerfulness, the shouts of the soldiers testifying to the general approval. B.C. 345–343

A third engagement was fought at Suessula, for the Samnites, after the rout inflicted on them by Marcus Valerius, had called out all the men they had of military age, determined to try their fortune in a final encounter. From Suessula the alarming news was carried to Capua, whence gallopers were dispatched to Valerius the consul, to implore assistance. The troops were immediately set in motion, and leaving behind the baggage and a strong garrison for the camp, made a rapid march, and being got within a short distance of the enemy, encamped in a very small compass, for they had only their horses with them and neither beasts of burden nor a crowd of camp-followers.

The Samnites, assuming that the battle would not be delayed, formed up in line; then, as no one came out to meet them, they advanced against the enemy's camp. When they saw the soldiers on the rampart, and when the scouts whom they had

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exploratum quam[1] in exiguum orbem contracta castra essent — paucitatem inde hostium colligentes 9 — rettulerunt, fremere omnis acies complendas esse fossas scindendumque vallum et in castra inrumpendum; transactumque ea temeritate bellum foret, 10 ni duces continuissent impetum militum. Ceterum, quia multitudo sua commeatibus gravis et prius sedendo ad Suessulam et tum certaminis mora haud procul ab rerum omnium inopia esset, placuit, dum inclusus paveret hostis, frumentatum per agros 11 militem duci: interim quieto[2] Romano, qui expeditus quantum umeris inter arma geri posset frumenti secum attulisset, defutura omnia.

12 Consul palatos per agros cum vidisset hostes, stationes infrequentes relictas, paucis milites adhor- 13 tatus ad castra oppugnanda ducit. Quae cum primo clamore atque impetu cepisset, pluribus hostium in tentoriis suis quam in portis valloque caesis, signa captiva in unum locum conferri iussit relictisque duabus legionibus custodiae et praesidii causa gravi edicto monitis ut, donec ipse revertisset, 14 praeda abstinerent, profectus agmine instructo, cum praemissus eques velut indagine dissipatos Samnites 15 ageret, caedem ingentem fecit. Nam neque quo

[1] quam ς: quamquam Ω: quia F^2: postquam quam *Alschefski*.

[2] quieto A^2 or A^1ς: quia et Ω: quia *M*: et A; *deleted by Madvig*.

dispatched to spy out the camp on every hand reported how straitened its dimensions were, inferring thence the paucity of their foes, the whole army began to murmur that they ought to fill up the trenches, breach the rampart, and burst into the enclosure; and their rashness would have brought the war to a conclusion, had not the commanders restrained the ardour of their men. But since their numbers were a burden on the commissariat, and since, owing first to their sitting down before Suessula and afterwards to the delay in fighting, they were almost reduced to want for everything, they decided that while the enemy were cowering within their works, they would send their soldiers over the country-side to forage: meantime the Romans, remaining inactive, would be reduced to destitution, for they had come in light marching order, with only so much corn as they could carry, along with their armour, on their shoulders. B.C. 345–343

Seeing the Samnites dispersed about the fields, and their stations thinly manned, the consul addressed a few words of encouragement to his soldiers and led them to the assault of the enemy's camp. Having taken it at the first shout and rush, and slain more men in their tents than at the gates and on the breastworks, he ordered the captured standards to be collected in one spot. Then, leaving two legions to guard them and defend the place,—with strict injunctions to refrain from spoiling until he himself returned,—he marched out in serried column, and sending the cavalry on before to surround the scattered Samnites, as with a cordon of hunters, and so drive them in, he made a prodigious slaughter of them. For in their terror they were

A.U.C. 409–411

signo coirent [1] inter se neque utrum castra peterent an longiorem intenderent fugam, territis constare
16 poterat; tantumque fugae ac formidinis fuit ut ad quadraginta milia scutorum — nequaquam tot caesis — et signa militaria cum iis [2] quae in castris capta erant ad centum septuaginta ad consulem defer-
17 rentur. Tum in castra hostium reditum ibique omnis praeda militi data.

A.U.C 412

XXXVIII. Huius certaminis fortuna et Faliscos, cum in indutiis essent, foedus petere ab senatu coegit et Latinos iam exercitibus comparatis ab
2 Romano in Paelignum vertit bellum. Neque ita rei gestae fama Italiae se finibus tenuit, sed Carthaginienses quoque legatos gratulatum Romam misere cum coronae aureae dono, quae in Capitolio in Iovis cella poneretur; fuit pondo viginti quinque.
3 Consules ambo de Samnitibus triumpharunt sequente Decio insigni cum laude donisque, cum incondito militari ioco haud minus tribuni celebre nomen quam consulum esset.
4 Campanorum deinde Suessulanorumque [3] auditae legationes, precantibusque datum ut praesidium eo in hiberna mitteretur, quo Samnitium excursiones arcerentur.
5 Iam tum minime salubris militari disciplinae Capua instrumento omnium voluptatium delenitos

[1] coirent $T^2A^2{}_?$: coire Ω.
[2] cum iis *M*?: cum is M^1 *or* M^2 (*over erasure*): cum hiis A^2 (*over erasure*): cum his *PFOT*^{2}: cunctis *HTDL*.
[3] Suessulanorumque A^3 *Sigonius*: Suessanorumq. (*illegible in O*) Ω.

unable to agree either under what standard they should rally, or whether they should make for their camp or direct their flight towards some more remote place; and so great was their discomfiture and panic, that the Romans brought in to the consul no less than forty thousand shields—though not near so many men were slain—and of military standards, including those which had been captured in the camp, no fewer than a hundred and seventy. The victors then returned to the enemy's camp and there the plunder was all given to the soldiers. B.C. 345–343

XXXVIII. The fortunate outcome of this war not only impelled the Faliscans, with whom there was a truce, to ask the senate for a treaty, but caused the Latins, whose armies were ready to take the field, to transfer their attack from Rome to the Paeligni. Nor was the fame of this success confined to Italy; even the Carthaginians sent their envoys to Rome, with congratulations and the gift of a golden crown, weighing five and twenty pounds, to be placed in the shrine of Jupiter on the Capitol. Both consuls triumphed over the Samnites, and after them came Decius, conspicuous in his decorations and so renowned, that the soldiers in their rude jests named the tribune no less often than the consuls. B.C. 342

The deputations of the Campanians and the Suessulani were then heard, and a favourable reply was made to their petition that a garrison should be dispatched, to remain through the winter with them and protect them against inroads by the Samnites.

Capua was even then a far from wholesome place for military discipline, and with its means for grati-

militum animos avertit a memoria patriae inibanturque consilia in hibernis eodem scelere adimendae Campanis Capuae per quod illi eam antiquis cul-
6 toribus ademissent: neque immerito suum ipsorum exemplum in eos versurum. Cur autem potius Campani agrum Italiae uberrimum, dignam agro urbem, qui nec se nec sua tutari possent, quam victor exercitus haberet qui suo sudore ac sanguine
7 inde Samnites depulisset? An aequum esse dediticios suos illa fertilitate atque amoenitate perfrui, se militando fessos in pestilenti atque arido circa urbem solo luctari aut in urbe insidentem labem[1] crescentis in dies fenoris pati?
8 Haec agitata occultis coniurationibus necdum volgata in omnes consilia invenit novus consul C. Marcius Rutulus,[2] cui Campania sorte provincia even-
9 erat, Q. Servilio collega ad urbem relicto. Itaque cum omnia ea, sicut gesta erant, per tribunos comperta haberet et aetate[3] et usu doctus, quippe qui iam quartum consul esset dictatorque et censor fuisset, optimum ratus differendo spem quandocumque vellent consilii exsequendi militarem impetum frustrari,[4] rumorem dissipat in iisdem oppidis

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[1] labem Ω: tabem $I^2T^2\varsigma$.
[2] Rutulus *H*: rutilus Ω: rutilius *F*.
[3] haberet et aetate $H^1T^1A^2$ (*or* A^3)ς: et aetate haberet Ω: et aetate *omittent b*$_{\eta}$ D^2A.
[4] frustrari T^2D^2: frustrare Ω: frustrarem omnem A^2 (frustrare *A* ?): frustare *U*.

[1] *i. e.* the Etruscans, see IV. XXXVII. 2.

fying every pleasure proved so fascinating to the soldiers that they forgot their native land, and formed a project, while in winter quarters, for taking the city away from the Campanians by the same wicked practice by which the Campanians had taken it from its ancient inhabitants.[1] There would be a certain justice, they argued, in turning their own example against them. Besides, why should the most fertile land in Italy, and a city worthy of the land, belong to the Campanians, who were incapable of defending either themselves or their possessions? Why, rather, should it not belong to the conquering army, which had toiled and bled to drive the Samnites out of it? Was it fair that their surrendered subjects should enjoy that fertile and agreeable tract, while they, exhausted with campaigning, wrestled with the arid and noxious soil in the neighbourhood of Rome, or endured the ruinous usury that had fastened on the City and was increasing from one day to the next? B.C. 342

These schemes, discussed in secret cabals and not yet communicated to all the troops, were discovered by the new consul, Gaius Marcius Rutulus, to whom the lot had assigned Campania for his province, leaving Quintus Servilius, his colleague, in charge at Rome. And so having found out through his tribunes exactly what had taken place, Rutulus, who was of ripe years and experience,—for the present consulship was his fourth and he had been both dictator and censor—thought that his best course would be to frustrate the men's impetuosity, by encouraging the hope that they would be able at any time they chose to carry out their plan. He accordingly set on foot a rumour that the garrisons

a.u.c. 412 10 et anno post praesidia hibernatura — divisa enim erant per Campaniae urbes, manaverantque a Capua consilia in exercitum omnem. Eo laxamento cogitationibus dato quievit in praesentia seditio.

XXXIX. Consul educto in aestiva milite, dum quietos Samnites habebat, exercitum purgare missionibus turbulentorum hominum instituit, aliis emerita dicendo stipendia esse, alios graves iam 2 aetate aut viribus parum validos. Quidam in commeatus mittebantur, singuli primo, deinde et cohortes quaedam, quia procul ab domo ac rebus suis hibernassent; per speciem etiam militarium usuum, cum 3 alii alio mitterentur, magna pars ablegati. Quam multitudinem consul alter Romae praetorque alias 4 ex aliis fingendo moras retinebat. Et primo quidem ignari ludificationis minime inviti domos revisebant; postquam neque reverti ad signa primos nec ferme alium quam qui in Campania hibernassent praecipueque ex his seditionis auctores mitti viderunt, primum admiratio, deinde haud dubius timor incessit 5 animos consilia sua emanasse: iam quaestiones, iam indicia, iam occulta singulorum supplicia impotensque et crudele consulum ac patrum in se regnum 6 passuros. Haec qui in castris erant occultis sermoni-

would winter in the same towns in the following B.C 342
year also,—for they had been distributed among the cities of Campania and from Capua their designs had spread to the entire army,—and the conspirators being thus afforded time for breathing, the sedition subsided for the present.

XXXIX. The consul having led out his troops to the summer encampment, and finding the Samnites quiet, resolved to purge the army of its trouble-makers by discharging them. Of some of them he said that they had served out their time; of others, that they were now too old or deficient in sturdiness. To some he granted furlough, singling out individuals at first, but later dismissing certain cohorts, on the ground that they had passed the winter far from their homes and their affairs. Many, too, were sent off on some pretext of military employment, some one way, some another. All these the other consul and the praetor detained at Rome, alleging a variety of reasons. And at first, not suspecting a trick, they were far from sorry to visit their homes again. Later on, when they saw that the first to go failed to rejoin the colours, and that practically none were dismissed but those who had wintered in Campania, and particularly such of these as had encouraged the conspiracy, they marvelled at first, and presently began to entertain very definite fears that their designs had come to light: soon there would be investigations, soon informations would be lodged, they would soon be punished in secret, one by one, and would be made to feel the unrestrained and cruel despotism with which the consuls and the senate governed them. Such were the fears that were secretly put about by the soldiers

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bus serunt, nervos coniurationis electos [1] arte consulis cernentes.

7 Cohors una, cum haud procul Anxure [2] esset, ad Lautulas saltu angusto inter mare ac montes consedit ad excipiendos quos consul aliis atque aliis, ut ante 8 dictum est, causis mittebat. Iam valida admodum numero manus erat nec quicquam ad iusti exercitus formam praeter ducem deerat. Incompositi itaque praedantes in agrum Albanum perveniunt et sub 9 iugo Albae Longae castra vallo cingunt. Perfecto inde opere reliquum diei de imperatore sumendo sententiis decertant, nulli ex praesentibus satis 10 fidentes: quem autem ab Roma posse exciri? quem patrum aut plebis esse qui aut se tanto periculo sciens offerat aut cui ex iniuria insanientis exercitus 11 causa recte committatur? Postero die cum eadem deliberatio teneret, ex praedatoribus vagis quidam compertum attulerunt T. Quinctium in Tusculano 12 agrum colere, urbis honorumque immemorem. Patriciae hic vir gentis erat, cui cum militiae magna cum gloria actae finem pes alter ex volnere claudus fecisset, ruri agere vitam procul ambitione ac foro 13 constituit. Nomine audito extemplo agnovere virum et, quod bene verteret, acciri iusserunt. Sed parum

[1] electos *Gebhard*: eiectos Ω *Frag. Havn.* ς: exsectos *Claud Dupuy.*

[2] Anxure ς: anxur ς: anxyr Ω.

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[1] Later called Tarracina.

[2] As Livy has mentioned no particular grievance, it is supposed that he refers to the oppressive usury.

in the camp, for they saw that the sinews of their B.C. 342
plot had been plucked out by the consul's artifice.

One cohort which was stationed not far from Anxur[1] went into camp near Lautulae, in the narrow pass between the sea and the mountains, where they could intercept those whom the consul continued to dismiss, on one pretext or another, as has been said before. They were soon a very numerous body, and lacked no essential element of an army except a general. And so, without order, and pillaging as they went, they proceeded as far as the Alban country, and under the ridge of Alba Longa encamped and threw up a rampart. Having finished the work, they employed the remainder of the day in wrangling over the choice of a general, for they had no great confidence in anyone there present. But whom could they summon from Rome? What patrician or plebeian was there who would wittingly expose himself to so great a danger, or to whom the cause of the army, maddened by its wrongs,[2] could fitly be committed? On the following day, while they were debating the same question, certain of their roving foragers reported having learned that Titus Quinctius was living on a farm near Tusculum, with no thoughts of the City or its honours. This man, who belonged to a noble family, had won great distinction in the wars, but a lameness in one of his feet, resulting from a wound, had put an end to his campaigning, and had determined him to take up his residence in the country, far from the Forum and from politics. On hearing his name they remembered the man at once, and bade send for him, invoking a blessing on this step. But there being little prospect that

A.U.C. 412 spei erat voluntate quicquam facturum; vim adhiberi
14 ac metum placuit. Itaque silentio noctis cum tectum villae qui ad id missi erant intrassent, somno gravem Quinctium oppressum, nihil medium aut imperium atque honorem aut ubi restitaret mortem ni seque-
15 retur denuntiantes, in castra pertraxerunt. Imperator extemplo adveniens appellatus, insigniaque honoris exterrito subitae rei miraculo deferunt et
16 ad urbem ducere iubent. Suo magis inde impetu quam consilio ducis convolsis signis infesto agmine ad lapidem octavum viae quae nunc Appia est
17 perveniunt; issentque confestim ad urbem, ni venire contra exercitum dictatoremque adversus se M. Valerium Corvum dictum audissent et magistrum equitum L. Aemilium Mamercum.

XL. Ubi primum in conspectum ventum est et[1] arma signaque agnovere, extemplo omnibus memoria
2 patriae iras permulsit. Nondum erant tam fortes ad sanguinem civilem nec praeter externa noverant bella, ultimaque rabies secessio ab suis habebatur; itaque iam duces, iam milites utrimque congressus
3 quaerere ac conloquia;—Quinctius, quem armorum etiam pro patria satietas teneret, nedum adversus

[1] est et *Duker*: est (*wanting in O*) Ω.

he would voluntarily assist them, they resolved on B.C. 342
employing threats and violence. Coming therefore to his farm-house in the silence of the night, those who had been dispatched upon this errand caught Quinctius sound asleep, and offering him no choice but authority and rank, or death,—with which, when he held back, they threatened him, unless he would go along with them—they carried him off to the camp. Once there they immediately hailed him General, and dazed as he was by the astounding suddenness of it all, conferred on him the insignia of that office and bade him lead them to the City. Then, more on their own impulse than by the counsel of their general, they pulled up their standards and marched in warlike array as far as the eighth milestone, on what is now the Appian Way; whence they would at once have gone on to the City, had they not learned that an army was coming to oppose them, under Marcus Valerius Corvus, who had been created dictator for that purpose, with Lucius Aemilius Mamercus as master of the horse.

XL. As soon as they came within sight of one another and recognized one another's arms and ensigns, all were at once reminded of their fatherland, and their anger cooled. Men were not yet so hardy in shedding the blood of countrymen; they knew no wars but those with outside nations, and thought that frenzy could go no further than secession from their people. And so on either side both the leaders and their men began to seek for ways to meet and confer together. For Quinctius was sated with war, even war in behalf of his country, to say nothing of fighting against it;

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patriam, Corvinus omnes caritate cives, praecipue milites, et ante alios suum exercitum, complexus. 4 Is ad[1] conloquium processit. Cognito ei extemplo haud minore[2] ab adversariis verecundia quam ab suis silentium datum.

"Deos" inquit "immortales, milites, vestros[3] meosque ab urbe proficiscens ita adoravi veniamque supplex poposci ut mihi de vobis concordiae partae 5 gloriam non victoriam darent. Satis fuit eritque unde belli decus pariatur: hinc pax petenda est. Quod deos immortales inter nuncupanda vota exposposci, eius me compotem voti vos facere potestis, 6 si meminisse voltis non vos in Samnio nec in Volscis, sed in Romano solo castra habere, si illos colles quos cernitis patriae vestrae esse, si hunc exercitum civium vestrorum, si me consulem vestrum, cuius ductu auspicioque priore anno bis legiones Sam- 7 nitium fudistis, bis castra vi cepistis. Ego sum M. Valerius Corvus, milites, cuius vos nobilitatem beneficiis erga vos, non iniuriis, sensistis, nullius superbae in vos legis, nullius crudelis senatus consulti auctor, in omnibus meis imperiis in me severior quam in 8 vos. Ac si cui genus, si cui sua virtus, si cui etiam maiestas, si cui honores subdere spiritus potuerunt, iis[4] eram natus, id specimen mei dederam, ea aetate consulatum adeptus eram, ut potuerim tres et viginti

[1] is ad *Madvig*: ad Ω.
[2] minore *Perizonius*: minor Ω: minor eius *L.*
[3] vestros *H. J. Mueller*: uestros publicos Ω
[4] iis ς: his *U*: is Ω.

and the affection of Corvinus embraced all his B.C. 342
fellow-citizens, particularly the soldiers, and above all others, his own army. He now came forward to parley, and being recognized, was instantly accorded a silent attention, in which his opponents showed as great respect for him as did his followers.

"Soldiers," he began, "as I was setting forth from the City, I adored your gods and mine, and humbly besought them of their goodness to vouchsafe to me the glory of reconciling, not of conquering you. There have been wars in plenty, and will be others, where men may win renown: in this crisis we must seek for peace. The petition which I made to the immortal gods, as I offered up my prayer, you are able of yourselves to grant me, if you are willing to reflect that your camp is pitched not in Samnium nor among the Volsci, but on Roman soil; that those hills which you see are in your native land; that this army is made up of your fellow-citizens; that I am your consul, under whose command and auspices you twice last year defeated the Samnite legions, and twice stormed their camp. I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, soldiers, whose patrician blood has declared itself in kindnesses done you, not in injuries; I have urged no insolent law against you, no cruel senatorial resolution; in every position of authority I have been sterner to myself than to you. And in truth if any man's family, if any man's own worth, if any man's dignities and honours have been able to inspire pride in him, my birth was such, I had given such proof of my capacity, and had achieved so young the highest magistracy, that I might easily, on becoming consul at the age of three and twenty,

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annos natus consul patribus quoque ferox esse non
9 solum plebi. Quod meum factum dictumve consulis gravius quam tribuni audistis? Eodem tenore duo insequentes consulatus gessi, eodem haec imperiosa dictatura geretur; ut neque[1] in hos meos et patriae meae milites sim mitior[2] quam in vos — horreo
10 dicere — hostes. Ergo vos prius in me strinxeritis ferrum quam in vos ego; istinc signa canent, istinc clamor prius incipiet atque impetus, si dimicandum
11 est. Inducite in animum quod non induxerunt patres avique vestri, non illi qui in Sacrum montem secesserunt, non hi qui postea Aventinum insederunt.
12 Exspectate, dum vobis singulis, ut olim Coriolano, matres coniugesque crinibus passis obviae ab urbe veniant! Tum Volscorum legiones, quia Romanum habebant ducem, quieverunt: vos, Romanus exer-
13 citus, ne destiteritis impio bello? T. Quincti, quocumque istic loco seu volens seu invitus constitisti, si dimicandum erit, tum tu in novissimos te recipito; fugeris etiam honestius tergumque civi dederis quam
14 pugnaveris contra patriam. Nunc ad pacificandum bene atque honeste inter primos stabis et conloquii huius salutaris interpres fueris. Postulate aequa et ferte; quamquam vel iniquis standum est potius quam impias inter nos conseramus manus."

[1] ut neque Ω: neque *Heusinger*.
[2] sim mitior *Walters and Conway*: mitior sim $A^2\varsigma$: mitior Ω: militio *H*.

[1] See II. xxxii and III. l. [2] See II. xl.

have been overbearing even towards the nobles, not merely towards the plebs. But what have you heard that I said or did, when consul, more tyrannical than my words and deeds as tribune? In that same spirit I administered two subsequent consulships; in that same spirit shall this dictatorship with its dread power be administered; so that I shall be no gentler to these my soldiers and the soldiers of my country, than to you—I shudder to say the word,—our enemies. You shall therefore sooner draw sword on me than I on you. It is on your side that the trumpets will sound, on your side that the battle-cry will be raised and the attack begin, if fight we must. Steel your hearts to do that which neither your fathers nor yet your grandfathers could resolve upon—neither those who seceded to the Sacred Mount, nor those who later encamped upon the Aventine.[1] Wait until to each of you—as once to Coriolanus[2]—your mothers and wives come forth from the City with dishevelled hair. On that day the legions of the Volsci ceased fighting, because they had a Roman leader: will you, an army of Romans, not relinquish this impious war? Titus Quinctius, whatever be your position over there—whether you have taken it voluntarily or against your will,—if we must do battle, do you retire to the rear; you will even flee with less discredit, turning your back upon your fellow-citizens, than you will incur in fighting against your country. Now, however, to make peace you will stand with honour and credit amongst the foremost, and will be a salutary mediator at this conference. Let your men ask what is reasonable, and receive it; yet must we rather put up with what is not, than join together in impious strife."

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15 T. Quinctius plenus lacrimarum ad suos versus "Me quoque" inquit, "milites, si quis usus mei
16 est, meliorem pacis quam belli habetis ducem. Non enim illa modo Volscus aut Samnis sed Romanus verba fecit, vester consul, vester imperator, milites, cuius auspicia pro vobis experti nolite adversus vos
17 velle experiri. Qui pugnarent vobiscum infestius, et alios duces senatus habuit: qui maxime vobis, suis militibus, parceret, cui plurimum vos, imperatori
18 vestro, credaretis, eum elegit. Pacem etiam qui vincere possunt volunt; quid nos velle oportet?
19 Quin omissis ira et spe, fallacibus auctoribus, nos ipsos nostraque omnia cognitae permittimus fidei?"

XLI. Approbantibus clamore cunctis T. Quinctius ante signa progressus in potestate dictatoris milites fore dixit; oravit ut causam miserorum civium susciperet susceptamque eadem fide qua rem publi-
2 cam administrare solitus esset tueretur: sibi se privatim nihil cavere; nolle alibi quam in innocentia spem habere; militibus cavendum, quod apud patres semel plebi iterum legionibus cautum sit ne fraudi secessio esset.

3 Quinctio conlaudato, ceteris bonum animum habere iussis, dictator equo citato ad urbem revectus auctori-

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[1] Livy said nothing of such a stipulation at the time of the first reconciliation; for the circumstances attending the second, see II. liv.

Titus Quinctius turned with streaming eyes and B.C. 342
addressed his people: "I, too, soldiers, if I am of any use to you, can better lead you to peace than into war. For it was no Volscian or Samnite that just spoke those words, but a Roman. It was your consul, your general, soldiers. You have proved his auspices in your own behalf; seek not to prove their worth against you. The senate had other leaders who would have made more ruthless war on you; but they have chosen him who would deal most mercifully with you, his men; one in whom, as in your general, you might place the most utter confidence. Peace is the goal desired even by those who are able to conquer: what then ought our desire to be? Nay, let us abandon wrath and hope—deceitful counsellors—and commit ourselves and all our cause to a man of known fidelity!"

XLI. A shout of approval burst from every throat, and Titus Quinctius, advancing in front of the standards, announced that the soldiers would submit to the dictator's authority. He begged him to undertake the cause of his wretched fellow-citizens, and having done so to forward it with the same fidelity with which he had been used to deal with the interests of the state. For himself privately, he said, he demanded no assurance, he had no wish to found a hope on aught but innocence. But the soldiers must be assured, as in their fathers' day the plebs had been, and, on a second occasion, the legions, that they should not be punished for secession.[1]

After praising Quinctius and bidding the rest be of good cheer, the dictator galloped back to the City, and having secured the authority of the

A.U.C. 412 bus patribus tulit ad populum in luco Petelino,[1] ne cui militum fraudi secessio esset. Oravit etiam bona venia Quirites ne quis eam rem ioco seriove 4 cuiquam exprobraret. Lex quoque sacrata militaris lata est ne cuius militis scripti nomen nisi ipso volente deleretur; additumque legi ne quis, ubi tribunus militum fuisset, postea ordinum ductor 5 esset. Id propter P. Salonium postulatum est ab coniuratis, qui alternis prope annis et tribunus militum et primus centurio erat, quem nunc primi pili 6 appellant. Huic infensi milites erant, quod semper adversatus novis consiliis fuisset et, ne particeps 7 eorum esset, ab Lautulis fugisset.[2] Itaque cum hoc unum propter Salonium ab senatu non impetraretur, tum Salonius obtestatus patres conscriptos ne suum honorem pluris quam concordiam civitatis aesti- 8 marent, perpulit ut id quoque ferretur. Aeque impotens postulatum fuit ut de stipendio equitum — merebant autem triplex ea tempestate — aera demerentur, quod adversati coniurationi fuissent.

XLII. Praeter haec invenio apud quosdam L. Genucium tribunum plebis tulisse ad plebem ne

[1] Petelino ς: petillini Ω: petelini *U*: pollutum *O*.
[2] fugisset *Rubenius*: fugissent (*with* qui *before* ab Lautulis) Ω: *nothing after* qui *in O*.

[1] *cf.* VI. XX. 11 and note there.
[2] Whoever broke a *lex sacrata* was *ipso facto* consecrated to the lower gods, and became an outlaw.
[3] The law protected insolvent debtors, whose goods might not be seized so long as they were in the service, and also assured the soldier of his rightful share of such emoluments as the campaign might produce. With regard to the addition, the commentators are doubtful what its object was; perhaps it was felt as unfair to the rest that one who had enjoyed the (elective) tribuneship should next year be

Fathers, got the people to enact a law, in the Peteline Wood,[1] that none of the soldiers should be held to answer for the secession. He begged them also, as citizens, to grant him the favour that none would make the incident a matter of reproach to any, either in jest or in earnest. There was also passed a military law, under penalty of devotion,[2] to the effect that the name of no one enrolled as a soldier might be struck off the list, except with his own consent. To this a provision was added that no one might later command a century in the legion where he had been a military tribune.[3] This clause was demanded by the conspirators on account of Publius Salonius, who in almost regular alternation was tribune of the soldiers one year, and chief centurion—whom they now call "centurion of the first javelin"—the next. The men were incensed at Salonius because he had always opposed their mutinous schemes, and had fled from Lautulae that he might not share in them. And so, when this one provision would have failed of enactment by the senate, out of consideration for Salonius, he himself besought the Fathers not to think more highly of his distinction than of harmony in the state, and induced them to pass this also. An equally shameless demand was made that the pay of the cavalry should be reduced—they served at that time for treble pay—on the ground that they had opposed the conspiracy. B.C. 342

XLII. In addition to these transactions, I find in certain writers that Lucius Genucius, a tribune of the plebs, proposed to the plebs that it should be

appointed to the but slightly less desirable post of first centurion.

A.U.C. 412

2 fenerare liceret; item aliis plebi scitis cautum ne quis eundem magistratum intra decem annos caperet neu duos magistratus uno anno gereret utique liceret consules ambos plebeios creari. Quae si omnia concessa sunt plebi, apparet haud parvas vires de-
3 fectionem habuisse. Aliis annalibus proditum est neque dictatorem Valerium dictum sed per consules omnem rem actam, neque antequam Romam veniretur sed Romae eam multitudinem coniuratorum
4 ad arma consternatam esse nec in T. Quincti villam sed in aedes C. Manli[1] nocte impetum factum eumque a coniuratis comprehensum ut dux fieret; inde ad quartum lapidem profectos loco munito
5 consedisse; nec ab ducibus mentionem concordiae ortam sed repente, cum in aciem armati exercitus
6 processissent, salutationem factam et permixtos dextras iungere ac complecti inter se lacrimantes milites coepisse coactosque consules, cum viderent aversos a dimicatione militum animos, rettulisse
7 ad patres de concordia reconcilianda. Adeo nihil praeterquam seditionem fuisse eamque compositam inter antiquos rerum auctores constat.

8 Et huius fama seditionis et susceptum cum Samnitibus grave bellum aliquot populos ab Romana societate avertit, et praeter Latinorum infidum iam diu foedus Privernates etiam Norbam[2] atque Setiam, finitimas colonias Romanas, incursione subita depopulati sunt.

[1] Manli ς: manili Ω: manilii U^2O: mallii U: malli D^2.
[2] Norbam A^2 (*or* A^4) ς: norbē F^2: norbę $MPOT$: norbae U: orbe LA.

unlawful to lend at interest. Also that it was B.C. 342
provided in other plebiscites that no one might hold the same office twice within ten years, nor two offices in one year; and that it should be legal for both consuls to be chosen from the plebs. If all these concessions were made to the commons, it is evident that the revolt possessed no little strength. Other annalists have recorded that Valerius was not made dictator, but that the whole affair was managed through the consuls, and that it was not before they came to Rome, but in Rome, that this great company of conspirators was dismayed into arming; further, that the night attack was made, not on the farm of Titus Quinctius, but on the town house of Gaius Manlius, and that it was he whom the conspirators seized and made their leader. Thence they proceeded —according to this account—to the fourth milestone, where they entrenched a camp. Nor was it the leaders who suggested a reconciliation, but suddenly, when the two armies had marched out in battle array, salutations were exchanged, and the soldiers, mingling together, began tearfully to clasp hands and embrace each other, so that the consuls, seeing the men to be in no mood for fighting, had been compelled to lay proposals before the senate for the re-establishment of harmony. Thus in no single instance do the ancient authorities agree, except that there was a sedition, and that it was composed.

The report of this sedition, in conjunction with the dangerous war entered upon with the Samnites, caused several nations to forsake their alliance with the Romans, and not only were the Latins unfaithful to the treaty—as they had been for some time—but the Privernates even, in a sudden raid, laid waste the neighbouring Roman colonies of Norba and Setia.

LIBRI VII PERIOCHA

Duo novi magistratus adiecti sunt, praetura et curulis aedilitas. Pestilentia civitas laboravit, eamque insignem fecit mors Furi Camilli. Cuius remedium et finis cum per novas religiones quaereretur, ludi scaenici tunc primum facti sunt. Cum dies L. Manlio dicta esset a M. Pomponio tribuno pl. propter dilectum acerbe actum et T. Manlium filium rus relegatum sine ullo crimine, adulescens ipse cuius relegatio patri obiciebatur venit in cubiculum tribuni strictoque gladio coegit eum in verba sua iurare se non perseveraturum in accusatione. Tunc omnia pretiosa missa sunt in praealtam voraginem urbis Romanae. In eam Curtius armatus sedens equo praecipitavit; ita expleta.[1] T. Manlius adulescens, qui patrem a tribunicia vexatione vindicaverat, contra Gallum provocantem aliquem ex militibus Romanis in singulare certamen descendit[2] eique occiso torquem aureum detraxit, quem ipse postea tulit et ex eo Torquatus vocatus est. Duae tribus adiectae, Pomptina et Publilia. Licinius Stolo lege lata damnatus est, quod plus quingentis iugeribus agri possideret. M. Valerius tribunus militum Gallum a quo provocatus erat, insidente galeae corvo et unguibus rostroque hostem infestante, occidit et ex eo Corvi nomen accepit consulque proximo anno, cum annos xxiii habe-

[1] ita expleta *Weissenborn*: ex plet *or* expletat *or* expleta. t. *or* exiit *MSS.*

[2] descendit *omitted by all the MSS. but one* (*r*): processit *coni. Rossbach* (*Liv.* VII. XXVI. 2).

SUMMARY OF BOOK VII

Two new magistracies were added, the praetorship and the curule aedileship. The citizens were afflicted with a pestilence, and this the death of Furius Camillus rendered memorable. While a remedy for stopping it was being sought in new religious observances, scenic exhibitions were given for the first time. Lucius Manlius having been cited by Marcus Pomponius, tribune of the plebs, to answer for his ruthless conduct of the levy and for having relegated his son to the country without making any charge against him, the young man himself whose relegation was being used against his father entered the bed-room of the tribune, and drawing his sword, compelled him to swear, after a form which he dictated to him, that he would not go on with the prosecution. At this time all sorts of precious things were cast into a chasm which had opened to a great depth in Rome. Into it leaped Curtius, fully armed and bestriding his horse; and so it was closed over. Titus Manlius, the youth who had saved his father from the persecution of the tribune, went down to confront a Gaul who had challenged any Roman soldier to single combat; and, having slain him, took from him a golden necklace, which he afterwards wore himself and from it was given the name of Torquatus. Two tribes were added, the Pomptina and the Publilia. Licinius Stolo was condemned, under a statute that had been enacted, because he possessed more than five hundred *iugera* of land. Marcus Valerius, a tribune of the soldiers, killed a Gaul by whom he had been challenged, while a raven perched on the Roman's crest and with beak and talons attacked his enemy; from this circumstance he received the name of Corvus, and the next year was, for his bravery, elected

ret, ob virtutem creatus est. Amicitia cum Carthaginiensibus iuncta est. Campani cum a Samnitibus bello urgerentur, auxilio adversus eos a senatu petito, cum id non inpetrarent, urbem et agros populo R. dediderunt. Ob quam causam ea quae populi Romani facta essent, defendi bello adversus Samnites placuit. Cum ab Aulo Cornelio cos. exercitus in locum inicum deductus in magno discrimine esset, P. Deci Muris[1] tribuni militum opera servatus est, qui occupato colle super id iugum in quo Samnites consederant occasionem consuli in aequiorem locum evadendi dedit; ipse ab hostibus circumsessus erupit.[2] Cum milites Romani qui Capuae in praesidio relicti erant de occupanda ea urbe conspirassent et detecto consilio metu supplici a populo R. defecissent, per M. Valerium Corvum dictatorem, qui consilio suo eos a furore revocaverat, patriae restituti sunt. Res praeterea contra Hernicos et Gallos et Tiburtes et Privernates et Tarquinienses et Samnites et Vulscos prospere gestas continet.

[1] P. Deci Muris *Sigonius* (*ex vet. libro*): Deci Muris *MSS.*
[2] erupit *edd.*: eripuit *MSS.*

consul, at the age of twenty-three. Friendship was made with the Carthaginians. The Campanians, when hard pressed in war by the Samnites, asked aid against them from the senate, and, failing to obtain it, surrendered their city and territory to the Roman People. In view of this action, the Roman People voted to go to war with the Samnites, to defend these their possessions. The army was led by Aulus Cornelius, the consul, into a difficult position, and was in great danger, but was saved by the act of Publius Decius Mus, a tribune of the soldiers, who by occupying a hill which commanded the ridge on which the Samnites had encamped, afforded the consul an opportunity of withdrawing to more favourable ground; after which, though encircled by the enemy, Decius himself broke through. The Roman soldiers who had been left in garrison at Capua conspired to seize the city, and fearful of punishment, on the detection of their crime, revolted from the Roman People, but were restored to their country through the influence of the dictator, Marcus Valerius Corvus, who by his counsel had recalled them from their madness. The book also comprises victorious campaigns against the Hernici, Gauls, Tiburtes, Privernates, Tarquinienses, Samnites, and Volsci.

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LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

B. O. FOSTER, PH.D.
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IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES

IV

BOOKS VIII—X

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER VIII

A.U.C. 413

I. Iam consules erant C. Plautius iterum L.[1] Aemilius Mamercus, cum Setini Norbanique Romam nuntii defectionis Privernatium cum querimoniis 2 acceptae cladis venerunt. Volscorum item exercitum duce Antiati populo consedisse ad Satricum allatum 3 est. Utrumque bellum Plautio sorte evenit. Prius ad Privernum profectus extemplo acie conflixit. Haud magno certamine devicti hostes; oppidum captum redditumque Privernatibus praesidio valido 4 imposito; agri partes duae ademptae. Inde victor exercitus Satricum contra Antiates ductus. Ibi magna utrimque caede atrox proelium fuit; et cum tempestas eos neutro inclinata spe dimicantes diremisset, Romani nihil eo certamine tam ambiguo fessi 5 in posterum diem proelium parant. Volscis recensentibus quos viros in acie amisissent haudquaquam idem animus ad iterandum periculum fuit; nocte

[1] L. (lucius) D^x: licius $D?L$: titus (*or* t.) Ω.

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK VIII

I. The consuls were now Gaius Plautius (for the second time) and Lucius Aemilius Mamercus, when the men of Setium and Norba brought tidings to Rome that the Privernates were in revolt, with complaints of a defeat suffered at their hands. It was also reported that a Volscian army, conducted by the Antiates, had encamped at Satricum. Both wars were by lot assigned to Plautius. He marched first on Privernum and at once gave battle. Without much ado he overcame the enemy, captured Privernum, and putting in it a strong garrison, restored it to the inhabitants, but deprived them of two-thirds of their territory. Thence he led his victorious army towards Satricum, to oppose the Antiates. The battle there, which was desperately fought, with heavy losses on both sides, was interrupted by a storm before victory had inclined to either army. The Romans, not a whit discouraged by so indecisive a struggle, prepared to do battle on the morrow; but the Volsci, when they reckoned up the men they had lost in the fighting, were by no means so eager to incur the danger a second time, and in the night marched off like beaten men B.C. 341

a.u.c. 413

pro victis Antium agmine trepido sauciis ac parte
6 impedimentorum relicta abierunt. Armorum magna vis cum inter caesa hostium corpora tum in castris inventa est. Ea Luae Matri dare se consul dixit finesque hostium usque ad oram maritimam est depopulatus.

7 Alteri consuli Aemilio ingresso Sabellum agrum non castra Samnitium, non legiones usquam oppositae. Ferro ignique vastantem agros legati
8 Samnitium pacem orantes adeunt; a quo reiecti ad senatum, potestate facta dicendi, positis ferocibus animis pacem sibi ab Romanis bellique ius adversus
9 Sidicinos petierunt, quae se eo iustius petere, quod et in amicitiam populi Romani secundis suis rebus, non adversis ut Campani, venissent, et adversus Sidicinos sumerent arma, suos semper hostes, populi
10 Romani nunquam amicos, qui nec ut Samnites in pace amicitiam nec ut Campani auxilium in bello petissent, nec in fide populi Romani nec in dicione essent.

II. Cum de postulatis Samnitium T. Aemilius praetor senatum consuluisset reddendumque iis
2 foedus patres censuissent, praetor Samnitibus respondit nec quo minus perpetua cum eis amicitia esset per populum Romanum stetisse, nec contradici quin, quoniam ipsos belli culpa sua contracti taedium

[1] *i. e.* as he burnt them: captured arms were sometimes burnt as an offering to Vulcan (I. xxxvii. 5), or to Jupiter Victor (X. xxix. 18). Lua Mater, wife of Saturn, was a goddess of atonement; at XLV. xxxiii. 1 she is associated in this rite with Mars and Minerva.

[2] *Sabellus ager* usually includes the territories in Central Italy inhabited by the Samnites, Sabines, Picentines, Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, and Marrucini. Livy uses it here in a restricted sense of the country of the Samnites.

for Antium, with fear and trembling, abandoning B.C. 341
their wounded and a part of their baggage. A great quantity of arms was found, not only amongst the slain but also in the enemy's camp. Declaring[1] that he gave these arms to Lua Mater, the consul proceeded to lay waste the enemy's country as far as the coast.

The other consul, Aemilius, having entered the Sabellian[2] territory, nowhere encountered a Samnite camp or levies. As he was ravaging their fields with fire and sword, he was approached by Samnite envoys, who begged for peace. Being referred by Aemilius to the senate, they obtained an audience, and giving over their air of arrogance, besought the Romans to grant them peace and the right to war against the Sidicini. These requests, they said, were the more justifiable, inasmuch as they had become friends of the Roman People when their state was flourishing and not, like the Campanians, in their adversity; moreover, it was against the Sidicini that they were drawing the sword, a people always their enemies and never friendly to the Romans, of whom they had never, like the Samnites, sought friendship in time of peace, nor assistance, like the Campanians, in time of war; neither were they under the protection of the Roman People, nor yet their subjects.

II. Titus Aemilius the praetor laid the petition of the Samnites before the senate, and the Fathers voted to renew the treaty with them. The praetor then replied to the ambassadors that the Roman People had not been to blame for the interruption of the friendship, and that, since the Samnites were themselves grown weary of a war contracted through

u.c. 413

3 ceperit, amicitia de integro reconcilietur; quod ad Sidicinos attineat, nihil intercedi quo minus Samniti
4 populo pacis bellique liberum arbitrium sit. Foedere icto cum domum revertissent, extemplo inde exercitus Romanus deductus, annuo stipendio et trium mensum frumento accepto, quod pepigerat consul ut tempus indutiis daret quoad legati redissent.
5 Samnites copiis iisdem quibus usi adversus Romanum bellum fuerant contra Sidicinos profecti, haud in dubia spe erant mature urbis hostium potiundae,
6 cum[1] ab Sidicinis deditio prius ad Romanos coepta fieri est; dein, postquam patres ut seram eam ultimaque tandem necessitate expressam aspernabantur, ad Latinos iam sua sponte in arma motos
7 facta est. Ne Campani quidem—adeo iniuriae Samnitium quam beneficii Romanorum memoria
8 praesentior erat—his se armis abstinuere. Ex his tot populis unus ingens exercitus duce Latino fines Samnitium ingressus plus populationibus quam proeliis cladium fecit; et quamquam superiores certaminibus Latini erant, haud inviti, ne saepius dimicandum
9 foret, agro hostium excessere. Id spatium Samnitibus datum est Romam legatos mittendi; qui cum adissent senatum, conquesti eadem se foederatos pati
10 quae hostes essent passi, precibus infimis petiere ut

[1] cum A^1 *or* A^x: tum (*before which* P^2F^2O *have a stop*) Ω.

their own fault, they had no objection to renewing B.C. 341
the covenant; as for the Sidicini, the Romans would not interfere with the free judgment of the Samnite People regarding peace and war. On the ratification of the treaty, the ambassadors went home, and the Roman army was at once recalled, after receiving a year's pay and rations for three months, which the consul had stipulated should be the price of a truce, to last until the envoys should return.

The Samnites marched against the Sidicini with the same forces which they had employed in the war with Rome, and were confidently hoping to capture the city of their enemies in a little while, when the Sidicini attempted to anticipate them by surrendering to the Romans. Then, after the Fathers had rejected their offer, on the ground that it came too late and had been wrung from them only by the direst necessity, they carried it to the Latins, who had already risen in arms on their own account. Even the Campanians—so much more vivid was their recollection of the injury done them by the Samnites than of the kindness of the Romans—could not refrain from joining in this expedition. One great army, gathered out of all these nations, invaded the borders of the Samnites, under a Latin general, but wrought more havoc by pillage than in battle; and although the Latins came off best in all encounters, they were not unwilling to retire from the enemy's country, that they might not have to fight so often. The Samnites thus had time to send ambassadors to Rome. Appearing before the senate, they complained that they were suffering the same treatment as allies that they had experienced while enemies, and besought the Romans, with the utmost humility,

U.C. 413 satis ducerent Romani victoriam quam Samnitibus ex Campano Sidicinoque hoste eripuissent, ne vinci 11 etiam se ab ignavissimis populis sinerent; Latinos Campanosque, si sub dicione populi Romani essent, pro imperio arcerent Samniti agro, sin imperium 12 abnuerent, armis coercerent. Adversus haec responsum anceps datum, quia fateri pigebat in potestate sua Latinos iam non esse, timebantque, 13 ne arguendo abalienarent: Campanorum aliam condicionem esse, qui non foedere sed per deditionem in fidem venissent; itaque Campanos, seu velint seu nolint, quieturos; in foedere Latinos nihil esse quod bellare cum quibus ipsi velint prohibeant.

A.U.C. 414 III. Quod responsum sicut dubios Samnites quidnam facturum Romanum censerent dimisit, ita Campanos metu abalienavit, Latinos velut nihil iam non 2 concedentibus Romanis ferociores fecit. Itaque per speciem adversus Samnites belli parandi crebra concilia indicentes omnibus consultationibus inter se principes occulte Romanum coquebant bellum. Huic quoque adversus servatores suos bello Campanus 3 aderat. Sed quamquam omnia de industria celabantur—priusquam moverentur Romani, tolli ab tergo Samnitem hostem volebant—tamen per quosdam privatis hospitiis necessitudinibusque coniunctos in-

that they would be satisfied to have snatched from the grasp of the Samnites a victory over their Campanian and Sidicinian foes, and not suffer them actually to be conquered by the most cowardly of nations. If the Latins and Campanians were subject to the Roman People, let the Romans use their authority and keep them from invading Samnium: but if they rejected that authority, let them hold them in check by force of arms. To this plea the Romans returned an ambiguous reply, since they were loath to confess that the Latins were no longer under their control, and feared to estrange them if they censured them. The Campanians, they said, were upon a different footing, having come under their protection not by treaty but by surrender; accordingly the Campanians, whether willing or not, should keep the peace; but there was nothing in their treaty with the Latins which entitled them to prevent their going to war with whom they chose. B.C. 341

III. This answer, as it left the Samnites quite at a loss to forecast the Roman policy, so it alienated the Campanians with fear, while it persuaded the Latins that there was no longer any concession the Romans would not make them, and rendered them yet more audacious. Accordingly their leaders, under colour of forwarding the war against the Samnites, appointed numerous councils, and in all their deliberations secretly concocted war with Rome. In this war, too, the Campanians took part, against their preservers. But though all their measures were sedulously concealed—for they wished to shake off the Samnite foe behind them before the Romans should take the alarm—yet through certain persons connected by private ties of hospitality and kinship, B.C. 340

A.U.C. 414

4 dicia coniurationis eius Romam emanarunt; iussisque ante tempus consulibus abdicare se magistratu, quo maturius novi consules adversus tantam molem belli crearentur, religio incessit, ab eis quorum imminutum imperium esset comitia haberi. Itaque interregnum 5 initum. Duo interreges fuere, M. Valerius ac M. Fabius; is creavit[1] consules T. Manlium Torquatum tertium, P. Decium Murem.

6 Eo anno Alexandrum Epiri regem in Italiam classem appulisse constat; quod bellum, si prima satis prospera fuissent, haud dubie ad Romanos 7 pervenisset. Eadem aetas rerum magni Alexandri est, quem sorore huius ortum in alio tractu orbis, invictum bellis, iuvenem fortuna morbo exstinxit.

8 Ceterum Romani, etsi defectio sociorum nominisque Latini haud dubia erat, tamen tamquam de Samnitibus non de se curam agerent, decem principes Latinorum Romam evocaverunt, quibus imperarent 9 quae vellent. Praetores tum duos Latium habebat, L. Annium Setinum et L. Numisium Circeiensem, ambo ex coloniis Romanis, per quos praeter Signiam[2] Velitrasque et ipsas colonias Romanas Volsci etiam exciti ad arma erant; eos nominatim evocari placuit. 10 Haud cuiquam dubium erat super qua re accirentur;

[1] is creavit *cod. Sigon.* (v. xxxi. 9): Fabius creavit *Hertz*: creauit Ω: creant *U*: creati *A*: creauerī *F*[3]: creauere $D^3A^3\gamma$.

[2] Signiam UA^1?: signia *MOHTDL*: signa PT^2A: signium

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[1] Alexander the Epirot's expedition is here placed too early by some ten years. The story of his death is told in chap. xxiv.

[2] Olympias, daughter of Neoptolemus.

information of the conspiracy leaked out and was brought to Rome. The consuls were commanded, before their time was up, to resign their office, in order that new consuls might the sooner be chosen to confront so momentous an invasion; but a scruple arose at allowing the election to be held by those whose authority had been abridged, and so they had an interregnum. There were two interreges, Marcus Valerius and Marcus Fabius: the latter announced the election to the consulship of Titus Manlius Torquatus (for the third time) and Publius Decius Mus. B.C. 340

It is believed to have been in this year that Alexander, king of Epirus, sailed with a fleet to Italy—a war which, had it prospered in its beginning, would doubtless have extended to the Romans.[1] This was also the era of the exploits of Alexander the Great, who was the son of this man's sister,[2] and was doomed to be cut off by sickness while a young man, in another quarter of the world, after proving himself to be invincible in war.

But the Romans, though quite certain that the allies and all the Latins were going to revolt, nevertheless, as if concerned not for themselves but for the Samnites, summoned to Rome the ten chief men of the Latins, that they might give them such commands as they might wish. Latium at that time had two praetors, Lucius Annius Setinus and Lucius Numisius Circeiensis, both from Roman colonies, through whose contrivance, besides Signia and Velitrae—likewise Roman colonies—even the Volsci had been induced to draw the sword. It was determined to summon these men by name. Nobody could be in doubt why they were sent for; accord-

A.U.C. 414

itaque concilio prius habito praetores quam Romam proficiscerentur evocatos se ab senatu docent Romano et quae actum iri secum credant, quidnam ad ea responderi placeat referunt.

IV. Cum aliud alii censerent, tum Annius: "Quamquam ipse ego rettuli quid responderi placeret, tamen magis ad summam rerum nostrarum pertinere arbitror quid agendum nobis quam quid loquendum sit. Facile erit explicatis consiliis accommodare rebus 2 verba. Nam si etiam nunc sub umbra foederis aequi servitutem pati possumus, quid abest quin proditis Sidicinis non Romanorum solum sed Samnitium quoque dicto pareamus respondeamusque 3 Romanis nos, ubi innuerint, posituros arma? Sin autem tandem libertatis desiderium remordet animos, si foedus,[1] si societas aequatio iuris est, si consanguineos nos Romanorum esse, quod olim pudebat, nunc gloriari licet, si socialis illis exercitus is est quo adiuncto duplicent vires suas, quem secernere ab se consilia[2] bellis propriis ponendis sumendisque 4 nolint, cur non omnia aequantur? Cur non alter ab Latinis consul datur? Ubi pars virium, ibi et 5 imperii pars esto.[3] Est quidem nobis hoc per se haud nimis amplum, quippe concedentibus Romam caput Latio esse; sed ut amplum videri posset,

[1] si foedus *Madvig*: si foedus est Ω.

[2] consilia *Madvig*: consules Ω: consul *TDLA*.

[3] esto *Mehler*: est Ω: ēē (= esse) *M*: est? F^3H (*Drakenborch*): *omitted by O*.

ingly, before setting out for Rome the praetors held a council, and explaining how they had been summoned by the Roman senate, asked instructions touching the answers they should give to the questions which they supposed would be put to them. B.C. 340

IV. While one was suggesting this thing and another that, Annius arose. "Notwithstanding I have myself referred to you," said he, "the question as to what our reply should be, nevertheless I consider that what we are to do is of more importance to the welfare of our nation than what we are to say. It will be easy, when we have straightened out our plans, to frame words suitable to our conduct. For if we are able even now to endure slavery under a shadowy pretence of equal treaty-rights, what is left for us but to give up the Sidicini, and obeying the behest not of the Romans only but also of the Samnites, make answer to the Romans that we are ready to lay down our arms at their beck and call? But if our hearts are pricked at last with a longing for liberty; if treaties, if alliances, mean equality of rights; if we may now glory in the kinship of the Romans, of which we were formerly ashamed; if they mean by "allied army" one which added to their own doubles its numbers, one which they would not wish to make its own war and peace, apart from them;—if these things are so, I say, why are not *all* things equalized? Why is not one consul furnished by the Latins? Where a portion of the strength is, there, too, should be a portion of the authority. For us, indeed, this is not in itself any too great an honour, since we suffer Rome to be the capital of Latium; but we have made it seem an

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6 diuturna patientia fecimus. Atqui si quando unquam consociandi imperii, usurpandae libertatis tempus optastis, en hoc tempus adest, et virtute vestra et 7 deum benignitate vobis datum. Temptastis patientiam negando militem; quis dubitat exarsisse eos, cum plus ducentorum annorum morem solve- 8 remus? Pertulerunt tamen hunc dolorem. Bellum nostro nomine cum Paelignis gessimus; qui ne nostrorum quidem finium nobis per nos tuendorum 9 ius antea dabant nihil intercesserunt. Sidicinos in fidem receptos, Campanos ab se ad nos descisse, exercitus nos parare adversus Samnites, foederatos 10 suos, audierunt nec moverunt se ab urbe. Unde haec illis tanta modestia, nisi a conscientia virium et nostrarum et suarum? Idoneos auctores habeo querentibus de nobis Samnitibus ita responsum ab senatu Romano esse ut facile appareret ne ipsos quidem iam postulare ut Latium sub Romano imperio sit. Usurpate modo postulando[1] quod illi 11 vobis taciti concedunt. Si quem hoc metus dicere prohibet, en ego[2] ipse audiente non populo Romano modo senatuque sed Iove ipso, qui Capitolium incolit, profiteor me dicturum, ut si nos in foedere ac societate esse velint, consulem alterum ab nobis 12 senatusque partem accipiant." Haec ferociter non suadenti solum sed pollicenti clamore et adsensu

[1] postulando M^2 *or* $M^1\varsigma$: postulando. Eo *TD*: postulando eo Ω: postulando id ς.

[2] en ego A^3 *Gelenius*: eñgo *M*: en *PFUO*: ego *HTDLA*: hem ego ς.

honour by our prolonged submissiveness. And yet, B.C. 340
if ever at any time you have desired to share in the government and to use your freedom, behold, now is your opportunity, bestowed on you by your valour and by Heaven's favour! You have tried their patience by denying them troops; who can doubt that they were enraged when we broke the tradition of two hundred years? Yet they swallowed their resentment. We waged war on our own account with the Paeligni; those who aforetime withheld from us even the right to defend our own borders by ourselves, never interposed. They have heard how we received the Sidicini into our protection, how the Campanians have left them and joined us, how we are raising armies against the Samnites, their confederates,—and have not stirred from the City. Whence comes this great restraint on their part, if it come not from the consciousness of our strength—and their own? I have good authority for saying that when the Samnites were complaining of us, the Roman senate answered in such wise that it might readily appear that even the Romans themselves no longer demanded that Latium should be under their authority. Do but take up in your demands what they tacitly concede to you. If there is any man whom fear prevents from saying this, lo, I declare that I myself will say it, in the hearing not of the Roman People only and their senate, but of Jupiter himself, who dwells in the Capitol; that if they wish us to observe the treaty of alliance, they must receive from us one consul and a moiety of the senate." These bold encouragements, and even promises, were received with a general shout of approval, and Annius was empowered to act and speak as might seem con-

A.U.C. 414 omnes permiserunt ut ageret diceretque quae e re publica nominis Latini fideque sua viderentur.

V. Ubi est Romam ventum, in Capitolio eis senatus datus est. Ibi cum T. Manlius consul egisset cum eis ex auctoritate patrum, ne Samnitibus 2 foederatis bellum inferrent, Annius, tamquam victor armis Capitolium cepisset, non legatus iure gentium 3 tutus loqueretur, "Tempus erat," inquit, "T. Manli vosque, patres conscripti, tandem iam vos nobiscum nihil pro imperio agere, cum florentissimum deum benignitate Latium[1] armis virisque, Samnitibus bello victis, Sidicinis Campanisque sociis, nunc etiam Volscis adiunctis, videretis; colonias quoque vestras Latinum 4 Romano praetulisse imperium. Sed quoniam vos regno impotenti finem ut imponatis non inducitis in animum, nos, quamquam armis possumus adserere Latium in libertatem, consanguinitati tamen hoc dabimus ut condiciones pacis feramus aequas utrisque, quoniam vires quoque aequari dis immortalibus 5 placuit. Consulem alterum Roma, alterum ex Latio creari oportet, senatus partem aequam ex utraque gente esse, unum populum, unam rem publicam 6 fieri; et ut imperii eadem sedes sit idemque omnibus nomen, quoniam ab altera utra parte concedi necesse est, quod utrisque bene vertat, sit haec sane patria potior, et Romani omnes vocemur."

[1] Latium *Madvig*: nunc (tunc *M*) Latium Ω.

ducive to the welfare of the Latin state and befitting his own honour. B.C. 340

V. On the arrival of the Latins in Rome, they were given audience of the senate in the Capitol. There, after Titus Manlius the consul had pleaded with them, as directed by the senate, to make no war upon the Samnites, united as they were by treaty with the Romans, Annius held forth like some conqueror who had taken the Capitol by storm, not like an envoy protected by the law of nations. "It was high time, Titus Manlius," he said, "and you, Conscript Fathers, that you should cease at length to deal with us as in any sort our rulers, perceiving, as you have, that Latium, by Heaven's blessing, is flourishing exceedingly in arms and men, after vanquishing the Samnites in war and receiving as allies the Sidicini and Campanians, and now even the Volsci besides, and that your own colonies as well have preferred the Latin to the Roman sway. But, since you cannot make up your minds to bring your impotent sovereignty to a close, we—though able by force of arms to give Latium her freedom—will nevertheless concede so much to kinship as to offer terms of peace fair and equal to both sides, since the immortal gods have willed that we should be of equal strength. One consul should be chosen from Rome, the other from Latium, the senate should be drawn in equal proportions from both nations, there should be one people and one state; and that we may have the same seat of empire and the same name for all, by all means let this rather be our city, since one side must make concessions,—and may good come of it to both peoples!—and let us all be known as Romans."

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7 Forte ita accidit ut parem ferociae huius et Romani consulem T. Manlium haberent, qui adeo non tenuit iram ut, si tanta dementia patres conscriptos cepisset ut ab Setino homine leges acciperent, gladio cinctum in senatum venturum se esse palam diceret, et quemcumque in curia Latinum vidisset, sua manu 8 interempturum. Et conversus ad simulacrum Iovis, "Audi, Iuppiter, haec scelera" inquit; "audite, Ius Fasque. Peregrinos consules et peregrinum senatum in tuo, Iuppiter, augurato templo captus atque ipse [1] 9 oppressus visurus es! Haecine foedera Tullus, Romanus rex, cum Albanis, patribus vestris, Latini, 10 haec L. Tarquinius vobiscum postea fecit? Non venit in mentem pugna [2] apud Regillum lacum? Adeo et cladium veterum vestrarum et beneficiorum nostrorum erga vos obliti estis?"

VI. Cum consulis vocem subsecuta patrum indignatio esset, proditur memoriae adversus crebram implorationem deum, quos testes foederum saepius invocabant consules, vocem Anni spernentis numina 2 Iovis Romani auditam. Certe, cum commotus ira se a vestibulo templi citato gradu proriperet, lapsus per gradus capite graviter offenso impactus imo ita 3 est saxo ut sopiretur. Exanimatum auctores quoniam non omnes sunt, mihi quoque in incerto relictum sit, sicut inter foederum ruptorum testationem ingenti fragore caeli procellam effusam; nam et vera esse et apte ad repraesentandam iram deum ficta possunt.

[1] atque ipse Ω: ipse atque *Alschefski*.
[2] pugna Ω: pugnam *M*: pugnae *Gronovius*.

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[1] See Book I., chap. xxiv and chap. lii.

It so happened that the Romans had, in their consul Titus Manlius, a man who was a match for Annius in boldness. So far was he from controlling his indignation, that he openly declared that if the Fathers were so demented as to receive terms from a Setine, he would gird on his sword, and entering the senate would slay with his own hand any Latin he might see within the Curia. And turning to the statue of the god, "Hear, Jupiter," he cried, "these wicked words! Hear ye, Law and Right! Shalt thou behold, O Jupiter, alien consuls and an alien senate in thy consecrated temple, thyself overpowered and taken captive? Are these the covenants, Latins, that Tullus, the Roman king, made with your Alban forefathers, that Lucius Tarquinius afterwards made with you?[1] Remember you not the battle at Lake Regillus? Have you so forgot your old disasters and our goodness to you?" B.C. 340

VI. The consul's speech having been warmly seconded by the indignant senators, it is recorded that in answer to the numerous supplications of the gods, whom the consuls repeatedly invoked as the witnesses of treaties, the voice of Annius was heard spurning the power of the Roman Jupiter. At all events, as he hurried, beside himself with rage, from the entrance of the temple, he slipped on the stairs, and struck his head so hard on the lowest stone that he lost consciousness. That he was killed is not asserted by all writers, wherefore I, too, may leave the question undecided, as also the tradition that while men were calling on the gods to witness the breaking of the treaty, there was a loud crash in the heavens, and a hurricane burst forth; for these things may be true, or they may be apt inventions to express in a

U.C. 411

4 Torquatus missus ab senatu ad dimittendos legatos
5 cum iacentem Annium vidisset, exclamat, ita ut
populo patribusque audita vox pariter sit: "Bene
habet: di pium movere bellum. Est caeleste numen;
es, magne Iuppiter; haud frustra te patrem deum
6 hominumque hac sede sacravimus. Quid cessatis,
Quirites, vosque patres conscripti, arma capere deis
ducibus? Sic stratas legiones Latinorum dabo,
7 quemadmodum legatum iacentem videtis." Adsensu
populi excepta vox consulis tantum ardoris animis
fecit, ut legatos proficiscentes cura magistratuum
magis, qui iussu consulis prosequebantur, quam ius
gentium ab ira impetuque hominum tegeret.

8 Consensit et senatus bellum; consulesque duobus
scriptis exercitibus per Marsos Paelignosque profecti
adiuncto Samnitium exercitu ad Capuam, quo iam
9 Latini sociique convenerant, castra locant. Ibi in
quiete utrique consuli eadem dicitur visa species
viri maioris quam pro humano habitu augustiorisque,
10 dicentis ex una acie imperatorem, ex altera exercitum
Deis Manibus Matrique Terrae deberi; utrius exer-
citus imperator legiones hostium superque eas se
11 devovisset, eius populi partisque victoriam fore. Hos
ubi nocturnos visus inter se consules contulerunt,
placuit averruncandae deum irae victimas caedi;

lively manner the wrath of Heaven. Torquatus, who B.C. 340
had been sent by the senate to dismiss the envoys, saw Annius lying there, and exclaimed in a voice that was heard alike by the people and the senators: "It is well; the gods have begun a righteous war. There *is* a heavenly power; thou *dost* exist, great Jupiter; not in vain have we established thee in this holy seat, the Father of gods and men. Why do you hesitate to arm, Quirites, and you Conscript Fathers, with the gods to lead you? As you behold their ambassador brought low, even so will I cast down the Latin legions." The consul's words were received with approval by the people, and so enraged them, that the envoys, at their setting out, owed their protection from men's wrath and fury more to the care of the magistrates—who attended them at the consul's bidding—than to the law of nations.

The senate also agreed on war; and the consuls, enrolling two armies, marched out through the country of the Marsi and Paeligni, and having added to their forces the army of the Samnites, went into camp near Capua, where the Latins and their allies had already assembled. There in the stillness of the night both consuls are said to have been visited by the same apparition, a man of greater than human stature and more majestic, who declared that the commander of one side, and the army of the other, must be offered up to the Manes and to Mother Earth; and that in whichever host the general should devote to death the enemy's legions, and himself with them, that nation and that side would have the victory. When the consuls had compared these visions of the night, they resolved that victims should be slain to turn away the wrath of Heaven;

u.c. 414 simul ut, si extis eadem quae in somnio[1] visa fuerant portenderentur, alter uter consulum fata impleret. 12 Ubi responsa haruspicum insidenti iam animo tacitae religioni congruerunt, tum adhibitis legatis tribunisque et imperiis deum propalam expositis, ne mors voluntaria consulis exercitum in acie terreret, 13 comparant inter se ut ab utra parte cedere Romanus exercitus coepisset, inde se consul devoveret pro 14 populo Romano Quiritibusque. Agitatum etiam in consilio est ut, si quando unquam severo ullum imperio bellum administratum esset, tunc utique[2] disciplina militaris ad priscos redigeretur mores. 15 Curam acuebat quod adversus Latinos bellandum erat, lingua, moribus, armorum genere, institutis ante omnia militaribus, congruentes; milites militibus, centurionibus centuriones, tribuni tribunis compares collegaeque iisdem in[3] praesidiis, saepe iisdem manipulis permixti fuerant. 16 Per haec ne quo errore milites caperentur, edicunt consules, ne quis extra ordinem in hostem pugnaret.

VII. Forte inter ceteros turmarum praefectos, qui exploratum in omnes partes dimissi erant, T. Manlius consulis filius super castra hostium cum suis turmalibus evasit, ita ut vix teli iactu ab statione 2 proxima abesset. Ibi Tusculani erant equites; praeerat Geminus Maecius, vir cum genere inter

[1] in somnio *Wesenberg*: somnio Ω: somnia (*with* visu) *F.*
[2] utique *Sigonius*: uti Ω.
[3] iisdem in *Conway*: in iisdem *Wesenberg*: iisdem (*or* isdem *or* hisdem) Ω.

and, at the same time, that if the warning of the entrails should coincide with what thay had seen in their dream, one or other of the consuls should fulfil the decrees of fate. The report of the soothsayers agreed with the secret conviction which had already found lodgment in their breasts; whereupon they sent for their lieutenants and the tribunes, and having openly declared the pleasure of the gods, that so the consul's voluntary death might not terrify the soldiers in the fray, they agreed with one another that on whichever flank the Roman army should begin to yield, there the consul should devote himself in behalf of the Roman People and Quirites. It was also urged in the council that if ever any war had been conducted with stern authority, now was the occasion of all others for recalling military descipline to its ancient courses. Their anxiety was sharpened by the fact that they must fight against the Latins, who were like themselves in language, customs, fashion of arms, and above all in military institutions; soldiers had mingled with soldiers, centurions with centurions, tribunes with tribunes, as equals and colleagues in the same garrisons and often in the same maniples. Lest this might betray the soldiers into some blunder, the consuls proclaimed that no man should quit his place to attack the foe. B.C. 340

VII. It chanced that amongst the other squadron-leaders who had been sent off in all directions to reconnoitre, Titus Manlius the consul's son had ridden out with his troopers beyond the enemy's camp, till he was hardly the cast of a spear from their nearest outpost. There the Tusculan horse were stationed, under the command of Geminus Maecius, who enjoyed a reputation amongst his

a.u.c. 414

3 suos tum factis clarus. Is ubi Romanos equites insignemque inter eos praecedentem consulis filium —nam omnes inter se, utique illustres viri, noti
4 erant—cognovit, "Unane," ait, "turma, Romani, cum Latinis sociisque bellum gesturi estis? Quid interea consules, quid duo exercitus consulares
5 agent?" "Aderunt in tempore," Manlius inquit, "et cum illis aderit Iuppiter ipse, foederum a vobis
6 violatorum testis, qui plus potest polletque. Si ad Regillum lacum ad satietatem vestram pugnavimus, hic quoque efficiemus profecto ne nimis acies vobis
7 et conlata signa nobiscum cordi sint." Ad ea Geminus paulum ab suis equo provectus: "Visne igitur, dum dies ista venit, qua magno conatu exercitus moveatis, interea tu ipse congredi mecum, ut nostro duorum iam hinc eventu cernatur, quantum
8 eques Latinus Romano praestet?" Movet ferocem animum iuvenis seu ira seu detractandi certaminis pudor seu inexsuperabilis vis fati. Oblitus itaque imperii patrii consulumque edicti, praeceps ad id certamen agitur, quo vinceret an vinceretur haud
9 multum interesset. Equitibus ceteris velut ad spectaculum submotis, spatio quod vacui interiacebat campi adversos concitant equos; et cum infestis cuspidibus concurrissent, Manli cuspis super galeam

fellows for his achievements no less than for his noble birth. This man recognized the Roman cavalry, and, conspicuous in their van, the consul's son—for they were all known to one another, particularly the men of mark. "Come now," he cried, "will you Romans wage war on the Latins and their allies with a single squadron? What will the consuls, what will two consular armies be doing in the meantime?" "They will be here soon enough," said Manlius, "and with them will be Jupiter himself, the witness of those covenants which you have violated, who is mightier and more powerful than they. If at Lake Regillus we gave you your fill of fighting, here likewise we shall certainly see to it that you have no great joy of meeting us in the serried ranks of battle." At this, Geminus rode out a little in front of his men, and asked, "Would you like then, while waiting for that great day to come, when with a mighty effort you are to set your hosts in motion—would you like meanwhile, I say, to do battle with me, yourself, that from the outcome of our duel men may see at once how far the Latin horse surpass the Roman?" The youth's bold heart was stirred, whether by anger, or by shame at the thought of refusing the combat, or by the irresistible force of destiny. And so, forgetting the commands of his father and the edict of the consuls, he allowed himself to be swept headlong into an encounter where it would make little difference to him whether he won or lost. They caused the rest of the horsemen to stand back, as though it had been a spectacle, and spurred their steeds against one another across the vacant space between. With lances levelled they rushed together; but the lance of Manlius glanced off B.C. 340

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10 hostis, Maeci trans cervicem equi elapsa est. Circumactis deinde equis cum prior ad iterandum ictum Manlius consurrexisset, spiculum inter aures equi fixit. Ad cuius volneris sensum cum equus prioribus pedibus erectis magna vi caput quateret, excussit
11 equitem, quem cuspide parmaque innixum attollentem se ab gravi casu Manlius ab iugulo, ita ut per costas
12 ferrum emineret, terrae adfixit; spoliisque lectis ad suos revectus, cum ovante gaudio turma in castra atque inde ad praetorium ad patrem tendit, ignaru fati[1] futurique, laus an poena merita esset.
13 "Ut me omnes," inquit, "pater, tuo sanguine ortum vere ferrent, provocatus equestria haec spolia
14 capta ex hoste caeso porto." Quod ubi audivit consul, extemplo filium aversatus contionem classico
15 advocari iussit. Quae ubi frequens convenit, "Quandoque," inquit, "tu, T. Manli, neque imperium consulare neque maiestatem patriam veritus adversus edictum nostrum extra ordinem in hostem pugnasti,
16 et quantum in te fuit, disciplinam militarem, qua stetit ad hanc diem Romana res, solvisti, meque in eam necessitatem adduxisti, ut aut rei publicae mihi
17 aut mei[2] oblivisceendum sit, nos potius nostro delicto plectemur quam res publica tanto suo damno nostra peccata luat. Triste exemplum sed in posterum

[1] fati T^2 *Frag. Havork.* γ: facti Ω.
[2] mei *Conway*: mei meorum Ω: mei meorumue H: mei meorumque $F^1UD^3A^2\gamma$.

the helmet of his enemy, and that of Maecius passed B.C. 340
over the neck of the other's horse. Then, as they pulled their horses round, Manlius, who was the first to gather himself up for a second thrust, pricked his enemy's charger between the ears. The smart of this wound made the horse rear and toss his head so violently that he threw off his rider, who, raising himself with spear and shield, was struggling to his feet after the heavy fall, when Manlius plunged his lance into his throat so that it came out between the ribs and pinned him to the ground. He then gathered up the spoils and rode back to his troopers, who attended him with shouts of triumph to the camp, where he sought at once the headquarters of his father, knowing not what doom the future held for him, or whether praise or punishment were his appointed guerdon.

"Father," he said, "that all men might truly report me to be your son, I bring these equestrian spoils, stripped from the body of an enemy who challenged me." On hearing this, the consul straightway turned from his son and commanded a trumpet to sound the assembly. When the men had gathered in full numbers, the consul said, "Inasmuch, Titus Manlius, as you have held in reverence neither consular authority nor a father's dignity, and despite our edict have quitted your place to fight the enemy, and so far as in you lay, have broken military discipline, whereby the Roman state has stood until this day unshaken, thus compelling me to forget either the republic or myself, we will sooner endure the punishment of our wrong-doing than suffer the republic to expiate our sins at a cost so heavy to herself; we will set a stern example, but a salutary

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18 salubre iuventuti erimus. Me quidem cum ingenita caritas liberum tum specimen istud virtutis deceptum
19 vana imagine decoris in te movet; sed cum aut morte tua sancienda sint consulum imperia aut impunitate in perpetuum abroganda, nec[1] te quidem, si quid in te nostri sanguinis est, recusare censeam quin disciplinam militarem culpa tua prolapsam poena restituas—i, lictor, deliga ad palum."

20 Exanimati omnes tam atroci imperio nec aliter quam in se quisque destrictam cernentes securem,
21 metu magis quam modestia quievere. Itaque velut demerso[2] ab admiratione animo cum silentio defixi stetissent, repente, postquam cervice caesa fusus est cruor, tam[3] libero conquestu coortae voces sunt ut neque lamentis neque exsecrationibus parceretur,
22 spoliisque contectum iuvenis corpus, quantum militaribus studiis funus ullum concelebrari potest, structo extra vallum rogo cremaretur, Manlianaque imperia non in praesentia modo horrenda sed exempli etiam tristis in posterum essent.

VIII. Fecit tamen atrocitas poenae oboedientiorem duci militem, et praeterquam quod custodiae vigiliaeque et ordo stationum intentioris ubique curae erant, in ultimo etiam certamine, cum descensum
2 in aciem est, ea severitas profuit. Fuit autem civili maxime bello pugna similis; adeo nihil apud

[1] nec Ω *Walters (who punctuates as in the text* restituas—): ne *Luc. Gronovius (with full stop after restituas).*

[2] demerso *M. Mueller (D has* uelud *for* uelut): emerso Ω merso *Madvig*: veluti merso *Zingerle.*

[3] tam *Crévier*: tum Ω.

one, for the young men of the future. For my own part, I am moved, not only by a man's instinctive love of his children, but by this instance you have given of your bravery, perverted though it was by an idle show of honour. But since the authority of the consuls must either be established by your death, or by your impunity be forever abrogated, and since I think that you yourself, if you have a drop of my blood in you, would not refuse to raise up by your punishment the military discipline which through your misdemeanour has slipped and fallen,—go, lictor, bind him to the stake." B.C. 340

All were astounded at so shocking a command; every man looked upon the axe as lifted against himself, and they were hushed with fear more than with reverence. And so, after standing, as if lost in wonder, rooted to the spot, suddenly, when the blood gushed forth from the severed neck, their voices burst out in such unrestrained upbraiding that they spared neither laments nor curses; and covering the young man's body with his spoils, they built a pyre outside the rampart, where they burned it with all the honours that can possibly attend a soldier's funeral; and the "orders of Manlius" not only caused men to shudder at the time, but became a type of severity with succeeding ages.

VIII. Nevertheless the brutality of the punishment made the soldiers more obedient to their general; and not only were guard-duties, watches, and the ordering of outposts, everywhere more carefully observed, but in the final struggle, as well, when the troops had gone down into battle, that stern act did much good. Now the battle was exceedingly like the battles in a civil war, so little

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Latinos dissonum ab Romana re praeter animos erat.

3 Clipeis antea Romani[1] usi sunt; dein, postquam stipendiarii facti sunt, scuta pro clipeis fecere; et quod antea phalanx similis[2] Macedonicis, hoc postea 4 manipulatim structa acies coepit esse: postremi[3] in 5 plures ordines instruebantur. Prima acies hastati erant, manipuli quindecim, distantes inter se modicum spatium; manipulus leves[4] vicenos milites, aliam turbam scutatorum habebat; leves autem qui hastam tantum gaesaque gererent vocabantur. 6 Haec prima frons in acie[5] florem iuvenum pubescentium ad militiam habebat. Robustior inde aetas totidem manipulorum, quibus principibus est nomen, hos sequebantur, scutati omnes, insignibus maxime 7 armis. Hoc triginta manipulorum agmen antepilanos appellabant, quia sub signis iam alii quindecim ordines locabantur, ex quibus ordo unusquisque tres partes habebat — earum unam quamque primam[6] 8 pilum vocabant; tribus ex vexillis constabat ordo; sexagenos milites, duos centuriones, vexillarium unum habebat[7] vexillum; centum octoginta sex homines erant; primum vexillum triarios ducebat, veteranum militem spectatae virtutis, secundum rorarios, minus roboris aetate factisque, tertium

[1] Romani M^2(*or* M^2) H^1(*or* H^2) *Frag. Haverk.* ζ: romanis Ω.

[2] phalanx similis *Luterbacher*: phalanges similes Ω: phalange similes A^4.

[3] postremi *Ortmann (and M?)*: postremo *M or* M^1 Ω.

[4] leves *Gruter*: leuis Ω.

[5] frons in acie $F^3I^3A^1$: frons in aciem *U*: foris in aciem (acē *H*) Ω: in aciem foris *L*: sors in acie *Conway*.

[6] primam *Lipsius*: primum Ω.

[7] *The words* ordo . . . habebat *are placed here by Conway (Class Quart.* 12 (1918) *pp.* 9–14), *who punctuates as in the*

did the Latins differ from the Romans in anything but courage. B.C. 340

The Romans had formerly used small round shields; then, after they began to serve for pay, they made oblong shields instead of round ones; and what had before been a phalanx, like the Macedonian phalanxes, came afterwards to be a line of battle formed by maniples, with the rearmost troops drawn up in a number of companies. The first line, or *hastati*, comprised fifteen maniples, stationed a short distance apart; the maniple had twenty light-armed soldiers, the rest of their number carried oblong shields; moreover those were called "light-armed" who carried only a spear and javelins. This front line in the battle contained the flower of the young men who were growing ripe for service. Behind these came a line of the same number of maniples, made up of men of a more stalwart age; these were called the *principes;* they carried oblong shields and were the most showily armed of all. This body of thirty maniples they called *antepilani*, because behind the standards there were again stationed other fifteen companies, each of which had three sections, the first section in every company being known as *pilus*. The company consisted of three *vexilla* or "banners"; a single *vexillum* had sixty soldiers, two centurions, one *vexillarius*, or colour-bearer; the company numbered a hundred and eighty-six men. The first banner led the *triarii*, veteran soldiers of proven valour; the second banner the *rorarii*, younger and less distinguished men; the

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text, making vexillum *subj. of* habebat: *the MSS. give them after* instruebantur (§ 4).

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accensos, minimae fiduciae manum; eo et in postremam aciem reiciebantur.

9 Ubi his ordinibus exercitus instructus esset, hastati omnium primi pugnam inibant. Si hastati profligare hostem non possent, pede presso eos retro cedentes in intervalla ordinum principes recipiebant. Tum 10 principum pugna erat; hastati sequebantur. Triarii sub vexillis considebant sinistro crure porrecto, scuta innixa umeris, hastas suberecta cuspide in terra fixas, haud secus quam vallo saepta inhorreret acies, 11 tenentes. Si apud principes quoque haud satis prospere esset pugnatum, a prima acie ad triarios se sensim referebant.[1] (Inde rem ad triarios redisse, cum 12 laboratur, proverbio increbruit.) Triarii consurgentes, ubi in intervalla ordinum suorum principes et hastatos recepissent, extemplo compressis ordinibus velut claudebant vias, unoque continenti agmine 13 iam nulla spe post relicta in hostem incidebant; id erat formidolosissimum hosti, cum velut victos insecuti novam repente aciem exsurgentem, auctam 14 numero, cernebant. Scribebantur autem quattuor fere legiones quinis milibus peditum, equitibus in singulas legiones trecenis.

Alterum tantum ex Latino dilectu adiciebatur,

[1] se sensim referebant *Madvig*: sensim referebantur Ω: redisse referebantur *DA*: redisse referebant *L*: retro se referebant D^2 *or* D^1 (*margin*).

[1] Of this account of the reorganization of the army see the discussion by Professor Conway (*Class. Quart.* 12 (1918) 9–14). The writer concludes that "in the army which Livy was describing there were only 10 maniples of Hastati, 10 of Principes, and 10 *ordines* of the third division (Triarii + Rorarii + Accensi). Then the numeration becomes clear; the third division has 3 times 600, *i.e.* 1800; each of the

third banner the *accensi*, who were the least dependable, and were, for that reason, assigned to the rearmost line. B.C. 340

When an army had been marshalled in this fashion, the *hastati* were the first of all to engage. If the *hastati* were unable to defeat the enemy, they retreated slowly and were received into the intervals between the companies of the *principes*. The *principes* then took up the fighting and the *hastati* followed them. The *triarii* knelt beneath their banners, with the left leg advanced, having their shields leaning against their shoulders and their spears thrust into the ground and pointing obliquely upwards, as if their battle-line were fortified with a bristling palisade. If the *principes*, too, were unsuccessful in their fight, they fell back slowly from the battle-line on the *triarii*. (From this arose the adage, "to have come to the *triarii*," when things are going badly.) The *triarii*, rising up after they had received the *principes* and *hastati* into the intervals between their companies, would at once draw their companies together and close the lanes, as it were; then, with no more reserves behind to count on, they would charge the enemy in one compact array. This was a thing exceedingly disheartening to the enemy, who, pursuing those whom they supposed they had conquered, all at once beheld a new line rising up, with augmented numbers. There were customarily four legions raised of five thousand foot each, with three hundred horse to every legion.[1]

An equivalent contingent used to be added from

first two has 1600, each maniple running to 160. This gives 1800+2(1600)=5000, Livy's total."

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qui ea tempestate hostes erant Romanis eodemque
15 ordine instruxerant aciem; nec vexilla cum vexillis tantum, universi hastati cum hastatis, principes cum principibus, sed centurio quoque cum centurione, si ordines turbati non essent, concurrendum sibi esse
16 sciebat. Duo primi pili ex utraque acie inter triarios erant, Romanus corpore haudquaquam satis validus,
17 ceterum strenuus vir peritusque militiae, Latinus viribus ingens bellatorque primus, notissimi inter
18 se, quia pares semper ordines duxerant.[1] Romano haud satis fidenti viribus iam Romae permissum erat ab consulibus, ut subcenturionem sibi quem vellet legeret qui tutaretur eum ab uno destinato hoste; isque iuvenis in acie oblatus ex centurione Latino victoriam tulit.

19 Pugnatum est haud procul radicibus Vesuvii montis, qua via ad Veserim ferebat. IX. Romani consules, priusquam educerent in aciem, immolaverunt. Decio caput iocineris a familiari parte caesum haruspex dicitur ostendisse: alioqui acceptam dis hostiam esse; Manlium egregie litasse. "Atqui bene habet" inquit Decius, "si ab collega litatum
2 est." Instructis, sicut ante dictum est, ordinibus processere in aciem. Manlius dextro, Decius laevo
3 cornu praeerat. Primo utrimque aequis viribus, eodem ardore animorum gerebatur res; deinde ab

[1] duxerant $: duxerunt Ω.

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[1] A river (Aurelius Victor, 26.4), or possibly a town.

[2] The "head of the liver" was a protuberance on the upper part of the *right* (*i.e.* Roman) lobe. In the present instance this protuberance had the appearance of being mutilated, and so constituted a presage of evil to Decius.

the levy of the Latins, who were now the enemies of the Romans and had drawn up their battle-line in the same formation; and they knew that not only must section meet in battle with section, *hastati* with *hastati, principes* with *principes,* but even—if the companies were not disordered—centurion with centurion. In either army the *primus pilus,* or chief centurion, was with the *triarii.* The Roman was far from strong in body, but was an energetic man and an experienced soldier; the Latin was a man of might and a first-rate warrior; they were well acquainted with each other, because they had always commanded companies of equal rank. The Roman, putting no confidence in his strength, had obtained permission from the consuls before leaving Rome to choose whom he liked for his deputy-centurion, to defend him from the one man marked out for his opponent. This youth, encountering the Latin centurion in the battle, won the victory over him. B.C. 340

The engagement came off not far from the foot of Mount Vesuvius, where the road led to Veseris.[1]

IX. The Roman consuls before leading their troops into battle offered sacrifices. It is said that the soothsayer pointed out to Decius that the head of the liver was wounded on the friendly side; but that the victim was in all other respects acceptable to the gods,[2] and that the sacrifice of Manlius had been greatly successful. "It is well enough," said Decius, "if my colleague has received favourable tokens." In the formation already described they advanced into the field. Manlius commanded the right wing, Decius the left. In the beginning the strength of the combatants and their ardour were equal on both sides; but after a time the Roman

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laevo cornu hastati Romani, non ferentes impres-
4 sionem Latinorum, se ad principes recepere. In hac trepidatione Decius consul M. Valerium magna voce inclamat: "Deorum" inquit "ope, M.[1] Valeri, opus est; agedum, pontifex publicus populi Romani, praei verba quibus me pro legionibus devoveam."
5 Pontifex eum togam praetextam sumere iussit et velato capite, manu subter togam ad mentum exserta, super telum subiectum pedibus stantem sic
6 dicere: "Iane Iuppiter Mars pater Quirine Bellona Lares Divi Novensiles Di Indigetes Divi quorum est potestas nostrorum hostiumque Dique Manes,
7 vos precor veneror veniam peto oroque[2] uti populo Romano Quiritium vim victoriam prosperetis, hostesque populi Romani Quiritium terrore formidine
8 morteque adficiatis. Sicut verbis nuncupavi, ita pro re publica populi Romani[3] Quiritium, exercitu legionibus auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique devoveo."
9 Haec ita precatus lictores ire ad T. Manlium iubet matureque collegae se devotum pro exercitu nuntiare. Ipse incinctus cinctu Gabino, armatus

[1] ope, M. *Alschefski*: opem *M.*: ope Ω: *omitted by L.*
[2] oroque *Forchhammer*: feroque Ω.
[3] pro re publica populi Romani Quiritium *Gronovius*: pro r̄ p̄ quiritium Ω: pro p̄ r̄ quiritium *U.*

[1] See chap. iii. § 5. Apparently it was the custom for a member of the pontifical college to accompany the army in order to preside over important rites.
[2] *Indiges* probably means "belonging to a certain place," and *di Indigites* would be native, as contrasted with the *di Novensiles* (or *Novensides*), who were immigrants or new settlers in the Roman Pantheon.

hastati on the left, unable to withstand the pressure of the Latins, fell back upon the *principes*. In the confusion of this movement Decius the consul called out to Marcus Valerius in a loud voice: "We have need of Heaven's help, Marcus Valerius.[1] Come therefore, state pontiff of the Roman People, dictate the words, that I may devote myself to save the legions." The pontiff bade him don the purple-bordered toga, and with veiled head and one hand thrust out from the toga and touching his chin, stand upon a spear that was laid under his feet, and say as follows: "Janus, Jupiter, Father Mars, Quirinus, Bellona, Lares, divine Novensiles, divine Indigites,[2] ye gods in whose power are both we and our enemies, and you, divine Manes,—I invoke and worship you, I beseech and crave your favour, that you prosper the might and the victory of the Roman People of the Quirites, and visit the foes of the Roman People of the Quirites with fear, shuddering, and death. As I have pronounced the words, even so in behalf of the republic of the Roman People of the Quirites, and of the army, the legions, the auxiliaries of the Roman People of the Quirites, do I devote the legions and auxiliaries of the enemy, together with myself, to the divine Manes and to Earth." B.C. 340

Having uttered this prayer he bade the lictors go to Titus Manlius and lose no time in announcing to his colleague that he had devoted himself for the good of the army. He then girded himself with the Gabinian cincture,[3] and vaulting, armed, upon

[3] A peculiar mode of wearing the toga usual in certain rites and possessing the advantage of rendering the robe less cumbersome.

U.C. 414 in equum insiluit ac se in medios hostes immisit,
10 conspectus ab utraque acie, aliquanto augustior humano visu, sicut caelo missus piaculum omnis deorum irae, qui pestem ab suis aversam in hostes
11 ferret. Ita omnis terror pavorque cum illo latus signa prima Latinorum turbavit, deinde in totam
12 penitus aciem pervasit. Evidentissimum id fuit, quod quacumque equo invectus est, ibi haud secus quam pestifero sidere icti pavebant; ubi vero corruit obrutus telis, inde iam haud dubie consternatae cohortes Latinorum fugam ac vastitatem late fece-
13 runt. Simul et Romani exsolutis religione animis velut tum primum signo dato coorti pugnam integram
14 ediderunt; nam et rorarii procurrebant inter antepilanos addebantque[1] vires hastatis ac principibus, et triarii genu dextro innixi nutum consulis ad consurgendum exspectabant.

X. Procedente deinde certamine cum aliis partibus multitudo superaret Latinorum, Manlius consul audito eventu collegae cum, ut ius fasque erat, lacrimis non minus quam laudibus debitis prosecutus
2 tam memorabilem mortem esset, paulisper addubitavit an consurgendi iam triariis tempus esset; deinde melius ratus integros eos ad ultimum discrimen servari, accensos ab novissima acie ante signa
3 procedere iubet. Qui ubi subiere, extemplo Latini,

[1] addebantque *Alschefski*: adderantque *M*: addid adid-*F*)erantque Ω.

his horse, plunged into the thick of the enemy, a B.C. 340
conspicuous object from either army and of an aspect more august than a man's, as though sent from heaven to expiate all anger of the gods, and to turn aside destruction from his people and bring it on their adversaries. Thus every terror and dread attended him, and throwing the Latin front into disarray, spread afterwards throughout their entire host. This was most clearly seen in that, wherever he rode, men cowered as though blasted by some baleful star; but when he fell beneath a rain of missiles, from that instant there was no more doubt of the consternation of the Latin cohorts, which everywhere abandoned the field in flight. At the same time the Romans—their spirits relieved of religious fears—pressed on as though the signal had just then for the first time been given, and delivered a fresh attack; for the *rorarii* were running out between the *antepilani* and were joining their strength to that of the *hastati* and the *principes*, and the *triarii*, kneeling on the right knee, were waiting till the consul signed to them to rise.

X. While the struggle continued, and in some parts of the field the Latins were prevailing by reason of their numbers, the consul Manlius learned of his colleague's end, and having paid to so memorable a death—as justice and piety demanded—its well-merited meed of tears as well as praise, he was for a little while in doubt whether the moment were yet come for the *triarii* to rise; but afterwards deeming it better to keep them fresh for the final push, he commanded the *accensi* to advance from the rear before the standards. No sooner had they gone up, than the Latins, supposing their enemies had done

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tamquam idem adversarii fecissent, triarios suos excitaverunt; qui aliquamdiu pugna atroci cum et semet ipsi fatigassent et hastas aut praefregissent aut hebetassent, pellerent tamen[1] hostem, debellatum iam rati perventumque ad extremam aciem, 4 tum consul triariis "Consurgite nunc" inquit, "integri adversus fessos, memores patriae parentumque et coniugum ac liberorum, memores consulis pro 5 vestra victoria morte occubantis." Ubi triarii consurrexerunt integri refulgentibus armis, nova ex improviso exorta acies, receptis in intervalla ordinum 6 antepilanis, clamore sublato principia Latinorum perturbant hastisque ora fodientes primo robore virorum caeso per alios manipulos velut inermes prope intacti evasere tantaque caede perrupere cuneos ut vix quartam partem relinquerent hostium. 7 Samnites quoque sub radicibus montis procul instructi praebuere terrorem Latinis.

Ceterum inter omnes cives sociosque praecipua laus eius belli penes consules fuit, quorum alter omnes minas periculaque ab deis superis inferisque 8 in se unum vertit, alter ea virtute eoque consilio in proelio fuit ut facile convenerit inter Romanos Latinosque qui eius pugnae memoriam posteris tradiderunt, utrius partis T. Manlius dux fuisset, 9 eius futuram haud dubie fuisse victoriam. Latini ex fuga se Minturnas contulerunt. Castra secundum proelium capta, multique mortales ibi vivi oppressi,

[1] tamen *Walters*: ui tamen ui *between points in H and following a point in* F^2T) Ω: ue tamen $U\text{-}A^1$: ut tamen M: -que tandem *Madvig*.

[1] Whether Livy made use of Latin as well as Roman annalists is unknown; they no doubt existed, as he here gives us to understand.

the same, sent in their own *triarii*. These having B.C. 340
fought fiercely for some time, and worn themselves out and broken or blunted their spears, yet were driving back the foe, and supposed that they had already won the field and penetrated the last line, when the consul cried out to the Roman *triarii*: "Rise up now, and with fresh strength confront the weary enemy, remembering your country and your parents, your wives and your children, remembering the consul who lies dead that you may conquer." When the *triarii* had got to their feet, fresh and sound in their glittering armour, a new and unforeseen array, they received the *antepilani* into the gaps between their files, and, raising a shout, threw the enemy's front ranks into disorder, and thrusting their spears into their faces, disposed of the fine flower of their manhood and went through the other maniples almost scatheless, as though their opponents had been unarmed, penetrating their masses with such slaughter as scarce to leave a fourth part of their enemies alive. The Samnites, too, drawn up a little way off at the base of the mountain, were a source of terror to the Latins.

For the rest, of all the citizens and allies, the chief glory of that war went to the consuls; of whom the one had drawn all the threats and menaces of the supernal and infernal gods upon himself alone, and the other had shown such valour and ability in the battle that it is readily agreed by both Romans and Latins who have handed down an account of this engagement that whichever side had been led by Titus Manlius would undoubtedly have been victorious.[1] The Latins fled to Minturnae. Their camp was captured after the battle and many men—

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10 maxime Campani. Deci corpus ne eo die inveniretur, nox quaerentes oppressit; postero die inventum inter maximam hostium stragem coopertum telis; funusque ei par morti celebrante collega factum est.

11 Illud adiciendum videtur, licere consuli dictatorique et praetori, cum legiones hostium devoveat, non utique se, sed quem velit ex legione Romana scripta
12 civem devovere; si is homo qui devotus est moritur, probe factum videri; ni moritur, tum signum septem pedes altum aut maius in terram defodi et piaculum[1] caedi; ubi illud signum defossum erit, eo
13 magistratum Romanum escendere fas non esse. Sin autem sese devovere volet, sicuti Decius devovit, ni moritur, neque suum neque publicum divinum pure faciet, sive hostia sive quo alio volet.[2] Qui sese devoverit, Volcano arma sive cui alii divo vovere
14 volet ius est; telo super quod stans consul precatus est hostem potiri fas non est; si potiatur, Marti suovetaurilibus piaculum fieri. XI. Haec, etsi omnis divini humanique moris memoria abolevit nova peregrinaque omnia priscis ac patriis praeferendo, haud ab re duxi verbis quoque ipsis, ut tradita nuncupataque sunt, referre.

2 Romanis post proelium demum factum Samnites

[1] piaculum *Walters and Conway (in their note)*: piaculum hostia -am *U*) Ω.

[2] sive . . . volet *placed here by Madvig*: *after* diuo uouere uolet Ω: *omitted by HTDLA*.

chiefly Campanians—were caught and slain there. B.C. 340
The body of Decius could not be found that day, for night overtook the searchers; on the following day it was found, covered with missiles, in a great heap of enemies, and was given burial by his colleague in a manner befitting his death.

It seems proper to add here that the consul, dictator, or praetor who devotes the legions of the enemy need not devote himself, but may designate any citizen he likes from a regularly enlisted Roman legion; if the man who has been devoted dies, it is deemed that all is well; if he does not die, then an image of him is buried seven feet or more under ground and a sin-offering is slain; where the image has been buried, thither a Roman magistrate may not go up. But if he shall choose to devote himself, as Decius did, if he does not die, he cannot sacrifice either for himself or for the people without sin, whether with a victim or with any other offering he shall choose. He who devotes himself has the right to dedicate his arms to Vulcan, or to any other god he likes. The spear on which the consul has stood and prayed must not fall into the hands of an enemy; should this happen, expiation must be made to Mars with the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep, and an ox. XI. These particulars, even though the memory of every religious and secular usage has been wiped out by men's preference of the new and outlandish to the ancient and homebred, I have thought it not foreign to my purpose to repeat, and in the very words in which they were formulated and handed down.

I find in certain writers that it was not until the battle was over that the Samnites, who had been

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venisse subsidio, exspectato eventu pugnae, apud
3 quosdam auctores invenio. Latinis quoque ab Lavinio auxilium, dum deliberando terunt tempus,
4 victis demum ferri coeptum; et, cum iam portis prima signa et pars agminis esset egressa, nuntio allato de clade Latinorum cum conversis signis retro in urbem rediretur, praetorem eorum nomine Milionium dixisse ferunt pro paulula via magnam mercedem esse Romanis solvendam.

5 Qui Latinorum pugnae superfuerant multis itineribus dissipati cum se in unum conglobassent, Vescia urbs eis receptaculum fuit. Ibi in conciliis
6 Numisius imperator eorum adfirmabat[1] communem vere Martem belli utramque aciem pari caede prostravisse victoriaeque nomen tantum penes Romanos esse, ceteram pro victis fortunam et illos gerere;
7 funesta duo consulum praetoria, alterum parricidio filii, alterum consulis devoti caede; trucidatum exercitum omnem, caesos hastatos principesque, stragem et ante signa et post signa factam, triarios
8 postremo rem restituisse; Latinorum etsi pariter accisae copiae sint, tamen supplemento vel Latium
9 propius esse vel Volscos quam Romam; itaque, si videatur eis, se ex Latinis et ex Volscis populis iuventute propere excita, rediturum infesto exercitu Capuam esse Romanosque nihil tum minus quam

[1] adfirmabat *Luterbacher*: adfirmando Ω.

[1] *Communis Mars belli*, like *c'est la guerre*, was a phrase that was often on the lips of the unsuccessful, *cf.* v. xii. 1.

waiting for the outcome of the engagement, came B.C. 340
up to support the Romans. The Latins, too, were already defeated when the Lavinians, who were consuming time in deliberation, began to march to their assistance ; and receiving word of the disaster to the Latins just as their foremost ensigns and a portion of their column had passed out through the gates, they faced about and returned into the city, their praetor, Milionius, remarking, so it is said, that they would have to pay a large price to the Romans for that little march.

Such of the Latins as survived the battle, after being dispersed over many roads, were reunited, and took refuge in the town of Vescia. In the councils which they held there, Numisius, their commander-in-chief, asserted that the fortune of war had in truth been common,[1] overwhelming both armies with equal carnage. The Romans, he said, were victorious only in name, in all else they too were as though they had been defeated ; both consular headquarters were polluted, the one by the blood of a son, the other by the death of the devoted consul ; their whole army had been cut to pieces, their first and second lines had been massacred, and the slaughter had extended from the troops before the standards to those behind them ; finally the veterans had restored the day ; but though the Latin forces had been equally cut up, yet, for recruiting, either Latium or the Volscian country was nearer than Rome ; if therefore it seemed good to them, he would speedily summon the fighting men from the Latin and Volscian tribes, and would return with an embattled host to Capua, where the unexpectedness of his arrival would strike dismay into the Romans,

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proelium exspectantes necopinato adventu perculsurum. Fallacibus litteris circa Latium nomenque Volscum missis, quia qui non interfuerant pugnae ad credendum temere faciliores erant, tumultuarius undique exercitus raptim conscriptus convenit.

11 Huic agmini Torquatus consul ad Trifanum—inter Sinuessam Minturnasque is locus est—occurrit. Priusquam castris locus caperetur, sarcinis utrimque in acervum coniectis pugnatum debellatumque est; 12 adeo enim accisae res sunt ut consuli victorem exercitum ad depopulandos agros eorum ducenti dederent se omnes Latini deditionemque eam Cam- 13 pani sequerentur. Latium Capuaque agro multati. Latinus ager Privernati addito agro et Falernus, qui populi Campani fuerat, usque ad Volturnum 14 flumen plebi Romanae dividitur. Bina in Latino iugera, ita ut dodrante[1] ex Privernati complerent, data, terna in Falerno quadrantibus etiam pro lon- 15 ginquitate adiectis. Extra poenam fuere Latinorum Laurentes Campanorumque equites, quia non desciverant. Cum Laurentibus renovari foedus iussum, renovaturque ex eo quotannis post diem decimum 16 Latinarum. Equitibus Campanis civitas Romana data,[2] monumentoque ut esset, aeneam tabulam in

[1] dodrante *Linsmayer*: dodrantem (drod- DLA^3) Ω: quadrantem D^4A.

[2] Romana data *Drakenborch*: rō data *H*: rodata *TDLR*: redata *M*: reddata *A*: reddita D^3A^2: data *PFUOT*^{2}.

[1] The *iugerum* contained 28,800 square feet; the English acre contains 43,500.

who just then were looking for anything rather than a battle. Misleading letters were sent out to all parts of Latium and the country of the Volsci, and since those who received them had not been present at the battle, gained ready credence; and an army of militia was levied in hot haste and brought together from every quarter. B.C. 340

This force Torquatus the consul met near Trifanum, a place situated between Sinuessa and Minturnae. Both armies, without waiting to choose sites for their camps, piled their baggage and fell to fighting, and the war was ended then and there: for the enemy's strength was brought so low that, when the consul led his victorious army to pillage their fields, the Latins all surrendered, and the Campanians followed their example. Latium and Capua were deprived of territory. The Latin territory, with the addition of that belonging to Privernum, together with the Falernian—which had belonged to the Campanian people—as far as the river Volturnus, was parcelled out amongst the Roman plebs. The assignment was two *iugera* in Latium supplemented with three-fourths of a *iugerum* from the land of Privernum, or three *iugera* in the Falernian district,—a fourth of a *iugerum* being added to compensate for its remoteness.[1] The Laurentes and the Campanian knights were exempted from the punishment inflicted on the Latins, because they had not revolted; it was ordered that the treaty with the Laurentes should be renewed, and it has been renewed every year from that time, on the tenth day after the Latin Festival. The Campanian knights received Roman citizenship, and to commemorate the occasion a bronze tablet was fastened up in

A.U.C. 414 aede Castoris Romae fixerunt. Vectigal quoque eis Campanus populus iussus pendere in singulos quotannis—fuere autem mille et sexcenti—denarios A.U.C. 415 nummos quadringenos quinquagenos. XII. Ita bello gesto, praemiis poenaque pro cuiusque merito persolutis, T. Manlius Romam rediit. Cui venienti seniores tantum obviam exisse constat, iuventutem et tunc et omni vita deinde aversatam eum exsecratamque.

2 Antiates in agrum Ostiensem Ardeatem Solonium incursiones fecerunt. Manlius consul, quia ipse per valetudinem id bellum exsequi nequierat, dictatorem L. Papirium Crassum, qui tum forte erat praetor, dixit; ab eo magister equitum L. Papirius Cursor 3 dictus. Nihil memorabile adversus Antiates ab dictatore gestum est, cum aliquot menses stativa in agro Antiati habuisset.

4 Anno insigni victoria de tot ac tam potentibus populis, ad hoc consulum alterius nobili morte, alterius sicut truci ita claro ad memoriam imperio, successere consules Ti.[1] Aemilius Mamercinus Q.[2] 5 Publilius Philo, neque in similem materiam rerum, et ipsi aut suarum rerum aut partium in re publica magis quam patriae memores. Latinos ob iram agri amissi rebellantes in campis Fenectanis fuderunt 6 castrisque exuerunt. Ibi Publilio, cuius ductu

[1] Ti. ς *Sigonius* (*Diod.* XVI. xci. 1); titius (*or* ticius) Ω: t *U. Cassiod.* (C.I.L. i², *p.* 44, A.U.C. 423).
[2] Q. ς (*Diod., l.c.*) *omitted by* Ω.

[1] Castor and Pollux were protectors of the Roman knights and hence appropriately chosen as patrons of the friendly relations established with the aristocracy of Capua.

[2] The *denarius* was a silver coin weighing 70 grains Troy and reckoned as equivalent to 16 asses. But silver was not coined in Rome until 268 B.C.

the temple of Castor at Rome.[1] Moreover, the Campanian people were commanded to pay them each a yearly stipend—there were sixteen hundred of them—amounting to four hundred and fifty *denarii*.[2] XII. The war being thus dispatched, and rewards and penalities distributed in accordance with everyone's deserts, Titus Manlius returned to Rome; it is said that on his approach only the seniors went out to meet him, and that the young men, then and for all the remainder of his days, abhorred and execrated him. B.C. 340 B.C. 339

The Antiates committed depredations upon the lands of Ostia, Ardea, and Solonium. Manlius, the consul, having been unable himself to conduct this war because of ill-health, appointed as dictator Lucius Papirius Crassus, who at that time happened to be praetor, and he in turn named Lucius Papirius Cursor master of the horse. The dictator accomplished nothing noteworthy against the Antiates, though he lay some months encamped in their territory.

To a year that was famous for its victory over so many and so powerful nations, and also for the glorious death of one of the consuls and the other's severity of discipline, which though cruel was nevertheless renowned through the ages, succeeded the consulship of Tiberius Aemilius Mamercinus and Quintus Publilius Philo. These men had no such opportunities, and were, besides, more concerned for their own or their party's interests than for the country. The Latins took up arms again, being incensed at the confiscation of their land, and suffered a defeat and the loss of their camp, in the Fenectane Plains.[3] While Publilius, under whose command and

[3] Named presumably from some unknown town in Latium.

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auspicioque res gestae erant, in deditionem accipiente Latinos populos, quorum ibi iuventus caesa
7 erat, Aemilius ad Pedum exercitus duxit. Pedanos tuebatur Tiburs Praenestinus Veliternusque populus;
8 venerant et ab Lanuvio Antioque auxilia. Ubi cum proeliis quidem superior Romanus esset, ad urbem ipsam Pedum castraque sociorum populorum, quae urbi adiuncta erant, integer labor restaret, bello
9 infecto repente omisso consul, quia collegae decretum triumphum audivit, ipse quoque triumphi ante
10 victoriam flagitator Romam rediit. Qua cupiditate offensis patribus negantibusque nisi Pedo capto aut dedito triumphum, hinc alienatus ab senatu Aemilius seditiosis tribunatibus similem deinde consulatum
11 gessit. Nam neque, quoad fuit consul, criminari apud populum patres destitit collega haudquaquam
12 adversante, quia et ipse de plebe erat—materiam autem praebebat criminibus ager in Latino Falernoque [1] maligne plebei divisus—et postquam senatus finire imperium consulibus cupiens dictatorem ad-
13 versus rebellantes Latinos dici iussit, Aemilius, cuius tum [2] fasces erant, collegam dictatorem dixit; ab eo
14 magister equitum Iunius Brutus dictus. Dictatura popularis et orationibus in patres criminosis fuit, et quod tres leges secundissimas plebei, adversas
15 nobilitati tulit: unam, ut plebiscita omnes Quirites

[1] Falernoque *Tan. Faber*: Falernoque agro Ω.
[2] cuius tum $A^2\Sigma$: tum cuius Ω: tunc cuius *F*: cuius *Walters and Conway*.

[1] In the city the consuls took turns in exercising supreme administrative authority, and the twelve lictors, with the rods ('*fasces*'), attended the consul who, for the time being, enjoyed this authority.

auspices the campaign had been conducted, was receiving the surrender of the Latin peoples whose soldiers had fallen there, Aemilius led his army against Pedum. The Pedani were supported by the people of Tibur, Praeneste, and Velitrae, and auxiliaries had also come from Lanuvium and Antium. Though the Romans proved superior in certain engagements, yet the town of Pedum and the camp of the allied nations, which adjoined it, still remained intact to be dealt with, when suddenly the consul, hearing that his colleague had been decreed a triumph, left the war unfinished and returned to Rome to demand a triumph for himself as well, without staying to obtain a victory. This self-seeking disgusted the Fathers, who denied him a triumph, unless he should capture Pedum or receive its surrender. Estranged from the senate by this rebuff, Aemilius thereafter administered his consulship in the spirit of a seditious tribune. For, all the time that he was consul, he ceased not to accuse the senators to the people, while his colleague, since he too was of the plebs, offered not the smallest opposition. The ground of his accusations was the niggardly apportionment of land to the plebeians in the Latin and Falernian districts. And when the senate, desiring to put an end to the authority of the consuls, ordered that a dictator should be appointed to oppose the rebellious Latins, Aemilius, who then had the rods,[1] named his colleague dictator, by whom Junius Brutus was designated master of the horse. Publilius was a popular dictator, both because of his denunciation of the senate and because he carried through three laws very advantageous to the plebs and prejudicial to the nobles: one, that the decisions of the plebs B.C. 339

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tenerent; alteram, ut legum, quae comitiis centuriatis ferrentur, ante initum suffragium patres
16 auctores fierent; tertiam, ut alter utique ex plebe —cum eo ventum sit ut utrumque plebeium fieri
17 liceret—censor crearetur. Plus eo anno domi acceptum cladis ab consulibus ac dictatore quam ex victoria eorum bellicisque rebus foris auctum imperium patres credebant.

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XIII. Anno insequenti, L. Furio Camillo C. Maenio consulibus, quo insignitius omissa res Aemilio, superioris anni consuli, exprobraretur, Pedum armis virisque et omni vi expugnandum ac delendum senatus fremit; coactique novi consules
2 omnibus eam rem praeverti proficiscuntur. Iam Latio [1] is status erat rerum ut neque bellum neque pacem pati possent. Ad bellum opes deerant; pacem
3 ob agri adempti dolorem aspernabantur. Mediis consiliis standum videbatur—ut oppidis se tenerent, ne lacessitus Romanus causam belli haberet—et si cuius oppidi obsidio nuntiata esset, undique ex
4 omnibus populis auxilium obsessis ferretur. Neque tamen nisi admodum a paucis populis Pedani adiuti sunt. Tiburtes Praenestinique, quorum ager pro-
5 pior erat, Pedum pervenere; Aricinos Lanuvinosque et Veliternos Antiatibus Volscis se coniungentes ad Asturae [2] flumen Maenius improviso adortus fudit.

[1] Latio Ω: in Latio *Madvig* (*but cf. Walters and Conway ad loc.*).

[2] Asturae *Sabellicus* (*Plin. N.H.* III. v. 9, § 57) ς: Saturae (*or* -e) Ω: saturem *DLA*.

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[1] See chap. xi. § 13.

[2] A little river emptying into the Mediterranean south of Antium.

should be binding on all the Quirites; another, that B.C. 339
the Fathers should ratify the measures proposed at the centuriate comitia before they were voted on; and a third, that at least one censor should be chosen from the plebs—since they had gone so far as to make it lawful for both to be plebeians. The harm that was wrought at home in that year by the consuls and the dictator outweighed—in the belief of the patricians—the increase in empire that resulted from their victory and their management of the war.

XIII. In the following year, when Lucius Furius B.C. 338
Camillus and Gaius Maenius were consuls, the senators, in order to render more conspicuous the negligence of Aemilius in the year before, insisted angrily that men and arms and every kind of force must be employed to capture Pedum and destroy it; and the new consuls were forced to put aside all other matters and set out for that place. The Latins were now come to such a pass that they could endure neither war nor peace; for war they lacked the means, and they scorned peace, for they still smarted under the confiscation of their land.[1] It seemed necessary to adopt a compromise, and keep to their towns—lest they might provoke the Romans and afford them a pretext for hostilities—and if tidings were brought that any town was beleaguered, to send in help to the besieged from all the surrounding peoples. For all that, the cities that aided Pedum were very few. The Tiburtes and Praenestini, whose territories lay near by, reached Pedum; the Aricini, Lanuvini, and Veliterni, as they were effecting a juncture with the Antiate Volsci at the river Astura,[2] were suddenly attacked by Maenius and routed. Camillus dealt

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6 Camillus ad Pedum cum Tiburtibus, maxime valido exercitu, maiore mole quamquam aeque prospero
7 eventu pugnat. Tumultum maxime repentina inter proelium eruptio oppidanorum fecit; in quos parte exercitus conversa Camillus non compulit solum eos intra moenia, sed eodem etiam die, cum ipsos auxilia-
8 que eorum perculisset, oppidum scalis cepit. Placuit inde iam maiore conatu animoque ab unius expugnatione urbis ad perdomandum Latium victorem circumducere exercitum. Nec quievere antequam expugnando aut in deditionem accipiendo singulas
9 urbes Latium omne subegere. Praesidiis inde dispositis per recepta oppida Romam ad destinatum omnium consensu triumphum decessere. Additus triumpho honos, ut statuae equestres eis—rara illa aetate res—in foro ponerentur.

10 Priusquam comitiis in insequentem annum consules rogarent, Camillus de Latinis populis ad sena-
11 tum rettulit atque ita disseruit: "Patres conscripti, quod bello armisque in Latio agendum fuit, id iam deum benignitate ac virtute militum ad finem venit.
12 Caesi ad Pedum Asturamque sunt exercitus hostium; oppida Latina omnia et Antium ex Volscis aut vi capta aut recepta in deditionem praesidiis tenentur
13 vestris. Reliqua consultatio est, quoniam rebellando saepius nos sollicitant, quonam modo perpetua pace

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[1] Livy means to include with them the Praenestini.

with the very powerful army of the Tiburtes[1] in the vincinity of Pedum: the struggle was harder, but the issue was equally successful. The greatest confusion was occasioned by a sudden sally of the townsfolk during the battle; but Camillus, sending a part of his army against them, not only drove them back into their city, but having discomfited both them and their allies, even took the place by escalade that very day. The consuls then resolved, with the added energy and courage that came with the capture of one city, to proceed with their victorious army to the thorough conquest of the Latins; nor did they rest until, by storming every city or receiving its surrender, they had brought all Latium under their dominion. Then, distributing garrisons amongst the recovered towns, they departed for Rome, to enjoy the triumph by general consent awarded them. In addition to the triumph, they were granted the honour—a rare one in those days—of equestrian statues put up in the Forum. B.C. 338

Before the consular elections for the following year were held, Camillus referred to the senate the disposition of the Latin peoples, and spoke as follows: "Conscript Fathers, what was needful to be done in Latium in the way of war and arms has now by Heaven's favour and the valour of our troops been brought to a conclusion. The armies of our enemies have been cut to pieces at Pedum and on the Astura: all the Latin towns, and Antium in the land of the Volsci, have either been carried by storm or have made submission, and are in the keeping of your garrisons. It remains to consider, since they so often occasion us anxiety by a renewal of hostilities, how we may hold them

a.u.c. 416

14 quietos obtineamus. Di immortales ita vos potentes huius consilii fecerunt ut, sit Latium deinde an non sit, in vestra manu posuerint; itaque pacem vobis, quod ad Latinos attinet, parare in perpetuum vel 15 saeviendo vel ignoscendo potestis. Voltis crudeliter consulere in deditos victosque? Licet delere omne Latium, vastas inde solitudines facere, unde sociali egregio exercitu per multa bella magnaque saepe usi 16 estis. Voltis exemplo maiorum augere rem Romanam victos in civitatem accipiendo? Materia crescendi per summam gloriam suppeditat. Certe id firmissimum longe imperium est quo oboedientes gaudent. 17 Sed maturato opus est quidquid statuere placet; tot populos inter spem metumque suspensos animi habetis; et vestram itaque de eis curam quam primum absolvi, et illorum animos, dum exspectatione stupent, seu poena seu beneficio praeoccupari 18 oportet. Nostrum fuit efficere ut omnium rerum vobis ad consulendum potestas esset; vestrum est decernere quod optimum vobis reique publicae sit."

XIV. Principes senatus relationem consulis de summa rerum laudare, sed, cum aliorum causa alia esset, ita expediri posse consilium dicere, si,[1] ut pro merito cuiusque statueretur, de singulis nominatim

[1] si *placed here by Walters and Conway*: *in* Ω *it stands before* de singulis, *but is omitted by PFUT*^{2} *(or* T^{3}*)*.

quietly to a lasting peace. The immortal gods have B.C. 338
given you such absolute control of the situation as to leave the decision in your hands whether Latium is henceforward to exist or not. You are therefore able to assure yourselves of a permanent peace, in so far as the Latins are concerned, by the exercise of either cruelty or forgiveness, at your discretion. Would you adopt stern measures against those who have surrendered or been vanquished? You may blot out all Latium, and make vast solitudes of those places where you have often raised a splendid army of allies and used it through many a momentous war. Would you follow the example of your fathers, and augment the Roman state by receiving your conquered enemies as citizens? You have at hand the means of waxing great and supremely glorious. That government is certainly by far the strongest to which its subjects yield obedience gladly. But whatever it pleases you to do, you must determine promptly; you are holding so many peoples in suspense betwixt hope and fear, that it behoves you both to resolve your own anxiety regarding them as soon as may be, and to be beforehand with them, whether in the way of punishment or kindness, while they are waiting in a dull amazement. Our task has been to give you the power to decide regarding everything; it is yours to determine what is best for yourselves and for the state."

XIV. The leading senators praised the motion of Camillus on the national policy, but said that, since the Latins were not all in like case, his advice could best be carried out if the consuls would introduce proposals concerning the several peoples by name,

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2 referrent populis. Relatum igitur de singulis decretumque. Lanuvinis civitas data sacraque sua reddita, cum eo ut aedes lucusque Sospitae Iunonis communis Lanuvinis municipibus cum populo
3 Romano esset. Aricini Nomentanique et Pedani eodem iure quo Lanuvini in civitatem accepti.
4 Tusculanis servata civitas quam habebant, crimenque rebellionis a publica fraude in paucos auctores ver-
5 sum. In Veliternos, veteres cives Romanos, quod totiens rebellassent, graviter saevitum: et muri deiecti et senatus inde abductus iussique trans Tiberim habitare, ut eius qui cis Tiberim deprehensus
6 esset usque ad mille pondo assium [1] clarigatio esset nec priusquam aere persoluto is qui cepisset extra
7 vincula captum haberet. In agrum senatorum coloni missi, quibus adscriptis speciem antiquae
8 frequentiae Velitrae receperunt. Et Antium nova colonia missa, cum eo ut Antiatibus permitteretur, si et ipsi adscribi coloni vellent; naves inde longae abactae interdictumque mari Antiati populo est et
9 civitas data. Tiburtes Praenestinique agro multati, neque ob recens tantum rebellionis commune cum aliis Latinis crimen, sed quod taedio imperii Romani cum Gallis, gente efferata, arma quondam con-

[1] pondo assium *Lachmann* (*who wrote* assum): pondo ς: passum Ω: passuum $UO\varsigma$: passus F^1(*or* F^3)HA^3: assium *Madvig* (*with hesitation*).

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[1] Presumably *cum suffragio*—with full political rights.
[2] Where they would be interned amongst an alien population.

as each should seem to merit. They were therefore B.C. 338
taken up and disposed of separately. The Lanuvini were given citizenship,[1] and their worship was restored to them, with the stipulation that the temple and grove of Juno Sospita should be held in common by the burghers of Lanuvium and the Roman People. The Aricini, Nomentani, and Pedani were received into citizenship on the same terms as the Lanuvini. The Tusculans were allowed to retain the civic rights which they enjoyed, and the charge of renewing the war was laid to a few ringleaders, without endamaging the community. The Veliterni, Roman citizens of old, were severely punished, because they had so often revolted: not only were their walls thrown down, but their senate was carried off and commanded to dwell across the Tiber,[2] with this understanding: that if any should be caught on the hither side, his redemption should be set at a thousand pounds of bronze, and that he who had captured him might not release his prisoner from bondage until the fine was paid. Colonists were settled on the senators' lands, and on their enrolment Velitrae regained its former appearance of populousness. To Antium likewise a colony was dispatched, with an understanding that the Antiates might be permitted, if they liked, themselves to enroll as colonists; their war-ships were taken from them and their people were forbidden the sea; they were granted citizenship. The Tiburtes and Praenestini were deprived of territory, not only because of the fresh charge of rebellion brought against them in common with the other Latins, but because they had once, in disgust at the power of Rome, united in arms with the

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10 sociassent. Ceteris Latinis populis conubia commerciaque et concilia inter se ademerunt. Campanis equitum honoris causa, quia cum Latinis rebellare noluissent, Fundanisque et Formianis, quod per fines eorum tuta pacataque semper fuisset via, civitas
11 sine suffragio data. Cumanos Suessulanosque eiusdem iuris condicionisque cuius Capuam esse placuit.
12 Naves Antiatium partim in navalia Romae subductae, partim incensae, rostrisque earum suggestum in foro exstructum adornari placuit, Rostraque id templum appellatum.

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XV. C. Sulpicio Longo P. Aelio Paeto consulibus cum omnia non opes magis Romanae quam beneficiis parta gratia bona pace obtineret, inter Sidicinos
2 Auruncosque bellum ortum. Aurunci, T. Manlio consule in deditionem accepti, nihil deinde moverant; eo petendi auxilii ab Romanis causa iustior
3 fuit. Sed priusquam consules ab urbe—iusserat enim senatus defendi Auruncos—exercitum educe-
4 rent, fama adfertur Auruncos metu oppidum deseruisse profugosque cum coniugibus ac liberis Suessam communisse,[1] quae nunc Aurunca appellatur,[2] moenia antiqua eorum urbemque ab Sidicinis

[1] communisse Ω: commeasse U_{ζ}.
[2] appellatur ζ (*Madvig*): appellata Ω.

[1] The Tiburtes had fought on the Gallic side in 361 and 360 B.C. (VII. xi. 1), the Praenestini possibly in 358 (VII. xii. 8).

[2] The speaker's platform on the line between the Comitium and the Forum is referred to earlier (IV. xvii. 6), but possibly only the *place* is there meant. Certainly Livy seems to imply here that the *platform* was now erected for the first time.

[3] 340 B.C.

[4] Suessa Aurunca was so called in order to distinguish it from the Volscian town Suessa Pometia.

Gauls, a race of savages.[1] The rest of the Latin peoples were deprived of the rights of mutual trade and intermarriage and of holding common councils. The Campanians, out of compliment to their knights, because they had not consented to revolt along with the Latins, were granted citizenship without the suffrage; so too were the Fundani and Formiani, because they had always afforded a safe and peaceful passage through their territories. It was voted to give the people of Cumae and Suessula the same rights and the same terms as the Capuans. The ships of the Antiates were some of them laid up in the Roman dockyards, and some were burnt and a motion passed to employ their beaks for the adornment of a platform erected in the Forum. This place was dedicated with augural ceremonies and given the name of Rostra or The Beaks.[2] B.C. 338

XV. In the consulship of Gaius Sulpicius Longus and Publius Aelius Paetus the good-will which their generous conduct had procured for the Romans had been no less efficacious than their power in maintaining a general peace, when a war broke out between the Sidicini and the Aurunci. The Aurunci had surrendered in the consulship of Titus Manlius[3] and had given no trouble since that time, for which reason they had the better right to expect assistance from the Romans. But before the consuls marched from Rome—for the Senate had directed them to defend the Aurunci—tidings were brought that the Aurunci had abandoned their town, in their alarm, and had taken refuge, with their wives and children, in Suessa—now called Aurunca[4]—which they had fortified: and that their ancient walls and their city had been destroyed by the Sidicini. This news B.C. 337

A.U.C. 417

5 deletam. Ob ea infensus consulibus senatus, quorum cunctatione proditi socii essent, dictatorem dici iussit. Dictus C. Claudius Inregillensis magistrum
6 equitum C. Claudium Hortatorem dixit. Religio inde iniecta de dictatore, et cum augures vitio creatum videri dixissent, dictator magisterque equitum se magistratu abdicarunt.

7 Eo anno Minucia Vestalis suspecta primo propter mundiorem iusto cultum, insimulata deinde apud
8 pontifices ab indice servo, cum decreto eorum iussa esset sacris abstinere familiamque in potestate habere, facto iudicio viva sub terram ad portam Collinam dextra viam [1] stratam defossa Scelerato campo; credo ab incesto id ei loco nomen factum.

9 Eodem anno Q. Publilius [2] Philo praetor primum de plebe adversante Sulpicio consule, qui negabat rationem eius se habiturum, est factus, senatu, cum in summis imperiis id non obtinuisset, minus in praetura tendente.

A.U.C. 418-420

XVI. Insequens annus, L. Papirio Crasso K. Duillio consulibus, Ausonum magis novo quam
2 magno bello fuit insignis. Ea gens Cales urbem incolebat; Sidicinis finitimis arma coniunxerat, unoque proelio haud sane memorabili duorum populorum

[1] dextra viam Ω: dextra uiae M^4: dextra uia A^{ix} (*over erasure*): extra uiam L^1 (*Madvig*): iuxta viam *Weissenborn*.
[2] Publilius *Glareanus (and Sigonius at chap.* xii. § 5): publius Ω.

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[1] Had she manumitted them it would have been illegal to examine them under torture.
[2] The consul did not act upon his threat, so Livy implies, upon finding the senators lukewarm in their support.

made the senate angry with the consuls, by whose tardiness the allies had been betrayed, and they ordered a dictator to be appointed. The nomination fell to Gaius Claudius Inregillensis, who named as his master of horse Gaius Claudius Hortator. A religious difficulty was then raised about the dictator, and on the augurs' reporting that there seemed to have been a flaw in his appointment, the dictator and his master of the horse resigned. B.C. 337

In that year the Vestal Minucia, suspected in the first instance because of her dress, which was more ornate than became her station, was subsequently accused before the pontiffs on the testimony of a slave, and having been by their decree commanded to keep aloof from the sacred rites and to retain her slaves in her own power,[1] was convicted and buried alive near the Colline Gate, to the right of the paved road in the Polluted Field—so called, I believe, on account of her unchastity.

In the same year Quintus Publilius Philo was made praetor,—the first to be chosen from the plebs. Sulpicius the Consul opposed his election and declared that he would receive no votes for him; but the senate, having failed in its opposition to plebeian candidates for the highest magistracies, was less obstinate in the matter of the praetorship.[2]

XVI. The following year, being the consulship of Lucius Papirius Crassus and Caeso Duillius, was remarkable for a war more novel than important, to wit with the Ausonians, who inhabited the city of Cales. They had joined forces with their neighbours, the Sidicini, and the army of the two peoples having suffered a defeat in one—by no means memorable— B.C. 336–334

A.U.C. 418-420

exercitus fusus propinquitate urbium et ad fugam
3 pronior et in fuga ipsa tutior fuit. Nec tamen omissa eius belli cura patribus, quia totiens iam Sidicini aut ipsi moverant bellum aut moventibus
4 auxilium tulerant aut causa armorum fuerant. Itaque omni ope adnisi sunt, ut maximum ea tempestate imperatorem M. Valerium Corvum[1] consulem
5 quartum facerent; collega additus Corvo M. Atilius Regulus; et ne forte casu erraretur, petitum ab consulibus ut extra sortem Corvi ea provincia esset.
6 Exercitu victore a superioribus consulibus accepto, ad Cales, unde bellum ortum erat, profectus, cum hostes ab superioris etiam certaminis memoria pavidos clamore atque impetu primo fudisset, moenia
7 ipsa oppugnare est adgressus. Et militum quidem is erat ardor ut iam inde cum scalis succedere ad
8 muros vellent evasurosque contenderent; Corvus, quia id arduum factu erat, labore militum potius quam periculo peragere inceptum voluit. Itaque aggerem et vineas egit turresque muro admovit, quarum usum forte oblata opportunitas praevertit.
9 Namque M. Fabius, captivus Romanus, cum per neglegentiam custodum festo die vinculis ruptis per murum inter opera Romanorum, religata ad pinnam
10 muri reste suspensus, manibus se demisisset, perpulit imperatorem ut vino epulisque sopitos hostes adgre-

[1] Corvum Ω: coruinum (*and* coruino *in* § 5, *where, however, O has* corino) *UO*.

battle, was by the nearness of their cities not only the more disposed to flight, but found in that same flight the readier safety. The senators, however, did not cease to be concerned over this war, so many times before had the Sidicini either drawn the sword themselves, or lent aid to those who were drawing it, or been the occasion of hostilities. They accordingly bent every effort to elect to his fourth consulship the greatest soldier of that age, Marcus Valerius Corvus. To be his colleague, they gave him Marcus Atilius Regulus; and lest there should by chance be some miscarriage, they requested of the consuls that Corvus be given the command, without the drawing of lots. Taking over the victorious army from the previous consuls, he marched on Cales, where the war had originated, and routing the enemy—who had as yet not even recovered from the panic of the earlier encounter—at the first cheer and onset, he attacked the town itself. The soldiers, for their part, were so eager that they wished to attempt the walls at once with scaling-ladders, and insisted that they could carry the place; but Corvus, since this would have been an arduous achievement, preferred to accomplish his purpose at the cost of labour rather than of danger to his men. He therefore constructed a terrace and brought up mantlets, and moved his towers close to the walls, but a fortunate circumstance made it unnecessary to employ them. For Marcus Fabius, a Roman prisoner, being neglected by his guards on a day of merry-making, broke his bonds, let himself down by the wall, hand over hand, into the Roman works, by a rope which he had made fast to a battlement, and induced the general to attack the enemy while they

B.C. 336–334

A.U.C. 418-420

deretur; nec maiore certamine capti cum urbe Ausones sunt quam acie fusi erant. Praeda capta ingens est, praesidioque imposito Calibus reductae
11 Romam legiones. Consul ex senatus consulto triumphavit, et, ne Atilius expers gloriae esset, iussi ambo consules adversus Sidicinos ducere exer-
12 citum. Dictatorem ante ex senatus consulto comitiorum habendorum causa dixerunt L. Aemilium Mamercinum; is magistrum equitum Q. Publilium Philonem dixit. Dictatore comitia habente consules
13 creati sunt T. Veturius Sp. Postumius. Ei, etsi [1] belli pars cum Sidicinis restabat, tamen, ut beneficio praevenirent desiderium plebis, de colonia dedu-
14 cenda Cales rettulerunt; factoque senatus consulto ut duo milia quingenti homines eo scriberentur, tres viros coloniae deducendae agroque dividundo creaverunt K. Duillium T. Quinctium M. Fabium.

A.U.C. 421

XVII. Novi deinde consules a veteribus exercitu accepto ingressi hostium fines populando usque ad
2 moenia atque urbem pervenerunt. Ibi quia ingenti exercitu comparato Sidicini et ipsi pro extrema spe dimicaturi enixe videbantur et Samnium fama erat
3 conciri ad bellum, dictator ab consulibus ex auctoritate senatus dictus P. Cornelius Rufinus, magister

[1] Ei, etsi *Madvig*: etsi Ω.

[1] This was the third triumph of Corvus. See VII. xxvii. 8, and xxxviii. 3.

were overcome with feasting and drinking. The result was that the Ausonians and their city were captured with no greater effort than they had been defeated in the field. Huge spoils were taken, a garrison was established in the town, and the legions were led back to Rome. The consul triumphed,[1] in pursuance of a senatorial decree, and lest Atilius should go without his meed of glory, both consuls were directed to march against the Sidicini. But first—being so instructed by the senate—they named a dictator to preside at the elections, their choice falling on Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus, who selected Quintus Publilius Philo to be master of the horse. Under the presidency of the dictator, Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius were chosen consuls. These men, although a half of the war—with the Sidicini—yet remained, nevertheless, in order to anticipate the desires of the plebs by doing them a service, brought in a proposal for sending out a colony to Cales. The senate resolved that twenty-five hundred men should be enrolled for it, and appointed Caeso Duillius, Titus Quinctius, and Marcus Fabius a commission of three to conduct the settlers to the land and apportion it amongst them. B.C. 336–334

XVII. The new consuls then took over the army from their predecessors, and entering the enemy's territory laid it waste as far as their city walls. At this juncture, since the Sidicini had themselves raised an enormous army and seemed likely to make a desperate struggle in behalf of their last hope, and since the rumour went that Samnium was arming, the senate authorized the consuls to nominate a dictator. They appointed Publius Cornelius Rufinus, and Marcus Antonius was made master of the horse. B.C. 332

a.u.c. 422

4 equitum M. Antonius. Religio deinde incessit vitio eos creatos, magistratuque se abdicaverunt; et quia pestilentia insecuta est, velut omnibus eo vitio contactis auspiciis, res ad interregnum rediit.

5 Ab interregno inito per quintum demum interregem, M. Valerium Corvum,[1] creati consules A.
6 Cornelius iterum et Cn. Domitius. Tranquillis rebus fama Gallici belli pro tumultu valuit ut dictatorem dici placeret. Dictus M. Papirius Crassus et magis-
7 ter equitum P. Valerius Publicola. A quibus cum dilectus intentius quam adversus finitima bella haberetur, exploratores missi attulerunt quieta
8 omnia apud Gallos esse. Samnium quoque iam alterum annum turbari novis consiliis suspectum erat; eo ex agro Sidicino exercitus Romanus non
9 deductus. Ceterum Samnites bellum Alexandri Epirensis in Lucanos traxit; qui duo populi adversus regem escensionem[2] a Paesto facientem signis con-
10 latis pugnaverunt. Eo certamine superior Alexander, incertum qua fide culturus, si perinde cetera processissent, pacem cum Romanis fecit.

11 Eodem anno census actus novique cives censi. Tribus propter eos additae Maecia et Scaptia; censores
12 addiderunt Q. Publilius Philo Sp. Postumius. Romani

[1] Corvum Ω: coruinum *UO*.

[2] escensionem$_{\gamma}$: escensione Ω: excensionem A_{γ}: excursionem $I^{B}A^{3}$: ascensionem *U*.

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[1] The Maecian tribe was presumably named from Castrum Maecium (near Lanuvium) mentioned at VI. ii. 8, and the Scaptian from the town of Scaptia which lay between Tibur and Tusculum. The number of tribes was thus raised to twenty-nine.

A scruple was subsequently raised about the regularity of their appointment, and they resigned their office; and when a pestilence ensued, it was supposed that all the auspices were affected by that irregularity, and the state reverted to an interregnum. B.C. 332

Finally Marcus Valerius Corvus, the fifth interrex from the beginning of the interregnum, achieved the election to the consulship of Aulus Cornelius (for the second time) and Gnaeus Domitius. Coming, as it did, when all was tranquil, the rumour of a Gallic war worked like an actual rising, and caused the senate to have recourse to a dictator. Marcus Papirius Crassus was the man, and he named Publius Valerius Publicola master of the horse. While they were conducting their levy, more strenuously than they would have done for a war against a neighbouring state, scouts were sent out, and returned with the report that all was quiet amongst the Gauls. Samnium likewise had now for two years been suspected of hatching revolutionary schemes, for which reason the Roman army was not withdrawn from the Sidicine country. But an invasion by Alexander of Epirus drew the Samnites off into Lucania, and these two peoples engaged in a pitched battle with the King, as he was marching up from Paestum. The victory remained with Alexander, who then made a treaty of peace with the Romans; with what faith he intended to keep it, had the rest of his campaign been equally successful, is a question.

In this same year the census was taken and new citizens were assessed. On their account the Maecian and Scaptian tribes were added.[1] The censors who added them were Quintus Publilius Philo and

U.C. 422 facti Acerrani lege ab L. Papirio praetore lata, qua civitas sine suffragio data. Haec eo anno domi militiaeque gesta.

U.C. 423 XVIII. Foedus insequens annus seu intemperie caeli seu humana fraude fuit, M. Claudio Marcello
2 C.[1] Valerio consulibus. Flaccum Potitumque varie in annalibus cognomen consulis invenio; ceterum in eo parvi refert quid veri sit; illud pervelim—nec omnes auctores sunt—proditum falso esse, venenis absumptos quorum mors infamem annum pestilentia
3 fecerit; sicut proditur tamen res, ne cui auctorum
4 fidem abrogaverim, exponenda est. Cum primores civitatis similibus morbis eodemque ferme omnes eventu morerentur, ancilla quaedam ad Q. Fabium Maximum aedilem curulem indicaturam se causam publicae pestis professa est, si ab eo fides sibi data
5 esset haud futurum noxae indicium. Fabius confestim rem ad consules, consules ad senatum referunt,
6 consensuque ordinis fides indici data. Tum patefactum muliebri fraude civitatem premi matronasque ea venena coquere, et si sequi extemplo velint,
7 manifesto deprehendi posse. Secuti indicem et coquentes quasdam medicamenta et recondita alia

[1] C. *Sigonius* (*Diod.* XVII. lxxiv. 1): t Ω.

Spurius Postumius. The people of Acerra became Romans under a statute, proposed by the praetor Lucius Papirius, which granted them citizenship without the suffrage. Such were the events of this year at home and in the field. B.C. 332

XVIII. A terrible year succeeded, whether owing to the unseasonable weather or to man's depravity. The consuls were Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Gaius Valerius. I find Flaccus and Potitus severally given in the annals, as the surname of Valerius; but it does not greatly signify where the truth lies in regard to this. One thing, however, I should be glad to believe had been falsely handed down—and indeed not all the authorities avouch it—namely, that those whose deaths made the year notorious for pestilence were in reality destroyed by poison: still, I must set forth the story as it comes to us, that I may not deprive any writer of his credit. When the leading citizens were falling ill with the same kind of malady, which had, in almost every case the same fatal termination, a certain serving-woman came to Quintus Fabius Maximus, the curule aedile, and declared that she would reveal the cause of the general calamity, if he would give her a pledge that she should not suffer for her testimony. Fabius at once referred the matter to the consuls, and the consuls to the senate, and a pledge was given to the witness with the unanimous approval of that body. She then disclosed the fact that the City was afflicted by the criminal practices of the women; that they who prepared these poisons were matrons, whom, if they would instantly attend her, they might take in the very act. They followed the informer and found certain women brewing poisons, B.C. 331

U.C. 423

8 invenerunt. Quibus in forum delatis et ad viginti matronis, apud quas deprehensa erant, per viatorem accitis, duae ex eis, Cornelia ac Sergia, patriciae utraque gentis, cum ea medicamenta salubria esse contenderent, ab confutante indice bibere iussae, ut se falsum commentam in conspectu omnium [1] argue-
9 rent, spatio ad conloquendum sumpto, cum submoto populo rem ad ceteras rettulissent, haud abnuentibus et illis bibere, epoto medicamento suamet ipsae
10 fraude omnes interierunt. Comprehensae extemplo earum comites magnum numerum matronarum indicaverunt; ex quibus ad centum septuaginta
11 damnatae. Neque de veneficiis ante eam diem Romae quaesitum est. Prodigii ea res loco habita captisque magis mentibus quam conscleratis similis
12 visa; itaque memoria ex annalibus repetita in secessionibus quondam plebis clavum ab dictatore fixum alienatasque discordia mentes hominum eo piaculo compotes sui fuisse,[2] dictatorem clavi figendi causa
13 creari placuit. Creatus Cn. Quinctilius magistrum equitum L. Valerium dixit, qui fixo clavo magistratu se abdicaverunt.

U.C. 424

XIX. Creati consules L. Papirius Crassus iterum L. Plautius Venox; cuius principio anni legati ex Volscis Fabraterni et Lucani Romam venerunt, orantes ut in

[1] *The words* in conspectu omnium *are found in the MSS. after* populo. *Walters and Conway suggest placing them here, or preferably, after* epoto; *but in the latter position they would be inconsistent with* submoto populo, *for the women would not recall the crowd to witness their own discomfiture.*

[2] fuisse *Crévier*: factas esse *Alschefski*: fecisse Ω.

[1] Livy says nothing of the nail in his accounts of the several secessions at II. xxxii, III. l, and VII. xlii, but in VII. iii describes the practice as having originated in an attempt to relieve a pestilence.

and other poisons stored away. These concoctions were brought into the Forum, and some twenty matrons, in whose houses they had been discovered, were summoned thither by an apparitor. Two of their number, Cornelia and Sergia, of patrician houses both, asserted that these drugs were salutary. On the informer giving them the lie, and bidding them drink and prove her charges false in the sight of all, they took time to confer, and after the crowd had been dismissed they referred the question to the rest, and finding that they, like themselves, would not refuse the draught, they all drank off the poison and perished by their own wicked practices. Their attendants being instantly arrested informed against a large number of matrons, of whom one hundred and seventy were found guilty; yet until that day there had never been a trial for poisoning in Rome. Their act was regarded as a prodigy, and suggested madness rather than felonious intent. Accordingly when a tradition was revived from the annals how formerly in secessions of the plebs[1] a nail had been driven by the dictator, and how men's minds, which had been distracted by dissension, had by virtue of that expiation regained their self-control, they resolved on the appointment of a dictator to drive the nail. The appointment went to Gnaeus Quinctilius, who named Lucius Valerius master of the horse. The nail was driven and they resigned their posts. B.C. 331

XIX. The consular election resulted in the choice of Lucius Papirius Crassus (for the second time) and Lucius Plautius Venox. At the outset of this year Volscian ambassadors from Fabrateria and Luca came to Rome asking protection, and promising that, if B.C. 330

A.U.C. 424

2 fidem reciperentur: si a Samnitium armis defensi essent, se sub imperio populi Romani fideliter atque
3 oboedienter futuros. Missi tum ab senatu legati denuntiatumque Samnitibus ut eorum populorum finibus vim abstinerent; valuitque ea legatio, non tam quia pacem volebant Samnites quam quia nondum parati erant ad bellum.

4 Eodem anno Privernas bellum initum, cuius socii Fundani, dux etiam fuit Fundanus, Vitruvius[1] Vaccus,[2] vir non domi solum sed etiam Romae clarus; aedes fuere in Palatio eius, quae Vacci prata diruto
5 aedificio publicatoque solo appellata. Adversus hunc vastantem effuse Setinum Norbanumque et Coranum agrum L. Papirius profectus haud procul castris eius
6 consedit. Vitruvio nec ut vallo se teneret adversus validiorem hostem sana constare mens, nec ut longius
7 a castris dimicaret animus suppetere; vix tota extra portam castrorum explicata acie, fugam magis retro quam proelium aut hostem spectante milite, sine
8 consilio, sine audacia depugnat. Ut et levi momento nec ambigue est victus, ita brevitate ipsa loci facilique receptu in tam propinqua castra haud aegre
9 militem a multa caede est tutatus; nec fere quisquam in ipso certamine, pauci in turba fugae extremae, cum in castra ruerent, caesi; primisque tenebris Priver-

[1] Vitruvius F^2 (*or* F^3) *Sigonius*: uitrubius Ω: uitrubrius *LA* (*in* §§ 6 *and* 10 *the MSS. give* uitrub-).
[2] Vaccus ζ: baccus Ω (*but* uacci *below*).

defended from Samnite aggressions, they would be loyal and obedient subjects of the Roman People. The senate thereupon sent envoys to the Samnites and warned them to do no violence to the territories of those cities. The embassy was effective, not so much because the Samnites desired peace, as because they were unprepared, as yet, for war. B.C. 330

The same year saw the beginning of the war with Privernum. The enemy had the Fundanians for allies, and even a Fundanian general, by the name of Vitruvius Vaccus. He was a man of distinction, not only in his own city, but in Rome as well, where he had a house on the Palatine, at the place which, after the building had been demolished and the area confiscated, was known as the Meadows of Vaccus. He was spoiling, far and wide, the territories of Setia, Norba, and Cora, when Lucius Papirius marched out to confront him, and took up a position not far from the other's camp. Vitruvius had neither the strength of mind to remain behind his rampart in the face of a more powerful opponent, nor the courage to fight at a distance from his works. The last of his troops were scarcely clear of the camp gates and his line deployed, and the soldiers were thinking more of flight than of battle or the enemy, when he began, without showing either prudence or audacity, a critical engagement. He was easily and decisively defeated; yet, because his camp was so near and so readily accessible, he was able without great difficulty to save his men from heavy losses; indeed, there were hardly any slain in the battle itself, and in the flight only a few amongst the stragglers, as they rushed into the camp. Under cover of the earliest dusk they sought Privernum in a panic-stricken

a.u.c. 424 num inde petitum agmine trepido, ut muris potius quam vallo sese tutarentur.

A Priverno Plautius alter consul pervastatis passim agris praedaque abacta in agrum Fundanum exercitum inducit. Ingredienti fines senatus Fundanorum occurrit; negant se pro Vitruvio sectamque eius secutis precatum venisse, sed pro Fundano populo, quem extra culpam belli esse ipsum Vitruvium iudicasse, cum receptaculum fugae Privernum habuerit, non patriam.[1] Priverni igitur hostes populi Romani quaerendos persequendosque esse, qui simul a Fundanis ac Romanis utriusque patriae immemores defecerint: Fundanis pacem esse et animos Romanos et gratam memoriam acceptae civitatis. Orare se consulem ut bellum ab innoxio populo abstineat; agros urbem corpora ipsorum coniugumque ac liberorum suorum in potestate populi Romani esse futuraque. Conlaudatis Fundanis consul litterisque Romam missis in officio Fundanos esse ad Privernum flexit iter. Prius animadversum in eos qui capita coniurationis fuerant a consule scribit Claudius; ad trecentos quinquaginta ex coniuratis vinctos Romam missos, eamque deditionem ab senatu non acceptam, quod egentium atque humilium poena defungi velle a.u.c. 425 Fundanum populum censuerint. XX. Privernum duobus consularibus exercitibus cum obsideretur,

[1] patriam A^1 (*or* A^2) ζ: patriam fundanos Ω: patriam fundos ζ.

throng, to obtain for themselves the protection of walls in place of a rampart. B.C. 330

From Privernum the other consul Plautius, after everywhere pillaging the fields and driving off the cattle, led his army into the domain of Fundi. As he crossed the border he was met by the Fundanian senate, who said that they had come to plead, not for Vitruvius and his followers, but for the people of Fundi, whom even Vitruvius himself had cleared of responsibility for the war, when he sought refuge in Privernum and not in his native city. It was therefore in Privernum that the Roman People should seek out and punish its enemies, who had fallen away at the same time from Fundi and from Rome, unmindful of either allegiance: the Fundani were peaceful, their sympathies were Roman, and they held in grateful recollection the gift of citizenship. They begged the consul to make no war upon an innocent people, and declared that their lands, their city, their persons, and those of their wives and children were subject to the dominion of the Roman People and would so remain. The consul heartily commended them, and announcing in a dispatch to Rome that the Fundanians were loyal, turned aside and marched against Privernum. Claudius[1] writes that before he set out, the consul executed the leaders of the plot, and sent some three hundred and fifty of the conspirators in chains to Rome; but that the senate would not accept of their surrender, being persuaded that the people of Fundi sought to escape with the punishment of their poor and lowly.

XX. While the two consular armies were laying siege to Privernum, the other consul was recalled to B.C. 329

[1] Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, the annalist. See Introd. p. xxx.

A.U.C. 425

alter consul comitiorum causa Romam revocatus.
2 Carceres eo anno in circo primum statuti.

Nondum perfunctos cura Privernatis belli tumultus Gallici fama atrox invasit, haud ferme unquam
3 neglecta patribus. Extemplo igitur consules novi L. Aemilius Mamercinus et C. Plautius,[1] eo ipso die, Kalendis Quinctilibus, quo magistratum inierunt, comparare inter se provincias iussi, et Mamercinus, cui Gallicum bellum evenerat, scribere exercitum
4 sine ulla vacationis venia; quin opificum quoque volgus et sellularii, minime militiae idoneum genus, exciti dicuntur; Veiosque ingens exercitus contrac-
5 tus, ut inde obviam Gallis iretur; longius discedi, ne alio itinere hostis falleret ad urbem incedens, non placuit. Paucos deinde post dies satis explorata temporis eius quiete a Gallis Privernum omnis conversa vis.

6 Duplex inde fama est: alii vi captam urbem Vitruviumque vivum in potestatem venisse, alii priusquam ultima adhiberetur vis, ipsos[2] se in deditionem consuli[3] caduceum praeferentes[4] permisisse
7 auctores sunt Vitruviumque ab suis traditum. Senatus de Vitruvio Privernatibusque consultus consulem

[1] C. Plautius *T*[2] *Sigon.* (*C.I.L.* i.[2] *p.* 45): G. Plautius (*or* -ci-) *PFUO*: plautius *MDLA*: placius *H*: plutius T.

[2] ipsos $\bar{\varsigma}$: ipsum Ω.

[3] consuli *Doujat* (*Walters*): cōs (*or* cos *or* coīs *or* coss) Ω: consulis $\bar{\varsigma}$.

[4] praeferentes $\bar{\varsigma}$: praeferentis Ω.

[1] The cells were stalls, having a bar across the front which was thrown down to release the chariots at the start of the race.

[2] July 1st was the normal day for beginning the official year from 391 B.C. to 153 B.C., when it was changed to January 1st.

Rome to hold the elections. Chariot cells were built this year for the first time in the Circus.[1] B.C. 329

The war with Privernum was not yet out of the way, when there came an alarming report of a Gallic rising, a warning which the senate almost never disregarded. Accordingly, without a moment's hesitation, the new consuls, Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus and Gaius Plautius, were directed, on the very day on which they entered office—the Kalends of July[2]—to divide the commands between them, and Mamercinus, to whom the Gallic war had fallen, was bidden to enlist an army without granting a single exemption; indeed it is said that a rabble of craftsmen even, and sedentary mechanics, was called out—a type the least qualified of all for military service. An enormous army was brought together at Veii, which was to be the base for the campaign against the Gauls; further afield they would not go, lest the enemy, advancing upon the City, might slip by them on another road. After a few days it became quite evident that no disturbance on the part of the Gauls was to be apprehended at that time, whereupon the whole array was directed against Privernum.

From this point there is a twofold tradition: some say that the city was carried by storm, and that Vitruvius was taken alive; others, that before the final assault was made, the people came out with a flag of truce[3] to the consul and surrendered, and that Vitruvius was betrayed by his own followers. The senate, being consulted regarding Vitruvius and the Privernates, commanded the

[3] The *caduceus* (κηρύκειον) was actually a herald's staff.

A.U.C. 425

Plautium dirutis Priverni muris praesidioque valido imposito ad triumphum accersit: Vitruvium in carcere[1] adservari iussit, quoad consul redisset, tum 8 verberatum necari. Aedes eius, quae essent in Palatio, diruendas, bona Semoni Sango censuerunt consecranda; quodque aeris ex eis redactum est, ex eo aenei orbes facti positi in sacello Sangus adversus 9 aedem Quirini. De senatu Privernate ita decretum, ut qui senator Priverni post defectionem ab Romanis mansisset trans Tiberim lege eadem qua Veliterni 10 habitaret. His ita decretis usque ad triumphum Plauti silentium de Privernatibus fuit; post triumphum consul necato Vitruvio sociisque eius noxae apud satiatos iam suppliciis nocentium tutam 11 mentionem de Privernatibus ratus, "Quoniam auctores defectionis" inquit, "meritas poenas et ab dis immortalibus et a vobis habent, patres conscripti, 12 quid placet de innoxia multitudine fieri?" Equidem, etsi meae partes exquirendae magis sententiae quam dandae sunt, tamen, cum videam Privernates vicinos Samnitibus esse, unde nunc nobis incertissima pax est, quam minimum irarum inter nos illosque relinqui velim."

XXI. Cum ipsa per se res anceps esset, prout cuiusque ingenium erat atrocius mitiusve suadentibus,

[1] in carcere F^x *over erasure*) *Madvig*: in carcerem Ω.

[1] Semo Sangus—or Sancus—was another name for Dius Fidius, the god of oaths, and was identified with Hercules, who was himself closely associated with Jupiter. See Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Republic*, pp. 135–145.

[2] See chap. xiv. § 6.

consul Plautius to raze the walls of Privernum, and placing a strong garrison in the town, to come to Rome and triumph. Vitruvius was to be held a prisoner till the consul should return, and then scourged and put to death; his house on the Palatine was to be pulled down, and his goods dedicated to Semo Sangus.[1] Out of the bronze which his chattels realized were fashioned bronze disks, which were placed in the shrine of Sangus, over against the temple of Quirinus. Concerning the senate of Privernum, it was decreed that any senator who had remained in Privernum after its defection from the Romans should dwell across the Tiber on the same terms as the Veliterni.[2] These decrees having been promulgated, no more was said about the Privernates, until Plautius had triumphed. After his triumph the consul caused Vitruvius and his associates in wrongdoing to be executed, and deeming it now safe to take up the question of the Privernates with men who were already sated with the punishment of the guilty, spoke as follows: "Since the authors of rebellion have now received the reward they merited, at the hands of the immortal gods, and at your own hands, Conscript Fathers, what is your pleasure regarding the innocent multitude? For my own part, though it becomes me rather to ask opinions than to offer one, yet when I see that the Privernates are neighbours to the Samnites, whose peaceful relations with ourselves are at this time most precarious, I could wish that as little bad feeling as possible might be left between them and us." B.C. 329

XXI. The question was of itself a hard one to decide, and every senator argued, as his own nature

A.U.C. 425

tum incertiora omnia unus ex Privernatibus legatis fecit, magis condicionis in qua natus esset quam
2 praesentis necessitatis memor; qui interrogatus a quodam tristioris sententiae auctore quam poenam meritos Privernates censeret, "Eam" inquit "quam
3 merentur qui se libertate dignos censent." Cuius cum feroci responso infestiores factos videret consul eos qui ante Privernatium causam impugnabant, ut ipse benigna interrogatione mitius responsum eliceret,
4 "Quid si poenam" inquit "remittimus vobis? Qualem nos pacem vobiscum habituros speremus?" "Si bonam dederitis" inquit, "et fidam et per-
5 petuam; si malam, haud diuturnam." Tum vero minari, nec id ambigue, Privernatem quidam, et illis vocibus ad rebellandum incitari pacatos populos;
6 pars mitior [1] senatus ad meliora [2] responsum trahere et dicere viri et liberi vocem auditam: an credi posse ullum populum aut hominem denique in ea condicione cuius eum paeniteat diutius quam
7 necesse sit mansurum? Ibi pacem esse fidam ubi voluntarii pacati sint, neque eo loco ubi servitutem esse velint, fidem sperandam esse.

[1] mitior *Duker*: melior Ω.
[2] meliora Ω: molliora (*with* melior *instead of* mitior) *Gronovius, Walters and Conway.*

prompted him, for severity or mercy; but the whole situation was rendered even more uncertain by one of the deputation from Privernum, who possessed a livelier sense of the condition in which he had been born than of the exigencies of the actual crisis. This man, on being asked by a certain advocate of harsher measures what punishment he thought the Privernates merited, replied, "That punishment which is merited by those who deem themselves worthy to be free." The consul perceived that this proud answer had increased the hostility of those who were before assailing the cause of the Privernates. In the hope that he might himself, by putting a more kindly question, elicit a friendlier response, "What," said he, "if we remit your punishment? What sort of peace may we hope to have with you?" "If you grant us a good one," was the answer, "you may look to find it faithfully and permanently kept; if a bad one, you must not expect that it will long endure." Whereat some cried out that the Privernate was threatening them, and in no ambiguous terms, and asserted that by such words as those pacified peoples were roused up to rebellion. But the more merciful party in the senate put a better construction on his answer, and pronounced it the utterance of a man, and a man free-born. Was it credible, they asked, that any nation, or for that matter any man, should abide longer than he must in a condition that was painful? That peace, they asserted, was faithfully observed where the terms were willingly accepted; they must not hope for loyalty in a quarter where they sought to impose servitude. B.C. 329

A.U.C. 425

8 In hanc sententiam maxime consul ipse inclinavit animos, identidem ad principes sententiarum consulares, uti exaudiri posset a pluribus, dicendo eos
9 demum qui nihil praeterquam de libertate cogitent
10 dignos esse qui Romani fiant. Itaque et in senatu causam obtinuere, et ex auctoritate patrum latum ad populum est ut Privernatibus civitas daretur.
11 Eodem anno Anxur trecenti in coloniam missi sunt ; bina iugera agri acceperunt.

A.U.C. 426–427

XXII. Secutus est annus nulla re belli domive insignis, P. Plautio Proculo P. Cornelio Scapula consuli-
2 bus, praeterquam quod Fregellas—Signinorum is ager, deinde Volscorum fuerat—colonia deducta et populo visceratio data a M. Flavio in funere matris.
3 Erant qui per speciem honorandae parentis meritam mercedem populo solutam interpretarentur, quod eum die dicta ab aedilibus crimine stupratae matris
4 familiae absolvisset. Data visceratio in praeteritam iudicii gratiam honoris etiam ei causa fuit. Tribunusque[1] plebei proximis comitiis absens petentibus praefertur.
5 Palaepolis fuit haud procul inde ubi nunc Neapolis sita est ; duabus urbibus populus idem habitabat.[2]
6 Cumis erant oriundi ; Cumani Chalcide Euboica

[1] tribunusque *Zingerle* : tribunatuque (*wanting in O*) Ω : tribunatumque ς *Gronovius*.

[2] habitabat F^3 ς : habita at *MPF*? : habitat *OHTDLA* : habitat ut UT^2.

The consul himself did the most to bring about the adoption of these views, by remarking repeatedly to the consulars, who led in the expression of opinion, in a voice loud enough for many to overhear, that only those who took no thought for anything save liberty were worthy of becoming Romans. Accordingly they gained their cause in the senate, and on the authorization of the Fathers a measure was brought before the people conferring citizenship on the Privernates. B.C. 329

In that same year three hundred colonists were sent to Anxur, where they received each two *iugera* of land.

XXII. The following year, when Publius Plautius Proculus and Publius Cornelius Scapula were consuls, was not signalised by any military or domestic event, except that a colony was sent out to Fregellae—the territory had belonged to the people of Signia, and afterwards to the Volsci—and a dole of meat was given to the people by Marcus Flavius, at the funeral of his mother. Some thought that under colour of honouring his mother he had paid a price that he owed the people, because they had acquitted him, when brought to trial by the aediles, of the charge of corrupting a married woman. Though the dole was made for the past favour shown him in the trial, it was also the cause of his receiving an office; and at the next election he was chosen tribune of the plebs in his absence, in preference to some who canvassed. B.C. 328–327

There was a city called Palaepolis, not far from the spot where Neapolis is now, and the two cities were inhabited by one people. Cumae was their mother city, and the Cumani derive their origin

U.C. 426-427

originem trahunt. Classe, qua advecti ab domo fuerant, multum in ora maris eius quod accolunt potuere, primo in insulas[1] Aenariam et Pithecusas[2] egressi, deinde in continentem ausi sedes transferre. 7 Haec civitas cum suis viribus tum Samnitium infidae adversus Romanos societati freta, sive pestilentiae quae Romanam urbem adorta nuntiabatur fidens, multa hostilia adversus Romanos agrum Campanum 8 Falernumque incolentes fecit. Igitur L. Cornelio Lentulo Q. Publilio Philone iterum consulibus, fetialibus Palaepolim ad res repetendas missis, cum relatum esset a Graecis, gente lingua magis strenua quam factis, ferox responsum, ex auctoritate patrum 9 populus Palaepolitanis bellum fieri iussit. Inter consules provinciis comparatis bello Graeci persequendi Publilio evenerunt; Cornelius altero exercitu Sam- 10 nitibus, si qua se moverent, oppositus—fama autem erat defectioni Campanorum imminentes admoturos castra—ibi optimum visum Cornelio stativa habere.

U.C. 427-428

XXIII. Ab utroque consule exiguam spem pacis cum Samnitibus esse certior fit senatus: Publilius[3] duo milia Nolanorum militum et quattuor Samnitium magis Nolanis cogentibus quam voluntate Graecorum 2 recepta Palaepoli;[4] Cornelius dilectum indictum a

[1] in insulas γ: insulas Ω: insulam *A*.

[2] Pithecusas γ: phitecusas *MPFO*: fitecusas *U*: pitecusas *HTDLA*.

[3] Publilius *edd.*: publius Ω (*omitted by U*).

[4] Palaepoli *Walters and Conway*: Palaepoli miserat *Sigonius*: palaepoli romam miserat (*or* -nt) Ω.

[1] Islands in the northern part of the Bay of Naples. By Pithecusae Livy seems to mean the islands of this group other than Aenaria, *i.e.* Pithecusa itself, Leucothea, and Sidonia; or perhaps he calls the whole group Pithecusae and means "Aenaria and the rest of the Pithecusae."

from Chalcis in Euboea. Thanks to the fleet in which they had sailed from their home, they enjoyed much power on the coast of that sea by which they dwell; having landed first on the island of Aenaria and the Pithecusae,[1] they afterwards ventured to transfer their seat to the mainland. This nation, relying in part on its own strength, in part on the faithlessness shown by the Samnites in their alliance with the Romans, or perhaps on the plague which was reported as having assailed the City of Rome, committed many hostile acts against the Romans dwelling in the districts of Campania and Falerii. When therefore Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Quintus Publilius Philo (for the second time) were consuls, fetials were dispatched to Palaepolis to demand redress; and on their bringing back a spirited answer from the Greeks—a race more valiant in words than in deeds—the people acted upon a resolution of the senate and commanded that war be made upon Palaepolis. By the division of the commands between the consuls, the war with the Greeks fell to Publilius; Cornelius, with another army, was ordered to be ready for the Samnites, in case they should take the field; and since it was rumoured that they were only waiting to bring up their army the moment the Campanians began a revolt, that seemed to be the best place for the permanent encampment of Cornelius. B.C. 328–327

XXIII. Both consuls informed the senate that there was very little hope of peace with the Samnites: Publilius reported that two thousand soldiers from Nola and four thousand Samnites had been received into Palaepolis,—rather under compulsion from the Nolani than by the good-will of B.C. 327–326

c. 428

magistratibus universumque Samnium erectum ac vicinos populos, Privernatem Fundanumque et For-
3 mianum, haud ambigue sollicitari. Ob haec cum legatos mitti placuisset prius ad Samnites quam bellum fieret, responsum redditur ab Samnitibus
4 ferox. Ultro incusabant iniurias Romanorum, neque eo neglegentius ea quae ipsis obicerentur purgabant:
5 haud ullo publico consilio auxiliove iuvari Graecos nec Fundanum Formianumve a se sollicitatos; quippe minime paenitere se virium suarum, si bellum placeat.
6 Ceterum non posse dissimulare aegre pati civitatem Samnitium quod Fregellas ex Volscis captas dirutasque ab se restituerit Romanus populus, coloniamque in Samnitium agro imposuerint, quam coloni eorum
7 Fregellas appellent; eam se contumeliam iniuriamque, ni sibi ab iis qui fecerint dematur, ipsos
8 omni vi depulsuros esse. Cum Romanus legatus ad disceptandum eos ad communes socios atque amicos vocaret, "Quid perplexe agimus?" inquit; "Nostra certamina, Romani, non verba legatorum nec hominum quisquam disceptator, sed campus Campanus, in quo concurrendum est, et arma et
9 communis Mars belli decernet. Proinde inter Capuam Suessulamque castra castris conferamus, et Samnis Romanusne imperio Italiam regat decer-

the Greeks; Cornelius, that the Samnite magistrates had proclaimed a levy, and that all Samnium was up, while the neighbouring cities of Privernum, Fundi, and Formiae were being openly solicited to join. The senate having, in view of these facts, voted to send ambassadors to the Samnites before declaring war, received a defiant answer from them. Indeed they actually accused the Romans of improper conduct, yet without neglecting to clear their own skirts—if they could—of the charges brought against them: the Greeks, they said, were receiving no public counsel or support from them, nor had they asked the Fundani or Formiani to revolt; indeed they were quite strong enough to look out for themselves, if they chose to fight; on the other hand, they could not dissemble the chagrin of the Samnite nation that Fregellae, which they had captured from the Volsci and destroyed, should have been restored by the Roman People, and a colony planted in the territory of the Samnites which the Roman settlers called by that name; this was an insult and an injury, which, if its authors did not themselves recall it, they proposed to resist with might and main. When the Roman legate invited them to discuss the question with the common allies and friends of both, the Samnite spokesman said, "Why do we beat about the bush? Our differences, Romans, will be decided, not by the words of envoys nor by any man's arbitration, but by the Campanian plain—where we must meet in battle,—by the sword, and by the common chance of war. Let us encamp then face to face betwixt Suessula and Capua, and settle the question whether Samnite or Roman is to govern Italy." The Roman

B.C. 327–326

A.U.C. 427–428

namus." Legati Romanorum cum se non quo hostis vocasset[1] sed quo imperatores sui duxissent ituros esse respondissent . . .[2]

Iam Publilius inter Palaepolim Neapolimque loco opportune capto diremerat hostibus societatem auxilii mutui qua, ut quisque locus premeretur, inter se usi fuerant. Itaque cum et comitiorum dies instaret et Publilium imminentem hostium muris avocari ab spe capiendae in dies urbis haud e re publica esset, actum cum tribunis est, ad populum ferrent ut, cum Q. Publilius Philo consulatu abisset, pro consule rem gereret quoad debellatum cum Graecis esset.

L. Cornelio, quia ne eum quidem in Samnium iam ingressum revocari ab impetu belli placebat, litterae missae ut dictatorem comitiorum causa diceret. Dixit M. Claudium Marcellum; ab eo magister equitum dictus Sp. Postumius. Nec tamen ab dictatore comitia sunt habita, quia vitione creatus esset in disquisitionem venit. Consulti augures vitiosum videri dictatorem pronuntiaverunt. Eam rem tribuni suspectam infamemque criminando fecerunt: nam neque facile fuisse id vitium nosci, cum consul oriens de nocte[3] silentio diceret dictatorem, neque ab consule cuiquam publice

[1] vocasset $T^2\gamma$: uocaset O^1: uocaret O: uocassent $\Omega\gamma$.

[2] *Madvig thinks that a passage of some length, narrating the outcome of the embassy, the declaration of war, and the beginning of the siege of Naples, has been lost.*

[3] oriens de nocte *Drakenborch* (oriens nocte *Rubenius*): oriende nocte F: oriente nocte Ω: oriente noctis D^3A: oriente sub nocte *O*.

[1] This is the first recorded instance of the continuation of a consul's powers beyond his year of office, although in 464 a former consul, T. Quinctius, had been invested with consular authority for a campaign (III. iv. 10).

legates having replied that they should go, not where the enemy summoned them, but where their generals led them . . . B.C. 327–326

By taking up a favourable position between Palaepolis and Neapolis, Publilius had already deprived the enemy of that mutual exchange of assistance which they had made use of, as one place after another was hard pressed. Accordingly, since the time drew near for the elections, and it was not for the advantage of the state that Publilius, who was threatening the enemy's walls, should be called away from the prospective capture of their city, which might happen any day, the senate got the tribunes to propose a popular enactment, providing that Quintus Publilius Philo should, on the expiration of his consulship, conduct the campaign as proconsul until the Greeks should have been conquered.[1]

To Lucius Cornelius, who had already entered Samnium, and whom they were equally unwilling to withdraw from the vigorous prosecution of the war, they sent a letter directing him to name a dictator for conducting the elections. He named Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who named Spurius Postumius master of the horse. But the comitia were not held by the dictator, inasmuch as the regularity of his appointment was called in question. The augurs were consulted, and announced that the procedure appeared faulty. This sentence the tribunes by their accusations made suspect and infamous; for the flaw, as they pointed out, could not easily have been discovered, since the consul rose in the night and appointed the dictator in silence, neither had the consul written to anyone

B.C. 428

privatimve de ea re scriptum esse nec quemquam
16 mortalium exstare qui se vidisse aut audisse quid dicat quod auspicium dirimeret, neque augures divinare Romae sedentes potuisse quid in castris consuli vitii obvenisset; cui non apparere, quod plebeius dictator sit, id vitium auguribus visum?
17 Haec aliaque ab tribunis nequiquam iactata; tandem[1] ad interregnum res redit, dilatisque alia atque alia de causa comitiis quartus decimus demum interrex L. Aemilius consules creat C. Poetelium[2] L. Papirium Mugillanum; Cursorem in aliis annalibus invenio.

B.C. 5

XXIV. Eodem anno Alexandream in Aegypto proditum conditam, Alexandrumque Epiri regem ab exsule Lucano interfectum sortes Dodonaei Iovis
2 eventu adfirmasse. Accito ab Tarentinis in Italiam data dictio erat, caveret Acherusiam aquam Pando-
3 siamque urbem: ibi fatis eius terminum dari. Eoque ocius transmisit in Italiam ut quam maxime procul abesset urbe Pandosia in Epiro et Acheronte amni, quem ex Molosside fluentem in Stagna Inferna[3]
4 accipit Thesprotius sinus. Ceterum ut[4] ferme fugiendo in media fata ruitur, cum saepe Bruttias

[1] tandem ς *Madvig*: tamen Ω (*wanting in O*).
[2] Poetelium *Madvig* (III. XXXV. 11): petilium (*or* petillium) Ω.
[3] Stagna Inferna *Walters and Conway* (*Plin., N.H.* IV. i. 4, *Strabo* VII. vii. 5): stagna inferna Ω *edd.*
[4] ceterum ut ς: ut ceterum Ω.

[1] The founding of Alexandria and the death of Alexander of Epirus are placed five years too late. They occurred in 332 or 331 B.C.
[2] The name was doubtless due to the association of the Acheron in Epirus with the Acheron of the lower world.

regarding the transaction, whether officially or privately, nor was there a single mortal living who could say that he had seen or heard a thing that would bring to naught the auspices; nor yet could the augurs have divined, as they sat in Rome, what obstacle the consul had met with in the camp. Was there anyone, they would like to know, who could not see that the plebeian standing of the dictator was the thing which had seemed irregular to the augurs? These and other objections were made by the tribunes to no purpose; the state at length reverted to an interregnum, and after the comitia had been again and again postponed, on one pretext or another, at last the fourteenth interrex, Lucius Aemilius, procured the election of consuls, viz. Gaius Poetelius and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus—in other annals I find the name of Cursor. B.C. 327–326

XXIV. It is recorded that in that same year Alexandria in Egypt was founded, and that Alexander, king of Epirus, being murdered by a Lucanian exile, fulfilled by his death the oracle of Jupiter at Dodona.[1] On his being summoned to Italy by the Tarentines, the oracle had warned him to beware of the Acherusian water and the city Pandosia, for there he was destined to end his days. On this account he had passed over with the more speed into Italy, that he might be as far removed as possible from the city of Pandosia in Epirus and from the river Acheron, which, debouching from Molossis into the Infernal Marshes,[2] discharges its waters into the Thesprotian Gulf. But, as generally happens, in seeking to escape his doom he ran full upon it. Having repeatedly defeated the Bruttian B.C. 326

U.C. 428

Lucanasque legiones fudisset, Heracleam Tarentinorum coloniam ex Lucanis, Sipontum Apulorum, Consentiamque [1] Bruttiorum ac Terinam,[2] alias inde Messapiorum [3] ac Lucanorum cepisset urbes et trecentas familias illustres in Epirum, quas obsidum
5 numero haberet, misisset, haud procul Pandosia urbe, imminente Lucanis ac Bruttiis finibus, tres tumulos aliquantum inter se distantes insedit, ex quibus incursiones in omnem partem agri hostilis faceret;
6 et ducentos ferme Lucanorum exsules circa se pro fidis habebat, ut pleraque eius generis ingenia sunt, cum fortuna mutabilem gerentes fidem.
7 Imbres continui campis omnibus inundatis [4] cum interclusissent trifariam exercitum a mutuo inter se auxilio, duo praesidia, quae sine rege erant, improviso hostium adventu opprimuntur; deletisque eis ad ipsius obsidionem omnes con-
8 versi. Inde ab Lucanis exsulibus ad suos nuntii missi sunt, pactoque reditu promissum est regem aut vivum aut mortuum in potestatem daturos.
9 Ceterum cum delectis ipse egregium facinus ausus per medios erumpit hostes, et ducem Lucanorum comminus congressum obtruncat;
10 contrahensque suos ex fuga palatos pervenit ad amnem, ruinis recentibus pontis, quem vis aquae
11 abstulerat, indicantem iter. Quem cum incerto

[1] coloniam ex Lucanis, Sipontum Apulorum, Consentiamque Bruttiorum *Weissenborn*: coloniam Consentiam (*M omits* Consentiam) ex Lucanis Sipontumque Bruttiorum (Bruttiorum coloniam *O*) Ω.

[2] ac Terinam *Sigonius*: acerinam (*or* -um) Ω: acrentinam *M*.

[3] Messapiorum A^3,-: massepiorum(-porum = priorum *L*) Ω

[4] inundatis *Madvig*: inundates *MPT*: inundantes Ω.

and Lucanian levies; having taken Heraclea, a Tarentine colony, from the Lucanians, and Sipontum belonging to the Apulians, and the Bruttian towns Consentia and Terina, and after that other towns of the Messapians and Lucanians; and having sent to Epirus three hundred illustrious families, to be held as hostages, he took up his station not far from the city Pandosia, which looks down upon the borders of Lucania and Bruttium, on three hills that stand some little distance apart from one another, that he might thence make incursions into every quarter of the enemy's country. He had about him some two hundred Lucanian exiles, whom he trusted; but their loyalty, like that of most men of that nation, was prone to change with the change of fortune. B.C. 326

Continuous rains, which flooded all the fields, having isolated the three divisions of the army and cut them off from mutual assistance, the two bodies other than the king's were surprised and overpowered by the enemy, who, after putting them all to the sword, proceeded with their entire strength to blockade Alexander himself. Whereupon the Lucanian exiles sent messengers to their countrymen, and promised that, if assured of restoration, they would give up the king, alive or dead, into their hands. But Alexander, with a chosen band, made a daring attempt, and broke out through the midst of his foes, cutting down the Lucanian general in a hand-to-hand encounter. Then, rallying his followers, who had become scattered in the flight, he came to a river, where the fresh ruins of a bridge, which the violence of the current had swept away, pointed out the road. As his company were making

u.c. 428 vado transiret agmen, fessus metu ac labore miles, increpans nomen abominandum fluminis, "Iure Acheros vocaris" inquit. Quod ubi ad aures accidit regis, adiecit extemplo animum fatis suis sub-
12 stititque, dubius an transiret. Tum Sotimus, minister ex regiis pueris, quid in tanto discrimine periculi cunctaretur interrogans, indicat
13 Lucanos insidiis quaerere locum. Quos[1] ubi respexit rex procul grege facto venientes, stringit gladium, et per medium amnem transmittit equum; iamque in vadum egressum eminus
14 veruto Lucanus exsul transfigit. Lapsum inde cum inhaerente telo corpus exanime detulit amnis in hostium praesidia. Ibi foeda laceratio corporis facta. Namque praeciso medio partem Consentiam misere, pars ipsis retenta ad ludibrium.
15 Quae cum iaculis saxisque procul incesseretur, mulier una ultra humanarum irarum fidem saevienti turbae immixta, ut parumper sustinerent precata, flens ait virum sibi liberosque captos apud hostes esse; sperare corpore regio utcumque mulcato se
16 suos redempturam. Is finis lacerationi fuit, sepultumque Consentiae quod membrorum reliquum fuit cura mulieris unius, ossaque Metapontum [ad hostes
17 remissa, inde Epirum devecta ad Cleopatram uxorem

[1] quos A^2 *vor* A^3)$_{\overline{\Gamma}}$: quod Ω.

[1] Acheros is apparently a by-form of Acheron. The soldier associated the word with ἄχος, "pain." The stream is thought to have been a small tributary of the Neaethus.

[2] Apparently Alexander had a garrison there.

their way across the stream by a treacherous ford, a B.C. 326
discouraged and exhausted soldier cried out, cursing the river's ill-omened name, "You are rightly called the Acheros!"[1] When the king heard this, he at once bethought him of the oracle, and stopped, undecided whether he should cross or not. Whereat Sotimus, one of the young nobles who attended him, asked why he hesitated in so dangerous a crisis, and pointed out the Lucanians, who were looking for a chance to waylay him. With a backward glance the king perceived them at a little distance coming towards him in a body, and drawing his sword, urged his horse through the middle of the stream. He had already gained the shallow water, when a Lucanian exile cast a javelin that transfixed him. He fell with the javelin in his lifeless body, and the current carried him down to the enemy's guard. By them his corpse was barbarously mangled, for they cut it in two through the middle, and sending a half to Consentia, kept the other half to make sport for themselves. They were standing off and pelting it with javelins and stones, when a solitary woman, exposing herself to the inhuman savagery of the raging crowd, besought them to forbear a little, and with many tears declared that her husband and children were prisoners in the hands of the enemy, and that she hoped that with the body of the king, however much disfigured, she might redeem them. This ended the mutilation. What was left of the corpse was cremated at Consentia by the care of none other than the woman, and the bones sent back to Metapontum,[2] to the enemy; whence they were conveyed by ship to Epirus, to his wife Cleopatra and his sister

B.C. 328 sororemque Olympiadem, quarum mater magni
18 Alexandri altera, soror altera fuit. Haec de Alexandri Epirensis tristi eventu, quamquam Romano bello fortuna eum abstinuit, tamen, quia in Italia bella gessit, paucis dixisse satis sit.

XXV. Eodem anno lectisternium Romae, quintum post conditam urbem, iisdem quibus ante placandis
2 habitum est deis. Novi deinde consules iussu populi cum misissent qui indicerent Samnitibus bellum, ipsi maiore conatu quam adversus Graecos cuncta parabant; et alia nova nihil tum animo tale agitanti-
3 bus accesserunt auxilia. Lucani atque Apuli, quibus gentibus nihil ad eam diem cum Romano populo fuerat, in fidem venerunt, arma virosque ad bellum pollicentes; foedere ergo in amicitiam accepti. Eodem tempore etiam in Samnio res prospere
4 gesta. Tria oppida in potestatem venerunt, Allifae Callifae Rufrium, aliusque ager primo adventu consulum longe lateque est pervastatus.

5 Hoc bello tam prospere[1] commisso, alteri quoque bello, quo Graeci obsidebantur, iam finis aderat. Nam praeterquam quod intersaeptis munimentis hostium pars parti abscisa erat, foediora aliquanto
6 intra muros iis[2] quibus hostis territabat fiebant,[3] et velut capti a suismet ipsi[4] praesidiis indigna in[5] liberis

[1] prospere Ω : propere *H T* : prope (*for* prope = propere) *M*.
[2] iis *Crev.* : his Ω.
[3] fiebant *Luterbacher* : patiebant Ω.
[4] ipsi *Perizonius Gronovius* : *ipsis* Ω.
[5] in *Gronovius* : iam Ω.

[1] The first of these banquets for the gods took place in 399 B.C., the others in 392, 364, and 348.

Olympias, of whom the latter was mother, the former sister, to Alexander the Great. This brief account of the sad end of Alexander may be excused on the score of his having warred in Italy, albeit Fortune held him back from attacking the Romans. B.C. 326

XXV. A *lectisternium*, the fifth since the founding of the City, was held this year, to propitiate the same deities as before.[1] Then the new consuls, having sent fetials, as commanded by the people, to declare war on the Samnites, not only began themselves to make ready for it, on a much greater scale in every respect than they had done against the Greeks, but received new and at that time quite unlooked-for help. For the Lucanians and Apulians, nations which until then had had no dealings with the Roman People, put themselves under their protection and promised arms and men for the war, and were accordingly received into a treaty of friendship. At the same time, the Romans conducted a successful campaign in Samnium. Three towns—Allifae, Callifae, and Rufrium—fell into their hands, and the rest of the country was devastated far and wide at the first coming of the consuls.

While this war was beginning in so prosperous a fashion, the other, against the Greeks, was in a fair way to be concluded. For not only were a part of the besieged cut off from the rest by the intervening entrenchments of the Romans, but things were going on within their walls much more dreadful than the perils with which the enemy threatened them; and as though the inhabitants had been made prisoners by their own defenders, they were subjected to outrage even in the persons of their

U.C. 428 quoque ac coniugibus et quae captarum urbium
7 extrema sunt patiebantur. Itaque cum et a Tarento
et a Samnitibus fama esset nova auxilia ventura,
Samnitium plus quam vellent intra moenia esse
8 rebantur, Tarentinorum iuventutem, Graeci Graecos,
haud minus per quos Samniti Nolanoque quam ut
Romanis hostibus resisterent, exspectabant; post-
tremo levissimum malorum deditio ad Romanos visa:
9 Charilaus et Nymphius, principes civitatis, communi-
cato inter se consilio partes ad rem agendam
divisere, ut alter ad imperatorem Romanorum
transfugeret, alter subsisteret ad praebendam
10 opportunam consilio urbem. Charilaus fuit qui ad
Publilium Philonem venit, et quod bonum faustum
felix Palaepolitanis populoque Romano esset, tradere
11 se ait moenia statuisse; eo facto, utrum ab se prodita
an servata patria videatur, in fide Romana positum
esse; sibi privatim nec pacisci quicquam nec petere;
12 publice petere quam pacisci magis ut, si successisset
inceptum, cogitaret populus Romanus potius cum
quanto studio periculoque reditum in amicitiam
suam esset, quam qua[1] stultitia et temeritate de
13 officio decessum. Conlaudatus ab imperatore tria
milia militum ad occupandam eam partem urbis

[1] quam qua U^2 (*or* U^1) T^2A^3: quamquam (quemquam *M?*) Ω (*including* M^1).

children and their wives, and suffered all the horrors of captured cities. And so, on a report that reinforcements were on their way, both from Tarentum and from the Samnites, they felt that they had within their city more Samnites than they wanted, but being Greeks, looked forward to the coming of their fellow Greeks, the young men of Tarentum, to enable them to resist the Samnites and the Nolani, no less than their enemies, the Romans. In the end it appeared to them that surrender to the Romans was the least intolerable evil. Charilaus and Nymphius, their principal citizens, took counsel together, and arranged the part that each should play in order to bring this about. One was to go over to the Roman general, the other to remain behind and make the city ready for the accomplishment of their design. It was Charilaus who went to Publilius Philo, and praying that it might turn out a good and favourable and fortunate thing for Palaepolis and for the Roman People, announced that he had resolved to deliver up the walls. It depended, he said, upon the honour of the Romans whether, having accomplished his intention, he should appear to have betrayed his country or to have saved it. For himself in particular he neither stipulated nor requested anything; for his people he requested—though he did not stipulate—that if the enterprise succeeded, the Roman People should consider with what eagerness they had resumed the friendship, and the hazard which they ran, rather than the folly and temerity which had led them to forget their duty. The general commended him, and gave him three thousand soldiers to seize that part of the city where the Samnites were established, appointing B.C. 326

U.C. 428 quam Samnites insidebant accepit; praesidio ei L. Quinctius tribunus militum praepositus.

XXVI. Eodem tempore et Nymphius praetorem Samnitium arte adgressus perpulerat, ut, quoniam omnis Romanus exercitus aut circa Palaepolim aut in Samnio esset, sineret se classe circumvehi ad Romanum agrum, non oram modo maris sed ipsi 2 urbi propinqua loca depopulaturum. Sed ut falleret, nocte proficiscendum esse extemploque naves deducendas. Quod quo maturius fieret, omnis iuventus Samnitium praeter necessarium urbis praesidium 3 ad litus missa. Ubi dum Nymphius in tenebris et multitudine semet ipsa impediente, sedulo aliis alia imperia turbans, terit tempus, Charilaus ex composito ab sociis in urbem receptus, cum summa urbis Romano milite implesset, tolli clamorem iussit: ad quem Graeci signo accepto a principibus quievere, 4 Nolani per aversam partem urbis via Nolam ferente[1] effugiunt. Samnitibus exclusis ab urbe, ut expeditior in praesentia fuga, ita foedior, postquam periculo 5 evaserunt, visa, quippe qui inermes nulla rerum suarum non relicta inter hostes, ludibrium non externis modo sed etiam popularibus, spoliati atque

[1] via Nolam ferente T^2A^x: uiam nolam ferentem (-tes *O*) Ω.

[1] This shows that the Samnite general was in control in the city.

Lucius Quinctius, a military tribune, to command the force. B.C. 326

XXVI. At the same time Nymphius for his part had gone craftily to work with the Samnite commander, and pointing out that all the forces of the Romans were either about Palaepolis or in Samnium, got him to consent [1] that he should take a fleet and sail round them to the Roman seaboard, where he proposed, so he said, to ravage not only the coastal region, but the vicinity of Rome itself; it would however be necessary, in order to slip past the enemy unobserved, to put out at night, and the ships must be drawn down at once. That this might be accomplished the more expeditiously, all the Samnite soldiers, except the few who were needed to mount guard in the city, were sent down to the shore. While Nymphius was killing time there in the darkness, purposely issuing contradictory orders to confuse the throng, which was so large as to get in its own way, Charilaus, having been received into the city, as agreed upon by the conspirators, had occupied the highest part of it with Roman soldiers, whom he now commanded to give a cheer. On hearing this, the Greeks, who had received a signal from their leaders, remained still, but the Nolani fled through the opposite quarter of the city by the road that leads to Nola. The Samnites, being shut out from the town, enjoyed a momentary advantage in the ease with which they fled, but appeared in a more disgraceful light, when the danger had been left behind. Unarmed—for they had abandoned everything to the enemy—they returned to their homes despoiled and destitute, a laughing-stock not only to strangers but to their own

U.C. 428

6 egentes domos rediere. Haud ignarus opinionis alterius, qua haec proditio ab Samnitibus facta traditur, cum auctoribus hoc dedi quibus dignius credi est, tum foedus Neapolitanum—eo enim deinde summa rei Graecorum venit—similius vero
7 facit ipsos in amicitiam redisse. Publilio triumphus decretus, quod satis credebatur obsidione domitos hostes in fidem venisse. Duo singularia haec ei viro primum contigere, prorogatio imperii non ante in ullo facta et acto honore triumphus.

XXVII. Aliud subinde bellum cum alterius orae
2 Graecis exortum. Namque Tarentini, cum rem Palaepolitanam vana spe auxilii aliquamdiu sustinuissent, postquam Romanos urbe potitos accepere, velut destituti ac non qui ipsi destituissent, increpare Palaepolitanos, ira atque invidia in Romanos furere, eo etiam magis, quod Lucanos et Apulos—nam utraque eo anno societas coepta est—in fidem
3 populi Romani venisse allatum est: quippe propemodum perventum ad se esse, iamque in eo rem fore, ut Romani aut hostes aut domini habendi sint.
4 Discrimen profecto rerum suarum in bello Samnitium eventuque eius verti; eam solam gentem restare, nec eam ipsam satis validam, quando Lucanus defecerit;

[1] The treaty secured advantages to the inhabitants of Palaepolis-Neapolis—of which combination Neapolis now became the head—which would hardly have been granted them if they had been subdued, and had not voluntarily surrendered.

countrymen. I am not unaware of the other tradition which ascribes the capture to betrayal by the Samnites, but have followed the authorities who are more deserving of credence; moreover, the treaty with Neapolis—to which place the Greeks now transferred the seat of government—makes it more likely that they renewed the friendship voluntarily.[1] Publilius was decreed a triumph, in consequence of a belief that the enemy had surrendered because they were forced to do so by the siege. He was the first to enjoy these two distinctions: an extension of his command, never before granted to any, and a triumph after the expiration of his term. B.C. 326

XXVII. This war was immediately followed by the outbreak of another, with the Greeks of the eastern coast. For the Tarentines, after sustaining the people of Palaepolis for some time with delusive hopes of succour, when they learned that the Romans had got possession of the city, inveighed against the Palaepolitans, as though, instead of deserting them, they themselves had been deserted, and were raging with hatred and envy against the Romans: the more so, because they learnt that the Lucanians and Apulians had made their submission to the Roman People—for an alliance was formed that year with both these nations. The Romans, they said, were almost at the gates of Tarentum, and matters would soon be come to such a pass, that they must needs have them for enemies or masters; it was clear that their own future hinged on the outcome of the war then being waged by the Samnites; this was the only nation that continued to hold out, and indeed that nation was none too strong since the defection

u.c. 428

quem revocari adhuc impellique ad abolendam societatem Romanam posse, si qua ars serendis discordiis adhibeatur.

Haec consilia cum apud cupidos rerum novandarum valuissent, ex iuventute quidam Lucanorum pretio adsciti, clari magis inter populares quam honesti, inter se mulcati ipsi virgis, cum corpora nuda intulissent in civium coetum, vociferati sunt se, quod castra Romana ingredi ausi essent, a consulibus virgis caesos ac prope securi percussos esse. Deformis suapte natura res cum speciem iniuriae magis quam doli prae se ferret, concitati homines cogunt clamore suo magistratus senatum vocare; et alii circumstantes concilium bellum in Romanos poscunt, alii ad concitandam in arma multitudinem agrestium discurrunt, tumultuque etiam sanos consternante animos decernitur ut societas cum Samnitibus renovaretur, legatique ad eam rem mittuntur.[1] Repentina res quia quam causam nullam tam ne fidem quidem habebat, coacti a Samnitibus et obsides dare et praesidia in loca munita accipere, caeci fraude et ira nihil recusarunt. Dilucere deinde brevi fraus coepit, postquam criminum falsorum auctores Tarentum commigravere; sed amissa omni[2] de se potestate, nihil ultra quam ut paeniteret frustra restabat.

XXVIII. Eo anno plebei Romanae velut aliud

[1] mittuntur *HT²LA¹R*: remittuntur *DA*: mittantur *PFUOT²*: mitteantur *M*: mitterentur *Frigell.*

[2] omni *UOHT²A¹*: omnia *MPFTDLA*: omni iam *Alschefski.*

of the Lucanians; but the latter might even yet be brought back and induced to repudiate the Roman alliance, if a little art were employed in sowing discord. B.C. 326

These counsels having prevailed—for they were eager to fall in with novel schemes—they bribed certain young Lucanians, of greater prominence among their countrymen than respectability, who lacerated one another with rods and then exhibited their naked bodies before a concourse of their fellow citizens, crying out that for having dared to enter the Roman camp they had been ordered by the consuls to be scourged, and had narrowly escaped losing their heads. This spectacle, so hideous in itself, pointed clearly to injury and not to guile. In an uproar of excitement, the people obliged their magistrates to convoke the senate. At the meeting some crowded round and clamoured for war against the Romans, while others hurriedly departed this way and that, to rouse the inhabitants of the countryside to arms, till even the prudent lost their heads in the tumult, and it was voted to renew the alliance with the Samnites; and ambassadors were sent off to arrange it. This impulsive action, as it had no cause, so it carried no conviction; they were forced by the Samnites both to give hostages and also to admit garrisons within their strongholds; but, blinded by the cheat and by resentment, they stuck at nothing. A little later, when the false witnesses had retired to Tarentum, they began to see through the imposition: but having lost all power of independent action, they could only indulge in vain regrets.

XXVIII. In that year the liberty of the Roman

A.U.C. 425

initium libertatis factum est, quod necti desierunt; mutatum autem ius ob unius feneratoris simul libi-
2 dinem simul crudelitatem insignem. L. Papirius is fuit, cui cum se C. Publilius ob aes alienum paternum nexum dedisset, quae aetas formaque misericordiam elicere poterant, ad libidinem et con-
3 tumeliam animum accenderunt. Florem[1] aetatis eius fructum adventicium crediti ratus, primo perlicere adulescentem sermone incesto est conatus; dein, postquam aspernabantur flagitium aures, minis
4 territare atque identidem admonere fortunae; postremo, cum ingenuitatis magis quam praesentis condicionis memorem videret, nudari iubet ver-
5 beraque adferri. Quibus laceratus iuvenis cum se in publicum proripuisset, libidinem crudelitatemque
6 conquerens feneratoris, ingens vis hominum cum aetatis miseratione atque indignitate iniuriae accensa, tum suae condicionis liberumque suorum respectu, in forum atque inde agmine facto ad
7 curiam concurrit; et cum consules tumultu repentino coacti senatum vocarent, introeuntibus in curiam patribus laceratum iuvenis tergum, procumbentes ad singulorum pedes, ostentabant.
8 Victum eo die ob impotentem iniuriam unius ingens vinculum fidei; iussique consules ferre ad populum ne quis, nisi qui noxam meruisset, donec poenam lueret, in compedibus aut in nervo tene-

[1] Florem *Madvig*: ut florem Ω: et florem ς.

[1] The plebs had gained *political* liberty on the expulsion of the kings and the adoption of the republican government. Now they were assured of *personal* liberty as well. The reform is put by Valerius Maximus (VI. i. 9) and Dionysius of Halicarnassus (xvi. 9) after the disaster at the Caudine Forks in 321 B.C.

plebs had as it were a new beginning; for men ceased to be imprisoned for debt.[1] The change in the law was occasioned by the notable lust and cruelty of a single usurer, Lucius Papirius, to whom Gaius Publilius had given himself up for a debt owed by his father. The debtor's youth and beauty, which might well have stirred the creditor's compassion, did but inflame his heart to lust and contumely. Regarding the lad's youthful prime as additional compensation for the loan, he sought at first to seduce him with lewd conversation: later, finding he turned a deaf ear to the base proposal, he began to threaten him and now and again to remind him of his condition; at last, when he saw that the youth had more regard to his honourable birth than to his present plight, he had him stripped and scourged. The boy, all mangled with the stripes, broke forth into the street, crying out upon the money-lender's lust and cruelty; and a great throng of people, burning with pity for his tender years, and with rage for the shameful wrong he had undergone, and considering, too, their own condition and their children's, rushed down into the Forum, and from there in a solid throng to the Curia. The consuls were forced by the sudden tumult to convene the senate; and as the Fathers entered the Curia, the people threw themselves at the feet of each, and pointed to the young lad's mutilated back. On that day, owing to one man's outrageous injury, was broken a strong bond of credit, and the consuls were ordered to carry a proposal to the people that none should be confined in shackles or in the stocks, save those who, having been guilty of some crime, were waiting to pay the penalty; B.C. 326

A.U.C. 428

9 retur; pecuniae creditae bona debitoris, non corpus obnoxium esset. Ita nexi soluti, cautumque in posterum ne necterentur.

A.U.C. 429

XXIX. Eodem anno, cum satis per se ipsum Samnitium bellum et defectio repens Lucanorum auctoresque defectionis, Tarentini, sollicitos haberent patres, accessit ut et Vestinus populus Samnitibus
2 sese coniungeret. Quae res sicut eo anno sermonibus magis passim hominum iactata quam in publico ullo concilio est, ita insequentis anni consulibus, L. Furio Camillo iterum Iunio Bruto Scaevae, nulla prior potiorque visa est, de qua ad senatum
3 referrent. Et quamquam non nova[1] res erat, tamen tanta cura patres incessit, ut pariter eam susceptam neglectamque timerent, ne aut impunitas eorum lascivia superbiaque aut bello poenae expetitae metu propinquo atque ira concirent finitimos populos;
4 et erat genus omne abunde bello Samnitibus par, Marsi Paelignique et Marrucini, quos, si Vestinus
5 attingeretur, omnes habendos hostes. Vicit tamen pars quae in praesentia videri potuit maioris animi quam consilii; sed eventus docuit fortes fortunam
6 iuvare. Bellum ex auctoritate patrum populus adversus Vestinos iussit. Provincia ea Bruto, Samnium

[1] non nova (*or* nota) *Duker*: noua Ω.

and that for money lent, the debtor's goods, but not his person, should be distrainable. So those in confinement were released, and it was forbidden that any should be confined thereafter. B.C. 326

XXIX. In that same year, though the Samnite war and the sudden revolt of the Lucanians, together with the Tarentines their abettors, were enough of themselves to fill the senators with concern, yet the Vestini added to their cares by uniting with the Samnites. This action was widely discussed in private conversations, without being made the subject, in that year, of any public deliberations; but the consuls of the following year, Lucius Furius Camillus (for the second time) and Junius Brutus Scaeva, deemed it a matter that should take precedence over all other business to come before the senate. There, notwithstanding it was no news to them, the situation occasioned the Fathers so great anxiety as to make them equally afraid to deal with it or to let it alone, lest the impunity of the Vestini might inspire the neighbouring tribes with licence and insolence, or a punitive war inflame them with apprehensions of imminent danger and with resentment; moreover the race as a whole was fully equal to the Samnites in military power, comprising, as it did, the Marsi, and the Paeligni and Marrucini,—all of whom must be had for enemies, should the Vestini be molested. The day, however, was carried by that party which might have seemed at the moment to have on its side a greater share of courage than of wisdom; but the sequel showed that Fortune favours the brave. Being authorized by the senate, the people voted a war against the Vestini. This command was assigned by lot to B.C. 325

A.U.C. 429

7 Camillo sorte evenit. Exercitus utroque ducti, et cura tuendorum finium hostes prohibiti coniungere
8 arma. Ceterum alterum consulem L. Furium, cui maior moles rerum imposita erat, morbo gravi im-
9 plicitum fortuna bello subtraxit: iussusque dictatorem dicere rei gerendae causa, longe clarissimum bello ea tempestate dixit, L. Papirium Cursorem, a quo Q.[1] Fabius Maximus Rullianus[2] magister
10 equitum est dictus, par nobile rebus in eo magistratu gestis, discordia tamen, qua prope ad ultimum dimicationis ventum est, nobilius.

11 Ab altero consule in Vestinis multiplex bellum nec usquam vario eventu gestum est. Nam et pervastavit agros et populando atque urendo tecta
12 hostium sataque in aciem invitos extraxit, et ita proelio uno accidit Vestinorum res, haudquaquam tamen incruento milite suo, ut non in castra solum refugerent hostes, sed iam ne vallo quidem ac fossis freti dilaberentur in oppida, situ urbium moeni-
13 busque se defensuri. Postremo oppida quoque vi expugnare adortus, primo Cutinam ingenti ardore militum a volnerum ira,[3] quod haud fere quisquam integer proelio excesserat, scalis cepit, deinde
14 Cingiliam. Utriusque urbis praedam militibus, quod

[1] a quo Q. $I^2F^3T^2$: a quo que (*or* a quoq.) Ω: amquoq. *M*: a quo D^x: abeoquo A^2.

[2] Rullianus *Sigon.* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 45, *a.u.c.* 432, 445; *Plin. N.H.* vii. xli. 42: rutilanus *O*: rutilianus *MPFUHT*: rutulianus *DLA*.

[3] a vol (vul- nerum ira *Madvig* (*cf.* xxiv. xxx. 1): aut vol (uul- nerum ira Ω: ac uulnerum ira ζ: aut uulneratum ira *M*.

[1] Since the Vestini were not supported by their neighbours, as men had feared they would be.

[2] Also called Rullus (xxiv. ix. 8). He was the grandfather of Fabius Cunctator, who opposed Hannibal.

Brutus, that against the Samnites to Camillus. B.C. 325
Armies were dispatched in both directions, and the enemy, concerned to protect their borders, were kept from joining forces. But one of the consuls, Lucius Furius, on whom the heavier burden had been laid,[1] had the misfortune to fall dangerously ill and was compelled to relinquish his command; being ordered to nominate a dictator for the purpose of carrying on the war, he named by far the most distinguished soldier of that time, Lucius Papirius Cursor, by whom Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus[2] was appointed master of the horse. They were a pair famous for the victories won while they were magistrates; but their quarrelling, which almost went the length of a mortal feud, made them more famous still.

The other consul, in the country of the Vestini, carried on a war of many phases, but of unvarying success at every point. For he ravaged their farms, and by pillaging and burning their houses and their crops, compelled them against their will to take the field; and then in a single battle wrought such havoc with the Vestinian power—though his own troops came off by no means scatheless—that the enemy not only retreated to their camp, but, no longer trusting to their parapet and trenches, slipped away to their several towns, seeking protection in the situation of the places and their walls. Finally, the consul addressed himself to the capture of these towns. The soldiers fought with great fury to revenge their wounds, for hardly a man had come unhurt out of the battle; and first Cutina was carried by escalade, and then Cingilia. The consul gave the booty of both these cities to his men,

A.U.C. 429

eos neque portae nec muri hostium arcuerant, concessit.

XXX. In Samnium incertis itum auspiciis est; cuius rei vitium non in belli eventum, quod prospere gestum est, sed in rabiem atque iras imperatorum 2 vertit. Namque Papirius dictator a pullario monitus, cum ad auspicium repetendum Romam proficisceretur, magistro equitum denuntiavit ut sese loco teneret, neu absente se cum hoste manum conse- 3 reret. Q.[1] Fabius cum post profectionem dictatoris per exploratores comperisset perinde omnia soluta apud hostes esse ac si nemo Romanus in Samnio 4 esset, seu ferox adulescens indignitate accensus, quod omnia in dictatore viderentur reposita esse, seu occasione bene gerendae rei inductus, exercitu instructo paratoque profectus ad Imbrinium—ita 5 vocant locum—acie cum Samnitibus conflixit. Ea fortuna pugnae fuit ut nihil relictum sit quo, si adfuisset dictator, res melius geri potuerit; non dux 6 militi, non miles duci defuit; eques etiam auctore L. Cominio tribuno militum, qui aliquotiens impetu capto perrumpere non poterat[2] hostium agmen,[3] detraxit frenos equis, atque ita concitatos calcaribus permisit ut sustinere eos nulla vis posset; per 7 arma, per viros late stragem dedere; secutus pedes impetum equitum turbatis hostibus intulit signa.

[1] Q. *A*[2] *or* *A*[1]*j*: que *M*: *omitted by* Ω.
[2] poterat Ω: potuerat *Weissenborn*.
[3] agmen Ω: aciem *Weissenborn* (*but cf., with Walters and Conway, Hor. Carm.* IV. xiv. 29 *and* III. ii. 9).

because neither the gates nor the walls of the enemy had held them back. B.C. 325

XXX. The expedition into Samnium was attended with ambiguous auspices; but the flaw in them took effect, not in the outcome of the war, which was waged successfully, but in the animosities and madness of the generals. For Papirius, the dictator, as he was setting out for Rome, on the advice of the keeper of the sacred chickens, to take the auspices afresh, warned the master of the horse to remain in his position, and not to engage in battle with the enemy while he himself was absent. When Quintus Fabius had ascertained from his scouts—after the departure of the dictator—that the enemy were in all respects as careless and unguarded as if there had been not a single Roman in Samnium, whether it was that the spirited young man felt aggrieved that all power should seem to be vested in the dictator, or that he was tempted by the opportunity of striking a successful blow, he put the army in fighting trim, and advancing upon a place they call Imbrinium, engaged in a pitched battle with the Samnites. This engagement was so fortunate that no greater success could have been gained, had the dictator been present; the general failed not his men, nor the men their general. The cavalry, too—at the suggestion of Lucius Cominius, a tribune of the soldiers—after charging a number of times without being able to break the enemy's lines, pulled the bridles off their horses and spurred them on so hotly that nothing could resist the shock, and arms and men went down before them over a wide front. The foot soldiers, following up the cavalry charge, advanced on the disordered enemy,

A.U.C. 429 Viginti milia hostium caesa eo die traduntur. Auctores habeo bis cum hoste signa conlata dictatore absente, bis rem egregie gestam; apud antiquissimos scriptores una haec pugna invenitur; in quibusdam annalibus tota res praetermissa est.

8 Magister equitum, ut ex tanta caede multis potitus spoliis, congesta in ingentem acervum hostilia arma subdito igne concremavit, seu votum id deorum 9 cuipiam fuit, seu credere libet Fabio auctori eo factum, ne suae gloriae fructum dictator caperet nomenque ibi scriberet aut spolia in triumpho ferret. 10 Litterae quoque de re prospere gesta ad senatum, non ad dictatorem, missae argumentum fuere minime cum eo communicantis laudes. Ita certe dictator id factum accepit, ut laetis aliis victoria parta prae 11 se ferret iram tristitiamque. Misso itaque repente senatu se ex curia proripuit, tum vero non Samnitium magis legiones quam maiestatem dictatoriam et disciplinam militarem a magistro equitum victam et eversam dictitans, si illi impune spretum imperium 12 fuisset. Itaque plenus minarum iraeque profectus in castra, cum maximis itineribus isset, non tamen 13 praevenire famam adventus sui potuit; praecucurrerant enim ab urbe qui nuntiarent dictatorem

of whom it is said that twenty thousand were slain that day. I find it stated by certain writers that Quintus Fabius twice fought the enemy while the dictator was absent, and twice gained a brilliant victory. The oldest historians give but this one battle, and in certain annals the story is omitted altogether. B.C. 325

The master of the horse found himself, after so great a slaughter, in possession of extensive spoils. He piled the enemy's arms in a great heap, applied a torch to them, and burnt them. This may have been done in fulfilment of a vow to one of the gods, or—if one chooses to accept the account of Fabius—to prevent the dictator reaping the harvest of his glory and inscribing his name on the arms, or having them carried in his triumph. A dispatch, too, reporting the victory, which Fabius sent to the senate and not to the dictator, argues that he had no mind to share the credit with him. At all events, the dictator so received the news, that while everyone else was rejoicing at the victory, he showed no uncertain signs of anger and discontent. And so, having hastily dismissed the senate, he rushed out of the Curia, repeatedly asserting that in that battle the master of the horse had defeated and overthrown the prestige of the dictatorship and military discipline not less decisively than the Samnite legions, should it end in his having flouted orders with impunity. And so he set out for the camp, breathing wrath and menaces; but though he travelled by exceedingly long stages, he was unable to arrive before the report of his being on the way. For couriers had hastened from the City, bringing word that the dictator was coming, athirst

a.u.c. 429 avidum poenae venire, alternis paene verbis T. Manli factum laudantem.

XXXI. Fabius contione extemplo advocata obtestatus milites est ut, qua virtute rem publicam ab infestissimis hostibus defendissent, eadem se, cuius ductu auspicioque vicissent, ab impotenti 2 crudelitate dictatoris tutarentur: venire amentem invidia, iratum virtuti alienae felicitatique; furere quod se absente res publica egregie gesta esset; malle, si mutare fortunam posset, apud Samnites 3 quam Romanos victoriam esse; imperium dictitare spretum, tamquam non eadem mente pugnari vetuerit qua pugnatum doleat. Et tunc invidia impedire virtutem alienam voluisse cupidissimisque arma ablaturum fuisse militibus, ne se absente 4 moveri possent: et nunc[1] id furere, id aegre pati, quod sine L. Papirio non inermes, non manci milites fuerint, quod se Q. Fabius magistrum equitum 5 duxerit ac non accensum dictatoris. Quid illum facturum fuisse, si, quod belli casus ferunt Marsque communis, adversa pugna evenisset, qui sibi devictis hostibus, re publica bene gesta, ita ut non ab illo unico duce melius geri potuerit, supplicium magistro 6 equitum tunc victori minetur? Neque illum magi-

[1] nunc Ω: tunc *M*.

[1] See chapter vii.

for vengeance and praising with almost every other word the deed of Titus Manlius.[1] B.C. 323

XXXI. Fabius at once convened an assembly of the soldiers, and reminding them how their bravery had saved the state from the most determined of enemies, conjured them to be no less brave in defending him—under whose command and auspices they had gained the victory—from the ungovernable wrath of the dictator. He was coming, said Fabius, crazed with jealousy, and exasperated that another should have been both brave and fortunate; it enraged him that the state should have won a glorious victory in his absence; he would prefer—could he effect a change of fortune—that the Samnites and not the Romans had been the victors; he repeatedly declared that his authority had been despised, as though his orders against fighting had not been inspired by the same motive as was his grief over the battle! On the former occasion envy had made him wish to thwart the bravery of others; he would have stripped the most willing of soldiers of their arms, that they might be unable to use them in his absence. At present his rage and resentment were due to this, that his troops, though lacking the help of Lucius Papirius, had lacked neither swords nor hands to wield them, and that Quintus Fabius had regarded himself as master of the horse, and not as the dictator's orderly. What would he have done, had the chances of war and the common lot of armies resulted in defeat? Despite the conquest of the enemy and a campaign so well directed that not even his own peerless leadership could have bettered it, he was now threatening the master of the horse with punishment, victorious though he was. For that

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stro equitum infestiorem[1] quam tribunis militum, quam centurionibus, quam militibus esse. Si posset, 7 in omnes saeviturum fuisse: quia id nequeat, in unum saevire; etenim[2] invidiam tamquam ignem summa petere; in caput consilii, in ducem incurrere; si se simul cum gloria rei gestae exstinxisset, tunc victorem velut in capto exercitu dominantem, quidquid licuerit in magistro equitum, in militibus 8 ausurum. Proinde adessent in sua causa omnium libertati. Si consensum exercitus eundem qui in proelio fuerit in tuenda victoria videat et salutem unius omnibus curae esse, inclinaturum ad clemen- 9 tiorem sententiam animum. Postremo se vitam fortunasque suas illorum fidei virtutique permittere.

XXXII. Clamor e tota contione ortus, uti bonum animum haberet: neminem illi vim allaturum salvis legionibus Romanis.

Haud multo post dictator advenit classicoque 2 extemplo ad contionem advocavit. Tum silentio facto praeco Q. Fabium magistrum equitum citavit. Qui simul ex inferiore loco ad tribunal accessit, tum 3 dictator "Quaero" inquit, "de te, Q. Fabi, cum summum imperium dictatoris sit pareantque ei consules, regia potestas, praetores, iisdem[3] auspiciis

[1] tunc victori minetur? Neque illum magistro equitum infestiorem *O* (*but with a stop after* victori): et tunc victori minetur? neque illum magistro equitum infestiorem *edd. before Gronov.*: tunc uictorem uelut in capto exercitu infestiorem *MPFU*: minetur minuetur *H*, neque illum magistro equitum infestiorem *HTDLA*.

[2] etenim *Eoot*: etiam (et iam *A*) Ω.

[3] iisdem A^x: isdem HT^2: hisdem *MPFT* is de *D?L*: *wanting in O*: *illegible in A*.

[1] *cf.* II. i. 8. All the rights of the kings and all their insignia were possessed by the earliest consuls.

matter, he was no angrier with the master of the horse than with the tribunes of the soldiers, the centurions, and the men. Had he been able, he would have vented his rage upon them all: this being imposible, he was pouring it out on one. The truth is that envy, like lightning, seeks out the highest places; he was hurling himself upon the head of their counsels, upon their general; should he succeed in destroying Fabius, and with him the glory of their achievement, he would then follow up his victory—as though lording it over a captured army—and would visit upon the soldiers all the cruelty he had been permitted to inflict upon the master of the horse. Let them defend, he cried, the liberty of all by defending him. If that same singleness of purpose which the army had displayed in battle should appear in the way they stood up for their victory and made one man's safety the safety of them all, the dictator would incline his heart to a more merciful determination. He ended by committing himself, his life, and his fortunes to their loyalty and valour. B.C. 325

XXXII. A shout arose from the whole concourse, bidding him be of good courage; no one, they cried, should do him violence, while the Roman legions were safe.

Not long after came the dictator, and forthwith by sound of trumpet summoned an assembly. Then a herald, having obtained silence, cited Quintus Fabius the master of the horse, who was no sooner come up from below to the tribunal, than the dictator cried out: "I ask you, Quintus Fabius, seeing that the dictator's authority is paramount, and the consuls obey him, though they possess the might of kings,[1] and the praetors, too, who have been elected under

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quibus consules creati, aequum censeas necne, ei[1] magistrum equitum dicto audientem esse; itemque illud interrogo, cum me incertis auspiciis profectum ab domo scirem, utrum mihi turbatis religionibus res publica in discrimen committenda fuerit an auspicia repetenda, ne quid dubiis dis agerem? Simul illud, quae dictatori religio impedimento ad rem gerendam fuerit, num ea magister equitum solutus ac liber potuerit esse? Sed quid ego haec interrogo, cum, si ego tacitus abissem, tamen tibi ad voluntatis interpretationem meae dirigenda tua sententia fuerit? Quin tu respondes, vetuerimne te quicquam rei me absente agere, vetuerimne signa cum hostibus conferre? Quo tu imperio meo spreto, incertis auspiciis, turbatis religionibus adversus morem militarem disciplinamque maiorum et numen deorum ausus es cum hoste confligere. Ad haec quae interrogatus es responde; at[2] extra ea cave vocem mittas.[3] Accede, lictor."

Adversus singula cum respondere haud facile esset, et nunc quereretur eundem accusatorem capitis sui ac iudicem esse, modo vitam sibi eripi citius quam gloriam rerum gestarum posse vociferaretur purgaretque se in vicem atque ultro accusaret, tunc[4] Papirius redintegrata ira spoliari magistrum equitum ac virgas et secures expediri iussit. Fabius fidem

[1] necne ei *Madvig*: necne Ω.
[2] responde; at F^x: respondeat Ω: responde A^3.
[3] vocem mittas A^2 (*or* A^1) ζ: uocem emittas F^3 (-itas) A^3 (*or* A^2): uocem mittat Ω: uoce mittat M: uox nece mittat^2 (*i.e.* mittatur) H: uocem mittatur T (*or* T^1) D^3A (*or* A^1): uoce mittatur DL (*and* $TA^{?2}$).
[4] tunc Ω: tum L *Madvig*.

the same auspices with the consuls, whether or no B.C. 325
you deem it to be reasonable that the master of the horse should hearken to his word; and I put this further question to you—whether, when I knew that I had set out from home with uncertain auspices, it was my duty, in view of our troubled relations with the gods, to jeopardize the public safety, or to seek auspices again, that I might take no steps while the will of Heaven was in doubt; and I likewise ask whether that which a religious scruple has prevented the dictator from doing can be freely and unrestrainedly undertaken by the master of the horse. But why do I put these questions, since, had I gone off without a word, nevertheless your thoughts should have been directed to the interpretation of my will? Come, answer me: Did I forbid you to take any measures in my absence? Did I forbid you to engage the enemy? But you spurned this order: and notwithstanding the uncertainty of the auspices and our uneasy scruples, you had the hardihood, against all military precedent, and the discipline of our fathers, and the divine will of the gods, to encounter with the enemy. Answer these questions I have put to you; but have a care that you utter no word besides! Stand ready, lictor."

To answer the separate indictments was far from easy. Now complaining that the same man was his accuser and his judge in a matter of life and death, and again crying out that he could more easily be robbed of his life than of the glory of his deeds, he defended himself and accused the general by turns, until Papirius in a fresh burst of anger bade them strip the master of the horse and make ready rods and axes. Then Fabius, imploring the protection of

A.U.C. militum implorans lacerantibus vestem lictoribus ad
429 triarios tumultum ultima[1] in contione miscentes
sese recepit.

12 Inde clamor in totam contionem est perlatus;
alibi preces, alibi minae audiebantur. Qui proximi
forte tribunali steterant, quia subiecti oculis im-
peratoris noscitari poterant, orabant ut parceret
magistro equitum, neu cum eo exercitum damnaret;
13 extrema contio et circa Fabium globus increpabant
inclementem dictatorem nec procul seditione abe-
rant. Ne tribunal quidem satis quietum erat;
14 legati circumstantes sellam orabant ut rem in
posterum diem differret et irae suae spatium et con-
15 silio tempus daret: satis castigatam adulescentiam
Fabi esse, satis deformatam victoriam; ne ad ex-
tremum finem supplicii tenderet, neu unico iuveni
neu patri eius, clarissimo viro, neu Fabiae genti eam
16 iniungeret ignominiam. Cum parum precibus, parum
causa proficerent, intueri saevientem contionem iube-
bant: ita inritatis militum animis subdere ignem ac
materiam seditioni non esse aetatis, non prudentiae
17 eius; neminem id Q. Fabio poenam deprecanti
suam vitio versurum, sed dictatori, si occaecatus ira
infestam multitudinem in se pravo certamine mo-
18 visset. Postremo, ne id se gratiae dare Q. Fabi

[1] ultima *Wesenberg*: iam Ω.

[1] For an assembly the soldiers stood in maniples, drawn up in the same order as for a battle. See chapter viii.

the soldiers, escaped from the clutches of the lictors with his clothes in tatters, and sought refuge in the midst of the *triarii*, who were stirring up riot in the rear of the assembly.[1] B.C. 325

Thence the outcry spread to the entire host. In one place were heard entreaties, in another threats. Those who chanced to be standing next to the tribunal, and being under the general's eyes were able to be marked by him, implored him to spare the master of the horse, and not condemn the army with him. Those in the outskirts of the meeting, and the crowd that surrounded Fabius, railed at the dictator's cruelty, and were near to mutiny. Not even the tribunal itself was quiet; the lieutenants, standing about the dictator's chair, besought him to put the matter off until the morrow and allow time for consideration and for his anger to cool; he had sufficiently chastened the youth of Fabius, they said, and discredited his victory; it would not be well to carry out his punishment to the end, nor to fasten such humiliation upon a young man of extraordinary merit, nor on that most distinguished man, his father, and the Fabian family. Finding that neither prayers nor arguments did any good, they bade him look at the turmoil in the assembly; when the passions of the soldiers were so overwrought, it was not, they said, for one of his years and discretion to furnish fuel to the flames of mutiny; no one would ascribe the fault to Quintus Fabius—who was but deprecating his own punishment—but all would blame the dictator, if, blinded with resentment, he should bring down the angry multitude upon himself by an ill-judged contention. Finally, that he might not suppose that they argued thus out of any

A.U.C. 429 crederet, se ius iurandum dare paratos esse non videri e re publica in Q. Fabium eo tempore animadverti.

XXXIII. His vocibus cum in se magis incitarent dictatorem quam magistro equitum placarent, iussi 2 de tribunali descendere legati; et silentio nequiquam per praeconem temptato, cum prae[1] strepitu ac tumultu nec ipsius dictatoris nec apparitorum eius vox audiretur, nox velut in proelio certamini finem fecit.

3 Magister equitum, iussus postero die adesse, cum omnes adfirmarent infestius Papirium exarsurum, agitatum contentione[2] ipsa exacerbatumque, clam 4 ex castris Romam profugit; et patre auctore M. Fabio, qui ter iam consul dictatorque fuerat, vocato extemplo senatu, cum maxime conquereretur apud patres vim atque iniuriam dictatoris, repente strepitus 5 ante curiam lictorum summoventium auditur, et ipse infensus aderat, postquam comperit profectum ex castris, cum expedito equitatu secutus. Iterata deinde contentio, et prendi Fabium Papirius iussit. 6 Ubi cum deprecantibus primoribus patrum atque universo senatu perstaret in incepto immitis animus,

[1] cum prae T^2A^3 (*or* A^2) ζ: prae Ω.
[2] contentione ζ: contione F^3 (*or* F^2) *over erasure*: conuentione Ω.

[1] It was not until 216 B.C. that the senate was a second time convened by a master of the horse (XXIII. XXV. 3).

personal regard for Fabius, they were ready, they said, to take an oath that it appeared to be inconsistent with the interests of the state that Quintus Fabius should then be punished. B.C. 325

XXXIII. But the lieutenants by these words rather stirred up the wrath of the dictator against themselves than lessened his rancour against the master of the horse, and he ordered them to go down from the tribunal. He then sought by the mouth of a herald to procure silence, but without success, for the din and uproar were so great that it was impossible for the dictator himself or his attendants to be heard; and it was left for darkness, as though descending on a battle-field, to end the struggle.

The master of the horse was commanded to appear next day; but since everyone assured him that Papirius would be more violent than ever, aroused as he was and exasperated by the opposition he had met with, he slipped out of the camp and fled to Rome. There, with the approval of his father, who had thrice been consul, and dictator to boot, he at once assembled the senate,[1] and had reached, in his speech to the senators, the very point where he was complaining of the violence and injury offered him by the dictator, when a sudden noise was heard outside the Curia, as the lictors cleared the way, and Papirius himself, in high dudgeon, appeared before them: for he had learned of the other's departure from the camp, and taking a troop of light horse had pursued him. The dispute was now renewed, and the dictator ordered Fabius to be seized. Both the leading members and the senate as a body sought to pacify his wrath; but he would not relent, and persisted in his pur-

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7 tum pater M. Fabius "Quando quidem" inquit, "apud te nec auctoritas senatus nec aetas mea, cui orbitatem paras, nec virtus nobilitasque magistri equitum a te ipso nominati valet nec preces, quae saepe hostem mitigavere, quae deorum iras placant, tribunos plebis appello et provoco ad populum eum-
8 que tibi, fugienti exercitus tui, fugienti senatus iudicium, iudicem fero, qui certe unus plus quam tua dictatura potest polletque. Videro, cessurusne provocationi sis, cui rex Romanus Tullus Hostilius cessit."

9 Ex curia in contionem itur. Quo cum paucis dictator, cum omni agmine principum magister equitum cum escendisset,[1] deduci eum de rostris
10 Papirius in partem inferiorem iussit. Secutus pater "Bene agis" inquit, "cum eo nos deduci iussisti, unde et privati vocem mittere possemus." Ibi primo non tam perpetuae orationes quam altercatio exaudie-
11 batur[2]; vicit deinde strepitum vox et indignatio Fabi senis increpantis superbiam crudelitatemque
12 Papiri: se quoque dictatorem Romae fuisse, nec a se quemquam, ne plebis quidem hominem, non
13 centurionem, non militem violatum; Papirium tamquam ex hostium ducibus, sic ex Romano imperatore

[1] cum escendisset ϝ: escendisset *MPOHT*: ascendisset M^4P^2FUDLA.
[2] exaudiebatur *Gronov.*: exaudiebantur Ω.

[1] See Book I., chap. xxvi.

pose. Then the father of the young man said: B.C. 325
"Inasmuch as neither the senate's authority nor my old age—which you are going about to bereave —nor the merits and noble lineage of a master of the horse whom you yourself appointed, are of any weight with you, nor yet entreaties, which have often moved an enemy to mercy, which can persuade the gods to put away their anger,—I invoke the tribunes of the plebs, and appeal to the people: and since you would shun the judgment of your own army and shun the judgment of the senate, I propose to you a judge that singly has more might and power—be well assured—than has your dictatorship. We shall see whether you will submit to an appeal to which a Roman king, Tullus Hostilius, submitted!"[1]

Leaving the senate-house, they repaired to the speaker's platform, which the dictator mounted with only a few attendants, while the master of the horse was accompanied thither by the whole body of the leading men. Then Papirius bade Fabius be removed from the Rostra to the ground below; and his father followed him, exclaiming, "You do well to bid us be removed to a place where even as private citizens we can say our say!" At first there were not so much set speeches to be heard above the tumult as an interchange of angry words. But presently the strong voice and the indignation of the elder Fabius prevailed over the din, as he inveighed against the pride and cruelty of Papirius. He reminded him that he too had been dictator at Rome, and that no man—not even a plebeian, a centurion, or a common soldier—had been misused by him; but Papirius was seeking a victory and triumph over a Roman general, as if over com-

A.U.C. victoriam et triumphum petere. Quantum interesse[1] inter moderationem antiquorum et novam superbiam
14 crudelitatemque! Dictatorem Quinctium Cincinnatum in L. Minucium consulem ex obsidione a se ereptum non ultra saevisse quam ut legatum eum
15 ad exercitum pro consule relinqueret. M. Furium Camillum in L. Furio, qui contempta sua senectute et auctoritate foedissimo cum eventu pugnasset, non solum in praesentia moderatum irae esse, ne quid
16 de collega secus populo aut senatui scriberet, sed cum revertisset, potissimum ex tribunis consularibus habuisse quem ex collegis optione ab senatu data
17 socium sibi imperii deligeret. Nam populi quidem, penes quem potestas omnium rerum esset, ne iram quidem unquam atrociorem fuisse in eos qui temeritate atque inscitia exercitus amisissent quam ut pecunia eos multaret: capite anquisitum ob rem bello male gestam de imperatore nullo[2] ad eam
18 diem esse. Nunc ducibus populi Romani, quae ne victis quidem bello fas fuerit, virgas et secures victoribus et iustissimos meritis triumphos intentari.
19 Quid enim tandem passurum fuisse filium suum, si exercitum amisisset, si fusus, fugatus, castris exutus fuisset? Quo ultra iram violentiamque eius excessuram fuisse, quam ut verberaret necaretque? Quam
20 conveniens esse, propter Q. Fabium civitatem in

[1] interesse *Gronov.*: interesset /-ent? *F*: interest Ω: interest *L*
[2] nullo $A^2\gamma$: nullum nulum *T* Ω: nullam *M*.

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[1] The story is related at length, III. xxvi.–xxix.
[2] See VI. xxii.–xxv.

manders of the enemy. How great was the B.C. 325
difference betwixt the moderation of the ancients and this new-fangled arrogance and ruthlessness! When Quinctius Cincinnatus had been dictator, and had rescued the consul Lucius Minucius from the toils of the enemy, his anger had gone no further than to leave Minucius in command of the army as his lieutenant, in place of being consul.[1] Marcus Furius Camillus, when Lucius Furius, in contempt of his great age and his authority, had fought a battle, with the direst results, not only controlled his indignation at the moment and made no animadversions upon his colleague in writing to the senate or the people, but, on being permitted by the senate, after his return, to choose a partner in command, selected Lucius Furius in preference to all the other consular tribunes, his associates.[2] As to the people, who had all power in their hands, their indignation against those who by recklessness or lack of skill had lost their armies had never burned so fiercely that they punished them with anything worse than a fine; a capital charge on account of a defeat had never until that day been lodged against a general. But now the generals of the Roman People, who even if beaten might not be so dealt with without sin, were, despite their victories and their well-earned title to a triumph, being threatened with scourging and decapitation. What, pray, would his son have suffered, if he had lost his army, if he had been discomfited, routed, and driven from his camp? To what higher pitch could the passionate violence of Papirius have mounted than to scourge him and put him to death? How proper it was that because of Quintus Fabius the citizens

A.U.C. 429 laetitia victoria supplicationibus ac gratulationibus
21 esse, eum propter quem deum delubra pateant, arae sacrificiis fument, honore donis cumulentur, nudatum virgis lacerari in conspectu populi Romani, intuentem Capitolium atque arcem deosque ab se duobus proeliis
22 haud frustra advocatos! Quo id animo exercitum, qui eius ductu auspiciisque vicisset, laturum? Quem luctum in castris Romanis, quam laetitiam inter hostes fore!
23 Haec simul iurgans, querens, deum hominumque fidem obtestans et complexus filium, plurimis cum lacrimis agebat.

XXXIV. Stabat cum eo senatus maiestas, favor populi, tribunicium auxilium, memoria absentis exer-
2 citus; ex parte altera imperium invictum populi Romani et disciplina rei militaris et dictatoris edictum pro numine semper observatum et Manliana imperia et posthabita filii caritas publicae utilitati iactabantur:
3 hoc etiam L. Brutum, conditorem Romanae libertatis, antea in duobus liberis fecisse: nunc patres comes et senes faciles de alieno imperio spreto, tamquam rei parvae, disciplinae militaris eversae iuventuti
4 gratiam facere. Se tamen perstaturum in incepto, nec ei qui adversus dictum suum turbatis religionibus ac dubiis auspiciis pugnasset quicquam ex iusta poena

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[1] Chap. VII. § 22. [2] II. v. 5.

should exult in victory with thanksgivings and rejoicings; while he on whose account the shrines of the gods were open, and the altars smoked with sacrifices and were heaped high with incense and with offerings, should be stripped and mangled with rods in full sight of the Roman People, as he looked up to the Capitol and the Citadel and the gods whose help in battle he had twice invoked, and not in vain! In what spirit would this be taken by the army, which under his conduct and his auspices had gained the victory? What grief would there be in the Roman camp, what rejoicings amongst their enemies! B.C. 325

So he made his plea, now chiding and now complaining, now calling on gods and men to help him, now bursting into tears, as he embraced his son.

XXXIV. On his side were ranged the countenance of the senate, the favour of the populace, the assistance of the tribunes, the remembrance of the absent army. His opponent urged the invincible authority of the Roman People, and military discipline, and the edict of a dictator—which had ever been revered as the will of Heaven—and the severity of Manlius,[1] who had preferred the general good to the love he bore his son, even as Lucius Brutus,[2] the founder of Roman liberty, had done before, in the case of his two children. But nowadays—the dictator proceeded—fathers were indulgent; and the older generation, little caring if another man's authority were flouted, excused the young for overturning military discipline, as a thing of no importance. He should nevertheless persist in his undertaking, nor remit an iota of his due punishment to one who had fought against his orders, while the rites of religion were confused and the

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remissurum. Maiestas imperii perpetuane esset non
esse in sua potestate: L. Papirium nihil de eius
iure[1] deminuturum[2]; optare ne potestas tribunicia,
inviolata ipsa, violet intercessione sua Romanum
imperium, neu populus in se potissimum dictatore
vim et ius[3] dictaturae exstinguat. Quod si fecisset,
non L. Papirium sed tribunos, sed pravum populi
iudicium nequiquam posteros accusaturos, cum polluta
semel militari disciplina non miles centurionis, non
centurio tribuni, non tribunus legati, non legatus
consulis, non magister equitum dictatoris pareat
imperio, nemo hominum, nemo deorum verecundiam
habeat, non edicta imperatorum, non auspicia obser-
ventur, sine commeatu vagi milites in pacato, in
hostico errent,[4] immemores sacramenti licentia sua
se[5] ubi velint exauctorent, infrequentia deserantur
signa neque conveniatur ad edictum nec discernatur
interdiu nocte, aequo iniquo loco, iussu iniussu[6]
imperatoris pugnent, et non signa, non ordines
servent, latrocinii modo caeca et fortuita pro sollemni
et sacrata militia sit;—"Horum criminum vos reos
in omnia saecula offerte, tribuni plebi, vestra obnoxia
capita pro licentia Q. Fabi obicite."

[1] nihil de eius iure ζ: nihil eius iure Ω: nihil eius *MHTDLA*ζ.

[2] deminuturum ζ: diminuturum Ω: diminutum A^3M.

[3] dictatore vim et ius *Kreyssig*: dictatorem ius ζ: dictatorem et ius Ω: dictatore ius *Duker*: dictatore et ius *H. J. Mueller (and P?)*.

[4] errent F^3A^2: errarent Ω.

[5] sua se *Walters and Conway*: sola uase *HTDLA*: sola se MA^2 *Gelenius*: sola *PFUT*^{2}: *lacuna between* sacramenti *and* uelint *O*: sola sua se *Alschefski*: soluta se *Madvig*: sola qua se D^3.

[6] iussu iniussu *Gelenius* ζ: iniussu Ω.

auspices uncertain. Whether the majesty of the B.C. 325
supreme authority were to endure or not was beyond his power to determine; but Lucius Papirius would do nothing to diminish it. He prayed that the tribunes might not employ their power—itself inviolate—to violate by their interference the authority of Rome; that the people might not single out the very time of his holding that office to extinguish the lawful might of the dictatorship. Should they do so, it would not be Lucius Papirius, but the tribunes and the crooked judgment of the people, that posterity would censure, and censure without avail. For let military discipline be once broken, and soldier would not obey centurion, nor centurion tribune, nor tribune lieutenant, nor lieutenant consul, nor master of the horse dictator—none would have respect for men, none reverence for the gods; neither edicts of generals nor auspices would be regarded; the soldiers, without leave, would roam in hostile as in peaceful territory; with no thought of their oath they would quit the service by their own permission, when they pleased; the standards would be deserted, the men would not come together at command; they would fight without reference to night or day, to the advantage or disadvantage of the ground, to the orders or prohibition of the general; they would neither wait for the word nor keep to their ranks; blind and haphazard brigandage would supplant the time-honoured and hallowed ways of war.—"On such charges, tribunes of the plebs, expose yourselves to be arraigned through all the ages! Let your own heads bear the guilt of the licence of Quintus Fabius!"

U.C. 429

XXXV. Stupentes tribunos et suam iam vicem magis anxios quam eius cui auxilium ab se petebatur, liberavit onere consensus populi Romani, ad preces et obtestationem versus, ut sibi poenam magistri
2 equitum dictator remitteret. Tribuni quoque inclinatam rem in preces subsecuti orare dictatorem insistunt ut veniam errori humano, veniam adulescentiae Q. Fabi daret; satis eum poenarum dedisse.
3 Iam ipse adulescens, iam pater M. Fabius, contentionis obliti procumbere ad genua et iram deprecari dicta-
4 toris. Tum dictator silentio facto "Bene habet" inquit, "Quirites. Vicit disciplina militaris, vicit imperii maiestas, quae in discrimine fuerunt an ulla
5 post hanc diem essent. Non noxae eximitur Q. Fabius, qui contra edictum imperatoris pugnavit, sed noxae damnatus donatur populo Romano, donatur tribuniciae potestati precarium non iustum auxilium
6 ferenti. Vive, Q. Fabi, felicior hoc consensu civitatis ad tuendum te quam qua paulo ante exsultabas victoria; vive, id facinus ausus cuius tibi ne parens quidem, si eodem loco fuisset quo fuit L. Papirius,
7 veniam dedisset. Mecum, ut voles, reverteris in gratiam; populo Romano, cui vitam debes, nihil maius praestiteris quam si hic tibi dies satis documenti dederit ut bello ac pace pati legitima imperia

XXXV. The tribunes were dumbfounded, more troubled now on their own account than on his, for whom their help was being solicited; but the Roman People relieved them of their burden of responsibility, when they turned as one man to the dictator, and entreated and adjured him to remit for their sake the punishment of the master of the horse. The tribunes, too, fell in with the prevailing mood, and earnestly besought Papirius to allow for human frailty, to allow for the youth of Quintus Fabius, who had suffered punishment enough. Now the young man himself, now his father Marcus Fabius, forgetting all contention, threw themselves down at the dictator's knees and attempted to avert his anger. Then said the dictator, when silence was obtained, "It is well, Quirites. The discipline of war, the majesty of government, have got the victory, despite the danger that this day would see the end of them. Quintus Fabius is not found guiltless, seeing that he fought against the orders of his general; but, convicted of that guilt, is granted as a boon to the Roman People, is granted to the authority of the tribunes, who plead for him but can bring him no legal relief. Live, Quintus Fabius, more blest in this consent of your fellow citizens to save you, than in the victory over which, a little while ago, you were exulting! Live, though you dared a deed which not even your sire would have pardoned, had he been in the place of Lucius Papirius! With me you shall again be on good terms when you will: for the Roman People, to whom you owe your life, you can do nothing greater than to show that you have learned what this day clearly teaches—to submit in war and in peace B.C. 325

A.U.C. 429

8 possis." Cum se nihil morari magistrum equitum pronuntiasset, degressum[1] eum templo laetus senatus, laetior populus, circumfusi ac gratulantes hinc
9 magistro equitum, hinc dictatori, prosecuti sunt, firmatumque imperium militare haud minus periculo Q. Fabi quam supplicio miserabili adulescentis Manli videbatur.

10 Forte ita eo anno evenit ut quotienscumque dictator ab exercitu recessisset,[2] hostes in Samnio moverentur. Ceterum in oculis exemplum erat Q. Fabius M. Valerio legato, qui castris praeerat, ne quam vim hostium magis quam trucem dictatoris
11 iram timeret. Itaque frumentatores cum circumventi ex insidiis caesi loco iniquo essent, creditum volgo est subveniri eis ab legato potuisse, ni tristia edicta
12 exhorruisset. Ea quoque ira alienavit a dictatore militum animos, iam ante infensos, quod implacabilis Q. Fabio fuisset et, quod suis precibus negasset, eius populo Romano veniam dedisset.

XXXVI. Postquam dictator praeposito in urbe L. Papirio Crasso, magistro equitum Q. Fabio vetito quicquam pro magistratu agere, in castra rediit,
2 neque civibus satis laetus adventus eius fuit nec hostibus quicquam attulit terroris. Namque postero die, seu ignari venisse dictatorem seu adesset an

[1] degressum *Gronovius*: digressum Ω.
[2] recessisset D^3A^3 (*or* A^2) *Muretus*: recessit Ω.

to lawful authority." Then, declaring that the master of the horse was free to depart, he descended from the platform, and the joyful senators and yet more joyful people thronged about them and attended them, congratulating now the master of the horse and now the dictator. It seemed that the peril of Fabius had been not less efficacious than the pitiful punishment of young Manlius in the establishment of military authority. B.C. 325

It so fell out that year, that as often as the dictator left the army, there was a rising of the enemy in Samnium. But with the example of Quintus Fabius before his eyes, Marcus Valerius, the lieutenant who commanded in the camp, could not fear any violence of the enemy more than the dread displeasure of the dictator. And so when a party of foragers had fallen into an ambush and fighting at a disadvantage had been slain, it was commonly believed that the lieutenant might have rescued them, had he not quailed at the thought of those harsh orders. Their resentment of this still further estranged the soldiers from the dictator, angry as they already were at his unwillingness to pardon Quintus Fabius, and his having granted to the Roman People a boon he had denied to their own entreaties.

XXXVI. When the dictator had set Lucius Papirius Crassus over the City and had forbidden Quintus Fabius, the master of the horse, to exercise his magistracy in any way, he returned to the camp, where his arrival occasioned no great satisfaction to the Romans nor the slightest apprehension to their enemies. For on the following day, whether unaware that the dictator was come or caring little

U.C. 429 abesset parvi facientes, instructa acie ad castra
3 accesserunt. Ceterum tantum momenti in uno viro
L. Papirio fuit ut, si ducis consilia favor subsecutus
militum foret, debellari eo die cum Samnitibus
4 potuisse pro haud dubio habitum sit; ita instruxit
aciem, ita loco[1] ac subsidiis, ita omni arte bellica
firmavit; cessatum a milite ac de industria, ut obtrectaretur laudibus ducis, impedita victoria est. Plures
Samnitium cecidere, plures Romani volnerati sunt.
5 Sensit peritus dux quae res victoriae obstaret:
temperandum ingenium suum esse et severitatem
6 miscendam comitati. Itaque adhibitis legatis ipse
circuit[2] saucios milites, inserens in tentoria caput,
singulosque ut sese haberent rogitans curam eorum
nominatim legatis tribunisque et praefectis de-
7 mandabat. Rem per se popularem ita dextere[3]
egit ut medendis corporibus animi multo prius
militum imperatori reconciliarentur, nec quicquam
ad salubritatem efficacius fuerit quam quod grato
8 animo ea cura accepta est. Refecto exercitu cum
hoste congressus, haud dubia spe sua militumque, ita
fudit fugavitque Samnites, ut ille ultimus eis dies
9 conferendi signa cum dictatore fuerit. Incessit
deinde qua duxit praedae spes victor exercitus per-

[1] ita loco *Madvig*: loco Ω.
[2] circuit *Walters* (*cf. chap.* xxxvii § 9): circū *POHD*: circum *MFTLA*: circumiens *U*.
[3] dextere *Frag. Harerk.* ς: dexter (*or* dexī) Ω: sedulo F^3 (*over erasure*).

whether he were there or not, the Samnites formed B.C. 325
in order of battle and approached the camp. So great however was the importance of one man, Lucius Papirius, that if the goodwill of the soldiers had seconded the measures taken by their general, it was held as certain that the war with Samnium might that day have been brought to a successful termination—so skilfully did he dispose his army, so well secure it with every advantage of position and reserves, and with every military art. But the men were listless, and, on purpose to discredit their commander, threw away the victory. There were more Samnites killed, more Romans wounded. The experienced general perceived what stood in the way of his success: he must qualify his native disposition, and mingle geniality with his sternness. So, calling together his lieutenants, he made the round of his wounded soldiers in person, and putting his head into their tents and asking each how he was doing, he commended them by name to the care of the lieutenants, the tribunes, and the prefects. This of itself was a popular thing to do, and Papirius managed it with such tact, that in healing their bodies he gained their affections much more rapidly; and indeed there was nothing that more promoted their recovery than the pleasurable feelings with which they accepted these attentions. When the army was restored, he met the enemy, with no doubt as to the result, either on his own part or on that of his soldiers, and so routed and dispersed the Samnites that this was the last time they joined battle with the dictator. The victorious army then marched on where the prospect of booty beckoned them, and traversed the territories of the

A.U.C. 429 lustravitque hostium agros, nulla arma, nullam vim
10 nec apertam nec ex insidiis expertus. Addebat alacritatem quod dictator praedam omnem edixerat militibus; nec ira magis publica quam privatum
11 compendium in hostem acuebat. His cladibus subacti Samnites pacem a dictatore petiere; cum quo pacti, ut singula vestimenta militibus et annuum stipen-
12 dium darent, cum ire ad senatum iussi essent, securos se dictatorem responderunt, unius eius fidei virtutique causam suam commendantes. Ita deductus ex Samnitibus exercitus.

A.U.C. 429-431 XXXVII. Dictator triumphans urbem est ingressus: et cum se dictatura abdicare vellet, iussu patrum, priusquam abdicaret, consules creavit C. Sulpicium Longum iterum Q. Aemilium Cerretanum.
2 Samnites infecta pace, quia de condicionibus ambigebatur,[1] indutias annuas ab urbe rettulerunt. Nec earum ipsarum sancta fides fuit; adeo, postquam Papirium abisse magistratu nuntiatum est, arrecti ad bellandum animi sunt.
3 C. Sulpicio Q. Aemilio—Aulium[2] quidam annales habent—consulibus ad defectionem Samnitium Apulum novum bellum accessit. Utroque exercitus missi. Sulpicio Samnites, Apuli Aemilio sorte
4 evenerunt. Sunt qui non ipsis Apulis bellum inlatum, sed socios eius gentis populos ab Samnitium
5 vi atque iniuriis defensos scribant: ceterum fortuna Samnitium, vix a se ipsis eo tempore propulsantium

[1] ambigebatur *Drakenborch*: agebatur Ω.
[2] Aulium *Gelenius and Sigonius*: aulum Ω.

enemy without encountering any armed resistance whatsoever, either face to face or from an ambush. The dictator had increased the alacrity of his troops by proclaiming that the booty should all be theirs, and private gain did as much as the public resentment to whet their zeal against the enemy. Discouraged by these reverses, the Samnites sought peace of Papirius, and agreed with him to give every soldier a garment and a year's pay. He directed them to go before the senate, but they replied that they would attend him thither, committing their cause wholly to his honour and integrity. So the army was withdrawn from Samnium. B.C. 325

XXXVII. The dictator, having entered the City in triumph, would have laid down his office, but was commanded by the senate first to hold a consular election; he announced that Gaius Sulpicius Longus had been chosen for the second time, together with Quintus Aemilius Cerretanus. The treaty was not completed, owing to a disagreement over terms, and the Samnites left the City with a truce for a year; nor did they scrupulously hold even to that; so encouraged were they to make war, on learning that Papirius had resigned. B.C. 324-323

In the consulship of Gaius Sulpicius and Quintus Aemilius—some annals have Aulius—the defection of the Samnites was followed by a new war with Apulia. Armies were sent out in both directions. The lots assigned the Samnites to Sulpicius, the Apulians to Aemilius. Some say that the war was not waged against the Apulians, but in defence of some of the allies of that people whom the Samnites had wantonly invaded; but the circumstances of the Samnites, who at that time could hardly ward off

U.C. 430–431

bellum, propius ut sit vero facit non Apulis ab Samnitibus arma inlata, sed cum utraque simul
6 gente bellum Romanis fuisse. Nec tamen res ulla memorabilis acta; ager Apulus Samniumque evastatum; hostes nec hic nec illic inventi.

Romae nocturnus terror ita ex somno trepidam repente civitatem excivit ut Capitolium atque arx
7 moeniaque et portae plena armatorum fuerint; et cum concursatum clamatumque ad arma omnibus locis esset, prima luce nec auctor nec causa terroris comparuit.

8 Eodem anno de Tusculanis Flavia rogatione populi fuit iudicium. M. Flavius[1] tribunus plebis tulit ad populum ut in Tusculanos animadverteretur, quod eorum[2] ope ac consilio Veliterni Privernatesque
9 populo Romano bellum fecissent. Populus Tusculanus cum coniugibus ac liberis Romam venit. Ea multitudo veste mutata et specie reorum tribus
10 circuit, genibus se omnium advolvens; plus itaque misericordia ad poenae veniam impetrandam quam
11 causa ad crimen purgandum valuit. Tribus omnes praeter Polliam antiquarunt legem. Polliae sententia fuit puberes verberatos necari, coniuges liberosque
12 sub corona lege belli venire. Memoriam eius irae Tusculanis in poenae tam atrocis auctores mansisse ad patrum aetatem constat, nec quemquam ferme ex Pollia tribu candidatum Papiriam ferre solitum.

[1] Flavius ζ: fabius Ω.
[2] quod eorum ζ: quō eorum O: quorum A: quorum eorum Ω: quoniam eorum $A^2\zeta$.

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[1] The Tusculans, upon gaining Roman citizenship, were enrolled in the Papirian tribe, and were so numerous as to control its vote.

invasion from themselves, render it more probable that they did not attack the Apulians but that they and the Apulians were at war with Rome simultaneously. There was, however, no memorable engagement. The Romans laid waste Apulia and Samnium, without encountering the enemy in either country. B.C. 321-323

At Rome a nocturnal alarm awoke the sleeping citizens with such a fright that Capitol and Citadel, walls and gates, were crowded with armed men; and after all the hurrying to posts and crying "to arms!" in every quarter, day broke and discovered neither author nor occasion of the panic.

In the same year, the Tusculans were tried before the people in accordance with the Flavian rogation. Marcus Flavius, a plebeian tribune, had proposed to the people that the Tusculans be punished for having lent their countenance and aid to the Veliterni and Privernates in their war with the Roman People. The citizens of Tusculum, with their wives and children, came to Rome; and the great throng, putting on the sordid raiment of defendants, went about amongst the tribes and clasped the knees of the citizens in supplication. And so it happened that pity was more effective in gaining them remission of their punishment than were their arguments in clearing away the charges. All the tribes rejected the proposal, save only the Pollian, which voted that the grown men should be scourged and put to death, and their wives and children sold at auction under the laws of war. It seems that the resentment engendered in the Tusculans by so cruel a proposal lasted down to our fathers' time, and that a candidate of the Pollian tribe almost never got the vote of the Papirian.[1]

A.U.C. 432

XXXVIII. Insequenti anno, Q. Fabio L. Fulvio consulibus, A. Cornelius Arvina dictator et M. Fabius Ambustus magister equitum metu gravioris in Samnio belli—conducta enim pretio a finitimis iuventus dicebatur—intentiore dilectu habito egregium exer-
2 citum adversus Samnites duxerunt. Castra in hostico incuriose ita posita tamquam procul abesset hostis, cum subito advenere Samnitium legiones tanta ferocia ut vallum usque ad stationem Romanam inferrent.
3 Nox iam appetebat; id prohibuit munimenta adoriri; nec dissimulabant orta luce postero die facturos.
4 Dictator ubi propiorem spe dimicationem vidit, ne militum virtuti damno locus esset, ignibus crebris relictis, qui conspectum hostium frustrarentur, silentio legiones educit; nec tamen fallere propter propin-
5 quitatem castrorum potuit. Eques extemplo insecutus ita institit agmini ut, donec lucesceret, proelio abstineret; ne[1] pedestres quidem copiae
6 ante lucem castris egressae. Eques luce demum ausus incursare in hostem, carpendo novissimos premendoque iniquis ad transitum locis, agmen detinuit. Interim pedes equitem adsecutus, et totis iam copiis
7 Samnis urgebat. Tum dictator, postquam sine

[1] ne Ω: nec U_5.

XXXVIII. In the following year, when Quintus Fabius and Lucius Fulvius were consuls, the dread of a serious war with the Samnites—who were said to have gathered an army of mercenaries from neighbouring tribes—occasioned the appointment of Aulus Cornelius Arvina as dictator and Marcus Fabius Ambustus as master of the horse. By a vigorous levy these men raised an excellent army, and marching against the Samnites, went into camp on hostile soil with as little regard to their position as if the enemy had been far away. Suddenly the Samnite legions appeared, and advancing with great hardihood entrenched themselves close to the Roman outposts. Night was now drawing on, which prevented them from assaulting the Roman works; but they made no secret of their intention to do so with the morrow's earliest light. The dictator saw that the battle was coming sooner than he had anticipated, and feared that the courage of his men would be affected by their cramped position. So, leaving behind him numerous fires to deceive the enemy, he silently led the legions out. But the camps were so near each other that he could not elude their observation. Their cavalry at once pursued him, but though they hung upon the fringe of his column, they refrained from attacking until the day began to break; as for the infantry, they did not even leave their stockade before the dawn. Finally, when it was light, the cavalry ventured to charge the Romans, and by harassing their rear and pressing them when they came to places that were difficult to cross, delayed their march. Meanwhile the foot had caught up with the horse, and the Samnites were throwing all their forces into the assault. Then the B.C. 322

A.U.C. 432

magno incommodo progredi non poterat, cum ipsum in quo constiterat locum castris dimetari iussit. Id[1] vero circumfuso undique equitatu—ut vallum peteretur opusque inciperet—fieri non poterat.

8 Itaque ubi neque eundi neque manendi copiam esse videt, instruit aciem, impedimentis ex agmine remotis. Instruunt contra et hostes, et animis et 9 viribus pares. Auxerat id maxime animos quod ignari loco iniquo, non hosti cessum, velut fugientes 10 ac territos terribiles ipsi secuti fuerant. Id aliquamdiu aequavit pugnam, iam pridem desueto Samnite clamorem Romani exercitus pati; et hercule[2] illo die ab hora diei tertia ad octavam ita anceps dicitur certamen stetisse, ut neque clamor, ut primo semel concursu est sublatus, iteratus sit, neque signa promota loco retrove recepta, neque 11 recursum ab ulla sit parte. In suo quisque gradu obnixi,[3] urgentes scutis, sine respiratione ac respectu pugnabant; fremitus aequalis tenorque idem pugnae in defatigationem ultimam aut noctem spectabat. 12 Iam viris vires, iam ferro sua vis, iam consilia ducibus deerant, cum subito Samnitium equites, cum turma una longius provecta accepissent impedimenta

[1] id Ω: ibi *Weissenborn*.

[2] Et hercule (-lae *T*) Ω *Aldus*: at hercule *O Gelenius*.

[3] obnixi A^2: obnixis *U*: obnoxi T^2(*or* T^1); obnoxio *O*: obnoxii *MPHDLA*: ab obnoxii *F*: obnoxiis F^3T.

dictator, finding that he could make no headway without great distress, gave orders to lay out a camp on the very spot where he had halted. But enveloped, as they were, by the enemy's horse, it was impossible to gather stakes and begin the work. B.C. 322

And so, when he saw that he could neither advance nor encamp, he removed the baggage from his column and formed a line of battle. The enemy then formed up against him, being inferior neither in spirit nor in strength. Their encouragement was due chiefly to ignorance that their enemies had retreated from an awkward position, and not from them; for they assumed that their own doughty appearance had driven the Romans before them in a panic. This held the fighting in balance for a while, though the Samnites had now for some time been unused to abide the battle-cry of a Roman army. Indeed it is said that on that day from the third hour to the eighth the outcome was so much in doubt, that there was never a second cheer after that which was once given when the armies rushed together; nor were standards either moved forward or withdrawn; nor did the combatants anywhere give ground. Facing each other with every man squarely in his place, they pressed forward with their shields and fought without stopping to breathe or to look behind. The monotonous din and changeless tenor of the battle made it seem probable that sheer exhaustion or the night would put an end to it. And now men's strength was ebbing, and the sword was forgetting its keenness and the generals their strategy:—when the Samnite horsemen, learning from one of their squadrons that had pushed on ahead how the

Romanorum procul ab armatis sine praesidio, sine munimento stare, aviditate praedae impetum faciunt.
13 Quod ubi dictatori trepidus nuntius attulit, "Sine modo" inquit, "sese praeda praepediant." Alii deinde super alios diripi passim ferrique fortunas
14 militum vociferabantur. Tum magistro equitum accito "Vides tu" inquit, "M. Fabi, ab hostium equite omissam pugnam? Haerent impediti impedi-
15 mentis nostris. Adgredere, quod inter praedandum omni multitudini evenit, dissipatos; raros equis insidentes, raros, quibus ferrum in manu sit, invenies; sese equosque[1] dum praeda onerant, caede inermes
16 cruentamque illis praedam redde. Mihi legiones peditumque pugna curae erunt; penes te equestre sit decus."

XXXIX. Equitum acies, qualis quae esse instructissima potest, invecta in dissipatos impeditosque
2 hostes caede omnia replet. Inter sarcinas omissas repente, obiacentes pedibus fugientium consternatorumque equorum, neque pugnae neque fugae satis
3 potentes caeduntur. Tum deleto prope equitatu hostium M. Fabius circumductis paulum alis[2] ab
4 tergo pedestrem aciem adoritur. Clamor inde novus accidens et Samnitium terruit animos, et dictator, ubi respectantes hostium antesignanos turbataque

[1] sese equosque *Luterbacher* (se equosque *Madvig*): equosque (*or* aequosq.) *PFUHT²D*: et quosque *MTLA*ς.
[2] alis T^3: aliis (*omitted by* T^1) Ω.

baggage of the Romans lay remote from their fighting men, without defenders or a rampart to protect it, were seized with the lust of pillaging, and made a sudden dash for it. But when a frightened messenger brought word of this to the dictator, he said, "Only let them cumber themselves with spoil!" After that came others and still others, crying aloud that the soldiers' possessions were being plundered and carried clean away. Then Cornelius called the master of the horse and said, "Do you not see, Marcus Fabius, how the enemy's cavalry have ceased to fight? They are caught fast and entangled in our baggage. Have at them while they are dispersed, as any body of men will be in pillaging! You shall find few in the saddle, few sword in hand; while they are loading themselves and their horses with spoils, cut them down unarmed and make it a bloody booty for them. I will see to the legions and the battle of the infantry; be yours the glory of the cavalry fight." B.C. 322

XXXIX. The cavalry, drawn up in the most perfect order, charged their scattered and embarrassed enemies and cut them down on every hand. They had hastily flung aside their packs—which lay all about and impeded the terrified horses as they tried to run away—and, powerless either to resist or to escape, were massacred where they stood. Then Marcus Fabius, having almost annihilated the enemy's cavalry, fetched a short compass with his squadrons and attacked from behind their line of infantry. The shouts that were now heard in that quarter struck terror into the hearts of the Samnites; and the dictator, seeing the men in their fighting line glance nervously behind them, and their standards

A.U.C. 432

signa et fluctuantem aciem vidit, tum appellare, tum adhortari milites, tribunos principesque ordinum nominatim ad iterandam secum pugnam vocare. 5 Novato clamore signa inferuntur: et quidquid progrediebantur, magis magisque turbatos, hostes cernebant. Eques ipse iam primis erat in conspectu, et 6 Cornelius respiciens ad manipulos militum, quod manu, quod voce poterat, monstrabat vexilla se 7 suorum parmasque cernere equitum. Quod ubi auditum simul visumque est, adeo repente laboris per diem paene totum tolerati volnerumque obliti sunt, ut haud secus quam si tum integri e castris signum pugnae accepissent concitaverint se in hostem. 8 Nec ultra Samnis tolerare terrorem equitum peditumque vim potuit: partim in medio caesi, partim 9 in fugam dissipati sunt. Pedes[1] restantes ac circumventos cecidit: ab equite fugientium strages est facta, inter quos et ipse imperator cecidit.

10 Hoc demum proelium Samnitium res ita infregit, ut omnibus conciliis fremerent minime id quidem mirum esse, si impio bello et contra foedus suscepto, infestioribus merito deis quam hominibus nihil prospere agerent; expiandum id bellum magna 11 mercede luendumque esse; id referre tantum, utrum supplicia noxio paucorum an omnium innoxio prae-

[1] pedes *Gelenius* ("*scriptura vetus*") ζ: pedes res M: pedestres (pedestris U) Ω.

[1] That of 341 B.C. See chap. ii § 4, and (for the violation) chap. xxii. § 7 and chap. xxiii. § 1.

become disordered, and their line begin to waver, B.C. 322
then cried out to his men, then urged them on, and called by name on tribunes and company-commanders to join him in a new attack. With a fresh cheer the ranks pressed forward, and at each advance perceived the Samnites to be more and more confused. The horse themselves could now be seen by those in the van; and Cornelius, looking back on the maniples of soldiers, made them understand as best he could with hand and voice that he saw the banners and round shields of their comrades. On hearing and at the same time seeing them, they straightway forgot the toil they had endured for well-nigh the entire day, and forgot their wounds, and, like troops who were but that moment fresh from camp and had received the battle-signal, they flung themselves upon the enemy. The Samnites could support no longer the fury of the cavalry and the violent onset of the foot; some were slaughtered in the midst, others were scattered abroad in flight. The foot-soldiers surrounded those who resisted and put them to the sword; the cavalry made havoc of the fugitives, amongst whom perished their general himself.

This defeat, after all that had gone before, so broke the spirit of the Samnites, that in all their councils they began to murmur that it was no wonder if they met with no success in an impious war, undertaken in violation of a treaty,[1] for the gods had even more right than men to be incensed with them. They would have to pay a heavy price to expiate this war and atone for it; the only question was, should they offer atonement with the blood of the guilty few or with that of the innocent

A.U.C. 432 beant sanguine; audebantque iam quidam nominare
12 auctores armorum. Unum maxime nomen per consensum clamantium Brutuli Papi exaudiebatur. Vir nobilis potensque erat, haud dubie proximarum in-
13 dutiarum ruptor. De eo coacti referre, praetores decretum fecerunt, ut Brutulus Papius Romanis dederetur et cum eo praeda omnis Romana captivique ut Romam mitterentur, quaeque res per fetiales ex foedere repetitae essent secundum ius fasque
14 restituerentur. Fetiales Romam, ut censuerunt, missi, et corpus Brutuli exanime; ipse morte volun-
15 taria ignominiae se ac supplicio subtraxit. Placuit cum corpore bona quoque eius dedi. Nihil tamen earum rerum praeter captivos ac si qua cognita ex praeda sunt acceptum est; ceterarum rerum inrita fuit deditio. Dictator ex senatus consulto triumphavit.

XL. Hoc bellum a consulibus bellatum quidam auctores sunt, eosque de Samnitibus triumphasse; Fabium etiam in Apuliam processisse atque inde
2 magnas praedas egisse. Nec discrepat quin dictator eo anno A. Cornelius fuerit; id ambigitur, belline gerendi causa creatus sit, an ut esset qui ludis Romanis, quia L. Plautius praetor gravi morbo forte
3 implicitus erat, signum mittendis quadrigis daret

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[1] *i.e.* the Romans would not accept the tardy compliance of the Samnites with the old terms, being resolved to impose harder ones.

[2] Instituted by Tarquinius Priscus (I. xxxv. 9).

multitude? Some ventured at this juncture to name B.C. 322
those who had been responsible for the war. One name in particular could be distinguished; for all agreed in denouncing Papius Brutulus, a powerful noble who had without question been the breaker of the latest truce. The praetors were compelled to refer his case to the council, which decreed that Papius Brutulus should be surrendered to the Romans, and that all the Roman booty and all the prisoners should be sent with him to Rome; and further, that all the property which the fetials had sought to recover under the provisions of the treaty should be restored in compliance with law and with religion. The fetials proceeded to Rome, in accordance with this resolution, taking with them the lifeless body of Brutulus, who had escaped the humiliation and punishment by a voluntary death. It was voted to surrender his goods also with his body. But of all these things the Romans would accept none but the prisoners and such articles of booty as they recognized as theirs; the surrender of all the rest was of no effect.[1] The dictator triumphed by resolution of the senate.

XL. Some writers hold that this war was waged by the consuls, and that it was they who triumphed over the Samnites; they say that Fabius even advanced into Apulia and thence drove off much booty. But that Aulus Cornelius was dictator in that year is not disputed, and the doubt is only whether he was appointed to administer the war, or in order that there might be somebody to give the signal to the chariots at the Roman Games[2]—since the praetor, Lucius Plautius, happened to be very sick—and whether, having discharged this office,

A.U.C. 432 functusque eo haud sane memorandi imperii ministerio se dictatura abdicaret. Nec facile est aut
4 rem rei aut auctorem auctori praeferre. Vitiatam memoriam funebribus laudibus reor falsisque imaginum titulis, dum familiae[1] ad se quaeque famam rerum gestarum honorumque fallenti mendacio tra-
5 hunt; inde certe et singulorum gesta et publica monumenta rerum confusa. Nec quisquam aequalis temporibus illis scriptor exstat, quo satis certo auctore stetur.

[1] familiae ~ *Madvig*: familia Ω.

which is, to be sure, no very noteworthy exercise of power, he resigned the dictatorship. It is not easy to choose between the accounts or the authorities. The records have been vitiated, I think, by funeral eulogies and by lying inscriptions under portraits, every family endeavouring mendaciously to appropriate victories and magistracies to itself—a practice which has certainly wrought confusion in the achievements of individuals and in the public memorials of events. Nor is there extant any writer contemporary with that period, on whose authority we may safely take our stand. B.C. 322

LIBRI VIII PERIOCHA

Latini cum Campanis defecere et missis legatis ad senatum condicionem tulerunt ut si pacem habere vellent alterum ex Latinis consulem facerent. Qua legatione perlata praetor eorum Annius de Capitolio ita lapsus est ut exanimaretur. T. Manlius consul filium, quod contra edictum eius adversus Latinos pugnaverat, quamvis prospere pugnasset, securi percussit. Laborantibus in acie Romanis P. Decius, tunc consul cum Manlio, devovit se pro exercitu, et concitato equo cum in medios hostes se intulisset, interfectus morte sua Romanis victoriam restituit. Latini in deditionem venerunt. T. Manlio in urbem reverso nemo ex iuventute obviam processit. Minucia virgo Vestalis incesti damnata est. Ausonibus victis et oppido ex is capto Cales[1] item[2] Fregellae coloniae deductae sunt. Veneficium complurium matronarum deprehensum est, ex quibus plurimae statim epotis medicaminibus perierunt. Lex de veneficio tunc primum constituta est. Privernatibus, cum bellassent, victis civitas data est. Neapolitani bello et obsidione victi in deditionem venerunt. Q. Publilio, qui eos obsederat, primo et imperium prolatum est et pro cos. triumphus decretus. Plebs nexu liberata est propter L. Papiri creditoris libidinem, qui C. Publilio debitori suo stuprum inferre voluerat. Cum L. Papirius Cursor dictator reversus in urbem ab exercitu esset propter auspicia repetenda, Q. Fabius magister equitum, occasione bene gerendae rei invitatus, contra edictum eius prospere adversus Samnites pugnavit. Ob eam causam cum dictator de magistro equitum supplicium sumpturus videretur, Fabius Romam profugit, et cum parum causa proficeret, populi precibus donatus est. Res praeterea contra Samnites prospere gestas continet.

[1] et oppido ex is capto Cales *Rossbach*: in oppido exis cales capto cales (*or* in oppido ex his capto cales *MSS.*

[2] item *Gronovius*: item colonia deducta est *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK VIII.

The Latins and Campanians revolted, and sending envoys to the senate proposed as a condition of peace that one of the two consuls should be chosen from the Latins. After delivering these terms, their praetor Annius fell from the Capitol, and so lost consciousness. Titus Manlius the consul had his son beheaded, because he had fought—albeit successfully—against the Latins in defiance of his edict. In a battle which was going against the Romans, Publius Decius, who was then consul, along with Manlius, devoted himself in behalf of the army, and having spurred his horse among the enemy, was slain, and by his death restored the victory to the Romans. The Latins surrendered. Titus Manlius, returning to the City, was met by none of the young men. Minucia, a Vestal virgin, was convicted of unchastity. The Ausonians were defeated; and their town being taken from them, the colonies of Cales and Fregellae were established. A number of matrons were discovered to be guilty of poisoning, of whom very many drank off at once the drugs they had prepared, and died. A law about poisoning was then for the first time enacted. The Privernates, having gone to war, were defeated and given citizenship. The Neapolitans were beaten in war and in a siege, and made submission. Quintus Publilius, who had besieged them, was the first to have his authority extended and to be granted a triumph as proconsul. The plebs were relieved of imprisonment for debt on account of the lust of Lucius Papirius, a creditor, who had sought to violate the chastity of his debtor, Gaius Publilius. When Lucius Papirius Cursor the dictator had returned from the army to the City in order to renew the auspices, Quintus Fabius, the master of the horse, tempted by the opportunity for a successful action, fought the Samnites, against orders, and gained a victory. For this reason it appeared that the dictator would punish the master of the horse; but Fabius fled to Rome, and though his cause was weak, was begged off by the people. The book also contains victories over the Samnites.

BOOK IX

LIBER IX

A.U.C. 433

I. Sequitur hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina pax T. Veturio Calvino Sp. Postumio consulibus. Samnites eo anno imperatorem C. Pontium Herenni filium habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi legati qui ad dedendas res missi erant pace infecta redierunt, "Ne nihil actum" inquit "hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est quidquid ex foedere rupto irarum in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio quibuscumque dis cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res quae ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos mitigandosque homines potuit quam quod nos fecimus? Res hostium in praeda captas, quae belli iure nostrae videbantur, remisimus; auctores belli, quia vivos non potuimus, perfunctos iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum, ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos, Romam portavimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid dis arbitris foederis debeo? Quem tibi tuarum

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[1] For the second time, having held the office together thirteen years before.

[2] The reference is to events described at VIII. xxxvii. 3.

BOOK IX

I. In the following year came the Caudine Peace, B.C. 321
the notorious sequel of a disaster to the Roman arms. Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius were consuls.[1] The Samnites had that year for their general Gaius Pontius, whose father Herennius far excelled them all in wisdom, while the son was their foremost warrior and captain. When the envoys who had been dispatched to make restitution returned without having achieved a peace, Pontius said: "You must not think that this embassy has been of no avail: whatever divine resentment we incurred by breaking the treaty [2] has been appeased. Well do I know that whatever gods desired that we might be compelled to restore the spoils which had been demanded again of us in accordance with the treaty did not desire that our expiation of the treaty should be so scornfully rejected by the Romans. For what more could have been done to mollify the gods and to placate men than we have done? The goods of the enemy which we had taken as booty, and regarded as our own by the laws of war, we restored to them; the authors of the war, whom we could not surrender living, we surrendered dead; their possessions—that no guilt might remain with us from touching them—we carried to Rome. What more do I owe to you, Romans, or to the treaty, or to the gods, its witnesses? Whom can I proffer as umpire betwixt

A.U.C. 433

irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem feram? Neminem neque populum neque privatum fugio. 8 Quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relinquitur inopi, at ego ad deos vindices intolerandae superbiae 9 confugiam et precabor ut iras suas vertant in eos quibus non suae redditae res, non alienae accumulatae satis sint; quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum, non deditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia domini deditionem exsatient,[1] nisi hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque viscera nostra prae- 10 buerimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus necessarium, et pia arma quibus nulla nisi in armis 11 relinquitur spes. Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis agant dis, pro certo habete priora bella adversus deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc quod instat ducibus ipsis dis gesturos."

II. Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus exercitu educto circa Caudium castra quam potest 2 occultissime locat. Inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Romanos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum habitu mittit pecoraque diversos, alium alibi, haud procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis; 3 ubi inciderint in praedatores, ut idem omnibus sermo constet, legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omnibus copiis circumsedere nec procul abesse quin

[1] exsatient *Walters*: exsatient placari nequeant (-unt F^3) Ω: exsatient placari qui nequeant *Drakenborch*: exsatient; qui placari nequeant *Gronovius*.

your anger and my punishment? I refuse no nation, B.C. 321
no private citizen. But if, in dealing with the mighty, the weak are left no human rights, yet will I seek protection of the gods, who visit retribution on intolerable pride, and will beseech them that they turn their anger against those who are not content with the restitution of their own possessions, nor the heaping up in addition of other men's; whose rage is not sated with the death of the guilty, nor with the surrender of their lifeless bodies, nor with the master's goods going with that surrender—unless we yield them our blood to drink and our flesh to rend. Samnites, that war is just which is necessary, and righteous are their arms to whom, save only in arms, no hope is left. Since, therefore, it is of the utmost moment in the affairs of men whether what they undertake be pleasing in the sight of Heaven or whether it be offensive, be well assured that you waged your former war rather against gods than men, but that you will wage this war now threatening with the gods themselves for your leaders."

II. Having pronounced these words, as prophetic as they were encouraging, he led his army out and encamped with all possible secrecy in the vicinity of Caudium. Thence he dispatched in the direction of Calatia, where he heard that the Roman consuls were already in camp, ten soldiers in the guise of shepherds, with orders to graze their flocks—dispersed one here another there—at no great distance from the Romans. On encountering pillagers, they were all to tell one story; namely, that the Samnite levies were in Apulia, where they were laying siege with all their forces to Luceria, and were on the

A.U.C. 433

4 vi capiant. Iam is rumor et ante[1] de industria volgatus venerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captivi eo maxime quod sermo inter omnes con-
5 gruebat. Haud erat dubium quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret, bonis ac fidelibus sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem deficeret: ea modo qua irent consultatio fuit.

6 Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque sed quanto tutior tanto fere longior, altera per furculas Caudinas,
7 brevior; sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti angusti silvosique sunt montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti; iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem
8 medium iter est; sed antequam venias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et aut eadem qua te insinuaveris retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiorem impeditioremque, evadendum.

9 In eum campum via alia per cavam rupem Romani demisso[2] agmine cum ad[3] alias angustias protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole[4] invenere. Cum fraus hostilis apparuisset, praesidium etiam in summo
10 saltu conspicitur. Citati inde retro, qua venerant pergunt repetere viam; eam quoque clausam sua

[1] iam is rumor et ante *H. J. Mueller*: iam is n (*or* 7 *i.e.* et) rumor ante *P*: iam et is rumor ante P^1F^1U: iam is ∝ rumor ante *M*.

[2] demisso ζ: remisso Ω.

[3] cum ad $T^1\zeta$: quō ad *U*: qm̄ ad PFT^2 (*marg.*): quad *M*: ad *TDLA*: quo ad A^x.

[4] obiacente mole ζ *Sigonius*: obiacente molem *D*: obiacentem molem Ω.

point of taking it by assault. This rumour, which B.C. 321
had designedly been given out before, had already come to the ears of the Romans, but the prisoners strengthened their belief in it, especially since they all gave the same account. The Romans did not hesitate about helping the Lucerini, their good and faithful allies, and preventing Apulia at the same time from a general defection in the face of instant peril: the only subject of deliberation was by what route they should march.

There were two roads to Luceria. One skirted the Adriatic, and though open and unobstructed, was long almost in proportion to its safety. The other led through the Caudine Forks,[1] and was shorter, but this is the nature of the place: two deep defiles, narrow and wooded, are connected by an unbroken range of mountains on either hand; shut in between them lies a rather extensive plain, grassy and well-watered, with the road running through the middle of it; but before you come to it, you must enter the first defile, and afterwards either retrace the steps by which you made your way into the place, or else —should you go forward—pass out by another ravine, which is even narrower and more difficult.

Into this plain the Romans debouched from the rocky gorge of one of the two passes; and advancing forthwith to the other pass, found it blocked with a barrier of felled trees and huge boulders. The enemy's stratagem now stood revealed, and indeed a body of troops was descried at the head of the defile. The Romans thereupon hastened back to regain the road by which they had come, but found that this was likewise closed with its own

[1] See map at the end of the volume.

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obice armisque inveniunt. Sistunt inde gradum sine ullius imperio, stuporque omnium animos ac
11 velut torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque alii alios, cum alterum quisque compotem magis mentis ac consilii ducerent, diu immobiles
12 silent; deinde, ubi praetoria consulum erigi videre et expedire quosdam utilia operi, quamquam ludibrio
13 fore munientes perditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cernebant, tamen, ne culpam malis adderent, pro se quisque nec hortante ullo nec imperante ad muniendum versi castra propter aquam vallo circum-
14 dant, sua ipsi opera laboremque inritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant, cum miserabili
15 confessione eludentes. Ad consules maestos, ne advocantes quidem in consilium, quando nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati ac tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi opem, quam vix di immortales ferre poterant, ab ducibus exposcunt.

III. Querentes magis quam consultantes nox oppressit, cum pro ingenio quisque fremerent: "Per obices viarum," alius,[1] "per adversa montium, per
2 silvas, qua ferri arma poterunt, eamus, modo ad hostem pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope triginta vincimus; omnia aequa et plana erunt

[1] "per obices viarum." alius *Walters*: alius (alium *M*) per obices uiarum alius Ω: alius "per obices viarum — *Sigon.* *Muretus.*

[1] The speaker disregards the interval of peace (341–328).

barricade and armed men. At this they came to a halt, without any command, and a stupor came over the minds of all, and a strange kind of numbness over their bodies; and looking at one another—for every man supposed his neighbour more capable of thinking and planning than himself—they stood for a long time motionless and silent. Afterwards, when they saw the tents of the consuls going up and some of the men getting out entrenching tools, although they perceived that in their desperate plight, deprived of every hope, it would be ridiculous for them to entrench themselves, nevertheless, that they might not add a fault to their misfortunes, they fell to digging—each for himself with no encouragement or command from anyone—and fortified a camp close to the water; meanwhile not only did their enemies insolently scoff at them, but they jested themselves, with pathetic candour, at the futility of their works and the pains they took. The dejected consuls did not even call a council, for the situation admitted neither of discussion nor of help, but the lieutenants and tribunes assembled of their own accord, and the soldiers, turning to the headquarters tent, called on their generals for help, which the immortal gods could scarce have given them. B.C. 321

III. Night came, and found them not so much consulting as lamenting, while each murmured as his nature prompted him. "Let us force the barriers of the road," said one, "let us scale the mountains, penetrate the forests, go wherever we can carry arms, if only we may come at the enemy, whom we have now been conquering for close upon thirty years[1]; any field will be smooth and level to a

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Romano in perfidum Samnitem pugnanti"; alius:
3 "Quo aut qua eamus? Num montes moliri sede
sua paramus? Dum haec imminebunt iuga, qua tu
ad hostem venias?[1] Armati inermes, fortes ignavi,
pariter omnes capti atque victi sumus; ne ferrum
quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis;
4 sedens bellum conficiet." His in vicem sermonibus
qua cibi qua quietis immemor nox traducta est.

Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis
suppetebat rebus; itaque universi Herennium
Pontium, patrem imperatoris, per litteras consu-
5 lendum censent. Iam is gravis annis non militaribus
solum sed civilibus quoque abscesserat muneribus;
in corpore tamen adfecto vigebat vis animi con-
6 siliique. Is ubi accepit ad furculas Caudinas inter
duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus
ab nuntio filii censuit omnes inde quam primum
7 inviolatos dimittendos. Quae ubi spreta sententia
est iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur,
8 censuit ad unum omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi
tam discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti oracculo
responsa data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis
iam animum quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto
corpore rebatur, tamen consensu omnium victus est
9 ut ipsum in consilium acciret. Nec gravatus senex

[1] venias *A* (*Madvig*) : uenies Ω.

Roman who fights against a treacherous Samnite!" B.C. 321
Another would ask: "Where or by what way can we go? Do we think to remove the mountains from their seat? So long as these ridges tower over you, how shall you come at the enemy? Armed and unarmed, the brave and the cowardly, we are all alike captured and beaten men. The foe will not even draw his sword on us, that we may die with honour; he will end the war by sitting still." With such-like exchange of talk the night wore on, neither was there any thought of food or sleep.

Even the Samnites were at a loss what course to follow in such happy circumstances; and accordingly they agreed unanimously to dispatch a letter to Herennius Pontius, the father of their general, asking his advice. This man, bowed down with years, had already withdrawn not only from military but even from civic duties; yet, despite his bodily infirmity, his mind and judgment retained their vigour. When he learned that the Roman armies had been hemmed in between two defiles at the Caudine Forks, and was asked by his son's messenger for his opinion, he advised that they should all be dismissed unscathed, at the earliest possible moment. This policy having been rejected, and the messenger returning a second time to seek his counsel, he recommended that all, to the last man, be slain. Having received these answers, as inconsistent as the riddling responses of an oracle, the younger Pontius was among the first to conclude that his father's mind had now given way along with his failing body, but yielded to the general desire and sent for him to advise with them in person. The old man made no objection: he was

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plaustro in castra dicitur advectus vocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus esse ut nihil sententiae
10 suae mutaret, causas tantum adiceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates, quibus amissis duobus exercitibus haud facile recepturа vires Romana res esset, bellum differre; tertium
11 nullum consilium esse. Cum filius aliique principes percontando[1] exsequerentur, quid si media via consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et
12 leges iis iure belli victis imponerentur, "Ista quidem sententia" inquit "ea est, quae neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Servate modo quos ignominia inritaveritis: ea est Romana gens quae victa quiescere
13 nesciat. Vivet semper in pectoribus illorum quidquid istuc praesens necessitas inusserit, nec eos ante multiplices poenas expetitas a vobis quiescere sinet." Neutra sententia accepta Herennius domum e castris est avectus.

IV. Et in castris Romanis cum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent et iam omnium
2 rerum inopia esset, victi necessitate legatos mittunt qui primum pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non
3 impetrarent, uti provocarent ad pugnam. Tum Pontius debellatum esse respondit; et, quoniam ne

[1] percontando *A*: percunctando Ω.

brought to the camp in a waggon—so the story B.C. 321
runs—and being invited to join the council of war, spoke to such purpose as merely, without changing his opinion, to add thereto his reasons: If, he said, they adopted his first proposal—which he held to be the best—they would establish lasting peace and friendship with a very powerful people by conferring an enormous benefit upon them; by adopting the other plan they would postpone the war for many generations, in which time the Roman State, having lost two armies, would not easily regain its strength; there was no third plan. When his son and the other leading men pressed him to say what would happen if they took a middle course, and while letting them go unhurt imposed terms upon them by the rights of war, as upon the vanquished, "That," he answered, "is in sooth a policy that neither wins men friends nor rids them of their enemies. Spare, if you will, those whom you have stung to anger with humiliation; the Roman race is one that knows not how to be still under defeat. Whatever shame you brand them with in their present necessity, the wound will ever rankle in their bosoms, nor will it suffer them to rest until they have exacted many times as heavy a penalty of you." Neither proposal was accepted, and Herennius was carried home from the camp.

IV. In the other camp the Romans, finding themselves now, after many fruitless efforts to break out, in want of everything, were reduced to the necessity of sending envoys; who were first to treat for an equal peace, and, if peace could not be had, to provoke the enemy to fight. To them Pontius made answer, that the war was

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victi quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias 4 condiciones pacis aequas victis ac victoribus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo 5 foedere victurum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum dis- 6 pliceat, legatos redire ad se vetuit. Haec cum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia incessit ut non gravius accepturi viderentur si nuntiaretur omnibus eo loco mortem oppetendam [1] esse.

7 Cum diu silentium fuisset nec consules aut pro foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere possent, tum L. Lentulus, qui princeps [2] 8 legatorum virtute atque honoribus erat: "Patrem meum" inquit, "consules, saepe audivi memorantem se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa valloque ab ignavissimo ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi essent et erumpere, si non sine magno 9 periculo tamen sine certa pernicie, possent. Quod si, ut illis [3] decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in obsidentes eru-

[1] oppetendam *F?A*[1]: appetendam *UA*: adpetendam *MPOTDL*.
[2] princeps *Drakenborch*: tum princeps Ω.
[3] ut illis *Aldus*: illis ut Ω.

[1] He had been consul 328 B.C. (VIII. xxii. 8). His descendants assumed the surname of Caudini and a P. Cornelius Caudinus is mentioned at XXVI. xlviii. 9 and a L. Cornelius Caudinus at XXVII. xxi. 9.

already fought and won; and since they knew B.C. 321
not how to admit their plight, even when beaten and made prisoners, he intended to send them unarmed and with a single garment each under the yoke; in all else the peace should be one of equal terms to the vanquished and the victors; for if the Romans would evacuate the Samnite territory and withdraw their colonies, Romans and Samnites should thenceforward live by their own laws in an equal alliance. On these terms he was ready to conclude a treaty with the consuls; if they were any of them unacceptable, he forbade the envoys to return to him. When the upshot of this embassy was made known to the Romans, they all straightway fell to groaning, and so overcome were they with sorrow that it seemed as though they could not possibly take it more to heart if they should be told that they must all die in that place.

Finally, after a long silence—for the consuls were incapable of uttering a word, either for a treaty so disgraceful or against a treaty so necessary—Lucius Lentulus, at that time first of the lieutenants both for his valour and his dignities,[1] spoke as follows: "Consuls, I have often heard my father say that on the Capitol he was the only man who would not have the senate ransom the City from the Gauls with gold, since their enemies, who were most indolent besiegers, had not shut them in with trench and rampart, and they were able to make a sortie, if not without great danger, yet without certain destruction. But if, in like manner as they had it in their power to run down from the Capitol, sword in hand, against their enemy, even as the besieged have often sallied out against the besiegers,

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perunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimicandi tantummodo cum hoste copia esset, non mihi paterni animis indoles in consilio dando deesset. Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor et me vel devovere pro populo Romano legionibusque vel in medios immittere hostes[1] paratus sum; sed hic patriam video, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum est, quae nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere volunt, quid habent quod morte sua servent? 'Tecta urbis' dicat aliquis 'et moenia et eam turbam a qua urbs incolitur.' Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleto hoc exercitu, non servantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? Imbellis videlicet atque inermis multitudo. Tam hercule quam a Gallorum impetu defendit. An a Veiis exercitum Camillumque ducem implorabunt? Hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus ac prodimus. 'At foeda atque ignominiosa deditio est.' Sed ea caritas patriae est ut tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit, servemus. Subeatur ergo ista, quantacumque est, indignitas et pareatur necessitati, quam ne di quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis civitatem quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt."

V. Consules profecti ad Pontium in conloquium, cum de foedere victor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri posse nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaque alia sollemni. Itaque non, ut volgo

[1] in medios immittere hostes *Gronovius*: in medios hostes me inmittere *O*: in medios me immittere hostes Ω.

so we were able, whether on favourable ground or no, only to come to grips with our antagonist, I should not lack my father's spirit in advising you. I do indeed confess that it is glorious to die for one's country, and I am ready to devote myself for the Roman People and the legions, or to throw myself into the midst of the enemy; but it is here I see my country, here all the legions Rome possesses, and unless they would rush on death to please themselves, what have they to save by dying? 'The roof-trees of the City,' someone may say, 'and its walls, and the multitude by whom it is inhabited.' Nay, not so! For all these are betrayed, not saved, if this army is wiped out! For who shall preserve them? The unwarlike, unarmed rabble? Ay, even as it preserved them from the onset of the Gauls! Or will they pray perhaps that an army may be sent from Veii, and a Camillus to command it? Here are all our hopes and our resources, which if we save we save our country; whereas if we give these up to die, we abandon our country and betray it. 'But surrender is shameful and humiliating.' True, but our country is so dear that we would save it by enduring shame, as we would, if need were, by our death. Let us submit then to that indignity, however great, and obey necessity, to which even gods are not superior. Go, consuls, at the cost of arms redeem the City which your sires paid gold to redeem." B.C. 321

V. The consuls then went to confer with Pontius. The victor proposed a treaty, but they declared that a treaty could not be made without the authorization of the people, nor without fetials and the rest of the customary ceremonial. Consequently the Caudine

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credunt Claudiusque etiam scribit, foedere pax Cau-
3 dina, sed per sponsionem facta est. Quid enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset aut obsidibus, ubi precatione res transigitur, per quem populum fiat quo minus legibus dictis stetur, ut eum ita Iuppiter feriat quemadmodum a fetialibus porcus feriatur?
4 Spoponderunt consules, legati, quaestores, tribuni militum, nominaque omnium qui spoponderunt exstant, ubi, si ex foedere acta res esset, praeterquam
5 duorum fetialium non exstarent; et propter necessariam foederis dilationem obsides etiam sescenti equites imperati, qui capite luerent, si pacto non
6 staretur. Tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exercituque inermi mittendo.

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus, ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus quorum temeritate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius
7 inde quam venissent abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos
8 in foveam missos. Alii alios intueri, contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria victoris et

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[1] Q. Claudius Quadrigarius Introduction, Vol. I. p. xxx).

[2] "The *sponsio* was a verbal engagement or pledge made by those in authority (the generals and, if required, their officers) in answer to a formal question from the other party."—Anderson.

[3] See I. xxiv. 8.

Peace was not entered into by means of a treaty, as B.C. 321
people in general believe and as Claudius[1] actually states, but by a guarantee.[2] For what need would there have been for guarantors or for hostages in a treaty, where the agreement is concluded with a prayer that the nation responsible for any departure from the recited terms may be smitten by Jupiter even as the swine is smitten by the fetials?[3] The guarantors were the consuls, the lieutenants, the quaestors, and the tribunes of the soldiers, and the names of all who gave the guarantee are extant, whereas, if the agreement had been entered into as in making a treaty, none would be preserved except those of the two fetials; and because of the inevitable postponement of the treaty, hostages were also required to the number of six hundred knights, whose lives were to be forfeit if the Romans should fail to keep the terms. A time was then set for the delivery of the hostages and the dismissal of the army without their arms.

Fresh lamentations broke out in the camp when the consuls returned; and the men could hardly keep from laying violent hands on those through whose rashness they had been led into that place, and through whose cowardice they were now to depart more shamefully than they had come. They bethought them how they had been unprovided either with guides or with patrols, but had been driven blindly, like wild beasts, into a trap. They looked at one another; they gazed on the arms that they must presently surrender, on the right hands that would be helpless and the bodies that would be at the mercy of the foe. They pictured to their mind's eye the hostile yoke, the victor's taunts,

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9 voltus superbos et per armatos inermium iter, inde foedi agminis miserabilem viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi 10 maioresque eorum triumphantes venissent: se solos sine volnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam arma, nequiquam vires, nequiquam [1] animos datos.

11 Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura quam quae prae- 12 ceperant animis. Iam primum cum singulis vestimentis inermes extra vallum exire iussi, et primi 13 traditi obsides atque in custodiam abducti. Tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paludamentaque detracta: id tantam [2] inter ipsos, qui paulo ante eos exsecrantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, 14 miserationem fecit, ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus ab illa deformatione tantae maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo averteret oculos.

VI. Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi; tum ut quisque gradu proximus erat ita 2 ignominiae obiectus; tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati hostes, exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque intentati, et volnerati

[1] sibi nequiquam arma, nequiquam vires, nequiquam *Gelenius*: sibe (*and in marg.* uires nequiquam) nequiquam *M*: sibi nequiquam Ω.

[2] tantam id *Drakenborch*: tantam Ω.

and fleering countenance; and how they must pass B.C. 321
unarmed between the ranks of their armed enemies, and then wend their wretched way, a pitiful band, through the cities of their allies; and finally the return to their own city and their parents, whither they themselves and their ancestors had often returned in triumph. They alone had been defeated without a wound, without a weapon, without a battle; to them it had not been granted to draw the sword, nor to join in combat with the enemy; on them in vain had arms, in vain had strength, in vain had bravery been bestowed.

As they uttered these complaints, the fateful hour of their humiliation came, an hour destined to transcend all anticipations in the bitterness of its reality. To begin with, they were ordered to pass outside the rampart, clad in their tunics and unarmed, and the hostages were at once handed over and led off into custody. Next, the lictors were commanded to forsake the consuls, who then were stripped of their generals' cloaks,—a thing which inspired such compassion in those very men who a little while before had cursed them and had declared that they deserved to be given up and put to torture, that every man, forgetting his own evil case, averted his eyes from that degradation of so majestic an office, as from a spectacle of horror.

VI. First the consuls, little better than half-naked, were sent under the yoke, then their subordinates were humbled, each in the order of his rank; and then, one after another, the several legions. The enemy under arms stood on either side, reviling them and mocking them; many they actually threatened with the sword, and some, whose

A.U.C. 433 quidam necatique, si voltus eorum indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset.

3 Ita traducti sub iugum, et quod paene gravius erat, per hostium oculos, cum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab inferis extracti tum primum lucem aspicere visi sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita deforme
4 intuentibus agmen omni morte tristior fuit. Itaque cum ante noctem Capuam pervenire possent, incerti de fide sociorum et quod pudor praepediebat, circa viam haud procul Capua omnium egena corpora
5 humi prostraverunt. Quod ubi est Capuam nuntiatum, evicit miseratio iusta sociorum superbiam in-
6 genitam Campanis. Confestim insignia sua consulibus,[1] arma equos vestimenta commeatus militibus,
7 benigne mittunt; et venientibus Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obviam egressus iustis omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis fungitur officiis.
8 Neque illis sociorum comitas voltusque benigni et adloquia non modo sermonem elicere sed ne ut oculos quidem attollerent aut consolantes amicos
9 contra intuerentur efficere poterant: adeo super maerorem pudor quidam fugere conloquia et coetus hominum cogebat.

10 Postero die cum iuvenes nobiles missi a Capua ut proficiscentes ad finem Campanum prosequerentur

[1] consulibus *Hertz*: consulibus fasces lictores Ω.

resentment of the outrage showing too plainly in their faces gave their conquerors offence, they wounded or slew outright. B.C. 321

Thus they were sent under the yoke, and, what was almost harder to bear, while their enemies looked on. On emerging from the pass, although they seemed like men raised from the dead, who beheld for the first time the light of day, yet the very light itself, which allowed them to see that dismal throng, was gloomier than any death. And so, although it was in their power to have made Capua before nightfall, yet, questioning the loyalty of their allies, and withheld also by shame, they threw themselves upon the ground along the roadside, not far from the city, with nothing to supply their wants. When tidings of this were brought to Capua, a feeling of pity, natural to allies, overcame the ingrained arrogance of the Campanians. Ungrudgingly, without an instant's hesitation, they dispatched the insignia of their office to the consuls, together with arms, horses, clothing, and provisions, for the men; and as they drew near Capua, the whole senate and people going forth to meet them used towards them all the rites of hospitality and every public and private courtesy. Yet the kindness of their allies and their friendly looks and words were so far from drawing the Romans into talk that they could not even be got to raise their eyes or look their friends and comforters in the face; so constrained were they by a kind of humiliation—over and above their grief—to avoid the speech and assemblages of men.

On the following day, when the young nobles sent from Capua to attend them to the borders of Campania had returned, and were called into the senate-

A.U.C. 433 11 revertissent vocatique in curiam percontantibus maioribus natu multo sibi maestiores et abiectiores animi visos referrent: adeo silens ac prope mutum 12 agmen incessisse; iacere[1] indolem illam Romanam, ablatosque cum armis animos; non reddere salutem salutantibus, non dare responsum,[2] non hiscere quemquam prae metu potuisse, tamquam ferentibus adhuc cervicibus iugum sub quod missi[3] essent; 13 habere Samnites victoriam non praeclaram solum sed etiam perpetuam, cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos, sed, quod multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam virtutem ferociamque.—VII. cum haec

A.U.C. 434 dicerentur audirenturque et deploratum paene Romanum nomen in concilio sociorum fidelium esset, 2 dicitur A. Calavius,[4] Ovi filius, clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate verendus, longe aliter 3 se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia solacia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis ingentem molem 4 irarum ex alto animi[5] cientis indicia esse. Aut Romana se ignorare ingenia, aut silentium illud Samnitibus flebiles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum, Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus 5 quam Romanis tristiorem memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum animos habiturum, ubicumque congressuri sint; saltus Caudinos non ubique Samnitibus fore.

6 Iam Romae etiam[6] sua infamis clades erat. Ob-

[1] iacere ζ: tacere Ω.

[2] salutantibus, non dare responsum *Madvig*: non salutantibus dare responsum Ω: *bracketed by Conway.*

[3] quod missi $F^2A^2\zeta$: quod emissi (*or* quo demissi) Ω.

[4] A. Calavius *Conway*: Ofillius (*or* Ofilius) A. Calauius (*or* acalauius *or* accilauius *or other corruptions*) Ω.

[5] animi $U\zeta$: animo Ω.

house and questioned by the elders, they reported B.C. 321
that they had seemed to be much more sorrowful and dejected than before: their column had marched on in silence and almost as though dumb; the old Roman spirit was quite dashed; they had lost their courage with their arms; being saluted, they returned not the salutation; they responded to no questions; not a man of them had been able to open his mouth for shame, as if they still bore on their necks the yoke under which they had been sent; the Samnites had won not only a famous but a lasting victory, for they had conquered, not Rome—as the Gauls had done before—but a thing which demanded far greater prowess—the Roman valour and independence. VII. Such were the opinions that were spoken B.C. 320
and listened to, and the Roman name had well-nigh been given up for lost in the council of Rome's faithful allies, when Aulus Calavius, son of Ovius, a man of famous birth and achievements and at that time venerable also for his age, asserted that the case was very different: that obstinate silence, those eyes fixed on the ground and ears deaf to every consolation, that shame at looking on the light, were signs, he argued, of bosoms bursting with passionate resentment; either he knew nothing of the Roman character, or that silence was destined ere long to draw from the Samnites cries and groans of anguish, and the Caudine Peace to become a far more bitter memory to Samnites than to Romans; for each people would have its own native spirit wherever they might encounter, but the Samnites would not everywhere have a Caudine Pass.

By this time Rome, too, had heard of her shameful

[6] Romae etiam *Drakenborch*: Romae et Ω. Romae ℟ *M*.

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sessos primum audierunt; tristior deinde ignominiosae
7 pacis magis quam periculi nuntius fuit. Ad famam obsidionis dilectus haberi coeptus erat; dimissus deinde auxiliorum apparatus, postquam deditionem tam foede factam acceperunt, extemploque sine ulla publica auctoritate consensum in omnem formam
8 luctus est. Tabernae circa forum clausae, iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam indictum;
9 lati clavi, anuli aurei positi; paene maestior exercitu ipso civitas esse; nec ducibus solum atque auctoribus sponsoribusque pacis irasci sed innoxios etiam milites
10 odisse et negare urbe tectisve accipiendos. Quam concitationem animorum fregit adventus exercitus etiam iratis miserabilis. Non enim tamquam in patriam revertentes ex insperato incolumes sed capto-
11 rum habitu voltuque ingressi sero in urbem ita se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt ut postero atque insequentibus diebus nemo eorum forum aut publi-
12 cum aspicere vellet. Consules in privato abditi nihil pro magistratu agere, nisi quod expressum senatus consulto est ut dictatorem dicerent comitiorum
13 causa. Q. Fabium Ambustum dixerunt et P. Aelium
14 Paetum[1] magistrum equitum; quibus vitio creatis

[1] Aelium Paetum ς: ae (e- milium paetum Ω.

[1] The *latus clavus*, a broad (purple) stripe in the tunic, marked the senator. Both senators and knights wore golden rings, though these later became the distinguishing badge of the knights.

calamity. The first news was that the army was B.C. 320
entrapped; then came a gloomier report, more by reason of the disgraceful peace than because of the peril. On the rumour of a blockade they had begun to hold a levy; but they afterwards gave over their measures for relief, when they learned that there had been so infamous a capitulation, and immediately, without official sanction of any sort, betook themselves with one mind to every form of mourning. The booths round about the Forum were shut up, and ere proclamation could be made, all business was suspended; tunics with the broad stripe of purple were discarded, as were golden rings.[1] The citizens were almost more dejected than the army; and not only were they enraged against their generals and those who had favoured and guaranteed the peace, but they even visited their hate upon the innocent soldiers and proposed to exclude them from the City and from their homes. But this flurry of resentment was dispelled by the arrival of the army, which even angry men could not but pity. For they came not like men returning in safety to their homes, after all hope of them had been abandoned; but entering the City late in the day, with the bearing and looks of prisoners, they slipped away every man to his own house, and on the next and the succeeding days not one of them would look into the Forum or the streets. The consuls shut themselves up in their houses and would transact no public business, except that they were forced by a senatorial decree to name a dictator to preside at the election. They designated Quintus Fabius Ambustus, with Publius Aelius Paetus to be master of the horse. A flaw in their appointment occasioned the substitution in their

A.U.C. 434 suffecti M. Aemilius Papus dictator. L. Valerius Flaccus magister equitum. Nec per eos comitia habita; et quia taedebat populum omnium magis-
15 tratuum eius anni, res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges Q. Fabius Maximus M. Valerius Corvus. Is consules creavit Q. Publilium Philonem tertium [1] et L. Papirium Cursorem iterum haud dubio consensu civitatis, quod nulli ea tempestate duces clariores essent.

VIII. Quo creati sunt die, eo—sic enim placuerat patribus—magistratum inierunt sollemnibusque senatus consultis perfectis de pace Caudina rettulerunt;
2 et Publilius, penes quem fasces erant, "Die, Sp. Postumi," inquit. Qui ubi surrexit, eodem illo vultu
3 quo sub iugum missus erat, "Haud sum ignarus" inquit, "consules, ignominiae non honoris causa me primum excitatum iussumque dicere, non tamquam senatorem, sed tamquam reum qua infelicis belli, qua
4 ignominiosae pacis. Ego tamen, quando neque de noxa nostra neque de poena rettulistis, omissa defensione, quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum humanarum necessitatiumque, sententiam de eo de quo rettulistis paucis peragam; quae sententia testis erit mihine an legionibus vestris pepercerim, cum me seu turpi seu necessaria spon-

[1] Q. Publilium Philonem tertium *Glareanus*: Q. Publilium Philonem Ω.

[1] The *fasces* (bundles of rods, symbolic of supreme authority) were borne by the lictors in alternate attendance on the two consuls. The elder had them first.

room of Marcus Aemilius Papus, as dictator, and B.C. 320
Lucius Valerius Flaccus, as master of the horse. However, even they did not hold an election; and because the people were dissatisfied with all the magistrates of that year, the state reverted to an interregnum. The interreges were Quintus Fabius Maximus and Marcus Valerius Corvus. The latter announced the election to the consulship of Quintus Publilius Philo (for the third time) and Lucius Papirius Cursor (for the second) with the unmistakable approval of the citizens, for there were at that time no leaders more distinguished.

VIII. On the day of their election—for so the Fathers had ordained—they entered upon the duties of their magistracy, and having disposed of the routine resolutions, raised the question of the Caudine Peace. Publilius had the fasces,[1] and called on Spurius Postumius to speak. Having risen to his feet, he said, with the same expression on his countenance as when he had been sent under the yoke, "I am not ignorant, consuls, that I have been called on first and bidden to speak because of my disgrace, and not to honour me; not as a senator, but as one charged with the guilt not only of an unlucky war but of a shameful peace. However, you have not raised the question of our wrongdoing or our punishment; I will therefore attempt no defence—though it should be no difficult cause to plead before judges not unacquainted with the fortunes of men and their necessities—but will briefly formulate a motion concerning the subject you have asked us to consider. My motion will bear witness whether it was myself or your legions that I spared, when I bound myself by a base, or, perhaps,

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5 sione obstrinxi; qua tamen, quando iniussu populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quicquam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur
6 Samnitibus. Dedamur per fetiales nudi vinctique; exsolvamus religione populum, si qua obligavimus, ne quid divini humanive obstet quo minus iustum
7 piumque de integro ineatur bellum. Interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, educere placet, nec prius ingredi hostium fines, quam omnia iusta
8 in deditionem nostram[1] perfecta erunt. Vos, di immortales, precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit cordi Sp. Postumium T. Veturium consules cum Samnitibus
9 prospere bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse nos sub iugum missos, vidisse sponsione infami obligatos, videre nudos vinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram hostium nostris capitibus excipientes;
10 novos consules legionesque Romanas ita cum Samnite gerere bellum velitis ut omnia ante nos consules bella gesta sunt."

11 Quae ubi dixit, tanta simul admiratio miseratioque viri incessit homines ut modo vix crederent illum eundem esse Sp. Postumium qui auctor tam foedae
12 pacis fuisset; modo miserarentur quod vir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes supplicium passurus esset
13 ob iram diremptae pacis. Cum omnes laudibus modo

[1] deditionem nostram Ω: deditionem nostra *TDA*: deditione nostra *Lς*.

a necessary pledge,—by which, however, the Roman B.C. 320
People is not held, since it was given without the people's authorization : nor by its terms is aught but our own persons due to the Samnites. Let us be given up, I propose, by the fetials, stripped and bound ; let us release the people from their religious obligation, if in any such we have involved them, that no obstacle, divine or human, may block the way to a just and righteous renewal of the war. Meantime I move that the consuls enroll an army and arm it and lead it forth, yet without crossing the borders of the enemy, until all the ceremonies incident to our surrender shall have been completed. Do you, immortal gods, I beseech and pray you, if you were not pleased that the consuls Spurius Postumius and Titus Veturius should wage a successful war with the Samnites, yet deem it enough to have seen us sent beneath the yoke, to have seen us bound by an infamous agreement, to behold us, naked and in bonds, delivered to the enemy, receiving on our own heads all the resentment of our foes ; and vouchsafe to the new consuls and the Roman legions so to wage war with the Samnites, as, until our consulship, all Rome's wars were waged."

When he had finished speaking, such a thrill of astonishment, and at the same time of pity for the man, ran through the senate, that at first men could hardly believe it was the same Spurius Postumius who had been the author of a peace so shameful ; and presently they were all compassion, to think that such a man should suffer what would be no ordinary punishment at the hands of enemies enraged by the rupture of the peace. As they

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prosequentes virum in sententiam eius pedibus irent,
14 temptata paulisper intercessio est ab L. Livio et Q. Maelio tribunis plebis, qui neque exsolvi religione populum aiebant deditione sua, nisi omnia Samnitibus, qualia apud Caudium fuissent, restituerentur;
15 neque se pro eo quod spondendo pacem servassent exercitum populi Romani poenam ullam meritos esse; neque ad extremum, cum sacrosancti essent, dedi hostibus violarive posse.[1]

IX. Tum Postumius "Interea dedite" inquit "profanos nos, quos salva religione potestis; dedetis deinde et istos sacrosanctos, cum primum magistratu
2 abierint, sed, si me audiatis, priusquam dedantur, hic in comitio virgis caesos, hanc iam ut intercalatae
3 poenae usuram habeant. Nam quod deditione nostra negant exsolvi religione populum, id istos magis ne dedantur quam quia ita se res habeat dicere, quis
4 adeo iuris fetialium expers est qui ignoret? Neque ego infitias eo, patres conscripti, tam sponsiones[2] quam foedera sancta esse apud eos homines apud quos iuxta divinas religiones fides humana colitur; sed iniussu populi nego quicquam sanciri posse
5 quod populum teneat. An, si eadem superbia qua sponsionem istam expresserunt nobis Samnites coegis-

[1] posse ζ: posset *MPT*: possent Ω.
[2] sponsiones ζ: sponsores Ω.

[1] Livius and Maelius are apparently thought of as having been among the guarantors and as having afterwards been elected plebeian tribunes.

were all crossing over to support his motion, with B.C. 320
nothing but praises for his heroism, Lucius Livius and Quintus Maelius, tribunes of the plebs, endeavoured for a moment to interpose their veto. The people, they said, could not be freed from their obligation by surrendering *them*, unless every advantage which the Samnites had possessed at Caudium were restored to them; moreover, they had merited no punishment for having preserved by their pledge of peace the army of the Roman People; nor, finally, seeing that they were sacrosanct, could they be surrendered to the enemy or violated.[1]

IX. Then said Postumius: "Meanwhile, surrender us, who are unconsecrate, as you may do without offence to Heaven; afterwards you shall surrender also those sacrosanct ones, when once they have retired from their magistracy; but, if you should listen to me, before surrendering them you would have them scourged here in the Comitium, that they might receive in advance this extra punishment, by way of interest. For when they deny that the people can be freed of their obligation by surrendering us, who is so unacquainted with the fetial law as not to be aware that they say this, more that they may not be surrendered than because the case is so? And yet, Conscript Fathers, I do not dispute the fact that guarantees as well as treaties are sacred in the eyes of those who cherish honour among men on an equal footing with obligations due to the gods; but I deny that without the people's authorization any sanction can be given which shall be binding on the people. What! If the Samnites with that same arrogance with which they extorted this capitulation from us had com-

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sent nos verba legitima dedentium urbes nuncupare, deditum populum Romanum vos tribuni diceretis et hanc urbem templa delubra fines aquas Samnitium
6 esse? Omitto deditionem, quoniam de sponsione agitur; quid tandem si spopondissemus urbem hanc relicturum populum Romanum? si incensurum? si magistratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum? si
7 sub regibus futurum? Di meliora, inquis. Atqui non indignitas rerum sponsionis vinculum levat: si quid est in quod [1] obligari populus possit, in omnia potest. Et ne illud quidem, quod quosdam forsitan moveat, refert, consul an dictator an praetor spopon-
8 derit. Et hoc ipsi etiam Samnites iudicaverunt, quibus non fuit satis consules spondere, sed legatos, quaestores, tribunos militum spondere coegerunt.

9 "Nec a me nunc quisquam quaesiverit quid ita spoponderim, cum id nec consulis ius esset nec illis spondere pacem quae mei non erat arbitrii, nec pro
10 vobis qui nihil mandaveratis possem. Nihil ad Caudium, patres conscripti, humanis consiliis gestum est: di immortales et vestris et hostium imperatoribus
11 mentem ademerunt. Nec nos in bello satis cavimus, et illi male partam victoriam male perdiderunt, dum vix locis quibus vicerant credunt, dum quacumque

[1] quod ϝ: quo Ω.

pelled us to pronounce the solemn form of words B.C. 320
of those who surrender cities, would you tribunes assert that the Roman People had been surrendered, and that this City, with its temples, its holy places, its bounds and waters, was become the property of the Samnites? But enough of *surrender;* we are talking of a *guarantee.* How, pray, if we had guaranteed that the Roman People should forsake this City? that they should burn it? that it should cease to have magistrates, a senate, laws? that it should be subject to the rule of kings? 'The gods forbid!' you say. And yet the unworthiness of the conditions cannot lessen the force of a guarantee; if there is anything for which the people can be bound, it can be bound for everything. Nor does it matter, either, as some are perhaps inclined to think, whether consul or dictator or praetor have given the guarantee. And this the very Samnites themselves deemed to be true, for not content with the guarantee of consuls, they obliged the lieutenants, the quaestors, and the tribunes of the soldiers to add theirs.

"And let no man now demand of me why I gave this guarantee, seeing that a consul has no right so to do and that I could not pledge them a peace which was not mine to grant, nor in your behalf, who had given me no mandate. There was nothing done at Caudium, Conscript Fathers, by man's wisdom: the immortal gods deprived of understanding both your commanders and the enemy's. We, on our part, took no sufficient precautions in the war: while, as for them, they threw away their ill-got victory by their ill-guided conduct, for they hardly trusted the very ground that had given them

A.U.C. 434 condicione arma viris in arma natis auferre festinant.
12 An, si sana mens fuisset, difficile illis fuit, dum senes ab domo ad consultandum accersunt, mittere Romam legatos? cum senatu, cum populo de pace ac foedere
13 agere? Tridui iter expeditis erat; interea in indutiis res fuisset, donec ab Roma legati aut victoriam illis certam aut pacem adferrent. Ea demum sponsio
14 esset quam populi iussu spopondissemus. Sed neque vos tulissetis nec nos spopondissemus; nec fas fuit alium rerum exitum esse quam ut illi velut somnio laetiore quam quod mentes eorum capere possent
15 nequiquam eluderentur et nostrum exercitum eadem quae impedierat fortuna expediret, vanam victoriam vanior inritam faceret pax, sponsio interponeretur
16 quae neminem praeter sponsorem obligaret. Quid enim vobiscum, patres conscripti, quid cum populo Romano actum est? Quis vos appellare potest, quis se a vobis dicere deceptum? Hostis an civis? Hosti nihil spopondistis, civem[1] neminem spondere pro
17 vobis iussistis. Nihil ergo vobis nec nobiscum est, quibus nihil mandastis, nec cum Samnitibus, cum
18 quibus nihil egistis. Samnitibus sponsores nos sumus rei satis locupletes in id quod nostrum est, in id quod praestare possumus, corpora nostra et animos;

[1] civem A^3: quem Ω: quin U: qui F^3.

[1] Victory, in case the Roman People declined to accept terms for the ransom of their army; peace, if they acceded to those terms.

their conquest, in their haste to deprive of arms, on B.C. 320
any terms, men born to the use of arms. Why, had they had their wits about them, would it have been hard, while summoning old men from home for consultation, to dispatch envoys to Rome? to treat with senate and with people for a peace and covenant? It was only three days' journey to those who travel light; meantime hostilities would have been suspended, until their envoys should return from Rome with either certain victory or a peace.[1] Then, and then only, would there have been a guarantee in which our pledge was backed by the mandate of the people. But neither would you have voted one, nor should we have given it; nor was it Heaven's will that the affair should have any other ending, but that they should be beguiled with a dream too joyful for their comprehension, and that our army should be extricated by the same fortune which had entrapped it; that their idle victory should evaporate in a yet idler peace, and a guarantee be proffered that should bind none but the guarantor. For what negotiation, Conscript Fathers, has there been with you or with the Roman People? Who can appeal to you, who can say that he has been deceived by you? Can the enemy, can a fellow-citizen? You have pledged nothing to the enemy, you have given no authority to make a pledge to any fellow-citizen. You have therefore naught to do with us, to whom you gave no mandate, or with the Samnites, with whom you have had no dealings. The Samnites have in us guarantors who are responsible and quite competent, so far as concerns what belongs to ourselves and what we are able to deliver, namely, our persons and our lives; against these let

A.U.C. 434 in haec saeviant, in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuant.
19 Quod ad tribunos attinet, consulite utrum praesens deditio eorum fieri possit an in diem differatur; nos interim, T. Veturi vosque ceteri, vilia haec capita luendae sponsionis[1] feramus et nostro supplicio liberemus Romana arma."

X. Movit patres conscriptos cum causa tum auctor nec ceteros solum sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se
2 in senatus dicerent fore potestate. Magistratu inde se extemplo abdicaverunt traditique fetialibus cum ceteris Caudium ducendi. Hoc senatus consulto
3 facto lux quaedam adfulsisse civitati visa est. Postumius in ore erat; eum laudibus ad caelum ferebant, devotioni P. Deci consulis, aliis claris facinoribus
4 aequabant: emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace illius consilio et opera; ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium irae offerre piaculaque pro populo Romano
5 dare. Arma cuncti spectant et bellum: en unquam futurum ut congredi armatis cum Samnite liceat?
6 In civitate ira odioque ardente dilectus prope omnium voluntariorum fuit. Rescriptae ex eodem milite novae legiones ductusque ad Caudium exer-
7 citus. Praegressi fetiales ubi ad portam venere, vestem detrahi pacis sponsoribus iubent, manus post tergum vinciri. Cum apparitor verecundia maiestatis Postumi laxe vinciret, "Quin tu" inquit "adduces[2]

[1] sponsionis Ω: sponsioni ς *edd.*
[2] adduces Ω: adducis (*or* adduce) ς.

[1] VIII. ix. 4 f.

them storm, against these direct their swords, against these make sharp their anger. As for the tribunes, you must determine whether their surrender can take place at once or had better be deferred; meantime, Titus Veturius, let us, and you others, offer these caitiff heads of ours in satisfaction of our pledge, and by our suffering liberate the Roman arms." B.C. 320

X. Both the cause itself and the speaker greatly stirred the Conscript Fathers and the others present, including even the tribunes of the plebs, who declared that they would obey the senate, and having forthwith resigned their office were delivered over to the fetials to be led with the rest to Caudium. When the senate had acted on this motion, it somehow seemed as though day had dawned upon the State. Postumius was on all men's lips; they extolled him to the skies, and compared his conduct to the devotion of Publius Decius, the consul,[1] and to other glorious deeds. The state, they said, had emerged —thanks to his wisdom and his services—from a slavish peace; he was freely giving himself up to the tortures of a resentful foe, that he might make expiation for the Roman People. Men thought of nothing but war and arms. Would ever the hour come, they asked, when they might encounter the Samnites, sword in hand?

In a city ablaze with wrath and hate, the levy was almost wholly made up with volunteers. The same soldiers were enrolled into new legions, and the army marched on Caudium. Before them went the fetials, who, when they had come to the gate, bade the guarantors of peace be stripped and their hands be bound behind their backs. As the officer, awed by the dignity of Postumius, would have left him loosely

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8 lorum, ut iusta fiat deditio!" Tum ubi in coetum Samnitium et ad tribunal ventum Ponti est, A. Cor-
9 nelius Arvina fetialis ita verba fecit: "Quandoque hisce homines iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spoponderunt atque ob eam rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem quo populus Romanus scelere impio sit solutus hosce homines vobis dedo."
10 Haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur quanta maxime poterat vi perculit et clara voce ait se Samnitem civem esse, illum legatum[1] a se contra ius gentium violatum: eo iustius bellum gesturos.

XI. Tum Pontius "Nec ego istam deditionem accipiam" inquit, "nec Samnites ratam habebunt.
2 Quin tu, Spuri Postumi, si deos esse censes, aut omnia inrita facis aut pacto stas? Samniti populo omnes quos in potestate habuit aut pro iis pax
3 debetur. Sed quid ego te appello, qui te captum victori cum qua potes fide restituis? Populum Romanum appello; quem si sponsionis ad furculas Caudinas factae paenitet, restituat legiones intra
4 saltum quo saeptae fuerunt. Nemo quemquam deceperit; omnia pro infecto sint; recipiant arma, quae per pactionem tradiderunt; redeant in castra sua; quidquid pridie habuerunt quam in conloquium est ventum habeant: tum bellum et fortia consilia
5 placeant, tum sponsio et pax repudietur. Ea fortuna,

[1] legatum *Walters and Conway*: legatum fetialem Ω.

[1] *i.e.* the *pater patratus*, see I. xxiv. 6.

bound, "Nay, draw the thong tight," he exclaimed, B.C. 320
"that the surrender may be duly carried out." Then, on arriving at the assembly of the Samnites and the tribune of Pontius, Aulus Cornelius Arvina the fetial[1] spoke as follows: "Whereas these men, unbidden by the Roman People of the Quirites, have guaranteed that a treaty should be ratified, and by so doing have committed an injury; to the end that the Roman People may be absolved of heinous guilt, I deliver up these men to you." As the fetial spoke these words, Postumius thrust his knee into the other's thigh, with all the force he could summon up, and proclaimed in a loud voice that he was a Samnite citizen, who had maltreated the envoy in violation of the law of nations, whereby the Romans would make war with the better right.

XI. Then said Pontius, "I will not receive this surrender, nor will the Samnites hold it valid. And you, Spurius Postumius, if you believe in the existence of the gods, why not either reject the whole negotiation or abide by your agreement? The Samnite People is entitled to all whom it had in its power, or to peace in place of them. But why do I appeal to you, who yield yourself a prisoner as honourably as you can? I appeal to the Roman People; if they repent them of the pledge that was given at the Caudine Forks, let them replace their legions in the defile where they were surrounded. Let no one deceive anybody; let all be as though it had not happened; let them resume the arms they laid down in accordance with the compact; let them go back to their camp; whatever they had on the day before the conference, let them have again; *then* let them vote for war and warlike measures, *then* let

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iis[1] locis, quae ante pacis mentionem habuimus, geramus bellum, nec populus Romanus consulum sponsionem nec nos fidem populi Romani accusemus. 6 Nunquamne causa defiet cur victi pacto non stetis? Obsides Porsinnae dedistis: furto eos subduxistis; auro civitatem a Gallis redemistis: inter accipiendum 7 aurum caesi sunt; pacem nobiscum pepigistis, ut legiones vobis captas restitueremus: eam pacem inritam facitis. Et semper aliquam fraudi speciem 8 iuris imponitis. Non probat populus Romanus ignominiosa pace legiones servatas? Pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas victori restituat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus, hoc fetialibus caerimoniis dignum erat. 9 Ut quidem tu quod petisti per pactionem habeas, tot cives incolumes, ego pacem quam hos tibi remittendo pactus sum non habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc vos, fetiales, iuris gentibus dicitis?

10 "Ego vero istos quos dedi simulatis nec accipio nec dedi arbitror, nec moror quo minus in civitatem obligatam[2] sponsione commissa iratis omnibus dis, 11 quorum eluditur numen, redeant. Gerite bellum, quando Sp. Postumius modo legatum[3] genu perculit. Ita di credent Samnitem civem Postumium, non ci-

[1] iis σ: his (hiis *A*) Ω.

[2] obligatam F^3A^2: obluctam (*or other corruptions*) Ω: convictam *Walters*.

[3] legatum *Walters and Conway*: legatum fetialem (*or* fec-) Ω.

[1] An allusion to the Cloelia episode, II. xiii. 6–11.

[2] v. xlviii–xlix.

them reject the guarantee and the peace! Let us B.C. 320
fight it out in those circumstances, and in those positions, which were ours before peace was mentioned; let the Roman People not blame the pledge given by the consuls, nor let us blame the honour of the Roman People. Will you never, when you have been beaten, lack excuses for not holding to your covenants? You gave hostages to Porsinna —and withdrew them by a trick.[1] You ransomed your City from the Gauls with gold—and cut them down as they were receiving the gold.[2] You pledged us peace, on condition that we gave you back your captured legions—and you nullify the peace. And always you contrive to give the fraud some colour of legality. Does the Roman People not approve the preservation of its legions by a disgraceful peace? Let it keep its peace, and give back the captured legions to the victor; that would be conduct worthy of its promise, its covenants, its fetial ceremonies. That you, on your side, should have what you aimed at in your compact, the safety of these many citizens, but that I should not have the peace I stipulated for, when I released them,—is this the judgment which you, Aulus Cornelius, and you, fetials, render to the nations?

"As for me, I will none of these whom you pretend to be surrendering, nor do I deem them to be surrendered, neither do I stand in the way of their returning, despite the wrath of all the gods, whose divinity they have made a mock, to the City which is committed by their guarantee. Aye, go to war, since Spurius Postumius has just now jostled the envoy with his knee! So shall the gods believe that Postumius is a Samnite—not a Roman—citizen,

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vem Romanum esse, et a Samnite legatum Romanum violatum: eo vobis iustum in nos factum esse bellum.
12 Haec ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre et vix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consu-
13 lares fallendae fidei exquirere! I, lictor, deme vincla Romanis; moratus sit nemo, quo minus ubi visum fuerit abeant." Et illi quidem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide ab Caudio in castra Romana inviolati redierunt.

XII. Samnitibus pro superba pace infestissimum cernentibus renatum bellum, omnia[1] quae deinde evenerunt non in animis solum sed prope in oculis
2 esse; et sero ac nequiquam laudare senis Ponti utraque consilia, inter quae se media lapsos via[2] victoriae possessionem pace incerta mutasse; et beneficii et maleficii occasione amissa pugnaturos cum eis quos potuerint in perpetuum vel inimicos
3 tollere vel amicos facere. Adeoque nullodum certamine inclinatis viribus post Caudinam pacem animi mutaverant, ut clariorem inter Romanos deditio Postumium quam Pontium incruenta victoria inter
4 Samnites faceret, et geri posse bellum Romani pro victoria certa haberent, Samnites simul rebellasse et vicisse crederent Romanum.

[1] omnia ζ: omniaque Ω.
[2] media lapsos via *Doujat* (*Madvig*): media lapsos Ω: medio lapsos *Perizonius*.

and that a Roman envoy has been maltreated by a B.C. 320
Samnite, and that you, in consequence of this, have justly made war on us! Does it not shame you to bring forth into the light of day these mockeries of religion, and, old men and consulars as you are, to devise such quibbles to evade your promise as were scarce worthy of children? Go, lictor, strike their fetters from the Romans; let no man hinder them from departing when they list." And the guarantors, released it may be from the nation's pledge, but at all events from their own, returned from Caudium, inviolate, to the Roman camp.

XII. The Samnites now perceived that instead of their domineering peace they were confronted with the renewal of a most bitter war, and not only imagined but almost saw all the consequences which afterwards proceeded from it. Too late and all in vain did they praise the alternative policies suggested by the aged Pontius, between which they had fallen, and exchanged a victory already in their possession for an uncertain peace; they had let slip the opportunity both of doing good and of doing harm, and were going to fight with men whom they might permanently have removed from their path, as enemies, or have made their permanent friends. And though there had so far been no battle since the Caudine Peace to give an advantage to either side, yet such a change of feeling had come about that Postumius enjoyed more fame among the Romans for his surrender than did Pontius among the Samnites for his bloodless victory; and while the Romans regarded their being able to make war as certain victory, the Samnites felt that the Romans had at one and the same moment renewed the war and won it.

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5 Inter haec Satricani ad Samnites defecerunt, et Fregellae colonia necopinato adventu Samnitium—fuisse et Satricanos cum iis satis constat—nocte occupata est. Timor inde mutuus utrosque usque 6 ad lucem quietos tenuit; lux pugnae initium fuit, quam aliquamdiu aequam et quia pro aris ac focis dimicabatur et quia ex tectis adiuvabat imbellis 7 multitudo tamen[1] Fregellani sustinuerunt. Fraus deinde rem inclinavit, quod vocem audiri praeconis passi sunt, incolumem abiturum qui arma posuisset. Ea spes remisit a certamine animos, et passim arma 8 iactari coepta. Pertinacior pars armata per aversam portam erupit, tutiorque eis audacia fuit quam incautus ad credendum ceteris pavor, quos circumdatos igni nequiquam deos fidemque invocantes Samnites concremaverunt.

9 Consules inter se partiti provincias, Papirius in Apuliam ad Luceriam pergit, ubi equites Romani obsides ad Caudium dati custodiebantur, Publilius in Samnio substitit adversus Caudinas legiones. 10 Distendit ea res Samnitium animos, quod nec ad Luceriam ire, ne ab tergo instaret hostis, nec manere, ne Luceria interim amitteretur, satis audebant. 11 Optimum visum est committere rem fortunae

[1] multitudo tamen Ω: multitudo certamen (*or* multitudo) *Madvig*.

Meanwhile the Satricans revolted to the Samnites, B.C. 320
and the colony of Fregellae, in a surprise attack by the Samnites—accompanied, it would seem, by people from Satricum—was seized during the night. Mutual fear then caused both sides to remain quiet until the morning, when the light ushered in a battle which for a long time was equally sustained —for the townsfolk were fighting for their hearths and altars and a throng of those unfit for arms gave them assistance from the housetops,—still, the people of Fregellae held their own, until presently a ruse decided the victory; for they permitted a herald to be heard, who promised safety to any who laid down his arms. The hope of this relaxed the tension of their courage and on every side they began throwing their arms away. The more determined portion of them retained their weapons and burst out by the opposite gate, and their boldness stood them in better stead than did their too credulous timidity the others; for these the Samnites compassed about with fire, and, despite their appeals to Heaven and to the promise of their captors, burnt them alive.

The consuls having divided the provinces between them, Papirius took his way into Apulia towards Luceria, where the Roman knights given up at Caudium for hostages were being guarded, while Publilius stopped behind in Samnium to oppose the Caudine legions. This plan distracted the minds of the Samnites, since they neither dared move towards Luceria, lest they should bring the enemy down upon their rear, nor remain where they were, for fear that Luceria would meanwhile be lost. The best course seemed to be to entrust their cause to

A.U.C. 434 et transigere cum Publilio certamen; itaque in aciem copias educunt.

XIII. Adversus quos Publilius consul cum dimicaturus esset, prius adloquendos milites ratus contionem advocari iussit. Ceterum sicut ingenti alacritate ad praetorium concursum est, ita prae clamore poscentium pugnam nulla adhortatio im- 2 peratoris audita est: suus cuique animus memor ignominiae adhortator aderat. Vadunt igitur in proelium urgentes signiferos, et ne mora in concursu pilis emittendis stringendisque inde gladiis esset, pila velut dato ad id signo abiciunt strictisque gladiis 3 cursu in hostem feruntur. Nihil illic imperatoriae artis ordinibus aut subsidiis locandis fuit: omnia ira 4 militaris prope vesano impetu egit. Itaque non fusi modo hostes sunt, sed ne castris quidem suis fugam impedire[1] ausi Apuliam dissipati petiere; Luceriam tamen coacto rursus in unum agmine est perventum. 5 Romanos ira eadem quae per mediam aciem hostium tulerat et in castra pertulit. Ibi plus quam in acie sanguinis ac caedis factum praedaeque pars maior ira corrupta.

6 Exercitus alter cum Papirio consule locis maritimis pervenerat Arpos per omnia pacata Samnitium magis iniuriis et odio quam beneficio ullo populi Romani;

[1] impedire Ω: inhibere *Madvig.*

Fortune and fight it out with Publilius. They B.C. 320
accordingly formed up in line of battle.

XIII. Publilius the consul was ready to engage them, but thinking it best to encourage his soldiers first, he bade summon them to an assembly. But though they came running to the praetorium with vast alacrity, yet the outcry of those who demanded battle was so loud that the general's exhortation could not be heard; still, every man's own heart, remembering the late humiliation, was there to exhort him. So they went forward into battle, urging on their standard-bearers; and, that there might be no delay in coming to grips while they were discharging their javelins and drawing their swords, they threw away their javelins, as if a signal had been given them, and, sword in hand, pushed forward at the double against the enemy. No tactical skill was there employed in ranging centuries or reserves: the wrath of the soldiers swept everything along in its mad rush. And so not only were the Samnites routed, but not daring to interrupt their flight even at their camp, they dispersed and struck out for Apulia; yet they afterwards rallied again and came to Luceria in one body. The same fury that took the Romans through their enemy's battle-line, carried them also into his camp. There was more bloodshed and carnage there than in the battle, and the greater part of the booty was destroyed in anger.

The other army, under the consul Papirius, marching along the coast as far as Arpi, had found all peaceably disposed, more because of the wrongs done by the Samnites and the hatred they had engendered than owing to any favour shown by the

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7 nam Samnites, ea tempestate in montibus vicatim habitantes, campestria et maritima loca contempto[1] cultorum molliore atque, ut evenit fere, locis simili genere ipsi montani atque agrestes depopulabantur. 8 Quae regio si fida Samnitibus fuisset, aut pervenire Arpos exercitus Romanus nequisset, aut interiecta penuria[2] rerum omnium exclusos a commeatibus 9 absumpsisset. Tum quoque profectos inde ad Luceriam, iuxta obsidentes obsessosque, inopia vexavit. Omnia ab Arpis Romanis suppeditabantur, ceterum adeo exigue ut militi occupato stationibus vigiliisque et opere eques folliculis in castra ab 10 Arpis frumentum veheret, interdum occursu hostium cogeretur abiecto ex equo frumento pugnare. Obsessis priusquam alter consul victore exercitu advenit, et commeatus ex montibus Samnitium invecti 11 erant et auxilia intromissa. Artiora omnia adventus Publili fecit, qui obsidione delegata in curam collegae vacuus[3] per agros cuncta infesta commeatibus hostium 12 fecerat. Itaque cum spes nulla esset diutius obsessos inopiam laturos, coacti Samnites, qui ad Luceriam castra habebant, undique contractis viribus signa cum Papirio conferre.

XIV. Per id tempus parantibus utrisque se ad

[1] contempto $A^5\zeta$: contempta M: contemptu Ω

[2] interiecta penuria *Tan. Faber (Walters and Conway)*: interiecta inter Romam et Arpos penuria Ω.

[3] vacuus Ω: uacuos A^1 (*or* A^2): uacuis U: uagus *Duker (Madvig)*.

Roman People. For the Samnites, who in those B.C. 320
days dwelt in villages among the mountains, used to ravage the regions of the plain and coast, despising their cultivators, who were of a softer character, and one that—as often happens—resembled their country, while they themselves were rude highlanders. If this district had been faithful to the Samnites, it would either have been impossible for a Roman army to have got as far as Arpi, or the utterly barren nature of the intervening country would have destroyed them, cut off as they would have been from their supplies. Even as it was, when they had proceeded to the vicinity of Luceria, besiegers and besieged suffered alike from scarcity of food: everything was carried up from Arpi for the Romans, but so precarious were their supplies, that while the foot-soldiers were busy with outpost-duty, guard-mounting, and entrenching, the cavalry brought up corn for them from Arpi in leather pouches, and, now and then, encountering the enemy, were forced to throw off the corn from their horses and fight; the besieged, until the arrival of the other consul with his victorious army, had got in their provisions —and auxiliary forces too—from the mountains of the Samnites. The coming of Publilius tightened up the lines; for, turning the siege over to his colleague, he was free to range the country-side, where he made things difficult for the supply-trains of the enemy. The Samnites, therefore, who were encamped about Luceria, in despair of being able to endure the scarcity, if the siege continued, were obliged to gather up their forces from every quarter and give battle to Papirius.

XIV. At this juncture, while both sides were

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proelium legati Tarentini interveniunt denuntiantes Samnitibus Romanisque ut bellum omitterent: per utros stetisset quo minus discederetur ab armis, 2 adversus eos se pro alteris pugnaturos. Ea legatione Papirius audita perinde ac motus dictis eorum cum collega se communicaturum respondit; accitoque eo, cum tempus omne in apparatu pugnae consumpsisset, conlocutus de re haud dubia signum 3 pugnae proposuit. Agentibus divina humanaque quae adsolent cum acie dimicandum est consulibus Tarentini legati occursare responsum exspectantes; 4 quibus Papirius ait: "Auspicia secunda esse, Tarentini, pullarius nuntiat; litatum praeterea est egregie; auctoribus dis, ut videtis, ad rem gerendam pro- 5 ficiscimur." Signa inde ferre[1] iussit et copias eduxit, vanissimam increpans gentem quae, suarum impotens rerum prae domesticis seditionibus discordiisque, aliis modum pacis ac belli facere aequum censeret.

6 Samnites ex parte altera, cum omnem curam belli remisissent, quia aut pacem vere cupiebant aut expediebat simulare, ut Tarentinos sibi conciliarent, cum instructos repente ad pugnam Romanos con- 7 spexissent, vociferari se in auctoritate Tarentinorum manere nec descendere in aciem nec extra vallum arma ferre; deceptos potius quodcumque casus ferat

[1] ferre Ω : ferri *Gronovius.*

[1] *i.e.* a red flag hung out in front of the general's tent.

[2] Two kinds of divination are alluded to: (1) by observing the feeding of the sacred chickens, (2) by inspecting the entrails of a victim.

making ready for the struggle, came ambassadors B.C. 320
from Tarentum, admonishing both Samnites and Romans to desist from war. Whichever party should oppose the cessation of hostilities, against that they proposed to fight in behalf of the other. After listening to these envoys, Papirius, as though moved by what they said, replied that he would consult his colleague. Having sent for Publilius, he employed every moment of the interval in making his preparations, and when he had conferred with him about a matter which admitted of no doubt, displayed the battle-signal.[1] The consuls were busy with matters pertaining to gods and to men, as they are wont to to be on the eve of an engagement, when the envoys from Tarentum approached them to receive their answer; to whom Papirius replied, "Tarentines, the keeper of the chickens reports that the signs are favourable; the sacrifice too has been exceedingly auspicious;[2] as you see, the gods are with us at our going into action." He then commanded to advance the standards, and marshalled his troops, with exclamations on the folly of a nation which, powerless to manage its own affairs, because of domestic strife and discord, presumed to lay down the limits of peace and war for others.

The Samnites, on their side, having dismissed from their minds every anxiety regarding the war, either because they sincerely wished for peace, or because it was expedient for them to pretend that they wished it, in order to gain the support of the Tarentines, when they beheld the Romans suddenly arrayed for battle, cried out that they would abide by the will of the Tarentines and would neither take the field nor advance beyond the rampart; they had

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passuros quam ut sprevisse pacis auctores Tarentinos
8 videantur. Accipere se omen consules aiunt et eam precari mentem hostibus ut ne vallum quidem
9 defendant. Ipsi inter se partitis copiis succedunt hostium munimentis et simul undique adorti, cum pars fossas explerent, pars vellerent vallum atque in fossas proruerent nec virtus modo insita sed ira etiam exulceratos ignominia stimularet animos, castra
10 invasere; et pro se quisque, non haec Furculas nec Caudium nec saltus invios esse, ubi errorem fraus superbe vicisset, sed Romanam virtutem, quam nec
11 vallum nec fossae arcerent memorantes, caedunt pariter resistentes fusosque, inermes atque armatos, servos liberos, puberes impubes, homines iumentaque;
12 nec ullum superfuisset animal, ni consules receptui signum dedissent avidosque caedis milites e castris
13 hostium imperio ac minis[1] expulissent. Itaque apud infensos ob interpellatam dulcedinem irae confestim oratio habita est, ut doceretur miles minime cuiquam militum consules odio in hostes cessisse
14 aut cessuros; quin duces sicut belli ita insatiabilis supplicii futuros fuisse, ni respectus equitum sescentorum qui Luceriae obsides tenerentur praepedisset[2]
15 animos, ne desperata venia hostes caecos in sup-

[1] ac minis $I^3\gamma$: agminis Ω.
[2] praepedisset (pre-) γ: praepedissent Ω.

[1] The omen lay in the Samnites' expressed purpose to offer no resistance.

been deceived, but they chose rather to endure B.C. 320
whatever Fortune might have in store for them than be thought to have spurned the peaceful advice of the Tarentines. The consuls declared that they embraced the omen,[1] praying that the enemy might be so minded as not even to defend his rampart. They themselves, dividing their troops between them, marched up to the earthworks of the Samnites, and attacked them at once from every side. Some began to fill the trenches, others to pull up the palings and fling them into the trenches; besides their native courage they were goaded on by anger at the disgrace that rankled in their hearts. Forcing their way into the camp, while every man repeated that here were no Forks, no Caudium, no trackless passes, where guile had arrogantly triumphed over error, but Roman manhood, which neither rampart nor trenches could keep out, they cut down without distinction those who resisted and those who fled, the armed and the unarmed, slaves and freemen, adults and children, men and beasts; nor would anything living have survived, had not the consuls bade sound the recall and expelled the bloodthirsty soldiers from the enemy's camp with commands and threats. The men were incensed at the interruption of their sweet revenge, and accordingly the consuls at once addressed them and explained that they had neither yielded nor meant to yield to any of the soldiers in hatred of the enemy: on the contrary, they would have led the way, as in war, so in the exaction of endless vengeance, had their indignation not been checked by thoughts of the six hundred knights who were being held as hostages in Luceria; but they feared that the enemy, if they despaired of

A.U.C. 434 plicia eorum ageret, perdere prius quam perire optantes. Laudare ea milites laetarique obviam itum irae suae esse ac fateri omnia patienda potius quam proderetur salus tot principum Romanae iuventutis.

A.U.C. 435 XV. Dimissa contione consilium habitum omnibusne copiis Luceriam premerent an altero exercitu et duce Apuli circa, gens dubiae ad id voluntatis, temptarentur. Publilius consul ad peragrandam profectus Apuliam aliquot expeditione una populos aut vi subegit aut condicionibus in societatem accepit. Papirio quoque, qui obsessor Luceriae restiterat, brevi ad spem eventus respondit. Nam insessis omnibus viis per quas commeatus ex Samnio subvehebantur, fame domiti Samnites qui Luceriae in praesidio erant legatos misere ad consulem Romanum, ut receptis equitibus qui causa belli essent absisteret obsidione. Iis Papirius ita respondit: debuisse eos Pontium Herenni filium, quo auctore Romanos sub iugum misissent, consulere quid victis patiendum censeret: ceterum quoniam ab hostibus in se aequa statui quam in se ipsi ferre maluerint, nuntiare Luceriam iussit, arma sarcinas iumenta multitudinem omnem imbellem intra moenia relinquerent;

quarter, might be driven blindly to put their B.C. 320
prisoners to death, choosing to slay before they were slain themselves. These arguments the men applauded, and rejoiced that their wrath had been restrained; they confessed that it was better that they should suffer anything than betray the lives of so many distinguished young Romans.

XV. The assembly was dismissed, and a council of B.C. 319
war was held to determine whether they should press the siege with all their forces, or should employ one army and its general to test the dispositions of the Apulians around them—a people whose sympathies were still in doubt. The consul Publilius set out on a march through Apulia and in a single expedition either subjugated, or by granting terms, received into alliance, a goodly number of states. Papirius, too, who had remained behind at Luceria to conduct the siege, soon found the outcome answerable to his hopes; for all the roads by which supplies were wont to be brought in from Samnium were blocked, and the Samnite garrison were reduced by hunger to send a deputation to the Roman consul with an offer to release the horsemen who were the cause of the war, on condition that he would raise the siege. Papirius replied that they ought to have gone to Pontius, the son of Herennius, at whose instance they had sent the Romans under the yoke, to find out what the vanquished deserved to suffer; however, since they preferred that their enemies should decide on a just penalty for them, rather than propose one for themselves, he bade them take word to Luceria that they should leave their arms, packs, sumpter animals, and all the non-combatants, within the walls; the soldiers he in-

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militem se cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum, ulciscentem inlatam, non novam infe-
rentem ignominiam. Nihil recusatum. Septem milia militum sub iugum missa, praedaque ingens Luceriae capta receptis omnibus signis armisque quae ad Caudium amissa erant, et quod omnia superabat gaudia, equitibus reciperatis [1] quos pignora pacis custodiendos Luceriam Samnites dederant. Haud ferme alia mutatione subita rerum clarior victoria populi Romani est, si quidem etiam, quod quibusdam in annalibus invenio, Pontius Herenni filius, Samnitium imperator, ut expiaret consulum ignominiam, sub iugum cum ceteris est missus.

Ceterum id minus miror obscurum esse de hostium duce dedito missoque; id magis mirabile est ambigi, Luciusne Cornelius dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore magistro equitum eas res ad Caudium atque inde Luceriam gesserit ultorque unicus Romanae ignominiae haud sciam an iustissimo triumpho ad eam aetatem secundum Furium Camillum triumphaverit, an consulum—Papirique praecipuum—id decus sit. Sequitur hunc errorem alius error, Cursorne Papirius proximis comitiis cum Q. Aulio Cerretano iterum ob rem bene gestam Luceriae continuato magistratu

[1] reciperatis *Walters and Conway* (*passim*): recuperatis Ω.

tended to send under the yoke, clad only in their tunics, inflicting on them no new disgrace, but requiting that which had first been put upon the Romans. They made no objection, and seven thousand men were sent under the yoke. Huge spoils were captured in Luceria, and all the standards and arms which had been lost at Caudium were retaken, and, to cap the climax of their joy, the horsemen were recovered whom the Samnites had assigned, as pledges of peace, to be guarded at Luceria. There is scarce any other Roman victory more glorious for its sudden reversal of fortune, especially if it is true, as I find in certain annals, that Pontius the son of Herennius, the Samnite general-in-chief, was sent with the rest under the yoke, to expiate the humiliation of the consuls. B.C. 319

Be that as it may, I am not greatly surprised that there should be some doubt as to the general of the enemy who was surrendered and disgraced; the amazing thing is the uncertainty whether it was Lucius Cornelius, as dictator—with Lucius Papirius Cursor, as master of the horse—who won these victories at Caudium and subsequently at Luceria, and, because of the signal vengeance that he exacted for Rome's shame, enjoyed a triumph which I should be inclined to rate as the best-deserved of all down to that time, next after that of Furius Camillus; or whether that honour belongs to the consuls—and particularly to Papirius. This doubt is attended with another—whether at the ensuing election Papirius Cursor was retained in office in recognition of his victory at Luceria, being returned for a third time to the consulship, together with Quintus Aulius Cerretanus—then chosen for the second time—or

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consul tertium creatus sit an L. Papirius Mugillanus[1] et in cognomine erratum sit.

XVI. Convenit iam inde per consules reliqua belli perfecta. Aulius cum Ferentanis[2] uno secundo proelio debellavit urbemque ipsam, quo se fusa contulerat acies, obsidibus imperatis in deditionem 2 accepit. Pari fortuna consul alter cum Satricanis, qui cives Romani post Caudinam cladem ad Samnites defecerant praesidiumque eorum in urbem acce- 3 perant, rem gessit. Nam cum ad moenia Satrici[3] admotus esset exercitus legatisque missis ad pacem cum precibus petendam triste responsum ab consule redditum esset, nisi praesidio Samnitium interfecto aut tradito ne ad se remearent, plus ea voce quam 4 armis inlatis terroris colonis iniectum. Itaque subinde exsequuntur quaerendo a consule legati quonam se pacto paucos et infirmos crederet praesidio tam valido et armato vim allaturos. Ab iisdem consilium petere iussi, quibus auctoribus praesidium in urbem accepissent, discedunt aegreque impetrato ut de ea 5 re consuli senatum responsaque ad se referri sineret 6 ad suos redeunt. Duae factiones senatum distinebant, una cuius principes erant defectionis a populo Romano auctores, altera fidelium civium; certatum ab utrisque tamen est ut ad reconciliandam pacem 7 consuli opera navaretur. Pars altera, cum praesidium

[1] Mugillanus *PFUO*: mugilanus *MTDLA*.
[2] Ferentanis $M^2I^2FUOT^2$: frentanis *MTDLA*: frentranis *P*: Forentanis *Gronovius*.
[3] Satrici γ: Satricae (*or* -ce) Ω.

[1] Their town has been conjecturally identified with Horace's "low-lying Forentum," *Odes*, III. iv. 16.

whether it was Lucius Papirius Mugillanus, and the B.C. 319
mistake was a matter of the surname.

XVI. It is agreed that from this point onwards the war was brought to a conclusion by the consuls. Aulius finished in one successful battle the campaign against the Ferentani,[1] and having exacted hostages, received the surrender of the city itself, in which their defeated army had taken refuge. With no less good fortune the other consul overcame the Satricans, who—though Roman citizens—had revolted, after the Caudine misfortune, to the Samnites, of whom they had admitted a garrison into their city. For when the Roman army had drawn near the walls of Satricum, the townspeople sent ambassadors to sue humbly for peace; but the consul returned them a harsh answer: that unless they put to death the Samnite garrison or delivered it up, they must come back to him no more—a saying which struck more terror into their hearts than the threatened assault. And so the envoys persisted in demanding of the consul how he supposed that they, being few and weak, could force so strong and well-armed a garrison. But he bade them seek advice from those same men at whose instigation they had received the garrison into their city; and after they had with no small difficulty persuaded him to suffer them to consult their senate in the matter and report to him its decision, they went back to their people. Two factions kept the senate divided: one of these had for leaders the men who had inspired the revolt from Rome, the other was composed of loyal citizens; both, however, were equally anxious to accommodate the consul, so that they might be granted peace. One party, seeing that the Samnite garrison was intend-

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Samnitium, quia nihil satis praeparati erat ad obsidionem tolerandam, excessurum proxima nocte esset,[1] enuntiare consuli satis habuit, qua noctis hora quaque porta et quam in viam egressurus hostis
8 foret; altera, quibus invitis descitum ad Samnites erat, eadem nocte portam etiam consuli[2] aperuerunt
9 armatosque clam hoste[3] in urbem acceperunt. Ita duplici proditione et praesidium Samnitium insessis circa viam silvestribus locis necopinato oppressum est, et ab urbe plena hostium clamor sublatus; momentoque unius horae caesus Samnis, Satricanus
10 captus, et omnia in potestate consulis erant. Qui quaestione habita quorum opera defectio esset facta, quos sontes comperit virgis caesos securi percussit praesidioque valido imposito arma Satricanis ademit.
11 Inde ad triumphum decessisse Romam Papirium Cursorem scribunt, qui eo duce Luceriam receptam
12 Samnitesque sub iugum missos auctores sunt. Et fuit vir haud dubie dignus omni bellica laude, non animi solum vigore sed etiam corporis viribus
13 excellens. Praecipua pedum pernicitas inerat, quae cognomen etiam dedit; victoremque[4] cursu omnium aetatis suae fuisse ferunt,[5] seu crurum[6] vi seu exer-

[1] esset D^3A^3: esse *MTDLA*: *omitted* by *PFUO*.
[2] consuli σ: consulibus Ω.
[3] clam hoste *Gelenius*: clam nocte Ω: clam *Weissenborn*.
[4] victoremque M^3F^1 (*or* F^3) A^x (*over erasure*) Frag. Hav.^{2}: uictorisque Ω.
[5] ferunt *Madvig*: ferunt et Ω.
[6] crurum *Madvig*: uirium Ω.

ing to escape on the following night—for they had B.C. 319
made no preparations for enduring a siege—deemed it sufficient to let the consul know at what hour and by what gate the enemy meant to leave, and what road he planned to take. The others, who had opposed going over to the Samnites, that same night also opened a gate to the consul, and without letting the Samnites know, admitted his soldiers into the city. In consequence of this double betrayal, the Samnite garrison was surprised and overpowered by an ambush laid in the woods about their road, while a shout went up in the city, which was filled with enemies. Thus, in one crowded hour, the Samnites were slain and the Satricans captured, and all things brought under the power of the consul; who conducted an investigation, and, having ascertained who were responsible for the defection, had the guilty parties scourged and beheaded; after which he imposed a strong garrison upon the Satricans and deprived them of their arms.

Papirius Cursor then departed for Rome to celebrate his triumph, as those writers state who name him as the commander who recovered Luceria and sent the Samnites under the yoke. No question, he was a man deserving of all praise as a soldier, excelling, as he did, not only in the vigour of his spirit, but in physical strength. He possessed remarkable fleetness of foot, which was even the source of his surname.[1] It is said that he vanquished all his mates at running, whether owing to the

[1] *Cursor* means "runner," but the name seems really to have been an inheritance in the present case, for at chap. xxxiv. § 20 we read of it as belonging to the grandfather of our Papirius.

A.U.C. 435 citatione multa; cibi vinique eundem capacissimum;
14 nec cum ullo asperiorem, quia ipse invicti ad laborem
corporis esset, fuisse militiam pediti pariter equi-
15 tique; equites etiam aliquando ausos ab eo petere
ut sibi pro re bene gesta laxaret aliquid laboris;
16 quibus ille "Ne nihil remissum dicatis, remitto,"
inquit, "ne utique dorsum demulceatis, cum ex
equis descendetis." Et vis erat in eo viro imperii
17 ingens pariter in socios civesque. Praenestinus
praetor per timorem segnius ex subsidiis suos duxerat
in primam aciem; quem cum inambulans ante taber-
18 naculum vocari iussisset, lictorem expedire securem
iussit, ad quam vocem exanimi stante Praenestino:
"Agedum, lictor, excide radicem hanc" inquit "in-
commodam ambulantibus," perfusumque ultimi sup-
19 plicii metu multa dicta dimisit. Haud dubie illa
aetate, qua nulla virtutum feracior fuit, nemo unus
erat vir quo magis innixa res Romana staret. Quin
eum parem destinant animis magno Alexandro ducem,
si arma Asia perdomita in Europam vertisset.

XVII. Nihil minus quaesitum a principio huius operis videri potest quam ut plus iusto ab rerum ordine declinarem varietatibusque distinguendo opere et legentibus velut deverticula amoena et requiem

strength of his legs or to much exercise; that he B.C. 319
had also the greatest capacity for food and wine; and that no general was harder on his men, whether horse or foot, for his own constitution could never be overcome by toil. It is related how his cavalrymen ventured once to ask him if in view of their good conduct he would not excuse them from some portion of their duties; to whom he answered, "That you may not say that I have excused you nothing, I freely excuse you from the duty of rubbing your backs when you dismount." And the man possessed a power of command which was equally effective with citizens and allies. A Praenestine praetor had, through timidity, been somewhat slow in bringing his men up from the supports to the fighting line. Papirius strolled over to the praetor's tent and having bidden them call him out, commanded a lictor to prepare his axe. Hearing this the praetor stood aghast, but Papirius said to the lictor, "Come, cut out this root; it is a nuisance to those who walk." He then fined the man and let him go, half-dead with the fear of capital punishment. There can be no doubt that in his generation, than which none was ever more fruitful of great qualities, there was no single man who did more to uphold the Roman State. Indeed people regard him as one who might have been a match in generalship for Alexander the Great, if the latter, after subjugating Asia, had turned his arms against Europe.

XVII. Nothing can be thought to have been more remote from my intention, since I first set about this task, than to depart unduly from the order of events, and to aim, by the introduction of ornamental digressions, at providing as it were agreeable by-

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2 animo meo quaererem; tamen tanti regis ac ducis mentio, quibus saepe tacitus[1] cogitationibus volutavi[2] animum, eas evocat in medium, ut quaerere libeat quinam eventus Romanis rebus, si cum Alexandro foret bellatum, futurus fuerit.

3 Plurimum in bello pollere videntur militum copia et virtus, ingenia imperatorum, fortuna per omnia
4 humana, maxime in res bellicas potens: ea et singula intuenti et universa, sicut ab aliis regibus gentibusque ita ab hoc quoque, facile praestant invictum
5 Romanum imperium. Iam primum, ut ordiar ab ducibus comparandis, haud equidem abnuo egregium ducem fuisse Alexandrum; sed clariorem tamen eum facit quod unus fuit, quod adulescens in incremento rerum, nondum alteram fortunam expertus, decessit.
6 Ut alios reges claros ducesque omittam, magna exempla casuum humanorum, Cyrum, quem maxime Graeci laudibus celebrant, quid nisi longa vita, sicut Magnum modo Pompeium, vertenti praebuit fortunae?
7 Recenseam duces Romanos, nec omnes omnium aetatium, sed ipsos eos cum quibus consulibus aut
8 dictatoribus Alexandro fuit bellandum, M. Valerium Corvum C. Marcium Rutulum[3] C. Sulpicium T. Manlium Torquatum Q. Publilium Philonem L. Papirium Cursorem Q. Fabium Maximum duos Decios

[1] tacitus *PF*: tacitis Ω.
[2] volutavi *F*: uolutauit Ω.
[3] Rutulum *Conway (cf. his note on* III. vii. 6): Rutilium Ω.

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[1] Professor Anderson argues that the following digression (chap. xvii. § 3 through chap. xix) was a youthful exercise in rhetoric written when Livy was a boy and later inserted here without revision, but with the addition of an introductory section (§§ 1, 2). See his edition, *App.* III, and

paths for the reader, and mental relaxation for myself. Nevertheless the mention of so great a prince and captain evokes certain thoughts which I have often silently pondered in my mind, and disposes me to enquire how the Roman State would have fared in a war with Alexander.[1] B.C. 319

It appears that in war the factors of chief importance are the numbers and valour of the soldiers, the abilities of the commanders, and Fortune, which, powerful in all the affairs of men, is especially so in war. These factors, whether viewed separately or conjointly, afford a ready assurance, that, even as against other princes and nations, so also against this one the might of Rome would have proved invincible. First of all—to begin by comparing commanders—I do not deny that Alexander was a remarkable general; still, his fame was enhanced by the fact that he was a sole commander, and the further fact that he died young, in the flood-tide of success, when as yet he had experienced no other lot. Not to speak of other distinguished kings and generals, illustrious proofs of human vicissitude, what else was it but length of days that exposed Cyrus, whom the Greeks exalt so high in their panegyrics, to the fickleness of Fortune? And the same thing was lately seen in the case of Pompey the Great. Need I repeat the names of the Roman generals, not all nor of every age, but those very ones with whom, as consuls or as dictators, Alexander would have had to fight—Marcus Valerius Corvus, Gaius Marcius Rutulus, Gaius Sulpicius, Titus Manlius Torquatus, Quintus Publilius Philo, Lucius Papirius Cursor, Quintus Fabius Maximus,

[1] *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, XXXIX. (1908), pp. 94–99.

A.U.C. 435

9 L. Volumnium M'. Curium?[1] Deinceps ingentes sequuntur viri, si Punicum Romano praevertisset
10 bellum seniorque in Italiam traiecisset. Horum in quolibet cum indoles eadem quae in Alexandro erat animi ingeniique; tum disciplina militaris, iam inde ab initiis urbis tradita per manus, in artis[2] perpetuis
11 praeceptis ordinatae modum venerat. Ita reges gesserant bella, ita deinde exactores regum Iunii Valeriique, ita deinceps Fabii Quinctii Cornelii, ita Furius Camillus, quem iuvenes ii quibus cum Alex-
12 andro dimicandum erat senem viderant. Militaria opera pugnando obeunti Alexandro—nam ea quoque haud minus clarum eum faciunt—cessisset videlicet in acie oblatus par Manlius Torquatus aut Valerius
13 Corvus, insignes ante milites quam duces, cessissent Decii, devotis corporibus in hostem ruentes, cessisset Papirius Cursor illo corporis robore, illo animi!
14 Victus esset consiliis iuvenis unius, ne singulos nominem, senatus ille, quem qui ex regibus constare dixit unus veram speciem Romani senatus cepit!
15 Id vero erat periculum, ne sollertius quam quilibet unus ex his quos nominavi castris locum caperet, commeatus expediret, ab insidiis praecaveret, tempus

[1] M'. Curium? *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², p. 46): marcum (*or* m̄) Ω (*C.I.L.* i², pp. 135, 171): marcium O.
[2] artis A^6 ς: artes Ω.

[1] Cineas, the ambassador of King Pyrrhus. *Cf.* Plut. *Pyrrhus*, xix.

the two Decii, Lucius Volumnius, Manius Curius? B.C. 319
After these come some extraordinary men, if he had turned his attention to war with Carthage first and later with Rome, and had crossed into Italy when somewhat old. Any one of these was as highly endowed with courage and talents as was Alexander; and military training, handed down from the very beginning of the City, had taken on the character of a profession, built up on comprehensive principles. So the kings had warred; so after them the expellers of the kings, the Junii and the Valerii, and so in succession the Fabii, Quinctii, Cornelii, and Furius Camillus, whom in his old age those had seen, as youths, who would have had to fight with Alexander. But in the performance of a soldier's work in battle—for which Alexander was no less distinguished—Manlius Torquatus or Valerius Corvus would, forsooth, have yielded to him, had they met him in a hand-to-hand encounter, famous though they were as soldiers before ever they won renown as captains! The Decii, of course, would have yielded to him, who hurled their devoted bodies upon the foe! Papirius Cursor would have yielded, with that wondrous strength of body and of spirit! The counsels of a single youth would no doubt have got the better of that senate—not to speak of individual members—which was called an assembly of kings by him who before all others had a true conception of the Roman Senate![1] And I suppose there was the danger that Alexander would display more skill than any of these whom I have named, in selecting a place for a camp, in organizing his service of supply, in guarding against ambuscades, in choosing a time for battle, in

A.U.C. 435 pugnae deligeret, aciem instrueret, subsidiis firmaret!
16 Non cum Dareo[1] rem esse dixisset, quem mulierum
ac spadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque
aurum oneratum fortunae apparatibus suae, praedam
verius quam hostem, nihil aliud quam bene ausus
17 vana contemnere incruentus devicit. Longe alius
Italiae quam Indiae, per quam temulento agmine
comisabundus incessit, visus illi habitus esset, saltus
Apuliae ac montes Lucanos cernenti et vestigia
recentia domesticae cladis ubi avunculus eius nuper,
Epiri rex Alexander, absumptus erat.

XVIII. Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merso
secundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit.
2 Qui si ex habitu novae fortunae novique, ut ita
3 dicam, ingenii quod sibi victor induerat spectetur,
Dareo magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam
venisset et exercitum Macedoniae oblitum degene-
4 rantemque iam in Persarum mores adduxisset.
Referre in tanto rege piget superbam mutationem
vestis et desideratas humi iacentium adulationes,
etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus,
et foeda supplicia et inter vinum et epulas caedes
5 amicorum et vanitatem ementiendae stirpis. Quid

[1] Dareo *MPTDL* (*and chap.* xviii. § 3 *MPOT*) : dario (darici *O*) I^2FUA (*and below* P^2FUDLA).

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[1] Darius III. defeated by Alexander in the battle of Arbela, 331 B.C.

[2] VIII. xxiv.

[3] Philotas was examined under torture and confessed participation in a plot against Alexander's life. He implicated also his father Parmenio, the general, and both were executed. Clitus, who had saved Alexander's life at the Granicus, was killed by him at a banquet in a fit of

marshalling his troops, in providing strong reserves! B.C. 319
He would have said it was no Darius[1] whom he had to deal with, trailing women and eunuchs after him, and weighed down with the gold and purple trappings of his station. Him he found a booty rather than an enemy, and conquered without bloodshed, merely by daring to despise vain shows. Far different from India, through which he progressed at the head of a rout of drunken revellers, would Italy have appeared to him, as he gazed on the passes of Apulia and the Lucanian mountains, and the still fresh traces of that family disaster wherein his uncle, King Alexander of Epirus, had lost his life.[2]

XVIII. And we are speaking of an Alexander not yet overwhelmed with prosperity, which none has ever been less able to bear. For viewing him in the light of his new fortune and of the new character—if I may use the expression—which he had assumed as conqueror, he would evidently have come to Italy more like Darius than like Alexander, at the head of an army that had forgotten Macedonia and was already adopting the degenerate customs of the Persians. I am loath, in writing of so great a prince, to remind the reader of the ostentatious alteration in his dress, and of his desire that men should prostrate themselves in adulation, a thing which even conquered Macedonians would have found oppressive, much more then those who had been victorious; of his cruel punishments and the murder of his friends as they drank and feasted; of the boastful lie about his origin.[3] What if his love of wine had

drunken rage. The last clause alludes to Alexander's claim that Zeus, not Philip, was his father.

A.U.C. 435

si vini amor in dies fieret acrior? Quid si trux ac praefervida ira?—Nec quicquam dubium inter scriptores refero—, nullane haec damna imperatoriis
6 virtutibus ducimus? Id vero periculum erat, quod levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent, dictitare solent, ne maiestatem nominis Alexandri, quem ne fama
7 quidem illis notum arbitror fuisse, sustinere non potuerit populus Romanus; et adversus quem Athenis, in civitate fracta Macedonum armis, cernentes[1] tum maxime prope fumantes Thebarum ruinas, contionari libere ausi sunt homines—id quod ex monumentis orationum patet—adversus eum nemo ex tot proceribus Romanis vocem liberam missurus fuerit!
8 Quantalibet magnitudo hominis concipiatur animo; unius tamen ea magnitudo hominis erit collecta
9 paulo plus decem annorum felicitate; quam qui eo extollunt quod populus Romanus etsi nullo bello multis tamen proeliis victus sit, Alexandro nullius pugnae non secunda fortuna fuerit, non intellegunt se hominis res gestas, et eius iuvenis, cum populi iam quadringentesimum[2] bellantis annum rebus
10 conferre. Miremur si, cum ex hac parte saecula plura numerentur quam ex illa anni, plus in tam

[1] cernentes UD^x (*Madvig*): cernente Ω.
[2] quadringentesimum (*i.e.* CCCC) *Tan. Faber*: octingentesimum (*i.e.* DCCC) Ω.

[1] This is supposed to refer to Timagenes, an historian of a notoriously anti-Roman bias.

every day grown stronger? and his truculent and fiery anger? I mention only things which historians regard as certain. Can we deem such vices to be no detraction from a general's good qualities? But there was forsooth the danger—as the silliest of the Greeks,[1] who exalt the reputation even of the Parthians against the Romans, are fond of alleging—that the Roman People would have been unable to withstand the majesty of Alexander's name, though I think that they had not so much as heard of him; and that out of all the Roman nobles not one would have dared to lift up his voice against him, although in Athens, a city crushed by the arms of Macedonia, at the very moment when men had before their eyes the reeking ruins of the neighbouring Thebes, they dared inveigh against him freely, as witness the records of their speeches.[2] B.C. 3.519

However imposing the greatness of the man may appear to us, still this greatness will be that of one man only, and the fruits of little more than ten years of success. Those who magnify it for this reason, that the Roman People, albeit never in any war, have yet suffered defeat in a number of battles, whereas Alexander's fortune was never aught but prosperous in any battle, fail to perceive that they are comparing the achievements of a man—and a young man too—with those of a people that was now in its four hundredth year of warfare. Should it occasion us surprise if, seeing that upon the one side are counted more generations than are years

[2] An allusion, more rhetorical than exact, to the famous Philippics of Demosthenes, the latest of which was probably delivered some six years before the destruction of Thebes in 335 B.C.

A.U.C. 455 longo spatio quam in aetate tredecim annorum
11 fortuna variaverit? Quin tu hominis cum homine
12 et ducis cum duce fortunam confers?[1] Quot Romanos duces nominem quibus nunquam adversa fortuna pugnae fuit! Paginas in annalibus magistratuumque fastis[2] percurrere licet consulum dictatorumque quorum nec virtutis nec fortunae ullo
13 die populum Romanum paenituit. Et quo sint mirabiliores quam Alexander aut quisquam rex, denos vicenosque dies quidam dictaturam, nemo
14 plus quam annum consulatum gessit; ab tribunis plebis dilectus impediti sunt; post tempus ad bella ierunt, ante tempus comitiorum causa revocati sunt;
15 in ipso conatu rerum circumegit se annus; collegae nunc temeritas nunc pravitas impedimento aut damno fuit; male gestis rebus alterius successum est; tironem aut mala disciplina institutum exercitum acceperunt.
16 At hercule reges non liberi solum impedimentis omnibus sed domini rerum temporumque trahunt
17 consiliis cuncta, non sequuntur. Invictus ergo Alexander cum invictis ducibus bella gessisset et eadem fortunae pignora in discrimen detulisset;
18 immo etiam eo plus periculi subisset quod Macedones unum Alexandrum habuissent, multis casibus non

[1] hominis cum homine et ducis cum duce fortunam confers? *Madvig*: hominis cum homine et ducis (duces *F*) cum fortunam cum fortuna (cum fortuna fortunam *T*) confers Ω: homines cum homine, [et] duces cum duce, fortunam cum fortuna confers *Walters and Conway*.

[2] magistratuumque fastis *Walters and Conway*: magistratuum fastisque Ω.

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[1] If we reckon the *saeculum* or "generation" at thirty-three years, the Rome of Alexander's time would have

upon the other,[1] fortune should have varied more B.C. 319
in that long time than in a life of thirteen years? Why not compare a man's fortune with a man's, and a general's with a general's? How many Roman generals could I name who never suffered a reverse in battle! In our annals and lists of magistrates you may run through pages of consuls and dictators of whom it never on any day repented the Roman People, whether of their generalship or fortune. And what makes them more wonderful than Alexander or any king is this: some were dictators of ten or twenty days, and none held the consulship above a year; their levies were obstructed by the tribunes of the plebs; they were late in going to war, and were called back early to conduct elections; in the midst of their undertakings the year rolled round; now the rashness, now the frowardness of a colleague occasioned them losses or difficulties; they succeeded to affairs which others had mismanaged, they received an army of raw recruits, or one badly disciplined. Now consider kings: not only are they free from all impediments, but they are lords of time and circumstance, and in their counsels carry all things with them, instead of following in their train. So then, an undefeated Alexander would have warred against undefeated generals, and would have brought the same pledges of Fortune to the crisis. Nay, he would have run a greater risk than they, inasmuch as the Macedonians would have had but a single Alexander, not only exposed to many dangers, but

endured a little over thirteen *saecula*. Livy says that people are really comparing these thirteen generations with the thirteen years of Alexander's (effective) life, *i.e.* his reign (336–323 B.C.).

A.U.C. 455

19 solum obnoxium sed etiam offerentem se, Romani multi fuissent Alexandro vel gloria vel rerum magnitudine pares, quorum suo quisque fato sine publico discrimine viveret morereturque.

XIX. Restat ut copiae copiis comparentur vel numero vel militum genere vel multitudine auxiliorum. Censebantur eius aetatis lustris ducena 2 quinquagena milia capitum. Itaque in omni defectione sociorum Latini nominis urbano prope dilectu 3 decem scribebantur legiones; quaterni quinique exercitus saepe per eos annos in Etruria, in Vmbria Gallis hostibus adiunctis, in Samnio, in Lucanis 4 gerebant bellum. Latium deinde omne cum Sabinis et Volscis et Aequis et omni Campania et parte Vmbriae Etruriaeque et Picentibus et Marsis Paelignisque ac Vestinis atque Apulis, adiuncta omni ora[1] Graecorum inferi maris a Thuriis[2] Neapolim et Cumas et inde Antio atque Ostiis tenus aut[3] socios validos Romanis aut fractos bello invenisset hostes. 5 Ipse traiecisset mare cum veteranis Macedonibus, non plus triginta milibus hominum et quattuor milibus equitum, maxime Thessalorum; hoc enim roboris erat. Persas Indos aliasque si adiunxisset gentes, impedimentum maius quam auxilium traheret.

[1] omni ora O^1A^x (*or* A^1) *Aldus*: omnis ora Ω.

[2] a Thuriis ζ: a Thuris (*or* athuris) Ω: authuris *F*: a brutiis *Gronovius*.

[3] aut *Lobrae*: Samnites aut Ω.

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[1] In the last census which Livy had recorded (459 B.C.) were enrolled 117,321 persons (III. xxiv. 10). Livy seems to have consulted the records of the censors, at least occasionally.

[2] Or possibly: at every revolt of the Latin allies.

incurring them voluntarily, while there would have been many Romans a match for Alexander, whether for glory or for the greatness of their deeds, of whom each several one would have lived and died as his own fate commanded, without endangering the State. B.C. 319

XIX. It remains to compare the forces on both sides, whether for numbers, or types of soldiers, or size of their contingents of auxiliaries. The quinquennial enumerations of that period put the population at 250,000.[1] And so at the time when all the Latin allies were in revolt[2] it was the custom to enroll ten legions, by a levy which was virtually limited to the City. In those years frequently four and five armies at a time would take the field, in Etruria, in Umbria (where they also fought the Gauls), in Samnium, and in Lucania. Later on Alexander would have found all Latium, with the Sabines, the Volsci and the Aequi, all Campania, and a portion of Umbria and Etruria, the Picentes and the Marsi and Paeligni, the Vestini and the Apulians, together with the whole coast of the Lower Sea, held by the Greeks, from Thurii as far as Naples and Cumae, and thence all the way to Antium and Ostia—all these, I say, he would have found either powerful friends of the Romans or their defeated enemies. He himself would have crossed the sea with veteran Macedonians to the number of not more than thirty thousand foot and four thousand horse—mostly Thessalians—for this was his main strength. If to these he had added Persians and Indians and other nations, he would have found them a greater burden to have dragged about than a help.

A.U.C. 435

6 Adde, quod Romanis ad manum domi supplementum esset, Alexandro, quod postea Hannibali accidit, alieno in agro bellanti exercitus consenu-
7 isset. Arma clipei essent illis sarisaeque [1]: Romano scutum, maius corpori tegumentum, et pilum, haud paulo quam hasta vehementius ictu missuque [2] telum.
8 Statarius uterque miles, ordines servans; sed illa phalanx immobilis et unius generis, Romana acies distinctior, ex pluribus partibus constans, facilis partienti, quacumque opus esset, facilis iungenti.
9 Iam in opere quis par Romano miles, quis ad tolerandum laborem melior? Uno proelio victus Alexander bello victus esset: Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies?
10 Ne ille saepe, etiam si prima prospere evenissent,
Persas et Indos et imbellem Asiam quaesisset et
11 cum feminis sibi bellum fuisse dixisset, quod Epiri regem Alexandrum mortifero volnere ictum dixisse ferunt, sortem bellorum in Asia gestorum ab hoc ipso iuvene cum sua conferentem.
12 Equidem cum per annos quattuor et viginti primo Punico bello classibus certatum cum Poenis recordor,

[1] Arma clipei essent illis sarisaeque *Madvig*: arma cluisset arma cluisset sarisaeque illis id est hastae *M*: arma cluisset sarisaeque *etc.* M^1 *or* M^2: arma clipeus (*or* clupeus) sarisaeque (*or* -eque) illis (*or* illis portare *or* illis, at *or* illis id est hastae) Ω.

[2] ictu missuque *Ş*: ictu missumque PTA^2: ictum missumque Ω.

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[1] The *sarisa* was a pike 21 feet long.

[2] The *hasta* was ordinarily used as a pike or lance, but was sometimes thrown, by means of a thong.

[3] Aulus Gellius, XVII. xxi. 33, says that Alexander, as he

Add to this, that the Romans would have had recruits ready to call upon, but Alexander, as happened afterwards to Hannibal, would have found his army wear away, while he warred in a foreign land. His men would have been armed with targets and spears:[1] the Romans with an oblong shield, affording more protection to the body, and the Roman javelin, which strikes, on being thrown, with a much harder impact than the lance.[2] Both armies were formed of heavy troops, keeping to their ranks; but their phalanx was immobile and consisted of soldiers of a single type; the Roman line was opener and comprised more separate units; it was easy to divide, wherever necessary, and easy to unite. Moreover, what soldier can match the Roman in entrenching? Who is better at enduring toil? Alexander would, if beaten in a single battle, have been beaten in the war; but what battle could have overthrown the Romans, whom Caudium could not overthrow, nor Cannae? Nay, many a time—however prosperous the outset of his enterprise might have been—would he have wished for Indians and Persians and unwarlike Asiatics, and would have owned that he had before made war upon women, as Alexander, King of Epirus, is reported to have said, when mortally wounded, contrasting the type of war waged by this very youth in Asia, with that which had fallen to his own share.[3] B.C. 319

Indeed when I remember that we contended against the Carthaginians on the seas for four-and-

was setting sail for Italy, remarked that he was going to the Romans, as it were to the men's quarters (*andronitin*); whereas the Macedonian had gone to the Persians, as to the quarters of the women (*gynaeconitin*).

A.U.C. 435
vix aetatem Alexandri suffecturam fuisse reor ad
13 unum bellum; et forsitan, cum et foederibus vetustis iuncta res Punica Romanae esset et timor par adversus communem hostem duas potentissimas armis virisque urbes armaret, simul[1] Punico Roma-
14 noque obrutus bello esset. Non quidem Alexandro duce nec integris Macedonum rebus sed experti tamen sunt Romani Macedonem hostem adversus Antiochum Philippum Persen non modo cum clade
15 ulla sed ne cum periculo quidem suo. Absit invidia verbo et civilia bella sileant: nunquam[2] a pedite, nunquam aperta acie, nunquam aequis, utique
16 nunquam nostris locis laboravimus; equitem sagittas, saltus impeditos, avia commeatibus loca gravis armis
17 miles timere potest. Mille acies graviores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri avertit avertetque, modo sit perpetuus huius qua vivimus pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae.—

A.U.C. 436–437
XX. M. Folius[3] Flaccina inde et L. Plautius
2 Venox consules facti. Eo anno ab frequentibus Samnitium populis de foedere renovando legati cum senatum humi strati movissent, reiecti ad populum
3 haudquaquam tam efficaces habebant preces. Itaque de foedere negatum; indutiae biennii, cum per aliquot dies fatigassent singulos precibus, impetratae.

[1] simul ζ: et simul Ω.
[2] nunquam *Dobree and Madvig*: nunquam ab equite hoste nunquam Ω.
[3] Folius ζ: follius (*or* ollius) Ω: Foslius *Sigonius* (*C.I.L.* i², *p.* 130).

[1] The earliest treaty was said to have been made in 509 B.C. (Livy does not mention it, but Polybius does, at III. xxii.); and another in 348. See VII. xxvii. 2, and note.

twenty years, I think that the whole life of Alexander would hardly have sufficed for this single war; and perchance, inasmuch as the Punic State had been by ancient treaties leagued with the Roman,[1] and the two cities most powerful in men and arms might well have made common cause against the foe whom both dreaded, he had been crushed beneath the simultaneous attacks of Rome and Carthage. The Romans have been at war with the Macedonians—not, to be sure, when Alexander led them or their prosperity was unimpaired, but against Antiochus, Philippus, and Perses—and not only without ever suffering defeat, but even without incurring any danger. Proud word I would not speak, but never—and may civil wars be silent!—never have we been beaten by infantry, never in open battle, never on even, or at all events on favourable ground: cavalry and arrows, impassable defiles, regions that afford no road to convoys, may well occasion fear in heavy-armed troops. A thousand battle-arrays more formidable than those of Alexander and the Macedonians have the Romans beaten off—and shall do—if only our present love of domestic peace endure and our concern to maintain concord. B.C. 319

XX. Marcus Polius Flaccina and Lucius Plautius Venox were the next consuls. In that year came ambassadors from many Samnite states to seek a renewal of the treaty. Prostrating themselves before the senate, they aroused the pity of that order, but on being referred to the people found their prayers by no means so efficacious. Accordingly they were refused the treaty, but after some days spent in importuning individual citizens, they suc- B.C. 318–317

A.U.C. 4 Et ex Apulia Teanenses Canusinique populationibus
326–427 fessi obsidibus L. Plautio consuli datis in deditionem
5 venerunt. Eodem anno primum praefecti Capuam
creari coepti legibus ab L. Furio praetore datis, cum
utrumque ipsi pro remedio aegris rebus discordia
6 intestina petissent; et duae Romae additae tribus,
Ufentina ac Falerna.
7 Inclinatis semel in Apulia rebus Teates quoque
Apuli ad novos consules, C. Iunium Bubulcum Q.
Aemilium Barbulam, foedus petitum venerunt, pacis
per omnem Apuliam praestandae populo Romano
8 auctores. Id audacter spondendo impetravere, ut
foedus daretur neque ut aequo tamen foedere sed ut
9 in dicione populi Romani essent. Apulia perdomita
—nam Forento [1] quoque, valido oppido, Iunius potitus
erat—in Lucanos perrectum: inde repentino adventu
10 Aemili consulis Nerulum vi captum. Et postquam
res Capuae stabilitas Romana disciplina fama per
socios volgavit. Antiatibus quoque, qui se sine legibus
certis, sine magistratibus agere querebantur, dati ab
senatu ad iura statuenda ipsius coloniae patroni; nec
arma modo sed iura etiam Romana late pollebant.

A.U.C. 428 XXI. C. Iunius Bubulcus et Q. Aemilius Barbula

[1] nam Forento *Gronovius* Iam Iorento *M*: nam florento *PFOT*[2] (*marg.*): nam florente *U*: nam Torento *TDLA*: iam torento (*al.* laurento) *A*[2].

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[1] Making the number now thirty-one.

[2] *Teate* was in reality only another name for *Teanum*. Livy has been drawing upon two authorities, and their use of different names for the same people has led him to make two episodes out of one.

[3] Prominent Romans were often invited to act in a semi-official relation of protectorship to Italian or even to foreign towns.

ceeded in obtaining a two years' truce. In Apulia, likewise, the Teanenses and Canusini, exhausted by the devastation of their lands, gave hostages to Lucius Plautius the consul and made submission. In the same year praefects began to be elected and sent out to Capua, after Lucius Furius, the praetor, had given them laws—both steps being taken at the instance of the Capuans themselves, as a remedy for the distress occasioned by internal discord. At Rome two tribes were added, the Ufentina and the Falerna.[1] B.C. 318–317

When affairs had once taken a turn in Apulia, the Apulian Teates[2] also came to the new consuls, Gaius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula, to sue for a treaty, engaging to insure the Roman People peace throughout Apulia. By this bold pledge they prevailed so far as to obtain a treaty—not, however, on equal terms, but such as made them subject to the Romans. After Apulia had been thoroughly subdued—for Forentum, a strong town, had also fallen into the hands of Junius—the campaign was extended to the Lucanians, from whom, on the sudden arrival of Aemilius the consul, Nerulum was taken by assault. And once it had been noised abroad amongst the allies how the affairs of Capua were firmly established by Roman discipline, the Antiates, too, complained that they were living without fixed statutes and without magistrates, and the senate designated the colony's own patrons to draw up laws for it.[3] Not Roman arms alone but also Roman law began to exert a widespread influence.

XXI. The consuls Gaius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula gave over their legions, at B.C. 316

A.U.C. 438 consules exitu anni non consulibus ab se creatis, Sp. Nautio et M. Popilio, ceterum dictatori L. Aemilio 2 legiones tradiderant. Is cum L. Fulvio magistro equitum Saticulam[1] oppugnare adortus rebellandi 3 causam Samnitibus dedit. Duplex inde terror inlatus Romanis: hinc Samnis magno exercitu coacto ad eximendos obsidione socios haud procul castris Romanorum castra posuit; hinc Saticulani magno cum tumultu patefactis repente portis in stationes hostium 4 incurrerunt. Inde pars utraque, spe alieni magis auxilii quam viribus freta suis, iusto mox proelio inito Romanos urgent, et quamquam anceps dimicatio erat, tamen utrimque tutam aciem dictator habuit, quia et locum haud facilem ad circumveniendum 5 cepit et diversa statuit signa. Infestior tamen in erumpentes incessit nec magno certamine intra moenia compulit, tum totam aciem in Samnites 6 obvertit. Ibi plus certaminis fuit; victoria sicut sera ita nec dubia nec varia fuit. Fusi in castra Samnites exstinctis nocte ignibus tacito agmine abeunt et spe abiecta Saticulae tuendae Plisticam[2] ipsi, socios Romanorum, ut parem dolorem hosti redderent, circumsidunt.

A.U.C. 439 XXII. Anno circumacto bellum deinceps ab dicta-

[1] Saticulam (*and in* § 3 Saticulani *and in* § 6 Saticulae) *Sigonius* (*Diod.* XIX. lxxii. 4): Satriculam (*and* Satriculani *and* Satriculae *below*) Ω.

[2] Plisticam *Sigonius* (*Diod.* XIX. lxxii. 3): plistiam $M^2D^1A^2$: plistiam postiam F: post iam philistiam O: postiam Ω.

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[1] Saticula was probably on the border between Campania and Samnium, and possibly occupied the same site as the modern S. Agata dei Goti.

the conclusion of the year, not to Spurius Nautius B.C. 316
and Marcus Popilius, the consuls at whose election they had presided, but to a dictator—Lucius Aemilius. The latter, with Lucius Fulvius, his master of the horse, laid siege to Saticula,[1] and by so doing afforded the Samnites a pretext for renewing the war. The Romans were thus threatened in two quarters: on the one side the Samnites, with a large army which they had mustered to relieve their besieged allies, were encamped at no great distance from the Roman camp; on the other side the Saticulani suddenly threw their gates wide open and charged pell-mell against the outposts of the Romans. Both hostile armies—each relying rather on the other's help than on any strength of its own—then pressed home their attack, in what soon developed into a general engagement. But the dictator, despite the twofold struggle, was protected on both fronts, since he had chosen a position that was difficult to turn, and made his maniples face opposite ways. However, he attacked the sallying party with the greater fury, and, encountering no very sharp resistance, drove them back into the town. He then directed his entire line against the Samnites. There was more resistance here, but though the victory was slow in coming yet it was neither dubious nor partial. The Samnites fled in disorder to their camp, and in the night, putting out their fires, they silently stole away, and relinquishing all hope of saving Saticula, themselves laid siege to Plistica, an ally of Rome, that they might pay the enemy out in their own coin.

XXII. When the year had come round, the con- B.C. 315
duct of the war passed without a break into the

A.U.C. 459

tore Q. Fabio gestum est; consules novi, sicut superiores, Romae manserunt; Fabius ad accipiendum ab Aemilio exercitum ad Saticulam cum supplemento
2 venit. Neque enim Samnites ad Plisticam[1] manserant sed accitis ab domo novis militibus multitudine freti castra eodem quo antea loco posuerunt lacessentesque proelio Romanos avertere ab obsidione co-
3 nabantur. Eo intentius dictator in moenia hostium versus id bellum tantum[2] ducere quod urbem oppugnabat, securior ab Samnitibus agere stationibus
4 modo oppositis ne qua in castra vis fieret. Eo ferocius adequitare Samnites vallo neque otium pati. Et cum iam prope in portis castrorum esset hostis, nihil consulto dictatore magister equitum Q. Aulius Cerretanus magno tumultu cum omnibus turmis
5 equitum evectus summovit hostem. Tum in[3] minime pertinaci genere pugnae sic fortuna exercuit opes ut insignes[4] utrimque clades et clara ipsorum
6 ducum ederet funera. Prior Samnitium imperator, aegre patiens quo[5] tam ferociter adequitasset inde se fundi fugarique, orando hortandoque equites
7 proelium iteravit; in quem insignem inter suos cientem pugnam magister equitum Romanus infesta cuspide ita permisit equum ut uno ictu exanimem

[1] plisticam *edd.* (*with* Ω *in* § 11): plistiam Ω.
[2] tantum (= tantummodo) *Gronovius*: tantum nitebatur ς: tanti Ω.
[3] tum in ς: cum in Ω: cumq. *T.*
[4] insignes ς: insignis Ω.
[5] quo ς: quod Ω.

[1] The men whose names are by so strange an oversight omitted here were L. Papirius Cursor and Q. Publilius Philo, each of whom had thrice held the office.

hands of the dictator Quintus Fabius. The new B.C. 315
consuls,[1] as their predecessors had done, remained in Rome; Fabius took new forces to replace the old, and proceeded to Saticula, to receive the army from Aemilius. For the Samnites had not continued before Plistica, but, summoning fresh troops from home and confiding in their numbers, had pitched their camp on the same spot as before, and were trying to provoke the Romans into giving battle, in the endeavour to divert them from the siege. This but intensified the dictator's concentration on the enemy's walls, for he deemed the war to consist solely in the attack upon the city, and treated the Samnites with much indifference, save only that he posted out-guards to prevent their making any inroad upon his camp. But this only made the Samnites the more audacious, and riding again and again up to the rampart, they gave no respite to the Romans. And now the enemy were almost in the gateway of the camp, when Quintus Aulius Cerretanus, the master of the horse, without consulting the dictator, sallied out with all his squadrons in a furious charge and drove them off. At this juncture—though in a type of battle by no means marked by obstinacy—Fortune so used her powers as to bring extraordinary losses on both sides, and on the commanders themselves distinguished deaths. The Samnite general first, indignant at being routed and put to flight from a position he had so boldly occupied, prevailed with his troopers by entreaties and encouragement to renew the conflict; against whom, conspicuous amongst his followers as he urged them into battle, the Roman master of the horse rode such a tilt with levelled lance as at one lunge unhorsed and killed

A.U.C. 439

equo praecipitaret. Nec, ut fit, ad ducis casum
8 perculsa magis quam inritata est multitudo; omnes
qui circa erant in Aulium temere invectum per
9 hostium turmas tela coniecerunt; fratri praecipuum
decus ulti Samnitium imperatoris dedederunt.[1] Is
victorem detractum ex equo magistrum equitum
plenus maeroris atque irae trucidavit, nec multum
afuit quin corpore etiam, quia inter hostilis cecide-
10 rat turmas, Samnites potirentur. Sed extemplo ad
pedes descensum ab Romanis est coactique idem
Samnites facere; et repentina acies circa corpora
ducum pedestre proelium iniit, quo haud dubie
superat Romanus, reciperatumque Auli corpus mixta
11 cum dolore laetitia victores in castra referunt. Sam-
nites duce amisso et per equestre certamen temptatis
viribus omissa Saticula, quam nequiquam defendi
rebantur, ad Plisticae obsidionem redeunt, intraque
paucos dies Saticula Romanus per deditionem,
Plistica per vim Samnis potitur.

XXIII. Mutata inde belli sedes est; ad Soram
2 ex Samnio Apuliaque traductae legiones. Sora ad
Samnites defecerat interfectis colonis Romanorum.
Quo cum prior Romanus exercitus ad ulciscendam
civium necem reciperandamque coloniam magnis
itineribus pervenisset[2] et sparsi[3] per vias speculatores

[1] di (dii) dederunt *Walch (who also suggested* deditum): dederunt Ω: dedere A^2.

[2] pervenisset ζ: praeuenisset Ω.

[3] et sparsi ζ: sparsi Ω: sparsiq. ζ.

him. Yet the rank and file were not more dismayed B.C. 315
by their leader's death—though it often happens so —than they were angered; and as Aulius rode recklessly on through the enemy's squadrons, all those about him darted their javelins at him. But the glory of avenging the Samnite general was given by Heaven in largest measure to his brother, who, wild with grief and rage, dragged down the victorious Roman from his seat and slew him. Indeed the Samnites almost got possession of the body, which had fallen in the midst of their troops. But the Romans at once dismounted, and the Samnites were forced to do the same; and hurriedly forming up their lines, they began a battle on foot around the bodies of their generals, in which the Romans had easily the better. So they rescued the body of Aulius, which they bore back victoriously to their camp, with mingled feelings of sorrow and satisfaction. The Samnites, having lost their commander, and having tried what they could do in a cavalry engagement, gave up Saticula, which they felt was holding out in vain, and returned to the siege of Plistica. Within a few days' time Saticula had surrendered to the Romans and the Samnites had carried Plistica by assault.

XXIII. The seat of war was now shifted, and the legions were transferred from Samnium and Apulia to Sora, which had gone over to the Samnites, after putting to death the Roman colonists. The Roman army, by a series of forced marches, undertaken to avenge their slaughtered fellow-citizens and regain the colony, came first upon the ground. But the scouts who had scattered out along the roads reported one after the other that the Samnite legions

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3 sequi legiones Samnitium nec iam procul abesse alii
4 super alios nuntiarent, obviam itum hosti atque ad Lautulas ancipiti proelio dimicatum est. Non caedes non fuga alterius partis sed nox incertos
5 victi victoresne essent diremit. Invenio apud quosdam adversam eam pugnam Romanis fuisse atque in ea cecidisse Q. Aulium magistrum equitum.
6 Suffectus in locum Auli C. Fabius magister equitum cum exercitu novo ab Roma advenit et per praemissos nuntios consulto dictatore ubi subsisteret quove tempore et qua ex parte hostem adgrederetur, substitit occultus ad omnia satis exploratis consiliis.
7 Dictator cum per aliquot dies post pugnam continuisset suos intra vallum obsessi magis quam
8 obsidentis modo, signum repente pugnae proposuit et efficacius ratus ad accendendos virorum fortium animos nullam alibi quam in semet ipso cuiquam relictam spem de magistro equitum novoque ex-
9 ercitu militem celavit, et tamquam nulla nisi in eruptione spes esset, "Locis" inquit "angustis, milites, deprehensi, nisi quam victoria patefecerimus
10 viam nullam habemus. Stativa nostra munimento satis tuta sunt, sed inopia eadem infesta; nam et circa omnia defecerunt unde subvehi commeatus poterant, et si homines[1] iuvare velint, iniqua loca
11 sunt. Itaque non frustrabor ego vos castra hic

[1] homines γ: omnes Ω.

[1] Whom Diodorus follows (XIX. lxxii.).

[2] The *Fasti Capitolini* give his name in full as C. Fabius M. f. N. n. Ambustus, which makes him a brother of the dictator.

[3] *i. e.* down the valley of the Liris, through the Samnite army, for the other way was blocked by the town of Sora.

were following and were already close at hand. B.C. 315
Whereupon the Romans marched to meet the enemy, and an indecisive battle was fought near Lautulae. It was not the losses nor the rout of either army that put a stop to the engagement, but darkness, which left them uncertain if they had lost or won. I find in some authorities[1] that the Romans were defeated in this battle, and that it was here that the master of the horse, Quintus Aulius, lost his life. To fill out the term of Aulius they appointed Gaius Fabius,[2] who marched from Rome with a fresh army. Sending messengers on ahead to the dictator, he consulted him as to where he should halt, and when, and from what quarter, attack the enemy. On being accurately informed regarding every detail of the dictator's plans, he halted where his army could lie concealed. For some days after the battle the dictator had kept his soldiers within their works, more like one besieged than a besieger. Then, suddenly, he displayed the battle-signal, and thinking it more efficacious for quickening the courage of brave men to leave none of them any hope but in himself, he concealed from his troops the arrival of the master of the horse and his new army, and, as though their only salvation lay in cutting their way through, "Soldiers," he said, "we are trapped and have no way of escape save such as victory shall open to us.[3] Our standing camp is sufficiently protected by its rampart, but for lack of provisions is untenable; for every place round about us from which supplies could be brought up has revolted, and even if men wished to help us, the character of the country is against it. I will therefore not beguile you by leaving the camp standing here for you to

A.U.C. 459 relinquendo, in quae infecta victoria sicut pristino die vos recipiatis. Armis munimenta, non muni-
12 mentis arma tuta esse debent. Castra habeant repetantque quibus operae est trahere bellum: nos omnium rerum respectum praeterquam victoriae
13 nobis abscidamus. Ferte signa in hostem; ubi extra vallum agmen excesserit, castra quibus imperatum est incendant. Damna vestra, milites, omnium circa
14 qui defecerunt populorum praeda sarcientur." Et oratione dictatoris, quae necessitatis ultimae index erat, milites accensi vadunt in hostem, et respectus ipse ardentium castrorum, quamquam proximis tantum—ita enim iusserat dictator—ignis est subditus,
15 haud parvum fuit inritamentum. Itaque velut vecordes inlati signa primo impetu hostium turbant; et in tempore, postquam ardentia procul vidit castra, magister equitum—id convenerat signum—hostium terga invadit. Ita circumventi Samnites, qua potest
16 quisque, fugam per diversa petunt; ingens multitudo in unum metu conglobata ac semet ipsam turba
17 impediens in medio caesa. Castra hostium capta direptaque, quorum praeda onustum militem in Romana castra dictator reducit, haudquaquam tam victoria laetum, quam quod praeter exiguam deformatam incendio partem cetera contra spem salva invenit.

A.U.C. 449 XXIV. Ad Soram inde reditum; novique consules M. Poetelius C. Sulpicius exercitum ab dictatore

make a refuge, if you fail of victory, as on the former B.C. 315
occasion. Entrenchments should be secured by arms, not arms by entrenchments. Let those have a camp, and retire to it, who have time to prolong the war: as for us, let us shut out all regard for everything but victory. Forward against the enemy! When the column is outside the rampart, let those who have been ordered to do so fire the camp! Your losses, men, shall be made good with the spoils of all the revolted peoples round about!" Inflamed by the dictator's speech, which pointed to the direst necessity, the soldiers advanced upon the foe; and the mere sight of their blazing camp as they glanced back, though only the nearest tents were set afire—for so the dictator had commanded—was no small whet to their resentment. And so, charging like madmen, they threw the enemy's ranks into confusion at the first assault; and in the nick of time the master of the horse, who had seen far away the burning camp—which was the signal they had agreed upon—assaulted the enemy from behind. Being thus hemmed in, the Samnites fled, as each best might, in different directions; a vast throng huddled up together, in their terror, and blocking each other's way in the confusion, were cut down where they stood. The enemy's camp was seized and plundered, and the soldiers, laden with the spoils, were led back by the dictator to the Roman camp, rejoicing not so greatly in their victory as because, contrary to their expectation, they found all safe there, except for a trifling part that had been damaged by the flames.

XXIV. The Romans then returned to Sora: and B.C. 314
new consuls, Marcus Poetelius and Gaius Sulpicius,

A.C.U. 440

Fabio accipiunt magna parte veterum militum dimissa novisque cohortibus in supplementum ad-
2 ductis. Ceterum cum propter difficilem urbis situm nec oppugnandi satis certa ratio iniretur et aut tempore longinqua aut praeceps periculo victoria
3 esset, Soranus transfuga clam ex oppido profectus, cum ad vigiles Romanos penetrasset, duci se extemplo ad consules iubet deductusque traditurum
4 urbem promittit. Visus[1] inde, cum quonam modo id praestaturus esset percontantes doceret, haud vana adferre, perpulit prope adiuncta moenibus Romana castra ut sex milia ab oppido removerentur:
5 fore ut minus intentae in custodiam urbis diurnae stationes ac nocturnae vigiliae essent. Ipse insequenti nocte sub oppido silvestribus locis cohortibus insidere iussis decem milites delectos secum per ardua ac prope invia in arcem ducit, pluribus quam
6 pro numero virorum missilibus telis eo conlatis; ad hoc saxa erant et temere iacentia, ut fit in aspretis, et de industria etiam, quo locus tutior esset, ab oppidanis congesta.

7 Ubi cum constituisset Romanos semitamque angustam et arduam erectam ex oppido in arcem ostendisset, "Hoc quidem ascensu" inquit "vel tres
8 armati quamlibet multitudinem arcuerint: vos et

[1] visus γ: iussus (*or* uissus) Ω.

[1] The legions had been three years in the field, although some of the soldiers, who had been enlisted to replace those killed or disabled, had not served so long. These latter were retained with the colours and the others were discharged. The word "cohorts" is anachronistic: Livy had perhaps forgotten that the organization by cohorts dated only from the time of Marius.

[2] Apparently conceived of as merely an unfortified and for the time being, unoccupied height.

took over the army from Fabius the dictator, dismiss- B.C. 314
ing a great part of the veteran troops and bringing in new cohorts to replace them.[1] But the city lay in a troublesome position, where the Romans could devise no very certain way of getting at it, and it seemed that victory would either be long in coming, or fraught with fearful risks; when a Soran deserter stole out of the town, and picking his way to the Roman sentinels, bade them bring him immediately to the consuls. Arrived in their presence, he offered to betray the city. On being questioned how he could accomplish it, he satisfied his interrogators that his plan was not unfeasible, and induced them to withdraw the Roman camp—which was almost in contact with the city walls—to a distance of six miles from the town; for so, he said, the sentinels would be less vigilant in guarding the place, whether by night or day. He himself on the following night, having directed certain cohorts to seek cover in the woods below the town, took with him ten picked men, whom he conducted over steep and almost impassable ground up to the citadel.[2] Here he had brought together a quantity of missiles out of all proportion to the number of men, besides which there were stones—both those which happened to be lying there, as is usual in rough country, and those which the townsmen had piled up on purpose, for the better protection of the place.

On this height he posted the Romans, and, indicating to them a steep and narrow path which led up from the town to the citadel, he said, "From an ascent like this three men would be enough to keep back a multitude, however numerous: you are not

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decem numero, et quod plus est, Romani Romanorumque fortissimi viri estis. Et locus pro vobis et nox erit, quae omnia ex incerto maiora territis ostentat. Ego iam terrore omnia implebo: vos 9 arcem intenti tenete." Decurrit inde, quanto maxime poterat cum tumultu, "Ad arma!" et "Pro vestram fidem, cives!" clamitans; "arx ab hostibus 10 capta est: defendite!"[1] Haec incidens principum foribus, haec obviis, haec excurrentibus in publicum pavidis increpat. Acceptum ab uno pavorem plures 11 per urbem ferunt. Trepidi magistratus missis ad arcem exploratoribus cum tela et armatos tenere arcem multiplicato numero audirent, avertunt animos 12 a spe reciperandae arcis; fuga cuncta complentur portaeque ab semisomnis ac maxima parte inermibus refringuntur, quarum per unam praesidium Romanum clamore excitatum inrumpit et concursantes per vias 13 pavidos caedit. Iam Sora capta erat, cum consules prima luce advenere et quos reliquos fortuna ex nocturna caede ac fuga fecerat in deditionem 14 accipiunt. Ex his ducentos viginti quinque, qui omnium consensu destinabantur et infandae colonorum caedis et defectionis auctores, vinctos Romam deducunt; ceteram multitudinem incolumem praesidio imposito Sorae relinquunt. Omnes qui Romam 15 deducti erant virgis in foro caesi ac securi percussi, summo gaudio plebis, cuius maxime intererat tutam

[1] defendite A^{2} *Madvig*: defendite ite Ω: ite defendite ζ.

only ten, but Romans, and of Romans the very bravest. You will have the advantage of position and of night, which makes everything loom greater in the eyes of frightened men, because of the obscurity. As for me, I will presently strike terror into every heart: do you hold the citadel and watch." He then ran down, making all the noise he could, as he cried "To arms!" and "Help, help, my countrymen! The citadel has been taken by the enemy! Defend us!" These words he shouted as he knocked at the doors of the great, the same to all he met, the same to those who rushed out terrified into the streets. The panic begun by one man was spread by numbers through all the city. Quaking with fear, the magistrates dispatched scouts to investigate, and on hearing that armed men, in exaggerated numbers, held the citadel, relinquished all hope of regaining it. The city was thronged with fugitives, and men who were hardly yet awake and most of them unarmed, began battering down the gates. Through one of them rushed in the band of Romans, who had started up on hearing the outcry, and now running through the streets, cut down the frightened townsfolk. Sora was already taken, when the consuls arrived at early dawn, and received the surrender of such as Fortune had spared in the rout and slaughter of the night. Of these, two hundred and twenty-five, who were designated on all hands as the authors of the revolt and the hideous massacre of the colonists, they sent to Rome in chains; the rest they left unharmed in Sora, only setting a garrison over them. All those who were taken to Rome were scourged and beheaded in the Forum, to the great joy of the commons, whom it most B.C. 314

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ubique quae passim in colonias mitteretur multitudinem esse.

XXV. Consules ab Sora profecti in agros atque urbes Ausonum bellum intulerunt. Mota namque omnia adventu Samnitium cum apud Lautulas dimicatum est fuerant, coniurationesque circa Campaniam passim factae; nec Capua ipsa crimine caruit; quin Romam quoque et ad principum quosdam inquirendo ventum est. Ceterum Ausonum gens proditione urbium sicut Sora in potestatem venit. Ausona et Minturnae et Vescia [1] urbes erant ex quibus principes iuventutis duodecim numero in proditionem urbium suarum coniurati ad consules veniunt. Docent suos iam pridem exoptantes Samnitium adventum, simul ad Lautulas pugnatum audierint,[2] pro victis Romanos habuisse, iuventute armis Samnitem iuvisse: fugatis inde Samnitibus incerta pace agere nec claudentes portas Romanis, ne arcessant bellum, et obstinatos claudere, si exercitus admoveatur; in ea fluctuatione animorum opprimi incautos posse. His auctoribus mota propius castra missique eodem tempore circa tria oppida milites, partim armati, qui occulti propinqua moenibus insiderent loca, partim togati tectis veste gladiis qui sub lucem apertis portis urbes ingrederentur.

[1] Vescia *Sigonius* (VIII. xi. 5): uescina (uestina FA^x) Ω.
[2] audierint *Ruperti*: audierunt Ω.

[1] Ausones is the Greek name for the Aurunci.
[2] Site unknown.

nearly concerned that the people who were sent out B.C. 314
here and there to colonies should in every case be protected.

XXV. The consuls on leaving Sora conducted a campaign against the lands and cities of the Ausones.[1] For everything had been disturbed by the coming of the Samnites, when the battle was fought at Lautulae, and conspiracies had been formed all about Campania. Even Capua itself did not escape accusation; nay, the investigation actually led to Rome and to some of the prominent men there. But the Ausones were brought into subjection by the betrayal of their cities, as had happened in the case of Sora. From Ausona,[2] from Minturnae, and from Vescia, twelve young nobles, having conspired to betray their cities, came to the consuls, and explained to them that their countrymen, after long looking forward to the coming of the Samnites, had no sooner heard of the battle at Lautulae than they had concluded the Romans vanquished and had aided the Samnites with men and arms; that since the expulsion of the Samnites from that region, they had been living in an uncertain kind of peace, not closing their gates upon the Romans, lest to do so should invite attack, but determined none the less to close them in case an army should approach; and that in that wavering state of mind they could be surprised and overcome. By their advice the camp was moved up nearer and soldiers were simultaneously sent round to the three towns. Some of these, in armour, were to lie in ambush in places near the walls, while others, wearing the toga and concealing swords under their dress, were to enter the cities, a little before day, by the open gates.

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8 Ab his simul custodes trucidari coepti, simul datum signum armatis ut ex insidiis concurrerent. Ita portae occupatae triaque oppida eadem hora eodemque consilio capta; sed quia absentibus duci-
9 bus impetus est factus, nullus modus caedibus fuit, deletaque Ausonum gens vix certo defectionis crimine perinde ac si internecivo bello certasset.

XXVI. Eodem anno prodito hostibus Romano
2 praesidio Luceria Samnitium facta. Nec diu proditoribus impunita res fuit: haud procul inde exercitus Romanos erat, cuius primo impetu urbs sita in plano capitur. Lucerini ac Samnites ad inter-
3 necionem caesi; eoque ira processit ut Romae quoque, cum de colonis mittendis Luceriam consuleretur senatus, multi delendam urbem censerent.
4 Praeter odium, quod exsecrabile in his captos erat, longinquitas quoque abhorrere a relegandis tam procul ab domo civibus inter tam infestas gentes
5 cogebat. Vicit tamen sententia ut mitterentur coloni. Duo milia et quingenti missi.

Eodem anno, cum omnia infida Romanis essent, Capuae quoque occultae principum coniurationes
6 factae. De quibus cum ad senatum relatum esset, haudquaquam neglecta res: quaestiones decretae dictatoremque quaestionibus exercendis dici placuit.

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[1] With this sentence Livy resumes the narrative begun in Chap. XXV. §§ 1 and 2.

These latter fell upon the watchmen, at the same time making a signal to their fellows in armour to rush in from their ambuscade. Thus the gates were captured, and three towns were taken in one hour and by one device. But because the leaders were not present when the attack was made, there was no limit to the slaughter, and the Ausonian nation was wiped out—though it was not quite clear that it was guilty of defection—exactly as if it had contended in an internecine war. B.C. 314

XXVI. In the same year Luceria, betraying its Roman garrison to the enemy, passed into the possession of the Samnites; but the traitors did not long go unpunished for their deed. Not far away there was a Roman army, which captured the city—situated as it was in a plain—at the first attack. The Lucerini and Samnites were shown no quarter, and resentment ran so high that even in Rome, when the senate was debating the dispatch of colonists to Luceria, there were many who voted to destroy the town. Besides men's hate, which was very bitter against those whom they had twice subdued, there was also the remoteness of the place, which made them shrink from condemning fellow-citizens to an exile so far from home and surrounded by such hostile tribes. However, the proposal to send colonists prevailed, and twenty-five hundred were sent.

In that year also of general disloyalty to the Romans, there were secret conspiracies of the nobles, even at Capua.[1] On their being reported to the senate, the danger was by no means minimized, but tribunals of enquiry were voted and it was determined to appoint a dictator to conduct the

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7 C. Maenius dictus; is M. Folium magistrum equitum dixit. Ingens erat magistratus eius terror. Itaque, sive is timor seu conscientia fuit,[1] Calavios[2] Ovium[3] Noviumque—ea capita coniurationis fuerant—priusquam nominarentur apud dictatorem, mors haud dubie ab ipsis conscita iudicio subtraxit.

8 Deinde ut quaestioni Campanae materia decessit, versa Romam interpretando res: non nominatim qui Capuae sed in universum qui usquam coissent coniurassentve adversus rem publicam quaeri sena-
9 tum iussisse; et coitiones honorum adipiscendorum causa factas adversus rem publicam esse. Latiorque et re et personis quaestio fieri haud abnuente dicta-
10 tore sine fine ulla quaestionis suae ius esse. Postulabantur ergo nobiles homines appellantibusque tribunos nemo erat auxilio quin nomina reciperentur.
11 Inde nobilitas, nec ii[4] modo in quos crimen intendebatur sed universi, simul negare nobilium id crimen esse, quibus, si nulla obstetur fraude, pateat
12 via ad honorem, sed hominum novorum; ipsos adeo dictatorem magistrumque equitum reos magis quam quaesitores idoneos eius criminis esse intellecturosque ita id esse, simul magistratu abissent.

13 Tum enimvero Maenius, iam famae magis quam imperii memor, progressus in contionem[5] ita verba
14 fecit: "Et omnes ante actae vitae vos conscios habeo,

[1] sive is timor seu conscientia fuit *Madvig*: siue timor seu conscientiae uis *PF* (*or* ius) *OTD* (*or* ius) *LA*[1] (*and* *A*[1] *over erasure*): siuet (*or* siuei) timor seu conscientia eius *M* (*or* *M*[1] *or* *M*[2] *over erasure*): siue is timor seu conscientiae uis *U*.

[2] Calavios ζ: calabios Ω.

[3] Ovium ζ: obium (*or* obuium) Ω.

[4] ii ζ: hi (*or* hii) Ω: in *PF*: *omitted by O*.

[5] contionem $D^{1}\zeta$: contione Ω.

investigations. Gaius Maenius was nominated, and B.C. 314
named Marcus Folius master of the horse. Great was the terror inspired by that magistracy; and so, whether from fear or a guilty conscience, the Calavii, Ovius and Novius, who had headed the conspiracy, before informations could be lodged against them with the dictator, avoided trial by a death which was undoubtedly self-inflicted.

After that, the field of enquiry at Capua having been exhausted, the proceedings were transferred to Rome, on the theory that the senate had ordered an investigation, not of specified individuals in Capua, but, in general, of all who had anywhere combined or conspired against the State; and that cabals for obtaining magistracies had been made against the common weal. The enquiry began to take a wider range, in respect both of charges and of persons, and the dictator was nothing loath that there should be no limit to the jurisdiction of his court. Certain nobles were accordingly impeached, and on appealing to the tribunes found none to help them by stopping the informations. The nobles then declared—not those alone at whom the charge was levelled, but all of them conjointly—that this accusation did not lie against the nobility, to whom, unless fraudulently obstructed, the road to office lay wide open, but rather against upstart politicians; that in fact the dictator and the master of the horse themselves were fitter to be tried on such a charge than to act as judges, and they would find this to be so the moment they resigned their places.

Then indeed Maenius, more mindful now of his reputation than of his authority, came forward and addressed the assembly. "You are all of you," he

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Quirites, et hic ipse honos delatus ad me testis est innocentiae meae; neque enim, quod saepe alias, quia ita tempora postulabant rei publicae, qui bello clarissimus esset, sed qui maxime procul ab his coitionibus vitam egisset, dictator deligendus exercendis quaestionibus fuit. Sed quoniam quidam nobiles homines—qua de causa vos existimare quam me pro magistratu quicquam incompertum dicere melius est—primum ipsas expugnare quaestiones omni ope adnisi sunt, dein postquam ad id parum potentes erant, ne causam dicerent, in praesidia adversariorum, appellationem et tribunicium auxilium, patricii confugerunt; postremo repulsi inde adeo omnia tutiora quam ut innocentiam suam purgarent visa—in nos inruerunt et privatis dictatorem poscere reum verecundiae non fuit;—ut omnes di hominesque sciant ab illis etiam quae non possint temptari ne rationem vitae reddant, me obviam ire crimini et offerre me inimicis reum, dictatura me abdico. Vos quaeso, consules, si vobis datum ab senatu negotium fuerit, in me primum et hunc M. Folium quaestiones exerceatis, ut appareat innocentia nostra nos non maiestate honoris tutos a criminationibus istis esse." Abdicat inde se dictatura et post eum confestim Folius magisterio equi-

said, "Quirites, aware of my past life, and this very B.C. 314
office which has been conferred upon me is witness to my innocence; for it was necessary to select as dictator for the administration of judicial investigations, not the most distinguished soldier—as has often been done at other times, when some crisis in the state required it—but the man who had lived a life most aloof from these cabals. But since certain noblemen—for what cause it is better that you should form your own opinion than that I as magistrate should affirm anything not fully ascertained—have in the first place striven with might and main to defeat these very investigations; and then, finding themselves not strong enough to escape pleading their cause in court, have sought refuge, patricians though they are, in the safeguards of their adversaries—the appeal, I mean, and the help of the tribunes;—and since at last, repulsed in that quarter, they have fallen upon us—so much safer does any course appear to them than to try to vindicate their innocence—and have not blushed, though private citizens, to demand the impeachment of a dictator;—in order that all gods and men may know that they are attempting even impossibilities to avoid accounting for their lives, whereas I am ready to face their charge and to offer myself to my enemies to be tried, I hereby resign the dictator's authority. You, consuls, I beseech, if the task shall be devolved upon you by the senate, that you begin your investigations with me and with Marcus Folius here, that it may be seen that we are safe from these accusations by reason of our innocence, not by reason of the awe inspired by our office." He then resigned as dictator, and so at once did Folius as master of the horse. They were

A.U.C. 440 tum; primique apud consules—iis enim ab senatu mandata res est—rei facti adversus nobilium testi-
21 monia egregie absolvuntur. Publilius etiam Philo multiplicatis summis honoribus post res tot domi belloque gestas, ceterum invisus nobilitati, causam
22 dixit absolutusque est. Nec diutius, ut fit, quam dum recens erat quaestio per clara nomina reorum viguit; inde labi coepit ad viliora capita, donec coitionibus factionibusque adversus quas comparata erat oppressa est.

XXVII. Earum fama rerum, magis tamen spes Campanae defectionis, in quam coniuratum erat, Samnites in Apuliam versos rursus ad Caudium re-
2 vocavit, ut inde ex propinquo, si qui motus occasio-
3 nem aperiret, Capuam Romanis eriperent. Eo consules cum valido exercitu venerunt. Et primo circa saltus, cum utrimque ad hostem iniqua via
4 esset, cunctati sunt; deinde Samnites per aperta loca brevi circuitu in loca plana, Campanos campos, agmen demittunt,[1] ibique primum castra in con-
5 spectum[2] hostibus data, deinde levibus proeliis equitum saepius quam peditum utrimque periculum factum; nec aut eventus eorum Romanum aut
6 morae, qua trahebant bellum, paenitebat. Samni-

[1] demittunt ζ: dimittunt Ω: dimatant (?) *F.*
[2] in conspectum *Gronovius*: in conspectu Ω: conspectu *F.*

[1] In 339 B.C. Philo had proposed three democratic laws, which won him the enmity of the patricians. See VIII. xii. 14–16.

the first to go to trial before the consuls—for to these the senate had given the matter in charge—and, against the testimony of the nobles, were gloriously acquitted. Publilius Philo, too, after all his famous achievements at home and in war, and after having repeatedly held the highest offices, had incurred the hate of the nobility, and was brought to trial and acquitted.[1] But the inquisition, as often happens, had the vigour to deal with illustrious defendants no longer than while its novelty lasted; after that it began to descend to the baser sort, until it was finally put down by the cabals and factions which it had been instituted to oppose. B.C. 314

XXVII. The rumour of these events, and still more the hope of a Campanian insurrection, which had been the aim of the conspirators, recalled the Samnites from Apulia, on which their attention had been fixed, to Caudium; in the hope that, being there so near, they might, if any disturbance should afford the opportunity, seize Capua from the Romans; and to Caudium came the consuls, with a powerful force. Both armies at first held back, each on its own side of the pass, for either would have been at a disadvantage in advancing against the other. Then the Samnites made a short detour over open ground, and brought their army down to the plain, where the hostile forces were, for the first time, encamped in sight of one another. Some skirmishing followed, in which both sides made trial more often of their cavalry than their foot. The Romans were not dissatisfied either with the outcome of these brushes or with the delays by which the campaign was protracted. To the Samnite leaders, on the contrary, it appeared that

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tium contra ducibus et carpi parvis cottidie damnis et senescere dilatione belli vires suae videbantur.

7 Itaque in aciem procedunt equitibus in cornua divisis, quibus praeceptum erat intentiores ad respectum castrorum, ne qua eo vis fieret, quam[1] ad
8 proelium starent: aciem pedite[2] tutam fore. Consulum Sulpicius in dextro, Poetelius[3] in laevo cornu consistunt. Dextra pars, qua et Samnites raris ordinibus aut ad circumeundos hostes aut ne ipsi
9 circumirentur constiterant, latius patefacta stetit: sinistris, praeterquam quod confertiores steterant, repentino consilio Poeteli consulis additae vires, qui subsidiarias cohortes, quae integrae ad longioris pugnae casus reservabantur, in primam aciem extemplo emisit universisque hostem primo impetu
10 viribus impulit. Commota pedestri acie Samnitium eques in pugnam succedit. In hunc transverso agmine inter duas acies se inferentem Romanus equitatus concitat equos signaque et ordines peditum atque equitum confundit, donec universam ab
11 ea parte avertit aciem. In eo cornu non Poetelius solus sed Sulpicius etiam hortator adfuerat, avectus ab suis nondum conserentibus manus ad clamorem

[1] quam *Gelenius* $_{5}$: cum Ω: et cum *F*.
[2] pedite *U* (*anticipating Gronovius*): pediti Ω: peditum *Ax*$_{5}$.
[3] Poetelius *edd.* (*cf. chap.* xxiv. § 1): potelius *MPF*: petilius *O*: poetellius *TD*: petellius *LA* (*similar corruptions in* §§ 9 *and* 11, *and at chap.* xxviii. §§ 2, 5, 6).

[1] *i.e.* the Samnite right.

their forces were daily diminishing with petty losses, and were wasting away with the prolongation of the war. B.C. 314

They accordingly made ready for a general engagement, dividing their cavalry between the wings, with orders to pay more attention to the camp, to prevent any attack upon it, than to the battle; for the infantry would sufficiently safeguard the line. Of the consuls, Sulpicius took up his post on the right wing, Poetelius on the left. The formation on the right was spread out over a considerable distance, and on that wing the Samnites, too, were drawn up in ranks of little depth, either meaning to turn the Romans' flank, or to keep their own from being turned. The troops on the left, besides being drawn up in closer order, had received an accession to their strength from a plan conceived on the spur of the moment by Poetelius. For those subsidiary cohorts which were wont to be kept fresh in reserve, to meet the chance needs of a long engagement, he sent immediately into the fighting line; and by using all his strength at once, he forced the enemy back at the first assault. As the Samnite infantry wavered, their cavalry moved up to support them. But while they came obliquely onward, in the interval between the armies, the Roman cavalry charged them at the gallop, confounding the ranks and the formations of horse and foot, until they had routed the entire army at that point.[1] On that wing Sulpicius was present, as well as Poetelius, to animate the soldiers, for when the shouting arose upon the left, he had ridden over there, leaving his own men, who were not yet come to grips with

A.U.C. 440 12 a sinistra parte prius exortum. Unde haud dubiam victoriam cernens cum ad suum cornu tenderet cum mille ducentis viris, dissimilem ibi fortunam invenit, Romanos loco pulsos, victorem hostem signa in 13 perculsos inferentem. Ceterum omnia mutavit repente consulis adventus; nam et conspectu ducis refectus militum est animus, et maius quam pro numero auxilium advenerant fortes viri, et partis alterius victoria audita mox visa etiam proelium 14 restituit. Tota deinde iam vincere acie Romanus et omisso certamine caedi capique Samnites, nisi qui Maleventum, cui nunc urbi Beneventum nomen est, perfugerunt. Ad triginta milia caesa aut capta Samnitium proditum memoriae est.

A.U.C. 441 XXVIII. Consules egregia victoria parta protinus 2 inde ad Bovianum oppugnandum legiones ducunt; ibique hiberna egerunt, donec ab novis consulibus, L. Papirio Cursore quintum C. Iunio Bubulco iterum nominatus dictator C. Poetelius cum M. Folio 3 magistro equitum exercitum accepit. Is cum audisset arcem Fregellanam ab Samnitibus captam, omisso Boviano ad Fregellas pergit. Unde nocturna Samnitium fuga sine certamine receptis Fregellis praesidioque valido imposito in Campaniam reditum 4 maxime ad Nolam armis repetendam. Eo se intra

[1] The city, which was a Greek colony, was called Μαλοφείς, which meant "Sheeptown" (or, perhaps, "Appletown"). The Romans corrupted the accusative case, Μαλοφέντα, to *Maleventum*, which they regarded as derived from *male* and *venire*, and then, to avoid the omen, changed it to *Beneventum* when they planted a colony there, 268 B.C.

the enemy. But perceiving his colleague's victory B.C. 314
to be safe, he left him and rode off with twelve hundred men to his own wing. There he found affairs in a different posture; the Romans had been driven out of their position, and the victorious enemy were charging their disordered ranks. But all was quickly changed by the arrival of the consul. For the sight of their general revived the spirits of the soldiers, and the brave men who followed him were a greater succour than their numbers indicated; and the tidings of their comrades' victory, which they soon saw for themselves, restored the battle. Presently the Romans had begun to conquer all along the line, while the Samnites, giving up the struggle, were massacred or made prisoners, except those who fled to Maleventum, the city which is now called Beneventum.[1] Tradition avers that some thirty thousand Samnites were slain or captured.

XXVIII. The consuls, who had won a brilliant B.C. 313
victory, at once marched away to lay siege to Bovianum, where they remained in winter quarters, until the new consuls, Lucius Papirius Cursor (for the fifth time) and Gaius Junius Bubulcus (for the second) appointed Gaius Poetelius dictator, who, with Marcus Folius as master of horse, took over the command. Poetelius, hearing that the citadel of Fregellae was captured by the Samnites, raised the siege of Bovianum and proceeded to Fregellae. Having got possession of the place without a struggle—for the Samnites fled from it in the night—he installed a strong garrison there, and leaving Fregellae, marched back into Campania, for the purpose, chiefly, of winning back Nola by force of

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moenia sub adventum dictatoris et Samnitium omnis multitudo et Nolana agrestis contulerat.[1] Dictator urbis situ circumspecto, quo apertior aditus ad moenia esset, omnia aedificia—et frequenter ibi habitabatur—circumiecta muris incendit; nec ita multo post, sive a Poetelio dictatore sive ab C. Iunio consule—nam utrumque traditur,—Nola est capta. Qui captae decus Nolae ad consulem trahunt, adiciunt Atinam et Calatiam ab eodem captas, Poetelium autem pestilentia orta clavi figendi causa dictatorem dictum.

Suessa et Pontiae eodem anno coloniae deductae sunt. Suessa Auruncorum fuerat; Volsci Pontias, insulam sitam in conspectu litoris sui, incoluerant. Et Interamnam Sucasinam[2] ut deduceretur colonia, senati consultum[3] factum est; sed triumviros creavere ac misere colonorum quattuor milia insequentes consules M. Valerius P. Decius.

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XXIX. Profligato[4] fere Samnitium bello, priusquam ea cura decederet patribus Romanis, Etrusci belli fama exorta est. Nec erat ea tempestate gens alia cuius secundum Gallicos tumultus arma terri-

[1] et Nolana agrestis contulerat *codd. Gelen.*: et nolani agrestes (agrestis *O* agrestas *PFD² LA*) contulerat (-et *F*, -ant *AM*³ *or M*⁴*T*¹ *or T*²*D*³) Ω.

[2] Sucasinam *Mommsen* (*Plin. N.H.* III. v. 64): casinam *MT*: casinum Ω.

[3] senati consultum *Alschefski*: sic (*or* sic.) Ω: sicut *U*: senatus consultum *c*.

[4] profligato *c*: M. Valerio P. Decio coss. (*or* cōs *or* coñs.) profligato Ω: p̄ decio coss profligato *TDLA*.

[1] For the practice of driving a nail in the wall of the shrine of Minerva in the great temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, see VII. iii. But the writers referred to in the present passage are probably mistaken, as the *Fasti*

arms. Within its walls, as the dictator drew near, B.C. 313
the whole Samnite population and the Nolani of the country-side had taken refuge. After examining the position of the city, the dictator, in order to open up approaches to the walls, caused all the buildings round them—and the tract was densely inhabited—to be burnt. Not very long after this Nola was captured, whether by Poetelius the dictator or the consul Gaius Junius—for the story is told both ways. Those who ascribe the honour of capturing Nola to the consul, add that Atina and Calatia were won by the same man, but that Poetelius was made dictator on the outbreak of a pestilence, that he might drive the nail.[1]

Colonies were planted in that same year at Suessa and Pontiae. Suessa had belonged to the Aurunci; Volscians had inhabited Pontiae, an island which lay within sight of their own coast. The senate also passed a resolution that a colony be sent out to Interamna Sucasina,[2] but it was left for the next consuls, Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius, to appoint the three commissioners and send out four thousand settlers.

XXIX. The war with the Samnites was practically B.C. 312
ended, but the Roman senators had not yet ceased to be concerned about it, when the rumour of an Etruscan war sprang up. In those days there was no other race—setting apart the risings of the Gauls

Capitolini say that Poetelius was made dictator *rei gerundae causa*.

[2] So called (or sometimes Lirenas) to distinguish it from two other towns called Interamna—a name which is derived from the two streams (in this case the Casinus and the Liris) at whose confluence the town was situated.

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biliora essent cum propinquitate agri tum multi-
3 tudine hominum. Itaque altero consule in Samnio reliquias belli persequente P. Decius, qui graviter aeger Romae restiterat, auctore senatu dictatorem C. Sulpicium Longum, is magistrum equitum C.
4 Iunium Bubulcum[1] dixit. Is, prout rei magnitudo postulabat, omnes iuniores sacramento adigit, arma quaeque alia res poscit summa industria parat; nec tantis apparatibus elatus de inferendo bello agitat, quieturus haud dubie, nisi ultro arma Etrusci infer-
5 rent. Eadem in comparando cohibendoque bello consilia et apud Etruscos fuere: neutri finibus egressi.

Et censura clara eo anno Ap. Claudi et C. Plauti fuit; memoriae tamen felicioris ad posteros nomen
6 Appi, quod viam munivit et aquam in urbem duxit;
7 eaque unus perfecit, quia ob infamem atque invidiosam senatus lectionem verecundia victus collega
8 magistratu se abdicaverat; Appius iam inde antiquitus insitam pertinaciam familiae gerendo solus
9 censuram obtinuit. Eodem Appio auctore Potitia gens, cuius ad aram maximam Herculis familiare sacerdotium fuerat, servos publicos ministerii dele-

[1] dictatorem C. Sulpicium Longum, is magistrum equitum C. Bubulcum *Sigonius and Pighius* (*from the Fasti Capitolini*): dictatorem C. Iunium Bubulcum Ω.

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[1] The road was the Via Appia, which ran from Rome to Capua, and was later extended to Beneventum and, finally, to Brundisium. The aqueduct brought water from a point between seven and eight miles out, on the road to Gabii, and supplied the Circus Maximus and other low-lying parts of the City.

[2] An ancient altar erected in honour of Hercules. The origin of the cult is described at I. vii. 3–15.

—whose arms were more dreaded, not only because B.C. 312
their territory lay so near, but also because of their numbers. Accordingly, while the other consul was in Samnium, dispatching the last remnants of the war, Publius Decius, who was very sick and had stopped behind in Rome, in pursuance of a senatorial resolution named Gaius Sulpicius Longus dictator, who appointed Gaius Junius Bubulcus to be his master of the horse. Sulpicius, as the gravity of the circumstances required, administered the oath to all those of military age, and made ready arms and whatever else the situation called for, with the utmost assiduity. Yet he was not so carried away with these great preparations as to plan for an offensive war, clearly intending to remain inactive, unless the Etruscans should first take the field. But the Etruscans followed the same policy, preparing for war but preventing it from breaking out. Neither side went beyond their own frontiers.

Noteworthy, too, in that year was the censorship of Appius Claudius and Gaius Plautius; but the name of Appius was of happier memory with succeeding generations, because he built a road, and conveyed a stream of water into the City.[1] These undertakings he carried out by himself, since his colleague had resigned, overcome with shame at the disgraceful and invidious manner in which Appius revised the list of senators; and Appius, exhibiting the obstinacy which had marked his family from the earliest days, exercised the censorship alone. It was Appius, too, by whose warranty the Potitian clan, with whom the priesthood of Hercules at the Ara Maxima[2] was hereditary, taught the ritual of that sacrifice to public slaves,

A.U.C. 442 10 gandi causa sollemnia eius sacri docuerat. Traditur inde, dictu mirabile et quod dimovendis statu suo sacris religionem facere posset, cum duodecim familiae ea tempestate Potitiorum essent, puberes ad triginta, 11 omnes intra annum cum stirpe exstinctos; nec nomen tantum Potitiorum interisse sed censorem etiam memori deum ira post aliquot annos luminibus captum.

A.U.C. 443 XXX. Itaque consules qui eum annum secuti sunt, C. Iunius Bubulcus tertium et Q. Aemilius Barbula iterum, initio anni questi apud populum 2 deformatum ordinem prava lectione senatus, qua potiores aliquot lectis praeteriti essent, negaverunt eam lectionem se, quae sine recti pravique discrimine ad gratiam ac libidinem facta esset, observaturos et senatum extemplo citaverunt eo ordine qui ante censores Ap. Claudium et C. Plautium 3 fuerat. Et duo imperia[1] eo anno dari coepta per populum, utraque pertinentia ad rem militarem: unum, ut tribuni militum seni deni in quattuor legiones a populo crearentur, quae antea perquam paucis suffragio populi relictis locis dictatorum et consulum ferme fuerant beneficia—tulere eam rogationem tribuni plebei L. Atilius C. Marcius;— 4 alterum, ut duumviros navales classis ornandae

[1] imperia Ω: feria *M*: ministeria *Madvig*.

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[1] For an instance of the popular election of *tribuni militum* *cf.* VII. v. 9. The plan adopted in 311 seems to have given the people the right to elect four of the six tribunes assigned to each legion, or sixteen in all. Soon after Livy wrote these words another change was made and the emperor thenceforth appointed all military tribunes.

in order to devolve the service upon them. Tradition B.C. 312
relates that after this a strange thing happened, and one that might well give men pause ere they disturb the established order of religious ceremonies. For whereas at that time there were twelve families of the Potitii, and grown men to the number of thirty, within the year they had perished, every man, and the stock had become extinct; and not only did the name of the Potitii die out, but even the censor, by the unforgetting ire of the gods, was a few years later stricken blind.

XXX. And so the consuls of the following year, B.C. 311
Gaius Junius Bubulcus (for the third time) and Quintus Aemilius Barbula (for the second), complained to the people, at the outset of their administration, that the senatorial order had been depraved by the improper choice of members, in which better men had been passed over than some that had been appointed. They then gave notice that they should ignore that list, which had been drawn up with no distinction of right and wrong, in a spirit of favouritism and caprice; and proceeded to call the roll of the senate in the order which had been in use before Appius Claudius and Gaius Plautius were censors. In that year, also, two commands—both military—began to be conferred by the people; for it was enacted, first, that sixteen tribunes of the soldiers should be chosen by popular vote for the four legions, whereas previously these places had been for the most part in the gift of dictators and consuls, very few being left to popular suffrage[1]; secondly, that the people should likewise elect two naval commissioners to have charge of equipping and refitting the fleet. The former of

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reficiendaeque causa idem populus iuberet; lator huius plebi sciti fuit M. Decius tribunus plebis.

5 Eiusdem anni rem dictu parvam praeterirem, ni ad religionem visa esset pertinere. Tibicines, quia prohibiti a proximis censoribus erant in aede Iovis vesci quod traditum antiquitus erat, aegre passi Tibur uno agmine abierunt, adeo ut nemo in urbe 6 esset qui sacrificiis praecineret. Eius rei religio tenuit senatum, legatosque Tibur miserunt darent[1] operam, ut ii[2] homines Romanis restituerentur. 7 Tiburtini benigne polliciti primum accitos eos in curiam hortati sunt uti reverterentur Romam; postquam perpelli nequibant, consilio haud abhor- 8 rente ab ingeniis hominum eos adgrediuntur. Die festo alii alios per speciem celebrandarum cantu epularum invitant[3] et vino, cuius avidum ferme id 9 genus[4] est, oneratos sopiunt atque ita in plaustra somno vinctos coniciunt ac Romam deportant. Nec prius sensere quam plaustris in foro relictis plenos 10 crapulae eos lux oppressit. Tunc concursus populi factus, impetratoque ut manerent, datum ut triduum quotannis ornati cum cantu atque hac quae nunc sollemnis est licentia per urbem vagarentur, restitu-

[1] darent *Gronovius*: ut darent Ω.
[2] ut ii A^2 *Alschefski Madvig*: ut hii ***M***: ut hi *PF*: ut id *OTDLA*.
[3] invitant ς: causa inuitant Ω.
[4] id gen s ς: genus Ω.

these measures was proposed by the tribunes of the plebs Lucius Atilius and Gaius Marcius; the latter by Marcus Decius, another tribune of the plebs. B.C. 311

I should omit, as an incident hardly worth narrating, a little thing that happened in that same year, but that it seemed to concern religion. The flute-players, angry at having been forbidden by the last censors to hold their feast, according to old custom, in the temple of Jupiter, went off to Tibur in a body, so that there was no one in the City to pipe at sacrifices. Troubled by the religious aspect of the case, the senate dispatched representatives to the Tiburtines, requesting them to use their best endeavours to restore these men to Rome. The Tiburtines courteously undertook to do so; and sending for the pipers to their senate-house, urged them to return. When they found it impossible to persuade them, they employed a ruse, not ill-adapted to the nature of the men. On a holiday various citizens invited parties of the pipers to their houses, on the pretext of celebrating the feast with music. There they plied them with wine, which people of that profession are generally greedy of, until they got them stupefied. In this condition they threw them, fast asleep, into waggons and carried them away to Rome; nor did the pipers perceive what had taken place until daylight found them—still suffering from the debauch—in the waggons, which had been left standing in the Forum. The people then flocked about them and prevailed with them to remain. They were permitted on three days in every year to roam the City in festal robes, making music and enjoying the licence that is now customary, and to such

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tumque in aede vescendi ius iis[1] qui sacris praecinerent. Haec inter duorum ingentium bellorum curam gerebantur.

XXXI. Consules inter se provincias partiti: Iunio Samnites, Aemilio novum bellum Etruria sorte obvenit. In Samnio Cluviarum[2] praesidium Romanum, quia nequiverat vi capi, obsessum fame in deditionem acceperant Samnites verberibusque foedum in modum laceratos occiderant deditos. Huic infensus crudelitati Iunius, nihil antiquius oppugnatione Cluviana ratus, quo die adgressus est moenia vi cepit atque omnes puberes interfecit. Inde victor exercitus Bovianum ductus. Caput hoc erat Pentrorum Samnitium, longe ditissimum atque opulentissimum armis virisque. Ibi quia haud tantum irarum erat, spe praedae milites accensi oppido potiuntur. Minus itaque saevitum in hostes est; praedae plus paene quam ex omni Samnio unquam egestum benigneque omnis militi concessa.

Et postquam praepotentem armis Romanum nec acies subsistere ullae nec castra nec urbes poterant, omnium principum in Samnio eo curae sunt intentae ut insidiis quaereretur locus, si qua licentia populando effusus exercitus excipi ac circumveniri posset. Transfugae agrestes et captivi quidam, pars forte, pars consilio oblati, congruentia ad consulem adfe-

[1] iis ζ: his Ω: in (*or* iu) hiis A hiis A^2.

[2] Cluviarum *Walters*: cluuiaru (?) O: cluuiani (cluiani P) Ω: duliiani T: duuiani T^1.

[1] The story of the secession of the flute-players is found also in Ovid, *Fasti*, VI. 651 ff., and Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 55. The three days (the so-called "lesser Quinquatrus") were June 13th, 14th, 15th, and were a festival peculiar to the guild of pipers.

[2] The site of Cluviae is not known.

as should play at sacrifices was given again the B.C. 311
privilege of banqueting in the temple.[1] These incidents occurred while men were preoccupied with two mighty wars.

XXXI. The consuls divided the commands between them: to Junius the lot assigned the Samnites, to Aemilius the new war with Etruria. In Samnium the Roman garrison at Cluviae,[2] which had defended itself successfully against assault, was starved into submission. The Samnites, having scourged their prisoners in brutal fashion, put them to death, although they had surrendered. Incensed by this act of cruelty, Junius felt that nothing should take precedence over an attack on Cluviae. He carried the place by storm on the day he arrived before it, and slew all the grown-up males. From there he led his victorious army to Bovianum. This was the capital of the Pentrian Samnites, a very wealthy city and very rich in arms and men. Against this town the soldiers were not so exasperated, but the hope of plunder spurred them on to capture it. And so there was less severity shown to the enemy, but there was almost more booty carried out than was ever collected from all the rest of Samnium, and the whole of it was generously made over to the soldiers.

When the conquering arms of the Romans might now no longer be withstood by any embattled host or camp or city, the leaders of the Samnites all eagerly directed their attention to the seeking out a place for an ambush, on the chance that the army might somehow be permitted to disperse for plundering, and so be surprised and surrounded. Certain rustic deserters and prisoners, some falling into the consul's hands by accident and some on purpose,

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rentes—quae et vera erant—pecoris vim ingentem in saltum avium compulsam esse, perpulerunt ut
8 praedatum eo expeditae ducerentur legiones. Ibi ingens hostium exercitus itinera occultus insederat, et postquam intrasse Romanos vidit saltum, repente exortus cum clamore ac tumultu incautos invadit.
9 Et primo nova res trepidationem fecit, dum arma capiunt, sarcinas congerunt in medium; dein postquam, ut quisque liberaverat se onere aptaveratque arma,[1] ad signa undique coibant et notis ordinibus in vetere disciplina militiae iam sine praecepto
10 ullius sua sponte struebatur acies, consul ad ancipitem maxime pugnam advectus desilit ex equo et Iovem Martemque atque alios testatur deos se nullam suam gloriam inde sed praedam militi
11 quaerentem in eum locum devenisse neque in se aliud quam nimiam ditandi ex hoste militis curam reprehendi posse; ab eo se dedecore nullam rem
12 aliam quam virtutem militum vindicaturam. Coniterentur modo uno animo omnes invadere hostem victum acie, castris exutum, nudatum urbibus, ultimam spem furto insidiarum temptantem et loco
13 non armis fretum. Sed quem esse iam virtuti Romanae inexpugnabilem locum? Fregellana arx Soranaque et ubicumque iniquo successum erat loco memorabantur.

[1] arma *Gronovius*: armis Ω.

by giving all the same account—and a true one, B.C. 311
too—of enormous flocks that had been brought together in an inaccessible mountain meadow, persuaded him to lead thither his legions in light marching order to seize the booty. There a great army of the enemy had secretly beset the ways, and seeing that the Romans had entered the pass, rose up suddenly with much din and shouting and fell upon them unawares. At first the unexpectedness of the attack occasioned some trepidation, while the soldiers were putting on their armour and piling their packs in the midst. Afterwards, when everyone had got rid of his encumbrance and had armed himself, they began to assemble from every side about their standards. In the course of a long training in the army they had become familiar with their places, and formed a line of their own accord, without anyone's direction. The consul, riding up to the place where the fighting was most critical, leaped down from his horse, and called on Jupiter and Mars and the other gods to witness that he had come there seeking no glory for himself, but only booty for his soldiers: his sole fault, he said, was a too great desire to enrich his men; from this disgrace nothing could save him but their courage. Only let them all unite in singleness of purpose to assail an enemy conquered in battle, stripped of his camp, deprived of his cities, and pinning his last hopes to the treachery of an ambuscade, where his trust was in his position, not in arms. But what position was there now, he demanded, too strong for Roman valour to overwhelm? He reminded them of Fregellae's citadel and Sora's, and all the places where they had triumphed over disadvantage of ground.

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14 His accensus miles, omnium immemor difficultatium, vadit adversus imminentem hostium aciem. Ibi paulum laboris fuit, dum in adversum clivum
15 erigitur agmen: ceterum postquam prima signa planitiem summam ceperunt sensitque acies aequo se iam institisse loco, versus extemplo est terror in insidiatores easdemque latebras quibus se paulo ante texerant palati atque inermes fuga repetebant.
16 Sed loca difficilia hosti quaesita ipsos tum sua fraude impediebant. Itaque ergo perpaucis effugium patuit; caesa ad viginti milia hominum victorque Romanus ad oblatam ab hoste praedam pecorum discurrit.

XXXII. Dum haec geruntur in Samnio, iam omnes Etruriae populi praeter Arretinos ad arma ierant, ab oppugnando Sutrio, quae urbs socia Romanis
2 velut claustra Etruriae erat, ingens orsi bellum. Eo alter consul Aemilius cum exercitu ad liberandos obsidione socios venit. Advenientibus Romanis Sutrini commeatus benigne in castra ante urbem
3 posita advexere. Etrusci diem primum consultando maturarent traherentne bellum traduxerunt. Postero die, ubi celeriora quam tutiora consilia magis pla-

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[1] The *Fasti Capitolini* record that Junius triumphed over the Samnites on August 5th (*C.I.L.*, I², p. 45).

Roused by these words, the soldiers disregarded B.C. 311
every obstacle and advanced against the battle-line which their enemies had formed above them. There was a little hard fighting there, while the column was mounting the slope; but as soon as the foremost companies had reached the plateau at the top, and the soldiers perceived that their line was now established on level ground, the panic was straightway turned upon the waylayers, who fled, dispersing and throwing down their arms, in search of those very lurking-places where a little while before they had concealed themselves. But the ground which they had sought out for the difficulties it presented to an enemy caught the Samnites themselves in a trap of their own devising. And so, very few were able to get off: about twenty thousand men were slain; and the victorious Romans struck out this way and that to collect the booty of cattle which the enemy had thrown in their way.[1]

XXXII. While these events were taking place in Samnium, all the peoples of Etruria, except the Arretini, had already armed, and beginning with the siege of Sutrium, a city in alliance with the Romans, and forming as it were the key to Etruria, had set on foot a tremendous war. Thither the other consul, Aemilius, came with an army, to relieve the blockade of the allies. As the Romans came up, the Sutrini obligingly brought provisions to their camp, which was formed before the city. The Etruscans spent the first day in deliberating whether to accelerate the war or to draw it out. On the following day, their generals having decided on the swifter plan in preference to the safer, the

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cuere ducibus, sole orto signum pugnae propositum
4 est armatique in aciem procedunt. Quod postquam consuli nuntiatum est, extemplo tesseram dari iubet ut prandeat miles firmatisque cibo viribus arma
5 capiat. Dicto paretur. Consul ubi armatos paratosque vidit, signa extra vallum proferri iussit et haud procul hoste instruxit aciem. Aliquamdiu intenti utrimque steterunt exspectantes, ut ab ad-
6 versariis clamor et pugna inciperet; et prius sol meridie se inclinavit quam telum hinc aut illinc emissum est. Inde, ne infecta re abiretur, clamor ab Etruscis oritur concinuntque tubae et signa inferuntur. Nec segnius a Romanis pugna initur.
7 Concurrunt infensis animis; numero hostis, virtute
8 Romanus superat; anceps proelium multos utrimque et fortissimum quemque absumit, nec prius inclinata res est quam secunda acies Romana ad prima signa,
9 integri fessis, successerunt, Etrusci,[1] quia nullis recentibus subsidiis fulta prima acies fuit, ante signa circaque omnes ceciderunt. Nullo unquam proelio fugae minus nec plus caedis fuisset, ni obstinatos
10 mori Tuscos nox texisset, ita ut victores prius quam victi pugnandi finem facerent. Post occasum solis signum receptui datum est; nocte utroque[2] in castra reditum.

[1] successerunt, Etrusci *Walters and Conway*: successerunt. Etrusci *edd.*

[2] utroque *Madvig*: ab utroque Ω: utrobique *Walters and Conway (note)*.

signal for battle was displayed at sunrise and their B.C. 311
men in fighting array marched out upon the field. When this was reported to the consul, he at once commanded the word to be passed round that the men should breakfast, and having recruited their strength with food, should then arm. The order was obeyed; and the consul, seeing them equipped and ready, bade advance the standards beyond the rampart, and drew up his troops a little way off from the enemy. For some time both sides stood fast, observing one another closely, each waiting for the other to give a cheer and begin to fight, and the sun had begun his downward course in the heavens ere a missile was hurled on either side. Then the Etruscans, that they might not withdraw without accomplishing their purpose, set up a shout, and with sound of trumpets advanced their ensigns. The Romans were equally prompt to begin the battle. The two armies rushed together with great fury, the enemy having a superiority in numbers, the Romans in bravery. Victory hung in the balance and many perished on both sides, including all the bravest, and the event was not decided until the Roman second line came up with undiminished vigour to relieve their exhausted comrades in the first; and the Etruscans, whose fighting line was supported by no fresh reserves, all fell in front of their standards and around them. There would never in any battle have been more bloodshed or less running away, but when the Etruscans were resolved to die, the darkness shielded them, so that the victors gave over fighting before the vanquished. The sun had set when the recall was sounded, and in the night both armies retired to their camps.

A.U.C. 443 11 Nec deinde quicquam eo anno rei memoria dignae apud Sutrium gestum est, quia et ex hostium exercitu prima tota acies deleta uno proelio fuerat subsidiariis modo relictis, vix quod satis esset ad 12 castrorum praesidium, et apud Romanos tantum volnerum fuit ut plures post proelium saucii decesserint quam ceciderant in acie. A.U.C. 444 XXXIII. Q. Fabius, insequentis anni consul, bellum ad Sutrium excepit, collega Fabio C. Marcius Rutulus [1] datus 2 est. Ceterum et Fabius supplementum ab Roma adduxit et novus exercitus domo accitus Etruscis venit. 3 Permulti anni iam erant cum inter patricios magistratus tribunosque nulla certamina fuerant, cum ex ea familia cui velut fato lis [2] cum tribunis 4 ac plebe erat certamen oritur. Ap. Claudius censor circumactis decem et octo mensibus quod Aemilia lege finitum censurae spatium temporis erat, cum C. Plautius collega eius magistratu se abdicasset, nulla 5 vi compelli ut abdicaret potuit. P. Sempronius erat tribunus plebis, qui finiendae censurae intra legitimum tempus actionem susceperat, non popularem magis quam iustam nec in volgus quam optimo 6 cuique gratiorem. Is cum identidem legem Aemiliam recitaret auctoremque eius Mam. Aemilium dictatorem laudibus ferret, qui quinquennalem ante censuram et longinquitate potestatis [3] dominantem 7 intra sex mensum et anni coegisset spatium, "Die agedum" inquit, "Appi Claudi, quidnam facturus

[1] Rutulus *Conway*: rutilius (rutilus *T*?) Ω.

[2] cui velut fato lis *M. Seuffert*: quae uelut fatalis Ω: quae uelut fatales *MPTDL*.

[3] potestatis *Crévier*: potestatem Ω.

[1] 434 B.C. (IV. xxiv. 5).

Thereafter there was nothing done that year at Sutrium worth recording. The enemy had lost their whole first line in a single engagement, and had only their reserves remaining, who barely sufficed to garrison their camp; whilst the Romans had so many wounded that more died of their hurts after the battle than had fallen on the field. B.C. 311

XXXIII. Quintus Fabius, consul in the following year, took over the campaign at Sutrium. For colleague he was given Gaius Marcius Rutulus. Fabius brought up replacements from Rome, and a new army came from Etruria to reinforce the enemy. B.C. 310

For a great many years now there had been no contests between the patrician magistrates and the tribunes, when a dispute arose through that family which was fated, as it seemed, to wrangle with the tribunes and with the plebs. Appius Claudius the censor, on the expiration of the eighteen months which had been fixed by the Aemilian law[1] as the limit of the censorship, although his colleague Gaius Plautius had abdicated, could himself by no compulsion be prevailed upon to do likewise. It was Publius Sempronius, a tribune of the people, who commenced an action to confine the censorship to its legal limits—an action no less just than popular, and as welcome to every aristocrat as to the common people. Having repeatedly read out the Aemilian law, and praised its author, Mamercus Aemilius the dictator, for confining the censorship—which had until then been tenable for five years and was proving despotic by reason of the long continuance of its authority—within the space of a year and a half, he said, "Come, tell us, Appius Claudius, what

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fueris, si eo tempore quo C. Furius et M. Geganius
8 censores fuerunt censor fuisses." Negare Appius interrogationem tribuni magno opere ad causam
9 pertinere suam; nam etsi tenuerit lex Aemilia eos censores quorum in magistratu lata esset, quia post illos censores creatos eam legem populus iussisset quodque postremum iussisset id ius ratumque esset, non tamen aut se aut eorum quemquam qui post eam legem latam creati censores essent teneri ea lege potuisse.

XXXIV. Haec sine ullius adsensu cavillante Appio "En" [1] inquit, "Quirites, illius Appi progenies, qui decemvir in annum creatus altero anno se ipse creavit, tertio nec ab se nec ab ullo creatus privatus
2 fasces et imperium obtinuit, nec ante continuando abstitit magistratu quam obruerent eum male parta,
3 male gesta, male retenta imperia. Haec est eadem familia, Quirites, cuius vi atque iniuriis compulsi extorres patria Sacrum montem cepistis; haec adversus quam tribunicium auxilium vobis comparas-
4 tis; haec propter quam duo exercitus Aventinum insedistis; haec quae fenebres leges, haec quae
5 agrarias semper impugnavit. Haec conubia patrum

[1] "En" *Aldus*: ē *FO*: est Ω.

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[1] Appius held that, whereas the election of Furius and Geganius for a period of five years had been set aside by the Aemilian law, which was then the latest enactment on the subject and so replaced any earlier one, nevertheless all those who were elected subsequently derived their powers from still later enactments, by which in its turn the Aemilian law was superseded.

[2] For the story of the Decemvir, see III. xxxiii–lviii.

[3] II. xxxii. 2.

you would have done had you been censor at the B.C. 310
time when Gaius Furius and Marcus Geganius were censors." Appius replied that the tribune's question had no particular bearing upon his own case; for even though the Aemilian law had bound those censors in whose term of office it had been passed, because the people had enacted the law after their election to the censorship and their latest enactment was always the effective law, yet neither himself nor any one of those who had been chosen censors subsequently to the passage of that law could have been bound by it.[1]

XXXIV. While Appius raised these quibbles, but found no one to support him, "Behold, Quirites," said Sempronius, "the descendant of that Appius, who having been elected decemvir for one year, himself declared his own election for a second year, and in the third, although a private citizen, with neither his own nor another's warrant of election, retained the fasces and authority, and relinquished not his hold on the magistracy until he was overwhelmed by his ill-gotten, ill-administered, and ill-continued powers.[2] It was this same family, Quirites, under compulsion of whose violence and abuse you banished yourselves from your native City and occupied the Sacred Mount[3]; the same against which you provided yourselves with the help of tribunes[4]; the same, because of which two armies of you encamped upon the Aventine[5]; the same that has ever attacked the laws restricting usury and throwing open the public lands.[6] This same

[4] II. xxxiii. 1–3.
[5] III. l. 13, and li. 10.
[6] II. xxix. 9; xliv. 1; lxi. 1; VI. xl. 11.

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et plebis interrupit: haec plebi ad curules magistratus iter obsaepsit. Hoc est nomen multo quam Tarquiniorum infestius vestrae libertati. Itane tandem, Appi Claudi? Cum centesimus iam annus sit ab Mam. Aemilio dictatore, tot censores fuerunt,[1] nobilissimi fortissimique viri, nemo eorum duodecim tabulas legit? Nemo id ius esse, quod postremo populus iussisset, sciit? Immo vero omnes scierunt[2] et ideo Aemiliae potius legi paruerunt quam illi antiquae qua primum censores creati erant, quia hanc postremam iusserat populus, et quia, ubi duae contrariae leges sunt, semper antiquae obrogat nova. "An hoc dicis, Appi, non teneri Aemilia lege populum? An populum teneri, te unum exlegem esse? Tenuit Aemilia lex violentos illos censores C. Furium[3] et M. Geganium, qui quid iste magistratus in re publica mali[4] facere posset indicarunt, cum ira finitae potestatis Mam. Aemilium, principem aetatis suae belli domique, aerarium fecerunt; tenuit deinceps omnes censores intra centum annorum spatium; tenet C. Plautium, collegam tuum iisdem[5] auspiciis, eodem iure creatum. An hunc non ut qui optimo iure censor creatus esset populus creavit? Tu unus eximius es in quo hoc praecipuum ac singu-

[1] fuerunt (fuēr) *F*: fuerin Ω.
[2] scierunt *H. J. Mueller*: sciuerunt Ω: sciuerint *DA*.
[3] C. Furium ζ: īm. furium Ω.
[4] mali A^2 (*or* A^1): male Ω: mala *M*.
[5] iisdem ζ: isdem T^2: hiisdem *A*: hisdem Ω.

[1] IV. i. vi. [2] *e.g.* IV. vi 7.

family broke off marriages between patricians and plebeians[1]; this same family blocked the path of the plebeians to curule offices.[2] It is a name that is far more hostile to your liberty than that of the Tarquinii. So, Appius Claudius! Though it is now a hundred years since Mamercus Aemilius was dictator, and in that time we have had all these censors, high-born and valiant men, has never one of them inspected the Twelve Tables? Has none of them known that the law was that which the people had last enacted? Nay, all of them knew it; and they obeyed the Aemilian law in preference to that ancient ordinance which governed the first elections of censors, precisely because it was the latest which the people had enacted, and because in a conflict of two laws the old is ever superseded by the new. B.C. 310

"Or will this be your contention, Appius, that the people is not bound by the Aemilian law? Or that the people is bound, but that you alone are exempt? The Aemilian law bound those violent censors Gaius Furius and Marcus Geganius, who showed what mischief that magistracy could accomplish in the state, when, in their rage at the abridgment of their powers, they reduced Mamercus Aemilius, the foremost man of his time in war and peace, to the lowest class of citizens; it bound all the censors who succeeded them, for the period of a hundred years; it binds Gaius Plautius, your colleague, who was given the office under the same auspices and with the same rights as yourself. Or did the people not make Plautius censor as one who had been elected with the fullest rights? Are you the sole exception in whose case this holds, as a unique and peculiar

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12 lare valeat? Quem tu regem sacrificiorum crees? Amplexus regni nomen, ut qui optimo iure rex Romae creatus sit, creatum se dicet. Quem semestri dictatura, quem interregno quinque dierum contentum fore putes? Quem clavi figendi aut ludorum
13 causa dictatorem audacter crees? Quam isti stolidos ac socordes videri creditis eos qui intra vicesimum diem ingentibus rebus gestis dictatura se abdicave-
14 runt aut qui vitio creati abierunt magistratu! Quid ego antiqua repetam? Nuper intra decem[1] annos C. Maenius dictator, quia, cum quaestiones severius quam quibusdam potentibus tutum erat exerceret, contagio eius quod quaerebat ipse criminis obiectata ab inimicis est, ut privatus obviam iret crimini,
15 dictatura se abdicavit. Nolo ego istam in te modestiam: ne degeneraveris a familia imperiosissima et superbissima; non die, non hora citius quam necesse est magistratu abieris, modo ne excedas finitum
16 tempus. Satis est aut diem aut mensem censurae adicere? Triennium, inquit, et sex menses ultra quam licet Aemilia lege censuram geram et solus geram. Hoc quidem iam regno simile est.
17 "An collegam subrogabis, quem ne in demortui
18 quidem locum subrogari fas est? Paenitet enim, quod antiquissimum sollemne et solum ab ipso cui

[1] decem Ω[1]: quinque *Klockius Iac. Gronovius* (*chap.* xxvi. § 7).

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[1] II. ii. 1–2

[2] Livy has himself put the dictatorship of Maenius in the year 314. He is probably following another annalist here whose account like that of the *Fasti Capitolini*) assigned it to 320.

privilege? Whom, pray, could men elect as king for sacrifice?[1] He will seize on the title of sovereignty, and assert that he has been chosen as one elected with fullest rights to be king at Rome. Who, think you, will be content with six months as dictator; who with five days as interrex? Whom would you be so rash as to make dictator for the purpose of driving the nail or celebrating games? How dull and lumpish must those men seem to Appius, who after accomplishing great feats resigned the post of dictator within twenty days, or laid down the reins of office because of a flaw in their election! Why should I cite antiquity? Recently, within these ten years,[2] Gaius Maenius the dictator, for conducting an inquisition with more severity than was safe for certain great men, was accused by his ill-wishers of being tainted with that very felony which he was searching out, and abdicated the dictatorship, that he might face the charge as a private citizen. Far be it from me to require such self-denial of you! Fall not away from the most imperious and proud of families; quit not your magistracy one day, one hour, sooner than you must; only see that you overstep not the appointed limit. Is it enough to add a day, or a month, to his censorship? 'Three years,' quoth he, 'and six months beyond the time permitted by the Aemilian law will I administer the censorship, and administer it alone.' Surely this begins to look like monarchy! B.C. 310

"Or will you substitute a colleague for the other, though even in a dead man's place such substitution is forbidden by religion? You are not satisfied forsooth with having in your scrupulous exercise of a censor's powers diverted the service of our most

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fit institutum deo ab nobilissimis antistitibus eius
19 sacri ad servorum ministerium religiosus censor deduxisti, gens antiquior originibus urbis huius, hospitio deorum immortalium sancta, propter te ac tuam censuram intra annum ab stirpe exstincta est, nisi universam rem publicam eo nefario obstrinxeris
20 quod ominari etiam reformidat animus. Urbs eo lustro capta est quo demortuo collega C. Iulio[1] L. Papirius Cursor, ne abiret magistratu, M. Cornelium
21 Maluginensem collegam subrogavit. Et quanto modestior illius cupiditas fuit quam tua, Appi! Nec solus nec ultra finitum lege tempus L. Papirius censuram gessit; tamen neminem invenit qui se postea auctorem sequeretur; omnes deinceps censores post mortem collegae se magistratu abdicarunt.
22 Te nec quod dies exiit[2] censurae nec quod collega magistratu abiit nec lex nec pudor coercet: virtutem in superbia, in audacia, in contemptu deorum hominumque ponis.
23 "Ego te, Appi Claudi, pro istius magistratus maiestate ac verecundia quem gessisti non modo manu violatum sed ne verbo quidem inclementiori a me
24 appellatum vellem; sed et haec quae adhuc egi pervicacia tua et superbia coegit me loqui, et nisi
25 Aemiliae legi parueris, in vincula duci iubebo, nec cum ita comparatum a maioribus sit ut comitiis

[1] C. Iulio *Walters and Conway*: C. Iulio censore Ω.
[2] exiit ζ: exit Ω.

[1] The guilt of unlawfully prolonging his censorship.

ancient cult, the only one inaugurated by the god himself in whose honour it is observed, from the priesthood of the most exalted nobles to the ministry of slaves; it was not enough that a family more ancient than the beginnings of this City, and sanctified by the entertainment of the immortal gods, should through you and your censorship be within a year uprooted and destroyed; no, you must needs involve the entire state in such heinous guilt[1] as even to name is an omen that fills my mind with dread. The city was captured in that lustrum when, on the death of his colleague Gaius Julius, Lucius Papirius Cursor, to avoid having to vacate his office, caused Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis to be substituted in the room of the dead man. And how much more moderate, Appius, was his ambition than yours! The censorship of Lucius Papirius was neither a sole one nor one prolonged beyond the legally established term; yet he found none to follow his example; all succeeding censors have abdicated on the death of a colleague. But you neither the expiration of your time restrains nor the fact that your colleague has resigned, nor the law, nor a sense of decency: you reckon worth in terms of pride, of recklessness, of contempt for gods and men. B.C. 310

"For my own part, Appius Claudius, when I think of the dignity of that office you have held and the reverence attaching to it, I could wish that I might spare you not only personal violence but even an ungentle word: but your stubbornness and pride have compelled me to say what I have so far said, and unless you obey the Aemilian law, I shall order you to prison; nor, seeing that our forefathers have ordained that in the election of censors, if either fall

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censoriis, nisi duo confecerint legitima suffragia, non renuntiato altero comitia differantur, ego te, qui solus censor creari non possis, solum censuram gerere nunc[1] patiar."

26 Haec taliaque cum dixisset, prendi censorem et in vincula duci iussit. Approbantibus sex tribunis actionem collegae tres appellanti Appio auxilio fuerunt; summaque invidia omnium ordinum solus censuram gessit.

XXXV. Dum ea Romae geruntur, iam Sutrium ab Etruscis obsidebatur consulique Fabio imis montibus ducenti ad ferendam opem sociis temptandasque munitiones, si qua posset, acies hostium instructa
2 occurrit; quorum ingentem multitudinem cum ostenderet subiecta late planities, consul, ut loco paucitatem suorum adiuvaret, flectit paululum in clivos agmen—aspreta erant strata saxis—inde signa
3 in hostem obvertit. Etrusci omnium praeterquam multitudinis suae, qua sola freti erant, immemores proelium ineunt adeo raptim et avide ut abiectis missilibus, quo celerius manus consererent, stringerent
4 gladios vadentes in hostem; Romanus contra nunc tela, nunc saxa, quibus eos adfatim locus ipse
5 armabat, ingerere. Igitur scuta galeaeque ictae cum etiam quos non volneraverant turbarent neque

[1] gerere nunc γ: gerere non Ω: gerere γ.

[1] No one was held to be elected unless he had received the votes of an absolute majority of the centuries.

short of the legal vote,[1] the election shall be put off B.C. 310
and the other not be declared elected, will I now suffer you, who cannot be elected as sole censor, to administer the censorship alone."

Having uttered these and similar remonstrances, he ordered the censor to be arrested and carried off to prison. Six tribunes approved the action of their colleague: three protected Appius on his appeal, and, greatly to the indignation of all classes, he continued as sole censor.

XXXV. During the progress of this affair in Rome, the Etruscans were already laying siege to Sutrium; and the consul Fabius, leading his army along the foot of the mountains to relieve the allies, and, if in any way practicable, to attack the works of the besiegers, encountered the enemy drawn up in line of battle. The plain spreading out below him revealed to the consul their exceeding strength; and in order to make up for his own deficiency in numbers by the advantage of position, he altered slightly his line of march, so as to mount the hills—which were rough and covered with stones—and there turned and faced the enemy. The Etruscans, forgetting everything but their numbers, in which alone they trusted, entered the combat with such haste and eagerness that they cast away their missiles in order to come the sooner to close quarters, and drawing their swords rushed at the enemy. The Romans, on the contrary, fell to pelting them, now with javelins and now with stones, of which latter the ground itself provided a good supply; and even such of the Etruscans as were not wounded were confused by the blows that rattled down on their helms and shields. It was no easy matter to get close enough

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subire erat facile ad propiorem pugnam neque mis-
6 silia habebant, quibus eminus rem gererent—stantes et expositos ad ictus cum iam satis nihil tegeret, quosdam etiam pedem referentes fluctuantemque et instabilem aciem redintegrato clamore strictis gladiis
7 hastati et principes invadunt. Eum impetum non tulerunt Etrusci versisque signis fuga effusa castra repetunt. Sed equites Romani praevecti per obliqua campi cum se fugientibus obtulissent, omisso ad
8 castra itinere montes petunt; inde inermi paene agmine ac vexato volneribus in silvam Ciminiam penetratum. Romanus multis milibus Etruscorum caesis, duodequadraginta signis militaribus captis, castris etiam hostium cum praeda ingenti potitur. Tum de persequendo hoste agitari coeptum.

XXXVI. Silva erat Ciminia magis tum invia atque horrenda quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus, nulli ad eam[1] diem ne mercatorum quidem adita. Eam intrare haud fere quisquam praeter ducem ipsum audebat; aliis omnibus cladis Caudinae nondum
2 memoria aboleverat. Tum ex iis[2] qui aderant, consulis frater M. Fabius[3]—Caesonem alii, C. Claudium quidam, matre eadem qua consulem genitum, tradunt—speculatum se iturum professus bre-
3 vique omnia certa allaturum. Caere educatus apud hospites, Etruscis inde litteris eruditus erat lin-

[1] eam *A* ς : ea Ω.
[2] iis ς : hiis *A* : his Ω.
[3] frater M. Fabius—*Weissenborn* : fratrem m̄. fabium Ω.

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[1] Livy is probably thinking of the German campaigns of Caesar in 55 and 53, and of Agrippa in 38 B.C.

for fighting hand to hand, and they had no javelins B.C. 310
for long-range work. There they stood, exposed to missiles, with no adequate cover of any sort, and as some of them gave ground and the line began to waver and be unsteady, the Roman first and second lines, giving a fresh cheer, charged them, sword in hand. Their onset was too much for the Etruscans, who faced about and fled headlong towards their camp. But the Roman cavalry, riding obliquely across the plain, presented themselves in front of the fugitives, who then abandoned the attempt to reach their camp and sought the mountains; from which they made their way in a body, unarmed and suffering from their wounds, to the Ciminian Forest. The Romans, having slain many thousand Etruscans and captured eight-and-thirty standards, took possession also of the enemy's camp, with a very large booty. They then began to consider the feasibility of a pursuit.

XXXVI. In those days the Ciminian Forest was more impassable and appalling than were lately the wooded defiles of Germany,[1] and no one—not even a trader—had up to that time visited it. To enter it was a thing that hardly anyone but the general himself was bold enough to do: with all the rest the recollection of the Caudine Forks was still too vivid. Then one of those present, the consul's brother Marcus Fabius,—some say that it was Caeso Fabius, others Gaius Claudius, a son of the same mother as the consul—offered to explore and return in a short time with definite information about everything. He had been educated at Caere in the house of family friends, and from this circumstance was learned in Etruscan writings and knew the Etruscan

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guamque Etruscam probe noverat. Habeo auctores volgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Graecis, ita
4 Etruscis litteris erudiri solitos; sed propius est vero praecipuum aliquid fuisse in eo qui se tam audaci simulatione hostibus immiscuerit. Servus ei dicitur comes unus fuisse, nutritus una eoque haud ignarus
5 linguae eiusdem; nec quicquam aliud proficiscentes quam summatim regionis quae intranda erat naturam ac nomina principum in populis accepere, ne qua inter conloquia insigni nota haesitantes deprendi
6 possent. Iere pastorali habitu, agrestibus telis, falcibus gaesisque[1] binis, armati. Sed neque commercium linguae nec vestis armorumve habitus sic eos texit quam quod abhorrebat ab fide quemquam
7 externum Ciminios saltus intraturum. Usque ad Camertes Umbros penetrasse dicuntur. Ibi qui essent fateri Romanum ausum; introductumque in senatum consulis verbis egisse de societate amici-
8 tiaque atque inde comi hospitio acceptum nuntiare Romanis iussum commeatum exercitui dierum triginta praesto fore, si ea loca intrasset, iuventutemque Camertium Umbrorum in armis paratam imperio futuram.

9 Haec cum relata consuli essent, impedimentis prima vigilia praemissis, legionibus post impedi-

[1] gaesisque A^5 τ: caesisq. (gessis D^2 *or* D^1 *in marg.*) Ω.

language well. I have authority for believing that B.C. 310
in that age Roman boys were regularly wont to be schooled in Etruscan literature, as nowadays they are trained in Greek; but it seems more probable that this man possessed some exceptional qualification to induce him to venture amongst enemies in so daring a disguise. It is said that his only companion was a slave, brought up with him, and hence acquainted, like his master, with the language. They set out, after acquiring no more than a summary knowledge of the nature of the region they must enter and the names of the chief men in those tribes, to save them from being detected in conversation by boggling at any well-known fact. They went dressed as shepherds and armed with rustic weapons, namely billhooks and a brace of javelins apiece. But neither their familiarity with the tongue nor the fashion of their dress and weapons was so great a protection to them as the fact that it was repugnant to belief that any stranger would enter the Ciminian defiles. They are said to have penetrated as far as Camerinum in Umbria, where the Roman, having ventured to tell who they were, was introduced into the senate, and treated with them in the consul's name for friendship and an alliance. Having then been hospitably entertained, he was bidden to carry word back to the Romans that thirty days' provisions for their army would be waiting for them, if they came into that region, and that the young men of the Umbrian Camertes would be armed and ready to obey their orders.

On their success being made known to the consul, he sent the baggage ahead, in the first watch, and directed the legions to follow the baggage. He

A.U.C. 444 10 menta ire iussis ipse substitit cum equitatu et luce orta postero die obequitavit stationibus hostium, quae extra saltum dispositae erant; et cum satis diu tenuisset hostem, in castra sese recepit portaque altera egressus ante noctem agmen adsequitur. 11 Postero die luce prima iuga Ciminii montis tenebat; inde contemplatus opulenta Etruriae arva milites 12 emittit. Ingenti iam abacta praeda tumultuariae agrestium Etruscorum cohortes repente a principibus regionis eius concitatae Romanis occurrunt, adeo incompositae ut vindices praedarum prope ipsi 13 praedae fuerint. Caesis fugatisque his, late depopulato agro victor Romanus opulentusque rerum 14 omnium copia in castra rediit. Eo forte quinque legati cum duobus tribunis plebis venerant denuntiatum Fabio senatus verbis ne saltum Ciminium transiret. Laetati serius se quam ut impedire bellum possent venisse, nuntii victoriae Romam revertuntur.

XXXVII. Hac expeditione consulis motum latius erat quam profligatum bellum; vastationem namque sub Ciminii montis radicibus iacens ora senserat, conciveratque indignatione non Etruriae modo popu- 2 los sed Umbriae finitima. Itaque quantus non unquam antea exercitus ad Sutrium venit; neque e silvis tantummodo promota castra sed etiam avi-

[1] The tribunes were added to the embassy that they might, if necessary, compel obedience to the senate by the exercise of their sacrosanct authority. This was an unusual procedure, as the powers of the tribunes were held to extend no further than one mile from the City.

himself stopped behind with the cavalry, and at dawn of the following day made a demonstration against the enemy's outposts, which had been stationed at the entrance to the pass. Having kept the enemy in play for a sufficient time, he retired within his camp, and emerging from it by the opposite gate overtook the column before night. Next day, with the first rays of light, he was on the crest of the Ciminian mountain and, looking thence over the rich ploughlands of Etruria, sent his soldiers to plunder. The Romans had already brought away out enormous booty when certain improvised bands of Etruscan peasants, called together in hot haste by the chief men of that country, encountered them, but with so little discipline that in seeking to regain the spoils they had nearly been made a spoil themselves. Having slain or driven off these men and wasted the country far and wide, the Romans returned to their camp, victorious and enriched with all manner of supplies. There, as it happened, they found five legates, with two tribunes of the plebs,[1] who had come to order Fabius in the name of the senate not to cross the Ciminian Forest. Rejoicing that they had come too late to be able to hinder the campaign, they returned to Rome with tidings of victory. B.C. 310

XXXVII. This expedition of the consul's, instead of putting an end to the war, only gave it a wider range. For the district lying about the base of Mount Ciminius had felt the devastation, and had aroused not only Etruria to resentment but the neighbouring parts of Umbria also. So an army came to Sutrium that was larger than any they had raised before; and not only did they move forward their camp, out of the woods, but even, in their

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ditate dimicandi quam primum in campos delata
3 acies. Deinde instructa primo suo stare loco, relicto hostibus[1] ad instruendum contra spatio; dein, postquam detractare[2] hostem sensere pugnam, ad vallum
4 subeunt. Ubi postquam stationes quoque receptas intra munimenta sensere, clamor repente circa duces ortus, ut eo sibi e castris cibaria eius diei deferri iuberent: mansuros se sub armis et aut nocte aut
5 certe luce prima castra hostium invasuros. Nihilo quietior Romanus exercitus imperio ducis continetur. Decima erat fere diei hora, cum cibum capere consul milites iubet; praecipit ut in armis sint quacumque
6 diei noctisve hora signum dederit; paucis milites adloquitur, Samnitium bella extollit, elevat Etruscos; nec hostem hosti nec multitudinem multitudini comparandam ait; esse praeterea telum aliud occultum;
7 scituros in tempore; interea taceri opus esse. His ambagibus prodi simulabat hostes, quo animus militum multitudine territus restitueretur; et, quod sine munimento consederant,[3] veri similius erat quod simulabatur.

Curati cibo corpora quieti dant et quarta fere
8 vigilia sine tumultu excitati arma capiunt. Dolabrae calonibus dividuntur ad vallum proruendum fos-

[1] hostibus ζ: hostio O: hostium Ω: hosti *Madvig*.
[2] detractare A^2: detractare . . . pugnam *omitted by* M: detrec (-traec- *or* -trac- P) tare Ω.
[3] consederant ζ: considerant Ω: constiterant ζ.

[1] Perhaps about six o'clock.

eagerness for combat, came down into the plain at B.C. 310
the earliest opportunity in battle formation. At first, after forming up, they stood still in their positions, having left their enemies room to draw up opposite. Then, finding the Romans in no haste to engage them, they advanced up to the rampart. When they saw that even the outguards had retired within the works, they began shouting to their generals, to have their rations for the day sent out to them from the camp; they would wait under arms, they said, and either that night, or at daybreak at the latest, attack the enemy's stockade. The Roman army was every whit as restless, but was restrained by the general's authority. It was about the tenth hour of the day[1] when the consul bade the soldiers sup, and commanded them to be armed and ready at whatever hour of the day or night he might give the signal. In a brief address he magnified the Samnite wars and belittled the Etruscans: there was no comparison, he said, between the two enemies, or between their numbers; moreover, he had an additional weapon in concealment: they should know about it when the time came; until then it must remain a secret. By these obscure hints he sought to engender a belief that the enemy were being betrayed, in order to revive the spirits of his men, which were damped by the numbers of their enemies; and the fact that the Etruscans had thrown up no breastworks where they lay lent colour to the insinuation.

Refreshed with food, the soldiers gave themselves up to sleep, and at about the fourth watch were awakened without noise and put on their armour. Mattocks were issued to the soldiers' servants, that they might

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sasque implendas. Intra munimenta instruitur acies, delectae cohortes ad portarum exitus conlocantur. 9 Dato deinde signo paulo ante lucem, quod aestivis noctibus sopitae maxime quietis tempus est, proruto vallo erupit acies, stratos passim invadit hostes; alios immobiles, alios semisomnos in cubilibus suis, maximam partem ad arma trepidantes caedes oppressit; 10 paucis armandi se datum spatium est; eos ipsos non signum certum, non ducem sequentes fundit Romanus fugatosque persequitur. Ad castra, ad silvas diversi tendebant. Silvae tutius dedere refugium: nam castra in campis sita eodem die capiuntur. Aurum argentumque iussum referri ad consulem; cetera praeda militis fuit. Caesa aut capta eo die hostium milia ad sexaginta.

11 Eam tam claram pugnam trans Ciminiam silvam ad Perusiam pugnatam quidam auctores sunt metuque in magno civitatem fuisse ne interclusus exercitus tam infesto saltu coortis undique Tuscis Vmbrisque 12 opprimeretur.[1] Sed ubicumque pugnatum est, res Romana superior fuit. Itaque a Perusia et Cortona[2] et Arretio, quae ferme capita Etruriae populorum ea tempestate erant, legati pacem foedusque ab Romanis petentes indutias in triginta annos impetraverunt.

XXXVIII. Dum haec in Etruria geruntur, consul alter C. Marcius Rutulus[3] Allifas de Samnitibus vi

[1] opprimeretur A^2 $\bar{r}$: opprimerentur Ω: opprimentur *M*.
[2] Cortona A^2 (*marg.*) A^3 $\bar{r}$: cortone (?) A^1: crotone Ω.
[3] Rutulus *Conway*: rutulius *or* rutilius Ω.

level the rampart and fill up the trenches. The line was drawn up inside the fortifications, and selected cohorts were posted at the exits. Then, on the signal being given a little before dawn, which on summer nights is the time of deepest sleep, the rampart was thrown down, and the Romans, rushing out in battle-formation, fell upon their enemies, who were lying all about the field. Some were slain without even stirring in their sleep, some were but half awake, the greatest number were reaching in terror for their weapons. Only a few were given time to arm themselves; and even these, with no definite standard to follow and no leader, the Romans routed and chased from the field. Some made for the camp and others for the mountains, as they fled this way and that. The forests afforded the surer refuge; for the camp, being situated in the plain, was captured the same day. Orders were issued that all gold and silver be brought to the consul; the rest of the booty went to the soldiers. On that day the enemy lost sixty thousand slain or captured. B.C. 310

Some historians relate that this famous battle was fought on the other side of the Ciminian Forest, near Perusia, and that Rome was in a panic lest the army should be surrounded and cut off in that dangerous defile by the Tuscans and Umbrians rising up on every hand. But, wherever it was fought, the Romans were the victors. And so from Perusia and Cortona and Arretium, which at that time might be the chief cities of the nations of Etruria, ambassadors came to Rome to sue for peace and an alliance. They obtained a truce for thirty years.

XXXVIII. While these things were going on in Etruria, the other consul, Gaius Marcius Rutulus,

A.U.C. 411 cepit. Multa alia castella vicique aut deleta hostiliter aut integra in potestatem venere.

2 Per idem tempus et classis Romana a P. Cornelio, quem senatus maritimae orae praefecerat, in Campaniam acta cum adpulsa Pompeios esset, socii inde navales ad depopulandum agrum Nucerinum profecti, proximis raptim vastatis unde reditus tutus ad naves esset, dulcedine, ut fit, praedae longius pro-
3 gressi excivere hostes. Palatis per agros nemo obvius fuit, cum occidione occidi possent; redeuntes agmine incauto haud procul navibus adsecuti agrestes exuerunt praeda, partem etiam occiderunt; quae superfuit caedi trepida multitudo ad naves compulsa est.

4 Profectio Q. Fabi trans Ciminiam silvam quantum Romae terrorem fecerat, tam laetam famam in Samnium ad hostes tulerat interclusum Romanum exercitum obsideri, cladisque imaginem Furculas
5 Caudinas memorabant: eadem temeritate avidam ulteriorum semper gentem in saltus invios deductam, saeptam non hostium magis armis quam locorum
6 iniquitatibus esse. Iam gaudium invidia quadam miscebatur, quod belli Romani decus ab Samnitibus

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[1] At VIII. xxv. 4, Livy mentioned the acquisition of Allifae, but has nowhere spoken of its recapture by the Samnites.

[2] Diod. (XIX. lxv.) tells us that Nuceria (formerly an ally of Rome) had revolted to the Samnites.

captured Allifae from the Samnites by assault.[1] B.C. 310
Many forts and villages besides were either wiped out in the course of hostilities or came intact into the hands of the Romans.

At about this time a Roman fleet, commanded by Publius Cornelius, whom the senate had placed in charge of the coast, sailed for Campania and put into Pompeii. From there the sailors and rowers set out to pillage the territory of Nuceria.[2] Having quickly ravaged the nearest fields, from which they might have returned in safety to their ships, they were lured on, as often happens, by the love of booty, and going too far abroad aroused the enemy. While they roamed through the fields, nobody interfered with them, though they might have been utterly annihilated; but as they came trooping back, without a thought of danger, the country-folk overtook them not far from the ships, stripped them of their plunder, and even slew a part of them; those who escaped the massacre were driven, a disordered rabble, to their ships.

Great as had been the fears excited in Rome when Quintus Fabius marched through the Ciminian Forest, the rejoicings that took place in Samnium amongst the enemy were no less on their hearing a report that the Roman army was intercepted and besieged. They recalled the Caudine Forks as showing what the disaster would be like; with the same temerity, they said, a race that was ever reaching out for what lay beyond had been led into pathless forests and there hemmed in, more by the difficulties of the ground than by the arms of their enemy. Soon their joy began to be mixed with a kind of envy, that Fortune should have transferred the glory

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7 fortuna ad Etruscos avertisset. Itaque armis virisque ad opprimendum[1] C. Marcium consulem concurrunt, protinus inde Etruriam per Marsos ac Sabinos petituri, si Marcius dimicandi potestatem non faciat.
8 Obvius iis consul fuit. Dimicatum proelio utrimque atroci atque incerto eventu est, et cum anceps caedes fuisset, adversae tamen rei fama in Romanos vertit ob amissos quosdam equestris ordinis tribunosque militum atque unum legatum, et quod insigne maxime fuit, consulis ipsius volnus.
9 Ob haec etiam aucta fama, ut solet, ingens terror patres invasit dictatoremque dici placebat; nec quin Cursor Papirius diceretur in quo tum summa rei bellicae ponebatur, dubium cuiquam erat. Sed nec
10 in Samnium nuntium perferri omnibus infestis tuto posse nec vivere Marcium consulem satis fidebant. Alter consul Fabius infestus privatim Papirio erat;
11 quae ne ira obstaret bono publico, legatos ex consularium numero mittendos ad eum senatus censuit,
12 qui sua quoque eum, non publica solum auctoritate moverent ut memoriam simultatium patriae remit-
13 teret. Profecti legati ad Fabium cum senatus consultum tradidissent adiecissentque orationem convenientem mandatis, consul demissis in terram oculis tacitus ab incertis quidnam acturus esset legatis

[1] opprimendum γ: optinendum (*or* ob-) Ω.

of the Roman war from Samnites to Etruscans. So B.C. 310
they hastened to bring all their strength to bear upon crushing Gaius Marcius, the consul; and resolved, if Marcius should avoid an encounter, to march forthwith into Etruria, through the countries of the Marsi and the Sabines. The consul met them, and the battle was fiercely contested on both sides, but without a decision being reached. Yet, doubtful though it was which side had suffered most, the report gained ground that the Romans had been worsted: they had lost certain members of the equestrian order, certain military tribunes, and one lieutenant, and—most conspicuous of their misfortunes—the consul himself was wounded.

These reverses as usual were further exaggerated in the telling, and the senate in great dismay determined on the appointment of a dictator. Nobody could doubt that Papirius Cursor, who was regarded as the foremost soldier of his time, would be designated. But the senators were not certain that a messenger could be got through in safety to Samnium, where all was hostile, nor that the consul Marcius was alive. The other consul, Fabius, had a private grudge against Papirius; and lest this enmity might hinder the general welfare, the senate decided to send a deputation of former consuls, in the hope that their personal influence, when added to the wishes of the government, might induce him to forget those quarrels for the good of the country. The ambassadors went to Fabius and delivered the resolution of the senate, with a discourse that suited their instructions. The consul, his eyes fixed on the ground, retired without a word, leaving the ambassadors uncertain what he proposed to do. Then in the

A.U.C. 444 14 recessit; nocte deinde silentio, ut mos est, L. Papirium dictatorem dixit. Cui cum ob animum egregie victum legati gratias agerent, obstinatum silentium obtinuit ac sine responso ac mentione facti sui legatos dimisit, ut appareret insignem dolorem ingenti comprimi animo.

15 Papirius C. Iunium Bubulcum magistrum equitum dixit: atque ei legem curiatam de imperio ferenti triste omen diem diffidit, quod Faucia curia fuit principium, duabus insignis cladibus, captae urbis et Caudinae pacis, quod utroque anno eiusdem curiae 16 fuerat principium. Macer Licinius tertia etiam clade, quae ad Cremeram accepta est, abominandam eam curiam facit.

XXXIX. Dictator postero die auspiciis repetitis pertulit legem; et profectus cum legionibus ad terrorem traducti silvam Ciminiam exercitus nuper 2 scriptis ad Longulam pervenit acceptisque a Marcio consule veteribus militibus in aciem copias eduxit. Nec hostes detractare visi pugnam. Instructos deinde armatosque, cum ab neutris proelium in- 3 ciperet, nox oppressit. Quieti aliquamdiu nec suis

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[1] The consul rose and took the auspices after midnight because it was less likely that anything unlucky would then be said or done—in the absence of bystanders—to vitiate the ceremony.

[2] Under the kings the curiate assembly had been the only formal assembly of the people (*cf.* I. xiii. 6 for the origin of the *curiae*), but in the time of the republic its functions had largely passed to the centuriate assembly. It was, however, still called upon to ratify the election of new magistrates by passing a *lex curiata de imperio*, and retained certain other ceremonial duties.

[3] This was determined each time by lot.

[4] 477 B.C. (Book II, chap. I.).

silence of the night, as the custom is, he appointed B.C. 310
Lucius Papirius dictator.[1] When the envoys thanked him for nobly conquering his feelings, he continued obstinately silent, and dismissed them without making any reply or alluding to what he had done, so that it was clearly seen what agony his great heart was suppressing.

Papirius named Gaius Junius Bubulcus master of the horse. When he began to lay before the curiate assembly[2] a law confirming his authority, the proceedings were cut short by an evil omen, the first vote to be counted being that of the ward called Faucia, notorious for two calamities, the capture of the City and the Caudine Peace, which had both been incurred in years when this same curia had the right of the first return.[3] Licinius Macer makes this ward unlucky also for a third disaster—that of the Cremera.[4]

XXXIX. Next day the dictator sought the auspices afresh and carried the law through. Then, setting out with the legions which had recently been recruited on account of the fear occasioned by the army's march through the Ciminian Forest, he came to the vicinity of Longula,[5] and taking over from Marcius the consul his veteran troops, marched out and offered battle, which the enemy on their part seemed willing to accept. But while the two armies stood armed and ready for the conflict, which neither cared to begin, night overtook them. For some time after that they remained quietly in the camps

[5] Longula was a Volscian town, but was situated not far from the Samnite border. It is not necessary to assume, with Weissenborn-Mueller, that Livy is referring to an otherwise unknown Longula in Samnium.

A.U.C. 414 diffidentes viribus nec hostem spernentes, stativa in propinquo habuere.[1] Interea Etrusci[2] lege sacrata coacto exercitu, cum vir virum legisset, quantis nunquam alias ante simul copiis simul animis dimicarunt; tantoque irarum certamine gesta res est ut ab neutra parte emissa sint tela. Gladiis pugna coepit et acerrime commissa ipso certamine, quod aliquamdiu anceps fuit, accensa est, ut non cum Etruscis totiens victis, sed cum aliqua nova gente videretur dimicatio esse. Nihil ab ulla parte movetur fugae; cadunt antesignani, et ne nudentur propugnatoribus signa, fit ex secunda prima acies. Ab ultimis deinde subsidiis cietur miles; adeoque ad ultimum laboris ac periculi ventum est ut equites Romani omissis equis ad primos ordines peditum per arma, per corpora evaserint. Ea velut nova inter fessos exorta acies turbavit signa Etruscorum; secuta deinde impetum eorum, utcumque adfecta erat, cetera multitudo tandem perrumpit ordines hostium. Tunc vinci pertinacia coepta et averti manipuli quidam, et, ut semel dedere hi terga,[3] etiam ceteri item[4] capes-

[1] habuere *Anderson (ed. of Bk. IX. p.* 259): habuere. Nam et cum umbrorum exercitu acie depugnatum est; fusi tamen magis quam caesi hostes, quia coeptam acriter non tolerarunt pugnam: et ad Vadimonis lacum *POTDLA*: M *has these words and also (before* Nam *the words* et rurae (?): A^1 *the words* interea res in etruria geste: I^2 *(or* I^3*)* *F? (marg.) U have them after* pugnam *(U adding* et *after* res): F^3 *has after* pugnam *(over erasure)* interim ab fabio cōs in etruria res feliciter geste ad vadimonis lacum. *Anderson supposes that we have here what was written as a comment on the first sentence of* § 11.

[2] Interea Etrusci *Walters (note)*: Et Etrusci *Anderson*: Etrusci Ω.

[3] dedere hi terga *Walters and Conway*: dedere terga Ω: dederunterga *O*: dederet terga *TD?*: dederet et terga *L?*: dederet (*or* dederat *or* dederē) terga *D*.

they had established near one another, neither lacking B.C. 310
confidence in themselves nor yet making light of their adversaries. Meanwhile the Etruscans, employing a *lex sacrata*,[1] had raised an army in which each man had chosen his comrade, and joined battle, with greater forces, and at the same time with greater valour, than ever before. The field was contested with such rivalry of rage that neither side discharged a missile. The battle began with swords, and, furious at the outset, waxed hotter as the struggle continued, for the victory was long undecided. It seemed as though the Romans were contending, not with the so oft defeated Etruscans, but with some new race. No sign of flight was visible in any quarter. As the front-rankers fell, the second line moved up to replace the first, that the standards might not want defenders. After that the last reserves were called upon; and to such extremity of distress and danger did the Romans come that their cavalry dismounted, and made their way over arms and over bodies to the front ranks of the infantry. Like a fresh line springing up amongst the exhausted combatants, they wrought havoc in the companies of the Etruscans. Then the rest of the soldiers, following up their charge, despite of weariness, at last broke through the enemy's ranks. At this their stubbornness began to be overcome, and certain companies to face about; and when these had once turned tail, the rest likewise took to flight. That

[1] One who violated the *lex sacrata* was forfeited to the gods. See chap. xl. § 9, IV. xxvi. 3, XXXVI. xxxviii. 1, and especially X. xxxviii. 3 ff.

[4] ceteri item *Harant*: certiorem Ω: tutiores *A*: certiores A^2 *Koch*: ceteri certiorem *Walters and Conway*.

A.U.C. 444 11 sere fugam. Ille primum dies fortuna vetere abundantes Etruscorum fregit opes. Caesum in acie, quod roboris fuit; castra eodem impetu capta direptaque.

A.U.C. 446 XL. Pari subinde periculo gloriaeque eventu bellum in Samnitibus erat, qui praeter cetoros belli apparatus, ut acies sua fulgeret novis armorum 2 insignibus fecerunt. Duo exercitus erant; scuta alterius auro, alterius argento caelaverunt; forma erat scuti: summum latius, qua pectus atque umeri teguntur, fastigio aequali; ad imum cuneatior mobi- 3 litatis causa. Spongia pectori tegumentum et sinistrum crus ocrea tectum; galeae cristatae, quae speciem magnitudini corporum adderent. Tunicae auratis militibus versicolores, argentatis linteae candidae. His vaginae argenteae, baltea argentea: auratae vaginae, aurea baltea illis erant, et equorum inaurata tapeta.[1] His dextrum cornu datum; illi in 4 sinistro consistunt. Notus iam Romanis apparatus insignium armorum fuerat doctique a ducibus erant horridum militem esse debere, non caelatum auro et 5 argento sed ferro et animis fretum: quippe illa praedam verius quam arma esse, nitentia ante rem, 6 deformia inter sanguinem et volnera. Virtutem

[1] *The words* his vaginae—tapeta *are not found in the MSS. of Livy.* *Nonius* (194, 20) *cites* (*as from Liv. IX*) auratae vaginae, aurata baltea illis erant, *and Auctor explan. in Donatum, and Probus* (*cf. Keil, Gram. Lat. IV* 542 *and* 129) *ascribe to Livy* ("*Livy or Virgil*," *Probus*) erant et equorum inaurata tapeta. *Walters and Conway suggest placing them as in the text, prefixing* his vaginae argenteae, baltea argentea *which they conjecture to have stood in the original* (*Class. Quart.* 12 (1918) *p.* 103).

[1] Weissenborn-Mueller think a breastplate resembling a sponge in appearance is intended. The translator follows

day for the first time broke the might of the Etruscans, which had long flourished in prosperity. Their strength was cut off in the battle, and their camp was taken and plundered in the same attack. B.C. 310

XL. The war in Samnium, immediately afterwards, was attended with equal danger and an equally glorious conclusion. The enemy, besides their other warlike preparations, had made their battle-line to glitter with new and splendid arms. There were two corps: the shields of the one were inlaid with gold, of the other with silver. The shape of the shield was this: the upper part, where it protected the breast and shoulders, was rather broad, with a level top; below it was somewhat tapering, to make it easier to handle. They wore a sponge [1] to protect the breast, and the left leg was covered with a greave. Their helmets were crested, to make their stature appear greater. The tunics of the gilded warriors were parti-coloured; those of the silvern ones were linen of a dazzling white. The latter had silver sheaths and silver baldrics: the former gilded sheaths and golden baldrics, and their horses had gold-embroidered saddle-cloths. The right wing was assigned to these: the others took up their post on the left. The Romans had already learned of these splendid accoutrements, and their generals had taught them that a soldier should be rough to look on, not adorned with gold and silver but putting his trust in iron and in courage: indeed those other things were more truly spoil than arms, shining bright before a battle, but losing their beauty in the midst of blood and wounds; manhood they said, B.C. 308

[1] Professor Anderson in taking the expression literally, of a corslet made of sponge.

A.U.C. 464

esse militis decus et omnia illa victoriam sequi et ditem hostem quamvis pauperis victoris praemium esse.

7 His Cursor vocibus instinctos milites in proelium ducit. Dextro ipse cornu consistit, sinistro praefecit
8 magistrum equitum. Simul est concursum, ingens fuit cum hoste certamen, non segnius inter dictatorem et magistrum equitum ab utra parte victoria
9 inciperet. Prior forte Iunius commovit hostem, laevo dextrum cornu, sacratos more Samnitium milites eoque candida veste et paribus candore armis insignes; eos se Orco mactare Iunius dictitans [1] cum intulisset signa turbavit ordines et haud dubie impulit aciem.
10 Quod ubi sensit dictator, "Ab laevone cornu victoria incipiet" inquit, "et dextrum cornu, dictatoris acies, alienam pugnam sequetur, non partem maximam
11 victoriae trahet?" Concitat milites; nec peditum virtuti equites aut legatorum studia ducibus cedunt.
12 M. Valerius a dextro, P. Decius ab laevo cornu, ambo consulares, ad equites in cornibus positos evehuntur adhortatique eos ut partem secum capesserent decoris in transversa latera hostium incurrunt.
13 Is novus additus terror cum ex parte utraque circumvasisset aciem et ad terrorem hostium legiones Romanae redintegrato clamore intulissent gradum,

[1] intulisset T^2 (*or* T^1) ρ: intulissent Ω.

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[1] Orcus—the Greek Pluto—was god of the dead.

was the adornment of a soldier; all those other B.C. 305
things went with the victory, and a rich enemy was the prize of the victor, however poor.

Whilst his men were animated by these words, Cursor led them into battle. He took up his own post on the right, and committed the left to the master of the horse. From the moment of encountering, there was a mighty struggle with the enemy, and a struggle no less sharp between the dictator and the master of the horse, to decide which wing was to inaugurate the victory. It so happened that Junius was the first to make an impression on the Samnites. With the Roman left he faced the enemy's right, where they had consecrated themselves, as their custom was, and for that reason were resplendent in white coats and equally white armour. Declaring that he offered up these men in sacrifice to Orcus,[1] Junius charged, threw their ranks into disorder, and clearly made their line recoil. When the dictator saw this, he cried, "Shall the victory begin upon the left? Shall the right, the dictator's division, follow the attack of others? Shall it not carry off the honours of the victory?" This fired the soldiers with new energy; nor did the cavalry display less valour than the foot, or the lieutenants less enthusiasm than the generals. Marcus Valerius on the right and Publius Decius on the left, both men of consular rank, rode out to the cavalry, which was posted on the wings, and, exhorting them to join with themselves in seizing a share of glory, charged obliquely against the enemy's flanks. Thus a new and appalling danger enveloped their line on either side, and when the Roman legions, observing the terror of the Samnites, pressed forward with

A.U.C. 446

14 tum fuga ab Samnitibus coepta. Iam strage hominum armorumque insignium campi repleri. Ac primo pavidos Samnites castra sua accepere, deinde ne ea quidem retenta; captis direptisque ante noctem iniectus ignis.

15 Dictator ex senatus consulto triumphavit, cuius triumpho longe maximam speciem captiva arma praebuere. Tantum magnificentiae visum in iis,[1] ut aurata scuta dominis argentariarum[2] ad forum ornandum dividerentur. Inde natum initium dicitur fori ornandi ab aedilibus cum tensae ducerentur. Et Romani quidem ad honorem deum insignibus armis hostium usi sunt: Campani ab superbia et odio Samnitium gladiatores, quod spectaculum inter epulas erat, eo ornatu armarunt Samnitiumque nomine compellarunt.

18 Eodem anno cum reliquiis[3] Etruscorum ad Perusiam, quae et ipsa indutiarum fidem ruperat, Fabius consul nec dubia nec difficili victoria dimicat. Ipsum oppidum—nam ad moenia victor accessit—cepisset, ni legati dedentes urbem exissent. Praesidio Perusiae

[1] iis γ: hiis A: his Ω.
[2] argentariarum *Muretus*: argentariorum (-oriorum *O*) Ω.
[3] reliquiis $F^3\gamma$: reliquis Ω.

[1] It was forty years later when the Romans began to coin silver for themselves; but there would be much coined silver in circulation by this time from Etruria and Magna Graecia, to furnish employment for money-changers (*argentarii*).

[2] A *tensa* is figured in Stuart Jones, *Companion to Roman History*, Pl. xlix. It was used to carry the images of the Capitoline gods in solemn procession to the Circus, at the time of the *ludi circenses*.

[3] The Romans seem to have obtained from Capua the idea of gladiators (Livy, *Per.* XVI.), and the "Samnite"

redoubled shouts, the enemy began to flee. The B.C. 308
fields were soon heaped with slain and with glittering armour. At first the frightened Samnites found a refuge in their camp, but presently even that had to be abandoned, and ere nightfall it had been taken, sacked, and set on fire.

The dictator, as decreed by the senate, celebrated a triumph, in which by far the finest show was afforded by the captured armour. So magnificent was its appearance that the shields inlaid with gold were divided up amongst the owners of the money-changers' booths, to be used in decking out the Forum.[1] From this is said to have come the custom of the aediles adorning the Forum whenever the *tensae*, or covered chariots of the gods, were conducted through it.[2] So the Romans made use of the splendid armour of their enemies to do honour to the gods; while the Campanians, in consequence of their pride and in hatred of the Samnites, equipped after this fashion the gladiators who furnished them entertainment at their feasts, and bestowed on them the name of Samnites.[3]

In the same year the consul Fabius fought a battle with the remnants of the Etruscan forces near Perusia—which, together with other cities, had broken the truce[4]—and gained an easy and decisive victory. He would have taken the town itself—for after the battle he marched up to the walls—had not ambassadors come out and surrendered the place. Having placed a garrison in Perusia and having sent

was always one of the standard types. The sentence is usually taken as implying that the Capuans had been present as allies of the Romans in the battle.

[4] Chap, xxxvii. § 12.

A.U.C. 446 imposito, legationibus Etruriae amicitiam petentibus prae se Romam ad senatum missis consul praestantiore etiam quam dictator victoria triumphans urbem est
21 invectus; quin etiam devictorum Samnitium decus magna ex parte ad legatos, P. Decium et M. Valerium, est versum; quos populus proximis comitiis ingenti consensu consulem alterum, alterum praetorem declaravit.

XLI. Fabio ob egregie perdomitam Etruriam continuatur consulatus; Decius collega datur. Valerius praetor quartum creatus. Consules partiti provincias:
2 Etruria Decio, Samnium Fabio evenit. Is profectus[1]
3 ad Nuceriam Alfaternam, cum pacem petentes, quod uti ea cum daretur noluissent, aspernatus esset,[2]
4 oppugnando ad deditionem subegit. Cum Samnitibus acie dimicatum. Haud magno certamine hostes victi; neque eius pugnae memoria tradita foret, ni Marsi eo primum proelio cum Romanis bellassent. Secuti Marsorum defectionem Paeligni eandem fortunam habuerunt.

5 Decio quoque, alteri consuli, secunda belli fortuna erat. Tarquiniensem metu subegerat frumentum exercitui praebere atque indutias in quadraginta
6 annos petere. Volsiniensium castella aliquot vi cepit; quaedam ex his diruit ne receptaculo hostibus essent; circumferendoque passim bello tantum ter-

[1] Is profectus *Sigonius*: profectus Ω.

[2] esset A^4 (*or* A^5, *marg.* Madvig: ea *L*: eā *DA*: est (*or* ē Ω: *wanting in O.*

[1] The Marsi, though of Samnite stock, had hitherto bee on good terms with the Romans.

on before him to the senate in Rome the Etruscan B.C. 308
deputations which had come to him seeking friendship, the consul was borne in triumph into the City, after gaining a success more brilliant even than the dictator's; indeed the glory of conquering the Samnites was largely diverted upon the lieutenants, Publius Decius and Marcus Valerius, of whom, at the next election, the people with great enthusiasm made the one consul and the other praetor.

XLI. In recognition of his remarkable conquest of Etruria, Fabius was continued in the consulship, and was given Decius for his colleague. Valerius was for the fourth time chosen praetor. The consuls cast lots for the commands, Etruria falling to Decius and Samnium to Fabius. The latter marched against Nuceria Alfaterna, and rejecting that city's overtures of peace because its people had declined it when it was offered them, laid siege to the place and forced it to surrender. A battle was fought with the Samnites, in which the enemy were defeated without much difficulty, nor would the engagement have been remembered but for the fact that it was the first time that the Marsi had made war against the Romans.[1] The Paeligni imitated the defection of the Marsi, and met with the same fate.

Decius, the other consul, was also successful in war. When he had frightened the Tarquinienses into furnishing corn for the army and seeking a truce for forty years, he captured by storm a number of strongholds belonging to the people of Volsinii. Some of these he dismantled, lest they should serve as a refuge for the enemy, and by devastating far and wide he made himself so feared that all who

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rorem sui fecit ut nomen omne Etruscum foedus ab
7 consule peteret. Ac de eo quidem nihil impetratum; indutiae annuae datae. Stipendium exercitu Romano ab hoste in eum annum pensum et binae tunicae in militem exactae; ea merces indutiarum fuit.
8 Tranquillas res iam in [1] Etruscis turbavit repentina defectio Umbrorum, gentis integrae a cladibus belli,
9 nisi quod transitum exercitus ager senserat. Ii concitata omni iuventute sua et magna parte Etruscorum ad rebellionem compulsa tantum exercitum fecerant ut relicto post se in Etruria Decio ad oppugnandam inde Romam ituros, magnifice de se ac contemptim
10 de Romanis loquentes, iactarent. Quod inceptum eorum ubi ad Decium consulem perlatum est, ad urbem ex Etruria magnis itineribus pergit et in agro Pupiniensi ad famam intentus hostium consedit.
11 Nec Romae spernebatur Umbrorum bellum, et ipsae minae metum fecerant expertis Gallica clade quam
12 intutam urbem incolerent. Itaque legati ad Fabium consulem missi sunt, ut si quid laxamenti a bello Samnitium esset, in Umbriam propere exercitum
13 duceret. Dicto paruit consul magnisque itineribus ad Mevaniam, ubi tum copiae Umbrorum erant, perrexit.
14 Repens adventus consulis, quem procul Umbria in Samnio bello alio occupatum crediderant, ita exterruit Umbros ut alii recedendum ad urbes munitas,

[1] iam in *Madvig*: iam Ω.

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[1] Livy has not mentioned this before.
[2] South of the Anio not far from Gabii. See XXVI. ix. 12.
[3] In the neighbourhood of Perugia and Assisi.

bore the Etruscan name begged the consul to grant B.C. 308
them a treaty. This privilege they were denied, but a truce for a year was granted them. They were required to furnish the Roman army with a year's pay and two tunics for each soldier; such was the price they paid for a truce.

The tranquillity which now obtained in Etruria was disturbed by a sudden revolt of the Umbrians, a people which had escaped all the distress of war, except that an army had passed through their territory.[1] Calling up all their fighting men, and inducing great part of the Etruscans to rebel, they mustered so large an army, that they boasted, with much glorifying of themselves and fleering at the Romans, that they would leave Decius behind them in Etruria and march off to the assault of Rome. When this purpose of theirs was reported to the consul Decius, he hastened by forced marches from Etruria towards the City, and encamped in the fields belonging to Pupinia,[2] eagerly waiting for word of their approach. At Rome no one made light of an Umbrian invasion. Their very threats had excited fear in those who had learnt from the Gallic disaster how unsafe was the City they inhabited. Accordingly envoys were dispatched to carry word to Fabius the consul, that if there were any slackening in the Samnite war he should with all speed lead his army into Umbria. The consul obeyed the order, and advanced by long marches to Mevania,[3] where the forces of the Umbrians at that time lay.

The sudden arrival of the consul, whom they had believed to have his hands full with another war in Samnium, a long way from Umbria, so dismayed the Umbrians that some were for falling back on their

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15 quidam omittendum bellum censerent; plaga una —Materinam ipsi appellant—non continuit modo ceteros in armis sed confestim ad certamen egit. 16 Castra vallantem Fabium adorti sunt. Quos ubi effusos ruere in munimenta consul vidit, revocatos milites ab opere, prout loci natura tempusque patiebatur, ita instruxit; cohortatusque praedicatione vera qua in Tuscis, qua in Samnio partorum decorum exiguam appendicem Etrusci belli conficere iubet et vocis impiae poenas expetere, qua se urbem Romanam 17 oppugnaturos minati sint.[1] Haec tanta sunt alacritate militum audita ut clamor sua sponte ortus loquentem interpellaverit ducem. Ante imperium, deinde concentu[2] tubarum ac cornuum cursu effuso in hostem 18 feruntur. Non tamquam in viros aut armatos incurrunt; mirabilia dictu, signa primo eripi coepta signiferis, deinde ipsi signiferi trahi ad consulem, armatique milites ex acie in aciem transferri, et sicubi est certamen, scutis magis quam gladiis geritur res; umbonibus incussaque ala sternuntur hostes. 19 Plus capitur hominum quam caeditur, atque una vox ponere arma iubentium per totam fertur aciem. 20 Itaque inter ipsum certamen facta deditio est a primis auctoribus belli. Postero insequentibusque

[1] sint *Modius*: sunt Ω.

[2] deinde concentu (contentu *PU*: concerta *F*: conuentu *T*) Ω: ante concentu *M*: ante concentum M^3.

fortified cities, and others for giving up the war; but one canton—which they themselves call Materina—not only kept the rest to their arms, but brought them to an immediate engagement. Fabius was entrenching his camp when they attacked him. As soon as he saw them rushing madly upon his ramparts, he recalled the soldiers from their work and drew them up, as time and the nature of the ground permitted, and encouraging them with a true relation of the honours they had won, some in Etruria and some in Samnium, bade them end this trivial sequel to the Etruscan war, and revenge upon the foe his impious threat that he would assault the City of Rome. These words were received by the soldiers with such alacrity that the speech of the general was interrupted by a spontaneous cheer. Then, before the command could be given, they hurled themselves—to the blare of horns and trumpets—with the wildest abandon against the enemy. They fought not as though their opponents had been men and armed; but—marvellous to relate—began with tearing the standards out of the bearers' hands, and then fell to dragging the bearers themselves before the consul and to bringing armed men over from the other line to their own; wherever they met with resistance, they did their work more with shields than with swords, swinging them from the shoulder and knocking down their enemies with the bosses. The slain were outnumbered by the prisoners, and all along the battle line one cry was heard: that they should lay down their arms. And so, while the battle was still going on, the surrender was made, by the men who had first advocated war. On the next and on succeeding B.C. 308

A.U.C. 416 diebus et ceteri Umbrorum populi deduntur; Ocriculani sponsione in amicitiam accepti.

A.U.C. 417–418 XLII. Fabius, alienae sortis victor belli, in suam
2 provinciam exercitum reduxit. Itaque ei ob res tam feliciter gestas, sicut priore anno populus continuaverat consulatum, ita senatus in insequentem annum, quo Ap. Claudius L. Volumnius consules fuerunt, prorogavit maxime Appio adversante imperium.
3 Appium censorem petisse consulatum comitiaque eius ab L. Furio tribuno plebis interpellata, donec se censura abdicarit,[1] in quibusdam annalibus invenio.
4 Creatus consul, cum collegae novum bellum, Sallentini[2] hostes decernerentur, Romae mansit ut urbanis artibus opes augeret quando belli decus penes alios esset.
5 Volumnium provinciae haud paenituit. Multa secunda proelia fecit, aliquot urbes hostium vi cepit. Praedae erat largitor et benignitatem per se gratam comitate adiuvabat militemque his artibus fecerat et periculi et laboris avidum.
6 Q. Fabius pro consule ad urbem Allifas cum Samnitium exercitu signis conlatis conflgit. Minime ambigua res fuit; fusi hostes atque in castra compulsi. Nec castra forent retenta, ni exiguum superfuisset

[1] abdicarit *Ruperti*: abdicauit Ω.
[2] Sallentini ~ *Sigonius*: salentini (-ne *F*) Ω.

[1] The senate had a grudge against Appius (see chap. xxx. § 1 f.), and so prolonged, unconstitutionally, the command of Fabius, and gave the other war to Volumnius.

days the other peoples of Umbria also capitulated: the men of Ocriculum were received into friendship under a stipulation. B.C. 308

XLII. Fabius, having won a war assigned by lot to another man, led his army back to his own province. Just as in the preceding year the people had rewarded his successful campaign by re-electing him to the consulship, so now the senate continued him in command for the year to follow. The new consuls were Appius Claudius and Lucius Volumnius, the former of whom had strongly opposed the resolution.[1] B.C. 307–306

I find in certain annals that Appius sought the consulship when censor, and that Lucius Furius, a tribune of the plebs, refused to let him stand until he should have resigned the censorship. The election over, his colleague was decreed the command in the new war—with the Sallentini—and Appius remained in Rome, to strengthen his power by civil arts, since the means of acquiring repute in war remained with others.

Volumnius had no cause to regret his assignment. He engaged in many successful battles and took several hostile towns by assault. Generous in his distribution of the spoil, he enhanced the effect of a liberality which was pleasing in itself by his friendly bearing—traits which had made his soldiers eager for toil and danger.

The proconsul Quintus Fabius fought near the city Allifae a pitched battle with the army of the Samnites. The result was anything but doubtful, for the enemy were routed and driven into their camp; and they could not have held the camp had there not been very little daylight left.

A.U.C. 447–448

diei; ante noctem tamen sunt circumsessa et nocte
7 custodita ne quis elabi posset. Postero die vixdum luce certa deditio fieri coepta et pacti qui Samnitium forent ut cum singulis vestimentis emitterentur;
8 ii omnes sub iugum missi. Sociis Samnitium nihil cautum; ad septem milia sub corona veniere. Qui se civem Hernicum dixerat seorsus in custodia
9 habitus. Eos omnes Fabius Romam ad senatum misit; et cum quaesitum esset dilectu an voluntarii
10 pro Samnitibus adversus Romanos bellassent per Latinos populos custodiendi dantur, iussique eam integram rem novi consules P. Cornelius Arvina Q. Marcius Tremulus—hi enim iam creati erant—ad
11 senatum referre. Id aegre passi Hernici; concilium populorum omnium habentibus Anagninis in circo quem Maritimum vocant praeter Aletrinatem Ferentinatemque et Verulanum omnes Hernici nominis populo Romano bellum indixerunt.

XLIII. In Samnio quoque, quia decesserat inde Fabius, novi motus exorti. Calatia et Sora praesidiaque quae in his Romana erant expugnata et in
2 captivorum corpora militum foede saevitum. Itaque eo P. Cornelius cum exercitu missus; Marcio novi hostes—iam enim Anagninis Hernicisque aliis bellum
3 iussum erat—decernuntur. Primo ita omnia oppor-

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[1] The Hernici had been at peace with the Romans ever since their subjugation in 358 B.C. (VII. xv. 9).

[2] Calatia was mentioned in chap. ii. § 2 as a Samnite town, and its capture by the Romans in 314 B.C. is noted in chap. xxviii. § 6. Sora, on the borders of the Hernici, was taken in the same year (chap. xxiv. § 14).

Even so they were invested before dark, and guards were posted in the night to prevent anyone's escaping. Next day, before it was well light, they began to surrender. The Samnites among them bargained to be dismissed in their tunics; all these were sent under the yoke. The allies of the Samnites were protected by no guarantee, and were sold into slavery, to the number of seven thousand. Those who gave themselves out for Hernic citizens were detained apart in custody, and Fabius sent them all to the senate in Rome. There an enquiry was held as to whether they had been conscripted or had fought voluntarily for the Samnites against the Romans; after which they were parcelled out amongst the Latins to be guarded, and a resolution was passed directing the new consuls, Publius Cornelius Arvina and Quintus Marcius Tremulus—for these men had been elected—to refer the matter to the senate for fresh action. This the Hernici resented. The people of Anagnia assembled a council of all the states in the circus which they call the Maritime Circus, and all of the Hernic name, excepting the inhabitants of Aletrium, Ferentinum and Verulae, declared war on the Roman People.[1] B.C. 307–306

XLIII. In Samnium, too, the departure of Fabius was the cause of fresh disturbances. Calatia and Sora with their Roman garrisons were taken by assault, and the captured soldiers were treated with shameful rigour.[2] Accordingly Publius Cornelius was dispatched in that direction with an army. The new enemies—for by this time war had been declared on the men of Anagnia and the other Hernici—were allotted to Marcius. At the outset of the campaign the enemy were so successful in

A.U.C. 447–448

tuna loca hostes inter consulum castra interceperunt
4 ut pervadere expeditus nuntius non posset et per aliquot dies incerti rerum omnium suspensique de statu alterius uterque consul ageret, Romamque is metus manaret, adeo ut omnes iuniores sacramento adigerentur atque ad subita rerum duo iusti scribe-
5 rentur exercitus. Ceterum Hernicum bellum nequaquam pro praesenti terrore ac vetusta[1] gentis gloria
6 fuit. Nihil usquam dictu dignum ausi, trinis castris intra paucos dies exuti, triginta dierum indutias ita ut ad senatum Romam legatos mitterent, pacti sunt
7 bimestri stipendio frumentoque et singulis in militem tunicis. Ab senatu ad Marcium reiecti, cui senatus consulto permissum de Hernicis erat, isque eam gentem in deditionem accepit.

8 Et in Samnio alter consul superior viribus, locis impeditior erat. Omnia itinera obsaepserant hostes saltusque pervios ceperant, ne qua subvehi commeatus possent; neque eos, cum cottidie signa in aciem consul proferret, elicere ad certamen poterat;
9 satisque apparebat neque Samnitem certamen prae-
10 sens nec Romanum dilationem belli laturum. Adventus Marci, qui Hernicis subactis maturavit collegae
11 venire auxilio, moram certaminis hosti exemit. Nam ut qui ne alteri quidem exercitui se ad certamen

[1] vetusta *Gronovius*: vetustae *Klockius*: vetustate Ω.

seizing all the strategic points between the camps of the consuls, that not even a nimble courier could get through, and for some days the consuls were kept in uncertainty regarding everything and could only speculate about one another's state. Fears for their safety even extended to Rome, where all of military age were given the oath and two full armies were enlisted, to meet any sudden emergencies. But the war with the Hernici by no means answered to the present panic or to the nation's old renown. They ventured nothing to speak of at any point, and having lost three camps in the space of a few days they bargained for a thirty days' truce, to enable them to send envoys to the senate in Rome, and delivered up two months' pay and corn, and a tunic for every soldier. The senate sent them back to Marcius, having passed a resolution empowering him to deal with the Hernici as he saw fit. He received their submission on terms of unconditional surrender. B.C. 307–306

In Samnium the other consul was also stronger than the enemy, but was more embarrassed by the character of the ground. The enemy had blockaded all the roads and seized the practicable passes, to prevent supplies being brought up anywhere. But though the consul offered battle daily, he could not entice them to fight. It was quite apparent that the Samnites would not accept an immediate engagement, nor the Romans endure any prolongation of the war. The arrival of Marcius, who, having subdued the Hernici, made haste to come to the assistance of his colleague, deprived the enemy of any power to delay the struggle. For since they had not considered themselves equal to a

A.U.C. 417–418

credidissent pares, coniungi utique passi duos consulares exercitus nihil crederent superesse spei, advenientem incomposito agmine Marcium adgredi-
12 untur. Raptim conlatae sarcinae in medium, et prout tempus patiebatur instructa acies. Clamor primum in stativa perlatus, dein conspectus procul pulvis tumultum apud alterum consulem in castris
13 fecit; isque confestim arma capere iussis raptimque eductis in aciem militibus transversam hostium aciem atque alio certamine occupatam invadit, clamitans
14 summum flagitium fore si alterum exercitum utriusque victoriae compotem sinerent fieri nec ad se sui
15 belli vindicarent decus. Qua impetum dederat perrumpit aciemque per mediam in castra hostium tendit et vacua defensoribus capit atque incendit.
16 Quae ubi flagrantia Marcianus miles conspexit et hostes respexere, tum passim fuga coepta Samnitium fieri; sed omnia obtinet caedes, nec in ullam partem tutum perfugium est.

17 Iam triginta milibus hostium caesis signum receptui consules dederant colligebantque in unum copias in vicem inter se gratantes, cum repente visae procul hostium novae cohortes, quae in supplementum scriptae fuerant, integravere caedem.
18 In quas nec iussu consulum nec signo accepto victores

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[1] *i.e.* in a hollow square, as the words *in medium* show.

battle with even one army, and believed that, once they had suffered two consular armies to unite, there would be no hope for them, they made an attack on Marcius as he was approaching in loose marching order. Hastily throwing down their packs in the midst, the Romans formed up[1] as well as time permitted. The shouting was the first thing that was noticed in the camp of Cornelius. Then, far off, a cloud of dust was descried, and caused a commotion in the camp. The consul ordered his men to arm, and leading them quickly out into line attacked the enemy in the flank, when their hands were full with another struggle, crying out that it would be a burning shame if they let the other army win both victories, and failed to claim for themselves the glory of their own campaign. Bursting through at the point where he had charged, he advanced through the enemy's line, and capturing their camp, which was empty of defenders, set fire to it. When the soldiers of Marcius saw the blaze, and the enemy, looking over their shoulders, saw it too, the flight of the Samnites soon became general; but at every point death blocked the way, and there was no escaping anywhere. B.C. 307–306

Thirty thousand of the enemy had already fallen, and the consuls had sounded the recall and were proceeding to assemble their forces in one body, amid the mutual congratulations and rejoicings of the men, when suddenly some new cohorts of the Samnites, which had been levied as reliefs, were made out in the distance, and occasioned a renewal of the slaughter. The victors rushed upon them, without orders from the consuls or receiving any

A.U.C. 447–448

vadunt, malo tirocinio imbuendum Samnitem clami-
19 tantes. Indulgent consules legionum ardori, ut qui probe scirent novum militem hostium inter perculsos fuga veteranos ne temptando quidem satis certamini
20 fore. Nec eos opinio fefellit: omnes Samnitium copiae, veteres novaeque, montes proximos fuga capiunt. Eo et Romana erigitur acies, nec quicquam satis tuti loci victis est, et de iugis quae ceperant funduntur; iamque una voce omnes pacem petebant.
21 Tum trium mensum frumento imperato et annuo stipendio ac singulis in militem tunicis ad senatum pacis oratores missi.

22 Cornelius in Samnio relictus: Marcius de Hernicis triumphans in urbem rediit, statuaque equestris in foro decreta est, quae ante templum Castoris posita est.
23 Hernicorum tribus populis, Aletrinati Verulano Ferentinati, qui id[1] maluerunt quam civitatem, suae leges redditae, conubiumque inter ipsos, quod aliquamdiu
24 soli Hernicorum habuerunt, permissum. Anagninis quique alii[2] arma Romanis intulerant civitas sine suffragii latione: data concilia conubiaque adempta et magistratibus praeter quam sacrorum curatione interdictum.

25 Eodem anno aedes Salutis a C. Iunio Bubulco

[1] qui id *Harant*: qui FT^2 *or* T^3 (*marg.*): quia Ω.
[2] quinque alii *H. G. Mueller*: quique (quicque *D? LA*) Ω.

[1] The temple of Castor and Pollux had been vowed at the battle of Lake Regillus, 299 B.C., and dedicated fifteen years later (II. xx. 12, and xlii. 5).

signal, exclaiming that the Samnites must begin their soldiering with a bitter lesson. The consuls indulged the ardour of the legions, being well aware that the enemy's recruits, in the midst of routed veterans, would scarce be equal to so much as an attempt at fighting. They were not mistaken. All the forces of the Samnites, old and new, broke and fled to the nearest mountains, up which the Romans too advanced in pursuit of them. The conquered could find no refuge anywhere that afforded safety, but were driven pell-mell from the ridges where they had made a stand. And now with one voice they all begged for peace. They were required to furnish corn for three months, with a year's pay and a tunic for each Roman soldier, and envoys were then dispatched to the senate to sue for terms. B.C. 307–306

Cornelius was left in Samnium. Marcius returned to the City, which he entered in a triumph over the Hernici. An equestrian statue in the Forum was decreed him and was erected in front of the temple of Castor.[1] To the three Hernic peoples of Aletrium, Verulae, and Ferentinum their own laws were restored, because they preferred them to Roman citizenship, and they were given the right to intermarry with each other—a privilege which for some time they were the only Hernici to enjoy. The people of Anagnia and such others as had borne arms against the Romans were admitted to citizenship without the right of voting. They were prohibited from holding councils and from intermarrying, and were allowed no magistrates save those who had charge of religious rites.

In the same year the censor Gaius Junius

censore locata est, quam consul bello Samnitium
A.U.C. 447–448 voverat. Ab eodem collegaque eius M. Valerio
26 Maximo viae per agros publica impensa factae. Et
cum Carthaginiensibus eodem anno foedus tertio
renovatum, legatisque eorum, qui ad id venerant,
comiter munera missa.

A.U.C. 449 XLIV. Dictatorem idem annus habuit P. Cornelium Scipionem cum magistro equitum P. Decio
2 Mure. Ab his, propter quae creati erant, comitia
consularia habita, quia neuter consulum potuerat[1]
3 bello abesse. Creati consules L. Postumius Ti.[2]
Minucius. Hos consules Piso Q. Fabio et P. Decio
suggerit biennio exempto quo Claudium Volumniumque et Cornelium cum Marcio consules factos tradidi-
4 mus. Memoriane fugerit[3] in annalibus digerendis,
an consulto binos consules, falsos ratus, transcenderit,
incertum est.

5 Eodem anno in campum Stellatem agri Campani
6 Samnitium incursiones factae. Itaque ambo consules
in Samnium missi cum diversas regiones, Tifernum
Postumius Bovianum Minucius petisset, Postumi
prius ductu ad Tifernum pugnatum. Alii haud
dubie Samnites victos ac viginti milia hominum
capta tradunt, alii Marte aequo discessum et
8 Postumium metum simulantem nocturno itinere

[1] potuerat $A^{x}\varsigma$: potuerant Ω: poterant *F*.
[2] Ti. *Sigonius* (Diod. XX. lxxxi. 1, *C.I.L.* i², *p.* 132): t *MPUT²A²*: ·t *P*: ÷ (= et) *F*: et M^{1}: *wanting in OTDLA*.
[3] memoriane fugerit ς: memoriae (*or* -e)ne fugerit Ω: memorie ne fuerit *U*: *wanting in O*.

[1] On the Quirinal.
[2] VII. XXVII. 2 and note. *Per.* XIII., which speaks of a *fourth* treaty, would be in agreement with the present passage.
[3] Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the annalist, *cos.* 133 B.C.

Bubulcus let the contract for the temple of Safety,[1] which he had vowed, while consul, during the Samnite war. He and his colleague, Marcus Valerius Maximus, built roads through the country-side at the public costs. In this year also the treaty with the Carthaginians was renewed for the third time,[2] and their ambassadors, who had come for the purpose of arranging it, were treated with courtesy and given presents. B.C. 307–306

XLIV. The same year had a dictator in the person of Publius Cornelius Scipio, the master of the horse being Publius Decius Mus. These men held a consular election—for to this end they had been appointed, since neither consul had been able to leave the seat of war. The consuls chosen were Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Minucius. Piso[3] makes these men follow Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius, omitting the two years in which we have placed the consulship of Claudius and Volumnius and that of Cornelius and Marcius. Whether in the redaction of his annals he forgot them, or omitted two sets of consuls purposely, as not authentic, is uncertain. B.C. 305

In that year also the Samnites made forays upon the Campus Stellatis[4] in Campania. Both consuls were accordingly dispatched into Samnium in different directions, Postumius marching on Tifernum, and Minucius on Bovianum. The fighting began at Tifernum, where Postumius commanded. Some relate that the Samnites were decisively beaten and that twenty thousand prisoners were taken; others that the armies quitted the field on even terms, and that Postumius, feigning fear, in the night withdrew his

[4] This was a tract forming part of the Ager Falernus, later celebrated for its choice wine.

A.U.C. 449

clam in montes copias abduxisse, hostes secutos duo milia inde locis munitis et ipsos consedisse. 9 Consul ut stativa tuta copiosaque—et ita erant—petisse videretur, postquam et munimentis castra firmavit et omni apparatu rerum utilium instruxit, 10 relicto firmo praesidio de vigilia tertia, qua duci proxime potest, expeditas legiones ad collegam, et 11 ipsum adversus alios sedentem, ducit. Ibi auctore Postumio Minucius cum hostibus signa confert, et, cum anceps proelium in multum diei processisset, tum Postumius integris legionibus defessam iam 12 aciem hostium improviso invadit. Itaque cum lassitudo ac volnera fugam quoque praepedissent, occidione occisi hostes, signa unum et viginti capta atque 13 inde ad castra Postumi perrectum. Ibi duo victores exercitus perculsum iam fama hostem adorti fundunt fugantque; signa militaria sex et viginti capta et imperator Samnitium Statius Gellius[1] multique alii 14 mortales et castra utraque capta. Et Bovianum urbs[2] postero die coepta oppugnari brevi capitur, magnaque gloria rerum gestarum consules triumpharunt. 15 Minucium consulem, cum volnere gravi relatum in castra, mortuum quidam auctores sunt, et M. Fulvium in locum eius consulem suffectum, et ab eo, cum ad exercitum Minuci missus esset, Bovianum captum.

[1] Gellius *Sigonius* (*Diod.* XX. xc. 4 Γέλλιος Γάιος): Cellius Ω.
[2] urbs *Crevier*: ubi Ω.

forces secretly to the mountains, where the enemy B.C. 305
followed him and themselves entrenched a camp, at a distance of two miles from his. The consul, that it might appear to have been his object to gain a position at once secure and abounding in supplies,—and such indeed it was—having fortified his camp and equipped it with all manner of useful things, left in it a strong garrison, and in the third watch led his legions in light marching order by the most direct route to his colleague, who likewise lay in camp, facing another army. There, at the instigation of Postumius, Minucius gave battle to the enemy; and when the doubtful struggle had been prolonged until late in the afternoon, Postumius with his fresh legions fell unexpectedly upon the now jaded forces of their opponents. The Samnites, debarred by their weariness and wounds even from flight, were utterly annihilated, and the Romans, having taken twenty-one standards, set out for the camp of Postumius. There the two victorious armies assailed the enemy, already dismayed by the tidings of the other battle, and overwhelmingly routed them, capturing six-and-twenty standards, the commander of the Samnites—Statius Gellius—and many other prisoners, besides both camps. On the following day they began the siege of the city of Bovianum, and on its capture, which quickly ensued, the consuls crowned their glorious achievements with a triumph. Some writers state that Minucius the consul was severely wounded and expired after being carried back to his camp. They add that Marcus Fulvius was made consul suffect in his place, and that it was he who, being sent out to the army of Minucius, captured Bovianum.

A.U.C. 449 16 Eo anno Sora Arpinum Cesennia recepta ab Samnitibus. Herculis magnum simulacrum in Capitolio positum dedicatumque.

A.U.C. 450 XLV. P. Sulpicio Saverrione[1] P. Sempronio Sopho consulibus Samnites, seu finem seu dilationem belli 2 quaerentes, legatos de pace Roman misere. Quibus suppliciter agentibus responsum est, nisi saepe bellum parantes pacem petissent Samnites, oratione ultro citro habita de pace transigi potuisse; nunc, quando verba vana ad id locorum fuerint, rebus standum 3 esse. P. Sempronium consulem cum exercitu brevi in Samnio fore; eum, ad bellum pacemne inclinent animi, falli non posse; comperta omnia senatui relaturum; decedentem ex Samnio consulem legati 4 sequerentur. Eo anno cum pacatum Samnium exercitus Romanus benigne praebito commeatu peragrasset, foedus antiquum Samnitibus redditum.

5 Ad Aequos inde, veteres hostes, ceterum per multos annos sub specie infidae pacis quietos, versa arma Romana, quod incolumi Hernico nomine missit- 6 averant simul cum iis Samniti auxilia et post Hernicos subactos universa prope gens sine dissimulatione consilii publici ad hostes desciverat; et postquam

[1] Saverrione *Signius* (X. ix. 14, *C.I.L.* i². *p.* 45): auerrione (auerione *A*) Ω.

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[1] Site unknown.

[2] Perhaps to appease the god for the indignity mentioned in chap. xxix. § 9.

[3] In 354 B.C. the Samnites had sought and obtained a treaty with the Romans, upon what terms is not known, but they were doubtless liberal (VII. xix. 4)

[4] Since 388 B.C. (VI. iv. 8).

[5] Chap. xlii. § 8, where, however, the Aequi are not specified.

In that year Sora, Arpinum, and Cesennia[1] were won back from the Samnites. The great statue of Hercules was set up and dedicated on the Capitol.[2] B.C. 305

XLV. In the consulship of Publius Sulpicius Saverrio and Publius Sempronius Sophus, the Samnites, whether seeking to end or only to postpone hostilities, sent envoys to Rome to treat for peace. To their humble supplications the answer was returned, that if the Samnites had not frequently sought peace while preparing for war, a treaty could have been arranged by mutual discussion: as it was, since words had hitherto proved of no effect, the Romans must needs take their stand on facts. Publius Sempronius, the consul, would shortly be in Samnium with an army; he was one whom they would be unable to deceive as to whether their hearts inclined to peace or war; after a thorough investigation he would report his findings to the senate; and on his leaving Samnium their envoys might attend him. The Roman army marched all over Samnium; the people were peaceable and furnished the army liberally with supplies; accordingly their ancient treaty was in that year restored again to the Samnites.[3] B.C. 304

The arms of Rome were then directed against the Aequi, who had been her enemies of old, but for many years past had remained quiet,[4] under colour of a peace which they observed but treacherously. The reason for making war on them was as follows: before the overthrow of the Hernici they had repeatedly joined with them in sending assistance to the Samnites,[5] and after the subjugation of the Hernici, almost the entire nation had gone over to the enemy, without attempting to disguise their policy;

A.U.C. 450

icto Romae cum Samnitibus foedere fetiales venerant
7 res repetitum, temptationem aiebant esse ut terrore incusso belli Romanos se fieri paterentur; quod quanto opere optandum foret Hernicos docuisse, cum quibus licuerit suas leges Romanae civitati praeoptaverint:
8 quibus legendi quid mallent copia non fuerit pro poena necessariam civitatem fore. Ob haec volgo in conciliis iactata populus Romanus bellum fieri Aequis
9 iussit; consulesque ambo ad novum profecti bellum quattuor milia a castris hostium consederunt.
10 Aequorum exercitus, ut qui suo nomine permultos annos imbelles egissent, tumultuario similis, sine
11 ducibus certis, sine imperio, trepidare. Alii exeundum in aciem, alii castra tuenda censent; movet plerosque vastatio futura agrorum ac deinceps cum
12 levibus praesidiis urbium relictarum excidia. Itaque postquam inter multas sententias una, quae omissa cura communium ad respectum suarum quemque
13 rerum vertit, est[1] audita, ut prima vigilia diversi e castris ad deportanda omnia tuendasque moenibus urbes[2] abirent, cuncti eam sententiam ingenti ad-
14 sensu accepere. Palatis hostibus per agros prima luce Romani signis prolatis in acie consistunt, et ubi

[1] vertit, est *Madvig*: uertisset (-ent *P*) Ω: auertisset *O*.
[2] tuendasque moenibus urbes *Madvig* ²: tuendasque moenibus in urbes Ω: tuendasque in omnibus urbes *O*: tuendosque moenibus se in urbes *H. J. Mueller*.

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[1] *Cf.* chap. xliii. 23 f. for the two groups.
[2] *i.e.* while Aequians had volunteered for service in other armies, they had engaged in no war as a nation—at any rate with Rome—since 388 B.C. (VI. iv. 8).

and when fetials had applied to them for reparation, B.C. 304
after the adoption of the Samnite treaty at Rome, they had persistently asserted that the Romans were attempting under threats of war to intimidate them into becoming Roman citizens; and how little that was a thing to be desired had been shown, they said, by the Hernici, since those who had been permitted to do so had chosen their own laws in preference to Roman citizenship, while those who had not been given an option were to have citizenship thrust upon them as a punishment.[1] Because of such expressions, publicly uttered in their assemblies, the Roman People decreed that war should be made upon the Aequi. Both consuls set out for the new seat of operations, and took up a position four miles from the enemy's camp.

The army of the Aequi, who for many years had made no war on their own account,[2] like a hastily levied militia, under no definite commanders and subject to no supreme authority, were in a state of panic. Some were for offering battle, others for defending the camp. The consideration that affected most of them was the devastation which their farms would suffer and the subsequent destruction of their cities, which they had left inadequately garrisoned. And so when a proposal was heard—amongst many others—which disregarded the common welfare and made every one think of his own interest, to wit, that in the first watch they should leave the camp, and going their several ways, carry off all their possessions from the fields and defend their cities by means of their walls, they all with loud acclaim adopted it. The enemy were scattered over the countryside when at break of day the Romans came

A.U.C. 450 nemo obvius ibat, pleno gradu ad castra hostium
15 tendunt. Ceterum postquam ibi neque stationes
pro portis nec quemquam in vallo nec fremitum con-
suetum castrorum animadverterunt, insolito silentio
16 moti metu insidiarum subsistunt. Transgressi deinde
vallum cum deserta omnia invenissent, pergunt hos-
tem vestigiis sequi. Sed vestigia in omnes aeque
ferentia partes, ut in dilapsis passim, primo errorem
17 faciebant; post per exploratores compertis hostium
consiliis ad singulas urbes circumferendo bello
unum et triginta oppida intra dies quinquaginta,
omnia oppugnando, ceperunt, quorum pleraque diruta
atque incensa, nomenque Aequorum prope ad inter-
18 necionem deletum. De Aequis triumphatum: ex-
emploque eorum clades fuit, ut Marrucini Marsi
Paeligni Frentani[1] mitterent Romam oratores pacis
petendae amicitiaeque. His populis foedus peten-
tibus datum.

XLVI. Eodem anno Cn. Flavius Cn. filius[2] scriba,
patre libertino humili fortuna ortus, ceterum callidus vir
2 et facundus, aedilis curulis fuit. Invenio in quibusdam
annalibus, cum appareret aedilibus fierique se pro
tribu aedilem videret neque accipi nomen quia scrip-
tum faceret, tabulam posuisse et iurasse se scriptum

[1] Frentani *Sigonius (chap.* xvi. § 1 *and Conway, Ital. Dial. p.* 212): feretani MA^2: feretrani Ω.

[2] Cn. filius A^2: cn̄ fil I^2: gn̄ fil̄ T: *various corruptions* Ω.

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[1] The tribes were beginning to enter their votes in favour of Flavius, but the aedile presiding at the election refused to admit his candidacy, on the score that as an apparitor, a paid civil servant, he might not hold a magistracy. Flavius thereupon renounced his position as secretary and declined to serve as such at the election. With Livy's narrative in this chap. *cf.* Plin. *N. H.* XXXIII. i. 17–19, and Gellius, vii. (vi) 9, who quotes Piso as his authority, and uses language so much

out and formed in order of battle, and encountering B.C. 304
nobody, advanced at a quick pace towards the Aequian camp. But not perceiving any outposts before the gates or anybody on the rampart, and missing the usual noises of a camp, they were troubled by the unaccustomed silence, and apprehending an ambush, halted. Later, when they had scaled the rampart and found everything deserted, they attempted to follow the enemy by his tracks; but the tracks, which led in all directions—as they would when an army had dispersed—at first bewildered them. Afterwards they found out through their scouts what the enemy designed to do; and attacking his cities in succession, one after another, they captured thirty-one of them within fifty days, in every instance by assault. Of these the greater number were dismantled and burnt, and the Aequian name was almost blotted out. A triumph was celebrated over the Aequi; and warned by the example of their downfall, the Marrucini, Marsi, Paeligni, and Frentani sent ambassadors to Rome to sue for peace and friendship. These nations, at their request, were granted a treaty of alliance.

XLVI. In the same year a government clerk, Gnaeus Flavius, the son of Gnaeus, was curule aedile. Born in humble circumstances—his father being a freedman—he was, for the rest, a man of shrewdness and eloquence. I find in certain annals that being in attendance upon the aediles, and perceiving that the tribes were supporting him for aedile, but that his name was thrown out because he was acting as a recorder, he put away his tablet and took an oath that he would keep no record.[1]

like Livy's as to suggest that this annalist was Livy's source also.

A.U.C. 450

3 non facturum; quem aliquanto ante desisse scriptum facere arguit Macer Licinius tribunatu ante gesto triumviratibusque, nocturno altero, altero coloniae
4 deducendae. Ceterum, id quod haud discrepat, contumacia adversus contemnentes humilitatem suam
5 nobiles certavit; civile ius, repositum in penetralibus pontificum, evolgavit fastosque circa forum in albo
6 proposuit, ut quando lege agi posset sciretur; aedem Concordiae in area Volcani summa invidia nobilium dedicavit; coactusque consensu populi Cornelius Barbatus pontifex maximus verba praeire, cum more maiorum negaret nisi consulem aut imperatorem
7 posse templum dedicare. Itaque ex auctoritate senatus latum ad populum est ne quis templum aramve iniussu senatus aut tribunorum plebei partis maioris
8 dedicaret. Haud memorabilem rem per se, nisi documentum sit adversus superbiam nobilium plebeiae
9 libertatis, referam. Ad collegam aegrum visendi causa Flavius cum venisset consensuque nobilium adulescentium, qui ibi adsidebant, adsurrectum ei non esset, curulem adferri sellam eo iussit ac de sede[1] honoris sui anxios invidia inimicos spectavit.
10 Ceterum Flavium dixerat aedilem forensis factio, Ap.

[1] de sede *Siesbye*: sede Ω.

[1] These were commonly called *tresviri capitales*, and were police commissioners, who besides the duty referred to in the text, were charged with assisting the magistrates who had criminal jurisdiction, and particularly with executing sentences of death. Liv. *Per.* xi. would indicate that the office was not introduced until about 289 B.C.

Licinius Macer alleges that he had ceased some time B.C. 304
before to act as secretary, having been already a tribune, and on two occasions a triumvir, once on the commission which had charge of the night-watch,[1] and again on one appointed to found a colony. At all events there is no difference of opinion about the stubbornness of his contention with the nobles, who despised his lowly birth. He published the formulae of the civil law, which had been filed away in the secret archives of the pontiffs, and posted up the calendar on white notice-boards about the Forum, that men might know when they could bring an action. He dedicated a temple of Concord in the precinct of Vulcan, greatly to the resentment of the nobles; and Cornelius Barbatus, the chief pontiff, was forced by the unanimous wishes of the people to dictate the form of words to him, though he asserted that by custom of the elders none but a consul or commanding general might dedicate a temple. So, in accordance with a senatorial resolution, a measure was enacted by the people providing that no one should dedicate a temple or an altar without the authorization of the senate or a majority of the tribunes of the plebs.—I will relate an incident, of no importance in itself, which may serve to show how the plebs asserted their liberties against the arrogance of the nobles. Flavius had come to make a call upon a colleague who was sick, and the young nobles who were sitting by his bed with one consent omitted to rise on his entering; whereupon he ordered his curule chair to be fetched in, and from his official seat gazed at his adversaries, who were choking with resentment. Now Flavius had been elected aedile by the faction of the market-place,

A.U.C. 450

Claudi censura vires nacta, qui senatum primus
11 libertinorum filiis lectis inquinaverat, et posteaquam eam lectionem nemo ratam habuit nec in curia adeptus erat quas petierat opes, urbanis[1] humilibus per omnes tribus divisis forum et campum corrupit.
12 Tantumque Flavi comitia indignitatis habuerunt ut plerique nobilium anulos aureos et phaleras depone-
13 rent. Ex eo tempore in duas partes discessit civitas: aliud integer populus, fautor et cultor bonorum,
14 aliud forensis factio tendebat,[2] donec Q. Fabius et P. Decius censores facti, et Fabius simul concordiae causa, simul ne humillimorum in manu comitia essent, omnem forensem turbam exceretam in quattuor tribus
15 coniecit urbanasque eas appellavit. Adeoque eam rem acceptam gratis animis ferunt ut Maximi cognomen, quod tot victoriis non pepererat, hac ordinum temperatione pareret. Ab eodem institutum dicitur ut equites idibus Quinctilibus transveherentur.

[1] urbanis *Gronovius*: urbanas Ω.
[2] tendebat *F ç Madvig*: tenebat Ω (*Walters and Conway cf. Cic. Par.* I. 14.)

[1] The centuriate comitia met in the Campus Martius, the tribal comitia in the Forum. Membership in the former assembly—now for the first time imparted to the tradesmen and artisans who were not freeholders—implied also membership in the latter. The result of this reform was to extend the franchise to a large class of citizens, many of whom were men of substance.

which had become powerful in consequence of the censorship of Appius Claudius. Claudius had been the first to debase the senate by the appointment of the sons of freedmen, and afterwards, when no one allowed the validity of his selection, and he had failed to gain the influence in the senate-house which had been his object, he had distributed the humble denizens of the City amongst all the tribes, and had thus corrupted the Forum and the Campus Martius.[1] And so great was the indignation over the election of Flavius that many of the nobles laid aside their golden rings and medals. From that time the citizens were divided into two parties: the men of integrity, who favoured and cherished right principles, tended one way, the rabble of the market-place another; until Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius became censors, and Fabius, partly for the sake of harmony, partly that the elections might not be in the hands of the basest of the people, culled out all the market-place mob and cast them into four tribes, to which he gave the name of Urban. The arrangement, they say, was so gratefully received, that by this regulation of the orders he purchased the surname of the Great, which not all his victories had been able to procure him. It was Fabius too, so it is said, who instituted the parade of the knights on the fifteenth of July. B.C. 304

LIBRI IX PERIOCHA

T. Veturius Spurius Postumius coss. apud furcas Caudinas deducto in locum artum exercitu, cum spes nulla esset evadendi, foedere cum Samnitibus facto et sescentis equitibus Romanis obsidibus datis ita exercitum abduxerunt ut omnes sub iugum mitterentur ; idemque auctore Spurio Postumio cos. qui in senatu suaserat ut eorum deditione quorum culpa tam deforme foedus ictum erat, publica fides liberaretur, cum duobus trib. pl. et omnibus qui foedus spoponderant dediti Samnitibus non sunt recepti. nec multo post fusis a Papirio Cursore Samnitibus et sub iugum missis receptisque sescentis equitibus Romanis qui obsides dati erant, pudor flagitii prioris abolitus est. tribus duae adiectae sunt, Oufentina[1] et Falerna. Suessa et Pontia coloniae deductae sunt. Ap. Claudius censor aquam perduxit ; viam stravit quae Appia vocata est, libertinorum filios in senatum legit. ideoque, quoniam is ordo indignis inquinatus videbatur, sequentis anni coss. senatum observaverunt, quem ad modum ante proximos censores fuerat. res praeterea contra Apulos et Etruscos[2] et Umbros et Marsos et Paelignos et Aequos et Samnites, quibus foedus restitutum est, prospere gestas continet. Cn. Flavius[3] scriba, libertino patre natus, aedilis curulis fuit per forensem factionem creatus, quae, cum comitia et campum turbaret et in his propter nimias vires dominaretur, a Q. Fabio censore in quattuor tribus redacta

[1] Oufentina *Hertz* : ofentina (*or* osfentina) *MSS.*
[2] et Etruscos *cod. Bergianus* : Etruscos *MSS.*
[3] Cn. Flavius *edd.* : C. Flavius *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK IX

Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius, the consuls, having led their army into a narrow place at the Caudine Forks, when there was no hope of escaping, made a treaty with the Samnites, and having given six hundred Roman knights as hostages, got their army off, on condition that all should be sent under the yoke. And these same men having been delivered up to the Samnites, together with two tribunes of the plebs and all those who had guaranteed the treaty—on the suggestion of Spurius Postumius the consul, who had advised the senate that the pledge of the State should be redeemed by the surrender of those by whose fault so disgraceful a treaty had been made—were by them rejected. Not long after, the Samnites were routed by Papirus Cursor and sent beneath the yoke, and the six hundred Roman knights who had been given as hostages were recovered, thus wiping out the shame of the earlier disgrace. Two tribes were added, the Oufentina and the Falerna. Colonies were planted at Suessa and Pontia. Appius Claudius the censor completed an aqueduct; paved the road which was called the Appian Way; and admitted the sons of freedmen to the senate, for which reason, since that order appeared to have been polluted with unworthy members, the consuls of the following year kept the senate as it had been before the last censors. The book also contains successful campaigns against the Apulians, the Etruscans, the Umbrians, the Marsi, the Paeligni, the Aequi, and the Samnites, to whom their treaty was restored. Gnaeus Flavius, a government clerk and a freedman's son, was elected curule aedile by the faction of the market-place, which since it threw into confusion the comitia and the Campus Martius, which it dominated by its overweening strength, was by Quintus Fabius the censor divided up into four tribes

est, quas urbanas appellavit;[1] eaque res Fabio Maximo nomen dedit. in hoc libro mentionem habet Alexandri, qui temporibus his fuit, et aestimatis populi R. viribus, quae tunc erant, colligit si Alexander in Italiam traiecisset, non tam ei victoriam de populo Romano fore quam de iis gentibus quas ad orientem imperio suo subiecerat.

[1] quas urbanas appellavit *cod. Guelferb.: omitted by best MSS.*

which he called "urban"; and this circumstance procured Fabius his surname of Maximus. In this book the author mentions Alexander, who lived in those times, and, after appraising the strength of the Roman people in that age, gathers that if Alexander had crossed into Italy, he would not have gained the victory over the Roman People, as he had done over those races which he subjugated in the Orient.

BOOK X

LIBER X

.C. 452

1 L. Genucio Ser. Cornelio consulibus ab externis ferme bellis otium fuit. Soram atque Albam coloniae deductae. Albam in Aequos sex milia colonorum 2 scripta: Sora agri Volsci fuerat, sed possederant 3 Samnites; eo quattuor milia hominum missa. Eodem anno Arpinatibus Trebulanisque civitas data. Frusinates tertia parte agri damnati, quod Hernicos ab eis sollicitatos compertum, capitaque coniurationis eius quaestione ab consulibus ex senatus consulto[1] 4 habita virgis caesi ac securi percussi. Tamen ne prorsus imbellem agerent annum, parva expeditio in Umbriam facta est, quod nuntiabatur ex spelunca qua- 5 dam excursiones armatorum in agros fieri. In eam speluncam penetratum cum signis est, et ex loco[2] obscuro multa volnera accepta maximeque lapidum ictu, donec altero specus eius ore—nam pervius erat—invento utraeque fauces congestis lignis accensae. 6 Ita intus fumo ac vapore ad duo milia armatorum, ruentia novissime in ipsas flammas, dum evadere tendunt, absumpta.

[1] ex senatus consulto A^2: ex sōc *MPT*: ex sc̄ *ODLA*? ex sc̄c̄ I^2: exe·c̄·*F*.

[2] ex loco *Madvig*: ex eo (ea *O*) loco Ω.

BOOK X

I. In the consulship of Lucius Genucius and Servius Cornelius there was in general a respite from foreign wars. Colonies were established at Sora and Alba. Six thousand settlers were enrolled for Alba, in the Aequian country. Sora had belonged to the territory of the Volsci, but the Samnites had got possession of it; to this place were sent four thousand men. In this year also the Arpinates and Trebulani were granted citizenship. The Frusinates were mulcted in one-third of their land, because it was discovered that they had tampered with the Hernici; the ringleaders of the conspiracy, after the consuls, at the instance of the senate, had conducted an investigation, were scourged and beheaded. Nevertheless, that their year might not go by without any war whatever, the consuls made a little expedition into Umbria, because of a report that armed men issuing from a certain cave were making raids upon the farms. The soldiers carried their standards into the cave, and there in the murk received many wounds, particularly from stones that were thrown at them; until, having found the other mouth of the cavern—for there was a way of going through it—they heaped up faggots at both openings and set them afire. In this way about two thousand armed men perished in the cave from the smoke and heat, for they finally rushed into the very flames in their efforts to escape. B.C. 303–302

A.U.C. 451–452

7 M. Livio Dentre[1] M. Aemilio[2] consulibus redintegratum Aequicum bellum. Coloniam aegre patientes velut arcem suis finibus impositam summa vi expugnare adorti ab ipsis colonis pelluntur. 8 Ceterum tantum Romae terrorem fecere, quia vix credibile erat tam adfectis rebus solos per se Aequos ad bellum coortos, ut tumultus eius causa dictator 9 diceretur C. Iunius Bubulcus. Cum M. Titinio magistro equitum profectus primo congressu Aequos subegit, ac die octavo triumphans in urbem cum redisset, aedem Salutis, quam consul voverat censor locaverat, dictator dedicavit.

A.U.C. 452

II. Eodem anno classis Graecorum Cleonymo duce Lacedaemonio ad Italiae litora adpulsa Thurias[3] 2 urbem in Sallentinis cepit. Adversus hunc hostem consul Aemilius missus proelio uno fugatum compulit in naves. Thuriae redditae veteri cultori, 3 Sallentinoque agro pax parta. Iunium Bubulcum dictatorem missum in Sallentinos in quibusdam annalibus invenio et Cleonymum, priusquam confligendum esset cum Romanis, Italia excessisse.

4 Circumvectus inde Brundisii promunturium medioque sinu Hadriatico ventis latus, cum laeva importuosa Italiae litora, dextra Illyrii Liburnique et Histri, gentes ferae et magna ex parte latrociniis

[1] Dentre ζ: dentrice (*or* -cae) Ω: dentice (*PFU* (*not in O*)
[2] M. Aemilio *Sigon.* (*Diod.* xx. cvi. 1, *CIL* i², *p.* 132): ā *U*: c (*or* t) A^2 ζ: *omitted by* Ω.
[3] Thurias ζ: turias D^3: thurios (trurios *T*, turios *A*) Ω: durior *D*? *L*.

[1] If *Thuriae* is what Livy wrote, it must have been an otherwise unknown city in the heel of Italy, where the Sallentini lived.

When Marcus Livius Denter and Marcus Aemilius were consuls, the Aequi resumed hostilities. Indignant that a colony had been established, like a citadel, within their borders, they attacked it with great fury. They were beaten off by the colonists themselves, but occasioned such dismay at Rome—since it was scarce to be believed that the Aequi when in so weakened a condition should have begun a war relying solely on their own resources—that a dictator was appointed to cope with the outbreak, in the person of Gaius Junius Bubulcus. Setting out with Marcus Titinius, his master of the horse, he reduced the Aequi to submission at the first encounter, and having returned in triumph to the City eight days later, dedicated as dictator the temple of Safety which he had vowed as consul and for which as censor he had let the contract. B.C. 303–302

II. During the same year a Greek fleet commanded by Cleonymus the Lacedaemonian put in to the shores of Italy and seized the city of Thuriae in the country of the Sallentini.[1] The consul Aemilius was dispatched against this enemy, whom he routed in a single engagement and drove to his ships. Thuriae was restored to its old inhabitants, and peace was established in the Sallentine territory. I find in some annals that Junius Bubulcus the dictator was sent among the Sallentini, and that Cleonymus withdrew from Italy before it became necessary to fight the Romans. B.C. 302

Rounding then the promontory of Brundisium, he was swept on by the winds in the mid gulf of the Adriatic, and dreading the harbourless coasts of Italy on his left and on his right the Illyrians, Liburnians, and Histrians,—savage tribes and

maritimis infames, terrerent, penitus ad litora Vene-
5 torum pervenit. Expositis paucis qui loca explorarent,
cum audisset[1] tenue praetentum litus esse, quod
transgressis stagna ab tergo sint inrigua aestibus
maritimis; agros haud procul[2] capestres cerni,[3]
6 ulteriora colles videri; esse ostium fluminis praealti,
quo circumagi naves in stationem tutam possint[4]—
Meduacus amnis erat—: eo invectam classem subire
7 flumine adverso iussit. Gravissimas navium non per-
tulit alveus fluminis; in leviora navigia transgressa
multitudo armatorum ad frequentes agros, tribus
maritimis Patavinorum vicis colentibus eam oram,
8 pervenit. Ibi egressi praesidio levi navibus relicto
vicos expugnant, inflammant tecta, hominum pecu-
dumque praedas agunt et dulcedine praedandi longius
usque a navibus procedunt.

9 Haec ubi Patavium sunt nuntiata—semper autem
eos in armis accolae Galli habebant—in duas partes
iuventutem dividunt. Altera[5] in regionem, qua
effusa populatio nuntiabatur, altera, ne cui praedonum
obvia fieret, alio[6] itinere ad stationem navium—milia
10 autem quattuordecim ab oppido aberat—ducta. In
naves ignaris[7] custodibus interemptis impetus factus,
territique nautae coguntur naves in alteram ripam
amnis traicere. Et in terra prosperum aeque in

[1] audisset A^2 *or* $A^1\varsigma$: audissent Ω.

[2] haud procul *Walters and Conway*: haud procul proximos (proximus *F*) Ω: haut proximos *A*: haud procul agro pax . . . Salluntinos (*repeated from* § 3) proximos (*omitting* agros) *O*.

[3] cerni ς: cernit Ω.

[4] possint *Walters and Conway*: possint vidisse ς: possent vidisse *Madvig*: vidisse Ω: vidisset *PFUOT*^{2}.

[5] altera A^2 *or* A^1: alteram Ω: alterum *F*.

[6] alio *Gronovius*: altero (*wanting in O*) Ω.

[7] ignaris ς: paruis Ω: paruas $U\varsigma$: paruas ignaris ς.

notorious most of them for their piracies kept B.C. 302
straight on until he reached the coasts of the Veneti. Having sent a small party ashore to explore the country, and learning that it was a narrow beach that extended in front of them, on crossing which one found behind it lagoons which were flooded by the tides; that not far off level fields could be made out, and that hills were seen rising beyond them, and that a river of great depth—the Mediacus—debouched there, into which they could bring round their ships to a safe anchorage—having learned all this, I say, he ordered the fleet to sail in and make its way up stream. But the channel would not admit the heaviest ships, and the multitude of armed men, passing over into the lighter vessels, kept on till they came to thickly inhabited fields; for three maritime villages of the Patavini were situated there along the river-bank. Disembarking there they left a small body of men to defend the boats, burnt the houses, made spoil of men and cattle, and, lured on by the sweets of pillage, advanced to a greater and greater distance from their ships.

When word of these events was brought to the Patavians, whom the vicinity of the Gauls kept always under arms, they divided their young men into two divisions. One of these marched into the region where the scattered marauding was reported: the other, taking a different road, to avoid falling in with any of the marauders, proceeded to the place where the ships were moored, fourteen miles from the town. The latter party, slaying the guards, who were unaware of their approach, made a rush for the ships, and the terrified sailors were forced to get them over to the other side of the stream. On land,

c. palatos praedatores proelium fuerat refugientibusque
11 ad stationem Graecis Veneti obsistunt; ita in medio
circumventi hostes caesique; pars capti classem
indicant regemque Cleonymum tria milia abesse.
12 Inde captivis proximo vico in custodiam datis pars
fluviatiles naves, ad superanda vada stagnorum apte
planis alveis fabricatas, pars captiva navigia armatis
complent profectique ad classem immobiles naves et
loca ignota plus quam hostem timentes circumvadunt;
13 fugientesque in altum acrius quam repugnantes
usque ad ostium amnis persecuti captis quibusdam
incensisque navibus hostium, quas trepidatio in vada
14 intulerat, victores revertuntur. Cleonymus vix quinta
parte navium incolumi, nulla regione maris Hadriatici
prospere adita, discessit. Rostra navium spoliaque
Laconum in aede Iunonis veteri fixa multi supersunt
15 qui viderunt Patavi. Monumentum navalis pugnae
eo die quo pugnatum est quotannis sollemne certamen
navium in flumine oppidi medio exercetur.

III. Eodem anno Romae cum Vestinis petentibus
amicitiam ictum est foedus. Multiplex deinde ex-
2 ortus terror. Etruriam rebellare ab Arretinorum

[1] For Patavium see Introduction, Vol. I. p. ix f.

too, the battle waged against the straggling B.C. 302
plunderers was equally successful, and when the Greeks would have fled back to their station, the Veneti stood in their way. Thus the enemy were caught between two parties and were cut to pieces. Some of them, being taken prisoners, told how the fleet and King Cleonymus were three miles off. Thereupon the captives were consigned to the next village for safe-keeping, and armed men filling the river boats—suitably constructed with flat bottoms, to enable them to cross the shallow lagoons—and others manning the craft they had captured from the invaders, they descended upon the fleet and surrounded the unwieldy ships; which, being more fearful of the unknown waters than of the enemy, and more bent on escaping to the deep sea than on resisting, they pursued clear to the river's mouth, and having captured some of them and burnt them, after they had been run aground in the confusion, returned victorious. Cleonymus sailed off with barely a fifth part of his ships intact. In no quarter of the Adriatic had his attempts succeeded. There are many now living in Patavium [1] who have seen the beaks of the ships and the spoils of the Laconians which were fastened up in the old temple of Juno. In commemoration of the naval battle a contest of ships is held regularly, on the anniversary of the engagement, in the river that flows through the town.

III. A treaty was entered into at Rome this year with the Vestini, who solicited friendship. Thereafter there were alarms in several quarters. It was reported that Etruria was up in arms, in consequence of an outbreak that had its origin in dissensions at

A.U.C. 452

seditionibus motu orto nuntiabatur, ubi Cilnium genus praepotens divitiarum invidia pelli armis coeptum; simul Marsos agrum vi tueri, in quem colonia Carseoli deducta erat quattuor milibus hominum scriptis. 3 Itaque propter eos tumultus dictus M. Valerius Maximus dictator magistrum equitum sibi legit M. 4 Aemilium Paulum.—Id magis credo quam Q. Fabium ea aetate atque eis honoribus Valerio subiectum; ceterum ex Maximi cognomine ortum errorem haud 5 abnuerim.—Profectus dictator cum exercitu proelio uno Marsos fundit; compulsis deinde in urbes munitas, Milioniam, Plestinam, Fresiliam intra dies paucos cepit et parte agri multatis Marsis foedus restituit. 6 Tum in Etruscos versum bellum; et cum dictator auspiciorum repetendorum causa profectus Romam esset, magister equitum pabulatum egressus ex insidiis circumvenitur signisque aliquot amissis foeda militum 7 caede ac fuga in castra est compulsus.—Qui terror non eo tantum a Fabio abhorret quod, si qua alia arte cognomen suum aequavit tum maxime bellicis 8 laudibus, sed etiam quod memor Papirianae saevitiae nunquam ut dictatoris iniussu dimicaret adduci potuisset.

IV. Nuntiata ea clades Romam maiorem quam res 2 erat terrorem excivit. Nam ut exercitu deleto ita

[1] Maecenas, the patron of Horace and Virgil, belonged to this family.

[2] This appears to be a mistake, Carseoli was probably not planted until four years later (chap. xiii. § 1)

[3] *i.e.* that a confusion arose between M. Valerius Maximus and Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus.

[4] See the story of Papirius and Fabius at VIII. XXX–XXXV.

Arretium, where a movement was begun to drive out B.C. 302
the Cilnii—a very powerful family [1]—because of the envy occasioned by their wealth. At the same time the Marsi forcibly resisted the confiscation of their land, where the colony of Carseoli had been planted with an enrolment of four thousand men.[2] In view, therefore, of these tumults, Marcus Valerius Maximus was appointed dictator and named Marcus Aemilius Paulus to be his master of the horse. This I choose rather to believe than that Quintus Fabius, at his time of life and after the offices he had held, was made subordinate to Valerius; but I would not deny that the error might have originated in the surname of Maximus.[3]—Setting out with his army, the dictator overthrew the Marsi in a single battle; then shutting them up in their walled cities, he captured Milionia, Plestina, and Fresilia, in the course of a few days, and having fined the Marsi in a part of their territory, renewed the treaty with them. The campaign was then directed against the Etruscans; the dictator having set out for Rome, to take the auspices over again, the master of the horse went out to forage, and being ambushed, lost a number of standards and was driven back into his camp, with a shameful rout and slaughter of his soldiers.—This discomfiture is very unlikely to have befallen Fabius, not only because if in any quality he came up to his surname, he assuredly did so in the glory of a soldier, but also because, remembering the severity of Papirius, he could never have been brought to engage in battle without the orders of the dictator.[4]

IV. The news of this reverse gave rise in Rome to a greater alarm than the situation warranted. For, as though the army had been destroyed, a

U.C. 452 iustitium indictum, custodiae in portis, vigiliae vicatim
3 exactae, arma tela in muros congesta. Omnibus iunioribus sacramento adactis dictator ad exercitum missus omnia spe tranquilliora et composita magistri
4 equitum cura, castra in tutiorem locum redacta, cohortes quae signa amiserant extra vallum sine tentoriis destitutas invenit, exercitum avidum pugnae,
5 quo maturius ignominia aboleretur. Itaque confestim castra inde in agrum Rusellanum promovit.
6 Eo et hostes secuti, quamquam ex bene gesta re summam et in aperto certamine virium spem habebant, tamen insidiis quoque, quas feliciter experti
7 erant, hostem temptant. Tecta semiruta vici per vastationem agrorum deusti haud procul castris Romanorum aberant. Ibi abditis armatis pecus in conspectu praesidii Romani, cui praeerat Cn. Fulvius
8 legatus, propulsum. Ad quam inlecebram cum moveretur nemo ab Romana statione, pastorum unus progressus sub ipsas munitiones inclamat alios, cunctanter ab ruinis vici pecus propellentes, quid cessarent cum per media castra Romana tuto agere
9 possent. Haec cum legato Caerites quidam interpretarentur et per omnes manipulos militum indignatio

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[1] By way of punishment for their cowardice. *Cf.* the punishment meted out to his soldiers in 209 B.C. by Marcellus (XXVII. xiii. 9).

[2] In Western Etruria, on the river Umbro.

[3] The Caerites were citizens (without the suffrage), and as such might serve in the Roman army.

cessation of legal business was proclaimed, guards B.C. 302
were called into service at the gates, and night-watches in the several streets, arms and missiles being heaped upon the walls. After summoning all of military age to take the oath, the dictator was dispatched to the army, and there found everything more tranquil than he had expected and reduced to order by the careful measures of the master of the horse. The camp had been withdrawn to a safer site, the cohorts that had lost their standards had been left outside the rampart without tents,[1] and the army was eager for battle, that it might the sooner wipe out its disgrace. Accordingly he advanced without delay into the district of Rusellae.[2] To this place the enemy followed him; and although in consequence of their success they had every confidence in their ability to cope with the Romans even in the open field, yet they also attempted an ambuscade, which they had successfully essayed before. Not far from the Roman camp stood the half-ruined buildings of a village which had been burned when the country was laid waste. Concealing armed men in these ruins, they drove out some cattle in full sight of a Roman outpost, which was under the command of the lieutenant Gnaeus Fulvius. But when this tempting bait failed to lure any of the Romans from their post, one of the shepherds came up under the very works and called out to the others, who were hesitating to drive out their flock from amongst the tumble-down buildings, asking why they were so slow, for they could safely drive them through the midst of the Roman camp. Some men from Caere[3] interpreted these words to the lieutenant, and great was the indignation aroused

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ingens esset nec tamen iniussu movere auderent, iubet peritos linguae attendere animum, pastorum
10 sermo agresti an urbano propior esset. Cum referrent sonum linguae et corporum habitum et nitorem cultiora quam pastoralia esse, "Ite igitur, dicite," inquit, "detegant nequiquam conditas insidias: omnia scire Romanum nec magis iam dolo capi quam
11 armis vinci posse." Haec ubi audita sunt et ad eos qui consederant in insidiis perlata, consurrectum repente ex latebris est et in patentem ad conspectum
12 undique campum prolata signa. Visa legato maior acies quam quae ab suo praesidio sustineri posset itaque propere ad dictatorem auxilia accitum mittit; interea ipse impetus hostium sustinet.

V. Nuntio allato dictator signa ferri ac sequi iubet armatos. Sed celeriora prope omnia imperio erant;
2 rapta extemplo signa armaque, et vix ab impetu et cursu tenebantur. Cum ira ab accepta nuper clade stimulabat, tum concitatior accidens clamor ab in-
3 crescente certamine. Urgent itaque alii alios hortanturque signiferos ut ocius eant. Quo magis festinantes videt dictator, eo impensius retentat

through all the maniples of soldiers; yet they dared B.C. 302
not stir without the orders of their leader, who commanded those familiar with the language to mark whether the shepherds' speech were more like that of rustics or of city-folk. On their reporting that in accent, in carriage, and in complexion they were too refined for shepherds, "Go then," said he, "and bid them uncover the ambuscade they have laid in vain; for the Romans know all, and can now no more be entrapped than they can be conquered by force of arms." These words were no sooner heard and repeated to those who lay in ambush than they suddenly all rose up from their hiding-places and advanced in martial array into the plain which was spread open to the view on every side. Their army seemed to the lieutenant to be greater than his own detachment could withstand, and he therefore sent in all haste to the dictator to summon help, in the meantime resisting by himself the enemy's charges.

V. On receiving his message the dictator bade advance the standards, and commanded his men to arm and follow them. But everything was almost sooner done than ordered; standards and arms were hurriedly caught up, and the soldiers could hardly be restrained from pushing forward at a run. It was not anger alone that spurred them on, as they thought of the defeat they had recently sustained, but the shouts, as well, that fell faster on their hearing as the fight waxed more hot. So they urged one another forward and exhorted the standard-bearers to a faster pace. But the more haste the dictator saw them make, the more earnest was he to hold them in, and commanded them to

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4 agmen ac sensim incedere iubet. Etrusci contra, principio exciti pugnae, omnibus copiis aderant; et super alios alii nuntiant dictatori omnes legiones Etruscorum capessisse pugnam nec iam ab suis resisti posse, et ipse cernit ex superiore loco in 5 quanto discrimine praesidium esset. Ceterum satis fretus esse etiam nunc tolerando certamini legatum nec se procul abesse periculi vindicem, quam maxime volt fatigari hostem, ut integris adoriatur 6 viribus fessos. Quamquam lente procedunt, iam tamen ad impetum capiundum,[1] equiti utique, modicum erat spatium. Prima incedebant signa legionum, ne quid occultum aut repentinum hostis timeret; sed reliquerat intervalla inter ordines peditum, qua 7 satis laxo spatio equi permitti possent. Pariter sustulit clamorem acies et emissus eques libero cursu in hostem invehitur incompositisque adversus equestrem procellam subitum pavorem offundit. 8 Itaque, ut prope serum auxilium iam paene circumventis, ita universa requies data est. Integri accepere 9 pugnam, nec ea ipsa[2] longa aut anceps fuit. Fusi hostes castra repetunt inferentibusque iam signa Romanis cedunt et in ultimam castrorum partem

[1] capiundum *M*: capiendum *TDLA*: capiunt dum *PFU*: *wanting in O*.

[2] nec ea ipsa ς (IX. xi. 5): nec a ipsa *M*: nec ipsa Ω: ex ipsa *P*: nec h$^{e}_{c}$c ipsa P^2 *or* P^3: nec hec ipsa *O*: nec hec ex ipsa *U*: nec h$^{e}_{c}$c exposita *F*.

slow down their march. The Etruscans, on the contrary, having been called out at the beginning of the battle, had taken the field with all their troops. One messenger after another informed the dictator that all the Etruscan legions were engaged and that his own men could hold out no longer; and looking down from the higher ground, he could see for himself the perilous situation of his people. Still, feeling fairly confident that his lieutenant was capable, even then, of maintaining the fight, and that he was himself not too far off to rescue him from danger, he desired the enemy to become completely exhausted, that he might fall upon them with undiminished vigour when their strength was spent. Yet although the Romans advanced but slowly, they had now but a little space to charge in, especially the horse. In the van were the standards of the legions, lest the enemy should be apprehensive of any concealed or rapid movement; but the dictator had left intervals between the files of the infantry, to allow ample room for the horses to go through. The legionaries gave a cheer, and simultaneously the horsemen were let loose and with a free course galloped straight upon the enemy, who were not prepared to resist a shock of cavalry and were overwhelmed with a sudden panic. And so, though the help had nearly come too late for men who were already well-nigh surrounded, yet they were now all given a respite, and the battle was taken over by fresh troops—a battle of no long duration nor of doubtful issue. The routed enemy fled back to their camp, and when the Roman standard-bearers pressed in after them, they gave way and huddled up together in the farthest part

B.C. 302

B.C. 10 conglobantur. Haerent fugientes in angustiis portarum; pars magna aggerem vallumque conscendit,
352 si aut ex superiore loco tueri se aut superare aliqua et
11 evadere posset. Forte quodam loco male densatus agger pondere superstantium in fossam procubuit; atque ea, cum deos pandere viam fugae conclamassent, plures inermes quam armati evadunt.

12 Hoc proelio fractae iterum Etruscorum vires, et pacto annuo stipendio et duum mensum frumento permissum ab dictatore ut de pace legatos mitterent Romam. Pax negata, indutiae biennii datae.
13 Dictator triumphans in urbem rediit.—Habeo auctores sine ullo memorabili proelio pacatam ab dictatore Etruriam esse seditionibus tantum Aretinorum compositis et Cilnio[1] genere cum plebe in
14 gratiam reducto.—Consul ex dictatura factus M. Valerius. Non petentem atque adeo etiam absentem creatum tradidere quidam et per interregem ea comitia facta; id unum non ambigitur, consulatum cum Apuleio Pansa gessisse.

A.U.C. VI. M. Valerio et Q. Apuleio consulibus satis
451 2 pacatae foris res fuere: Etruscum adversae[2] belli

[1] Cilnio *Gruter*: licinio iacilnio *M*: licinio (*omitted by F*) Ω.
[2] adversae *ς*: aduersa Ω: aduersi *U*.

[1] The other occasion was in 309 B.C. (IX. xxxix. 11).
[2] This was the fifth consulship of M. Valerius Corvus. The first was 348 B.C. (VII. xxvi. 12). The year 301 B.C., according to the *Fasti Consulares*, had no consuls but only a dictator. Livy conceives the dictatorship as occupying a part of the year when Livius and Aemilius were consuls (302 B.C.).

of the enclosure. The narrow gates became choked B.C. 302
with fugitives and a great part of them climbed upon the mound and palisade, in hopes that from that elevation they might be able either to defend themselves, or to climb over somewhere and escape. It chanced that in a certain place the mound had not been solidly rammed down, and this, overburdened with the weight of those who stood upon it, slid over into the trench. By that opening—crying out that the gods were providing them a means of flight—they saved themselves, but more got away without their arms than with them.

In this battle the might of the Etruscans was broken for the second time.[1] By promising a year's pay for the soldiers, with two months' corn, they obtained permission from the dictator to send envoys to Rome to negotiate a peace. Peace was denied them, but they were granted a truce of two years. The dictator returned to Rome and triumphed.—I find historians who say that Etruria was pacified by the dictator without any memorable battle, only by settling the dissensions of the Arretini and reconciling the Cilnian family with the plebs.—Marcus Valerius resigned as dictator, to enter immediately upon the consulship.[2] Some authors have recorded that he was elected without seeking the office, indeed without even being present, and that the election was presided over by an interrex; this only is not disputed, that he held the consulship in company with Apuleius Pansa.

VI. During their year of administration the B.C. 300
foreign relations of the state were fairly peaceful: the Etruscans were kept quiet by their failure in

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res et indutiae quietum tenebant; Samnitem multorum annorum cladibus domitum hauddum foederis novi paenitebat. Romae quoque plebem quietam
3 exonerata[1] in colonias multitudo praestabat. Tamen ne undique tranquillae res essent, certamen iniectum inter primores civitatis, patricios plebeiosque, ab
4 tribunis plebis Q. et Cn. Ogulniis,[2] qui undique criminandorum patrum apud plebem occasionibus quaesitis, postquam alia frustra temptata erant, eam actionem susceperunt qua non infimam plebem
5 accenderent sed ipsa capita plebis, consulares triumphalesque plebeios, quorum honoribus nihil praeter sacerdotia, quae nondum promiscua erant,
6 deesset. Rogationem ergo promulgarunt ut, cum quattuor augures, quattuor pontifices ea tempestate essent placeretque augeri sacerdotum numerum, quattuor pontifices, quinque augures, de plebe
7 omnes, adlegerentur.—Quemadmodum ad quattuor augurum numerum nisi morte duorum id redigi collegium potuerit, non invenio, cum inter augures constet imparem numerum debere esse, ut tres antiquae tribus, Ramnes Titienses Luceres, suum
8 quaeque augurem habeant aut, si pluribus sit opus, pari inter se numero sacerdotes multiplicent, sicut multiplicati sunt cum ad quattuor quinque adiecti novem numerum, ut terni in singulas essent, expleve-

[1] exonerata *Madvig*: exhoneratam deducta *A*: et exon (*or* -hon-)eratam deducta Ω: et exon(*or*-hon-)eratam deductam *MPFTL*.

[2] Ogulniis ζ: Oguiniis Ω: oguinus *L*: ognimus *F*.

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[1] Weissenborn thinks that Livy has in mind the colonies of a later day whose principal aim was to lighten the City

war and by the truce; the Samnites, tamed by the defeats of many years, had not wearied as yet of the new covenant. At Rome also the relief afforded by the emigration of large numbers to the colonies had quieted the commons.[1] Nevertheless, that tranquillity might not be found everywhere, the plebeian tribunes Quintus and Gnaeus Ogulnius stirred up a quarrel among the first men of the state, both patrician and plebeian. They had sought in every quarter occasions for maligning the Fathers to the plebs; and having tried everything else in vain, they set on foot a project by which they might inflame, not the lowest of the rabble, but the very leaders of the plebs—the commoners, namely, who had enjoyed consulships and triumphs, and who lacked nothing but priesthoods, which were not yet open to all, to complete their list of honours. The Ogulnii accordingly proposed a law, that whereas there were then four augurs and four pontiffs and it was desired to augment the number of priests, four pontiffs and five augurs should be added, and should all be taken from the plebs.—How this college could have been reduced to four augurs, unless by the death of two, I cannot discover; since it is a settled principle amongst the augurs that their number should be uneven, to the end that the three ancient tribes, the Ramnes, Titienses and Luceres, should each have its augur, or else—if a larger number should be needed—that they should increase the priests in the same proportion; as in fact they were increased when five were added to the four, and, making up the number of nine, gave each tribe B.C. 300

of its over-population. The colonies actually alluded to were intended primarily to protect the frontiers.

u.c. 454 9 runt. Ceterum, quia de plebe adlegebantur, iuxta eam rem aegre passi patres quam cum consulatum 10 volgari viderent. Simulabant ad deos id magis quam ad se pertinere : ipsos visuros ne sacra sua polluantur ; id se optare tantum, ne qua in rem publicam 11 clades veniat. Minus autem tetendere, adsueti iam tali [1] genere certaminum vinci ; et cernebant adversarios non, id quod olim vix speraverint, adfectantes magnos honores sed omnia iam in quorum spem dubiam erat certatum adeptos, multiplices consulatus censurasque et triumphos.

VII. Certatum tamen suadenda dissuadendaque lege inter Ap. Claudium maxime ferunt et inter P. 2 Decium Murem. Qui cum eadem ferme de iure patrum ac plebis quae pro lege Licinia quondam contraque eam dicta erant cum plebeiis consulatus 3 rogabatur disseruissent,[2] rettulisse dicitur Decius parentis sui speciem, qualem eum multi qui in contione erant viderant, incinctum Gabino cultu super telum stantem, quo se habitu pro populo ac 4 legionibus Romanis devovisset : tum P. Decium

[1] tali Ω : in tali *Harant supported by PF which have* in certaminum *below*).
[2] disseruissent γ : disseruisset Ω : deseruisset *L*.

[1] Livy means that originally there had been three augurs and that each subsequent increase in their number had been by multiples of three. He can only account for the tradition that there were four at this time on the assumption that two had died, and their places had not yet been filled when the Ogulnii made their proposal.

three.[1]—But since they were to be added from the plebs, the patricians were as distressed by the proposal as they had been when they saw the consulship thrown open. They pretended that the gods were more concerned than they themselves were: the gods would see to it that their rites should not be contaminated; for their own part they only hoped that no disaster might come upon the state. They made, however, no great struggle, accustomed as they now were to being worsted in contests of this kind; and they beheld their adversaries no longer reaching out after great honours which they had formerly scarce any hopes of attaining, but in full possession of all the things for which they had striven with dubious prospects of success—repeated consulships, censorships, and triumphs. B.C. 300

VII. There is said, however, to have been a vigorous discussion as to the passage or rejection of the bill, in which Appius Claudius and Publius Decius Mus were the principal speakers. After they had brought up nearly the same arguments concerning the rights of patricians and plebeians as had formerly been employed in behalf of and against the Licinian Law,[2] when the plebeians sought access to the consulship, it is related that Decius evoked the image of his father as he had been seen by many who were then present in the assembly, wearing his toga with the Gabine cincture,[3] and standing over his weapon, as he had done when offering himself a sacrifice for the Roman People and the legions. Publius Decius the consul had

[2] Enacted 367 B.C. (VI. XXXV. 5).

[3] Prescribed in the ceremony of devotion, as in certain others.

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consulem purum piumque deis immortalibus visum aeque ac si T. Manlius collega eius devoveretur: 5 eundem P. Decium qui sacra publica populi Romani faceret legi rite non potuisse? Id esse periculum, ne suas preces minus audirent di quam Ap. Claudi? Castius eum sacra privata facere et religiosius deos 6 colere quam se? Quem paenitere votorum quae pro re publica nuncupaverint tot consules plebeii, tot dictatores, aut ad exercitus euntes aut inter ipsa 7 bella? Numerarentur duces eorum annorum, quibus plebeiorum ductu et auspicio res geri coeptae sint;[1] numerarentur triumphi: iam ne nobilitatis 8 quidem suae plebeios paenitere. Pro certo habere, si quod repens bellum oriatur non plus spei fore senatui populoque Romano in patriciis quam in plebeiis ducibus.

9 "Quod cum ita se habeat, cui deorum hominumve indignum videri potest" inquit, "eos viros, quos vos sellis curulibus, toga praetexta, tunica palmata et toga picta et corona triumphali laureaque honoraritis, quorum domos spoliis hostium adfixis insignes inter alias feceritis, pontificalia atque auguralia insignia

[1] coeptae sint *Duker*: coeptae sunt Ω: coepta sunt *F*: c$^{e}_{c}$pte sunt *O*: cepte s̄ *A*: coactae sunt *L*.

[1] The *toga praetexta* (white with purple border) was worn by those who had been elected to curule magistracies; the *tunica palmata* (embroidered with palm-leaves) and the *toga picta* (of purple embroidered with gold) were worn by the *triumphator*, who was also adorned with a wreath of laurel, while a public slave who stood beside him in the chariot held a golden chaplet over his head.

on that occasion seemed to the immortal gods an oblation no less pure and holy than if his colleague Titus Manlius had been offered up; could not then this same Publius Decius—he asked—have been duly chosen to solemnize the public sacrifices of the Roman People? Or was it to be feared that the gods would hearken less readily to the speaker's prayers than to those of Appius Claudius? Did Appius perform with more devotion the rites of domestic religion, and worship the gods more scrupulously than he did himself? Who was there that repented him of the vows that had been uttered in the state's behalf by so many plebeian consuls and so many dictators, either on going to their armies or in the midst of their campaigns? Let them enumerate the generals of those years that had elapsed since campaigns were first conducted under the leadership and auspices of plebeians; let them enumerate the triumphs; even on the score of their nobility, the plebeians had now nothing to regret. He felt quite sure that if suddenly some war should arise, the senate and the Roman People would rest their hopes no more on patrician than on plebeian generals. B.C. 300

"Since this is so," he proceeded, "what god or man can deem it inappropriate that those heroes whom you have honoured with curule chairs, with the purple-bordered robe, with the tunic adorned with palms, and with the embroidered toga, the triumphal crown and the laurel wreath,[1] whose houses you have made conspicuous amongst the rest with the spoils of your enemies which you have fastened to their walls,—who, I say, can object if such men add thereto the insignia of the pontiffs

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10 adicere? Qui Iovis optimi maximi ornatu decoratus curru aurato per urbem vectus in Capitolium ascenderit, is non[1] conspiciatur cum capide ac lituo, cum[2] capite velato victimam caedet auguriumve ex arce
11 capiet? Cuius in imaginis[3] titulo consulatus censuraque et triumphus aequo animo legetur, si auguratum aut pontificatum adieceritis, non sustinebunt legen-
12 tium oculi? Equidem—pace dixerim deum—eos nos iam populi Romani beneficio esse spero, qui sacerdotiis non minus reddamus dignatione nostra honoris[4] quam acceperimus et deorum magis quam nostra causa expetamus ut quos privatim colimus publice colamus.

VIII. Quid autem ego sic adhuc egi, tamquam integra sit causa patriciorum de sacerdotiis et non iam in possessione unius amplissimi simus sacerdotii?
2 Decemviros sacris faciundis, carminum Sibyllae ac fatorum populi huius interpretes, antistites eosdem Apollinaris sacri caerimoniarumque aliarum plebeios
3 videmus. Nec aut tum patriciis ulla iniuria facta est, cum duumviris sacris faciundis adiectus est propter plebeios numerus, et nunc tribunus, vir

[1] is non *Weissenborn*: is Ω.
[2] cum capide ac lituo, cum *Walters*: cum capide ac lituo *F*: cum li capide ac tuo *M*: cum lituo *PFOT*^{2} (*or* T^1): cum litua *U*: cum *TDLA*.
[3] in imaginis *Wesenberg*: imaginis (*sic*) *A*: imaginis Ω.
[4] honoris D^s: honores Ω.

[1] The *capis*, according to Varro (*L.L.*, v. 121), got its name from *capere*, because it was provided with a handle; it was used in the ceremonial of the pontiffs. The *lituus* was used

and the augurs? May the man who, decked with B.C. 300
the robes of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, has been borne through the City in a gilded chariot and has mounted the Capitol—may that man not be seen with chalice and crook,[1] when, covering his head, he offers up the victim, or receives an augury from the Citadel? If men shall read with equanimity, in the inscription that accompanies his portrait, of consulship, censorship, and triumph, will their eyes be unable to endure the brightness, if you add to these the augurate or pontificate? For my own part—under Heaven's favour be it spoken—I trust that we are now, thanks to the Roman People, in a position to reflect upon the priesthoods—in consequence of our recognized fitness for office—no less credit than we shall receive from them, and to seek, more for the service of the gods than for ourselves, that those whom we worship privately we may also worship in the name of the state.

VIII. "But why have I been reasoning hitherto as if the patrician claim on the priesthoods were intact, and we were not already in possession of the one supremely honourable priesthood? We see that plebeians are members of the Ten charged with the sacred rites, interpreters of the Sibylline oracles and the destinies of this people, the same being also overseers of Apollo's ritual and of other ceremonies. And yet the patricians were in no way wronged at the time when the two commissioners in charge of sacred rites were increased in number on account of the plebeians; and our brave and vigorous tribune, in proposing at the present time to

[1] by the augur; Livy says (I. xviii. 7) that it was a crooked staff without a knot.

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fortis ac strenuus, quinque augurum loca, quattuor pontificum adicit,[1] in quae plebeii nominentur, non ut vos, Appi, vestro loco pellant sed ut adiuvent vos homines plebeii divinis quoque rebus procurandis, sicut in ceteris humanis pro parte virili adiuvant. Noli erubescere, Appi, collegam in sacerdotio habere quem in censura quem in consulatu collegam habere potuisti, cuius tam dictatoris magister equitum quam magistri equitum dictator esse potes. Sabinum advenam, principem nobilitatis[2] vestrae, seu Attium[3] Clausum seu Ap. Claudium mavoltis, illi antiqui patricii in suum numerum acceperunt: tu ne[4] fastidieris nos in sacerdotum numerum accipere. Multa nobiscum decora adferimus, immo omnia eadem quae vos superbos fecerunt: L. Sextius primus de plebe consul est factus, C. Licinius Stolo primus magister equitum, C. Marcius Rutulus[5] primus et dictator et censor, Q. Publilius Philo primus praetor. Semper ista audita sunt eadem, penes vos auspicia esse, vos solos gentem habere, vos solos iustum imperium et auspicium domi militiaeque; aeque adhuc prosperum plebeium et patricium fuit porroque erit. En umquam fando audistis patricios primo esse factos non de caelo demissos sed qui patrem ciere possent, id est nihil ultra quam ingenuos? Consulem iam patrem ciere possum,

[1] adicit *Duker*: adiciet A^2 (*or* A^3): adiecit Ω.

[2] nobilitatis A^1 (*or* A^2) ς: nobilitati Ω.

[3] Attium *Alschefski* (II. xvi. 4): at(*or* ac-)ium *MPFUO*: appū tum *TDLA*.

[4] tu ne *Siesbye*: ne Ω.

[5] Rutulus *Conway and Walters on* III. vii. 6: rutilius (*or* -cil-) Ω. *The same correction at chap.* ix. § 2.

add five augurs' places and four pontiffs', to which B.C. 300
plebeians may be named, has not desired to oust you patricians, Appius, from your places, but that men of the plebs may help you in the administration also of divine affairs, even as they help you in other and human matters, to the measure of their strength. Blush not, Appius, to have a colleague in the priesthood whom you might have had in the censorship or consulship. It is quite as possible that he should be dictator and you his master of the horse as that it should be the other way about. A Sabine immigrant, the first of your house to be ennobled—call him Attius Clausus or Appius Claudius, as you will—was admitted to their number by the patricians of that olden time: be not too proud to admit us into the number of the priests. We bring many distinctions with us, aye, every one of those same distinctions that have made you so high and mighty. Lucius Sextius was the first plebeian consul, Gaius Licinius Stolo the first master of the horse; Gaius Marcius Rutulus the first dictator and censor, Quintus Publilius Philo the first praetor. From you we have heard always the same song—that the auspices belong to you, that you alone are of noble birth, that you alone have the full *imperium* and right to divination, both at home and in the field. But the authority and divination of plebeian and patrician have prospered in equal measure until now, and so they shall do in the future. Pray, has it ever been wafted to your ears that those who were first appointed to be patricians were not beings descended from celestial regions, but were such as could name their fathers—were free-born men, that is, and nothing more? I can already name a consul for

A.U.C. 454 avumque iam poterit filius meus. Nihil est aliud in re, Quirites, nisi ut omnia negata adipiscamur; certamen tantum patricii petunt nec curant quem 12 eventum certaminum habeant. Ego hanc legem, quod bonum faustum felixque sit vobis ac rei publicae, uti rogas, iubendam[1] censeo."

A.U.C. 455 IX. Vocare tribus extemplo populus iubebat, apparebatque accipi legem; ille tamen dies inter- 2 cessione est sublatus. Postero die deterritis tribunis ingenti consensu accepta est. Pontifices creantur suasor legis P. Decius Mus P. Sempronius Sophus C. Marcius Rutulus M. Livius Denter; quinque augures item de plebe, C. Genucius P. Aelius Paetus M. Minucius Faesus C. Marcius T. Publilius. Ita octo pontificum, novem augurum numerus factus.

3 Eodem anno M. Valerius consul de provocatione legem tulit diligentius sanctam. Tertio ea tum post reges exactos lata est, semper a familia eadem. 4 Causam renovandae saepius haud aliam fuisse reor quam quod plus paucorum opes quam libertas plebis poterat. Porcia tamen lex sola pro tergo civium lata videtur, quod gravi poena, si quis verberasset 5 necassetve civem Romanum, sanxit; Valeria lex cum

[1] iubendam ϝ: subendam ϝ: subeundam Ω.

[1] For the earlier laws *de provocatione*, see II. viii. 2, and III. lv. 4.

[2] This law was not passed until (probably) 198 B.C., at the instance of the elder Cato, who was then praetor.

my father, and my son will presently be able to B.C. 300
name one for his grandfather. In truth the matter is simply, Quirites, that we must always be first denied, and yet have our way in the end. A struggle is all that the patricians ask: they care not what may be the outcome of the struggle. I hold that this law—and may good come of it and favour and prosperity, to yourselves and to the state!—should be ordered, as proposed."

IX. The people straightway commanded the tribes B.C. 299
to be called, and it seemed that the measure would be accepted; nevertheless it was put off for that day on account of a veto. On the following day the tribunes were cowed and the law was passed with acclamation. To be pontiffs were chosen the advocate of the law, Publius Decius Mus, with Publius Sempronius Sophus, Gaius Marcius Rutulus, and Marcus Livius Denter; the five augurs were likewise of the plebs, Gaius Genucius, Publius Aelius Paetus, Marcus Minucius Faesus, Gaius Marcius, and Titus Publilius. Thus the number of pontiffs became eight and of augurs nine.

In the same year Marcus Valerius the consul proposed a law of appeal with stricter sanctions. This was the third time since the expulsion of the kings that such a law had been introduced, by the same family in every instance.[1] The reason for renewing it more than once was, I think, simply this, that the wealth of a few carried more power than the liberty of the plebs. Yet the Porcian law alone seems to have been passed to protect the persons of the citizens, imposing, as it did, a heavy penalty if anyone should scourge or put to death a Roman citizen.[2] The Valerian law, having forbidden that

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eum qui provocasset virgis caedi securique necari vetuisset, si quis adversus ea fecisset, nihil ultra
6 quam "improbe factum" adiecit. Id, qui tum pudor hominum erat, visum, credo, vinculum satis validum legis: nunc vix serio[1] ita minetur quisquam.
7 Bellum ab eodem consule haudquaquam memorabile adversus rebellantes Aequos, cum praeter animos feroces nihil ex antiqua fortuna haberent,
8 gestum est. Alter consul Apuleius in Vmbria Nequinum oppidum circumsedit. Locus erat arduus atque in parte una praeceps, ubi nunc Narnia sita
9 est, nec vi nec munimento capi poterat. Itaque eam infectam rem M. Fulvius Paetus T. Manlius Torquatus novi consules acceperunt.
10 In eum annum cum Q. Fabium consulem non petentem omnes dicerent centuriae, ipsum auctorem fuisse Macer Licinius ac Tubero tradunt differendi
11 sibi consulatus in bellicosiorem annum: eo anno maiori se usui rei publicae fore urbano gesto magistratu. Ita nec dissimulantem quid mallet nec petentem tamen, aedilem curulem cum L. Papirio
12 Cursore factum. Id ne pro certo ponerem vetustior annalium auctor Piso effecit, qui eo anno aediles curules fuisse tradit Cn. Domitium[2] Cn. filium Calvi-

[1] vix serio *Pithoeus, Perizonius*: uix seruo *OTA*[2]: uix seru *(or other corruptions)* Ω.

[2] Cn. Domitium *Pighius (C.I.L.* i², *p.* 134): CN̄ *(or* cl *or* C.L. *or* C.L.) Domitium Ω: l.c. domitium *T*.

[1] The *Acta Triumphorum* (*C.I.L.*, i², p. 171) give him as son of Gnaeus and grandson of Gnaeus; he is therefore not the same as the M. Fulvius who was consul in 305 B.C. (IX. xliv. 15), whose father and grandfather were both named Lucius.

[2] Fabius had already held this office, 331 B.C. (VIII. xviii. 4).

he who had appealed should be scourged with rods B.C. 299
or beheaded, merely provided that if anyone should disregard these injunctions it should be deemed a wicked act. This seemed, I suppose, a sufficiently strong sanction of the law, so modest were men in those days; at the present time one would hardly utter such a threat in earnest.

The same consul conducted an insignificant campaign against the rebellious Aequi, who retained nothing of their ancient fortune but a warlike spirit. Apuleius, the other consul, laid siege to the town of Nequinum in Umbria. It was a steep place and on one side precipitous—the site is now occupied by Narnia—and could be captured neither by assault nor by siege operations. The enterprise was therefore still unfinished when Marcus Fulvius Paetus[1] and Titus Manlius Torquatus, the new consuls, took it over.

Licinius Macer and Tubero declare that all the centuries were for naming Quintus Fabius consul for this year, though he was not a candidate, but that Fabius himself urged them to defer his consulship to a year when there was more fighting; just then he would be of greater service to the state if invested with an urban magistracy. And so, neither dissembling what he had in mind nor yet seeking it, he was elected curule aedile, with Lucius Papirius Cursor.[2] I have been unable to put this down for certain, because Piso, one of the older annalists,[3] states that the curule aediles for that year were Gnaeus Domitius Calvinus, the son of

[3] For Piso and the other annalists see Vol. I. pp. xxviii–xxx.

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13 num et Sp. Carvilium Q. filium Maximum. Id credo cognomen errorem in aedilibus fecisse secutamque fabulam mixtam ex aediliciis et consularibus comitiis,
14 convenientem errori. Et lustrum eo anno conditum a P. Sempronio Sopho[1] et P. Sulpicio Saverrione censoribus, tribusque additae duae, Aniensis ac Terentina.[2] Haec Romae gesta.

X. Ceterum ad Nequinum oppidum cum segni obsidione tempus tereretur, duo ex oppidanis, quorum erant aedificia iuncta muro, specu facto ad stationes
2 Romanas itinere occulto perveniunt; inde ad consulem deducti praesidium armatum se intra moenia
3 et muros accepturos confirmant. Nec aspernanda res visa neque incaute credenda. Cum altero eorum —nam alter obses retentus—duo exploratores per
4 cuniculum missi; per quos satis comperta re trecenti armati transfuga duce in urbem ingressi nocte portam quae proxima erat cepere. Qua refracta consul
5 exercitusque Romanus sine certamine urbem invasere. Ita Nequinum in dicionem populi Romani venit. Colonia eo adversus Umbros missa a Nare flumine[3] Narnia appellata; exercitus cum magna praeda Romam reductus.

6 Eodem anno ab Etruscis adversus indutias paratum bellum; sed eos talia[4] molientis Gallorum ingens

[1] P. Sempronio Sopho et *edd* (*from* § 2): P. Sulpicio Sopho et *MTDLA*: *omitted by PFUO*.

[2] Terentina Ω: tarentina *TDLA*: terentia *Periocha*: Teretina *Mommsen* (*cf. Conway, Italic Dialects*, i, *p.* 340).

[3] Nare flumine *ς*: flumine Ω.

[4] talia *Glareanus*: alia Ω.

[1] The "closing of the lustrum" was accomplished by the sacrifice of a swine, a sheep and an ox (the *suovetaurilia*), and completed the ceremonies incidental to the census.

Gnaeus, and Spurius Carvilius Maximus, the son of Quintus. I fancy that this surname occasioned an error in regard to the aediles, and that a story afterwards grew up in harmony with the error, from a confusion of the aedilician with the consular elections. This year witnessed also the closing of the lustrum,[1] by the censors Publius Sempronius Sophus and Publius Sulpicius Saverrio, and two tribes were added—the Aniensis and the Terentina. So much for affairs at Rome. B.C. 299

X. Meantime, at the town of Nequinum, while the siege dragged slowly on, two of the townsmen, whose dwellings abutted on the wall, dug a tunnel and made their way in secret to the Roman outposts. Thence they were conducted to the consul, whom they assured of their readiness to admit a party of soldiers within the fortifications and the walls. It was not thought wise to spurn this offer, nor yet rashly to confide in it. In company with one of these men—the other being held as a hostage—two scouts were sent through the tunnel; the result of their investigation was satisfactory, and three hundred armed men, with the renegade as guide, effected an entrance by night into the city and seized the nearest gate. Once this had been broken down, the Roman consul and his army captured the place without a struggle. Thus Nequinum came under the sway of the Roman People. A colony was sent there to make head against the Umbrians, and was given the name of Narnia from the river Nar. The army, enriched with spoil, marched back to Rome.

The Etruscans planned to go to war that year in violation of the truce; but while they were busy

A.U.C. 455 exercitus finis ingressus paulisper a proposito avertit.
7 Pecunia deinde, qua multum poterant, freti, socios
ex hostibus facere Gallos conantur ut eo adiuncto
8 exercitu cum Romanis bellarent. De societate
haud abnuunt barbari: de mercede agitur. Qua
pacta acceptaque cum parata cetera ad bellum essent
sequique Etruscus iuberet, infitias eunt mercedem
9 se belli Romanis inferendi pactos: quidquid acce-
perint accepisse ne agrum Etruscum vastarent armis-
10 que lacesserent cultores; militaturos tamen se, si
utique Etrusci velint, sed nulla alia mercede quam
ut in partem agri accipiantur tandemque aliqua sede
11 certa consistant. Multa de eo concilia populorum
Etruriae habita, nec perfici quicquam potuit, non
tam quia imminui agrum quam quia accolas sibi
quisque adiungere tam efferatae gentis homines
12 horrebat. Ita dimissi Galli pecuniam ingentem sine
labore ac periculo partam[1] rettulerunt. Romae
terrorem praebuit fama Gallici tumultus ad bellum
Etruscum adiecti; eo minus cunctanter foedus ictum
cum Picenti populo est.

A.U.C. 456 XI. T. Manlio consuli provincia Etruria sorte
evenit; qui vixdum ingressus hostium finis cum

[1] partam ϛ: paratam Ω.

[1] Now mentioned for the first time by Livy.

with this project an enormous army of Gauls in- B.C. 299
vaded their borders and diverted them for a little while from their purpose. Afterwards, putting their trust in money, of which they had great store, they endeavoured to convert the Gauls from enemies into friends, to the end that, uniting the Gallic army with their own, they might fight the Romans. The barbarians made no objection to an alliance: it was only a question of price. When this had been agreed upon and received, and the Etruscans, having completed the rest of their preparations for the war, bade their new allies follow them, the Gauls demurred. They had made no bargain, they said, for a war with Rome; whatever they had received had been in consideration of their not devastating the Etruscan territory and molesting its inhabitants; nevertheless they would take the field, if the Etruscans were bent on having them, but on one condition only—that the Etruscans admit them to a share in their land, where they might settle at last in a permanent home. Many councils of the peoples of Etruria were held to consider this offer, but nothing could be resolved upon, not so much from a reluctance to see their territory lessened as because everyone shrank from having men of so savage a race for neighbours. So the Gauls were dismissed, and departed with a vast sum of money, acquired without any toil or risk. The Romans were alarmed by the rumour of a Gallic rising in addition to a war with the Etruscans, and lost no time in concluding a treaty with the people of Picenum.[1]

XI. The command in Etruria fell by lot to Titus B.C. 298
Manlius the consul. He had barely entered the

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exerceretur inter equites, ab rapido cursu circumagendo equo effusus extemplo prope exspiravit; tertius ab eo casu dies finis vitae consuli fuit. Quo velut omine belli accepto deos pro se commisisse bellum memorantes Etrusci sustulere animos. Romae cum desiderio viri tum incommoditate temporis tristis nuntius fuit; patres ab iubendo dictatore consulis subrogandi comitia ex sententia principum habita deterruerunt.[1] M. Valerium consulem omnes centuriae[2] dixere, quem senatus dictatorem dici iussurus fuerat. Tum extemplo in Etruriam ad legiones proficisci iussit. Adventus eius compressit Etruscos adeo ut nemo extra munimenta egredi auderet timorque ipsorum obsidioni similis esset. Neque illos novus consul vastandis agris urendisque tectis, cum passim non villae solum sed frequentes quoque vici incendiis fumarent, elicere ad certamen potuit.

Cum hoc segnius bellum opinione esset, alterius belli, quod multis in vicem cladibus haud immerito terribile erat, fama, Picentium novorum sociorum indicio exorta est: Samnites arma et rebellionem spectare seque ab iis sollicitatos esse. Picentibus gratiae actae et magna pars curae patribus ab Etruria in Samnites versa est.

[1] patres . . . deterruerunt *Gronovius*: ut patres . . . delirruerint Ω.
[2] centuriae *Cobet*: sententiae centuriaeque Ω.

territory of the enemy, and was exercising with the B.C. 295
cavalry, when, in wheeling his horse about after a swift gallop, he was thrown and ere long breathed his last, for the third day following the accident saw the end of the consul's life. Taking this as an omen of the war, and declaring that the gods had begun hostilities in their behalf, the Etruscans plucked up courage. It was sad news to the Romans; not only could they ill spare the man, but his death occurred at an embarrassing moment. The Fathers would have ordered the nomination of a dictator had not the election held to choose a substitute for the consul fallen out in accordance with the wishes of the leaders. Marcus Valerius was the choice of all the centuries for consul. It was he whom the senate had intended to have named as dictator, and they now commanded him to proceed forthwith to the legions in Etruria. His arrival so damped the ardour of the Etruscans that none ventured outside their fortifications, and their own fear was like a besieging host. Nor could the new consul entice them into giving battle by wasting their lands and firing their buildings, though the smoke was rising on every side from the conflagration not only of farm-houses but of many villages as well.

While this war was prolonged beyond anticipation, another war—justly dreaded by reason of the many losses which the parties to it had inflicted on each other—was beginning to be talked of in consequence of information given by the Picentes, Rome's new allies. The Samnites, they said, were looking to arms and a renewal of hostilities, and had solicited their help. The Picentes were thanked, and the senate's anxiety was diverted, in great measure, from Etruria to the Samnites.

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9 Caritas etiam annonae sollicitam civitatem habuit ventumque ad inopiae ultimum foret, ut scripsere quibus aedilem fuisse eo anno Fabium Maximum placet, ni eius viri cura, qualis in bellicis rebus multis tempestatibus fuerat, talis domi tum in annonae dispensatione praeparando ac convehendo frumento fuisset.

10 Eo anno—nec traditur causa—interregnum initum. interreges fuere Ap. Claudius, dein P. Sulpicius. Is comitia consularia habuit; creavit L. Cornelium Scipionem, Cn. Fulvium consules.

11 Principio huius anni oratores Lucanorum ad novos consules venerunt questum, quia condicionibus perlicere se nequiverint ad societatem armorum, Samnites infesto exercitu ingressos fines suos vastare 12 belloque ad bellum cogere. Lucano populo satis superque erratum quondam nunc ita obstinatos animos esse: ut omnia ferre ac pati tolerabilius ducant, quam ut unquam postea nomen Romanum 13 violent. Orare patres ut et Lucanos in fidem accipiant et vim atque iniuriam ab se Samnitium arceant: se, quamquam bello cum Samnitibus suscepto necessaria iam facta adversus Romanos fides sit, tamen obsides dare paratos esse.

XII. Brevis consultatio senatus fuit; ad unum omnes iungendum foedus cum Lucanis resque

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[1] This is said to be the first recorded instance of the aediles being charged with the oversight of the City's food-supply.

[2] The Lucanians had entered upon friendly relations with the Romans in 326 B.C. (VIII. XXV. 3), but had been seduced from their loyalty by the Samnites (VIII. XXVII. 10). A Roman army invaded them in 317 (IX. XX. 9).

The citizens were also concerned at the dearness B.C. 298
of provisions, and would have experienced the direst need, as those writers have recorded who are pleased to represent Fabius Maximus as having been aedile in that year, if that heroic man, who had on many occasions managed military undertakings, had not at this juncture shown himself equally expert in the administration of the market and the purchase and importation of corn.[1]

In this year—for no cause assigned—there befell an interregnum. The interreges were Appius Claudius, and afterwards Publius Sulpicius. The latter held a consular election, and announced that the choice had fallen on Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Fulvius.

In the beginning of this year Lucanian envoys came to the new consuls to complain that the Samnites, since they had been unable by offering inducements to entice them into an armed alliance, had invaded their territories with a hostile army and by warring on them were obliging them to go to war. The people of Lucania, they said, had on a former occasion strayed all too far from the path of duty, but were now so resolute as to deem it better to endure and suffer anything than ever again to offend the Romans.[2] They besought the Fathers both to take the Lucanians under their protection and to defend them from the violence and oppression of the Samnites. Though their having gone to war with the Etruscans was necessarily a pledge of loyalty to the Romans, yet they were none the less ready to give hostages.

XII. Discussion in the senate was soon over. Every opinion was for entering into a treaty with

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2 repetendas ab Samnitibus censent. Benigne responsum Lucanis ictumque foedus; fetiales missi, qui Samnitem decedere agro sociorum ac deducere exercitum finibus Lucanis iuberent; quibus obviam missi ab Samnitibus, qui denuntiarent, si quod adissent in 3 Samnio concilium, haud inviolatos abituros. Haec postquam audita sunt Romae, bellum Samnitibus et patres censuerunt et populus iussit.

Consules inter se provincias partiti sunt: Scipioni Etruria, Fulvio Samnites obvenerunt, diversique ad 4 suum quisque bellum proficiscuntur. Scipioni segne bellum et simile prioris anni militiae exspectanti hostes ad Volaterras instructo agmine occurrerunt. 5 Pugnatum maiore parte diei magna utrimque caede; nox incertis qua data victoria esset intervenit. Lux insequens victorem victumque ostendit; nam Etrusci 6 silentio noctis castra reliquerant.[1] Romanus egressus in aciem, ubi profectione hostium concessam victoriam videt, progressus ad castra vacuis cum plurima praeda—nam et stativa et trepide deserta fuerant— 7 potitur. Inde in Faliscum agrum copiis reductis cum impedimenta Faleriis cum modico praesidio

[1] reliquerant *Heusinger*: reliquerunt Ω.

[1] This was the so-called Third Samnite War.

[2] The phrase *instructo agmine* seems to be used of a column formed for marching in such a way that the soldiers merely

Lucania and demanding satisfaction of the Samnites. B.C. 298
The Lucanians received a friendly answer, and the league was formed. Fetials were then sent to command the Samnites to leave the country belonging to Rome's allies, and withdraw their army from the territory of Lucania. They were met on the way by messengers, whom the Samnites had dispatched to warn them that if they went before any Samnite council they would not depart unscathed. When these things were known at Rome, the senate advised and the people voted a declaration of war against the Samnites.[1]

The consuls divided the commands between them, Scipio getting Etruria and Fulvius the Samnites, and set out for their respective wars. Scipio looked forward to a slow campaign like that of the previous year, but was met near Volaterrae by the enemy drawn up in column.[2] The fighting, which lasted for the best part of a day, was attended with heavy losses on both sides; and night came on while it was yet uncertain to which nation victory had been vouchsafed. The morning showed who was victor and who vanquished, for in the silence of the night the Etruscans had decamped. The Romans marched out into line of battle; and when they saw that the enemy by his retreat had conceded their superiority, they advanced and possessed themselves of the camp, which was unoccupied and contained much booty, for it had been a permanent post and had been hurriedly abandoned. Scipio then led his troops back into the Faliscan territory, and having left his baggage with a small guard in Falerii, set out with

by executing a *right* (or *left*) *face* would constitute a battle-line.

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reliquisset, expedito agmine ad populandos[1] hostium
8 fines incedit. Omnia ferro ignique vastantur; praedae undique actae. Nec solum modo vastum hosti relictum sed castellis etiam vicisque inlatus ignis: urbibus oppugnandis temperatum, in quas timor Etruscos compulerat.

9 Cn. Fulvi consulis clara pugna in Samnio ad Bovianum haudquaquam ambiguae victoriae fuit. Bovianum inde adgressus nec ita multo post Aufidenam vi cepit.

XIII. Eodem anno Carseolos colonia in agrum
2 Aequicolorum deducta. Fulvius consul de Samnitibus triumphavit. Cum comitia consularia instarent, fama exorta Etruscos Samnitesque ingentes conscribere
3 exercitus: palam omnibus conciliis vexari principes Etruscorum, quod non Gallos quacumque condicione traxerint ad bellum; increpari[2] magistratus Samnitium, quod exercitum adversus Lucanum hostem
4 comparatum obiecerint Romanis; itaque suis sociorumque viribus consurgere hostes ad bellum, et haudquaquam pari defungendum esse certamine.

5 Hic terror, cum illustres viri consulatum peterent, omnes in Q. Fabium Maximum primo non petentem, deinde, ut inclinata studia vidit, etiam recusantem
6 convertit: quid se iam senem ac perfunctum laboribus

[1] populandos *MPUOA*[2]: depopulandos *FTDLA*.
[2] increpari γ: increpare Ω.

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[1] We had already been told of the colony at Carseoli in chap. iii § 2. Livy seems here to be following a different authority, and perhaps a better one, as the town is here correctly located among the Aequicoli (mentioned in I. xxxii. 5 as an ancient tribe from whom Ancus Marcius copied the ritual of the fetials instead of among the Marsi.

his army in light marching order to ravage the territory of the enemy. The whole country was laid waste with fire and sword and booty was brought in from all directions. Not only was the soil left bare for the enemy, but even strongholds and villages were burned. The consul stopped short of attacking the walled towns, into which the frightened Etruscans had fled for refuge. B.C. 298

The other consul, Gnaeus Fulvius, fought a famous battle in Samnium, near Bovianum, and gained a victory that was by no means doubtful. He then attacked and captured Bovianum, and not long afterwards Aufidena.

XIII. A colony was founded in that same year at Carseoli in the land of the Aequicoli.[1] The consul Fulvius triumphed over the Samnites. As the consular elections drew near, a rumour arose that the Etruscans and the Samnites were levying huge forces; it was said that in all their councils the leaders of the Etruscans were openly censured for not having brought the Gauls into the war, on whatever terms; and the Samnite magistrates were attacked for having confronted the Romans with an army raised to oppose a Lucanian foe; thus their enemies were girding themselves for war, in their own might and the might of their allies, and they would have to contend with them on far from even terms.

This danger, though illustrious men were candidates for the consulship, made everyone turn to Quintus Fabius Maximus, who was not a candidate, in the first place, and who, when he saw the direction of the people's wishes, actually refused to stand. Why must they trouble him, he asked,

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laborumque praemiis sollicitarent? Nec corporis nec animi vigorem remanere eundem, et fortunam ipsam vereri, ne cui deorum nimia iam in se et constantior
7 quam velint humanae res videatur. Et se gloriae seniorum succrevisse et ad suam gloriam consurgentes alios laetum aspicere; nec honores magnos fortissimis viris Romae nec honoribus deesse fortes viros.
8 Acuebat hac moderatione tam iusta studia; quae verecundia legum restinguenda ratus, legem recitari iussit qua intra decem annos eundem consulem refici
9 non liceret. Vix prae strepitu audita lex est tribunique plebis nihil id impedimenti futurum aiebant:
10 se ad populum laturos uti legibus solveretur. Et ille quidem in recusando perstabat: quid ergo attineret leges ferri,[1] quibus per eosdem qui tulissent fraus
11 fieret. Iam regi leges, non regere. Populus[2] nihilo minus suffragia inibat, et ut quaeque intro vocata erat centuria, consulem haud dubie Fabium dicebat.
12 Tum demum consensu civitatis victus, "Dei approbent" inquit, "quod agitis acturique estis, Quirites. Ceterum, quoniam in me quod vos voltis facturi estis, in collega sit meae apud vos gratiae locus:

[1] ferri *Walters*: ferri ros(*or*-rof-)itans *M*: ferri cogitans *O*: ferri rogitans (*in PFU* rogitans *comes after* quibus) Ω.
[2] populus A^2: populos Ω (*uncertain which letter in O*).

[1] The statute dated from 342 B.C. and applied equally to all magistracies, but was frequently disregarded. As Fabius had not been consul since 308, his election now would not have contravened the statute, and Luterbacher suggests that the story may have originated in connexion with the election of two years before (chap. ix. § 10).

[2] There was an enclosure (the *saepta*) in the Campus Martius, into which the centuries were summoned, and there, one by one, proclaimed their choice.

who was an old man now and had done with toil and the rewards of toil? Neither his body nor his mind retained their vigour undiminished, and he feared Fortune herself, lest some god might deem that she had already been too kind to him and more constant than human beings were meant to find her. He himself had risen to the glory of his elders, and he rejoiced to see others growing up to the measure of his own. There was no lack of great offices in Rome for the bravest men, nor of brave men for the offices. B.C. 298

Such moderation but intensified the well-merited enthusiasm of his friends; and Fabius, thinking that it would have to be restrained by respect for the laws, bade read aloud the statute which prohibited the re-election of the same man to the consulship within ten years.[1] Whereupon there was such a clamouring that the law could scarce be heard, and the tribunes of the plebs declared that it should be no impediment, for they would propose to the people that he be granted a dispensation from the laws. Fabius, for his part, stoutly persisted in his refusal. What, in that case, he demanded, was the good of making laws, when their very makers broke them? The laws were no longer in control, but were themselves controlled. Nevertheless the people proceeded to the election, and every century, as it was summoned within, in no uncertain terms named Fabius consul.[2] Then at last, overborne by the consent of all the citizens, "May Heaven," he said, "approve, Quirites, of what you are doing and propose to do. For the rest, since you are bound to have your way with me, grant me a favour in the matter of my colleague and make consul

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13 P. Decium, expertum mihi concordi collegio virum, dignum vobis, dignum parente suo, quaeso mecum consulem faciatis." Iusta suffragatio visa. Omnes quae supererant centuriae Q. Fabium, P. Decium consules dixere.

14 Eo anno plerisque dies dicta ab aedilibus, quia plus quam quod lege finitum erat agri possiderent; nec quisquam ferme est purgatus vinculumque ingens immodicae cupiditati[1] iniectum est.

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XIV. Consules novi, Q. Fabius Maximus quartum et P. Decius Mus tertium, cum inter se agitarent 2 uti alter Samnites hostes, alter Etruscos deligeret, quantaeque in hanc aut in illam provinciam copiae satis et uter ad utrum bellum dux idoneus magis 3 esset, ab Sutrio et Nepete et Faleriis legati, auctores concilia[2] Etruriae populorum de petenda pace haberi,[3] totam belli molem in Samnium averterunt. 4 Profecti consules, quo expeditiores commeatus essent et incertior hostis qua venturum bellum foret, Fabius per Soranum, Decius per Sidicinum agrum, in Samnium legiones ducunt.

5 Ubi in hostium fines ventum est, uterque populabundus effuso agmine incedit. Explorant tamen 6 latius quam populantur; igitur non fefellere ad Tifernum hostes in occulta valle instructi, quam ingressos Romanos superiore ex loco adoriri para-

[1] cupiditati ζ: cupiditatis Ω.
[2] concilia D^3: concilii Ω: aoncilii M: concilium U.
[3] haberi Ω: habiti *Conway* (*reading* concilii *above with the MSS.*).

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[1] The elder Decius had devoted himself in 340 B.C. The son had been consul with Fabius in 308 B.C. (VIII. ix. and xli).

with me Publius Decius, a man whose friendliness B.C. 298
I have experienced in the fellowship of office, a man worthy of you and worthy of his sire."[1] The recommendation seemed a reasonable one. All the remaining centuries voted for Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius.

In that year many men were prosecuted by the aediles on the charge of possessing more land than the law allowed. Hardly anybody was acquitted, and exorbitant greed was sharply curbed.

XIV. While the new consuls, Quintus Fabius B.C. 297
Maximus (in his fourth term) and Publius Decius Mus (in his third), were laying plans together how one should take the field against the Samnites, and the other against the Etruscans, and were considering what forces would suffice for these respective provinces and which of them was the better suited to the one command and which to the other, there came deputies from Sutrium and Nepete and Falerii, with the news that the nations of Etruria were counselling together how they might sue for peace, and thus diverted upon Samnium the whole burden of war. When the consuls set out, in order to lessen the difficulty of getting supplies and to keep the enemy uncertain where the attack would come, Fabius marched into Samnium by way of Sora, Decius through the territory of the Sidicini.

Arrived at the borders of the enemy, each spread his army over a wide front and pillaged. Yet they scouted more widely than they pillaged, and the enemy were therefore unable to surprise them near Tifernum, where they had drawn their forces up in a secluded valley, and were preparing to assail the Romans from above, once they should have

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7 bant. Fabius impedimentis in locum tutum remotis praesidioque modico imposito praemonitis militibus adesse certamen, quadrato agmine ad praedictas 8 hostium latebras succedit. Samnites desperato improviso tumultu, quando in apertum semel discrimen evasura esset res, et ipsi acie iusta maluerunt concurrere. Itaque in aequum descendunt ac fortunae 9 se maiore animo quam spe committunt. Ceterum, sive quia ex omnium Samnitium populis, quodcumque roboris fuerat contraxerant, seu quia discrimen summae rerum augebat[1] animos, aliquantum aperta quoque[2] pugna praebuerunt terroris.

10 Fabius, ubi nulla ex parte hostem loco moveri vidit, Maximum filium et M. Valerium tribunos militum, cum quibus ad primam aciem procurrerat, 11 ire ad equites iubet et adhortari ut, si quando unquam equestri ope adiutam rem publicam meminerint, illo die adnitantur ut ordinis eius gloriam invictam 12 praestent: peditum certamine immobilem hostem restare; omnem reliquam spem in impetu esse equitum. Et ipsos nominatim iuvenes, pari comitate utrumque, nunc laudibus nunc promissis onerat. 13 Ceterum quando ne ea quoque temptata vis parum proficeret timeri poterat, consilio[3] grassandum, si

[1] augebat ζ: agebat *TDL*: angebat *MO*: ăgebat *A*.

[2] aliquantum aperta quoque ζ: aliquantum quoque aperta *MOTDLA*.

[3] ceterum . . . consilio *Madvig*: ceterum quando ne (nec *OL*) ea quoque temptata vis proficeret consilio Ω.

entered it. Removing the baggage to a place of B.C. 297
safety and appointing a small force to guard it, Fabius warned his troops that a struggle was at hand, and forming them into a hollow square, led them up towards the place where the enemy lay, as I have said, concealed. Balked of their surprise attack, the Samnites—since it must ultimately come to an open trial of strength—likewise preferred to fight a regular engagement. They accordingly descended to level ground, and committed their cause to Fortune, with courage greater than their hopes. However, whether owing to their having assembled the fighting strength of all the Samnite nations, or because a contest on which everything was staked heightened their valour, they occasioned some perturbation amongst the Romans, even in an open battle.

When Fabius saw that the enemy were nowhere giving way, he ordered Maximus his son[1] and Marcus Valerius—military tribunes with whom he had hurried to the front—to go to the horsemen and tell them that if they remembered ever an occasion when the state had been helped by the horse, now was the time for them to exert their strength to preserve untarnished the glory of that body: in the struggle of infantry the enemy were yielding not an inch; no hope remained save in a charge of cavalry. Addressing each of the young men by name, he loaded them now with praise and now with promises. But since it was conceivable that even their prowess might prove to be inadequate, he thought proper to resort to strategy, if strength

[1] Quintus Fabius Maximus Gurges, aedile two years later (chap. xxxi. § 9) and consul 293 B.C. (chap. xlvii. § 5).

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14 nihil vires iuvarent ratus, Scipionem legatum hastatos primae legionis subtrahere ex acie et ad montes proximos quam posset occultissime circumducere iubet; inde ascensu abdito a conspectu erigere in montes agmen aversoque hosti ab tergo repente se ostendere.

15 Equites ducibus tribunis haud multo plus hostibus quam suis ex improviso ante signa evecti praebuerunt 16 tumultus. Adversus incitatas turmas stetit immota Samnitium acies nec parte ulla pelli aut perrumpi potuit; et postquam inritum inceptum erat, recepti 17 post signa proelio excesserunt. Crevit ex eo hostium animus, nec sustinere frons prima tam longum certamen increscentemque fiducia sui vim potuisset, ni secunda acies iussu consulis in primum succes- 18 sisset. Ibi integrae vires sistunt invehentem se iam Samnitem: et tempore in ipso visa[1] ex montibus signa clamorque sublatus non vero tantum metu 19 terruere Samnitium animos: nam et Fabius Decium collegam adpropinquare exclamavit, et pro se quisque miles adesse alterum consulem, adesse legiones 20 gaudio alacres fremunt; errorque[2] utilis Romanis oblatus fugae formidinisque Samnites implevit, maxime[3] territos ne ab altero exercitu integro 21 intactoque fessi opprimerentur. Et quia passim in

[1] et tempore in ipso visa *Drakenborch*: et tempore inprovisa *MOTDLA*: et tempore in se uisa *PF*: eo tempore uisa *U*: et tempore ipso visa *I. Perizonius*: et tempore inferri uisa *Conrad*.

[2] errorque ζ *Modius*: terrorque Ω.

[3] maxime ζ: maximeq. Ω.

[1] These "spearmen" formed the first of the three lines of battle, but would ordinarily after being engaged a little while be reinforced or replaced as here) by the *principes* (second line troops).

should not achieve his purpose. So he ordered B.C. 297
Scipio, his lieutenant, to withdraw the *hastati*[1] of the first legion from the battle and conduct them, as secretly as possible, by a circuitous route to the nearest mountains; they were then, concealing their ascent from observation, to climb the heights and suddenly show themselves on the enemy's rear.

The cavalry, led by the tribunes, occasioned hardly more confusion in their enemies than in their friends, as they rode out unexpectedly in front of the standards. The Samnite line held firm against their galloping squadrons, and could at no point be forced back or broken, and the cavalry, finding their attack abortive, retired behind the lines and left the battle. This gave the enemy a fresh access of spirits; and the front ranks would have been incapable of sustaining so long a struggle and the increasing violence with which the enemy's confidence inspired him, had not the second line, by the consul's order, come up to relieve them. Their fresh strength halted the Samnites, who were now pressing forward; and catching sight just at this juncture of our detachments descending from the mountains, and hearing the cheer they gave, the enemy was filled with terror of worse things than actually threatened him; for Fabius shouted that his colleague Decius was approaching, and the soldiers themselves in their joy and eagerness cried out that the other consul was at hand—that the legions were at hand; and this mistake, occurring in a good hour for the Romans, filled the Samnites with fear and bewilderment, for they dreaded nothing so much as that the other army, fresh and entire, might overwhelm them in their exhausted

A.U.C. 457 fugam dissipati sunt, minor caedes quam pro tanta victoria fuit: tria milia et quadringenti caesi, capti octingenti ferme et triginta, signa militaria capta tria et viginti.

A.U.C. 458 XV. Samnitibus Apuli se ante proelium coniunxissent, ni P. Decius consul iis ad Maleventum castra obiecisset, extractos deinde ad certamen fudisset. 2 Ibi quoque plus fugae fuit quam caedis: duo milia Apulorum caesa; spretoque eo hoste Decius in Sam- 3 nium legiones duxit. Ibi duo consulares exercitus diversis vagati partibus omnia spatio quinque men- 4 sum evastarunt. Quinque et quadraginta[1] loca in Samnio fuere in quibus Deci castra fuerunt, alterius 5 consulis sex et octoginta; nec valli tantum ac fossarum vestigia relicta, sed multo alia illis[2] insigniora monumenta vastitatis circa regionumque depopula- 6 tarum. Fabius etiam urbem Cimetram cepit. Ibi capta armatorum duo milia nongenti, caesi pugnantes ferme nongenti triginta.

7 Inde comitiorum causa Romam profectus maturavit eam rem agere. Cum primo vocatae[3] Q. Fabium consulem dicerent omnes centuriae, Ap. 8 Claudius, consularis candidatus, vir acer et ambitiosus, non sui magis honoris causa quam ut patricii reciperarent duo consularia loca, cum suis tum totius nobilitatis viribus incubuit ut se cum Q. Fabio con-

[1] quinque et quadraginta *Walters and Conway*: xl et v (*or at length*) *MPFUO*: et xl et xv (*or at length*) *TDLA*.
[2] alia illis *Walters and Conway*: aliis Ω : illis ϛ.
[3] vocatae ϛ: uocatum Ω.

[1] Later Beneventum. See IX. xxvii. 14 and note.

state. The slaughter was less than is usual in so great a victory, for the enemy scattered far and wide in their flight. Three thousand four hundred were slain; about eight hundred and thirty were made prisoners, and twenty-three standards were taken. B.C. 297

XV. The Apulians would have joined the Samnites before the battle had not Publius Decius the consul encamped over against them at Maleventum,[1] and then drawn them into an engagement and defeated them. In this instance also the rout was greater than the slaughter: two thousand Apulians were killed, and Decius, scorning such an enemy, led his legions into Samnium. There the two consular armies, overrunning the land in different directions, had laid all waste within four months' time. There were forty-five places in Samnium where Decius had encamped; the other consul had encamped in eighty-six. Nor did they leave behind them only the traces of their ramparts and their trenches, but other much more conspicuous memorials, in the havoc and devastation of the country round about. Fabius also captured the city of Cimetra. In this siege two thousand nine hundred men-at-arms were taken and some nine hundred and thirty were slain fighting. B.C. 296

After this he set out for Rome for the election, which he made haste to call. The centuries that voted first were all naming Quintus Fabius for consul, when Appius Claudius, who was a candidate for that post and a pushing and ambitious man, but no more eager to gain the honour for himself than to have the patricians recover two consular places, exerted his own strength and that of the whole nobility to induce them to elect him as Fabius's

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9 sulem dicerent. Fabius de se[1] eadem fere quae priore anno dicendo abnuere. Circumstare sellam omnis nobilitas; orare ut ex caeno plebeio consulatum extraheret maiestatemque pristinam cum
10 honori tum patriciis gentibus redderet. Fabius silentio facto media oratione studia hominum sedavit; facturum enim se fuisse dixit ut duorum patriciorum nomina reciperet, si alium quam se con-
11 sulem fieri videret; nunc se suam rationem comitiis, cum contra leges futurum sit, pessimo exemplo non
12 habiturum. Ita L. Volumnius de plebe cum Ap. Claudio consul est factus, priore item consulatu inter se comparati. Nobilitas obiectare Fabio fugisse eum Ap. Claudium collegam, eloquentia civilibusque artibus haud dubie praestantem.

XVI. Comitiis perfectis veteres consules iussi bellum in Samnio gerere prorogato in sex menses
2 imperio. Itaque insequenti quoque anno L. Volumnio Ap. Claudio consulibus P. Decius, qui consul in Samnio relictus a collega fuerat, proconsul idem populari non destitit agros, donec Samnitium exercitum nusquam se proelio committentem postremo
3 expulit finibus.

Etruriam pulsi petierunt, et quod legationibus nequiquam saepe temptaverant, id se tanto agmine

[1] de se *Walters note* : primo de se Ω : de se primo *F*.

[1] 307 B.C. (IX. xlii. 2).

colleague. Fabius would not have it so, raising B.C. 296
virtually the same objections he had raised in the previous year. The nobles all thronged about his seat, and besought him to lift up the consulship out of the plebeian mire and restore both to the office and to the aristocratic families their old-time dignity. Obtaining silence, Fabius soothed their excited feelings with a temperate speech, in which he said that he would have done as they desired and have received the names of two patricians, if he had seen another than himself being made consul; as it was, he would not entertain his own name at an election, for to do so would violate the laws and establish a most evil precedent. So Lucius Volumnius, a plebeian, was returned, together with Appius Claudius, with whom he had also been paired in an earlier consulship.[1] The nobles taunted Fabius with having avoided Appius Claudius for a colleague, as a man clearly his superior in eloquence and statecraft.

XVI. The election over, the old consuls were bidden to carry on the war in Samnium, having received an extension of their command for six months. So in the following year likewise—the consulship of Lucius Volumnius and Appius Claudius—Publius Decius, who had been left behind in Samnium, when consul, by his colleague, ceased not as proconsul to lay waste the farms, until finally he forced the army of the Samnites—which would nowhere risk a battle—to withdraw from the country.

They retreated into Etruria, and thinking that what they had often tried in vain to bring about by means of embassies they might with so great

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armatorum mixtis terrore precibus acturos efficacius rati, postulaverunt principum Etruriae con-
4 cilium. Quo coacto per quot annos pro libertate dimicent cum Romanis exponunt: omnia expertos esse si suismet ipsorum viribus tolerare tantam
5 molem belli possent; temptasse etiam haud magni momenti finitimarum gentium auxilia. Petisse pacem a populo Romano, cum bellum tolerare non possent; rebellasse, quod pax servientibus gravior
6 quam liberis bellum esset. Unam sibi spem reliquam in Etruscis restare; scire gentem Italiae oppulentissimam armis, viris, pecunia esse; habere accolas Gallos, inter ferrum et arma natos, feroces cum suopte ingenio tum adversus Romanum populum, quem captum a se auroque redemptum, haud vana
7 iactantes, memorent; nihil abesse, si sit animus Etruscis qui Porsinnae quondam maioribusque eorum fuerit, quin Romanos omni agro cis Tiberim pulsos dimicare pro salute sua non de intolerando Italiae
8 regno cogant. Samnitem illis exercitum paratum, instructum armis, stipendio venisse, et confestim secuturos, vel si ad ipsam Romanam urbem oppugnandam ducant.

XVII. Haec eos in Etruria iactantes molientesque bellum domi Romanum urebat. Nam P. Decius, ubi

[1] See II. IX.–XV.

a body of armed men and the menace which would be added to their entreaties accomplish more effectually, called for a council of the Etruscan leaders. On its assembling, they pointed out for how many years they had been fighting with the Romans for their liberty. They had made every effort, they said, if haply they might of their own strength bear up under so great a war; and had also—but to little purpose—made trial of the help of neighbouring nations. Unable to sustain the war, they had sought peace of the Roman People; but had renewed hostilities, because peace with servitude was harder to endure than war with liberty. Their sole remaining hope lay in the Etruscans, whom they knew for the richest nation of Italy, in arms, in men, and in money; a nation, too, that marched with the Gauls, men born amid the clash of arms and possessing not only an instinctive love of fighting but a feeling of enmity to the Roman People, whose defeat at their hands and ransom for gold they were wont to relate with no idle boast. If the Etruscans had the spirit that once had animated Porsinna[1] and their forefathers, there was no reason why they should not expel the Romans from all the country north of the Tiber, and compel them to fight, not for an intolerable sovereignty over Italy, but for their own existence. Here was a Samnite army, provided with arms and pay, and ready to follow on the instant, though they should lead it to the assault of Rome itself. B.C. 296

XVII. While they were thus boasting and intriguing in Etruria, the Roman invasion was distressing their countrymen at home. For Publius Decius, having

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comperit per exploratores profectum Samnitium
2 exercitum, advocato consilio "Quid per agros" inquit "vagamur vicatim circumferentes bellum? Quin urbes et moenia adgredimur? Nullus iam exercitus Samnio
3 praesidet; cessere finibus ac sibimet ipsi exsilium consciverе." Adprobantibus cunctis ad Murgantiam, validam urbem, oppugnandam ducit, tantusque ardor militum fuit et caritate ducis et spe maioris quam ex agrestibus populationibus praedae ut uno die vi atque
4 armis urbem caperent. Ibi duo milia Samnitium et centum pugnantes circumventi captique, et alia praeda ingens capta est. Quae ne impedimentis gravibus agmen oneraret, convocari milites Decius
5 iubet. "Hacine" inquit "victoria sola aut hac praeda contenti estis futuri? Voltis vos pro virtute spes gerere? Omnes Samnitium urbes fortunaeque in urbibus relictae vestrae sunt, quando legiones eorum tot proeliis fusas postremo finibus expulistis.
6 Vendite ista et inlicite lucro mercatorem ut sequatur agmen; ego subinde suggeram quae vendatis. Ad Romuleam urbem hinc eamus, ubi vos labor haud maior, praeda maior manet."

7 Divendita praeda ultro adhortantes imperatorem ad Romuleam pergunt. Ibi quoque sine opere, sine tormentis, simul admota sunt signa, nulla vi deterriti

ascertained through scouts that the Samnite army B.C. 296
had departed, summoned a council, and said, "Why do we range about the countryside, bringing war to this, that, and the other village? Why do we not assail cities and walled towns? There is no longer any army defending Samnium; they have withdrawn beyond their borders, sentenced to banishment by their own decree." With their unanimous approval he led them to the assault of Murgantia, a strong city; and such was the ardour of the troops, by reason both of affection for their general and the hopes that they entertained of greater booty than was to be got by ranging the country, that they took the place by force of arms in a single day. There two thousand one hundred Samnites were surrounded and made prisoners as they fought, and vast spoils of other kinds were seized. Lest these should encumber the marching army with heavy baggage, Decius called the soldiers together and thus addressed them: "Will this single victory or these spoils content you? Will your expectations not be equal to your courage? All the cities of the Samnites and the riches left behind in them are yours, since, after defeating their legions in so many battles, you have in the end expelled them from their country. Sell these prizes and with hope of gain lure the traders on to follow your column; I will find you from time to time wares to dispose of. Let us go from here to the city Romulea, where no greater toil awaits you, but greater booty."

The booty was sold off, and the men themselves urging on their general, they marched to Romulea. There, too, they used no siege-works or artillery; but once they had come up under the walls, no force

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a muris, qua cuique proximum fuit, scalis raptim
8 admotis in moenia evasere. Captum oppidum ac
direptum est; ad duo milia et trecenti occisi et sex
9 milia hominum capta, et miles ingenti praeda potitus,
quam vendere, sicut priorem, coactus; Ferentinum
inde, quamquam nihil quietis dabatur, tamen summa
10 alacritate ductus est.[1] Ceterum ibi plus laboris ac
periculi fuit: et defensa summa vi moenia sunt, et
locus erat munimento naturaque tutus; sed evicit
omnia adsuetus praedae miles. Ad tria milia hostium
circa muros caesa; praeda militis fuit.

11 Huius oppugnatarum urbium decoris pars maior in
quibusdam annalibus ad Maximum trahitur: Mur-
gantiam ab Decio, a Fabio Ferentinum Romu-
12 leamque oppugnatas tradunt. Sunt qui novorum
consulum hanc gloriam faciant, quidam non am-
borum sed alterius, L.[2] Volumni: ei Samnium pro-
vinciam evenisse.

XVIII. Cum[3] ea in Samnio cuiuscumque ductu
auspicioque gererentur, Romanis in Etruria interim
bellum ingens multis ex gentibus concitur, cuius
2 auctor Gellius Egnatius ex Samnitibus erat. Tusci
fere omnes conciverant bellum; traxerat contagio
proximos Umbriae populos, et Gallica auxilia mercede
sollicitabantur; omnis ea multitudo ad castra Sam-
3 nitium conveniebat. Qui tumultus repens postquam

[1] ductus est *Madvig*: ductus Ω.
[2] L. Sigonius (*cf.* § 3 *and Chap.* xvi. § 2, *and C.I.L.* i², *p.* 132): p̄. Ω (*wanting in O*).
[3] cum *Gronovius*: dum Ω (*wanting in O*).

could constrain them to retire; quickly setting up their ladders at the nearest places, they swarmed over the battlements. The town was captured and sacked; two thousand three hundred were slain and six thousand made prisoners, and the soldiers came into possession of huge spoils which they were obliged, as before, to sell. After that they marched with the utmost alacrity—though they had been allowed no time to rest—to Ferentinum. But there they encountered more difficulty and danger: the city was defended with the utmost energy, and fortification and nature had combined to make it safe; yet all obstacles were overcome by a soldiery grown used to plunder. Some three thousand of the enemy were slain about the walls; the spoils went to the men. B.C. 296

Of the glory accruing from these sieges the larger share is in certain annals assigned to Maximus; they allow that Murgantia was stormed by Decius, but give to Fabius Ferentinum and Romulea. There are those who claim the credit for the new consuls, and some give it not to both but to one of them, Lucius Volumnius, to whom, they say, fell the command in Samnium.

XVIII. Whilst these operations were being carried out in Samnium—whoever had the command and auspices—a mighty war was preparing against the Romans in Etruria, on the part of many nations, at the instigation of a Samnite named Gellius Egnatius. The Tuscans had almost all voted for war: the nearest Umbrian tribes had caught the contagion; and Gallic auxiliaries were being solicited for pay. All this multitude was assembling at the camp of the Samnites. When news of this sudden rising

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est Romam perlatus, cum iam L. Volumnius consul cum legione secunda ac tertia sociorumque milibus quindecim profectus in Samnium esset, Ap. Claudium primo quoque tempore in Etruriam ire placuit. 4 Duae Romanae legiones secutae, prima et quarta, et sociorum duodecim milia; castra haud procul ab hoste posita.

5 Ceterum magis eo profectum est quod mature ventum erat ut quosdam spectantes iam arma Etruriae populos metus Romani nominis comprimeret quam quod ductu consulis quicquam ibi satis scite aut 6 fortunate gestum sit: multa proelia locis et temporibus iniquis commissa, spesque in dies graviorem hostem faciebat, et iam prope erat ut nec duci 7 milites nec militibus dux satis fideret. Litteras ad collegam accersendum ex Samnio missas in trinis annalibus invenio; piget tamen in certo[1] ponere, cum ea ipsa inter consules populi Romani, iam iterum eodem honore fungentes, disceptatio[2] fuerit, Appio abnuente missas, Volumnio adfirmante Appi se litteris accitum.

8 Iam Volumnius in Samnio tria castella ceperat, in quibus ad tria milia hostium caesa erant, dimidium fere eius captum, et Lucanorum seditiones a plebeiis et egentibus ducibus ortas summa optimatium voluntate per Q. Fabium, pro consule missum eo cum 9 vetere exercitu, compresserat. Decio populandos hos-

[1] in certo *Walters*: incertum Ω: id certum *Buettner*.
[2] disceptatio M^1 *or* M^2: discepatio M: discrepatio M^1 (*or* M^2) *PFUOTDLA*.

[1] This is the first time that Livy has designated the legions by number. A consular army regularly comprised two legions (with their cavalry and auxiliaries), but in the present instance the consular armies of the previous year are still in the field.

was brought to Rome, Lucius Volumnius the consul, B.C. 296
with the second and third legions and fifteen thousand of the allies, had already set out for Samnium, and it was resolved to send Appius Claudius into Etruria at the earliest possible moment. Two Roman legions followed him, the first and fourth, and twelve thousand of the allies. They encamped not far from the enemy.[1]

But the consul's prompt arrival accomplished more, by checking, through dread of the Roman name, certain peoples of Etruria that were already meditating war, than he gained by his generalship, which was characterized neither by much ability nor by good fortune. He repeatedly joined battle at untoward times and places, and the enemy grew every day more hopeful and more formidable, until now the soldiers were near losing confidence in their commander and he in them. I find it recorded by three annalists that he dispatched a letter sending for his colleague out of Samnium; yet am I loath to set it down for certain, since the consuls of the Roman People, now holding that office for the second time, disputed about that very point—Appius denying that he had sent a letter, Volumnius affirming that a letter from Appius had summoned him.

Volumnius had already captured three fortresses in Samnium, in which some three thousand of the enemy had been slain and about half as many taken prisoners; and dispatching Quintus Fabius as proconsul with a seasoned army into Lucania, he had suppressed—with the hearty approval of the optimates—certain insurrections which had broken out there at the instigation of necessitous plebeian agitators. Leaving to Decius the devastation of

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tium agros relinquit, ipse cum suis copiis in Etruriam ad collegam pergit. Quem advenientem laeti omnes
10 accepere. Appium ex conscientia sua credo animum habuisse—haud immerito iratum si nihil scripserat, inliberali et ingrato animo, si eguerat ope, dissimu-
11 lantem,—vix enim salute mutua reddita cum obviam egressus esset, "Satin salvae"[1] inquit, "L. Volumni? Ut sese in Samnio res habent? Quae te causa, ut
12 provincia tua excederes induxit?" Volumnius in Samnio res prosperas esse ait, litteris eius accitum venisse; quae si falsae fuerint nec usus sui sit in
13 Etruriam, extemplo conversis signis abiturum. "Tu vero abeas" inquit, "neque te quisquam moratur; etenim minime consentaneum est, cum bello tuo forsitan vix sufficias, huc[2] te ad opem ferendam aliis
14 gloriari venisse." Bene Hercules verteret, dicere Volumnius: malle frustra operam insumptam, quam quicquam incidisse cur non satis esset Etruriae unus consularis exercitus.

XIX. Digredientes iam consules legati tribunique ex Appiano exercitu circumsistunt. Pars imperatorem suum orare, ne collegae auxilium, quod accien-
2 dum ultro fuerit, sua sponte oblatum sperneretur; plures abeunti Volumnio obsistere; obtestari ne pravo cum collega certamine rem publicam prodat:

[1] salvae ζ: salue Ω (*wanting in O*).
[2] huc A^3 (*or* A^4) ζ: hic Ω (*wanting in O*).

the fields, Volumnius himself with his own troops B.C. 296
marched to join his colleague in Etruria, where he was welcomed on his arrival with general rejoicings. But what Appius was feeling his conscience alone could tell!—indeed he was justly angered if he had sent no word, but illiberal and ungracious if he had needed help and now sought to dissemble —for coming forth to meet his colleague, before they had fairly greeted one another, he demanded, "Is all well, Lucius Volumnius? How stand affairs in Samnium? What has moved you to come out of your own province?" Volumnius replied that affairs were prospering in Samnium, and that he was come being sent for by Appius' own letter; but if this were a forgery and he were not needed in Etruria, he would immediately face about and march back. "By all means go!" cried Appius. "No one hinders you! For truly it is no way fitting that when, perhaps, you are hardly equal to your own war, you should boast of coming hither to help others." Volumnius prayed that Hercules might direct all for the best; he had rather, he said, his trouble should go for naught than that anything should have befallen to make one consular army insufficient for Etruria.

XIX. The consuls were parting, when the lieutenants and tribunes from the army of Appius gathered round them. Some of them besought their general not to spurn his colleague's help—which ought even to have been asked for—now that it was proffered voluntarily; the greater number threw themselves in the way of Volumnius, as he turned to go, and conjured him not to betray the welfare of the state by an unworthy quarrel with his colleague: if any

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si qua clades incidisset, desertori magis quam deserto noxae fore: eo rem adductam ut omne[1] rei bene aut secus gestae in Etruria decus dedecusque ad L. Volumnium sit delegatum; neminem quaesiturum quae verba Appi sed quae fortuna exercitus fuerit; dimitti ab Appio eum sed a re publica et ab exercitu retineri: experiretur modo voluntatem militum.

Haec monendo obtestandoque prope restitantes consules in contionem pertraxerunt. Ibi orationes longiores habitae in eandem ferme sententiam in quam inter paucos certatum verbis fuerat. Et cum Volumnius, causa superior, ne infacundus quidem adversus eximiam eloquentiam collegae visus esset, cavillansque Appius sibi acceptum referre diceret debere, quod ex muto atque elingui facundum etiam consulem haberent: priore consulatu, primis utique mensibus, hiscere eum nequisse, nunc iam populares orationes serere, "Quam mallem" inquit Volumnius, "tu a me strenue facere quam ego abs te scite loqui didicissem." Postremo condicionem ferre quae decretura sit non orator—neque enim id desiderare rem publicam—sed imperator uter sit melior. Etruriam et Samnium provincias esse: utram mallet eligeret; suo exercitu se vel in Etruria vel in Samnio rem gesturum.

Tum militum clamor ortus ut simul ambo bellum

[1] omne γ *Muretus*: omni Ω: omnis *TDLA*.

[1] In their former consulship (307 B.C.) Volumnius had conducted a successful campaign against the Sallentini, while Appius had been left in Rome without any military command. See IX. xlii. 4–5.

disaster should occur, the blame would lie more B.C. 293
with the deserter than the deserted; to such a pass had matters come that the entire credit or disgrace of success or failure in Etruria was referred to Lucius Volumnius; no one would enquire what the words of Appius had been, but what the fortune of the army; he was being dismissed by Appius, but retained by the republic and the army; let him but test the wishes of the soldiers.

Thus admonishing and entreating them they dragged the all but resisting consuls to the place of assembly. There they spoke at greater length, but substantially to the same effect as they had argued before in the hearing of a few; and when Volumnius, besides having the better cause, likewise showed himself to be no mean orator in opposing the rare eloquence of his colleague, Appius jeeringly remarked that they ought to give himself the credit, for that instead of a mute and tongue-tied consul they had got one who was actually fluent, since in his former consulship, at all events in its early months, he had been incapable of opening his mouth, but was now delivering popular orations. — "How I could wish," exclaimed Volumnius, "that you might rather have learnt from me to act with vigour than that I should have learnt to speak cleverly from you!" In conclusion he proposed a compact which would determine, not which was the better orator—for this was not what the republic wanted—but the better general.[1] Etruria and Samnium were the nations to be conquered; let Appius choose which he liked; with his own army he would campaign either in Etruria or in Samnium.

Then the soldiers began to cry out that both

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11 Etruscum susciperent. Quo animadverso consensu Volumnius "Quoniam in collegae voluntate interpretanda" inquit "erravi, non committam ut quid vos velitis obscurum sit: manere an abire me velitis
12 clamore significate." Tum vero tantus est clamor exortus ut hostes e castris exciret. Armis arreptis in aciem[1] descendunt. Et Volumnius signa canere ac vexilla efferri castris iussit; Appium addubitasse
13 ferunt, cernentem seu pugnante seu quieto se fore collegae victoriam; deinde veritum ne suae quoque legiones Volumnium sequerentur, et ipsum flagitantibus suis signum dedisse.
14 Ab neutra parte satis commode instructi fuerunt; nam et Samnitium dux Gellius Egnatius pabulatum cum cohortibus paucis ierat suoque impetu magis milites quam cuiusquam ductu aut imperio pugnam capessebant et Romani exercitus nec pariter ambo
15 ducti nec satis temporis ad instruendum fuit. Prius concurrit Volumnius quam Appius ad hostem per-
16 veniret; itaque fronte inaequali concursum est; et velut sorte[2] quadam mutante adsuetos inter se hostes Etrusci Volumnio, Samnites parumper cunctati,
17 quia dux aberat, Appio occurrere. Dicitur Appius in medio pugnae discrimine, ita ut inter prima signa manibus ad caelum sublatis conspiceretur, ita precatus

[1] in aciem T^2A^2: in acie Ω (*wanting in O*).
[2] et velut sorte = *Duker* (VI. xxi. 2): et velut forte *MTDLA*: et ut forte *PFV*: ut et forte *U*.

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[1] *i.e.* from the higher ground on which their camp lay, into the plain below.
[2] The ancients prayed with the arms outstretched and palms turned upwards.

should undertake the Etruscan war together. Perceiving them to be of one mind in this, Volumnius said, "Since I erred in interpreting my colleague's wishes, I will not make the blunder of leaving yours in doubt: do you signify by a shout whether you would have me stay or go." Then in truth they cheered so loud that the enemy were drawn out from their camp, and snatching up their arms went down[1] into line of battle. Volumnius, too, bade sound the signal and advance the banners from the camp. Appius, they say, was uncertain what to do, perceiving that, whether he fought or refrained from fighting, the victory would be his colleague's; then, fearing that even his own legions would follow Volumnius, he, too, gave his men the signal for which they were clamouring. B.C. 296

On neither side had the forces been very advantageously marshalled; for the Samnite commander Gellius Egnatius had taken a few cohorts and gone off to forage, and his soldiers were entering the battle more as their own impulse guided them than under anybody's leadership or orders, and the Roman armies were not both led out together nor had they sufficient time to form. Volumnius was engaged before Appius came within reach of the enemy, and the line of attack was accordingly uneven. Moreover, as though lots had been cast, there was a shifting of the customary opponents, the Etruscans confronting Volumnius, and the Samnites—after a little hesitation, owing to the absence of their general—meeting Appius. It is said that when the conflict was at its hottest, Appius was seen to lift up his hands[2] in the very forefront of the standards and utter this petition: "Bellona,

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esse: "Bellona, si hodie hobis victoriam duis, ast
18 ego tibi templum voveo." Haec precatus, velut instigante dea, et ipse collegae et exercitus virtutem aequavit ducis. Iam et duces imperatoria[1] opera exsequuntur, et milites ne ab altera parte prius
19 victoria incipiat adnituntur. Ergo fundunt fugantque hostes, maiorem molem haud facile sustinentes quam
20 cum qua manus conserere adsueti fuerant. Urgendo cedentes insequendoque effusos compulere ad castra. Ibi interventu Gelli cohortiumque Sabellarum paulisper recruduit pugna. Iis quoque mox fusis iam a
21 victoribus castra oppugnabantur; et cum Volumnius ipse portae signa inferret, Appius Bellonam victricem identidem celebrans accenderet[2] militum animos,
22 per vallum, per fossas inruperunt. Castra capta direptaque; praeda ingens parta et militi concessa est. Septem milia octingenti[3] hostium occisi, duo milia et centum viginti capti.

XX. Dum ambo consules omnisque Romana vis in Etruscum bellum magis inclinat, in Samnio novi exercitus exorti ad populandos imperii Romani fines per Vescinos[4] in Campaniam Falernumque agrum
2 transcendunt ingentesque praedas faciunt. Volumnium magnis itineribus in Samnium redeuntem—iam enim Fabio Decioque prorogati imperii finis

[1] Iam et duces imperatoria *Walters and Conway* (*note*): et duces imperatoria *Weissenborn*: imperatoria Ω.
[2] accenderet ζ: accenderant *MPTDLA*: accenderat Ω.
[3] octingenti *edd.*: accc *PFUOTDLA*: accce MA^2.
[4] Vescinos *Sigonius* (*Conway, Ital. Dial.* i, p. 283): uestinos Ω.

if to-day thou grant us the victory, then do I vow B.C. 296
thee a temple." Having pronounced this prayer, as though the goddess were inspiring him, he kept pace with the courage of his colleague and the army kept pace with his. And now the generals were quitting themselves like true commanders, and the soldiers were striving that victory might not come first on the other wing. They therefore routed and put to flight the enemy, who found it no easy task to withstand a greater force than they had been wont to engage with. Pressing hard upon them when they faltered and pursuing where they fled, the Romans drove them to their camp. There, on the appearance of Gellius and the Sabellian cohorts, the battle was renewed for a little while; but presently, when these too had been dispersed, the conquering troops assailed the camp, and while Volumnius himself led a charge against the gate, and Appius, calling from time to time on Bellona, goddess of victory, inspirited his soldiers, they burst through the trenches and the rampart. The camp was taken and pillaged, and the vast booty found there was given over to the soldiers. Seven thousand eight hundred of the enemy were slain, two thousand one hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

XX. While both consuls and all the strength of Rome were being devoted mainly to the Etruscan war, new armies rose up in Samnium to waste the territories under Roman sway, and crossing over into Campania and the Falernian district, through the land of the Vescini, gathered in huge spoils. As Volumnius was returning by long marches into Samnium—for now the extension of authority granted to Fabius and Decius was drawing to a

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aderat—fama de Samnitium exercitu populationibusque Campani agri ad tuendos socios convertit. 3 Ut in Calenum venit, et ipse cernit recentia cladis vestigia et Caleni narrant tantum iam praedae hostes 4 trahere ut vix explicare agmen possint: itaque iam propalam duces loqui extemplo eundum in Samnium esse, ut relicta ibi praeda in expeditionem redeant nec tam oneratum agmen dimicationibus committant. 5 Ea quamquam similia veris erant, certius tamen exploranda ratus dimittit equites, qui vagos praedatores in agris palantes intercipiant;[1] ex quibus 6 inquirendo cognoscit ad Volturnum flumen sedere hostem, inde tertia vigilia moturum; iter in Samnium esse.

7 His satis exploratis profectus tanto intervallo ab hostibus consedit ut nec adventus suus propinquitate nimia nosci posset et egredientem e castris hostem 8 opprimeret. Aliquanto ante lucem ad castra accessit gnarosque Oscae linguae exploratum quid agatur mittit. Intermixti hostibus, quod facile erat in nocturna trepidatione, cognoscunt infrequentia armatis signa egressa, praedam praedaeque custodes exire, immobile agmen et sua quemque molientem

[1] intercipiant M^3 (*or* M^1)A^2: incipiant M: excipiant Ω.

[1] Their command had been extended for six months (chap. xvi. § 1).

close [1]—a rumour about the Samnite army and its B.C. 296
depredations in the territory of Campania turned him aside to the defence of the allies. When he came to the Calenian country, he saw for himself the fresh traces of the enemy's ravages, and the Calenians informed him that the Samnites had already so great a train of booty as to march with difficulty, and their leaders were saying openly that they must retire at once into Samnium, and leaving their plunder there, return to the invasion, and not subject an army so heavily burdened to the risks of battle. These reports were plausible enough; nevertheless he thought it right to obtain more authentic information. He therefore sent out horsemen in various directions, to intercept straggling plunderers in the fields, from whom he learned, on questioning them, that their army was encamped at the Volturnus river, whence they would set forward in the third watch and march towards Samnium.

Being satisfied of the truth of these reports, he followed the enemy and encamped at such a distance from them that while they could not learn of his arrival from his being too close at hand, he yet might surprise them as they were leaving their camp. A little before dawn he approached the camp and sent ahead men who knew the Oscan language to find out what was being done. Mingling with their enemies, as they could easily do in the confusion of the dark, they learned that the standards had gone forward with a scanty following of men-at-arms, that the booty and its escort were just setting out, but that the column was incapable of progress, since every man was intent upon his

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nullo inter ullos[1] consensu nec satis certo imperio.
9 Tempus adgrediendi aptissimum visum est, et iam lux adpetebat; itaque signa canere iussit agmenque
10 hostium adgreditur. Samnites praeda impediti, infrequentes armati, pars addere gradum ac prae se agere praedam, pars stare incerti utrum progredi an regredi in castra tutius foret: inter cunctationem opprimuntur et Romani iam transcenderant vallum
11 caedesque ac tumultus erat in castris. Samnitium agmen praeterquam hostili tumultu, captivorum etiam repentina defectione turbatum erat, qui partim
12 ipsi soluti vinctos solvebant, partim arma in sarcinis deligata rapiebant tumultumque proelio ipso terribiliorem intermixti agmini praebebant. Memo-
13 randum deinde edidere facinus; nam Staium Minatium ducem adeuntem ordines hortantemque invadunt; dissipatis inde equitibus qui cum eo aderant ipsum circumsistunt insidentemque equo
14 captum ad consulem Romanum rapiunt. Revocata eo tumultu prima signa Samnitium, proeliumque iam profligatum integratum est; nec diutius sustineri
15 potuit. Caesa ad sex milia hominum, duo milia et quingenti capti—in eis tribuni militum quattuor—signa militaria triginta, et quod laetissimum

[1] inter ullos *Madvig*: inter alios Ω: *deleted as a gloss by Walters and Conway.*

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[1] The Samnites, not anticipating any fighting, had put up their arms in the bundles, which were tied to a pole that was carried on the shoulder.

own affairs, with no common understanding among any of them nor any very definite leadership. The time seemed highly suitable for delivering an attack, and the day was breaking. Volumnius therefore ordered them to sound the charge and assailed the enemy's column. The Samnites were impeded by their booty and few of them were armed; some quickened their pace and drove the cattle before them, some stood still, uncertain whether it were safer to go on or to return to camp; while they hesitated, the Romans were upon them, and now they had scaled the rampart and the camp was filled with carnage and commotion. The Samnite column, besides being charged by the enemy, had also been disordered by a sudden outbreak of the prisoners, some of whom, being loose, were releasing those who were bound, while others were catching up the weapons tied up in the soldiers' packs,[1] and, mixed up with the column as they were, caused a hurly-burly that was more terrifying than the battle itself. They presently performed a remarkable exploit; for as Staius Minatius, the Samnite general, was riding along the ranks and encouraging them, they made a rush at him, and scattering the horsemen who were with him, surrounded him, and hurried him off a prisoner, horse and all, to the Roman consul. This tumult had the effect of bringing back the vanguard of the Samnites, who renewed the battle, which had been almost finished. But prolonged resistance was impossible. The slain amounted to six thousand men, and twenty-five hundred were captured—among them four military tribunes—as well as thirty standards. What caused most joy among the victors was the recovery of B.C. 296

A.U.C. victoribus fuit, captivorum recepta septem milia et
458 quadringenti, et praeda [1] ingens sociorum; accitique
edicto domini ad res suas noscendas recipiendasque
16 praestituta die. Quarum rerum non exstitit dominus, militi concessae, coactique vendere praedam, ne alibi quam in armis animum haberent.

XXI. Magnum ea populatio Campani agri tu-
2 multum Romae praebuerat; et per eos forte dies ex Etruria allatum erat post deductum inde Volumnianum exercitum Etruriam concitam in arma, et Gellium Egnatium, Samnitium ducem, et Umbros ad defectionem vocari et Gallos pretio ingenti solli-
3 citari. His nuntiis senatus conterritus iustitium indici, dilectum omnis generis hominum haberi iussit.
4 Nec ingenui modo aut iuniores sacramento adacti sed seniorum etiam cohortes factae libertinique centuriati; et defendendae urbis consilia agitabantur summaeque rerum praetor P. Sempronius praeerat.
5 Ceterum parte curae exonerarunt senatum L. Volumni consulis litterae, quibus caesos fusosque
6 populatores Campaniae cognitum est. Itaque et supplicationes ob rem bene gestam consulis nomine decernunt et [2] iustitium remittitur quod fuerat dies duodeviginti; supplicatioque perlaeta fuit.

[1] et praeda *Madvig*: praeda Ω.
[2] decernunt et ς *Madvig*: decernunt Ω (-tur F^3).

seven thousand four hundred prisoners and a vast quantity of spoils belonging to the allies. The owners were summoned by proclamation to identify and recover their property on an appointed day. Those things for which no owner appeared were made over to the soldiers, and they were compelled to sell their booty, that they might have no concern in anything but fighting. B.C. 296

XXI. This raid upon the Campanian countryside had occasioned a great alarm in Rome; and just at that time, as it happened, there came news out of Etruria, that after the withdrawal of the army of Volumnius the Etruscans had been induced to arm, that Gellius Egnatius, the Samnite general, and the Umbrians were being invited to join in the revolt, and that the Gauls were being tempted with great sums of money. Terrified by these reports, the senate ordered that a cessation of the courts should be proclaimed, and that a levy should be held of every sort of men. Not only was the oath administered to free citizens of military age, but cohorts were also formed out of older men, and freedmen were mustered into centuries. Plans were discussed for defending the City, and the supreme command was given to the praetor, Publius Sempronius. But the senators were relieved of a part of their anxiety by a dispatch from Lucius Volumnius, the consul, apprising them of the slaughter and dispersion of the army that had ravaged Campania. They accordingly voted a thanksgiving for the victory, in the consul's name, and reopened the courts, which had been closed for eighteen days. The thanksgiving was a very joyful one.

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7 Tum de praesidio regionis depopulatae ab Samnitibus agitari coeptum; itaque placuit ut duae coloniae circa Vescinum[1] et Falernum agrum deducerentur,
8 una ad ostium Liris fluvii, quae Minturnae appellata, altera in saltu Vescino Falernum contingente agrum, ubi Sinope dicitur Graeca urbs fuisse, Sinuessa
9 deinde ab colonis Romanis appellata. Tribunis plebis negotium datum est, ut plebei scito iuberetur P. Sempronius praetor triumviros in ea loca colonis
10 deducendis creare. Nec qui nomina darent facile inveniebantur, quia in stationem se prope perpetuam infestae regionis, non in agros mitti rebantur.
11 Avertit ab eis curis senatum Etruriae ingravescens bellum et crebrae litterae Appi monentis ne regionis
12 eius motum neglegerent: quattuor gentes conferre arma, Etruscos Samnites Umbros Gallos; iam castra bifariam facta esse, quia unus locus capere tantam
13 multitudinem non possit. Ob haec et—iam[2] appetebat tempus—comitiorum causa L. Volumnius consul Romam revocatus; qui priusquam ad suffragium centurias vocaret, in contionem advocato populo
14 multa de magnitudine belli Etrusci disseruit: iam tum cum ipse ibi cum collega rem pariter gesserit, fuisse tantum bellum ut nec duce uno nec exercitu

[1] Vescinum (*and in* § 8, Vescino) *as at chap.* xx. § 1.
[2] et—iam *Walters and Conway*: et iam Ω: et nam *Madvig*: et iam enim *Weissenborn*.

[1] Perhaps situated between *Mons Massicus* and the sea on the heights of *Mondragone*.

They next considered how they might protect B.C. 296
the region devastated by the Samnites, and resolved to plant two colonies in the Vescinian and Falernian country, one, which was named Minturnae, at the mouth of the river Liris, the other in the Vescinian forest,[1] hard by the Falernian district, where the Greek city of Sinope is said to have stood, thereafter called Sinuessa by the Roman settlers. The tribunes of the plebs were assigned the task of obtaining a plebiscite directing Publius Sempronius the praetor to appoint three commissioners to conduct the colonists to these places; yet it was not easy to find men who would enroll, since they regarded themselves as sent, not to settle on the land, but to serve almost as a perpetual outpost in a hostile territory.

The senate's attention was diverted from these cares by the growing seriousness of the war in Etruria, and by a succession of dispatches from Appius, in which he warned them not to make light of the disturbance in that region. Four races, he said, were uniting their arms, the Etruscans, Samnites, Umbrians, and Gauls; and they had already divided their camp into two, one place not being able to hold so great a multitude. For these reasons and because of the elections—the time for which was rapidly approaching—the consul Lucius Volumnius was recalled to Rome. Before summoning the centuries to vote, he brought the people together in an assembly, and discoursed at length of the magnitude of the war in Etruria: even earlier, when he himself and his colleague had campaigned there together, the war had been so great that one general and one army could not have conducted it;

A.U.C. 458 geri potuerit; accessisse postea dici Umbros et
15 ingentem exercitum Gallorum; adversus quattuor
populos duces consules illo die deligi meminissent.
Se, nisi confideret eum consensu populi Romani
consulem declaratum iri qui haud dubie tum primus
omnium ductor habeatur, dictatorem fuisse extemplo
16 dicturum.

A.U.C. 459 XXII. Nemini dubium erat quin Fabius quintum
omnium consensu destinaretur; eumque et praero-
gativae et primo vocatae omnes centuriae consulem
2 cum L. Volumnio dicebant. Fabi oratio fuit qualis
biennio ante; deinde, ut vincebatur consensu, versa
3 postremo ad collegam P. Decium poscendum: id
senectuti suae adminiculum fore. Censura duo-
busque consulatibus simul gestis expertum se nihil
concordi collegio firmius ad rem publicam tuendam
esse. Novo imperii socio vix iam adsuescere senilem
4 animum posse; cum moribus notis facilius se
communicaturum consilia. Subscripsit orationi eius
consul cum meritis P. Deci laudibus, tum quae ex
concordia consulum bona quaeque ex discordia mala
in administratione rerum militarium evenirent me-
5 morando, quamque[1] prope ultimum discrimen suis
et collegae certaminibus nuper ventum foret, admo-
6 nendo; Decium Fabiumque uno animo, una mente[2]

[1] quamque *Duker*: quam Ω.
[2] uno . . . vivere *Ussing*: ut uno . . . uiuerent Ω: qui uno . . . viverent *Harant*.

[1] The *praerogativae* were the 18 centuries of knights; the others here referred to were the 80 centuries of the first class, *cf.* I. xliii. 11.

but it was said that the Umbrians had since then B.C. 296
been added to the enemy's forces, as well as a huge army of Gauls; they should remember that on that day they were choosing consuls to oppose four peoples; for his own part, were he not confident that the Roman People would unanimously choose for consul the man who was then looked upon as unquestionably the first of all commanders, he would at once have named him dictator.

XXII. No one doubted that Fabius would by the B.C. 295
common voice of all be for the fifth time elected; and in fact the prerogative centuries and all those which were summoned first [1] were naming him consul, together with Lucius Volumnius. Fabius then made a speech, to the same purport as he had done two years before; but, overborne by the general agreement, he ended by requesting that he might have for colleague Publius Decius, who would be a prop to his old age. In the censorship and the two consulships which he had shared with Decius, he had found that nothing more tended to the preservation of the commonwealth than the harmony of colleagues. To a new partner in authority he could now hardly hope to adapt an old man's mind: with one whose character he knew, it would be easier to share his counsels. His plea was seconded by the consul, who bestowed well-merited praise on Publius Decius, and recalling the advantages that accrued from harmony betwixt the consuls to the administration of military measures and the harm that resulted from their discord, reminded his hearers how dire had been the danger occasioned lately by the strife between himself and his colleague. Decius and Fabius, he said, were of one heart and

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vivere; esse praeterea viros natos militiae, factis magnos, ad verborum linguaeque certamina rudes. 7 Ea ingenia consularia esse: callidos sollertesque, iuris atque eloquentiae consultos, qualis Ap. Claudius esset, urbi ac foro[1] praesides habendos praetoresque 8 ad reddenda iura creandos esse. His agendis dies est consumptus. Postridie ad praescriptum consulis 9 et consularia et praetoria comitia habita. Consules creati Q. Fabius et P. Decius, Ap. Claudius praetor, omnes absentes; et L. Volumnio ex senatus consulto et scito plebis prorogatum in annum imperium est.

XXIII. Eo anno prodigia multa fuerunt, quorum averruncandorum causa supplicationes in biduum 2 senatus decrevit; publice vinum ac tus praebitum;[2] 3 supplicatum iere frequentes viri feminaeque. Insignem supplicationem fecit certamen in sacello Pudicitiae Patriciae, quae in foro Bovario est ad aedem 4 rotundam Herculis, inter matronas ortum. Verginiam, Auli filiam, patriciam plebeio nuptam, L. Volumnio consuli, matronae, quod e patribus enupsisset, sacris arcuerant. Brevis altercatio inde ex iracundia muliebri in contentionem animorum ex-

[1] foro $F^3D^3A^3$: fori (tori M) Ω: fortes A.
[2] praebitum A^2: prae(*or* pre-)bituum MPA: p (*or* per-)biduum P^2FUT^2: plebitum TD: plebi tuum L.

[1] Where the law-courts were held.

[2] Fabius and Decius can only have been absent from the voting place, but Appius was away from Rome.

[3] It is likely that the tradition of a shrine to Pudicitia in the Forum Boarium is due to a confusion of this goddess with Fortuna Virgo, who had a chapel there near the temple of Mater Matuta (a birth-goddess), and was, like her, a woman's goddess. Young brides dedicated to her their maiden's dress, on marrying, and the mistake was favoured

one mind, and were, besides, men born for war, B.C. 295
great in their deeds, but unskilled in the strife of words and of the tongue. Theirs were talents meet for the consul's office. But shrewd and clever men, masters of the law and of eloquence, like Appius Claudius, should be had to preside over the City and the Forum,[1] and should be elected praetors to administer justice. With these transactions the day was taken up. On the following day, by the direction of the consul, elections were held both of consuls and of praetors. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were chosen consuls and Appius Claudius praetor—all three being absent[2]—and the senate passed a decree, which the people ratified, prolonging for a year the command of Lucius Volumnius.

XXIII. In that year were many portents, to avert which the senate decreed supplications for two days. Wine and incense were provided by the state, and the people went in throngs to offer their prayers —both men and women. The supplication was rendered memorable by a quarrel that broke out among the matrons in the chapel of Patrician Modesty, which stands in the Cattle Market, by the round temple of Hercules.[3] Verginia, Aulus's daughter, a patrician wedded to a commoner, Lucius Volumnius the consul, had been excluded by the matrons from their ceremonies, on the ground that she had married out of the patriciate. This led to a short dispute, which the hot anger of the sex soon kindled to a blaze of passionate contention.

by the unusual circumstance that the image of Fortuna Virgo was veiled. The story preserved by Livy is an attempt to explain the epithet of Pudicitia Plebeia (§ 7). See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1912²), pp. 257, 333.

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5 arsit, cum se Verginia et patriciam et pudicam in Patriciae Pudicitiae templum ingressam et uni nuptam ad quem virgo deducta sit, nec se viri honorumve eius ac rerum gestarum paenitere, ex vero[1] gloriaretur.
6 Facto deinde egregio magnifica verba adauxit: in vico Longo, ubi habitabat, ex parte aedium quod satis esset loci modico sacello exclusit, aramque ibi posuit et convocatis plebeiis matronis conquesta iniuriam
7 patriciarum "Hanc ego aram" inquit "Pudicitiae Plebeiae dedico vosque hortor, ut quod certamen
8 virtutis viros in hac civitate tenet, hoc pudicitiae inter matronas sit detisque operam ut haec ara quam illa, si quid potest, sanctius et a castioribus
9 coli dicatur." Eodem ferme ritu et haec ara quo illa antiquior culta est, ut nulla nisi spectatae pudicitiae matrona et quae uni viro nupta fuisset ius
10 sacrificandi haberet. Volgata dein religio a pollutis,[2] nec matronis solum sed omnis ordinis feminis, postremo in oblivionem venit.
11 Eodem anno Cn. et Q. Ogulnii aediles curules aliquot
12 feneratoribus diem dixerunt; quorum bonis multatis ex eo quod in publicum redactum est aenea in Capitolio limina et trium mensarum argentea vasa in cella Iovis Iovemque in culmine cum quadrigis et ad ficum Ruminalem simulacra infantium conditorum

[1] ex vero *Madvig*: uero Ω: uerum A^2: vere *Douiatius*.
[2] a pollutis Ω: cum pollutis *H. J. Mueller*: pollutis *Duker*.

[1] Popular etymology made *Ruminalis* come from *Romularis* and that from *Romulus*. It was in the overflow of the Tiber near this fig-tree that the twins were exposed (I. iv. 5).

Verginia boasted, and with reason, that she had B.C. 295
entered the temple of Patrician Modesty both a patrician and a modest woman, as having been wedded to the one man to whom she had been given as a maiden, and was neither ashamed of her husband nor of his honours and his victories. She then added a noble deed to her proud words. In the Vicus Longus, where she lived, she shut off a part of her mansion, large enough for a shrine of moderate size, and, erecting there an altar, called together the plebeian matrons, and after complaining of the injurious behaviour of the patrician ladies, said, "I dedicate this altar to Plebeian Modesty; and I urge you, that even as the men of our state contend for the meed of valour, so the matrons may vie for that of modesty, that this altar may be said to be cherished—if it be possible—more reverently than that, and by more modest women." This altar, too, was served with almost the same ritual as that more ancient one, so that no matron but one of proven modesty, who had been wedded to one man alone, should have the right to sacrifice. Afterwards the cult was degraded by polluted worshippers, not matrons only but women of every station, and passed finally into oblivion.

In that same year Gnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius the curule aediles brought a number of usurers to trial, and, confiscating their possessions, employed the share which came into the public treasury to put brazen thresholds in the Capitol, and silver vessels for the three tables in the shrine of Jupiter, and a statue of the god in a four-horse chariot on the roof, and at the fig-tree Ruminalis[1] a representation of the infant Founders of the City being

A.U.C. 459 urbis sub uberibus lupae posuerunt semitamque saxo
13 quadrato a Capena porta ad Martis straverunt. Et ab aedilibus plebeiis L. Aelio Paeto et C. Fulvio Curvo ex multaticia item pecunia, quam exegerunt pecuariis damnatis, ludi facti pateraeque aureae ad Cereris positae.

XXIV. Q. inde Fabius quintum et P. Decius
2 quartum consulatum ineunt, tribus consulatibus censuraque collegae nec gloria magis rerum, quae ingens erat, quam concordia inter se clari. Quae ne perpetua esset, ordinum magis quam ipsorum inter se certamen intervenisse reor, patriciis tenden-
3 tibus ut Fabius Etruriam [1] extra ordinem provinciam haberet, plebeis auctoribus Decio ut ad sortem rem
4 vocaret.[2] Fuit certe contentio in senatu et postquam ibi Fabius plus poterat, revocata res ad populum est. In contione,[3] ut inter militares viros et factis potius quam dictis fretos, pauca verba habita.
5 Fabius, quam arborem consevisset,[4] sub ea legere alium fructum indignum esse dicere ;[5] se aperuisse Ciminiam silvam viamque per devios saltus Romano
6 bello fecisse. Quid se id aetatis sollicitassent, si alio duce gesturi bellum essent? Nimirum adver-

[1] Etruriam γ: in Etruriam *MPFTLA*^{2}: in etruria *U*.
[2] rem vocaret *Conway*: rem revocaret *Listovius*: reuocaret Ω.
[3] in contione γ: in contionem *MTA*^{2}: in contentionem *PFUDLA*.
[4] consevisset $I^3F^3A^2$(*or* A^3)*Glareanus*: conseruisset (-set et *I* Ω.
[5] dicere A^2 *or* A^3: diceret Ω.

[1] Convicted probably of using for grazing purposes more of the public domain than they were legally entitled to control.

suckled by the wolf. They also made a paved walk B.C. 295
of squared stone from the Porta Capena to the temple of Mars. And the plebeian aediles Lucius Aelius Paetus and Gaius Fulvius Curvus, likewise with the money from fines, which they exacted from convicted graziers,[1] held games and provided golden bowls for the temple of Ceres.

XXIV. After that Quintus Fabius (for the fifth time) and Publius Decius (for the fourth) began their consulship, having thrice been colleagues in that office and once in the censorship, and being not more distinguished for the renown, great though that was, of their achievements than for their harmonious co-operation. This, however, was not destined to be permanent, though its interruption was due, I think, more to rivalry between the orders than to their own; for the patricians strove that Fabius should have the command in Etruria without drawing lots, and the plebeians insisted that Decius should demand that method of determining the question. At all events there was a contention in the senate, and Fabius proving to be the stronger there, the case was carried before the people. In the assembly the speeches were short, as befitted soldiers and men who trusted more to deeds than to words.

Fabius argued that when one man had planted a tree, it was unfair that another should gather the fruit that dropped from it; it was he that had opened up the Ciminian Forest and had made a path for Roman arms through remote and desert tracts. Why, pray, had they troubled him, old as he was, if they had meant to wage the war with another general? It was only too clear, he said—

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sarium se, non socium imperii legisse sensim exprobrat et invidisse Decium concordibus collegiis tribus. 7 Postremo se tendere nihil ultra quam ut, si dignum provincia ducerent, in eam mitterent: in senatus arbitrio se fuisse et in potestate populi futurum.

P. Decius senatus iniuriam querebatur: quoad 8 potuerint, patres adnisos ne plebeiis[1] aditus ad magnos honores esset; postquam ipsa virtus pervi- 9 cerit ne in ullo genere hominum inhonorata esset, quaeri quemadmodum inrita sint non suffragia modo populi sed arbitria etiam fortunae et in paucorum 10 potestatem vertantur. Omnes ante se consules sortitos provincias esse: nunc extra sortem Fabio 11 senatum provinciam dare,—si honoris eius causa, ita eum de se deque re publica meritum esse ut faveat Q. Fabi gloriae quae modo non sua contumelia 12 splendeat. Cui autem dubium esse, ubi unum bellum sit asperum ac difficile, cum id alteri extra sortem mandetur, quin alter consul pro supervacaneo atque 13 inutili habeatur? Gloriari Fabium rebus in Etruria gestis: velle et P. Decium gloriari. Et forsitan, quem ille obrutum ignem reliquerit, ita ut totiens novum 14 ex improviso incendium daret, eum se exstincturum. Postremo se collegae honores praemiaque conces-

[1] plebeiis (*or* plebeis) *Dc edd.* : plebis (plebi A^4) Ω.

taking gradually a more reproachful tone—that he B.C. 295
had selected an adversary, not a partner in command, and that Decius had begrudged the friendly spirit in which they had administered three offices together. Finally, he asked no more than that if they thought him worthy of the command they should give it to him; he had submitted to the decision of the senate and would obey the people.

Publius Decius complained of the senate's injustice: as long as they were able, the Fathers had striven to deny the plebeians access to great honours; and since native worth had of its own strength won the right to be recognized in any class of men, they were seeking to make of none effect not only the suffrages of the people but also the awards of Fortune, and to subject them to the control of a few. All the consuls who had preceded him had drawn lots for their commands, but the senate was now conferring a command on Fabius without the lot. If they were doing this to honour him, he would say that the man had deserved so well both of himself and of the state that he stood ready to promote the glory of Fabius, provided only that its lustre were not purchased with insult to himself. But who could doubt, when there was one difficult, dangerous war, and this was entrusted without lots to one of the consuls, that the other was regarded as superfluous and useless? Fabius gloried in his Etruscan victories: Publius Decius would fain glory too. And perhaps that fire which Fabius had left covered up, but so that it was continually breaking out into new flames, might be by him extinguished. In short he was willing, for the reverence he bore his colleague's years and dignity, to yield to him

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surum verecundia aetatis eius maiestatisque ; cum periculum, cum dimicatio [1] proposita sit, neque cedere
15 sua sponte neque cessurum ; et si nihil aliud ex eo certamine tulerit, illud certe laturum ut quod populi sit populus iubeat potius quam patres gratificen-
16 tur. Iovem optimum maximum deosque immortales se precari ut ita sortem aequam sibi cum collega dent si eandem virtutem felicitatemque in bello
17 administrando daturi sint. Certe et id natura aequum et exemplo utile esse et ad famam populi Romani pertinere, eos consules esse quorum utrolibet duce bellum Etruscum geri recte possit.

18 Fabius nihil aliud precatus populum Romanum quam ut, priusquam intro vocarentur ad suffragium tribus, Ap. Claudi praetoris allatas ex Etruria litteras audirent, comitio abiit.[2] Nec minore populi consensu quam senatus provincia Etruria extra sortem Fabio decreta est.

XXV. Concursus inde ad consulem factus omnium ferme iuniorum et pro se quisque nomina dabant ; tanta cupido erat sub eo duce stipendia faciendi.
2 Qua circumfusus turba "Quattuor milia" inquit "peditum et sescentos equites dumtaxat scribere in animo est ; hodierno et crastino die qui nomina
3 dederitis mecum ducam. Maiori mihi curae est ut omnes locupletes reducam quam ut multis rem
4 geram militibus." Profectus apto exercitu et eo

[1] cum dimicatio ζ : tum dimicatio MA^2 : dimicatio Ω.
[2] comitio abiit A^2 *or* A^4 : comitio abit ζ : comitia habuit (*perhaps* abuit A) Ω.

honours and rewards; but when peril, when strife, B.C. 295
was set before them—he yielded not, of his own consent—nor ever would. And if he got nothing else by this contest, one thing at any rate he would get—that what belonged to the people should be disposed of by the people, not bestowed by the Fathers as a favour. To Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the immortal gods he prayed that they would grant him an equal chance in the lot with his colleague only if they were ready to grant him the same courage and the same good fortune in the administration of the war. At least it was a thing in its nature reasonable, in its example salutary, and material to the reputation of the Roman People, that the consuls should be such that the Etruscan war could be managed aright under the leadership of either one of them.

Fabius only prayed the Roman people to listen, before the tribes were called to vote, to a dispatch of Appius Claudius the praetor that had been brought in from Etruria. He then left the comitium, and the people then, as unanimously as the senate had done, decreed that Fabius should have the command in Etruria without drawing lots.

XXV. Nearly all the younger men now flocked about the consul, and each gave in his name, so eager were they to serve under such a captain. Surrounded by this throng he said, "I have in mind to enrol no more than four thousand foot and six hundred horse; I will take with me those of you who give in your names to-day and to-morrow. I am more concerned to bring all my men back with their purses filled than to wage war with many soldiers." Marching out with a fit army, which was

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plus fiduciae ac spei gerente quod non desiderata multitudo erat, ad oppidum Aharnam, unde haud procul hostes erant, ad castra Appi praetoris pergit. 5 Paucis citra milibus lignatores ei cum praesidio occurrunt; qui ut lictores praegredi viderunt Fabiumque esse consulem accepere, laeti atque alacres dis populoque Romano grates agunt quod eum sibi 6 imperatorem misissent. Circumfusi deinde cum consulem salutarent, quaerit Fabius quo pergerent, respondentibusque lignatum se ire, "Ain tandem?" 7 inquit, "num castra vallata non habetis?" Ad hoc cum succlamatum esset duplici quidem vallo et fossa et tamen in ingenti metu esse, "Habetis igitur" inquit "adfatim lignorum; redite et vellite vallum." 8 Redeunt in castra terroremque ibi vellentes vallum et iis qui in castris remanserant militibus et ipsi 9 Appio fecerunt; tum pro se quisque alii aliis dicere consulis se Q. Fabi facere iussu. Postero inde die castra mota et Appius praetor Romam dimissus. 10 Inde nusquam stativa Romanis fuere. Negabat utile esse uno loco sedere exercitum; itineribus ac mutatione locorum mobiliorem ac salubriorem esse. Fiebant autem itinera, quanta fieri sinebat hiemps hauddum exacta.

11 Vere inde primo relicta secunda legione ad Clu-

[1] Probably = Arna, across the Tiber from Perusia, and about six miles due east of it.

[2] *sc.* for use as firewood.

all the more confident and hopeful because he had B.C. 295
not desired a great host, he took his way towards the town of Aharna,[1] from which the enemy were not far distant, to the camp of Appius the praetor. A few miles this side the camp he encountered some men who had come out with an armed escort to gather wood. These people, seeing the lictors in the van and learning that Fabius was consul, with lively manifestations of satisfaction gave thanks to the gods and to the Roman People for having sent him to be their general. Then, as they trooped about him and hailed him consul, Fabius asked whither they were bound, and they answered that they were come out to get wood. "Is it possible," he cried, "that you have no rampart round your camp?" and, on their shouting back that they had a double rampart and a trench and yet were in mortal fear, "Then you have quite wood enough," said he; "go back and pull up your stockade."[2] Returning to camp they began pulling up the palings, to the terror of their comrades who had stayed behind, as well as of Appius himself, till the news was spread, as each talked with his neighbours, that they were acting under orders of the consul Quintus Fabius. On the morrow the camp was removed and the praetor Appius was sent away to Rome. Thenceforward the Romans had no permanent camp anywhere. It was of no use, Fabius maintained, for the army to sit down in one place: by marching and shifting its position it grew more mobile and more healthy. The marches, of course, were such as could be made at a season when winter was not yet over.

In the early spring, leaving the second legion in

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sium, quod Camars olim appellabant, praepositoque castris L. Scipione pro praetore Romam ipse ad consultandum de bello rediit, sive ipse sponte sua, quia bellum ei maius in conspectu erat quam quantum esse famae crediderat sive senatus consulto accitus; nam in utrumque auctores sunt. Ab Ap. Claudio praetore retractum quidam videri volunt, cum in senatu et apud populum, id quod per litteras adsidue fecerat, terrorem belli Etrusci augeret: non suffecturum ducem unum nec exercitum unum adversus quattuor populos; periculum[1] esse, sive iuncti unum premant sive diversi gerant bellum, ne ad omnia simul obire unus non possit. Duas se ibi legiones Romanas reliquisse et minus quinque milia peditum equitumque cum Fabio venisse. Sibi placere P. Decium consulem primo quoque tempore in Etruriam ad collegam proficisci, L. Volumnio Samnium provinciam dari; si consul malit in suam provinciam ire, Volumnium in Etruriam ad consulem cum exercitu iusto consulari proficisci. Cum magnam partem moveret oratio praetoris, P. Decium censuisse ferunt ut omnia integra ac libera Q. Fabio servarentur, donec vel ipse, si per commodum rei publicae posset, Romam venisset vel aliquem ex legatis misisset, a quo disceret senatus quantum in Etruria belli esset

[1] periculum ~ *Gronovius*: periculos *MP*: periculosum Ω.

[1] *i.e.* two Roman legions with the usual complement of cavalry and allies.

the neighbourhood of Clusium—which they used of B.C. 295
old to call Camars—and putting Lucius Scipio, as propraetor, in charge of the camp, Fabius himself returned to Rome to consult about the war, either voluntarily, because he had a task in prospect that was greater than he had believed the reports to signify, or, it may be, summoned by the senate; for both accounts are vouched for. Some would have it appear that he was compelled to return by Appius Claudius the praetor, who continued to exaggerate the perils of the Etruscan war in the senate and before the people, as he had done persistently in his dispatches. It was not enough, he said, to have one commander and one army against four nations: the danger was—whether they united to overwhelm him or campaigned separately—that one man would be incapable of meeting simultaneously all emergencies. He himself had left on the ground two Roman legions, and less than five thousand infantry and cavalry had come with Fabius. It was his opinion that Publius Decius the consul should march at the very earliest moment to Etruria, to join his colleague, and that Lucius Volumnius should be given the command in Samnium; or, if the consul preferred to go out to his own province, that Volumnius should set out for Etruria with a regular consular army.[1] The majority were moved by the praetor's speech, but Publius Decius—so they say—advised that all be left to the free and unhampered judgment of Quintus Fabius, until Fabius should either come to Rome himself—if this were compatible with public policy—or send some one of his lieutenants, to inform the senate how great a war was on foot

A.U.C. 459 quantisque administrandum copiis et quot per duces esset.

XXVI. Fabius, ut Romam rediit, et in senatu et productus ad populum mediam orationem habuit, ut nec augere nec minuere videretur belli famam magisque in altero adsumendo duce aliorum indulgere timori quam suo aut rei publicae periculo consulere. Ceterum si sibi adiutorem belli sociumque imperii darent, quonam modo se oblivisci P. Deci consulis per tot collegia experti posse? Neminem omnium secum coniungi malle; et copiarum satis sibi cum P. Decio et nunquam nimium hostium fore; sin collega quid aliud mallet,[1] at sibi L. Volumnium darent adiutorem. Omnium rerum arbitrium et a populo et a senatu et ab ipso collega Fabio permissum est; et cum P. Decius se vel in Samnium vel[2] in Etruriam proficisci paratum esse ostendisset, tanta laetitia ac gratulatio fuit ut praeciperetur victoria animis triumphusque non bellum decretum consulibus videretur.

Invenio apud quosdam extemplo consulatu inito profectos in Etruriam Fabium Deciumque sine ulla mentione sortis provinciarum certaminumque inter collegas quae exposui. Sunt quibus ne haec quidem

[1] mallet *Weissenborn*: mallit Ω: malit $I^2FUT^2D^xA^x$.
[2] vel in Samnium vel *H. J. Mueller*: in Samnium uel Ω.

in Etruria, and with what forces, commanded by B.C. 295
how many generals, it ought to be conducted.

XXVI. Fabius, when he returned to Rome, both in the senate and afterwards in speaking to the people, steered a middle course, that he might appear neither to exaggerate the current reports about the war nor minimize them, and in accepting an additional commander to be rather consulting the fears of others than guarding against a danger to himself or the republic. For the rest, if they chose to give him a helper in the war and a partner in authority, how—he asked—could he possibly forget Publius Decius the consul, whom he had proved so often when they had been colleagues? There was no one living with whom he would sooner share his commission; he should have troops enough, if Decius were with him, and his enemies would never be too numerous. But if his colleague preferred some other arrangement, let them give him Lucius Volumnius to be his coadjutor. The decision in regard to everything was left by the people and the senate, and by his colleague himself, entirely to Fabius; and when Publius Decius had made known his readiness to set out either for Samnium or Etruria, there were such rejoicings and congratulations that men tasted the sweets of victory in anticipation, and it seemed as though the consuls had been voted a triumph and not a war.

I find in some historians that Fabius and Decius set out for Etruria at the very beginning of their consulship, and they make no mention of the casting of lots for provinces or of the disputes betwixt the colleagues which I have described. On the other hand, even these disputes have not been enough

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certamina exponere satis fuit; adiecerunt[1] et Appi criminationes de Fabio absente ad populum et pertinaciam adversus praesentem consulem praetoris contentionemque aliam inter collegas, tendente Decio
7 ut suae quisque provinciae sortem tueretur. Constare res incipit ex eo tempore quo profecti ambo consules ad bellum sunt.

Ceterum antequam consules in Etruriam pervenirent, Senones Galli multitudine ingenti ad Clusium venerunt legionem Romanam castraque oppugnaturi.
8 Scipio, qui castris praeerat, loco adiuvandam paucitatem suorum militum ratus, in collem[2] qui inter
9 urbem et castra erat aciem erexit. Sed, ut in re subita, parum explorato itinere ad iugum perrexit quod hostes ceperant parte alia adgressi. Ita caesa ab tergo legio atque in medio, cum hostis undique
10 urgeret, circumventa. Deletam quoque ibi legionem, ita ut nuntius non superesset, quidam auctores
11 sunt, nec ante ad consules, qui iam haud procul a Clusio aberant, famam eius cladis perlatam quam in conspectu fuere Gallorum equites, pectoribus equorum suspensa gestantes capita et lanceis infixa
12 ovantesque moris sui carmine. Sunt qui Umbros fuisse non Gallos tradant, nec tantum cladis acceptum et circumventis pabulatoribus cum L. Manlio Torquato legato Scipionem propraetorem subsidium

[1] adiecerunt *Heinsius*: adiecerint Ω.
[2] in collem ζ: in colle (cole *P*) Ω.

[1] Possibly a son of the consul who was thrown from his horse and killed in 299 B.C. See chap. xi. § 1.

for some, but they have added invectives pronounced B.C. 295
by Appius before the people against the absent Fabius, and stubborn opposition on the praetor's part to the consul who was present, and another quarrel between the colleagues, when Decius urged that each should attend to his allotted province. The authorities begin to be in agreement from the moment that both consuls set out for the seat of war.

But before the consuls could reach Etruria, the Senonian Gauls were come with a great multitude to Clusium, to besiege the Roman legion in camp there. Scipio, who was in command, thought it necessary that he should gain the advantage of position to eke out the smallness of his numbers, and marched his troops up a hill situated between the city and his camp; but, as happens in sudden emergencies, he had sent no scouts ahead of him, and led his men up to a ridge which was held by the enemy, who had approached it from another direction. Thus the legion was attacked in the rear and found itself surrounded, with the enemy assailing it from every quarter. Some writers say that the legion was even annihilated there, so that none survived to bear away the tidings, and that the consuls, who were not far from Clusium, got no report of the disaster till some Gallic horsemen came in sight, with heads hanging at their horses' breasts or fixed on their lances, and singing their customary song of triumph. Others allege that they were not Gauls but Umbrians, and that the reverse experienced was not so great. Some foragers, according to their account, under Lucius Manlius Torquatus,[1] a lieutenant, had been cut off, and Scipio the propraetor sallied forth from the

A.U.C. 459 e castris tulisse victoresque Umbros redintegrato proelio victos esse captivosque eis ac praedam
13 ademptam. Similius vero est a Gallo hoste quam Umbro eam cladem acceptam, quod cum saepe alias tum eo anno Gallici tumultus praecipuus terror
14 civitatem tenuit. Itaque praeterquam quod ambo consules profecti ad bellum erant cum quattuor legionibus et magno equitatu Romano Campanisque mille equitibus delectis, ad id bellum missis, et sociorum nominisque Latini maiore exercitu quam
15 Romano, alii duo exercitus haud procul urbe Etruriae oppositi, unus in Falisco alter in Vaticano agro. Cn. Fulvius et L. Postumius Megellus[1] propraetores ambo, stativa in eis locis habere iussi.

XXVII. Consules ad hostes transgressos Appenninum[2] in agrum Sentinatem pervenerunt. Ibi quattuor milium ferme intervallo castra posita.
2 Inter hostes deinde consultationes habitae atque ita convenit ne unis castris miscerentur omnes
3 neve in aciem descenderent simul; Samnitibus Galli, Etruscis Umbri adiecti. Dies indicta pugnae; Samniti Gallisque delegata pugna; inter ipsum certamen Etrusci Umbrique iussi castra Romana
4 oppugnare. Haec consilia turbarunt transfugae Clusini tres clam nocte ad Fabium consulem transgressi, qui editis hostium consiliis dimissi cum

[1] Megellus *Sigonius* (*from chap.* xxxii. § 1): megillus megillius *A*) Ω.

[2] transgressos Appenninum *Gronovius:* transgresso Appennino Ω.

camp to their relief, and renewing the battle de- B.C. 295
feated the victorious Umbrians and took from them their prisoners and their booty. It is more probable that the discomfiture was incurred at the hands of a Gallic than of an Umbrian enemy, since apprehensions of a Gallic rising, which had often at other times troubled the Romans, were in that year particularly alarming. And so, not only did both consuls go out to war, having four legions and a strong body of Roman cavalry, together with a thousand picked horse from Campania—furnished for this campaign—and an army of allies and Latins that outnumbered the Romans; but two other armies were posted over against Etruria, not far from the City, one in the Faliscan district and the other in the Vatican. Gnaeus Fulvius and Lucius Postumius Megellus—propraetors both—were ordered to maintain a standing camp there.

XXVII. The consuls came up with the enemy—who had crossed the Apennines—in the territory round Sentinum, and went into camp about four miles off. Consultations were then held amongst the enemy and they decided not to unite all their forces in one camp nor to give battle all together; to the Samnites were joined the Gauls and to the Etruscans the men of Umbria. A day was designated for the battle, and the Samnites and Gauls were appointed to make the attack; in the midst of the engagement the Etruscans and the Umbrians were to assault the Roman camp. These plans were upset by three Clusinian deserters who came over secretly in the night to Fabius, and having informed him of the enemy's designs were rewarded and sent back again, so that from time to time, as each new

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donis, ut subinde ut quaeque res nova decreta esset exploratam perferrent. Consules Fulvio ut ex Falisco, Postumio ut ex Vaticano exercitum ad Clusium admoveant summaque vi fines hostium depopulentur scribunt. Huius populationis fama Etruscos ex agro Sentinate ad suos fines tuendos movit. Instare inde consules, ut absentibus iis pugnaretur. Per biduum lacessiere proelio hostem; biduo nihil dignum dictu actum: pauci utrimque cecidere magisque inritati sunt ad iustum certamen animi quam ad discrimen summa rerum adducta.[1] Tertio die descensum in campum omnibus copiis est.

Cum instructae acies starent, cerva fugiens lupum e montibus exacta per campos inter duas acies decurrit; inde diversae ferae, cerva ad Gallos, lupus ad Romanos cursum deflexit. Lupo data inter ordines via; cervam Galli confixere. Tum ex antesignanis Romanus miles "Illac fuga" inquit "et caedes vertit, ubi sacram Dianae feram iacentem videtis: hinc victor Martius lupus, integer et intactus, gentis nos Martiae et conditoris nostri admonuit."

Dextro cornu Galli, sinistro Samnites constiterunt. Adversus Samnites Q. Fabius primam ac tertiam legionem pro dextro cornu, adversus Gallos pro sinistro Decius quintam et sextam instruxit; secunda

[1] adducta A^2 (*or* A^1): adducti F^3: addicta (-dita) U Ω.

[1] See chap. xxiii. § 12 for the bronze group which had recently been erected of the wolf suckling the twins (the Sons of Mars) and *cf.* the reference at XXII. i. 12 to a statue of Mars and images of wolves (a group?) on the Appian Way. Virgil uses the epithet *Martius* of the wolf (*Aen.* IX. 566) and Horace has *Martialis lupos*, at *Carm.* I. xvii. 9.

step should be decided on, they might find it out B.C. 295
and report upon it. The consuls wrote to Fulvius and Postumius to march from their respective posts in the Faliscan and Vatican districts to Clusium, and lay waste the territories of the enemy with the utmost rigour. The reports of this devastation drew off the Etruscans from the region of Sentinum to the defence of their own frontiers. Thereupon the consuls strove to bring about an engagement in their absence. For the space of two days they harassed the enemy, but in these two days there was nothing done worth telling: a few were slain on either side and spirits were whetted for a downright battle, but the main issue was not brought to a decision. On the third day the opposing armies descended in full strength into the field.

As they stood arrayed for battle, a hind, pursued by a wolf that had chased it down from the mountains, fled across the plain and ran between the two lines. They then turned in opposite directions, the hind towards the Gauls, the wolf towards the Romans. For the wolf a passage was opened between the ranks, but the hind was killed by the Gauls. Then one of the front-rankers on the Roman side called out, "That way flight and slaughter have shaped their course, where you see the beast lie slain that is sacred to Diana; on this side the wolf of Mars, unhurt and sound, has reminded us of the Martian race and of our Founder."[1]

On the right wing stood the Gauls, on the left the Samnites. Facing the Samnites, Quintus Fabius drew up the first and third legions, to form the Roman right, while Decius marshalled the fifth and sixth on the Roman left, against the Gauls. The

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et quarta cum L. Volumnio proconsule in Samnio gerebant[1] bellum. Primo concursu adeo aequis viribus gesta res est ut si adfuissent Etrusci et Umbri, aut in acie aut in castris, quocumque se inclinassent accipienda clades fuerit.

XXVIII. Ceterum quamquam communis adhuc Mars belli erat necdum discrimen Fortuna fecerat qua datura vires esset, haudquaquam similis pugna 2 in dextro laevoque cornu erat. Romani apud Fabium arcebant magis quam inferebant pugnam extrahebaturque in quam maxime serum diei cer- 3 tamen, quia ita persuasum erat duci, et Samnites et Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit; longiore certamine sensim residere Sam- 4 nitium animos, Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque aestus fluere primaque eorum proelia plus quam virorum, postrema minus 5 quam feminarum esse. In id tempus igitur quo vinci solebat hostis, quam integerrimas vires militi 6 servabat. Ferocior Decius et aetate et vigore animi quantumcumque virium habuit certamine primo effudit. Et quia lentior videbatur pedestris pugna, 7 equitatum in pugnam concitat et ipse fortissimae iuvenum turmae immixtus orat proceres iuventutis in hostem ut secum impetum faciant: duplicem

[1] gerebant ϛ: gerebat Ω.

second and the fourth were campaigning in Samnium B.C. 295
under Lucius Volumnius the proconsul. At the first shock the strength put forth on both sides was so equal that if the Etruscans and the Umbrians had been present either in the battle or at the camp, in whichever quarter they had thrown their weight the Romans must have suffered a disaster.

XXVIII. But, though so far it was a doubtful battle and Fortune had given no indication where she intended to bestow her might, the fighting was very different on the right wing from what it was on the left. The Romans with Fabius were rather defending themselves than attacking, and were trying to prolong the struggle to as late an hour in the day as possible. This was because their general was persuaded that both Samnites and Gauls fought fiercely at the outset of an engagement, but only needed to be withstood; when a struggle was prolonged, little by little the spirits of the Samnites flagged, while the physical prowess of the Gauls, who could least of all men put up with heat and labour, ebbed away, and, whereas in the early stages of their battles they were more than men, they ended with being less than women. So until the time should come when the enemy were wont to fail, he was keeping his men as fresh as he could contrive to do. But Decius, with the greater impetuosity of his youth and spirits, expended all the strength he could muster in the first encounter. And because the fighting of the infantry seemed to languish, he called on the cavalry to attack, and attaching himself to the bravest squadron of troopers besought the youthful nobles to join him in a charge. Theirs, he said, would be a double share

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illorum gloriam fore si ab laevo cornu et ab equite
8 victoria incipiat. Bis avertere Gallicum equitatum; iterum longius evectos et iam inter media peditum[1] agmina proelium cientes novum pugnae conterruit
9 genus: essedis carrisque superstans armatus hostis ingenti sonitu equorum rotarumque advenit et insolitos[2] eius tumultus Romanorum conterruit equos.
10 Ita victorem equitatum velut lymphaticus pavor dissipat; sternit inde ruentes equos virosque im-
11 provida fuga. Turbata hinc etiam signa legionum multique impetu equorum ac vehiculorum raptorum per agmen obtriti antesignani; et insecuta, simul territos hostes vidit, Gallica acies nullum spatium respirandi recipiendique se dedit.

12 Vociferari Decius, quo fugerent quamve in fuga spem haberent; obsistere cedentibus ac revocare fusos; deinde, ut nulla vi perculsos sustinere poterat,
13 patrem P. Decium nomine compellans "Quid ultra moror" inquit "familiare fatum? Datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus. Iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri ac dis Manibus dabo."

14 Haec locutus M. Livium pontificem, quem descendens in aciem digredi vetuerat ab se, praeire

[1] peditum *Madvig*: equitum (quitum *M*) Ω.
[2] insolitos ς: insolitus Ω.

of glory, if victory should come first to the left wing B.C. 295
and to the cavalry. Twice they drove the Gallic cavalry back. The second time they were carried on for a considerable distance and soon found themselves in the midst of the companies of infantry, when they were subjected to a new and terrifying kind of assault; for, standing erect in chariots and waggons, armed enemies came rushing upon them with a mighty clattering of hoofs and wheels, frightening the horses of the Romans with the unfamiliar din. Thus the victorious cavalry were scattered, as if by a panic fit of madness, and, suddenly fleeing, were overthrown, both horse and rider. From them the disorder was communicated to the standards of the legions, and many of the first line were trodden underfoot, as horses and chariots swept through their ranks. No sooner did the Gallic infantry perceive the confusion of their enemies than they charged, without leaving them a moment to recover or regain their breath.

Decius cried out to them to tell him whither they were fleeing, or what hope they had in flight; he endeavoured to stop them as they broke and ran, and to call them back; then, his exertions proving powerless to stay their rout, he cried aloud on the name of his father Publius Decius. "Why," he asked, "do I seek any longer to postpone the doom of our house? It is the privilege of our family that we should be sacrificed to avert the nation's perils. Now will I offer up the legions of the enemy, to be slain with myself as victims to Earth and the Manes."

On going down into the field of battle he had ordered Marcus Livius the pontifex not to leave his side. He now commanded this man to recite before

A.U.C. 459 iussit verba quibus se legionesque hostium pro
15 exercitu populi Romani Quiritium devoveret. De-
votus inde eadem precatione eodemque habitu quo
pater P. Decius ad Veserim bello Latino se iusserat
16 devoveri, cum secundum sollemnes precationes
adiecisset prae se agere sese formidinem ac fugam
17 caedemque ac cruorem, caelestium inferorum iras, con-
tacturum[1] funebribus diris signa tela arma hostium,
locumque eundem suae pestis ac Gallorum ac Sam-
18 nitium fore,—haec exsecratus in se hostesque, qua
confertissimam cernebat Gallorum aciem concitat
equum inferensque se ipse infestis telis est inter-
fectus.

XXIX. Vix humanae inde opis videri pugna potuit. Romani duce amisso, quae res terrori alias esse solet, sistere fugam ac novam de integro velle instaurare
2 pugnam: Galli, et maxime globus circumstans consulis corpus, velut alienata mente vana in cassum iactare tela; torpere quidam et nec pugnae memi-
3 nisse nec fugae. At ex parte altera pontifex Livius, cui lictores Decius tradiderat iusseratque pro praetore[2] esse, vociferari vicisse Romanos defunctos
4 consulis fato; Gallos Samnitesque Telluris matris ac deorum Manium esse; rapere ad se ac vocare Decium devotam secum aciem furiarumque ac formidinis
5 plena omnia ad hostes esse. Superveniunt deinde

[1] contacturum γ: contracturum Ω.
[2] pro praetore γ: propr. T^2 (*or* T^1): pro pr. T^3: ꝓ p̄ A^1*?*: propraetorem (*or other corruptions*) Ω.

[1] For the details of this earlier devotion consult VIII. ix. 12.

him the words with which he proposed to devote B.C. 295
himself and the enemy's legions in behalf of the army of the Roman People, the Quirites. He was then devoted with the same form of prayer and in the same habit his father, Publius Decius, had commanded to be used, when he was devoted at the Veseris, in the Latin war[1]; and having added to the usual prayers that he was driving before him fear and panic, blood and carnage, and the wrath of gods celestial and gods infernal, and should blight with a curse the standards, weapons and armour of the enemy, and that one and the same place should witness his own destruction and that of the Gauls and Samnites,—having uttered, I say, these imprecations upon himself and the enemy, he spurred his charger against the Gallic lines, where he saw that they were thickest, and hurling himself against the weapons of the enemy met his death.

XXIX. From that moment the battle seemed scarce to depend on human efforts. The Romans, after losing their general—an occurrence that is wont to inspire terror—fled no longer, but sought to redeem the field; the Gauls, and especially the press about the body of the consul, as though deprived of reason, were darting their javelins at random and without effect, while some were in a daze, and could neither fight nor run away. But in the other army the pontifex Livius, to whom Decius had handed over his lictors, bidding him act as propraetor, cried aloud that the Romans had won the victory, being quit of all danger by the consul's doom. The Gauls, he said, and the Samnites were made over to Mother Earth and to the Manes; Decius was haling after him their devoted host and calling it to join him, and with the enemy all was madness and despair. While the

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his restituentibus pugnam L. Cornelius Scipio et C. Marcius cum subsidiis ex novissima acie iussu Q. Fabi consulis ad praesidium collegae missi. Ibi auditur P. Deci eventus, ingens hortamen ad omnia 6 pro re publica audenda. Itaque cum Galli structis ante se scutis conferti starent nec facilis pede conlato videretur pugna, iussu legatorum collecta humi pila quae strata inter duas acies iacebant atque in 7 testudinem hostium coniecta; quibus plerisque in scuta rarisque[1] in corpora ipsa fixis sternitur cuneus ita ut magna pars integris corporibus attoniti conciderent. Haec in sinistro cornu Romanorum fortuna variaverat.

8 Fabius in dextro primo, ut ante dictum est, cunctando extraxerat diem; dein, postquam nec clamor hostium nec impetus nec tela missa eandem vim 9 habere visa, praefectis equitum iussis ad latus Samnitium circumducere alas, ut signo dato in transversos quanto maximo possent impetu incurrerent, sensim suos signa inferre iussit et commovere hostem. 10 Postquam non resisti vidit et haud dubiam lassitudinem esse, tum collectis omnibus subsidiis, quae ad id tempus reservaverat, et legiones concitavit et signum 11 ad invadendos hostes equitibus dedit. Nec sustinuerunt Samnites impetum praeterque aciem ipsam

[1] rarisque (*or* raris) *Hertz*: uerarisque rutis *MTDLA*: uerutis *U*: uerrutis *PF*: uerutisque ζ: plerisque uerutus $A^1\zeta$: uerutisque raris *Walters and Conway* (rarisque verutis *Drakenborch*).

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[1] *Testudo*, "tortoise," was the name given to a formation in which the shields were held so close together as to form a sort of pent-house or *shell* over the soldiers.

Romans were restoring the battle, up came Lucius B.C. 295
Cornelius Scipio and Gaius Marcius, whom Quintus Fabius the consul had ordered to take reserves from the rearmost line and go to his colleague's support. There they learned of Decius's death, a great incentive to dare everything for the republic. And so, though the Gauls stood crowded together with their shields interlocked in front of them, and it looked no easy battle at close quarters, the lieutenants bade their men gather up the javelins that were scattered about on the ground between the hostile lines and cast them against the *testudo*[1] of their enemies; and as many of these missiles stuck fast in the shields and now and then one penetrated a soldier's body, their phalanx was broken up—many falling, though unwounded, as if they had been stunned. Such were the shifts of Fortune upon the Roman left.

On the right, Fabius had begun, as has been said before, by holding back and delaying the decision; later, when neither the shouts of the foe, nor their assaults, nor the missiles they discharged, seemed to have any longer the same force, he ordered the praefects of the cavalry to lead their squadrons round the wing of the Samnites, that, on the signal being given, they might attack them in the flank with all possible vigour, and commanded his own men to push forward by degrees and dislodge the enemy. When he saw that they made no resistance and there could be no question of their weariness, he gathered up all the troops which he had hitherto held in reserve, and, sending in his legions, made a signal to the cavalry to charge. The Samnites could not withstand their onset and fled in confusion past the Gallic line itself, abandon-

A.U.C. 459 Gallorum relictis in dimicatione sociis ad castra effuso
12 cursu ferebantur: Galli testudine facta conferti stabant. Tum Fabius audita morte collegae Campanorum alam, quingentos fere equites, excedere acie iubet et circumvectos ab tergo Gallicam invadere aciem;
13 tertiae deinde legionis subsequi principes, et qua turbatum agmen hostium viderent impetu equitum,
14 instare ac territos caedere. Ipse aedem Iovi Victori spoliaque hostium cum vovisset, ad castra Samnitium perrexit, quo multitudo omnis consternata agebatur.
15 Sub ipso vallo, quia tantam multitudinem portae non recepere, temptata ab exclusis turba suorum pugna
16 est; ibi Gellius Egnatius, imperator Samnitium, cecidit. Compulsi deinde intra vallum Samnites parvoque certamine capta castra et Galli ab tergo
17 circumventi. Caesa eo die hostium viginti quinque milia, octo capta. Nec incruenta victoria fuit;
18 nam ex P. Deci exercitu caesa septem milia, ex Fabi mille septingenti.[1] Fabius dimissis ad quaerendum collegae corpus spolia hostium coniecta in acervum
19 Iovi Victori cremavit. Consulis corpus eo die, quia obrutum superstratis Gallorum cumulis erat, inveniri non potuit: postero die inventum relatumque est

[1] septingenti A^6*Drakenborch*: acc *MPUTL*: ac. c. FT^2: ·a· cc *DA*: ac ducenti ς.

ing their comrades in the midst of the fighting and B.C. 295
seeking refuge in their camp. The Gauls had formed a *testudo* and stood there closely packed together. Then Fabius, who had learned of his colleague's death, commanded the squadron of Campanians, about five hundred lances, to withdraw from the line, and fetching a compass, assail the Gallic infantry in the rear; these the *principes,* or middle line, of the third legion were to follow, and, pushing in where they saw that the cavalry charge had disordered the enemy's formation, make havoc of them in their panic. He himself, after vowing a temple and the enemy's spoils to Jupiter Victor, kept on to the Samnite camp, whither the whole affrighted throng was being driven. Under the very rampart, since the gates could not receive so great a multitude, those who were shut out by the crowding of their fellows attempted some resistance; there Gellius Egnatius, the commander-in-chief of the Samnites, fell; in the upshot the Samnites were driven within the rampart and after a short struggle their camp was taken and the Gauls were cut off in the rear. There were slain that day five-and-twenty thousand of the enemy, and eight thousand were captured; nor was it a bloodless victory; for of the army of Publius Decius seven thousand were slain and seventeen hundred of the army of Fabius. Fabius sent out men to search for the body of his colleague, and, piling up the spoils of the enemy, burned them in sacrifice to Jupiter the Victor. The consul's body could not be found that day, having been buried under heaps of Gauls who had been slain above him; on the day after, it was found and brought in, amidst the lamentations of the

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20 cum multis militum lacrimis. Intermissa inde omnium aliarum rerum cura Fabius collegae funus omni honore laudibusque meritis celebrat.

XXX. Et in Etruria per eosdem dies ab Cn. Fulvio propraetore res ex sententia gesta et praeter ingentem inlatam populationibus agrorum hosti 2 cladem pugnatum etiam egregie est Perusinorumque et Clusinorum caesa amplius milia tria et signa 3 militaria ad viginti capta. Samnitium agmen cum per Paelignum agrum fugeret, circumventum a Paelignis est: ex milibus quinque ad mille caesi.

4 Magna eius diei quo in Sentinati agro bellatum 5 fama est, etiam vero stanti; sed superiecere quidam augendo fidem, qui in hostium exercitu peditum sexiens centena milia,[1] equitum sex et quadraginta milia, mille carpentorum scripsere fuisse, scilicet cum 6 Umbris Tuscisque, quos et ipsos pugnae adfuisse; et ut Romanorum quoque augerent copias, L. Volumnium pro consule ducem consulibus exercitumque 7 eius legionibus consulum adiciunt. In pluribus annalibus duorum ea consulum propria victoria est, Volumnius in Samnio interim res gerit Samnitiumque exercitum in Tifernum montem compulsum, non deterritus iniquitate loci, fundit fugatque.

8 Q. Fabius, Deciano exercitu relicto in Etruriae praesidio, suis legionibus deductis ad urbem de Gallis Etruscisque ac Samnitibus triumphavit.

[1] sexiens centena milia *Walters* (deciens centena milia *Niebuhr*): X. CCCXXX *M*: XL. CCCXXX *PFU*: (*i.e.* XL) $\overline{\text{XL}}$ (*or* XL) CCCXXX *DLA*: quadraginta milia trecentos triginta (tricentos triginta milia *T*) T^2.

soldiers. Postponing his concern for everything else, B.C. 295
Fabius celebrated the funeral of his colleague with every show of honour and well-merited eulogiums.

XXX. In Etruria too at the same time Gnaeus Fulvius the propraetor was succeeding according to his wishes, and, besides the enormous damage which his forays inflicted on the enemy, fought also a victorious battle with them. The Perusini and Clusini lost upwards of three thousand men, and some twenty military standards were captured from them. The Samnite army, as it fled through the Paelignian territory, was surrounded by the inhabitants, and of five thousand men about a thousand were slain.

Great is the glory of that day on which the battle was fought in the district of Sentinum, even if a man hold fast to truth; but some writers have so exaggerated as to over-shoot the credible, and have written that in the army of the enemy—including, of course, the Umbrians and Tuscans, for these, too, were present in the battle—there were six hundred thousand infantry, forty-six thousand horse, and a thousand cars; and, to enlarge in like manner the forces of the Romans, they add to the consuls as a general Lucius Volumnius the proconsul, and his army to their legions. In the majority of histories this victory is reserved to the two consuls, and Volumnius is waging war at the same time in Samnium, where, having driven the Samnite army up Mount Tifernus, he routs and scatters them, undeterred by the difficulties of the ground.

Quintus Fabius, leaving the Decian army on guard over Etruria, led down his own legions to Rome and triumphed over the Gauls, the Etruscans, and the

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9 Milites triumphantem secuti sunt. Celebrata inconditis militaribus non magis victoria Q. Fabi quam mors praeclara P. Deci est, excitataque memoria parentis, aequata eventu publico privatoque, filii 10 laudibus. Data ex praeda militibus aeris octogeni bini sagaque et tunicae, praemia illa tempestate militiae haudquaquam spernenda.

XXXI. His ita rebus gestis nec in Samnitibus adhuc nec in Etruria pax erat; nam et Perusinis auctoribus post deductum ab consule exercitum 2 rebellatum fuerat et Samnites praedatum in agrum Vescinum[1] Formianumque et parte alia in Aeserninum[2] quaeque Volturno adiacent flumini descendere. 3 Adversus eos Ap. Claudius praetor cum exercitu Deciano missus. Fabius in Etruria rebellante denuo quattuor milia et quingentos Perusinorum occidit, cepit ad mille septingentos quadraginta, qui redempti 4 singuli aeris trecentis decem: praeda alia omnis mili- 5 tibus concessa. Samnitium legiones, cum partem Ap. Claudius praetor partem L. Volumnius pro consule sequeretur, in agrum Stellatem convenerunt. Ibi ad Caiatiam omnes[3] considunt et Appius Volumniusque 6 castra coniungunt. Pugnatum infestissimis animis, hinc ira stimulante adversus rebellantes totiens,

[1] Vescinum *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* xx. § 1): uestinum Ω.

[2] Aeserninum *Gronovius*: aesernium MA^3: aeserunium *PFUT*: aes (*or* es-)etrunium *DLA*.

[3] ad Caiatiam omnes *Conway*: ad Samnitium omnes *PF*: ad Samnium omnes *U*: et Samnitium omnes *MTDLA*: et Samnitium legiones A^6: et Samnitium legiones omnes γ: et Samnitium omnes copiae *Madvig*.

Samnites. The soldiers followed his triumphal B.C. 295
chariot and in their rude verses celebrated no less the glorious death of Publius Decius than the victory of Fabius, reviving by their praise of the son the memory of the father, whose death (and its service to the commonwealth) had now been matched. Every soldier received from the spoils a present of eighty-two *asses* of bronze, with a cloak and tunic, a reward for military service in those days far from contemptible.

XXXI. Despite these victories, there was not yet peace either with the Samnites or in Etruria; for war had broken out afresh at the instigation of the Perusini, after the consul had withdrawn his army, and the Samnites were raiding the lands of Vescini and of Formiae on the one hand, and on the other the territory of Aesernia and the region adjacent to the Volturnus river. Against these the praetor Appius Claudius was dispatched with the army that Decius had commanded. Fabius dealt with the new outbreak in Etruria, where he slew four thousand five hundred of the Perusini and took one thousand seven hundred and forty prisoners, who were ransomed at three hundred and ten *asses* each, the rest of the booty being made over to the soldiers. The Samnite levies, of whom a part were being pursued by Appius Claudius the praetor and a part by Lucius Volumnius the pro-consul, effected a junction in the Stellate district, where they all took up a position near Caiatia. Appius and Volumnius also combined their forces. The ensuing battle was very bitterly contested, the Romans being incited by resentment against a people who had so often rebelled, while those on the other side were staking their last hopes

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7 illinc ad ultimam iam dimicantibus spem. Caesa ergo Samnitium sedecim milia trecenti, capta duo milia septingenti; ex Romano exercitu cecidere duo milia septingenti.

8 Felix annus bellicis rebus, pestilentia gravis prodigiisque sollicitus: nam et terra[1] multifariam pluvisse et in exercitu Ap. Claudi plerosque fulmini-
9 bus ictos nuntiatum est, librique ob haec aditi. Eo anno Q. Fabius Gurges, consulis filius, aliquot matronas ad populum stupri damnatas pecunia multavit; ex quo multaticio aere Veneris aedem quae prope circum est faciendam curavit.

10 Supersunt etiam nunc Samnitium bella, quae continua per quartum iam volumen annumque sextum et quadragensimum a M. Valerio A. Cornelio consulibus,[2] qui primi Samnio arma intulerunt,
11 agimus. Et ne tot annorum clades utriusque gentis laboresque actos nunc referam, quibus nequiverint
12 tamen dura illa pectora vinci, proximo anno Samnites in Sentinati agro, in[3] Paelignis, ad Tifernum, Stellatibus campis, suis ipsi legionibus mixti alienis, ab quattuor exercitibus, quattuor ducibus Romanis
13 caesi fuerant; imperatorem clarissimum gentis suae amiserant; socios belli, Etruscos Umbros Gallos, in
14 eadem fortuna videbant qua ipsi erant; nec suis nec

[1] terra ζ (*cf.* III. x. 6 *and* VII. xxviii. 7): terram Ω.
[2] consulibus A^2(*or* A^4): consule Ω.
[3] agro, in *Luterbacher*: agro Ω: agros *PF*.

[1] Fabius was presumably an aedile (*cf.* chap. xxiii. § 11 and chap. xxxiii. § 9). We learn from Servius, the commentator on Virgil, that the goddess was worshipped as *Venus Obsequens* (*ad Aen.* I. 720).

[2] *i.e.* the mountain of that name; or perhaps Livy means the town, Tifernum.

on the conflict. The Samnites accordingly lost six- B.C. 295
teen thousand three hundred slain and two thousand seven hundred captured; in the Roman army two thousand seven hundred fell.

The year, though one of success in war, was saddened by a pestilence and vexed with prodigies. Showers of earth were reported to have fallen in many places, and it was said that in the army of Appius Claudius many had been struck by lightning. On account of these signs the Sibylline books were consulted. In this year Quintus Fabius Gurges, the consul's son, assessed a fine of money against a number of married women who were convicted before the people of adultery, and with this money erected the temple of Venus which is near the Circus.[1]

There are more Samnite wars still to come, though we have dealt with them continuously throughout four books, covering a period of forty-six years, from the consulship of Marcus Valerius and Aulus Cornelius, who were the first that made war on Samnium: and—not to go over now the disasters sustained in so many years on either side and the toils endured, by which nevertheless those sturdy hearts could not be daunted—in the year just past the Samnites had fought in the territory of Sentinum, in the Pelignian country, at Tifernus,[2] and in the Stellate plains, now by themselves, with their own levies, now in company with troops from other nations, and had been cut to pieces by four armies under four Roman generals: they had lost their nation's most distinguished commander; they beheld their comrades in war, the Etruscans, Umbrians, and Gauls, in the same plight as their own; nor could they longer maintain themselves, either by their own resources

A.U.C. 459 externis viribus iam stare poterant; tamen bello non abstinebant. Adeo ne infeliciter quidem defensae libertatis taedebat et vinci quam non temptare victoriam malebant. Quinam sit ille, quem pigeat longinquitatis bellorum scribendo legendoque, quae gerentes non fatigaverunt?

A.U.C. 460 XXXII. Q. Fabium P. Decium L. Postumius Megellus[1] et M. Atilius Regulus consules secuti sunt. Samnium ambobus decreta provincia est, quia tres scriptos hostium exercitus, uno Etruriam, altero populationes Campaniae repeti, tertium tuendis parari finibus, fama erat. Postumium valetudo adversa Romae tenuit; Atilius extemplo profectus, ut in Samnio hostes—ita enim placuerat patribus—nondum egressos opprimeret. Velut ex composito ibi obvium habuere hostem ubi et vastare ipsi Samnitium agrum prohiberentur et egredi inde in pacata sociorumque populi Romani fines Samnitem prohiberent. Cum castra castris conlata essent, quod vix Romanus totiens victor auderet ausi Samnites sunt—tantum desperatio ultima temeritatis facit—castra Romana oppugnare; et quamquam non venit ad finem tam audax inceptum, tamen haud omnino vanum fuit. Nebula erat ad multum diei densa adeo ut lucis usum eriperet non prospectu

[1] Megellus (megallus T) Ω: megillus F^3 (*cf. chap.* xxvi. § 15).

[1] Livy seems to forget that the *fighters* were now and then relieved.

or by those of outside nations; yet would they not B.C. 295
abstain from war;—so far were they from wearying of a liberty which they had unsuccessfully defended, preferring rather to be conquered than not to try for victory. Who, pray, could grudge the time for writing or reading of these wars, when they could not exhaust the men who fought them?[1]

XXXII. Quintus Fabius and Publius Decius were B.C. 294
succeeded in the consulship by Lucius Postumius Megellus and Marcus Atilius Regulus. Samnium was assigned them both for their province, in consequence of a report that the enemy had raised three armies, with one of which they meant to return into Etruria, with another to resume the devastation of Campania, while the third was making ready for the defence of their frontiers. Postumius was detained in Rome by ill health: Atilius marched out at once, that he might put down the enemy in Samnium—for such was the senate's plan—ere they could cross the border. As though it had been prearranged, they encountered the foe in a place where they themselves were prevented from laying waste the territory of their enemies, while they prevented the Samnites from coming out into the district which had been pacified and the territory of the allies of the Roman People. On the camps being established over against each other, what the Romans would hardly have dared to do, victorious as they had so often been, the Samnites ventured—such temerity does utter hopelessness beget,—that is, to assault the enemy's camp; and although their desperate enterprise did not fully succeed, still, it was not altogether futile. There was a fog which lasted well on into the day, so dense as to shut out the light and

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modo extra vallum adempto sed propinquo etiam
7 congredientium inter se conspectu. Hac velut latebra insidiarum freti Samnites vixdum satis certa luce et eam ipsam premente caligine ad stationem Romanam in porta segniter agentem vigilias per-
8 veniunt. Improviso oppressis nec animi satis ad resistendum nec virium fuit. Ab tergo castrorum
9 decumana porta impetus factus; itaque captum quaestorium quaestorque ibi L. Opimius Pansa occisus. Conclamatum inde ad arma.

XXXIII. Consul tumultu excitus cohortes duas sociorum, Lucanam Suessanamque, quae proximae forte erant, tueri praetorium iubet; manipulos
2 legionum principali via inducit. Vixdum satis aptatis armis in ordines eunt et clamore magis quam oculis hostem noscunt nec quantus numerus sit
3 aestimari potest. Cedunt primo incerti fortunae suae et hostem introrsum in media castra accipiunt; inde, cum consul vociferaretur, expulsine extra
4 vallum castra deinde sua oppugnaturi essent,[1] clamore sublato conixi primo resistunt, deinde inferunt pedem urgentque et impulsos semel terrore eodem quo[2] coeperunt expellunt extra portam
5 vallumque. Inde pergere ac persequi, quia turbida lux metum circa insidiarum faciebat, non ausi,

[1] essent ~ *Duker* | *Walters, Class. Quart,* 12 (1918) *p.* 113) essent rogitans Ω.

[2] eodem quo *Madvig*: eodem agunt (*or* cogunt) quo Ω.

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[1] Situated behind the *praetorium* (headquarters) and between it and the decuman gate.

[2] A wide street parallel with the front and rear lines of the camp, at either end of which was a gate—the *porta principalis dextra* and *porta principalis sinistra* respectively.

render it impossible to see, not only beyond the rampart, but even at a little way off, when people approached each other. Relying on this, as on a screen for their operations, the Samnites came up, when day had scarcely dawned, and even so was hidden behind the murk, to the Roman outpost that was negligently standing guard before the gate. Falling upon them unawares they encountered neither courage nor strength sufficient to hold them in check. They charged in by the decuman gate in the rear of the camp, captured the quaestor's tent,[1] and slew the quaestor, Lucius Opimius Pansa; whereupon a general alarm was cried. B.C. 294

XXXIII. The consul, aroused by the din, commanded the two allied cohorts which happened to be nearest—those from Lucania and Suessa—to guard headquarters, and put himself at the head of the legionary maniples in the *via principalis*.[2] The men fell in ere they had fairly fitted on their armour, and, knowing the enemy more by their shouting than by the sight of them, were unable to form any estimate of their numbers. At first they gave ground, uncertain how fortune stood with them, and admitted the foe into the middle of the camp: then, on the consul's asking them whether they meant to be driven without the wall and afterwards make an assault on their own camp, they gave a cheer, and, exerting themselves, first made a successful stand, and afterwards pushed forward and forced their enemies back, and, having once repulsed them, left them no time to recover their first dismay, but thrust them out of gate and rampart. Not venturing then to go on and pursue them, since the dim light made them fear an ambush, they retired—content to have

A.U.C. 440 liberatis castris contenti receperunt se intra vallum
6 trecentis ferme hostium occisis. Romanorum statio-
nis primae [1] et eorum qui circa quaestorium oppressi
periere ad septingentos [2] triginta.
7 Animos inde Samnitibus non infelix audacia auxit
et non modo proferre inde castra Romanum sed ne
pabulari quidem per agros suos patiebantur; retro
in pacatum Soranum agrum pabulatores ibant.
8 Quarum rerum fama, tumultuosior etiam quam res
erant, perlata Romam coegit L. Postumium consulem
9 vixdum validum proficisci ex urbe. Prius tamen
quam exiret, militibus edicto Soram iussis convenire
ipse aedem Victoriae, quam aedilis curulis ex multa-
10 ticia pecunia faciendam curaverat, dedicavit. Ita ad
exercitum profectus, ab Sora in Samnium ad castra
collegae perrexit. Inde postquam Samnites diffisi
duobus exercitibus resisti posse recesserunt, diversi
consules ad vastandos agros urbesque oppugnandas
discedunt.

XXXIV. Postumius Milioniam oppugnare adortus
vi [3] primo atque impetu, dein, postquam ea parum
procedebant, opere ac vineis demum iniunctis muro
2 cepit. Ibi capta iam urbe ab hora quarta usque ad
octavam fere horam omnibus partibus urbis diu
incerto eventu pugnatum est; postremo potitur

[1] primae *Conway*: primae uigilumque (*or* uigiliumque *or* uiciumque *or* uiiiumque) Ω.

[2] septingentos *edd.*: acc (*for* DCC) *or other corruptions* Ω.

[3] vi ϝ: ut *PFUT*: *omitted by MDLA.*

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[1] Probably on the Palatine, since Livy mentions a shrine of Victory as being there at XXIX. xiv. 13.

[2] An unidentified Samnite city.

cleared their camp—within the palisade, having B.C. 294
slain about three hundred of the enemy. The Roman loss, at the outpost and amongst those who were taken by surprise at the quaestor's tent, was some seven hundred and thirty.

This bold and not unsuccessful venture of the Samnites raised their spirits; and not only would they not permit the Romans to go forward, but they would not even permit them to forage in their fields; the foragers fell back on the peaceful territory about Sora. The rumour of these events—more startling even than the events themselves—being brought to Rome compelled the consul Lucius Postumius, though barely recovered, to take the field. But after issuing a proclamation calling upon his soldiers to assemble at Sora, he himself, before leaving the City, dedicated a shrine to Victory, which he had built,[1] as curule aedile, with money received from fines. Having then set out to join the army, he led it from Sora to his colleague's camp in Samnium. The Samnites then retreated, having no confidence in their ability to resist two armies, and the consuls separated and marched in different directions to waste their fields and attack their cities.

XXXIV. Postumius essayed to capture Milionia.[2] Unsuccessful in his first attempt to storm the place, he proceeded against it by regular approaches, and, having brought his pent-houses into contact with the walls, effected an entrance. Thereupon, though the city was already taken, there ensued in every quarter without interruption, from the fourth hour till about the eighth, a desperate struggle, the result of which was long in doubt. At last the

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3 oppido Romanus. Samnitium caesi tria milia ducenti, capti quattuor milia septingenti[1] praeter praedam aliam.

4 Inde Feritrum ductae legiones, unde oppidani omnibus rebus suis quae ferri agique potuerunt nocte
5 per aversam portam silentio excesserunt. Igitur, simul advenit consul, primo ita compositus instructusque moenibus successit, tamquam idem quod ad
6 Milioniam fuerat certaminis foret; deinde, ut silentium vastum in urbe nec arma nec viros in turribus ac muris vidit, avidum invadendi deserta moenia militem detinet, ne quam occultam in fraudem in-
7 cautus rueret; duas turmas sociorum Latini nominis circumequitare moenia atque explorare omnia iubet. Equites portam unam alteramque eadem regione in propinquo patentes conspiciunt itineribusque iis
8 vestigia nocturnae hostium fugae. Adequitant deinde sensim portis urbemque ex tuto rectis itineribus perviam conspiciunt et consuli[2] referunt excessum urbe; solitudine haud dubia id perspicuum esse et recentibus vestigiis fugae ac strage rerum in trepi-
9 datione nocturna relictarum passim. His auditis consul ad eam partem urbis quam adierant equites circumducit agmen. Constitutis haud procul porta

[1] septingenti A^6 *Drakenborch*: acc (*or other corruptions*) Ω.
[2] et consuli ϝ: et coñs (*or other corruptions*) Ω.

[1] Otherwise unknown.

Romans made themselves masters of the place. B.C. 294
The Samnites lost three thousand two hundred slain and four thousand seven hundred captured, besides other booty.

From there the legions were led to Feritrum,[1] which the townspeople, with all their possessions which they could carry or drive away, evacuated in the silence of the night, by the opposite gate. So, then, the consul was no sooner come than he advanced up to the walls with all the order and circumspection of one who looked for the same resistance that he had met with at Milionia; but afterwards, finding the city as silent as a desert and neither arms nor men upon the battlements and towers, he restrained his soldiers, who were eager to scale the abandoned walls, lest they should rush improvidently into some hidden trap. He ordered two squadrons of Latin allies to make a circuit of the fortifications and effect a thorough reconnaissance. The troopers discovered a wide-open gate, and near it in the same quarter another one, and saw in the roads leading out of them the traces of the enemy's nocturnal flight. Riding up then slowly and cautiously to the gates, they saw that the city could be safely traversed by streets that led straight through it, and reported to the consul that it had been abandoned. This was evident, they said, from the unmistakable solitude and the fresh signs of flight and the objects that lay scattered about where they had been discarded in the confusion of the darkness. On receiving this account, the consul led his army round to that side of the city which the horsemen had approached. Halting the troops not far from the gate, he commanded

A.U.C. 460 signis quinque equites iubet intrare urbem et modicum spatium progressos tres manere eodem loco, si
10 tuta videantur, duos explorata ad se referre. Qui ubi redierunt rettuleruntque eo se progressos unde in omnes partes circumspectus esset longe lateque
11 silentium ac solitudinem vidisse, extemplo consul cohortes expeditas in urbem induxit, ceteros interim
12 castra communire iussit. Ingressi milites refractis foribus paucos graves aetate aut invalidos inveniunt
13 relictaque quae migratu difficilia essent. Ea direpta; et cognitum ex captivis est communi consilio aliquot circa urbes conscisse fugam; suos prima vigilia profectos; credere eandem in aliis urbibus solitudinem
14 inventuros. Dictis captivorum fides exstitit, desertis oppidis consul potitur.

XXXV. Alteri consuli M. Atilio nequaquam tam facile bellum fuit. Cum ad Luceriam duceret legiones, quam oppugnari ab Samnitibus audierat, ad finem Lucerinum ei hostis obvius fuit. Ibi ira
2 vires aequavit; proelium varium et anceps fuit, tristius tamen eventu Romanis, et quia insueti erant vinci et quia digredientes magis quam in ipso certamine senserunt quantum in sua parte plus volnerum

five horsemen to enter and advance for a short distance; then, if all seemed safe, three of these were to remain there together, and the other two were to report to him what they had found. When they came back and reported that they had advanced to a place from which a view could be had in all directions, and that silence and solitude reigned far and wide, the consul at once led some light-armed cohorts into the city and ordered the rest to construct a camp in the meanwhile. Having entered the place and broken in the house-doors, the soldiers discovered some few decrepit or bed-ridden people and certain things abandoned as too difficult to remove. These things were seized. It was learned from the prisoners that a number of communities in the vicinity had agreed together in planning flight; their own people had left in the first watch; they believed that the Romans would find the same solitude in the other cities. The statements of the prisoners turned out to be true, and the consul took possession of the deserted towns. B.C. 294

XXXV. The other consul, Marcus Atilius, had by no means so easy a war. He was marching, at the head of his legions, towards Luceria, which he had heard was being besieged by the Samnites, when the enemy met him at the Lucerine frontier. On this occasion rage made their strength as great as his, and the battle was one of shifting fortunes and doubtful issue. Yet its outcome was more discouraging to the Romans, both as having been unaccustomed to defeat, and because, as they were retiring from the field, they could see, even better than during the actual engagement, how much their side had got the worst of it in killed and wounded.

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3 ac caedis fuisset. Itaque is terror in castris ortus, qui si pugnantes cepisset, insignis accepta clades foret; tum quoque sollicita nox fuit iam invasurum castra Samnitem credentibus aut prima luce cum victoribus conserendas manus.

4 Minus cladis ceterum non plus animorum ad hostes erat. Ubi primum inluxit, abire sine certamine cupiunt; sed via una et ea ipsa praeter hostes erat, qua ingressi praebuere speciem recta tendentium ad
5 castra oppugnanda. Consul arma capere milites iubet et sequi se extra vallum; legatis tribunis praefectis sociorum imperat quod apud quemque facto opus est.
6 Omnes adfirmant se quidem omnia facturos, sed militum iacere animos; tota nocte inter volnera et
7 gemitus morientium vigilatum esse; si ante lucem ad castra ventum foret, tantum pavoris fuisse ut relicturi signa fuerint; nunc pudore a fuga contineri, alioqui pro victis esse.

8 Quae ubi consul accepit, sibimet ipsi circumeundos adloquendosque milites ratus, ut ad quosque venerat,
9 cunctantes arma capere increpabat: quid cessarent tergiversarenturque? Hostem in castra venturum nisi illi extra castra exissent, et pro tentoriis suis pugnaturos si pro vallo nollent. Armatis ac dimi-

The consequence of this was such a panic in the camp as, had it come over them whilst they were fighting, must have led to a signal overthrow. Even so the night was an anxious one, for they thought that the Samnites would soon be attacking the camp, or else that they would have to fight their victorious enemy at break of day. B.C. 294

The enemy had suffered less, but was not less faint-hearted. As soon as it grew light they wished to retire without giving battle. But there was only one road, and this led past their enemies, and when they had started to go that way, they looked as if marching straight to attack the camp. The consul ordered the soldiers to arm and follow him outside the rampart. To the lieutenants, tribunes, and prefects of the allies he explained what part it was needful for their several commands to play. They all assured him that, as for themselves, they were ready for anything, but that the soldiers were dispirited; all night long they had been kept awake by the groans of the wounded and the dying; had the enemy attacked the camp before daylight, their fear would have been so great as to cause them to desert their ranks: as it was, they were withheld by shame from running away, but were otherwise as good as beaten.

On hearing this, the consul thought he had best go about himself among the men and talk to them. Wherever he went he scolded those who were hesitating to arm themselves: Why did they linger and hold back? The enemy would come into the camp, unless they went out; and they would be fighting before their tents, if they were not willing to fight before the palisade. If men armed themselves

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10 cantibus dubiam victoriam esse; qui nudus atque inermis hostem maneat, ei aut mortem aut servitutem
11 patiendam. Haec iurganti increpantique respondebant confectos se pugna hesterna esse, nec virium quicquam nec sanguinis superesse; maiorem multitudinem hostium apparere quam pridie fuerit.
12 Inter haec appropinquabat agmen; et iam breviore intervallo certiora intuentes, vallum secum portare Samnitem adfirmant nec dubium esse quin castra
13 circumvallaturi sint. Tunc enimvero consul indignum facinus esse vociferari tantam contumeliam ignominiamque ab ignavissimo accipi hoste. "Etiamne
14 circumsedebimur" inquit "in castris, ut fame potius per ignominiam quam ferro, si necesse est, per virtutem moriamur?" Di bene verterent; facerent
15 quod[1] se dignum quisque ducerent: consulem M. Atilium vel solum, si nemo alius sequatur, iturum adversus hostes casurumque inter signa Samnitium potius quam circumvallari castra Romana videat.
16 Dicta consulis legati tribunique et omnes turmae equitum et centuriones primorum ordinum approbavere.
17 Tum pudore victus miles segniter arma capit, segniter e castris egreditur longo agmine nec continenti; maesti ac prope victi procedunt adversus
18 hostem nec spe nec animo certiorem. Itaque simul conspecta sunt Romana signa, extemplo a primo

[1] Di bene verterent: facerent quod *Duker*: di (*or* dii) bene uerterent facerentque quod Ω.

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[1] The true explanation being that the Samnites were quitting their camp and were carrying the stakes to use in constructing the next one.

and fought, it was a question whose the victory B.C. 294
would be; but a man who waited for the enemy, unarmed and helpless, must put up with either death or slavery. To these objurgations and reproaches they replied that they were exhausted with the battle of the previous day and had no strength left nor blood to shed; while the enemy appeared to be in greater numbers than on the day before.

Meanwhile the column was approaching; and presently, as the soldiers obtained a closer view of them, they declared that the Samnites were carrying stakes and were doubtless going to fence in the camp.[1] At this the consul lost all patience, and shouted out that it was a shameful thing to suffer such disgrace and humiliation at the hands of the most cowardly of foes. "Shall we even be pent up within our camp," he cried, "to die shamefully of hunger, rather than, if need be, by the sword, like gallant men?" Heaven prosper them! They must act as each thought worthy of himself; but the consul, Marcus Atilius—alone if there were none to follow him—would charge the enemy, and sooner fall amongst the standards of the Samnites than see a Roman camp beleaguered. The consul's words were approved by the lieutenants and the tribunes and by all the squadrons of horse and the centurions of highest rank.

Then the soldiers began, for very shame, to arm, and slowly emerged from the stockade; in a long and straggling column, discouraged and almost beaten, they advanced towards the enemy, who were no better off for hopefulness or courage. Accordingly, no sooner had they beheld the Roman standards than a murmur ran through the column

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Samnitium agmine ad novissimum fremitus perfertur, exire, id quod timuerint, ad impediendum iter 19 Romanos; nullam inde ne fugae quidem patere viam; illo loco aut cadendum esse aut stratis hostibus per corpora eorum evadendum.

XXXVI. In medium[1] sarcinas coniciunt; armati 2 suis quisque ordinibus instruunt aciem. Iam exiguum inter duas acies erat spatium, et stabant exspectantes dum ab hostibus prius impetus prius clamor inci- 3 peret. Neutris animus est ad pugnandum, diversique integri atque intacti abissent, ni cedenti instaturum alterum timuissent. Sua sponte inter invitos tergiversantesque segnis pugna clamore incerto atque impari coepit; nec vestigio quisquam movebatur.

4 Tum consul Romanus, ut rem excitaret, equitum paucas turmas extra ordinem immisit; quorum cum plerique delapsi ex equis essent et alii turbati, et a Samnitium acie ad opprimendos eos qui ceciderant 5 et ad suos tuendos ab Romanis procursum est. Inde paulum inritata pugna est; sed aliquanto et impigre magis et plures procurrerant Samnites et turbatus eques sua ipse subsidia territis equis proculcavit. 6 Hinc fuga coepta totam avertit aciem Romanam; iamque in terga fugientium Samnites pugnabant, cum consul equo praevectus ad portam castrorum ac

[1] in medium *Iac. Gronovius*: in medio Ω.

of the Samnites, from the foremost to the hindmost, B.C. 294
that the Romans—just as they had feared—were coming out to dispute their passing; there was no way open even for flight; they must fall where they stood, or else cut down their foes and escape over their bodies.

XXXVI. They heaped up their baggage together, and, being armed, went every man to his own place in the ranks, and the battle-line was formed. And now there was but a little space between the armies, and they halted, each waiting for the other to be first to attack and first to raise a cheer. Neither side had any stomach for fighting, and they would have gone off in opposite directions, scatheless and unhurt, had they not been afraid that, if they retired, their enemies would advance. No signal was given, but though unwilling and reluctant, they began to fight, in a half-hearted manner, with an uncertain and unequal shout; nor would any man stir from his place.

Then the Roman consul, to put some life into the work, detached a few troops of cavalry and sent them in. Of these the most part were unhorsed, and, the rest being thrown into confusion, there was a rush on the part of the Samnites to dispatch the fallen and on that of the Romans to save their comrades. This infused a little spirit into the fighting; but the Samnites had charged somewhat more briskly and in greater numbers, and the disordered cavalry, their horses becoming terrified, rode down their own supports, who began a flight that spread to the whole Roman army. And now the Samnites were on the backs of the fugitives, when the consul, galloping on before to the gate of the camp, posted

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7 statione equitum ibi opposita edictoque ut quicumque ad vallum tenderet, sive ille Romanus sive Samnis esset, pro hoste haberetur,[1] haec ipse minitans obstitit
8 profuse tendentibus suis in castra. "Quo pergis" inquit, "miles? Et hic arma et viros invenies nec vivo consule tuo nisi victor castra intrabis; proinde elige, cum cive an hoste pugnare malis."
9 Haec dicente consule equites infestis cuspidibus circumfunduntur ac peditem in pugnam redire iubent. Non virtus solum consulis sed fors etiam adiuvit, quod non institerunt Samnites spatiumque circumagendi signa vertendique aciem a castris in hostem fuit.
10 Tum alii alios hortari ut repeterent pugnam; centuriones ab signiferis rapta signa inferre et ostendere suis paucos et ordinibus inconpositis effuse venire
11 hostes. Inter haec consul manus ad caelum attollens voce clara, ita ut exaudiretur, templum Iovi Statori vovet, si constitisset a fuga Romana acies redintegratoque proelio cecidisset vicissetque legiones Sam-
12 nitium. Omnes undique adnisi ad restituendam pugnam, duces milites, peditum equitumque vis. Numen etiam deorum respexisse nomen Romanum visum; adeo facile inclinata res repulsique a castris hostes, mox etiam redacti ad eum locum in quo

[1] haberetur (*followed by erasure*) A τ: haberent Ω: haberet MA^2 (*or* A^1).

there a guard of horse and commanded them, whosoever should make for the rampart, be he Roman or Samnite, to treat him as a foe. He likewise threatened the men himself, and stopped them as they made in disorder for the camp. "Where are you going, men?" he shouted: "Here too you will find arms and soldiers, and while your consul lives you shall not enter the camp, except as victors. Choose, therefore, whether you would sooner fight with fellow-citizens or enemies!" B.C. 294

As the consul spoke these words, the cavalry gathered round the infantry and levelling their spears bade them return into the battle. Not only the consul's bravery but Fortune also helped; for the Samnites did not press their advantage, and he had time to reverse his standards and change his front from the camp to the enemy. They then began to encourage each other to resume the fight; the centurions snatched the standards from the standard-bearers and carried them forward, pointing out to their men that the enemy were few in number and were coming on in irregular and ill-formed ranks. At this juncture the consul lifted up his hands to heaven, and in a clear voice, so as to be overheard, vowed a temple to Jupiter the Stayer, if the Roman army should stay its flight, and renewing the struggle cut to pieces and overcome the legions of the Samnites. Everybody, all along the line—officers, soldiers, infantry and horse—made an effort to restore the day. It even seemed that the divine power of the gods was concerned for the renown of Rome, so easily was the struggle turned and the enemy repulsed from the camp, and in a short time driven back to the place where the fighting had

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13 commissa pugna erat. Ibi obiacente sarcinarum cumulo, quas coniecerant in medium, haesere impediti; deinde, ne diriperentur res, orbem armatorum
14 sarcinis circumdant. Tum vero eos a fronte urgere pedites, ab tergo circumvecti equites; ita in medio caesi captique. Captivorum numerus fuit septem milium octingentorum,[1] qui omnes nudi sub iugum missi; caesos rettulere ad quattuor milia octingentos.
15 Ne Romanis quidem laeta victoria fuit; recensente consule biduo acceptam cladem amissorum militum numerus relatus septem milium octingentorum.
16 Dum haec in Apulia gerebantur, altero exercitu Samnites Interamnam, coloniam Romanam, quae via Latina est, occupare conati urbem non tenuerunt;
17 agros depopulati, cum praedam aliam inde mixtam hominum atque pecudum colonosque captos agerent, in victorem incidunt consulem ab Luceria redeuntem; nec praedam solum amittunt sed ipsi longo atque
18 impedito agmine incompositi caeduntur. Consul Interamnam edicto dominis ad res suas noscendas recipiendasque revocatis et exercitu ibi relicto
19 comitiorum causa Romam est profectus. Cui de triumpho agenti negatus honos et ob amissa tot milia militum et quod captivos sine pactione sub iugum misisset.

XXXVII. Consul alter Postumius, quia in Samnitibus materia belli deerat, in Etruriam[2] transducto

[1] octingentorum (dccc) A^6 *Drakenborch*: accc (*or other corruptions*) Ω.

[2] in Etruriam ζ: etruriam Ω.

[1] The consul was blamed not for humiliating the enemy, but for letting them off with the humiliation—as though they had surrendered upon that understanding—instead of selling them as slaves, which he had it in his power to do.

begun. There they were held up by the heap of B.C. 294
bundles which they had piled together, and, to keep their effects from being rifled, they formed around them a circle of armed men. Then the foot-soldiers fell hotly upon them in the front, and the cavalry rode round and assailed them in the rear; and so between the two they were slaughtered or made prisoners. The number of the captives was seven thousand eight hundred, who were all stripped and sent under the yoke: the slain were reported at four thousand eight hundred. Even the Romans had no joy of their victory, for the consul found, on reckoning up the two days' casualties, that he had lost seven thousand eight hundred men.

Whilst these affairs were taking place in Apulia, the Samnites with a second army attempted to seize Interamna, a Roman colony on the Latin Way, but could not take it; having pillaged the farms, they were driving off a miscellaneous booty of men and beasts, together with the captured settlers, when they encountered the victorious consul returning from Luceria, and not only lost their spoils, but, marching without order in a long and encumbered column, were massacred themselves. The consul made proclamation summoning the owners back to Interamna to identify and receive again their property, and, leaving there his army, went to Rome for the purpose of conducting the elections. When he sought to obtain a triumph, the honour was denied him, on the ground that he had lost so many thousand men, and because he had sent the prisoners under the yoke, though they had made no terms.[1]

XXXVII. The other consul, Postumius, in default of enemies in Samnium, transferred his army to

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exercitu primum pervastaverat Volsiniensem agrum;
2 dein cum egressis ad tuendos fines haud procul
moenibus ipsorum depugnat: duo milia octingenti[1]
Etruscorum caesi; ceteros propinquitas urbis tutata
3 est. In Rusellanum[2] agrum exercitus traductus;
ibi non agri tantum vastati sed oppidum etiam ex-
pugnatum; capta amplius duo milia hominum, minus
4 duo milia circa muros caesa. Pax tamen clarior
maiorque quam bellum in Etruria eo anno fuerat
parta est. Tres validissimae urbes, Etruriae capita,
5 Volsinii Perusia Arretium, pacem petiere; et vesti-
mentis militum frumentoque pacti cum consule, ut
mitti Romam oratores liceret, indutias in quadraginta
annos impetraverunt. Multa praesens quingentum
milium aeris in singulas[3] civitates imposita.
6 Ob hasce res gestas consul cum triumphum ab
senatu moris magis causa quam spe impetrandi
7 petisset videretque alios quod tardius ab urbe exis-
set, alios quod iniussu senatus ex Samnio in Etruriam
transisset, partim suos inimicos, partim collegae
amicos ad solacium aequatae repulsae sibi quoque
8 negare triumphum, "Non ita" inquit, "patres con-
scripti, vestrae maiestatis meminero, ut me consulem
esse obliviscar. Eodem iure imperii quo bella gessi,

[1] octingenti (dccc) A^5 *Drakenborch*: accc (*or other corruptions*) Ω.

[2] Rusellanum *Gronovius* (*chap.* iv. § 5): rosellanum (*or other corruptions*) Ω.

[3] aeris in singulas *Andreas* (*ed. Rom.* 1469): aerisingulas *MPT*: aeris singulas M^3: aeris singulis $P^2UT^2A^6$: aeris *R*: aeris in R^2: *omitted by DLA.*

Etruria. There he first devastated the lands of the Volsinienses, and then, when they came out to defend their territory, defeated them at no great distance from their own walls. Two thousand eight hundred Etruscans were slain; the rest were saved by their nearness to the city. The army was then led into the territory of Rusellae. There not only were the fields laid waste, but the town was captured too. More than two thousand were made prisoners and somewhat fewer were killed in the fighting about the walls. Yet a peace was made that year in Etruria that was more glorious and of more importance than the fighting had been. Three very powerful cities, the chief places in that country, namely Volsinii, Perusia, and Arretium, made overtures of peace, and arranged with the consul, in return for clothing and corn for his troops, to be permitted to send ambassadors to Rome, who obtained a truce for forty years. A fine of five hundred thousand *asses*, to be paid at once, was assessed upon each state. B.C. 294

In view of these achievements, the consul asked the senate for a triumph, more as a matter of custom than with any hope of obtaining his request. When he perceived that some were for denying him on the ground of his tardiness in leaving the City, and others because he had gone over without the authorization of the senate from Samnium into Etruria—a part of these critics being his personal enemies, and the rest friends of his colleague, who were minded to console the latter for his rebuff by denying a triumph to Postumius also—seeing, I say, how matters stood, he spoke as follows: "I shall not be so mindful, Conscript Fathers, of your dignity as to forget that I am consul. In virtue of the same authority with

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bellis feliciter gestis, Samnio atque Etruria subactis,
9 victoria et pace parta triumphabo." Ita senatum reliquit. Inde inter tribunos plebis contentio orta; pars intercessuros, ne novo exemplo triumpharet aiebat, pars auxilio se adversus collegas triumphanti
10 futuros. Iactata res ad populum est vocatusque eo consul cum M. Horatium L.[1] Valerium consules, C. Marcium Rutulum[2] nuper, patrem eius qui tunc censor esset, non ex auctoritate senatus sed iussu
11 populi triumphasse diceret, adiciebat se quoque laturum fuisse ad populum, ni sciret mancipia nobilium, tribunos plebis, legem impedituros; voluntatem sibi ac favorem consentientis populi pro
12 omnibus iussis esse ac futura. Posteroque die auxilio tribunorum plebis trium adversus intercessionem septem tribunorum et consensum senatus celebrante populo diem triumphavit.
13 Et huius anni parum constans memoria est. Postumium auctor est Claudius in Samnio captis aliquot urbibus in Apulia fusum fugatumque saucium ipsum cum paucis Luceriam compulsum: ab Atilio in
14 Etruria res gestas eumque triumphasse. Fabius ambo consules in Samnio et ad Luceriam res gessisse

[1] M. Horatium L. *Glareanus and Sigonius*: L. Horatium M. Ω (*cf. C.I.L.* i², *p.* 44, A.U.C. 305).
[2] Rutulum (*see* III. vii. 6 *and* VII. xxxviii. 8) rutilium Ω.

[1] *i.e.* the law granting the triumph.
[2] Compare chap. xxvi. §§ 5–7, and chap. xxx. §§ 4–7.
[3] Q. Claudius Quadrigarius composed his annals about 80 B.C., covering the period from the Gallic invasion to his own times.
[4] Q. Fabius Pictor was a contemporary of Hannibal and wrote an annalistic history of Rome in Greek.

which I conducted my wars, I intend, now that those wars are happily concluded with the subjugation of Samnium and Etruria and the winning of victory and peace, to celebrate a triumph." So saying he left the senate. A dispute then arose amongst the tribunes of the plebs; some declared that they would interpose their veto to prevent this unprecedented kind of triumph, others that they would support his claims against the opposition of their colleagues. The question was discussed in an assembly and the consul was asked to speak. He reminded them that Marcus Horatius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls, and lately Gaius Marcius Rutulus, father of him who was then censor, had triumphed not by authorization of the senate but by command of the people; and he added that he, too, would have referred the question to the people, had he not known that there were tribunes who were owned by the nobles and would obstruct the law[1]; but the wishes and approbation of the people when they were of one accord had all the binding force with him—and ever would have—of any orders whatsoever. And so, on the following day, with the support of three tribunes of the plebs, against the opposition of seven who forbade the proceedings and a unanimous senate, Postumius triumphed, with the people thronging in attendance. B.C. 294

Of this year, too, the tradition is uncertain.[2] Postumius, if we follow Claudius,[3] after capturing several cities in Samnium, was defeated in Apulia and put to flight, and, being wounded himself, was forced to take refuge with a few followers in Luceria; while Atilius campaigned in Etruria and obtained a triumph. Fabius[4] writes that both consuls fought in Samnium and at Luceria; that the army was led

A.U.C. 460 scribit traductumque in Etruriam exercitum—sed ab utro consule non adicit[1]—et ad Luceriam utrimque
15 multos occisos inque ea pugna Iovis Statoris aedem votam, ut Romulus ante voverat; sed fanum tantum,
16 id est locus templo effatus, fuerat. Ceterum hoc demum anno ut aedem etiam fieri senatus iuberet bis eiusdem voti damnata re publica[2] in religionem venit.

A.U.C. 461 XXXVIII. Sequitur hunc annum et consul insignis, L. Papirius Cursor, qua paterna gloria qua sua, et bellum ingens victoriaque quantam de Samnitibus nemo ad eam diem praeter L. Papirium
2 patrem consulis[3] pepererat. Et forte eodem conatu apparatuque omni opulentia insignium armorum bellum adornaverant, et deorum etiam adhibuerant opes, ritu quodam sacramenti vetusto velut initiatis militibus, dilectu per omne Samnium habito nova
3 lege, ut qui iuniorum non convenisset ad imperatorum edictum quique iniussu abisset eius caput[4]
4 Iovi sacraretur.[5] Tum exercitus omnis Aquiloniam est indictus. Ad quadraginta[6] milia militum, quod roboris in Samnio erat, convenerunt.
5 Ibi mediis fere castris locus est consaeptus cratibus pluteisque et linteis contectus, patens ducentos
6 maxime pedes in omnes pariter partis. Ibi ex libro

[1] adicit adii- *Madvig*: adiecit Ω.
[2] re publica A^2 *Gronovius*: respublica Ω.
[3] consulis $\bar{c}$: cōs *P*: consulem *MTDLA*: eius consulem *U*.
[4] eius caput *M. Mueller* (II. viii. 2): caput (capud *A*) Ω.
[5] sacraretur *Madvig*: sacratum erat Ω.
[6] quadraginta (XL) *MULA*[2] (*or* A^6): sexaginta (LX) *PTDA*.

[1] The same, that is, as in the year 309 B.C., when they had

over into Etruria—by which consul he does not state B.C. 294
—and that at Luceria both sides suffered heavy losses; in the course of the battle a temple was vowed to Jupiter Stator, as Romulus had vowed one before; but only the *fanum*, or place set apart for the temple, had been consecrated; this year, however, their scruples demanded that the senate should order the erection of the building, since the state had now been obligated for the second time by the same vow.

XXXVIII. The following year brought with it a B.C. 293
consul, Lucius Papirius Cursor, remarkable both for his father's glory and for his own, and a mighty war, with a victory such as no one, save Lucius Papirius, the consul's father, had until that day obtained over the Samnites. And it happened that the enemy had made their preparations for the war with the same[1] earnestness and pomp and all the magnificence of splendid arms, and had likewise invoked the assistance of the gods, initiating, as it were, their soldiers, in accordance with a certain antique form of oath. But first they held a levy throughout Samnium under this new ordinance, that whosoever of military age did not report in response to the proclamation of the generals, or departed without their orders, should forfeit his life to Jupiter. Which done, they appointed all the army to meet at Aquilonia, where some forty thousand soldiers, the strength of Samnium, came together.

There, at about the middle of the camp, they had enclosed an area, extending approximately two hundred feet in all directions, with wicker hurdles, and roofed it over with linen. In this place they

[1] fought against the Romans, who were commanded by the elder Papirius (IX. xl. 2 ff.).

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vetere linteo lecto[1] sacrificatum sacerdote Ovio Paccio quodam, homine magno natu, qui se id sacrum petere adfirmabat ex vetusta Samnitium religione, qua quondam usi maiores eorum fuissent, cum adimendae Etruscis Capuae clandestinum cepissent
7 consilium. Sacrificio perfecto per viatorem imperator acciri iubebat nobilissimum quemque genere
8 factisque: singuli introducebantur. Erat cum alius apparatus sacri qui perfundere religione animum posset, tum in loco circa omni contecto arae in medio victimaeque circa caesae et circumstantes cen-
9 turiones strictis gladiis. Admovebatur altaribus magis ut victima quam ut sacri particeps adigebaturque[2] iure iurando quae visa auditaque in eo loco
10 essent,[3] non enuntiaturum. Dein iurare cogebant diro quodam carmine, in exsecrationem capitis familiaeque et stirpis composito, nisi isset in proelium quo[4] imperatores duxissent et si aut ipse ex acie fugisset aut si quem fugientem vidisset non ex-
11 templo occidisset. Id primo quidam abnuentes iuraturos se obtruncati circa altaria sunt; iacentes deinde inter stragem victimarum documento ceteris
12 fuere ne abnuerent. Primoribus Samnitium ea detestatione obstrictis, decem nominatis ab imperatore, eis dictum ut vir virum legerent donec sedecim

[1] lecto Ω: tecto *Madvig*.

[2] adigebaturque L^3?: adicebaturque *MPTDA*: adiciebaturque *UL*.

[3] essent M^2 (*or* M^1) P^2 (*or* P^3) *u* T^2 (*or* T^1) D^3A^6: eo essent *MP*: coissent *TDLA*.

[4] quo P^2uT^2 (*or* T^1) A^6: quod *MPTDLA*.

[1] At IV. xxxvii. 1 f. we were told how the Etruscan city of Volturnum was captured by the Samnites and renamed Capua.

offered sacrifice in accordance with directions read B.C. 293
from an old linen roll. The celebrant was one Ovius Paccius, an aged man, who claimed to derive this ceremony from an ancient ritual of the Samnites which the forefathers of those present had formerly employed when they had gone secretly about to get Capua away from the Etruscans.[1] On the conclusion of the sacrifice, the general by his apparitor commanded to be summoned all those of the highest degree in birth and deeds of arms; and one by one they were introduced. Besides other ceremonial preparations, such as might avail to strike the mind with religious awe, there was a place all enclosed, with altars in the midst and slaughtered victims lying about, and round them a guard of centurions[2] with drawn swords. The man was brought up to the altar, more like a victim than a partaker in the rite, and was sworn not to divulge what he should there see or hear. They then compelled him to take an oath in accordance with a certain dreadful form of words, whereby he invoked a curse upon his head, his household, and his family, if he went not into battle where his generals led the way, or if he either fled from the line himself or saw any other fleeing and did not instantly cut him down. Some there were at first who refused to take this oath; these were beheaded before the altars, where they lay amongst the slaughtered victims—a warning to the rest not to refuse. When the leading Samnites had been bound by this imprecation, the general named ten of them and bade them choose every man another, and so to proceed until they had brought

[2] These are called "armed priests" at chap. xli. § 3.

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milium numerum confecissent. Ea legio linteata ab integumento consaepti, in quo[1] sacrata nobilitas erat, appellata est: his arma insignia data et cri-
13 statae galeae, ut inter ceteros eminerent. Paulo plus viginti milium alius exercitus fuit nec corporum specie nec gloria belli nec apparatu linteatae legioni dispar.[2] Hic hominum numerus, quod roboris erat, ad Aquiloniam[3] consedit.

XXXIX. Consules profecti ab urbe, prior Sp. Carvilius, cui veteres legiones quas M. Atilius superioris anni consul in agro Interamnati reliquerat decretae
2 erant. Cum eis in Samnium profectus, dum hostes operati superstitionibus concilia secreta agunt, Ami-
3 ternum oppidum de Samnitibus vi cepit. Caesa ibi milia hominum duo ferme atque octingenti, capta
4 quattuor milia ducenti septuaginta. Papirius novo exercitu—ita enim decretum erat—scripto Duroniam urbem expugnavit: minus quam collega cepit hominum, plus aliquanto occidit: praeda opulenta utro-
5 bique est parta. Inde pervagati Samnium consules, maxime depopulato Atinate agro, Carvilius ad Cominium, Papirius ad Aquiloniam, ubi summa rei Samni-
6 tium erat, pervenit. Ibi aliquamdiu nec cessatum ab armis est neque naviter pugnatum: lacessendo quietos, resistentibus cedendo comminandoque magis

[1] in quo *Freudenberg*: a quo γ: quo Ω.
[2] dispar Ω (*Walters*): par u (*Conway*).
[3] ad Aquiloniam γ: Aquiloniam Ω.

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[1] See IX. xxxix. 5, where this mode of selection is described as having been employed by the Etruscans.

[2] To be consistent with the total given in § 4, this number should be 24,000.

their number up to sixteen thousand.[1] These were named the "Linen Legion," from the roof of the enclosure wherein the nobles had been sworn, and were given splendid arms and crested helmets, to distinguish them from the rest. A little over twenty thousand[2] men composed another corps, which neither in physical appearance nor in martial renown nor in equipment was inferior to the Linen Legion. This was the size of the army, comprising their effective forces, which encamped at Aquilonia. B.C. 293

XXXIX. The consuls set out from the City, Spurius Carvilius, to whom had been assigned the veteran legions which Marcus Atilius the consul of the previous year had left in the territory of Interamna, being the first to take the field. Proceeding with these forces into Samnium, while the enemy, busy with their superstitious rites, were holding secret councils, he carried the Samnite town of Amiternum by assault. There about two thousand eight hundred men were slain and four thousand two hundred and seventy made prisoners. Papirius, having levied a new army—for so it had been decreed—took by storm the city of Duronia, making fewer prisoners than his colleague but killing many more. In each place a rich booty was obtained. Afterwards, the consuls having ranged over Samnium and laid waste especially the district of Atina, Carvilius appeared before Cominium and Papirius before Aquilonia, where the main power of the Samnites lay encamped. There for some days there was neither cessation from hostilities nor downright fighting, but the time was spent in provoking the enemy when they were quiet and retreating when they offered resistance—in a word, in feinting rather

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7 quam inferendo pugnam dies absumebatur. Quodcumque[1] inciperetur remittereturque, omnium rerum etiam parvarum eventus perferebatur inde in[2] altera Romana castra, quae viginti milium spatio aberant, et absentis collegae consilia omnibus gerendis intererant rebus, intentiorque Carvilius, quo in maiore[3] discrimine res vertebatur, in Aquiloniam quam ad
8 Cominium, quod obsidebat, erat.

L. Papirius, iam per omnia ad dimicandum satis paratus, nuntium ad collegam mittit sibi in animo
9 esse postero die, si per auspicia liceret, confligere cum hoste; opus esse et illum quanta maxima vi posset Cominium oppugnare, ne quid laxamenti sit
10 Samnitibus ad subsidia Aquiloniam mittenda. Diem ad proficiscendum nuntius habuit; nocte rediit,
11 approbare collegam consulta referens. Papirius nuntio misso extemplo contionem habuit; multa de universo genere belli, multa de praesenti hostium apparatu, vana magis specie quam efficaci ad even-
12 tum, disseruit: non enim cristas volnera facere, et per picta atque aurata scuta transire Romanum pilum, et candore tunicarum fulgentem aciem, ubi
13 res ferro geratur, cruentari. Auream olim atque argenteam Samnitium aciem a parente suo occidione occisam spoliaque ea honestiora victori hosti
14 quam ipsis arma fuisse. Datum hoc forsan nomini familiaeque suae, ut adversus maximos conatus Samnitium opponerentur duces spoliaque ea referrent quae insignia publicis etiam locis decorandis

[1] Quodcumque *Madvig*: quodcum Ω: quaecum A^6?.
[2] inde in *Madvig*: in dies Ω.
[3] quo in maiore *Madvig*: quom aiore *T*: quo maiore Ω.

[1] In 310 B.C. See IX. xl. 1–17.

than attacking. Whatever was undertaken or given B.C. 293
over, the result of every skirmish, no matter how trivial it might be, was reported at the other camp, which was twenty miles away. The other colleague, Carvilius, though absent, shared in every plan of operations, and was more intent upon Aquilonia, as the crisis became more imminent, than upon Cominium, to which he was laying siege.

Lucius Papirius, being now prepared at all points for the battle, sent word to his colleague that he purposed, if the auspices permitted, to engage the enemy on the following day; it was needful, he said, that Carvilius should also direct an assault, as violent as possible, on Cominium, that no relaxation of the pressure there might allow of the Samnites' sending relief to Aquilonia. The messenger had a day for the journey. Returning in the night, he reported that Carvilius approved the measures taken by his colleague. Papirius had no sooner sent off the courier than he addressed his troops, and said many things of war in general and much regarding the present equipment of the enemy, more vain and showy than effective. For crests, said he, dealt no wounds, and painted and gilded shields would let the Roman javelin through, and their battle-array, resplendent in white tunics, would be stained with blood when sword met sword. Long ago a gilt and silvern Samnite army had been utterly destroyed by his father, and the spoils had done their conquerors more credit than the arms had brought to their bearers.[1] It had perhaps been granted to his name and family to be sent forth as generals against the mightiest efforts of the Samnites, and to win such trophies as should strikingly adorn even public

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15 essent. Deos immortales adesse propter totiens
16 petita foedera, totiens rupta: si[1] qua coniectura
mentis divinae sit, nulli unquam exercitui fuisse
infestiores quam qui nefando sacro mixta hominum pecudumque caede respersus, ancipiti deum
irae devotus, hinc foederum cum Romanis ictorum
17 testes deos, hinc iuris iurandi adversus foedera
suscepti exsecrationes horrens, invitus iuraverit,
oderit sacramentum, uno tempore deos cives hostes
metuat.

XL. Haec comperta perfugarum indiciis cum apud infensos iam sua sponte milites disseruisset, simul divinae humanaeque spei pleni clamore consentienti pugnam poscunt: paenitet in posterum diem dilatum
2 certamen: moram diei noctisque oderunt. Tertia vigilia noctis, iam relatis litteris a collega, Papirius silentio surgit et pullarium in auspicium mittit.
3 Nullum erat genus hominum in castris intactum cupiditate pugnae, summi infimique aeque intenti erant: dux militum, miles ducis ardorem spectabat.
4 Is ardor omnium etiam ad eos qui auspicio intererant pervenit: nam cum pulli non pascerentur, pullarius auspicium mentiri ausus tripudium soli-
5 stimum consuli nuntiavit. Consul laetus auspicium

[1] si *Luterbacher*: tum si Ω.

[1] For the use of sacred chickens in augury see VI. xli. 8 and note (Vol. III., p. 344).

places. The immortal gods, he said, were ready to B.C. 293
intervene in behalf of treaties so often sought and so often broken. If it were possible in any way to surmise the feelings of the gods, they had never been more enraged with any army than with this one, which with horrid rites and stained with the commingled blood of men and beasts, doubly devoted to the wrath of Heaven, as it trembled now at the gods that attested the treaties it had made with the Romans, and now at the curses called down when it undertook to break those treaties, had sworn unwillingly, hated its oath, and dreaded at one and the same moment its gods, its fellow-citizens, and its enemies.

XL. These fears had been made known to Papirius by deserters; and when he had described them to his soldiers, incensed as they already were of themselves, their hopes both of gods and men ran high, and they called out in unison demanding battle; they were vexed at the postponement of the struggle until the morrow, and to wait for a day and night disgusted them. In the third watch of the night, having now received his colleague's answer, Papirius rose silently and sent the keeper of the chickens [1] to take the auspices. There was no class of men in camp who were not affected by the lust of battle; both high and low felt the same eagerness; the general could see the ardour of the men, the men that of their general. This universal zeal spread even to those who took the auspices, for when the chickens refused to feed, their keeper dared to falsify the presage and reported that the corn danced on the ground as it fell from their greedy beaks. The consul joyfully announced that

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egregium esse et deis auctoribus rem gesturos pro-
6 nuntiat signumque pugnae proponit. Exeunti iam
forte in aciem nuntiat perfuga viginti cohortes
Samnitium—quadringenariae ferme erant—Comi-
nium profectas. Quod ne ignoraret collega, ex-
templo nuntium mittit; ipse signa ocius proferri
7 iubet: subsidia[1] suis quaeque locis et praefectos
subsidiis attribuerat; dextro cornu L. Volumnium,
sinistro L. Scipionem, equitibus legatos alios, C.
8 Caedicium et T. Trebonium,[2] praefecit; Sp. Nautium
mulos detractis clitellis cum tribus cohortibus[3] alariis
in tumulum conspectum propere circumducere iubet
atque inde inter ipsam dimicationem quanto maxime
posset moto pulvere se[4] ostendere.

9 Dum his intentus imperator erat, altercatio inter
pullarios orta de auspicio eius diei exauditaque ab
equitibus Romanis, qui rem haud spernendam rati
Sp. Papirio, fratis filio consulis, ambigi de auspicio
10 renuntiaverunt. Iuvenis ante doctrinam deos sper-
nentem natus rem inquisitam, ne quid incompertum
11 deferret, ad consulem detulit. Cui ille: "Tu quidem
macte virtute diligentiaque esto! Ceterum qui
auspicio adest si quid falsi nuntiat, in semet ipsum

[1] subsidia *Madvig*: subsidiaque Ω.
[2] T. Trebonium *Weissenborn*: Trebonium Ω.
[3] tribus cohortibus *Hertz*: cohortibus (cohortir *P*: cohortis *F*) Ω.
[4] moto pulvere se *Madvig*: moto puluere Ω.

[1] For a similar use of pack-animals to simulate cavalry, compare VII. xiv. 7–10.

[2] Compare the caustic remark at III. xx. 5: But there had not yet come about that contempt for the gods which possesses the present generation; nor did everybody seek to construe oaths and laws to suit himself, but rather shaped his own practices by them.

the omens were most favourable, and that the gods B.C. 293
would be with them as they fought. So saying, he displayed the signal for a battle. It chanced, as he was already moving out to the field, that a deserter came up with the information that twenty cohorts of the Samnites—of about four hundred each—had set out for Cominium. That his colleague might not be ignorant of this, he instantly dispatched a messenger to him, and ordered his own troops to advance in double time. He had assigned supports to take their posts at favourable points and officers to command them; the right wing he had given to Lucius Volumnius, the left to Lucius Scipio; to lead the cavalry he appointed the other lieutenants, Gaius Caedicius and Titus Trebonius. Spurius Nautius he directed to remove the pack-saddles from the mules, and with three cohorts of auxiliaries to make a hasty detour to a hill which lay in full view, and thence to show himself, in the heat of the engagement, raising as much dust as possible.[1]

While the general was thus employed, a dispute which broke out amongst the keepers of the chickens about the auspices for that day was overheard by some Roman cavalrymen, who, deeming it no negligible matter, reported to Spurius Papirius, the consul's nephew, that the auspices were being called in question. The young man had been born before the learning that makes light of the gods,[2] and having inquired into the affair, that he might not be the bearer of an uncertain rumour, acquainted the consul with it. The consul replied: "For yourself, I commend your conduct and your diligence; but he who takes the auspices, if he reports aught that is false, draws down the wrath of Heaven upon

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religionem recipit: mihi quidem tripudium nuntiatum; populo Romano exercituique egregium auspicium est." Centurionibus deinde imperavit uti pullarios inter prima signa constituerent. Promovent et Samnites signa; insequitur acies ornata armataque, ut hostium[1] quoque magnificum spectaculum esset. Priusquam clamor tolleretur concurreretur-que, emisso temere pilo ictus pullarius ante signa cecidit. Quod ubi consuli nuntiatum est, "Di in proelio sunt" inquit; "habet poenam noxium caput!" Ante consulem haec dicentem corvus voce clara occinuit; quo laetus augurio consul, adfirmans nunquam humanis rebus magis praesentes interfuisse deos, signa canere et clamorem tolli iussit.

XLI. Proelium commissum atrox, ceterum longe disparibus animis: Romanos ira spes ardor certaminis avidos hostium sanguinis in proelium rapit; Samnitium magnam partem necessitas ac religio invitos magis resistere quam inferre pugnam cogit. Nec sustinuissent primum clamorem atque impetum Romanorum, per aliquot iam annos vinci adsueti, ni potentior alius metus insidens pectoribus a fuga retineret. Quippe in oculis erat omnis ille occulti paratus sacri et armati sacerdotes et promiscua hominum pecudumque strages et respersae fando nefandoque sanguine arae et dira exsecratio ac

[1] hostium Ω : hostibus (*or* hosti) *edd.*

himself; as for me, I was told that the corn had B.C. 293
danced; it is an excellent omen for the Roman People and the army." He then ordered the centurions to station the keepers of the chickens in the front rank. The Samnites, too, advanced their standards, which were followed by the battle-line in gorgeous armour—a splendid spectacle, though composed of enemies. Before the first shout and the clash of arms, a random javelin struck the chicken-keeper and he fell before the standards. The consul, on being told of this, exclaimed, "The gods are present in the battle; the guilty wretch has paid the penalty!" In front of the consul a raven, just as he spoke, uttered a clear cry, and Papirius, rejoiced with the augury, and declaring that never had the gods been more instant to intervene in human affairs, bade sound the trumpets and give a cheer.

XLI. The battle was fought fiercely, but with far from equal spirit. The Romans were filled with rage and hope and ardour for the combat, and, thirsting for their enemies' blood, rushed into the engagement. As for the Samnites, in most cases it was necessity and the fear of Heaven that compelled them, however reluctant, rather to resist than to attack. Nor would they have held out against the first battle-cry and onset of the Romans, accustomed, as they had now been for some years, to being beaten, had not another yet more powerful fear benumbed their hearts and prevented them from fleeing. For their eyes beheld all that array of the secret rite, and the armed priests, and the mingled slaughter of men and beasts, and the altars spattered with the blood of victims—and with that other blood—and they could hear the baleful execrations

A.U.C. 461 furiale carmen, detestandae familiae stirpique compositum; iis vinculis fugae obstricti stabant, civem magis quam hostem timentes. Instare Romanus a cornu utroque, a media acie, et caedere deorum hominumque attonitos metu; repugnatur segniter, ut ab iis[1] quos timor moraretur a fuga.

Iam prope ad signa caedes pervenerat, cum ex transverso pulvis velut ingentis agminis incessu motus apparuit; Sp. Nautius—Octavium Maecium quidam eum tradunt—cum auxiliaribus[2] cohortibus erat; pulverem maiorem quam pro numero excitabant; incidentes mulis calones frondosos ramos per terram trahebant. Arma signaque per turbidam lucem in primo apparebant; post altior densiorque pulvis equitum speciem cogentium agmen dabat fefellitque non Samnites modo sed etiam Romanos; et consul adfirmavit errorem clamitans inter prima signa, ita ut vox etiam ad hostis accideret, captum Cominium, victorem collegam adesse: adniterentur vincere, priusquam gloria alterius exercitus fieret. Haec insidens equo; inde tribunis centurionibusque imperat, ut viam equitibus patefaciant; ipse Trebonio Caedicioque praedixerat, ubi se cuspidem erectam quatientem vidissent, quanta maxima vi possent concitarent equites in hostem. Ad nutum omnia, ut

[1] iis γ: his Ω: hiis *A*.
[2] cum auxiliaribus *Madvig*: dux alaribus (laribus *A*) Ω: dux cum alaribus *Koch*.

and that dire oath, framed to invoke perdition on B.C. 293
their families and on their stock. These were the chains that stayed them from flight, and they feared their countrymen more than they feared their foes. On came the Romans from either wing and from the centre, and cut them down as they stood there dazed by the dread of gods and men. They resisted, but sluggishly, like men whom cowardice restrained from running.

The carnage had now reached almost to the standards, when a cloud of dust appeared on their flank, as though raised by the oncoming of a mighty host. It was Spurius Nautius—some say Octavius Maecius—with the auxiliary cohorts; they made more dust than their numbers warranted, for the grooms who rode the mules were dragging leafy branches along the ground. Arms and standards were made out in the van through the murky air, and behind them another denser cloud of dust seemed to show that cavalry were closing the rear, and deceived not only the Samnites, but the Romans as well. This mistake the consul confirmed by calling out in the front ranks, so loud that his voice carried even to the enemy, that Cominium was taken, and that his victorious colleague was at hand; let them therefore strive to conquer before the other army won the glory. He was on horseback as he shouted these words. He then commanded the tribunes and centurions to open a path for the cavalry, having previously admonished Trebonius and Caedicius that when they saw him holding his lance aloft and shaking it, they should make their horsemen run full tilt against the enemy. Everything fell out according to his wishes,

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ex ante praeparato, fiunt; panduntur inter ordines viae; provolat eques atque infestis cuspidibus in medium agmen hostium ruit perrumpitque ordines quacumque impetum dedit. Instant Volumnius et Scipio et perculsos sternunt.

10 Tum iam deorum hominumque victa vi, funduntur linteatae cohortes; pariter iurati iniuratique fugiunt
11 nec quemquam praeter hostes metuunt. Peditum[1] quod superfuit pugnae in castra aut Aquiloniam compulsum est; nobilitas equitesque Bovianum perfugerunt. Equites eques sequitur, peditem pedes; diversa cornua dextrum ad castra Samnitium, laevum
12 ad urbem tendit. Prior aliquanto Volumnius castra cepit; ad urbem Scipioni maiore resistitur vi, non quia plus animi victis est sed melius muri quam vallum armatos arcent; inde lapidibus propulsant
13 hostem. Scipio, nisi in primo pavore priusquam colligerentur animi transacta res esset, lentiorem fore munitae urbis oppugnationem ratus, interrogat milites satin aequo animo paterentur ab altero cornu castra capta esse, se victores pelli a portis urbis.
14 Reclamantibus universis primus ipse scuto super caput elato pergit ad portam; secuti alii testudine facta in urbem perrumpunt deturbatisque Samnitibus quae circa portam erant muri occupavere; penetrare

[1] peditum *Gronovius*: peditum agmen Ω.

as happens when plans are laid beforehand. Lanes were opened up between the files: the cavalry dashed out, and with levelled spears assailed the midst of the enemy's array, and broke his ranks wherever they charged. Hard after them came Volumnius and Scipio, and made havoc of the disordered Samnites. B.C. 293

Then at last, overwhelmed by gods and men, the Linen Cohorts were put to rout; the sworn and the unsworn fled alike, and knew no fear but fear of the enemy. Such portion of the foot as survived the battle was driven to the camp or to Aquilonium; the nobles and cavalry escaped to Bovianum. Horse were pursued by horse, infantry by infantry. The Roman wings advanced on different objectives, the right on the Samnite camp, the left on their city. Volumnius succeeded somewhat sooner in capturing the camp. From the city Scipio met with a more violent resistance—not that vanquished men are more courageous, but walls avail better to keep out armed enemies than does a rampart; and from thence they drove their assailants off with stones. Scipio, fearing that it would be a tedious task to reduce a fortified city, unless the affair were concluded during the first panic of his enemies and before they should collect their spirits, asked his soldiers whether they could be content that the other wing should have taken the camp, while they, though victors, were repulsed from the city gates. When they all together cried out "No!" he himself led the way to the gate, shield over head, and the others, following him, formed a *testudo*, burst into the city, and hurling down the defenders seized the walls adjoining the gate; they durst not

A.U.C. 461 in interiora urbis, quia pauci admodum erant, non audent.

XLII. Haec primo ignorare consul et intentus recipiendo exercitui esse; iam enim praeceps in occasum sol erat et appetens nox periculosa et 2 suspecta omnia etiam victoribus faciebat. Progressus longius ab dextra capta castra videt, ab laeva clamorem in urbe mixtum pugnantium ac paventium fremitu esse; et tum forte certamen ad portam erat. 3 Advectus deinde equo propius, ut suos in muris videt nec iam integri quicquam esse, quoniam temeritate paucorum magnae rei parta occasio esset, acciri quas receperat copias signaque in urbem inferri 4 iussit. Ingressi proxima ex parte [1] quia nox appropinquabat, quievere. Nocte oppidum ab hostibus desertum est.

5 Caesa illo die ad Aquiloniam Samnitium milia viginti trecenti quadraginta, capta tria milia octingenti et septuaginta, signa militaria nonaginta septem. 6 Ceterum illud memoriae traditur, non ferme alium ducem laetiorem in acie visum seu suopte ingenio 7 seu fiducia bene gerundae rei. Ab eodem robore animi neque controverso auspicio revocari a proelio potuit et in ipso discrimine quo templa deis immor-

[1] ex parte Ω: ea parte *Iac. Gronovius.*

venture into the middle of the city, because their numbers were so small. B.C. 293

XLII. Of these events the consul was at first unaware, and was intent upon the withdrawal of his army; for the sun was now rapidly sinking in the west, and night coming on apace made all things dangerous and suspect, even to the victors. As he rode farther forward, he saw on his right hand that the camp was taken, while from the city, on his left, a confused uproar was rising in which the shouts of the combatants were mingled with screams of terror; and it so happened that at that very moment the struggle at the gate was in progress. Then, riding nearer and perceiving that his men were on the walls and that his course was already marked out for him, since the adventurousness of a few men had provided him with a great opportunity, he gave orders that the troops withdrawn should be called back and advance against the city. They entered it on the nearest side, and, as night was approaching, bivouacked; in the night the town was abandoned by the enemy.

There were slain that day of the Samnites at Aquilonia twenty thousand three hundred and forty, and three thousand eight hundred and seventy were captured, with ninety-seven military standards. Tradition also avers that hardly had there ever been a general more joyous in combat, whether owing to his native temper or to his confidence that he should gain the victory. It resulted from the same stoutness of heart that he was not to be recalled from giving battle by the dispute about the omen, and that in the hour of crisis, when it was customary to vow temples to the immortal gods, he made a

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talibus voveri mos erat voverat Iovi Victori, si legiones hostium fudisset, pocillum mulsi priusquam temetum biberet, sese facturum. Id votum dis cordi fuit et auspicia in bonum verterunt.

XLIII. Eadem fortuna ab altero consule ad Cominium[1] gesta res. Prima luce ad moenia omnibus copiis admotis corona cinxit urbem subsidiaque 2 firma, ne qua eruptio fieret, portis opposuit. Iam signum dantem eum nuntius a collega trepidus de viginti cohortium adventu et ab impetu moratus est et partem copiarum revocare instructam intentamque 3 ad oppugnandum coegit. D. Brutum Scaevam legatum cum legione prima et decem cohortibus alariis equitatuque ire adversus subsidium hostium iussit: 4 quocumque in loco fuisset obvius, obsisteret ac moraretur manumque, si forte ita res posceret, conferret, modo ne ad Cominium eae copiae admoveri 5 possent. Ipse scalas ferri ad muros ab omni parte urbis iussit ac testudine ad portas successit; simul et refringebantur portae et vis undique in muros fiebat. Samnites sicut antequam in muris viderent armatos satis animi habuerunt ad prohibendos urbis 6 aditu hostes, ita, postquam iam non ex intervallo nec missilibus sed comminus gerebatur res et qui aegre

[1] Cominium A^x: cō(*or* com-)minium Ω: cōmonium *P*: cōmineum (? *F*.

[1] The consul's vow was by no means prompted by a spirit of mockery, but was merely an hilarious expression of confidence and good understanding—not without a playful assumption of superiority as a toper, implied in the contrast between *pocillum mulsi* and *temetum*. That Jupiter should have savoured the jest shows him to have been blessed with a livelier sense of humour than the elder Pliny, who cites the anecdote (*N. H.*, xiv. 91) as evidence how sparingly wine was used in the old days.

vow to Jupiter the Victor that if he routed the B.C. 293
legions of the enemy he would present him with a thimbleful of mead before he drank strong wine himself. This vow was pleasing to the gods and they gave a good turn to the auspices.[1]

XLIII. The same good fortune attended the other consul at Cominium. With the dawn he led up all his forces under the walls and invested the city, posting strong supports to prevent any sally from the gates. He was in the act of giving the signal when the courier from his colleague came up with the alarming news about the twenty cohorts,[2] thus delaying the assault and obliging him to recall a part of his troops who were already drawn up and eager to attack. He commanded Decimus Brutus Scaeva, his lieutenant, to proceed with the first legion, ten auxiliary cohorts, and the cavalry, to confront the new forces of the enemy: wherever he fell in with them, he was to block their path and delay them, giving battle if the situation happened to require it; but on no account must these troops be suffered to approach Cominium. He himself gave orders to bring up scaling-ladders from every side against the walls of the city, and under a mantlet of shields approached the gates. Thus at the same instant the gates were burst open and the walls assaulted. The Samnites, although, until they beheld armed men upon their walls, they had pluck enough to keep their enemies from coming near the city, yet when the combat was no longer carried on with missiles at long range, but was fought hand-to-hand, and when those who had

[2] See chap. xl. § 6.

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successerant ex plano in muros, loco quem magis timuerant victo, facile in hostem imparem ex aequo
7 pugnabant, relictis turribus murisque in forum omnes compulsi paulisper inde temptaverunt extremam
8 pugnae fortunam; deinde abiectis armis ad undecim milia hominum et quadringenti in fidem consulis venerunt; caesa ad quattuor milia octingenti[1] octoginta.

9 Sic ad Cominium, sic ad Aquiloniam gesta res; in medio inter duas urbes spatio, ubi tertia exspectata erat pugna, hostes non inventi. Septem milia passuum cum abessent a Cominio, revocati ab suis
10 neutri proelio occurrerunt. Primis ferme tenebris, cum in conspectu iam castra, iam Aquiloniam habuissent, clamor eos utrimque par accidens susti-
11 nuit; deinde regione[2] castrorum, quae incensa ab Romanis erant, flamma late fusa[3] certioris cladis
12 indicio progredi longius prohibuit; eo ipso loco temere sub armis strati passim inquietum omne tempus noctis exspectando timendoque lucem egere.
13 Prima luce incerti quam in partem intenderent iter repente in fugam consternantur[4] conspecti ab equitibus, qui egressos nocte ab oppido Samnites persecuti viderant multitudinem non vallo, non stationibus

[1] octingenti *Gronovius*: accc (*or other corruptions*) Ω.
[2] regione $uA^{1}\zeta$: regionem (*or* -ē)Ω: e regione ζ.
[3] flamma late fusa $u\zeta$: flammae late fusae Ω.
[4] consternantur $D^{2}\zeta$: consternuntur Ω.

mounted with difficulty from the plain on to the B.C. 293
walls—overcoming the inequality of position, which was what they had chiefly dreaded—were making easy work of it on the level ground with an enemy that was no match for them, they forsook their towers and battlements, and, huddled all together in the market-place, made there one last brief attempt to redeem the day. Then, throwing down their arms, some eleven thousand four hundred men cast themselves on the mercy of the consul; about four thousand eight hundred had been slain.

Such were the operations at Cominium and at Aquilonia. In the place between, where a third battle had been looked for, the enemy were not encountered. Recalled by their leaders when seven miles from Cominium, they had not been present at either engagement. As the evening shadows began to fall, when they had already come within sight of the camp and of Aquilonia, they had been halted by the shouts, which were equally loud from both directions. But afterwards, from the direction of the camp, which had been fired by the Romans, the flames broke out so extensively, with their warning of an unmistakable disaster, as to keep them from advancing further, and throwing themselves on the ground at random, just where they were, without stopping to remove their arms, they passed the whole weary night in waiting for the dawn, which at the same time they dreaded. As the day broke, they were hesitating which way to march, when the Roman cavalry, who had pursued the Samnites when they left their town in the night, caught sight of the army, lying there without breastworks or outpost, and instantly routed them.

A.U.C. 461 14 firmatam. Conspecta et ex muris Aquiloniae ea multitudo erat iamque etiam legionariae cohortes sequebantur; ceterum nec pedes fugientes persequi potuit et ab equite novissimi agminis ducenti ferme et octoginta interfecti; arma multa pavidi ac signa 15 militaria duodeviginti reliquere; alio agmine incolumi, ut ex tanta trepidatione, Bovianum perventum est.

XLIV. Laetitiam utriusque exercitus Romani auxit et ab altera parte feliciter gesta res. Uterque ex alterius sententia consul captum oppidum diri- 2 piendum militi dedit, exhaustis deinde tectis ignem iniecit; eodemque die Aquilonia et Cominium deflagravere et consules cum gratulatione mutua legionum 3 suaque castra coniunxere. In conspectu duorum exercituum et Carvilius suos pro cuiusque merito laudavit donavitque; et Papirius, apud quem multiplex in acie, circa castra, circa urbem fuerat certamen, Sp. Nautium,[1] Sp. Papirium, fratris filium, et quattuor centuriones manipulumque hastatorum armillis 4 aureisque coronis donavit: Nautium propter expeditionem qua magni agminis modo terruerat hostes, iuvenem Papirium propter navatam cum equitatu et in proelio operam et nocte qua fugam[2] infestam 5 Samnitibus ab Aquilonia[3] clam egressis fecit, centuriones militesque quia primi portam murumque Aquiloniae ceperant; equites omnes ob insignem

[1] Sp. Nautium ς (*chap.* xl. § 8): p. nautium Ω.
[2] qua fugam *Aldus*: quia fugam Ω.
[3] ab Aquilonia ς: ab Aquiloniam (*or* -ā) *PF*: ad aquiloniā (*or* -am) Ω.

[1] Front-line troops.
[2] This interference was not mentioned at chap. xlii. § 4.

Their mass had been seen, too, from the walls of Aquilonia, and presently the legionary cohorts were likewise in pursuit of them. But the infantry could not overtake the fugitives, though the cavalry killed some two hundred and eighty of the rear-guard, who in their fright abandoned a quantity of arms and eighteen military standards. The rest of the column made good its escape, as safely as could be in so great a confusion, to Bovianum. B.C. 293

XLIV. The rejoicing in each of the Roman armies was enhanced by the good fortune the other had enjoyed. Each consul, with the approval of his fellow, made over the town he had captured to be sacked by the soldiers, and when the houses had been emptied, gave it to the flames. So on the same day Aquilonia and Cominium were destroyed by fire, and the consuls, amid the mutual exultations and good wishes of their legions and themselves, united their camps. In the full sight of both armies Carvilius commended his men as each had merited, and presented them with decorations; and Papirius, who had fought an engagement of many sorts—in line of battle, round the camp, and about the city—awarded armlets and wreaths of gold to Spurius Nautius and to his nephew Spurius Papirius, and to four centurions and a maniple of *hastati*[1]—to Nautius for the charge by which, as though with a huge force, he had dismayed the enemy; to the young Papirius for his valiant service with the cavalry, both in the battle and in the night when he harassed[2] the flight of the Samnites after their secret departure from Aquilonia; to the centurions and soldiers because they had been the first to capture the gate and wall of Aquilonia. All the horsemen, in recog-

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multis locis operam corniculis armillisque argenteis donat.

6 Consilium inde habitum iamne [1] tempus esset deducendi de Samnio [2] exercitus aut utriusque aut
7 certe alterius, optimum visum, quo magis fractae res Samnitium essent, eo pertinacius et infestius agere cetera et persequi ut perdomitum Samnium insequentibus consulibus tradi posset.

8 Quando iam nullus esset hostium exercitus, qui signis conlatis dimicaturus videretur, unum superesse belli genus, urbium oppugnationes, quarum per excidia militem locupletare praeda et hostem pro
9 aris ac focis dimicantem conficere possent. Itaque litteris missis ad senatum populumque Romanum de rebus ab se gestis diversi Papirius ad Saepinum, Carvilius ad Veliam [3] oppugnandam legiones ducunt.

XLV. Litterae consulum ingenti laetitia et in curia et in contione auditae, et quadridui supplicatione publicum gaudium privatis studiis celebratum
2 est. Nec populo Romano magna solum sed peropportuna etiam ea victoria fuit, quia per idem forte
3 tempus rebellasse Etruscos allatum est. Subibat cogitatio animum quonam modo tolerabilis futura Etruria fuisset si quid in Samnio adversi evenisset, quae coniuratione Samnitium erecta, quoniam ambo

[1] iamne *Conway*: cum iam nec *TDLA*$_2$: cum iam *MPFu*.
[2] de Samnio *Weissenborn*: ab (*or* a) Samnio Ω.
[3] Veliam A^2 *and* A^5 (*marg.*): uellam Ω.

nition of their distinguished conduct in many places, B.C. 293
he decorated with little silver horns and silver armlets.

A council of war was then held, and the question was debated whether the time were now come for withdrawing both armies, or at any rate one of the two, from Samnium. But they decided that the greater the damage they had inflicted on the Samnites, the more sharply and pertinaciously ought they to carry out such measures as remained, and to persist until they could hand over to the consuls who succeeded them a Samnium utterly subdued.

Since there was no longer any hostile army that seemed likely to engage in a pitched battle with them, one form of war alone remained, the storming of cities; by destroying which they would be able to enrich their troops with booty and crush their enemies, who would fight for their altars and their hearths. Accordingly, after dispatching letters to the senate and the Roman People recounting their achievements, the consuls parted company, Papirius marching to attack Saepinum, and Carvilius Velia.

XLV. The consuls' letters were listened to with vast exultation both in Senate-house and in assembly, and the general rejoicing found expression in the eagerness with which a thanksgiving of four days' duration was observed by individual citizens. For the Roman People, moreover, it was not only a great but also a very seasonable victory, since it happened that they got news at about the same time that the Etruscans had commenced hostilities again. Men wondered how they could have withstood Etruria if anything had gone wrong in Samnium; for the Samnite coalition and the diversion of both consuls

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consules omnisque Romana vis aversa in Samnium esset, occupationem populi Romani pro occasione rebellandi habuisset.

4 Legationes sociorum, a M. Atilio praetore in senatum introductae, querebantur uri ac vastari agros a finitimis Etruscis quod desciscere a populo 5 Romano nollent, obtestabanturque patres conscriptos ut se a vi atque iniuria communium hostium tutarentur. Responsum legatis curae senatui futurum ne socios fidei suae paeniteret: Etruscorum propediem eandem fortunam quam Samnitium fore. 6 Segnius tamen, quod ad Etruriam attinebat, acta res esset, ni Faliscos quoque, qui per multos annos in amicitia fuerant, allatum foret arma Etruscis 7 iunxisse. Huius propinquitas populi acuit curam patribus, ut fetiales mittendos ad res repetendas censerent: quibus non redditis ex auctoritate pa- 8 trum iussu populi bellum Faliscis indictum est iussique consules sortiri uter ex Samnio [1] in Etruriam cum exercitu transiret.

9 Iam Carvilius Veliam [2] et Palumbinum et Herculaneum ex Samnitibus ceperat, Veliam [3] intra paucos 10 dies, Palumbinum eodem quo ad muros accessit. Ad Herculaneum etiam signis conlatis ancipiti proelio et cum maiore sua quam hostium iactura dimicavit; castris deinde positis moenibus hostem inclusit; 11 oppugnatum oppidum captumque. In his tribus

[1] Samnio $M^{x}P^{2}P^{3}uD^{3}A^{2}$: samnito $MTDA$: samnitio L: samntio PF?

[2] Veliam $A^{2}\zeta$: ueletiam Ω: uellam etiam u.

[3] Veliam M^{1} (*or* M^{3}) TA^{1}: ueletiam DLA: uetiam M.

[1] The situation of none of these three towns is known.

and all Rome's military strength to Samnium had B.C. 293
encouraged these other enemies to revolt while the Roman People had their hands full.

Deputations from the allies, introduced into the senate by Marcus Atilius the praetor, complained that their lands were being burnt and devastated by the neighbouring Etruscans, because they were not willing to forsake the Roman People, and besought the Conscript Fathers to defend them against the violence and injuries of their common foes. Answer was made to the deputations that the senate would see to it that the allies should not regret their loyalty: the Etruscans would shortly meet with the same fortune as the Samnites. Nevertheless, the Etruscan business would have dragged but for intelligence that the Faliscans likewise, who had for many years been friendly, were now united in arms with the Etruscans. The proximity of this people sharpened the anxiety of the Fathers, and they decreed that fetials should be dispatched to demand redress. On the refusal of this demand, war was declared against the Faliscans, by command of the people, on the authorization of the senate, and the consuls were bidden to cast lots to determine which should cross over with his army from Samnium into Etruria.

Carvilius had already taken Velia and Palumbinum and Herculaneum[1] from the Samnites—Velia in a few days' time, and Palumbinum the same day that he approached its walls. At Herculaneum he even fought a regular engagement, of which the issue was for some time in doubt and his losses heavier than the enemy's; he then pitched his camp and shut the enemy up within his walls, and finally stormed the town and captured it. In these three

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urbibus capta aut caesa ad decem milia hominum, ita ut parvo admodum plures caperentur. Sortientibus provincias consulibus Etruria Carvilio evenit secundum vota militum, qui vim frigoris iam in
12 Samnio non patiebantur. Papirio ad Saepinum maior vis hostium restitit. Saepe in acie, saepe in agmine, saepe circa ipsam urbem adversus eruptiones hostium pugnatum. Nec obsidio sed bellum ex aequo erat; non enim muris magis se Samnites quam armis ac viris moenia tutabantur.
13 Tandem pugnando in obsidionem iustam coegit hostes obsidendoque vi atque operibus urbem ex-
14 pugnavit. Itaque ab ira plus caedis editum capta urbe; septem milia quadringenti caesi, capta minus tria milia hominum. Praeda, quae plurima fuit congestis Samnitium rebus in urbes paucas, militi concessa est.

XLVI. Nives iam omnia oppleverant nec durari extra tecta poterat; itaque consul exercitum de
2 Samnio deduxit. Venienti Romam triumphus omnium consensu est delatus. Triumphavit in magistratu, insigni, ut illorum temporum habitus erat,
3 triumpho. Pedites equitesque insignes donis transiere ac transvecti sunt;[1] multae civicae coronae
4 vallaresque ac murales conspectae; inspectata spolia

[1] transvecti sunt ζ: transuectis *M*$^{2}a\zeta$: transuecti Ω.

[1] The Samnites lived for the most part in small, unfortified villages; cf. chap. xvii. § 2.

[2] The civic crown was conferred on a soldier who saved the life of a fellow-citizen; the others on the first man to mount the enemy's rampart and city wall, respectively.

places ten thousand or so of the enemy were taken B.C. 293
or put to death, with the prisoners very slightly outnumbering the slain. When the consuls cast lots for their commands, Etruria fell to Carvilius, thus answering the prayers of his soldiers, who could endure no longer the rigorous cold in Samnium. Papirius, before Saepinum, had a larger body of the enemy still to reckon with. His troops were many times engaged in regular battle, many times when marching, and many times about the city itself, in resisting the sorties of the enemy. It was not a siege, but war upon even terms; for the Samnites protected their walls with arms and men full as much as the walls protected them. At length, fighting hard, he forced the enemy to submit to a regular blockade, and by assault and siege-works captured the place. The exasperation of the Romans made the massacre more bloody when the city fell. Seven thousand four hundred were slain and fewer than three thousand were made prisoners. The booty, which was very great, since the Samnites had gathered their wealth together in a few cities,[1] was handed over to the soldiers.

XLVI. The ground was now covered with snow and men could no longer live out of doors. The consul therefore withdrew his army from Samnium. On his coming to Rome he was unanimously voted a triumph. This he celebrated, while still holding office, in a style which, for the circumstances of those days, was magnificent. Foot-soldiers and horsemen marched or rode past the crowds adorned with their decorations; many civic crowns were seen, and many that had been won at the escalade of a rampart or a city wall.[2] Men inspected the spoils that he had

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Samnitium et decore[1] ac pulchritudine paternis spoliis, quae nota frequenti publicorum ornatu locorum erant, comparabantur: nobiles aliquot captivi,[2] clari suis patrumque factis, ducti. Aeris gravis travecta viciens centum milia et quingenta[3] triginta tria milia; id aes redactum ex captivis dicebatur; argenti quod captum ex urbibus erat pondo mille[4] octingenta[5] triginta. Omne aes argentumque in aerarium conditum, militibus nihil datum ex praeda est; auctaque ea invidia est ad plebem quod tributum etiam in stipendium militum conlatum est, cum, si spreta gloria fuisset captivae pecuniae in aerarium inlatae, et militi tum donum[6] dari ex praeda et stipendium militare praestari[7] potuisset. Aedem Quirini dedicavit—quam in ipsa dimicatione votam apud neminen veterem auctorem invenio neque hercule tam exiguo tempore perficere potuisset—ab dictatore patre votam filius consul dedicavit exornavitque hostium spoliis; quorum tanta multitudo fuit ut non templum tantum forumque iis ornaretur sed sociis etiam coloniisque[8] finitimis ad templorum locorumque publicorum ornatum dividerentur. Ab triumpho exercitum in agrum Vescinum,[9] quia regio ea infesta ab Samnitibus erat, hibernatum duxit.

[1] decore $M^{2}uL^{3}A^{2}$: decorem MPT: decoram F: decor DLA.
[2] captivi $I^{2}uT^{2}D^{3}A^{2}$: actiui F: captivis Ω.
[3] quingenta *Gelenius*: a Ω: ad $T^{2}u$: *omitted by L.*
[4] pondo mille *Alschefski*: p̄ co (*or other corruptions*) Ω.
[5] octingenta *Alschefski*: accc (*or similar corruptions*) Ω.
[6] militi tum donum *Walters and Conway*: militi tum (*or* militum) Ω.
[7] praestari $F^{3}uL^{3}$(*or* L^{5})A^{2}(*or* A^{1}): praestare Ω.
[8] coloniisque uA^{3}*Madvig*: colonisque Ω.

taken from the Samnites, and compared them for splendour and beauty with those his father had won, which were familiar to them from being often used in the decoration of public places. A number of noble captives, famous for their own and their fathers' deeds, were led in the procession. Of heavy bronze there were carried past two million five hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds. This bronze had been collected, it was said, from the sale of captives. Of silver which had been taken from the cities there were eighteen hundred and thirty pounds. All the bronze and silver was placed in the Treasury, none of the booty being given to the soldiers. The ill-feeling which this gave rise to in the plebs was increased by the gathering of a war-tax to pay the troops, since, if the consul had forgone the glory of depositing the captured money in the Treasury, the booty would then have afforded the soldiers a donative, as well as providing for their pay. Papirius dedicated the temple of Quirinus. I find no ancient authority who states that it was vowed in the hour of conflict, nor indeed could it possibly have been completed in so short a time: his father had vowed it when dictator, and the son as consul dedicated it, adorning it with the spoils of the enemy. Of these there was such a great quantity that not only were the temple and the Forum bedecked with them, but they were distributed also amongst the allies and the neighbouring colonies for the decoration of their temples and public squares. After triumphing, Papirius led his army into the country of the Vescini—a district infested by the Samnites—to pass the winter. B.C. 293

[9] Vescinum *Sigonius* (*cf. chap.* XX. § 1): uestinum *MPFuDLA*.

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10 Inter haec Carvilius consul in Etruria Troilum primum oppugnare adortus quadringentos septuaginta ditissimos, pecunia grandi pactos ut abire inde 11 liceret, dimisit; ceteram multitudinem oppidumque ipsum vi cepit. Inde quinque castella locis sita 12 munitis expugnavit. Caesa ibi hostium duo milia quadringenti, minus duo milia capta. Et Faliscis pacem petentibus annuas indutias dedit, pactus centum milia gravis aeris et stipendium eius anni militi- 13 bus. His rebus actis ad triumphum decessit, ut minus clarum de Samnitibus quam collegae triumphus fuerat 14 ita cumulo Etrusci belli aequatum. Aeris gravis tulit in aerarium trecenta octoginta milia; reliquo aere aedem Fortis Fortunae de manubiis faciendam locavit prope aedem eius deae ab rege Ser. Tullio[1] 15 dedicatam, et militibus ex praeda centenos binos asses et alterum tantum centurionibus atque equitibus, malignitate collegae gratius accipientibus 16 munus, divisit. Favor consulis tutatus ad populum est L. Postumium legatum eius, qui dicta die a M. Scantio tribuno plebis fugerat legatione,[2] ut fama ferebat, populi iudicium; iactarique magis quam peragi accusatio eius poterat.

[1] Tullio u_2: tullo Ω.
[2] legatione *Perizonius*: in legatione *F*: in legationem Ω.

[1] Site unknown.

[2] The temple was not mentioned by Livy in his account of that king's reign (I. xxxix.–xlviii.).

[3] The course of events somewhat obscurely indicated here would seem to have been as follows:—When Scantius lodged the indictment, Carvilius procured Postumius immunity for a year by making him a *legatus*. On the expiration of the year some successor of Scantius revived the prosecution, but was induced by the friends of Carvilius to let the proceedings drop.

In Etruria meanwhile the consul Carvilius, having B.C. 293
made his preparations to begin with an attack on Troilum,[1] agreed with four hundred and seventy of the wealthiest inhabitants for a large sum of money to let them go; the rest of the population and the town itself he took by assault. He then stormed five fortresses situated in positions of great strength. There he slew two thousand four hundred of the enemy, making fewer than two thousand prisoners. He also granted a year's truce to the Faliscans—who came to him seeking peace—having stipulated for a hundred thousand of heavy bronze and the year's pay for his soldiers. After these exploits he departed to enjoy his triumph, which, though less distinguished than his colleague's had been for success against the Samnites, was a match for it when the Etruscan war was counted in. Of heavy bronze he lodged in the Treasury three hundred and eighty thousand pounds; with what remained he contracted for a temple to Fors Fortuna to be erected from the general's spoils, near the temple of that goddess dedicated by King Servius Tullius,[2] while to the soldiers he apportioned from the rest of the booty one hundred and two *asses* each, and as much again to the centurions and horsemen. These allowances were all the more welcome because of the parsimony of his colleague. The consul's popularity served to shield his lieutenant Lucius Postumius from the people. He had been indicted by Marcus Scantius, a plebeian tribune, but had escaped trial before the people—so the story ran—through his appointment to the lieutenancy; so that it was easier to threaten him than to carry home the accusation.[3]

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XLVII. Exacto iam anno novi tribuni plebis magistratum inierant; hisque ipsis, quia vitio creati
2 erant, quinque post dies alii[1] suffecti. Lustrum conditum eo anno est a P. Cornelio Arvina C. Marcio Rutulo[2] censoribus: censa capitum milia ducenta sexaginta duo trecenta viginti unum. Censores vicesimi sexti a primis censoribus, lustrum unde-
3 vicesimum fuit. Eodem anno coronati primum ob res bello bene gestas ludos Romanos spectarunt palmaeque tum primum translato e Graeco more victori-
4 bus datae. Eodem anno ab aedilibus curulibus qui eos ludos fecerunt damnatis aliquot pecuariis, via a Martis silice ad Bovillas perstrata est.

5 Comitia consularia L. Papirius habuit; creavit consules Q. Fabium Maximi filium Gurgitem et D. Iunium Brutum Scaevam. Ipse Papirius praetor factus.

6 Multis rebus laetus annus vix ad solacium unius mali, pestilentiae urentis simul urbem atque agros, suffecit:[3] portentoque iam similis clades erat, et libri aditi quinam finis aut quod remedium eius mali

[1] alii $M^{z}uI^{z}A^{z}$: aliis Ω.
[2] Rutulo *Conway*: rutilo *MP*: rutilio Ω.
[3] suffecit uA^{3}; sufficit (*or* sub-) Ω.

[1] This was a sacrifice of purification performed as the final ceremony of the census-taking. "To close the lustrum" is therefore to complete the census.

XLVII. The year having now run its course, new B.C. 292
tribunes of the plebs came in, but owing to a flaw in their election they were themselves supplanted by others, five days later. The lustrum[1] was closed that year by the censors Publius Cornelius Arvina and Gaius Marcius Rutulus; there were enrolled two hundred and sixty-two thousand three hundred and twenty-one. The censors were the twenty-sixth pair from the first censors; the lustrum was the nineteenth. This year for the first time those who had been presented with crowns because of gallant behaviour in the war wore them at the Roman games, and palms were then for the first time conferred upon the victors, in accordance with a custom borrowed from the Greeks. The same year the curule aediles who gave those games procured the conviction of a number of graziers,[2] and with their fines paved the road from the temple of Mars as far as Bovillae.[3]

The consular comitia were held by Lucius Papirius, who declared the election of Quintus Fabius Gurges, the son of Maximus, and Decimus Junius Brutus Scaeva. Papirius himself was chosen praetor.

The year had been one of many blessings, which yet were hardly a consolation for one misfortune—a pestilence which ravaged both city and country-side. Its devastation was now grown portentous, and the Books were consulted to discover what end

[2] The men were probably fined for appropriating more than the legal maximum of public land. Compare chap. xxiii. § 13.

[3] This refers to the Via Appia itself (which had apparently not been fully paved—*perstrata*—before) rather than to the footway referred to at chap. xxiii. § 12.

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7 ab dis[1] daretur. Inventum in libris Aesculapium ab Epidauro Romam arcessendum; neque eo anno, quia bello occupati consules erant, quicquam de ea re actum, praeterquam quod unum diem Aesculapio supplicatio habita est.

[1] ab dis *Madvig*: ab (*or* a) diis Ω.

[1] It was two or three years later and the pestilence was still raging when a deputation under Q. Ogulnius was dis-

or what remedy the gods proposed for this misfortune. B.C. 292
It was discovered in the Books that Aesculapius must be summoned to Rome from Epidaurus; but nothing could be done about it that year, because the consuls were occupied with the war, except that for one day a supplication to that god was held.[1]

patched to Epidaurus and brought away a serpent to Rome which passed for the god himself. A temple of Aesculapius was then erected on the island in the Tiber. See *Summary of Book XI.*

LIBRI X PERIOCHA

Coloniae deductae sunt Sora et Alba et Carsioli. Marsi in deditionem accepti sunt. Collegium augurum ampliatum est, ut essent novem, cum antea quaterni fuissent. Lex de provocatione ad populum a Murena cos. tertio tunc lata est. Duae tribus adiectae sunt, Aniensis et Terentina. Samnitibus bellum indictum est et adversus eos saepe prospere pugnatum est. Cum adversus Etruscos Umbros Samnites Gallos P. Decio et Q. Fabio ducibus pugnaretur et Romanus exercitus in magno discrimine esset, P. Decius, secutus patris exemplum, devovit se pro exercitu et morte sua victoriam eius pugnae populo R. dedit. Papirius Cursor Samnitium exercitum, qui de iureiurando obstrictus, quo maiore constantia virtutis pugnaret, in aciem descenderat, fudit. Census actus est, lustrum conditum. Censa sunt civium capita CCLXXII et CCCXX.

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[1] M. Valerius, according to Livy, chap. ix. § 3.

SUMMARY OF BOOK X

Colonies were planted at Sora, at Alba, and at Carseoli. The surrender of the Marsi was received. The augural college was enlarged so that there were nine where before there had been four. A law about appeals was then for the third time laid before the people by the consul Murena.[1] Two tribes were added, the Aniensis and the Terentina. War was declared upon the Samnites and victories were often gained over them. When the Etruscans, Umbrians, Samnites, and Gauls were being fought under the leadership of Publius Decius and Quintus Fabius and the Roman army was in sore peril, Publius Decius, following the example of his father, devoted himself on behalf of the army and by his death gave the victory in that battle to the Roman People. Papirius Cursor routed the army of the Samnites, which had taken the field after binding itself with an oath, that it might fight with a more constant courage. The census was taken and the lustrum closed. There were enumerated 272,320 citizens.

LIBRI XI PERIOCHA

Cum Fabius Gurges cos. male adversus Samnites pugnasset et senatus de removendo eo ab exercitu ageret, Fabius Maximus pater deprecatus hanc filii ignominiam eo maxime senatum movit quod iturum se filio legatum pollicitus est, idque praestitit. Eius consiliis et opera filius consul adiutus caesis Samnitibus triumphavit; C. Pontium, imperatorem Samnitium, ductum in triumpho, securi percussit. Cum pestilentia civitas laboraret, missi legati ut Aesculapi signum Romam ab Epidauro transferrent, anguem, qui se in navem eorum contulerat, in quo ipsum numen esse constabat, deportaverunt; eoque in insulam Tiberis egresso eodem loco aedis Aesculapio constituta est. L. Postumius consularis, quoniam, cum exercitui praeesset, opera militum in agro suo usus erat, damnatus est. Pacem petentibus Samnitibus[1] foedus quarto renovatum est. Curius Dentatus cos. Samnitibus caesis et Sabinis, qui rebellaverant, victis et in deditionem acceptis bis in eodem magistratu triumphavit. Coloniae deductae sunt Castrum Sena Hadria. Triumviri capitales tunc primum creati sunt. Censu acto lustrum conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita CCLXXII. Plebs propter aes alienum post[2] graves et longas seditiones ad ultimum secessit in Ianiculum, unde a Q. Hortensio dictatore deducta est; isque in ipso magistratu decessit. Res praeterea contra Vulsinienses gestas continet, item adversus Lucanos, contra quos auxilium Thurinis[3] ferre placuerat.

[1] petentibus Samnitibus *a late MS.*: petentibus *MSS.*
[2] post *Sigonius ex. vet. lib.*: propter *MSS.*
[3] Thurinis *Pighius (Plin. N. H.* XXXIV. 32, *Val. Max.* I. viii. 6, *Dion. Hal.* XIX. xiii): tyrrhenis *or* tyrrinis *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XI

When Fabius Gurges the consul had fought an unsuccessful battle with the Samnites and the senate was debating his removal from the command, Fabius Maximus his father begged them to spare his son this ignominy. What particularly moved the senate was his promise to go out as his son's lieutenant, which he did. Aided by his advice and services, his son the consul defeated the Samnites and triumphed. Gaius Pontius, the general of the Samnites, was led in the triumph and beheaded. When the state was troubled with a pestilence, the envoys dispatched to bring over the image of Aesculapius from Epidaurus to Rome fetched away a serpent, which had crawled into their ship and in which it was generally believed that the god himself was present. On the serpent's going ashore on the island of the Tiber, a temple was erected there to Aesculapius. The consular Lucius Postumius was convicted of having used the labour of soldiers on his own land when in command of the army. The Samnites sought peace and the treaty with them was renewed for the fourth time. Curius Dentatus the consul having slaughtered the Samnites and conquered the Sabines, who had revolted, and received their submission, triumphed twice in the same year of office. Colonies were established at Castrum, Sena, and Hadria. A board of three to deal with capital offences was then chosen for the first time. The number of citizens was returned as 272,000. Because of their debts, the plebs, after serious and protracted quarrels, seceded to Janiculum, whence they were brought back by Quintus Hortensius the dictator, who died before the expiration of his term. The book contains also campaigns with the Vulsinienses and likewise with the Lucanians, against whom the Romans had voted to assist the people of Thurii.

LIBRI XII PERIOCHA

Cum legati Romanorum a Gallis Senonibus interfecti essent, bello ob id Gallis indicto, L. Caecilius praetor ab his cum legionibus caesus est. Cum a Tarentinis classis Romana direpta esset, IIviro qui praeerat classi occiso, legati ad eos a senatu, ut de his iniuriis quererentur, missi pulsati sunt. Ob id bellum his indictum est. Samnites defecerunt. Adversus eos et Lucanos et Brittios et Etruscos aliquot proeliis a compluribus ducibus bene pugnatum est. Pyrrhus, Epirotarum rex, ut auxilium Tarentinis ferret, in Italiam venit. Cum in praesidium Reginorum legio Campana cum praefecto Decio Vibellio missa esset, occisis Reginis Regium[1] occupavit.

LIBRI XIII PERIOCHA

Valerius Laevinus cos. parum prospere adversus Pyrrhum pugnavit, elephantorum maxime inusitata facie territis militibus. Post id proelium cum corpora Romanorum qui in acie ceciderant Pyrrhus inspiceret, omnia versa in hostem invenit[2] populabundusque ad urbem Romanam processit. C. Fabricius missus ad eum a senatu, ut de redimendis captivis ageret, frustra ut patriam desereret a rege temptatus est. Captivi sine pretio remissi sunt. Cineas legatus a Pyrrho ad senatum missus petit ut conponendae pacis causa rex in urbem reciperetur. De qua re cum ad frequentiorem senatum referri placuisset, Appius Claudius, qui propter valetudinem oculorum iam diu consiliis publicis se abstinuerat,

[1] Regium *vulg.* : regnum *MSS.*
[2] invenit *vulg.* : venit *MSS.*

[1] *sc.* Bruttii. [2] *sc.* Rhegium.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XII

Roman envoys having been put to death by the Senonian Gauls, war was for that reason declared against the Gauls, and Lucius Caecilius the praetor and his legions were cut to pieces by them. The Tarentines plundered a Roman fleet, slew the duumvir who commanded it, and maltreated the envoys whom the senate had dispatched to them to complain of these wrongs. On this account war was declared against them. The Samnites revolted. Several successful battles were fought with them and with the Lucanians and the Brittii[1] and the Etruscans, under a number of generals. Pyrrhus, king of the Epirots, came to Italy to help the Tarentines. A Campanian legion, commanded by Decius Vibellius, being sent to protect the people of Regium,[2] put the inhabitants to death and seized the city.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XIII

The consul Valerius Laevinus fought a losing engagement with Pyrrhus, the soldiers being greatly terrified by the strange sight of the elephants. After this battle, when Pyrrhus was looking at the bodies of the Romans who had fallen, he found that they all faced their enemies, and laying waste the country, advanced towards the city of Rome. Gaius Fabricius, being sent to him by the senate to treat for the ransom of the prisoners, was in vain solicited by the King to forsake his country. The prisoners were released without a price. Cineas, having been dispatched by Pyrrhus as an envoy to the senate, asked that the King might be received into the City for the purpose of arranging terms of peace. On its having been resolved to refer this proposal to a fuller meeting of the senate, Appius Claudius, who by reason of a weakness of the eyes had long abstained from public

venit in curiam et sententia sua tenuit ut id Pyrrho negaretur. Cn. Domitius censor primus ex plebe lustrum condidit. Censa sunt civium capita CCXXXXVII CCXXII. Iterum adversus Pyrrhum dubio eventu pugnatum est. Cum Carthaginiensibus quarto foedus renovatum est. Cum C. Fabricio consuli is qui ad eum a Pyrrho transfugerat polliceretur venenum se regi daturum, cum indicio ad regem remissus est. Res praeterea contra Lucanos et Bruttios, Samnites et Etruscos[1] prospere gestas continet.

LIBRI XIIII PERIOCHA

Pyrrhus in Siciliam traiecit. Cum inter alia prodigia fulmine deiectum esset in Capitolio Iovis signum, caput eius per haruspices inventum est. Curius Dentatus cos. cum[2] dilectum haberet, eius qui citatus non responderat bona primus vendidit; iterum Pyrrhum ex Sicilia in Italiam reversum vicit et Italia expulit. Fabricius censor P. Cornelium Rufinum consularem senatu movit, quod is x pondo argenti facti haberet. Lustro a censoribus condito censa sunt civium capita CCLXXI CCXXIIII. Cum Ptolemaeo, Aegypti rege, societas iuncta est. Sextilia, virgo Vestalis, damnata incesti viva defossa est. Coloniae deductae sunt Posidonia et Cosa. Carthaginiensium classis auxilio Tarentinis venit. quo facto ab his foedus violatum est. Res praeterea contra Lucanos et Bruttios et Samnites feliciter gestas et Pyrrhi regis mortem continet.

[1] et Etruscos *vulg.* : etruscos *MSS.*
[2] cos. cum *Rossbach* : ·is· cum *MSS.*

business, entered the Curia and by his speech prevailed on the senators to deny Pyrrhus his request. Gnaeus Domitius was the first plebeian censor to close the lustrum. The number of the citizens was returned as 287,222. There was a second battle with Pyrrhus, of an indecisive nature. The treaty with the Carthaginians was renewed for the fourth time. When a deserter from Pyrrhus promised Gaius Fabricius the consul that he would poison the King, Fabricius sent him back to the King with the story of his guilt. The book contains also successful campaigns against the Lucanians and the Bruttians, the Samnites and the Etruscans.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XIV

Pyrrhus crossed into Sicily. When, amongst other prodigies, the statue of Jupiter in the Capitol had been thrown down by a thunderbolt, its head was discovered by haruspices. The consul Curius Dentatus, on holding a levy, was the first to sell the goods of any man who did not answer the summons; he likewise defeated Pyrrhus, who had returned from Sicily into Italy, and drove him out of Italy. The censor Fabricius removed Publius Cornelius Rufinus, an ex-consul, from the senate, because he had in his possession ten pounds of wrought silver. When the censors had closed the lustrum, there were found to be 271,224 citizens. An alliance was made with Ptolemy, king of Egypt. Sextilia, a Vestal Virgin, was found guilty of unchastity and was buried alive. The colonies of Posidonia and Cosa were established. A fleet of the Carthaginians came to the assistance of the Tarentines, an act which constituted a violation of the treaty. The book also contains successful wars with the Lucanians, the Bruttians, and the Samnites, and the death of King Pyrrhus.

LIBRI XV PERIOCHA

Victis Tarentinis pax et libertas data est.[1] Legio Campana quae Regium occupaverat obsessa deditione facta securi percussa est. Cum legatos Apolloniatium ad senatum missos quidam iuvenes pulsassent, dediti sunt Apolloniatibus. Picentibus victis pax data est. Coloniae deductae Ariminum in Piceno, Beneventum in Samnio.[2] Tunc primum populus R.[3] argento uti coepit. Umbri et Sallentini[4] victi in deditionem accepti sunt. Quaestorum numerus ampliatus est, ut essent octo.[5]

LIBRI XVI PERIOCHA

Origo Carthaginiensium et primordia urbis eorum referuntur. Contra quos et Hieronem, regem Syracusanorum, auxilium Mamertinis ferendum senatus censuit, cum de ea re inter suadentes ut id fieret dissuadentesque contentio fuisset; transgressisque tunc primum mare equitibus[6] Romanis adversus Hieronem saepius bene pugnatum. Petenti pax data est. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita CCCLXXXII CCXXXIIII. Decimus Iunius Brutus munus gladiatorium in honorem defuncti patris primus edidit. Colonia Aesernia deducta est. Res praeterea contra Poenos et Vulsinios[7] prospere gestas continet.

[1] data est *vulg.*: nata est *MSS.*
[2] Beneventum in Samnio *editio princeps*: Beneventum *MSS.*
[3] populus R. *vulg.*: populus *MSS.*
[4] Sallentini *vulg.*: salleni (*or* saleni *or* salerni) *MSS.*
[5] ut essent octo *Sigonius*: ut essent *MSS.*
[6] equitibus *MSS*: exercitibus *Weissenborn.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XV

The Tarentines, having been vanquished, were granted peace and liberty. The Campanian legion which had seized Regium[1] was besieged and forced to surrender and its members were beheaded. Envoys from Apollonium to the senate were beaten by certain youths, who were given up to the people of Apollonium. The Picentes were defeated and granted peace. Colonies were sent out to Ariminum in the Picentian district and to Beneventum in Samnium. Then for the first time the Roman People began to use silver.[2] The Umbrians and the Sallentines were conquered and their submission was received. The number of quaestors was enlarged, so that there were eight.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XVI

The origin of the Carthaginians and the beginnings of their city are described. Against them and against Hiero, king of the Syracusans, the senate determined to assist the Mamertines, after a bitter debate about the proposal between its advocates and its opponents. Then for the first time Roman cavalry[3] crossed the sea, and fought a number of victorious engagements against Hiero. On his suing for peace, it was granted him. The lustrum was closed by the censors. There were enumerated 382,234 citizens. Decimus Junius Brutus was the first to give a gladiatorial exhibition, in honour of his dead father. The colony of Aesernia was planted. The book contains also successful operations carried on against the Carthaginians and the Vulsinii.

[1] *sc.* Rhegium. [2] *i.e.* silver coinage.
[3] Or "armies," if we accept Weissenborn's emendation.

Vulsinios *vulg.* : uulsinos *MSS.*

LIBRI XVII PERIOCHA

Cn. Cornelius consul a classe Punica circumventus et per fraudem, veluti in conloquium evocatus, captus est. C. Duillius consul adversus classem Poenorum prospere pugnavit, primusque omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriae duxit triumphum. Ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos habitus est, ut revertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur. L. Cornelius consul in Sardinia et Corsica contra Sardos et Corsos et Hannonem, Poenorum ducem, feliciter pugnavit. Atilius Calatinus[1] cos. cum in locum a Poenis circumsessum temere exercitum duxisset, M. Calpurni, tribuni militum, virtute et opera evasit, qui cum CCC militibus eruptione facta hostes in se converterat. Hannibal, dux Poenorum, victa classe cui praefuerat, a militibus suis in crucem sublatus est. Atilius Regulus cos. victis navali proelio Poenis in Africam traiecit.

LIBRI XVIII PERIOCHA

Atilius Regulus in Africa serpentem portentosae magnitudinis cum magna clade militum occidit, et cum aliquot proeliis bene adversus Carthaginienses pugnasset, successorque ei a senatu prospere bellum gerenti non mitteretur, id ipsum per litteras ad senatum scriptas questus est, in quibus inter causas petendi successoris erat[2] quod agellus eius a mercennariis desertus esset. Quaerente deinde Fortuna ut magnum utriusque casus exemplum in Regulo

[1] Calatinus *vulg.*: calasinus *MSS.*
[2] successoris erat *vulg.*: successoris *MSS.*

[1] *cf.* Cic. *Cato Maior*, § 44.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XVII

The consul Gnaeus Cornelius was surrounded by a Carthaginian fleet and was made prisoner by fraud, having been lured out as to a colloquy. The consul Gaius Duillius fought a successful engagement with the fleet of the Carthaginians and was first of all Roman leaders to triumph for a naval victory. For this reason he was granted a perpetual honour—that a waxen torch should be borne before him and a flautist should make music when he returned from dining out.[1] The consul Lucius Cornelius fought successfully in Sardinia and Corsica against the Sardinians and Corsicans and against Hanno, the Carthaginian general. The consul Atilius Calatinus having rashly led his army into a place surrounded by the Carthaginians, escaped through the valiant services of Marcus Calpurnius, a tribune of the soldiers, who with three hundred men broke through the enemy and drew their attack upon himself. Hannibal, a Carthaginian general, on the defeat of the fleet which he commanded, was crucified by his own soldiers. Atilius Regulus the consul, having beaten the Carthaginians in a naval battle, crossed into Africa.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XVIII

Atilius Regulus in Africa slew a serpent of portentous size with the loss of many of his soldiers. Having fought several successful battles with the Carthaginians, and finding that owing to his good fortune in the prosecution of the war the senate was not disposed to send anyone to succeed him, he wrote to the senate and complained of this very thing, alleging, amongst other reasons for desiring a successor, that his little farm had been deserted by the labourers hired to work it. Afterwards, on Fortune's seeking to exhibit in the case of Regulus an

proderetur, arcessito a Carthaginiensibus Xanthippo, Lacedaemoniorum duce, victus proelio et captus est. Res deinde a ducibus Romanis omnibus terra marique prospere gestas deformaverunt naufragia classium. Tib. Coruncanius primus ex plebe pontifex maximus creatus est. M'. Valerius Maximus P. Sempronius Sophus[1] censores cum senatum legerent, XVI senatu moverunt. Lustrum condiderunt, quo censa sunt civium capita CCXCVII DCCXCVII. Regulus missus a Carthaginiensibus ad senatum ut de pace, et si eam non posset impetrare, de commutandis captivis ageret, et iureiurando adstrictus rediturum se Carthaginem, si commutari captivos non placuisset, utrumque negandi auctor senatui[2] fuit, et cum fide custodita reversus esset, supplicio a Carthaginiensibus de eo sumpto perit.

LIBRI XVIIII PERIOCHA

Caecilius Metellus rebus adversus Poenos prospere gestis speciosum egit triumphum, XIII ducibus hostium et CXX elephantis in eo ductis. Claudius Pulcher cos. contra auspicia profectus—iussit mergi pullos, qui cibari nolebant—infeliciter adversus Carthaginienses classe pugnavit, et revocatus a senatu iussusque dictatorem dicere Claudium Gliciam dixit, sortis ultimae hominem, qui coactus abdicare se magistratu postea ludos praetextatus spectavit. A. Atilius Calatinus[3] primus dictator extra Italiam exercitum

[1] *The censors' names, variously corrupted in the MSS., are corrected from the Fasti Capitolini, C.I.L.* I², *p.* 24.
[2] senatui *vulg.* : senatus *MSS.*
[3] calatinus *vulg* : calanus *MSS.*

[1] The Regulus story inspired Horace to write his finest ode (*Carm.* III. 5).

example of both extremes, the Carthaginians sent for Xanthippus, a general of the Lacedaemonians, who defeated Regulus in battle and made him prisoner. After that all the Roman generals gained victories on land and sea; but these were marred by the wreck of fleets. Tiberius Coruncanius was the first to be chosen pontifex maximus from the plebs. Manius Valerius Maximus and Publius Sempronius Sophus, when as censors they were passing on the senate, removed sixteen from that order. They closed the lustrum and the number of citizens returned was 297,797. Regulus being sent by the Carthaginians to the senate to treat for peace, or, failing that, for an exchange of prisoners, and being bound by an oath to return to Carthage, if the Romans would not exchange, advised the senate to grant neither request, and having loyally returned, was tortured to death by the Carthaginians.[1]

SUMMARY OF BOOK XIX

Caecilius Metellus, after a prosperous campaign against the Carthaginians, triumphed brilliantly, having thirteen of the enemy's generals and a hundred and twenty elephants in his procession. The consul Claudius Pulcher having set out in opposition to the auspices—he ordered the chickens to be drowned, when they would not feed[2]—fought an unsuccessful naval engagement with the Carthaginians, and on being recalled by the senate and directed to name a dictator, named Claudius Glicia, a man of the basest sort, who afterwards, when he had been forced to abdicate the office, witnessed the games in his purple-bordered toga. Aulus Atilius Calatinus was the first dictator to lead an army out of Italy. An

[2] According to Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, II. 7, Claudius had the fowls thrown into water, "that they might drink, since they would not eat."

duxit. Commutatio captivorum cum Poenis facta est. Coloniae deductae sunt Fregenae, in agro Sallentino Brundisium. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita CCXII CCXII. Claudia, soror P. Claudi, qui contemptis auspiciis male pugnaverat, a ludis revertens cum turba premeretur, dixit: Utinam frater meus viveret; iterum classem duceret. Ob eam causam multa ei dicta est. Duo praetores tunc primum creati sunt. Caecilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, A. Postumium[1] consulem, quoniam idem et flamen Martialis erat, cum is ad bellum gerendum proficisci vellet, in urbe tenuit nec passus est a sacris recedere. Rebus adversus Poenos a pluribus ducibus prospere gestis, summam victoriae[2] C. Lutatius cos. victa ad Aegates insulas classe Poenorum imposuit. Petentibus Carthaginiensibus pax data est. Cum templum Vestae arderet, Caecilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, ex incendio sacra rapuit. Duae tribus adiectae sunt, Velina et Quirina.

LIBRI XX PERIOCHA

Falisci cum rebellassent, sexto die perdomiti in deditionem venerunt. Spoletium colonia deducta est. Adversus Ligures tunc primum exercitus promotus est. Sardi et Corsi cum rebellassent, subacti sunt. Tuccia,[3] virgo Vestalis, incesti damnata est. Bellum Illyriis propter unum ex legatis qui ad eos missi erant occisum indictum est, subactique in deditionem venerunt. Praetorum numerus ampliatus est, ut essent IIII. Galli transalpini qui in Italiam inruperant caesi sunt. Eo bello populum

[1] A. Postumium *vulg.*: aurelium postumium *MSS.*
[2] victoriae *vulg.*: victoriam *MSS.*
[3] Tuccia *Sigonius ex vet. lib.*: lucia (*or* Luccia) *MSS.* Tucia *ed. prin.*

exchange of prisoners with the Carthaginians was effected. Colonies were founded at Fregenae[1] and in the Sallentine country at Brundisium. The lustrum was closed by the censors. 241,212 citizens were registered. Claudia, the sister of Publius Claudius, who had been defeated after making light of the auspices, being jostled by the crowd while returning from the games, exclaimed, "O that my brother were alive to command another fleet!" For this she was fined. Then for the first time two praetors were elected. Caecilius Metellus, the pontifex maximus, kept Aulus Postumius, the consul, in the City, since he was also the flamen of Mars, when he desired to go forth to war, nor would he suffer him to forsake his sacred functions. After a number of generals had gained successes against the Carthaginians, Gaius Lutatius crowned the victory by defeating the Carthaginian fleet off the Aegatian Islands. The Carthaginians sued for peace and it was granted them. When the temple of Vesta was burning, Caecilius Metellus, the pontifex maximus, rescued the sacred objects from the flames. Two tribes were added, the Velina and the Quirina.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XX

The Faliscans, having revolted, were on the sixth day subdued and permitted to surrender. A colony was planted at Spoletium. Then for the first time an army marched against the Ligurians. The Sardinians and Corsicans having revolted were reduced to subjection. Tuccia, a Vestal Virgin, was convicted of unchastity. War was declared against the Illyrians on account of the murder of one of the envoys who had been dispatched to them, and they were subdued and received in surrender. The number of praetors was enlarged to four. Transalpine Gauls who had made an incursion into Italy were cut to pieces. The author states that in that war the

[1] Near the coast about due W. of Rome.

R. sui Latinique nominis $\overline{\text{DCCC}}$ armatorum [1] habuisse dicit Exercitibus Romanis tunc primum trans Padum ductis Galli Insubres aliquot proeliis fusi in deditionem venerunt. M. Claudius Marcellus cos. occiso Gallorum Insubrium duce, Vertomaro,[2] opima spolia rettulit. Histri subacti sunt. Iterum Illyri cum rebellassent, domiti in deditionem venerunt. Lustrum a censoribus ter [3] conditum est. Primo lustro censa sunt civium capita CCLXX CCXII**. Libertini in quattuor tribus redacti sunt, cum antea dispersi per omnes fuissent, Esquilinam Palatinam Suburanam Collinam. C. Flaminius censor viam Flaminiam muniit [4] et circum Flaminium exstruxit. Coloniae deductae sunt in agro de Gallis [5] capto Placentia et Cremona.

[1] $\overline{\text{DCCC}}$ armatorum *Mommsen*: ACCC *MSS.*

[2] Vertomaro *MSS.*: Virtomane *Propertius* IV. x. 41 (*codex N*): Viridomaro *ed. prin.* (*cf. Serv. Verg. Aen.* VI. 855).

[3] ter *Madvig*: per *MSS.*

[4] C. Flaminius censor viam Flaminiam muniit *Sigonius* muniit *MSS.*

[5] de gallis *Frobenius*: gallis *MSS.*

Roman People had under arms 800,000 men, of their own and of the Latin name. Then for the first time Roman armies crossed the Po, and defeating the Insubrian Gauls in several battles, received their submission. The consul Marcus Claudius Marcellus having slain the chief of the Insubrian Gauls, Vertomarus, brought back the spoils of honour.[1] The Histrians were subjugated. The Illyrians having gone to war a second time were defeated and their submission was received. The census was thrice taken by the censors. In the first census there were registered 270,212 citizens. . . . The freedmen were assigned to four tribes, whereas before they had been dispersed through them all—the four being the Esquilina, the Palatina, the Suburana, the Collina. The censor Gaius Flaminius built the Flaminian Way and the Flaminian Circus. Colonies were established in the territory taken from the Gauls, at Placentia and Cremona.

[1] The "spoils of honour" were those taken by the general in personal combat with the general of the enemy. See I. x. 6.

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LIVY

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

V

BOOKS XXI—XXII

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXI

A.U.C. 536-553

I. In parte operis mei licet mihi praefari quod in principio summae totius professi plerique sunt rerum scriptores, bellum maxime omnium memorabile quae unquam gesta sint me scripturum, quod Hannibale duce Carthaginienses cum populo Romano gessere. 2 Nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma, neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit, et haud ignotas belli artes inter sese[1] sed expertas primo Punico conferebant[2] bello, et adeo varia fortuna belli ancepsque Mars fuit ut propius periculum fuerint qui vicerunt. 3 Odiis etiam prope maioribus certarunt quam viribus, Romanis indignantibus quod victoribus victi ultro inferrent arma, Poenis quod superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse.

[1] sese *C*: se (*by erasure from* sese) *M*.
[2] conferebant ς: conserebant *CM*.

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[1] Thucydides began his history as follows: "Thucydides, an Athenian, wrote the history of the war which the Peloponnesians and Athenians waged against one another, beginning at its very outset, in the expectation that it

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXI

I. In this preface to a part of my history I may properly assert what many an historian has declared at the outset of his entire work,[1] to wit, that the war which I am going to describe was the most memorable of all wars ever waged—the war, that is, which, under the leadership of Hannibal, the Carthaginians waged with the Roman People. For neither have states or nations met in arms possessed of ampler resources, nor was their own might and power ever so great. Nor yet were they strangers to one another's modes of fighting, which the First Punic War had made them understand. And so variable were the fortunes of the war and so uncertain was its outcome that those who ultimately conquered had been nearer ruin. The animosity, too, with which they fought was almost greater than their strength: the Romans were enraged that the conquered should be actually drawing sword upon their conquerors; the Phoenicians, because they believed that the conquered had been treated with domineering arrogance and greed. B.C. 218–201

would be a great war and more worthy of relation than any that had preceded it."

A.U.C. 536–553

4 Fama est etiam Hannibalem annorum ferme novem pueriliter blandientem patri Hamilcari ut duceretur in Hispaniam, cum perfecto Africo bello exercitum eo traiecturus sacrificaret, altaribus admotum tactis sacris iure iurando adactum se cum primum posset 5 hostem fore populo Romano. Angebant ingentis A.U.C. 513 spiritus virum Sicilia Sardiniaque amissae; nam et Siciliam nimis celeri desperatione rerum concessam et Sardiniam inter motum Africae fraude Romanorum stipendio etiam insuper imposito interceptam.

A.U.C. 517–525

II. His anxius curis ita se Africo bello, quod fuit sub recentem Romanam pacem, per quinque annos, ita deinde novem annis in Hispania augendo Punico 2 imperio gessit ut appareret maius eum quam quod gereret agitare in animo bellum, et si diutius vixisset, Hamilcare duce Poenos arma Italiae inlaturos fuisse, quae[1] Hannibalis ductu intulerunt.

A.U.C. 525–532

3 Mors Hamilcaris peropportuna et pueritia Hannibalis distulerunt bellum. Medius Hasdrubal inter patrem ac filium octo ferme annos imperium obtinuit, flore aetatis, uti ferunt, primo Hamilcari conciliatus, 4 gener inde ob aliam indolem profecto animi adscitus, et quia gener erat, factionis Barcinae[2] opibus, quae

[1] quae ς: qui *CM*: cui *Heerwagen.*
[2] Barcinae *edd.*: barchinae *CM.*

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[1] *i.e.* the western part of the island, which had been in the possession of the Carthaginians at the beginning of the First Punic War.

It is said moreover that when Hannibal, then about nine years old, was childishly teasing his father Hamilcar to take him with him into Spain, his father, who had finished the African war and was sacrificing, before crossing over with his army, led the boy up to the altar and made him touch the offerings and bind himself with an oath that so soon as he should be able he would be the declared enemy of the Roman People. The loss of Sicily and Sardinia was a continual torture to the proud spirit of Hamilcar. For he maintained that they had surrendered Sicily[1] in premature despair, and that the Romans had wrongfully appropriated Sardinia — and even imposed an indemnity on them besides —in the midst of their African disturbances. B.C. 218–201 B.C. 241

II. Tormented by these thoughts, he so bore himself in the African War, which followed hard upon the Roman peace and lasted for five years, and likewise afterwards, during the nine years he spent in Spain in extending the Punic empire, that it was plain to see that he meditated a more important war than the one he was engaged in, and that if his life had been prolonged, the Phoenicians would have invaded Italy under the leadership of Hamilcar, as they did in fact under that of Hannibal. B.C. 237–2–9

Hamilcar's very timely death and the boyhood of Hannibal delayed the war. In the interval betwixt father and son, the supreme command devolved, for about eight years, on Hasdrubal. It was his youthful beauty, they say, that won for him in the first instance the favour of Hamilcar, who subsequently selected him, no doubt for other, that is mental, qualifications, to be his son-in-law. As such—through the influence of the Barcine B.C. 229–222

A.U.C. 525–532

apud milites plebemque plus quam modicae erant, haud sane voluntate principum in imperio positus. 5 Is plura consilio quam vi gerens hospitiis magis regulorum conciliandisque per amicitiam principum novis gentibus quam bello aut armis rem Carthaginiensem auxit. 6 Ceterum nihilo ei pax tutior fuit; barbarus eum quidam[1] palam ob iram interfecti[2] ab eo domini obtruncavit[3]; comprensusque ab circumstantibus haud alio quam si evasisset vultu tormentis quoque cum laceraretur, eo fuit habitu oris ut superante laetitia dolores ridentis etiam speciem praebuerit. 7 Cum hoc Hasdrubale, quia mirae artis in sollicitandis gentibus imperioque suo iungendis fuerat, foedus renovaverat populus Romanus, ut finis utriusque imperii esset amnis Hiberus Saguntinisque mediis inter imperia duorum populorum libertas servaretur.

A.U.C. 528

A.U.C. 533

III. In Hasdrubalis locum haud dubia res fuit quin praerogativa militaris, qua extemplo iuvenis Hannibal in praetorium delatus imperatorque ingenti omnium clamore atque adsensu appellatus erat, a senatu comprobaretur. Favor[4] plebis sequebatur.

[1] quidam C^2M^3: quidam quidam C^1: quidam qui M^1.
[2] interfecti M^3: interfecit *CM*.
[3] obtruncavit ς: obtruncati CM^1: obtruncat M^3.
[4] erat, a senatu comprobaretur. Favor *Rossbach*: erat favor *CM*.

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[1] This was the war-party in Carthage, named for its leader Hamilcar Barca, which opposed the peace-at-any-price policy of the merchant-aristocracy.

[2] *i.e.* the treaty of 241 B.C. (*Per.* XX. and Chap. xix. §§ 1–5).

[3] Saguntum (Murviedro) lay about midway between the Ebro and New Carthage (Cartagena). Livy does not mean

faction,[1] which was very strong with the soldiers and the common people—he was given the command, though the leading citizens had no liking for this step. Relying more often on policy than force, Hasdrubal enlarged the sway of Carthage rather by setting up friendly relations with the petty kings and winning over new tribes through the goodwill of their leaders than by war and arms. But he was not a whit more safe for being at peace. A certain barbarian slew him openly, to avenge his master, whom Hasdrubal had put to death. On being seized by the bystanders he expressed in his countenance the cheerfulness of one who had escaped, and even as he was being tortured, joy so got the upper hand of agony that he seemed actually to smile. With this Hasdrubal, because of the marvellous skill which he had shown in tempting the native tribes to join his empire, the Roman People had renewed their covenant,[2] with the stipulation that neither side should extend its dominion beyond the Ebro, while the Saguntines, situated between the empires of the two peoples,[3] should be preserved in independence.

B.C. 229–222

B.C. 226

III. For Hasdrubal's successor there could be no question but that the choice originating with the soldiers—who immediately bore young Hannibal into the praetorium and with loud and universal acclamation hailed him general—would obtain the ratification of the senate. The approval of the

B.C. 221

that it lay between the two "spheres of influence"—for it must, in that case, have occupied an island in the Ebro—but, vaguely, that the Carthaginians were still far to the south of it and the Romans had not yet approached it from the north.

A.U.C. 533

2 Hunc vixdum puberem Hasdrubal litteris ad se accersierat; actaque res etiam in senatu fuerat. Barcinis[1] nitentibus ut adsuesceret militae Hannibal 3 atque in paternas succederet opes, Hanno, alterius factionis princeps, "Et aequum postulare videtur" inquit "Hasdrubal, et ego tamen non censeo quod 4 petit tribuendum." Cum admiratione tam ancipitis sententiae in se omnes convertisset, "Florem aetatis" inquit "Hasdrubal, quem ipse patri Hannibalis fruendum praebuit, iusto iure eum a filio repeti[2] censet; nos tamen minime decet iuventutem nostram pro militari rudimento adsuefacere libidini 5 praetorum. An hoc timemus, ne Hamilcaris filius nimis sero imperia immodica et regni paterni speciem[3] videat, et cuius regis genero hereditarii sint relicti exercitus nostri, eius filio parum mature serviamus? 6 Ego istum iuvenem domi tenendum, sub legibus sub magistratibus docendum vivere aequo iure cum ceteris censeo, ne quandoque parvus hic ignis incendium ingens exsuscitet."

IV. Pauci ac ferme optimus quisque Hannoni adsentiebantur; sed, ut plerumque fit, maior pars meliorem vicit. Missus Hannibal in Hispaniam primo statim adventu omnem exercitum in se con- 2 vertit; Hamilcarem iuvenem redditum sibi veteres

[1] Barcinis *edd.*; barchinis *CM* (*also at chap.* ix. § 4, *chap.* x. § 4 *and elsewhere*).
[2] repeti C^1M^1: repetit *CM*.
[3] speciem ς: spem *CM*.

commons followed. The new commander had been B.C. 221
summoned to Spain by Hasdrubal when a mere lad, and the matter had even been debated in the senate. The Barcine party were urging that Hannibal should become inured to warfare and succeed to the resources of his father, when Hanno, the leader of the other faction, addressed the House. "There is reason," said he, "in Hasdrubal's request, nevertheless I am opposed to granting it." When astonishment at a speech so inconsistent had attracted everybody's attention, he continued: "The youthful charms which Hasdrubal himself permitted Hannibal's father to enjoy he considers that he has the right to require again at the hands of the son. But that we should accustom our young men, by way of military training, to gratify the concupiscence of our generals is most unseemly. Or do we fear lest Hamilcar's son may too late behold the inordinate powers and the regal pomp which his father has set up? that the son of the king who left our armies as a legacy to his son-in-law may find us too slow in accepting him for our master? For my part, I think that the young man should be kept at home and taught to live in submission to the laws and the magistrates, upon an equal footing with the others, lest one day this small fire kindle a great conflagration."

IV. A few, and these included nearly all the best men, supported Hanno, but, as often happens, the larger party prevailed over the better. Hannibal was sent to Spain, where he was no sooner come than he won the favour of the entire army. The old soldiers thought that Hamilcar was restored to them as he had been in his youth; they beheld

A.U.C. 533

milites credere; eundem vigorem in voltu vimque in oculis, habitum oris lineamentaque intueri. Dein brevi effecit ut pater in se minimum momentum[1] ad 3 favorem conciliandum esset; nunquam ingenium idem ad res diversissimas, parendum atque imperandum, habilius fuit. Itaque haud facile discerneres 4 utrum imperatori an exercitui carior esset; neque Hasdrubal alium quemquam praeficere malle, ubi quid fortiter ac strenue agendum esset, neque 5 milites alio duce plus confidere aut audere. Plurimum audaciae ad pericula capessenda, plurimum consilii inter ipsa pericula erat; nullo labore aut 6 corpus fatigari aut animus vinci poterat; caloris ac frigoris patientia par; cibi potionisque desiderio naturali non voluptate[2] modus finitus; vigiliarum somnique nec die nec nocte discriminata tempora; 7 id quod gerendis rebus superesset quieti datum; ea neque molli strato neque silentio accersita; multi saepe militari sagulo opertum humi iacentem inter 8 custodias stationesque militum conspexerunt. Vestitus nihil inter aequales excellens; arma atque equi conspiciebantur. Equitum peditumque idem longe primus erat; princeps in proelium ibat, ultimus 9 conserto proelio excedebat. Has tantas viri virtutes ingentia vitia aequabant: inhumana crudelitas perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil veri nihil sancti, nullus deum metus nullum ius iurandum nulla 10 religio. Cum hac indole virtutum atque vitiorum

[1] momentum ς: monumentum *CM*.

[2] non voluptate ς: non uoluntate *CM*: voluntate *H. Sauppe*.

the same lively expression and piercing eye, the B.C. 221
same cast of countenance and features. But he soon brought it to pass that his likeness to his father was the least consideration in gaining him support. Never was the same nature more adaptable to things the most diverse—obedience and command. And so one could not readily have told whether he were dearer to the general or the army. When any bold or difficult deed was to be done, there was no one whom Hasdrubal liked better to entrust with it, nor did any other leader inspire his men with greater confidence or daring. To reckless courage in incurring dangers he united the greatest judgment when in the midst of them. No toil could exhaust his body or overcome his spirit. Of heat and cold he was equally tolerant. His consumption of meat and drink was determined by natural desire, not by pleasure. His times of waking and sleeping were not marked off by day or night: what time remained when his work was done he gave to sleep, which he did not court with a soft bed or stillness, but was seen repeatedly by many lying on the ground wrapped in a common soldier's cloak amongst the sentinels and outguards. His dress was in no way superior to that of his fellows, but his arms and horses were conspicuous. Both of horsemen and of foot-soldiers he was undoubtedly the first—foremost to enter battle, and last to leave it when the fighting had begun. These admirable qualities of the man were equalled by his monstrous vices: his cruelty was inhuman, his perfidy worse than Punic; he had no regard for truth, and none for sanctity, no fear of the gods, no reverence for an oath, no religious scruple. With this endowment of

A a.u.c. 533 triennio sub Hasdrubale imperatore meruit nulla re quae agenda videndaque magno futuro duci esset praetermissa.

V. Ceterum ex quo die dux est declaratus,[1] velut Italia ei provincia decreta bellumque Romanum 2 mandatum esset, nihil prolatandum ratus, ne se quoque, ut patrem Hamilcarem deinde Hasdrubalem, cunctantem casus aliquis opprimeret, Sagun- 3 tinis inferre bellum statuit. Quibus oppugnandis quia haud dubie Romana arma movebantur, in Olcadum prius fines—ultra Hiberum ea gens in parte magis quam in dicione Carthaginiensium erat —induxit exercitum, ut non petisse Saguntinos sed rerum serie finitimis domitis gentibus iungendoque 4 tractus ad id bellum videri posset. Cartalam urbem opulentam, caput gentis eius, expugnat diripitque; quo metu perculsae minores civitates stipendio imposito imperium accepere. Victor exercitus opulentusque praeda Carthaginem Novam in hiberna 5 est deductus. Ibi large partiendo praedam stipendioque praeterito cum fide exsolvendo cunctis civium sociorumque animis in se firmatis vere primo 6 in Vaccaeos promotum bellum. Hermandica et

[1] declaratus C^2M^4: declaraturus C^1: declaratis M^1.

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[1] Up to this point it is probable that Livy has been drawing his material chiefly from Coelius Antipater. He now turns to Polybius (or an account based on Polybius), and somewhat awkwardly effects the transition by means of the sentence following, in which he tries to smooth over the contradiction between *nihil prolatandum ratus* and the two years that Hannibal now spent in wars that had nothing to do with the Saguntines. (*De Sanctis*, p. 182.)

[2] This place—unknown except for its mention in this

good and evil traits he served for the space of three B.C. 221
years under Hasdrubal, omitting nothing that should be done or seen by one who was to become a great commander.

V. For the rest, from the day on which he was proclaimed commander-in-chief, as though Italy had been assigned to him for his field of operations and he had been instructed to make war on Rome, he felt that no postponement was permissible, lest he too, like his father Hamilcar, and afterwards Hasdrubal, should be overtaken, while delaying, by some accident, and resolved upon attacking the Saguntines.[1] But since an attack on them must certainly provoke the Romans to hostile action, he marched first into the territory of the Olcades—a tribe living south of the Ebro, within the limits of the Carthaginians but not under their dominion—that he might appear not to have aimed at the Saguntines but to have been drawn into that war by a chain of events, as he conquered the neighbouring nations and annexed their territories. Cartala,[2] a wealthy town, the capital of that tribe, he stormed and sacked; and this so terrified the lesser towns that they submitted and agreed to an indemnity. The victorious army, enriched with spoil, was led back to New Carthage for the winter. There, by a generous partition of the booty and the faithful discharge of all arrears of pay, he confirmed them all, both citizens and allies, in their allegiance to himself; and early in the spring pushed forward into the land of the Vaccaei. Their cities, Hermandica[3] and Arbo-

connexion—is called Althaea by Polybius (III. xiii. 5) The name is perhaps preserved in the modern Melkart.

[3] Supposed to have stood on the site of Salamanca.

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Arbocala, eorum[1] urbes, vi captae. Arbocala et
7 virtute et multitudine oppidanorum diu defensa; ab
Hermandica profugi exsulibus Olcadum, priore
aestate domitae gentis, cum se iunxissent, concitant
8 Carpetanos adortique Hannibalem regressum ex
Vaccaeis haud procul Tago flumine agmen grave
9 praeda turbavere. Hannibal proelio abstinuit cas-
trisque super ripam positis, cum prima quies silentium-
que ab hostibus fuit, amnem vado traiecit valloque
ita producto ut locum ad transgrediendum hostes
10 haberent invadere eos transeuntes statuit. Equitibus
praecepit ut cum ingressos aquam viderent, adori-
rentur peditum agmen; in ripa elephantos—quad-
11 raginta autem erant—disponit. Carpetanorum[2]
cum adpendicibus Olcadum Vaccaeorumque centum
milia fuere, invicta acies si aequo dimicaretur campo.
12 Itaque et ingenio feroces et multitudine freti, et
quod metu cessisse credebant hostem, id morari
victoriam rati quod interesset amnis, clamore sublato
passim sine ullius imperio qua cuique proximum est
13 in amnem ruunt. Et ex parte altera ripae vis ingens
equitum in flumen immissa, medioque alveo haud-
14 quaquam pari certamine concursum, quippe ubi pedes
instabilis ac vix vado fidens vel ab inermi equite
equo temere acto perverti posset, eques corpore

[1] eorum *Sanctius*: cartaeorum *or* castaeorum *C*: cartorum (*from* cartoerum) *M*: vaccaeorum *Sigonius*.
[2] Carpetanorum *edd.*: carpentanorum *CM*.

cala, were taken by assault. Arbocala, thanks to the B.C. 221
bravery and numbers of its inhabitants, held out for a long time. The fugitives from Hermandica, uniting with the exiles of the Olcades—the tribe which had been subdued in the previous summer—roused up the Carpetani, and falling upon Hannibal as he was returning from the Vaccaei, not far from the river Tagus, threw his column, encumbered as it was with booty, into some disorder. Hannibal refrained from battle and encamped on the bank of the river. As soon as the enemy were settled for the night and silent, he crossed the river by a ford, and so laid out his rampart as to allow them room for crossing, resolving to attack them as they were passing over. He ordered his cavalry to charge their column of foot when they saw that it had entered the stream, and posted the elephants, of which he had forty, along the bank. The Carpetani, together with the contingents of the Olcades and Vaccaei, numbered a hundred thousand—an invincible array, had they been going to fight in a fair field. And so, inspired by a native intrepidity, confiding in their multitude, and believing—since they supposed that their enemies had retreated out of fear—that victory was delayed but till they should have passed the river, they broke into a cheer, and, staying for no man's orders, rushed into the stream wherever it happened to be nearest. From the other side a great body of cavalry was sent in against them. The meeting in mid-channel was no equal conflict, for there the footmen were unsteady, and, scarce trusting to the ford, might even have been overthrown by unarmed riders, urging their horses forward at haphazard; while the horsemen, having

A.U.C. armisque liber, equo vel per medios gurgites stabili,
533 15 comminus eminusque rem gereret. Pars magna
flumine absumpta; quidam verticoso amni delati in
16 hostes ab elephantis obtriti sunt. Postremi, quibus
regressus in suam ripam tutior fuit, ex varia trepi-
datione cum in unum colligerentur, priusquam a
tanto[1] pavore reciperent animos, Hannibal agmine
quadrato amnem ingressus fugam ex ripa fecit
vastatisque agris intra paucos dies Carpetanos quo-
17 que in deditionem accepit. Et iam omnia trans
Hiberum praeter Saguntinos Carthaginiensium
erant.

A.U.C. VI. Cum Saguntinis bellum nondum erat, ceterum
535 iam belli causa certamina cum finitimis serebantur,
2 maxime Turdetanis. Quibus cum adesset idem qui
litis erat sator nec certamen iuris sed vim quaeri
appareret, legati a Saguntinis Romam missi auxilium
3 ad bellum iam haud dubie imminens orantes. Con-
sules[2] tunc Romae erant P. Cornelius Scipio et Ti.
Sempronius Longus.[3] Qui cum legatis in senatum
introductis de re publica rettulissent placuissetque
mitti legatos in Hispaniam ad res sociorum in-

[1] a tanto M^4: tanto CM^1.
[2] consules M^4: $\overline{\text{cos}}$ $'M^2$: caios (?) M^1.
[3] Ti. Sempronius Longus *edd.* (*chap.* xv. § 4): titus sempronius longus *CM.*

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[1] Not the important tribe in the S.W. part of the peninsula, but a lesser one, again mentioned as neighbour to the Saguntines at XXIV. lii. 11, and—there called Turduli—at XXVIII. xxxix. 8.

[2] These were the consuls of 218 B.C., but the siege of Saguntum took place in 219. Livy now returns to—and follows until he has finished the story of the siege in chap. xv. § 1—the source he had used for the opening chapters of this book. Coelius—if he it was—so telescoped events as to

their bodies and weapons free and horses that were steady even in the deep pools, could fight either at close quarters or long range. A great part of them perished in the stream; some the eddying current carried over to their enemies, where they were trampled down by the elephants. The rearmost, who could retreat to their own bank more safely, were gathering from the various directions in which they had fled, when, before they could recover from so great a panic, Hannibal entered the stream in a fighting column, and driving them in confusion from the bank, laid waste their fields, and in a few days' time received the surrender of the Carpetani also. And now everything south of the Ebro, except Saguntum, was in the hands of the Carthaginians. B.C. 221

VI. With the Saguntines there was as yet no war, but quarrels that might be a pretext for it were already being sown betwixt them and their neighbours, especially the Turdetani.[1] Now when the side of the Turdetani was espoused by the same man who had sowed the quarrel, and it was clearly seen that he was aiming not at arbitration but force, the Saguntines sent ambassadors to Rome, imploring help for a war that was now indubitably imminent. The Roman consuls at that time were Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus.[2] After introducing the ambassadors into the senate, they had brought up the question of public policy, and the senators had voted to dispatch envoys to Spain, B.C. 219

make the attack on Saguntum follow immediately on the appointment of Hannibal, and the war with Rome begin in that same year. In chap. xv. Livy becomes aware of the discrepancy and endeavours to dispose of it.

A.U.C. 535

4 spiciendas, quibus si videretur digna causa, et Hannibali denuntiarent ut ab Saguntinis, sociis populi Romani, abstineret, et Carthaginem in Africam traicerent ac sociorum populi Romani querimonias 5 deferrent,—hac legatione[1] decreta necdum missa omnium spe celerius Saguntum oppugnari allatum 6 est. Tunc relata de integro res ad senatum; et alii provincias consulibus Hispaniam atque Africam decernentes terra marique rem gerendam censebant, alii totum in Hispaniam Hannibalemque intenderant 7 bellum; erant qui non temere movendam rem tantam exspectandosque ex Hispania legatos cen- 8 serent. Haec sententia, quae tutissima videbatur, vicit;[2] legatique eo maturius missi, P. Valerius Flaccus et Q. Baebius Tamphilus,[3] Saguntum ad Hannibalem atque inde Carthaginem, si non absisteretur bello, ad ducem ipsum in poenam foederis rupti deposcendum.

VII. Dum ea Romani parant consultantque, iam 2 Saguntum summa vi oppugnabatur. Civitas ea longe opulentissima ultra Hiberum fuit, sita passus mille ferme a mari. Oriundi a Zacyntho insula dicuntur, mixtique etiam ab Ardea Rutulorum 3 quidam generis; ceterum in tantas brevi creverant opes seu maritimis seu terrestribus fructibus seu

[1] legatione M^2: le gecione C: legatio M^1.

[2] videbatur, vicit M^2C (*by erasure from* uidebantur uicit): uicit uidebatur M^1.

[3] Baebius Tamphilus *Sigonius*: fabius pamphilus *CM*.

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[1] Saguntum is only a Latinized form of Ζάκυνθος, the name of a small island (now Zante) off the coast of Elis.

[2] Ardea (the seat of King Turnus, according to Virgil, *Aen.* VII. 409 ff.) was the chief city of the Rutuli and had been a Roman colony since 442 B.C.

to examine into the affairs of their allies, to the end that, if there appeared to be just cause, they might formally warn Hannibal to keep aloof from the Saguntines, the allies of the Roman People; after which they were to cross over into Africa, to Carthage, and present the complaint of Rome's allies. This embassy had been voted but not yet sent off, when, sooner than all expectation, came the news that Saguntum was besieged. The case was then referred anew to the senate. Some were for sending the consuls into Spain and Africa respectively and waging war by land and sea; others wanted to direct their whole force against Spain and Hannibal; some there were who argued that so grave a quarrel should not be lightly entered on, and proposed to await the return of the envoys out of Spain. This last opinion, which seemed the safest, carried the day, and the envoys, Publius Valerius Flaccus and Quintus Baebius Tamphilus, were sent off with the more dispatch. They were to go to Saguntum first, to Hannibal, and thence, if he would not cease hostilities, to Carthage, to demand the surrender of the general himself in satisfaction of the broken treaty. B.C. 219

VII. While the Romans were thus planning and deliberating, the siege of Saguntum was already being pressed with the greatest vigour. This city was much the wealthiest of those beyond the Ebro and was situated about a mile from the sea. Its inhabitants are said to have come originally from the island of Zacynthus,[1] and to have included also a strain from the Ardeate Rutulians.[2] Be this as it may, they had attained quickly to their great prosperity, whether owing to the produce of the sea or the

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multitudinis incremento seu disciplinae sanctitate, qua fidem socialem usque ad perniciem suam coluerunt. Hannibal infesto exercitu ingressus fines pervastatis passim agris urbem tripertito adgreditur. Angulus muri erat in planiorem patentioremque quam cetera circa vallem vergens. Adversus eum vineas agere instituit, per quas aries moenibus admoveri posset. Sed ut locus procul muro[1] satis aequus agendis vineis fuit, ita haudquaquam prospere, postquam ad effectum operis ventum est, coeptis succedebat. Et turris ingens imminebat, et murus, ut in suspecto loco, supra ceterae modum altitudinis emunitus erat, et iuventus delecta ubi plurimum periculi ac timoris ostendebatur ibi vi maiore obsistebant. Ac primo missilibus submovere hostem nec quicquam satis tutum munientibus pati; deinde iam non pro moenibus modo atque turri tela micare, sed ad erumpendum etiam in stationes operaque hostium animus erat; quibus tumultuariis certaminibus haud ferme plures Saguntini cadebant quam Poeni. Ut vero Hannibal ipse, dum murum incautius subit, adversum femur tragula graviter ictus cecidit, tanta circa fuga ac trepidatio fuit ut non multum abesset quin opera ac vineae desererentur.

VIII. Obsidio deinde per paucos dies magis quam

[1] muro *edd.* : muros *CM.*

[1] Polybius, III. xviii. 3, speaks of the great fertility of their territory, and under the empire Saguntum was famous for its export of earthenware.

land,[1] to the growth of their population, or to the B.C. 219
integrity of their discipline, which caused them to keep faith with their allies even to their own undoing. Crossing their borders with a hostile army Hannibal laid waste their country far and wide and advanced in three divisions against their city. There was an angle of the wall that gave on a valley more open and more level than the other ground about the town. Against this he determined to bring up pent-houses, that under their cover the battering-rams might be brought into contact with the walls. But though the ground at some distance from the wall was smooth enough for moving the pent-houses, the attempt succeeded very ill when it came to the final execution of it. There was a great overhanging tower, and the wall—as was natural in a suspected place—had been carried up to a greater height than elsewhere, and the pick of the fighting men having been stationed there, where the greatest danger threatened, offered a more strenuous resistance. At first they drove the assailants off with missiles and left no spot safe for their pioneers; afterwards not only did their javelins dart from wall and tower, but they even had the hardihood to sally out against the pickets and earthworks of their enemies, and in these rough and-tumble fights hardly more Saguntines fell than Phoenicians. But when Hannibal himself, who had somewhat incautiously ventured up under the wall, was severely wounded in the front of his thigh with a heavy javelin and sank to the ground, those about him fell into such confusion and dismay as almost to abandon their works and pent-houses.

VIII. For the next few days, while the general's

A.U.C. 535 oppugnatio fuit, dum volnus ducis curaretur. Per quod tempus ut quies certaminum erat ita ab apparatu operum ac munitionum nihil cessatum. 2 Itaque acrius de integro coortum est bellum, pluribusque partibus, vix accipientibus quibusdam opera 3 locis, vineae coeptae agi admoverique aries. Abundabat multitudine hominum Poenus; ad centum quinquaginta milia habuisse in armis satis creditur; 4 oppidani ad omnia tuenda atque obeunda multi- 5 fariam distineri coepti,[1] non sufficiebant. Itaque iam feriebantur arietibus muri, quassataeque multae partes erant; una continentibus ruinis nudaverat urbem: tres deinceps turres quantumque inter eas 6 muri erat cum fragore ingenti prociderunt.[2] Captum oppidum ea ruina crediderant Poeni, qua, velut si pariter utrosque murus[3] texisset, ita 7 utrimque in pugnam procursum est. Nihil tumultuariae pugnae simile erat, quales in oppugnationibus urbium per occasionem partis alterius conseri[4] solent, sed iustae acies velut patenti campo inter ruinas muri tectaque urbis modico distantia inter- 8 vallo constiterant. Hinc spes, hinc desperatio animos inritat, Poeno cepisse iam se urbem, si paulum adnitatur, credente, Saguntinis pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus nec ullo pedem referente, ne in relictum a se locum hostem 9 immitteret. Itaque quo acrius et confertim magis

[1] coepti *Weissenborn*: coepti sunt *CM*.
[2] prociderunt *CM*: prociderant ς.
[3] murus *edd.*: muros *CM*. [4] conseri ς: consciri *CM*.

hurt was healing, there was rather a blockade than B.C. 219
an assault; but though during this interval there was rest from combat, yet was there no slackening in the preparation of engines and defences. Accordingly the fighting broke out afresh more fiercely than before, and pent-houses began to be pushed forward and rams brought up at many points, though in some places the ground would hardly admit of them. The Phoenician was lavishly equipped with men—he is credibly supposed to have had a hundred and fifty thousand under arms—but the townsmen, who, in order to guard and defend every quarter, had been divided into numerous companies, found their strength inadequate. And so now the walls were being battered with rams and in many places had been severely shaken. One section, giving way continuously for some distance, had exposed the town: three towers in a row, together with the wall connecting them, had come down with a loud crash. The Phoenicians believed that the town was taken with that breach, through which from either side men rushed to attack, as though the wall had protected both parties alike. It was not at all like the mellays that commonly occur in sieges, where one side gets an opportunity, but regular battle lines had formed, as in an open field, between the ruins of the wall and the buildings of the city, which stood at some distance off. On this side hope, on that despair inspired courage. The Phoenicians believed the city to be theirs, if they put forth a little effort. The Saguntines opposed their bodies to defend their city, denuded of its walls, nor would one of them draw back his foot lest he admit an enemy to the spot which he had vacated. And the harder both sides fought and

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utrimque pugnabant,[1] eo plures volnerabantur nullo
10 inter arma corporaque vano intercidente telo. Phalarica[2] erat Saguntinis missile telum hastili abiegno[3] et cetera[4] tereti praeterquam ad extremum unde ferrum exstabat; id, sicut in pilo, quadratum stuppa circumligabant linebantque[5] pice;
11 ferrum autem tres longum habebat pedes, ut cum armis transfigere corpus posset. Sed id maxime, etiam si haesisset in scuto nec penetrasset in corpus,
12 pavorem faciebat, quod cum medium accensum mitteretur conceptumque ipso motu multo maiorem ignem ferret, arma omitti cogebat nudumque militem ad insequentes ictus praebebat.

IX. Cum diu anceps fuisset certamen et Saguntinis, quia praeter spem resisterent, crevissent animi,
2 Poenus, quia non vicisset, pro victo esset, clamorem repente oppidani tollunt hostemque in ruinas muri expellunt, inde impeditum trepidantemque exturbant, postremo fusum fugatumque in castra redigunt.
3 Interim ab Roma legatos venisse nuntiatum est. Quibus obviam ad mare missi ab Hannibale qui dicerent nec tuto eos adituros inter tot tam effrenatarum gentium arma nec Hannibali in tanto discrimine rerum operae esse legationes audire.
4 Apparebat non admissos protinus Carthaginem ituros.

[1] pugnabant (*by erasure from* oppugnabant) *M*: pugnabantur C^1: pugnabatur C^2.
[2] phalarica C^2M^2: pharica *C*: phalaeri M^1.
[3] abiegno ς: ab ligneo *CM*.
[4] cetera *Ascensius* (1513 : cetero *CM*.
[5] timebantque ς: linebanturque (*or other corruptions*) *CM*.

the more they crowded in together, the greater was B.C. 219
the number of those wounded, for no missile fell without taking effect on shield or body. The Saguntines had a javelin, called a *phalarica*, with a shaft of fir, which was round except at the end whence the iron projected; this part, four-sided as in the *pilum*, they wrapped with tow and smeared with pitch. Now the iron was three feet long, that it might be able to go through both shield and body. But what chiefly made it terrible, even if it stuck fast in the shield and did not penetrate the body, was this, that when it had been lighted at the middle and so hurled, the flames were fanned to a fiercer heat by its very motion, and it forced the soldier to let go his shield, and left him unprotected against the blows that followed.

IX. When the outcome of the struggle had long been doubtful, and the Saguntines, because they were holding out beyond their hopes, had gained new courage, while the Phoenician, because he had not conquered, was as good as beaten; suddenly the townspeople set up a shout and thrust forth their enemies amongst the ruins of the wall, and routing them out from thence, confused and frightened, drove them back at last in full flight to their camp.

In the meantime it was announced that ambassadors had come from Rome. Hannibal sent men to the shore to meet them and say that it would not be safe for them to come to him through the armed bands of so many unruly tribes, and that he had no time for listening to embassies at so critical a juncture. It was clear that, if they were denied a hearing, they would at once proceed to

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Litteras igitur nuntiosque ad principes factionis Barcinae praemittit, ut praepararent suorum animos, ne quid pars altera gratificari populo Romano[1] posset.

X. Itaque, praeterquam quod admissi auditique sunt,[2] ea quoque vana atque irrita legatio fuit. 2 Hanno unus adversus senatum[3] causam foederis 3 magno silentio propter auctoritatem suam, non cum[4] adsensu audientium egit, per deos[5] foederum arbitros ac testes senatum[6] obtestans, ne Romanum cum Saguntino suscitarent bellum: monuisse, praedixisse se ne Hamilcaris progeniem ad exercitum mitterent; non manes, non stirpem eius conquiescere viri, nec unquam, donec sanguinis nominisque Barcini quisquam supersit, quietura Romana foedera. 4 "Iuvenem flagrantem cupidine regni viamque unam ad id cernentem si ex bellis bella serendo succinctus armis legionibusque vivat, velut materiam igni praebentes ad exercitus misistis. Aluistis ergo hoc 5 incendium quo nunc ardetis. Saguntum vestri circumsedent[7] exercitus, unde arcentur foedere; mox Carthaginem[8] circumsedebunt Romanae legiones ducibus isdem dis per quos priore bello rupta 6 foedera sunt ulti. Utrum hostem an vos an fortunam utriusque populi ignoratis? Legatos ab sociis

[1] populo Romano *A. Perizonius*: pro romanis *CM*.

[2] sunt M^2: non sunt CM^1.

[3] adversus senatum *Alschefski*: aduersum senatum *C*: aduersu senatum M^1: aduerso senatu M^2.

[4] suam, non cum *Eichhof*: suam cum *CM*: quam cum *Madvig* (*reading* magis *for* magno).

[5] per deos ς: per eos *CM*?: per reos M^1 (*or M*).

[6] senatum C^3: hannonis suadentis senatum C^1: annonis suadentis senatum (*these three words were later erased*) *M*.

[7] circumsedent M^2: circumsedunt M^1: circumsident *C*.

Carthage. He therefore dispatched couriers before B.C. 219
them, with a letter for the leaders of the Barcine faction, so that they might prepare the minds of their adherents to prevent the opposing party from affording any satisfaction to the Roman People.

X. Accordingly, save for being admitted and allowed a hearing, this mission also was idle and of no effect. Hanno stood alone in pleading for the treaty against the views of the senate. There was a deep hush while he spoke, by reason of his personal authority, but he was listened to without approval. He adjured the senators in the name of the gods, vouchers for treaties and their witnesses, to provoke not a Roman along with the Saguntine war. He had advised them and forewarned them not to send the offspring of Hamilcar to the army; neither the man's ghost nor his progeny was at rest, nor ever, so long as any of the lineage and name of Barca should survive, would the treaty with the Romans rest untroubled. "You have sent to your armies," he went on, "as though heaping fuel on a fire, a youth who burns with lust for sovereign power and sees but one way to obtain it—if, by sowing seeds of war, he can raise up other wars and live girt round with arms and legions. You have therefore fed these flames with which you are now ablaze. Your armies now invest Saguntum, which the treaty forbids them to approach: ere long the Roman legions will be investing Carthage, led by those very gods who helped them in the former war to avenge the broken treaty. Is it your enemy you know not, or yourselves, or the fortunes of both peoples? When

[8] Carthaginem C^3M^2 : carthagine C^1M^1.

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et pro sociis venientes bonus imperator vester in castra non admisit, ius gentium[1] sustulit; hi tamen, unde ne hostium quidem legati arcentur pulsi, ad vos venerunt; res ex foedere repetunt; ut[2] publica fraus absit, auctorem culpae et reum criminis de-
7 poscunt. Quo lenius agunt segnius incipiunt, eo, cum coeperint, vereor ne perseverantius saeviant. Aegates insulas Erycemque[3] ante oculos proponite, quae terra marique per quattuor et viginti annos
8 passi sitis. Nec puer hic dux erat, sed pater ipse Hamilcar, Mars alter, ut isti volunt. Sed Tarento, id est Italia, non abstinueramus ex foedere, sicut
9 nunc Sagunto[4] non abstinemus. Vicerunt ergo di homines,[5] et id de quo verbis ambigebatur, uter populus foedus rupisset, eventus belli velut aequus
10 iudex unde ius stabat ei victoriam dedit. Carthagini nunc Hannibal vineas turresque admovet; Carthaginis moenia quatit ariete; Sagunti ruinae—falsus utinam vates sim!—nostris capitibus incident, susceptumque cum Saguntinis bellum habendum
11 cum Romanis est. 'Dedemus ergo Hannibalem?' dicet aliquis. Scio meam levem esse in eo auctori-

[1] gentium M^2C^2 (*over erasure*): centium M^1.
[2] repetunt; ut *A. Perizonius*: repetuntur *C*: repetuntur de re repetuntur *M*.
[3] insulas Erycemque *edd.*: insulam sericemque *C*: insulam seriemque M^1: insulas eriemque M^2.
[4] Sagunto M^2: sagunti *CM*.
[5] homines *Madvig*: hominesque *CM*.

[1] Off these islands C. Lutatius Catulus won in 241 B.C. the naval victory which decided the First Punic War (*Per.* XIX.).

ambassadors came from allies on behalf of allies, B.C. 219
your worthy general would not admit them to his camp, but thrust aside the law of nations; nevertheless these men, being driven from a place where even an enemy's envoys are admitted, have come to you. They seek amends in accordance with a treaty. That the state may be void of offence, they demand the author of the wrong, the man on whom they charge the guilt. The more mildly they proceed, the more slowly they begin, the more obstinate, I fear, when they *have* begun, will be their rage. Set Eryx and the Aegatian islands[1] before your eyes, and all that you suffered by land and sea for four and twenty years. Nor was this boy your leader, but Hamilcar himself, the father, a second Mars, as his partisans will have it.[2] But we could not keep our hands from Tarentum, that is, from Italy, as by treaty bound, even as now we cannot keep them from Saguntum. Gods therefore vanquished men, and that which had been verbally disputed—which people of the twain had broken the treaty—the outcome of the war, like an impartial judge, decided, and to those who had the right granted the victory. It is Carthage against which Hannibal is now bringing up his pent-houses and towers; it is the walls of Carthage he is battering with his rams. Saguntum's walls—may my prophecy prove false!—will fall upon *our* heads, and the war we have entered upon with the Saguntines we must carry on against the Romans. 'Shall we then surrender Hannibal?' someone will ask. I know that my

[2] Hanno knows that most of his hearers are against him, and *isti* (literally "those men of yours") means "those who guide your opinion," *i.e.* the friends of Hannibal.

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tatem propter paternas inimicitias; sed et Hamilcarem eo perisse laetatus sum, quod si ille viveret, bellum iam haberemus cum Romanis, et hunc iuvenem tamquam furiam facemque huius belli odi
12 ac detestor; nec dedendum solum arbitror[1] ad piaculum rupti foederis, sed si nemo deposceret,[2] devehendum in ultimas maris terrarumque oras, ablegandum eo unde nec ad nos nomen famaque eius accidere[3] neque ille sollicitare quietae civitatis
13 statum posset.[4] Ego ita censeo, legatos extemplo Romam mittendos qui senatui satisfaciant, alios qui Hannibali nuntient ut exercitum ab Sagunto abducat, ipsumque Hannibalem ex foedere Romanis dedant; tertiam legationem ad res Saguntinis reddendas decerno."

XI. Cum Hanno perorasset, nemini omnium certare oratione cum eo necesse fuit, adeo prope omnis senatus Hannibalis erat; infestiusque locutum arguebant Hannonem quam Flaccum Valerium, legatum
2 Romanum. Responsum inde legatis Romanis est bellum ortum ab Saguntinis non ab Hannibale esse; populum Romanum iniuste facere si Saguntinos vetustissimae Carthaginiensium societati praeponat.
3 Dum Romani tempus terunt legationibus mittendis, Hannibal, quia fessum militem proeliis operibusque habebat, paucorum iis[5] dierum quietem dedit, stationibus ad custodiam vinearum aliorumque

[1] nec dedendum solum arbitror *Luchs*: nec dedendum solum *CM*.
[2] deposceret *Luchs*: deposcat ς: deposcit *CM*.
[3] accidere *Gronovius*: accedere *CM*.
[4] posset *Luchs*: possit *CM*. [5] iis *edd.*: his *CM*

influence is slight, because of my quarrel with his father; but I rejoiced when Hamilcar perished, for this reason, that were he living, we should now be at war with Rome; and this young man, who, like a fury, now brandishes the torch of war, I loathe and abominate, and I hold, not only that he ought to be surrendered in expiation of the broken treaty, but that, if none demanded him, he ought to be deported to the farthest limits of land and sea—to be banished to a place whence neither name nor fame of his could reach us, nor he be able to vex the quiet of our state. My opinion is this: we should send ambassadors at once to Rome, to give satisfaction to the senate; and others to announce to Hannibal that he must withdraw his army from Saguntum, and to hand over Hannibal himself to the Romans as the treaty requires; a third embassy I would send to make restitution to the Saguntines." B.C. 219

XI. When Hanno had concluded, not a single person found it necessary to oppose his arguments, so nearly unanimous was the senate in supporting Hannibal. They declared that Hanno had spoken more bitterly than Valerius Flaccus, the Roman envoy. They then gave their answer to the envoys, to the effect that the war had been begun by the Saguntines, not by Hannibal, and that the Roman People would be doing wrong if they preferred the Saguntines to their very ancient alliance with the Carthaginians.

While the Romans were wasting time in dispatching embassies, Hannibal had allowed his soldiers, exhausted as they were with fighting and constructing works, to rest for a few days, after posting outguards to look to the pent-houses and other engines.

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operum dispositis. Interim animos eorum nunc ira in hostes stimulando, nunc spe praemiorum accendit. 4 Ut vero pro contione praedam captae urbis edixit militum fore, adeo accensi omnes sunt ut, si extemplo signum datum esset, nulla vi resisti videretur 5 posse. Saguntini, ut a proeliis quietem habuerant nec lacessentes nec lacessiti per aliquot dies, ita non nocte non die unquam cessaverant ab opere, ut novum murum ab ea parte qua patefactum oppidum ruinis erat reficerent.

6 Inde oppugnatio eos aliquanto atrocior quam ante adorta est, nec qua primum aut potissimum parte ferrent opem, cum omnia variis clamoribus stre- 7 perent, satis scire poterant. Ipse Hannibal qua turris mobilis omnia munimenta urbis superans altitudine agebatur hortator aderat. Quae cum admota catapultis ballistisque per omnia tabulata dispositis 8 muros defensoribus nudasset, tum Hannibal occasionem ratus quingentos ferme Afros cum dolabris ad subruendum ab imo murum mittit. Nec erat difficile opus, quod caementa non calce durata erant 9 sed interlita luto structurae antiquo[1] genere. Itaque latius quam qua[2] caederetur ruebat, perque patentia 10 ruinis agmina armatorum in urbem vadebant. Locum quoque editum capiunt collatisque eo catapultis ballistisque, ut castellum in ipsa urbe velut arcem imminentem haberent, muro circumdant; et Sagun-

[1] antiquo ς: antiquae *CM*.
[2] quam qua *Weissenborn*: qua qua *C*: quam qua *M*: quam ς.

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[1] Engines for hurling darts and stones.

Meanwhile he kindled their ardour, now by inciting them to rage against their enemies, again by holding out hopes of rewards. But when he made a speech proclaiming that the spoils of the captured city should go to the soldiers, they were so excited, one and all, that if the signal had been given instantly, it seemed as if no force could have withstood them. The Saguntines, though they had had a rest from fighting, neither attacking nor being attacked for several days, had laboured incessantly, both day and night, to replace the wall where its collapse had exposed the town. B.C. 219

The assault was now resumed, with far greater fury than before, and it was hard for the inhabitants to know, when shouts and cries were resounding on every hand, to what point they should first, or preferably, bring up supports. Hannibal was present in person to urge on his men, where they were pushing up a movable tower that surpassed in height all the defences of the city. As soon as it had been brought up, and the catapults and *ballistae*[1] distributed through all its platforms had stripped the ramparts of defenders, Hannibal, believing that he now had his opportunity, sent about five hundred Africans with pickaxes to undermine the wall. This was no hard task, for the rubble had not been solidified with mortar, but filled in with mud, after an ancient mode of building. It therefore fell for wider stretches than were actually hacked away, and through the breaches bands of armed men passed into the city. They even seized an elevation, and setting up catapults and *ballistae* there, built a wall around it, so as to have within the town itself a stronghold that commanded it like a citadel. The

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tini murum interiorem ab nondum capta parte urbis
11 ducunt. Utrimque summa vi et muniunt et pugnant; sed interiora tuendo minorem in dies[1] urbem Saguntini faciunt. Simul crescit inopia omnium longa obsidione et minuitur exspectatio externae opis, cum tam[2] procul Romani, unica spes, circa omnia hostium essent.
13 Paulisper tamen adfectos animos recreavit repentina profectio Hannibalis in Oretanos Carpetanosque, qui duo populi, dilectus acerbitate consternati, retentis conquisitoribus metum defectionis cum praebuissent, oppressi celeritate Hannibalis omiserunt mota arma.

XII. Nec Sagunti oppugnatio segnior erat Maharbale,[3] Himilconis[4] filio—eum praefecerat Hannibal —ita impigre rem agente ut ducem abesse nec cives
2 nec hostes sentirent. Is et proelia aliquot secunda fecit et tribus arietibus aliquantum muri discussit strataque omnia recentibus ruinis advenienti Hanni-
3 bali ostendit. Itaque ad ipsam arcem extemplo ductus exercitus, atroxque proelium cum multorum utrimque caede initum et pars arcis capta est.

Temptata deinde per duos est exigua pacis spes,
4 Alconem Saguntinum et Alorcum Hispanum. Alco[5]

[1] dies ς *Valla* : diem *CM*.
[2] tam ς : iam *CM*.
[3] Maharbale *edd.* : mahermale C^2M : m hermale C^1.
[4] Himilconis M^2: hamilconis CM^1.
[5] Alco *edd.* : alcon *M* : alconus *C*.

Saguntines too built a wall within the old one, to protect that part of the city that was not yet taken. On both sides the soldiers worked and fought with the utmost energy; but the Saguntines, contracting their defences, were bringing their city day by day within a smaller compass. At the same time there was an increasing scarcity of everything, on account of the long blockade; and the prospect of help from without was growing less, since the Romans, their only hope, were so far away, and all the country round about was in the possession of their enemies. Yet their drooping spirits were revived for a little while by the sudden departure of Hannibal for the territories of the Oretani and the Carpetani. These two nations, exasperated by a rigorous conscription, had seized the recruiting officers and thereby given rise to fears of a revolt, but were caught unprepared by Hannibal's celerity, and laid down the arms they had taken up. B.C. 219

XII. But the siege of Saguntum did not flag. Maharbal, the son of Himilco, whom Hannibal had left in charge, so bestirred himself that the absence of the general was felt neither by his countrymen nor by the enemy. He fought a number of successful skirmishes, and with three battering-rams laid low a considerable portion of the wall, and on Hannibal's return, showed him the place all covered with the newly fallen ruins. And so the troops were led at once against the citadel itself, and a fierce battle began, in which many on both sides were killed and a part of the citadel was taken.

An all but hopeless attempt to arrange a peace was then made by two men, Alco, a Saguntine, and a Spaniard named Alorcus. Alco, thinking that some-

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insciis[1] Saguntinis precibus aliquid moturum ratus, cum ad Hannibalem noctu transisset, postquam nihil lacrimae movebant condicionesque tristes ut ab irato victore[2] ferebantur, transfuga ex oratore factus apud hostem mansit, moriturum adfirmans
5 qui sub condicionibus iis de pace ageret. Postulabatur autem, redderent res Turdetanis[3] traditoque omni auro atque argento egressi urbe cum singulis vestimentis ibi habitarent ubi Poenus iussisset.
6 Has pacis leges abnuente Alcone accepturos Saguntinos, Alorcus, vinci animos ubi alia vincantur adfirmans, se pacis eius interpretem fore pollicetur; erat autem tum miles Hannibalis, ceterum publice
7 Saguntinis amicus atque hospes. Tradito palam telo custodibus hostium transgressus munimenta ad praetorem Saguntinum – et ipse ita iubebat est
8 deductus. Quo cum extemplo concursus omnis generis hominum esset factus, submota cetera multitudine senatus Alorco[4] datus est, cuius talis oratio fuit:

XIII. "Si civis vester Alco, sicut ad pacem petendam ad Hannibalem venit ita pacis condiciones[5] ab Hannibale ad vos rettulisset, supervacaneum hoc

[1] insciis ς : inconsciis *CM*.
[2] victore ς : auctore *CM*.
[3] Turdetanis *edd.* : turditanis *CM*.
[4] Alorco *C.* : alorci C^1M.
[5] condiciones C^3 : condicionis C^1M.

[1] The stranger in an ancient city had no commercial or legal status but had to depend on the good offices of some citizen. Guest-friendship (*hospitium*) was a species of permanent (and even hereditary) alliance entered into by two citizens of different states for purposes of mutual comfort and protection in commercial and other intercourse.

thing might be effected by entreaties, went over to B.C. 219
Hannibal in the night, without the knowledge of the Sanguntines. But finding that tears were of no avail and that the terms obtainable were such as a wrathful conqueror would impose, he changed from pleader to deserter, and remained with the enemy, declaring that anybody who should treat for peace on those conditions would be put to death. The conditions were as follows: they must make restitution to the Turdetani, and, delivering up all their gold and silver, quit their city with a single garment each and take up their abode where the Phoenician should direct them. When Alco asserted that the Saguntines would not accept such terms, Alorcus, affirming that where all else is conquered the heart is conquered too, undertook the negotiation of a peace. He was at that time a soldier in the service of Hannibal, but was officially recognized by the Saguntines as their friend and guest.[1] Openly surrendering his weapon to the sentries, he passed the enemy's lines, and was conducted—by his own command—before the Saguntine general. A crowd of all descriptions immediately flocked together there; but all save the senators were sent away, and Alorcus, being permitted to address them, spoke as follows:

XIII. "If Alco, your own fellow citizen, after going to Hannibal to sue for peace, had brought back to you the terms of peace which Hannibal offers, this journey of mine would have been superfluous,

[1] When a city honoured a member of another state by formally conferring upon him the title of *hospes publicus*, it gave him the right to entertainment at the public cost, and to buy and sell and bring actions in the courts.

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mihi fuisset iter, quo nec orator Hannibalis nec
2 transfuga ad vos venissem;[1] cum ille aut vestra aut sua culpa manserit apud hostem—sua,[2] si metum simulavit, vestra, si periculum est apud vos vera referentibus—ego, ne ignoraretis esse aliquas et salutis et pacis vobis condiciones, pro vetusto hos-
3 pitio quod mihi vobiscum est ad vos veni. Vestra autem causa me nec ullius alterius loqui quae loquor apud vos vel ea fides sit quod neque dum vestris viribus restitistis neque dum auxilia ab Romanis sperastis, pacis unquam apud vos mentionem feci.
4 Postquam nec ab Romanis vobis ulla est spes nec vestra vos iam aut arma aut moenia satis defendunt, pacem adfero ad vos magis necessariam quam aequam.
5 Cuius ita aliqua spes est, si eam quem ad modum ut victor fert Hannibal sic vos ut victi audietis[3] et[4] non id quod amittitur in damno, cum omnia victoris sint, sed quidquid relinquitur pro munere habituri
6 estis. Urbem vobis, quam ex magna parte dirutam, captam fere totam habet, adimit, agros relinquit, locum adsignaturus in quo novum oppidum aedificetis. Aurum et argentum omne, publicum priva-
7 tumque, ad se iubet deferri; corpora vestra coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum servat inviolata, si inermes cum binis vestimentis velitis ab Sagunto exire.

[1] venissem *CM*: veni sed *Madvig*: venissem nunc *Woelfflin*.
[2] sua C^3M^2: *omitted by* C^1M^1.
[3] audietis *Gronovius*: audiatis *CM*.
[4] et *Weissenborn*: et si ς: sed *CM*.

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[1] Livy is not implying that Alorcus was in this detail exaggerating Hannibal's offer. The "single garment" of

for I should have come to you neither as Hannibal's B.C. 219
spokesman nor yet as a deserter. But seeing that, whether through your fault or his own, he has stopped behind with your enemy—his own if his fears were feigned, yours if it is unsafe to bring you a true report—that you might not be ignorant that terms there are upon which you may enjoy both life and peace, I have come to you myself, having regard to the long-standing friendship which subsists between us. Moreover, that I say what I say for your sake and no other's, you may take this as proof: so long as you held your ground with your own forces, and expected to receive help from the Romans, I never mentioned peace to you; but now that you have no longer any hope from Rome, and neither your arms nor your fortifications are adequate to defend you, I bring you a peace more necessary than equitable. That this peace may be realized there is some ground for hoping only if, even as Hannibal proposes it in the spirit of a conqueror, so you shall hearken to it in the spirit of the conquered, and shall not consider as lost what is taken from you, since all things are the victor's, but consider whatever is left you as a gift. Your city, which he has in great part overthrown, and almost wholly captured, he takes from you: your lands he leaves you, and intends to designate a site whereon you may erect a new town. All your gold and silver, both public and private, he orders to be brought to him: your persons, with those of your wives and children, he preserves inviolate, if you are willing to go forth unarmed from Saguntum with two garments each.[1] These

chap. xii. § 5 was loosely put for "a single suit of clothes," *i.e.* the inner and outer tunic which everybody wore.

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8 Haec victor hostis imperat; haec, quamquam sunt gravia atque acerba, fortuna vestra vobis suadet. Equidem haud despero, cum omnium potestas ei
9 facta sit, aliquid ex his[1] remissurum; sed vel haec patienda censeo potius quam trucidari corpora vestra, rapi trahique ante ora vestra coniuges ac liberos belli iure sinatis."

XIV. Ad haec audienda cum circumfusa paulatim multitudine permixtum senatui esset populi concilium, repente primores secessione facta priusquam responsum daretur, argentum aurumque omne ex publico privatoque in forum conlatum in ignem ad id raptim[2] factum conicientes eodem plerique
2 semet ipsi praecipitaverunt. Cum ex eo pavor ac trepidatio totam urbem pervasisset, alius insuper tumultus ex arce auditur. Turris diu quassata prociderat, perque ruinam eius cohors Poenorum impetu facto cum signum imperatori[3] dedisset nudatam stationibus custodiisque solitis hostium esse urbem,
3 non cunctandum in tali occasione ratus Hannibal, totis viribus adgressus urbem momento cepit, signo dato ut omnes puberes interficerentur. Quod imperium crudele ceterum prope necessarium cognitum
4 ipso eventu est: cui enim parci potuit ex iis qui aut inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se

[1] his *Woelfflin*: his (hiis *C*) rebus *CM*.
[2] raptim C^3M^2: raptum C^1M^1.
[3] imperatori ς *Valla*: imperator *CM*.

terms a victorious enemy imposes on you; these B.C. 219
terms, albeit harsh and cruel, your fortune counsels you to accept. Indeed I am not without hope that when full control of everything shall have been granted him, he may remit somewhat of this severity; but even this you ought, I think, rather to endure than to suffer yourselves to be massacred and your wives and children to be forcibly dragged away into captivity before your eyes, in accordance with the laws of war."

XIV. To hear this speech the populace had little by little crowded round, and the people's council had mingled with the senate, when on a sudden the leading men, withdrawing from the throng before an answer could be given, fetched all the gold and silver, both of state and private ownership, into the market-place, and casting it into a fire which they had hurriedly made up for this purpose, many threw themselves headlong into the same flames. The resulting panic and dismay had no sooner spread to all the city, than another loud noise and outcry were heard from the citadel. A tower that had long been battered had collapsed, and through the breach a cohort of Phoenicians had rushed in and signalled to the general that the city was denuded of its customary guards and sentinels. Hannibal, deeming it no time to hesitate, when such an opportunity offered, attacked with all his strength and captured the city out of hand. He had given orders that all the grown inhabitants be put to the sword—a cruel command, but found in the upshot to have been well-nigh inevitable; for who could be spared of those who either shut themselves up with their wives and children and burned the houses over

A.U.C. 535 ipsos concremaverunt aut armati nullum ante finem pugnae quam morientes fecerunt?

XV. Captum oppidum est cum ingenti praeda. Quamquam pleraque ab dominis de industria corrupta erant et in caedibus vix ullum discrimen aetatis ira
2 fecerat et captivi militum praeda fuerant, tamen et ex pretio rerum venditarum aliquantum pecuniae redactam esse constat et multam pretiosam supellectilem[1] vestemque missam Carthaginem.
3 Octavo mense quam coeptum oppugnari captum Saguntum quidam scripsere; inde Carthaginem novam in hiberna Hannibalem concessisse; quinto deinde mense quam ab Carthagine profectus sit in
4 Italiam pervenisse. Quae si ita sunt, fieri non potuit ut P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius consules fuerint ad quos et principio oppugnationis legati Saguntini missi sint et qui in suo magistratu cum Hannibale, alter ad Ticinum amnem, ambo aliquanto
5 post ad Trebiam, pugnaverint. Aut omnia breviora aliquanto fuere, aut Saguntum principio anni quo P. Cornelius Ti. Sempronius[2] consules fuerunt non
6 coeptum oppugnari est sed captum. Nam excessisse pugna ad Trebiam in annum Cn. Servili et C. Flamini non potest, quia C. Flaminius Arimini consulatum iniit, creatus a Ti. Sempronio consule, qui post pugnam ad Trebiam ad creandos consules Romam

their own heads, or took arms and never gave over B.C. 219
fighting till they died?

XV. The captured town yielded enormous spoils. For although much property had been destroyed on purpose by its owners, and in the carnage rage had scarce made any distinction of years, and the captives had been given as booty to the soldiers, nevertheless it is agreed that a large sum was realized from the sale of goods, and much valuable furniture and apparel sent to Carthage.

Some have recorded that Saguntum was taken in the eighth month from the beginning of the siege; that Hannibal then retired to New Carthage, into winter quarters; and then, after leaving New Carthage, arrived in the fifth month in Italy. If this is so, it cannot have been the case that Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius were the consuls to whom the Saguntine envoys were dispatched in the beginning of the siege, and who, in their own year of office, fought with Hannibal, the one at the river Ticinus, and both—a little later—at the Trebia. Either all these things took up somewhat less time, or Saguntum was not first besieged but finally captured in the outset of the year which had Cornelius and Sempronius as consuls. For the battle at the Trebia cannot have been fought as late as the consulship of Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Flaminius; for Gaius Flaminius began his consulship at Ariminum, having been elected under the presidency of Tiberius Sempronius who was then consul, and had, after the battle at the Trebia, come to

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[1] supellectilem M^2: superlectilem CM^1.
[2] Ti. Sempronius ς: t. sempronius CM.

A.U.C. 535 cum venisset, comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in hiberna rediit.

XVI. Sub idem fere tempus et legati qui redierant ab Carthagine Romam rettulerunt omnia hostilia 2 esse et Sagunti excidium nuntiatum est; tantusque simul maeror patres misericordiaque sociorum peremptorum indigne et pudor non lati auxilii et ira in Carthaginienses metusque de summa rerum cepit, velut si iam ad portas hostis esset, ut tot uno tempore motibus animi turbati trepidarent magis 3 quam consulerent: nam neque hostem acriorem bellicosioremque secum congressum, nec rem Romanam tam desidem unquam fuisse atque imbellem. 4 Sardos Corsosque et Histros atque Illyrios lacessisse magis quam exercuisse Romana arma et cum Gallis 5 tumultuatum verius quam belligeratum: Poenum hostem veteranum, trium et viginti annorum militia durissima[1] inter Hispanas gentes semper victorem, duci acerrimo adsuetum, recentem ab excidio opu- 6 lentissimae urbis, Hiberum transire, trahere secum tot excitos Hispanorum populos, conciturum avidas

[1] durissima *CM*: durissimum *Ruehl.*

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[1] This paragraph is a footnote, in which Livy attempts to clear up the chronological muddle which he has got himself into by disregarding the clear statements of Polybius and following an inferior authority. According to Polybius, Hannibal was made general and attacked the Olcades in 221 B.C. In 220 came the war with the Vaccaei and Carpetani. In 219 (consulship of M. Livius Salinator and L. Aemilius Paulus) came the siege of Saguntum, after which Hannibal put his army in winter quarters in New Carthage,

Rome to hold the consular elections, and then B.C.219
returned to the winter quarters of the army.[1]

XVI. At almost the same time the ambassadors who had returned from Carthage brought back word to Rome that all was hostile in that quarter, and the fall of Saguntum was announced. And so great was the grief of the senators, and their pity at the unmerited doom of their allies, and their shame at having failed to help them, and their wrath against the Carthaginians and fear for the safety of the commonwealth—as though the enemy were already at their gates—that, confounded with so many simultaneous emotions, they rather trembled than deliberated. For they felt that they had never encountered a fiercer or more warlike foe, and that Rome had never been so torpid and unwarlike. The Sardinians and Corsicans, the Histrians and Illyrians, had provoked but had hardly exercised the Roman arms; while against the Gauls there had been desultory fighting rather than real war.[2] But the Phoenician was an old and experienced enemy, who in the hardest kind of service amongst the Spanish tribes had for three and twenty years[3] invariably got the victory; he was accustomed to the keenest of commanders, was flushed with the conquest of a very wealthy city, and crossing the Ebro and drawing after him the many Spanish peoples which he

and in 218 set forth on the march to Italy (Polybius, III. xiii, xvii, xxxiii).

[2] The wars mentioned (and also a war with the Ligurians) occurred in the interval between the First and Second Punic Wars and were described in Book XX (see Summary).

[3] *i.e.* the interval between the First and Second Punic Wars, though the Carthaginian conquest of Spain had not actually begun so early as 241 B.C.

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semper armorum Gallicas gentes; cum orbe terrarum bellum gerendum in Italia ac pro moenibus Romanis esse.

XVII. Nominatae iam antea consulibus provinciae erant; tum sortiri iussi. Cornelio Hispania, Sem-
2 pronio Africa cum Sicilia evenit. Sex in eum annum decretae legiones et socium quantum ipsis videretur
3 et classis quanta parari posset. Quattuor et viginti peditum Romanorum milia scripta et mille octingenti equites, sociorum quadraginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et quadringenti equites; naves ducentae viginti
4 quinqueremes, celoces viginti[1] deducti. Latum inde ad populum, vellent iuberent populo Carthaginiensi bellum indici; eiusque belli causa supplicatio per urbem habita atque adorati di ut bene ac feliciter eveniret quod bellum populus Romanus iussisset.
5 Inter consules ita copiae divisae: Sempronio datae legiones duae—ea quaterna milia erant peditum et treceni[2] equites—et sociorum sedecim milia peditum, equites mille octingenti, naves longae centum sexa-
6 ginta, celoces duodecim. Cum his terrestribus maritimisque copiis Ti. Sempronius[3] missus in Siciliam, ita in Africam transmissurus si ad arcendum Italia
7 Poenum consul alter satis esset. Cornelio minus copiarum datum, quia L. Manlius praetor et ipse

[1] ducentae viginti quinqueremes, celoces viginti *edd.*: ccxxv remes (riemes *C*) quinque celoces xx *CM*.
[2] treceni *Crévier*: ccc *CM*: trecenti ς.
[3] Ti. Sempronius ς: t. sempronius *CM*.

had enlisted, would be rousing up the Gallic tribes— B.C. 219
always eager to unsheathe the sword—and the Romans would have to contend in war with all the world, in Italy and under the walls of Rome.

XVII. The fields of operation of the consuls had already been named: they were now commanded to draw lots for them. Cornelius obtained Spain, Sempronius Africa with Sicily. Six legions were voted for that year, with such allied contingents as the consuls themselves should approve and as large a fleet as could be got ready. There were enrolled four and twenty thousand Roman foot-soldiers and eighteen hundred horsemen, and of the allies forty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand four hundred horsemen. Of ships there were launched two hundred and twenty quinqueremes, and twenty swift cruisers. The question was then laid before the people whether it were their will and pleasure that war be declared against the people of Carthage; and on their voting in the affirmative a supplication was held throughout the City and the gods were besought to grant a fair and prosperous outcome to the war which the Roman People had decreed.

The forces were divided between the consuls as follows: Sempronius received two legions—each numbering four thousand foot and three hundred horse—sixteen thousand foot of the allies, and eighteen hundred horse, together with a hundred and sixty warships and twelve swift cruisers. With these forces for land and sea Tiberius Sempronius was dispatched to Sicily, that he might cross by that way into Africa, if the other consul were able to keep the Phoenicians out of Italy. Cornelius was given fewer troops, since Lucius Manlius, the praetor,

A.U.C. 535 cum haud invalido praesidio in Galliam mittebatur;
8 navium maxime Cornelio numerus deminutus: sexaginta quinqueremes datae [1]—neque enim mari venturum aut ea parte belli dimicaturum hostem credebant—et duae Romanae legiones cum suo iusto equitatu et quattuordecim milibus sociorum peditum,
9 equitibus mille sescentis. Duas legiones Romanas et decem milia [2] sociorum peditum, mille equites socios, sescentos Romanos Gallia provincia eodem versa in Punicum bellum habuit.

A.U.C. 536 XVIII. His ita comparatis, ut omnia iusta ante bellum fierent, legatos maiores natu, Q. Fabium M. Livium L. Aemilium C. Licinium Q. Baebium in Africam mittunt ad percunctandos Carthaginienses publicone consilio Hannibal Saguntum oppugnasset;
2 et si, id quod facturi videbantur, faterentur ac defenderent publico consilio factum, ut indicerent
3 populo Carthaginiensi bellum. Romani postquam Carthaginem venerunt, cum senatus datus esset et Q. Fabius nihil ultra quam unum quod mandatum erat percunctatus esset, tum ex Carthaginiensibus
4 unus: "Praeceps vestra, Romani, et prior legatio fuit, cum Hannibalem tamquam suo consilio Saguntum oppugnantem deposcebatis; ceterum haec

[1] quinqueremes datae *CM*: quinqueremes datae celoces octo *Linsmayer*.

[2] decem milia *Gronovius*: cclcc C^1M: CCL (*with* X Δ IIII *above*) C^3.

[1] M. Livius and L. Aemilius were consuls in 219 B.C., and since they were now available to serve on an embassy, it is a

was also being sent into Gaul with a not inconsider- B.C. 219
able army; and of ships, in particular, he received a smaller number, namely, sixty quinqueremes, for they did not suppose that the enemy would come by sea or use that kind of warfare. He had two Roman legions with their proper complement of horse, and fourteen thousand infantry of the allies, with sixteen hundred horse. The province of Gaul received two Roman legions and ten thousand foot of the allies, with a thousand allied and six hundred Roman horse. These troops were designed for the same service—the Punic War.

XVIII. When these arrangements had been made, B.C. 218
in order that, before going to war, they might observe all the formalities, they dispatched into Africa an embassy consisting of certain older men, to wit, Quintus Fabius, Marcus Livius, Lucius Aemilius,[1] Gaius Licinius, and Quintus Baebius, to demand of the Carthaginians whether Hannibal had attacked Saguntum with the sanction of the state; and if, as seemed likely to be the case, they should avow the act and stand to it as their public policy, to declare war on the Carthaginian People. As soon as the Romans had come to Carthage and the senate had granted them an audience, Quintus Fabius asked only the one question contained in his instructions. Then one of the Carthaginians replied: "There was something headlong, Romans, even in your former embassy, when you demanded that we surrender Hannibal on the ground that he was laying siege to Saguntum on his own responsibility;

fair inference that the embassy had not set out before the middle of March—then the beginning of the consular year—of 218 (*De Sanctis*, p. 1[1]).

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5 legatio verbis adhuc lenior est, re asperior. Tunc enim Hannibal et insimulabatur et deposcebatur; nunc ab nobis et confessio culpae exprimitur, et, 6 ut a confessis, res extemplo repetuntur. Ego autem non privato publicone consilio Saguntum oppugnatum sit quaerendum censeam, sed utrum iure an 7 iniuria; nostra enim haec quaestio atque animadversio in civem nostrum est, quid nostro aut suo fecerit arbitrio; vobiscum una disceptatio est, licue- 8 ritne per foedus fieri. Itaque quoniam discerni placet quid publico consilio quid sua sponte imperatores faciant, nobis vobiscum foedus est a C. Lutatio[1] consule ictum, in quo cum caveretur utrorumque sociis, nihil de Saguntinis—necdum enim erant socii 9 vestri—cautum est. At enim eo foedere quod cum Hasdrubale ictum est Saguntini excipiuntur. Adversus quod ego nihil dicturus sum nisi quod a vobis 10 didici. Vos enim quod C. Lutatius[2] consul primo nobiscum foedus icit,[3] quia neque auctoritate patrum nec populi iussu ictum erat, negastis vos eo teneri; itaque aliud de integro foedus publico consilio ictum 11 est. Si vos non tenent foedera vestra nisi ex auctoritate aut iussu vestro icta, ne nos quidem Hasdru-

[1] a C. Lutatio *edd.* : ac lutatio *C*: aclutacio *M*.
[2] Lutatius *edd.* : luctacius *C*: luctacios *M*.
[3] icit ς: iecit *CM*; fecit *Alschefski*.

but your present embassy, though expressed thus far more mildly, is in reality more harsh. For on that occasion Hannibal was both accused and his surrender called for; at present you are trying to wring a confession from us, and, as though we had pleaded guilty, demand instant satisfaction. But to me it would seem that you ought to ask, not whether Saguntum was besieged as the result of private or of public policy, but whether justly or unjustly. For it belongs to us to enquire what our fellow citizen has done on our authority or his own, and to punish him; with you the only question we have to discuss is this, whether what he did was permissible under the treaty. Well then, since you wish that a distinction should be drawn between the things that generals do by direction of the state and the acts for which they are themselves responsible, let me remind you that we have a treaty with you, which Gaius Lutatius, your consul, made, wherein, although the allies of both sides were protected, there was no provision made regarding the Saguntines, for as yet they were not your allies. 'But,' you will say, 'in that treaty which was made with Hasdrubal, the Saguntines are expressly cared for.' To this I shall make no other answer than the one that I have learnt from you. For you denied that you were bound by the treaty which Gaius Lutatius, the consul, originally entered into with us, because it had been made without the senate's sanction or the people's command; accordingly a new treaty, having the approval of the state, was entered into. Now, if you are not bound by your treaties, unless they are concluded at your own instance or command, no more could the B.C. 218

A.U.C. 536 balis foedus, quod nobis insciis icit, obligare potuit.
12 Proinde omittite Sagunti atque Hiberi mentionem facere et quod diu parturit animus vester aliquando
13 pariat!" Tum Romanus sinu ex toga facto "Hic" inquit "vobis bellum et pacem portamus: utrum placet sumite!" Sub hanc vocem haud minus fero-
14 citer, daret utrum vellet, succlamatum est; et cum is iterum sinu effuso bellum dare dixisset, accipere se omnes responderunt et quibus acciperent animis iisdem se gesturos.

XIX. Haec derecta[1] percunctatio ac denuntiatio belli magis ex dignitate populi Romani visa est quam de foederum iure verbis disceptare, cum ante tum
2 maxime Sagunto excisa. Nam si verborum disceptationis res esset, quid foedus Hasdrubalis cum Lutati priore foedere, quod mutatum est, comparandum
3 erat? Cum in Lutati foedere diserte additum esset ita id ratum fore si populus censuisset, in Hasdrubalis foedere nec exceptum tale quicquam fuerit et tot annorum silentio ita vivo eo comprobatum sit foedus ut ne mortuo auctore quicquam mutaretur.
4 Quamquam, etsi priore foedere staretur, satis cautum erat Saguntinis, sociis utrorumque exceptis; nam neque additum erat "iis qui tunc essent" nec "ne

[1] derecta *Alschefski*: directa ς: decreta *CM*.

treaty of Hasdrubal, which he made without our knowledge, be binding upon us. Cease then to prate of Saguntum and the Ebro, and bring forth at last the thought with which your mind has long been in travail!" Then the Roman, gathering up his toga into a fold, said, "We bring you here both war and peace; choose which you will!" When he had said these words, they cried out with no less truculence that he might give them whichever he liked; and on his shaking out the fold again, and announcing that he gave them war, they all replied that they accepted it, and in that same spirit in which they accepted it were resolved to wage it. B.C. 218

XIX. This straightforward demand and declaration of war seemed more in keeping with the dignity of the Roman People than to bandy words regarding the rights involved in treaties, especially at that moment, when Saguntum had been destroyed. Though for that matter, had it been proper to debate the question, what comparison could there be between Hasdrubal's treaty and the earlier treaty of Lutatius, which was altered? For in the treaty of Lutatius it had been expressly added that it should be valid only if the people ratified it; but in Hasdrubal's treaty no such proviso had been made, and by the silence of so many years the treaty had during his lifetime been so sanctioned that even on its author's death no slightest change was made in it. And yet, even if the earlier treaty were adhered to, the Saguntines had been sufficiently protected by the provision made concerning the allies of both the parties; for there had been no specification of "those who were then allies," nor exception of "such as might after-

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5 qui postea adsumerentur." Et cum adsumere novos liceret socios, quis aequum[1] censeret aut ob nulla quemquam merita in amicitiam recipi, aut receptos in fidem non defendi? Tantum ne Carthaginiensium socii aut sollicitarentur ad defectionem aut sua sponte desciscentes reciperentur.

6 Legati Romani ab Carthagine, sicut iis Romae imperatum erat, in Hispaniam, ut adirent civitates et[2] in societatem perlicerent aut averterent a
7 Poenis, traiecerunt. Ad Bargusios primum venerunt; a quibus benigne excepti, quia taedebat imperii Punici, multos trans Hiberum populos ad
8 cupidinem novae fortunae erexerunt. Ad Volcianos inde est ventum, quorum celebre per Hispaniam responsum ceteros populos ab societate Romana avertit. Ita enim maximus natu ex iis in concilio
9 respondit: "Quae verecundia est, Romani, postulare vos uti vestram Carthaginiensium amicitiae praeponamus, cum qui id fecerunt[3] crudelius quam
10 Poenus hostis perdidit[4] vos socii prodideritis? Ibi quaeratis socios, censeo, ubi Saguntina clades ignota est; Hispanis populis sicut lugubre ita insigne documentum Sagunti ruinae erunt, ne quis fidei
11 Romanae aut societati confidat." Inde extemplo abire finibus Volcianorum iussi ab nullo deinde

[1] quis aequum *edd.*: quis equum C^4M^3: qui secum C^1: quis secum M^1.
[2] et ς: ut *CM*: et aut *Gronovius*.
[3] fecerunt *Madvig*: fecerunt Saguntini *CM*.
[4] perdidit *edd.*: prodidit *CM*.

[1] The Bargusii, N. of the Ebro, were not as yet in the power of the Carthaginians, but were growing uneasy at the prospect of annexation (cf. chap. xxiii. § 2).

wards be received." And since they were permitted B.C. 218
to take new allies, who would think it fair either that they should admit no one, however deserving, to their friendship, or that, having once taken people under their protection, they should not defend them—provided only that allies of the Carthaginians should not be tempted to desert them nor be made welcome if they left them voluntarily?

The ambassadors, conformably to the instructions given them in Rome, crossed over from Carthage into Spain for the purpose of approaching the different states and winning them to an alliance, or at least detaching them from the Phoenicians. The Bargusii were the first they visited, and being warmly welcomed by them, for men were wearying of the Punic sway,[1] they aroused in many nations south of the Ebro a desire to revolt. From there they came to the Volciani, who gave them an answer that was carried all over Spain and turned all the other states against an alliance with the Romans. For the eldest of them replied as follows in their council: "With what face, Romans, can you ask us to prefer your friendship to the Carthaginian, when those who did so have been more cruelly betrayed by you, their allies, than destroyed by their enemy, the Phoenician? You must seek allies, in my opinion, only where the disaster of Saguntum is unknown. To the Spanish peoples the ruins of Saguntum will constitute a warning, no less emphatic than deplorable, that none should trust to the honour or alliance of the Romans." Being then bidden straightway to depart out of the borders of the Volciani, they received from that day forth

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concilio Hispaniae benigniora verba tulere. Ita nequiquam peragrata Hispania in Galliam transeunt.

XX. Ibi iis[1] nova terribilisque species visa est, quod armati—ita mos gentis erat—in concilium venerunt. Cum verbis extollentes gloriam virtutemque populi Romani ac magnitudinem imperii petissent ne Poeno bellum Italiae inferenti per agros urbesque suas transitum darent, tantus cum fremitu risus dicitur ortus ut vix a magistratibus maioribusque natu iuventus sedaretur; adeo stolida impudensque postulatio visa est censere[2] ne in Italiam transmittant Galli bellum, ipsos id avertere[3] in se, agrosque suos pro alienis populandos obicere. Sedato tandem fremitu responsum legatis est neque Romanorum in se meritum esse neque Carthaginiensium iniuriam ob quae aut pro Romanis aut adversus Poenos sumant arma; contra ea audire sese gentis suae homines agro finibusque Italiae pelli a populo Romano stipendiumque pendere[4] et cetera indigna pati. Eadem ferme in ceteris Galliae conciliis dicta auditaque; nec hospitale quicquam pacatumve satis prius auditum quam Massiliam venere. Ibi omnia ab sociis inquisita cum cura ac fide cognita: prae-

[1] Ibi iis *C. Heraeus*: in iis *CM*.
[2] visa est censere ne *CM* : visa est ne *Gronovius*.
[3] avertere ς: aduertere *CM*.
[4] pendere ς: pendi *CM*.

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[1] At an earlier date the Romans, too, had come armed to their assembly—the centuriate comitia (I. xliv. 1).

[2] Massilia (Marseilles), founded by Phocaeans about 600 B.C., had been, from the period of the Kings, a faithful ally of Rome.

no kinder response from any Spanish council. B.C. 218
Accordingly, having traversed that country to no purpose, they passed over into Gaul.

XX. There they beheld a strange and terrifying spectacle, for the Gauls, as was customary with the race, came armed to their assembly.[1] When the envoys, boasting of the renown and valour of the Roman People and the extent of their dominion, requested the Gauls to deny the Phoenician a passage through their lands and cities, if he should attempt to carry the war into Italy, it is said that they burst out into such peals of laughter that the magistrates and elders could scarce reduce the younger men to order—so stupid and impudent a thing it seemed, to propose that the Gauls should not suffer the invaders to pass into Italy, but bring down the war on their own heads, and offer their own fields to be pillaged in place of other men's. When at last the uproar had been quelled, the Gauls made answer to the envoys that they owed the Romans no kindness nor the Carthaginians any grudge, to induce them to draw the sword in behalf of the former or against the latter; on the contrary, they heard that men of their own race were being driven from the land and even out of the borders of Italy by the Roman People, and were paying tribute and suffering every other humiliation. In the rest of the Gallic councils their proposals and the replies they got were to substantially the same effect, nor did they hear a single word of a truly friendly or peaceable tenor until they reached Massilia.[2] Here they learned of all that had happened from their allies, who had made enquiries with faithful diligence. They reported that

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occupatos iam ante ab Hannibale Gallorum animos esse; sed ne illi quidem ipsi satis mitem gentem fore—adeo ferocia atque indomita ingenia esse—ni subinde auro, cuius avidissima gens est, principum
9 animi concilientur. Ita peragratis Hispaniae Galliaeque populis[1] legati Romam redeunt haud ita multo post quam consules in provincias profecti erant. Civitatem omnem exspectatione[2] belli erectam[3] invenerunt satis constante fama iam Hiberum Poenos tramisisse.

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XXI. Hannibal Sagunto capto Carthaginem novam in hiberna concesserat, ibique auditis quae Romae quaeque Carthagine acta decretaque forent seque non ducem solum sed etiam causam esse belli,
2 partitis divenditisque[4] reliquiis[5] praedae nihil ultra differendum ratus Hispani generis milites convocat.
3 "Credo ego vos," inquit "socii, et ipsos cernere[6] pacatis omnibus Hispaniae populis aut finiendam nobis militiam exercitusque dimittendos esse aut in
4 alias terras transferendum bellum; ita enim hae gentes non pacis solum sed etiam victoriae bonis florebunt, si ex aliis gentibus praedam et gloriam
5 quaeremus. Itaque cum longinqua a domo instet

[1] Hispaniae Galliaeque populis *Luchs*: hispania galliaque populisque P^2: hispaniae et galliae populis P^1.
[2] exspectatione *Heerwagen*: in expectatione *P*.
[3] erectam P^2: ereptam P^1.
[4] divenditisque ς: diuidentitisque (*from* diuidenditis) P^1: diuidendisque P^2
[5] reliquiis *edd.*: reliquis *P*.
[6] cernere P^2: gernere (*from* genere) P^1.

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[1] Livy makes Hannibal speak with rhetorical exaggeration. The Spanish troops whom he is addressing have not conquered 'every tribe in Spain,' for they came themselves

Hannibal had been beforehand with the Romans in gaining the good-will of the Gauls, but that even he would find them hardly tractable—so fierce and untamed was their nature—unless from time to time he should make use of gold, of which the race is very covetous, to secure the favour of their principal men. So the envoys, having travelled through the nations of Spain and Gaul, returned to Rome, not long after the consuls had set out for their respective commands. They found the citizens all on tip-toe with expectation of the war, for the rumour persisted that the Phoenicians had already crossed the Ebro. B.C. 218

XXI. Hannibal, after the capture of Saguntum, had withdrawn his army into winter quarters at New Carthage. There he learned what had been done in Rome and Carthage and what had been decreed, and that he was not only commander in the war, but the cause of it as well. So, having divided or sold off what was left of the plunder, he thought best to defer his plans no longer, and, calling together the soldiers of Spanish blood, thus addressed them: "My allies, I doubt not that you yourselves perceive how, having conquered every tribe in Spain, we must either bring our campaigning to a close and disband our armies, or shift the seat of war to other countries.[1] For these nations here will enjoy the blessings not merely of peace, but also of victory, only if we look to other nations for spoils and glory. Since, therefore, you are on the eve of an expedition that will carry B.C. 219–218

from tribes which had been for some years friendly and subject to the Carthaginians. He had not indeed conquered all the *hostile* tribes, but only those lying south of the Ebro.

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militia incertumque sit quando domos vestras et quae cuique ibi cara sunt visuri sitis, si quis vestrum suos 6 invisere volt, commeatum do. Primo vere[1] edico adsitis, ut dis bene iuvantibus bellum ingentis gloriae 7 praedaeque futurum incipiamus." Omnibus fere visendi domos oblata ultro potestas grata erat et iam desiderantibus suos et longius in futurum providen- 8 tibus desiderium. Per totum tempus hiemis quies inter labores aut iam[2] exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos renovavit corpora animosque ad omnia de integro patienda. Vere primo ad edictum convenere.

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9 Hannibal, cum recensuisset omnium gentium auxilia, Gades profectus Herculi vota exsolvit novisque se obligat votis, si cetera prospera evenis- 10 sent. Inde partiens curas simul in inferendum[3] atque arcendum bellum, ne, dum ipse terrestri per Hispaniam Galliasque itinere Italiam peteret, nuda apertaque Romanis Africa ab Sicilia esset, valido 11 praesidio firmare eam statuit. Pro eo supplementum ipse ex Africa maxime iaculatorum, levium armis, petit, ut Afri in Hispania Hispani in Africa,[4] melior procul ab domo futurus uterque miles, velut mutuis 12 pigneribus obligati stipendia facerent. Tredecim milia octingentos quinquaginta pedites caetratos

[1] primo vere P^2: promoueri P^1.
[2] iam ς: etiam *P*.
[3] in inferendum *Gronovius*: inferendum *P*.
[4] Hispani in Africa ς: in africa P^1: in africa hispani P^2.

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[1] Gades (Cadiz) was a Tyrian colony and possessed a famous temple of Melkarth (whom the Romans identified with Hercules), the tutelary god of the mother city.

[2] Like the Greek πελτασταί, these were light infantry

you far afield, and it is uncertain when you will see again your homes and what there is dear to each of you, if any of you desires to visit his friends, I grant him furlough. Be at hand, I charge you, with the first signs of spring, that with Heaven's good help we may begin a war that shall bring us vast renown and booty." There were very few who did not welcome the opportunity thus freely proffered of visiting their homes, for they were already homesick and looked forward to an even longer separation from their friends. The full winter's rest between the labours already undergone and those that were presently to come gave them new strength and courage for a fresh encounter with every hardship. Early in the spring they assembled in obedience to their orders. B.C. 219–218

When Hannibal had reviewed the contingents sent in by all the nations, he went to Gades[1] and discharged his vows to Hercules, binding himself with fresh ones, in case he should be successful in the remainder of his undertaking. Then, with equal concern for attack and defence, lest while he should be himself advancing upon Italy by an overland march through Spain and Gaul, Africa might lie exposed and open to a Roman invasion on the side of Sicily, he resolved to garrison that country with a powerful force. To supply its place he requisitioned troops for himself from Africa—light-armed slingers chiefly—so that Africans might serve in Spain and Spaniards in Africa, and both be the better soldiers for being far from home, as though mutually pledged to loyalty. Thirteen thousand eight hundred and fifty targeteers[2] and eight B.C. 218

[1] whose defensive armour consisted of a small round shield covered with oxhide.

A.U.C. 536 misit in Africam et funditores Baliares octingentos septuaginta, equites mixtos ex multis gentibus mille
13 ducentos. Has copias partim Carthagini praesidio esse, partim distribui per Africam iubet. Simul conquisitoribus in civitates missis quattuor milia conscripta delectae iuventutis, praesidium eosdem et obsides, duci Carthaginem iubet.

XXII. Neque Hispaniam neglegendam ratus, atque id eo minus quod haud ignarus erat circumitam ab Romanis eam legatis ad sollicitandos prin-
2 cipum animos, Hasdrubali fratri, viro impigro, eam provinciam destinat firmatque [1] Africis maxime praesidiis, peditum Afrorum undecim milibus octingentis quinquaginta, Liguribus trecentis, Baliaribus
3 quingentis.[2] Ad haec peditum auxilia additi equites Libyphoenices, mixtum Punicum Afris genus, quadringenti quinquaginta et [3] Numidae Maurique, accolae Oceani, ad mille octingenti et parva Ilergetum manus ex Hispania, trecenti [4] equites, et ne quod [5] terrestris deesset auxilii genus, elephanti
4 viginti unus.[6] Classis praeterea data tuendae maritimae orae,[7] quia qua parte belli vicerant ea tum

[1] firmatque *Woelfflin*: firmatque eum CM^2: firmatque cum M^1: firmatque eam *Linsmayer*.

[2] quingentis *added by Glareanus* (*from Polyb.* III. xxxiii. 16).

[3] quinquaginta et *added by Alschefski* (*from Polyb.* III. xxxiii. 15).

[4] trecenti *Ruperti* (*Polyb.* III. xxxiii. 16): cc *CM*.

[5] quod ς: quid *CM*.

[6] viginti unus *Sigonius* (*Polyb. ibid.*): xiiii milia (*and other corruptions*) *CM*.

[7] tuendae maritimae orae ς: ad tuende maritume ore C^1: ad tuendae maritumae orae *M* (*changed by original hand to* ad tuenda maritumae ora).

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[1] The Baliares (Majorca and Minorca) furnished the most skilful slingers in the world. Livy says (XXVIII. xxxvii. 6)

hundred and seventy Baliaric slingers,[1] with twelve B.C. 218
hundred horsemen drawn from many nations, he sent to Africa. A part of these troops were to be a garrison for Carthage, a part to be distributed through the country. At the same time he directed that recruiting officers be sent out into the states,[2] and that four thousand picked men be brought to Carthage, to serve at once as defenders and as hostages.

XXII. And considering that neither must Spain be neglected, and so much the less since he was not unaware that Roman ambassadors had journeyed through it to seek the support of its leading men, he appointed it to be the charge of his brother Hasdrubal—an active, energetic man—and secured it with troops, for the most part African. Of infantry there were eleven thousand eight hundred and fifty Africans, three hundred Ligurians, and five hundred Baliares. To these infantry forces he added the following units of cavalry: four hundred and fifty Libyphoenicians—a race of mixed Punic and African blood—and some eight hundred Numidians and Moors, who dwell near the ocean,[3] and a little company of three hundred Spanish Ilergetes. Finally, that no sort of land force might be lacking, there were twenty-one elephants. He also assigned a fleet to Spain, for the protection of its seaboard, since it might be expected that the Romans would

that no single individual of any other people was so superior in this art to his fellows as were all the Baliares to the rest of mankind. The ancients derived Baliares from *βάλλειν*, "throw."

[2] *sc.* of Africa.

[3] Mauretania corresponded to the present Fez and Morocco.

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quoque rem gesturos Romanos credi poterat, quinquaginta quinqueremes, quadriremes duae, triremes quinque; sed aptae instructaeque remigio triginta et duae quinqueremes erant et triremes quinque.

5 Ab Gadibus Carthaginem ad hiberna exercitus redit; atque inde profectus praeter Onusam[1] urbem 6 ad Hiberum per maritimam oram[2] ducit. Ibi fama est in quiete visum ab eo iuvenem divina specie, qui se ab Iove diceret ducem in Italiam Hannibali missum: proinde sequeretur neque usquam a se deflec- 7 teret oculos. Pavidum primo nusquam circumspicientem aut respicientem secutum; deinde cura ingenii humani, cum quidnam id esset quod respicere[3] vetitus esset agitaret animo, temperare oculis nequi- 8 visse; tum[4] vidisse post sese serpentem mira magnitudine cum ingenti arborum ac virgultorum strage ferri ac post insequi cum fragore caeli nimbum. 9 Tum quae moles ea quidve prodigii esset quaerentem audisse vastitatem Italiae esse: pergeret porro ire nec ultra inquireret sineretque fata in occulto esse.

XXIII. Hoc visu laetus tripertito Hiberum copias traiecit praemissis qui Gallorum animos, qua traducendus exercitus erat, donis conciliarent Alpiumque transitus specularentur. Nonaginta milia peditum,

[1] Onusam *M. Mueller*: omissam *CM.*
[2] per maritimam oram *Weissenborn*: mariti(-tu- *C*)mam oram *CM.*
[3] respicere ς: respiceret *CM.* [4] tum ς: eum *CM.*

[1] In this enumeration of forces Livy follows Polybius (III. xxxiii. 9), who says that he found the numbers recorded

again on this occasion employ that mode of warfare B.C. 218
in which they had been victorious. There were fifty quinqueremes, two quadriremes, and five triremes. But only thirty-two quinqueremes and the five triremes were equipped and manned with rowers.[1]

From Gades Hannibal returned to New Carthage, to the winter quarters of his army. Setting out from thence, he marched along the coast, past the city of Onusa, to the Ebro. It was there, as they tell, that he saw in his sleep a youth of godlike aspect, who declared that he was sent by Jupiter to lead him into Italy: let him follow, therefore, nor anywhere turn his eyes away from his guide. At first he was afraid and followed, neither looking to the right nor to the left, nor yet behind him; but presently wondering, with that curiosity to which all of us are prone, what it could be that he had been forbidden to look back upon, he was unable to command his eyes; then he saw behind him a serpent of monstrous size, that moved along with vast destruction of trees and underbrush, and a storm-cloud coming after, with loud claps of thunder; and, on his asking what this prodigious portent was, he was told that it was the devastation of Italy: he was therefore to go on, nor enquire further, but suffer destiny to be wrapped in darkness.

XXIII. Rejoicing at this vision, he led his troops across the Ebro in three columns, after sending agents ahead, to win over with presents the Gauls who dwelt in the region which the army had to cross, and to explore the passes of the Alps. He had ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse

by Hannibal himself on a bronze tablet which was set up on the Lacinian Promontory (near Crotona).

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2 duodecim milia equitum Hiberum traduxit. Ilergetes inde Bargusiosque[1] et Ausetanos et Lacetaniam,[2] quae subiecta Pyrenaeis montibus est, subegit, oraeque huic omni praefecit Hannonem, ut fauces quae Hispanias Galliis iungunt in potestate essent. 3 Decem milia peditum Hannoni ad praesidium obtinendae regionis data et mille equites.

4 Postquam per Pyrenaeum saltum traduci exercitus est coeptus rumorque per barbaros manavit certior de bello Romano, tria milia inde Carpetanorum peditum iter averterunt. Constabat non tam bello motos quam longinquitate viae insuperabilique Alpium tran- 5 situ. Hannibal, quia revocare aut vi retinere eos anceps erat, ne ceterorum etiam feroces animi inritarentur, 6 supra septem milia hominum domos remisit, quos et ipsos[3] gravari militia senserat, Carpetanos quoque ab se dimissos simulans.

XXIV. Inde, ne mora atque otium animos sollicitaret, cum reliquis copiis Pyrenaeum transgreditur 2 et ad oppidum Iliberri castra locat. Galli, quamquam Italiae bellum inferri audiebant, tamen, quia vi subactos trans Pyrenaeum Hispanos fama erat praesidiaque valida imposita, metu servitutis ad arma consternati Ruscinonem aliquot[4] populi conveniunt. 3 Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, moram magis

[1] Bargusiosque ς: bargutosque C^3M: barguntosque C^1.
[2] Lacetaniam *Sigonius*: aquitaniā C^3M: aquitanos C^1.
[3] ipsos *Muretus*: ipse *CM*: ipsa *Unger*.
[4] aliquot C^3: aliquod C^1M.

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[1] Polybius (III. xxxv. 7) says that Hannibal now had fifty thousand foot and about nine thousand horse.
[2] The modern Elne is near the site.

when he crossed the Ebro. He now subdued the Ilergetes, and the Bargusii and Ausetani, and also Lacetania, which lies at the foot of the Pyrenees. All this coast he put in charge of Hanno, that the passes connecting Spain and Gaul might be under his control. To garrison this district, he gave Hanno ten thousand foot and a thousand horse. B.C. 218

When the army had entered the defiles which lead over the Pyrenees, and more definite rumours had spread amongst the barbarians that the war was to be with Rome, three thousand of the Carpetanian foot turned back. It was understood that they were influenced not so much by the war as by the long march and the impossibility of crossing the Alps. To recall them or to detain them forcibly would have been hazardous, for it might have roused resentment in the savage bosoms of the others. And so Hannibal sent back to their homes above seven thousand more, whom he had perceived to be chafing at the service, pretending that he had also dismissed the Carpetani.

XXIV. Then, in order that his troops might not become demoralized by delay and inaction, he crossed the Pyrenees with the remainder of his forces[1] and pitched his camp by the town of Iliberri.[2] The Gauls, though they heard that the war was aimed at Italy, nevertheless, because it was said that the Spaniards beyond the Pyrenees had been forcibly subjugated and strong garrisons imposed upon them, were driven by the fear of servitude to arm themselves, and several tribes assembled at Ruscino.[3] When Hannibal was apprised of this, he was more

[3] The name is reflected in the French Tour de Roussillon, near Perpignan.

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quam bellum metuens oratores ad regulos eorum misit: conloqui semet ipsum cum iis velle; et vel illi propius Iliberrim [1] accederent, vel se Ruscinonem processurum, ut ex propinquo congressus facilior esset; nam et accepturum eos in castra sua se laetum nec cunctanter se ipsum ad eos venturum. Hospitem enim se Galliae non hostem advenisse, nec stricturum ante gladium, si per Gallos liceat, quam in Italiam venisset. Et per nuntios quidem haec; ut vero reguli Gallorum castris ad Iliberrim extemplo motis haud gravate [2] ad Poenum venerunt, capti donis cum bona pace exercitum per fines suos praeter Ruscinonem oppidum transmiserunt.

XXV. In Italiam interim nihil ultra quam Hiberum transisse Hannibalem a Massiliensium legatis Romam perlatum erat, cum perinde ac si Alpes iam transisset, Boi sollicitatis Insubribus defecerunt nec tam ob veteres in populum Romanum iras quam quod nuper circa Padum Placentiam Cremonamque colonias in agrum [3] Gallicum deductas aegre patiebantur. Itaque armis repente arreptis in eum ipsum agrum impetu facto tantum terroris ac tumultus fecerunt ut non agrestis modo multitudo sed ipsi triumviri Romani, qui ad agrum venerant adsignandum, diffisi

[1] Iliberrim *edd.*: inliberrim *C*: inliberarim M^1: illiberri M^3.
[2] gravate ς: grauanter *CM*.
[3] agrum C^3M^3: agrorum C^1?M^1.

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[1] Livy has said nothing of any negotiations between Hannibal and the Boi, preferring, in his love of dramatic effect, to let us see this Gallic outbreak as it appeared to the Romans—like a bolt from the blue. See chap. xxix. § 6.

afraid of delay than of fighting, and dispatched am- B.C. 218
bassadors to their chieftains to inform them that he wished to confer with them in person, and suggested that either they come nearer to Iliberri or that he would go forward to Ruscino, so that being close to one another they might meet more easily. He would be glad, he said, to receive them in his camp, nor would he hesitate to go to them. He had come into Gaul as a friend, not as an enemy, and would keep his sword sheathed, if the Gauls would let him, till he had entered Italy. Thus far his emissaries. But when the Gallic chieftains, moving up their camp at once near Iliberri, came, nothing loath, to the Phoenician, they were captivated by his gifts, and permitted the army to march unmolested through their borders and past the town of Ruscino.

XXV. In Italy meanwhile nothing more was known than that Hannibal had crossed the Ebro—which was the news that Massiliot envoys brought to Rome—when, as though he had already crossed the Alps, the Boi, after rousing up the Insubres, revolted.[1] To this they were incited not so much by their old animosity against the Roman People as by vexation at the recent establishment of colonies in Gallic territory, near the Po, at Placentia and Cremona.[2] Flying to arms they made an incursion into that very district, and spread such terror and confusion that not only the rural population, but the Roman commissioners themselves, who had come for the purpose of assigning lands, not trusting to the

[2] These were of the type called Latin colonies. To each of them six thousand colonists had been assigned. They had hardly got settled when the Gauls broke out (Polybius, III. xl. 3–6).

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Placentiae moenibus Mutinam confugerint, C. Lutatius C. Servilius[1] M. Annius.[2] Lutati nomen haud dubium est; pro Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium[3] et C. Herennium habent quidam annales, alii P. Cornelium Asinam et C. Papirium Masonem.[4] Id quoque dubium est, legati ad expostulandum missi ad Boios violati sint,[5] an in triumviros agrum metantes impetus sit factus. Mutinae cum obsiderentur et gens ad oppugnandarum urbium artes rudis, pigerrima eadem ad militaria opera, segnis intactis adsideret muris, simulari coeptum de pace agi, evocatique ab Gallorum principibus legati ad conloquium, non contra ius modo gentium sed violata etiam quae data in id tempus erat fide, comprehenduntur, negantibus Gallis nisi obsides sibi redderentur eos dimissuros. Cum haec de legatis nuntiata essent et Mutina praesidiumque in periculo esset, L. Manlius praetor ira accensus effusum agmen ad Mutinam ducit. Silvae tunc circa viam erant plerisque incultis. Ibi inexplorato profectus in insidias praecipitatur[6] multaque cum caede suorum aegre in apertos campos emersit. Ibi castra com-

[1] C. Servilius *Sigonius*: ā seruilius *CM*.
[2] Annius ς: annilius *CM*.
[3] Annio Servilioque M'. Acilium *Weissenborn*: aulo seruilio quem acilium C^1: aulo seruilio m̄ acilium C^3: aulo seruilio quem̄ acilio (aciliū M^3)*M*.
[4] Masonem ς: nasonem *C*: nassonem *M*.
[5] sint ς: sint incertum *CM*.
[6] praecipitatur *Gronovius*: praecipitatus *CM*.

[1] Apparently the Gauls left hostages with the Romans when they arranged for the Romans to send representatives to talk things over with them in the Gallic camp.
[2] Neither Polybius nor Livy tells us where Manlius was when the news reached him. Weissenborn-Mueller think he

walls of Placentia, fled to Mutina. (Their names B.C. 218
were Gaius Lutatius, Gaius Servilius, and Marcus Annius. There is no question about Lutatius: for Annius and Servilius, some annals have Manius Acilius and Gaius Herennius, others Publius Cornelius Asina and Gaius Papirius Maso. This, too, is uncertain, whether envoys sent to expostulate with the Boi were maltreated, or an attack was made upon the three commissioners as they were measuring off the land.) Whilst they lay shut up in Mutina, the Gauls—who know nothing of the art of assaulting cities, and, besides, are very indolent in regard to siege-works, and were now sitting idly down before the walls without attempting them—feigned a readiness to treat for peace; and their leaders having invited the Romans to send out spokesmen to confer with them, they seized these envoys, in violation not only of the law of nations, but also of a pledge which they had given for this time, and declared that they would not let them go unless their own hostages were restored to them.[1] When word arrived of this affair of the envoys, and Mutina and its garrison were in danger, Lucius Manlius, the praetor, blazing with resentment, set out for Mutina with his army in loose marching order.[2] In those days the road led through a forest, as the country was not, for the most part, under cultivation, and Manlius, advancing without reconnaissance, plunged into an ambush, and after sustaining heavy losses, managed with difficulty to get through into the open fields. There he entrenched

was at Placentia, engaged in strengthening the new fortifications.

A.U.C. 536 munita, et quia Gallis ad temptanda ea defuit spes, refecti sunt militum animi, quamquam ad quin-
11 gentos[1] cecidisse satis constabat. Iter deinde de integro coeptum nec, dum per patentia[2] loca
12 ducebatur agmen, apparuit[3] hostis; ubi rursus silvae intratae, tum postremos adorti cum magna trepidatione ac pavore omnium septingentos milites occide-
13 runt, sex signa ademere. Finis et Gallis territandi et pavendi fuit Romanis ut e saltu[4] invio atque impedito evasere. Inde apertis locis facile tutantes agmen Romani Tannetum, vicum propinquum Pado,
14 contendere. Ibi se munimento ad tempus commeatibusque fluminis et Brixianorum etiam Gallorum auxilio adversus crescentem in dies multitudinem hostium tutabantur.

XXVI. Qui tumultus repens postquam est Romam perlatus et Punicum insuper Gallico bellum auctum
2 patres acceperunt, C. Atilium praetorem cum una legione Romana et quinque milibus sociorum dilectu novo a consule conscriptis auxilium ferre Manlio[5] iubent, qui sine ullo certamine—abscesserant enim metu hostes—Tannetum pervenit.

[1] quingentos (D) *added by Gronovius.*
[2] patentia M^2: inpacientia C: inpactentia M^1.
[3] apparuit *Glareanus*: cum apparuit *CM*.
[4] e saltu M^2: e saltus M^1: exaltu C^1: ex saltu C^3.
[5] Manlio *edd.*: manilio *CM*.

[1] This second attack—Polybius records but the one—is suspiciously like the first. Livy, or Livy's immediate source, may unconsciously have made two episodes out of slightly different accounts of the same affair.

[2] Tannetum (now Tanneto) was really about ten miles south of the Po, on the Via Aemilia Lepida. If *commeatibus fluminis* is correctly translated, we may suppose (1) that Livy thought Tannetum was much nearer the Po, or (2) that

a camp, and since the Gauls lacked heart to assail it, B.C. 218
the soldiers recovered their spirits, though it was no secret that as many as five hundred men had fallen. Then they began their march again, nor, so long as the column advanced through open country, was the enemy to be seen; but when they had once more got into the woods, the Gauls attacked their rear, and throwing the whole column into terror and confusion, slew seven hundred soldiers and carried off six ensigns.[1] The alarming onsets of the Gauls and the panic of the Romans ended when they got clear of the trackless woods and thickets. Thereafter, marching across open ground, the Romans had no difficulty in protecting their column, and hastened to Tannetum, a village lying near the Po, where by means of temporary fortifications and supplies got in by the river, and with the help also of the Brixian Gauls, they defended themselves against the enemy, whose numbers were increasing daily.[2]

XXVI. When the news of this sudden insurrection was brought to Rome, and the Fathers learnt that the Punic War was augmented by a war with the Gauls, they commanded Gaius Atilius, the praetor, to take one Roman legion and five thousand of the allies—a force which the consul[3] had just levied—and proceed to the relief of Manlius. Atilius reached Tannetum without any fighting, for the enemy had retired in alarm.

he has confused Brixia (Brescia) with Brixellum (Bresciello), which is nearly north of Tanneto and close to the Po, and might have served as an *entrepôt* for supplies sent down from Placentia. The statement in chap. lv. § 4 that the Cenomani (whose capital was Brixia) were the only Gallic tribe that was loyal to Rome favours (1).

[3] P. Cornelius Scipio.

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3 Et P. Cornelius in locum eius quae missa cum praetore erat scripta[1] legione nova profectus ab urbe sexaginta longis navibus praeter oram Etruriae Ligurumque et inde Saluum[2] montes pervenit Mas-
4 siliam et ad proximum ostium Rhodani—pluribus enim divisus amnis in mare decurrit—castra locat vixdum satis credens Hannibalem superasse Pyre-
5 naeos montes. Quem ut de Rhodani quoque transitu agitare animadvertit, incertus quonam ei loco occurreret, necdum satis refectis ab iactatione maritima militibus, trecentos interim delectos equites ducibus Massiliensibus et auxiliaribus Gallis ad exploranda omnia visendosque ex tuto hostes praemittit.
6 Hannibal ceteris metu aut pretio pacatis iam in Volcarum[3] pervenerat agrum, gentis validae. Colunt autem circa utramque ripam Rhodani; sed diffisi citeriore agro arceri Poenum posse, ut flumen pro munimento haberent omnibus ferme suis trans Rhodanum traiectis ulteriorem ripam armis[4] obtinebant.
7 Ceteros accolas fluminis Hannibal et eorum ipsorum quos sedes suae tenuerant simul perlicit donis ad naves undique contrahendas fabricandasque, simul

[1] erat scripta *Weissenborn*: trascripta *C*: transcripta *M*.
[2] Saluum M^2 (*cf.* V. xxxiv. 7): saluium *C* (*before erasure*) M^1: saluii *C* (*after erasure*).
[3] Volcarum *edd.*: uolgarum *C*: uulgarum *M*.
[4] armis *Hearne*: amnis *C*: amnis armis *M*.

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[1] Polybius (XXXIV. x. 5) says two, Pliny (*N.H.* III. iv. 33) three, and Strabo (IV. i. 8) cites Timaeus as authority for the number five.

[2] Polybius says that Scipio "sent out three hundred of his bravest cavalry, giving them as guides and supports certain Celts who were in the service of the Massiliots as mercenaries" (Paton's translation).

[3] It is usually held—with Napoleon—that Hannibal

Publius Cornelius, too, after enrolling a new legion B.C. 218
in place of that which had been sent with the praetor, set out from the City with sixty ships of war, and coasting Etruria and the mountainous country of Liguria and the Salui, arrived at Massilia, and went into camp at the nearest mouth of the Rhone—for the river discharges itself into the sea by several[1]—hardly believing, even then, that Hannibal could have crossed the Pyrenees. But when he found that Hannibal was actually planning how to cross the Rhone, being uncertain where he should encounter him, and his soldiers not having as yet fully recovered from the tossing of the sea, he sent out a chosen band of three hundred cavalry, with Massiliot guides and Gallic auxiliaries,[2] to make, while he was waiting, a thorough reconnaissance, and have a look at the enemy from a safe distance.

Hannibal, having pacified the others through fear or bribery, had now reached the territory of a powerful nation called the Volcae.[3] They inhabit both banks of the Rhone, but doubting their ability to keep the Phoenician from the western bank, they had brought nearly all their people over the Rhone, so as to have the river for a bulwark, and were holding the eastern bank with arms. The rest of the dwellers by the river, and such of the Volcae themselves as had clung to their homes, were enticed by Hannibal's gifts to assemble large boats from every quarter and to fashion new ones; and indeed

crossed the Rhone above the confluence with the Durance. The arguments of those who think that the crossing was just above the Delta have been recently restated by Spencer Wilkinson, *Hannibal's March Through the Alps*, pp. 14–17.

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et ipsi traici exercitum levarique quam primum regionem suam tanta[1] hominum[2] urgente turba 8 cupiebant. Itaque ingens coacta vis navium est lintriumque temere ad vicinalem usum paratarum; novasque alias primum Galli inchoantes cavabant 9 ex singulis arboribus, deinde et ipsi milites simul copia materiae simul facilitate operis inducti alveos informes, nihil, dummodo innare aquae et capere onera possent, curantes, raptim quibus se suaque transveherent, faciebant.

XXVII. Iamque omnibus satis comparatis ad traiciendum terrebant[3] ex adverso hostes omnem 2 ripam equites virique obtinentes. Quos ut averteret, Hannonem,[4] Bomilcaris[5] filium, vigilia prima noctis cum parte copiarum, maxime Hispanis, adverso 3 flumine ire iter unius diei iubet, et ubi primum possit, quam occultissime traiecto amni circumducere agmen, ut, cum opus facto sit, adoriatur ab tergo 4 hostes. Ad id dati duces Galli edocent[6] inde milia quinque et viginti ferme supra parvae insulae circumfusum amnem latiore,[7] ubi dividebatur, eoque 5 minus alto alveo transitum ostendere. Ibi raptim caesa materia ratesque fabricatae in quibus equi virique et alia onera traicerentur. Hispani sine

[1] tanta C^2M (*by erasure from* tantā): tantam C^1.
[2] hominum C^3: omnium C^1M.
[3] terrebant C^3: terrebat C^1M.
[4] Hannonem M^2: annonem C^3M^1: amonem C^1.
[5] Bomilcaris M^2: miuomilcaris CM^1.
[6] Galli edocent M^2: galliae docent CM^1.
[7] latiore *Bauer*: latiorem CM.

[1] The Spaniards were preferred for this duty because of their skill in swimming rivers, as we see at § 5 (*cf.* chap.

they themselves were eager to have the army set B.C. 218
across as soon as possible and to relieve their district of the burden of so huge a horde of men. So they brought together a vast number of boats, and of canoes roughly fashioned for local traffic, and made new ones by hollowing out single trees. The Gauls took the lead in this, but the soldiers presently fell to work themselves, when they found the timber plentiful and the labour light. They were unshapely troughs, but the men could make them quickly, and their one concern was to get something that would float and hold a cargo, in which they might ferry themselves and their belongings over.

XXVII. Everything was now in readiness for the crossing, which, however, was menaced by the enemy on the other side, who covered the whole bank with their horse and foot. In order to draw them off, Hannibal ordered Hanno, the son of Bomilcar, to set out in the first watch of the night with a part of the troops, chiefly Spaniards,[1] and, making a march of one day up the stream, to take the first opportunity of crossing it, with the greatest secrecy, and fetch a compass with his column, so that, when the time came, he might assail the enemy in the rear. The Gauls who had been appointed to be his guides informed him that some five-and-twenty miles upstream the river flowed round a little island, and being wider where it divided, and therefore shallower, afforded a passage. There they quickly felled some trees and constructed rafts to transport the men and horses and other burdens. The Spaniards without

xlvii. § 5). The method here employed was still in vogue amongst them in Caesar's time (*Bell. Civ.* I. xlviii. 7).

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ulla mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris
6 superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere. Et alius exercitus ratibus iunctis traiectus, castris prope flumen positis, nocturno itinere atque operis labore fessus quiete unius diei reficitur intento duce ad
7 consilium opportune exsequendum. Postero die profecti ex loco edito[1] fumo significant transisse et haud procul abesse. Quod ubi accepit Hannibal, ne tempori deesset, dat signum ad traiciendum.
8 Iam paratas aptatasque habebat pedes lintres, eques fere propter equos naves.[2] Navium agmen ad excipiendum adversi impetum fluminis parte superiore transmittens tranquillitatem infra traicientibus lin-
9 tribus praebebat. Equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur, praeter eos quos instratos frenatosque, ut extemplo egresso in ripam equiti usui essent, imposuerant in naves.

XXVIII. Galli occursant in ripa[3] cum variis ululatibus cantuque moris sui quatientes scuta super
2 capita vibrantesque dextris tela, quamquam ex adverso[4] terrebat tanta vis navium cum ingenti sono fluminis et clamore vario nautarum, militum, et qui[5] nitebantur perrumpere impetum fluminis, et qui ex

[1] edito *Clericus*: prodito *CM*: praedicto *Walch*: ex praedicto (*omitting* loco) *Weissenborn*.
[2] naves *Heerwagen*: nantes *CM*.
[3] ripa *Gronovius*: ripam *CM*.
[4] ex adverso *Crévier*: et ex aduerso *CM*.
[5] et qui M^4: equi *CM*.

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[1] The skins of sheep and goats, such as are still used to hold wine. They could either be inflated and used merely as a kind of life-belt, or could be made to serve at the same time as kit bags.

more ado stuffed their clothes into skins,[1] and placing B.C. 218
their bucklers on top of these and supporting themselves by means of them, swam across. The rest of the force, too, got over, by means of the rafts which they had made, and went into camp near the river. They were tired by the night march and their strenuous exertions, but their commander allowed them but one day to rest, being intent on carrying out the stratagem at the proper time. Resuming their march on the following day they sent up a smoke-signal from an elevated place, to show that they had got over the river and were not far off. When Hannibal saw this, he gave the order to cross, so as not to miss the favourable moment. The infantry had their skiffs all ready and equipped, while the cavalry had large boats, for the most part, on account of their horses. The large boats were sent across higher up the stream, to take the force of the current, and provided smooth water for the skiffs that crossed below them. A good part of the horses swam and were towed by their halters from the sterns of the boats, except those which they had saddled and bridled and put on board, that their riders might have them ready for instant use on landing.

XXVIII. The Gauls rushed to meet them on the bank, with all sorts of yells and their customary songs, clashing their shields together above their heads and brandishing darts in their right hands, despite the menace of so great a multitude of vessels coming against them and the loud roaring of the river and the confused hallooing of the boatmen and the sailors, as they strove to force their way athwart the current or shouted encouragement to their fellows

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3 altera ripa traicientes suos hortabantur. Iam satis paventes adverso tumultu terribilior ab tergo adortus clamor castris ab Hannone captis. Mox et ipse aderat, ancepsque terror circumstabat et e navibus[1] tanta vi armatorum in terram[2] evadente[3] et ab tergo 4 improvisa premente acie. Galli postquam utroque[4] vim facere conati pellebantur, qua patere[5] visum maxime iter perrumpunt trepidique in vicos passim suos diffugiunt. Hannibal ceteris copiis per otium traiectis spernens iam Gallicos tumultus castra locat. 5 Elephantorum traiciendorum varia consilia fuisse credo, certe variat[6] memoria actae rei. Quidam congregatis ad ripam elephantis tradunt ferocissimum ex iis inritatum ab rectore suo, cum refugientem in aquam nantem[7] sequeretur, traxisse gregem, ut quemque timentem altitudinem destitueret vadum,[8] impetu ipso fluminis in alteram ripam rapiente. 6 Ceterum magis constat ratibus traiectos; id ut tutius consilium ante rem foret, ita acta re ad fidem 7 pronius est. Ratem unam ducentos longam pedes, quinquaginta latam a terra in amnem porrexerunt, quam, ne secunda aqua deferretur, pluribus validis retinaculis parte superiore ripae religatam pontis in

[1] e navibus M^2: nauibus CM^1.
[2] terram *edd.*: terra CM.
[3] evadente M^2: euadentem CM^1.
[4] utroque ς: ultroque C (*before erasure*) M^1: ultro C (*after erasure*) M^2.
[5] patere ς: parte (*from* parte re) C: pate (*from* parte) M.
[6] variat *Mehler*: uariata CM.
[7] inde nantem *Weissenborn*: nantem CM.
[8] vadum *edd.*: uado CM.

from the further bank. But the tribesmen were already B.C. 218
somewhat daunted by the tumult which confronted them, when a still more appalling clamour arose in the rear, where Hanno had captured their camp. He was soon on the scene himself, and a twofold terror hemmed them in, as that mighty force of armed men came out upon the shore and the unlooked-for line of battle closed in from behind. When the Gauls had attempted charges in both directions and found themselves repulsed, they broke through where the way seemed least beset, and fled in confusion to their several villages. Hannibal brought over at leisure the rest of his forces, and giving himself no more concern over Gallic outbreaks, pitched his camp.

I believe that there were various plans for transporting the elephants; at all events the tradition varies as to how it was accomplished. Some say that the elephants were first assembled on the bank, and then the keeper of the fiercest of them provoked the beast and fled into the water; as he swam off, the elephant pursued him and drew the herd in his train; and though they were afraid of the deep water, yet as soon as each of them got out of his depth, the current itself swept him over to the other bank. It is, however, more generally believed that they were carried across on rafts; this method, as it would be the safer, if the thing were to be done, so, in view of its accomplishment, is more probably the one employed. A raft, two hundred feet long and fifty feet wide, was thrust out from the shore into the stream, and, after being moored to the bank above by a number of stout hawsers, so as not to be carried down the current, was covered with earth,

A.U.C. 536 modum humo iniecta constraverunt, ut beluae au-
8 dacter velut per solum ingrederentur. Altera ratis aeque lata, longa pedes centum, ad traiciendum flumen apta, huic copulata est; tum[1] elephanti per stabilem ratem tamquam viam praegredientibus feminis acti; ubi in minorem applicatam transgressi
9 sunt, extemplo resolutis quibus leviter adnexa erat vinculis, ab actuariis aliquot navibus ad alteram ripam pertrahitur. Ita primis expositis alii deinde
10 repetiti ac traiecti sunt. Nihil sane trepidabant, donec continenti velut ponte agerentur; primus erat pavor cum soluta ab ceteris rate in altum
11 raperentur. Ibi urgentes inter se cedentibus extremis ab aqua trepidationis[2] aliquantum edebant, donec quietem ipse timor circumspectantibus aquam
12 fecisset. Excidere[3] etiam saevientes quidam in flumen; sed pondere ipso stabiles deiectis rectoribus quaerendis pedetemptim vadis in terram evasere.

XXIX. Dum elephanti traiciuntur, interim Hannibal Numidas equites quingentos ad castra Romana miserat speculatum ubi et quantae copiae essent et
2 quid pararent. Huic alae equitum missi, ut ante dictum est, ab ostio Rhodani trecenti Romanorum equites occurrunt. Proelium atrocius quam pro
3 numero pugnantium editur; nam praeter multa

[1] tum *Madvig*: vi tum *Harant*: ut cum *CM*.
[2] trepidationis *edd.*: trepidationi *CM*.
[3] excidere M^2: excindere C^1: extendere C^3: exindere M^1.

[1] Polybius, who perhaps believed, as did Pliny (*N. H.* VIII. 28), that elephants could not swim, says that those that went overboard were saved by the length of their trunks, which they kept above the surface, and, breathing so, passed through the water, for the most part on their feet (III. xlvii. 12). Livy seems to have thought of them as swimming.

like a bridge, in order that the beasts might boldly venture upon it, as on solid ground. A second raft, of equal width and a hundred feet long, and fit for crossing the river, was coupled to the first. Then the elephants, with the females leading, were driven out over the stationary raft, as over a road; and after they had passed on to the smaller raft adjoining it, the ropes by which this had been loosely attached were cast off and it was towed across by some row-boats to the eastern bank. After landing the first contingent in this fashion, they returned and fetched the others over. The elephants exhibited no signs of fear so long as they were being driven along as though on a connected bridge; they first became frightened when the raft was cast loose from the other and was carried out into mid-channel. The crowding together which resulted, as those on the outside shrank back from the water, gave rise to a slight panic, till terror itself, as they looked at the water all about them, made them quiet. Some, in their frenzy, even fell overboard; but, steadied by their very weight, threw off their riders, and feeling their way to the shallow places, got out upon the land.[1] B.C. 218

XXIX. Whilst the elephants were being got across, Hannibal had dispatched five hundred Numidian horsemen in the direction of the Roman camp, to find out where the enemy were and in what force, and what they meant to do. This body fell in with the three hundred Roman horsemen, sent out, as was mentioned before, from the mouth of the Rhone. The battle that followed was more hotly fought than the size of the contending forces would suggest, for besides the many who were

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volnera caedes etiam prope par utrimque fuit, fugaque et pavor Numidarum Romanis iam admodum fessis victoriam dedit. Victores ad centum quadraginta[1] nec omnes Romani sed pars Gallorum, victi amplius
4 ducenti ceciderunt. Hoc principium simul omenque[2] belli ut summae rerum prosperum eventum ita haud sane incruentam ancipitisque certaminis victoriam Romanis portendit.

5 Ut re ita gesta ad utrumque ducem sui redierunt, nec Scipioni stare sententia poterat, nisi ut ex con-
6 siliis coeptisque hostis[3] et ipse conatus caperet, et Hannibalem incertum utrum coeptum in Italiam intenderet iter an cum eo qui primus se optulisset Romanus exercitus manus consereret, avertit a praesenti certamine Boiorum legatorum regulique Magali adventus, qui se duces itinerum socios periculi fore adfirmantes integro bello nusquam ante libatis viri-
7 bus Italiam adgrediendam censent. Multitudo timebat quidem hostem nondum oblitterata memoria superioris belli, sed magis iter immensum Alpesque, rem fama utique inexpertis horrendam, metuebat.

XXX. Itaque Hannibal, postquam ipsi sententia stetit pergere ire atque[4] Italiam petere, advocata[5] contione varie militum versat animos castigando
2 adhortandoque: mirari se quinam pectora semper

[1] centum quadraginta *Gronovius* (*Polyb.* III. xlv. 2): clx *CM*.
[2] omenque C^3M^2: omnemque C^1M^1.
[3] hostis ς: hospiciis C^1: auspiciis C^3: hospitis *M*.
[4] atque *edd.*: adque *P*.
[5] advocata *edd.*: aduocatum *P*.

wounded, the numbers of the slain were about equal B.C. 218
on both sides, and only the dismay and panic of the Numidians gave the victory to the Romans, who were by that time fairly exhausted. The victors lost about a hundred and forty, not all Romans but some of them Gauls; the vanquished about two hundred. This was at once the beginning of the war and an omen that promised the Romans success in the final outcome, though their victory would be by no means without bloodshed and would only come after a doubtful struggle.

When the participants in this affair had returned to their respective generals, it was impossible for Scipio to adopt any settled plan, except to frame his own measures to meet the strategy and movements of the enemy; while Hannibal, uncertain whether to march on, as he had begun, to Italy, or give battle to the first Roman army that had come in his way, was diverted from an immediate trial of strength by the arrival of Boian envoys, with their chief Magalus. These assured him that they would guide his march and share its perils, and urged him to avoid a battle and to keep his forces whole and unimpaired for the invasion of Italy. The rank and file were fearful of the enemy—for their memory of the former war was not yet erased—but more fearful of the interminable march over the Alps, an undertaking which rumour made appalling, at any rate to the inexperienced.

XXX. Accordingly Hannibal, having settled in his own mind to go forward and advance on Italy, called the soldiers together and worked on their feelings with alternate chiding and encouragement. He marvelled, he said, what sudden terror had in-

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impavida repens terror invaserit. Per tot annos vincentes eos stipendia facere neque ante Hispania excessisse quam omnes gentesque et terrae [1] quas duo diversa maria amplectantur Carthaginiensium
3 essent. Indignatos deinde quod quicumque Saguntum obsedissent velut ob noxam sibi dedi postularet populus Romanus, Hiberum traiecisse [2] ad delendum nomen Romanorum liberandumque orbem
4 terrarum. Tum nemini visum id longum, cum ab
5 occasu solis ad exortus intenderent iter; nunc, postquam multo maiorem partem itineris [3] emensam cernant, Pyrenaeum saltum inter ferocissimas gentes superatum, Rhodanum, tantum amnem, tot milibus Gallorum prohibentibus, domita etiam ipsius fluminis vi traiectum, in conspectu Alpes habeant, quarum
6 alterum latus Italiae sit, in ipsis portis hostium fatigatos subsistere—quid Alpes aliud esse credentes
7 quam montium altitudines? Fingerent altiores Pyrenaei iugis: nullas profecto terras caelum contingere nec inexsuperabiles [4] humano generi esse. Alpes quidem habitari coli gignere atque alere animantes;
8 pervias fauces [5] esse exercitibus. Eos ipsos quos cernant legatos non pinnis sublime elatos Alpes transgressos. Ne maiores quidem eorum indigenas sed advenas Italiae cultores has ipsas Alpes in-

[1] terrae ς: terrase *P*: terras eas P^2.
[2] traiecisse *edd.*: traiecisset *P*.
[3] partem itineris *edd.*: partem in itineris *P*.
[4] inexsuperabiles *edd.*: exuperabilis *P*.
[5] fauces (faucis) *Heerwagen*: paucis *P*.

[1] Polybius (III. xxxix) estimates the distance covered by Hannibal as follows: New Carthage to the Ebro 2600 stades (the stade is roughly a furlong); the Ebro to Emporium 1600; Emporium to Narbo 600; Narbo to the passage of the Rhone 1600; the passage of the Rhone to the foot of the

vaded breasts that had ever been dauntless. For B.C. 218
these many years they had been victorious in war, nor had they quitted Spain until all the tribes and territories which lay between two distant seas were in the power of the Carthaginians. Then, indignant that the Roman People should demand that whoever had laid siege to Saguntum be surrendered up to them, as though to expiate a felony, they had crossed the Ebro, in order to wipe out the Roman name and liberate the world. The march had not then seemed long to any of them, though they meant to advance from the setting to the rising sun; but now, when they could see that they had measured off the greater part of it;[1] when they had made their way, through the fiercest tribes, over the Pyrenees; when they had crossed the Rhone—that mighty river—in the teeth of so many thousand Gauls, overcoming, too, the violence of the stream itself; when the Alps, the other side of which was in Italy, were in full sight;—were they halting now, as though exhausted, at the very gates of their enemies? What else did they think that the Alps were but high mountains? They might fancy them higher than the ranges of the Pyrenees; but surely no lands touched the skies or were impassable to man. The Alps indeed were inhabited, were tilled, produced and supported living beings; their defiles were practicable for armies. Those very ambassadors whom they beheld had not crossed the Alps in the air on wings. Even the ancestors of these men had not been natives of Italy, but had lived there as foreign settlers, and had often crossed these very Alps in

pass over the Alps 1400; the foot of the pass to the valley of the Po 1200.

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gentibus saepe agminibus cum liberis ac coniugibus
9 migrantium modo tuto transmisisse. Militi quidem armato nihil secum praeter instrumenta belli portanti quid invium aut inexsuperabile esse? Saguntum ut caperetur, quid per octo menses periculi,
10 quid laboris exhaustum esse? Romam, caput orbis terrarum, petentibus quicquam adeo asperum atque
11 arduum videri, quod inceptum moretur? Cepisse quondam Gallos ea quae adiri posse Poenus desperet? Proinde aut cederent animo atque virtute genti per eos dies totiens ab se victae, aut itineris finem sperent campum interiacentem Tiberi ac moenibus Romanis.

XXXI. His adhortationibus incitatos corpora curare
2 atque ad iter se parare iubet. Postero die profectus adversa ripa Rhodani mediterranea Galliae petit, non quia rectior ad Alpes via esset, sed quantum a mari recessisset minus obvium fore Romanum credens,
3 cum quo, priusquam in Italiam ventum[1] foret, non
4 erat in animo manus conserere. Quartis castris ad Insulam pervenit. Ibi Isara[2] Rhodanusque amnes[3] diversis ex Alpibus decurrentes agri aliquantum amplexi confluunt in unum; mediis[4] campis Insulae
5 nomen inditum. Incolunt prope Allobroges, gens

[1] italiam ventum C^3: italia euentum C^1: italiae uentum M^1: italia uentum M^2.
[2] ibi Isara *Cluverius*: ibi arar *CM* (*corrected from* ibisarar).
[3] amnes *edd.*: amnis *CM*.
[4] mediis ς: in mediis *CM*.

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[1] See v. xxxiv–xxxv. Livy places the earliest Gallic immigration in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus.

[2] This expression is a strange anachronism in the mouth of Hannibal; but Livy thinks of Hannibal as realizing—and so perhaps he may have done—that the struggle now be-

great companies, with their children and their wives, B.C. 218
in the manner of emigrants.[1] For armed soldiers, taking nothing with them but the instruments of war, what could be impassable or insurmountable? To capture Saguntum, what dangers or what hardships had they not endured for eight long months? Now that Rome, the capital of the world,[2] was their objective, could anything seem so painful or so difficult as to delay their enterprise? Had Gauls once captured that which the Phoenician despaired of approaching? Then let them yield in spirit and manhood to a race which they had so often vanquished in the course of the last few days, or look to end their march in the field[3] that lay between the Tiber and the walls of Rome.

XXXI. After encouraging them with this exhortation, he bade them refresh themselves and make ready for the march. Setting out the following day he advanced up the Rhone towards the interior of Gaul, not that it was the more direct way to the Alps, but believing that the farther he retired from the sea, the less likely he was to fall in with the Romans, with whom he had no mind to fight a battle until he should arrive in Italy. The fourth day's march brought him to the Island. There the rivers Isara and Rhone, rushing down from different Alps, unite their waters, after enclosing a considerable territory, and the Island is the name which has been given to the plains lying between them. Near by is the country of the Allobroges, a tribe, even at

ginning would determine whether Rome or Carthage should rule the world.

[3] The Campus Martius lay outside the Servian wall, between the Capitoline, Quirinal, and Pincian Hills and the Tiber.

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iam inde nulla Gallica gente opibus aut fama inferior.
6 Tum discors erat. Regni certamine ambigebant fratres. Maior et qui prius imperitarat, Braneus nomine, a minore fratre [1] et coetu iuniorum, qui iure
7 minus vi [2] plus poterat, pellebatur. Huius seditionis peropportuna disceptatio cum ad Hannibalem reiecta esset,[3] arbiter regni factus, quod ea senatus principumque sententia fuerat,[4] imperium maiori restituit.
8 Ob id meritum [5] commeatu copiaque rerum omnium, maxime vestis, est adiutus,[6] quam infames frigoribus Alpes praeparari cogebant.
9 Sedatis Hannibal certaminibus Allobrogum cum iam Alpes peteret, non recta regione iter instituit sed ad laevam in Tricastinos flexit; inde per extremam oram Vocontiorum agri tendit in Tricorios,[7] haud usquam impedita via priusquam ad Druentiam [8]
10 flumen pervenit. Is et ipse Alpinus amnis longe omnium Galliae fluminum difficillimus transitu est;

[1] a minore fratre ς: minor erat fratre *CM*.
[2] vi ς: qui *CM*.
[3] reiecta esset ς: delecta esset C^1M^2: delectasset M^1: delata esset C^3M^3.
[4] fuerat M^2: futurum CM^1.
[5] id meritum M^2: id emeritum M^1: ide meritum C^1: idē meritum C^3.
[6] adiutus M^2: aditus CM^1.
[7] Tricorios *edd.*: trigorios *CM*.
[8] ad Druentiam M^4: adruentiam CM^1.

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[1] The tribe in question was not the Allobroges, according to Polybius, III. xlix., but afforded the Carthaginians protection against the Allobroges.

[2] A turn to the left is unintelligible at this point in the march, and must be explained as due to a duplication of the march up the Rhone mentioned in § 2.

[3] Neither the Durance nor any of these tribes is mentioned by Polybius. But Polybius disliked to encumber his narra-

that early day, inferior to no Gallic tribe in wealth B.C. 218
or reputation. Just then it was a prey to discord.[1] Two brothers were disputing the sovereignty. The elder, Braneus by name, who had held sway before, was being driven out by a faction of juniors headed by the younger brother, whose right was less but his might greater. This quarrel having very opportunely been referred to Hannibal for settlement, who thus became arbiter of the kingdom, he espoused the sentiments of the senate and the leading men and restored the sovereign power to the elder. In requital of this service he was assisted with provisions and supplies of every sort, particularly clothing, which the notorious cold of the Alps made it necessary to provide.

Having settled the contentions of the Allobroges, Hannibal was now ready for the Alps; but instead of marching directly towards them, he turned to the left,[2] to the country of the Tricastini, and thence proceeded through the outer borders of the territory of the Vocontii to the Tricorii, by a road which nowhere presented any difficulties, until he came to the Druentia.[3] This, too, is an Alpine river and by far the most difficult of all the rivers of Gaul to

tive with outlandish geographical names that would mean nothing to his readers, and they are less likely to be arbitrary embellishments—on the part either of Livy or his source—than authentic details drawn from a source or sources common to Livy and Polybius and omitted by Polybius for the reason given. (The same may be said of the name of the Gallic prince in § 6.) If we assume that Hannibal ascended the Isère-Drac to the Druentia and thence crossed the Genèvre, he would have touched the territories of these tribes, and there would be no great difficulty in reconciling the account in Livy with that in Polybius (see *De Sanctis*, p. 69).

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nam cum aquae vim vehat ingentem, non tamen
11 navium patiens est, quia nullis coercitus ripis, pluribus simul neque iisdem alveis fluens, nova semper vada novosque gurgites gignit[1]—et ob eadem pediti quoque incerta via est—ad hoc saxa glareosa[2] volvens
12 nihil stabile nec tutum ingredienti praebet. Et tum forte imbribus auctus ingentem transgredientibus tumultum fecit, cum super cetera trepidatione ipsi sua atque incertis clamoribus turbarentur.

XXXII. P. Cornelius consul triduo fere post quam Hannibal a ripa Rhodani movit, quadrato agmine ad castra hostium venerat, nullam dimicandi
2 moram facturus. Ceterum ubi deserta munimenta nec facile se tantum praegressos[3] adsecuturum videt, ad mare ac naves rediit, tutius faciliusque ita
3 descendenti ab Alpibus Hannibali occursurus. Ne tamen nuda auxiliis Romanis Hispania esset, quam provinciam sortitus erat, Cn. Scipionem fratrem cum maxima parte copiarum adversus Hasdrubalem misit,
4 non ad tuendos tantummodo veteres socios conciliandosque novos, sed etiam ad pellendum Hispania
5 Hasdrubalem. Ipse cum admodum exiguis copiis Genuam repetit, eo qui[4] circa Padum erat exercitus Italiam defensurus.
6 Hannibal ab Druentia[5] campestri maxime itinere

[1] gurgites gignit *Kiderlin*: gurgites *CM*.
[2] glareosa *edd.*: gloriosa *CM*.: globosa ς: glareasve (*or* glareasque) *Gronovius*.
[3] praegressos ς: progressos CM^2: progressus M^1.
[4] eo qui M^4: eo CM^1.
[5] ab Druentia *edd.*: ab ruentia (*by erasure from* adruentia) *C*: abadruentia *M*.

[1] At chap. xxxix. § 3 Livy agrees with Polybius in naming Pisa as Scipio's port of debarkation, forgetting that he has here named Genoa.

cross; for, though it brings down a vast volume of water, it does not admit of navigation, since, not being confined within any banks, but flowing at once in several channels, not always the same, it is ever forming new shallows and new pools—a fact which makes it dangerous for foot-passengers as well—besides which it rolls down jagged stones and affords no sure or stable footing to one who enters it. And at that time, as it happened, it was swollen with rains, and the crossing took place amidst the wildest tumult, for the men—besides their other difficulties—were confused by their own excitement and bewildered outcries. B.C. 218

XXXII. Publius Cornelius the consul, some three days after Hannibal had left the bank of the Rhone, marched in fighting order to the enemy's camp, intending to offer battle without delay. But finding the works deserted, and perceiving that he could not readily overtake the enemy, who had got so long a start of him, he returned to the sea, where he had left his ships, thinking that he would thus be more safely and easily enabled to confront Hannibal as he descended from the Alps. Still, that he might not leave Spain stripped of Roman defenders—for the lot had assigned it to him as his province—he sent Gnaeus Scipio, his brother, with the chief part of his troops, to deal with Hasdrubal, with the object not merely of protecting the allies and of winning over new ones, but also of driving Hasdrubal out of Spain. He himself, with extremely scanty forces, sailed back to Genoa,[1] proposing to safeguard Italy with the army which lay in the valley of the Po.

Hannibal, leaving the Druentia, and advancing for the most part through a champaign country,

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ad Alpes cum bona pace incolentium ea loca
7 Gallorum pervenit. Tum, quamquam fama prius, qua[1] incerta in maius vero ferri solent, praecepta res erat, tamen ex propinquo visa montium altitudo nivesque caelo prope immixtae, tecta informia imposita rupibus, pecora iumentaque torrida frigore, homines intonsi et inculti, animalia inanimaque[2] omnia rigentia gelu, cetera visu quam dictu foediora,
8 terrorem renovarunt. Erigentibus in primos agmen clivos apparuerunt imminentes tumulos insidentes montani, qui si valles occultiores insedissent, coorti ad pugnam repente ingentem fugam stragemque
9 dedissent. Hannibal consistere signa iussit; Gallisque ad visenda loca praemissis postquam comperit transitum ea non esse, castra inter confragosa omnia praeruptaque quam extentissima potest valle locat.
10 Tum per eosdem Gallos haud sane multum lingua moribusque abhorrentes, cum se immiscuissent conloquiis montanorum, edoctus interdiu tantum obsideri saltum, nocte in sua quemque dilabi tecta, luce prima subiit tumulos, ut ex aperto atque interdiu
11 vim per angustias facturus. Die deinde simulando aliud quam quod parabatur consumpto cum eodem
12 quo constiterant loco castra communissent, ubi primum digressos[3] tumulis montanos laxatasque sensit custodias, pluribus ignibus quam pro numero

[1] qua ς: quam *CM*[1].
[2] inanimaque *Valla*: inanimaliaque *CM*.
[3] digressos *CM*: degressos *Gruter*.

reached the Alps without being molested by the B.C. 218
Gauls who inhabited those regions. Then, though report, which is wont to exaggerate uncertain dangers, had already taught them what to expect, still, the near view of the lofty mountains, with their snows almost merging in the sky; the shapeless hovels perched on crags; the frost-bitten flocks and beasts of burden; the shaggy, unkempt men; animals and inanimate objects alike stiff with cold, and all more dreadful to look upon than words can tell, renewed their consternation. As their column began to mount the first slopes, mountaineers were discovered posted on the heights above, who, had they lain concealed in hidden valleys, might have sprung out suddenly and attacked them with great rout and slaughter. Hannibal gave the command to halt, and sent forward some Gauls to reconnoitre. When informed by them that there was no getting by that way, he encamped in the most extensive valley to be found in a wilderness of rocks and precipices. He then employed these same Gauls, whose speech and customs did not differ greatly from those of the mountaineers, to mingle in their councils, and in this way learned that his enemies guarded the pass only by day, and at night dispersed, every man to his own home. As soon as it was light, he advanced up the hills, as though he hoped to rush the defile by an open attack in the daytime. Then having spent the day in feigning a purpose other than his real one, he entrenched a camp on the spot where he had halted. But no sooner did he perceive that the mountaineers had dispersed from the heights and relaxed their vigilance, than, leaving for show more fires than the

A.U.C. 536 manentium in speciem factis impedimentisque cum
13 equite relictis et maxima parte peditum, ipse cum expeditis, acerrimo quoque viro, raptim angustias evadit iisque ipsis tumulis quos hostes tenuerant consedit.

XXXIII. Prima deinde luce castra mota et agmen
2 reliquum incedere coepit. Iam montani signo dato ex castellis ad stationem solitam conveniebant, cum repente conspiciunt alios arce occupata sua super
3 caput imminentes, alios via transire hostes. Utraque simul obiecta res oculis animisque immobiles parumper eos defixit; deinde, ut trepidationem in angustiis suoque ipsum tumultu misceri agmen
4 videre, equis maxime consternatis, quidquid adiecissent ipsi terroris satis ad perniciem fore rati, diversis rupibus iuxta per vias[1] ac devia adsueti decurrunt.
5 Tum vero simul ab hostibus simul ab iniquitate locorum Poeni oppugnabantur, plusque inter ipsos, sibi quoque tendente[2] ut periculo prius evaderet,
6 quam cum hostibus certaminis erat. Equi maxime infestum agmen faciebant, qui et clamoribus dissonis, quos nemora etiam repercussaeque valles augebant,

[1] per vias *Widmann*: inuia *CM*.
[2] sibi quoque tendente *Freinsheim*: sibi cuique tendenti *CM*.

numbers of those who remained in camp demanded; B.C. 218
leaving, too, the baggage and the cavalry and a great part of the infantry, he put himself at the head of some light-armed soldiers—all his bravest men—and, marching swiftly to the head of the defile, occupied those very heights which the enemy had held.

XXXIII. With the ensuing dawn the Carthaginians broke camp and the remainder of their army began to move. The natives, on a signal being given, were already coming in from their fastnesses to occupy their customary post, when they suddenly perceived that some of their enemies were in possession of the heights and threatened them from above, and that others were marching through the pass. Both facts presenting themselves at the same time to their eyes and minds kept them for a moment rooted to the spot. Then, when they saw the helter-skelter in the pass and the column becoming embarrassed by its own confusion, the horses especially being frightened and unmanageable, they thought that whatever they could add themselves to the consternation of the troops would be sufficient to destroy them, and rushed down from the cliffs on either side, over trails and trackless ground alike, with all the ease of habit. Then indeed the Phoenicians had to contend at one and the same time against their foes and the difficulties of the ground, and the struggle amongst themselves, as each endeavoured to outstrip the rest in escaping from the danger, was greater than the struggle with the enemy. The horses occasioned the greatest peril to the column. Terrified by the discordant yells, which the woods and ravines redoubled with their echoes, they quaked

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territi trepidabant et icti forte aut volnerati adeo consternabantur ut stragem ingentem simul hominum ac sarcinarum omnis generis facerent; 7 multosque turba, cum praecipites deruptaeque utrimque angustiae essent, in immensum [1] altitudinis deiecit, quosdam et armatos; sed ruinae maxime 8 modo iumenta cum oneribus devolvebantur. Quae quamquam foeda visu erant, stetit parumper tamen Hannibal ac suos continuit, ne tumultum ac trepida- 9 tionem augeret. Deinde, postquam interrumpi agmen vidit periculumque esse ne exutum impedimentis exercitum nequiquam incolumem traduxisset, decurrit ex superiore loco et cum impetu ipso 10 fudisset hostem, suis quoque tumultum auxit. Sed is tumultus momento temporis, postquam liberata itinera fuga montanorum erant, sedatur; nec per otium modo, sed prope silentio mox omnes traducti. 11 Castellum inde quod caput eius regionis erat viculosque circumiectos capit et captivo cibo [2] ac pecoribus per triduum exercitum aluit; et quia nec a montanis [3] primo perculsis nec loco magno opere impediebantur aliquantum eo triduo viae confecit.

XXXIV. Perventum inde ad frequentem cultoribus alium ut inter montanos populum. Ibi non bello aperto sed suis artibus, fraude et insidiis, est prope

[1] in immensum ζ: immensum *CM*.
[2] captivo cibo *Heusinger*: captiuo *CM*.
[3] a montanis *C. L. Bauer*: montanis *CM*.

with fear; and if they happened to be hit or wounded, were so maddened that they made enormous havoc not only of men but of every sort of baggage. Indeed the crowding in the pass, which was steep and precipitous on both sides, caused many—some of them armed men—to be flung down to a great depth; but when beasts of burden with their packs went hurtling down, it was just like the crash of falling walls. Dreadful as these sights were, still Hannibal halted for a little while and held back his men, so as not to augment the terror and confusion. Then, when he saw that the column was being broken in two, and there was danger lest he might have got his army over to no avail, if it were stripped of its baggage, he charged down from the higher ground and routed the enemy by the very impetus of the attack, though he added to the disorder amongst his own troops. But the flurry thus occasioned quickly subsided, as soon as the roads were cleared by the flight of the mountaineers; and the whole army was presently brought over the pass, not only without molestation but almost in silence. Hannibal then seized a stronghold which was the chief place in that region, together with the outlying hamlets, and with the captured food and flocks supported his troops for three days. And in those three days, being hindered neither by the natives, who had been utterly cowed at the outset, nor very greatly by the nature of the country, he covered a good deal of ground. B.C. 218

XXXIV. They came next to another canton, thickly settled for a mountain district. There, not by open fighting, but by his own devices, trickery and deception, Hannibal was all but circumvented.

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2 circumventus. Magno natu principes castellorum oratores ad Poenum veniunt, alienis malis, utili exemplo, doctos memorantes amicitiam malle quam 3 vim experiri Poenorum; itaque oboedienter imperata facturos; commeatum itinerisque duces et 4 ad fidem promissorum obsides acciperet. Hannibal nec temere credendo nec aspernando,[1] ne repudiati aperte hostes fierent, benigne cum respondisset, obsidibus quos dabant acceptis et commeatu quem in viam ipsi detulerant usus, nequaquam ut inter pacatos composito agmine duces eorum sequitur. 5 Primum agmen elephanti et equites erant; ipse post cum robore peditum circumspectans sollicitus- 6 que ad omnia[2] incedebat. Ubi in angustiorem viam et parte altera subiectam iugo insuper imminenti ventum est, undique ex insidiis barbari a fronte ab tergo coorti comminus eminus petunt, 7 saxa ingentia in agmen devolvunt. Maxima ab tergo vis hominum urgebat. In eos versa peditum acies haud dubium fecit quin, nisi firmata extrema agminis fuissent, ingens in eo saltu accipienda clades 8 fuerit. Tunc quoque ad extremum periculi ac prope perniciem ventum est. Nam dum cunctatur Hannibal demittere agmen in angustias, quia non, ut ipse equitibus praesidio erat, ita peditibus quicquam

[1] credendo nec aspernando *Valla*: credendum nec aspernandos (asperandos M^1) M^2: credendum nec aspernandum *C*: credendum nec aspernandum ratus ς *Rossbach*.

[2] sollicitusque ad omnia *Luchs*: sollicitusque omnia *CM*.

The elder headmen of the strongholds waited on B.C. 218
him, as a deputation, and said that, taught by other men's misfortunes—a useful warning—they preferred to experience the friendship of the Phoenicians rather than their might; they were ready, therefore, to carry out his orders, and they requested him to accept provisions and guides and also hostages as a guarantee of good faith. Hannibal, neither blindly trusting nor yet repulsing them, lest, being spurned, they might become openly hostile, returned a friendly answer, accepted the proffered hostages, and used the supplies, which they had brought down, themselves, to the road. But he drew up his column, before following their guides, by no means as though for a march through a friendly country. The van was made up of elephants and cavalry; he himself, with the main strength of the infantry, came next, looking warily about him and watching everything. When they had got to a narrow place, which was overhung on one side by a ridge, the tribesmen rose up on every quarter from their ambush and assailed them, front and rear, fighting hand to hand and at long range, and rolling down huge boulders on the marching troops. The rear-guard bore the brunt of the attack, and as the infantry faced about to meet it, it was very evident that if the column had not been strengthened at that point, it must have suffered a great disaster in this pass. Even so, they were in the utmost peril and came near destruction. For while Hannibal was hesitating to send his division [1] down into the defile, since he had no troops left to secure the rear of the infantry, as he himself

[1] By *agmen* Livy here means the second (and larger) part of the column, under Hannibal's immediate command.

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9 ab tergo auxilii reliqui erat,[1] occursantes per obliqua montani interrupto[2] medio agmine viam insedere; noxque una Hannibali sine equitibus atque impedimentis acta est.

XXXV. Postero die iam segnius intercursantibus barbaris iunctae copiae, saltusque haud sine clade, maiore tamen iumentorum quam hominum pernicie 2 superatus. Inde montani pauciores iam et latrocinii magis quam belli more concursabant modo in primum modo in novissimum agmen, utcumque aut locus opportunitatem daret aut progressi morative aliquam 3 occasionem fecissent. Elephanti sicut per artas praecipitesque[3] vias magna mora agebantur, ita tutum ab hostibus, quacumque incederent, quia insuetis adeundi propius metus erat, agmen praebebant.[4]

4 Nono die in iugum Alpium perventum est per invia pleraque et errores, quos aut ducentium fraus aut, ubi fides iis non esset, temere initae valles a 5 coniectantibus iter faciebant. Biduum in iugo stativa habita, fessisque labore ac pugnando quies data militibus; iumentaque aliquot, quae prolapsa in rupibus erant, sequendo vestigia agminis in castra 6 pervenere. Fessis taedio tot malorum nivis etiam casus occidente iam sidere Vergiliarum ingentem

[1] reliqui erat *Luchs*: reliquum erat *Lipsius*: reliquerat *CM*.

[2] montani interrupto *Glareanus*: montani erupto CM^2: montaniae rapto M^1.

[3] praecipitesque C^3: praecipites C^1M.

[4] praebebant *ed. Moguntina*, 1518: praecedebant (— bat C^1) C^3M.

[1] The morning setting of the Pleiades occurred on October 26.

secured that of the horse, the mountaineers rushed B.C. 21
in on his flank, and breaking through the column, established themselves in the road, so that Hannibal spent one night without cavalry or baggage.

XXXV. On the following day, since by now the barbarians were attacking with less vigour, his forces were re-united and surmounted the pass; and though they suffered some casualties, still they lost more baggage animals than men. From this point on the mountaineers appeared in smaller numbers, and, more in the manner of brigandage than warfare, attacked sometimes the van, sometimes the rear, whenever the ground afforded an advantage, or the invaders, pushing on too far ahead or lagging behind, gave opportunity. The elephants could be induced to move but very slowly along the steep and narrow trails; but wherever they went they made the column safe from its enemies, who were unaccustomed to the beasts and afraid of venturing too near them.

On the ninth day they arrived at the summit of the Alps, having come for the most part over trackless wastes and by roundabout routes, owing either to the dishonesty of their guides, or—when they would not trust the guides—to their blindly entering some valley, guessing at the way. For two days they lay encamped on the summit. The soldiers, worn with toil and fighting, were permitted to rest; and a number of baggage animals which had fallen among the rocks made their way to the camp by following the tracks of the army. Exhausted and discouraged as the soldiers were by many hardships, a snow-storm—for the constellation of the Pleiades was now setting[1]—threw them into a great fear.

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7 terrorem adiecit. Per omnia nive oppleta cum signis prima luce motis segniter agmen incederet pigritia-
8 que et desperatio in omnium voltu emineret, praegressus signa Hannibal in promunturio quodam, unde longe ac late prospectus erat, consistere iussis militibus Italiam ostentat subiectosque Alpinis
9 montibus circumpadanos campos, moeniaque eos tum transcendere non Italiae modo sed etiam urbis Romanae; cetera plana, proclivia fore; uno aut summum [1] altero proelio arcem et caput Italiae in manu ac potestate habituros.

10 Procedere inde agmen coepit iam nihil ne hostibus quidem praeter parva furta per occasionem temptan-
11 tibus. Ceterum iter multo quam in ascensu fuerat, ut pleraque Alpium ab Italia sicut breviora ita
12 arrectiora sunt, difficilius fuit. Omnis enim ferme via praeceps angusta lubrica erat, ut neque sustinere se ab lapsu possent nec qui paulum titubassent haerere adfixi vestigio suo, aliique super alios et iumenta in homines occiderent.

XXXVI. Ventum deinde ad multo angustiorem rupem atque ita rectis saxis ut aegre expeditus miles temptabundus manibusque retinens virgulta ac stirpes circa eminentes demittere sese posset.
2 Natura locus iam ante praeceps recenti lapsu terrae in pedum mille [2] admodum altitudinem abruptus erat.

[1] summum *Gronovius*: summo *CM*: ad summum ς.
[2] in pedum mille *Valla*: impeditus dum ille C^1? M^1: impeditus in mirandam ille M^4.

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[1] In Polybius (III. liv. 7) the landslip carries away a stretch of road more than a stade and a half (about a thousand feet) *long*. Livy got the idea that the thousand feet represented the distance from the top to the bottom of the slip.

The ground was everywhere covered deep with snow when at dawn they began to march, and as the column moved slowly on, dejection and despair were to be read in every countenance. Then Hannibal, who had gone on before the standards, made the army halt on a certain promontory which commanded an extensive prospect, and pointing out Italy to them, and just under the Alps the plains about the Po, he told them that they were now scaling the ramparts not only of Italy, but of Rome itself; the rest of the way would be level or downhill; and after one, or, at the most, two battles, they would have in their hands and in their power the citadel and capital of Italy. B.C. 218

The column now began to make some progress, and even the enemy had ceased to annoy them, except to make a stealthy raid, as occasion offered. But the way was much more difficult than the ascent had been, as indeed the slope of the Alps on the Italian side is in general more precipitous in proportion as it is shorter. For practically every road was steep, narrow, and treacherous, so that neither could they keep from slipping, nor could those who had been thrown a little off their balance retain their footing, but came down, one on top of the other, and the beasts on top of the men.

XXXVI. They then came to a much narrower cliff, and with rocks so perpendicular that it was difficult for an unencumbered soldier to manage the descent, though he felt his way and clung with his hands to the bushes and roots that projected here and there. The place had been precipitous before, and a recent landslip had carried it away to the depth of a good thousand feet.[1] There the cavalry

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3 Ibi cum velut ad finem viae equites constitissent, miranti Hannibali quae res moraretur agmen nun-
4 tiatur rupem inviam esse. Digressus deinde ipse ad locum visendum. Haud dubia res visa quin per invia circa nec trita antea quamvis longo ambitu
5 circumduceret agmen. Ea vero via insuperabilis fuit; nam cum super veterem nivem intactam nova modicae altitudinis esset, molli nec praealtae facile
6 pedes ingredientium insistebant; ut vero tot hominum iumentorumque incessu dilapsa est, per nudam infra glaciem fluentemque tabem liquescentis nivis
7 ingrediebantur. Taetra ibi luctatio erat via [1] lubrica non recipiente [2] vestigium et in prono citius pedes fallente, ut seu manibus in adsurgendo seu genu se adiuvissent, ipsis adminiculis prolapsis iterum corruerent; nec stirpes circa radicesve, ad quas pede aut manu quisquam eniti posset, erant; ita in levi
8 tantum glacie tabidaque nive volutabantur. Iumenta tamen etiam [3] secabant interdum infimam ingredientia nivem, et prolapsa iactandis gravius in conitendo [4] ungulis penitus perfringebant, ut pleraque velut pedica capta haererent in dura et alte concreta glacie.

XXXVII. Tandem nequiquam iumentis atque hominibus fatigatis castra in iugo posita, aegerrime

[1] via *H. Sauppe*: ut a *CM*: ita *Heerwagen*: illa *Harant*: *del. Madvig.*

[2] non recipiente *H. J. Mueller*: glacie non recipiente *CM.*

[3] tamen etiam *Rossbach*: eciam tamen *C*: etiam tam (*by erasure from* etiam tamen) *M.*

[4] conitendo *Lipsius*: continendo *CM.*

came to a halt, as though they had reached the end of the road, and as Hannibal was wondering what it could be that held the column back, word was brought to him that the cliff was impassable. Going then to inspect the place himself, he thought that there was nothing for it but to lead the army round, over trackless and untrodden steeps, however circuitous the detour might be. But that way proved to be insuperable; for above the old, untouched snow lay a fresh deposit of moderate depth, through which, as it was soft and not very deep, the men in front found it easy to advance; but when it had been trampled down by the feet of so many men and beasts, the rest had to make their way over the bare ice beneath and the slush of the melting snow. Then came a terrible struggle on the slippery surface, for it afforded them no foothold, while the downward slope made their feet the more quickly slide from under them; so that whether they tried to pull themselves up with their hands, or used their knees, these supports themselves would slip, and down they would come again! Neither were there any stems or roots about, by which a man could pull himself up with foot or hand—only smooth ice and thawing snow, on which they were continually rolling. But the baggage animals, as they went over the snow, would sometimes even cut into the lowest crust, and pitching forward and striking out with their hoofs, as they struggled to rise, would break clean through it, so that numbers of them were caught fast, as if entrapped, in the hard, deep-frozen snow. B.C. 218

XXXVII. At last, when men and beasts had been worn out to no avail, they encamped upon the ridge,

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ad id ipsum loco purgato—tantum nivis fodiendum
2 atque egerendum fuit. Inde ad rupem muniendam, per quam unam via esse poterat, milites ducti, cum caedendum esset saxum, arboribus circa immanibus deiectis detruncatisque struem ingentem lignorum faciunt eamque, cum et vis venti apta [1] faciendo igni coorta esset, succendunt ardentiaque saxa infuso
3 aceto putrefaciunt. Ita torridam incendio rupem ferro pandunt molliuntque anfractibus modicis clivos ut non iumenta solum, sed elephanti etiam deduci
4 possent. Quadriduum circa rupem consumptum iumentis prope fame absumptis; nuda enim fere cacumina sunt, et si quid est pabuli obruunt nives.
5 Inferiora valles et apricos quosdam [2] colles habent rivosque et [3] prope silvas et iam humano cultu
6 digniora loca. Ibi iumenta in pabulum missa, et quies muniendo fessis hominibus data. Triduo inde

[1] apta *edd.*: saepe (*by erasure from* saepte) *C*: saepta M^1: se apta M^2.

[2] et apricos quosdam ς: apricos quosdam *M*: apricos quosqam C^1: apricosque etiam *Madvig*.

[3] rivosque et *Madvig*: riuosque *CM*.

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[1] This famous story has provoked much ridicule, but in Livy's defence may be noted, (1) the well-known disintegrating effect on certain kinds of stone of heat followed by a douche of cold water; (2) the belief entertained in ancient times, and as late as the sixteenth century, that vinegar helped to make stones friable; (3) the likelihood that Hannibal had at least a few skins of sour wine in his baggage-train (some have held that a vast quantity would have been required, but it must be remembered that Livy may have conceived of the *width* of the landslip as only a few rods; see last note). In any case those who regard the vinegar story as fiction must not fasten the fiction on Livy, if, as I think, we may discern an allusion to it in Varro's Menippean Satires (*Sesculixes*, frag. 25, p. 237, of the

after having, with the utmost difficulty, cleared B.C. 218
enough ground even for this purpose, so much snow were they obliged to dig out and remove. The soldiers were then set to work to construct a road across the cliff—their only possible way. Since they had to cut through the rock, they felled some huge trees that grew near at hand, and lopping off their branches, made an enormous pile of logs. This they set on fire, as soon as the wind blew fresh enough to make it burn, and pouring vinegar over the glowing rocks, caused them to crumble. After thus heating the crag with fire, they opened a way in it with iron tools, and relieved the steepness of the slope with zigzags of an easy gradient, so that not only the baggage animals but even the elephants could be led down.[1] Four days were consumed at the cliff, and the animals nearly perished of starvation; for the mountain tops are all practically bare, and such grass as does grow is buried under snow.[2] Lower down one comes to valleys and sunny slopes and rivulets, and near them woods, and places that begin to be fitter for man's habitation. There the beasts were turned out to graze, and the men, exhausted with toiling at the road, were allowed to rest. Thence they descended in three days' time

Buecheler-Heraeus edition: alteram viam deformasse Carneaden virtutis e cupis acris aceti), and it was probably an old and popular tradition long before the time of Varro, who died in 27 B.C. For recent discussion of the story see the article by Evan T. Sage in *C. W.* 16 (1922–1923) 73–76, and notes of modern instances by other contributors to the same volume.

[2] Polybius (III. lv. 7) says that the pack-animals and horses were sent over the road after one day's work had been done, and turned out to pasture, but that three days were employed in making it sufficiently wide for the elephants.

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ad planum descensum iam et[1] locis mollioribus et accolarum ingeniis.

XXXVIII. Hoc maxime modo in Italiam perventum est, quinto mense a Carthagine nova, ut quidam auctores sunt, quinto decimo die Alpibus superatis. 2 Quantae copiae transgresso in Italiam Hannibali fuerint nequaquam inter auctores constat. Qui plurimum, centum milia peditum viginti equitum fuisse scribunt; qui minimum, viginti milia peditum 3 sex equitum. L. Cincius Alimentus, qui captum se ab Hannibale scribit, maxime auctor moveret, nisi confunderet numerum Gallis Liguribusque additis: cum his octoginta milia peditum, decem equitum 4 adducta—in Italia magis adfluxisse veri simile est, et 5 ita quidam auctores sunt;—ex ipso autem audisse Hannibale, postquam Rhodanum transierit, triginta sex milia hominum ingentemque numerum equorum et aliorum iumentorum amisisse. Taurini Galli[2] proxima 6 gens erat in Italiam degresso. Id cum inter omnes constet, eo magis miror ambigi, quanam Alpes transierit, et volgo credere Poenino—atque inde nomen ei iugo Alpium inditum—transgressum, 7 Coelium per Cremonis iugum dicere transisse; qui

[1] iam et *Crévier*: eciam *C*: et iam *M*.

[2] Taurini Galli ς: taurinis ne galli C^1M^1: taurinis gallie C^3: taurinis quae gallis M^2.

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[1] So Polybius (III. lvi. 4), who says that these numbers were given by Hannibal himself in an inscription at Lacinium.

[2] Praetor in Sicily, 210 B.C. He and Fabius Pictor were contemporaries and were Livy's oldest sources.

[3] Polybius (III. lv. 5) says that Hannibal left the Rhone with thirty-eight thousand infantry and eight thousand cavalry, and lost more than half his troops crossing the passes.

into the plain, through a region now that was less forbidding, as was the character of its inhabitants. B.C. 218

XXXVIII. Such were the chief features of the march to Italy, which they accomplished five months after leaving New Carthage—as certain authorities state—having crossed the Alps in fifteen days. The strength of Hannibal's forces on his entering Italy is a point on which historians are by no means agreed. Those who put the figures highest give him a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse; the lowest estimate is twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse.[1] Lucius Cincius Alimentus,[2] who says that he was taken prisoner by Hannibal, would be our weightiest authority, did he not confuse the reckoning by adding in Gauls and Ligurians: including these, he says that Hannibal brought eighty thousand foot and ten thousand horse—but it is more probable, and certain historians so hold, that these people joined his standard in Italy; he says, moreover, that he had learned from Hannibal's own lips that after crossing the Rhone he lost thirty-six thousand men and a vast number of horses and other animals.[3] The Taurine Gauls were the first people he encountered on descending into Italy. Since all are agreed on this point,[4] I am the more astonished at the difference of opinion in regard to his route over the Alps, and that it should be commonly held that he crossed by the Poenine Pass[5] and that from this circumstance that ridge of the Alps derived its name—and that Coelius should state that he crossed by the ridge of Cremo;[6] for

[4] It is a moot question whether Polybius shared this view.
[5] The Great St. Bernard.
[6] Perhaps the Little St. Bernard.

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ambo saltus eum non in Taurinos sed per Salassos[1]
8 Montanos ad Libuos Gallos deduxissent.[2] Nec veri simile est ea tum ad Galliam patuisse itinera; utique quae ad Poeninum ferunt obsaepta gentibus Semi-
9 germanis fuissent. Neque hercule montibus his, si quem forte id movet, ab transitu Poenorum ullo Seduni Veragri,[3] incolae iugi eius, nomen norint[4] inditum, sed ab eo quem in summo sacratum vertice Poeninum montani appellant.

XXXIX. Peropportune ad principia rerum Taurinis, proximae genti, adversus Insubres motum bellum erat. Sed armare exercitum Hannibal, ut parti alteri auxilio esset, in reficiendo maxime sentientem
2 contracta ante mala, non poterat; otium enim[5] ex labore, copia ex inopia, cultus ex inluvie tabeque squalida et prope efferata corpora varie movebat.
3 Ea P. Cornelio consuli causa fuit, cum Pisas navibus venisset, exercitu a Manlio Atilioque accepto tirone et in novis ignominiis trepido ad Padum festinandi, ut cum hoste nondum refecto manus consereret.
4 Sed cum Placentiam consul venit, iam ex stativis

[1] Salassos (*or* Salyas) *Lipsius*: saltus C^1M^2: saltus alios (*but* alios *is erased*) C^2: saltos M^1.

[2] deduxissent ς: si duxerit (*before erasure*) C^1: duxerit (*after erasure*) C^3: deduxerint *M*.

[3] Seduni Veragri (*or* Sedunoveragri) *Gronovius*: seduno uelacri *CM*: Seduni vel Veragri *Lipsius*

[4] nomen norint *Frigell*: norint nomen ς: norint *CM*: nomen ferunt *Madvig*.

[5] enim ς: erat enim *CM*.

[1] Livy means Cisalpine Gaul; he is writing from Hannibal's standpoint.

both these passes would have brought him down, B.C. 218
not amongst the Taurini but through the Salassi Montani to the Libuan Gauls. Neither is it probable that these routes to Gaul[1] were open at that time; those leading to the Poenine Pass, at any rate, would have been blocked by tribes of half-German stock. Nor for that matter—if anyone happens to consider this point of consequence—do the Seduni Veragri, who inhabit those mountains, know of their having been named from any passage of the Phoenicians (or Poeni) but from that deity whose sanctuary is established on their very summit and whom the mountaineers call Poeninus.[2]

XXXIX. Quite opportunely for the opening of the campaign, the Taurini, the nearest tribe, had begun a war against the Insubres. But Hannibal was unable to put an army in the field to aid the Insubres, as the soldiers while convalescing felt more keenly than ever the distress arising from the hardships they had undergone; for rest coming after toil, plenty after want, comfort after filth and wet, produced all manner of disorders in their squalid and well-nigh brutalized bodies. This was the reason why the consul Publius Cornelius, who had come by sea to Pisa, though the army which he received from Manlius and Atilius was made up of raw recruits, still quaking from their recent defeats, yet marched in all haste towards the Po, that he might join battle with an enemy not yet restored to vigour. But when the consul reached Placentia, Hannibal

[2] Coins and votive offerings have been discovered there, and the remains of the little temple of the god, who was apparently the Juppiter Poeninus of certain extant inscriptions.

A.U.C. 536 moverat Hannibal Taurinorumque unam urbem, caput gentis eius, quia volentes in amicitiam non veniebant,[1] vi expugnarat; at iunxisset[2] sibi non metu solum, sed etiam voluntate Gallos accolas Padi, ni eos circumspectantes defectionis tempus subito adventu consul oppressisset. Et Hannibal movit ex Taurinis, incertos quae pars sequenda esset Gallos praesentem secuturos esse ratus.

Iam prope in conspectu erant exercitus, convenerantque duces, sicuti inter se nondum satis noti ita iam imbutus uterque quadam admiratione alterius. Nam et Hannibalis[3] apud Romanos iam ante Sangunti excidium celeberrimum nomen erat, et Scipionem Hannibal eo ipso quod adversus se dux potissimum lectus esset praestantem virum credebat; et auxerant inter se opinionem, Scipio, quod relictus in Gallia obvius fuerat in Italiam transgresso Hannibali, Hannibal[4] et conatu tam audaci traiciendarum Alpium et effectu.

Occupavit tamen Scipio Padum traicere, et ad Ticinum amnem motis castris, priusquam educeret in aciem, adhortandorum militum causa talem orationem est exorsus:

XL. "Si eum exercitum, milites, educerem in aciem quem in Gallia mecum habui, supersedissem

[1] volentes . . . veniebant ς: uolentis ueniebat *CM*

[2] at iunxisset *Foster*: ac iunxisset *Weissenborn*: et iunxisset *Alschefski*: iunxisset *CM*.

[3] et Hannibalis *Madvig*: Hannibalis et *CM*.

[4] Hannibali, Hannibal *Gronovius*: Hannibali (-i *erased in C*) *CM*.

had already broken camp and taken the capital city of the Taurini by assault, because they would not freely come into his friendship. On the other hand, he would have brought the Gauls who dwell along the Po to join him, not alone from fear but even of their own free choice, had not the consul taken them by surprise, appearing unexpectedly whilst they were looking about them for a pretext to revolt. Hannibal, too, moved forward from the Taurini, being persuaded that the Gauls, uncertain which side they had best adhere to, would attach themselves to those who were on the spot. B.C. 218

The armies were now almost within sight of each other, and the opposing generals, though as yet they did not know one another well, had yet each been imbued with a kind of admiration for his antagonist. For Hannibal's name had been very renowned amongst the Romans, even before the destruction of Saguntum, and Scipio was a man of mark in the eyes of Hannibal, from the mere fact of his having been selected, in preference to any other, to command against himself. Each had increased the other's good opinion—Scipio, because, though left behind in Gaul, he had confronted Hannibal at his crossing over into Italy; Hannibal by the audacity with which he had conceived and executed his passage of the Alps.

Scipio, however, was the first to cross the Po. He brought his army up to the river Ticinus, and in order to put heart into the men before leading them out to fight, harangued them after the following fashion:

XL. "Soldiers, if I were leading into battle the army that I had under me in Gaul, I should have

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2 loqui apud vos; quid enim adhortari referret aut eos equites, qui equitatum hostium ad Rhodanum flumen egregie vicissent,[1] aut eas legiones cum quibus fugientem hunc ipsum hostem secutus confessionem cedentis ac detractantis certamen pro
3 victoria habui? Nunc, quia ille exercitus, Hispaniae provinciae scriptus, ibi cum fratre Cn. Scipione meis auspiciis rem gerit, ubi eum gerere senatus populus-
4 que Romanus voluit, ego, ut consulem ducem adversus Hannibalem ac Poenos haberetis, ipse me huic voluntario certamini obtuli, novo imperatori apud novos milites pauca verba facienda sunt.

5 "Ne genus belli neve hostem ignoretis, cum iis est vobis, milites, pugnandum quos terra marique priore bello vicistis, a quibus stipendium per viginti annos exegistis, a quibus capta[2] belli praemia Siciliam ac
6 Sardiniam habetis. Erit igitur in hoc certamine is vobis illisque animus qui victoribus et victis esse solet. Nec nunc illi quia audent sed quia necesse
7 est pugnaturi sunt; nisi creditis qui exercitu incolumi pugnam detractavere, eos duabus partibus peditum equitumque in transitu Alpium amissis[3]
8 plus spei nactos esse. At enim pauci quidem sunt, sed vigentes animis corporibusque, quorum robora
9 ac vires vix sustinere vis ulla possit. Effigies immo,

[1] egregie vicissent *edd.* : aegre evicissent *CM.*
[2] a quibus capta *edd.* : quibus capta *CM.*
[3] amissis *Gruter* : amissis qui plures paene perierint quam supersunt *CM.*

deemed it unnecessary to address you. For what B.C. 218
point would there have been in exhorting either those horsemen who at the river Rhone had signally defeated the horsemen of the enemy, or those legions with which I pursued this very enemy in his flight, and by the confession implied in his withdrawal and avoidance of a battle, gained a virtual victory? As it is, since that army, enrolled for service in Spain, is campaigning there under my auspices with my brother Gnaeus Scipio, where the senate and the Roman People desired that it should serve, and I myself, that you might have a consul for your leader against Hannibal and the Phoenicians, have of my own choice undertaken the present conflict, it is right that your new commander should say a word or two to his new soldiers.

"That you may not be ignorant what manner of war it is, or what your enemies are, you are to fight, my men, with those whom you defeated in the former war, on land and sea; with those from whom you exacted tribute for twenty years; with those from whom you wrested Sicily and Sardinia, which you now hold as the spoils of war. You and they will therefore enter the present struggle with such spirits as usually attend the victors and the vanquished. Nor are they now going to fight because they dare, but because they must; unless you think that those who avoided battle when their strength was unimpaired would, now that they have lost two-thirds of their infantry and cavalry in the passage of the Alps, have become more hopeful! But, you will say, their numbers indeed are small, but their courage and vigour are so great that scarce any force could withstand their might and power. Nay, not so! They

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umbrae hominum, fame frigore, inluvie squalore enecti, contusi ac debilitati inter saxa rupesque; ad hoc praeusti artus, nive rigentes nervi, membra torpida[1] gelu, quassata fractaque arma, claudi ac
10 debiles equi. Cum hoc equite, cum hoc pedite pugnaturi estis; reliquias extremas hostis, non hostem habetis. Ac nihil magis vereor quam ne, cum vos[2] pugnaveritis, Alpes vicisse Hannibalem
11 videantur. Sed ita forsitan decuit, cum foederum ruptore duce ac populo deos ipsos sine ulla humana ope committere ac profligare bellum, nos, qui secundum deos violati sumus, commissum ac profligatum conficere.

XLI. "Non vereor ne quis me haec vestri adhortandi causa magnifice loqui existimet, ipsum aliter
2 animo adfectum esse. Licuit in Hispaniam, provinciam meam, quo iam profectus eram, cum exercitu ire meo, ubi et fratrem consilii participem ac periculi socium haberem et Hasdrubalem potius quam Hannibalem hostem et minorem haud dubie molem
3 belli; tamen, cum praeterveherer navibus Galliae oram, ad famam huius hostis in terram egressus praemisso equitatu ad Rhodanum movi castra.
4 Equestri proelio, qua parte copiarum conserendi manum fortuna data est, hostem fudi: peditum agmen, quod in modum fugientium raptim agebatur, quia adsequi terra non poteram, regressus ad naves,[3] quanta maxime potui celeritate tanto maris terra-

[1] torpida *Lipsius*: torrida *CM*.

[2] quam ne, cum vos *Madvig*: nec umquam uos cum *CM*.

[3] regressus ad naves (navis) *Luchs* (ς): neque regressus ad navis erat *CM*.

are but the semblance, the shadows of men, wasted away with hunger and cold, with filth and squalor; bruised and crippled amongst the rocks and cliffs; moreover, their limbs are frost-bitten, their muscles stiffened by the snow, their bodies numb with cold, their arms shattered and broken, their horses lame and feeble. That is the cavalry, that the infantry with which you are to fight; you have no enemy—only the last relics of an enemy! And I fear nothing more than this, that when you have fought, it may seem to have been the Alps that conquered Hannibal. But perhaps it was right that the gods themselves, without any human aid, should begin and decide a war with a general and a people who break their treaties; and that we, whose injury was second to that of the gods, should add the finishing stroke to a war already so begun and so decided. B.C. 218

XLI. "I am not afraid that anyone may suppose that I am using these brave words to encourage you, but that in my heart I think otherwise. It was open to me to proceed with my army to my own province, Spain, for which I had already started; I might there have had a brother to share my counsels and my dangers, and Hasdrubal instead of Hannibal for my enemy, and a war undoubtedly less difficult to conduct; nevertheless, when rumours of this enemy reached me, as I sailed along by the coast of Gaul, I landed, and sending my cavalry ahead, moved my camp up to the Rhone. In a cavalry engagement—for this was the arm with which I was given the opportunity of fighting—I put the enemy to rout: his infantry column, marching hastily off as if in flight, I could not overtake by land; returning therefore to my ships I accomplished with all

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rumque circuitu, in radicibus prope Alpium huic
5 timendo hosti obvius fui. Utrum, cum declinarem
certamen, improvidus [1] incidisse videor an occurrere
in vestigiis eius, lacessere ac trahere ad decernen-
6 dum? Experiri iuvat utrum alios repente Carthagi-
nienses per viginti annos terra ediderit, an idem
sint qui ad Aegates pugnaverunt insulas et quos ab
7 Eryce duodevicenis denariis aestimatos emisistis, et
utrum Hannibal hic sit aemulus itinerum Herculis,
ut ipse fert, an vectigalis stipendiariusque et servus
8 populi Romani a patre relictus. Quem nisi Sagun-
tinum scelus agitaret, respiceret profecto si
non patriam victam domum certe patremque et
9 foedera Hamilcaris scripta manu, qui iussus ab
consule nostro praesidium deduxit ab Eryce, qui
graves impositas victis Carthaginiensibus leges
fremens maerensque accepit, qui decedens Sicilia
10 stipendium populo Romano dare pactus est. Itaque
vos ego, milites, non eo solum animo quo adversus
alios hostes soletis pugnare velim, sed cum indigna-
tione quadam atque ira, velut si servos videatis
11 vestros arma repente contra vos ferentes. Licuit ad
Erycem clausos ultimo supplicio humanorum,[2] fame
interficere; licuit victricem classem in Africam traicere

[1] improvidus *Thomann*: inprouisus *CM*.
[2] humanorum *CM*: humano (*or* suppliciorum humanorum) *Gustafsson*.

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[1] The First Punic War had ended in 241 B.C.
[2] Hercules was fabled to have crossed the Alps on his return from the island Erythea with the cattle of Geryon. Livy has alluded to this story before (I. vii. 3 and v. xxxiv. 6).

possible expedition so circuitous a voyage and march, B.C. 218
and am come to confront this redoubtable enemy almost at the very foot of the Alps. Does it look as though I were avoiding battle and had blundered upon him unawares? or, rather, as though I were in hot haste to encounter him and to provoke and bait him into fighting? I would willingly make trial whether the earth has suddenly produced in the last twenty years[1] another breed of Carthaginians, or whether they are the same who fought at the Aegatian islands and whom you suffered to depart from Eryx at a rating of eighteen denarii a head; and whether our friend Hannibal is a rival, as he himself would have it, of the wandering Hercules,[2] or has been left to the Roman People by his father to be their tributary, tax-payer, and slave. Were he not maddened by the crime he committed at Saguntum, he would surely have regard, if not for his conquered country, yet at least for his house and his father and the treaties written by the hand of Hamilcar, who, under the orders of our consul, withdrew his garrison from Eryx; who submitted with rage and anguish to the heavy terms imposed upon the beaten Carthaginians; who agreed, on withdrawing from Sicily, to pay tribute to the Roman People. And so I could wish you, soldiers, to fight not only with that courage with which you are wont to fight against other enemies, but with a kind of resentful rage, as if you saw your slaves all at once take up arms against you. When we had shut them up at Eryx, we might have killed them by starvation, the worst torment that man can know; we might have dispatched our victorious fleet to Africa, and in a few days' time, without

A.U.C. 536 atque intra paucos dies sine ullo certamine Carthagi-
12 nem delere :—veniam dedimus precantibus, emisimus ex obsidione, pacem cum victis fecimus, tutelae deinde nostrae duximus, cum Africo bello urgerentur.
13 Pro his impertitis furiosum iuvenem sequentes oppugnatum patriam nostram veniunt ! Atque utinam pro decore tantum hoc vobis et non pro salute esset
14 certamen : non de possessione Siciliae ac Sardiniae, de quibus quondam agebatur, sed pro Italia vobis
15 est pugnandum. Nec est alius ab tergo exercitus, qui nisi nos vincimus hosti obsistat, nec Alpes aliae sunt, quas dum superant comparari nova possint praesidia. Hic est obstandum, milites, velut si ante
16 Romana moenia pugnemus. Unus quisque se non corpus suum, sed coniugem ac liberos parvos armis protegere putet ; nec domesticas solum agitet curas, sed identidem hoc animo reputet, nostras nunc intueri manus senatum populumque Romanum ;
17 qualis nostra vis virtusque fuerit, talem deinde fortunam illius urbis[1] ac Romani imperii fore." Haec apud Romanos consul.

XLII. Hannibal rebus prius quam verbis adhortandos milites ratus, circumdato ad spectaculum exercitu captivos montanos vinctos in medio statuit armisque Gallicis ante pedes eorum proiectis interrogare interpretem iussit, ecquis, si vinculis levaretur

[1] illius verbis *CM* : ipsius urbis *Gronovius* : urbis *T. Faber*.

the slightest struggle, have annihilated Carthage. B.C. 218
But we gave them the quarter they besought of us; we lifted the siege and let them go; we made peace with them when we had conquered them; and thereafter, when they were hard pressed by the war in Africa, we regarded them as under our protection. In requital of these benefits they are coming in the train of a crazy youth to assail our country! And I would that your honour only and not your very existence were in jeopardy: you have got to fight not for the ownership of Sicily and Sardinia, which were formerly in dispute, but for Italy. There is no second army at our back to stop the enemy, in case we fail to beat him, nor are there other Alps to obstruct his advance while we make ready new defences. Here, soldiers, is the spot where we must make our stand, as though we were fighting before the walls of Rome. Let each and every one of you consider that his arms protect, not his own person, but his wife and little children; nor let him be concerned for his family alone, but remember that ours are the hands to which the senate and the Roman People are now looking, and that even as our might and valour shall prove to be, such henceforward will be the fortune of that City and the Roman empire." So spoke the consul to the Romans.

XLII. Hannibal thought it well to encourage his soldiers by an object lesson before haranguing them. He therefore caused the army to gather in a circle for the spectacle, and setting in the midst some captive mountaineers with fetters on them, gave the order to throw some Gallic weapons down at their feet, and bade an interpreter enquire if any were willing to fight for life or death, on condition of

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armaque et equum victor acciperet, decertare ferro
2 vellet. Cum ad unum omnes ferrum pugnamque poscerent et deiecta in id sors esset, se quisque eum
3 optabat quem fortuna in id certamen legeret; cuiusque sors exciderat alacer inter gratulantes gaudio exsultans cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capie-
4 bat. Ubi vero dimicarent, is habitus animorum non inter eiusdem modo condicionis homines erat, sed etiam inter spectantes volgo, ut non vincentium magis quam bene morientium fortuna laudaretur.

XLIII. Cum sic aliquot spectatis paribus adfectos dimisisset, contione inde advocata ita apud eos
2 locutus fertur: "Si, quem animum in alienae sortis exemplo paulo ante habuistis, eundem mox in aestimanda fortuna vestra habueritis, vicimus, milites; neque enim spectaculum modo illud sed quaedam
3 veluti imago vestrae condicionis erat. Ac nescio an maiora vincula maioresque necessitates vobis quam
4 captivis vestris Fortuna circumdederit: dextra laevaque duo maria claudunt nullam ne ad effugium quidem navem habentes;[1] circa Padus amnis—maior Padus ac violentior Rhodano; ab tergo Alpes urgent,
5 vix integris vobis ac vigentibus transitae. Hic vincendum aut moriendum, milites, est, ubi primum hosti occurristis. Et eadem Fortuna quae necessita-

[1] habentes *Doujat*: habentibus *P.*

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[1] Polybius gives substantially the same account of the episode (III. lv. 2), except that he speaks of only one pair of combatants.

being granted freedom, if victorious, and presented B.C. 218
with a horse and arms. When the captives, to the last man, called for sword and combat, and lots were being cast to decide amongst them, each hoped that he should be the one whom fortune selected for that contest; and he who had drawn the lot would leap for joy, and dancing about—as their custom is—while the others showered congratulations on him, would eagerly snatch up his weapons. But when they fought, the feeling, not only in the bosoms of the other captives but even amongst the onlookers in general, was such that the fortune of those who conquered was not more praised than that of those who met an honourable death.[1]

XLIII. Having thus, by the exhibition of several pairs, worked on the passions of his troops, he dismissed them. Then, convening an assembly, he addressed them—so it is said—in the following strain: "If that spirit which but now was roused in you by the example of the plight of others shall presently be yours, when you consider your own prospects, then, soldiers, the victory is ours. For that was no mere spectacle, but a kind of picture, as it were, of your own condition. And I incline to think that Fortune has laid you under stronger bonds and heavier necessities than your captives. On the right and on the left two seas encompass you, and you have not a single ship, even to flee in; round you is the river Po—the Po, a greater and more turbulent river than the Rhone; behind you tower the Alps, which you hardly scaled when you were fresh and vigorous. Here, soldiers, you must conquer or die, where for the first time you have faced the enemy. And the same Fortune which has laid upon you the

A.U.C. 536 tem pugnandi imposuit praemia vobis ea victoribus proponit, quibus ampliora homines ne ab dis quidem
6 immortalibus optare solent. Si Siciliam tantum ac Sardiniam parentibus nostris ereptas nostra virtute reciperaturi essemus, satis tamen ampla pretia essent; nunc quidquid[1] Romani tot triumphis partum congestumque possident, id omne vestrum cum ipsis
7 dominis futurum est. In hanc tam opimam mercedem
8 agitedum,[2] dis bene iuvantibus arma capite! Satis adhuc in vastis Lusitaniae Celtiberiaeque montibus pecora consectando nullum emolumentum tot
9 laborum periculorumque vestrorum vidistis; tempus est iam opulenta vos ac ditia stipendia facere et magna operae pretia mereri tantum itineris per tot montes fluminaque et tot armatas gentes emensos.
10 Hic vobis terminum laborum Fortuna dedit; hic dignam mercedem emeritis stipendiis dabit.
11 "Nec quam magni nominis bellum est tam difficilem existimaritis victoriam fore: saepe et contemptus hostis cruentum certamen edidit et incliti populi
12 regesque perlevi momento victi sunt. Nam dempto hoc uno[3] fulgore nominis Romani quid est cur illi
13 vobis comparandi sint? Ut viginti annorum militiam vestram cum illa virtute cum illa fortuna taceam, ab Herculis columnis ab Oceano terminisque ultimis terrarum per tot ferocissimos Hispaniae et Galliae populos vincentes huc pervenistis; pugnabitis cum

[1] nunc quidquid *Woelfflin*: quidquid *P.*
[2] agitedum *Koch*: agite cū *P.*
[3] uno *P*: vano *Luchs.*

necessity of fighting holds forth the promise of such B.C. 218
prizes, in the event of victory, that men are wont to ask not even the immortal gods for greater. If it were only Sicily and Sardinia, wrested from our fathers, that we were going to recover by our valour, these would still be great enough rewards. As it is, whatever the Romans have won and heaped up in the course of all their triumphs, whatever they possess, is all destined—and its owners with it—to be yours. Come then! Arm yourselves, with Heaven helping you, to earn this splendid wage! Long enough have you been chasing flocks on the barren mountains of Lusitania and Celtiberia, without seeing any recompense for all your toil and dangers. It is now time for you to make rich and lucrative campaigns, and reap the large rewards of so long a march over so many mountains and rivers and through so many warlike tribes. Here Fortune has fixed the final goal of your labours; here, when your wars are ended, she will worthily requite you.

"Nor must you think that in proportion to the great name of the war will be the difficulty you will have in winning it. It has often happened that even an enemy held cheap has caused a bloody battle, and that nations and princes of renown have been very lightly overcome. Take from your enemies this one glory of the Roman name, and in what particular can they bear comparison with you? To say nothing of your twenty years of service and your far-famed courage and good fortune, you have come from the Pillars of Hercules, from the Ocean and the uttermost limits of the world, and through so many of the fiercest tribes of Spain and Gaul have fought your way victoriously to this field. You will be

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14 exercitu tirone, hac ipsa aestate caeso victo circumsesso a Gallis, ignoto adhuc duci suo ignorantique
15 ducem. An me in praetorio patris, clarissimi imperatoris, prope natum,[1] certe eductum, domitorem Hispaniae Galliaeque, victorem eundem non Alpinarum modo gentium, sed ipsarum, quod multo maius est, Alpium, cum semenstri hoc conferam
16 duce, desertore exercitus sui? Cui si quis demptis signis Poenos Romanosque hodie ostendat, ignoraturum certum habeo utrius exercitus sit consul.
17 Non ego illud parvi aestimo, milites, quod nemo est vestrum cuius non ante oculos ipse saepe militare aliquod ediderim facinus, cui non idem ego virtutis spectator ac testis notata temporibus locisque referre
18 sua possim decora. Cum laudatis a me[2] miliens donatisque, alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator, procedam in aciem adversus ignotos inter se ignorantesque.

XLIV. "Quocumque circumtuli oculos, plena omnia video animorum ac roboris, veteranum peditem, generosissimarum gentium equites frenatos
2 infrenatosque, vos socios fidelissimos fortissimosque, vos, Carthaginienses, cum pro patria[3] tum ob iram
3 iustissimam pugnaturos. Inferimus bellum infestisque signis descendimus in Italiam tanto audacius

[1] natum *Valla*: notum *P.*
[2] cum laudatis a me ς: tum laudatis me *P.*
[3] pro patria *Weissenborn*: patriam *P*: ob patriam ς.

[1] The Numidians used no bridles: the cavalry using them were Spaniards.

pitted against an army of recruits, who have been B.C. 218
this very summer cut to pieces, routed, and besieged by Gauls—an army as yet unknown to its general and one that knows not him. Or am I, who if not actually born in the headquarters of my father—most illustrious of commanders—was at least brought up there, am I, the subjugator of Spain and Gaul and conqueror not only of the Alpine tribes, but—what is much more—of the Alps themselves, am I, I ask you, to compare myself to this six-months general, who has deserted his own army? Why, if one were to show him to-day the Phoenicians and Romans without their standards, I am certain he would not know which army he was consul of. For my part, soldiers, I regard it as no slight advantage that there is not one of you in whose sight I have not often myself performed some soldierly feat; not one of whose courage I have not in my turn been a spectator and eye-witness—whose deeds of prowess, noted, together with their times and circumstances, I am not able to rehearse. I shall enter the battle in company with men whom I have praised and decorated a thousand times, and to all of whom I was a foster-son before I was their general. Opposed to me will be men who do not even know each other.

XLIV. "Wherever I turn my eyes I see nothing but eagerness and strength, a veteran infantry, cavalry from the noblest tribes, riding with bridles or without,[1] here the trustiest and most valiant of allies, there Carthaginians, prepared to fight not only in defence of their native land, but in satisfaction of a most righteous indignation. We are the assailants, and are descending with hostile standards into Italy,

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fortiusque pugnaturi quam hostis quanto maior spes, maior est animus inferentis vim quam arcentis. 4 Accendit praeterea et stimulat animos dolor iniuria indignitas. Ad supplicium depoposcerunt me ducem primum, deinde vos omnes qui Saguntum oppugnassetis; deditos ultimis cruciatibus adfecturi fuerunt. 5 Crudelissima ac superbissima gens sua omnia suique arbitrii facit. Cum quibus bellum, cum[1] quibus pacem habeamus, se modum imponere aequum censet. Circumscribit includitque nos terminis montium fluminumque quos non excedamus; neque eos quos 6 statuit terminos observat. 'Ne transieris Hiberum! Ne quid rei tibi sit cum Saguntinis!' At liberum est Saguntum.[2] 'Nusquam te vestigio moveris!' 7 Parum est quod veterrimas provincias meas Siciliam ac Sardiniam ademisti?[3] Adimis etiam Hispanias? Et inde si decessero,[4] in Africam transcendes? Transcendes dico?[5] Duos consules huius anni, unum in Africam, alterum in Hispaniam miserunt. Nihil usquam[6] nobis relictum est, nisi quod armis 8 vindicarimus. Illis timidis et ignavis esse licet qui respectum habent, quos sua terra suus ager per tuta ac pacata itinera fugientes accipient: vobis necesse est fortibus viris esse et omnibus inter victoriam mortemve[7] certa desperatione abruptis aut

[1] bellum, cum ς: bellum *P.*

[2] at liberum est Saguntum *Krauss* (*chap.* ii. § 7): ad Hiberum est Saguntum *P.*

[3] Sardiniam ademisti? *Heerwagen*: Sardiniam *P.*

[4] Et inde si decessero *H. J. Mueller*: et si inde cessero ς: inde cessero *P.*

[5] Transcendes dico? *Luchs*: transcendisse autem dico *P.*

[6] usquam *edd.*: umquam *P.*

where we shall fight with more boldness and courage B.C. 218
than our foes in proportion as our hopes are higher and the gallantry of the assailant greater than his who but defends himself. Moreover, our hearts are kindled and pricked by rancour, wrongs, and insults. They called for the punishment of myself first, as your leader, then of all of you who had borne a part in the assault upon Saguntum; had we been given up, they meant to have inflicted upon us the worst of tortures. Most inhuman and most arrogant of nations, they reckon the world as theirs and subject to their pleasure. With whom we are to be at war, with whom at peace, they think it right that they should determine. They circumscribe and hem us in with boundaries of mountains and rivers which we may not cross; yet they do not observe those boundaries which they have set. 'Do not cross the Ebro! Have naught to do with the Saguntines!' But Saguntum is free. 'Do not budge from where you are in any direction!' Is it not enough that you have taken away my ancient provinces of Sicily and Sardinia? Are you taking away Spain as well? If I withdraw from these, shall you cross over into Africa? *Shall*, do I say? They *have* dispatched the two consuls of this year, the one into Africa, and the other into Spain! Nothing is left us anywhere, except what we shall defend by force of arms. They can afford to be timid and unenterprising who have something to fall back upon; whom their own country and their own fields will receive as they flee over safe and peaceful roads. As for you, you must be stout-hearted men, and discarding, without vain regrets, all hopes of anything but

[7] mortemve *Wesenberg* (*Madvig*): mortemque *P.*

A.U.C. 536 vincere aut, si Fortuna dubitabit, in proelio potius
9 quam in fuga mortem oppetere. Si hoc bene fixum omnibus, si destinatum[1] animo est, iterum dicam, vicistis; nullum contemptu mortis telum[2] ad vincendum homini ab dis immortalibus acrius datum est."

XLV. His adhortationibus cum utrimque ad certamen accensi militum animi essent, Romani ponte Ticinum iungunt tutandique pontis causa castellum
2 insuper imponunt; Poenus hostibus opere occupatis Maharbalem cum ala Numidarum, equitibus quingentis, ad depopulandos sociorum populi Romani
3 agros mittit; Gallis parci quam maxime iubet principumque animos ad defectionem sollicitari. Ponte perfecto traductus Romanus exercitus in agrum Insubrium quinque milia passuum a Victumulis con-
4 sedit. Ibi Hannibal castra habebat; revocatoque propere Maharbale atque equitibus, cum instare certamen cerneret, nihil unquam satis dictum praemonitumque ad cohortandos milites ratus, vocatis ad contionem certa praemia pronuntiat in quorum spem
5 pugnarent: agrum sese daturum esse in Italia Africa Hispania, ubi quisque velit,[3] immunem ipsi qui accepisset liberisque; qui pecuniam quam agrum maluisset,
6 ei se argento satis facturum; qui sociorum cives Carthaginienses fieri vellent, potestatem facturum; qui domos redire mallent, daturum se operam ne cuius suorum popularium mutatam secum fortunam

[1] si destinatum animo *Heerwagen*: destinatum in animo *P.*
[2] contemptu mortis telum *Stroth.*: contemptum *P.*
[3] velit *P*: vellet *Wesenberg* (*Madvig*).

victory or death, either conquer or, if Fortune falters, B.C. 218
sooner perish in battle than in flight. If this idea has been firmly fixed and implanted in your hearts, let me say once more: the victory is already yours. The immortal gods have bestowed on man no sharper weapon for winning victories than contempt of death."

XLV. When the spirits of the soldiers on both sides had been whetted for the struggle by these speeches, the Romans threw a bridge over the Ticinus and erected a fort besides for its protection; and the Phoenician, whilst his enemies were engaged in fortification, sent Maharbal with a squadron of Numidians, numbering five hundred horse, to ravage the fields belonging to the allies of the Roman People, with orders to spare the Gauls as much as possible and tempt their leaders to desert. On the completion of the bridge, the Roman army marched over into the country of the Insubres, and took up a position five miles from Victumulae. It was there that Hannibal had his camp, who, quickly recalling Maharbal and his cavalry, when he saw that a battle was imminent, called his troops together—for he never felt that he had done enough in the way of preparing and cheering the men—and held out definite rewards to them to fight for; he would give them land, he said, in Italy, Africa, or Spain, as each might choose, tax-free to the recipient and to his children; those who had rather have money than land he would content with silver; if any of the allies desired to become citizens of Carthage, he would give them the opportunity; as for such as preferred to go back to their homes, he would see to it that they should feel no inclination to change

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7 esse vellent; servis quoque dominos prosecutis libertatem proponit binaque pro iis mancipia dominis
8 se redditurum. Eaque ut rata scirent fore, agnum laeva manu dextra silicem retinens, si falleret, Iovem ceterosque precatus deos, ita se mactarent quem ad modum ipse agnum mactasset,[1] secundum pre-
9 cationem caput pecudis saxo elisit. Tum vero omnes, velut dis auctoribus in spem suam quisque acceptis, id morae quod nondum pugnarent ad potienda sperata rati proelium uno animo et voce una poscunt.

XLVI. Apud Romanos haudquaquam tanta alacritas erat super cetera recentibus etiam territos
2 prodigiis; nam et lupus intraverat castra laniatisque obviis ipse intactus evaserat, et examen[2] apum in
3 arbore praetorio imminente consederat. Quibus procuratis Scipio cum equitatu iaculatoribusque expeditis profectus ad castra hostium ex propinquo copiasque,[3] quantae et cuius generis essent, speculandas, obvius fit Hannibali, et ipsi cum equitibus ad
4 exploranda circa loca progresso. Neutri alteros primo cernebant; densior deinde incessu tot hominum equorum oriens pulvis signum propinquantium hostium fuit. Consistit utrumque agmen et ad proelium[4]

[1] mactasset *ed. Frob.* 1531: mactasset et *P.*
[2] et examen ς: examen *P.*
[3] ex propinquo copiasque *Gronovius*: ex quo propinquo copias *P.*
[4] ad proelium ς: proelium *P.*

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[1] In this ceremony the flint symbolizes the thunderbolt of Jupiter. The rite was characteristic of the Roman fetials (I. xxiv. 9), and Livy here ascribes it to Hannibal, to add to the dramatic effect of the scene.

places with any of their countrymen; besides this he promised freedom to the slaves who had come with their masters, and declared that he would make restitution to the latter, at the rate of two for one. And that they might know that these promises would be kept, he held a lamb with his left hand, and with his right a flint, and praying that if he should deceive them, then Jupiter and the other gods might slay him, even as he had slain the lamb, he thereupon smote the lamb's head with the stone.[1] Then indeed they all, as though each had received the blessing of the gods on his own particular hopes, and thought that their fulfilment was being delayed only because they were not yet fighting, cried out with one accord and one voice for battle. B.C. 218

XLVI. On the Roman side there was far less alacrity, for, besides other things, they were also frightened by some recent portents: a wolf had entered the camp and after rending those whom it met, had itself escaped unharmed; and a swarm of bees had settled in a tree that hung over the consul's tent. After averting these omens,[2] Scipio set out with his cavalry and light-armed darters to reconnoitre at close hand the enemy's camp and the size and character of his forces, and encountered Hannibal, who had likewise come out with his cavalry to explore the surrounding country. Neither party descried the other at first; afterwards an increasingly thick cloud of dust, that rose with the advance of so many men and horses, gave them notice that their enemies were approaching. Both bodies halted and began to make ready for battle.

[2] *i.e.* having by sacrifice to the gods averted the evil portended by these omens.

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5 sese expediebant. Scipio iaculatores et Gallos equites in fronte locat, Romanos sociorumque quod roboris fuit in subsidiis; Hannibal frenatos equites
6 in medium accipit, cornua Numidis firmat. Vixdum clamore sublato iaculatores fugerunt inter subsidia ad secundam aciem. Inde equitum certamen erat aliquamdiu anceps, dein quia turbabant equos pedites intermixti, multis labentibus ex equis aut desilientibus, ubi suos premi circumventos vidissent, iam magna ex parte ad pedes pugna venerat,[1] donec
7 Numidae, qui in cornibus erant, circumvecti paulum ab tergo se ostenderunt. Is pavor perculit Romanos auxitque pavorem consulis volnus periculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii propulsa-
8 tum.[2] Hic erit iuvenis penes quem perfecti huiusce belli laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de
9 Hannibale Poenisque appellatus. Fuga tamen effusa iaculatorum maxime fuit, quos primos Numidae invaserunt; alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens in castra nusquam trepide
10 neque effuse cedendo reduxit. Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat. Malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit.

[1] ad pedes pugna venerat *Gronovius*: ad | despugnavierat P^1: anceps pugna erat P^2.

[2] propulsatum ς: pulsatum *P*.

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[1] Polybius, who had the story from Laelius, the bosom friend of the younger Africanus, is among those who make Scipio the hero of this anecdote (x. iii. 2). Coelius dedicated his work to L. Aelius (Peter, *Rell.* I. ccxv.), not, as formerly thought, to Laelius, which would have made his rejection of the version honouring Scipio strange.

Scipio stationed his darters and Gallic horse in front, B.C. 218
holding in reserve the Romans and the best of the allies; Hannibal put the cavalry who rode with bridles in the centre, and made his wings strong with Numidians. Hardly had the battle-cry been raised, when the darters fled through their supports to the second line. Then followed a cavalry fight of which the issue was for a time in doubt; but by and by the horses became excited by the presence of the foot-soldiers who were mingled with them, and many riders lost their seats or dismounted on seeing their fellows in distress, and the battle was now fought chiefly on foot; until the Numidians, who were posted on the flanks, rode round in a little circuit and showed themselves on the rear. So alarming a sight filled the Romans with dismay, and, to add to their fear, the consul was wounded and was only saved from danger by the intervention of his son, who was just reaching manhood. This is the youth who will have the glory of finishing this war, and be surnamed Africanus, from his famous victory over Hannibal and the Phoenicians. However, the rout was chiefly amongst the darters, the first to be charged by the Numidians: the cavalry rallied, and receiving the consul into their midst, and shielding him not only with their arms but with their persons also, brought him back to camp without panic or confusion at any point in their retreat. (The credit for saving the consul's life is given by Coelius to a Ligurian slave. I should prefer, for my own part, that the story about his son were the true one, and this is the version which most authorities have handed down and tradition has established.[1])

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XLVII. Hoc primum cum Hannibale proelium fuit, quo facile apparuit et equitatu meliorem Poenum esse et ob id campos patentes, quales sunt inter Padum Alpesque, bello gerendo Romanis aptos non
2 esse. Itaque proxima nocte iussis militibus vasa silentio colligere castra ab Ticino mota festinatumque ad Padum est, ut ratibus quibus iunxerat flumen nondum resolutis sine tumultu atque insectatione
3 hostis copias traiceret. Prius Placentiam pervenere quam satis sciret Hannibal ab Ticino profectos; tamen ad sescentos[1] moratorum in citeriore ripa Padi segniter ratem solventes cepit. Transire pontem[2] non potuit, ut extrema resoluta erant tota rate in secundam aquam labente.

4 Coelius auctor est Magonem cum equitatu et Hispanis peditibus flumen extemplo tranasse, ipsum Hannibalem per superiora Padi vada exercitum traduxisse elephantis in ordinem ad sustinendum
5 impetum fluminis oppositis. Ea peritis amnis eius vix fidem fecerint; nam neque[3] equites armis equisque salvis tantam vim fluminis superasse veri simile est, ut iam Hispanos omnes inflati travexerint utres, et multorum dierum circuitu Padi vada petenda fuerunt, qua exercitus gravis impedimentis traduci posset.

[1] ad sescentos *Gronovius* (*Polyb.* III. lxvi. 4): ad haec P.
[2] pontem *P*: ponte *H. J. Mueller.*
[3] nam neque ς: namque *P.*

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[1] Polybius (III. lxvi) makes Hannibal pursue Scipio only as far as the Ticinus (where Polybius places the episode of the six hundred), then turn back and march W. along the Po two days, till he found a place where he could bridge it. See Map 2, *Operations on the Po.*

[2] One of the very few places where Livy implies a first-hand acquaintance with the scene of events described.

XLVII. Such was the first battle fought with Hannibal, in which it was clearly seen that the Phoenician was superior in cavalry and that consequently open plains, like those between the Po and the Alps, were ill-suited to the Romans for campaigning. Accordingly, the next night Scipio gave his men the order to pack up without making any noise, and quitting his camp on the Ticinus, marched swiftly to the Po, intending to use the bridge of boats which he had thrown across the river and had not yet broken up, in order to set his army over without confusion or interruption by the enemy. They were at Placentia before Hannibal was well aware that they were gone from the Ticinus; nevertheless some six hundred men, who were lingering on the northern bank and taking their time about casting off the raft, fell into Hannibal's hands. He was not able to cross the bridge, for when the end was cast off, the whole raft swung down stream with the current.[1] B.C. 218

Coelius states that Mago with the cavalry and the Spanish foot immediately swam the river, and that Hannibal himself led his army across the Po by an upper ford, after placing the elephants in a line to break the current of the river. Those who are acquainted with the Po will hardly credit this account;[2] for, in the first place, it is unlikely that the horsemen could have breasted so strong a current without the loss of arms or horses, even if all the Spaniards had swum over on inflated skins, and in the second place it would have needed a circuitous march of many days to reach fords on the Po by which an army encumbered with baggage could get across.

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6 Potiores apud me auctores sunt qui biduo vix locum rate iungendo flumini inventum tradunt; ea cum Magone equites et Hispanorum[1] expeditos 7 praemissos. Dum Hannibal citra[2] flumen legationibus Gallorum audiendis moratus traicit gravius peditum agmen, interim Mago equitesque ab transitu fluminis diei unius itinere Placentiam ad hostes 8 contendunt. Hannibal paucis post diebus sex milia a Placentia castra communivit et postero die in conspectu hostium acie derecta potestatem pugnae fecit.

XLVIII. Insequenti nocte caedes in castris Romanis, tumultu tamen quam re maior, ab auxiliari- 2 bus Gallis facta est. Ad duo milia peditum et ducenti equites vigilibus ad portas trucidatis ad Hannibalem transfugiunt, quos Poenus benigne adlocutus et spe ingentium donorum accensos in civitates quemque suas ad sollicitandos popularium 3 animos dimisit. Scipio caedem eam signum defectionis omnium Gallorum esse ratus contactosque 4 eo scelere velut iniecta rabie ad arma ituros, quamquam gravis adhuc volnere erat, tamen quarta vigilia noctis insequentis tacito agmine profectus ad Trebiam fluvium iam in[3] loca altiora collesque 5 impeditiores equiti[4] castra movet. Minus quam ad Ticinum fefellit; missisque Hannibal primum Nu-

[1] et Hispanorum *Weissenborn*: hispanorum *P.*
[2] citra ς (*Madvig, cf.* § 3; *chap.* xlviii. § 6; *chap.* liv. § 4): circa *P.*
[3] iam in ς: iam *P.* [4] equiti ς (*Valla*): equites *P.*

Those writers seem to me more worthy of belief B.C. 218
who relate that in two days' search a place was scarcely found where the river could be spanned by a bridge of boats; by this the cavalry and light Spanish infantry were sent forward under Mago. While Hannibal, who had lingered on the northern bank to give a hearing to some Gallic embassies, was bringing over the heavy infantry, Mago and his horsemen advanced a day's march from the crossing of the river towards Placentia and the enemy. A few days later, Hannibal went into camp behind entrenchments, six miles from the town, and on the following day drew up his troops in sight of the enemy and offered battle.

XLVIII. The next night there was a bloody affray in the Roman camp, occasioned by some Gallic auxiliaries, though the confusion was greater than the loss of life. Some two thousand foot-soldiers and two hundred horsemen cut down the guards doing duty at the gates and fled to Hannibal, who received them with fair words, and after encouraging them to hope for great rewards, sent them off to their several states to solicit the support of their countrymen. Scipio apprehended that this bloodshed would prove to be a signal for the defection of all the Gauls, and that they would fly to arms, as if maddened by the contagion of this crime. Accordingly, though still troubled with his wound, he marched silently away in the fourth watch of the next night to the river Trebia, and encamped on higher ground, where hills made it more difficult for cavalry to operate. He was less successful than he had been on the Ticinus in eluding the observation of Hannibal, who sent after him first the Numidians and then all his

A.U.C. 526 midis deinde omni equitatu turbasset utique novissimum agmen, ni aviditate praedae in vacua Romana
6 castra Numidae devertissent. Ibi dum perscrutantes loca omnia castrorum nullo satis digno morae pretio tempus terunt, emissus hostis est de manibus et cum iam transgressos Trebiam Romanos metantesque castra conspexissent, paucos moratorum occiderunt
7 citra flumen interceptos. Scipio nec vexationem volneris in via iactati[1] ultra patiens et collegam—iam enim et revocatum ex Sicilia audierat—ratus exspectandum, locum qui prope flumen tutissimus stativis est visus delectum communiit.

8 Nec procul inde Hannibal cum consedisset, quantum victoria equestri elatus, tantum anxius inopia, quae per hostium agros euntem nusquam praeparatis
9 commeatibus maior in dies excipiebat, ad Clastidium vicum, quo magnum frumenti numerum congesserant Romani, mittit. Ibi cum vim pararent, spes facta proditionis; nec sane magno pretio, nummis aureis quadringentis, Dasio[2] Brundisino, praefecto praesidii, corrupto traditur Hannibali Clastidium. Id horreum

[1] iactati *Doujat*: iactanti *P*.
[2] Dasio *Gronovius*: dasiro P^1: dati pro P^2.

cavalry, and would have thrown the rearguard at B.C. 218
least into disorder, had not the Numidians, in their greed for booty, turned aside to plunder the camp which the Romans had abandoned. Whilst they frittered away the time there, rummaging in every nook and cranny without finding anything that really repaid them for the loss of time, they let their enemies slip through their fingers. The Romans had already passed the Trebia and were marking out their camp, when the Numidians caught sight of them and cut down a few loiterers whom they intercepted on the hither side of the stream. Scipio could no longer bear the pain occasioned by the jolting of his wound in travelling, and besides he judged it best to wait for the arrival of his colleague, who was already recalled—so he had heard—from Sicily. He therefore chose what seemed to be the safest place near the river for a permanent camp, and proceeded to entrench it.

Hannibal, too, went into camp not far away. Elated as he was at the victory of his horse, he was no less worried by the dearth of food, which increased from day to day, as he advanced through hostile territory without having anywhere arranged beforehand for supplies. In the village of Clastidium the Romans had got together a great quantity of corn. Thither Hannibal dispatched some soldiers, who were making preparations to assault the place, when hopes were held out of its betrayal. The price was not a large one: Dasius of Brundisium, who was in command of the garrison, accepted a bribe of four hundred gold pieces, and turned Clastidium over to Hannibal. This served the Phoenicians as a granary, while they lay encamped on

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10 fuit Poenis sedentibus ad Trebiam. In captivos ex tradito praesidio, ut fama clementiae in principio rerum colligeretur, nihil saevitum est.

XLIX. Cum ad Trebiam terrestre constitisset bellum, interim circa Siciliam insulasque Italiae imminentes et a Sempronio consule et ante adven-
2 tum eius terra marique res gestae. Viginti quinqueremes cum mille armatis ad depopulandam oram Italiae a Carthaginiensibus missae, novem Liparas, octo ad insulam Volcani tenuerunt, tres in fretum
3 avertit[1] aestus. Ad eas conspectas Messana duodecim naves ab Hierone rege Syracusanorum missae, qui tum forte Messanae erat consulem Romanum opperiens, nullo repugnante captas naves Messanam
4 in portum deduxerunt. Cognitum ex captivis praeter viginti naves cuius ipsi classis essent in Italiam missas quinque et triginta alias quinqueremes
5 Siciliam petere ad sollicitandos veteres socios; Lilybaei occupandi praecipuam curam esse; credere eadem tempestate qua ipsi disiecti forent eam
6 quoque classem ad Aegates insulas deiectam. Haec, sicut audita erant, rex M. Aemilio praetori cuius Sicilia provincia erat perscribit[2] monetque[3] Lily-
7 baeum firmo teneret praesidio. Extemplo et a praetore circa civitates[4] missi legati tribunique suos ad curam custodiae intendere, et[5] ante omnia Lily-

[1] avertit ς: aduertit *P.* [2] perscribit ς: praescribit *P.*
[3] monetque ς: (*Woelfflin*): monetque ut ς: monetque et *P.*
[4] et a praetore circa civitates *Madvig*: et circa praetore a ciuitate *P*: et circa civitates a praetore *Frigell.*
[5] intendere, et *Madvig*: intenderent *P.*

[1] This island, south of Lipara, and known also as Thermissa, Ἡφαίστου νῆσος, and Hiera, is now called Volcano.

the Trebia. The surrendered garrison were spared, B.C 218
as Hannibal wished to gain at the very outset a reputation for clemency.

XLIX. Though the war on land had come to a standstill at the Trebia, engagements had in the meantime been fought by land and sea off Sicily and the islands near the Italian coast, not only by Sempronius the consul, but even before his coming thither. Twenty quinqueremes with a thousand men at arms had been sent by the Carthaginians to lay waste the coast of Italy; nine of them reached Liparae and eight the Isle of Vulcan;[1] three the current diverted from their course into the Straits. These last were sighted by the people of Messana, and Hiero, king of the Syracusans, who happened to be in Messana at the time, waiting for the Roman consul, dispatched twelve ships, which captured the enemy's ships without a struggle and brought them into the harbour of Messana. It was learned from the prisoners that, besides the fleet of twenty galleys to which they themselves belonged—which had sailed for Italy—five and thirty other quinqueremes were on the way to Sicily to rouse up the old allies; the seizure of Lilybaeum was their prime object; but they supposed that the same storm by which they had themselves been scattered had struck this fleet as well and had driven it out of its course to the Aegatian Islands. The king wrote a full account of these rumours, just as they had come to him, to Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, who was in command in Sicily, and warned him to garrison Lilybaeum strongly. The praetor at once sent out his lieutenants and tribunes to the cities round about, and urged his people to be on their guard. Above all, Lilybaeum

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baeum teneri apparatu instructum [1] belli, edicto proposito ut socii navales decem dierum cocta
8 cibaria ad naves deferrent, ut [2] ubi signum datum esset ne quid [3] moram conscendendi faceret, perque omnem oram qui ex speculis prospicerent adventan-
9 tem hostium classem missi.[4] Itaque, quamquam de industria morati cursum navium erant Carthaginienses ut ante lucem accederent Lilybaeum, praesensum tamen est, quia et luna pernox erat et
10 sublatis armamentis veniebant; extemplo datum signum [5] ex speculis et in oppido ad arma conclamatum est et in naves conscensum; pars militum in muris portarumque stationibus,[6] pars in navibus
11 erant. Et Carthaginienses, quia rem fore haud cum imparatis cernebant, usque ad lucem portu se abstinuerunt demendis armamentis eo tempore
12 aptandaque ad pugnam classe absumpto. Ubi inluxit, recepere classem in altum ut spatium pugnae esset exitumque liberum e portu naves hostium
13 haberent. Nec Romani detrectavere pugnam et memoria circa ea ipsa loca gestarum rerum freti et militum multitudine ac virtute. (L.) Ubi in altum evecti sunt, Romanus conserere pugnam et ex pro-
2 pinquo vires conferre velle; contra eludere Poenus et arte non vi rem gerere naviumque quam virorum

[1] teneri apparatu instructum *Foster*: teneri instructum apparatu *Weissenborn*: instructum teneri apparatu *Riemann*: teneri apparatum *P*.

[2] deferrent, ut *Heerwagen*: deferrent et *P*.

[3] quid ς: quis *P*.

[4] missi *Weissenborn*: simi P^1: simili P^2.

was kept in a state of readiness for war, an edict B.C. 218
having been published directing the naval allies to bring to their ships cooked rations for ten days, so that, on the signal being given, there might be nothing to delay their embarkation. All along the coast men were sent to keep a look-out from the watch-towers for the coming of the enemy's fleet. And so, notwithstanding that the Carthaginians had delayed their sailing on purpose that they might come up to Lilybaeum in the dark, they were nevertheless perceived, because there was a moon all night and they bore down under a spread of canvas. The signal was at once displayed from the watch-towers, and in the town the call to arms was sounded and the ships were manned; some of the troops were at once on the walls or guarding the gates, some on the ships. And the Carthaginians, seeing that they should have to do with men who were not unprepared, stood off from the harbour until dawn and employed the time in taking down their masts and sails and putting the fleet in fighting trim. When the day broke, they withdrew into the open sea, to give room for the battle and to allow their enemy's ships a ready egress from the harbour. Nor did the Romans shun the encounter. They remembered the victories that had been won in that same vicinity, and relied on the numbers and the bravery of their men. (L.) Once at sea, the Romans wanted to join battle and match their strength against the enemy's at close quarters. The Phoenicians, on the contrary, preferred to manœuvre; to conduct the affair by strategy, not by force, and to make it a contest

[5] datum signum ς: datum *P.*
[6] stationibus ς: in stationibus *P.*

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3 aut armorum malle certamen facere. Nam ut sociis navalibus adfatim[1] instructam classem, ita inopem milite habebant; et sicubi concerta navis esset, haudquaquam par numerus armatorum ex ea pug-
4 nabat. Quod ubi animadversum est, et Romanis multitudo sua auxit animum et paucitas illis minuit.
5 Extemplo septem naves Punicae circumventae; fugam ceterae ceperunt. Mille et septingenti fuere in navibus captis milites nautaeque, in his tres
6 nobiles Carthaginiensium. Classis Romana incolumis, una tantum perforata navi sed ea quoque ipsa reduce, in portum rediit.
7 Secundum hanc pugnam, nondum gnaris eius qui Messanae erant, Ti. Sempronius consul Messanam venit. Ei fretum intranti rex Hiero classem ornatam
8 armatamque[2] obviam duxit transgressusque ex regia in praetoriam navem, gratulatus sospitem cum exercitu et navibus advenisse precatusque prosperum
9 ac felicem in Siciliam transitum, statum deinde insulae et Carthaginiensium conata exposuit pollicitusque est, quo animo priore bello populum Romanum iuvenis adiuvisset, eo senem adiuturum;
10 frumentum vestimentaque sese legionibus consulis sociisque navalibus gratis praebiturum; grande periculum Lilybaeo maritimisque civitatibus esse, et
11 quibusdam volentibus novas res fore. Ob haec consuli nihil cunctandum visum quin Lilybaeum

[1] adfatim ς : adfatim minus *P.*

[2] ornatam armatamque *Hertz*: armatam ornatamque *Alschefski*: ornatamque *P.*

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[1] So the flagship was called, from the old use of *praetor* in the sense of "commander"; cf. praetorian camp, praetorian guard. The consuls were at first called praetors (III. lv. 12).

rather of ships than of men or arms. For although B.C. 218
their fleet was well equipped with rowers, they were short of fighting men; and when a ship was grappled, the men-at-arms in her were greatly outnumbered by their enemies. Perceiving this, the Romans derived a fresh access of courage from their numbers, and the other side were correspondingly disheartened by their fewness. Seven Punic ships were instantly cut out and captured, and the rest took to flight. There were seventeen hundred soldiers and sailors on the captured ships, including three Carthaginian nobles. The Roman fleet returned intact into the harbour: one ship only had been rammed, and even this was brought safely in.

After this engagement, but before the people in Messana had got wind of it, the consul Tiberius Sempronius came to that city. As he was entering the straits, King Hiero put out to meet him, with his fleet in fighting order, and passing over from the royal galley to the praetorian,[1] congratulated Sempronius on having arrived in safety with his army and his ships, and prayed that he might have a safe and successful passage to Sicily. He then described conditions in the island and the attempts made by the Carthaginians, and promised that with the same spirit with which, in his youth, he had helped the Roman People in the former war he would help them now, as an old man, and would furnish corn and clothing gratis to the legions of the consul and the naval allies. He added that Lilybaeum and the cities of the coast were in great danger, and that some of them would welcome a revolution. In view of these things, the consul saw fit to sail without delay for Lilybaeum, and the king attended him with

A.U.C. 536 classe peteret. Et rex regiaque classis una profecti. Navigantes inde pugnatum ad Lilybaeum fusasque et captas hostium naves accepere.

LI. A Lilybaeo consul Hierone cum classe regia dimisso relictoque praetore ad tuendam Siciliae oram ipse in insulam Melitam, quae a Carthaginiensibus 2 tenebatur, traiecit. Advenienti Hamilcar, Gisgonis filius, praefectus praesidii, cum paulo minus duobus [1] milibus militum oppidumque cum insula traditur. Inde post paucos dies reditum Lilybaeum, captivique et a consule et a praetore praeter insignes nobilitate 3 viros sub corona venierunt. Postquam ab ea parte satis tutam Siciliam censebat consul, ad insulas Volcani, quia fama erat stare ibi Punicam classem, traiecit; nec quisquam hostium circa eas insulas 4 inventus. Iam forte transmiserant ad vastandam Italiae oram depopulatoque Viboniensi agro urbem 5 etiam terrebant. Repetenti Siciliam consuli escensio hostium in agrum Viboniensem facta nuntiatur, litteraeque ab senatu de transitu in Italiam Hannibalis, et ut primo quoque tempore collegae ferret auxilium, 6 missae traduntur. Multis simul anxius curis exercitum extemplo in naves impositum Ariminum mari supero misit, Sex. Pomponio legato cum viginti quinque longis navibus Viboniensem agrum maritimamque oram Italiae tuendam adtribuit, M. Aemilio 7 praetori quinquaginta navium classem explevit. Ipse

[1] duobus milibus ς: duo millibus *P*.

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[1] Malta.

[2] *i.e.* Africa. Livy has omitted to mention the fact, recorded by Coelius (quoted by the grammarian Charisius, II. p. 203 K), that Sempronius even sent a swift galley to spy out a good landing-place for a Roman army on the coast of Africa.

the royal fleet. On the voyage they learned of the action that had been fought near that city, and the defeat and capture of the enemy's ships. B.C. 218

LI. From Lilybaeum the consul dismissed King Hiero and his fleet, and leaving the praetor to protect the coast of Sicily, set sail for the island of Melita,[1] which was held by the Carthaginians. On his arrival, Hamilcar, Gisgo's son, the commandant of the garrison, surrendered himself and nearly two thousand soldiers, together with the town and island. From Melita Sempronius returned in a few days to Lilybaeum, and consul and praetor sold into slavery the prisoners they had made, with the exception of those who were distinguished by noble birth. When the consul judged that Sicily was in no danger from that quarter,[2] he crossed over to the Isles of Vulcan, where it was rumoured that a Punic fleet was lying; but no single enemy was discovered near those islands. They had already, as it happened, sailed across to ravage the Italian coast, and after pillaging the country about Vibo, were even threatening the town. The consul was returning again to Sicily when tidings reached him of the enemy's raid on the lands of Vibo, and a letter was delivered to him from the senate, apprising him of Hannibal's descent into Italy and bidding him go to the assistance of his colleague at the earliest possible moment. Beset with many cares at once, he immediately embarked his army and dispatched it through the Adriatic to Ariminum; to Sextus Pomponius, his lieutenant, he assigned five and twenty ships of war, with the task of defending the territory of Vibo and the coast of Italy; the fleet under Marcus Aemilius the praetor he increased to fifty sail. He himself,

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compositis Siciliae rebus decem navibus oram Italiae legens Ariminum pervenit. Inde cum exercitu suo profectus ad Trebiam flumen conlegae coniungitur.

LII. Iam ambo consules et quidquid Romanarum virium erat Hannibali oppositum aut illis copiis defendi posse Romanum imperium aut spem nullam
2 aliam esse satis declarabat. Tamen consul alter, equestri proelio uno et volnere suo aeger et minutus,[1] trahi rem malebat: recentis animi alter eoque ferocior nullam dilationem patiebatur.
3 Quod inter Trebiam Padumque agri est Galli tum incolebant, in duorum praepotentium populorum certamine per ambiguum favorem haud dubie gratiam
4 victoris[2] spectantes. Id Romani, modo ne quid moverent, aequo satis, Poenus periniquo animo ferebat, ab Gallis accitum se venisse ad liberandos
5 eos dictitans. Ob eam iram, simul ut praeda militem aleret, duo milia peditum et mille equites, Numidas plerosque, mixtos quosdam et Gallos, populari omnem
6 deinceps agrum usque ad Padi ripas iussit. Egentes ope Galli, cum ad id dubios servassent animos, coacti ab auctoribus iniuriae ad vindices futuros

[1] aeger et minutus *Heerwagen*: et minutus P^1: eminutus P^2.

[2] victoris *edd.*: uictor *P.*

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[1] This important sketch of affairs in Sicily (chapters xlix–li) is drawn from a source which cannot be identified. De Sanctis (p 186) thinks that the condensed and unrhetorical character of the style excludes its attribution to Coelius; neither Fabius nor Cincius is likely to have been so impartial in giving credit to the allies, like Hiero, and we know of no Greek writer who would have treated minor incidents with such particularity. He conjectures that the unknown writer may have been Eumachus of Naples (who wrote in Greek of

after settling the affairs of Sicily, took ten ships, and B.C. 218
skirting the Italian coast, arrived at Ariminum. Thence he marched with his army to the Trebia and effected a junction with his colleague.[1]

LII. Now that both the consuls and all the forces which the Romans could muster were opposing Hannibal, it was obvious enough either that the troops there under arms were able to defend Rome's empire or that her case was hopeless. Nevertheless one of the consuls, disheartened by a single cavalry engagement and weak from his wound, preferred to postpone the decision. The other, unwearied and therefore the more impetuous, would put up with no delay.

The country between the Trebia and the Po was in those days inhabited by Gauls, who in this struggle of two mighty peoples maintained a neutral attitude and plainly intended to court the good-will of the victor. This policy was agreeable enough to the Romans, if only the Gauls made no disturbance, but was far from acceptable to Hannibal, who declared repeatedly that he had come on the invitation of the Gauls, to set them free. In his resentment at this state of affairs, and in order at the same time to sustain his troops with plunder, he ordered two thousand foot and a thousand horse—chiefly Numidians but with a sprinkling of Gauls—to waste the entire country-side, field after field, right up to the banks of the Po. The helpless Gauls, who had been undecided until then, were compelled to turn from the authors of their wrongs to those who might avenge them; and, sending envoys

the war with Hannibal) or some other Italian or Sicilian historian.

A.U.C. 536 declinant legatisque ad consules missis auxilium Romanorum terrae ob nimiam cultorum fidem in 7 Romanos laboranti orant. Cornelio nec causa nec tempus agendae rei placebat, suspectaque ei gens erat cum ob infida multa facinora tum, ut illa[1] vetustate obsolevissent, ob recentem Boiorum per- 8 fidiam; Sempronius contra continendis in fide sociis maximum vinculum esse primos qui eguissent[2] ope 9 defensos censebat. Is tum collega cunctante[3] equitatum suum mille peditum iaculatoribus ferme admixtis ad defendendum Gallicum agrum trans Tre- 10 biam mittit. Sparsos et incompositos, ad hoc graves praeda plerosque cum inopinato[4] invasissent, ingentem terrorem caedemque ac fugam usque ad castra stationesque hostium fecere; unde multitudine effusa pulsi rursus subsidio suorum proelium 11 restituere. Varia inde pugna sequentes inter cedentesque; cumque[5] ad extremum aequassent certamen, maior tamen hostium numerus cecidisset, penes Romanos[6] fama victoriae fuit.

LIII. Ceterum nemini omnium maior ea[7] iustiorque quam ipsi consuli videri; gaudio efferri, qua parte copiarum alter consul victus foret, ea se vi- 2 cisse, restitutos ac refectos militibus animos, nec quemquam esse praeter collegam qui dilatam dimi-

[1] ut illa *Weissenborn*: ut alia ζ: ob iutilia P^1: ob utilia P^2.
[2] primos qui eguissent *Gronovius*: primosque qui coissent *P*.
[3] Is tum collega cunctante *Luchs*: tum collega cunctante ζ: cum collegam cunctantem *P*.
[4] inopinato *Madvig*: inopinatos *P*.
[5] sequentes inter cedentesque; cumque *Madvig*: sequentes cumque *P*: sequentes cedentesque cum *Heusinger*.
[6] hostium numerus cecidisset, penes Romanos *Rossbach*: hostium Romanos *P*.
[7] maior ea *Dederich*: maiora P^1: maior P^2.

to the consuls, besought the Romans to come to the aid of a land that was suffering for its inhabitants' too great loyalty to Rome. Cornelius liked neither the occasion nor the time for fighting, and regarded the Gauls with suspicion, both because of many acts of perfidy, and especially—even though time had obliterated those ancient grievances—because of the recent treachery of the Boi. Sempronius, on the contrary, held that the strongest bond for keeping the allies to their obligations was the defence of those who should first stand in need of help. On the present occasion, while his colleague hesitated, Sempronius sent his cavalry, interspersed with about a thousand foot-soldiers, armed with darts, to protect the Gallic lands beyond the Trebia. Falling unexpectedly upon the enemy, who were scattered and disorganized—most of them laden too with spoils—they drove them with great slaughter in a terror-stricken rout to the very outposts of the Carthaginian camp. Thence the enemy poured out in numbers and repulsed the Romans, in their turn; but reserves came up and restored the day. Thereafter the fortune of the battle shifted, as pursuit was followed by retreat; and though in the end the opposing armies were on even terms, still the enemy had lost more men and the Romans got the credit of a victory. B.C. 218

LIII. But to no one did the victory seem greater or more unequivocal than to Sempronius the consul; he was beside himself with joy that with that arm of the service with which the other consul had been beaten, he himself had been successful. He declared that the spirits of the men were restored and renewed, and that no one but his colleague desired

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cationem vellet; eum animo magis quam corpore aegrum memoria volneris aciem ac tela horrere. Sed 3 non esse cum aegro senescendum. Quid enim ultra differri aut teri tempus? Quem tertium consulem, 4 quem alium exercitum exspectari? Castra Carthaginiensium in Italia ac prope in conspectu urbis esse. Non Siciliam ac Sardiniam victis ademptas nec cis Iberum Hispaniam peti, sed solo patrio terraque in qua 5 geniti forent pelli Romanos. "Quantum ingemescant" inquit "patres nostri circa moenia Carthaginis bellare soliti, si videant nos, progeniem suam, duos consules consularesque exercitus, in media Italia paventes intra castra, Poenum quod inter Alpes 6 Appenninumque agri sit suae dicionis fecisse." Haec adsidens aegro collegae, haec in praetorio prope contionabundus agere. Stimulabat et tempus propinquum comitiorum, ne in novos consules bellum differretur, et occasio in se unum vertendae gloriae, dum 7 aeger collega erat. Itaque nequiquam dissentiente Cornelio parari ad propinquum certamen milites iubet.

Hannibal cum quid optimum foret hosti cerneret, vix ullam spem habebat temere atque improvide 8 quicquam consules acturos; cum alterius ingenium, fama prius deinde re cognitum, percitum ac ferox

[1] *praetorium* here means the open space in front of the general's tent. not (as often) the tent itself. Sempronius meant that the soldiers should know his sentiments, but did not quite go the length of declaring them in a formal harangue.

to put off the struggle; Cornelius, he said, was sick B.C. 218
in spirit rather than in body, and the recollection of his wound made him dread a battle and its missiles. But they must not droop and languish along with a sick man. Why indeed should they further postpone the conflict, or waste time? What third consul, what other army were they waiting for? The Carthaginians were encamped in Italy and almost within sight of Rome. Their object was, not to get back Sicily and Sardinia, taken from them after their defeat, nor to cross the Ebro and occupy northern Spain, but to expel the Romans from the land of their fathers and from their native soil. "How would our fathers groan," he cried, "that were wont to wage war about the walls of Carthage, could they see us, their offspring, two consuls and two consular armies, cowering within our camp in the heart of Italy; and the Phoenician in full sway over all the territory between the Alps and the Apennines!" Thus he ran on, as he sat by the bed of his sick colleague; thus he argued in the praetorium,[1] almost as if haranguing the troops. His impatience was increased, too, by the near approach of the elections, lest the war go over to the term of the new consuls and he lose the opportunity of gaining all the glory for himself, while his colleague was laid up. Accordingly, despite the unavailing protests of Cornelius, he commanded the soldiers to make ready for an early battle.

Hannibal, since he saw what was best for the enemy, hardly dared to hope that the consuls would take any rash or ill-considered step; but knowing, as he did—by hearsay first and afterwards by experience—that one of them was of a fiery and reck-

A.U.C. 536 sciret esse ferociusque factum prospero cum praedatoribus suis certamine crederet, adesse gerendae
9 rei fortunam haud diffidebat. Cuius ne quod praetermitteret tempus sollicitus intentusque erat, dum tiro hostium miles esset, dum meliorem ex ducibus inutilem volnus faceret, dum Gallorum animi vigerent,
10 quorum ingentem multitudinem sciebat segnius secu-
11 turam quanto longius ab domo traherentur. Cum ob haec taliaque speraret propinquum certamen et facere, si cessaretur, cuperet, speculatoresque Galli, ad ea exploranda quae vellet tutiores quia in utrisque castris militabant, paratos pugnae esse Romanos rettulissent, locum insidiis circumspectare Poenus coepit.

LIV. Erat in medio rivus praealtis utrimque clausus ripis et circa obsitus palustribus herbis, et quibus inculta ferme vestiuntur, virgultis vepribusque. Quem ubi equites[1] quoque tegendo satis latebrosum locum circumvectus ipse oculis perlustravit, "Hic erit locus" Magoni fratri ait, "quem teneas.
2 Delige centenos viros ex omni pedite atque equite, cum quibus ad me vigilia prima venias; nunc corpora
3 curare tempus est." Ita praetorium missum. Mox cum delectis Mago aderat. "Robora virorum cerno"

[1] equites *P*: equiti *s* (*Madvig*).

less disposition, and believing that the late successful B.C. 218
brush with the Carthaginian raiders would have made him still more headstrong, he was fairly confident that the good fortune of a general engagement was at hand. It was therefore his one concern to let slip no opportunity for bringing this about, while the soldiers of the enemy still lacked experience, while the abler of their generals was incapacitated by his wound, while the courage of the Gauls was up—since he knew that their vast multitude would follow the less willingly, the farther they were drawn from home. For these and similar reasons he hoped that a battle would soon be fought, and was eager, should there be any hesitation, to force it on. And so, when his Gallic scouts—who were safer for gathering the information that he wanted because there were men of that nation in both camps—had reported that the Romans were prepared to fight, the Phoenician began to look about for a place in which to lay an ambush.

LIV. Between the two camps was a water-course, shut in by very high banks on either side and overgrown all round with marsh-grass and the underbrush and brambles with which uncultivated land is usually clothed. When Hannibal, riding over the ground himself, saw that this place afforded sufficient cover even for cavalry, he said to his brother Mago, "This will be the place for you to hold. Choose out a hundred men from all the infantry and a hundred from the cavalry, and come with them to my quarters at the first watch. It is time now to sup and rest." With that he broke up the council. In a little while Mago presented himself with his picked men. "I see the stoutest of my men," said Hanni-

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inquit Hannibal; "sed uti numero etiam non animis modo valeatis, singuli[1] vobis novenos ex turmis manipulisque vestri similes eligite. Mago locum monstrabit quem insideatis; hostem caecum ad has belli artes habetis." Ita cum mille equitibus Magone, mille peditibus dimisso,[2] Hannibal prima luce Numidas equites transgressos Trebiam flumen obequitare iubet hostium portis iaculandoque in stationes[3] elicere ad pugnam hostem, iniecto deinde certamine cedendo sensim citra flumen pertrahere. Haec mandata Numidis. Ceteris ducibus peditum equitumque praeceptum ut prandere omnes iuberent, armatos deinde instratisque equis signum exspectare.

Sempronius ad tumultum Numidarum primum omnem equitatum, ferox ea parte virium, deinde sex milia peditum, postremo omnes copias ad destinatum iam ante consilio avidus certaminis eduxit. Erat forte brumae tempus et nivalis dies in locis Alpibus Appenninoque interiectis, propinquitate etiam fluminum ac paludum praegelidis. Ad hoc raptim eductis hominibus atque equis, non capto ante cibo, non ope ulla ad arcendum frigus adhibita, nihil caloris inerat, et quidquid aurae fluminis adpropinquabant, adflabat acrior frigoris vis. Ut vero refugientes Numidas insequentes aquam ingressi sunt—et erat pectoribus tenus aucta nocturno

[1] singuli *Forchhammer*: singulis *P.*

[2] ita cum mille equitibus Magone . . . dimisso *Madvig*: ita mille equitibus magoni . . . dimissis *P.*

[3] in stationes ς: stationes *P.*

bal, "but that your numbers too may be strong to match your bravery, choose, each of you, from the squadrons and the maniples, nine others like yourselves. Mago will point out to you the spot where you are to lie in ambush; you have an enemy who is blind to these stratagems." Mago and his thousand horse and thousand foot being thus dispatched, Hannibal ordered the Numidian cavalry to cross the Trebia at dawn, and riding up to the enemy's gates and discharging missiles against his outposts, to lure him into battle; and then, when the fight was on, to give ground insensibly and draw him across the river. Such were the orders of the Numidians. The other officers, both of cavalry and of infantry, were instructed to make their men have breakfast, and then, armed and with horses saddled, to await the signal. B.C. 218

On the flurry caused by the Numidians, Sempronius, confident where cavalry was concerned, first led out all of this part of his forces; then six thousand of the infantry; and finally all the rest of his troops. He had fully made up his mind beforehand and was eager for the battle. It chanced to be the time of year when the days are shortest, and it was snowing in the region between the Alps and the Apennines, and the proximity of rivers and marshes intensified the bitter cold. Moreover, men and horses had been turned out in haste, without stopping for food or doing anything to guard against becoming chilled; there was no warmth in them, and the nearer they approached the atmosphere of the river the sharper grew the cold wind in their faces. But when, in pursuit of the fleeing Numidians, they entered the water—swollen breast-high with the

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imbri,—tum utique egressis rigere omnibus corpora, ut vix armorum tenendorum potentia essent,[1] et simul lassitudine[2] et procedente iam die fame etiam deficere.

LV. Hannibalis interim miles ignibus ante tentoria factis oleoque per manipulos, ut mollirent artus, misso et cibo per otium capto, ubi transgressos flumen hostes nuntiatum est, alacer animis corpori-
2 busque arma capit atque in aciem procedit. Baliares locat ante signa, levem armaturam, octo ferme milia hominum, dein graviorem armis peditem, quod virium quod roboris erat; in cornibus circumfudit decem milia equitum et ab cornibus in utramque partem
3 divisos elephantos statuit. Consul effuse sequentes equites, cum ab resistentibus[3] subito Numidis incauti exciperentur, signo receptui dato revocatos
4 circumdedit peditibus. Duodeviginti milia Romana erant, socium nominis Latini viginti, auxilia praeterea Cenomanorum; ea sola in fide manserat Gallica gens. Iis copiis concursum est.

5 Proelium a Baliaribus ortum est; quibus cum maiore robore legiones obsisterent, diducta propere in cornua levis armatura est,[4] quae res effecit ut
6 equitatus Romanus extemplo urgeretur; nam cum vix iam per se resisterent decem milibus equitum

[1] essent ς: esset *P.*
[2] simul lassitudine ς: similitudine *P.*
[3] ab resistentibus *P*: ab refugientibus et resistentibus *Weissenborn.*
[4] diducta . . . armatura est *Madvig*: deductae . . . armaturae sunt *P.*

rain that had fallen in the night—or at any rate B.C. 218
when they got out upon the further bank, then indeed their bodies were all so benumbed that they could hardly hold their weapons; and at the same time they were fainting with fatigue, and, as the day wore on, with hunger as well.

LV. Hannibal's soldiers had in the meantime made fires before their tents; in each company they had been served with oil to supple their joints, and had breakfasted at leisure. When, therefore, they were told that the enemy had crossed the river, they were eager both in mind and body, as they armed and went out to battle. In front of the standards Hannibal placed the Baliares, light-armed troops numbering about eight thousand, and behind these his heavy infantry, the strength and flower of his army; the wings he formed of ten thousand horse, and, dividing the elephants, stationed them outside the wings. The consul's troopers were scattered in pursuit of the Numidians, when suddenly the latter made a stand and took them unawares; whereupon he called them back and posted them on either flank of the infantry. There were eighteen thousand Romans and twenty thousand allies of the Latin name, besides the auxiliaries of the Cenomani, the only Gallic tribe that continued loyal. These were the contending forces.

The Baliares began the battle, but those light-armed troops, finding the legions too strong to cope with, were quickly withdrawn and sent to the wings. This manœuvre at once caused the Roman cavalry acute distress; for they numbered but four thousand, and, tired as they were, would scarce have been able to hold out any longer against the enemy's ten

A.U.C. 536 quattuor milia et fessi integris plerisque, obruti sunt insuper velut nube iaculorum a Baliaribus coniecta. 7 Ad hoc elephanti eminentes ab extremis cornibus, equis maxime non visu modo, sed odore insolito 8 territis, fugam late faciebant. Pedestris pugna par animis magis quam viribus erat, quas recentes Poenus paulo ante curatis corporibus in proelium attulerat; contra ieiuna fessaque corpora Romanis et rigentia gelu torpebant. Restitissent tamen animis, si cum 9 pedite solum foret pugnatum; sed et Baliares pulso equite iaculabantur in latera et elephanti iam in mediam peditum aciem sese tulerant et Mago Numidaeque, simul latebras eorum improvida praeterlata acies est, exorti ab tergo ingentem tumultum 10 ac terrorem fecere. Tamen in tot circumstantibus malis mansit aliquamdiu immota acies, maxime 11 praeter spem omnium adversus elephantos. Eos velites ad id ipsum locati verutis coniectis et avertere et insecuti aversos sub caudis, qua maxime molli cute volnera accipiunt, fodiebant.

LVI. Trepidantesque et prope[1] iam in suos consternatos e media[2] acie in extremam ad sinistrum cornu adversus Gallos auxiliares agi iussit Hannibal. Ibi[3] extemplo haud dubiam fecere fugam. Quo

[1] et prope *Rost*: in prope *P.*
[2] e media *Gronovius*: media *P.*
[3] Hannibal. Ibi *Weissenborn*: hannibali *P.*

thousand cavalry alone, who were most of them fresh; and now they were overwhelmed, as it were with a cloud of missiles, by the Baliares. Besides this, the elephants, looming large on the outer extremities of the wings, gave rise to such a panic, particularly among the horses, not only by their strange appearance, but also by their unfamiliar smell, as to bring about a general flight. As for the infantry, they were fairly matched in courage, but not in strength, which was unimpaired in the case of the Phoenicians, who had refreshed themselves shortly before entering the battle, while the Romans were faint with fasting and fatigue, and were stiff and numb with cold. Yet their courage would have enabled them to resist, had they fought against infantry alone. But the Baliares, having put the cavalry to flight, were raining missiles on their flanks; the elephants had now charged the centre of the line; and Mago and his Numidians, as soon as the Roman army had passed their ambuscade without observing it, started up in their rear, and caused the wildest panic and confusion. Nevertheless, amidst all these evils, the line held for a time unshaken, and even—what no one had dared to hope for—against the elephants. Skirmishers, expressly posted to deal with the beasts, would throw darts at them and make them turn away, and then pursuing them would strike them under the tail, where the skin is softest and it is possible to wound them. B.C. 218

LVI. In their terror they were now on the point of charging their own people, when Hannibal gave orders to drive them from the centre to the extreme left wing, against the Gallic auxiliaries. Here they immediately caused a decided stampede, and the

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novus[1] terror additus Romanis, ut fusa auxilia sua
2 viderunt. Itaque cum iam in orbem pugnarent, decem milia ferme hominum, cum alibi[2] evadere nequissent, media Afrorum acie, qua Gallicis auxiliis firmata erat, cum ingenti caede hostium perrupere,
3 et cum neque in castra reditus esset flumine interclusis neque prae imbri satis discernere[3] possent, qua suis opem ferrent, Placentiam recto itinere
4 perrexere. Plures deinde in omnes partes eruptiones factae; et qui flumen petiere aut gurgitibus absumpti sunt aut inter cunctationem ingrediendi ab
5 hostibus oppressi; qui passim per agros fuga sparsi erant vestigia cedentis sequentes agminis Placentiam contendere; aliis timor hostium audaciam ingrediendi flumen fecit, transgressique in castra pervenerunt.
6 Imber nive mixtus et intoleranda vis frigoris et homines multos et iumenta et elephantos prope
7 omnes absumpsit. Finis insequendi hostes Poenis flumen Trebia fuit, et ita torpentes gelu in castra
8 rediere ut vix laetitiam victoriae sentirent. Itaque nocte insequenti, cum praesidium castrorum et quod reliquum ex fuga inermium[4] ex magna parte militum erat ratibus Trebiam traicerent, aut nihil sensere obstrepente pluvia aut, quia iam moveri nequibant prae lassitudine ac volneribus, sentire sese dissimu-

[1] quo novus *Frigell*: quoque nouus *P.*
[2] alibi *Weissenborn*: alii *P.*
[3] discernere ς: decernere *P.*
[4] reliquum ex fuga inermium *Luchs*: relicum *P.*

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[1] Livy appears to have thought of Placentia as west of the Trebia, which the ten thousand were therefore not now obliged to cross, though Scipio and the garrison were (§ 8).

[2] At chap. lviii. § 11 Livy speaks of the loss of *seven* of the elephants which survived the Trebia. According to

Romans experienced a fresh alarm when they saw B.C. 218
their auxiliaries routed. And so, hemmed in as they now were on every side, about ten thousand men, when they found it impossible to escape at any other point, forced a passage, with great slaughter of their enemies, through the Carthaginian centre, which was composed of Gallic auxiliaries, and being cut off by the river from returning to their camp and so blinded by the rain that they could not well discern where to help their comrades, took the shortest way to Placentia.[1] After that sundry groups broke out at various points. Those who headed for the river were either drowned in its eddies, or, while they hesitated to enter it, were overtaken by the enemy; but those who scattered over the country-side in flight made their way by following the tracks of the retreating column, to Placentia; others, venturing, in their terror of the enemy, to attempt the river, got across, and reached the camp. The mingled rain and snow and the intolerable sharpness of the cold brought death to many men and beasts of burden and to almost all the elephants.[2] The Phoenicians pursued their enemies no further than to the river Trebia, and got back to camp so benumbed and chilled as hardly to feel the joy of victory. Consequently, when, in the night that followed, the garrison of the camp, and such soldiers—without arms for the most part—as had survived the rout, were crossing the Trebia on rafts, they either heard nothing, owing to the noise made by the rain, or being unable, for weariness and wounds, to bestir themselves, pretended not to hear; and unmolested

Polybius (III. lxxiv. 11), all but *one* perished from the effects of the rain and snow that followed the battle.

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larunt; quietisque Poenis tacito agmine ab Scipione consule exercitus Placentiam est perductus, inde Pado traiecto[1] Cremonam, ne duorum exercituum hibernis una colonia premeretur.

LVII. Romam tantus terror ex hac clade perlatus est ut iam ad urbem Romanam crederent infestis signis hostem venturum, nec quicquam spei aut auxilii esse quo a portis[2] moenibusque vim arcerent: 2 uno consule ad Ticinum victo alterum ex Sicilia revocatum[3]; duobus consulibus, duobus consularibus exercitibus victis quos alios duces, quas alias legiones 3 esse quae arcessantur? Ita territis Sempronius consul advenit, ingenti periculo per effusos passim ad praedandum hostium equites audacia magis quam consilio aut spe fallendi resistendive, si non 4 falleret, transgressus, id quod unum maxime in praesentia desiderabatur, comitiis consularibus habitis, in hiberna rediit. Creati consules Cn. Servilius et C. Flaminius iterum.[4]

5 Ceterum ne hiberna quidem Romanis quieta erant vagantibus passim Numidis equitibus et, ut quaeque[5] iis impeditiora erant, Celtiberis Lusitanisque. Omnes igitur undique clausi commeatus 6 erant, nisi quos Pado naves subveherent. Emporium prope Placentiam fuit et opere magno munitum et

[1] Pado traiecto ς: pado traiectus *P.*

[2] quo a portis *Heerwagen*: qua portis *P.*

[3] alterum ex Sicilia revocatum *Madvig*: altero ex Sicilia reuocato *P.*

[4] C. Flaminius iterum *Glareanus*: C. Flaminius *P.*

[5] ut quaeque *Fabri*: quaeque *P.*

[1] The descriptions of the terror occasioned in Rome by news of the defeat and of the journey of Sempronius are not found in Polybius and are very likely drawn from Coelius Antipater.

by the enemy Scipio led his army in silence to B.C. 218
Placentia, and thence—after crossing the Po—to Cremona, so that that one town might not be overburdened with furnishing winter quarters for two armies.

LVII. To Rome the news of this disaster brought such consternation that people looked for the immediate appearance of the hostile army before their very City, and knew not which way to turn for any hope or help in defending their gates and walls against its onset.[1] When one consul had been defeated on the Ticinus, the other had been summoned back from Sicily; but now that two consuls and two consular armies had been beaten, what other generals, what other legions had they to call upon? In the midst of this alarm the consul Sempronius arrived. He had made his way, taking tremendous risks, through the enemy's cavalry—which was widely dispersed in quest of booty—relying more on audacity than calculation or the prospect of eluding his enemies, or of resisting, should he be unable to elude them. The election of consuls was the one crying need of the hour. This Sempronius accomplished and returned forthwith to his winter quarters. The choice had fallen on Gnaeus Servilius and—for the second time—on Gaius Flaminius.

For the rest, the Romans were given no peace even in their winter quarters. The Numidian cavalry ranged far and wide, and any ground that was too rough for them was covered by the Celtiberians and Lusitani. The result was the cutting off of all supplies from every quarter, save such as were brought up the Po in ships. Their magazine, which was near Placentia, was elaborately fortified

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valido firmatum praesidio. Eius castelli expugnandi[1] spe cum equitibus ac levi armatura profectus Hannibal, cum plurimum in celando incepto ad effectum spei habuisset, nocte adortus non fefellit vigiles. 7 Tantus repente clamor est sublatus ut Placentiae quoque audiretur. Itaque sub lucem cum equitatu consul aderat iussis quadrato agmine legionibus 8 sequi. Equestre interim proelium commissum, in quo quia saucius Hannibal pugna excessit, pavore hostibus iniecto defensum egregie praesidium est. 9 Paucorum inde[2] dierum quiete sumpta et vixdum satis percurato volnere ad Victumulas[3] oppugnandas 10 ire pergit. Id emporium Romanis Gallico bello fuerat; munitum inde locum frequentaverant adcolae mixti undique ex finitimis populis, et tum terror populationum eo plerosque ex agris com- 11 pulerat. Huius generis multitudo, fama impigre defensi ad Placentiam praesidii accensa, armis 12 arreptis obviam Hannibali procedit. Magis agmina quam acies in via concurrerunt, et cum ex altera parte nihil praeter inconditam turbam esset, in altera et dux militi et miles duci[4] fidens, ad triginta 13 quinque milia hominum a paucis fusa. Postero die deditione facta praesidium intra moenia accepere; iussique arma tradere cum dicto paruissent, signum

[1] expugnandi *Perizonius*: oppugnandi *P.*
[2] inde ς: in *P.*
[3] Victumulas *Mommsen*: uictumuias *P.*
[4] miles duci ς: duci miles *P.*

and strongly garrisoned. This place Hannibal hoped B.C. 218
to capture by assault, and set out thither with his cavalry and light infantry. He had counted mainly on the concealment of his movements for their effectiveness; but his night attack failed to catch the sentries off their guard, and the defenders at once set up so loud an outcry that it was heard even in Placentia. And so at break of day the consul was on the spot with his cavalry, having ordered the legions to follow him in fighting column. Meanwhile, a cavalry engagement took place, in which Hannibal was wounded and withdrew from the fight, and the enemy were so alarmed by this that the post was successfully defended. After this Hannibal, when he had rested only a few days and his wound was scarce healed over, set out to attack Victumulae. This had been a Roman magazine in the Gallic war, and having then been fortified had since attracted numerous settlers from the various peoples dwelling in the neighbourhood; and just then the fear of raids had caused large numbers to flock in from the countryside. Such was the character of the population, which, fired by the story of the stout defence of the fortress near Placentia, flew to arms and went out to meet Hannibal. More like marching columns than embattled armies they encountered each other in the road; and since on one side there was only an undisciplined rabble, and on the other a general who relied upon his soldiers, and soldiers who confided in their general, some thirty-five thousand men were routed by a very few. The next day they surrendered and received a garrison within their walls. Being commanded to give up their weapons they complied: whereupon a

A.U.C. 536 repente victoribus datur ut tamquam vi captam
14 urbem diriperent. Neque ulla quae in tali re memorabilis scribentibus videri solet praetermissa clades est: adeo omne[1] libidinis crudelitatisque et inhumanae superbiae editum in miseros exemplum est. Hae fuere hibernae expeditiones Hannibalis.

A.U.C. 537 LVIII. Haud longi inde temporis,[2] dum intolera-
2 bilia frigora erant, quies militi data est, et ad prima ac dubia signa veris profectus ex hibernis in Etruriam ducit, eam quoque gentem, sicut Gallos Liguresque,
3 aut vi aut voluntate adiuncturus. Transeuntem Appenninum adeo atrox adorta tempestas est ut Alpium prope foeditatem superaverit. Vento mixtus imber cum ferretur in ipsa ora, primo, quia aut arma omittenda erant, aut contra enitentes
4 vertice intorti adfligebantur, constitere ; dein, cum iam spiritum includeret nec reciprocare animam
5 sineret, aversi a vento parumper consedere. Tum vero ingenti sono caelum strepere et inter horrendos fragores micare ignes ; capti[3] auribus et oculis metu
6 omnes torpere ; tandem effuso imbre, cum eo magis accensa vis venti esset, ipso illo quo deprensi erant
7 loco castra ponere necessarium visum est. Id vero laboris velut de integro initium fuit: nam nec explicare quicquam nec statuere poterant, nec quod statutum esset manebat, omnia perscindente vento

[1] omne *Luchs*: omnes *P*: omnis ς.
[2] longi inde temporis *Gronovius*: longis inde temporibus *P*.
[3] capti ς: captis *P*.

signal was suddenly given to the victors to sack the B.C. 218
town, as if they had taken it by storm. Nor was any cruelty omitted which historians generally deem worth noting on such an occasion; but every species of lust and outrage and inhuman insolence was visited upon the wretched inhabitants. Such were Hannibal's winter expeditions.

LVIII. For no long time thereafter, while the cold B.C. 217
was still unbearable, he allowed his men to rest, and on the first doubtful signs of spring broke up his winter quarters and marched towards Etruria, with the object of drawing that nation also to his standards, either by force or with their own consent, as he had done with the Gauls and the Ligurians. In attempting to cross the Apennines he was assailed by a storm so terrible as almost to surpass the horrors of the Alps. With the wind and rain blowing full in their faces, at first—because they must either have dropped their arms or else, if they struggled against it, be caught by the hurricane and hurled to the ground—they halted; then, when it actually stopped their breath and would not allow them to respire, they turned their backs on the gale and for a time huddled together on the ground. And now the heavens resounded with a frightful tumult, and between the terrific crashes the lightning flashed. Deafened and blinded, they were all stunned with fear. At length the downpour ceased, but the wind only blew the more furiously, and there seemed to be nothing to do but to pitch camp on the very spot where they had been caught. This, however, was but a fresh beginning of their troubles, for they could neither spread nor set up a tent, nor, once set up, would it stay in place, for the wind rent

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8 et rapiente; et mox aqua levata vento cum super gelida montium iuga concreta esset, tantum nivosae grandinis deiecit ut omnibus omissis procumberent homines tegminibus suis magis obruti quam tecti;
9 tantaque vis frigoris insecuta est ut ex illa miserabili hominum iumentorumque strage cum se quisque attollere ac levare vellet, diu nequiret, quia torpentibus rigore nervis vix[1] flectere artus poterant.
10 Deinde, ut tandem agitando sese movere ac recepere[2] animos et raris locis ignis fieri est coeptus, ad alienam opem quisque inops tendere. Biduum eo
11 loco velut obsessi mansere. Multi homines, multa iumenta, elephanti quoque ex iis qui proelio ad Trebiam facto superfuerant septem absumpti.

LIX. Degressus[3] Appennino retro ad Placentiam castra movit et ad decem milia progressus consedit. Postero die duodecim milia peditum quinque equitum
2 adversus hostem ducit; nec Sempronius consul—iam enim redierat ab Roma—detrectavit certamen. Atque eo die tria milia passuum inter bina castra
3 fuere; postero die ingentibus animis vario eventu pugnatum est. Primo concursu adeo res Romana superior fuit ut non acie vincerent solum sed pulsos hostes in castra persequerentur, mox castra quoque
4 oppugnarent. Hannibal paucis propugnatoribus in

[1] vix ς: suis *P.* [2] recepere ς (*Rossbach*): recipere *P.* [3] degressus ς: digressus *P.*

everything to shreds and swept it away; and when B.C. 217
presently the moisture taken up by the wind had been congealed over the cold mountain ridges, it descended in such a storm of sleet that the men let go of everything and threw themselves on their faces on the ground, overwhelmed by their shelters rather than protected by them; and the cold that ensued was so severe that when anyone sought to rise and lift himself from out that pitiful heap of men and beasts, for a long time he would be unable, because his sinews were so stiff and tense that he could hardly bend his joints. Afterwards, when at last by exerting themselves they had recovered the power of motion and regained their courage, and had begun here and there to kindle fires, each, in his helplessness, applied to someone else for help. For two days they remained on that spot as if beleaguered. Many men and many horses perished, and seven of the elephants that had survived the battle on the Trebia.

LIX. Descending from the Apennines, Hannibal turned back once more towards Placentia, and after marching about ten miles went into camp. The next day he advanced against the enemy with twelve thousand foot and five thousand horse. Nor did the consul Sempronius, who had now returned from Rome, decline the combat. That day there were only three miles between the two encampments. On the following day they fought, with great spirit and with shifting fortunes. At the first encounter the Romans had so far the best of it that not only were they victorious in the battle, but they pursued the beaten enemy to his camp, and were soon attacking the camp itself. Hannibal stationed

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vallo portisque positis ceteros confertos in media castra recepit intentosque signum ad erumpendum exspectare iubet. Iam nona ferme diei hora erat, cum Romanus nequiquam fatigato milite, postquam nulla spes erat potiundi castris, signum receptui dedit. Quod ubi Hannibal accepit laxatamque pugnam et recessum a castris vidit, extemplo equitibus dextra laevaque emissis in hostem ipse cum peditum robore mediis [1] castris erupit. Pugna raro magis ulla saeva aut [2] utriusque partis pernicie clarior fuisset, si extendi eam dies in longum spatium sivisset; [3] nox accensum ingentibus animis proelium diremit. Itaque acrior concursus fuit quam caedes, et sicut aequata ferme pugna erat, ita clade pari discessum est. Ab neutra parte sescentis plus peditibus et dimidium eius equitum cecidit; sed maior Romanis quam pro numero iactura fuit, quia equestris ordinis aliquot et tribuni militum quinque et praefecti sociorum tres sunt interfecti. Secundum eam pugnam Hannibal in Ligures, Sempronius Lucam concessit. Venienti in Ligures Hannibali per insidias intercepti duo quaestores Romani, C. Fulvius et L. Lucretius, cum duobus tribunis militum et quinque equestris ordinis, senatorum

[1] robore mediis *Lipsius*: roborē | diis P^1: roborē | de his P^2.

[2] saeva aut *Hertz*: aeaut P: saeva et *Valla*.

[3] sivisset ς: uisset P^1: quiuisset P^2: sisset *Gronovius*.

[1] Approximately three o'clock in the afternoon.

a few defenders on the rampart and at the gates B.C. 217
and received the rest in a crowded throng within the enclosure, where he bade them watch intently for the signal to sally forth. It was now about the ninth hour of the day,[1] when the Roman general, who had worn out his men to no avail and saw no prospect of capturing the camp, bade sound the recall. When Hannibal heard this and perceived that the fighting had grown lax and that the enemy had retired from his rampart, he suddenly sent his cavalry against them from the right and left and rushed out himself with the strength of his infantry from the centre of the camp. Seldom has there been a fiercer battle or one more notable for the losses on both sides than this would have been, had the light permitted it to be prolonged; but darkness put an end to a conflict which had been begun with the greatest ardour. The fury of the combatants was consequently greater than the carnage, and as the battle was practically a drawn one, so were the losses equal when the opposing forces separated. On neither side had more than six hundred of the infantry fallen or half as many of the cavalry; but the loss of the Romans was out of proportion to the number slain, for it included several knights, five tribunes of the soldiers, and three praefects of the allies. After this engagement Hannibal retired into Liguria and Sempronius to Luca. The Ligurians had ambushed and made prisoners of two Roman quaestors, Gaius Fulvius and Lucius Lucretius, with two tribunes of the soldiers and five members of the equestrian order—mostly sons of senators. These men they handed over to Hannibal on his coming among them, as a

A.U.C. 537 ferme liberis, quo magis ratam fore cum iis pacem societatemque crederet, traduntur.

A.U.C. 536 LX. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Cn. Cornelius 2 Scipio in Hispaniam cum classe et exercitu missus cum ab ostio Rhodani profectus Pyrenaeosque montes circumvectus Emporias[1] adpulisset classem, 3 exposito ibi exercitu orsus a Laeetanis[2] omnem oram usque ad Hiberum flumen partim renovandis societatibus, partim novis instituendis, Romanae 4 dicionis fecit. Inde conciliata clementiae iustitiaeque[3] fama non ad maritimos modo populos sed in mediterraneis quoque ac montanis ad ferociores iam gentes valuit; nec pax modo apud eos sed societas etiam armorum parta[4] est, validaeque aliquot auxiliorum cohortes ex iis conscriptae sunt. 5 Hannonis cis Hiberum provincia erat; eum relinquerat Hannibal ad regionis eius praesidium. Itaque, priusquam alienarentur omnia, obviam eundum ratus castris in conspectu hostium positis in aciem 6 eduxit. Nec Romano differendum certamen visum, quippe qui sciret cum Hannone et Hasdrubale sibi dimicandum esse malletque adversus singulos separatim quam adversus duos simul rem gerere. 7 Nec magni certaminis ea dimicatio fuit. Sex milia

[1] Emporias *Luchs*: temporis *P*: emporiis ς.
[2] Laeetanis *Huebner*: lacetanis *P*.
[3] clementiae iustitiaeque *Weissenborn*: clementiaeque *P*: clementiae *Madvig*.
[4] parta ς: parata *P*.

[1] For the events recorded in this chapter Livy is thought to have drawn upon some late and worthless annalist. That the Romans should have been able, so soon after their discomfiture on the Trebia, to hold their own in open battle—and a battle too where cavalry cut so large a figure—is improbable, to say the least. Polybius says nothing of any

further earnest of their peaceful and friendly disposition towards him.[1] B.C. 217

LX. Whilst these things were going on in Italy, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, who had been sent out to Spain with a fleet and an army, had set sail from the mouth of the Rhone and passing the Pyrenees had put into Emporiae. Landing his army there and beginning with the Laeetani, he had brought all that coast, as far as the river Ebro, under Roman sway, partly by renewing old alliances and partly by forming new ones. The reputation which he there acquired for clemency and justice availed not only with the maritime tribes, but also with the more warlike clans inhabiting the interior and the mountainous parts; so that he was able not only to establish peaceful relations but even to conclude a military alliance with them, and several strong cohorts of auxiliaries were raised there. B.C. 218

North of the Ebro Hanno was the Carthaginian commander, for Hannibal had left him there to defend that region. Feeling, therefore, that something ought to be done, before everything was lost to Carthage, he pitched his camp in sight of the enemy and offered battle. The Roman general saw no reason to put off the engagement; he knew that he must fight with Hanno and Hasdrubal, and chose rather to deal with them separately than both at once. Neither was the battle very difficult to win. Six thousand of the enemy were killed and

such operations, nor of the march to Luca, which contradicts Livy's own statement, at chap. lxiii. § 1, that the army of Sempronius wintered at Placentia (see also chap. lxiii. § 15). The whole question is discussed by De Sanctis, pp. 186 f. Cf. too the notes in Weissenborn–Mueller–Rossbach.

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hostium caesa, duo capta cum praesidio castrorum; nam et castra expugnata sunt atque ipse dux cum
8 aliquot principibus capiuntur, et Cissis,[1] propinquum castris oppidum, expugnatur. Ceterum praeda oppidi parvi pretii rerum fuit, supellex barbarica
9 ac vilium mancipiorum; castra militem ditavere non eius modo exercitus qui victus erat sed et eius qui cum Hannibale in Italia militabat omnibus fere caris rebus, ne gravia impedimenta ferentibus essent, citra Pyrenaeum relictis.

LXI. Priusquam certa huius cladis fama accideret, transgressus Hiberum Hasdrubal cum octo milibus peditum, mille equitum, tamquam ad primum adventum Romanorum occursurus, postquam perditas res ad Cissim amissaque castra accepit, iter
2 ad mare convertit. Haud procul Tarracone classicos milites navalesque socios vagos palantesque per agros, quod ferme fit ut secundae res neglegentiam creent, equite passim dimisso cum magna caede,
3 maiore fuga ad naves compellit. Nec diutius circa ea loca morari ausus, ne ab Scipione opprimeretur,
4 trans Hiberum sese recepit. Et Scipio raptim ad famam novorum hostium agmine acto, cum in paucos praefectos navium[2] animadvertisset, praesidio Tarracone modico relicto Emporias cum classe rediit.

[1] Cissis *Alschefski*: scissis *P*.
[2] navium *Gronovius*: pauiu P^1: paulum P^2: palam *Lipsius*.

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[1] Later (under Augustus) made the capital of the Roman province of Tarraconensis. There are still in existence remains of Iberian walls and of the Roman citadel, circus, amphitheatre, and water-system.

two thousand captured, together with the garrison of the camp—for this too was attacked and taken. The general himself and several chieftains were made prisoners, and Cissis, a town which stood near the camp, was carried by assault. The plunder of the town yielded objects of little worth—household belongings of barbarians and slaves of no great price—but the camp made the soldiers rich; for in it they found not only the valuables of the army that they had just defeated, but also those of the army that was now serving under Hannibal in Italy, for the men had left nearly all their treasures behind when they crossed the Pyrenees, so as not to burden themselves with heavy baggage on the march. B.C. 218

LXI. Hasdrubal had not yet received definite tidings of this disaster when he crossed the Ebro with eight thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry, as though to confront the Romans at their first arrival; but on learning of the catastrophe at Cissis and the loss of the camp, he turned and marched in the direction of the sea. Not far from Tarraco [1] he came upon the soldiers of the fleet and the naval allies, who were dispersed and wandering over the country-side, with the carelessness which usually attends success; and sending out his cavalry in all directions he drove them, with much slaughter and more confusion, to their ships. But not venturing to tarry longer in that region, lest Scipio should be down upon him, he retreated across the Ebro. Scipio, hearing of these new enemies, did indeed march thither with all speed; but after punishing a few of the ships' captains, he left a garrison of moderate size in Tarraco and returned with the

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5 Vixdum digresso eo Hasdrubal aderat et Ilergetum populo, qui obsides Scipioni dederat, ad defectionem impulso cum eorum ipsorum iuventute agros fidelium 6 Romanis sociorum vastat. Excito deinde Scipione hibernis toto cis[1] Hiberum rursus cedit agro. Scipio relictam ab auctore defectionis Ilergetum gentem cum infesto exercitu invasisset, compulsis omnibus Atanagrum urbem, quae caput eius populi erat, 7 circumsedit intraque dies paucos pluribus quam ante obsidibus imperatis Ilergetes pecunia etiam 8 multatos in ius dicionemque recepit. Inde in Ausetanos prope Hiberum, socios et ipsos Poenorum, procedit atque urbe eorum obsessa Lacetanos auxilium finitimis ferentes nocte haud procul iam 9 urbe, cum intrare vellent, excepit insidiis; caesa ad duodecim milia.[2] Exuti prope omnes armis domos passim palantes per agros diffugere. Nec obsessos alia ulla res quam iniqua oppugnantibus 10 hiems tutabatur. Triginta dies obsidio fuit, per quos raro unquam nix minus quattuor pedes alta iacuit; adeoque pluteos ac vineas Romanorum operuerat ut ea sola ignibus aliquotiens coniectis 11 ab hoste etiam tutamentum fuerit. Postremo, cum Amusicus princeps eorum ad Hasdrubalem pro-

[1] toto cis ς: stoi/cosis P: hostico cis *Sabellicus and Stroth.*

[2] ad duodecim milia ς: ad XII. P^1: anxii P^2.

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[1] Site unknown: perhaps not far from Ilerda (Lerida) on the Sicoris.

fleet to Emporiae. No sooner was he gone than B.C. 218
Hasdrubal appeared, and inciting the Ilergetes, who had given Scipio hostages, to revolt, he used the young men of this very tribe to lay waste the fields of the allies who were faithful to the Romans. But this having roused Scipio from his winter quarters, he retreated again and abandoned all the territory north of the Ebro. Scipio invaded the country of the Ilergetes—left thus in the lurch by the instigator of their revolt—with fire and sword, and driving them all into the city of Atanagrus,[1] the capital of that nation, laid siege to them. Within a few days he had exacted more hostages of them than before, and mulcting them also in a sum of money, had received them under his authority and rule. Thence he marched against the Ausetani, near the Ebro, who were likewise allies of the Phoenicians; and besieging their city, laid an ambush for the Lacetani, as they were bringing assistance to their neighbours, and fell upon them in the night, not far from the city, when they would have entered it. The slain amounted to about twelve thousand; almost all the others lost their arms, and scattering over the fields in all directions, fled to their homes. As for the besieged, nothing could have saved them but a winter that was most unfavourable to the besiegers. The blockade lasted thirty days, during which time the snow rarely lay less than four feet deep, and so completely had it covered the mantlets and pent-houses of the Romans that this alone was sufficient to protect them from the firebrands that were several times discharged upon them by the enemy. Finally, when their chief Amusicus had fled and taken refuge with Hasdrubal,

A.U.C. 536 fugisset, viginti argenti talentis pacti deduntur. Tarraconem in hiberna reditum est.

LXII. Romae aut circa urbem multa ea hieme prodigia facta aut, quod evenire solet motis semel in religionem[1] animis, multa nuntiata et temere credita
2 sunt; in quis ingenuum infantem semestrem in
3 foro olitorio triumphum clamasse, et in foro[2] boario bovem in tertiam contignationem sua sponte escendisse atque inde tumultu habitatorum territum
4 sese deiecisse, et navium speciem de caelo adfulsisse, et aedem Spei, quae est in foro olitorio, fulmine ictam, et Lanuvi hostiam[3] se commovisse et corvum in aedem Iunonis devolasse atque in ipso pulvinario
5 consedisse, et in agro Amiternino multis locis hominum species procul candida veste visas nec cum ullo congressas,[4] et in Piceno lapidibus pluvisse, et Caere sortes extenuatas, et in Gallia lupum vigili
6 gladium ex vagina raptum abstulisse. Ob cetera prodigia libros adire decemviri iussi; quod autem

[1] religionem *edd.*: regionem *P.*

[2] in foro ς: e (ex *H. J. Mueller*) foro *Luterbacher*: foro *P.*

[3] hostiam *P* (*Rossbach's note*): hastam *Sabellicus.*

[4] species . . . visas nec cum ullo congressas *Ruperti*: species . . . uisas nec cum ullo congressos ς: specie . . . uisos nec cum illis congressos *P.*

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[1] Polybius knows nothing of the events recounted in §§ 5–11, but makes Scipio retire for the winter to Emporiae and Hasdrubal to Tarraco, at the conclusion of the campaign described by Livy in §§ 1–4. The source which Livy used for the latter part of the chapter was perhaps a Greek writer whose account of Hasdrubal's offensive was so different from that of Polybius that Livy thought that they related to two distinct campaigns. It is possible that Livy's immediate source in §§ 5–11 was Coelius and that the dis-

they made terms and surrendered, agreeing to pay B.C. 218
twenty talents of silver. The Romans returned to Tarraco and went into winter quarters.[1]

LXII. In Rome or near it many prodigies occurred that winter, or—as often happens when men's thoughts are once turned upon religion—many were reported and too easily credited. Some of these portents were: that a free-born infant of six months had cried "Triumph!" in the provision market; that in the cattle market an ox had climbed, of its own accord, to the third storey of a house and then, alarmed by the outcry of the occupants, had thrown itself down; that phantom ships had been seen gleaming in the sky; that the temple of Hope, in the provision market, had been struck by lightning; that in Lanuvium a slain victim had stirred, and a raven had flown down into Juno's temple and alighted on her very couch; that in the district of Amiternum, in many places, apparitions of men in shining raiment had appeared in the distance, but had not drawn near to anyone; that in the Picentian country there had been a shower of pebbles; that at Caere the lots had shrunk;[2] that in Gaul a wolf had snatched a sentry's sword from its scabbard and run off with it. For the other prodigies the decemviri were commanded to consult the Books,[3] but for

comfiture of the Lacetani is an embellishment of the story due to the latter's patriotic inventiveness. See De Sanctis, pp. 184, 185.

[2] The lots were inscribed on little wooden or bronze tablets; they are also associated with Praeneste, Falerii, and Patavium.

[3] The Sibylline Books were wont to be consulted (but only on the express command of the senate) as to the meaning and proper expiation of portents.

A.U.C. 536 lapidibus pluvisset in Piceno, novemdiale sacrum edictum; et subinde aliis procurandis prope tota 7 civitas operata fuit. Iam primum omnium urbs lustrata est, hostiaeque maiores quibus editum est 8 dis caesae, et donum ex auri pondo quadraginta Lanuvium Iunoni[1] portatum est, et signum aeneum matronae Iunoni in Aventino dedicaverunt, et lectisternium Caere, ubi sortes adtenuatae erant, imperatum, et supplicatio Fortunae in Algido; 9 Romae quoque et lectisternium Iuventati[2] et supplicatio ad aedem Herculis nominatim, deinde universo populo circa omnia pulvinaria indicta, et 10 Genio maiores hostiae caesae quinque, et C. Atilius Serranus praetor vota suscipere iussus, si in decem 11 annos res publica eodem stetisset statu. Haec procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis magna ex parte levaverant religione animos.

A.U.C. 537 LXIII. Consulum designatorum alter Flaminius, cui eae legiones quae Placentiae hibernabant sorte evenerant, edictum et litteras ad consulem misit, ut is exercitus idibus Martiis Arimini adesset in castris. 2 Hic in provincia consulatum inire consilium erat memori veterum certaminum cum patribus, quae tribunus plebis et quae postea consul, prius de con-

[1] Iunoni ς: et iuononi *P*: ad Iunonis *Gronovius*.
[2] Iuventati *P*: iuuentuti ς (*Madvig*).

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[1] A *lectisternium* (for the first one in 399 B.C. see I. xiii. 6) was a banquet tendered to the gods, at which their images were placed on couches (*pulvinaria*). Juventas is here associated with Hercules, as was Hebe in Greece.

[2] In the year 232 B.C. he had carried a law in the Comitia Tributa providing that certain Picentine and Gallic lands should be divided among the poorer citizens.

the shower of pebbles in the Picentian country a nine days' sacrifice was proclaimed. They then set about the expiation of the other portents, and in this virtually all the citizens bore a part. First of all, the city was purified, and major victims were offered up to the designated gods; a gift of gold weighing forty pounds was carried to Lanuvium for Juno, and a bronze statue was dedicated to Juno, by the matrons, on the Aventine; a *lectisternium* was ordered at Caere, where the lots had shrunk; and a supplication was ordered to be made to Fortune on Mount Algidus; in Rome, too, a *lectisternium* was specially appointed for Juventas, and a supplication at the temple of Hercules, and later the entire people was commanded to observe this rite at all the *pulvinaria*;[1] also five major victims were slain in honour of the Genius of the Roman People; and Gaius Atilius Serranus the praetor was ordered to make a vow, "if the commonwealth should abide for ten years in its present state." The making of these vows and expiations, as prescribed by the Sibylline Books, went far to alleviate men's anxiety concerning their relations with the gods. B.C. 218

LXIII. Of the consuls designate, Flaminius, to whom the legions wintering at Placentia had been assigned by lot, dispatched an edict and a letter to the consul, commanding that these troops should be ready in the camp at Ariminum on the Ides of March. It was here, in his province, that he designed to enter on the consulship, for he remembered his former controversies with the senators, which he had waged when a tribune of the plebs,[2] and later as consul—in the first place about his B.C. 217

A.U.C. 537 sulatu, qui abrogabatur, dein de triumpho habuerat. 3 Invisus etiam patribus[1] ob novam legem, quam Q. Claudius tribunus plebis adversus senatum[2] atque uno patrum adiuvante C. Flaminio tulerat, ne quis senator cuive senator pater fuisset maritimam navem quae plus quam trecentarum amphorarum esset 4 haberet—id satis habitum ad fructus ex agris vectandos, quaestus omnis patribus indecorus visus. Res per summam contentionem acta invidiam apud nobilitatem suasori legis Flaminio, favorem apud 5 plebem alterumque inde consulatum peperit. Ob haec ratus auspiciis ementiendis Latinarumque feriarum mora et consularibus aliis impedimentis retenturos se in urbe, simulato itinere privatus clam 6 in provinciam abiit. Ea res ubi palam facta est, novam insuper iram infestis iam ante patribus movit: non cum senatu modo, sed iam cum dis immortalibus 7 C. Flaminium bellum gerere. Consulem ante inauspicato factum revocantibus ex ipsa acie dis atque

[1] patribus *P*: patribus erat (*or* erat patribus) *H. J. Mueller*.

[2] adversus senatum P: aduerso senatu *Gronovius*.

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[1] In 223 B.C. the senate commanded the consuls Furius and Flaminius, who had marched against the Insubrian Gauls, to return to Rome and resign their magistracies, on the ground that unfavourable auguries had been reported. But Flaminius refused to return, fought and won a battle, and triumphed in the face of senatorial opposition—by virtue of a decree of the people.

[2] The amphora—a wine-jar with two handles—was standardized as a liquid measure roughly equal to six gallons. In our terminology such a vessel would be described as of about seven tons burden.

[3] The new consuls were required to fix the date of the Feriae Latinae, at the first session of the senate after their

consulship, which they tried to annul, and again B.C. 217
concerning his triumph.[1] He was also hated by the senators on account of an unprecedented law which Quintus Claudius the tribune of the plebs had introduced, despite the opposition of the senate, with the backing of Gaius Flaminius alone of all that body, providing that no senator or senator's son should own a sea-going ship of more than three hundred amphoras burden[2]—this was reckoned to be sufficient to transport the crops from one's fields, and all money-making was held unseemly in a senator. The measure, which was vehemently opposed, had been productive of great resentment on the part of the nobles against Flaminius, who had advocated its enactment; but had procured for him the favour of the plebs and afterwards a second consulship. Believing, therefore, that his enemies would falsify the auspices and make use of the Latin Festival[3] and other means of hindering a consul, to detain him in the City, he pretended that he had to take a journey, and departing, as a private citizen, slipped away secretly to his province. This behaviour, when the truth came out, aroused fresh indignation in the breasts of the already hostile senators: Gaius Flaminius, they said, was waging war not only with the senate, but this time with the immortal gods. He had formerly been made consul without the confirmation of the auspices, and, though both gods and men had sought to recall him from the very battle-line, he

entering upon office, and they might not take the field for the summer's campaign before they had duly presided over the sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris, which was the essential feature of the celebration.

A.U.C. 537

hominibus non paruisse; nunc conscientia spretorum et Capitolium et sollemnem votorum nuncupationem
8 fugisse, ne die initi magistratus Iovis optimi maximi templum adiret, ne senatum invisus ipse[1] et sibi uni invisum videret consuleretque, ne Latinas indiceret Iovique Latiari sollemne sacrum in monte faceret,
9 ne auspicato profectus in Capitolium ad vota nuncupanda paludatus[2] inde cum lictoribus in provinciam iret; lixae modo sine insignibus, sine lictoribus profectum clam, furtim, haud aliter quam si exsilii causa
10 solum vertisset; magis pro maiestate videlicet imperii Arimini quam Romae magistratum initurum et in deversorio hospitali quam apud penates suos
11 praetextam sumpturum. Revocandum universi retrahendumque censuerunt et cogendum omnibus prius praesentem in deos hominesque fungi officiis,
12 quam ad exercitum et in provinciam iret. In eam legationem—legatos enim mitti placuit—Q. Terentius et M. Antistius profecti nihilo magis eum moverunt quam priore consulatu litterae moverant
13 ab senatu missae. Paucos post dies magistratum iniit, immolantique ei vitulus iam ictus e manibus sacrificantium sese cum proripuisset, multos circum-
14 stantes cruore respersit; fuga procul etiam maior

[1] ipse ς: ipsi *P.*
[2] paludatus ς: paludatis *P.*

[1] The *paludamentum*, typifying military imperium, might be assumed by the consul on leaving the City, the *toga praetexta*, white with a purple border, was worn by the consul while in Rome.

had not obeyed; now, conscious of having spurned B.C. 217
them, he had fled the Capitol and the vows that were regularly undertaken, that he might not, on the day of entering upon his office, approach the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus; that he might not see and consult the senate, which hated him and which he alone of all men hated; that he might not proclaim the Latin Festival and offer the accustomed sacrifice to Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban Mount; that he might not, after receiving auspices, go up to the Capitol to make his vows, and thence proceed, in the general's cloak[1] and accompanied by lictors, to his province; like some camp-follower, without insignia and without lictors, he had set out in secret and by stealth, precisely as though going into exile; he thought, forsooth, that it was more in keeping with the dignity of his high command to begin his magistracy in Ariminum than in Rome—to assume the purple-bordered toga[1] in an inn than in the presence of his household gods! With one accord they voted to recall him and drag him back and compel him to discharge in person all his obligations to gods and men, before he went to his army and his province. On this commission—for commissioners they resolved to dispatch—Quintus Terentius and Marcus Antistius set forth, but moved Flaminius no more than the letter sent him by the senate had moved him in his former consulship. A few days later he entered on his magistracy, and as he was offering up a calf, it escaped—after being struck—out of the hands of those who would have sacrificed it, and spattered many of the bystanders with its blood. The dismay and confusion

A.U.C. 537 apud ignaros quid trepidaretur et concursatio fuit. Id a plerisque in omen magni terroris acceptum. Legionibus inde duabus a Sempronio, prioris anni consule, duabus a C. Atilio praetore acceptis in Etruriam per Appennini tramites exercitus duci est coeptus.

[1] This dreadful omen is not mentioned by Polybius and looks like an invention of the aristocratic opponents of Flaminius. Livy perhaps found the story in Coelius.

were even greater among those who stood farther off and knew not what was occasioning the panic. By most people it was regarded as an omen of great terror.[1] After this the army comprising the two legions received from Sempronius, the consul of the year before, and the two taken over from Gaius Atilius the praetor, began its march into Etruria through the passes of the Apennines. B.C. 217

LIBRI XXI PERIOCHA

Belli Punici secundi ortum[1] narrat et Hannibalis, ducis Poenorum, contra foedus per Hiberum flumen transitum. A quo Saguntini, sociorum populi Romani,[2] civitas obsessa, octavo mense capta est. De quibus iniuriis missi legati ad Carthaginienses, qui quererentur. Cum satisfacere nollent, bellum his indictum est. Hannibal superato Pyrenaeo saltu per Gallias fusis Volcis,[3] qui obsistere conati erant ei, ad Alpes venit et laborioso per eas transitu, cum montanos quoque Gallos obvios aliquot proeliis reppulisset, descendit in Italiam et ad Ticinum flumen Romanos equestri proelio fudit. In quo vulneratum P. Cornelium Scipionem protexit filius, qui Africani postea nomen accepit. Iterumque exercitu Romano ad flumen Trebiam fuso Hannibal Appenninum quoque permagna vexatione[4] militum propter vim tempestatium transiit. Cn. Cornelius Scipio[5] in Hispania contra Poenos prospere pugnavit duce hostium Magone capto.

[1] ortum ς : actum *MSS.*

[2] sociorum populi Romani *ed. prin.* (*Liv.* xxi. vi. 4) : populi Romani *MSS.*

[3] Volcis *Sigonius* : uulscis *MSS.*

[4] permagna vexatione *O. Jahn* : per magnam uexationem *MSS.*

[5] Cn. Cornelius Scipio ς : c. cornelius scipio *MSS.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXI

In this book is described the beginning of the Second Punic War, and how Hannibal, the general of the Phoenicians, crossed the river Ebro in violation of the treaty. Besieging Saguntum, a city belonging to allies of the Roman People, he captured it in the eighth month. These injuries led to the dispatch of ambassadors to the Carthaginians, to complain. On their refusing satisfaction, war was declared against Carthage. Hannibal, after surmounting the passes of the Pyrenees, traversed Gaul—having routed the Volcae, who had attempted to stop him—and arrived at the Alps. After a troublesome passage of these mountains, in the course of which he also defeated in several battles the Gallic mountaineers, when they blocked his way, he descended into Italy and routed the Romans in a cavalry battle near the river Ticinus. In this battle Publius Cornelius Scipio was wounded and was saved by his son, who later received the name of Africanus. Again a Roman army was routed near the river Trebia. After this Hannibal crossed the Apennines, with great distress to his soldiers, because of violent storms. In Spain Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio fought successfully against the Phoenicians and captured the enemy's general, Mago.[1]

[1] This name is a mistake (found also in Orosius, IV. xiv. 9) for Hanno (chap. lx. § 4).

BOOK XXII

LIBER XXII

A.U.C. 537

I. Iam ver adpetebat; itaque[1] Hannibal ex hibernis movit, et nequiquam[2] ante conatus transcendere Appenninum intolerandis frigoribus et cum
2 ingenti periculo moratus ac metu. Galli, quos praedae populationumque conciverat spes, postquam pro eo ut ipsi ex alieno agro raperent agerentque, suas terras sedem belli esse premique utriusque partis exercituum hibernis videre,[3] verterunt retro
3 in Hannibalem[4] ab Romanis odia; petitusque saepe principum insidiis, ipsorum inter se fraude eadem levitate qua consenserant consensum indicantium servatus erat, et mutando nunc vestem nunc tegumenta capitis errore etiam sese ab insidiis munierat.
4 Ceterum hic quoque ei timor causa fuit maturius movendi ex hibernis.

Per idem tempus Cn. Servilius consul Romae
5 idibus Martiis magistratum iniit. Ibi cum de re publica rettulisset, redintegrata in C. Flaminium

[1] adpetebat; itaque *Woelfflin*: adpetebatque *P.*
[2] nequiquam (nequicquam) *Valla*: neque eo qui iam *P.*
[3] videre *Alschefski*: uiderent *P.*
[4] in Hannibalem ς: hannibalem *P.*

[1] Polybius says that "he had a number of wigs made, dyed to suit the appearance of persons differing widely in age, and kept constantly changing them, and at the same time also dressing in a style suited to the wig, so that not only those who had seen him but for a moment, but even his familiars, found difficulty in recognizing him" (III.

BOOK XXII

I. Spring was now drawing on, and accordingly B.C. 217
Hannibal moved out of his winter encampment. He had tried before this to cross the Apennines, but had failed because of the intolerable cold. And the delay had been attended with the greatest danger and anxiety; for when the Gauls, whom the hope of spoil and pillage had excited to revolt, perceived that instead of harrying and plundering the fields of others, their own lands were the seat of war and were burdened with the winter quarters of both armies, they turned their hatred back again from the Romans upon Hannibal. But though their leaders laid many a plot against him, their treachery to one another saved him, for they gave him information of these conspiracies with the same inconstancy with which they had conspired. Moreover, changing now his dress and now his headgear,[1] he protected himself against their plots by the uncertainty which this gave rise to. Still, the fear of such plots was another reason for quitting his winter quarters early.

About the same time, on the Ides of March, Gnaeus Servilius entered on his consulship at Rome. On his then referring the state of the nation to the senate for discussion, their anger at Gaius Flaminius

xxxviii, Paton's Trans.). Livy prefers ambiguity to the use of a technical or undignified word.

A.U.C. 537

invidia est: duos se consules creasse, unum habere; quod enim illi iustum imperium, quod auspicium
6 esse?[1] Magistratus id a domo, publicis privatisque penatibus, Latinis feriis actis, sacrificio in monte perfecto, votis rite in Capitolio nuncupatis secum
7 ferre; nec privatum auspicia sequi, nec sine auspiciis profectum in externo ea solo nova atque integra concipere posse.

8 Augebant metum prodigia ex pluribus simul locis nuntiata: in Sicilia militibus aliquot spicula, in Sardinia autem in muro circumeunti vigilias equiti scipionem quem manu tenuerat[2] arsisse, et litora crebris ignibus fulsisse, et scuta duo sanguine sudasse,
9 et milites quosdam ictos fulminibus, et solis orbem minui visum, et Praeneste ardentes lapides caelo cecidisse, et Arpis parmas in caelo visas pugnan-
10 temque cum luna solem, et Capenae duas interdiu lunas ortas, et aquas Caeretes sanguine mixtas fluxisse fontemque ipsum Herculis cruentis manasse respersum maculis, et Antii[3] metentibus cruentas
11 in corbem spicas cecidisse, et Faleriis caelum findi velut magno hiatu visum, quaque patuerit ingens lumen effulsisse; sortes adtenuatas unamque sua

[1] esse ς: esset *P*. [2] tenuerat *P*: tenuerit *Ruperti*.
[3] Antii ς: in Antii *P*: in Antiati (-te) *Gronovius*.

[1] The enemies of Flaminius argued that he was not, in fact, a consul, for, though elected to that office, he had not been duly inaugurated in Rome, but had left the City before taking the auspices. It would not be possible for him to repair the omission in camp, since even a consul who had set out after receiving the auspices was required, in case it was afterwards discovered that there had been some flaw in them, to return to Rome and renew them there, and it followed, *a fortiori*, that no one could take them in the first instance—*nova atque integra*—anywhere else.

was renewed. They had chosen two consuls, they said, B.C. 217
but had only one; for what proper authority or right of auspices did Flaminius possess? Magistrates, they urged, carried with them this prerogative when they set out from home—from their own and the nation's hearth—after celebrating the Latin Festival, sacrificing on the Alban Mount and duly offering up their vows on the Capitol; but a private citizen could neither take the auspices with him, nor, if he had left Rome without them, receive them new from the beginning on foreign soil.[1]

Men's fears were augmented by the prodigies reported simultaneously from many places: that in Sicily the javelins of several soldiers had taken fire, and that in Sardinia, as a horseman was making the round of the night-watch, the same thing had happened to the truncheon which he held in his hand; that many fires had blazed up on the shore; that two shields had sweated blood; that certain soldiers had been struck with lightning; that the sun's disk had seemed to be contracted; that glowing stones had fallen from the sky at Praeneste; that at Arpi bucklers had appeared in the sky and the sun had seemed to be fighting with the moon; that at Capena two moons had risen in the daytime; that the waters of Caere had flowed mixed with blood, and that bloodstains had appeared in the water that trickled from the spring of Hercules itself; that at Antium, when some men were reaping, bloody ears of corn had fallen into their basket; that at Falerii the sky had seemed to be rent as it were with a great fissure, and through the opening a bright light had shone; and that lots[2] had shrunk

[2] See note on p. 185.

A.U.C. 537 sponte excidisse[1] ita scriptam: "Mavors telum suum
12 concutit;" et per idem tempus Romae signum Martis Appia via ac simulacra luporum sudasse, et Capuae speciem caeli ardentis fuisse lunaeque[2] inter
13 imbrem cadentis. Inde minoribus etiam dictu prodigiis fides habita: capras lanatas quibusdam factas, et gallinam in marem, gallum in feminam sese vertisse.
14 His sicut erant nuntiata expositis auctoribusque in curiam introductis consul de religione patres con-
15 suluit. Decretum ut ea prodigia partim maioribus hostiis, partim lactentibus procurarentur, et uti supplicatio per triduum ad omnia pulvinaria haberetur;
16 cetera, cum decemviri libros inspexissent, ut ita fierent quem ad modum cordi esse divis[3] e car-
17 minibus[4] praefarentur. Decemvirorum monitu decretum est Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret et Iunoni[5] Minervaeque ex argento dona darentur et Iunoni reginae in Aventino Iunonique Sospitae Lanuvii maioribus
18 hostiis sacrificaretur matronaeque pecunia conlata, quantum conferre cuique commodum esset, donum Iunoni reginae in Aventinum ferrent lectisterniumque fieret,[6] et ut libertinae et ipsae, unde Feroniae

[1] sortes adtenuatas unamque sua sponte excidisse *Fleckeisen*: sortes sua sponte adtenuatas, etc., *P*.
[2] lunaeque *P*: lanaeque *Drakenborch*.
[3] esse divis ς: esset diuinis *P*.
[4] e carminibus *Madvig*: carminibus *P*.
[5] et Iunoni *Woelfflin*: iunoni *P*.
[6] fieret C^2: fieretque PC^1.

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[1] The archaic form of Mars.
[2] *i.e.* the Greek hexameters of the Sibylline Books, of which the *decemviri sacris faciundis* were custodians and interpreters.
[3] See note on p. 186.

and that one had fallen out without being touched, B.C. 217
on which was written, "Mavors[1] brandishes his spear;" that in Rome, about the same time, the statue of Mars on the Appian Way and the images of the wolves had sweated; that at Capua there had been the appearance of a sky on fire and of a moon that fell in the midst of a shower of rain. Afterwards less memorable prodigies were also given credence: that certain folk had found their goats to have got woolly fleeces; that a hen had changed into a cock and a cock into a hen.

When the consul had laid these reports before the senate exactly as they had come to him and had introduced into the House the men who vouched for their truth, he consulted the Fathers regarding their religious import. It was voted that these prodigies should be expiated, in part with greater, in part with lesser victims, and that a supplication should be held for three days at all the couches of the gods; as for the rest, when the decemvirs should have inspected the Books, such rites were to be observed as they should declare, in accordance with the sacred verses,[2] to be pleasing to the gods. Being so admonished by the decemvirs, they decreed that the first gift should be made to Jupiter, a golden thunderbolt weighing fifty pounds; and that Juno and Minerva should be given offerings of silver; that Juno Regina on the Aventine and Juno Sospita at Lanuvium should receive a sacrifice of greater victims, and that the matrons, each contributing as much as she could afford, should make up a sum of money and carry it as a gift to Juno Regina on the Aventine and there celebrate a *lectisternium*[3]; and that even the very freed-women

A.U.C. 537 donum daretur, pecuniam pro facultatibus suis conferrent.

19 Haec ubi facta, decemviri Ardeae in foro maioribus hostiis sacrificarunt. Postremo Decembri iam mense ad aedem Saturni Romae immolatum est lectisterniumque imperatum—eum[1] lectum senatores 20 straverunt—et convivium publicum, ac per urbem Saturnalia diem ac noctem clamata,[2] populusque eum diem festum habere ac servare in perpetuum iussus.

II. Dum consul placandis Romae dis habendoque[3] dilectu dat operam, Hannibal profectus ex hibernis, quia iam Flaminium consulem Arretium pervenisse[4] 2 fama erat, cum aliud longius ceterum commodius ostenderetur iter, propiorem viam per paludes petit, qua fluvius Arnus per eos dies solito magis inun- 3 daverat. Hispanos[5] et Afros et omne veterani robur exercitus[6] admixtis ipsorum impedimentis, necubi consistere coactis necessaria ad usus deessent, primos ire iussit, sequi Gallos, ut id agminis medium esset, 4 novissimos ire equites, Magonem inde cum expeditis Numidis cogere agmen, maxime Gallos, si taedio

[1] eum *Madvig*: et eum *P*.
[2] clamata *Gronovius*: clamatam *P*.
[3] dis habendoque *ς*: distrahendoque *P*.
[4] pervenisse *ς*: praeuenisse *P*.
[5] Hispanos *Drakenborch*: at spanos *P*.
[6] robur exercitus *C*: exercitus robur *M*: erat robur exercitus *P*.

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[1] Feronia was an old Etruscan deity, whose cult was brought to Rome from Capena. A goddess of springs and groves, she was also the traditional patroness of freedwomen.

[2] It was usually carried out by the decemvirs mentioned in § 7.

[3] The Saturnalia had been established as an annual

should contribute money, in proportion to their B.C. 217
abilities, for an offering to Feronia.[1]

These measures being taken, the decemvirs sacrificed at Ardea in the market-place with the greater victims. Finally—the month was now December—victims were slain at the temple of Saturn in Rome and a *lectisternium* was ordered—this time senators administered the rite[2]—and a public feast, and throughout the City for a day and a night "Saturnalia" was cried, and the people were bidden to keep that day as a holiday and observe it in perpetuity.[3]

II. While the consul was occupied at Rome in appeasing the gods and levying troops, Hannibal, who had left his winter quarters, heard that Flaminius, the other consul, had already arrived at Arretium; and so, though another route, longer, to be sure, but less difficult, was pointed out to him, he took the shorter, through the marshes, which the river Arno had lately flooded to an unusual extent. He ordered the Spaniards and the Africans and all the flower of his veteran army, taking their own baggage with them so as not to want the necessities of life wherever they might be forced to halt, to march in the van; the Gauls to follow them and form the centre of the column; and the cavalry to fall in behind. Mago and the Numidian light horse were to bring up the rear, their principal duty being to keep the Gauls in order, in case they should weary of the long and

festival in connexion with the dedication of the temple of Saturn on December 19th, 497 B.C. (I. xxi. 2). Now the public feast was added to the former rites, and in course of time the festival was prolonged for several days.

A.U.C. 537 laboris longaeque viae, ut est mollis ad talia gens, dilaberentur aut subsisterent, cohibentem.

5 Primi, qua modo praeirent duces, per praealtas fluvii ac profundas voragines, hausti paene limo 6 immergentesque se, tamen signa sequebantur. Galli neque sustinere se prolapsi neque adsurgere ex voraginibus poterant neque aut[1] corpora animis aut 7 animos spe sustinebant; alii fessa aegre trahentes membra, alii, ubi semel victis taedio animis procubuissent, inter iumenta et ipsa iacentia passim morientes; maximeque omnium vigiliae conficiebant 8 per quadriduum iam et tres noctes toleratae. Cum omnia obtinentibus aquis nihil ubi in sicco fessa sternerent corpora inveniri posset, cumulatis in aqua[2] 9 sarcinis insuper incumbebant, aut iumentorum[3] itinere toto prostratorum passim acervi, tantum quod exstaret aqua quaerentibus ad quietem parvi temporis, necessarium cubile dabant.

10 Ipse Hannibal, aeger oculis ex verna primum intemperie variante calores frigoraque, elephanto qui unus superfuerat quo altius ab aqua exstaret 11 vectus, vigiliis tamen et nocturno umore palustrique caelo gravante caput, et quia medendi nec locus nec tempus erat, altero oculo capitur.

[1] neque aut *A. Perizonius*: aut *P.*
[2] aqua *s*: aquas *P.*
[3] aut iumentorum *Hertz*: iumentorum *P.*

painful march—for the race is ill adapted to such hardships—and attempt to steal away or refuse to go forward. B.C. 217

Those in front only asked that their guides lead on before. Through deep and well-nigh bottomless quagmires left by the flood, almost engulfed in the mud into which they plunged, they nevertheless followed on after their standards. But the Gauls could neither keep from falling when they slipped, nor regain their footing, once they had plunged into a hole; the flesh was neither sustained by the spirit nor the spirit by hope. Some could hardly drag their tired limbs along; others, their courage yielding once for all to their weariness, dropped down and died amongst the baggage-animals, for these too were lying all about. What distressed them most of all was the want of sleep, which they had now endured for four days and three nights. And since everything was under water and they could find no dry spot on which to stretch their weary bodies, they would pile their packs in the flood and lie down on these; or the heaps of sumpter-animals that were everywhere strewn about along the line of march would afford a makeshift bed—for all they asked was a place that stood out above the water, where they could snatch a little sleep.

Hannibal himself, whose eyes were suffering in the first place from the trying spring weather, alternating betwixt hot and cold, rode upon the sole surviving elephant, that he might be higher above the water. But lack of sleep, damp nights, and the air of the marshes affected his head, and since he had neither place nor time for employing remedies, he lost the sight of one of his eyes.

A.U.C. 537

III. Multis hominibus iumentisque foede amissis cum tandem de paludibus emersisset, ubi primum in sicco potuit, castra locat; certumque per praemissos exploratores habuit exercitum Romanum
2 circa[1] Arreti moenia esse. Consulis deinde consilia atque animum et situm regionum itineraque et copias ad commeatus expediendos et cetera quae cognosse in rem erat summa omnia cum cura inquirendo exsequebatur.
3 Regio erat in primis Italiae fertilis, Etrusci campi, qui Faesulas inter Arretiumque iacent, frumenti ac
4 pecoris et omnium copia rerum opulenti; consul ferox ab consulatu priore et non modo legum aut patrum maiestatis sed ne deorum quidem satis metuens. Hanc insitam ingenio eius temeritatem fortuna prospero civilibus bellicisque rebus successu
5 aluerat. Itaque satis apparebat nec deos nec homines consulentem ferociter omnia ac praepropere acturum; quoque pronior esset in vitia sua, agitare eum atque
6 inritare Poenus parat, et laeva relicto hoste insidias[2] petens medio Etruriae agro praedatum profectus quantam maximam vastitatem potest caedibus incendiisque consuli procul ostendit.
7 Flaminius, qui ne quieto quidem hoste ipse

[1] circa ς: in circa *P*: in stativis circa *Luchs*.
[2] insidias *Luterbacher*: Faesulas *P*: a Faesulis petens medios Etruriae agros *Voss*.

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[1] When, in defiance of the senate, he had refused to abdicate his command because of an alleged flaw in his election, and had conquered the Insubres and triumphed in virtue of a popular decree (223 B.C.). See Summary of Book XIX, and XXI. lxiii. 2.

[2] Livy has in mind the passage of an agrarian law in 232 B.C., the continuation of the Via Flaminia to Ariminum,

III. Many men and beasts had perished miserably, B.C. 217
when at last he got out from the marshes, and pitching his camp on the first dry ground available, ascertained from scouts whom he had sent on ahead that the Roman army lay around the walls of Arretium. He then went to work with all possible diligence to learn the plans and temper of the consul, the lie of the land and the roads, his resources for provisioning the army—everything, in short, which it was important to find out.

The district was one of the most fertile in Italy, for the Etruscan plains between Faesulae and Arretium abound in corn and flocks and all sorts of provisions. The consul had been proud and headstrong since his former consulship,[1] and lacked all proper reverence, not only for the laws and for the senate's majesty, but even for the gods. This native rashness had been nourished by the success which Fortune had bestowed on him in political and military enterprises.[2] It was therefore sufficiently apparent that, seeking no counsel, either divine or human, he would manage everything with recklessness and headlong haste; but to make him incline the more towards his characteristic faults, the Phoenician planned to provoke and exasperate him. Leaving the enemy therefore on his left,[3] and looking out for an opportunity to ambush him, he proceeded to lay waste the heart of Etruria and exhibited to the consul from afar all the havoc that fire and sword could possibly effect.

Flaminius, even had his enemy sat still, was not

the erection of the Circus Flaminius, and the victory over the Insubres.

[3] See Map 4.

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quieturus erat, tum vero, postquam res sociorum ante oculos prope suos ferri agique vidit, suum id dedecus ratus, per mediam iam Italiam vagari Poenum atque obsistente nullo ad ipsa Romana
8 moenia ire oppugnanda, ceteris omnibus in consilio salutaria magis quam speciosa suadentibus—collegam exspectandum, ut coniunctis exercitibus communi
9 animo consilioque rem gererent, interim equitatu auxiliisque levium armorum ab effusa praedandi licentia hostem cohibendum—iratus se ex consilio proripuit signumque simul itineris pugnaeque cum
10 dedisset,[1] "Immo Arreti ante moenia sedeamus" inquit; "hic enim patria et penates sunt. Hannibal emissus e manibus perpopuletur Italiam vastandoque et urendo omnia ad Romana moenia perveniat, nec ante nos hinc moverimus quam, sicut olim Camillum a Veis,[2] C. Flaminium ab Arretio patres acciverint."
11 Haec simul increpans cum ocius signa convelli iuberet et ipse in equum insiluisset, equus repente corruit consulemque lapsum super caput effudit.
12 Territis omnibus qui circa erant velut foedo omine incipiendae rei insuper nuntiatur signum omni vi
13 moliente signifero convelli nequire. Conversus ad

[1] cum dedisset ς : cum *P*.
[2] a Veis (Veiis) *Fuegner* : abuelis P^1 : abueios P^2.

the man to have sat still himself; but now, when B.C. 217
he saw the farms of the allies being harried and pillaged almost under his own eyes, he felt it as a personal disgrace that the Phoenician should be roaming through the midst of Italy, and marching, with no one to dispute his passage, to assault the very walls of Rome. In the council of war the rest were all for safe in preference to showy measures: he should wait, they said, for his colleague to come up, in order that they might unite their forces and conduct the war with a common policy and resolution; meantime, he should employ his cavalry and skirmishers to check the enemy's widespread, unrestricted pillaging. Enraged by this advice, Flaminius flung out of the council, and having given the signal at once for marching and for fighting, exclaimed, "Ay, truly! Let us sit still under the walls of Arretium, for here are our native city and our household gods; let Hannibal slip through our fingers and ravage Italy, and, laying waste and burning everything, march clear to Rome; and let us not move from this spot, till the Fathers, as once they summoned Camillus from Veii, shall summon Gaius Flaminius from Arretium."

Uttering these scornful words he bade pluck up the standards quickly, and vaulted upon his horse, when suddenly the charger stumbled, and unseating the consul threw him over his head. The dismay which this occasioned in all who were present, as an evil omen for beginning the campaign, was intensified on its being reported that, although the standard-bearer was exerting all his might, the standard could not be pulled up. Rounding upon

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nuntium "Num litteras quoque" inquit "ab senatu adfers quae me rem gerere vetent?[1] Abi, nuntia effodiant signum, si ad convellendum manus prae metu obtorpuerunt."[2]

14 Incedere inde agmen coepit primoribus, superquam quod dissenserant ab consilio, territis etiam duplici prodigio, milite in volgus laeto ferocia ducis, cum spem magis ipsam quam causam spei intueretur.

IV. Hannibal quod agri est inter Cortonam urbem Trasumennumque[3] lacum omni clade belli pervastat, quo magis iram hosti ad vindicandas sociorum iniurias
2 acuat. Et iam pervenerat[4] ad loca nata insidiis, ubi maxime montes Cortonenses Trasumennus subit. Via tantum interest perangusta, velut ad id[5] ipsum de industria relicto spatio; deinde paulo latior
3 patescit campus; inde colles insurgunt.[6] Ibi castra in aperto locat, ubi ipse cum Afris modo Hispanisque consideret; Baliares ceteramque levem armaturam post montes circumducit; equites ad ipsas fauces saltus tumulis apte tegentibus locat, ut ubi intrassent Romani obiecto equitatu clausa omnia lacu ac montibus essent.

4 Flaminius cum pridie solis occasu ad lacum pervenisset, inexplorato postero die vixdum satis certa

[1] vetent ς: uetant *P*.

[2] obtorpuerunt *Madvig*: obtorpuerit *P*: obtorpuerint ς.

[3] *Here and elsewhere the word is printed with the spelling approved by Ritschl, Rhein. Mus.* 22 (1867) 603: *the MSS. display various corruptions.*

[4] pervenerit *Stroth*: peruenerant *P*.

[5] velut ad id ς: uel ad *P*.

[6] insurgunt *Madvig*: adinsurgunt *P*: adsurgunt ς.

the messenger the consul cried, "Do you bring me B.C. 217
a dispatch too from the senate, forbidding me to fight? Go, tell them to *dig* the standard out, if their hands are too numb with fear to *pull* it up!"

The column then began to advance, though the higher officers, besides disapproving of the consul's plan, were terrified by the double prodigy. The soldiers, most of them, rejoiced in the temerity of their commander: their hopes ran high: the grounds for hoping they did not scrutinize.

IV. Hannibal laid waste the land between the city of Cortona and Lake Trasumennus with every circumstance of cruelty known to war, in order the more to whet his enemy's anger and prompt him to avenge the sufferings of his allies. And now he had reached a spot designed by nature for an ambuscade, where Trasumennus approaches closest to the mountains of Cortona. Between them is nothing but a very narrow track, as though room had been left expressly for this purpose; the ground then widens into a little plain; beyond this the hills rise steeply. At this point he laid out a camp in the open, for himself and his African and Spanish troops only; the Baliares and the rest of his light-armed forces he led round behind the mountains; the cavalry he stationed near the entrance to the defile, where some hillocks formed a convenient screen for them, so that when the Romans should have entered the pass, they might block the road, and trap the entire army between the lake and the mountains.

Flaminius had reached the lake at sunset; the next morning, without reconnoitring, and scarcely waiting for broad daylight, he passed through the

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luce angustiis superatis, postquam in patentiorem campum pandi agmen coepit, id tantum hostium quod ex adverso erat conspexit; ab tergo ac super caput non detectae[1] insidiae. Poenus ubi, id quod petierat, clausum lacu ac montibus et circumfusum suis copiis habuit hostem, signum omnibus dat simul invadendi. Qui ubi qua cuique[2] proximum fuit decucurrerunt, eo magis Romanis subita atque improvisa res fuit, quod orta ex lacu nebula campo quam montibus densior sederat agminaque hostium ex pluribus collibus[3] ipsa inter se satis conspecta eoque magis pariter decucurrerant. Romanus clamore prius undique orto quam satis cerneret, se circumventum esse sensit, et ante in frontem lateraque pugnari coeptum est quam satis instrueretur acies aut expediri arma stringique gladii possent.

V. Consul perculsis omnibus ipse satis, ut in re trepida,[4] impavidus turbatos ordines vertente se quoque ad dissonos clamores instruit, ut tempus locusque patitur, et quacumque adire[5] audirique potest adhortatur ac stare ac pugnare iubet: nec enim inde votis aut imploratione deum, sed vi ac virtute evadendum esse; per medias acies ferro viam fieri, et quo timoris minus sit eo minus ferme periculi

[1] non detectae *Novák*: deceptae *P*.
[2] qua cuique *Priscian* x. xliii: quaque *P*.
[3] collibus *Lipsius*: uallibus *P*: callibus *Rossbach* (*Praef. Per p* xxvi.[1]).
[4] re trepida ς: trepida *P*.
[5] adire *Gebhard*: adiri *P*.

[1] Polybius (III. lxxxiv. 6) says that Flaminius was in "the utmost dismay and dejection" (δυσχρηστούμενον καὶ περικακοῦντα). Livy's description of the battle agrees in the main with that of Polybius; the praise of Flaminius may perhaps be derived from Coelius Antipater. See J. Janssen in *Mnemosyne*, 54 (1926), 189–194.

defile. As the column began to spread out on the more open ground, they caught sight of those enemies only who were right in front of them; the ambush in their rear and that above them they failed to perceive. The Phoenician had now gained his object, the Romans were hemmed in between the mountains and the lake and their escape cut off by his own troops, when he made the signal for all his forces to attack at once. As they charged down, each at the nearest point, their onset was all the more sudden and unforeseen inasmuch as the mist from the lake lay less thickly on the heights than on the plain, and the attacking columns had been clearly visible to one another from the various hills and had therefore delivered their charge at more nearly the same instant. From the shouting that arose on every side the Romans learned, before they could clearly see, that they were surrounded; and they were already engaged on their front and flank before they could properly form up or get out their arms and draw their swords. B.C. 217

V. Amidst the general consternation the consul himself displayed—if allowance be made for the terrifying circumstances—considerable coolness.[1] He brought such order as time and place permitted out of the confusion in the ranks, where the men were all turning different ways to face the various shouts; and wherever he could go and make himself heard, he tried to encourage them and bade them stand and fight. Their position, he said, was one from which vows and supplications to the gods could not extricate them, but only their own brave exertions: it was the sword that opened a way through embattled enemies, and the less men

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3 esse. Ceterum prae strepitu ac tumultu nec consilium nec imperium accipi poterat, tantumque aberat ut sua signa atque ordines et[1] locum noscerent[2] ut vix ad arma capienda aptandaque pugnae competeret animus opprimerenturque quidam onerati magis iis quam tecti. Et erat in tanta caligine maior
4 usus aurium quam oculorum. Ad gemitus volnerum[3] ictusque corporum aut armorum et mixtos terrentium paventiumque clamores circumferebant ora oculosque.
5 Alii fugientes pugnantium globo inlati haerebant, alios redeuntes in pugnam avertebat fugientium
6 agmen. Deinde, ubi in omnes partes nequiquam impetus capti et ab lateribus montes ac lacus, a fronte et ab tergo hostium acies claudebant, apparuitque nullam nisi in dextera ferroque salutis
7 spem esse, tum sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam, et nova de integro exorta pugna est, non illa ordinata per principes hastatosque ac triarios, nec ut pro signis antesignani post signa alia pugnaret acies, nec ut in sua legione miles aut
8 cohorte aut manipulo esset: fors conglobabat,[4] et animus suus cuique ante aut post pugnandi ordinem dabat; tantusque fuit ardor animorum, adeo intentus pugnae animus,[5] ut eum motum terrae qui multarum

[1] ordines et *Hertz*: ordinemsed *P.*
[2] noscerent ς: nosceret *P.*
[3] vol(uul-)nerum *P*: vulneratorum *Ruperti.*
[4] conglobabat ς: conglobat *P* (*Gronovius*).
[5] adeo intentus pugnae animus *P*: adeoque intentus pugnae *Riemann* (*but cf. Weissenborn-Mueller on* IV. lxi. 8).

feared, the less, in general, was their danger. But B.C. 217
the din and confusion were so great that neither advice nor orders could be heard, and so far were the men from knowing their proper standards companies and places, that they had hardly enough spirit to arm and prepare themselves to fight, and some were borne down while more encumbered than protected by their armour. Indeed the fog was so thick that ears were of more use than eyes, and the groans of the wounded, the sound of blows on body or armour and the mingled shouts and screams of assailants and assailed made them turn and gaze, now this way and now that. Some, as they sought to escape, were swept into a crowd of combatants and held there; others, trying to get back into the fight, were turned aside by a throng of fugitives. When attempts to break through had resulted everywhere in failure and they found themselves shut in on the flanks by the mountains and the lake, and in front and rear by the enemy; when it became apparent that their only hope of safety lay in their right arms and their swords; then every man became his own commander and urged himself to action, and the battle began all over again. It was no ordered battle, with the troops marshalled in triple line, nor did the vanguard fight before the standards and the rest of the army behind them, neither did each soldier keep to his proper legion cohort and maniple: it was chance that grouped them, and every man's own valour assigned him his post in van or rear; and such was the frenzy of their eagerness and so absorbed were they in fighting, that an earthquake, violent enough to overthrow large portions of many of the towns of

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urbium Italiae magnas partes prostravit avertitque cursu rapidos amnes, mare fluminibus invexit, montes lapsu ingenti proruit, nemo pugnantium senserit.

VI. Tres ferme horas pugnatum est et ubique atrociter; circa consulem tamen acrior infestiorque
2 pugna.[1] Eum et robora virorum sequebantur, et ipse, quacumque in parte premi ac laborare senserat
3 suos, impigre ferebat opem; insignemque armis et hostes summa vi petebant et tuebantur cives, donec Insuber eques—Ducario nomen erat—facie quoque noscitans consulem, "En" inquit "hic est,"[2] popularibus suis, "qui legiones nostras cecidit agrosque
4 et urbem est depopulatus; iam ego hanc victimam manibus peremptorum foede civium dabo;" subditisque calcaribus equo per confertissimam hostium turbam impetum facit obtruncatoque prius armigero, qui se infesto venienti obviam obiecerat, consulem lancea transfixit; spoliare cupientem triarii obiectis scutis arcuere.

5 Magnae partis fuga inde primum coepit; et iam nec lacus nec montes pavori obstabant; per omnia arta praeruptaque velut caeci evadunt, armaque et
6 viri super alios alii[3] praecipitantur. Pars magna, ubi locus fugae deest, per prima vada paludis in aquam progressi, quoad capitibus umerisque[4] exstare

[1] pugna *H. J. Mueller*: pugna est *P*: pugna erat ς.
[2] "En" inquit "hic est" *Weissenborn*: inquit hic est *P*.
[3] super alios alii *H. J. Mueller*: super alium alii *P*: super alium alius *Riemann*.
[4] umerisque (hu-) ς: umeris *P*: umerisve *Weissenborn*

[1] The *triarii* were, properly speaking, the soldiers of the third line. These would be veterans, and Livy uses the word in that general sense here. As he has told us

Italy, turn swift streams from their courses, carry B.C. 217
the sea up into rivers, and bring down mountains with great landslides, was not even felt by any of the combatants.

VI. The conflict lasted for about three hours, and was bitterly contested at every point; but nowhere did it rage so fiercely as about the consul. He was attended by the bravest of his soldiers and stoutly lent a hand himself, wherever he saw the Romans hard pressed and in dire straits. His arms made him conspicuous, and the enemy attacked and his own people defended him with the greatest fury, until an Insubrian horseman, named Ducarius, who recognized the consul also by his face, cried out to his countrymen, "Behold the man who massacred our legions and laid waste our fields and our city! Now will I offer him up as a sacrifice to the shades of our fellow citizens so foully slain!" Then clapping spurs to his horse, he dashed through the very thick of his enemies, and first cutting down the armour-bearer, who had thrown himself in the way of his onset, transfixed the consul with his spear, but could not despoil him, for the veterans[1] interposed their shields and kept him off.

A great part of the Romans now began to run; neither lake nor mountains could any longer check the panic; defiles and precipices were all alike to them, as they rushed blindly to escape, and arms and men came down pell-mell together. Many, having no room to flee, waded out into the shallow water at the margin of the lake, and kept on till only their heads and shoulders were above the

(chap. v. § 7), the army had no time to form into the usual three lines (*hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*).

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possunt sese immergunt. Fuere quos inconsultus
7 pavor nando etiam capessere fugam impulerit, quae ubi immensa ac sine spe erat, aut deficientibus animis hauriebantur gurgitibus aut nequiquam fessi vada retro[1] aegerrime repetebant atque ibi ab ingressis aquam hostium equitibus passim trucidabantur.

8 Sex milia ferme primi agminis per adversos hostes eruptione impigre facta, ignari omnium quae post se agerentur, ex saltu evasere; et cum in tumulo quodam constitissent, clamorem modo ac sonum armorum audientes, quae fortuna pugnae esset neque
9 scire nec perspicere prae caligine poterant. Inclinata denique re cum incalescente sole dispulsa nebula aperuisset diem, tum liquida iam luce montes campique perditas res stratamque ostendere foede
10 Romanam aciem. Itaque, ne in conspectos procul immitteretur eques, sublatis raptim signis quam
11 citatissimo poterant agmine sese abripuerunt. Postero die cum super cetera extrema fames etiam instaret, fidem dante Maharbale, qui cum omnibus equestribus copiis nocte consecutus erat, si arma tradidissent, abire cum singulis vestimentis passurum, sese de-
12 diderunt; quae Punica religione servata fides ab Hannibale est, atque in vincula omnes coniecti.

VII. Haec est nobilis ad Trasumennum pugna

[1] fessi vada retro *Gronovius*: festiua/darentro P^1: festinauerant retro P^2.

surface. Some were driven by their unreasoning panic even to attempt escape by swimming; but this was an endless, desperate undertaking, and either their hearts failed them and they sank in the deep water, or else, exhausted to no purpose, they struggled back with difficulty to the shoals, and were cut down on every hand by the horsemen, who rode into the water after them. B.C. 217

Some six thousand of those in the van made a valiant thrust through the enemy that barred their way, and got out of the defile without knowing anything of what was going on behind them. Taking up their stand on some rising ground, whence they could only hear the shouting and the clash of arms, they could neither know nor make out, for the murk, which way the victory was going. It was not until the battle was decided, that the mist dissolved with the growing heat of the sun and revealed the day, when the clear light on hill and plain showed that all was lost and the Roman army shamefully discomfited. And so, lest they should be seen afar and the enemy's cavalry be sent against them, they hurriedly pulled up their standards and marched off as fast as they could go. On the following day, when besides their other misfortunes they were threatened also with the extremity of hunger, Maharbal—who with all the cavalry had overtaken them in the night—pledged his word that if they delivered up their arms, he would let them go, with a single garment each, and they surrendered. This pledge Hannibal observed with true Punic reverence and threw them all into chains.

VII. Such was the famous battle of Trasumennus,

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atque inter paucas memorata populi Romani clades. 2 Quindecim milia Romanorum in acie caesa; decem milia sparsa fuga per omnem Etruriam diversis iti- 3 neribus urbem petiere; duo milia quingenti hostium in acie, multi postea[1] ex volneribus periere. Multi- 4 plex caedes utrimque facta traditur ab aliis; ego, praeterquam quod nihil auctum ex vano velim, quo nimis inclinant ferme scribentium animi, Fabium aequalem temporibus huiusce belli potissimum auc- 5 torem habui. Hannibal captivorum qui Latini nominis essent sine pretio dimissis, Romanis in vincula datis, segregata ex hostium coacervatorum cumulis corpora suorum cum sepeliri iussisset, Flamini quoque corpus funeris causa magna cum cura inquisitum non invenit.

6 Romae ad primum nuntium cladis eius cum ingenti terrore ac tumultu concursus in forum populi est factus. 7 Matronae vagae per vias, quae repens clades adlata quaeve fortuna exercitus esset, obvios pecunctantur. Et cum frequentis contionis modo turba in comitium 8 et curiam versa magistratus vocaret, tandem haud multo ante solis occasum M. Pomponius praetor 9 "Pugna," inquit "magna victi sumus"; et quamquam nihil certius ex eo auditum est, tamen alius ab alio impleti rumoribus domos referunt consulem cum

[1] postea *Perizonius*: postea utrimque *P.*

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[1] Fabius Pictor, who wrote annals in Greek, was used by Polybius, as well as by Livy.

a disaster memorable as few others have been in B.C. 217
Roman history. Fifteen thousand Romans were killed on the field; ten thousand, scattered in flight over all Etruria, made their way by different roads to the City. Two thousand five hundred of the enemy fell in the battle and many perished subsequently of their wounds. Some writers multiply the losses on both sides: I myself, besides that I would not idly exaggerate anything—a vice to which historians are in general all too prone—have taken Fabius,[1] who lived at the time of this war, as my authority, in preference to any other. Hannibal dismissed scot-free the prisoners of the Latin name and gave the Romans into captivity. Having issued orders that the bodies of his own dead should be sorted out from the heaps of their enemies and buried, he would have given the body of Flaminius burial also, but though he caused it to be searched for with great diligence, he could not find it.

At Rome the first tidings of this defeat brought the citizens into the Forum in a frightened and tumultuous throng, while the matrons wandered about the streets and demanded of all they met what sudden disaster had been reported and how it was going with the army. And when the crowd, like some vast public assembly, turned to the Comitium and the senate-house and called for the magistrates, at last, as the sun was almost going down, Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, said, "A great battle has been fought, and we were beaten." And although they learned nothing more definite from him, still they picked up a rumour here and a rumour there, and returning to their homes brought word that the

A.U.C. 537 magna parte copiarum caesum, superesse paucos aut fuga passim per Etruriam sparsos aut captos ab hoste.

10 Quot casus exercitus victi fuerant, tot in curas distracti[1] animi eorum erant quorum propinqui sub C. Flaminio consule meruerant, ignorantium quae cuiusque suorum fortuna esset; nec quisquam satis
11 certum habet, quid aut speret aut timeat. Postero ac deinceps aliquot diebus ad portas maior prope mulierum quam virorum multitudo stetit aut suorum aliquem aut nuntios de iis opperiens; circumfundebanturque obviis sciscitantes neque avelli, utique ab notis, priusquam ordine omnia inquisissent, poterant.
12 Inde varios voltus digredientium ab nuntiis cerneres, ut cuique laeta aut tristia nuntiabantur, gratulantesque aut consolantes redeuntibus domos circumfusos. Feminarum praecipue et gaudia insignia erant et
13 luctus. Unam in ipsa porta sospiti filio repente oblatam in complexu[2] eius exspirasse ferunt; alteram, cui mors filii falso nuntiata erat, maestam sedentem domi ad primum conspectum redeuntis[3] gaudio
14 nimio exanimatam. Senatum praetores per dies aliquot ab orto usque ad occidentem solem in curia retinent, consultantes quonam duce aut quibus copiis resisti victoribus Poenis posset.

[1] distracti *Weissenborn*: dispraeti *P*.
[2] com(con-)plexu *Alschefski* (*cf. Val. Max.* IX. xii. 2): conspexu P^1: conspectu P^2.
[3] redeuntis *H. J. Mueller* (*Val. Max. l.l.*): redeuntis fili *P*.

consul and a great part of his soldiers had been slain: that only a few survived, either dispersed as fugitives throughout Etruria or taken prisoners by the enemy. B.C. 217

The vicissitudes of the defeated army were no more various than the apprehensions which preyed upon the minds of those whose relatives had served under Gaius Flaminius, the consul. They were ignorant of how those dear to each of them were faring, nor did anyone really know what to hope or fear. On the next and on several succeeding days the City gates were thronged with a crowd in which the women almost outnumbered the men, waiting for some kinsman, or for news of him. Surrounding anybody who came along, they plied him with questions, nor could they tear themselves away—especially from those they were acquainted with—until they had enquired into every detail. Very different were the expressions you would have noted in their countenances, according as the tidings they received were glad or sorrowful, when they moved away from their informants and returned to their homes, surrounded by friends, congratulating or consoling them. The women especially exhibited extremes of joy and grief; one, on suddenly meeting her son safe and sound at the very gate, expired, they say, in his embrace; another, whose son had been falsely reported dead, sat sorrowing at home, and no sooner beheld him entering the house, than she died of excessive joy. For some days the praetors kept the senate in session in the Curia, from sunrise until sunset, deliberating with what possible commander or what forces they could withstand the victorious Phoenicians.

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VIII. Priusquam satis certa consilia essent, repens alia nuntiatur clades, quattuor milia equitum cum C. Centenio[1] propraetore missa ad collegam ab Servilio consule in Umbria, quo post pugnam ad Trasumennum auditam averterant iter, ab Hannibale circumventa. Eius rei fama varie homines adfecit: pars occupatis maiore aegritudine animis levem ex comparatione priorum ducere recentem equitum iacturam; pars non id quod acciderat per se aestimare, sed, ut in adfecto corpore quamvis levis causa magis quam in valido[2] gravior sentiretur, ita tum aegrae et adfectae civitati quodcumque adversi incideret non rerum magnitudine sed viribus extenuatis, quae nihil quod adgravaret pati possent, aestimandum esse. Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici posse videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile erat aut nuntium aut litteras mitti,[3] quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populus creavit Q. Fabium Maximum et magistrum equitum M. Minucium Rufum; iisque negotium ab senatu datum ut muros turresque urbis firmarent et praesidia disponerent, quibus locis

[1] Centenio *Sigonius*: centonio *P*.
[2] in valido *Drakenborch*: ualido *P*: ualitudo P^2.
[3] mitti *Mommsen*: mitti nec dictatorem populo creare poterat *P*: mitti, nec dictatorem praetor creare poterat *Weissenborn*.

VIII. They had not yet fully determined what to B.C. 217
do, when, lo! another disaster was reported, for which they were quite unprepared. Four thousand horse under the propraetor Gaius Centenius had been sent by the Consul Servilius to join his colleague; but on hearing of the battle at Trasumennus they had turned aside into Umbria, and had there fallen into the hands of Hannibal. The news of this affair affected people variously: some, whose thoughts were taken up with a greater sorrow, regarded this fresh loss of the cavalry as trivial in comparison with their former losses; others refused to judge of the misfortune as an isolated fact, but held that, just as when a man was sick, any disorder, however slight, was felt more than a worse one would be by a healthy man, so now, when the state was sick and suffering, any untoward occurrence should be gauged not by its intrinsic importance but by the enfeebled condition of the commonwealth, which could endure no aggravation. And so the citizens had recourse to a remedy that had now for a long time neither been employed nor needed—the creation of a dictator. And because the consul, who alone was supposed to possess the power to nominate one, was absent, and because it was no easy matter, when Italy was beset with Punic arms, to get a courier or a letter through to him, they did what had never been done until that day, and created a dictator by popular election. Their choice fell on Quintus Fabius Maximus, and Marcus Minucius Rufus they made master of the horse. To them the senate entrusted the task of strengthening the walls and towers of the City, of disposing its defences as to them seemed good, and

A.U.C. 537 videretur, pontesque rescinderent fluminum: pro urbe ac penatibus dimicandum esse, quando Italiam tueri nequissent.

IX. Hannibal recto itinere per Umbriam usque 2 ad Spoletium venit. Inde cum perpopulato agro urbem oppugnare adortus esset, cum magna caede suorum repulsus, coniectans ex unius coloniae haud[1] prospere temptatae viribus quanta moles Romanae 3 urbis esset, in agrum Picenum avertit iter non copia solum omnis generis frugum abundantem, sed refertum praeda, quam effuse avidi atque egentes rapie- 4 bant. Ibi per dies aliquot stativa habita refectusque miles hibernis itineribus ac palustri via proelioque magis ad eventum secundo quam levi aut facili 5 adfectus. Ubi satis quietis datum praeda ac populationibus magis quam otio aut requie gaudentibus, profectus Praetutianum Hadrianumque agrum, Marsos inde Marrucinosque et Paelignos devastat circaque Arpos et Luceriam proximam Apuliae regionem.

6 Cn. Servilius consul levibus proeliis cum Gallis factis[2] et uno oppido ignobili expugnato postquam de collegae exercitusque caede audivit, iam moenibus patriae metuens, ne abesset in discrimine extremo, ad urbem iter intendit.

7 Q. Fabius Maximus dictator iterum quo die magis-

[1] haud ς: haud minue *P*: haud maximae minime *Madvig.*
[2] factis *Gronovius*: actis *P.*

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[1] The Anio and the Tiber.

[2] Servilius, on marching south with his consular army, left in northern Italy the forces originally destined to hold the Gauls in check.

of breaking down the bridges over the rivers:[1] they would have to fight for their City and their homes, since they had not been able to save Italy. B.C. 217

IX. Hannibal marched straight on through Umbria as far as Spoletium. But when, after systematically ravaging the country, he attempted to storm the town, he was repulsed with heavy losses; and conjecturing from the strength of a single colony which he had unsuccessfully attacked how vast an undertaking the City of Rome would be, he turned aside into the Picentine territory, a land not only abounding in all kinds of produce, but filled with livestock, which his greedy and impoverished men gathered in from far and wide. He remained in camp there for some days, while his soldiers recovered from the marches they had made in wintry weather and through swamps, and from the battle, which, however successful its outcome, had been no light or easy adventure. After allowing sufficient rest to his soldiers, who delighted more in booty and rapine than in quiet and repose, he resumed his march and laid waste the Praetutian and Hadrian fields, and after these the lands of the Marsi, Marrucini and Paeligni, and the nearest part of Apulia, in the vicinity of Arpi and Luceria.

Gnaeus Servilius, the consul, had engaged in skirmishes with the Gauls and had taken one insignificant town by assault, when he learned of the destruction of his colleague and the army, and being now alarmed for the safety of the capital, lest he should be absent in the very crisis of its peril, set out for Rome.[2]

Quintus Fabius Maximus, dictator now for the

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tratum iniit vocato senatu, ab dis orsus cum edocuisset patres plus neglegentia caerimoniarum auspiciorumque quam[1] temeritate atque inscitia peccatum a C. Flaminio consule esse, quaeque piacula irae deum
8 essent ipsos deos consulendos esse, pervicit ut, quod non ferme decernitur, nisi cum taetra prodigia nuntiata sunt, decemviri libros Sibyllinos adire
9 iuberentur. Qui inspectis fatalibus libris rettulerunt patribus, quod eius belli causa votum Marti foret, id non rite factum de integro atque amplius
10 faciundum esse, et Iovi ludos magnos et aedes Veneri Erycinae ac Menti vovendas esse et supplicationem lectisterniumque habendum et ver sacrum vovendum, si bellatum prospere esset resque publica in eodem quo ante bellum fuisset statu permansis-
11 set. Senatus, quoniam Fabium belli cura occupatura esset, M. Aemilium praetorem, ex collegii pontificum sententia, omnia ea ut mature fiant curare iubet.

X. His senatus consultis perfectis L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus consulente collegium praetore[2] omnium primum populum consulendum de

[1] auspiciorumque quam ς (*Sigonius*): auspiciorum *P.*
[2] collegium praetore *Lipsius*: collegio praetorum *P.*

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[1] Fabius had been named dictator (probably in one of the years 221 to 219), to preside over the elections, but there had been no military dictator since Aulus Atilius Calatinus in 249.

[2] This vow is not mentioned at XXI. xvii. 4 or lxii. 10.

[3] The Romans prayed to Mens (or Mens Bona) for good sense and modesty (*σωφροσύνη*), qualities which had been conspicuously lacking in the conduct of Flaminius. The context here (Venus of Eryx, Sibylline books), together with coins of Paestum representing a goddess shown by the legend to be Bona Mens, and many inscriptions from Magna Graecia attesting the existence of priestly officials called *magistri Mentis Bonae*, points clearly to a Greek origin for the cult, which is several times alluded to by Roman authors

second time,[1] convened the senate on the day he entered upon his office. Taking up first the question of religion, he convinced the Fathers that the consul Flaminius had erred more through his neglect of the ceremonies and the auspices than through his recklessness and ignorance; and asserting that they ought to enquire of the gods themselves how the displeasure of the gods might be appeased, prevailed with them to do what is rarely done except when dreadful prodigies have been announced, and order the decemvirs to consult the Sibylline books. When the decemvirs had inspected the Books of Fate, they reported to the Fathers that the vow which had been made to Mars on account of this war[2] had not been duly performed, and must be performed afresh and on an ampler scale; that great games must be vowed to Jupiter, and temples to Venus Erycina and to Mens[3]; and finally that a supplication and *lectisternium* must be celebrated in honour of the gods, and a Sacred Spring be vowed, if they proved victorious and the state remained as it had been before the outbreak of hostilities. The senate, seeing that Fabius would be occupied with the conduct of the war, commanded Marcus Aemilius the praetor, as the college of pontifices had recommended, to see that all these measures were promptly put into effect. B.C. 217

X. When the senate had passed these resolutions, the praetor consulted the college, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, the Pontifex Maximus, gave his opinion that first of all a popular vote must

(Cicero, Propertius, Ovid, Persius). The two shrines stood close together on the Capitol (XXX. xxx. 16). See Wissowa, p. 313 f.

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vere sacro censet: iniussu populi voveri non posse.
2 Rogatus in haec verba populus: "Velitis iubeatisne haec sic fieri? Si res publica populi Romani Quiritium ad quinquennium proximum, sicut[1] velim eam[2] salvam, servata erit[3] hisce duellis, quod duellum populo Romano cum Carthaginiensi est, quaeque
3 duella cum Gallis sunt qui cis Alpes sunt, ratum[4] donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium,[5] quod ver attulerit ex suillo ovillo caprino bovillo grege, quaeque profana erunt, Iovi fieri, ex qua die senatus
4 populusque iusserit. Qui faciet, quando volet quaque lege volet facito; quo modo faxit, probe factum esto.
5 Si id moritur quod fieri oportebit, profanum esto neque scelus esto; si quis rumpet occidetve insciens, ne fraus esto; si quis clepsit,[6] ne populo scelus esto
6 neve cui cleptum erit; si atro die faxit insciens, probe factum esto; si nocte sive luce, si servus sive liber faxit, probe factum esto; si antidea quam[7]

[1] sicut *Ursinus*: sic ***P.***

[2] eam *Ursinus*: eamque *P*: eam esse *Haupt*: voveamque *Madvig*: olim *Hasenmueller.*

[3] servata erit *Ursinus*: seruaverit *P.*

[4] ratum *Rossbach*: datum *P*: tum *Madvig.*

[5] *The words* datum donum duit populus Romanus Quiritium *stand in P before* quod duellum populo. *Lipsius transposed them.*

[6] clepsit *vulg.*: clepset *P* (*and below* cleptum *vulg.*: coeptum *PM*: ceptum *C*).

[7] antidea quam *Luchs*: antidea ac *Stroth*: anteidea *P.*

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[1] The *ver sacrum* was not actually celebrated until 195 B.C., and a flaw in the ceremonies necessitated a repetition in the following year (XXXIV. lxiv. 1–3).

[2] The period appointed was March 1st to April 30th (*ibid.*).

be taken about the Sacred Spring; for it could B.C. 217
not be vowed without the authorization of the people. The question was put to them in this form: "Do you will and so order that these things be done in the manner following? If the Republic of the Roman People, the Quirites, shall be preserved for the next five years[1]—as I would wish it preserved—in these wars, to wit, the war of the Roman People with the People of Carthage and the wars with the Gauls on this side of the Alps, let the Roman People, the Quirites, offer up in indefeasible sacrifice to Jupiter what the spring shall have produced of swine, sheep, goats and cattle—which shall not have been consecrated to some other deity—beginning with the day which the senate and the People shall have designated.[2] Let him who shall make a sacrifice do so at such time and by such rite as shall seem good to him; in what manner soever he does it, let it be accounted duly done. If the animal which he ought to sacrifice dies, let it be deemed unconsecrate and let no guilt attach to him; if any shall hurt it or slay it unawares, let it be no sin; if any shall steal it, let no guilt attach to the People nor to him from whom it shall have been stolen; if he shall sacrifice unwittingly on a black day,[3] let the sacrifice be deemed to have been duly made; by night or by day, if slave or freeman perform the sacrifice, let it be deemed to have been duly made; if sacrifice shall be performed before the senate and the People

[3] *Dies atri*—called also *nefasti* and *religiosi*—were the days following the Calends, Nones and Ides, and the anniversaries of certain national disasters, like the defeat on the Allia. On such days no public business might be transacted.

A.U.C. 537 senatus populusque iusserit fieri[1] faxitur, eo populus solutus liber esto."

7 Eiusdem rei causa ludi magni voti aeris trecentis[2] tringinta tribus milibus trecentis triginta tribus[3] triente, praeterea bubus Iovi trecentis, multis aliis divis 8 bubus albis atque ceteris hostiis. Votis rite nuncupatis supplicatio edicta; supplicatumque iere cum[4] coniugibus ac liberis non urbana multitudo tantum sed agrestium etiam quos in aliqua sua fortuna 9 publica quoque contingebat cura. Tum lectisternium per triduum habitum[5] decemviris sacrorum curantibus. Sex pulvinaria in conspectu fuerunt: Iovi ac Iunoni unum, alterum Neptuno ac Minervae, tertium Marti ac Veneri, quartum Apollini ac Dianae, quintum Volcano ac Vestae, sextum Mercurio et Cereri. 10 Tum aedes votae: Veneri Erycinae aedem Q. Fabius Maximus dictator vovit, quia ita ex fatalibus libris editum[6] erat, ut is voveret cuius maximum imperium in civitate esset; Menti aedem T. Otacilius praetor vovit.

XI. Ita rebus divinis peractis tum de bello deque

[1] fieri *Stroth*: fieri ac *P.*
[2] trecentis triginta tribus *Budaeus* (*Plut.*, *Fab.* 4): CCXXXIII *P.*
[3] trecentis triginta tribus *inserted by Budaeus* (*Plut.*, ibid.).
[4] supplicatumque iere cum *Gronovius*: supplicatumquiregum *P.*
[5] habitum *s*: habitum per *P.*
[6] editum *s*: edictum *P.*

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[1] These were probably libral *asses* (of a pound each) and not the reduced *asses* of one *uncia* (ounce) each which Pliny says were coined this year (*Q. Fabio Maximo dictatore*) and were reckoned at sixteen to the *denarius* (*Nat. Hist.*, XXXIII, xlv.). With this use of the number three editors cp. Aen. I, 265ff., where Jupiter foretells that Aeneas shall reign *three*

shall have ordered it to be performed, let the People B.C. 217
be absolved therefrom and free of obligation."

For the same cause great games were vowed, to cost three hundred and thirty-three thousand, three hundred and thirty-three and a third bronze *asses*,[1] and, besides, a sacrifice to Jupiter of three hundred oxen, and of white oxen and the other customary victims to many other gods. When the vows had been duly pronounced, a supplication was decreed, and was performed not only by the urban population, with their wives and children, but by such country folk besides, as, having some fortune of their own, were beginning to feel concern for the Commonwealth. A *lectisternium* was then celebrated during three days under the supervision of the decemvirs who had charge of sacrifices. Six couches were displayed: one for Jupiter and Juno, a second for Neptune and Minerva, a third for Mars and Venus, a fourth for Apollo and Diana, a fifth for Vulcan and Vesta, a sixth for Mercury and Ceres.[2] The temples were then vowed—that to Venus Erycina by Quintus Fabius Maximus the dictator, because the Books of Fate had given out that he whose authority in the state was paramount should make the vow; and the temple to Mens by the praetor Titus Otacilius.

XI. Religious duties being thus acquitted, the

years, Ascanius *thirty*, and the Alban kings *three hundred*. H. Usener, *Dreiheit* (Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 58 (1903) *pp.* 1ff., 161ff, 321ff.), discusses with a wealth of illustration, the significance in ancient folk-lore and religion of the number three.

[2] The twelve great Olympian gods, arranged in pairs as with the Greeks, here make their appearance together for the first time in Roman history.

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re publica[1] dictator rettulit, quibus quotve legionibus victori hosti obviam eundum esse patres censerent. Decretum ut ab Cn. Servilio consule exercitum acciperet; scriberet praeterea ex civibus sociisque quantum equitum ac peditum videretur; cetera omnia ageret faceretque ut e re publica duceret. Fabius duas legiones se adiecturum ad Servilianum exercitum dixit. Iis per magistrum equitum scriptis Tibur diem ad conveniendum edixit. Edictoque proposito ut quibus oppida castellaque immunita essent, uti commigrarent in loca tuta, ex agris quoque demigrarent omnes regionis eius qua iturus Hannibal esset, tectis prius incensis ac frugibus corruptis, ne cuius rei copia esset, ipse via Flaminia profectus obviam consuli exercituque, cum ad Tiberim circa Ocriculum prospexissit agmen consulemque cum equitibus ad se progredientem, viatorem misit[2] qui consuli nuntiaret ut sine lictoribus ad dictatorem veniret. Qui cum dicto paruisset congressusque eorum ingentem speciem dictaturae apud cives sociosque vetustate iam prope oblitos eius imperii fecisset, litterae ab urbe allatae sunt naves onerarias commeatum ab Ostia in Hispaniam ad exercitum portantes a classe Punica circa portum

[1] deque re publica ς: reque de publica *PM*: reque publica *C*.

[2] viatorem misit ς: uiatore misso *P*: substitit viatore misso *Weissenborn*.

dictator turned to affairs of war and state, and B.C. 217
called upon the senate to decide with what and how many legions the victorious enemy should be faced. It was voted that he should take over the army of Gnaeus Servilius, the consul; that he should enroll, besides, from the citizens and the allies, as many horsemen and foot-soldiers as seemed good to him; and with regard to all other questions should act as he deemed conducive to the welfare of the state. Fabius announced that he should add two legions to the army that Servilius had commanded. These legions he enlisted, through his master of the horse, and commanded them to assemble at Tibur on a given day. He also issued an edict that those who dwelt in unfortified towns and hamlets should remove to places of safety; and that all the inhabitants of that district where Hannibal was likely to be marching should abandon their farms, first burning the buildings and destroying the crops, that there might be no supplies for him of any kind. He himself went out by the Flaminian way to meet the consul and his army, and when, close to the Tiber near Ocriculum, he came in sight of the column and saw the consul riding towards him at the head of his cavalry, he dispatched an orderly to bid the consul appear before the dictator without lictors. The consul obeyed, and their meeting vividly impressed the greatness of the dictatorship on citizens and allies, who had now, with the lapse of years, almost forgotten that supreme authority. Just then a dispatch was delivered from the City, announcing that ships of burden with supplies from Ostia for the army in Spain had been captured by the Punic

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7 Cosanum captas esse. Itaque extemplo consul Ostiam proficisci iussus navibusque quae ad urbem Romanam aut Ostiae essent completis milite ac navalibus sociis persequi hostium classem ac litora
8 Italiae tutari. Magna vis hominum conscripta Romae erat; libertini etiam quibus liberi essent et[1]
9 aetas militaris in verba iuraverant. Ex hoc urbano exercitu qui minores quinque et triginta annis erant in naves impositi, alii ut urbi praesiderent relicti.

XII. Dictator exercitu consulis accepto a Fulvio Flacco legato per agrum Sabinum Tibur, quo diem[2] ad conveniendum edixerat novis militibus, venit.
2 Inde Praeneste ac transversis limitibus in viam Latinam est egressus, unde itineribus summa cum cura exploratis ad hostem ducit, nullo loco, nisi quantum necessitas cogeret, fortunae se commissurus.
3 Quo primum die haud procul Arpis in conspectu hostium posuit castra, nulla mora facta quin Poenus educeret in aciem copiamque pugnandi faceret.
4 Sed ubi quieta omnia apud hostes nec castra ullo tumultu mota videt, increpans quidem, victos tandem illos[3] Martios animos Romanis debellatumque et concessum propalam de virtute ac gloria esse, in
5 castra rediit; ceterum tacita cura animum incessit,[4]

[1] et ς: ita *P.* [2] diem *vulg.*: die *P.*
[3] illos *Haupt*: quos *P.*
[4] incessit ς (*Muretus*): incensum *P.*

[1] The *socii navales* served as rowers.

fleet off the port of Cosa. Accordingly, the consul B.C. 217
was ordered to set out at once for Ostia and, manning such ships as were at Rome or Ostia with soldiers and naval allies,[1] to pursue the enemy's fleet and protect the coasts of Italy. A vast number of men had been enrolled in Rome; even freedmen who had children and were of military age had taken the oath. Of this urban levy those who were less than thirty-five years old were sent on board the ships; the others were left to garrison the City.

XII. The dictator, after taking over the consul's army from Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant, marched through the Sabine country to Tibur, where he had given the new levies notice to assemble on a certain day. From Tibur he marched to Praeneste, and striking across the country came out into the Latin Way, and then, reconnoitring the roads with the utmost circumspection, advanced in the direction of the enemy, though resolved nowhere to commit himself to fortune, except in so far as necessity might compel him.

On the day when Fabius first encamped in sight of the enemy, not far from Arpi, the Phoenician promptly led out his forces into line and offered battle. But when he perceived that all was quiet on the other side, and could hear no sounds of commotion in their camp, he went back to his quarters, exclaiming scornfully that the boasted martial spirit of the Romans was broken at last, that the war was fought and won, that they had openly bade valour and renown farewell; but in the silence of his heart he was troubled by the thought that he would have a general to deal with by no means

A.U.C. 537 quod cum duce haudquaquam Flamini Sempronique[1] simili futura sibi res esset ac tum demum edocti malis Romani parem Hannibali ducem quaesissent. 6 Et prudentiam quidem novi[2] dictatoris extemplo timuit: constantiam hauddum expertus agitare ac temptare animum movendo crebro castra populan- 7 doque in oculis eius agros sociorum coepit; et modo citato agmine ex conspectu abibat, modo repente in aliquo flexu viae, si excipere degressum in aequum posset, occultus subsistebat.

8 Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur. Castris, nisi quantum usus necessarii cogerent,[3] tenebatur miles; pabulum et ligna nec pauci petebant nec passim; equitum levisque arma- 9 turae statio, composita instructaque in subitos tumultus, et suo militi tuta omnia et infesta effusis 10 hostium populatoribus praebebat; neque universo periculo summa rerum committebatur et parva momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum finitimoque receptu[4] adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae.

11 Sed non Hannibalem magis infestum tam sanis consiliis habebat quam magistrum equitum, qui nihil aliud quam quod impar erat[5] imperio morae ad rem 12 publicam praecipitandam habebat. Ferox rapidus-

[1] Flamini Sempronique *Alschefski*: flaminis sempronioque *P.*

[2] novi (*and* ductoris *for* dictatoris) *Gronovius*: non uim *P.*

[3] necessarii cogerent *Weissenborn*: necessari cogeret P^1: necessario cogeret P^2.

[4] finitimoque receptu (finitimo receptu *Lipsius*) *Luchs*: finitimorum receptum quae *P.*

[5] impar erat *Jac. Gronovius*: imperabat *P.*

like Flaminius or Sempronius, since the Romans, B.C. 217
schooled by their misfortunes, had now at last sought out a leader to match Hannibal. The prudence of the dictator was indeed an immediate source of worry to him, but, possessing as yet no experience of his firmness, he began to provoke and try his temper by frequent shifting of his camp and by pillaging the lands of the allies before his very eyes. Now he would march off rapidly and disappear; and now would lie in wait at some turn of the road, in hopes to cut the Romans off when they had descended on to level ground.

Fabius kept leading his troops along the heights, at a moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to lose touch nor yet come to blows with him. He would keep his men in camp, except for such necessary duties as obliged their leaving it; when they went out for wood and fodder, they were neither few in number nor dispersed; a corps of cavalry and skirmishers drawn up and ready for sudden onsets made everything safe for his own men and dangerous for the scattered pillagers of the enemy. He refused to stake all on a general engagement, and yet by means of little skirmishes, undertaken from a safe position and with a place of refuge close at hand, he at length accustomed his soldiers, disheartened by their former defeats, to be less diffident of their own courage and good fortune.

But even Hannibal was not more vexed by these prudent measures than was the master of the horse, who was only withheld from plunging the nation into ruin by his subordinate authority. Violent and hasty in his opinions and of unbridled tongue, he

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que in consiliis[1] ac lingua immodicus primo inter paucos, dein propalam in volgus pro cunctatore segnem pro cauto timidum, adfingens vicina virtutibus vitia, compellabat premendoque superiorem, quae pessima ars nimis prosperis multorum successibus crevit, sese extollebat.

XIII. Hannibal ex Hirpinis in Samnium transit, Beneventanum depopulatur agrum, Telesiam urbem capit; inritat etiam de industria ducem Romanum,[2] si forte accensum tot indignitatibus cladibusque sociorum detrahere ad aequum certamen possit. 2 Inter multitudinem sociorum Italici generis qui ad Trasumennum capti ab Hannibale dimissique fuerant tres Campani equites erant, multis iam tum inlecti donis promissisque Hannibalis ad conciliandos popu- 3 larium animos. Hi nuntiantes, si in Campaniam exercitum admovisset, Capuae potiendae copiam fore, cum res maior quam auctores esset, dubium Hannibalem alternisque fidentem ac diffidentem tamen 4 ut Campanos ex Samnio peteret moverunt. Monitos etiam atque etiam ut[3] promissa rebus adfirmarent, iussosque cum pluribus et aliquibus principum redire 5 ad se dimisit. Ipse imperat duci ut se in agrum Casinatem ducat, edoctus a peritis regionum, si eum saltum occupasset, exitum Romano ad opem feren-

[1] rapidusque in consiliis ς: rapidusquem consiliis *P*: rapidusque consiliis ς.

[2] ducem Romanum *Pauly*: ducem *P*: dictatorem *Woelfflin*.

[3] etiam atque etiam ut *Gron.* (*Madvig in later edd.*): ut etiam etque (atque P^2) etiam *P*: etiam atque etiam *Madvig* (1*st ed.*): ut etiam atque etiam viderent (*or* curarent) ut *Novák*.

[1] By Samnium Livy here means the territory of the Caudini lying to the north of the Hirpini. Both tribes, as well as the Frentani and the Pentri, had belonged to the old Samnite League.

spoke of Fabius—at first in the hearing of a few, but after a time quite openly to everybody—not as deliberate but as slothful, not as cautious but as timid, inventing faults that neighboured on his virtues; and exalted himself by disparaging his superior —an infamous practice, which has grown in favour from the all too great prosperity of many who have followed it. B.C. 217

XIII. Hannibal, leaving the Hirpini, crossed over into Samnium,[1] laid waste the lands of Beneventum, and captured the city of Telesia. He even deliberately sought to vex the Roman general, for he hoped that by so often insulting and distressing his allies he might anger him and induce him to come down and fight on equal terms. Amongst the numerous allies of Italian stock who had been made prisoners by Hannibal at Trasumennus and afterwards released were three Campanian knights, whom he had even then enticed with gifts and promises to procure for him the goodwill of their countrymen. These men now informed him that if he would bring his army into Campania the opportunity would be afforded him of taking Capua. It was a weighty undertaking for such men to enter into, and Hannibal hesitated, now trusting and again distrusting them, but in the end they persuaded him to march from Samnium into Campania. He warned them again and again to confirm their words with deeds, and dismissed them with orders to come back to him with more people, including some of their leading men. He then ordered his guide to conduct him to the territory of Casinum, for he had been told by those who knew the country that if he occupied that pass he could keep the Romans from marching to the aid of their

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6 dam sociis interclusurum. Sed Punicum abhorrens ab Latinorum nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro[1] Casino dux ut acciperet fecit; aversusque ab suo itinere per Allifanum Caiatinumque[2] et Calenum
7 agrum in campum Stellatem descendit. Ubi cum montibus fluminibusque clausam regionem circumspexisset, vocatum ducem percunctatur ubi terrarum
8 esset. Cum is Casilini eo die[3] mansurum eum dixisset, tum demum cognitus est error, et Casinum
9 longe inde alia regione esse; virgisque caeso duce et ad reliquorum terrorem in crucem sublato, castris communitis, Maharbalem cum equitibus in agrum
10 Falernum praedatum dimisit. Usque ad aquas Sinuessanas populatio ea pervenit. Ingentem cladem, fugam tamen terroremque latius Numidae
11 fecerunt; nec tamen is terror, cum omnia bello flagrarent, fide socios dimovit, videlicet quia iusto et moderato regebantur imperio nec abnuebant, quod unum vinculum fidei est, melioribus parere.

XIV. Ut vero, postquam[4] ad Volturnum flumen castra sunt posita, exurebatur amoenissimus Italiae ager villaeque passim incendiis fumabant, per iuga Massici montis Fabio ducente, tum prope de integro
2 seditio accensa;[5] quieverant[6] enim per paucos dies, quia cum celerius solito ductum agmen esset, festinari ad prohibendam populationibus Campaniam credide-

[1] nominum pronuntiatione os, Casilinum pro *Weissenborn*: nominum pro *P.*

[2] Allifanum Caiatinumque *Kiehl and Stier*: alifanum calatinumque *P*: Callifanum Allifanumque *Madvig.*

[3] eo die ς: eodem *P*: eodem die ς.

[4] postquam *Alschefski*: quam *P.*

[5] seditio accensa *Lipsius*: seditio ac de seditione accensi *P.*

[6] quieverant *Gronovius*: quidam fuerant *P*: quieti fuerant *Lipsius.*

allies. But the difficulty experienced by Carthaginians in pronouncing Latin names caused the guide to understand *Casilinum* instead of *Casinum*; and quitting the proper road he led him down through the districts of Allifae, Caiatia and Cales into the Plain of Stella. There Hannibal, looking round on the mountains and rivers that enclosed the plain, called up the guide and asked him where in the world he was. And only when the guide had answered that he should lodge that night in Casilinum, did he perceive at last how the man had blundered, and that Casinum lay far off in another direction. Whereupon he scourged the guide, and, to terrify the others, crucified him, and going into camp behind entrenchments, dispatched Maharbal with the cavalry to ravage the Falernian countryside. The devastation extended even to the Baths of Sinuessa. The Numidians wrought great havoc and spread dismay and terror more widely still; yet this terror, even though all the country blazed with war, did not cause the allies to waver in their loyalty, assuredly because the rule under which they were governed was just and temperate, nor did they refuse—and that is the only guarantee of loyalty—to yield obedience to their betters. B.C. 217

XIV. But when Hannibal had encamped by the river Volturnus, and the fairest district in all Italy was in flames, and the smoke went curling up from burning farm-houses, while Fabius continued to march along the ridges of Mount Massicus, there was almost a new outburst of sedition. For the disaffected had kept quiet for several days, believing that the army, which had been moving more rapidly than usual, was hastening to preserve Campania

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3 rant. Ut vero in extrema iuga Massici montis ventum est et[1] hostes sub oculis erant Falerni agri colonorumque Sinuessae tecta urentes nec ulla erat mentio
4 pugnae, "Spectatum huc"[2] inquit Minucius, "ut ad[3] rem fruendam oculis, sociorum caedes et incendia, venimus? Nec, si nullius alterius nos, ne civium quidem horum pudet quos Sinuessam colonos patres nostri miserunt ut ab Samnite hoste tuta haec ora esset, quam nunc non vicinus Samnis urit sed
5 Poenus advena, ab extremis orbis terrarum terminis nostra cunctatione et socordia iam huc progressus?
6 Tantum pro degeneramus a patribus nostris ut praeter quam oram illi[4] Punicas vagari classes dedecus esse imperii sui duxerint, eam nunc plenam hostium Numidarumque ac Maurorum iam factam
7 videamus? Qui modo Saguntum oppugnari indignando non homines tantum sed foedera et deos ciebamus, scandentem moenia Romanae coloniae
8 Hannibalem[5] lenti[6] spectamus. Fumus ex incendiis villarum agrorumque in oculos atque ora venit; strepunt aures clamoribus plorantium sociorum, saepius nostram quam[7] deorum invocantium opem; nos hic pecorum modo per aestivos saltus deviasque calles exercitum ducimus conditi nubibus silvisque.
9 Si hoc modo peragrando cacumina saltusque M. Furius

[1] est et *Weissenborn*: est *P*: et *Gronovius*.
[2] spectatum huc ς: spectatum est hoc *P*.
[3] ut ad *Madvig*: ad *P*.
[4] oram illi ς: per oram illi suam *P*.
[5] Hannibalem ς: et hannibalem *P*.
[6] lenti ς: laetis *P*: taciti *Novák*.
[7] nostram quam ς: nos quamquam *P*.

[1] *i.e.* the western extremity.

from devastation. But when they reached the B.C. 217
farthest extremity[1] of the range, and saw the enemy down below them setting fire to the farms of the Falernian district and the colony of Sinuessa, and yet no word was uttered about fighting, Minucius cried, "Are we come here as to a spectacle, that we may gratify our eyes with the slaughter of our friends and the burning of their homes? If nothing else can awaken us to a sense of shame, do we feel none when we behold these fellow citizens of ours whom our fathers sent as colonists to Sinuessa to secure this frontier from the Samnite enemy? It is not our Samnite neighbours who are wasting it now, but Phoenician invaders, who have been suffered to come all this way, from the farthest, limits of the world, by our delays and slothfulness. So greatly, alas! do we degenerate from our fathers that we behold overrun with enemies and in the possession of Numidians and Moors that coast past which *they* could not see the Punic navies cruising without feeling that their empire was disgraced. When, a little while ago, Saguntum was besieged, we appealed indignantly, not to men only, but to treaties and to the gods; but now that Hannibal is scaling the walls of a Roman colony, we look on with indifference. The smoke from burning farm-houses and fields comes into our eyes and mouths; our ears are ringing with the lamentations of our allies, who invoke our aid more often than that of Heaven; and here we are, leading our army—like a flock of sheep—through summer pastures and by devious mountain trails, and hiding ourselves in clouds and forests. If Marcus Furius had tried to recover Rome from the Gauls by wandering thus over

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recipere a Gallis urbem voluisset quo hic novus Camillus, nobis dictator unicus in rebus adfectis quaesitus, Italiam ab Hannibale reciperare parat,
10 Gallorum Roma esset, quam vereor ne sic cunctantibus nobis Hannibali ac Poenis totiens servaverint
11 maiores nostri. Sed vir ac vere Romanus, quo die dictatorem eum ex auctoritate patrum iussuque populi dictum Veios allatum est, cum esset satis altum Ianiculum ubi sedens prospectaret hostem, descendit in aequum atque illo ipso die media in urbe, qua[1] nunc busta Gallica sunt, et postero die citra
12 Gabios cecidit Gallorum legiones. Quid? Post multos annos cum ad furculas Caudinas ab Samnite hoste sub iugum missi sumus, utrum tandem L. Papirius Cursor iuga Samnii perlustrando an Luceriam premendo obsidendoque et lacessendo victorem hostem depulsum ab Romanis cervicibus iugum
13 superbo Samniti imposuit? Modo C. Lutatio quae alia res quam celeritas victoriam dedit, quod postero die quam hostem vidit classem gravem commeatibus, impeditam suomet ipsam instrumento atque ad-
14 paratu, oppressit? Stultitia est sedendo aut votis debellari credere posse; arma[2] capias oportet et descendas[3] in aequum et vir cum viro congrediaris. Audendo atque agendo res Romana crevit, non his

[1] qua ς: q. *P*: quae ς (*Luchs*).
[2] arma *Madvig* armari *P*.
[3] descendas *Heerwagen*: deducendas *P*.

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[1] A place in Rome where the Gauls—so tradition said—had piled up and burned the bodies of those who died of a pestilence which had broken out among them while they were beleaguering the Capitol (v. xlviii. 3).

[2] For the story of this famous episode see IX. i–xv.

mountain heights and passes, even as this new B.C. 217
Camillus, this wonderful dictator to whom we have turned in our distress, is planning to recover Italy from Hannibal, the Gauls would be in Rome to-day; and I fear that if we linger thus, our fathers will so often have preserved it only for Hannibal and the Phoenicians. But that brave man and true Roman, on the day that the news was brought to Veii of his being appointed dictator, by command of the people in pursuance of a senatorial resolution—though Janiculum was high enough for him to have sat there and enjoyed a prospect of the enemy—came down into the plain, and on that very day, in the midst of the City—where now the Gallic Pyres[1] are—and again on the following day, this side of Gabii, cut the legions of the Gauls to pieces. What! When, many years later, at the Caudine Forks, our Samnite foe had sent us under the yoke,[2] was it, pray, by scouring the heights of Samnium, or by pressing Luceria hard and laying siege to it, and by challenging the victorious enemy, that Lucius Papirius Cursor struck off the yoke from Roman necks and imposed it on the haughty Samnite? What else was it than swiftness that gave the victory, not long since,[3] to Gaius Lutatius, who bore down upon the enemy's fleet, laden deep with stores and hampered with its own munitions and equipment, on the day after he sighted it? It is folly to think that a war can be won by sitting still or making vows; you must arm and go down into the field, and do battle, man to man! Rome's greatness has come from daring and

[3] The victory of Lutatius off the Aegatian Islands had been won twenty-four years before (Summary of Book xx).

A.U.C. 537 15 segnibus[1] consiliis quae timidi cauta vocant." Haec velut contionanti Minucio circumfundebatur tribunorum equitumque Romanorum multitudo, et ad aures quoque militum dicta ferocia evolvebantur; ac, si militaris suffragii res esset, haud dubie ferebant Minucium Fabio ducem[2] praelaturos.

XV. Fabius, pariter in suos haud minus quam in hostes intentus, prius ab illis[3] invictum animum praestat. Quamquam probe scit non in castris modo suis sed iam etiam Romae infamem suam cunctationem esse, obstinatus tamen tenore eodem consiliorum aestatis reliquum extraxit, ut Hannibal destitutus ab spe summa ope petiti[4] certaminis iam hibernis locum circumspectaret, quia ea regio praesentis erat copiae, non perpetuae, arbusta vineaeque et consita omnia magis amoenis quam necessariis fructibus. Haec per exploratores relata Fabio. Cum satis sciret per easdem angustias quibus intraverat Falernum agrum rediturum, Calliculam[5] montem et Casilinum occupat modicis praesidiis, quae urbs Volturno flumine dirempta Falernum a Campano agro dividit; ipse iugis iisdem exercitum reducit misso exploratum cum quadringentis equitibus

[1] his segnibus ς: iis sensibus *P*.
[2] ducem *Gronovius*: duci *P*.
[3] illis ς: aliis *P*.
[4] ope petiti *Alschefski*: oppetiti *P*.
[5] Calliculam ς (*chap.* xvi. § 5): gallicanum *P*.

from doing; not from these sluggish policies that B.C. 217
timid folk term cautious." When Minucius held forth in this fashion, like a general encouraging his troops, a crowd of tribunes and Roman knights would gather round him, and his fiery words even reached the ears of the common soldiers; and if the election of their general had rested with the men, they showed unmistakably that Minucius would have been preferred to Fabius.

XV. But Fabius, watching his own men no less carefully than the enemy, proved first that it was not in *them* to overcome his resolution. Though he knew full well that his policy of waiting was in bad repute, not only in his camp but by this time in Rome as well, he held doggedly to the same line of conduct and dragged out the remainder of the summer; so that Hannibal, disappointed in his hopes of the battle which he had made every effort to bring on, was now looking round for a place to winter in; for the country where he was, though a land of plenty for the time being, could not support him permanently, being taken up with orchards and vineyards, and planted everywhere with agreeable rather than necessary fruits. Fabius was informed of this by his scouts. Feeling certain that Hannibal would leave the Falernian district, by the same passes through which he had entered it, he posted a fair-sized garrison on Mount Callicula and another in Casilinum. (The river Volturnus runs through this town, which marks the boundary between the Falernian district and Campania). The main army he led back by the same ridges, after sending on Lucius Hostilius Mancinus with four hundred cavalry of the allies to reconnoitre.

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5 sociorum L. Hostilio Mancino. Qui ex turba iuvenum audientium saepe ferociter contionantem magistrum equitum progressus primo exploratoris modo, ut ex tuto specularetur hostem, ubi[1] vagos passim per vicos[2] Numidas prospexit[3] ac per[4] 6 occasionem etiam paucos occidit, extemplo occupatus certamine est animus exciderunt que praecepta dictatoris, qui, quantum[5] tuto posset progressum, prius recipere sese iusserat quam in conspectum hostium 7 veniret. Numidae alii atque alii occursantes refugientesque ad castra prope ipsa eum[6] cum fatigatione equorum atque hominum pertraxere.[7] 8 Inde Carthalo, penes quem summa equestris imperii erat, concitatis equis invectus, cum prius quam ad coniectum teli veniret avertisset hostes, quinque ferme milia continenti cursu secutus est fugientes. 9 Mancinus, postquam nec hostem desistere sequi nec spem vidit effugiendi esse, cohortatus suos in proe- 10 lium rediit omni parte virium impar. Itaque ipse et delecti equitum circumventi occiduntur; ceteri effuso cursu[8] Cales primum, inde prope inviis callibus ad dictatorem perfugerunt.

11 Eo forte die Minucius se coniunxerat Fabio, missus ad firmandum praesidio saltum qui super Tarracinam in artas coactus fauces imminet mari, ne ab Sinuessa[9]

[1] ubi ς: urbis *P*.
[2] per vicos P^2: uicos *P*.
[3] prospexit *Heraeus*: *omitted by P*.
[4] ac per *Wesenberg* per *P*.
[5] quantum ς: quem *P*.
[6] ipsa eum *Weissenborn*: ipsum *P*.
[7] pertraxere ς: pertrahere *P*.
[8] cursu *Voss*: rursus cursu *P*.
[9] ab Sinuessa *Gronovius*: adminuissea P^1: adminuessa *C*: adminuisse P^2M.

Mancinus was one of the crowd of young officers who often listened to the blustering speeches of the master of the horse. He advanced at first as if making a reconnaissance, with the object of observing the enemy from a safe distance. But when he saw the Numidians roaming about through the villages, and had even seized the opportunity to cut off a few of them, his heart was suddenly filled with the lust of combat, and he forgot the instructions of the dictator, who had bade him proceed as far as was compatible with safety, and retire before the enemy should see him. The Numidians, first one troop and then another, by charging and then retreating, drew him on almost to their very camp and wore out his horses and his men. Then Carthalo, the commander of all the enemy's cavalry, swooped down upon the Romans at a gallop, and routing them before he had got within a javelin-throw, pursued them as they fled for nearly five miles at one stretch. As soon as Mancinus perceived that the enemy would not give over the pursuit, and that he could not hope to get away, he rallied his men and led them back into the fight, though overmatched in every particular. Accordingly, he himself and the best of his troopers were surrounded and slain, and the rest in a scattered flight made their way first to Cales, and thence, by well-nigh impassable trails, to the dictator. B.C. 217

It happened that on that day Minucius had joined Fabius. He had been sent to secure the pass which contracts above Tarracina into a narrow gorge close to the sea,[1] to prevent the Phoenician from taking

[1] This was the pass of Lautulae, mentioned at VII. xxxix. 7.

A.U.C. 537 12 Poenus Appiae limite pervenire in agrum Romanum posset. Coniunctis exercitibus dictator ac magister equitum castra in viam deferunt qua Hannibal ducturus erat.

XVI. Duo inde milia hostes aberant. Postero die Poeni quod viae inter bina castra erat agmine com-
2 plevere. Cum Romani sub ipso constitissent vallo haud dubie aequiore loco, successit tamen Poenus cum expeditis equitibusque ad lacessendum hostem. Carptim Poeni et procursando recipiendoque sese
3 pugnavere; restitit suo loco Romana acies. Lenta pugna et ex dictatoris magis quam Hannibalis fuit voluntate. Ducenti ab Romanis, octingenti hostium cecidere.
4 Inclusus inde videri Hannibal via[1] ad Casilinum obsessa, cum Capua et Samnium et tantum ab tergo divitum sociorum Romanis commeatus subveheret, Poenus inter Formiana[2] saxa ac Literni[3] arenas stagnaque et per horridas silvas[4] hibernaturus esset.
5 Nec Hannibalem fefellit suis se artibus peti. Itaque cum per Casilinum evadere non posset petendique montes et iugum Calliculae superandum esset, necubi Romanus inclusum vallibus agmen adgrederetur,
6 ludibrium oculorum specie terribile ad frustrandum

[1] via *Gronovius*: ut *P.*

[2] Formiana *Sabellicus*: fortunā/minas P^1: fortunae minas P^2.

[3] Literni *Sabellicus*: literne *P.*

[4] per horridas silvas *Madvig*: perhorridas situas P^1: perhorridas situ P^2: horridas silvas *Luterbacher.*

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[1] Polybius (III. xcii. 11) says that Fabius had encamped "on a hill, in front of the pass and overlooking it."

[2] Weissenborn understands the reference to be to the Silva Gallinaria, now Pineta di Castel Volturno, in the neighbourhood of Liternum.

the Appian Way from Sinuessa into Roman territory. B.C. 217
Combining their forces, the dictator and the master of the horse camped on the road where Hannibal was going to march.

XVI. The enemy was two miles away. Next day the Phoenicians were on the march, filling the road which lay between the two camps. The Romans had formed up just under their rampart and had clearly the advantage of position.[1] None the less did Hannibal advance with his light infantry and cavalry, to provoke them into fighting. At one point after another the Phoenicians attacked, dashing up and then retreating. The Roman line stood firm. The battle was long drawn out and was more to the liking of the dictator than of Hannibal. Two hundred fell on the Roman side, and eight hundred of the enemy.

Hannibal now seemed to be hemmed in, the road to Casilinum being blocked. The Romans had Capua and Samnium at their backs and all their wealthy allies to furnish them with provisions; but the Phoenicians faced the prospect of passing the winter between the cliffs of Formiae and the sands and marshes of Liternum, and amid tangled forests.[2] Hannibal did not fail to perceive that his own strategy was being turned against him. Accordingly, since he could not get out by way of Casilinum, but must take to the mountains and cross the ridge of Callicula, fearing lest the Romans should assail his troops as they were marching through the gorges, he resolved to approach the mountains under cover of darkness in the forepart of the night, after first contriving a terrifying exhibition, to cheat the enemy's eyes. Preparations

A.U.C. 537 hostem commentus, principio noctis furtim succedere ad montes statuit. Fallacis consilii talis apparatus
7 fuit: faces undique ex agris collectae fascesque virgarum atque aridi sarmenti praeligantur[1] cornibus boum, quos domitos indomitosque multos inter
8 ceteram agrestem praedam agebat. Ad duo milia ferme boum effecta, Hasdrubalique negotium datum ut nocte[2] id armentum accensis cornibus[3] ad montes ageret, maxime, si posset, super saltus ab hoste insessos.

XVII. Primis tenebris silentio mota castra; boves
2 aliquanto ante signa acti. Ubi ad radices montium viasque angustas ventum est, signum extemplo datur ut accensis cornibus armenta in adversos concitentur montes. Et metus ipse relucentis flammae extemplo a capite[4] calorque iam ad vivum ad imaque[5] cornua veniens[6] velut stimulatos furore agebat boves.
3 Quo repente discursu haud secus quam silvis montibusque accensis omnia circa[7] virgulta ardere visa;[8] capitumque irrita quassatio[9] excitans flammam hominum passim discurrentium speciem praebebat.
4 Qui ad transitum saltus insidendum locati erant, ubi in summis montibus ac super se quosdam ignes conspexere, circumventos se esse rati praesidio exces-

[1] praeligantur ς: praeliganturque *P*.
[2] nocte *Weissenborn*: primis tenebris noctem (noctes P^2)*P*: primis tenebris nocte *C*: primis tenebris ortis *Reuss*.
[3] armentum accensis cornibus *P*: armentum *H. J. Mueller*: accensis in cornibus sarmentis *Weissenborn*.
[4] extemplo a capite *Greenough*: ex campie a capite P^1: ex capite a capite P^2: a capite ς.
[5] ad imaque ς: diuatimaque *P*.
[6] cornua veniens *Luchs*: cornuumaueniens *P*.
[7] circa *Woelfflin*: circuma *P*.
[8] ardere visa *Perizonius*: ardere *P*.

for the ruse were made as follows. Pine-knots, B.C. 217
collected from all the country round, and bundles of twigs and dry branches were tied to the horns of cattle, of which—counting those that were broken in and those that were not—they possessed, among their other rustic spoils, a considerable number. Of these they got together about two thousand head, and Hasdrubal was commissioned to drive this herd in the night, with their horns ablaze, on to the mountains, and particularly—if it should be feasible—above the pass held by the enemy.

XVII. In the dusk of evening the Carthaginians broke camp in silence, driving on the cattle a little way before the standards. When they reached the foothills and the narrow roads, the signal was immediately given to set fire to the horns and drive the herd up the mountain. And their very fear, as the flames at once shot up from their heads, and the heat, that soon penetrated to the quick at the base of their horns, made the cattle as wild as though they had gone crazy. As they suddenly rushed this way and that, all the bushes far and near seemed to be burning, as if the woods and mountains had been set on fire; and when they shook their heads, they only fanned the blaze and made it look as if men were running about in all directions. When the troops who had been posted to hold the pass caught sight of certain fires on the mountain-tops above them, they thought that they were surrounded and forsook their station. Where the fewest flames were

[9] capitumque irrita quassatio *Gronovius*: captumque rita quaesatio P^1: captumque rita quae ratio P^2.

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sere; qua minime[1] densae micabant flammae, velut tutissimum iter, petentes summa montium iuga, tamen in quosdam boves palatos a suis gregibus inciderunt. Et primo, cum procul cernerent veluti flammas spirantium, miraculo attoniti constiterunt; deinde ut humana apparuit fraus, tum vero insidias rati esse cum maiore tumultu[2] concitant se in fugam. Levi quoque armaturae hostium incurrere; ceterum nox aequato timore neutros pugnam incipientes ad lucem tenuit. Interea toto agmine Hannibal transducto per saltum et quibusdam in ipso saltu hostium oppressis in agro Allifano[3] posuit castra.

XVIII. Hunc tumultum sensit Fabius; ceterum et insidias esse ratus et ab nocturno utique abhorrens certamine suos munimentis tenuit. Luce prima sub iugo montis proelium fuit, quo interclusam ab suis levem armaturam facile—etenim numero aliquantum praestabant—Romani superassent, nisi Hispanorum cohors ad id ipsum remissa ab Hannibale supervenisset.[4] Ea adsuetior montibus et ad concursandum inter saxa rupesque aptior ac levior[5] cum velocitate corporum tum armorum habitu campestrem hostem, gravem armis statariumque, pugnae genere facile elusit. Ita haudquaquam pari certamine digressi,

[1] qua minime *Gronovius*: quamnim *P.*
[2] tumultu *s* (*Lipsius*): multo *P.*
[3] Allifano *s*: albano *P.*
[4] supervenisset *Gronovius*: peruenisset *P.*
[5] levior *s*: leuiorque *P.*

flashing—for this seemed the safest way—they made B.C. 217
for the summits of the ridges, but nevertheless fell in with some of the cattle which had strayed from their herds. And at first, when they saw them afar, breathing fire, as they supposed, they were dazed by the wonder of it, and stood stock still; but afterwards, perceiving it to be a trick devised by men, they concluded that it was an ambush and took to their heels in greater confusion than before. They also ran into some light-armed soldiers of the enemy; the darkness, however, by equalizing their fears, kept both sides there till daylight without either beginning the battle. In the meanwhile Hannibal had conveyed his entire army through the pass—surprising some of his enemies in the pass itself—and had pitched his camp in the district of Allifae.

XVIII. Fabius heard the din, but believing it to be an ambush, and disliking, in any case, to fight at night, kept his men within their works. At break of day there was a battle under the ridge. The Romans had cut off the light-armed troops of the enemy from the others, and possessing some superiority in numbers, would easily have overpowered them, had it not been for the arrival of a cohort of Spaniards, which Hannibal had sent back expressly to forestall them. These troops were more used to mountains, and better suited to skirmishing amid rocks and crags, and being more agile and more lightly armed, they had no difficulty—thanks to the nature of the fighting—in getting the better of an enemy whose heavy armour and stationary tactics were adapted to level ground. Thus the struggle had been far from equal, when they parted and made off for their respective camps. Hardly any

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Hispani fere omnes incolumes, Romani aliquot suis amissis in castra contenderunt.

5 Fabius quoque movit castra transgressusque saltum
6 super Allifas loco alto ac munito consedit. Tum per Samnium Romam se petere simulans Hannibal usque in Paelignos populabundus rediit: Fabius medius inter hostium agmen urbemque Romam iugis duce-
7 bat nec absistens nec congrediens. Ex Paelignis Poenus flexit iter retroque Apuliam repetens Gereonium[1] pervenit, urbem metu, quia conlapsa
8 ruinis pars moenium erat, ab suis desertam; dictator in Larinati[2] agro castra communiit. Inde sacrorum causa Romam revocatus, non imperio modo, sed consilio etiam ac prope precibus agens cum magistro equitum ut plus consilio quam fortunae confidat et se potius
9 ducem quam Sempronium Flaminiumque imitetur; ne nihil actum censeret extracta prope aestate per ludificationem hostis; medicos quoque plus interdum quiete[3] quam movendo atque agendo proficere;
10 haud parvam rem esse ab totiens victore hoste vinci desisse ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus[4]—haec nequiquam praemonito magistro equitum Romam est profectus.

XIX. Principio aestatis qua haec gerebantur in Hispania quoque terra marique coeptum bellum est.

[1] Gereonium *Alschefski*: gleronum *P*.
[2] Larinati ς (XXII. xxiv. 1 *and* XLV. ii. 11): larinate *P*.
[3] medicos . . . quiete *Valla*: medico . . . quippe *P*.
[4] ac respirasse ab continuis cladibus *Luchs*: ab continuis cladibus ac respirasse *P*: et ab continuis cladibus respirasse ς (*Madvig*).

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[1] Polybius (III. c.) knows nothing of this story, but says that Hannibal took the place, which he calls Γερούνιον, by

of the Spaniards had been hurt, but the Romans had lost a considerable number of their men. B.C. 217

Fabius, too, broke camp, and marching through the pass established himself in a lofty and naturally strong position above Allifae. Hannibal now feigned a movement upon Rome by way of Samnium, and marched back right to the land of the Paeligni, pillaging as he went. Fabius led his troops along the ridges between the enemy's army and the City, neither shunning his foe nor coming to grips with him. From the Paelignian country the Phoenician turned, and marched back towards Apulia till he came to Gereonium, a town which its own inhabitants had abandoned in their alarm at the collapse of a part of its walls.[1] The dictator encamped in the country about Larinum, and being summoned thence to Rome on religious business, commanded, counselled, and all but entreated the master of the horse to put more trust in prudence than in fortune, and rather to imitate his strategy than that of Sempronius and Flaminius. He was not to suppose, said Fabius, that nothing had been accomplished, because almost the whole summer had been tediously spent in baffling the enemy; physicians too sometimes found rest more efficacious than motion and activity; it was no small matter to have ceased to be defeated by an enemy who had so often been victorious, and to have breathed again after a series of disasters. When he had thus fore-warned the master of the horse —but all in vain—he set out for Rome.

XIX. At the beginning of the summer in which these operations were carried on, war was also begun

siege, and Livy himself, in chap. xxiii. § 9, is inconsistent with his statement here.

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2 Hasdrubal ad eum navium numerum quem a fratre
3 instructum paratumque acceperat decem adiectis,[1] quadraginta navium classem Himilconi tradit atque ita Carthagine profectus naves[2] prope terram, exercitum in litore ducebat, paratus confligere quacumque
4 parte copiarum hostis occurrisset. Cn. Scipio postquam movisse ex hibernis hostem audivit, primo idem consilii fuit; deinde minus terra propter ingentem famam novorum auxiliorum concurrere ausus, delecto milite ad naves imposito quinque et triginta navium classe ire obviam hosti pergit.
5 Altero ab Tarracone die ad stationem[3] decem milia passuum distantem ab ostio Hiberi amnis pervenit. Inde duae Massiliensium speculatoriae praemissae rettulere classem Punicam[4] stare in ostio
6 fluminis castraque in ripa posita. Itaque ut improvidos incautosque universo simul effuso terrore opprimeret, sublatis ancoris ad hostem vadit. Multas et locis altis positas turres Hispania habet, quibus et speculis et propugnaculis adversus latrones utuntur.
7 Inde primo conspectis hostium navibus datum signum Hasdrubali est, tumultusque prius in terra et castris quam ad mare et ad naves[5] est ortus, nondum aut pulsu remorum strepituque alio nautico exaudito aut
8 aperientibus classem promunturiis, cum repente

[1] adiectis *Luchs*: adiecit *P* (*Madvig*).
[2] naves *Ruperti*: nauibus *P*.
[3] ad stationem ς: stationem *P*.
[4] Punicam ς: in publicam *P*.
[5] et ad naves *P*: ac naves *Luchs*.

[1] These numbers do not exactly agree with those given at XXI. xxii. 4.
[2] *i.e.* New Carthage, the modern Cartagena.

in Spain by land and sea. To the number of ships, B.C. 217
all rigged and fitted out, which Hasdrubal had taken over from his brother he added ten, and entrusted the fleet of forty sail to Himilco;[1] and then, setting out from Carthage,[2] he made his ships keep near the land and led his army along the shore, prepared to do battle with whatever part of their forces the Romans might bring against him. When Gnaeus Scipio learned that the enemy had left his winter quarters, he was minded at first to do the same; but on second thoughts concluded not to risk a battle on land, in view of the enormous number of auxiliaries with which rumour credited the Carthaginian, and embarking some of his best troops, went out to meet the enemy with a fleet of five and thirty ships.

On the second day out of Tarraco he came to an anchorage ten miles from the mouth of the river Ebro. Thence he dispatched two Massiliot scouting vessels, who reported that the Punic fleet was lying in the mouth of the river and their camp established on the bank. Accordingly, in order to take them off their guard and unprepared, while at the same time spreading a universal panic, he weighed anchor and proceeded towards the enemy. The Spaniards have numerous towers built on heights, which they use both as watch-towers and also for protection against pirates. From one of these the hostile ships were first descried, and on a signal being made to Hasdrubal, the alarm broke out on land and in the camp before it reached the sea and the ships; for no one had yet heard the beat of the oars or other nautical sounds, nor had the promontories yet disclosed the fleet to view, when suddenly

A.U.C. 537 eques alius super alium ab Hasdrubale missus vagos in litore quietosque in tentoriis suis, nihil minus quam hostem aut proelium eo die exspectantes, conscendere naves propere atque arma capere iubet; classem Romanam iam haud procul portu esse.
9 Haec equites dimissi passim imperabant; mox Hasdrubal ipse cum omni exercitu aderat, varioque omnia tumultu strepunt ruentibus in naves simul remigibus militibusque fugientium magis e terra[1]
10 quam in pugnam euntium modo. Vixdum omnes conscenderant, cum alii resolutis oris in ancoras evehuntur,[2] alii, ne quid teneat, ancoralia incidunt, raptimque omnia ac[3] praepropere agendo militum apparatu nautica ministeria impediuntur, trepidatione nautarum capere et aptare arma miles prohibetur.[4]
11 Et iam Romanus non adpropinquabat modo, sed derexerat etiam in pugnam naves. Itaque non ab hoste et proelio magis Poeni quam suomet ipsi tumultu turbati et temptata verius pugna quam inita
12 in fugam averterunt classem. Et cum adversi amnis os[5] lato agmini et tum[6] multis simul venientibus haud sane intrabile esset, in litus passim naves egerunt, atque alii vadis alii sicco litore excepti, partim

[1] e terra ς: e terrarum *P*: *deleted by Bisschop.*
[2] evehuntur *Gronovius*: eueherentur *P*.
[3] omnia ac *Gronovius and Drakenborch*: omnia *P*.
[4] prohibetur ς: prohibebatur *P*.
[5] amnis os *Gronovius*: adnisos *P*.
[6] tum *Luchs*: tam *P*.

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[1] The *orae* were cables by which the stern of the vessel was made fast to the shore while the prow was held in position by anchors.

one galloper after another, sent off by Hasdrubal, B.C. 217
dashed up to the sailors, who were strolling about the beach or resting in their tents and thinking of nothing so little as of the enemy or of fighting on that day, and bade them board their ships in haste and arm themselves, for the Roman fleet was even then close to the harbour. These orders the gallopers who had been sent out carried far and wide, and presently Hasdrubal himself appeared on the scene with his entire army, and all was noise and confusion as the rowers and soldiers rushed down together to their ships, as though their object were rather to flee the shore than to enter battle. Hardly were they all on board, when some cast off the hawsers[1] and swung out on to their anchors, and others—that nothing might detain them—cut the anchor cables, and, in the hurry and excessive haste with which everything was done, the soldiers' gear interfered with the sailors in the performance of their tasks, and the confusion of the sailors kept the soldiers from taking and fitting on their armour.

By this time the Romans were not only drawing near, but had already formed their ships in order of battle. The result was that the Phoenicians were dismayed alike by the enemy's attack and by their own confusion, and after making rather a pretence of fighting than actually engaging, turned about and ran for it. With a line so extended—and many ships came up at the same time—they were quite unable to get into the river's mouth against the current, but rowed in anywhere to the land; and getting ashore, some through shoals and others on a dry beach, some with their arms and some with-

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armati partim inermes, ad instructam per litus aciem suorum perfugere; duae tamen primo concursu captae erant Punicae naves, quattuor suppressae.

XX. Romani, quamquam terra hostium erat armatamque aciem toto praetentam litore[1] cernebant, haud cunctanter insecuti trepidam hostium classem, 2 naves omnes, quae non aut perfregerant proras litori[2] inlisas aut carinas fixerant vadis religatas puppibus in altum extraxere, ad quinque et viginti naves e 3 quadraginta cepere. Neque id pulcherrimum eius victoriae fuit, sed quod una levi pugna toto eius orae mari potiti erant.

4 Itaque ad Onusam classe provecti; escensio ab navibus in terram facta. Cum urbem vi cepissent 5 captamque diripuissent, Carthaginem inde petunt, atque omnem agrum circa depopulati postremo tecta 6 quoque iniuncta[3] muro portisque incenderunt. Inde iam praeda gravis ad Longunticam pervenit classis, ubi vis magna sparti erat,[4] ad rem nauticam congesta ab Hasdrubale. Quod satis in usum fuit sublato 7 ceterum omne incensum est. Nec continentis modo praelecta est ora[5] sed in Ebusum insulam trans-

[1] litore *Madvig*: in litore *P*.
[2] litori ς: litoreis *P*.
[3] iniuncta *edd.*: incuncta P^1: incomta P^2.
[4] sparti erat *Madvig*: spartis *P*: sparti fuit ς.
[5] praelecta est ora *Weissenborn and Madvig*: periectas oras *P*: perlecta est ora *Frigell*.

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[1] Polybius says that they lost two ships with their crews, and the oars and marines of four others (III. xcvi. 4).

[2] Longuntica, otherwise unknown, was probably not far from New Carthage, for the Spartarius Campus (so named from a kind of rush-grass, still called esparto, which was

out, they fled to the battle-line of their friends, B.C. 217
which was drawn up along the shore. Two, however, of the Punic ships had been taken in the first attack and four had been sunk.[1]

XX. The Romans, although the land was in the possession of the enemy, whose line of battle could be seen extending all along the shore, continued without the slightest hesitation to press their pursuit of the terror-stricken fleet, and, attaching cables to the stern of every vessel which had neither broken its prow on the beach nor grounded its keel in the shoals, they towed it out to sea, until they had captured some twenty-five of the forty ships. Nor was this the most brilliant feature of the victory, but the fact that the Romans in one easy battle had made themselves the masters of all that coast.

So they spread their sails for Onusa, where they disembarked and stormed and sacked the city, and thence laid a course for Carthage, and after devastating all the country round about, ended by setting fire even to the buildings that adjoined the walls and gates. Then the fleet—heavy-laden now with plunder—sailed to Longuntica,[2] where they found a great quantity of esparto-grass, which Hasdrubal had got together for the use of his ships. Of this they took what they needed and burned all the rest. And they not only cruised along the mainland, but crossed over to the island of Ebusus.[3]

used for twisting into rope) lay inland from the latter town (see Strabo, III. iv. 9, p. 160; and Pliny, *N.H.* XIX. XXX.).

[3] Ebusus is the Phoenician name for either of the two islands usually known by their Greek name Pityusae—both names signifying pine-clad. Here the larger of the two is meant.

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missum. Ibi[1] urbe, quae caput insulae est, biduum
8 nequiquam summo labore oppugnata, ubi in spem
9 inritam frustra teri tempus animadversum est, ad populationem agri versi, direptis aliquot incensisque vicis, maiore quam ex continenti praeda parta cum in naves se recepissent, ex Baliaribus insulis legati pacem petentes ad Scipionem venerunt.
10 Inde flexa retro classis reditumque in citeriora
11 provinciae, quo omnium populorum, qui cis Hiberum incolunt,[2] multorum et ultimae Hispaniae legati concurrerunt; sed qui vere dicionis imperiique Romani facti sint obsidibus datis populi amplius fuere[3]
12 centum viginti.[4] Igitur terrestribus quoque copiis satis fidens Romanus usque ad saltum[5] Castulonensem est progressus. Hasdrubal in Lusitaniam ac propius Oceanum concessit.

XXI. Quietum inde fore videbatur reliquum aestatis tempus fuissetque per Poenum hostem;
2 sed praeterquam quod ipsorum Hispanorum inquieta avidaque in novas res sunt ingenia, Mandonius In-
3 dibilisque,[6] qui antea Ilergetum regulus fuerat, postquam Romani ab saltu recessere ad maritimam oram, concitis popularibus in agrum pacatum sociorum
4 Romanorum ad populandum venerunt. Adversus

[1] ibi ς: ubi *P*.
[2] cis Hiberum incolunt *Gronovius*: hiberum incolunt *P*.
[3] fuere *edd.*: fuerent *P*: fuerunt ς.
[4] centum viginti ς: centu uiginti milia *P*.
[5] saltum ς: factum *P*.
[6] Indibilisque ς: indebilisque *P* (*for the evidence see Weissenborn-Mueller, Anhang p.* 154).

[1] Now Cazlona. The pass led through the Sierra Morena, north of the city, which was famous for the silver and lead mines in its neighbourhood. Castulo enjoyed a close alliance

There they endeavoured strenuously for two days, B.C. 217
but without success, to capture the chief city of the island. And when they saw that their hopes were vain and their time was being wasted, they betook themselves to pillaging the country-side, and after sacking and burning several villages, returned to their ships with more booty than they had collected from the mainland. Here envoys from the Baliaric islands came to Scipio to sue for peace.

The fleet now put about and returned to the northern part of the province, and thither flocked ambassadors from all the communities on this side of the Ebro and even from many places in farthest Spain; but the communities that gave hostages and really came under the rule and government of Rome were more than a hundred and twenty. Feeling, therefore, sufficiently strong on land, as well as on the sea, the Roman general advanced as far as the pass of Castulo.[1] Hasdrubal retired into Lusitania, nearer the ocean.

XXI. It looked as if the rest of the summer would be undisturbed, and so it would have been as far as the Phoenicians were concerned. But, besides that the Spaniards themselves are constitutionally restless and eager for change, no sooner had the Romans withdrawn from the pass to the sea-coast, than Mandonius and Indibilis—the latter had formerly been a chieftain of the Ilergetes—roused up their countrymen and invaded the peaceful territories of Rome's allies, on a marauding expedition.

with the Carthaginians and one of its daughters became the wife of Hannibal. In 214 B.C. it revolted to the Romans, but by 211 was again in the hands of the Carthaginians (XXIV. xii. 7; XXVI. xx. 6).

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eos tribunus militum[1] cum expeditis auxiliis a Scipione missi levi certamine ut tumultuariam manum fudere, mille hominibus[2] occisis quibusdam captis[3] magnaque parte armis exuta. Hic tamen tumultus cedentem ad Oceanum Hasdrubalem cis Hiberum ad socios tutandos retraxit. Castra Punica in agro Ilergavonensium,[4] castra Romana ad Novam Classem erant, cum fama repens alio avertit bellum. Celtiberi, qui principes regionis suae legatos miserant[5] obsidesque dederant Romanis, nuntio misso a Scipione exciti arma capiunt provinciamque Carthaginiensium valido exercitu invadunt. Tria oppida vi expugnant; inde cum ipso Hasdrubale duobus proeliis egregie pugnant; ad quindecim milia hostium occiderunt, quattuor milia cum multis militaribus signis capiunt.

XXII. Hoc statu rerum in Hispania P. Scipio in provinciam venit prorogato post consulatum imperio ab senatu missus cum triginta longis navibus et octo milibus militum magnoque commeatu advecto. Ea classis ingens agmine onerariarum procul visa cum magna laetitia civium sociorumque portum Tarraconis ex alto tenuit. Ibi milite exposito profectus

[1] tribunus militum *Gronovius*: tribus mili//bus (ti *stood where erasure is*) *P.*
[2] mille hominibus *Madvig*: momnis P^1: omnibus P^2.
[3] captis ς: captisque *P.*
[4] Ilergavonensium *Alschefski*: lergavonensium *P.*
[5] legatos miserant *Gronovius*: legatos *P.*

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[1] Perhaps identical with *ad Novas* mentioned in the *Itinerarium Antonini* as between Ilerda and Tarraco.

[2] The mention of captured standards points to Valerius Antias as Livy's source, for similar references occur in no less than five of the extant fragments.

To oppose them Scipio dispatched a tribune of B.C. 217
the soldiers with light-armed auxiliaries. They easily routed the enemy—a mere hastily-organized militia—slaying a thousand of them, making some prisoners, and disarming the greater part. Nevertheless, this outbreak induced Hasdrubal, who was retreating towards the ocean, to turn back and cross the Ebro, for the purpose of protecting his allies. The Phoenicians were in camp in the country of the Ilergavonenses, the Romans near Nova Classis,[1] when tidings came which gave at once a new turn to the campaign. The Celtiberians, who had sent their leading men to treat with the Romans and had given hostages, incited by a message from Scipio, rose up in arms and invaded the Carthaginian province with a powerful army. They captured three towns by assault, and afterwards twice engaged successfully in battle with Hasdrubal himself, slaying some fifteen thousand of their enemies, and taking four thousand prisoners, with many military standards.[2]

XXII. Such was the position of affairs in Spain when Publius Scipio came into the province.[3] The senate had prolonged his command after the consulship and had sent him out with thirty[4] men-of-war and eight thousand soldiers and a great convoy of supplies. This fleet, which the number of cargo-vessels swelled to an enormous size, caused great rejoicing amongst the Romans and their allies, when it was made out in the offing and standing in dropped anchor in the harbour of Tarraco. There

[3] Scipio had been appointed when consul (218 B.C.) to take command of the Roman forces destined for Spain (XXI. lx. 1 and Polyb. III. xcvii. 2).

[4] Polybius says twenty (*ibid.*).

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Scipio fratri se[1] coniungit, ac deinde communi animo consilioque gerebant bellum.

4 Occupatis igitur Carthaginiensibus Celtiberico bello haud cunctanter Hiberum transgrediuntur nec ullo viso hoste Saguntum pergunt ire, quod ibi obsides totius Hispaniae traditos ab Hannibale fama 5 erat modico in arce custodiri praesidio. Id unum pignus inclinatos ad Romanam societatem omnium Hispaniae populorum animos morabatur, ne sanguine 6 liberum suorum culpa defectionis lueretur. Eo vinculo Hispaniam vir unus sollerti[2] magis quam fideli consilio exsolvit. Abelux[3] erat Sagunti nobilis Hispanus, fidus ante Poenis, tum, qualia plerumque sunt barbarorum ingenia, cum fortuna mutaverat 7 fidem. Ceterum transfugam sine magnae rei proditione venientem ad hostes nihil aliud quam unum vile atque infame corpus esse ratus id agebat ut quam maximum emolumentum novis sociis esset. 8 Circumspectis igitur omnibus, quae fortuna potestatis eius poterat facere, obsidibus potissimum tradendis animum adiecit, eam unam rem maxime ratus conciliaturam Romanis principum Hispaniae amicitiam.

9 Sed cum iniussu Bostaris praefecti satis sciret nihil obsidum custodes facturos esse, Bostarem ipsum

[1] fratri se ς: fratris *P.*
[2] sollerti (solerti) ς: sollertia *P.*
[3] exsolvit. Abelux (abelox) ς: exsollicitatelux *P.*

[1] The town had not, apparently, been completely razed, as Alorcus had informed the Saguntines that it would be (XXI. xiii. 6).

Scipio disembarked his troops and set out to join his brother; and from that time forward they carried on the war with perfect harmony of temper and of purpose. B.C. 217

Accordingly, while the Carthaginians were taken up with the Celtiberian campaign, they lost no time in crossing the Ebro, and seeing nothing of any enemy, marched directly on Saguntum,[1] where it was said that hostages from all over Spain were being guarded in the citadel by a small garrison, to whose keeping they had been consigned by Hannibal. It was this pledge alone that checked the inclination of all the Spanish states to ally themselves with Rome, for fear that the blood of their own children might expiate the guilt of their defection. From this constraint Spain was released by the machinations—more clever than honest—of one man. Abelux was his name, and he was a noble Spaniard of Saguntum. Loyal hitherto to the Phoenicians, he had now—as barbarians are for the most part prone to do—altered his allegiance with the alteration in their fortunes. But reflecting that a deserter who went over to the enemy without betraying to them something of great moment was but a single worthless and dishonoured individual, he proposed to benefit his new allies to the utmost extent of his ability. And considering everything that fortune could put into his power, he inclined for choice to deliver up the hostages, believing that this was the one thing that would most effectively secure for the Romans the friendship of the Spanish leaders.

But since he knew that the men guarding the hostages would do nothing without the orders of

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10 arte adgreditur. Castra extra urbem in ipso litore habebat Bostar, ut aditum ea parte[1] intercluderet Romanis. Ibi eum in secretum abductum velut
11 ignorantem monet quo statu sit res: metum continuisse ad eam diem Hispanorum animos, quia procul Romani abessent; nunc cis Hiberum castra Romana esse, arcem tutam perfugiumque novas volentibus res; itaque quos metus non teneat bene-
12 ficio et gratia devinciendos esse. Miranti Bostari percunctantique quodnam id subitum tantae rei donum posset esse, "Obsides" inquit "in civitates
13 remitte. Id et privatim[2] parentibus, quorum maximum nomen in civitatibus est suis, et publice populis
14 gratum erit. Volt sibi quisque credi, et habita fides ipsam plerumque obligat fidem. Ministerium restituendorum domos obsidum mihimet deposco ipse, ut opera quoque impensa consilium adiuvem meum et rei suapte natura gratae quantam insuper gratiam possim adiciam."

15 Homini non ad cetera Punica ingenia callido ut persuasit, nocte clam progressus ad hostium stationes, conventis quibusdam auxiliaribus Hispanis et ab his
16 ad Scipionem perductus, quid adferret expromit et fide accepta dataque ac loco et tempore constituto ad obsides tradendos Saguntum redit. Diem insequentem absumpsit cum Bostare mandatis ad rem

[1] ea parte ς: ex parte *P*.
[2] id et privatim ς: de priuatim *P*: inde priuatim P^2.

Bostar, the governor, he artfully approached Bostar himself, who was encamped outside the city, on the very shore, to preclude the approach of the Romans from that quarter. Taking him on one side, he explained the situation, as though the other had no knowledge of it. Fear, he said, had until then kept the Spaniards down, because the Romans were a long way off; now the Roman camp was on this side of the Ebro, a sure stronghold and asylum for any who wished a change; those, accordingly, who were not bound by fear must be secured by kindness and generosity. When Bostar asked in amazement what this gift could be that should suddenly be of so great value, "Send back the hostages to their homes," said Abelux. "That will at once be grateful personally to their parents, who are the people of most consequence in their own states, and to their tribes in general. Everyone wishes to be trusted: confide in people, and almost always you confirm their confidence in you. The task of restoring the hostages to their homes I request for myself, that I may work, as well as counsel, for the furtherance of my plan, and to an act that is gracious in itself lend such added grace as I am able." B.C. 217

Once he had brought Bostar round—for his wits were not as sharp as those of most Phoenicians—he departed secretly by night for the enemy's outposts, and encountering certain Spanish auxiliaries, who conducted him to Scipio, disclosed his plan, and when he had given pledges and received them, and had agreed upon a time and place for turning over the hostages, returned to Saguntum. The following day he spent with Bostar, receiving

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17 agendam accipiendis. Dimissus cum se nocte iturum, ut custodias hostium falleret, constituisset, ad compositam cum iis horam excitatis custodibus puerorum profectus, veluti ignarus in praeparatas sua fraude
18 insidias ducit. In castra Romana perducti; cetera omnia de reddendis obsidibus sicut cum Bostare constitutum erat acta per eum eodem[1] ordine, quo si Carthaginiensium nomine sic ageretur.
19 Maior aliquanto Romanorum gratia fuit in re pari quam quanta futura Carthaginiensium fuerat. Illos enim graves superbosque in rebus secundis expertos
20 fortuna et timor mitigasse videri poterat: Romanus primo adventu, incognitus ante, ab re clementi liberalique initium fecerat; et Abelux, vir prudens,
21 haud frustra videbatur socios mutasse. Itaque ingenti consensu defectionem omnes spectare; armaque extemplo mota forent, ni hiems, quae Romanos quoque et Carthaginienses concedere[2] in tecta coegit, intervenisset.

XXIII. Haec in Hispania[3] secunda aestate Punici belli gesta, cum in Italia paulum intervalli cladibus
2 Romanis sollers cunctatio Fabi fecisset; quae ut

[1] eum eodem *Weissenborn*: eundem eodem: *Heerwagen*· eundem *P*.
[2] concedere P^2: quoque concedere P^1.
[3] in Hispania *Koch*: in hispania quoque *P*.

instructions how to carry out the enterprise, and left him with the understanding that he was to go at night, in order to elude the enemy's sentinels. At the hour agreed on with the Romans he wakened the boys' custodians, and led them all, as if unwittingly, into the trap prepared by his own treachery. They were then conducted to the Roman camp. The remainder of the plan for the restoration of the hostages to their friends was carried out, through the agency of Abelux, exactly as he and Bostar had agreed, and everything was done as it would have been if he had been acting in the name of the Carthaginians. B.C. 217

The gratitude which the Romans won under such circumstances was much greater than the Carthaginians would have enjoyed. For the Carthaginians had been found to be harsh and arrogant in the hour of their prosperity, and their gentleness might have appeared as the result of misfortune and timidity; but the Romans on first coming thither —and till then they were unknown—had begun with an act of clemency and liberality, and Abelux was held to have shown discernment, and not without reason to have changed his friends. The Spaniards were therefore all with one accord intending to revolt, and would have drawn the sword at once, if winter had not intervened and compelled both Romans and Carthaginians to retire to their quarters.

XXIII. Such was the course of events in Spain in the second summer of the Punic war. In Italy meanwhile the defeated Romans had been afforded a little breathing space by Fabius's wise policy of holding back. This policy, though it occasioned

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Hannibalem non mediocri sollicitum cura habebat, tandem eum militiae magistrum delegisse Romanos 3 cernentem, qui bellum ratione non fortuna gereret, ita contempta erat inter cives armatos pariter togatosque, utique postquam absente eo temeritate magistri equitum laeto verius[1] dixerim quam pros- 4 pero eventu pugnatum fuerat. Accesserant duae res ad augendam invidiam dictatoris, una fraude ac dolo Hannibalis, quod, cum a perfugis ei monstratus ager dictatoris esset, omnibus circa solo aequatis ab uno eo ferrum ignemque et vim omnem hostilem[2] abstineri iussit, ut occulti alicuius pacti ea merces 5 videri posset, altera ipsius facto, primo forsitan dubio, quia non exspectata in eo senatus auctoritas est, ad extremum haud ambigue in maximam laudem 6 verso. In permutandis captivis, quod sic primo Punico bello factum erat, convenerat inter duces Romanum Poenumque ut quae pars plures[3] reciperet quam daret argenti pondo bina et selibras in militem 7 praestaret. Ducentis[4] quadraginta septem cum plures Romanus quam Poenus recepisset argentumque pro eis debitum saepe iactata in senatu re, quoniam non 8 consuluisset patres, tardius erogaretur, inviolatum

[1] verius *Gronovius*: ueprius *P*: ut uerius *ς*.
[2] hostilem *Crévier*: hostium *P* (*Madvig*).
[3] plures *Valla*: prius *P*: plus *ς* (*Madvig*).
[4] ducentis *Madvig*: CC *P*: ducentos *edd. before Madvig.*

[1] So Coriolanus had spared the farms of the patricians in order to make bad blood between them and the plebeians (II. xxxix. 6).

Hannibal no small anxiety—for he saw that the B.C. 217
Romans had finally chosen a military leader who waged war as reason and not as blind chance dictated—yet incurred the scorn of Fabius's fellow citizens, both soldiers and civilians, especially when his absence had been followed, thanks to the rashness of the master of the horse, by a battle which may truthfully be characterized as having ended with more rejoicing than success. Two things, moreover, increased the dictator's unpopularity. One was a crafty ruse of Hannibal's. Some deserters having pointed out to him the dictator's farm, he razed to the ground all the buildings in its neighbourhood, but ordered that this one place should be preserved from fire and sword and every kind of hostile violence, in order that it might appear that Fabius was in this way being rewarded for some secret compact.[1] The other was something that he did himself, which, though perhaps open to criticism in the first place—because he had not waited for the authorization of the senate—redounded in the upshot, and in no uncertain manner, greatly to his fame. In exchanging prisoners the Roman and Phoenician generals had followed the example set in the first Punic war and had agreed that the side which recovered more men than it restored should pay for each two pounds and a half of silver. The Romans recovered two hundred and forty-seven more than the Phoenicians, but the senate, though the matter was often discussed, was slow in voting the money owing for them, on the ground that the dictator had not consulted them; till finally Fabius sent his son Quintus to Rome to sell the farm which the enemy had spared,

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ab hoste agrum misso Romam Quinto filio[1] vendidit fidemque publicam impendio privato exsolvit.

9 Hannibal pro Gereoni moenibus, cuius urbis captae atque incensae ab se in usum horreorum pauca re-
10 liquerat tecta, in stativis erat. Inde frumentatum duas exercitus partes mittebat; cum tertia ipse expedita in statione erat simul castris praesidio et circumspectans necunde impetus in frumentatores fieret.

XXIV. Romanus tunc exercitus in agro Larinati erat. Praeerat Minucius magister equitum, profecto, sicut ante dictum est, ad urbem dictatore.
2 Ceterum castra, quae in monte alto ac tuto loco posita fuerant, iam in planum deferuntur; agitabanturque pro ingenio ducis consilia calidiora, ut impetus aut in frumentatores palatos aut in castra relicta cum levi praesidio fieret.

3 Nec Hannibalem fefellit cum duce mutatam esse belli rationem et ferocius quam consultius rem hostes
4 gesturos. Ipse autem—quod minime quis crederet —cum hostis propius esset, tertiam partem militum frumentatum duabus in castris retentis dimisit;
5 dein castra ipsa propius hostem movit duo ferme a Gereonio milia in tumulum hosti conspectum, ut intentum se[2] sciret esse ad frumentatores, si qua
6 vis fieret, tutandos. Propior inde ei atque ipsis

[1] Quinto filio *Gronovius*: qui filio P^1: filio P^2.
[2] intentum se *Geist*: intentum *P*.

and discharged the nation's obligation at his own B.C. 217
expense.

Hannibal lay encamped under the walls of Gereonium, where he had left a few buildings standing, to serve as granaries, when he captured and burned the city. From there he would send two-thirds of his army to gather corn; the other third, ready to march, he kept at the post under his own command, with the twofold object of protecting the camp and of guarding lest any attack be made upon his foragers.

XXIV. The Roman army was at that time in the neighbourhood of Larinum. Minucius, the master of the horse, was in command, for the dictator, as has been said before, had departed for the City. The camp had been established on a high hill in a position of security, but was now brought down to level ground; and more vigorous measures were being discussed—in keeping with the temper of the general—for attacking the enemy's scattered foragers, or his camp, which was left but lightly garrisoned.

Hannibal saw well enough that the change in leaders had brought a change in strategy, and that the Romans were likely to be more bold than prudent. But though the enemy was close at hand, he himself did something that would almost seem incredible, and sent out a third part of his troops to forage, retaining two-thirds in his camp; then he brought the camp itself up nearer the enemy, about two miles away from Gereonium, to a hill in full sight of the Romans, that they might know that he was watching to protect his foragers, if they should be at all molested. He then observed

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imminens Romanorum castris tumulus apparuit; ad quem capiendum si luce palam iretur, quia haud[1] dubie hostis breviore via praeventurus erat, nocte 7 clam missi Numidae ceperunt. Quos tenentes locum contempta paucitate Romani postero die cum deiecissent,[2] ipsi eo transferunt castra. Tum utique[3] 8 exiguum spatii vallum a vallo aberat, et id ipsum totum[4] prope compleverat Romana acies. Simul et per aversa castra[5] equitatus cum levi armatura emissus in frumentatores late caedem fugamque 9 hostium palatorum fecit. Nec acie certare Hannibal ausus, quia tanta paucitate vix castra, si oppugna- 10 rentur, tutari poterat. Iamque artibus Fabi,[6] sedendo et cunctando, bellum gerebat receperatque suos in priora castra, quae pro Gereoni moenibus erant.

11 Iusta quoque acie et conlatis signis dimicatum quidam auctores sunt: primo concursu Poenum usque ad castra fusum, inde eruptione facta repente versum terrorem in Romanos, Numeri Decimi[7] Samnitis 12 deinde interventu[8] proelium restitutum. Hunc, principem genere ac divitiis non Boviani modo, unde erat, sed toto Samnio, iussu dictatoris octo milia

[1] quia haud ς: haud quia *P*.
[2] deiecissent *Gronovius*: iecissent *P*.
[3] tum utique *Weissenborn*: tumutitaque *P*: itaque *Madvig*.
[4] totum ς: tota *P*.
[5] per aversa castra *Gronovius*: per auersa castra e castris hannibalis *P*: per aversa a castris Hannibalis *Madvig*.
[6] *After* Fabi *P has* pars exercitus aberat iam fame *which Hertz deleted*.
[7] Numeri (Num.) Decimi ς: numeris deciri *P*.
[8] interventu ς: uentu *P*: aduentu ς.

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[1] By the *Porta Decumana*.

a hill even nearer the Romans and threatening their very camp; but since, if he should attempt to take it openly by daylight, the Romans, who had a shorter way to go, would doubtless get ahead of him, he sent some Numidians secretly in the night, and they seized the hill. They were holding the place next day, when the Romans, despising their scanty numbers, dislodged them and transferred their own camp thither. There was now, at all events, but a very little space between rampart and rampart, and this the Romans had pretty well covered with their troops, which they had drawn up in line of battle. At the same time they had sent out their cavalry and skirmishers from the side of the camp which was farthest from the enemy,[1] and these had fallen upon the scattered foragers, whom they routed with great slaughter. Still, Hannibal did not dare to fight a battle, for his forces were so small that he was hardly able to defend his camp, if the Romans should assault it, and he now began to wage war by the arts of Fabius, inaction and delay, and had withdrawn his troops to their former camp, which lay under the walls of Gereonium. B.C. 217

Some writers relate that there was even a regular pitched battle, in which the Phoenicians were driven from the field at the first encounter and pursued all the way to their camp, from which they sallied and quickly dismayed the Romans in their turn; but that Numerius Decimius the Samnite then came up and restored the day. They say that Decimius, who was the person of most consequence both for family and fortune, not only in his own town of Bovianum but in all Samnium, was on his way to

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peditum et equites quingentos ducentem [1] in castra, ab tergo cum apparuisset Hannibali, speciem parti utrique praebuisse [2] novi praesidii cum Q. Fabio ab
13 Roma venientis. Hannibalem insidiarum quoque aliquid timentem recepisse suos, Romanum insecutum adiuvante Samnite duo castella eo die expugnasse.
14 Sex milia hostium caesa, quinque admodum Romanorum; tamen in tam pari prope clade vanam famam [3] egregiae victoriae cum vanioribus litteris magistri equitum Romam perlatam.

XXV. De iis rebus persaepe et in senatu et in
2 contione actum est. Cum laeta civitate dictator unus nihil nec famae nec litteris crederet, et ut vera omnia essent, secunda se magis quam adversa
3 timere diceret, tum M. Metilius [4] tribunus plebis id
4 enim vero [5] ferendum esse negat: non praesentem solum dictatorem obstitisse rei bene gerendae, sed absentem etiam gestae obstare et in ducendo bello sedulo [6] tempus terere, quo diutius in magistratu sit solusque et Romae et in exercitu imperium habeat;
5 quippe consulum alterum in acie cecidisse, alterum specie classis Punicae persequendae procul ab Italia
6 ablegatum; duos praetores Sicilia atque Sardinia occupatos, quarum [7] neutra hoc tempore provincia praetore egeat; M. Minucium magistrum equitum,

[1] quingentos ducentem *Gronovius*: adducentem *P.*
[2] utrique praebuisse ς: utriusque praebuisset *P.*
[3] vanam famam *Woelfflin*: famam *P.*
[4] Metilius *Sigonius* (Plut. *Fab.* 7, 8, 9): metellus *P.*
[5] id enim vero ς: id enim *P.*
[6] sedulo ς: ac sedulo *P.*
[7] quarum ς: quorum *P.*

the camp, by the dictator's order, at the head of B.C. 217
eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, when, appearing on Hannibal's rear, he was mistaken by both armies for reinforcements coming up with Quintus Fabius from Rome. Hannibal, fearing some trap as well, drew back his men, and the Romans, pressing forward and assisted by the Samnites, carried, that same day, two redoubts. Six thousand of the enemy were slain and fully five thousand Romans. Nevertheless, though the losses had been so nearly equal, a foolish tale was carried to Rome of an extraordinary victory, with a letter from the master of the horse that was more foolish still.

XXV. These events were the occasion of many speeches both in the senate and in the popular assembly. The citizens rejoiced, and only the dictator refused to credit either rumour or dispatch, and declared that even though the story were all true, he feared success more than adversity. Then Marcus Metilius, tribune of the plebs, cried out that this was past all bearing: not only had the dictator prevented a successful engagement being fought while he was present, but he even objected now that the victory was won, and persisted in drawing out the war and wasting time, in order the longer to remain in office, and to continue, both at Rome and in the army, in sole possession of authority; for one of the consuls had fallen in battle, and the other—under the pretext of pursuing the Punic fleet—had been sent a great way off from Italy; the two praetors were employed in Sicily and Sardinia, neither of which required a praetor at this time; and Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, that he might not see the enemy or

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ne hostem videret, ne quid rei bellicae gereret,
7 prope in custodia habitum. Itaque hercule non
Samnium modo, quo iam tamquam trans Hiberum
agro Poenis concessum sit, sed[1] Campanum Cale-
numque et Falernum agrum pervastatos esse, sedente
Casilini dictatore et legionibus populi Romani agrum
8 suum tutante. Exercitum cupientem pugnare et
magistrum equitum clausos prope intra vallum re-
tentos, tamquam hostibus captivis arma adempta.
9 Tandem, ut abscesserit inde dictator, ut obsidione
liberatos extra vallum egressos fudisse ac fugasse
10 hostes. Quas ob res, si antiquus animus plebei
Romanae esset, audaciter se laturum fuisse de[2]
abrogando Q. Fabi imperio; nunc modicam roga-
tionem promulgaturum de aequando magistri equitum
11 et dictatoris iure. Nec tamen ne ita quidem prius
mittendum ad exercitum Q. Fabium quam consulem
in locum C. Flamini suffecisset.
12 Dictator contionibus se abstinuit in actione minime
populari.[3] Ne in senatu quidem satis aequis auribus
audiebatur, cum[4] hostem verbis extolleret biennique
clades per temeritatem atque inscitiam ducum ac-
13 ceptas referret et magistro[5] equitum quod contra
dictum suum pugnasset rationem diceret reddendam
14 esse. Si penes se summa imperii consiliique sit,

[1] sit, sed C^2: sititet P: sitit sed C^1: sit sed et ς.
[2] de ς: deinde P. [3] populari ς (*Madvig*): popularis P.
[4] cum *Hertz*: huncum P^1: hunc cum P^2.
[5] et magistro *Madvig*: magister P: magistroque ς: magistro *Frigell.*

[1] Livy appears not to have believed that Minucius was made a dictator. But *C.I.L.*, I. 1503 = Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, 11 (Hercolei | sacrum | M. Minuci. C. f. | dictator vov|| it), is ascribed by Mommsen to our Minucius, and Polybius (III. ciii. 4) says unequivocally that "two dictators were actually appointed for the same field of action."

carry out any military operation, had been kept B.C. 217
almost a prisoner. Thus it had actually come to pass that not only Samnium—whose territories, as though they lay beyond the Ebro, had already been surrendered to the Phoenicians—but Campania, and the districts both of Cales and Falerii had been utterly laid waste; while the dictator sat still at Casilinum and used the legions of the Roman People to protect his own estate. The army—eager as it was to fight—and the master of the horse had virtually been cooped up and confined within the rampart; and their swords, as though they had been captured enemies, had been taken from them. At last, when the dictator had gone away, they had come out from behind their works, as if released from a blockade, and had routed and put to flight their enemies. For all these reasons, if their ancient spirit had still animated the Roman plebs, he would boldly have proposed the abrogation of Quintus Fabius's command; as it was, he should move the adoption of a moderate measure, to wit, the elevation of the master of the horse to a footing of equality with the dictator.[1] Yet, even so, they must not let Fabius rejoin his army till he had first installed a consul in the place of Gaius Flaminius.

The dictator refrained from making speeches to the people, in a cause that was far from popular. Even the senate listened coldly when he spoke in high terms of the enemy, and charging the reverses of the past two years to the rashness and ignorance of the Roman generals, declared that the master of the horse must answer to him for having fought against his orders. If his authority and

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prope diem effecturum ut sciant homines bono imperatore haud magni fortunam momenti esse, mentem
15 rationemque dominari, et in tempore et sine ignominia servasse exercitum quam multa milia hostium
16 occidisse maiorem gloriam esse. Huius generis orationibus frustra habitis et consule creato M. Atilio Regulo, ne praesens de iure imperii dimicaret, pridie quam rogationis ferendae dies adesset, nocte ad exercitum abiit.

17 Luce orta cum plebis concilium esset, magis tacita invidia dictatoris favorque magistri equitum animos versabat quam satis audebant homines ad suadendum quod volgo placebat prodire, et favore superante
18 auctoritas tamen rogationi deerat. Unus inventus est suasor legis C. Terentius Varro, qui priore anno praetor fuerat, loco non humili solum sed etiam
19 sordido ortus. Patrem lanium fuisse ferunt, ipsum institorem mercis, filioque hoc ipso in servilia eius artis ministeria usum.

XXVI. Is iuvenis, ut primum[1] ex eo genere quaestus pecunia a patre relicta animos ad spem liberalioris fortunae fecit togaque et forum placuere
2 proclamando pro sordidis hominibus causisque adversus rem et famam bonorum primum in notitiam

[1] ut primum *Perizonius*: utrum *P*: ut iam *Luterbacher*.

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[1] This is possibly a sneer at Scipio, who after the Trebia took refuge with his beaten army behind the walls of Placentia and Cremona. In 205 B.C., Fabius's distrust of the Scipios was to take the form of bitter opposition to the son's project for invading Africa (XXVIII. xl.–xliii. and XXIX. xix.).

[2] He had been consul before, in 227 B.C.

strategy should be paramount, he would soon let B.C. 217
people know that with a good commander fortune was of little moment; that mind and reason were in control; and that to have preserved the army in its hour of danger, yet without disgrace,[1] was more glorious than to have slain many thousands of the enemy. After making several speeches to this purport, yet without effect, and presiding over the election of Marcus Atilius Regulus[2] to the consulship, that he might not take a personal part in the dispute about the command, on the day preceding the bringing forward of the resolution he left by night for the army.

When at break of day the plebs assembled in their council, though at heart they were inclined to dislike the dictator and to favour the master of the horse, yet they wanted sufficient courage to come forward and advocate a course which most of them approved, so that the motion, despite its exceeding popularity, lacked support. One man alone was found to urge the passage of the bill. This was Gaius Terentius Varro, praetor of the year before, whose antecedents were not merely base but even sordid. It is said that his father had been a butcher, who peddled his wares himself, and that he had employed this very son about the menial tasks associated with that calling.

XXVI. The young man had no sooner inherited from his father the money gained in this kind of occupation than he felt encouraged to hope for a more liberal career, and resolved to enter public life; and by declaiming on behalf of ignoble men and causes against the property and reputation of persons of the better sort achieved first notoriety

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3 populi, deinde ad honores pervenit, quaesturaque[1] et duabus aedilitatibus, plebeia et curuli, postremo et praetura perfunctus iam ad consulatus spem cum 4 adtolleret animos, haud parum callide auram favoris popularis ex dictatoria[2] invidia petit scitique plebis unus gratiam tulit.

5 Omnes eam rogationem, quique Romae quique in exercitu erant, aequi atque iniqui, praeter ipsum dictatorem in contumeliam eius latam acceperunt; 6 ipse qua gravitate animi criminantes se ad multitudinem inimicos tulerat eadem et populi in se 7 saevientis[3] iniuriam tulit; acceptisque in ipso itinere litteris senatus[4] de aequato imperio, satis fidens haudquaquam cum imperii iure artem imperandi aequatam, cum invicto[5] a civibus hostibusque animo ad exercitum rediit.

XXVII. Minucius vero, cum iam ante vix tolera- 2 bilis fuisset rebus secundis ac favore volgi, tum utique immodice immodesteque non Hannibale 3 magis victo ab se quam Q. Fabio gloriari: illum in rebus asperis unicum ducem ac parem quaesitum Hannibali, maiorem minori, dictatorem magistro equitum, quod nulla memoria habeat annalium, iussu populi aequatum in eadem civitate, in qua magistri

[1] quaesturaque ς (*Gronovius*): quaestura quoque *P.*
[2] dictatoria *P*: dictatoris ς (*Madvig*).
[3] saevientis ς: seuientem *P.*
[4] litteris senatus ς (*Madvig*): litteris s̄c̄. *P.*
[5] cum invicto ς: cumque inuicto *P.*

and then office. He had held the quaestorship and both aedileships—plebeian and curule—and finally even the praetorship. He now ventured to aspire to the consulship, and with considerable shrewdness sought to capture the favour of the populace by exploiting their animosity against the dictator, with the result that he alone reaped all the popularity growing out of the plebiscite. B.C. 217

Everyone, whether in Rome or with the army, whether friend or foe, looked on the passing of this bill as an insult to the dictator—everyone, that is, but the dictator himself, who with the same unruffled spirit with which he had borne the slanders uttered against him before the multitude by his adversaries now bore the injustice of the infuriated people. While still on the way he received a dispatch from the senate about the equal division of command, but fairly confident that though the authority of the commanders had been equalized, their abilities had not, he returned to the army with a spirit that neither fellow citizens nor enemies could daunt.

XXVII. As for Minucius, success and the favour of the crowd had already made him well-nigh insufferable. But now, at all events, he cast away all modesty and moderation and boasted of his triumph not only over Hannibal but over Quintus Fabius as well: that wonderful leader, to whom his countrymen had turned in their distress as a match for Hannibal, had by vote of the people been reduced to a level—the superior with his subordinate, the dictator with his master of the horse; and this action, to which history could afford no parallel, had been taken in that very state in which masters

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equitum virgas ac secures dictatoris tremere atque horrere soliti sint: tantum suam felicitatem virtutemque enituisse. Ergo secuturum[1] se fortunam suam, si dictator in cunctatione[2] ac segnitie deorum hominumque iudicio damnata perstaret. Itaque quo die primum congressus est cum Q. Fabio, statuendum omnium primum ait esse quem ad modum imperio aequato utantur: se optimum ducere aut diebus alternis, aut, si maiora intervalla placerent, partitis temporibus alterius summum ius imperiumque esse, ut par hosti non solum consilio[3] sed viribus etiam esset, si quam occasionem rei gerendae habuisset. Q. Fabio haudquaquam id placere: omnia enim fortunam[4] eam habituram quaecumque temeritas collegae habuisset: sibi communicatum cum alio,[5] non ademptum imperium esse: itaque se nunquam volentem parte qua posset rerum consilio gerendarum cessurum, nec se tempora aut dies imperii cum eo, exercitum divisurum, suisque consiliis, quoniam omnia non liceret, quae posset servaturum. Ita obtinuit ut legiones, sicut consulibus mos esset, inter se dividerent. Prima et quarta Minucio, secunda et tertia Fabio evenerunt. Item equites pari numero sociumque et Latini nominis auxilia

[1] secuturum *edd.*: secuturumque *P.*

[2] dictator in cunctatione (con-) *Gronovius*: dictatoris cunctationi *P.*

[3] non solum consilio ς (*Madvig*): solum non consilio *P*: non consilio solum *Alschefski.*

[4] enim fortunam ς: fortunam enim *P.*

[5] alio *P*: illo ς (*Madvig*): eo *Novák.*

[1] So in the campaign of Cannae (216 B.C.), Varro and Paulus commanded on alternate days. In the present instance, however, Polybius III. (ciii. 7) says that it was Fabius who proposed the alternation, and that Minucius preferred that the army be divided.

of the horse had been used to tremble and shudder B.C. 217
at the rods and axes of the dictator; so conspicuous had been his own success and courage. He would therefore follow up his good fortune, if the dictator persisted in that dilatory and inactive course which gods and men had united in condemning. Accordingly, on the day of his first meeting with Quintus Fabius, he said that the very first thing to be settled was the manner in which they should exercise the joint command: he himself thought that the best way would be for each to have supreme command and authority either every other day,[1] or, if longer periods seemed preferable, for equally apportioned times, to the end that he might be a match for the enemy not only in strategy but in numbers also, if he should meet with a favourable opportunity for fighting.

This proposal by no means suited Quintus Fabius, for he saw that everything which his rash colleague should have got control of would be controlled by Fortune: he had been made, he said, to share the supreme command with another, not deprived of it; he would therefore never voluntarily relinquish that share which he possessed of the power to guide the campaign prudently; he would not divide with Minucius the times or days of commanding, but would divide the army, and in accordance with his own plans would save what he could, since he was not permitted to save everything. In this way he brought about a division of the legions, such as was customary between consuls. The first and fourth fell to Minucius, the second and third to Fabius. In like manner they divided equally the cavalry and auxiliaries, both allies and Latins. The master of

A.U.C. 537 diviserunt. Castris quoque se separari magister equitum voluit.

XXVIII. Duplex inde Hannibali gaudium fuit—neque enim quicquam eorum quae apud hostes agerentur eum fallebat, et perfugis multa indicanti-
2 bus[1] et per suos explorantem;—nam et liberam Minuci temeritatem se suo modo captaturum et sollertiae Fabi dimidium virium decessisse.
3 Tumulus erat inter castra Minuci et Poenorum, quem qui occupasset haud dubie iniquiorem erat
4 hosti locum facturus. Eum non tam capere sine certamine volebat Hannibal, quamquam id operae pretium erat, quam causam certaminis cum Minucio, quem procursurum[2] ad obsistendum satis sciebat,
5 contrahere.[3] Ager omnis medius erat prima specie inutilis insidiatori, quia non modo silvestre quic-
6 quam, sed ne vepribus quidem vestitum habebat, re ipsa natus tegendis[4] insidiis, eo magis quod in nuda valle nulla talis fraus timeri poterat; et erant in anfractibus cavae rupes, ut quaedam earum ducenos
7 armatos possent capere. In has latebras, quot quemque locum apte insidere poterant, quinque milia
8 conduntur peditum equitumque. Necubi tamen aut motus alicuius temere egressi aut fulgor armorum fraudem in valle tam aperta detegeret, missis paucis prima luce ad capiendum quem ante diximus tumulum avertit oculos hostium.

[1] indicantibus ς: non indicantibus *P*: ultro indicantibus *Pluygers*.
[2] procursurum *Madvig*: per/occursurum *P*.
[3] contrahere ς: et contrahere *P*.
[4] tegendis ς: detegendis *P*.

the horse chose that their camps, too, should be separated. B.C. 217

XXVIII. All this caused Hannibal a twofold joy, for, fully acquainted as he was with whatever went on amongst his enemies both from much information brought in by deserters and from the discoveries of his own spies, he reckoned on entrapping the uncontrolled rashness of Minucius after his own fashion, while he saw that the sagacity of Fabius had been deprived of half its strength.

There was a hill between the camp of Minucius and that of the Phoenicians, and it was certain that he who occupied it would place his enemy in a rather bad position. This Hannibal was desirous not so much of capturing without a struggle —though this would have been worth while—as of using to bring on a battle with Minucius, who would sally forth, as he well knew, to oppose him. It appeared at first sight that none of the ground between could be used for an ambush, since it not only had nothing on it in the shape of trees, but was nowhere so much as screened with brambles. But in fact it was formed by nature for covering an ambuscade—all the more because in a bare valley no such trap could be suspected—for in its windings there were hollow cliffs, so large that some of them would hold two hundred soldiers. In these lurking-places Hannibal concealed five thousand foot and horse—as many in each as could readily lie in wait there. Lest, however, the movement of anyone who might carelessly step out or the glint of arms should betray the ruse, in a valley so bare and open, he dispatched a small party at dawn to seize the hill already mentioned and draw off the enemy's attention.

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9 Primo statim conspectu contempta paucitas, ac sibi quisque deposcere pellendos inde hostes ac locum[1] capiendum; dux ipse inter stolidissimos ferocissimosque ad arma vocat et vanis minis[2] 10 increpat hostem. Principio levem armaturam dimittit; deinde conferto agmine mittit equites; postremo, cum hostibus quoque subsidia mitti 11 videret, instructis legionibus procedit. Et Hannibal laborantibus suis alia atque alia crescente[3] certamine mittens auxilia peditum equitumque iam iustam expleverat aciem, ac totis utrimque viribus certatur. 12 Prima levis armatura Romanorum, praeoccupatum ex inferiore loco[4] succedens tumulum, pulsa detrusaque terrorem in succedentem intulit equitem 13 et ad signa legionum refugit. Peditum acies inter perculsos impavida sola erat, videbaturque, si iusta ac directa[5] pugna esset, haudquaquam impar futura: tantum animorum fecerat prospere ante 14 paucos dies res gesta; sed exorti repente insidiatores eum tumultum terroremque in latera utrimque ab tergoque incursantes fecerunt ut nec animus[6] ad pugnam neque ad fugam spes cuiquam superesset.

XXIX. Tum Fabius primo clamore paventium

[1] ac locum *Perizonius*: ad locum *P.*
[2] minis ς: animis et nimis *P*: animis et minis ς.
[3] crescente ς: aut crescente *P.*
[4] ex inferiore loco *Madvig*: inferiore loco *P.*
[5] directa *Madvig*: si recta *P*: recta ς.
[6] ut nec animus ς: nec ut animus *P.*

The Romans no sooner descried them than they B.C. 217
laughed at their small numbers, and everybody asked to be assigned the duty of dislodging the Carthaginians and capturing the place. Their general himself, as fatuous and rash as anyone, called the men to arms and railed at the enemy with idle threats. First he ordered out the light infantry; then he sent the cavalry off in a solid column; finally, when he saw that the enemy too were bringing up supports, he set forth with his legions in battle array. Hannibal likewise, as the struggle waxed hotter and his men were sore bested, sent in reinforcement after reinforcement, horse and foot, till he now had a regular army in the field, and both sides were engaged with all their forces. The Roman light infantry, as they were advancing from the lower ground on to the height which the enemy had already occupied, was the first to suffer a repulse, and as they were driven downhill, caused a panic among the cavalry, which was coming up behind them, and fled to the standards of the legions. These alone maintained their line undaunted, when all the rest were in full flight, and it looked as if, had the battle been a regular front-to-front engagement, they would have proved fully equal to their enemy—so encouraged had they been by the successful action a few days before. But the men in ambush, suddenly springing out and charging them on both flanks and in the rear, worked such havoc and alarm that not one of them had any courage left for fighting or any hope in flight.

XXIX. "There it is," said Fabius, when first the cries of the frightened soldiers were heard, and

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audito, dein conspecta procul turbata acie, "Ita est" inquit; "non celerius[1] quam timui deprendit
2 fortuna temeritatem. Fabio aequatus imperio Hannibalem et virtute et fortuna superiorem videt. Sed aliud iurgandi suscensendique tempus erit: nunc signa extra vallum proferte; victoriam hosti[2] extorqueamus, confessionem erroris civibus."
3 Iam magna ex parte caesis aliis, aliis circumspectantibus fugam Fabiana se acies repente velut
4 caelo demissa ad auxilium ostendit. Itaque, priusquam ad coniectum teli veniret aut manum consereret, et suos a fuga effusa et ab nimis[3] feroci pugna hostes continuit. Qui solutis ordinibus vage dissipati erant undique confugerunt ad integram
5 aciem; qui plures simul terga dederant conversi in hostem volventesque orbem nunc sensim referre pedem, nunc conglobati restare. Ac iam prope una acies facta erat victi atque integri exercitus
6 inferebantque signa in hostem, cum Poenus receptui cecinit, palam ferente Hannibale ab se Minucium, se ab Fabio victum.
7 Ita per variam fortunam diei maiore parte exacta
8 cum in castra reditum esset, Minucius convocatis militibus, "Saepe ego" inquit "audivi, milites, eum primum esse virum qui ipse consulat quid in rem

[1] non celerius *P*: celerius *Lipsius* (Plut., *Fab.* 12).
[2] hosti ς: hostibus *Drakenborch*: hostis *P*.
[3] ab nimis M^2: ab animis PC^1M^1: a nimis C^2.

then the confusion in the distant battle-line became B.C. 217
discernible; "misfortune has not overtaken rashness more quickly than I feared. Though made equal to Fabius in authority, he finds Hannibal his superior, both in courage and in fortune. But another time will do for upbraiding and resentment; for the present, march out from your trenches, and let us wrest from the enemy his victory and from our fellow citizens a confession of their blunder."

By this time large numbers of the Romans had either been slain or were casting about for a way to escape, when suddenly Fabius and his army appeared, as though they had come down from heaven to help them; and before they got within a javelin's range or struck a blow, had checked both the headlong flight of the Romans and the reckless fury of the enemy's attack. Those who had quitted their ranks and dispersed this way and that came running up on every side to the unbroken line; those who had retreated in a body faced about to meet the enemy and, forming a circle, at first slowly retreated, but presently, being more compactly drawn together, stood their ground. And now the beaten army and the fresh one had pretty much united into a single line and were ready to advance against the enemy, when Hannibal sounded the recall, declaring openly that he had beaten Minucius, but that Fabius had beaten him.

When the troops had got back to their camps, towards the close of a day of such varied fortune, Minucius called his men together and thus addressed them: "Soldiers, I have often heard that the best man is he who can himself advise us what is profit-

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sit; secundum eum qui bene monenti oboediat; qui nec ipse consulere nec alteri parere sciat,[1] eum
9 extremi ingenii esse. Nobis quoniam prima animi ingeniique negata sors est, secundam ac mediam teneamus, et dum imperare discimus, parere pru-
10 denti in animum inducamus. Castra cum Fabio iungamus; ad praetorium eius signa cum tulerimus,[2] ubi ego eum parentem appellavero, quod beneficio
11 eius erga nos ac maiestate eius dignum est, vos, milites, eos quorum vos modo arma ac dexterae[3] texerunt patronos salutabitis, et si nihil aliud, gratorum certe nobis animorum gloriam dies hic dederit."

XXX. Signo dato conclamatur inde ut colligantur vasa. Profecti et agmine incedentes ad dictatoris[4] castra in admirationem et ipsum et omnes qui circa
2 erant converterunt. Ut constituta sunt ante tribunal signa, progressus ante alios magister equitum cum patrem Fabium appellasset circumfusosque militum eius totum agmen patronos consalutasset,
3 "Parentibus" inquit "meis, dictator, quibus te modo nomine, quod[5] fando possum, aequavi, vitam

[1] sciat M^2: nesciat PCM^1.
[2] cum tulerimus ς: contulerimus P: cum detulerimus *Novák*.
[3] ac dexterae *Madvig*: dexterae P: dexteraeque ς.
[4] ad dictatoris ς: di///catoris P: per dictatoris *Madvig*.
[5] quod *Voss*: quo P.

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[1] A sentiment borrowed from the *Works and Days* of Hesiod, who says (293 ff.): That man is altogether best who considers all things himself and marks what will be better afterwards and at the end; and he, again, is good who listens to a good adviser; but whoever neither thinks for

able; the next best he who listens to good advice; B.C. 217
but that he who can neither counsel well nor obey another has the meanest capacity of all.[1] Since to us the first rank of intelligence and capacity has been denied, let us hold fast to the second or middle state, and while we are learning to command, make up our minds to obey a man of wisdom. Let us join our camp to that of Fabius; and when we have brought our standards to his tent, and I have given him the name of 'Father'—as befits his goodness to us and his great position—you, soldiers, will salute as 'patrons'[2] those whose hands and swords just now protected you; and, if nothing else, this day shall at least have conferred on us the glory of possessing thankful hearts."

XXX. The moment the signal was given, the order to pack was shouted round.[3] Setting forth they marched in column to the dictator's camp, to the astonishment of Fabius himself and all who were about. When they had planted their ensigns before the tribunal,[4] the master of the horse advanced in front of the rest and called upon Fabius by the name of Father, and his entire army saluted the soldiers who had gathered round them as their patrons. Then Minucius said, "To my parents, Dictator, with whom I have just made you equal in name, which is all that speech can do, I owe only my life; to

himself nor keeps in mind what another tells him, he is an unprofitable man (Evelyn White's Trans. in *L.C.L.*).

[2] The soldiers of Fabius, by preventing the Carthaginians from capturing the soldiers of Minucius, have preserved their liberty, as the *patronus* guarded the liberty of his client.

[3] *vasa colligere* means literally "to collect one's traps," hence "to prepare to march."

[4] A platform in front of the general's tent.

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tantam debeo, tibi cum meam salutem tum omnium
4 horum. Itaque plebeiscitum, quo oneratus magis quam honoratus sum,[1] primus antiquo abrogoque et, quod tibi mihique exercitibusque[2] his tuis, servato ac conservatori, sit felix, sub imperium auspiciumque tuum redeo et signa haec legionesque
5 restituo. Tu, quaeso, placatus me magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos[3] quemque tenere iubeas."
6 Tum dextrae interiunctae militesque contione dimissa ab notis ignotisque benigne atque hospitaliter invitati, laetusque dies ex admodum tristi paulo ante ac prope exsecrabili factus.
7 Romae, ut est perlata fama rei gestae, dein litteris non magis ipsorum imperatorum quam volgo militum ex utroque exercitu adfirmata, pro se
8 quisque Maximum laudibus ad caelum ferre. Pari[4] gloria apud Hannibalem hostesque Poenos erat; ac tum demum sentire cum Romanis atque in Italia
9 bellum esse; nam biennio ante adeo et duces Romanos et milites spreverant ut vix cum eadem gente bellum esse crederent cuius terribilem[5] famam
10 a patribus accepissent; Hannibalemque[6] ex acie redeuntem dixisse ferunt tandem eam nubem quae sedere in iugis montium solita sit cum procella imbrem dedisse.

[1] honoratus sum ς: oneratus *P*.
[2] mihique exercitibusque ς: mihique quod exercitusque *F*.
[3] magisterium equitum, hos ordines suos *Gronovius*: magisterium equitum hos ordinibus suis *P*.
[4] pari *Pavlikovski*: par *P* (*Madvig*).
[5] terribilem ς: terribilem eam *P*: tam terribilem *Perizonius*.
[6] Hannibalemque *Luchs*: hannibalem quoque *P*.

[1] The battle on the Ticinus had been fought in the autumn of 218 B.C., and it was now late in the year 217, but the war had already lasted through two *campaigns*.

you I owe not merely my own safety but the safety B.C. 217
of all of these. Accordingly I am the first to reject and repeal that plebiscite which has been more onerous to me than honourable, and to place myself again under your command and auspices and restore to you these standards and these legions; and may good fortune come of it to you and to me and to these your armies, to the preserved and the preserver. Lay aside, I pray, your just resentment, and bid me retain my post of master of the horse and these their own proper companies and ranks." Then hands were clasped, and the assembly being dismissed, the soldiers were kindly and hospitably entertained, alike by friends and strangers, and a day which a little earlier had been very gloomy and almost accurst was turned into one of rejoicing.

In Rome, when the report of this affair came in, and was later confirmed by letters not only from both commanders, but from the soldiers generally in both armies, all men joined in lauding Maximus to the skies. With Hannibal and the hostile Phoenicians his renown was equally great; then for the first time they realized that they were fighting with Romans and in Italy. For during the past two years[1] they had so despised the Roman generals and soldiers that they could hardly believe that they were at war with the same nation as that of which they had heard such terrifying stories from their fathers. And Hannibal is said to have remarked, as he was returning from the field, that at last that cloud which had long been hovering about the mountain-tops had broken in a storm of rain.

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XXXI. Dum haec geruntur in Italia, Cn. Servilius Geminus consul cum classe centum viginti[1] navium circumvectus Sardiniae et Corsicae oram et obsidibus utrimque acceptis in Africam transmisit, et priusquam in continentem escensiones faceret, 2 Menige insula vastata et ab incolentibus Cercinam,[2] ne et ipsorum ureretur diripereturque ager, decem talentis argenti acceptis ad litora Africae accessit 3 copiasque exposuit. Inde ad populandum agrum ducti milites navalesque socii iuxta effusi, ac si in 4 insulis[3] cultorum egentibus praedarentur. Itaque in insidias temere inlati, cum a frequentibus palantes, ab locorum gnaris ignari,[4] circumvenirentur, cum multa caede ac foeda fuga retro ad naves compulsi 5 sunt. Ad mille hominum cum Ti.[5] Sempronio Blaeso quaestore amissum. Classis ab litoribus hostium plenis trepide soluta in Siciliam cursum tenuit 6 traditaque Lilybaei T. Otacilio praetori, ut ab legato 7 eius P. Cincio[6] Romam reduceretur; ipse per Siciliam pedibus profectus freto in Italiam traiecit, litteris Q. Fabi accitus et ipse et collega eius M. Atilius, ut exercitus ab se exacto iam prope semestri imperio acciperent.

[1] centum viginti (centum et viginti) navium *Lipsius*: nauium *P*.

[2] Cercinam *Sigonius*: circanam P^1: circa eam P^2.

[3] in insulis *Weissenborn*: insulis *P*.

[4] ab locorum gnaris ignari *Gronovius*: ad locorum et ignari gnaris (gnaris *deleted by* P^2) *P*.

[5] cum Ti. *Ruperti*: cum iis *P*: cum *Doujatius*: cum Tib. *H. J. Mueller* (XLI. xii. 4).

[6] Cincio *Hertz*: circi P^1: circa P^2.

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[1] Menix (or Meninx) and Cercina were in the Lesser Syrtis. The former was supposed to have been the land of the lotus-eaters. (The modern names are Djerba and Kerkenna.)

XXXI. While these things were happening in Italy, Gnaeus Servilius Geminus the consul, with a fleet of a hundred and twenty ships, sailed round Sardinia and Corsica, and after taking hostages from both, bore away for Africa. Before descending on the mainland, he plundered the island of Menix; and after accepting ten talents of silver, which the people of Cercina gave him,[1] to induce him not to burn and pillage their territory also, he sailed in to the coast of Africa and disembarked his troops.[2] Soldiers and naval allies went off to pillage the country-side and dispersed as freely as if they were plundering desert islands. And so they quickly fell into an ambush, and losing contact with each other, and knowing nothing of the country, were set upon by large bands of their enemies, who knew it well, and driven back to their ships in a bloody and disgraceful rout. Fully a thousand men were lost, including the quaestor, Tiberius Sempronius Blaesus. Moorings were cast off in a hurry, and the fleet, leaving the shore behind it lined with enemies, stood away for Sicily. At Lilybaeum it was handed over to the praetor Titus Otacilius, to be conducted by his lieutenant, Publius Cincius, back to Rome. The consul himself proceeded overland through Sicily to the straits, where he crossed into Italy, in obedience to a dispatch from Quintus Fabius. The dictator had sent for Servilius, and for Marcus Atilius his colleague, to take over his armies, for his six months' tenure of authority was drawing to a close. B.C. 217

[2] Polybius (III. xcvi. 13) mentions the ransom of Cercina, and speaks of the capture not of Menix but of Cossyrus (a little island to the E. of Carthage). He says nothing of the landing in Africa.

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8 Omnium prope annales Fabium dictatorem adversum Hannibalem rem gessisse tradunt; Coelius etiam eum primum a populo creatum dictatorem
9 scribit. Sed et Coelium et ceteros fugit uni consuli Cn. Servilio, qui tum procul in Gallia provincia
10 aberat, ius fuisse dicendi dictatoris; quam moram quia exspectare territa tanta[1] clade civitas non poterat, eo decursum esse ut a populo crearetur
11 qui pro dictatore esset; res inde gestas gloriamque insignem ducis et augentes titulum imaginis[2] posteros, ut, qui pro dictatore creatus erat fuisse dictator[3] crederetur[4] facile obtinuisse.

XXXII. Consules Atilius Fabiano, Geminus Servilius Minuciano exercitu accepto, hibernaculis mature communitis, quod reliquum[5] autumni erat Fabi artibus cum summa inter se concordia bellum
2 gesserunt. Frumentatum exeunti Hannibali diversis locis opportuni aderant carpentes agmen palatosque excipientes; in casum universae dimicationis, quam omnibus artibus petebat hostis, non
3 veniebant[6]; adeoque inopia est coactus Hannibal ut, nisi cum fugae specie abeundum timuisset,[7]

[1] tanta *H. J. Mueller*: iam *P*.
[2] augentes titulum imaginis *Gronovius*: augendis titulum imagines *P*.
[3] dictatore creatus erat fuisse dictator *H. J. Mueller*: dictatore *P*.
[4] crederetur *ς*: caederetur *P*.
[5] quod reliquum (-quom) *Madvig*: quom P^1: cum P^2.
[6] Consules (§ 1) . . . veniebant *P places after* gererent (§ 3): *the transposition was made by Froben* (*ed.* 1531).
[7] timuisset *P* (*Weissenborn*): si fuisset *Madvig*.

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[1] *i.e.* in Northern Italy, in the neighbourhood of Ariminum.
[2] In this inscription the expression *II dictator* (as in the *Fasti*) or *bis dictator* (as in the *Elogium* of Fabius, *C. I. L.*,

Nearly all the annalists state that Fabius was B.C. 217
dictator in his campaign against Hannibal; Coelius even writes that he was the first to be created dictator by the people. But Coelius and the rest forget that only the consul Gnaeus Servilius, who was then far away in his province of Gaul,[1] had the right of naming a dictator. It was because the nation, appalled by their great disaster, could not put up with so long a delay that resort was had to the popular election of an *acting* dictator. Thereafter the general's successes and his great renown, and the additions which his descendants made to the inscription which accompanies his portrait,[2] led easily to the belief that one who had in fact been made acting dictator had been dictator.

XXXII. The consuls—Atilius taking over the army of Fabius and Geminus Servilius that of Minucius—constructed a winter camp betimes, and carried on the war for the rest of the autumn with the greatest harmony, on the lines laid down by Fabius. As often as Hannibal went out to forage, they were sure to appear, at one place or another, harassing his march and cutting off the stragglers: a general engagement, which the enemy sought with all the arts at his command, they declined to risk; and Hannibal was driven to such extremity of want, that if he had not thought that his departure would

I. 228) very likely occurred, conveying the erroneous impression that Fabius was in 217 formally elected dictator, whereas he was in fact invested with the *powers* of a dictator but not with the actual *title*. Note that at chap. viii. § 6 Livy accepted, without citing his authority, the tradition which he now rejects and ascribes to Cœlius. This is a striking instance of the ancient custom of citing sources only in cases where the writer's suspicions are aroused.

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Galliam repetiturus fuerit nulla relicta spe alendi exercitus in eis locis, si insequentes consules eisdem artibus bellum gererent.

4 Cum ad Gereonium iam hieme impediente constitisset bellum, Neapolitani legati Romam venere. Ab iis quadraginta paterae aureae magni ponderis in curiam inlatae atque ita verba facta ut dicerent
5 scire sese populi Romani[1] aerarium bello exhauriri, et cum iuxta pro urbibus agrisque sociorum ac
6 pro capite atque arce Italiae, urbe Romana, atque imperio geratur, aequum censuisse Neapolitanos, quod auri sibi cum ad templorum ornatum, tum ad subsidium fortunae, a maioribus relictum foret,
7 eo iuvare populum Romanum; si quam opem in sese[2] crederent, eodem studio fuisse oblaturos. Gratum sibi patres Romanos populumque facturum,
8 si omnes res Neapolitanorum suas duxissent, dignosque iudicaverint ab quibus donum, animo ac voluntate eorum qui libentes darent quam re maius
9 ampliusque, acciperent. Legatis gratiae actae pro munificentia curaque; patera quae ponderis minimi fuit accepta.

XXXIII. Per eosdem dies speculator[3] Carthaginiensis qui per biennium fefellerat Romae de-
2 prensus praecisisque manibus dimissus, et servi quinque et viginti in crucem acti, quod in campo

[1] populi Romani ς: populi *P*.
[2] in sese *P*: in sese esse *Weissenborn*: in se esse *H. J. Mueller*.
[3] speculator ς: spectator *P*.

necessarily look like flight, he would have gone back B.C. 217
into Gaul. For he had given up all hope of supporting his army in those regions, if the next consuls should make use of the same strategy.

Winter had already brought the fighting about Gereonium to a standstill, when envoys from Neapolis arrived in Rome. Bringing forty massive golden bowls into the senate-house, they delivered themselves to this effect: that they knew that the treasury of the Roman People was becoming exhausted by the war, and since it was being waged no less in behalf of the cities and lands of the allies than for the capital and citadel of Italy—the City of Rome—and for its empire, the Neapolitans had deemed it right to employ the gold which their ancestors had bequeathed them, whether for the adornment of their temples or as a subsidy in time of need, to assist the Roman People; had they thought themselves capable of helping with their persons, they would have offered these with the same heartiness; it would gratify them if the Roman senators and people would look on all the possessions of the Neapolitans as their own, and consider that their gift deserved a willing acceptance, as being greater and of more account in respect of the friendliness and good-will of the givers than in actual value. The envoys received a vote of thanks for this generosity and thoughtfulness, and the bowl of least weight was accepted.

XXXIII. At about this time a Carthaginian spy who for two years had eluded capture was caught in Rome, and after his hands had been cut off, was allowed to go; and five and twenty slaves were crucified, on the charge of having conspired in the

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Martio coniurassent.[1] Indici data libertas et aeris
3 gravis viginti milia. Legati et ad Philippum Macedonum regem missi ad deposcendum Demetrium Pharium, qui bello victus ad eum fugisset,
4 et alii in Ligures ad expostulandum, quod Poenum opibus auxiliisque suis iuvissent, simul ad visendum ex propinquo quae in Bois atque Insubribus gere-
5 rentur. Ad Pineum quoque regem in Illyrios legati missi ad stipendium, cuius dies exierat, poscendum, aut si diem proferri[2] vellet, obsides accipiendos.
6 Adeo, etsi bellum ingens in cervicibus erat, nullius usquam terrarum rei cura Romanos, ne longinqua[3]
7 quidem, effugiebat. In religionem etiam venit aedem Concordiae, quam per seditionem militarem biennio ante L. Manlius praetor in Gallia vovisset,
8 locatam ad id tempus non esse. Itaque duumviri ad eam rem creati a M. Aemilio praetore urbano C. Pupius et K. Quinctius Flamininus aedem in arce faciendam locaverunt.

[1] quod in campo Martio coniurassent *P*: in campo Martio quod coniurassent *V. Voss.*
[2] proferri *Madvig*: proferre *P.*
[3] longinqua *P*: longinque ς: longinquae *J. H. Voss.*

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[1] Philip V., with whom the Romans were to fight the first two Macedonian wars of 216–205 B.C. and 200–197 B.C.

[2] Demetrius of Pharus (an island off the coast of Illyria) had (in 229 B.C.) treacherously surrendered to the Romans the island Corcyra, of which the Illyrian queen Teuta had made him governor. Rewarded for this service with the governorship of a number of islands, he was guilty of plundering Roman allies, and Aemilius Paulus led an expedition against him which resulted (in 219) in his defeat and exile.

[3] In view of the revolt recorded in XXI. XXV.

[4] Whom the Romans had placed on the Illyrian throne in 228 B.C. after their defeat of Teuta.

Campus Martius. The informer was rewarded with B.C. 217
freedom and twenty thousand sesterces. Ambassadors were dispatched to Philip,[1] King of the Macedonians, to demand the person of Demetrius of Pharus,[2] who, beaten in war, had fled to him for refuge; and others to expostulate with the Ligurians, because they had aided the Phoenician with supplies and men, and at the same time to observe at close range what was going on amongst the Boi and the Insubres.[3] Ambassadors were likewise sent to King Pineus[4] in Illyria, to demand a tribute which was overdue, or, in case he wished the time extended, to take hostages. So far were the Romans, though bearing upon their shoulders the burden of a mighty war, from permitting any concern of theirs to escape them, in however remote a part of the world it lay. They were troubled, too, that the contract for the temple of Concord, which the praetor Lucius Manlius had vowed two years before in Gaul, during the mutiny of the soldiers,[5] had hitherto not been let. Accordingly the city praetor, Marcus Aemilius, appointed for the purpose two commissioners, Gaius Pupius and Caeso Quinctius Flamininus, who arranged to have the temple built on the Citadel.[6]

[5] Livy says nothing of this mutiny, which probably occurred (notwithstanding the phrase *biennio ante*) in connexion with the events related in XXI. XXV.

[6] One of the two summits of the Capitoline, the other being the Capitol, where stood the temple of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva. The temple of Concord, dedicated in 216 (XXIII. XXI. 7), must not be confounded with the temple of the same goddess situated at the N.W. corner of the Forum—the ruins of which may still be seen—which was first erected in 367 by Camillus on the passing of the Licinian Laws.

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9 Ab eodem praetore ex senatus consulto litterae ad consules missae, ut si iis videretur, alter eorum ad consules creandos Romam veniret: se in eam 10 diem quam iussissent comitia edicturum. Ad haec a consulibus rescriptum sine detrimento rei publicae abscedi non posse ab hoste; itaque per interregem comitia habenda esse potius quam consul alter a 11 bello avocaretur. Patribus rectius visum est dictatorem a consulibus[1] dici comitiorum habendorum causa. Dictus L. Veturius Philo M. Pomponium 12 Mathonem magistrum equitum dixit. Iis vitio creatis iussisque die quarto decimo se magistratu abdicare res ad interregnum rediit.

XXXIV. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium. Interrex proditus[2] a patribus C. Claudius[3] Appi filius Cento, inde P. Cornelius Asina. In eius interregno comitia habita magno certamine patrum ac plebis.

2 C. Terentio Varroni, quem sui generis hominem, plebi[4] insectatione principum popularibusque artibus conciliatum, ab Q. Fabi opibus et dictatorio imperio concusso[5] aliena invidia splendentem, volgus extrahere[6] ad consulatum nitebatur, patres summa ope obstabant, ne se insectando sibi aequari adsuescerent

[1] consulibus *Ruperti*: consul *P.*
[2] interrex proditus *Luchs*: interreges proditius *P.*
[3] C. Claudius *Sigonius*: c̄n. claudius *P.*
[4] plebi *Aldus*: plebis *P.*
[5] concusso ς concussū *P.*
[6] extrahere ς: et extrahere *P.*

The same praetor, acting on instructions from the senate, wrote to the consuls, requesting that, if it seemed good to them, one of them would come to Rome to hold an election of consuls, and promising to appoint the comitia for the day which they should designate. To this the consuls answered that they could not withdraw from the presence of the enemy without detriment to the republic; it would therefore be better that the election be conducted by an interrex than that one of the consuls be called away from the seat of war. To the senators it seemed preferable that the consuls should appoint a dictator to preside at the election. They appointed Lucius Veturius Philo, who named Marcus Pomponius Matho master of the horse. There was a flaw in their appointment and they were commanded on the fourteenth day to resign their magistracy, whereupon the state reverted to an interregnum. B.C. 217

XXXIV. The authority of the consuls was extended for a year. To be interrex the Fathers named Gaius Claudius Cento, the son of Appius, and after him Publius Cornelius Asina. The latter conducted an election, which was marked by a bitter struggle between patricians and plebeians.

Gaius Terentius Varro had endeared himself to the plebeians—the class to which he himself belonged—by invectives against the leading men and the usual tricks of the demagogue. The blow he had struck at the influence and dictatorial authority of Fabius brought him the glory which is won by defaming others, and the rabble was now striving to raise him to the consulship, while the patricians opposed the attempt with all their might, lest men should acquire the custom of assailing them

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homines. Q. Baebius Herennius tribunus plebis,
3 cognatus C. Terenti, criminando non senatum modo
sed etiam augures, quod dictatorem prohibuissent
comitia perficere, per invidiam eorum favorem
4 candidato suo conciliabat: ab hominibus nobilibus
per multos annos bellum quaerentibus Hannibalem
in Italiam adductum; ab iisdem, cum debellari
5 possit, fraude bellum trahi. Cum quattuor[1] legio-
nibus universis pugnari prospere[2] posse apparuisset[3]
eo quod M. Minucius absente Fabio prospere
6 pugnasset, duas legiones hosti ad caedem obiectas,
deinde ex ipsa caede ereptas, ut pater patronusque
appellaretur qui prius vincere prohibuisset Romanos
7 quam vinci. Consules deinde Fabianis artibus, cum
debellare possent,[4] bellum traxisse. Id foedus
inter omnes nobiles ictum, nec finem ante belli
habituros quam consulem vere plebeium, id est
8 hominem novum, fecissent; nam plebeios nobiles
iam eisdem initiatos esse sacris et contemnere
plebem ex quo contemni a patribus desierint
9 coepisse. Cui non apparere[5] id actum et quaesitum
esse ut interregnum iniretur, ut in patrum potestate

[1] quattuor *Crévier*: quattuor milia *P*.
[2] pugnari prospere *Riemann*: pugnari *P*.
[3] posse apparuisset ς: posset apparuisse *P*.
[4] debellare possent ς: debellare posset *P*: debellari posset ς.
[5] non apparere id ς: non id apparere id *P*.

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[1] The absurdity of this allegation is evident as soon as one recalls the bitter opposition to Fabius and his policy on the part of a large section of the senate (see Dimsdale's note).

[2] A *novus homo* was one who, like Cicero, attained, first of

as a means of rising to their level. Quintus Baebius B.C. 217
Herennius, a tribune of the plebs and kinsman of Gaius Terentius, railed not only at the senate but at the augurs too, because they had forbidden the dictator to accomplish the election, and by placing them in an unfavourable light, strengthened the candidacy of his friend. The nobles, he said, had been seeking war for many years, and it was they who had brought Hannibal into Italy. It was their machinations, too, that were spinning out the war, when it might be brought to a victorious conclusion.[1] That four legions if united were able to hold their own in a general engagement had been shown in a successful battle fought by Marcus Minucius, when Fabius was absent. Notwithstanding this, two legions had just been exposed to be massacred by the enemy and subsequently rescued from the massacre, to the end that the names of Father and Patron might be conferred on one who had kept the Romans from conquering before keeping them from being conquered. After that the consuls had employed the arts of Fabius to prolong the war, when they were able to have ended it. The nobles had all made a compact to this effect; nor would his hearers see an end of the war until they had elected a true plebeian, a new man,[2] to the consulship; for the plebeian nobles had already been admitted to the same rites as the others and had begun to look down on the plebs from the moment when they themselves had ceased to be looked down on by the patricians. Who could fail to see that their end and purpose in resorting to an interregnum had been to keep the election in the hands of the

his family, to curule office. Such a man and his descendants were thereafter reckoned as nobles.

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10 comitia essent? Id consules ambos ad exercitum morando quaesisse; id postea, quia invitis iis dictator esset dictus comitiorum causa, expugnatum esse,
11 cum[1] vitiosus dictator per augures fieret. Habere[2] igitur interregnum eos; consulatum unum certe plebis Romanae esse,[3] et populum eum liberum habiturum ac daturum ei qui mature[4] vincere quam diu imperare malit.

XXXV. Cum his orationibus accensa plebs esset, tribus patriciis petentibus, P. Cornelio Merenda
2 L. Manlio Volsone M. Aemilio Lepido, duobus nobilium iam[5] familiarum plebeis,[6] C. Atilio Serrano et Q. Aelio Paeto, quorum alter pontifex, alter augur erat, Terentius consul unus creatur, ut in manu eius essent comitia rogando collegae.
3 Tum experta nobilitas parum fuisse virium in competitoribus eius L. Aemilium Paulum, qui cum M. Livio consul fuerat, ex damnatione collegae, ex qua[7] prope ambustus evaserat, infestum plebei, diu ac multum recusantem ad petitionem compellit.

[1] esse cum *Luchs*: esse ut *P.*
[2] habere *P. Rubens*: haberet *P.*
[3] esse ς: esset *P.*
[4] mature *Kiehl*: magis uere *P.*
[5] nobilium iam *Freinsheimius*: nobilibus iam *P*: nobilium *Weissenborn.*
[6] familiarum plebeis ς: familiarium plebei *P.*
[7] ex damnatione collegae ex qua *Harant*: et damnatione collegae et sua *P.*

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[1] The magistrate who presided at the elections was naturally in a position to influence the voters by his attitude towards the various candidates.

[2] L. Aemilius Paulus and M. Livius Salinator were consuls in 219 B.C. On the expiration of their term of office, Livius was tried and convicted by the people (XXVII. xxxiv. 3) for

patricians? To this end both consuls had remained B.C. 217
with their army in the field; to this end, later on, because a dictator had been named, against their wishes, for the purpose of holding an election, they had succeeded in having the augurs declare that there had been a flaw in his appointment. They had therefore the interregnum they desired. But at least one consulship belonged to the Roman plebs; and the people meant to keep it free, and bestow it on him who would rather win an early victory than remain long in command.

XXXV. When the plebs had been inflamed by these harangues, though there were three patrician candidates, Publius Cornelius Merenda, Lucius Manlius Volso, and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and two plebeians of families which had already been ennobled, namely, Gaius Atilius Serranus and Quintus Aelius Paetus, of whom one was a pontifex, the other an augur, Gaius Terentius was the only consul elected, and the assembly called to choose a colleague for him was therefore under his control.[1] The nobles, finding that Varro's competitors had not been able to command the necessary strength, thereupon obliged Lucius Aemilius Paulus to stand, though he held out long and earnestly against their importunity. He had been consul together with Marcus Livius, and the condemnation of his colleague—from which he had not himself escaped unscathed—had embittered him against the plebs.[2] On the next election day

peculation in connexion with the war against Demetrius of Pharus (*De viris illustr.* 50), or unfair division of the spoil (Frontinus, *Strategemata*, IV. i. 45). In 207 B.C. he and his colleague in the consulship, Gaius Nero, defeated Hasdrubal near Sena Gallica, at the river Metaurus (XXVII. xl.–xlix.).

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4 Is[1] proximo comitiali die concedentibus omnibus qui cum Varrone certaverant, par magis in ad-
5 versando[2] quam collega datur consuli. Inde praetorúm comitia habita: creati M. Pomponius Matho et P. Furius Philus. Philo[3] Romae iuri dicundo urbana sors, Pomponio inter cives Romanos et
6 peregrinos evenit. Additi duo praetores, M. Claudius Marcellus in Siciliam, L. Postumius[4]
7 Albinus in Galliam. Omnes absentes creati sunt, nec cuiquam[5] eorum praeter Terentium consulem mandatus honos quem non iam[6] antea gessisset, praeteritis aliquot fortibus ac strenuis viris, quia in tali tempore nulli novus magistratus videbatur mandandus.

XXXVI. Exercitus quoque multiplicati sunt; quantae autem copiae peditum equitumque additae sint,[7] adeo et numero et genere copiarum variant auctores ut vix quicquam satis certum adfirmare
2 ausus sim. Decem milia novorum militum alii scripta in supplementum tradunt,[8] alii novas quattuor
3 legiones, ut[9] octo legionibus rem gererent. Numero quoque peditum equitumque legiones auctas milibus[10] peditum et centenis equitibus in singulas adiectis, ut quina milia peditum, treceni equites essent,

[1] is ς: is ius *P*.
[2] adversando *Fuegner*: aduersandum *P* (*Madvig and Luchs*).
[3] Philus. Philo *Alschefski*: philo *P*: philus ς.
[4] L. Postumius ς: ā postumius *P*.
[5] nec cuiquam ς: ne cuiquam *P*.
[6] non iam *Madvig*: iam non *P*.
[7] sint ς: sunt *P*.
[8] in supplementum tradunt *Luterbacher*: in supplementum *P*.

all those who had been Varro's rivals withdrew their B.C. 217
names, the consul was given Paulus, rather as a competent opponent than as a colleague. The election of praetors then took place, and Marcus Pomponius Matho and Publius Furius Philus were chosen. To Philus the lot assigned the urban praetorship, for administering justice in Rome;[1] to Pomponius the jurisdiction in suits between Roman citizens and foreigners. Two additional praetors were elected, Marcus Claudius Marcellus for Sicily, and Lucius Postumius Albinus for Gaul. These were all elected in their absence, and not one of them, except Terentius the consul, received a magistracy which he had not already filled before, a number of stout-hearted, active men being passed over because it seemed unwise at such a juncture to give any man an office to which he was new.

XXXVI. The armies also were augmented. But how large were the additions of infantry and cavalry I should hardly venture to declare with any certainty —so greatly do historians differ in regard to the numbers and kinds of troops. Some say that ten thousand new soldiers were enlisted as replacements; others that four new legions were enrolled, so that they took the field with eight. Some assert that the legions were also increased in the numbers of their infantry and cavalry, and that each received an additional thousand foot and a hundred horse, bringing up the total of every one to five thousand

[1] *Sc.* between litigants both of whom were citizens.

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[9] ut ς: et *P.*
[10] milibus ς: militibus *P.*

A.U.C. 537 socii duplicem numerum equitum darent, peditis[1] aequarent,[2] quidam[3] auctores sunt. Illud haudquaquam discrepat, maiore conatu atque impetu rem actam quam prioribus annis, quia spem posse vinci hostem dictator praebuerat.

A.U.C. 538 Ceterum priusquam signa ab urbe novae legiones moverent, decemviri libros adire atque inspicere iussi propter territos volgo homines novis prodigiis. Nam et Romae in Aventino et Ariciae nuntiatum erat sub idem tempus lapidibus pluvisse, et multo cruore signa in Sabinis, Caere[4] aquas fonte calido[5] manasse—id quidem etiam, quod saepius acciderat, magis terrebat; et in via fornicata, quae ad campum erat, aliquot homines de caelo tacti exanimatique fuerant. Ea prodigia ex libris procurata. Legati a Paesto pateras aureas Romam attulerunt. Iis sicut Neapolitanis gratiae actae, aurum non acceptum.

XXXVII. Per eosdem dies ab Hierone classis Ostia cum magno commeatu accessit. Legati in senatum introducti nuntiarunt caedem C. Flamini consulis exercitusque allatam adeo aegre tulisse regem Hieronem ut nulla sua propria regnique sui clade moveri magis potuerit. Itaque, quamquam probe sciat magnitudinem populi Romani admirabiliorem prope adversis rebus quam secundis esse,

[1] peditis *Drakenborch*: peditи *P*.
[2] aequarent *edd.*: aequarunt *P*.
[3] quidam *Weissenborn*: septem et octoginta milia armatorum et ducentos in castris Romanis cum pugnatum ad Cannas est quidam *P*.
[4] Caere *Luterbacher*: caedes *P*. [5] calido *s*: callidos *P*.

[1] Cf. chap. i. § 10. Aelian (*Varia Historia*, xii. 67) and Diodorus (xvii. 10) allude to the story that the fountain of Dirce ran with blood just before the destruction of Thebes by Alexander.

foot and three hundred horse; and that double the B.C. 217
number of horse and an equal number of foot were furnished by the allies. One thing is not disputed —that they proceeded with more energy and enthusiasm than in former years, because the dictator had given them ground for hoping that they would be able to defeat the enemy.

Before, however, the new legions marched out B.C. 216
from the City, the decemvirs were instructed to consult the Sacred Books, on account of a general alarm occasioned by strange portents. For a shower of stones had been reported as having fallen at Rome on the Aventine, and about the same time at Aricia; in the Sabine country the images of the gods, and at Caere the waters that flowed from the hot spring had been drenched with blood—a prodigy all the more alarming from its having occurred so often;[1] and in the arched way which used to lead to the Campus Martius some men had been struck by lightning and killed. These prodigies were expiated as the Books directed. Ambassadors came from Paestum, bringing golden bowls to Rome. They were thanked, as the Neapolitans had been, but the gold was not accepted.

XXXVII. About this time a fleet came in to Ostia from King Hiero with a great store of supplies. His envoys were introduced into the senate, where they told how the news of the destruction of Gaius Flaminius the consul and his army had so grieved the King that no disaster to himself or his own kingdom could have distressed him more. Accordingly, though well aware that the greatness of the Roman People was almost more astonishing in adversity than in prosperity, he had nevertheless sent

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4 tamen se[1] omnia quibus a bonis fidelibusque sociis bella iuvari soleant misisse; quae ne accipere abnuant 5 magno opere se patres conscriptos orare. Iam omnium primum ominis causa Victoriam auream pondo ducentum ac viginti adferre sese: acciperent eam tenerentque et haberent propriam et perpetuam. 6 Advexisse etiam trecenta milia modium tritici, ducenta hordei, ne commeatus deessent, et quantum praeterea opus esset, quo iussissent, subvecturos. 7 Milite atque equite scire nisi Romano Latinique nominis non uti populum Romanum; levium armorum[2] auxilia etiam externa vidisse in castris 8 Romanis; itaque misisse mille sagittariorum ac funditorum, aptam manum adversus Baliares ac 9 Mauros pugnacesque alias missili telo gentes. Ad ea dona consilium[3] quoque addebant, ut praetor cui provincia Sicilia evenisset classem[4] in Africam traiceret, ut et hostes in terra sua bellum haberent minusque laxamenti daretur iis ad auxilia Hannibali summittenda.

10 Ab senatu ita responsum regiis[5] est, virum bonum egregiumque socium Hieronem esse atque uno tenore, ex quo in amicitiam populi Romani venerit, fidem coluisse ac rem Romanam omni tempore ac loco munifice adiuvisse. Id perinde ac deberet 11 gratum populo Romano esse. Aurum et a civita-

[1] tamen se *Gronovius*: mense P^1: missa a se P^2: tamen senatui (*or* tamen) *Luterbacher*.
[2] armorum *Gronovius*: armatorum *P*.
[3] consilium ς: consilio *P*.
[4] classem *P*: classe *C. Heraeus*.
[5] regiis *Bitschofsky*: regis *P*: regi ς: regis legatis *Luchs*.

[1] The *modius* was about equivalent to our peck.

them all those things with which good and faithful allies were wont to assist their friends in time of war, and he earnestly besought the Conscript Fathers not to refuse them. In the first place, for the omen's sake, they were bringing a golden Victory, weighing two hundred and twenty pounds, which they begged the Romans to accept and keep, and to regard it as their own for ever. They had also brought three hundred thousand measures[1] of wheat and two hundred thousand of barley, that there might be no failure of provision; and whatever additional quantity were needed they stood ready to convey to any place which the senate might designate. For heavy foot and horse, the King knew that the Roman People employed none but Romans and Latins; but amongst the light-armed auxiliaries, he had seen in the camps of the Romans even foreigners; he had therefore sent a thousand archers and slingers, a force well adapted to cope with Moors and Baliares and other tribes that fought with missiles. To these gifts they added a piece of advice, that the praetor, namely, who might be assigned to Sicily should sail over with his fleet to Africa, so that the enemy, too, might have war on their own soil, whereby they would experience less freedom in dispatching aid to Hannibal. B.C. 216

The senate, in replying to the royal emissaries, said that Hiero was a good man and a rare ally, who from the time when he became a friend of the Roman People had maintained an unswerving loyalty, and always and in every place had given generous assistance to the Roman cause. For this the Romans were grateful, as in duty bound. As for the gold, other states as well had proffered it, but the Roman

A.U.C. 538 tibus quibusdam allatum gratia rei accepta non
12 accepisse populum Romanum; Victoriam omenque accipere sedemque ei divae[1] dare dicare Capitolium, templum Iovis optimi maximi. In ea arce urbis Romanae sacratam, volentem propitiamque, firmam ac stabilem fore populo Romano.

13 Funditores sagittariique et frumentum traditum consulibus. Quinqueremes ad quinquaginta navium[2] classem quae cum T. Otacilio[3] propraetore in Sicilia erat[4] quinque et viginti additae, permissumque est ut, si e re publica censeret esse, in Africam traiceret.

XXXVIII. Dilectu perfecto consules paucos morati dies, dum ab sociis ac[5] nomine Latino venirent
2 milites. Tum, quod nunquam antea factum erat,
3 iure iurando ab tribunis militum adacti milites; nam ad eam diem nihil praeter sacramentum fuerat, iussu consulum conventuros neque iniussu abituros,[6] et ubi convenissent,[7] sua voluntate ipsi inter sese de-
4 curiati equites, centuriati pedites coniurabant sese fugae atque formidinis ergo non abituros neque ex ordine recessuros nisi teli sumendi aut petendi et
5 aut hostis feriendi aut civis servandi causa. Id ex voluntario inter ipsos foedere ad tribunos ac[8] legitimam iuris iurandi adactionem translatum.

[1] ei divae *Novák*: ei se divae *P*.

[2] ad quinquaginta navium *Luterbacher* (XXI. li. 7): ad nauium *P*: ad centum viginti navium *Gronovius* (XXII. xxxi. 1): ad navium centum *Boettcher* (XXIV. xxvii. 5).

[3] T. Otacilio *Aldus*: m̄ otacilio *P*.

[4] erat ς: erant *P*.

[5] ab sociis ac *Madvig*: sociis ab *P*.

[6] *the words* iussu . . . iniussu abituros *were placed here by Crévier*: *in P they stand after* adacti milites.

[7] convenissent *C. F. Mueller*: ad decuriatum aut centuriatum conuenissent *P*.

People, though thankful for the kind intention, had not accepted it; the Victory and her omen they did accept; and to that goddess they dedicated and assigned the Capitol, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, to be her seat. Established in that citadel of Rome she would be gracious and propitious, faithful and steadfast, to the Roman People. B.C. 216

The slingers and archers and the corn were turned over to the consuls. Twenty-five quinqueremes were added to the fleet of fifty ships that was under the command of Titus Otacilius in Sicily, and permission was given him, if he deemed it advantageous to the state, to sail across to Africa.

XXXVIII. When they had finished with the levy, the consuls waited a few days for the soldiers from the allies and the Latins to come in. An oath was then administered to the soldiers by their tribunes—which was a thing that they had never done before. For until that day there had only been the general oath[1] to assemble at the bidding of the consuls and not depart without their orders; then, after assembling, they would exchange a voluntary pledge amongst themselves—the cavalrymen in their decuries and the infantry in their centuries—that they would not abandon their ranks for flight or fear, but only to take up or seek a weapon, either to smite an enemy or to save a fellow citizen. This voluntary agreement amongst the men themselves was replaced by an oath administered formally by the tribunes.

[1] Like the one mentioned in chap. xi. § 8 of the year before, or in III. xx. 3, of 460 B.C.

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[8] ac *Weissenborn*: ad *P.*

A.U.C. 538 6 Contiones, priusquam ab urbe signa moverentur, consulis Varronis multae ac feroces fuere denuntiantis[1] bellum arcessitum in Italiam ab nobilibus 7 mansurumque in visceribus rei publicae, si plures Fabios imperatores haberet, se quo die hostem 8 vidisset perfecturum. Collegae eius Pauli una, pridie quam ab urbe[2] proficisceretur, contio fuit, verior quam gratior populo, qua nihil inclementer 9 in Varronem dictum nisi id modo, mirari se, quidni, qui[3] dux, priusquam aut suum aut hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosset, iam nunc togatus[4] in urbe sciret quae sibi agenda 10 armato forent, et diem[5] quoque praedicere posset 11 qua cum hoste signis collatis esset dimicaturus. Se, quae consilia magis res dent hominibus quam homines rebus, ea ante tempus immatura non praecepturum. Optare ut quae caute ac[6] consulte gesta essent satis 12 prospere evenirent; temeritatem, praeterquam quod stulta sit, infelicem etiam ad id locorum fuisse. 13 Sua[7] sponte apparebat tuta celeribus consiliis praepositurum; et, quo id constantius perseveraret, Q. Fabius Maximus sic eum proficiscentem adlocutus fertur:

XXXIX. "Si aut collegam, id quod mallem, tui similem, L. Aemili, haberes aut tu collegae tui 2 esses similis, supervacanea esset oratio mea; nam et duo boni consules etiam me indicente[8] omnia

[1] denuntiantis C^2: denuntiantes PC^1.
[2] ab urbe ς: ex urbe ς: in urbe P: urbi *Riemann.*
[3] quidni, qui *Zachariae*: quodnequi P: quinam *C. Heraeus.*
[4] togatus *Muretus*: locatus P.
[5] et diem (diem *Zachariae*) *Madvig.*
[6] ac ς: a P^1: et *H. J. Mueller.*
[7] sua *Luchs*: id sua P: et sua *Gronovius.*
[8] indicente ς (*Gronovius*): indigentes P.

Before the troops marched from the City, the consul Varro uttered many truculent harangues. He declared that the war had been brought into Italy by the nobles, and would not cease to prey upon the nation's vitals, if they had many generals like Fabius; but that he himself would put an end to it on the day when he came within sight of the enemy. His colleague Paulus spoke but once, on the day before he left the City. His words were more truthful than agreeable to the people; but he said nothing harsh against Varro, except this: that he marvelled—and indeed how should he not?—that a general, who before he knew either his own or the enemy's army or the lie of the land or the character of the country, was already certain, ere he had yet laid aside the dress of a civilian, what measures he must adopt when in the field—he marvelled that such a general should even be able to predict the very day on which he would be giving battle to the enemy! For himself, he would not anticipate, before they ripened, those plans with which circumstances provided men but which men could not well impose on circumstances. He hoped that what was done with care and caution would turn out for the best: rashness was not only foolish but had hitherto been unfortunate as well It was quite apparently his own intention to choose a safe course rather than a hasty one; and, to confirm him in this resolution, Quintus Fabius Maximus is said to have addressed him, on his setting out, to this effect:— B.C. 216

XXXIX. "If either, Lucius Aemilius, you had, as I should prefer, a colleague like yourself, or if you were like your colleague, my words would be superfluous. For, as two good consuls, even if I held my

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e re publica fideque[1] vestra faceretis, et mali[2] nec mea verba auribus vestris nec consilia animis accipe-
3 retis. Nunc et collegam tuum et te talem virum intuenti mihi tecum omnis oratio est, quem video nequiquam et virum bonum et civem fore, si altera parte claudente re publica[3] malis consiliis idem ac
4 bonis iuris et potestatis erit. Erras enim, L. Paule, si tibi minus certaminis cum C. Terentio quam cum Hannibale futurum censes; nescio an infestior hic
5 adversarius quam ille hostis maneat te, et[4] cum illo in acie tantum cum hoc omnibus locis ac temporibus sis certaturus, et[5] adversus Hannibalem legionesque eius tuis equitibus ac peditibus pugnandum tibi sit, Varro dux tuis militibus te sit oppugnaturus.
6 "Ominis etiam tibi causa absit C. Flamini memoria. Tamen ille consul demum et in provincia et ad exercitum coepit furere: hic, priusquam peteret consulatum, deinde in petendo consulatu, nunc quoque consul, priusquam castra videat aut hostem, insanit.
7 Et qui[6] tantas iam nunc procellas proelia atque acies iactando inter togatos ciet, quid inter armatam iuventutem censes facturum et ubi extemplo res verba
8 sequitur? Atqui si,[7] quod facturum se denuntiat, extemplo pugnaverit, aut ego rem militarem, belli

[1] fideque *Perizonius*: fide *P*: ac fide *H. J. Mueller*.
[2] mali ς: malem *P*.
[3] claudente re publica *Ussing*: claudet rei p̄ *P*.
[4] maneat te, et *Fabri*: maneat et *P*: maneat te *Madvig*.
[5] scis certaturus, et ς: si certaturus est P^1: certaturus est P^2.
[6] qui ς: quia *P*.
[7] si *Luchs*: sic *P*: si hic ς: si, id *Harant*.

peace, you would act in all respects in accordance with the public interest and your own loyalty; and, as bad ones, you would neither take my words into your ears nor my advice into your hearts. As it is, when I see what your colleague is like and what you are like, it is to you alone that I must address myself: though I perceive that you will be a good man and good citizen to little purpose, if the state is lame on the other side and evil counsels enjoy the same rights and the same authority as good. For you err, Lucius Paulus, if you suppose that your struggle will be less with Gaius Terentius than with Hannibal. I am not sure that you may not find the one more dangerous as an opponent than the other as an enemy, and that with your enemy you will have to contend only in battle; with your opponent, everywhere and at all times. Against Hannibal and his legions you will have your cavalry and infantry to fight for you: when Varro takes the field, it will be to attack you with your own soldiers. B.C. 216

"For the very omen's sake, I would not have you remember Gaius Flaminius! Yet Flaminius only began to rave when he had been made consul and was in his province and had joined his army; whereas Varro was mad before he sought the consulship, as he was thereafter during his canvass, and is now as consul, before he has ever beheld his camp or the enemy. And if a man can rouse such gusts of passion even now, by bragging of battles and of stricken fields among civilians, what think you he will do when surrounded by armed youths, where words are translated instantly into deeds? And yet, if he fights at once, as he declares that he intends to do, either I know nothing of military science, of the

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hoc genus, hostem hunc ignoro, aut nobilior alius Trasumenno locus nostris cladibus erit.

9 "Nec[1] gloriandi tempus adversus unum est, et[2] ego contemnendo potius quam adpetendo gloriam modum excesserim; sed ita res se habet: una ratio belli gerendi adversus Hannibalem est qua ego gessi.
10 Nec eventus modo hoc docet—stultorum iste magister est—sed eadem ratio quae fuit futura,[3] donec res
11 eaedem manebunt, immutabilis est. In Italia bellum gerimus, in sede ac solo nostro; omnia circa plena civium ac sociorum sunt; armis viris equis com-
12 meatibus iuvant iuvabuntque—id iam fidei documentum in adversis rebus nostris dederunt; meliores, prudentiores constantiores nos tempus diesque facit.
13 Hannibal contra in aliena, in hostili est terra, inter omnia inimica infestaque, procul ab domo ac patria;[4] neque illi terra neque mari est pax; nullae eum urbes accipiunt, nulla moenia; nihil usquam sui
14 videt; in diem rapto[5] vivit; partem vix tertiam exercitus eius habet quem Hiberum amnem traiecit; plures fame quam ferro absumpti,[6] nec his paucis
15 iam victus suppeditat. Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam
16 habeat? Quam diu pro Gereoni, castelli Apuliae

[1] nec ς: ne *P*. [2] et ς: ut *P*.
[3] futura *J. Fischer*: futura quae *P*: futuraque ς.
[4] ac patria *H. J. Mueller*: ab patria *P*.
[5] rapto ς: capto *P*.
[6] absumpti *Heerwagen*: absumsit *P*.

[1] Mommsen, *History of Rome*, ii. p. 285 (cited by Dowdall), remarks that "it was not the Cunctator that saved Rome but the compact structure of its confederacy, and not less, perhaps, the national hatred with which the Phoenician hero was regarded on the part of the Occidentals."

nature of this war, and of our enemy, or another B.C. 216
place will be more notorious than Trasumennus for our overthrow.

"It is no time to boast, when I am speaking to one man, and for my part I had rather go too far in despising than in seeking reputation; but the simple truth is that the only way of conducting a war with Hannibal is the way in which I have conducted it; and not only the event—that schoolmaster of fools—teaches us this, but the same reasoning which held good then will hold unchanged, so long as circumstances remain the same. It is in Italy, our home-land, that we are fighting; everywhere about us are fellow citizens and friends; they are helping us with arms, men, horses, and supplies, and will continue helping us—such proof of loyalty have they already given us in our adversity;[1] each day that passes makes us better, wiser, more steadfast men. Hannibal, on the contrary, is in an alien and hostile country, where all his surroundings are inimical and threatening, far from home and native city; for him there is no peace, on either land or sea; no cities receive him, no walls protect him; nowhere does he see aught that he can call his own; he subsists on the plunder of each day; he has barely a third of that army which he led across the Ebro; more have perished by starvation than by the sword, and the few that are left have no longer any food. Can you doubt then that if we sit still we must gain the victory over one who is growing weaker every day and is destitute of provisions, of replacements, and of money? How long, before Gereonium,[2] a pitiful fort in Apulia, as if it had been

[2] See chap. xxiii. § 9. The sentence was to have ended with something like *sedet*? ("has he been sitting?").

A.U.C. 538 inopis, tamquam pro Carthaginis moenibus—sed ne 17 adversus te quidem de me[1] gloriabor; Servilius[2] atque Atilius, proximi consules, vide quem ad modum eum ludificati sint.

"Haec una salutis est via, L. Paule, quam difficilem infestamque cives tibi[3] magis quam[4] hostes facient. 18 Idem enim tui quod hostium milites volent; idem Varro consul Romanus quod Hannibal Poenus imperator cupiet. Duobus ducibus unus resistas oportet. Resistes autem, si adversus[5] famam rumoresque hominum satis firmus steteris, si te neque collegae 19 vana[6] gloria neque tua falsa infamia moverit. Veritatem[7] laborare nimis saepe aiunt, exstingui nun- 20 quam; vanam gloriam[8] qui spreverit veram habebit. Sine timidum pro cauto, tardum pro considerato, imbellem pro perito belli vocent. Malo te sapiens hostis metuat quam stulti cives laudent. Omnia audentem contemnet Hannibal, nihil temere agentem 21 metuet. Nec ego ut nihil agatur suadeo,[9] sed ut agentem te ratio ducat, non fortuna; tuae potestatis semper tu tuaque omnia sint; armatus intentusque sis; neque occasioni tuae desis neque suam occa- 22 sionem hosti des. Omnia non properanti clara certaque erunt; festinatio improvida est et caeca."

XL. Adversus ea oratio consulis haud sane laeta fuit magis fatentis[10] ea quae diceret vera quam facilia

[1] quidem de me *Alschefski*: quideme *P*.
[2] Servilius *Luchs*: p̄. seruilius *P*: cn. seruilius *ς*.
[3] tibi *ς*: sibi *Γ*. [4] magis quam *ς*: quam magis *P*.
[5] si adversus *Madvig*: aduersus *P*. [6] vana *ς*: una *P*.
[7] veritatem *ϛ*: ꝛ ueritate *P*.
[8] vanam gloriam *H. J. Mueller* (gloriam vanam *Muretus*): gloriam *P*.
[9] agatur suadeo *Madrig*: agatur *P*.
[10] fatentis *ς*: patentis P^1: petentis P^2.

the walls of Carthage, has he—but of myself I will B.C. 216
not boast, even to you. See how the consuls of last year, Servilius and Atilius, made a mock of him!

"This is the only way of safety, Lucius Paulus, and your fellow citizens will do more than your enemies to make it hard and dangerous for you. For your own soldiers will desire the same thing as the soldiers of the enemy; Varro, the Roman consul, will long for the same thing as Hannibal, the Phoenician commander-in-chief. Single-handed you will have to thwart two generals. But thwart them you will, if you stand out with sufficient firmness against rumours and men's idle talk, if neither the foolish applause bestowed upon your colleague nor your own unmerited disgrace shall move you. Truth, they say, is all too frequently eclipsed but never extinguished. He who scorns false glory shall possess the true. Let them call you timid, instead of cautious; slow, instead of circumspect; unwarlike, instead of experienced soldier. I had rather a wise enemy should fear you than foolish fellow citizens should praise you. He who dares all things will earn Hannibal's contempt; he who does nothing rashly will inspire him with fear. Yet I do not urge that you do nothing, but that reason and not fortune should be your guide. Be master always of yourself and all that is yours; be armed and watchful; be not wanting when opportunity presents itself to you, neither present an opportunity to your enemy. All things will be clear and definite to one who does not hurry. Haste is improvident and blind."

XL. In reply to this the consul spoke in no very cheerful strain, admitting rather that what Fabius said was true than that it was easy of accomplish-

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2 factu esse. Dictatori magistrum equitum intolerabilem fuisse: quid consuli[1] adversus collegam seditiosum ac temerarium virium atque auctoritatis
3 fore? Se populare incendium priore consulatu semustum effugisse; optare ut omnia prospere evenirent;[2] sed si[3] quid adversi caderet,[4] hostium se telis potius quam suffragiis iratorum civium caput
4 obiecturum.

Ab hoc sermone profectum Paulum tradunt prosequentibus primoribus patrum; plebeium consulem sua plebes prosecuta, turba conspectior, cum dignitates deessent.

5 Ut in castra venerunt, permixto novo exercitu ac vetere, castris bifariam factis, ut nova minora essent propius Hannibalem, in veteribus maior pars et omne
6 robur virium esset, consulum[5] anni prioris M. Atilium aetatem excusantem Romam miserunt, Geminum Servilium in minoribus castris legioni Romanae et socium peditum equitumque duobus milibus praefici-
7 unt. Hannibal, quamquam parte dimidia auctas hostium copias cernebat, tamen adventu consulum mire gaudere. Non solum enim nihil ex raptis in diem commeatibus superabat, sed ne unde raperet quidem quicquam reliqui erat[6] omni undique frumento, postquam ager parum tutus erat, in urbes
8 munitas convecto, ut vix decem dierum, quod com-

[1] consuli ς (*Florebellus*): consilia *P*.

[2] prospere evenirent ς: prospe/reuenirent *P*: prospera euenirent ς.

[3] sed si *Heerwagen*: et si *P*: at si ς: si *H. J. Mueller*.

[4] caderet ς: caperet *P*.

[5] consulum *Crévier*: consultum *P*: consulum tum (*or* tum consulum) ς.

[6] reliqui erat ς: reliquerat *P*.

ment. The dictator had found his master of the horse intolerable: what power or influence then would a consul have over a turbulent and headstrong colleague? In his former consulship he had escaped badly burnt from the flames of popular resentment; he hoped that everything would turn out for the best; but if any misfortune should befall, he would sooner expose his life to the swords of the enemy than to the suffrages of his angry fellow citizens. B.C. 216

Immediately after this conference they say that Paulus set out, escorted by the foremost senators: the plebeian consul was escorted by his own friends, the plebeians—in point of numbers the more imposing throng, though it contained no persons of distinction.

When they got to the camp, the new forces were united with the old and the camp was divided into two, with the new and smaller one nearer Hannibal, while the greater part of the army and all the choicest troops were in the old one. Of the consuls of the year before, Marcus Atilius pleaded the excuse of age and was sent back to Rome; Geminus Servilius was put in command of the smaller camp, having under him a Roman legion and two thousand infantry and cavalry of the allies. Hannibal, though he perceived that the forces of his enemies were augmented by a half, was nevertheless greatly rejoiced at the coming of the consuls. For not only were the spoils exhausted on which his men had subsisted from day to day, but there was not even any district left for them to spoil; for when it appeared that the farms were no longer safe, the corn had everywhere been carried into the walled towns, and in consequence there was barely grain

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pertum postea est, frumentum superesset Hispanorumque ob inopiam transitio parata fuerit, si maturitas temporum exspectata foret.

XLI. Ceterum temeritati consulis ac praepropero[1] ingenio materiam etiam fortuna dedit, quod in prohibendis praedatoribus tumultuario proelio a procursu[2] magis militum quam ex praeparato aut iussu imperatorum orto haudquaquam par Poenis dimicatio
2 fuit. Ad mille et septingenti caesi, non plus centum Romanorum sociorumque occisis. Ceterum victoribus effuse sequentibus metu insidiarum obstitit Paulus
3 consul, cuius eo die—nam alternis imperitabant—imperium erat, Varrone indignante ac vociferante emissum hostem e manibus debellarique, ni cessatum foret, potuisse.
4 Hannibal id damnum haud aegerrime pati; quin potius gaudere[3] velut inescatam temeritatem ferocioris consulis ac novorum maxime militum esse.
5 Et omnia ei hostium haud secus quam sua nota erant: dissimiles discordesque imperitare, duas prope
6 partes tironum militum in exercitu esse. Itaque locum et tempus insidiis aptum se habere ratus nocte proxima nihil praeter arma ferente secum milite[4]
7 castra plena omnis fortunae publicae privataeque

[1] praepropero *ς*: prospero *P.*
[2] a procursu *Heraeas*: ac procursu *P.*
[3] gaudere *Pluygers*: credere *P.*
[4] ferente secum milite *Weissenborn*: ferentis secum milites *P.*

[1] Obviously Varro is meant, but it is rather odd that he should not be specified. Weissenborn thinks it likely that with this paragraph Livy began to draw from another source and did not notice the indefiniteness of the word *consulis* in the resulting context.

enough left—as was afterwards discovered—to last ten days, and the Spaniards, for want of food, had made ready to desert, if the Romans had only waited till the time was ripe. B.C. 216

XLI. But even Fortune furnished material to the recklessness and over-hasty temper of the consul.[1] The repulse of a foraging party had led to a general mellay, which came about from the soldiers rushing forward to attack the enemy, rather than from any plan or orders on the part of the generals; and in this the Phoenicians by no means held their own. About seventeen hundred of them were slain and not more than a hundred of Romans and allies. But the consul Paulus, who was in command that day—for they commanded on alternate days—was fearful of an ambuscade and checked the victors in their headlong pursuit, despite the angry remonstrances of Varro, who cried out that they had let the enemy slip through their hands and that they might have brought the war to a conclusion if they had not relaxed their efforts.

Hannibal was not greatly disconcerted by this reverse; indeed he rejoiced that the hook should have been baited, as it were, for the rashness of the more impetuous consul, and especially for that of the new soldiers. All the circumstances of his enemies were as familiar to him as his own: that their generals were unlike each other and were at loggerheads, and that nearly two-thirds of their army consisted of recruits. Believing, therefore, that place and time were favourable for a ruse, he left his camp full of every sort of public and of private riches, and putting himself at the head of his troops, who carried nothing but their weapons, marched over the nearest

A.U.C. 538 relinquit transque proximos montes laeva pedites instructos condit, dextra equites, impedimenta per
8 convallem[1] mediam[2] traducit, ut diripiendis velut desertis fuga dominorum castris occupatum impedi-
9 tumque hostem opprimeret. Crebri relicti in castris ignes, ut fides fieret, dum ipse longius spatium fuga praeciperet, falsa imagine castrorum, sicut Fabium priore anno frustratus esset, tenere in locis consules voluisse.

XLII. Ubi inluxit, subductae primo stationes, deinde propius adeuntibus insolitum silentium ad-
2 mirationem fecit. Tum satis comperta solitudine in castris concursus fit ad praetoria consulum nuntiantium fugam hostium adeo trepidam ut tabernaculis stantibus castra reliquerint, quoque fuga obscurior
3 esset crebros etiam relictos ignes. Clamor inde ortus ut signa proferri iuberent ducerentque ad persequendos hostes ac protinus castra diripienda, et
4 consul alter velut unus turbae militaris erat. Paulus etiam atque etiam dicere providendum praecavendumque esse ; postremo, cum aliter neque seditionem neque ducem seditionis sustinere posset, Marium Statilium praefectum cum turma Lucana exploratum mittit.

5 Qui ubi adequitavit portis, subsistere extra munimenta ceteris iussis ipse cum duobus equitibus vallum

[1] convallem *Gronovius*: cornuallem P^1: cornua in P^2.
[2] mediam *Madvig*: medium amnem PC^1: medium agnem C^2: medium agmen *M*.

ridge, drew up the infantry in ambush on the left, B.C. 216
and the cavalry on the right, and made the baggage-train pass through the valley between, intending to fall upon the enemy whilst they were preoccupied and encumbered with the pillage of the camp, which would seem to them to have been deserted by its owners. He left a large number of fires burning, as though he had sought by means of this illusory appearance of an encampment to hold the consuls to their positions—as he had cheated Fabius the year before—till he could gain as long a start as possible in his retreat.

XLII. When day came, first the fact that the outposts had been withdrawn, and afterwards—as they came nearer—the unwonted silence filled the Romans with amazement. Then, as it became quite evident that there was no one in the camp, there was a rush of men to the headquarters of the consuls, announcing that the enemy had retreated in such trepidation as to quit the camp without striking their tents, and had even left a great number of fires burning to conceal their flight. Next they began to clamour for the order to advance and to pursue the enemy and plunder the camp without delay, and one of the consuls behaved like a member of the mob of soldiers. Paulus kept insisting on the need for watchfulness and circumspection, and finally, when there was no other way in which he could withstand the mutiny and the leader of the mutiny, he sent the praefect Marius Statilius with a troop of Lucanian horse to reconnoitre.

Riding up to the gates, Statilius commanded the others to wait outside the trenches, and himself with two horsemen entered the camp. After making a

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intravit speculatusque omnia cum cura renuntiat
6 insidias profecto esse: ignes in parte castrorum quae vergat[1] in hostem[2] relictos, tabernacula aperta et omnia cara in promptu relicta; argentum quibusdam locis temere per vias velut obiectum ad praedam vidisse.

7 Quae ad deterrendos[3] a cupiditate animos nuntiata erant, ea accenderunt, et clamore orto a militibus, ni signum detur sine ducibus ituros, haudquaquam dux defuit: nam extemplo Varro signum dedit proficis-
8 cendi. Paulus, cum ei sua sponte cunctanti pulli quoque[4] non addixissent, nuntiari iam efferenti porta
9 signa collegae iussit. Quod quamquam Varro aegre est passus, Flamini tamen recens casus Claudique consulis primo Punico bello memorata navalis clades
10 religionem animo incussit. Di prope ipsi eo die magis distulere quam prohibuere imminentem pestem Romanis: nam forte ita evenit ut, cum referri signa
11 in castra iubenti consuli milites non parerent, servi duo, Formiani unus alter Sidicini equitis, qui Servilio atque Atilio consulibus inter pabulatores excepti a Numidis fuerant, profugerent eo die ad dominos deductique ad consules nuntiant omnem exercitum

[1] quae vergat ς: quae uergant P: qua vergant *Frigell.*
[2] in hostem ς: ad hostem MC^2 (*Madvig*): ad in hostem PC^1.
[3] deterrendos *Gronovius*: deterendos P^1: detenendos P^2.
[4] pulli quoque *Fuegner*: pulli quoque auspicio P.

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[1] sc. between the rows of tents.
[2] A Roman general took with him on his campaign a *pullarius*—keeper of the sacred chickens—who reported favourable or unfavourable omens, according to the eagerness with which the fowls fed. See VI. xli. 8, VIII. xxx. 2.

thorough and careful examination he reported that B.C. 216
there was undoubtedly some treachery afoot. The fires, he said, had been left on the side of the camp that faced the Romans; the tents were open and all kinds of valuables were left exposed to view; here and there he had seen silver carelessly flung down in the lanes,[1] as if to tempt a pillager.

The report, which had been made with the purpose of checking the soldiers' greed, only inflamed it, and they began to shout that if the signal were not given, they would go without any leaders. But there was no lack of a leader; for Varro at once gave the command to start. Paulus himself wished to delay; and when the sacred fowls had refused their sanction,[2] he gave orders to notify his colleague, who was just setting forth with the standards from the gate. Varro was greatly vexed at this, but the recent disaster of Flaminius and the memorable defeat at sea of the consul Claudius, in the first Punic War[3] made him fearful of offending the heavenly powers. On that day, it might almost be said, the very gods put off, but did not prevent, the calamity that impended over the Romans: for it chanced that when the consul ordered the standards back into the camp and the soldiers were refusing to obey him, two slaves appeared on the scene, one belonging to a Formian, the other to a Sidicinian knight. They had been captured by the Numidians, along with other foragers, in the consulship of Servilius and Atilius, and on that day had escaped back to their masters. Being conducted to the

[3] P. Claudius Pulcher disregarded the warning of the sacred fowls and was defeated off Drepanum in 249 B.C. (Summary of Book XIX.)

A.U.C. 538 Hannibalis trans proximos montes sedere in insidiis.
12 Horum opportunus adventus consules imperii potentes fecit, cum ambitio alterius suam primum apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem[1] solvisset.

XLIII. Hannibal, postquam motos magis inconsulte Romanos quam ad ultimum temere evectos vidit, nequiquam detecta fraude in castra rediit.
2 Ibi plures dies propter inopiam frumenti manere nequit, novaque consilia in dies non apud milites solum mixtos ex conluvione omnium gentium, sed
3 etiam apud ducem ipsum oriebantur. Nam cum initio fremitus, deinde aperta vociferatio fuisset exposcentium stipendium debitum querentiumque annonam primo, postremo famem; et mercennarios
4 milites, maxime Hispani generis, de transitione cepisse consilium fama esset; ipse etiam interdum Hannibal de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse, ita ut relicto peditatu omni cum equitibus se proriperet.
5 Cum haec consilia atque hic habitus animorum esset in castris, movere inde statuit in calidiora atque eo maturiora messibus Apuliae loca, simul quod, quo[2] longius ab hoste recessisset transfugia impeditiora

[1] apud eos prava indulgentia maiestatem *edd.*: apud eos prauam indulgentiam maiestate *P*: apud eos maiestatem *C. Heraeus*: deinde collegae maiestatem *Novák*.
[2] quod, quo *Weissenborn*: quod *P*: ut quo *ς*.

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[1] According to Polybius (III. cvii. ff.), Servilius, consul in 217, was still in command of the army before Gereonium when Hannibal marched south and seized the citadel of Cannae, which the Romans had been using as a granary. On receiving the disquieting news of this serious loss, Servilius sent to Rome and asked for instructions. The senate decided to give battle, and sent the new consuls to the front to take command. The engagement at Cannae

consuls, they stated that Hannibal's entire army was B.C. 216
lying in ambush just over the nearest hills. Their opportune arrival restored the authority of the consuls, when one of them, by running after popularity, and by unprincipled indulgence, had impaired their prestige—beginning with his own—amongst the soldiers.

XLIII. Hannibal, perceiving that the Romans, although they had acted ill-advisedly, had not proceeded to the extremity of rashness, returned to the camp, his stratagem having been detected and rendered idle. There, however, the scarcity of corn forbade his remaining many days, and new plans were daily forming, not only amongst the soldiers, the mingled offscourings of every race on earth, but even in the mind of the general himself. For when the men, with murmurs at first and afterwards with loud clamours, demanded their arrears of pay, and complained at first of the scarcity of corn, and finally of being starved; and when the report went round that the mercenaries—particularly those of Spanish blood—had resolved on going over to the enemy; they say that even Hannibal himself had thoughts of abandoning all his infantry and saving himself and his cavalry by escaping into Gaul. Such being the projects that were entertained in camp and such the temper of his soldiers, he decided to move from his present quarters to Apulia,[1] where the climate was warmer and in consequence of this the harvest earlier; at the same time it would be the more difficult, the greater their distance from the enemy, for those of his followers who

[1] was fought seven days after the Romans had set out to follow Hannibal.

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6 levibus ingeniis essent. Profectus est nocte ignibus similiter factis tabernaculisque paucis in speciem relictis, ut insidiarum par priori metus contineret Romanos.

7 Sed per eundem Lucanum Statilium omnibus ultra castra transque montes exploratis cum relatum esset visum procul hostium agmen, tum de sequendo eo[1] 8 consilia agitari coepta. Cum utriusque consulis eadem quae ante semper fuisset[2] sententia, ceterum Varroni fere omnes, Paulo nemo praeter Servilium 9 prioris anni consulem adsentiretur, ex maioris[3] partis sententia ad nobilitandas clade Romana Cannas 10 urgente fato profecti sunt. Prope eum vicum Hannibal castra posuerat aversa a Volturno vento, qui 11 campis torridis siccitate nubes pulveris vehit. Id cum ipsis castris percommodum fuit, tum salutare praecipue futurum erat, cum aciem dirigerent, ipsi

[1] de sequendo eo *Novák*: die sequenti eo *P*: de insequendo eo *Lipsius*.
[2] fuisset *P*: esset *Doering*.
[3] ex maioris *Luchs*: maioris *P*.

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[1] Weissenborn suggests the possibility that the repetition of this stratagem in Livy's narrative may be due to a combination of different versions occurring respectively in Coelius Antipater and in Valerius Antias. The whole passage (chap. xl.—chap. xliii.) is discussed by De Sanctis, III. 2, p. 59[90], who regards the story of the two camps at Gereonium as a repetition of the situation on the Aufidus (chap. xliv. § 1). The scarcity of provisions attributed to Hannibal was invented, he thinks, in order to make it appear the less excusable in the Romans to have accepted battle. The new skirmish at Gereonium is a repetition of the one to which Polybius refers as taking place fifty stades from Cannae. Finally, the stratagem of the abandoned camp

were fickle to desert. He set out in the night, B.C. 216
after making up some fires, as before, and leaving a few tents standing where they would be seen, so that the Romans might be withheld from following him through fear of an ambush, as before.[1]

But when the same Lucanian, Statilius, had made a thorough reconnaissance beyond the camp and on the other side of the mountains, and had reported seeing the enemy on the march a long way off, then the question of pursuing him began to be debated. The consuls were each of the same mind as they had always been; but Varro had the support of almost everybody, Paulus of none except Servilius, the consul of the year before. The will of the majority prevailed, and they set forward, under the urge of destiny, to make Cannae famous for the calamity which there befell the Romans. This was the village near which Hannibal had pitched his camp,[2] with his back to the Volturnus,[3] a wind that brings clouds of dust over the drought-parched plains. Such a disposition was very convenient for the camp itself and bound to be particularly salutary when the troops formed up for battle, facing in the opposite direction, with

is ridiculous and absurd, for the Romans had only to occupy it with a couple of legions and Hannibal would have found it very difficult to recover, and even if Aemilius had chosen to allow Hannibal to return to his camp, he would have deserved a court-martial if he had not first destroyed the tents and levelled the camp and filled the trenches. De Sanctis thinks that the whole episode is characteristic of Valerius Antias.

[2] Livy forgets to point out that Hannibal later crossed the river and encamped on the western side (Map 7).

[3] This was the Eurus of the Greeks (Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* v. xvi. 4), now called Scirocco. The Latin name is from Mt. Voltur in Apulia, S.W. of Cannae.

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aversi, terga tantum adflante vento, in occaecatum pulvere offuso[1] hostem pugnaturi.

XLIV. Consules satis exploratis itineribus sequentes Poenum,[2] ut ventum ad Cannas est et in[3] conspectu Poenum habebant, bina castra communiunt eodem ferme intervallo quo ad Gereonium, sicut 2 ante copiis divisis. Aufidus[4] amnis utrisque[5] castris adfluens aditum aquatoribus ex sua cuiusque oppor- 3 tunitate haud sine certamine dabat; ex minoribus tamen castris, quae posita trans Aufidum erant, liberius aquabantur Romani, quia ripa ulterior nullum habebat hostium praesidium.

4 Hannibal spem nanctus locis natis ad equestrem pugnam, qua parte virium invictus erat, facturos copiam pugnandi consules, derigit aciem lacessitque 5 Numidarum procursatione hostes. Inde rursus sollicitari seditione militari ac discordia consulum Romana castra, cum Paulus Sempronique et Flamini temeritatem Varroni, Varro Paulo[6] speciosum timidis ac 6 segnibus ducibus exemplum Fabium obiceret, testareturque deos hominesque hic, nullam penes se culpam esse, quod Hannibal iam velut usu[7] cepisset

[1] offuso *Walch*: effuso *P*.
[2] sequentes Poenum *P*: sequentes *Schenkl*.
[3] et in *Gronovius*: ut in *P*.
[4] Aufidus P^2: aufidius (*and in* § 3 aufidium *corrected from* aufidum) P^1 (*cf. Plut., Fab.* 15 *and Ptol.* III. i. 15).
[5] utrisque *edd.*: utriusque *P*.
[6] Varro Paulo *Wesenberg*: uarro *P*.
[7] velut usu *s*: uel usu *P*.

[1] At chap. xl. § 5 we were not told how far apart the camps were, but only that the smaller one was nearer Hannibal than the larger one.

[2] Neither Livy nor Polybius (III. cx.) states explicitly that the larger camp of the Romans was on the left, or western bank, but that such was the fact may fairly be inferred from

the wind blowing only on their backs, and ready to fight with enemies half-blinded by the dust driven into their faces. B.C. 216

XLIV. The consuls, after making a sufficient reconnaissance of the roads, followed the Phoenicians until they came to Cannae, where, having the enemy in view, they divided their forces, as they had done before, and fortified two camps, at about the same distance from one another as at Gereonium.[1] The river Aufidus, flowing past both their camps, was readily accessible to water-carriers at such spots as were convenient for each, though not without fighting; it was, however, from the smaller camp, which was situated across the Aufidus,[2] that the Romans could fetch water more freely, since the enemy had no troops posted on the further bank.

Hannibal had conceived a hope that the consuls would give him an opportunity of fighting in a place that was formed by nature for a cavalry action, in which arm he was invincible. He therefore drew out his men in battle array and ordered the Numidians to make a sally and provoke the enemy. This caused the camp of the Romans to be once more the scene of strife amongst the soldiers and dissension between the consuls. Paulus cast in Varro's teeth the recklessness of Sempronius and Flaminius; Varro retorted that Fabius was a specious example for timid and slothful generals, and called on gods and men to witness that it was through no fault of his that Hannibal had by now acquired as it were a

Livy's *trans Aufidum* (§ 3) and Polybius's πέραν, ἀπὸ διαβάσεως πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς (III. cx. 10), both of which phrases are used of the smaller camp, and such is the view of Professor Kromayer. (See map.)

A.U.C. 538 Italiam; se constrictum a collega teneri; ferrum atque arma iratis et pugnare cupientibus adimi 7 militibus: ille, si quid proiectis ac proditis ad inconsultam atque improvidam pugnam legionibus accideret, se omnis culpae exsortem, omnis eventus participem fore diceret; videret ut quibus lingua prompta [1] ac temeraria aeque in pugna vigerent manus.

XLV. Dum altercationibus magis quam consiliis tempus teritur, Hannibal ex acie, quam ad multum diei tenuerat instructam, cum in castra ceteras reciperet 2 copias, Numidas ad invadendos ex minoribus castris 3 Romanorum aquatores trans flumen mittit. Quam inconditam turbam cum vixdum in ripam egressi clamore ac tumultu fugassent, in stationem [2] quoque pro vallo locatam atque ad ipsas [3] prope portas evecti 4 sunt. Id vero adeo indignum [4] visum, ab tumultuario auxilio [5] iam etiam castra Romana terreri, ut ea modo una causa ne extemplo transirent flumen derigerentque aciem tenuerit Romanos, quod summa imperii eo die penes Paulum fuerit.

5 Itaque postero die Varro,[6] cui sors eius diei imperii erat, nihil consulto collega signum proposuit instructasque copias flumen traduxit sequente Paulo, quia magis non probare quam non adiuvare consilium 6 poterat. Transgressi flumen eas quoque quas in

[1] lingua prompta *P*: lingua tam prompta *C* (*Madvig*).
[2] in stationem ς: stationem *P*.
[3] ad ipsas *Fugner*: ipsas *P*.
[4] adeo indignum ς: indignum *P*.
[5] auxilio *P*: vexillo *Hachtmann*.
[6] postero die Varro *Alschefski*: uarro postero die uarro P^1: uarro postero die P^2C.

prescriptive right to Italy, for he was kept in fetters B.C. 216
by his colleague, and the soldiers, enraged as they were and eager to fight, were deprived of swords and arms. Paulus rejoined that if anything untoward should befall the legions, recklessly abandoned to an ill-advised and rash engagement, he would himself be guiltless of all blame, but would share in all the consequences; let Varro, he said, see to it, that where tongues were bold and ready, hands—when it came to fighting—were no less so.

XLV. While they wasted time, rather quarrelling than consulting, Hannibal withdrew the rest of his troops, whom he had kept in line till far on in the day, into his camp, and sent the Numidians across the river to attack the men from the smaller Roman camp who were fetching water. They had hardly come out upon the other bank when their shouts and tumult sent that unorganized rabble flying, and they rode on till they came to the party that was stationed in front of the rampart, and almost to the very gates. So wholly outrageous, however, did it seem that by now even a Roman camp should be terrorized by irregular auxiliaries, that only one thing kept the Romans from crossing the river forthwith and giving battle—the fact that Paulus happened then to be in command.

The next morning, therefore, Varro, whom the lot had made commander for that day, hung out the signal, without saying a word of the matter to his colleague, and, making his troops fall in, led them over the river. Paulus followed him, for he could more easily disapprove the plan than deprive it of his help. Once across, they joined to their own the

A.U.C. 538 castris minoribus habuerant copias suis adiungunt atque ita instruunt aciem :[1] in dextro cornu—id erat
7 flumini propius—Romanos equites locant, deinde pedites; laevum cornu extremi equites sociorum, intra pedites, ad medium iuncti legionibus Romanis, tenuerunt; iaculatores cum ceteris[2] levium armorum auxiliis prima acies facta. Consules cornua tenuere,[3]
8 Terentius laevum, Aemilius dextrum; Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data.

XLVI. Hannibal luce prima Baliaribus levique alia armatura praemissa transgressus flumen, ut
2 quosque traduxerat ita in acie locabat: Gallos Hispanosque equites prope ripam laevo in cornu
3 adversus Romanum equitatum; dextrum cornu Numidis equitibus datum; media acies[4] peditibus firmata, ita ut Afrorum utraque cornua essent, inter-
4 ponerentur his medii Galli atque Hispani. Afros[5] Romanam crederes[6] aciem: ita armati erant armis et ad Trebiam, ceterum magna ex parte ad Trasu-
5 mennum captis. Gallis Hispanisque scuta eiusdem formae fere erant, dispares ac dissimiles gladii, Gallis praelongi ac sine mucronibus, Hispano, punctim magis quam caesim adsueto petere hostem, brevitate habiles et cum mucronibus. Ante alios[7] habitus[8] gentium harum cum magnitudine corporum tum

[1] instruunt aciem *Weissenborn*: instructa acie *P*.
[2] cum ceteris *Doujatius and Drakenborch*: ex ceteris *P*.
[3] tenuere *Alschefski*: tenuerent P^1: tenerent P^2.
[4] acies ς: acie *P*.
[5] Afros ς: afro P^1: afri P^2: Afrorum *Alschefski*.
[6] crederes *Woelfflin*: magna ex parte crederes *P*.
[7] ante alios *Madvig*: antetalius *P*.
[8] habitus ς: hannibatus P^1: hanimatus P^2.

[1] The Romans adopted this sword for their legionaries. It was provided with two sharp edges for cutting as well

forces which they had kept in the smaller camp, B.C. 216
and marshalled their battle-line as follows: on the right wing—the one nearer the river—they placed the Roman cavalry, and next them the Roman foot; the left wing had on the outside the cavalry of the allies; and nearer the centre, in contact with the Roman legions, the infantry of the allies. The slingers and other light-armed auxiliaries were formed up in front. The consuls had charge of the wings, Terentius of the left, Aemilius of the right; and Geminus Servilius was entrusted with the centre.

XLVI. Hannibal crossed the river at break of day, after sending ahead of him the Baliares and the other light-armed troops, and posted each corps in line of battle, in the order in which he had brought it over. The Gallic and Spanish horse were next the river, on the left wing, facing the Roman cavalry; the right wing was assigned to the Numidian horse; the centre was composed of infantry, so arranged as to have the Africans at both ends, and between them Gauls and Spaniards. The Africans might have passed for an array of Romans, equipped as they were with arms captured partly at the Trebia but mostly at Lake Trasumennus. The Gauls and the Spaniards had shields of almost the same shape; their swords were different in use and in appearance, those of the Gauls being very long and pointless, whilst the Spaniards, who attacked as a rule more by thrusting than by striking, had pointed ones that were short and handy.[1] These tribes were more terrifying to look on than the others, because of the size of their bodies and the display they made of them. The Gauls

as with a point, and had a strong, firm blade (Polybius VI. xxiii. 7).

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6 specie terribilis erat. Galli super umbilicum erant nudi: Hispani linteis praetextis purpura tunicis candore miro fulgentibus constiterant. Numerus[1] omnium peditum qui tum[2] stetere in[3] acie milium
7 fuit quadraginta, decem equitum. Duces cornibus praeerant, sinistro Hasdrubal, dextro Maharbal; mediam aciem Hannibal ipse cum fratre Magone tenuit.
8 Sol, seu de industria ita locatis seu quod forte ita stetere,[4] peropportune utrique parti obliquus erat, Romanis in meridiem, Poenis in septemtrionem
9 versis; ventus—Volturnum regionis incolae vocant —adversus Romanis coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit.

XLVII. Clamore sublato procursum ab auxiliis[5] et pugna levibus primum armis commissa; deinde equitum Gallorum Hispanorumque laevum cornu cum dextro Romano concurrit, minime equestris
2 more pugnae: frontibus enim adversis concurrendum erat quia nullo circa ad evagandum relicto spatio
3 hinc amnis hinc peditum acies claudebant. In derectum utrimque nitentes stantibus ac confertis[6] postremo turba equis vir virum amplexus detrahebat equo. Pedestre magna iam ex parte certamen factum erat; acrius tamen quam diutius pugnatum est, pulsique Romani equites terga vertunt.
4 Sub equestris finem certaminis coorta est peditum

[1] Numerus *Gronovius*: numerum *P*.
[2] qui tum *Gronovius*: equititum *P*.
[3] stetere in ς: steterentin P^1: terentina P^2.
[4] stetere *Gronovius*: statere P^1: stare P^2.
[5] ab auxiliis ς: auxiliis *P*.
[6] ac confertis ς: ad confertis *P*.

were naked from the navel up; the Spaniards had B.C. 216
formed up wearing crimson-bordered linen tunics that shone with a dazzling whiteness. The total number of the infantry who then took their place in line was forty thousand, of the cavalry ten thousand. The generals commanding on the wings were Hasdrubal on the left, Maharbal on the right; Hannibal himself, with his brother Mago, had the centre.

The sun—whether they had so placed themselves on purpose or stood as they did by accident—was, very conveniently for both sides, on their flanks, the Romans looking south, the Phoenicians north. A wind—which those who live in those parts call Volturnus—beginning to blow against the Romans carried clouds of dust right into their faces and prevented them from seeing anything.[1]

XLVII. With a shout the auxiliaries rushed forward and the battle began between the light-armed troops. Then the Gallic and Spanish horse which formed the left wing engaged with the Roman right in a combat very unlike a cavalry action. For they had to charge front to front, there being no room to move out round the flank, for the river shut them in on one side and the ranks of infantry on the other. Both parties pushed straight ahead, and as the horses came to a standstill, packed together in the throng, the riders began to grapple with their enemies and drag them from their seats. They were fighting on foot now, for the most part; but sharp though the struggle was, it was soon over, and the defeated Roman cavalry turned and fled.

Towards the end of the cavalry engagement the

[1] Note the repetition—apparently unconscious—of what was said at chap. xliii. § 10.

A.U.C. 538 pugna, primo et viribus et animis par, dum[1] constabant ordines Gallis Hispanisque; tandem Romani, diu ac saepe conisi, aequa[2] fronte acieque densa impulere hostium cuneum nimis tenuem eoque parum validum, a cetera prominentem acie. Impulsis deinde ac trepide referentibus pedem institere[3] ac tenore uno per praeceps pavore fugientium agmen[4] in mediam primum aciem inlati, postremo nullo resistente ad subsidia Afrorum pervenerunt, qui utrimque reductis alis constiterant, media, qua Galli[5] Hispanique steterant, aliquantum prominente acie. Qui cuneus ut pulsus aequavit frontem primum, dein cedendo[6] etiam sinum[7] in medio dedit, Afri circa iam cornua fecerant irruentibusque incaute in medium Romanis circumdedere alas, mox cornua extendendo clausere et ab tergo hostes. Hinc Romani, defuncti nequiquam proelio uno, omissis

[1] par, dum *Madvig*: parum *P*.
[2] conisi (connisi) aequa ς (*cf. Franz Miltner, Wiener Studien* 45 (1926–7) 251–253): consiliaequa P^1: consilio qua P^2: connisi obliqua *Lipsius*.
[3] institere *Gronovius*: insistere *P*.
[4] agmen ς: agmine *P*.
[5] qua Galli ς: quaefalli *P*.
[6] dein cedendo *Alschefski*: deindetendo P^1: deinde nitendo P^2: deinde cedendo *Ruperti*.
[7] sinum ς: in sinum *P*.

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[1] Polybius says (III. cxv. 6) that "they had crowded up from the wings to the centre, where the fighting was going on." Consequently their line was much *deeper* than that of their adversaries.

[2] This is called by Polybius (III. cxiii. 8) μηνοειδὲς κύρτωμα, "a crescent-shaped convexity." Kromayer rightly insists that this expression must not be taken literally, and understands it of a formation in echelon (see Schlachten-Atlas I., columns 23 and 26, and his map reproduced as No. 7 in this volume.)

infantry got into action. At first they were evenly B.C. 216
matched in strength and courage, as long as the Gauls and Spaniards maintained their ranks; but at last the Romans, by prolonged and frequent efforts, pushing forward with an even front and a dense line,[1] drove in the wedge-like formation [2] which projected from the enemy's line, for it was too thin to be strong; and then, as the Gauls and Spaniards gave way and fell back in confusion, pressed forward and without once stopping forced their way through the crowd of fleeing, panic-stricken foes, till they reached first the centre [3] and ultimately—for they met with no resistance—the African supports. These had been used to form the two wings, which had been drawn back, while the centre, where the Gauls and Spaniards had been stationed, projected somewhat. When this wedge was first driven back so far as to straighten the front, and then, continuing to yield, even left a hollow in the centre, the Africans had already begun a flanking movement on either side, and as the Romans rushed incautiously in between, they enveloped them, and presently, extending their wings, crescent-wise, even closed in on their rear.[4] From this moment the Romans, who had gained one battle to no purpose, gave over the

[3] *in mediam aciem* is a puzzling phrase, as it ought to mean the same thing as the projecting wedge which constituted the Carthaginian centre. But the Romans had already driven in this wedge. Livy perhaps means that the Romans have now reached a point where they are level with the two flanks (consisting of Africans) and midway between them.

[4] Polybius (III. cxv. 9) gives a somewhat different account of this manœuvre. According to him the Africans—who must have been drawn up in a line so deep as to be more like a column—merely *faced* inward, as the Romans pursued the fleeing Gauls and Spaniards, and charged them on both flanks.

A.U.C. 538 Gallis Hispanisque, quorum terga ceciderant,[1] adversus Afros integram pugnam ineunt, non tantum eo[2] iniquam quod inclusi adversus circumfusos sed etiam quod fessi cum recentibus ac vegetis pugnabant.

XLVIII. Iam et sinistro cornu Romano,[3] ubi sociorum equites adversus Numidas steterant, consertum proelium erat, segne primo et a Punica coeptum fraude. Quingenti ferme Numidae, praeter solita[4] arma telaque gladios occultos sub loricis habentes, specie transfugarum cum ab suis parmas post terga habentes adequitassent, repente ex equis desiliunt parmisque et[5] iaculis ante pedes hostium proiectis in mediam aciem accepti ductique ad ultimos considere ab tergo iubentur. Ac dum proelium ab omni parte conseritur, quieti manserunt; postquam omnium animos oculosque occupaverat certamen, tum arreptis scutis, quae passim inter acervos caesorum corporum strata erant, aversam adoriuntur Romanam aciem tergaque ferientes ac poplites caedentes stragem ingentem ac maiorem aliquanto pavorem ac tumultum fecerunt. Cum alibi terror ac fuga, alibi pertinax in mala iam spe proelium esset, Hasdrubal, qui ea parte praeerat, subductos ex media acie Numidas, quia[6] segnis eorum cum adversis pugna erat, ad persequendos passim

[1] ceciderant ς: caeciderat et *P*.
[2] eo ς: in eo *P*. [3] Romano ς: romani *P*.
[4] praeter solita *N. Heinsius and J. Perizonius*: praeter consueta ς: praeterita *P*: praeter iusta *Gronovius*.
[5] et ς: etiam *P*. [6] quia *C*: qui *P*.

[1] The "panic rout" was on the Roman left (the Roman right had already been annihilated), the "obstinate though hopeless struggle" at the centre.

pursuit and slaughter of the Gauls and Spaniards and began a new fight with the Africans. In this they were at a twofold disadvantage: they were shut in, while their enemies ranged on every side of them; they were tired, and faced troops that were fresh and strong. B.C. 216

XLVIII. By this time the Roman left, where the cavalry of the allies had taken position facing the Numidians, was also engaged, though the fighting was at first but sluggish. It began with a Punic ruse. About five hundred Numidians, who, in addition to their customary arms and missiles, carried swords concealed under their corslets, pretended to desert. Riding over from their own side, with their bucklers at their backs, they suddenly dismounted and threw down bucklers and javelins at the feet of their enemies. Being received into the midst of their ranks they were conducted to the rear and ordered to fall in behind. And while the battle was getting under way at every point, they kept quite still; but no sooner were the minds and eyes of all absorbed in the struggle, than they snatched up the shields which lay strewn about everywhere amongst the heaps of slain, and assailing the Romans from behind and striking at their backs and hamstrings, effected a great slaughter and a terror and confusion that were even greater. And now in one place there was a panic rout and in another an obstinate though hopeless struggle,[1] when Hasdrubal, who commanded in that part of the field, withdrew the Numidians from the centre—since they fought but half-heartedly against men who met them face to face—and dispatching them in pursuit of the scattered fugitives, sent in the Spanish and Gallic cavalry to help the

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6 fugientes mittit, Hispanos et Gallos equites[1] Afris prope iam fessis caede magis quam pugna adiungit.

XLIX. Parte altera pugnae Paulus, quamquam primo statim proelio funda graviter ictus fuerat, 2 tamen et occurrit saepe cum confertis Hannibali et aliquot locis proelium restituit, protegentibus eum equitibus Romanis, omissis postremo equis, quia consulem vel ad[2] regendum equum vires deficiebant. 3 Tum nuntianti[3] cuidam, iussisse consulem ad pedes descendere equites, dixisse Hannibalem ferunt: 4 "Quam mallem, vinctos mihi traderet!" Equitum pedestre proelium, quale iam haud dubia hostium victoria, fuit, cum victi mori in vestigio mallent quam fugere, victores morantibus victoriam irati 5 trucidarent, quos pellere non poterant. Pepulerunt tamen iam paucos superantes et labore ac volneribus fessos, inde dissipati omnes sunt equosque ad fugam qui poterant repetebant.

6 Cn. Lentulus tribunus militum, cum praetervehens equo sedentem in saxo cruore oppletum consulem

[1] equites *Gronovius*: pedites *P*: *deleted by Fabri.*
[2] vel ad *Heraeus*: et ad *P*: ad *ς*.
[3] nuntianti (nunc-) *Crévier*: denuntianti *P*: renuntianti *Gronovius*.

[1] The Numidians (both the five hundred and the main body of them) after routing the Roman left had presumably swung round to attack the Roman centre, when Hasdrubal withdrew them from the battle to use them as pursuit troops, replacing them with the cavalry originally posted on the Punic left, which after defeating the Roman cavalry (chap. xlvii. §§ 1-3) had presumably ridden round the Roman centre and joined the Numidians. The episode of the five hundred (not mentioned by Polybius) is perhaps derived from the account of Coelius Antipater. Appian (VII. iv. 22) describes the ruse as being executed by five hundred Celtiberians (foot-soldiers in the Punic centre).

Africans, who were now almost exhausted, though more with slaying than with fighting.[1] B.C. 216

XLIX. In the other part of the field[2] Paulus, although he had received a severe wound from a sling at the very outset of the battle, nevertheless repeatedly opposed himself to Hannibal,[3] with his men in close formation, and at several points restored the fight. He was guarded by Roman cavalry, who finally let their horses go, as the consul was growing too weak even to control his horse. At this Hannibal, being told by someone that the consul had ordered his troopers to dismount, is said to have exclaimed: "How much better if he had handed them over to me in fetters!"[4] The dismounted horsemen fought as men no longer doubting that the enemy must be victorious. They were beaten, but chose rather to die where they stood than to run away; and the victors, angry that their victory was thus delayed, cut them down, when they could not rout them. But they routed them at last, when only a few were left, exhausted with fighting and with wounds. The survivors were now all dispersed, and those who could attempted to regain their horses and escape.

Gnaeus Lentulus, a tribune of the soldiers, as he rode by on his horse, caught sight of the consul sitting on a stone and covered with blood. "Lucius

[2] In chap. xlviii. § 5 *ea parte* means the Punic right = Roman left. Here *Parte altera* is the centre—where Livy thinks of Paulus as having taken over the command from Servilius.

[3] That is, the Punic centre.

[4] An ironical intimation that, since the consul's order amounted to depriving his troopers of any hope of escape, he might as well have surrendered them at once and saved Hannibal all further trouble.

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7 vidisset, "L. Aemili," inquit, "quem unum insontem culpae cladis hodiernae dei respicere debent, cape hunc equum, dum et tibi virium aliquid superest et
8 comes[1] ego te tollere possum ac protegere. Ne funestam hanc pugnam morte consulis feceris; etiam sine hoc[2] lacrimarum satis luctusque est."
9 Ad ea consul: "Tu[3] quidem, Cn. Corneli, macte virtute esto: sed cave frustra miserando exiguum
10 tempus e manibus hostium evadendi absumas. Abi, nuntia publice patribus, urbem Romanam muniant ac priusquam victor hostis advenit praesidiis firment; privatim Q. Fabio, L. Aemilium[4] praeceptorum eius
11 memorem et vixisse adhuc et mori. Me[5] in hac strage militum meorum patere exspirare, ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae exsistam, ut[6] alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam."
12 Haec eos[7] agentes prius turba fugientium civium deinde hostes oppressere; consulem ignorantes quis esset, obruere[8] telis, Lentulum inter tumultum[9] abripuit equus. Tum undique[10] effuse fugiunt.
13 Septem milia hominum in minora castra, decem in maiora, duo ferme in vicum ipsum Cannas perfugerunt; qui extemplo a Carthalone atque equitibus nullo munimento tegente[11] vicum circumventi sunt.
14 Consul alter, seu forte seu consilio nulli fugientium

[1] et comes *Walch*: comes *P*.
[2] sine hoc ς: si hoc *P*: sine hac *Gronovius*.
[3] consul: "Tu ς: consulto *P*.
[4] L. Aemilium ς: aemilium *P*.
[5] me ς: me et *P*: memet *Weissenborn*.
[6] ut ς: aut *P*.
[7] haec eos *Madvig*: haec ex *P*: haec *Weissenborn*.
[8] obruere ς: obruerent *P*.
[9] inter tumultum *Gronovius*: in tumulum *P*: in tumultu ς.
[10] undique *Alschefski*: unde *P*.
[11] tegente ς: tegentes *P*.

Aemilius," he cried, "on whom the gods ought to look down in mercy, as the only man without guilt in this day's disaster, take this horse, while you have still a little strength remaining and I can attend you and raise you up and guard you. Make not this battle calamitous by a consul's death; even without that there are tears and grief enough." B.C. 216

To this the consul answered, "All honour, Cornelius, to your manhood! But waste not in unavailing pity the little time you have to escape the enemy. Go, and tell the senators in public session to fortify the City of Rome and garrison it strongly before the victorious enemy draws near: in private say to Quintus Fabius that Lucius Aemilius has lived till this hour and now dies remembering his precepts. As for me, let me breathe my last in the midst of my slaughtered soldiers, lest either for a second time I be brought to trial after being consul,[1] or else stand forth the accuser of my colleague, blaming another in defence of my own innocence." While they were speaking, there came up with them first a crowd of fleeing Romans, and then the enemy, who overwhelmed the consul, without knowing who he was, beneath a rain of missiles. Lentulus, thanks to his horse, escaped in the confusion. The rout was now everywhere complete. Seven thousand men escaped into the smaller camp, ten thousand into the larger, and about two thousand into the village of Cannae itself. These last were immediately cut off by Carthalo and his cavalry, for the village was not fortified. The other consul, whether by accident

[1] Chap. xxxv. § 3.

A.U.C. 538 insertus[1] agmini, cum quinquaginta fere equitibus Venusiam perfugit.

15 Quadraginta quinque milia quingenti pedites, duo milia septigenti equites et tantadem[2] prope civium
16 sociorumque pars caesi dicuntur; in his ambo consulum quaestores, L. Atilius et L. Furius Bibaculus, et undetriginta[3] tribuni militum, consulares quidam praetoriique et aedilicii—inter eos Cn. Servilium Geminum[4] et M. Minucium numerant, qui magister equitum priore anno, aliquot annis ante consul[5] fuerat,
17 —octoginta praeterea aut senatores aut qui eos magistratus gessissent unde in senatum legi deberent cum sua voluntate milites in legionibus facti essent.
18 Capta eo proelio tria milia peditum et equites mille et quingenti dicuntur.

L. Haec est[6] pugna Cannensis, Alliensi[7] cladi nobilitate par, ceterum uti eis[8] quae post pugnam
2 accidere levior, quia ab hoste est cessatum, sic strage
3 exercitus gravior foediorque. Fuga namque ad

[1] insertus *C. L. Bauer*: infestus *P.*
[2] et tantadem *Madvig*: etanta *P.*
[3] undetriginta (XXIX) *Gronovius*: uigintiunudice *P.*
[4] Geminum *Gronovius*: inimum *P.*
[5] aliquot annis ante consul *J. Gronovius*: consul aliquot ante annis *J. F. Gronovius*: aliquot annis ante *P.*
[6] est *ς*: et *P.*
[7] Cannensis, Alliensi (*the spelling* -ll- *is established by the Fasti Antiates, an inscr. of* A.D. 51) *Gronovius*: aliiensi (*and in* § 3 aliam) P^1: cannensi P^2.
[8] uti eis *Luchs*: utilis *P*: ut illis *ς*: ut iis *Novák.*

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[1] The other ancient accounts give the numbers as follows: Eutropius (III. 10) 40,000 foot and 3500 horse; Appian (VII. iv. 25) and Livy himself in three speeches (chap. lix. § 5; chap. lx. § 14 and XXV. vi. 13) as well as Plutarch

or by design, had not joined any throng of fugitives, B.C. 216
but fled to Venusia with some fifty horsemen.

It is said that forty-five thousand five hundred foot and two thousand seven hundred horse were slain, in an almost equal proportion of citizens and allies.[1] In the number were the quaestors of both consuls, Lucius Atilius and Lucius Furius Bibaculus, and twenty-nine military tribunes,[2] some of consular rank, some of praetorian or aedilician—amongst others are mentioned Gnaeus Servilius Geminus and Marcus Minucius, who had been master of the horse in the preceding years and consul several years before[3]—and besides these, eighty senators or men who had held offices which would have given them the right to be elected to the senate,[4] but had volunteered to serve as soldiers in the legions. The prisoners taken in this battle are said to have numbered three thousand foot-soldiers and fifteen hundred horsemen.

L. Such was the battle of Cannae, a calamity as memorable as that suffered at the Allia, and though less grave in its results—because the enemy failed to follow up his victory—yet for the slaughter of the army even more grievous and disgraceful. For

(*Fab.* 16), 50,000 men; Quintilian (VIII. vi. 26), 60,000 men; Polybius (III. cxvii. 4), 70,000.

[2] There would have been forty-eight when the battle began (six for each legion), assuming that there were eight legions, as some of Livy's authorities held (chap. xxxvii. § 2).

[3] 221 B.C.

[4] The Ovinian Law (soon after 368 B.C.) had provided that the censors must enrol in the senate such as had held curule office (curule aedileship, praetorship, consulship) since the last censorship.

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Alliam sicut urbem prodidit ita exercitum servavit: ad Cannas fugientem consulem vix quinquaginta secuti sunt, alterius morientis prope totus[1] exercitus fuit.

4 Binis in castris cum multitudo semiermis sine ducibus esset, nuntium qui in maioribus erant mittunt, dum proelio deinde ex laetitia epulis fatigatos quies nocturna hostes premeret, ut ad se transirent: uno 5 agmine Canusium abituros esse. Eam sententiam alii totam aspernari; cur enim illos qui se arcessant ipsos non venire, cum aeque coniungi possent? Quia videlicet plena hostium omnia in medio essent et aliorum quam sua corpora tanto periculo mallent obicere. 6 Aliis non tam sententia[2] displicere quam animus deesse. Tum P. Sempronius[3] Tuditanus tribunus militum, "Capi ergo mavoltis," inquit, "ab avarissimo et crudelissimo hoste aestimarique capita vestra et exquiri pretia ab interrogantibus Romanus civis sis an Latinus socius, ut ex tua contumelia et miseria 7 alteri honos quaeratur? Non tu, si quidem L. Aemili consulis, qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit, et tot fortissimorum virorum qui circa 8 eum cumulati iacent cives estis. Sed antequam opprimit lux maioraque hostium agmina obsaepiunt iter, per hos qui inordinati atque incompositi obstre- 9 punt portis[4] erumpamus! Ferro atque audacia via fit

[1] totus ς: totius *P*.
[2] sententia ς: sententia est *P*.
[3] Tum P. Sempronius *Luchs*: p. sempronius *P*.
[4] portis ς: portas *P*.

[1] An allusion to the story told in chap. vii. § 5. Note how in the text the shift from plural (*mavoltis*) to singular (*tua . . . tu*) has all the effect of a personal appeal to each of the men Tuditanus is addressing.

the flight at the Allia, though it betrayed the City, B.C. 216
saved the army: at Cannae the consul who fled was accompanied by a scant fifty men; the other, dying, had well-nigh the entire army with him.

In the two Roman camps the crowd was half-armed and destitute of leaders. The men in the larger camp sent a messenger bidding those in the smaller one come over to them in the night, while the enemy, exhausted by the fighting and by the feasting that had followed on their triumph, were sunk in sleep: they would then set out in one body for Canusium. This plan some were for totally rejecting. Why, they asked, did not those who summoned them come themselves to the smaller camp, where they could just as well effect a junction? Clearly because the ground between was covered with enemies and they preferred to expose to such danger the persons of others rather than their own. Some were not so much displeased with the plan as wanting in resolution. Then said the military tribune Publius Sempronius Tuditanus: "So you had rather be captured by the greediest and most cruel of foes, and be appraised at so much a head by those who ask, 'Are you a Roman citizen or a Latin ally?' in order that from the insults and misery you suffer, the other may win distinction?[1] 'Not so!' each man will answer, if you are indeed fellow citizens of Lucius Aemilius the consul, who preferred an honourable death to life with ignominy, and of all those heroes who lie in heaps around him! But before daylight surprises us and the enemy blocks our way in greater force, let us break out through these men that are clamouring in disorder and confusion at our gates. With a

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quamvis per confertos hostes. Cuneo quidem hoc laxum atque solutum agmen, ut si nihil obstet, disicias.[1] Itaque ite mecum, qui et vosmet ipsos et
10 rem publicam salvam voltis!" Haec ubi dicta dedit, stringit gladium cuneoque facto per medios vadit
11 hostes; et cum in latus dextrum, quod patebat, Numidae iacularentur, translatis in dextrum scutis in maiora castra ad sescenti[2] evaserunt atque inde protinus alio magno agmine adiuncto Canusium in-
12 columes perveniunt. Haec apud victos magis impetu animorum, quos[3] ingenium suum cuique aut fors dabat, quam ex consilio ipsorum aut imperio cuiusquam agebantur.

LI. Hannibali victori cum ceteri circumfusi gratularentur suaderentque ut tanto perfunctus bello diei quod reliquum esset noctisque insequentis quietem et ipse sibi sumeret et fessis[4] daret militibus,
2 Maharbal praefectus equitum minime cessandum ratus, "Immo, ut quid hac pugna sit actum scias, die quinto" inquit "victor in Capitolio epulaberis.

[1] disicias (dissicias) *Gronovius*: uisscias *P*: dissicias *Ribbeck*.
[2] ad sescenti (sex-) *J. Gronovius*: ad dc *P*: ad sexcentos ς.
[3] quos *Bauer*: quod *P*: quem ς.
[4] et fessis ς: fessis *P*.

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[1] *cuneus* (literally "wedge") is a technical term sometimes used to designate a body of men drawn up in fighting column, in order, as here, to force a way through the enemy's lines (Caesar, *B.G.* VI. xl. 2).

[2] In the original the words *Haec . . . medios* form a complete hexameter and half of another. We have here perhaps a bit appropriated from Ennius, either directly, or, more probably, at second hand, through Coelius (see next note).

[3] A detail which Livy may have owed to Coelius, from whom the grammarian Priscian (III. 22) cites the phrase:

sword and a stout heart a man may pass through B.C. 216
enemies, be they never so thick. In close formation[1] you may scatter this loose and unorganized force as though there were nothing in your way. Follow me, then, as many of you as desire safety for yourselves and for the commonwealth!" Uttering these words he grasped his sword, and, forming a column, strode away through the midst of the enemy;[2] and when the Numidians hurled missiles at their right sides, which were unprotected, they shifted their shields to the right[3] and so got through, about six hundred[4] of them, to the larger camp; and thence, after being joined by the other great body of men, they made their way at once without loss to Canusium. These things the conquered did rather from the urge of such courage as each derived from his own nature or from chance than in consequence of their own deliberation or any man's authority.

LI. Hannibal's officers crowded round him with congratulations on his victory. The others all advised him, now that he had brought so great a war to a conclusion, to repose himself and to allow his weary soldiers to repose for the remainder of that day and the following night. But Maharbal, the commander of the cavalry, held that no time should be lost. "Nay," he cried, "that you may realize what has been accomplished by this battle, in five days you shall banquet in the Capitol!

dextimos in dextris scuta iubet habere ("he orders those on the right to carry their shields on the right arm").

[4] Pseudo-Frontinus (IV. v. 7) says that only twelve horsemen and fifty foot-soldiers followed Sempronius and another tribune, Cn. Octavius.

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Sequere; cum equite, ut prius venisse[1] quam ven-
3 turum sciant, praecedam." Hannibali nimis laeta
res est visa[2] maiorque quam ut eam statim capere[3]
animo posset. Itaque voluntatem se laudare Mahar-
balis ait; ad consilium pensandum temporis opus
4 esse. Tum Maharbal: "Non omnia nimirum eidem
di[4] dedere: vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti
nescis." Mora eius diei satis creditur saluti fuisse
urbi atque imperio.
5 Postero die, ubi primum inluxit, ad spolia legenda
foedamque etiam hostibus spectandam stragem
6 insistunt.[5] Iacebant tot Romanorum milia, pedites
passim equitesque, ut quem cuique fors aut pugna
iunxerat aut fuga. Adsurgentes quidam ex strage
media cruenti, quos stricta matutino[6] frigore excita-
7 verant volnera, ab hoste oppressi sunt; quosdam et
iacentes vivos succisis[7] feminibus poplitibusque
invenerunt, nudantes cervicem iugulumque et re-
8 liquum sanguinem iubentes[8] haurire; inventi quidam
sunt mersis in effossam terram capitibus, quos sibi[9]
ipsos fecisse foveas obruentesque ora superiecta[10]
9 humo interclusisse spiritum apparebat. Praecipue
convertit omnes subtractus[11] Numida mortuo super-

[1] venisse *P*: te uenisse ς.
[2] praecedam." Hannibali nimis laeta res est visa *Gronovius*: praecedant hannibalinimicis-l-aeturesetuisa *P*.
[3] capere ς: capite *P*.
[4] eidem di (dii) ς: eidemin *P*.
[5] spectandam stragem insistunt ς: spectandainstrage | insistunt *P*: spectandam stragem exeunt *Madvig*.
[6] quos stricta (-tā) matutino P^2: questracta | aututino P^1.
[7] succisis ς: succisos *P*.
[8] iubentes *Gronovius*: libentes *P*.
[9] quos sibi ς: quod si *P*.
[10] superiecta ς: subiecta super *P*.
[11] subtractus *P*: substratus ς.

Follow after; I will precede you with the cavalry, B.C. 216
that the Romans may know that you are there before they know that you are coming!" To Hannibal the idea was too joyous and too vast for his mind at once to grasp it. And so, while praising Maharbal's goodwill, he declared that he must have time to deliberate regarding his advice. Then said Maharbal, "In very truth the gods bestow not on the same man all their gifts; you know how to gain a victory, Hannibal: you know not how to use one." That day's delay is generally believed to have saved the City and the empire.

The morning after, as soon as it was light, they pressed forward to collect the spoil and to gaze on a carnage that was ghastly even to enemies. There lay those thousands upon thousands of Romans, foot and horse indiscriminately mingled, as chance had brought them together in the battle or the rout. Here and there amidst the slain there started up a gory figure whose wounds had begun to throb with the chill of dawn, and was cut down by his enemies; some were discovered lying there alive, with thighs and tendons slashed,[1] baring their necks and throats and bidding their conquerors drain the remnant of their blood. Others were found with their heads buried in holes dug in the ground. They had apparently made these pits for themselves, and heaping the dirt over their faces shut off their breath. But what most drew the attention of all beholders was a Numidian who was dragged out alive from under

[1] *i.e.* cut down from behind as they fled. Cf. Horace's *nec parcit imbellis iuventae poplitibus timidove tergo* (*Odes*, III. ii. 15 sq.)

A.U.C. 538 incubanti Romano vivus naso auribusque laceratis, cum ille,[1] manibus ad capiendum telum inutilibus, in rabiem ira versa laniando dentibus hostem exspirasset.

LII. Spoliis ad multum diei[2] lectis Hannibal ad minora ducit castra oppugnanda et omnium primum 2 bracchio obiecto a flumine[3] eos excludit. Ceterum ab omnibus labore vigiliis volneribus etiam fessis maturior 3 ipsius spe deditio est facta. Pacti ut arma atque equos traderent, in capita Romana trecenis nummis quadrigatis, in socios ducenis, in servos centenis, et ut eo pretio persoluto cum singulis abirent vestimentis, in castra hostes acceperunt, traditique in 4 custodiam omnes sunt, seorsum cives sociique. Dum ibi tempus teritur, interea, cum ex maioribus castris, quibus satis virium et animi[4] fuit, ad quattuor milia hominum et ducenti equites, alii agmine alii palati passim per agros, quod haud minus tutum erat, Canusium perfugissent, castra ipsa ab sauciis timidisque eadem condicione qua altera tradita hosti. 5 Praeda ingens parta[5] est, et praeter equos virosque

[1] cum ille *H. J. Mueller*: cum *P.*
[2] diei ς: de *P*: die *Alschefski.*
[3] obiecto a flumine *H. J. Mueller*: obiecto flumine ς: flumine obiecto *P.*
[4] et animi ς: ut nimis *P.*
[5] parta ς: parata *P.*

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[1] cf. Dante's Ugolino, *Inferno*, xxxii.

[2] The chariot-pieces were silver *denarii* stamped with a Jupiter in a four-horse chariot. This money was used not only by the Romans, who coined it, but by their allies, who had been denied the right to coin silver since 268 B.C. The ransom of the citizen would be roughly equivalent in weight of silver to $50 or £10.

a dead Roman, but with mutilated nose and ears; B.C. 216
for the Roman, unable to hold a weapon in his hands, had expired in a frenzy of rage, while rending the other with his teeth.[1]

LII. After spending a good part of the day in gathering spoils, Hannibal proceeded to attack the smaller camp. The first thing that he did was to throw up an entrenchment which cut them off from the river. But they were all so tired out from fighting and lack of sleep, as well as from wounds, that they surrendered even sooner than he had expected. The terms agreed upon were as follows: they were to give up their arms and horses; the ransom was fixed at three hundred chariot-pieces for every Roman, two hundred for every ally, and one hundred for every slave; on the payment of this price they were to go free, with a single garment each.[2] They then received their enemies into the camp and were all placed in custody, citizens being separated from allies. During the delay there, those in the larger camp who possessed sufficient strength and courage, amounting to four thousand foot and two hundred horse, had escaped, some in a body, others scattering —no less safely—over the country-side, and reached Canusium. The camp itself the wounded and timorous surrendered to the enemy on the same terms as the other.[3] It yielded enormous spoils, and except for

[3] Polybius (III. cxvii.) gives a very different story. According to him ten thousand Romans were left in camp when the battle was fought, with orders to attack the camp of Hannibal. Hannibal, however, had left a garrison in his own camp and they held the Romans at bay, till Hannibal, having now gained the battle, came up and rescued them, killing two thousand of the Romans and afterwards making the rest of them prisoners.

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et si quid argenti—quod plurimum in phaleris equorum erat, nam ad vescendum facto perexiguo, utique militantes, utebantur—omnis cetera praeda 6 diripienda data est. Tum sepeliendi causa conferri in unum corpora suorum iussit. Ad octo milia fuisse dicuntur fortissimorum virorum. Consulem quoque Romanum conquisitum[1] sepultumque quidam auctores sunt.

7 Eos qui Canusium perfugerant mulier Apula[2] nomine Busa, genere clara ac divitiis, moenibus tantum tectisque a Canusinis acceptos, frumento veste viatico etiam iuvit, pro qua ei munificentia postea, bello perfecto, ab senatu honores habiti sunt.

LIII. Ceterum cum ibi tribuni militum quattuor essent, Q. Fabius Maximus[3] de legione prima, cuius 2 pater priore anno dictator fuerat, et de legione secunda L. Publicius Bibulus et P. Cornelius Scipio et de legione tertia Ap. Claudius Pulcher, qui 3 proxime aedilis fuerat, omnium consensu ad P. Scipionem admodum adulescentem et ad[4] Ap. 4 Claudium summa imperii delata est. Quibus consultantibus inter paucos de summa rerum nuntiat P. Furius Philus, consularis viri filius, nequiquam eos perditam spem fovere; desperatam comploratamque 5 rem esse publicam; nobiles iuvenes quosdam, quorum

[1] conquisitum *P*: inquisitum *Fuegner*.
[2] Apula *Lipsius*: paula (*corrected from* apaula) *P*.
[3] Q. Fabius Maximus *Weissenborn*: Fabius Maximus *P*.
[4] admodum adulescentem et ad ς: atmodum *P*.

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[1] For similar legends of Hannibal's generosity see XXV. xvii. 4, XXVII. xxviii. 1. and chap. vii. § 5 of this book.

[2] Valerius Maximus (IV. viii. 2) says that the woman supplied about ten thousand Romans with food without wrecking her fortune. The name Busa is Oscan.

the horses and men and such silver as there was— which was mostly on the harness of the horses, for they then used very little plate, especially when in the field—the rest of the booty was all given up to pillage. He then commanded the bodies of his dead to be brought into one place for burial. It is said that they numbered about eight thousand of his bravest men. Some historians state that the Roman consul, too, was sought out and given burial.[1] B.C. 216

Those who escaped to Canusium were aided by an Apulian woman of birth and fortune named Busa. The townspeople had merely afforded them the protection of the walls and shelter, but she provided them with corn, clothing, and money for the way, in return for which munificence she was afterwards, on the conclusion of the war, voted honours by the senate.[2]

LIII. Now though there were four tribunes of the soldiers on the ground—Quintus Fabius Maximus of the first legion, whose father had been dictator the year before, Lucius Publicius Bibulus and Publius Cornelius Scipio of the second legion, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who had very recently been aedile, of the third legion—the supreme command was by unanimous consent made over to Publius Scipio, the merest youth,[3] and to Appius Claudius. These two were considering the general situation, in company with a few others, when Publius Furius Philus, the son of an ex-consul, came in and told them that they were idly entertaining a lost hope; the state was already given over and mourned as dead; some of the young

[3] He was about nineteen years old (XXI. xlvi. 7 and Polybius x. iii. 4).

A.U.C. 538 principem M. Caecilium Metellum,[1] mare ac naves spectare, ut deserta Italia ad regum aliquem transfugiant. Quod malum, praeterquam atrox, super tot clades etiam novum, cum stupore ac miraculo torpidos defixisset qui aderant et consilium advocandum de eo censerent, negat consilii rem esse Scipio iuvenis, fatalis dux huiusce belli. Audendum atque agendum non consultandum ait in tanto malo esse;[2] irent secum extemplo armati qui rem publicam salvam vellent; nulla[3] verius quam ubi ea cogitentur hostium castra esse. Pergit ire sequentibus paucis in hospitium Metelli, et cum concilium ibi iuvenum de quibus adlatum erat invenisset, stricto super capita consultantium gladio "Ex mei animi sententia," inquit, "ut ego rem publicam populi Romani non deseram neque alium civem Romanum deserere patiar; si sciens fallo, tum me Iuppiter optimus maximus[4] domum familiam remque meam pessimo leto adficiat. In haec verba, M. Caecili, iures postulo ceterique qui adestis: qui non iuraverit, in se hunc gladium strictum esse sciat." Haud secus pavidi quam si victorem Hannibalem cernerent, iurant omnes custodiendosque semet ipsos Scipioni tradunt.

LIV. Eo tempore quo haec[5] Canusii agebantur Venusiam ad consulem ad quattuor milia et quingenti pedites equitesque, qui sparsi fuga per agros

[1] M. Caecilium Metellum *H. J. Mueller*: l. caecilium metellum (*so also* § 12) *P*.

[2] esse ς: esse scipio *P*.

[3] nulla *Bauer*: nullo *P*: nullo loco ς.

[4] optimus maximus *Drakenborch*: optime maxime *P*: optime maxime (*with* afficias) ς (*Madvig*).

[5] haec ς: et *P*.

nobles, of whom Marcus Caecilius Metellus was the chief, were looking to the sea and ships, proposing to abandon Italy and flee for refuge to some king. These evil tidings, dreadful in themselves and coming as a new distress on the top of so many disasters, stunned those who heard them with a dull amazement. But when they would have called a council to talk the matter over, young Scipio, the predestined leader in this war, declared that it was no matter for taking counsel: they must be bold and act, not deliberate, in the face of this great evil; let them take arms and go with him at once, as many as wished to save the state; no camp was so truly the camp of the enemy as one where such thoughts were rife. He proceeded, with only a few followers, to the quarters of Metellus, where he found a gathering of the young men of whom he had been informed. Raising his sword over their heads, as they sat in consultation, "I solemnly swear," he said, "that even as I myself shall not desert the republic of the Roman People, so likewise shall I suffer no other Roman citizen to do so; if I wittingly speak false, may Jupiter Optimus Maximus utterly destroy me, my house, my family, and my estate. Marcus Caecilius, I call on you and the others who are present to swear after these terms, and if any refuse to swear, let him know that against him this sword is drawn." Quaking as though they beheld the victorious Hannibal, all took the oath, and delivered themselves into the custody of Scipio. B.C. 216

LIV. While this was happening at Canusium, about four thousand five hundred horse and foot, who had scattered over the country-side in flight,

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2 fuerant, pervenere. Eos omnes Venusini per familias benigne accipiendos curandosque cum divisissent, in singulos equites togas et tunicas et quadrigatos nummos quinos vicenos et pediti denos et arma, 3 quibus deerant, dederunt; ceteraque publice ac privatim hospitaliter facta, certatumque ne a muliere Canusina populus Venusinus officiis vinceretur.

4 Sed gravius onus Busae multitudo faciebat—et iam 5 ad decem milia hominum erant—Appiusque et Scipio, postquam incolumem esse alterum consulem acceperunt, nuntium extemplo mittunt, quantae secum peditum equitumque copiae essent, sciscitatumque simul utrum[1] Venusiam adduci exercitum 6 an manere iuberet Canusi. Varro ipse Canusium copias traduxit; et iam aliqua species[2] consularis exercitus erat, moenibusque se certe, etsi non armis, ab hoste videbantur defensuri.

7 Romam ne has quidem reliquias superesse civium sociorumque, sed occidione occisum cum duobus consulibus[3] exercitum[4] deletasque omnes copias 8 allatum fuerat. Nunquam salva urbe tantum pavoris tumultusque intra moenia Romana fuit. Itaque succumbam oneri neque adgrediar narrare

[1] utrum *edd.*: utrumque *P.*
[2] species ς: specie *P.*
[3] duobus consulibus *Gronovius*: duobus *P*: ducibus *Luterbacher.*
[4] exercitum *Gronovius*: exercitibus *P.*

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[1] From Polybius VI. xix. 12 we learn that the cavalryman received pay at the rate of a denarius *per diem*, and the infantryman one-third as much. It appears then that the present given to the soldiers—if the toga and tunic of the cavalryman be reckoned in—amounted to about one

made their way to Venusia, to the consul. All B.C. 216
these the inhabitants distributed amongst various families where they might be kindly received and cared for, and bestowed on each horseman a toga and a tunic and twenty-five chariot-pieces, and on each foot-soldier ten pieces, together with arms, where they were needed.[1] In all other matters, too, they dealt hospitably by them, both as a town and as individuals, in their zeal that the People of Venusia should not lag behind a Canusian woman in friendly offices.

But the great multitude was beginning to be too heavy a burden upon Busa—and indeed there were now as many as ten thousand men[2]—and Appius and Scipio, when they learned that the other consul was alive, immediately dispatched a messenger to let him know what forces of infantry and cavalry they had with them, and at the same time to enquire whether he desired the army to be brought to Venusia or remain at Canusium. Varro transferred his own troops to Canusium; and they now had something resembling a consular army, and might look to defend themselves against the enemy, behind walls, at all events, if not in the field.

But at Rome it was reported that not even these pitiful remnants of citizens and allies survived, but that the army with its two consuls was clean destroyed and all their forces blotted out. Never, save when the City had been captured, was there such terror and confusion within the walls of Rome. I shall therefore confess myself unequal to the task,

month's pay. (The toga was then worn even by soldiers when in garrison or in winter quarters.)

[2] *i.e.* in both camps, see chap. lvi. § 2.

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9 quae edissertando minora vero faciam.[1] Consule exercituque ad Trasumennum priore anno amisso non volnus super volnus sed multiplex clades, cum duobus consulibus duo[2] consulares exercitus amissi nuntiabantur, nec ulla iam castra Romana nec ducem 10 nec militem esse; Hannibalis Apuliam, Samnium, ac iam prope totam Italiam factam. Nulla profecto 11 alia gens tanta mole cladis non obruta esset. Compares[3] cladem ad Aegates insulas Carthaginiensium proelio navali acceptam, qua fracti Sicilia ac Sardinia cessere et[4] vectigales ac stipendiarios fieri se passi sunt, aut pugnam adversam in Africa cui postea hic ipse Hannibal succubuit? Nulla ex parte comparandae sunt, nisi quod minore animo latae sunt.

LV. P. Furius Philus et M. Pomponius praetores senatum in curiam Hostiliam vocaverunt, ut de 2 urbis custodia consulerent; neque enim dubitabant deletis exercitibus hostem ad oppugnandam Romam, 3 quod unum opus belli restaret, venturum. Cum in malis[5] sicuti ingentibus ita ignotis ne consilium quidem satis expedirent, obstreperetque clamor lamentantium mulierum et nondum palam facto vivi mortuique per omnes paene[6] domos promiscue 4 complorarentur, tum Q. Fabius Maximus censuit equites expeditos et Appia et Latina via mittendos,

[1] faciam *J. H. Voss*: facie *P.*
[2] duo ς: cum *P.*
[3] compares P^1: comparesset *P.*
[4] et *Madvig*: in *P.*
[5] in malis ς: in aliis *P.*
[6] per omnes paene ς: et paene omnes paene *P.*

nor attempt a narrative where the fullest description B.C. 216
would fall short of the truth. The year before a consul and his army had been lost at Trasumennus, and now it was not merely one blow following another, but a calamity many times as great that was reported; two consuls and two consular armies had been lost, and there was no longer any Roman camp, or general, or soldier; Hannibal was master of Apulia, Samnium, and well-nigh the whole of Italy. Surely there was no other people that would not have been overwhelmed by a disaster of such vast proportions. Would you compare the disaster off the Aegatian islands, which the Carthaginians suffered in the sea-fight, by which their spirit was so broken that they relinquished Sicily and Sardinia and suffered themselves to become tax-payers and tributaries? or the defeat in Africa to which this very Hannibal afterwards succumbed? In no single aspect are they to be compared with this calamity, except that they were endured with less of fortitude.

LV. Publius Furius Philus and Marcus Pomponius, the praetors, called the senate together in the Curia Hostilia, to consult about the defence of Rome; for they made no doubt that the enemy, after wiping out their armies, would be advancing to besiege the City, which was all that remained to do to end the war. But when, amid dangers at once so immense and so incalculable, they failed to think of even any tolerable plan of action, and were deafened with the cries and lamentations of the women, both the living and the dead—in the lack as yet of any announcement —being indiscriminately mourned in almost every house, then Quintus Fabius Maximus urged that light-armed horsemen be sent out along the Appian

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qui obvios percunctando—aliquos profecto [1] ex fuga passim dissipatos fore [2]—referant quae fortuna consulum atque exercituum sit, et si quid di immortales, miseriti imperii, reliquum Romani nominis fecerint, ubi eae copiae sint; quo [3] se Hannibal post proelium contulerit, quid paret, quid agat acturusque sit. 6 Haec exploranda noscendaque per impigros iuvenes esse; illud per patres ipsos agendum, quoniam magistratuum parum sit, ut tumultum ac trepidationem in urbe tollant, matronas publico arceant continerique intra suum quamque limen cogant, 7 comploratus familiarum coerceant, silentium per urbem faciant, nuntios rerum omnium ad praetores deducendos curent—suae quisque fortunae domi 8 auctorem exspectent—custodesque praeterea ad portas ponant, qui prohibeant quemquam egredi urbe [4] cogantque homines nullam nisi urbe ac moenibus salvis salutem sperare. Ubi conticuerit tumultus,[5] tum in curiam patres revocandos consulendumque de urbis custodia esse.

LVI. Cum in hanc sententiam pedibus omnes issent, summotaque foro per magistratus [6] turba patres diversi ad sedandos tumultus discessissent, tum demum litterae a C. Terentio consule allatae 2 sunt: L. Aemilium consulem exercitumque caesum; sese Canusi esse reliquias tantae cladis velut ex naufragio colligentem; ad decem milia militum

[1] profecto ς (*Jac. Gronovius*): profectos *P*.
[2] fore ς (*Jac. Gronovius*): forte *P*.
[3] quo ς; quae P^1: qua P^2.
[4] urbe *Madvig*: urbem *P*.
[5] tumultus *Ulrich*: recte tumultus *P*: certe tumultus *Frigell and Kiderlin*.
[6] summotaque . . . per magistratus ς: summotasque . . . magistratus *P*.

and Latin ways, and questioning those they met— B.C. 216
for some there would surely be who had dispersed and made off in the rout—bring back word of the fortunes of the consuls and the armies, and if the immortal gods, taking pity on the empire, had spared any remnant of the Roman name, where those forces were; whither Hannibal had gone after the battle, what his plans were, what he was doing and was likely to do. To discover and ascertain these facts was a task, he said, for active youths; what the Fathers themselves must do, since there were not magistrates enough, was this: quell the panic and confusion in the City; keep the matrons off the streets and compel them each to abide in her own home; restrain families from lamentation; procure silence throughout the City; see that bearers of any news were brought before the praetors—every man must wait at home for tidings that concerned himself;—and, besides this, post sentries at the gates, to keep anyone from leaving the City, and make the people rest all hope of safety on the safety of Rome and of its walls. When the tumult had died down, then the Fathers must be convened again and consider how to defend the City.

LVI. After they had all voted for this proposal without debate, and the throng had been cleared out of the Forum by the magistrates, and the Fathers had dispersed in various directions to still the uproar, then at last came a dispatch from Gaius Terentius the consul, announcing that the consul Lucius Aemilius and his army had been destroyed; that he himself was at Canusium, collecting—as though after a storm at sea—the wreckage of that great disaster; that he had about ten thousand men, not organised

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ferme esse incompositorum inordinatorumque;
3 Poenum[1] sedere ad Cannas in[2] captivorum pretiis praedaque alia nec victoris animo nec magni ducis more nundinantem.[3]
4 Tum privatae quoque per domos clades volgatae sunt, adeoque totam urbem opplevit luctus ut sacrum anniversarium Cereris intermissum sit, quia nec lugentibus id facere est fas nec ulla in illa
5 tempestate matrona expers luctus fuerat. Itaque ne ob eandem causam alia quoque sacra publica aut privata desererentur, senatus consulto diebus triginta luctus est finitus.
6 Ceterum cum sedato urbis tumultu revocati in curiam patres essent, aliae insuper ex Sicilia litterae allatae sunt ab T. Otacilio propraetore: regnum
7 Hieronis classe Punica vastari; cui cum opem imploranti ferre vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse[4] aliam classem ad Aegates insulas stare paratam instruc-
8 tamque, ut, ubi se versum ad[5] tuendam Syracusanam oram Poeni sensissent, Lilybaeum extemplo provinciamque aliam Romanam adgrederentur; itaque classe opus esse, si regem socium Siciliamque tueri vellent.

[1] Poenum *Gronovius*: menum P^1: me nunc P^2.
[3] in ς: an *P*.
[2] nundinantem *Gronovius*: nuntiantem *P*.
[4] vellet, nuntiatum sibi esse ς: uellent nuntiatum his est *P*.
[5] versum ad ς: aduersum *P*.

or assigned to companies; that the Phoenician was B.C. 216
sitting down at Cannae, haggling over the ransom of his prisoners and over the rest of the booty, exhibiting neither the spirit of a conqueror nor the behaviour of a great commander.

Announcement was then made from house to house of the losses they had each sustained, and the entire City was so filled with lamentation that the annual rite of Ceres was allowed to lapse, since it may not be performed by mourners, nor was there at that time a single matron who was not bereaved. Accordingly, lest for this same reason other public or private rites might be neglected, the senate decreed that mourning should be limited to thirty days.[1]

But when the confusion in the City had subsided and the Fathers had been summoned back to the senate-house, another dispatch was brought in from Sicily, from the propraetor Titus Otacilius. He reported that Hiero's kingdom was being laid waste by a Punic fleet, and that when he would have responded to Hiero's appeal for help, he had got news of another fleet, that was standing off the Aegatian islands, all ready and equipped, so that when the Phoenicians should perceive that he had turned his back on them to go to the rescue of the Syracusan coast, they might instantly descend on Lilybaeum and the rest of the Roman province. A fleet was therefore necessary if they desired to protect the king, their ally, and Sicily.[2]

[1] The Cerealia, the chief festival in honour of Ceres, took place on April 19th. The reference in the text must be to another, otherwise unknown, festival, as the battle of Cannae was fought on August 2nd.

[2] Otacilius already had a fleet, according to chap. xxxvii. § 13.

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LVII. Litteris consulis praetorisque recitatis censuerunt praetorem [1] M. Claudium,[2] qui classi ad Ostiam stanti praeesset, Canusium ad exercitum mittendum, scribendumque consuli, ut, cum praetori exercitum tradidisset, primo quoque tempore, quantum per commodum rei publicae fieri posset, Romam veniret.

2 Territi etiam super tantas clades cum ceteris prodigiis, tum quod duae Vestales eo anno, Opimia atque Floronia, stupri compertae et altera sub terra, uti mos est, ad portam Collinam necata fuerat, altera 3 sibimet ipsa mortem consciverat; L. Cantilius, scriba pontificius,[3] quos nunc [4] minores pontifices appellant, qui cum Floronia stuprum fecerat, a pontifice maximo eo usque virgis in comitio caesus erat ut 4 inter verbera exspiraret. Hoc nefas cum inter tot, ut fit, clades in prodigium versum esset, decemviri 5 libros adire iussi sunt, et Q. Fabius Pictor Delphos ad oraculum missus est sciscitatum quibus precibus suppliciisque deos possent placare et quaenam futura 6 finis tantis cladibus foret. Interim ex fatalibus libris sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria facta; inter

[1] recitatis censuerunt praetorem *added by Woelfflin* (censuerunt *had been added by* ς *and* praetorem *by Gronovius*).

[2] M. Claudium ς: m|arcium P^1: m appium P^2: Marcellum *Heusinger*.

[3] pontificius *Vaassen* (*Cassius Hemina ap. Priscian* VII. xi.): pontificis *P*.

[4] nunc ς: non *P*: *deleted by Vaassen*.

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[1] M. Claudius Marcellus, one of the best of the Roman generals in the war, had won renown by his defeat of the Gauls at Clastidium in 222 B.C., where he killed the enemy's chief, Virdomarus, with his own hand and won the "spoils of honour" (I. x. 5, and IV. xx. tell of the only other instances recorded). He fell in a cavalry engagement in 208,

LVII. When the dispatches from the consul and B.C. 216
the praetor had been read out, the senate voted to send Marcus Claudius,[1] the praetor commanding the fleet at Ostia, to Canusium, and to write to the consul to turn the army over to him and come to Rome at the earliest moment compatible with the welfare of the state.

They were terrified not only by the great disasters they had suffered, but also by a number of prodigies, and in particular because two Vestals, Opimia and Floronia, had in that year been convicted of unchastity. Of these one had been buried alive, as the custom is, near the Colline Gate, and the other had killed herself. Lucius Cantilius, a secretary to the pontiffs—one of those who are now called the lesser pontiffs—had been guilty with Floronia, and the Pontifex Maximus had him scourged in the Comitium so severely that he died under the blows. Since in the midst of so many misfortunes this pollution[2] was, as happens at such times, converted into a portent, the decemvirs were commanded to consult the Books, and Quintus Fabius Pictor[3] was dispatched to Delphi, to enquire of the oracle with what prayers and supplications they might propitiate the gods, and what would be the end of all their calamities. In the meantime, by the direction of the Books of Fate, some unusual sacrifices were offered; amongst others a Gaulish

when a detachment with which he was making a reconnaissance was overwhelmed by a greatly superior force of Carthaginians (XXVII. xxvi.-xxvii).

[2] Not the death of Cantilius, but the Vestals' violation of their vows.

[3] This was the annalist, who wrote a history of Rome in Greek.

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quae Gallus et Galla,[1] Graecus et Graeca in foro bovario sub terram [2] vivi demissi sunt in locum saxo consaeptum,[3] iam ante [4] hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum.

7 Placatis satis, ut rebantur,[5] deis M. Claudius Marcellus ab Ostia mille et quingentos milites, quos in classem scriptos habebat, Romam, ut urbi praesidio essent, mittit; ipse, legione classica—ea legio tertia erat—cum tribunis militum Teanum Sidicinum praemissa, classe tradita P. Furio Philo collegae, paucos post dies Canusium magnis itineribus contendit. Inde [6] dictator ex auctoritate patrum dictus M.[7] Iunius et Ti. Sempronius [8] magister equitum dilectu edicto iuniores ab annis septendecim et quosdam praetextatos scribunt. Quattuor ex his legiones et mille equites effecti. Item ad socios Latinumque nomen ad milites ex formula accipiendos mittunt. Arma, tela, alia parari iubent et vetera spolia hostium detrahunt templis porticibusque. Et formam [9] novi dilectus inopia liberorum

[1] Gallus et Galla ς: callus et galia (*corrected from* callus e galia) P^1: callus et galina P^2.
[2] terram *Duker*: terra *P*.
[3] consaeptum ς: consectum *P*.
[4] iam ante *Gronovius*: uiam ante P^1: ubi ante P^2.
[5] ut rebantur ς: uerebantur *P*.
[6] inde *Crévier*: in P^1: *deleted by* P^2.
[7] dictus M. *Aldine ed.*: dictum (*corr. from* ductum) P^1: dictus P^2.
[8] Ti. Sempronius *Sigonius*: t. sempronius *P*.
[9] et formam *Luchs*: et alia formam *P*: et aliam formam ς (*Madvig*).

man and woman and a Greek man and woman were B.C. 216
buried alive in the Cattle Market, in a place walled in with stone, which even before this time had been defiled with human victims, a sacrifice wholly alien to the Roman spirit.[1]

Deeming that the gods had now been sufficiently appeased, Marcus Claudius Marcellus sent fifteen hundred soldiers whom he had under him, enrolled for service with the fleet, from Ostia to Rome, to defend the City; and sending before him to Teanum Sidicinum the naval legion (to wit, the third[2]) under its tribunes, handed over the fleet to his colleague Publius Furius Philus and a few days later hastened by forced marches to Canusium. The senate then authorized the appointment of a dictator and Marcus Junius [Pera] was named to that office, with Tiberius Sempronius as master of the horse. Proclaiming a levy they enlisted the young men over seventeen and some who still wore the purple-bordered dress of boyhood. Of these they made up four legions and a thousand horse. They also sent men to the allies and the Latins to take over their soldiers, as by treaty provided. They gave orders that armour, weapons and other equipment should be made ready, and took down from the temples and porticoes the ancient spoils of enemies. The levy wore a strange appearance, for, owing to

[1] Livy means that the sacrifice, prescribed by the Greek Sibylline Books, was a Greek and not a Roman rite. The earlier instance referred to in the text was in 228 B.C. (Zonaras VIII. xix.).

[2] In chap. liii. § 2 the "third" legion is one of those which fought at Cannae. Possibly the naval legions were separately numbered, or (more probably) there had now been a new numbering of all the legions.

A.U.C. 538 capitum ac necessitas dedit: octo milia iuvenum validorum ex servitiis prius sciscitantes singulos, 12 vellentne militare, empta publice armaverunt. Hic miles magis placuit, cum pretio minore redimendi[1] captivos copia fieret.

LVIII. Namque Hannibal secundum tam prosperam ad Cannas pugnam victoris magis quam bellum gerentis intentus curis, cum captivis productis segregatisque socios, sicut ante ad Trebiam 2 Trasumennumque lacum, benigne adlocutus sine pretio dimisisset, Romanos quoque vocatos, quod nunquam alias antea, satis miti sermone adloquitur: 3 non internecivum sibi esse cum Romanis bellum; de dignitate atque imperio certare. Et patres virtuti Romanae cessisse, et se id adniti, ut suae 4 in vicem simul felicitati et virtuti cedatur. Itaque redimendi se captivis copiam facere; pretium fore in capita equiti quingenos quadrigatos nummos, trecenos pediti, servo centenos.[2]

5 Quamquam aliquantum adiciebatur equitibus ad id pretium quo pepigerant dedentes se, laeti tamen quamcumque condicionem paciscendi acceperunt. 6 Placuit suffragio ipsorum decem deligi qui Romam ad senatum irent, nec pignus aliud fidei quam ut 7 iurarent se redituros acceptum. Missus cum his Carthalo, nobilis Carthaginiensis, qui, si forte ad

[1] redimendi ς: redime P^1: redimi P^2.
[2] centenos ς: centum P.

the scarcity of free men and the need of the hour, B.C. 216
they bought, with money from the treasury, eight thousand young and stalwart slaves and armed them, first asking each if he were willing to serve. They preferred these slaves for soldiers, though they might have redeemed the prisoners of war at less expense.

LVIII. For Hannibal, after his great victory at Cannae, had been more concerned with the projects of a conqueror than with those of one who was still waging war. Mustering the prisoners and dividing them into two groups, he addressed a few kindly words to the allies and dismissed them without ransom, as he had done previously at the Trebia and Lake Trasumennus. He then called up the Romans also and spoke to them with a mildness he had never shown before. He was waging, he said, no war of extermination with them, but was contending for honour and dominion. His forerunners had yielded to the valour of the Romans, and he was striving to compel them in their turn to yield to his own good fortune and valour. He would therefore give them an opportunity to redeem the prisoners, and would fix their ransom at five hundred chariot-pieces for each horseman, three hundred for each foot-soldier, and a hundred for each slave.

Although this was a rather large addition to the ransom which the horsemen had agreed to on surrendering, they joyfully accepted any terms of treaty. It was resolved that the prisoners should themselves elect ten representatives to go to the senate in Rome; nor did Hannibal take any other pledge of their good faith than their oath that they would return. Carthalo, a Carthaginian noble, was sent with them, so that, if he should see that the

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pacem inclinare cerneret animos,[1] condiciones ferret. 8 Cum egressi castris essent, unus ex iis, minime Romani ingenii homo, veluti[2] aliquid oblitus, iuris iurandi solvendi causa cum in castra redisset, ante 9 noctem comites adsequitur. Ubi Romam venire eos nuntiatum est, Carthaloni obviam lictor missus qui dictatoris verbis denuntiaret[3] ut ante noctem excederet finibus Romanis.

LIX. Legatis captivorum senatus ab dictatore datus est. Quorum princeps "M. Iuni vosque,[4] patres conscripti," inquit, "nemo nostrum ignorat nulli unquam civitati viliores fuisse captivos quam 2 nostrae; ceterum, nisi nobis plus iusto nostra placet causa, non alii unquam minus neglegendi vobis quam 3 nos[5] in hostium potestatem venerunt. Non enim in acie per timorem arma tradidimus, sed cum prope ad noctem superstantes cumulis caesorum corporum proelium extraxissemus, in castra recepimus nos; 4 diei reliquum ac noctem insequentem fessi labore 5 ac volneribus vallum sumus tutati; postero die, cum circumsessi ab exercitu victore aqua arceremur nec ulla iam per confertos hostes erumpendi spes esset, nec esse nefas duceremus quinquaginta milibus hominum ex acie nostra trucidatis aliquem ex 6 Cannensi pugna Romanum militem restare, tunc demum pacti sumus pretium quo redempti dimitteremur; arma, in quibus nihil iam auxilii erat, hosti 7 tradidimus. Maiores quoque acceperamus se a Gallis

[1] inclinare cerneret animos *Koch*: inclinaret animos *P*.
[2] veluti *Alschefski*: uelutillut *P*: uelut *C*.
[3] denuntiaret *Luchs*: nuntiaret *P*.
[4] Iuni vosque *Harant*: iuniusque P^1: iunius P^2.
[5] nos ς; alios *P*.

Romans inclined to peace, he might offer terms. B.C. 216
The envoys had just left the camp when one of them, a fellow of thoroughly un-Roman character, returned to it—as if he had forgotten something—in order to free himself from his oath, and before dark had caught up with his companions. When the news reached Rome that they were coming, a lictor was sent to meet Carthalo on the way and warn him in the name of the Dictator to depart before nightfall out of Roman territory.

LIX. As for the envoys of the prisoners, the dictator admitted them into the senate, where their leader spoke as follows: "Marcus Junius and Conscript Fathers, none of us is unaware that no state ever held prisoners of war in less esteem than ours. But, unless we overrate our cause, there have never been men who came into the power of the enemy less deserving than ourselves of your neglect. For we did not yield up our swords through fear on the field of battle, but standing on the heaped bodies of the slain prolonged the combat almost until nightfall and then retired to our camp. The rest of the day and the succeeding night, though exhausted with fighting and with wounds, we defended the stockade. On the following day, surrounded by a victorious army and cut off from water, having no longer any hope of breaking through the throng of enemies, and thinking it no disgrace that when fifty thousand of our troops had been cut down, some few Roman soldiers should survive the battle of Cannae, we finally stipulated for a price at which we might be ransomed, and delivered to the enemy the arms in which there was no longer any help. Even our ancestors—so we had heard—redeemed

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auro redemisse, et patres vestros, asperrimos illos ad condiciones[1] pacis, legatos tamen captivorum[2]
8 redimendorum gratia Tarentum misisse. Atqui et ad Alliam[3] cum Gallis et ad Heracleam cum Pyrrho utraque non tam clade infamis quam pavore et fuga pugna fuit. Cannenses campos acervi Romanorum corporum tegunt, nec supersumus pugnae, nisi in quibus trucidandis et ferrum et vires hostem de-
9 fecerunt. Sunt etiam de nostris quidam qui ne in acie quidem fuerunt,[4] sed praesidio castris relicti, cum castra traderentur, in potestatem hostium venerunt.
10 Haud equidem ullius civis et commilitonis fortunae aut condicioni invideo nec premendo alium me extulisse velim;—ne illi quidem, nisi pernicitatis pedum et cursus aliquod praemium est, qui plerique inermes ex acie fugientes non prius quam Venusiae aut Canusi constiterunt, se nobis merito praetulerint gloriatique sint in se plus quam in nobis praesidii
11 rei publicae esse. Sed et illis[5] bonis ac fortibus militibus utemini et nobis etiam promptioribus pro patria, cum[6] beneficio vestro redempti atque in
12 patriam restituti fuerimus. Dilectum ex omni aetate et fortuna habetis; octo milia servorum audio armari. Non minor numerus noster est, nec maiore pretio redimi possumus quam ii emuntur; nam si conferam nos cum illis, iniuriam nomini

[1] condiciones *C*: condicione *P*.
[2] captivorum ς; ad captiuorum *P*.
[3] ad Alliam *Gronovius*: aliam *P*.
[4] fuerunt *Alschefski and Madvig*: refugerunt *P*.
[5] et illis *Crévier*: illis et *P*: illis et nobis *Heerwagen*.
[6] cum *Luchs*: quod *P*.

themselves from the Gauls with gold; and your B.C. 216
fathers, despite their fierce opposition to terms of peace, sent envoys to Tarentum to ransom prisoners. And yet neither the battle with the Gauls at the Allia nor that with Pyrrhus at Heraclea owed its unhappy fame so much to carnage as to craven flight. At Cannae the plains are covered with heaps of Roman corpses, and if we survive, it is only because our enemies' swords were dulled and their strength spent with slaughtering. There are some of us, too, who were never even in the battle, but were left to guard the camp, and on its surrender passed into the enemy's hands. Think not that I envy the good luck or circumstances of any fellow citizen or fellow soldier,[1] nor would I raise myself by thrusting another down; but—unless there be a prize for fleetness of foot and running—it is not those who, without weapons for the most part and fleeing from the fight, never stopped until they reached Venusia or Canusium that can justly set themselves above us or boast that they are better defenders of the state than we. Both in them and in us you shall have good and valiant soldiers; but we shall be even more eager than they to defend our country, since we shall owe to your kindness our redemption and our restoration to that country. You are levying soldiers of every age and condition; I hear that eight thousand slaves are being armed. Our number is not less than that, and our ransom would be no more costly than their purchase; I make no comparison between our worth and theirs, for that would be to insult the name of

[1] *i.e.* in one of the contingents of allies—the distinction is not between civilian and soldier, but between citizen soldier and allied soldier.

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13 Romano faciam. Illud etiam in tali consilio animadvertendum vobis censeam, patres conscripti, si iam[1] duriores esse velitis—quod nullo nostro merito
14 faciatis—cui[2] nos hosti relicturi sitis. Pyrrho videlicet, qui hospitum[3] numero captivos habuit? An barbaro ac Poeno, qui utrum avarior an crudelior sit
15 vix existimari potest? Si videatis catenas squalorem deformitatem civium vestrorum, non minus profecto vos ea species moveat quam si ex altera parte cernatis stratas Cannensibus campis legiones
16 vestras. Intueri potestis sollicitudinem et lacrimas in vestibulo curiae stantium cognatorum nostrorum exspectantiumque responsum vestrum. Cum ii pro nobis proque iis qui absunt ita suspensi ac solliciti sint, quem censetis animum ipsorum esse quorum in
17 discrimine vita libertasque est?[4] Si, me dius fidius, ipse in nos mitis Hannibal contra naturam suam esse velit, nihil tamen nobis vita opus esse censeamus, cum indigni ut redimeremur vobis[5] visi
18 simus.[6] Rediere Romam quondam[7] remissi a Pyrrho sine pretio captivi,[8] sed rediere cum legatis, primoribus civitatis, ad redimendos sese missis; redeam ego in patriam trecentis nummis non aestimatus civis? Suum quisque habet animum,[9] patres
19 conscripti. Scio in discrimine esse vitam corpusque meum: magis me famae periculum movet, ne a vobis

[1] iam *Valla*: tam *P*: tamen ς: *deleted by Sigonius.*
[2] cui ς: quin *P*.
[3] hospitum *Bauer and Fabri*: uos hospitum *P*: velut hospitum *Meyerhoefer*.
[4] est? ς: estse|||P^1: esset P^2: est? sed *Alschefski.*
[5] vobis *Madvig*: a uobis *P*.
[6] simus *Muretus*: sumus *P*.
[7] quondam ς: quam *P*.
[8] captivi *C. Heraeus*: captiti P^1: capti *P*.

Roman. One other point I would suggest, as meriting B.C. 216
consideration, when you deliberate about this matter, Conscript Fathers: if haply you should incline to deal harshly by us—which we do not in the least deserve—to what enemy would you be leaving us? To a Pyrrhus, pray, who treated his prisoners like guests? or to a barbarian and Phoenician, of whom it can hardly be determined whether his avarice or cruelty be greater? If you could behold the fetters, the squalor, the degradation of your fellow-citizens, assuredly the sight would move you no less profoundly than if, on the other hand, you saw your legions lying slaughtered on the fields of Cannae. One thing you can see—the distress and tears of our kinsmen who are standing at the entrance of the Curia awaiting your decision. When these people are in such suspense and agony for us and for those who are absent, what think you the men themselves must feel whose life and liberty are hanging in the balance? If Hannibal—Heaven help me!—should himself be pleased, against his nature, to show us mercy, we should nevertheless deem life a worthless boon, if we had seemed to you unworthy of being ransomed. There once came back to Rome some prisoners whom Pyrrhus had allowed to go scot-free; but they came back in company with envoys, the first men of the state, whom you had sent to ransom them. Am I to come back to my country as a citizen not reckoned to be worth three hundred pieces? Every man, Conscript Fathers, has his own way of thinking. I know that my life and person are in jeopardy; but I am troubled more by the danger to my honour—lest we depart under your

[9] habet animum *s*: animum *P*.

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damnati ac repulsi abeamus; neque enim vos pretio pepercisse homines credent."

LX. Ubi is finem fecit, extemplo ab ea turba quae in comitio erat clamor flebilis est sublatus, manusque ad curiam tendebant orantes ut sibi 2 liberos fratres cognatos redderent. Feminas quoque metus ac necessitas in foro[1] turbae virorum immiscuerat. Senatus summotis arbitris consuli coep- 3 tus. Ibi cum sententiis variaretur, et alii redimendos de publico, alii nullam publice impensam faciendam, 4 nec prohibendos ex privato redimi; si quibus argentum in praesentia deesset, dandam ex aerario pecuniam mutuam praedibusque ac praediis caven- 5 dum populo censerent; tum T. Manlius Torquatus, priscae ac nimis durae, ut plerisque videbatur,[2] severitatis, interrogatus sententiam ita locutus fertur: 6 "Si tantummodo postulassent legati pro iis qui in hostium potestate sunt, ut redimerentur, sine ullius insectatione eorum brevi sententiam pere- 7 gissem; quid enim aliud quam admonendi essetis, ut morem traditum a patribus necessario ad rem militarem exemplo servaretis? Nunc autem, cum prope gloriati sint quod se hostibus dediderint, praeferrique non captis modo in acie ab hostibus, sed etiam iis[3] qui Venusiam Canusiumque pervene-

[1] in foro *Gronovius*: in foro ac *P*: foro ac *Koehler*: in foro ac comitio *M. Mueller*: *deleted by Voss.*

[2] videbatur ς (*Madvig*) · uideuatur P^2: uideatur P^1.

[3] iis ς: ab iis *P*.

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[1] The Comitium was an open area next to the Curia. Here stood the male relatives of the prisoners, and on the outskirts of the crowd (in the Forum, which lay just beyond the Comitium and sometimes, as in this sentence, is thought of as including it) their wives and mothers. The children

condemnation and rebuff; for the world will never B.C. 216
believe that you were niggardly about the cost."

LX. As soon as he had finished speaking, the throng in the Comitium began to utter doleful cries, and holding out their hands to the Curia besought the senators to give them back their sons, their brothers, and their kinsmen. Even the women had been driven by their fear and destitute condition to mingle in the Forum with the crowd of men.[1] The senate was cleared of strangers and the debate began. Opinions differed. Some were for ransoming the prisoners at the public cost; others would have no money disbursed by the state, but would not prohibit ransoming at the expense of individuals, and to such as might not have the money in hand proposed to grant loans from the treasury, guarding the people against loss by taking sureties and mortgages. Then Titus Manlius Torquatus, a man of an old-fashioned and, as it seemed to many, a too harsh austerity, was called upon for his opinion and spoke as follows:

"If, in pleading the cause of those who are in the hands of our enemies, their representatives had been content to ask that they be ransomed, I should have said my say in a few words, without reflecting upon any of them; for what else need I have done than warn you to hold fast to the tradition of our fathers and teach a lesson necessary for military discipline? But as it is, since they have almost boasted of having surrendered to the enemy, and have held that they are to be preferred not only to those who were captured by the enemy in battle, but also to those who made their way to Venusia and Canusium, and

[1] were not admitted even to the Forum, as Livy implies when in the foregoing sentence in the text he omits the word *patres*.

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runt, atque ipsi C. Terentio consuli aequum censuerint, nihil vos eorum, patres conscripti, quae illic
8 acta sunt ignorare patiar. Atque utinam haec quae apud vos acturus sum Canusi apud ipsum exercitum agerem, optimum testem ignaviae cuiusque et virtutis, aut unus hic saltem adesset P. Sempronius, quem si isti ducem secuti essent, milites hodie in castris Romanis, non captivi in hostium
9 potestate essent. Sed[1] cum, fessis pugnando hostibus tum victoria laetis, et ipsis plerisque regressis in castra sua, noctem ad erumpendum liberam habuissent, et septem milia[2] armatorum hominum erumpere etiam per confertos[3] hostes possent, neque per se ipsi id facere conati sunt
10 neque alium sequi voluerunt. Nocte prope tota P. Sempronius Tuditanus non destitit monere, adhortari eos, dum paucitas hostium circa castra, dum quies ac silentium esset, dum nox inceptum tegere posset, se ducem sequerentur: ante lucem pervenire
11 in tuta loca, in sociorum urbes posse. Si ut avorum memoria P. Decius tribunus militum in Samnio, si ut[4] nobis adulescentibus priore Punico bello M. Calpurnius Flamma[5] trecentis voluntariis, cum ad tumulum eos capiendum situm inter medios duceret hostes, dixit: 'Moriamur, milites, et morte nostra eripiamus ex obsidione circumventas legiones,'
12 —si hoc P. Sempronius diceret, nec viros equidem nec Romanos vos ducerem,[6] si nemo tantae virtutis

[1] sed *Gronovius*: et *P.*
[2] septem millia ς: septem *P.*
[3] per confertos *Alschefski*: confertos *P.*
[4] si ut . . . si ut *Madvig*: sicut . . . sicut *P.*
[5] M. Calpurnius Flamma *H. J. Mueller*: calpurnius flamma *P.*
[6] equidem . . . ducerem *Koch*: quidem . . . duceret *P.*

even to the consul, Gaius Terentius himself, I will B.C. 216
not permit you to be ignorant, Conscript Fathers, of any part of their conduct there. And I wish that what I am going to say to you I might say at Canusium in the presence of the army itself, the most competent witness to any man's cowardice or valour, or that Sempronius, at least, were with us here, whose leadership if yonder men had followed, they would to-day be soldiers in a Roman camp, not prisoners in the hands of our enemies. But when the enemy, worn out with fighting, and rejoicing in their victory, had themselves for the most part gone back to their own camp and left the night free for a sally; though seven thousand armed men could have forced their way even through a close array of foes, they neither attempted to do this of themselves, nor yet were willing to follow another. During almost all that night Publius Sempronius Tuditanus ceased not to admonish and exhort them to let him lead them, while only a few of their enemies were near the camp, while everything was hushed and still, while the darkness might afford a cover for their enterprise. Before daylight, he declared, they could reach a place of safety among the towns of the allies. If he had said what, within the recollection of our grandsires, Publius Decius, tribune of the soldiers, said in Samnium; or what Marcus Calpurnius Flamma said, when we ourselves were young men, in the former Punic war, to three hundred volunteers whom he was leading to take a hill that rose in the very midst of the enemy: 'Soldiers, let us die, and by our death set free the beleaguered legions'—if Publius Sempronius had said *this*, I should have deemed you no true men, to say nothing of Romans,

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13 exstitisset comes. Viam non ad gloriam magis quam ad salutem ferentem demonstrat; reduces [1] in patriam ad parentes ad coniuges ac liberos facit. 14 Ut servemini deest vobis animus; quid, si moriendum pro patria esset, faceretis? Quinquaginta milia civium sociorumque circa vos eo ipso die caesa iacent. Si tot exempla virtutis non movent, nihil unquam movebit; si tanta clades vilem [2] vitam non 15 fecit, nulla faciet. Liberi atque incolumes desiderate patriam; immo desiderate, dum patria est, dum cives eius estis. Sero [3] nunc desideratis, deminuti capite, abalienati iure civium, servi Carthaginiensium 16 facti. Pretio redituri estis eo unde ignavia ac nequitia abistis? P. Sempronium, civem vestrum, non audistis arma capere ac sequi se iubentem: [4] Hannibalem post paulo audistis castra prodi et arma 17 tradi iubentem.[5] Quamquam [6] quid ego [7] ignaviam istorum accuso, cum scelus possim accusare? Non modo enim sequi recusarunt bene monentem, sed obsistere ac retinere conati sunt, ni strictis gladiis viri fortissimi inertes summovissent. Prius, inquam, P. Sempronio per civium agmen quam per hostium 18 fuit erumpendum. Hos cives patria desideret? Quorum si ceteri similes fuissent, neminem hodie ex 19 iis qui ad Cannas pugnaverunt, civem haberet. Ex

[1] demonstrat; reduces *Lipsius*: demonstraret duces *P.*
[2] uilem ς: uelem P^1: inuelem P^2.
[3] sero ς: desero *P.*
[4] iubentem ς: iuuentem P^2: iuuentutem P^1.
[5] iubentem ς: iuuentutem *P.*
[6] quamquam *Ussing*: quam *P.*
[7] quid ego *Weissenborn*: ego *P.*

if none had come forward to share so brave an exploit. B.C. 216
But instead he points out to you a road that leads to safety as surely as to fame. He proposes to restore you to your country, to your parents, to your wives and children. You lack even the spirit to be saved! What would you do then if your country called on you to die? Fifty thousand fellow Romans and allies lay slaughtered round you that very day. If so many brave examples could not move you, nothing ever will. If that dreadful carnage has not made life cheap, none ever will. Long for your country, whilst you are free and unattainted. Nay, rather, long for it whilst it *is* your country, whilst you are reckoned with its citizens. Too late now is your longing; you have forfeited your status, lost your civic rights, been made slaves of the Carthaginians. Do you think to return, for ransom, to that condition which you forfeited by cowardice and turpitude? You would not listen to Publius Sempronius, your fellow citizen, when he bade you arm and follow him; but you listened to Hannibal a little later, when he bade you betray the camp and surrender your arms. But why do I charge these men with cowardice when I could bring against them a charge of crime? For not only did they refuse to follow a man who gave them good advice, but they tried to thwart and hinder him; and those heroic men were forced to draw their swords and thrust the cowards from their path. Aye, Publius Sempronius must needs break through a band of Roman citizens before he could break through their enemies! Can their country wish to recover such citizens as these? If the others had resembled these, she would possess to-day no single citizen of all those who fought at Cannae. Out of

A.U.C. 538 milibus septem armatorum sescenti exstiterunt qui erumpere auderent, qui in patriam liberi atque armati redirent, neque his sescentis[1] hostes ob-
20 stitere : quam tutum iter duarum prope legionum agmini futurum censetis fuisse? Haberetis hodie viginti milia armatorum Canusi fortia fidelia, patres conscripti. Nunc autem quem ad modum hi boni fidelesque—nam fortes ne ipsi quidem dixerint—
21 cives esse possunt? Nisi quis credere potest adfuisse[2] erumpentibus, qui, ne erumperent, obsistere conati sunt ; aut non invidere eos cum incolumitati, tum gloriae illorum per virtutem partae, cum sibi timorem ignaviamque servitutis ignominiosae causam
22 esse sciant. Maluerunt in tentoriis latentes simul lucem atque hostem exspectare, cum silentio noctis erumpendi occasio esset. At enim ad[3] erumpendum e castris defuit animus, ad tutanda fortiter castra
23 animum habuerunt ; dies noctesque aliquot obsessi vallum armis,[4] se ipsi tutati vallo sunt ; tandem ultima ausi passique, cum omnia subsidia vitae deessent[5] adfectisque fame viribus arma iam sustinere nequirent, necessitatibus magis humanis quam
24 armis victi sunt. Orto sole hostis ad vallum accessit ;[6] ante secundam horam, nullam fortunam certaminis experti, tradiderunt arma ac se ipsos.

[1] sescentis (sex-) *Ingerslev* (*Madvig*) : sexcentis milia ς : sescenta milia *P*.
[2] adfuisse *Luchs* : fuisse ut *P* : fuisse utiles *Koch*.
[3] at enim ad ς : ad *P*.
[4] armis *Gronovius* : arma *P*.
[5] deessent ς : abdesunt P^1 : desunt P^2.
[6] hostis . . . accessit ς : ab hostibus . . . accessit *P*.

seven thousand soldiers, six hundred were sufficiently B.C. 216
courageous to force their way through and return to their country, free and armed. Nor did these six hundred encounter any opposition from the enemy; how safe then, think you, would have been their march, if they had amounted almost to two legions? You would have to-day under arms at Canusium, Conscript Fathers, twenty thousand brave and loyal men. But how can these men now be good and loyal citizens—for they themselves would hardly claim to be brave? Unless we are to believe that they helped their comrades to sally out, when in fact they tried to prevent the sally; or that they grudge not those men both the safety and the renown their courage has earned them, knowing, as they do, that fear and cowardice are the cause of their own disgraceful servitude. They had a good chance of escaping in the silence of the night, but preferred to hide in their tents and await both the day and the enemy. But perhaps, though they lacked the courage to sally forth, they had courage enough for a valiant defence of the camp? Perhaps they were besieged for several days and nights, and protected the rampart with their swords, and themselves with the rampart? and finally, after suffering the last extremities, when every support of life gave out and their strength was so impaired with hunger that they could now no longer hold up their shields, they were overcome by the necessities of human nature and not by arms? Nay, the sun was up when the enemy approached the rampart, and the day was not two hours old when, without once putting their fortune to the test of battle, they surrendered both their arms and their persons. Such, mark you, were

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25 Haec vobis istorum[1] per biduum militia fuit. Cum in acie[2] stare ac pugnare decuerat,[3] in castra[4] refugerunt; cum pro vallo pugnandum erat, castra tradiderunt, neque in acie neque in castris utiles.
26 Et vos[5] redimamus? Cum erumpere e castris oportet, cunctamini ac manetis; cum manere et[6] castra tutari armis necesse est, et castra et arma
27 et vos ipsos traditis hosti. Ego non magis istos redimendos, patres conscripti, censeo quam illos dedendos Hannibali qui per medios hostes e castris eruperunt ac per summam virtutem se patriae restituerunt."

LXI. Postquam Manlius dixit, quamquam patrum quoque plerosque captivi cognatione attingebant, praeter exemplum civitatis minime in captivos iam inde antiquitus indulgentis, pecuniae quoque summa
2 homines movit, quia[7] nec aerarium exhauriri,[8] magna iam summa erogata in servos ad militiam emendos armandosque, nec Hannibalem maxime huiusce rei,
3 ut fama erat, egentem locupletari volebant. Cum triste responsum, non redimi captivos, redditum

[1] istorum *Weissenborn*: ipsorum *P*.
[2] in acie ς: acie *P*.
[3] decuerat ς: decuerit *P*.
[4] in castra *Luchs*: cum in castra *P*.
[5] et vos *Alschefski*: quos *P*: uos ς.
[6] manere et ς: manere *P*.
[7] quia ς: quam *P*: qua ς.
[8] exhauriri *C. Heraeus*: exaurire *P*.

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[1] But the senate could not keep Hannibal from making money out of his prisoners. When the senate would not ransom them, he sold them into slavery, and Polybius (see Livy XXXIV. 1. 6) told how, in 194 B.C., at the request of Flamininus, the Greek states bought up and liberated a

the exploits these men performed during two days. B.C. 216
When they ought to have stood fast in the line and fought, they fled to their tents; when they ought to have fought for their stockade, they surrendered the camp, worthless alike in the field and behind entrenchments. And you would have us ransom you? When it is time to sally from your camp, you hesitate and stop there; when it is needful that you stop and defend it with your swords, you hand over camp and swords and your own bodies to the enemy! No, Conscript Fathers, I would no more vote for ransoming these men than I would for giving those others up to Hannibal, who forced their way from the camp through the midst of enemies, and, by exerting the utmost valour, gave themselves back to their country."

LXI. After the speech of Manlius, though most of the senators, too, had relatives amongst the prisoners, yet, besides the example of a state which had shown from of old the scantiest consideration for prisoners of war, they were also moved by the greatness of the sum required, not wishing either to exhaust the treasury, on which they had already made a heavy draft to purchase slaves and arm them for service, or to furnish Hannibal with money[1]— the one thing of which he was rumoured to stand most in need. When the stern reply, that the prisoners would not be ransomed, had gone forth,

great number of Roman prisoners who had been purchased from Hannibal. No less than twelve hundred were freed by the Achaeans alone, at a cost to their state of one hundred talents. Valerius Maximus (v. ii. 6), puts the whole number at two thousand, and doubtless thousands more had died in the course of twenty-two years.

A.U.C. 538

esset, novusque super veterem luctus tot iactura civium adiectus esset, cum magnis fletibus questi-
4 busque legatos ad portam prosecuti sunt. Unus ex iis domum abiit, quod fallaci reditu in castra iure iurando se exsolvisset. Quod ubi innotuit relatumque ad senatum est, omnes censuerunt comprehendendum et custodibus publice datis deducendum ad Hannibalem esse.
5 Est et alia de captivis fama: decem primo legatos[1] venisse; de eis cum dubitatum in senatu esset, admitterentur in urbem necne, ita admissos esse ne
6 tamen iis senatus daretur; morantibus deinde longius omnium spe alios tres insuper legatos venisse, L.
7 Scribonium et C. Calpurnium et L. Manlium; tum demum ab cognato Scriboni tribuno plebis de redimendis captivis relatum esse nec censuisse redimendos senatum; et novos legatos tres ad Hannibalem
8 revertisse, decem veteres remansisse, quod per causam recognoscendi nomina captivorum ad Hannibalem ex itinere regressi religione sese exsolvissent; de iis dedendis magna contentione actum in senatu esse, victosque paucis sententiis qui dedendos cen-
9 suerint; ceterum proximis censoribus adeo omnibus notis ignominiisque confectos esse ut quidam eorum

[1] primo legatos *Luchs*: primos *P*: primo *Woelfflin*.

---

[1] This seems to be a fusion of the account preserved by Appian (*Hann.* 28), where the number of envoys is given as three, with the commoner version of the story, which speaks of ten. The combination may have been made by the C. Acilius who wrote a history in Greek in which he told of the battle of Cannae (Cicero, *De Officiis* III. 115), and is perhaps the man whose name is given by the MSS. of the Summary of Book LIII. as c. iulius (cf. Schanz-Hosius, *Römische Literaturgeschichte*, I.[4], p. 177).

and fresh sorrow had been added to the old, at the B.C. 216
loss of so many of their fellow-citizens, the crowd attended the envoys to the gate with many tears and lamentations. One of them departed to his home, pretending to have freed himself from his oath when he deceitfully returned to the enemy's camp. As soon as this became known and was reported to the senators, they voted unanimously to arrest him and appointed guards to conduct him back to Hannibal.

There is also another account[1] of the prisoners of war: that ten envoys came at first, and that the senate, after hesitating whether or no to admit them to the City, admitted them, with the proviso that they should have no hearing. Later, on their delaying longer than anybody had anticipated, three additional envoys came, namely Lucius Scribonius and Gaius Calpurnius and Lucius Manlius; then at last a motion was made in the senate by a kinsman of Scribonius, who was tribune of plebs,[2] that the prisoners be ransomed, but the motion was defeated; the three new envoys now returned to Hannibal, but the original ten remained in Rome, alleging that they had freed themselves of their obligation by going back to Hannibal's camp, after starting on their journey, under the pretext of reviewing the prisoners' names. A proposal to surrender them was hotly debated in the senate and was lost by only a few votes. However, under the next censors the ten were so overwhelmed with every species of reprobation and disgrace that some of them killed themselves forthwith, and the rest

[2] This was probably the L. Scribonius Libo mentioned at XXIII. XXI. 6.

A.U.C. 538 mortem sibi ipsi extemplo consciverint, ceteri non foro solum omni deinde vita, sed prope luce ac
10 publico caruerint. Mirari magis adeo discrepare inter auctores quam quid veri sit discernere queas.

Quanto autem maior ea clades superioribus cladibus fuerit, vel[1] ea res indicio est, quod fides sociorum,[2] quae ad eam[3] diem firma steterat, tum labare[4] coepit, nulla profecto alia de re quam quod desperaverant de imperio. Defecere autem ad Poenos hi
11 populi: Campani, Atellani,[5] Calatini, Hirpini, Apulorum pars, Samnites praeter Pentros, Bruttii omnes,
12 Lucani, praeter hos Uzentini et Graecorum omnis ferme ora, Tarentini, Metapontini, Crotonienses
13 Locrique, et Cisalpini omnes Galli. Nec tamen eae clades defectionesque sociorum moverunt ut pacis usquam[6] mentio apud Romanos fieret, neque ante consulis Romam adventum nec postquam is rediit
14 renovavitque memoriam acceptae cladis; quo in tempore ipso adeo magno animo civitas fuit ut consuli ex tanta clade, cuius ipse causa maxima fuisset, redeunti et obviam itum frequenter ab omnibus ordinibus sit et gratiae actae quod de re publica
15 non desperasset; qui si Carthaginiensium ductor fuisset, nihil recusandum supplicii foret.

[1] vel ς: uelde *P*.
[2] indicio est, quod fides sociorum *Alschefski*: indiciorum *P*.
[3] ad eam ς: eadem *P*.
[4] labare ς: laborare *P*: labrare ς.
[5] Campani, Atellani *Weissenborn*: atellani *P*.
[6] usquam *P*: umquam ς.

---

[1] This list includes all the peoples of Italy who revolted at one time or another during the war with Hannibal.
[2] An allusion to the alleged Carthaginian custom of

during all the remainder of their lives avoided not B.C. 216
only the Forum, but, one might almost say, the light of day and the public streets. It is more amazing that the authorities should be so divergent than easy to make out the truth.

For the rest, how greatly this disaster exceeded those that had gone before is plain from this: the loyalty of the allies, which had held firm until the day of Cannae, now began to waver, assuredly for no other reason than because they had lost all hope of the empire. Now these are the peoples that revolted: the Campanians, the Atellani, the Calatini, the Hirpini, a part of the Apulians, all the Samnites but the Pentri, all the Bruttii, the Lucanians, and besides these the Uzentini and almost all the Greeks on the coast, the Tarentines, the Metapontines, the Crotoniates and the Locri, together with all the Cisalpine Gauls.[1] Yet these disasters and the falling away of the allies could not induce the Romans anywhere to mention peace, either before the consul came to Rome or after his coming had turned men's thoughts anew to the calamity which they had suffered. In that very hour there was such courage in the hearts of the citizens that when the consul was returning from that defeat for which he himself had been chiefly responsible, a crowd of all sorts and conditions went out to meet him on the way, and gave him thanks because he had not despaired of the state; whereas, had he been the commander of the Carthaginians, there was no punishment he would not have been compelled to suffer.[2]

crucifying incompetent generals. See XXXVIII. xlviii. 13 and Valerius Maximus II. vii. *Ext.* 1.

LIBRI XXII PERIOCHA

HANNIBAL per continuas vigilias in paludibus oculo amisso in Etruriam venit; per quas paludes quadriduo et tribus noctibus sine ulla requie iter fecit. C. Flaminius consul, homo temerarius, contra auspicia profectus, signis militaribus effossis, quae tolli non poterant, et ab equo quem conscenderat per caput devolutus, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventus ad Thrasymennum lacum cum exercitu caesus est. Sex milia, quae eruperant, fide ab Atherbale[1] data perfidia Hannibalis vincta sunt. Cum ad nuntium cladis Romae luctus esset, duae matres ex insperato receptis filiis gaudio mortuae sunt. Ob hanc cladem ex Sibyllinis libris ver sacrum votum.

Cum deinde Q. Fabius Maximus dictator adversus Hannibalem missus nollet acie cum eo confligere, ne contra ferocem tot victoriis hostem territos[2] adversis proeliis milites pugnae[3] committeret, et opponendo se tantum conatus Hannibalis impediret, M. Minucius magister equitum, ferox et temerarius, criminando dictatorem tamquam segnem et timidum effecit ut populi iussu aequaretur ei cum dictatore imperium; divisoque exercitu cum iniquo loco conflixisset et in magno discrimine legiones eius essent, superveniente cum exercitu Fabio Maximo liberatus est. Quo beneficio victus castra

[1] ab atherbale (*or* attherbale) *MSS.*: a Maharbale *Cod. Leidensis and ed. prin.* (*to agree with Liv.* XXII. vi. 11).

[2] hostem territos *edd.* (*after* hostem territum . . . militem *of the Aldine ed.*): hostem *MSS.*

[3] pugnae *cod. Vossianus and ed. prin.*: pugnare *MSS.*

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[1] See note on text.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXII

HANNIBAL, losing sleep continuously in the marshes, went blind in one eye, and reached Etruria after marching through the swamps for four days and three nights without repose. Gaius Flaminius the consul, a headstrong man, set out, against the warning of the auspices, after digging out the military standards which they had been unable to pull up, and after the horse which he had mounted had thrown him over its head; and, entrapped by Hannibal in an ambush at Lake Thrasymennus, was slain and his army cut to pieces. Six thousand men who had broken through the enemy's lines were thrown into chains through Hannibal's perfidy, notwithstanding the pledge which Atherbal[1] had given them. While the Romans were mourning at the tidings which had come of this calamity, two mothers died of joy on recovering the sons whom they had given up for lost. Because of this defeat a Sacred Spring was vowed, by the direction of the Sibylline Books.

When, after that, Quintus Fabius Maximus, who had been sent out as dictator to oppose Hannibal, was loath to meet him in the open field, for he would not trust his soldiers, who had been cowed by these defeats, in a battle with an enemy emboldened by his victories; and was satisfied merely to thwart the efforts of Hannibal, by blocking his way; Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, a rash and headstrong man, charging the dictator with sluggishness and timidity persuaded the people to decree that his own authority should be equal to that of the dictator. But, the army being divided between them, Minucius gave battle in an unfavourable position, and his legions were in great peril, when Fabius Maximus came up with his army and saved him. Won over by this generosity, he joined his camp to that of

cum eo iunxit et patrem eum salutavit idemque facere milites iussit.

Hannibal, vastata Campania inter Casilinum oppidum et Calliculam montem a Fabio clusus, sarmentis ad cornua boum alligatis et incensis praesidium Romanorum quod Calliculam insidebat fugavit et sic transgressus est saltum. Idemque Q. Fabi Maximi dictatoris, cum circumposita ureret, agro pepercit, ut illum tamquam proditorem suspectum faceret.

Aemilio deinde Paulo et Terentio Varrone consulibus ducibus[1] cum magna clade adversus Hannibalem ad Cannas pugnatum est, caesaque eo proelio Romanorum $\overline{\text{XLV}}$ cum Paulo consule et senatoribus XC et consularibus aut praetoriis aut aediliciis XXX. Post quae cum a nobilibus adulescentibus propter desperationem consilium de relinquenda Italia iniretur, P. Cornelius Scipio tribunus militum, qui Africanus postea vocatus est, stricto supra capita deliberantium ferro iuravit pro hoste se habiturum eum qui in verba sua non iurasset, effecitque ut omnes non relictum iri a se Italiam iure iurando adstringerentur.

Propter paucitatem militum $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ servorum armata sunt. Captivi, cum potestas esset redimendi, redempti non sunt.

Praeterea trepidationem urbis et luctum et res in Hispania meliore eventu gestas continet. Opimia et Florentia[2] virgines Vestales incesti damnatae sunt. Varroni obviam itum et gratiae actae, quod de re publica non desperasset.

[1] consulibus ducibus *Madvig*: consulibus et ducibus *MSS.*
[2] Florentia *MSS.*: Floronia *Liv.* XXII. lvii. 2.

Fabius, and, saluting him as his father, bade his army do the same.

Hannibal, after laying waste Campania, was penned in by Fabius between the town of Casilinum and Mount Callicula. Binding twigs about the horns of oxen and setting them on fire, he frightened off the detachment of Romans stationed on Callicula, and so marched over the pass. It was Hannibal, too, who spared the farm of Quintus Fabius Maximus the dictator, when burning all that country-side, in order to make him suspected of being a traitor.

Aemilius Paulus and Terentius Varro then became consuls and commanded the army which fought disastrously with Hannibal at Cannae. There were slain in that battle forty-five thousand Romans, including the consul Paulus, and ninety senators, and thirty others who had been consuls or praetors or aediles. After that some young nobles were plotting, in their despair, to abandon Italy, when Publius Cornelius Scipio, a tribune of the soldiers, who was later surnamed Africanus, held his drawn sword over the heads of the conspirators and vowing that he would treat as a public enemy whoever should not swear at his dictation, compelled them all to bind themselves with an oath not to abandon Italy.

There were so few soldiers that they armed eight thousand slaves. They were given an opportunity of ransoming the prisoners, but did not ransom them.

The book also describes the panic and grief in the City, and the operations, conducted more successfully, in Spain. The Vestals Opimia and Florentia were convicted of unchastity. The people went out to meet Varro, and thanked him because he had not despaired of the Republic.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES

VI

BOOKS XXIII—XXV

TRANSLATED BY

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXIII

A.U.C. 538

I. HANNIBAL[1] post Cannensem pugnam castraque[2] capta ac direpta confestim ex Apulia in Samnium moverat, accitus in Hirpinos a Statio Trebio[3] pollicente se Compsam traditurum. Compsanus erat Trebius nobilis inter suos; sed premebat eum Mopsiorum factio, familiae per gratiam Romanorum potentis. Post famam Cannensis pugnae volgatumque Trebi sermonibus adventum Hannibalis cum Mopsiani[4] urbe excessissent, sine certamine tradita urbs Poeno praesidiumque acceptum est. Ibi praeda omni atque impedimentis relictis, exercitu partito Magonem regionis eius urbes aut deficientis ab Romanis accipere aut detractantis cogere ad defectionem iubet, ipse per agrum Campanum mare inferum petit, oppugnaturus Neapolim, ut urbem maritimam haberet. Ubi fines Neapolitanorum

[1] Hannibal *Valla* : haec Hannibal *P*(1).
[2] castraque *Valla* : castra A^{xz} : binaque castra *Luchs* : *om.* *P*(1).
[3] Trebio *Gronovius* : *om.* *P*(1).
[4] Mopsiani *Gronovius* : compsam *P*(1).

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXIII

I. After the battle of Cannae and the capture and B.C. 216. plunder of the camps, Hannibal had moved at once out of Apulia into Samnium, being invited into the land of the Hirpini by Statius Trebius, who promised that he would turn over Compsa to him. Trebius was a Compsan of high rank among his people, but opposed by the party of the Mopsii, a family made powerful by the favour of the Romans. After the news of the battle of Cannae, and when the coming of Hannibal had been made known by utterances of Trebius, since the Mopsii had left the city, it was handed over to the Carthaginians without resistance and a garrison admitted. There Hannibal left all his booty and the baggage, divided his army, and ordered Mago either to take over such cities of that region as were deserting the Romans or to compel them to desert in case they refused. He himself made his way through the Campanian region to the Lower Sea,[1] intending to attack Neapolis, that he might have a seaport. On entering the territory of the

[1] *I.e.* the Tuscan Sea; cf. xxxviii. 1.

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intravit, Numidas partim in insidiis—et pleraeque cavae sunt viae sinusque occulti—quacumque apte poterat disposuit, alios prae se actam praedam ex
7 agris ostentantis obequitare portis iussit. In quos, quia nec multi et incompositi videbantur, cum turma equitum erupisset, ab cedentibus consulto tracta in
8 insidias circumventa est; nec evasisset quisquam, ni mare propinquum et haud procul litore naves, piscatoriae pleraeque, conspectae peritis nandi
9 dedissent effugium. Aliquot tamen eo proelio nobiles iuvenes capti caesique, inter quos et Hegeas, praefectus equitum, intemperantius cedentes secutus
10 occidit. Ab urbe oppugnanda Poenum absterruere conspecta moenia haudquaquam prompta oppugnanti.

II. Inde Capuam flectit iter luxuriantem longa felicitate atque indulgentia fortunae, maxime tamen inter corrupta omnia licentia plebis sine modo liber-
2 tatem exercentis. Senatum et sibi et plebi obnoxium Paeuvius Calavius fecerat, nobilis idem ac popularis
3 homo, ceterum malis artibus nanctus opes. Is cum eo forte anno quo res male gesta ad Trasumennum est in summo magistratu esset, iam diu infestam senatui plebem ratus per occasionem novandi res magnum ausuram facinus ut, si in ea loca Hannibal cum victore exercitu venisset, trucidato senatu traderet

[1] He was called *medix tuticus*; cf. xxxv. 13. For the defeat of Flaminius at the Trasumennus cf. XXII. iv ff.

Neapolitans, he stationed some of the Numidians in B.C. 216
ambush, wherever he conveniently could (and most of the roads are deep-cut and the turnings concealed). Other Numidians he ordered to ride up to the gates, making a display of the booty they were driving along before them from the farms. Against these men, because they seemed to be few in number and disorganized, a troop of cavalry made a sally, but being drawn into the ambush by the enemy's purposely retreating, it was overpowered. And not a man would have escaped if the proximity of the sea and the sight of vessels, chiefly of fishermen, not far from the shore had not given those who could swim a way of escape. However a number of young nobles were captured or slain in that battle, among them Hegeas, a cavalry commander, who fell as he rashly pursued the retreating. From besieging the city the Carthaginian was deterred by the sight of walls such as by no means invited an attacker.

II. Hannibal then directed his march to Capua, which was vegetating from long-continued prosperity and the favour of fortune, but, along with the general corruption, especially from the licence of the common people, who enjoyed an unlimited freedom. As for the senate, Pacuvius Calavius, a noble who was at the same time of the people's party, but had gained his influence by base arts, had made it subservient both to himself and to the common people. He, being in their highest office,[1] as it happened, in the year of the defeat at the Trasumennus, thought that the commons, long hostile to the senate, would use the opportunity of a revolution and dare to commit a great crime, namely, if Hannibal should come into the region with his victorious army, they would slay

A.U.C. 38

4 Capuam Poenis, improbus homo sed non ad extremum perditus, cum mallet incolumi quam eversa re publica dominari, nullam autem incolumem esse orbatam publico consilio crederet, rationem iniit qua et senatum servaret et obnoxium sibi ac plebi 5 faceret. Vocato senatu cum sibi defectionis ab Romanis consilium placiturum nullo modo, nisi 6 necessarium fuisset, praefatus esset, quippe qui liberos ex Appii Claudii filia haberet filiamque 7 Romam nuptum M. Livio dedisset; ceterum maiorem multo rem magisque timendam instare; non enim per defectionem ad tollendum ex civitate senatum plebem spectare, sed per eaedem senatus vacuam rem publicam tradere Hannibali ac Poenis velle; 8 eo se periculo posse liberare eos, si permittant sibi et certaminum in re publica obliti credant,—cum 9 omnes victi metu permitterent, "Claudam" inquit "in curia vos et, tamquam et ipse cogitati facinoris particeps, adprobando consilia quibus nequiquam adversarer, viam saluti vestrae inveniam. In hoc 10 fidem, quam voltis ipsi, accipite." Fide data egressus claudi curiam iubet, praesidiumque in vestibulo relinquit, ne quis adire curiam iniussu suo neve inde egredi possit.

III. Tum vocato ad contionem populo "Quod saepe" inquit "optastis, Campani, ut supplicii sumendi vobis ex improbo ac detestabili senatu

the senators and hand over Capua to the Cartha- B.C. 216
ginians. A bad man, but not utterly abandoned, he preferred to dominate a state still intact rather than one that had been wrecked, yet believed that none was intact if deprived of its deliberative body. He accordingly entered upon a scheme to save the senate and at the same time to make it submissive to himself and to the commons. Summoning the senate he began by saying that, unless it should prove necessary, a plan to revolt from the Romans would by no means have his approval, since he had children by a daughter of Appius Claudius and had given a daughter in marriage to Marcus Livius at Rome. But, he went on to say, something much more serious and more to be dreaded was impending; for the common people were not aiming to rid the state of the senate by a revolt, but by the massacre of the senate wished to hand over the republic, left helpless, to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. From that danger he could free them if they should leave it to him, and, forgetting civil conflicts, trust him. When, overcome by fear, they unanimously left matters to him, "I will shut you up," he said, "in the Senate House and, just as if I were myself a sharer in the crime intended, by approving plans which it would be vain for me to oppose, I will find a way to save you. For this accept a pledge, as you yourselves desire." Having given the pledge he went out, ordered the Senate House to be closed and left a guard before the entrance, that no one might be able to enter the Senate House or leave it without his order.

III. Then calling the people to an assembly he said: "You have often desired, Campanians, to have the power to exact punishment from a base and

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potestas esset, eam non per tumultum expugnantes domos singulorum, quas praesidiis clientium servorumque tuentur, cum summo vestro periculo, sed tutam habetis ac liberam; clausos omnis in curia[1] accipite, solos, inermis. Nec quicquam raptim aut forte temere egeritis; de singulorum capite vobis ius sententiae dicendae faciam, ut quas quisque meritus est poenas pendat; sed ante omnia ita vos irae indulgere oportet, ut potiorem ira salutem atque utilitatem vestram habeatis. Etenim hos, ut opinor, odistis senatores, non senatum omnino habere non voltis; quippe aut rex, quod abominandum, aut, quod unum liberae civitatis consilium est, senatus habendus est. Itaque duae res simul agendae vobis sunt, ut et veterem senatum tollatis et novum cooptetis. Citari singulos senatores iubebo de quorum capite vos consulam; quod de quoque censueritis fiet; sed prius in eius locum virum fortem ac strenuum novum senatorem cooptabitis quam de noxio supplicium sumatur." Inde consedit et nominibus in urnam coniectis citari quod primum sorte nomen excidit ipsumque e curia produci iussit. Ubi auditum est nomen, malum et improbum pro se quisque clamare et supplicio dignum. Tum Pacuvius "Video quae de hoc sententia sit; date igitur pro malo atque improbo bonum senatorem et iustum." Primo silentium erat inopia potioris subiciundi; deinde cum aliquis omissa verecundia quempiam

[1] curia *D? Madvig*: curiam $P(3)D^{2}?$

odious senate. That power you have, not by riotously storming, with great danger to yourselves, the houses of individuals who defend them with garrisons of clients and slaves, but you have the power secure and unrestricted. As they are shut up there, every man of them, in the Senate House, seize them, left alone, unarmed! And do nothing in haste or at haphazard. I will give you the right to decide their fate in each separate case, so that each shall pay the penalty he has deserved. But above all things you should vent your wrath with due regard to the conviction that your safety and advantage are worth more than wrath. For it is these senators that you hate, I think; it is not your wish to have no senate at all. In fact you must either have a king—save the mark!—or else a senate, the only deliberative body in a free state. And so you have two things to do at the same time—to do away with the old senate, and to choose a new one. I will order the senators to be called one by one and will consult you as to their fate. Whatever is your opinion in each case shall be done, but before punishment is inflicted on the guilty one you will choose in his place a brave and active man as a new senator." He then sat down, and after the names had been placed in the urn, he ordered the first name drawn by lot to be called and the man himself to be led out of the Senate House. On hearing the name every man shouted his loudest, that he was a bad man and base and deserved punishment. Upon that Pacuvius said: "I see what your verdict is in this man's case; therefore in place of a bad man and base nominate a good and just senator." At first there was silence from their inability to suggest a better man. Then when someone, over- B.C. 216

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nominasset, multo maior extemplo clamor oriebatur,
11 cum alii negarent nosse, alii nunc probra nunc
humilitatem sordidamque inopiam et pudendae artis
12 aut quaestus genus obicerent. Hoc multo magis
in secundo ac tertio citato senatore est factum, ut
ipsius paenitere homines appareret, quem autem in
13 eius substituerent locum deesse, quia nec eosdem
nominari attinebat, nihil aliud quam ad audienda
probra nominatos, et multo humiliores obscurioresque
ceteri erant eis qui primi memoriae occurrerant.
14 Ita dilabi homines, notissimum quodque malum
maxime tolerabile dicentes esse iubentesque sena-
tum ex custodia dimitti.

IV. Hoc modo Pacuvius cum obnoxium vitae bene-
ficio senatum multo sibi magis quam plebi fecisset,
sine armis iam omnibus concedentibus dominabatur.
2 Hinc senatores omissa dignitatis libertatisque me-
moria plebem adulari;[1] salutare, benigne invitare,
3 apparatis accipere epulis, eas causas suscipere, ei
semper parti adesse, secundum eam litem iudices
dare quae magis popularis aptiorque in volgus
4 favori conciliando esset; iam vero nihil in senatu
agi[2] aliter quam si plebis ibi esset concilium. Prona
semper civitas in luxuriam non ingeniorum modo
vitio sed affluenti copia voluptatium et inlecebris
5 omnis amoenitatis maritimae terrestrisque, tum vero

[1] adulari *Salmasius*: advari *P*: adfari P^2(1).
[2] agi *Madvig*: aet *P*(4): actum C^2DA.

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[1] Capua, prospering by its varied industries established by the Etruscans, was already noted for its wealth and a luxury greater than that of Croton and Sybaris; Polybius VII. i. 1 and III. xci. 6; Cicero *Leg. Agr.* II. 95; cf. Strabo V. iv. 3.

coming his timidity, named a man, at once there was B.C. 21
a much louder outcry, some saying they did not know him, others taunting him, now with shameful conduct, now with low rank and sordid poverty and the disreputable nature of his trade or business. All the more was this done in the case of the second and third senator called. So it was clear that people were dissatisfied with the man himself, but had no one to put in his place. For nothing was gained by once more naming the same men, who had been named only to be reviled. And the rest were much lower in rank and less known than those who first came to mind. Accordingly men slipped away, saying that the most familiar evil is the most endurable, and bidding Pacuvius release the senate from confinement.

IV. In this way Pacuvius, having made the senate much more subservient to himself than to the common people by saving their lives, ruled without arms, as all now gave way to him. Thereafter the senators, forgetting their rank and freedom, flattered the common people, greeted them, invited them graciously, entertained them at well appointed feasts; invariably undertook cases, appeared as counsel, or as jurors gave a verdict, only for that side which was the more popular and better suited to win favour with the populace. Moreover, nothing was done in the senate otherwise than if a meeting of the common people was being held there. The state had always been inclined to luxury,[1] not only from defects in character, but also from the abundant opportunity for indulgences and the beguilement of all the charms of sea and land. But at that time, thanks to the servility of the leading men and the

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ita obsequio principum et licentia plebei lasciuire
6 ut nec libidini nec sumptibus modus esset. Ad
contemptum legum, magistratuum, senatus accessit
tum, post Cannensem cladem, ut, cuius aliqua vere-
cundia erat, Romanum quoque spernerent imperium.
7 Id modo erat in mora ne extemplo deficerent, quod
conubium vetustum multas familias claras ac potentis
8 Romanis miscuerat, et [1] cum militarent aliquot [2] apud
Romanos, maximum vinculum erant trecenti equites,
nobilissimus quisque Campanorum, in praesidia Sicu-
larum urbium delecti ab Romanis ac missi. V. Horum
parentes cognatique aegre pervicerunt ut legati ad
consulem Romanum mitterentur.

Ii nondum Canusium profectum sed Venusiae cum
paucis ac semiermibus consulem invenerunt, quam
poterant [3] maxime miserabilem bonis sociis, superbis
atque infidelibus, ut erant Campani, spernendum.
2 Et auxit rerum suarum suique contemptum consul
3 nimis detegendo cladem nudandoque. Nam cum
legati aegre ferre senatum populumque Campanum
adversi quicquam evenisse Romanis nuntiassent
pollicerenturque omnia quae ad bellum opus essent,
4 "Morem magis" inquit "loquendi cum sociis ser-
vastis, Campani, inbentes quae opus essent ad bellum
imperare, quam convenienter ad praesentem for-
5 tunae nostrae statum locuti estis. Quid enim nobis

[1] et *Crévier*: et quod $P(2)A$ Conway^2.

[2] aliquot (aliquod) $P(2)A^2$: aliquando *Conway, placing* cum-*clause after* Campanorum.

[3] poterant $P(1)$: poterat z.

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[1] As belonging to the most prominent families and dispersed among the cities of Sicily, they were in effect hostages.

licence of the common people, they were so unrestrained that no limit was set to passion or to expense. To their contempt for laws, the magistrates, the senate, there was now added, after the defeat at Cannae, their disparagement of the Roman power also, for which there used to be some respect. All that held them back from at once revolting was that the long-established right of intermarriage had united many distinguished and powerful families with the Romans, and that, although a considerable number were serving on the Roman side, the strongest bond was the three hundred horsemen, noblest of the Campanians, who had been chosen to garrison Sicilian cities by the Romans and sent thither.[1] V. Their parents and relatives with difficulty carried their point, that representatives should be sent to the Roman consul. B.C. 216

These men found the consul not yet departed for Canusium, but with a few half-armed men at Venusia,[2] exciting the utmost pity in good allies, but contempt in the haughty and faithless, such as were the Campanians. And the consul increased the contempt for his situation and for himself by needlessly uncovering and laying bare the disaster. For when the delegation had reported that the senate and the Campanian people were distressed that any reverse had befallen the Romans, and were promising everything that might be needed for the war, he said: "You, Campanians, have observed the customary manner of speaking to allies, in bidding me requisition whatever is needed for the war, rather than spoken conformably to the present state of our fortunes.

[2] Immediately after the battle of Cannae; XXII. xlix. 14; liv. 1 and 6.

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ad Cannas relictum est, ut, quasi [1] aliquid habeamus, id quod deest expleri ab sociis velimus? Pedites vobis imperemus, tamquam equites habeamus? Pecuniam deesse dicamus, tamquam ea tantum desit? 6 Nihil, ne quod suppleremus quidem, nobis reliquit fortuna. Legiones, equitatus, arma, signa, equi virique, pecunia, commeatus aut in acie aut binis postero die 7 amissis castris perierunt. Itaque non iuvetis nos in bello oportet, Campani, sed paene bellum pro nobis 8 suscipiatis. Veniat in mentem, ut trepidos quondam maiores vestros intra moenia compulsos, nec Samnitem modo hostem sed etiam Sidicinum paventis, receptos in fidem ad Saticulam defenderimus, coeptumque propter vos cum Samnitibus bellum per centum prope annos variante fortuna eventum 9 tulerimus. Adicite ad haec, quod foedus aequum deditis, quod leges vestras, quod ad extremum, id quod ante Cannensem certe cladem maximum fuit, civitatem nostram magnae parti vestrum dedimus 10 communicavimusque vobiscum. Itaque communem vos hanc cladem quae accepta est credere, Campani, oportet, communem patriam tuendam arbitrari esse. 11 Non cum Samnite aut Etrusco res est, ut quod a nobis ablatum sit in Italia tamen imperium maneat; Poenus hostis, ne Africae quidem indigena,[2] ab ultimis terrarum oris, freto Oceani Herculisque

[1] quasi A^{γ}: quia $P(1)$.
[2] indigena $P(1)$: indigenam x Madvig.

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[1] On the contrary, it was by aiding the Sidicinians against the Samnites that the Campanians became involved in the 1st Samnite War, 343 B.C.; VII. xxix.

For what has been left to us at Cannae, so that, as if B.C. 216
we had something, we may wish what is lacking to be made up by the allies? Are we to requisition infantry from you, as though we had cavalry? Are we to say that money is lacking, as if that alone were lacking? Nothing has fortune left us, even to supplement. Legions, cavalry, arms, standards, horses and men, money and supplies have vanished either in the battle or in the loss of two camps the next day. And so you, Campanians, have not to help us in war, but almost to undertake the war in our stead. Recall how, when your ancestors were once confined in alarm within their walls, dreading not only the Samnite enemy but also the Sidicinian,[1] we took them under our protection and defended them at Saticula. Also how with varying fortunes we endured for almost a hundred years[2] the war begun with the Samnites on your account. Add to this that upon your submission we gave you a fair treaty and your own laws, and finally—and before the disaster at Cannae this was certainly the greatest privilege—our citizenship to a large number of you and shared it with you. A share, then, Campanians, you should believe you have in this disaster which has befallen us, and should think that you must defend the country in which you have a share. Not with the Samnite or Etruscan is the struggle to have the power which has been wrested from us nevertheless remain in Italy. A Carthaginian enemy, not even of African origin, is dragging after him from the farthest limits of the world, from the strait of Ocean and the Pillars of Hercules, soldiers who

[2] Really seventy-one years. More rhetorical exaggeration in *propter vos*, and especially in the following sentence.

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columnis, expertem omnis iuris et condicionis et lin-
12 guae prope humanae militem trahit. Hunc natura et moribus immitem ferumque insuper dux ipse efferavit pontibus ac molibus ex humanorum corporum struc faciendis et, quod proloqui etiam piget, vesci cor-
13 poribus humanis docendo. His infandis pastos epulis, quos contingere etiam nefas sit, videre atque habere dominos et ex Africa et a Carthagine iura petere et Italiam Numidarum ac Maurorum pati provinciam esse, cui non, genito modo in Italia,
14 detestabile sit? Pulchrum erit, Campani,[1] prolapsum clade Romanum imperium vestra fide, vestris viribus
15 retentum ac recuperatum esse. Triginta milia peditum, quattuor milia equitum arbitror ex Campania scribi posse; iam pecuniae adfatim est frumentique. Si parem fortunae vestrae fidem habetis, nec Hannibal se vicisse sentiet nec Romani victos esse."

VI. Ab[2] hac oratione consulis dimissis redeuntibusque domum legatis unus ex iis, Vibius Virrius, tempus venisse ait quo Campani non agrum solum ab Romanis quondam per iniuriam ademptum recupe-
2 rare, sed imperio etiam Italiae potiri possint; foedus enim cum Hannibale quibus velint legibus facturos; neque controversiam fore quin, cum ipse confecto bello Hannibal victor in Africam decedat exercitumque deportet, Italiae imperium Campanis relin-
3 quatur. Hace Virrio loquenti adsensi omnes ita

[1] Campani *z*: campanis *P*(1).
[2] ab *Gronovius*: *om.* *P*(1) *Conway*.

[1] So Polybius had said of Hannibal's polyglot troops, *οἷς οὐ νόμος, οὐκ ἔθος, οὐ λόγος, κτλ.*, XI. xix. 4.

[2] Livy makes Varro repeat exaggerated statements about Hannibal; cf. Appian *Hann.* 28.

are unacquainted with any civilized laws and or- B.C. 216
ganization and, one may almost add, language too.[1] Ruthless and barbarous by nature and custom, these men have been further barbarized by the general himself, in making bridges and embankments of piled up human bodies, and by teaching them—horrible even to relate—to feed upon the bodies of men.[2] To see and have as our masters men who fatten upon these unspeakable feasts, men whom it is a crime even to touch, and to get our law from Africa and Carthage, and to allow Italy to be a province of the Numidians and the Mauri—who, if merely born in Italy, would not find that abominable? It will be a glorious thing, Campanians, if the Roman power, brought low by disaster, shall have been maintained and restored by your loyalty and your resources. Thirty thousand foot-soldiers and four thousand horsemen can be enrolled from Campania, I believe. Moreover you have sufficient money and grain. If you have a loyalty to match your prosperity Hannibal will not be aware of his victory, nor the Romans of their defeat."

VI. After this speech of the consul the legates were dismissed, and on their way home Vibius Virrius, one of them, said the time had come when the Campanians could not only recover the territory formerly taken from them unjustly by the Romans, but could also gain authority over Italy. For they would make a treaty with Hannibal on their own terms. And there would be no doubt that, when Hannibal, upon the completion of the war, retired as victor to Africa and removed his army, authority over Italy would be left to the Campanians. Having agreed unanimously with these words of Virrius, they

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renuntiant legationem uti deletum omnibus videretur
4 nomen Romanum. Extemplo plebes ad defectionem
ac pars maior senatus spectare; extracta tamen
5 auctoritatibus seniorum per paucos dies est res.
Postremo vincit sententia plurium, ut iidem legati
qui ad consulem Romanum ierant ad Hannibalem
6 mitterentur. Quo priusquam iretur certumque de-
fectionis consilium esset, Romam legatos missos a
Campanis in quibusdam annalibus invenio, postu-
lantes ut alter consul Campanus fieret, si rem Ro-
7 manam adiuvari vellent; indignatione orta summo-
veri a curia iussos esse, missumque lictorem qui ex
urbe educeret eos atque eo die manere extra finis
8 Romanos iuberet. Quia nimis compar Latinorum
quondam postulatio erat, Coeliusque et alii id haud [1]
sine causa praetermiserant [2] scriptores, ponere pro
certo sum veritus.

VII. Legati ad Hannibalem venerunt pacemque
cum eo his [3] condicionibus fecerunt, ne quis imperator
magistratusve Poenorum ius ullum in civem Cam-
panum haberet, neve civis Campanus invitus militaret
2 munusve faceret: ut suae leges, sui magistratus
Capuae essent; ut trecentos ex Romanis captivis
Poenus daret Campanis, quos ipsi elegissent, eum
quibus equitum Campanorum, qui in Sicilia stipendia

[1] id haud *Aldus*: haud A^{y}: sit aut $P(4)$: ita ut $C^{x}DA$.
[2] praetermiserant $P(1)$: -miscrint C^{4}; -missuri erant *Madvig*.
[3] his z: *om.* $P(1)$.

[1] Not so to Calavius' son; viii. 3 and 11.
[2] Cicero mentions this demand of Capua; *Leg. Agr.* II. 95.

made such a report of their embassy that the Roman name seemed to all to have been blotted out.[1] At once the populace and most of the senate were aiming to revolt. But action was postponed for a few days by the weighty advice of the older men. Finally the view of the majority prevailed, that the same legates who had gone to the Roman consul should be sent to Hannibal. Before they went to him and before the plan to revolt was settled upon, I find in some of the annals that legates were sent to Rome by the Campanians with the demand that, if they wished them to aid the Roman state, one of the consuls should be a Campanian:[2] that resentment was aroused and the legates were ordered to be removed from the Senate House, and that a lictor was sent to lead them out of the city and bid them lodge that night outside of Roman territory. Because there was once a suspiciously similar demand made by the Latins,[3] and Caelius and other historians had not without reason omitted the matter, I have been afraid to set this down as established. B.C. 216

VII. The legates came to Hannibal and made an alliance with him on these terms: that no general or magistrate of the Carthaginians should have any authority over a Campanian citizen, and that no Campanian citizen should be a soldier or perform any service against his will; that Capua should have its own laws, its own magistrates; that the Carthaginian should give the Campanians three hundred of the Roman captives of their own choosing, with whom there should be an exchange of the Campanian

[3] That one of the consuls should be from Latium, 340 B.C., VIII. v. 5 and 7 (the threat of Manlius mentioned below, xxii. 7).

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3 facerent, permutatio fieret. Haec pacta; illa insuper quam quae pacta erant facinora Campani ediderunt: nam praefectos socium civisque Romanos alios, partim aliquo militiae munere occupatos, partim privatis negotiis implicitos, plebs repente omnis comprehensos velut custodiae causa balneis includi iussit, ubi fervore atque aestu anima interclusa foedum in modum exspirarent.[1]

4 Ea ne fierent neu legatio mitteretur ad Poenum, summa ope Decius Magius, vir cui ad summam auctoritatem nihil praeter sanam civium mentem
5 defuit, restiterat. Ut vero praesidium mitti ab Hannibale audivit, Pyrrhi superbam dominationem miserabilemque Tarentinorum servitutem exempla referens, primo ne reciperetur praesidium palam
6 vociferatus est, deinde ut receptum aut eiceretur aut, si malum facinus quod a vetustissimis sociis consanguineisque defecissent forti ac memorabili facinore purgare vellent, ut interfecto Punico praesidio
7 restituerent Romanis se. Haec—nec enim occulta agebantur—cum relata Hannibali essent, primo misit qui vocarent Magium ad sese in castra; deinde, cum is ferociter negasset se iturum, nec enim Hannibali ius esse in civem Campanum, concitatus ira Poenus comprehendi hominem vinctumque adtrahi
8 ad sese iussit. Veritus deinde ne quid inter vim tumultus atque ex concitatione animorum inconsulti certaminis oreretur, ipse praemisso nuntio ad Marium Blossium, praetorem Campanum, postero

[1] ex(s)pirarent *P*(1): exspirarunt *Heusinger*.

horsemen who were serving in Sicily. Such were the terms. In addition to what was agreed upon the Campanians perpetrated these misdeeds: the populace suddenly seized prefects of the allies and other Roman citizens, some of them employed in a military duty, some engaged in private business, and with the pretence of guarding them ordered them all to be confined in the baths, that there they might die a terrible death, being suffocated by the extreme heat. B.C. 216

Such conduct and the sending of an embassy to the Carthaginian had been opposed to the utmost by Decius Magius, a man who lacked nothing for the attainment of the highest authority except sanity on the part of the citizens. But when he heard that a garrison was being sent by Hannibal, recalling the haughty rule of Pyrrhus and the wretched servitude of the Tarentines as warning examples, he at first openly protested that the garrison should not be admitted; then, after it had been admitted, either that it should be driven out, or, if they wished to atone for their evil action in having revolted from their oldest allies and men of the same blood by a brave and notable act, that they should slay the Punic garrison and return to their Roman allegiance. When this was reported to Hannibal (for it was not done in secret), he first sent men to summon Magius to him at the camp. Then when the latter replied with spirit that he would not go, for Hannibal had no authority over a Campanian citizen, the Carthaginian was enraged and ordered the man to be seized and brought before him in chains. Later, fearing that in the use of force some commotion, and in view of the excitement some unpremeditated conflict, might occur, he first sent word to Marius Blossius, the

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die se Capuae futurum, proficiscitur e castris cum
9 modico praesidio. Marius contione advocata edicit
ut frequentes cum coniugibus ac liberis obviam irent
Hannibali. Ab universis id non oboedienter modo
sed enixe, favore etiam volgi et studio visendi tot
iam victoriis clarum imperatorem, factum est.
10 Decius Magius nec obviam egressus est nec, quo
timorem aliquem ex conscientia significare posset,
privatim [1] se tenuit; in foro cum filio clientibusque
paucis otiose inambulavit trepidante tota civitate ad
11 excipiendum Poenum visendumque. Hannibal in-
gressus urbem senatum extemplo postulat, precanti-
busque inde primoribus Campanorum ne quid eo die
seriae rei gereret dieinque ut [2] ipse adventu suo
12 festum laetus ac libens celebraret, quamquam
praeceps ingenio in iram erat, tamen, ne quid in
principio negaret, visenda urbe magnam partem dici
consumpsit.

VIII. Deversatus est apud Nimnios Celeres, Sthe-
nium Pacuviumque, inclitos nobilitate ac divitiis.
2 Eo Pacuvius Calavius, de quo ante dictum est, prin-
ceps factionis eius quae traxerat rem ad Poenos,
filium iuvenem adduxit abstractum a Deci Magi
3 latere, cum quo ferocissime pro Romana societate
adversus Punicum foedus steterat, nec eum aut
inclinata in partem alteram civitas aut patria maiestas
4 sententia depulerat. Huic tum pater iuveni Hanni-

[1] privatim *P*(1): privato *Gronovius*.
[2] ut *P*(1): et *Gruter*.

[1] Chapters ii–iv.

Campanian magistrate, that he would be in Capua the next day, and then he set out from the camp with a small escort. Marius, calling an assembly, ordered them to go out to meet Hannibal *en masse* with wives and children. This was done by all not only obediently but also eagerly, owing to the enthusiasm of the crowd as well and the desire to go and see a general already famous for so many victories. Decius Magius neither went out to meet him nor remained in seclusion, by doing which he might show some fear due to conscience. He strolled idly in the market-place with his son and a few clients, although the whole city was astir to welcome and to see the Carthaginian. Hannibal entered the city and at once demanded a session of the senate, and then when the leading Campanians begged him not to do any serious business that day, and that he should himself cheerfully and willingly honour the day gladdened by his coming, though he was naturally hot-tempered, still in order not to deny them anything at the start, he spent a large part of the day in seeing the city. B.C. 216

VIII. He lodged at the house of the Ninnii Celeres, the brothers Sthenius and Pacuvius, men distinguished for their rank and wealth. To that house Pacuvius Calavius, of whom mention has been made above,[1] leader of the party which had drawn the state to the side of the Carthaginians, came bringing his young son. He had got him away from the company of Decius Magius, with whom the son in the most confident spirit had stood up for the Roman alliance against a treaty with Carthage. And neither the decision of the state for the other side nor his father's high position had dislodged him from his opinion. Such was the young man to whom his father, rather

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balem deprecando magis quam purgando placavit, victusque patris precibus lacrimisque etiam ad
5 cenam eum cum patre vocari iussit, cui convivio neminem Campanum praeterquam hospites Vibelliumque Tauream, insignem bello virum, adhibiturus
6 erat. Epulari coeperunt de die, et convivium non ex more Punico aut militari disciplina esse sed, ut in civitate atque etiam domo diti ac[1] luxuriosa,[2]
7 omnibus voluptatium inlecebris instructum. Unus nec dominorum invitatione nec ipsius interdum Hannibalis Calavius filius perlici ad[3] vinum potuit, ipse valetudinem excusans, patre animi quoque eius
8 haud mirabilem perturbationem causante. Solis ferme occasu patrem Calavium ex convivio egressum secutus filius, ubi in secretum—hortus erat posticis
9 aedium partibus—pervenerunt, "Consilium" inquit "adfero, pater, quo non veniam solum peccati, quod defecimus ad Hannibalem, impetraturi[4] ab Romanis, sed in multo maiore dignitate et gratia simus Cam-
10 pani quam umquam fuimus futuri."[5] Cum mirabundus pater quidnam id esset consilii quaereret, toga reiecta ab umero latus succinctum gladio nudat.
11 "Iam ego" inquit "sanguine Hannibalis sanciam Romanum foedus. Te id prius scire volui, si forte abesse, dum facinus patratur, malles."

IX. Quae ubi vidit audivitque senex, velut si iam
2 agendis quae audiebat interesset, amens metu "Per

[1] diti ac *Kreyssig* : divad *P*(1).
[2] luxuriosa *Gronovius* : variosa *P*(4).
[3] perlici ad *Heerwagen* : perhola *P* : perholla P^2(4).
[4] impetraturi A^y : impetravi *P* : impetrari P^2*?*(1) : impetremus A^y : impetrare possimus *x*.
[5] futuri *Madvig* : *om.* *P*(1).

by pleading than by excusing, reconciled Hannibal, B.C. 216
and he, prevailed upon by the father's prayers and tears, even ordered that the son should be invited with the father to a dinner at which he was to have the company of no Campanian except his hosts and Vibellius Taurea, a distinguished soldier. They began feasting by daylight, and the banquet was not according to Carthaginian custom or military regimen, but provided with all that tempts indulgence, as it was to be expected in a city, and a house as well, of wealth and luxury. Calavius the son was the only one who could not be prevailed upon to drink either by the invitation of the owners or even, now and then, of Hannibal. He himself pleaded ill health as an excuse, while his father alleged distress of mind also, at which one could not wonder. About sunset the son followed the elder Calavius coming out from the feast, and when they had reached a secluded spot—it was a garden in the rear of the house—he said: "I propose a plan, father, by which we may not only gain pardon from the Romans for our offence in having revolted to Hannibal, but as Campanians may be in a position of much greater respect and favour than we should ever have been otherwise." When the astonished father asked what that plan was, the son throwing his toga off his shoulder bared his side girt with a sword. "Presently," he said, "I will ratify a treaty with the Romans by the blood of Hannibal. I wished you to know that in advance, in case you should prefer not to be there when the deed is being done."

IX. When the old man saw and heard that, he was beside himself with fear, as if he were already present at the execution of the plan of which he was

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ego te" inquit, "fili, quaecumque iura liberos iungunt parentibus, precor quaesoque ne ante oculos patris
3 facere et pati omnia infanda velis. Paucae horae sunt intra quas iurantes per quidquid deorum est, dextrae dextras iungentes, fidem obstrinximus,—ut sacratas fide manus digressi a conloquio extemplo in
4 eum armaremus? Ab hospitali mensa surgis, ad quam tertius Campanorum adhibitus es ab Hannibale,—ut eam ipsam mensam eruentares hospitis sanguine? Hannibalem pater filio meo potui pla-
5 care, filium Hannibali non possum? Sed sit nihil sancti, non fides, non religio, non pietas; audeantur infanda, si non perniciem nobis cum scelere ferunt.
6 Unus adgressurus es Hannibalem? Quid illa turba tot liberorum servorumque? Quid in unum intenti omnium oculi? Quid tot dextrae? Torpescent in
7 amentia illa? Voltum ipsius Hannibalis, quem armati exercitus sustinere nequivere,[1] quem horret populus Romanus, tu sustinebis? Ut ab aliis[2]
8 auxilia desint, me ipsum ferire corpus meum opponentem pro corpore Hannibalis sustinebis? Atqui per meum pectus petendus ille tibi transfigendusque est. Sed hic te deterreri sine potius quam illic vinci; valeant preces apud te meae, sient pro te
9 hodie valuerunt." Lacrimantem inde iuvenem cernens medium complectitur atque osculo haerens non

[1] sustinere nequivere *Wölfflin* (nequeunt *Gronovius*): sustineren *P*: -em R^2M: -rent (6): -re M^2.

[2] ut ab aliis *Mayerhöfer*: italis *P*: talis P^1? (1): ut alia *Drakenborch*.

being told, and said: "I pray and implore you, my B.C. 216
son, by all the rights which link children to their parents, not to do and suffer all that is unutterable before the eyes of your father. It is but a few hours since, with an oath by all the gods that exist and joining our right hands to his, we pledged our honour. Was it with the intention, as soon as we left the conference, to arm against him the hands hallowed by our plighted faith? From the hospitable board, to which you were invited by Hannibal with but two other Campanians, do you rise with the intention of staining that very board with the blood of a guest? Was I able as a father to reconcile Hannibal with my son, and can not reconcile my son with Hannibal? But assuming that there is nothing hallowed, no honour, no scruple, no filial devotion, dare to do unspeakable things, if they do not bring destruction to us as well as guilt. Single-handed will you attack Hannibal? What of that crowd, so many free men and slaves? What of all men's eyes fixed upon one man? What of so many sword-hands? Will they be paralysed in the moment of that mad deed? Will you withstand Hannibal's own countenance, which armed forces have been unable to withstand, which the Roman people dreads? Supposing that help from others is lacking, will you bring yourself to strike *me*, when I interpose my body in place of Hannibal's? And yet it is through my breast that you will have to attack him and run him through. But allow yourself to be dissuaded here, rather than overpowered there. Let my prayers prove effectual with you, as they have proved this day for you." Seeing the young man in tears he threw his arms about his waist, and repeatedly kissing him he did

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ante precibus abstitit quam pervicit ut gladium
10 ponceret fidemque daret nihil facturum tale. Tum
invenis " Ego quidem " inquit " quam patriae debeo
pietatem exsolvam patri. Tuam doleo vicem, cui
11 ter proditae patriae sustinendum est crimen, semel
cum defectionem [1] inisti [2] ab Romanis, iterum cum
pacis cum Hannibale fuisti auctor, tertio hodie, cum
restituendae Romanis Capuae mora atque impedi-
12 mentum es. Tu, patria, ferrum, quo pro te armatus
hanc arcem hostium inii, quoniam parens extorquet,
13 recipe." Haec cum dixisset, gladium in publicum
trans maceriam horti abiecit et, quo minus res
suspecta esset, se ipse convivio reddidit.

X. Postero die senatus frequens datus Hannibali. Ubi prima eius oratio perblanda ac benigna fuit, qua gratias egit Campanis quod amicitiam suam Romanae
2 societati praeposuissent, et inter cetera magnifica promissa pollicitus est [3] brevi caput Italiae omni Capuam fore iuraque inde cum ceteris populis
3 Romanum etiam petiturum. Unum esse exsortem Punicae amicitiae foederisque secum facti, quem neque esse Campanum neque diei debere, Magium Decium; cum postulare ut sibi dedatur ac se praesente de eo referatur senatusque consultum fiat.
4 Omnes in eam sententiam ierunt, quamquam magnae parti et vir indignus ea calamitate et haud parvo initio

[1] defectionem D^xAz: defectione $P(2)A^x$: defectionis x *Gronovius*.

[2] inisti z: inissa P: missa $P^{2?}$: imissa RM: in(*or* im)missa $CM^{1?}DA$.

[3] est *Weissenborn*: *om.* $P(1)$.

not desist from entreaties until he had prevailed upon B.C. 216
him to put down his sword and give his pledge that he would do no such crime. Then the young man said: "As for me, I will pay my father the debt of devotion which I owe to my country. For you I am sorry, for you will have to meet the charge of thrice betraying your country, once when you took part in the revolt from the Romans, a second time when you advised peace with Hannibal, a third time today when you are an obstacle and a hindrance to restoring Capua to the Romans. Do you, my country, take back the sword with which I had armed myself in your defence and entered this stronghold of the enemy; for my father wrests it from me." Having thus spoken, he threw the sword over the garden wall into a street, and, that his conduct might not be open to suspicion, himself returned to the banquet.

X. On the following day a full session of the senate was given to Hannibal. There his speech was at the outset very genial and kindly, thanking the Campanians for having preferred his friendship to a Roman alliance. And among his other magnificent assurances he promised them that Capua should soon be the capital of all Italy, and that from it the Roman people along with the rest of the nations should derive its law. He said that *one* man had no part in friendship with Carthage and the treaty made with himself, namely Magius Decius, a man who ought neither to be a Campanian nor to be so called; he demanded that the man be surrendered to him, and that in his own presence his case be brought up and a decree of the senate framed. All voted for that proposal, although it seemed to many of them that the man did not deserve that misfortune; also

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5 minui videbatur ius libertatis. Egressus curia in templo magistratuum consedit comprehendique Decium Magium atque ante pedes destitutum causam
6 dicere iussit. Qui cum manente ferocia animi negaret lege foederis id cogi posse, tum iniectae catenae, ducique ante lictorem in castra est iussus.
7 Quoad capite aperto est ductus, contionabundus incessit ad circumfusam undique multitudinem vociferans: "Habetis libertatem, Campani, quam petistis; foro medio, luce clara, videntibus vobis nulli Campanorum secundus vinctus ad mortem rapior.
8 Quid violentius capta Capua fieret? Ite obviam Hannibali, exornate urbem diemque adventus eius consecrate, ut hunc triumphum de cive vestro spectetis."

9 Haec vociferanti,[1] cum moveri volgus videretur, obvolutum caput est, ociusque rapi extra portam iussus. Ita in castra perducitur extemploque in-
10 positus in navem et Carthaginem missus, ne motu aliquo Capuae ex indignitate rei orto senatum quoque paeniteret dediti principis et, legatione missa ad repetendum eum, aut negando rem quam primam peterent offendendi sibi novi socii, aut tribuendo habendus Capuae esset seditionis ac turbarum auctor.
11 Navem Cyrenas detulit tempestas, quae tum in dicione regum erant. Ibi cum Magius ad statuam

[1] vociferanti *x*: -te *P*(1).

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[1] *I.e.* of Egypt. Ptolemy IV Philopator was then reigning; XXIV. xxvi. 1.

that the right of liberty was being infringed by a first act that was not insignificant. Leaving the Senate House Hannibal took his seat on the tribune of the magistrates and ordered the arrest of Decius Magius, and that he be placed at his feet and make his defence. While with undaunted spirit Magius was saying that by the terms of the treaty he could not be compelled to do that, chains were put upon him and he was ordered to be led to the camp with a lictor following. So long as they led him with bare head, he kept haranguing as he went, shouting to the crowd all about him: "You have the freedom you wanted, Campanians. Through the middle of the market-place, in broad daylight, before your eyes, I, who am second to no one of the Campanians, am being hurried away in chains to my death. What deed of greater violence could be done if Capua had been taken? Go to meet Hannibal, decorate your city and make the day of his coming a holiday,—that you may witness this triumph over your fellow-citizen." B.C. 216

As he was thus shouting and the populace seemed to be aroused, his head was covered and they were ordered to drag him more swiftly outside the gate. Thus he was led into the camp, at once put on shipboard and consigned to Carthage, for fear, if there should be some outbreak at Capua in consequence of the shameful act, the senate also might regret having surrendered a leading man, and, when an embassy was sent to demand his return, Hannibal either must offend his new allies by refusing their first request, or by granting it be obliged to keep at Capua a fomenter of insurrection and riots. A storm carried the ship to Cyrenae, which was then subject to kings.[1] On fleeing for refuge to the statue of

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Ptolomaei regis confugisset, deportatus a custodibus
12 Alexandream ad Ptolomaeum, cum eum docuisset contra ius foederis vinctum se ab Hannibale esse, vinclis liberatur, permissumque ut rediret, seu Romam
13 seu Capuam mallet. Nec Magius Capuam sibi tutam dicere et Romam eo tempore quo inter Romanos Campanosque bellum sit transfugae magis quam hospitis fore domicilium; nusquam malle quam in regno eius vivere quem vindicem atque auctorem habeat libertatis.

XI. Dum haec geruntur, Q. Fabius Pictor legatus a Delphis Romam rediit responsumque ex scripto recitavit. Divi divaeque in eo erant quibus
2 quoque modo supplicaretur; tum "Si ita faxitis, Romani, vestrae res meliores facilioresque erunt, magisque ex sententia res publica vestra vobis procedet, victoriaque duelli populi Romani erit.
3 Pythio Apollini re publica vestra bene gesta servataque e [1] lueris meritis donum mittitote deque praeda, manubiis spoliisque honorem habetote; lasciviam a
4 vobis prohibetote." Haec ubi ex Graeco carmine interpretata recitavit, tum dixit se oraculo egressum extemplo iis omnibus divis rem divinam ture ac vino
5 fecisse; inssumque a templi antistite, sicut coronatus laurea corona et oraculum adisset et rem divinam fecisset, ita coronatum navem ascendere nec ante

[1] e *Crévier, Madvig*: de *Weissenborn*: *om. P*(1) *Walters.*

[1] He had been sent to Delphi after the battle of Cannae: XXII. lvii. 5. His history, written in Greek, was one of Livy's sources.

King Ptolemy there, Magius was carried under guard B.C. 216
to Ptolemy at Alexandria. And having informed him that he had been bound by Hannibal contrary to his treaty rights, he was freed from his chains and allowed to return to Rome or to Capua, as he might prefer. Magius said that Capua was unsafe for him, and on the other hand, at a time when there was a war between the Romans and the Campanians, Rome would be the abode of a deserter rather than of a guest; that he had no wish to live elsewhere than in the land of a king in whom he found the giver and defender of his freedom.

XI. While these things were going on, Quintus Fabius Pictor[1] returned to Rome from his embassy to Delphi and read from a manuscript the response of the oracle. In it were indicated the gods and goddesses to whom offerings should be made, and in what manner. It continued: "If you do thus, Romans, your situation will be better and easier, and your state will go on more in accordance with your desire, and the Roman people will have the victory in the war. When you have successfully administered and preserved your state, from the gains made you shall send a gift to Pythian Apollo and do honour to him out of the booty, the profits and the spoils. You shall keep yourselves from exulting." After reading these words translated from the Greek verses, he went on to say that, on coming out of the oracle, he had at once made offerings to all those divinities with incense and wine; also that he had been bidden by the high-priest of the temple, just as he had come to the oracle and also conducted the rite while wearing a garland of laurel, so also to wear the garland when he boarded the ship, and not to lay

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6 deponere eam quam Romam pervenisset; se, quaecumque imperata sint, cum summa religione ac diligentia exsecutum coronam Romae in aram Apollinis deposuisse. Senatus decrevit ut eae res divinae supplicationesque primo quoque tempore cum cura fierent.

7 Dum haec Romae atque in Italia geruntur, nuntius victoriae ad Cannas Carthaginem venerat Mago Hamilcaris filiius, non ex ipsa acie a fratre missus sed retentus aliquot dies in recipiendis civitatibus
8 Bruttiorum, quae [1] deficiebant. Is, cum ei senatus datus esset, res gestas in Italia a fratre exponit: cum sex imperatoribus eum, quorum quattuor consules, duo dictator ac magister equitum fuerint, cum
9 sex consularibus exercitibus acie conflixisse; occidisse supra ducenta milia hostium, supra quinquaginta milia cepisse. Ex quattuor consulibus duos occidisse: ex duobus saucium alterum, alterum toto amisso exercitu vix cum quinquaginta hominibus
10 effugisse. Magistrum equitum, quae consularis potestas sit, fusum fugatum; dictatorem, quia se in aciem numquam commiserit, unicum haberi imperato-
11 rem. Bruttios Apulosque, partem Samnitium ac Lucanorum defecisse ad Poenos. Capuam, quod

[1] quae A^2: quaeq. $P(1)$: Apulorum Lucanorumque quae *Conway* (*one line*).

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[1] Livy possibly mentioned others besides the Bruttii. In i. 4 Mago is in Samnium for the same purpose.

[2] Five consuls had been defeated by Hannibal: Scipio (Ticinus), Sempronius (Trebia), Flaminius (Trasumennus) Paulus and Varro (Cannae). As Scipio was the wounded consul of § 9, it must be Sempronius who is here omitted. Yet elsewhere much is made of the battle of the Trebia (xviii. 7; xlv. 6). A copyist may have written *viimperatoribus* instead

it aside until he should reach Rome. Further, that B.C. 216
he had carried out with the utmost scrupulosity and
care all the instructions given him, and had then laid
the wreath upon the altar of Apollo at Rome. The
senate decreed that at the first opportunity those
rites should be duly observed with prayers.

While these things were happening at Rome and in Italy, Mago, the son of Hamilcar, had come to Carthage to report the victory at Cannae. He had not been sent by his brother directly from the battle, but had been detained for some time in taking over the Bruttian states which were revolting.[1] Accorded a hearing in the senate, he set forth the achievements of his brother in Italy: that he had fought pitched battles with six high commanders, of whom four were consuls,[2] and two a dictator and a master of the horse,[3] in all with six consular armies; that he had slain over 200,000 of the enemy and captured over 50,000;[4] that of the four consuls he had slain two;[5] of the other two one had fled wounded,[6] the other with barely fifty men, after losing his entire army;[7] that the master of the horse, whose power is that of a consul, had been routed and put to flight; that the dictator was accounted an extraordinary general because he never ventured into battle-line; that the Bruttians and Apulians and some of the Samnites and Lucanians had revolted to the Carthaginians; that

of *viiimperatoribus*. That done, the change of *v* to *iv* (same line and § 9) would be an effort to make the figures tally.

[3] Fabius Maximus, the Cunctator, and Minucius Rufus. Both are included among the defeated generals in spite of what is said in regard to the dictator in § 10.

[4] Exaggerated figures in both cases.

[5] Flaminius and Aemilius Paulus.

[6] Scipio at the Ticinus. [7] Terentius Varro.

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caput non Campaniae modo sed post adflictam rem Romanam Cannensi pugna Italiae sit, Hannibali se [1] 12 tradidisse. Pro his tantis totque victoriis verum esse grates deis immortalibus agi haberique.

XII. Ad fidem deinde tam laetarum rerum effundi in vestibulo curiae iussit anulos aureos, qui tantus acervus fuit ut metientibus dimidium supra [2] tris 2 modios explesse sint quidam auctores; fama tenuit, quae propior vero est, haud plus fuisse modio. Adiecit deinde verbis, quo maioris cladis indicium esset, neminem nisi equitem, atque eorum ipsorum 3 primores, id gerere insigne. Summa fuit orationis, quo propius spem belli perficiendi sit, eo magis omni ope iuvandum Hannibalem esse; procul enim ab domo militiam esse, in media hostium terra; 4 magnam vim frumenti pecuniae absumi, et tot acies, ut hostium exercitus delesse, ita victoris etiam copias 5 parte aliqua minuisse; mittendum igitur supplementum esse, mittendam in stipendium pecuniam frumentumque tam bene meritis de nomine Punico militibus.

6 Secundum haec dicta Magonis laetis omnibus Himilco, vir factionis Barcinae, locum Hannonis increpandi esse ratus, "Quid est, Hanno?" inquit," etiam nunc paenitet belli suscepti adversus Romanos? 7 Iube dedi Hannibalem; veta in tam prosperis rebus

[1] se M^4 (*after* sit *in* A^2): *om.* $P(1)$.
[2] supra *Madvig* (*rejecting* dimidium $P(1)$): super $PM^3(5)$.

Capua, which was the capital not only of Campania, B.C. 216
but, since the blow inflicted upon the Roman state by the battle of Cannae, of Italy also, had surrendered to Hannibal. For these victories, so many and so great, it was proper, he said, that gratitude be expressed and felt toward the immortal gods.

XII. Then in evidence of such successes he ordered the golden rings to be poured out at the entrance of the Senate House. And so great was the heap of them that, when measured, they filled, as some historians assert, three pecks and a half. The prevailing report, and nearer the truth, is that there was not more than one peck. Then, that it might be proof of a greater calamity, he added in explanation that no one but a knight, and even of the knights only those of the higher class, wore that token. The main point of his speech was that the nearer Hannibal came to realizing his hope of ending the war, the more necessary it was to help him by every means. For his campaigning was far from home, in the midst of the enemy's country. A large amount of grain and money was being consumed, he said, and though so many battles had destroyed the enemy's armies, still they had considerably diminished the forces of the victor as well. Therefore they must send reinforcements, they must send money to pay them and grain to soldiers who had deserved so well of the Carthaginian nation.

After these words of Mago, while all were rejoicing, Himilco, a man of the Barca party, thought it an opportunity to rebuke Hanno. "Tell me, Hanno," he said, "is it still to be regretted that we undertook a war against the Romans? Order the surrender of Hannibal! In the midst of such successes forbid the

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grates deis immortalibus agi; audiamus Romanum
8 senatorem in Carthaginiensium curia." Tum Hanno:
"Tacuissem hodie, patres conscripti, ne quid in
communi omnium gaudio minus laetum quod esset
9 vobis loquerer; nunc interroganti senatori, paeni-
teatne[1] adhuc suscepti adversus Romanos belli, si
reticeam, aut superbus aut obnoxius videar, quorum
alterum est hominis alienae libertatis obliti, alterum
10 suae. Respondeam[2]" inquit "Himilconi, non desisse
paenitere me belli neque desiturum ante invictum
vestrum imperatorem incusare quam finitum ali-
qua tolerabili condicione bellum videro; nec mihi
pacis antiquae desiderium ulla alia res quam pax
11 nova finiet. Itaque ista quae modo Mago iactavit
Himilconi ceterisque Hannibalis satellitibus iam
laeta sunt: mihi possunt laeta esse, quia res bello
bene gestae, si volumus fortuna uti, pacem nobis
12 aequiorem dabunt; nam si praetermittimus hoc
tempus quo magis dare quam accipere possumus
videri pacem, vereor ne haec quoque laetitia luxuriet
13 nobis ac vana evadat. Quae tamen nunc quoque
qualis est? 'Occidi exercitus hostium; mittite
milites mihi.' Quid aliud rogares, si esses victus?
14 'Hostium cepi bina castra,' praedae videlicet plena
et commeatuum; 'frumentum et pecuniam date.'
Quid aliud, si spoliatus, si exutus castris esses,
15 peteres? Et ne omnia ipse mirer—mihi quoque

[1] paeniteatne *Alschefski*: paeniteat me *P*(1).
[2] respondeam $P^2(5)M^2$: -ead *P*: -ebo *x*: -eo *Madvig* (*or* -ebo).

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[1] As in the last years of the 1st Punic War.

rendering of thanks to the immortal gods! Let us B.C. 216
listen to a Roman senator in the Carthaginian Senate House." Thereupon Hanno said: "I should have remained silent to-day, members of the senate, for fear of saying something which in the universal rejoicing would bring less joy to you. As it is, when a senator asks me whether it is still a matter of regret that we entered upon a war against the Romans, if I were to remain silent I should be thought either haughty or subservient, of which the one marks a man forgetful of another's independence, the other a man who forgets his own. I should like to say in reply to Himilco," he said, "that I have not ceased to regret the war, and will not cease to accuse your invincible commander until I shall see the war ended on some sufferable terms; nor will anything else than a new peace end my longing for the old peace. And so those facts which Mago has just boastfully reported already give joy to Himilco and the other minions of Hannibal, and *may* give joy to me, since successes in war, if we are willing to make use of our good fortune, will give us a more favourable peace. I mean that if we let slip this moment, when we may be considered as giving, rather than receiving, a peace, I fear that this joy also of ours may run to excess and come to nothing.[1] But even now what is it worth? 'I have slain armies of the enemy. Send me soldiers!' What else would you ask for if you had been defeated? 'I have captured two camps of the enemy,' full of booty and supplies, of course. 'Give me grain and money!' What else would you beg if you had been despoiled, if you had lost your camp? And, not to have all the amazement to myself—for it is right and proper for me too, having

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enim, quoniam respondi Himilconi, interrogare ius fasque est—velim seu Himilco seu Mago respondeat, cum ad internecionem Romani imperii pugnatum ad Cannas sit constetque in defectione totam Italiam
16 esse, primum, ecquis Latini nominis populus defecerit ad nos, deinde, ecquis homo ex quinque et triginta
17 tribubus ad Hannibalem transfugerit?" Cum utrumque Mago negasset, "Hostium quidem ergo" inquit "adhuc nimis multum superest. Sed multitudo ea quid animorum quidve spei habeat scire velim." XIII. Cum id nescire Mago diceret, "Nihil facilius scitu est" inquit. "Ecquos legatos ad Hannibalem Romani miserunt de pace? Ecquam denique mentionem pacis Romae factam esse adla-
2 tum ad vos est?" Cum id quoque negasset, "Bellum igitur" inquit "tam integrum habemus quam habuimus qua die Hannibal in Italiam est transgressus.
3 Quam varia victoria priore Punico[1] bello fuerit plerique qui meminerimus supersumus. Numquam terra marique magis prosperae res nostrae visae sunt quam ante consules C. Lutatium et A. Postumium fuerunt:
4 Lutatio et Postumio consulibus devicti ad Aegatis insulas sumus. Quod si, id quod di omen avertant, nunc quoque fortuna aliquid variaverit, tum pacem speratis cum vincemur, quam nunc cum vincimus
5 dat nemo? Ego, si quis de pace consulet seu deferenda hostibus seu accipienda, habeo quid sententiae dicam: si de iis quae Mago postulat refertis,

[1] Punico *P*(1): bracketed *Gronovius*.

[1] "Roman War" would seem to us better suited to a speaker addressing Carthaginians. Livy here prefers the Roman standpoint.

[2] It was this defeat which brought the previous war to an end, 241 B.C.

answered Himilco, to turn questioner,—I should like B.C. 216
either Himilco or Mago to answer, in the first place, whether any state among the Latins has revolted to us, although the battle of Cannae meant the utter destruction of the Roman power, and it is known that all Italy is in revolt; in the second place, whether any man out of the thirty-five tribes has deserted to Hannibal." On Mago's negative answer to both Hanno said: "Accordingly there remains, to be sure, a very great number of the enemy. But what spirit, what hope that multitude has, I should like to know." XIII. As Mago said he did not know, "Nothing is easier to know," said Hanno. "Have the Romans sent any emissaries to Hannibal suing for peace? Has it been reported to you that even any mention of peace has been made at Rome?" The answer to this also being negative, "Therefore," he said, "we have the war intact, as truly as we had on the day on which Hannibal crossed into Italy. How often victory shifted in the previous Punic War [1] very many of us are alive to remember. Never have our fortunes seemed more favourable on land and sea than they were before the consulship of Gaius Lutatius and Aulus Postumius. But in the consulship of Lutatius and Postumius we were utterly defeated off the Aegates Islands.[2] And if now also—may the gods avert the omen!—fortune shall shift to any extent, do you hope that at the time of our defeat we shall have a peace which no one gives us now when we are victorious? For myself, if some one is about to bring up the question either of offering peace to the enemy or of accepting it, I know what opinion to express. But if you are raising the question of Mago's demands, I do not think it to the

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nec victoribus mitti attinere puto et frustrantibus nos falsa atque inani spe[1] multo minus censeo mittenda esse."

6 Haud multos movit Hannonis oratio; nam et simultas cum familia Barcina leviorem auctorem faciebat et occupati animi praesenti laetitia nihil quo vanius fieret gaudium suum auribus admittebant, debellatumque mox fore, si adniti paulum voluissent,
7 rebantur. Itaque ingenti consensu fit senatus consultum ut Hannibali quattuor milia Numidarum in supplementum mitterentur et quadraginta elephanti
8 et argenti talenta . . . que[2] cum Magone in Hispaniam praemissus est ad conducenda viginti milia peditum, quattuor milia equitum, quibus exercitus qui in Italia quique in Hispania erant supplerentur.

XIV. Ceterum haec, ut in secundis rebus, segniter otioseque gesta; Romanos praeter insitam industriam
2 animis fortuna etiam cunctari prohibebat. Nam nec consul ulli rei quae per eum agenda esset deerat, et dictator M. Iunius Pera rebus divinis perfectis latoque, ut solet, ad populum ut equum escendere liceret, praeter duas urbanas legiones, quae principio anni a consulibus conscriptae fuerant, et servorum dilectum cohortesque ex agro Piceno et Gallico

[1] spe *Gronovius*: que *P*(8): quae C^4R: *om. A*.
[2] *A lost numeral* (D?) *and a general's name* (Carthalo *Madvig*) *have been corrupted into* dictator(que) *P*(1).

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[1] Infantry are not mentioned as to be sent from Carthage. Mercenaries were to be engaged in Spain and sent thence to Hannibal.
[2] In fact Mago is still at Carthage in xxxii. 5.

point to send those things to victors, and I think it B.C. 216
much less necessary to send them to men who are deluding us with a hope unfounded and empty."

Not many were moved by Hanno's speech. For the feud with the Barca family made his advice less weighty, and then minds filled with the joy of the moment would not listen to anything which made their rejoicing less well-founded. And they thought that, if they were willing to add a little to their efforts, the war would soon be finished. Accordingly the senate with great unanimity decreed that four thousand Numidians should be sent to Hannibal as a reinforcement;[1] also forty elephants and . . . silver talents. And . . . was sent in advance to Spain with Mago,[2] for the purpose of hiring twenty thousand infantry and four thousand horse, to reinforce the armies that were in Italy and those in Spain.

XIV. But, as usual in prosperous times, these measures were carried out without spirit and in leisurely fashion, while the Romans, in addition to their inborn activity, were prevented by misfortune also from delaying. That is, the consul was not found wanting in anything which it was his to do, and the dictator, Marcus Junius Pera, after performing the religious rites, proposed to the people according to custom a bill allowing him to be mounted.[3] And then, in addition to the two city legions which had been enrolled by the consuls at the beginning of the year, and the levy of slaves, also the cohorts raised from the Picene and Gallic districts, he stooped

[3] The dictator, as commander of the infantry, was by tradition unmounted. Special permission could be obtained from the people, as here, or from the senate, as Plutarch has it in *Fabius* iv.

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collectas, ad ultimum prope desperatae rei publicae
3 auxilium, cum honesta utilibus cedunt, descendit edixitque qui capitalem fraudem ausi quique pecuniae[1] iudicati in vinculis essent, qui eorum apud se milites fierent, eos noxa pecuniaque sese exsolvi
4 iussurum. Ea sex milia hominum Gallicis spoliis, quae triumpho C. Flamini tralata erant, armavit, itaque cum viginti quinque milibus armatorum ab urbe proficiscitur.

5 Hannibal Capua recepta cum iterum Neapolitanorum animos partim spe, partim metu nequiquam temptasset, in agrum Nolanum exercitum traduxit,
6 ut non hostiliter statim, quia non desperabat voluntariam deditionem, ita, si morarentur spem, nihil eorum quae pati aut timere possent praetermissurus.
7 Senatus ac maxime primores eius in societate Romana cum fide perstare; plebs novarum, ut solet, rerum atque Hannibalis tota esse metumque agrorum populationis et patienda in obsidione multa gravia indignaque proponere animo; neque auctores
8 defectionis deerant. Itaque ubi senatum metus cepit, si propalam tenderent, resisti multitudini concitatae non posse, secunda simulando[2] dilationem
9 mali inveniunt. Placere enim sibi defectionem ad Hannibalem simulant; quibus autem condicionibus in foedus amicitiamque novam transeant, parum
10 constare. Ita spatio sumpto legatos propere ad praetorem Romanum Marcellum Claudium, qui

[1] pecuniae *z*: pecunia *P*(1).
[2] secunda simulando *CM*[2]: secunda simulanda simulando *P*(12); obsecundando *Gronovius*.

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[1] He triumphed over the Gauls in the Po valley in 223 B.C.

to that last defence of a state almost despaired of, B.C. 216
when honour yields to necessity: namely, he issued an edict that, if any men who had committed a capital offence, or were in chains as judgment debtors, should become soldiers under him, he would order their release from punishment or debt. Six thousand such men he armed with Gallic spoils which had been carried in the triumph of Gaius Flaminius,[1] and thus set out from the city with twenty-five thousand armed men.

Hannibal, after gaining possession of Capua and vainly trying, partly by hope, partly by fear, to work for the second time upon the feelings of the Neapolitans, led his army over into the territory of Nola. Though this was not at first with hostile intent, since he did not despair of a voluntary surrender, still he was ready, if they baulked his hope, to omit none of the things which they might suffer or fear to suffer. The senate and especially its leading members stood loyally by the alliance with Rome. But the common people, as usual, were all for a change of government and for Hannibal; and they called to mind the fear of devastation of their lands and the many hardships and indignities they must suffer in case of a siege. And men were not lacking to propose revolt. Accordingly the senators, now obsessed by the fear that, if they should move openly, there could be no resisting the excited crowd, found a way to postpone the evil by pretending agreement. For they pretend that they favour revolt to Hannibal, but that there is no agreement as to the terms on which they may go over to a new alliance and friendship. Thus gaining time, they send emissaries in haste to the Roman praetor, Marcellus Claudius, who

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Casilini cum exercitu erat, mittunt docentque quanto in discrimine sit Nolana res: agrum Hannibalis esse et Poenorum, urbem extemplo futuram ni 11 subveniatur: concedendo plebei senatum ubi velint defecturos se, ne deficere praefestinarent effecisse. 12 Marcellus conlaudatis Nolanis eadem simulatione extrahi rem in suum adventum iussit; interim celari quae secum acta essent spemque omnem auxilii 13 Romani. Ipse a Casilino Caiatiam petit atque inde Volturno amni traiecto per[1] agrum Saticulanum Trebianumque super Suessulam per montis Nolam pervenit.

XV. Sub adventum praetoris Romani Poenus agro Nolano excessit et ad mare proxime Neapolim descendit, cupidus maritimi oppidi potiundi, quo 2 cursus navibus tutus ex Africa esset. Ceterum postquam Neapolim a praefecto Romano teneri accepit—M. Iunius Silanus erat, ab ipsis Neapolitanis accitus—, Neapoli quoque, sicut Nola, omissa 3 petit Nuceriam. Eam cum aliquamdiu circumsedisset, saepe vi saepe sollicitandis nequiquam nunc plebe, nunc principibus, fame demum in deditionem accepit, pactus ut inermes cum singulis abirent 4 vestimentis. Deinde ut qui a principio mitis omnibus Italicis praeter Romanos videri vellet, praemia atque honores qui remanserint[2] ac militare secum voluis-

[1] per *Otto*: perque *P*(1).
[2] remanserint *x*: remanserant *PC*[1](10).

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[1] Marcellus had been sent to Canusium directly after the battle of Cannae to take command (XXII. lvii. 1), and is now near Capua.

[2] This wide detour into mountain country was in order to avoid meeting Hannibal.

was at Casilinum[1] with his army, and inform him in B.C. 216
what danger the Nolan state is placed; that its territory is in the hands of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, and that the city will be so at once, if help be not given; that the senate, by conceding to the common people that they would revolt whenever the people wished, had prevented their making haste to revolt. Marcellus, after warmly praising the men of Nola, bade them postpone matters by the same pretence until his arrival; in the meantime to conceal the dealings they had had with him and all hope of Roman aid. He himself went from Casilinum to Caiatia, and thence, after crossing the river Volturnus, made his way to Nola through the territory of Saticula and that of Trebia, above Suessula and through the mountains.[2]

XV. Upon the arrival of the Roman praetor the Carthaginian left the territory of Nola and came down to the sea near Neapolis, desiring to gain possession of a coast town to which ships might have a safe passage from Africa. But on learning that Neapolis was held by a Roman prefect—it was Marcus Junius Silanus, who had been called in by the Neapolitans themselves—he turned aside from Neapolis also, as he had from Nola, and made for Nuceria. He had besieged that city for some time, often attacking, often attempting in vain to win over the populace, and at another time the leading citizens, when at last by starving them he gained their surrender, stipulating that they leave unarmed and with one garment only. And then, as from the beginning he had wished to be thought merciful to all Italians except the Romans, he promised rewards and honours to any who remained and would serve under

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5 sent proposuit. Nec ea spe quemquam tenuit; dilapsi omnes, quocumque hospitia aut fortuitus animi impetus tulit, per Campaniae urbes, maxime
6 Nolam Neapolimque. Cum ferme triginta senatores, ac forte primus quisque, Capuam petissent, exclusi inde, quod portas Hannibali clausissent, Cumas se contulerunt. Nuceriae praeda militi data est, urbs direpta atque incensa.

7 Nolam Marcellus non sui magis fiducia praesidii quam voluntate principum habebat; plebs timebatur et ante omnis L. Bantius, quem conscientia temptatae defectionis ac metus a praetore Romano nunc ad proditionem patriae, nunc, si ad id fortuna defuisset, ad
8 transfugiendum stimulabat. Erat iuvenis acer et sociorum ea tempestate prope nobilissimus eques. Semineeem eum ad Cannas in acervo caesorum corporum inventum curatumque benigne etiam cum
9 donis Hannibal domum remiserat. Ob eius gratiam meriti rem Nolanam in ius dicionemque dare voluerat Poeno, anxiumque eum et sollicitum cura novandi
10 res praetor cernebat. Ceterum cum aut poena cohibendus esset aut beneficio conciliandus, sibi adsumpsisse quam hosti ademisse fortem ac strenuum maluit
11 socium, accitumque ad se benigne appellat: multos eum invidos inter popularis habere inde existimatu facile esse quod nemo civis Nolanus sibi indicaverit

him. And yet he did not hold anyone by that hope. B.C. 216
They all dispersed, wherever hospitality or impulse happened to carry them, among the cities of Campania, especially Nola and Neapolis. About three hundred senators, and as it chanced all the most prominent, came to Capua, and being refused admission because they had closed their gates to Hannibal, went to Cumae. At Nuceria the booty was given to the soldiers, the city sacked and burned.

As for Nola, Marcellus held it not more by confidence in his force than by the good-will of the leading citizens. He was apprehensive of the common people and above all of Lucius Bantius, who was impelled by the consciousness of an attempted revolt and by fear of the Roman praetor, now to betray his native city, now, if fortune should not favour him in that, to desert. He was a young man of spirit and at that time almost the best-known horseman among the allies. He had been found half-dead at Cannae in a pile of the slain; and Hannibal, after nursing him kindly, had sent him home, even adding gifts. Out of gratitude for that service Bantius had wished to put the state of Nola under the authority and rule of the Carthaginian. And the praetor saw that he was troubled and tormented by his desire for a revolution. But since he had either to be restrained by punishment or else won over by kindness, Marcellus preferred rather to gain for himself a brave and energetic ally than merely to take such a man away from the enemy, and summoning him addressed him kindly. It was easy, he said, to judge that he had among his countrymen many who envied him, and this from the fact that no citizen of Nola had told the speaker how many were his

A.U.C. 538 quam multa eius egregia facinora militaria essent;
12 sed qui in Romanis militaverit castris, non posse obscuram eius virtutem esse. Multos sibi, qui cum eo stipendia fecerint, referre qui vir esset ille, quaeque et quotiens pericula pro salute ac dignitate populi
13 Romani adisset, utique Cannensi proelio non prius pugna abstiterit quam prope exsanguis ruina superincidentium virorum, equorum armorumque sit
14 oppressus. "Itaque macte virtute esto" inquit; "apud me tibi omnis honos atque omne praemium erit, et quo frequentior mecum fueris, senties eam
15 rem tibi dignitati atque emolumento esse." Laetoque iuveni promissis equum eximium dono dat, bigatosque quingentos quaestorem numerare iubet; lictoribus imperat ut cum se adire quotiens velit patiantur. XVI. Hac comitate Marcelli ferocis iuvenis animus adeo est mollitus ut nemo inde sociorum rem Romanam fortius ac fidelius iuverit.

2 Cum Hannibal ad portas esset—Nolam enim rursus a Nuceria movit castra—plebesque Nolana
3 de integro ad defectionem spectaret, Marcellus sub adventum hostium intra muros se recepit, non castris metuens sed ne prodendae urbis occasionem nimis
4 multis in eam imminentibus daret. Instrui deinde utrimque acies coeptae, Romanorum pro moenibus Nolae, Poenorum ante castra sua. Proelia hinc parva inter urbem castraque et vario eventu fiebant,

[1] These silver coins at that time bore the image of Diana (of Victory not long after) driving a two-horse chariot (*biga*).

brilliant feats of arms. But to a man who had served B.C. 216
in the Roman camp his bravery could not be unknown. Many who had been in the service with Bantius were telling the speaker what a man he was, and what dangers he had incurred for the safety and honour of the Roman people, and how often; also how at the battle of Cannae he had not ceased fighting until, almost lifeless, he had been overwhelmed by the mass of men, horses and arms that fell upon him. "And so," he said, "all honour to your courage! Under me you will have every advancement and every reward, and the more constantly you are with me, the more you will feel that it is a distinction and an advantage to you." The youth was delighted with the promises, and Marcellus gave him a fine horse and ordered the quaestor to pay him five hundred denarii.[1] The lictors were bidden to allow him access to the commander whenever he wished. XVI. By this kindliness on the part of Marcellus the high spirit of the young man was so tempered that thereafter none of the allies more bravely and loyally aided the Roman cause.

While Hannibal was at the gates—for he again moved his camp from Nuceria to Nola—and the common people of Nola were making fresh plans to revolt, Marcellus, upon the arrival of the enemy, withdrew within the walls, not fearing for his camp, but lest he give the great number who were impatient for it an opportunity to betray the city. Then on both sides they began to form their battle-lines, the Romans before the walls of Nola, the Carthaginians in front of their camp. Thereupon there were small engagements with varying results in the space between the city and the camp, since the commanders

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quia duces nec prohibere paucos temere provocantis [1] nec dare signum universae pugnae volebant. In hac cotidiana duorum exercituum statione principes Nolanorum nuntiant Marcello noeturna conloquia inter plebem ac Poenos fieri statutumque esse ut, cum Romana acies egressa portis foret,[2] impedimenta eorum ac sarcinas diriperent, clauderent deinde portas murosque occuparent, ut potentes rerum suarum atque urbis Poenum inde pro Romano acciperent. Haec ubi nuntiata Marcello sunt, conlaudatis senatoribus Nolanis, priusquam aliqui motus in urbe oreretur, fortunam pugnae experiri statuit. Ad tris portas in hostes versas tripertito exercitum instruxit; impedimenta subsequi iussit, calones lixasque et invalidos milites vallum ferre. Media porta robora legionum et Romanos equites, duabus circa portis novos milites levemque armaturam ac sociorum equites statuit. Nolani muros portasque adire vetiti, subsidiaque destinata impedimentis data, ne occupatis proelio legionibus in ea impetus fieret. Ita instructi intra portas stabant.

Hannibali sub signis, id quod per aliquot dies fecerat, ad multum diei in acie stanti primo miraculo esse quod nec exercitus Romanus porta egrederetur nec armatus quisquam in muris esset. Ratus deinde

[1] provocantis M^1?A^2: procantis PCR?M: procursantis *Luchs.*

[2] foret *Gronovius*: iret $P(1)$: staret *Weissenborn.*

wished neither to forbid small numbers who rashly B.C. 216
challenged the enemy, nor to give the signal for a general engagement. During this daily guard-duty of the two armies leading citizens of Nola reported to Marcellus that conferences between the common people and the Carthaginians were taking place by night; and that it had been settled that, when the Roman force should be outside the gates and in line, they would plunder their baggage-train and their packs, then close the gates and take possession of the walls, so that, having the control of their affairs and the city in their own hands, they would then admit the Carthaginian instead of the Roman. This being reported to Marcellus, he warmly praised the senators of Nola and resolved to try the fortune of battle before there should be any movement in the city. At the three gates facing the enemy he drew up his army in three sections. He ordered the baggage to bring up the rear, the camp-servants and sutlers and incapacitated soldiers to carry stakes. At the middle gate he posted the pick of the legionaries with the Roman cavalry, at the two gates to right and left the recruits, light-armed and cavalry of the allies. The men of Nola were forbidden to approach the walls and gates, and the forces to be used as reserves were assigned to the baggage, in order to prevent an attack upon it while the legions were fighting. In this formation they were standing inside the gates.

Hannibal, who remained in battle-line under the standards until late in the day, as he had done for several days, at first wondered that the Roman army did not come out of the gate and that there was not one armed man on the walls. Then, supposing

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prodita conloquia esse metuque resides factos, partem militum in castra remittit iussos propere adparatum omnem oppugnandae urbis in primam aciem adferre, satis fidens, si cunctantibus instaret, tumultum ali-
12 quem in urbe plebem moturam. Dum in sua quisque ministeria discursu trepidat ad prima signa succeditque ad muros acies, patefacta repente porta Marcellus signa canere clamoremque tolli ac pedites primum, deinde equites, quanto maximo possent impetu in
13 hostem erumpere iubet. Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem mediam intulerant, cum duabus circa portis P. Valerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua
14 hostium erupere. Addidere clamorem lixae calonesque et alia turba custodiae impedimentorum adposita, ut paucitatem maxime spernentibus Poenis
15 ingentis repente exercitus speciem fecerit. Vix equidem ausim adfirmare, quod quidam auctores sunt, duo milia et octingentos hostium caesos non
16 plus quingentis Romanorum amissis; sed [1] sive tanta sive minor victoria fuit, ingens eo die res ac nescio an maxima illo bello gesta est:[2] non vinci enim ab Hannibale [3] difficilius fuit quam postea vincere.

XVII. Hannibal spe potiundae Nolae adempta cum Acerras recessisset, Marcellus extemplo clausis portis custodibusque dispositis, ne quis egrederetur,

[1] amissis; sed *Alschefski*: amisisset PMD^2R^x: amisisse CM^x: amisisse sed A.

[2] est *Freinsheim*: sit $P(1)$.

[3] *After* Hannibale $P(1)$ *have* vincentibus (*with* tum *or* tunc x): vinci timentibus *Weissenborn, Conway.*

the conferences to have been betrayed, and that B.C. 216
inaction was the result of fear, he sent part of his soldiers back to the camp, with orders to bring up in haste to the front line all the equipment for besieging the city. He was quite confident that, if he should press the hesitating, the common people would stir up some outbreak in the city. While they were scattering to their several duties and hastening to the first standards, and the line was advancing to the walls, the gate suddenly opened and Marcellus ordered the trumpets to be sounded and a shout raised; that infantry at first, and then cavalry should sally out against the enemy with all the dash possible. They had carried sufficient panic and confusion into the centre, when Publius Valerius Flaccus and Gaius Aurelius, his lieutenants, sallied out of the two gates on this side and that, to attack the enemy's wings. Sutlers and camp-servants raised another shout, as did the rest of the crowd stationed to guard the baggage so that the shouting gave the sudden impression of a very large army to the Carthaginians, who particularly despised their small numbers. I should hardly venture to assert, what some have affirmed, that 2800 of the enemy were slain, while not more than 500 of the Romans were lost. But whether the victory was on such a scale or less, a very great thing, I rather think the greatest in that war, was accomplished that day. For not to be defeated by Hannibal was a more difficult thing than it was later to defeat him.

XVII. Now that Hannibal had lost hope of gaining Nola and had retired to Acerrae, Marcellus at once closed the gates, stationed guards to prevent anyone from leaving, and carried on in the forum an

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quaestionem in foro de iis qui clam in conloquiis
2 hostium fuerant habuit. Supra septuaginta damnatos proditionis securi percussit bonaque eorum iussit
3 publica populi Romani esse, et summa rerum senatui tradita cum exercitu omni profectus supra Suessulam
4 castris positis consedit. Poenus Acerras primum ad voluntariam deditionem conatus perlicere, inde [1] postquam obstinatos videt, obsidere atque oppugnare
5 parat. Ceterum Acerranis plus animi quam virium erat; itaque desperata tutela urbis, ut circumvallari moenia viderunt, priusquam continuarentur hostium opera, per intermissa munimenta neglectasque
6 custodias silentio noctis dilapsi, per vias inviaque qua quemque aut consilium aut error tulit, in urbes Campaniae, quas satis certum erat non mutasse fidem, perfugerunt.

7 Hannibal Acerris direptis atque incensis, cum a Casilino [2] dictatorem Romanum legionesque novas acciri [3] nuntiassent, ne quid [4] tam propinquis hostium castris Capuae quoque moveretur,[5] exercitum ad
8 Casilinum ducit. Casilinum eo tempore quingenti Praenestini habebant cum paucis Romanis Latinique nominis, quos eodem audita Cannensis clades contu-
9 lerat. Hi, non confecto Praeneste ad diem dilectu, serius profecti domo cum Casilinum ante famam adversae pugnae venissent, et, aliis adgregantibus sese Romanis sociisque, profecti a Casilino cum satis

[1] inde $P(1)$, *but after* obstinatos; *before* postquam *Walters*.
[2] Casilino A^2 *Valla*: Casino $P(1)$.
[3] novas acciri A^y *Valla*: nimis accipi $P(5)M^x$: acciri *Walters*.
[4] ne quid *Lipsius*: ne quis $P(1)$: ne quid novi *Walters*.
[5] moveretur *Gronovius*: orerecurrunt P: recurrunt $P^{2?}(4)$: occurreret *Lipsius*.

investigation of those who had been in secret confer- B.C. 216
ences with the enemy. Over seventy having been condemned as traitors, he beheaded them and ordered that their possessions should be public property of the Roman people. And setting out with his whole army, after turning over the government to the senate, he pitched camp and established himself above Suessula. The Carthaginian first tried to entice Acerrae into a voluntary surrender: then, seeing them steadfast, prepared to blockade and attack them. But the men of Acerrae had more courage than resources. Accordingly they gave up hope of defending the city, and when they saw that their walls were being encircled, before the enemy's works should be made continuous, they slipped away in the dead of night through the gaps in the earthworks and through neglected guard-posts. Making their way along the roads and where there were none, just as prudence or chance guided the wanderer, they fled for refuge to those cities of Campania of which it was known that they had not changed sides.

After plundering and burning Acerrae, when word had come from Casilinum that the Roman dictator and fresh legions were being summoned, Hannibal led his army to Casilinum, in order to prevent any uprising at Capua also, while the enemy's camp was so near. Casilinum was at that time held by five hundred Praenestines, with a few Romans and Latins, whom the news of the disaster at Cannae had brought thither. As the levy at Praeneste was not completed at the proper date, they had been late in setting out from home, and had reached Casilinum before the news of the defeat. And joined by others, Romans and allies, they set out from Casilinum and, as

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magno agmine irent, avertit eos retro Casilinum
10 nuntius Cannensis pugnae. Ibi cum dies aliquot, suspecti Campanis timentesque, cavendis ac struendis in vicem insidiis traduxissent, ut de Capuae defectione agi acciperique Hannibalem satis pro certo habuere, interfectis nocte oppidanis partem urbis, quae eis Volturnum est—eo enim dividitur amni—occupavere, idque praesidii Casilini habebant Ro-
11 mani. Additur et Perusina cohors, homines quadringenti sexaginta, eodem nuntio quo Praenestini
12 paucos ante dies, Casilinum compulsi. Et satis ferme armatorum ad tam exigua moenia et flumine altera parte cincta tuenda erat: penuria frumenti nimium etiam ut videretur hominum efficiebat.

XVIII. Hannibal cum iam inde haud procul esset, Gaetulos cum praefecto nomine Isalca praemittit ac primo, si fiat conloquii copia, verbis benignis ad portas aperiundas praesidiumque accipiendum perlicere iubet: si in pertinacia perstent, vi rem gerere ac temptare si qua parte invadere urbem possit.
2 Ubi ad moenia adcessere, quia silentium erat, solitudo visa; metuque concessum barbarus ratus moliri
3 portas et claustra refringere parat, cum patefactis repente portis cohortes duae, ad id ipsum instructae intus, ingenti cum tumultu erumpunt stragemque
4 hostium faciunt. Ita primis repulsis Maharbal cum

[1] The right (north) bank of the river.

they were proceeding in a fairly large column, the B.C. 216
report of the battle of Cannae turned them back again to Casilinum. There, being suspected by the Campanians and apprehensive, they spent some days in alternately guarding against plots and hatching them. When credibly informed that the revolt of Capua and Hannibal's entry were being negotiated, they slew townspeople in the night and seized that part of the city which is on this side [1] of the Volturnus—for it is divided by that river; and this was the garrison the Romans had at Casilinum. It was joined by a cohort from Perusia, four hundred and sixty men, who had been driven to Casilinum by the same news as the Praenestines a few days before. And there were quite enough men to defend so small a walled city, bounded on one side by the river. But the lack of grain made it seem that there were even too many men.

XVIII. Hannibal, being now not far away, sent his Gaetulians ahead under a prefect named Isalca. And he ordered him, if there should be an opportunity for a conference, at first by kind words to entice them to open the gates and admit a garrison; but if they persisted in their obstinacy, to use force and see if at some point he could make his way into the city. When they approached the walls, because of the stillness they thought them deserted. And the barbarian, supposing the garrison had withdrawn in alarm, was preparing to force the gates and break open the bars, when suddenly the gates were opened and the two cohorts, drawn up inside for that very purpose, sallied out with a mighty uproar, and wrought havoc among the enemy. The first troops being thus beaten back, Maharbal, who had been

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maiore robore virorum missus nec ipse eruptionem cohortium sustinuit. Postremo Hannibal castris ante ipsa moenia oppositis[1] parvam urbem parvumque praesidium summa vi atque omnibus copiis oppugnare parat, ac dum instat lacessitque, corona undique circumdatis moenibus, aliquot milites et promptissimum quemque e muro turribusque ictos amisit. Semel ultro erumpentis agmine elephantorum opposito prope interclusit trepidosque compulit in urbem satis multis ut ex tanta paucitate interfectis. Plures cecidissent ni nox proelio intervenisset. Postero die omnium animi ad oppugnandum accenduntur, utique postquam corona aurea muralis proposita est, atque ipse dux castelli plano loco positi segnem oppugnationem Sagunti expugnatoribus exprobrabat, Camarum Trasumennique et Trebiae singulos admonens universosque. Inde vineae quoque coeptae agi cuniculique; nec ad varios conatus hostium aut vis ulla aut ars deerat sociis Romanorum. Propugnacula adversus vineas statuere, transversis cuniculis hostium cuniculos excipere, et palam et clam coeptis obviam ire, donec pudor etiam Hannibalem ab incepto avertit, castrisque communitis ac praesidio modico imposito, ne omissa res videretur, in hiberna Capuam concessit.

Ibi partem maiorem hiemis exercitum in tectis

[1] oppositis *P*(1): positis *x Madvig.*

[1] The elephants sent by order of the Carthaginian senate (xiii. 7) must have arrived. Of those he had brought from Spain only one reached Central Italy (XXII. ii. 10).

[2] Awarded to the first man to scale the wall of a city; Polybius VI. xxxix. 5; Livy XXVI. xlviii. 5; Gellius V. vi. 16 and 19.

[3] Cf. XXI. xv.

sent with a larger number of picked men, was likewise unable to withstand the sally of the cohorts. Finally Hannibal pitched his camp directly before the walls and prepared to assault the small city and small garrison with the greatest violence and with all his forces. And while he was pressing the attack, the walls being completely encircled by his men, he lost a considerable number, the most active at that, being hit by missiles from the wall and the towers. When they actually sallied out once, he almost cut off their retreat by sending a column of elephants[1] against them, and drove them in alarm into the city, after a good number, for so small a force, had been slain. More would have fallen if night had not interrupted the battle. On the next day all were fired to make the assault, especially after a mural crown of gold[2] was displayed to them, and the general himself kept making their spiritless attack upon a fort on level ground a reproach to the captors of Saguntum,[3] reminding them singly and collectively of Cannae and Trasumennus and Trebia. Then they began to push forward their sheds also and mines. And to meet the different attempts made by the enemy no kind of activity, no ingenuity, proved lacking to the allies of the Romans. They set up defences to meet the sheds; by transverse mines they intercepted the enemy's mines; they forestalled his attempts both visible and invisible, until shame helped to divert Hannibal from his undertaking. And after fortifying his camp and posting a small garrison, that the attempt might not appear to have been abandoned, he retired into winter-quarters at Capua. B.C. 216

There he kept under roofs for the greater part of

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habuit, adversus omnia humana mala saepe ac diu
11 duratum, bonis inexpertum atque insuetum. Itaque, quos nulla mali vicerat vis, perdidere nimia bona ac voluptates immodicae, et eo impensius quo avidius ex
12 insolentia in eas se merserant. Somnus enim et vinum et epulae et scorta balineaque et otium consuetudine in dies blandius ita enervaverunt corpora animosque ut magis deinde praeteritae victoriae eos
13 quam praesentes tutarentur vires, maiusque id peccatum ducis apud peritos artium militarium haberetur quam quod non ex Cannensi acie protinus ad urbem Romanam duxisset: illa enim cunctatio distulisse modo victoriam videri potuit, hic error
14 vires ademisse ad vincendum. Itaque hercule, velut si cum alio exercitu a Capua exiret, nihil usquam
15 pristinae disciplinae tenuit. Nam et redierunt plerique scortis impliciti, et, ubi primum sub pellibus haberi coepti sunt, viaque et alius militaris labor excepit, tironum modo corporibus animisque deficie-
16 bant, et deinde per omne aestivorum tempus magna pars sine commeatibus ab signis dilabebantur, neque aliae latebrae quam Capua desertoribus erant.

XIX. Ceterum mitescente iam hieme educto ex
2 hibernis milite Casilinum redit, ubi, quamquam ab oppugnatione cessatum erat, obsidio tamen continua

[1] For the effect of wintering at Capua cf. xlv. 4 (the famous epigram, as if from the lips of Marcellus), and *ib.* 6 (Hannibal's words, as Livy imagined them). Strabo confirms, Polybius denies (V. iv. 13; XI. xix. 3 respectively).

the winter troops that had been hardened long and repeatedly against all human hardships, but had no experience or familiarity with comforts. And so those whom no severe hardship had conquered were ruined by excess of comfort and immoderate pleasures and the more completely ruined the more eagerly they in their inexperience had plunged into them. For sleep and wine, and feasts and harlots, and baths and idleness, which habit made daily more seductive, so weakened their bodies and spirits that it was their past victories rather than their present strength which thereafter protected them; and this was regarded among the military experts as a more serious failure in their commander than that he had not led his men from the field of Cannae forthwith to the city of Rome. For that delay could be regarded as having merely retarded the victory, this mistake as having robbed him of the power to win. And so in fact, just as if he were setting out from Capua with a different army, not a trace of the old-time morale survived. For they came back most of them ensnared by harlots, and also as soon as they began to be quartered in tents, and the march and other tasks of the soldier followed, they would give out both in body and in spirit after the manner of recruits. And afterwards through the whole season of summer camps a great many kept slipping away from their standards without furloughs; and deserters had no hiding-places other than Capua.[1] B.C. 216

XIX. But when winter was now growing mild, Hannibal led his troops out of winter quarters and returned to Casilinum. There, although they had been making no more attacks, an uninterrupted

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oppidanos praesidiumque ad ultimum inopiae
3 adduxerat. Castris Romanis Ti. Sempronius praeerat dictatore auspiciorum repetendorum causa
4 profecto Romam. Marcellum et ipsum cupientem ferre auxilium obsessis et Volturnus amnis inflatus aquis et preces Nolanorum Acerranorumque tenebant, Campanos timentium si praesidium Romanum
5 abscessisset. Graechus adsidens tantum Casilino, quia praedictum erat dictatoris ne quid absente eo rei gereret, nihil movebat, quamquam quae facile omnem patientiam vincerent nuntiabantur a Casi-
6 lino: nam et praecipitasse se quosdam non tolerantes famem constabat, et stare inermes in muris, nuda
7 corpora ad missilium telorum ictus praebentes. Ea aegre patiens Graechus, cum neque pugnam conserere dictatoris iniussu auderet—pugnandum autem esse, si palam frumentum importaret, videbat—neque clam
8 importandi spes esset, farre ex agris circa undique convecto cum complura dolia complesset, nuntium ad magistratum Casilinum misit ut exciperent dolia
9 quae amnis deferret. Insequenti nocte intentis omnibus in flumen ac spem ab nuntio Romano factam dolia medio missa amni defluxerunt; aequaliterque
10 inter omnes frumentum divisum. Id postero quoque die ac tertio factum est; nocte et mittebantur et
11 perveniebant; eo custodias hostium fallebant. Imbribus deinde continuis citatior solito amnis transverso

[1] If the auspices were alleged to be defective, the commander returned to Rome to take them again: VIII. xxx. 2.

[2] The city had not been entirely destroyed (xvii. 7), and part of the population must have returned.

blockade had nevertheless brought townspeople B.C. 216
and garrison to extreme want. The Roman camp was commanded by Tiberius Sempronius, since the dictator had gone to Rome to take new auspices.[1] Marcellus, who was likewise eager to bring aid to the besieged, was held back both by a flood of the river Volturnus and by entreaties of the men of Nola and Acerrae,[2] who feared the Campanians if the Roman garrison should withdraw. Gracchus, merely remaining near Casilinum, because it was the dictator's order that he take no action in his absence, made no move, although facts which would easily pass all endurance were being reported from Casilinum. For it was established that some, unable to endure hunger, had thrown themselves from the wall, and that men stood unarmed on the walls exposing unprotected bodies to wounds from missile weapons. Gracchus, though indignant at this, did not dare to engage the enemy without the dictator's order, and saw that, if he should try openly to carry in grain, he must fight. As there was also no hope of carrying it in secretly, he filled many huge jars with spelt brought from the farms all around, and sent word to the magistrate at Casilinum that they should catch up the jars which the river was bringing down. In the following night, while all were intent upon the river and the hope aroused by the Roman messenger, the jars set adrift in midstream floated down, and the grain was evenly divided among them all. This was done the next day also and the third day. It was night when they were set adrift and when they arrived. In that way they escaped the notice of the enemy's guards. After that the stream, now swifter than usual because of incessant rains, forced

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vertice dolia impulit ad ripam quam hostes servabant. Ibi haerentia inter obnata ripis salicta conspiciuntur, nuntiatumque Hannibali est, et deinde intentiore custodia cautum ne quid falleret Volturno ad urbem
12 missum. Nuces tamen fusae ab Romanis castris, cum medio amni ad Casilinum defluerent, cratibus excipiebantur.

13 Postremo ad id ventum inopiae est ut lora detractasque scutis pelles, ubi fervida mollissent aqua, mandere conarentur nec muribus aliove animali abstinerent et omne herbarum radicumque genus
14 aggeribus infimis muri eruerent. Et cum hostes obarassent quidquid herbidi terreni extra murum erat, raporum semen iniecerunt, ut Hannibal "Eone usque dum ea nascuntur ad Casilinum sessurus sum?"
15 exclamaret; et qui nullam antea pactionem auribus admiserat, tum demum agi secum est passus de
16 redemptione liberorum capitum. Septunces auri in singulos pretium convenit. Fide accepta tradiderunt sese. Donec omne aurum persolutum est, in vinculis
17 habiti; tum remissi summa cum fide. Id verius est quam ab equite in abeuntis immisso interfectos. Praenestini maxima pars fuere. Ex quingentis septuaginta qui in praesidio fuerunt minus [1] dimidium ferrum famesque absumpsit: ceteri incolumes Praeneste cum praetore suo M. Anicio—scriba is antea

[1] minus *P*(1): haud minus *x Madvig.*

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[1] Hannibal had a chain across the river according to Frontinus *Strat.* III. xiv. 2.

[2] This was to impress Hannibal with their confidence that their supplies would hold out for months, and that they did not need the grass and herbs of which he had deprived them; Frontinus III. xv. 3; Strabo V. iv. 10.

the jars by a cross current to the bank guarded by B.C. 216
the enemy. There, caught among the willows growing on the banks, they were seen and it was reported to Hannibal. And thereafter by a closer watch they saw to it that nothing sent down the Volturnus to the city should escape notice.[1] However nuts which were poured out from the Roman camp, as they floated down the middle of the river to Casilinum, were caught by crates.

Finally they reached such a pitch of distress that they tried, after softening them by hot water, to chew thongs and the hides stripped off of shields; and they did not abstain from rats and other animals, and dug out every kind of plant and root from the bank beneath the wall. And when the enemy had ploughed up all the grassy ground outside the wall, the garrison sowed turnips,[2] so that Hannibal exclaimed "Am I to sit before Casilinum until those seeds come up?" And the man who had never before listened to any terms now at last allowed them to treat with him in regard to ransoming the free men. Seven-twelfths of a pound of gold was agreed upon as the price per man.[3] On receiving his promise they surrendered. They were kept in chains until all the gold was paid, then with strict regard for his promise they were released. This is the more correct version than that they were slain by a charge of cavalry as they departed. The majority were Praenestines. Of the five hundred and seventy who were in the garrison sword and starvation carried off less than half. The rest returned safe to Praeneste with their commander Marcus Anicius, who had

[3] Nearly four times the ransom demanded for an ally (200 denarii) after the battle of Cannae; XXII. lii. 2.

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18 fuerat—redierunt. Statua eius indicio fuit Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, velato capite, cum titulo lamnae aeneae inscripto, M. Anicium pro militibus qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint votum solvisse. Idem titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positis fuit subiectus. XX. Casilinum oppidum redditum Campanis est, firmatum septingentorum militum de exercitu Hannibalis praesidio, ne, ubi Poenus inde abscessisset, Romani oppugnarent. 2 Praenestinis militibus senatus Romanus duplex stipendium et quinquennii militiae vacationem decrevit; civitate cum donarentur ob virtutem, non 3 mutaverunt. Perusinorum casus obscurior fama est, quia nec ipsorum monumento ullo est inlustratus nec decreto Romanorum.

4 Eodem tempore Petelinos, qui uni ex Bruttiis manserant in amicitia Romana, non Carthaginienses modo qui regionem obtinebant, sed Bruttii quoque ceteri ob separata ab se consilia oppugnabant. 5 Quibus cum obsistere malis nequirent Petelini, legatos Romam ad praesidium petendum miserunt. Quorum preces lacrimaeque—in questus enim flebiles, cum sibimet ipsi consulere iussi sunt, sese in vestibulo curiae profuderunt—ingentem misericordiam patri- 6 bus ac populo moverunt; consultique iterum a M. Aemilio praetore patres circumspectis omnibus

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[1] *I.e.* they did not accept.

[2] Petelia, not far north of Croton, was an exception to the statement that all the Bruttians had gone over to the Carthaginians; XXII. lxi. 12.

[3] Probably elected in place of Postumius, who fell in Gaul (xxiv. 11).

formerly been a clerk. As evidence there formerly B.C. 216
stood in the forum of Praeneste a statue of the man, wearing a cuirass and draped in a toga, with his head covered. It had an inscription on a bronze plate, stating that Marcus Anicius had paid his vow on behalf of the soldiers who were in the garrison at Casilinum. The same inscription was placed beneath three images of gods set up in the Temple of Fortune. XX. The town of Casilinum was restored to the Campanians and defended by a garrison of seven hundred men from the army of Hannibal, that the Romans might not attack it when the Carthaginian should withdraw. To the Praenestine soldiers the Roman senate voted double pay and exemption from service for five years. Though rewarded for their courage with the gift of Roman citizenship, they made no change.[1] As to the fate of the Perusians the report is less clear, since no light has been thrown upon it either by any record of their own or by a decree of the Romans.

At the same time the Petelini,[2] who alone among the Bruttians had remained in the friendship of Rome, were being attacked not only by the Carthaginians, who were holding the region, but also by the rest of the Bruttians for not making common cause with them. Unable to withstand these dangers, the Petelini sent legates to Rome to ask for a garrison. The prayers of the legates and their tears—for when ordered to shift for themselves they gave way to tearful complaints before the entrance of the Senate House—stirred great compassion among senators and people. And when consulted a second time by Marcus Aemilius, a praetor,[3] the senators, after surveying all the resources of the empire, were

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imperii viribus fateri coacti nihil iam longinquis sociis in se praesidii esse, redire domum fideque ad ultimum expleta consulere sibimet ipsos in reliquum
7 pro[1] praesenti fortuna iusserunt. Haec postquam renuntiata legatio Petelinis est, tantus repente maeror pavorque senatum eorum cepit ut pars profugiendi qua quisque posset ac deserendae urbis
8 auctores essent, pars, quando deserti a veteribus sociis essent, adiungendi se ceteris Bruttiis ac per eos
9 dedendi Hannibali. Vicit tamen ea pars quae nihil raptim nec temere agendum consulendumque de
10 integro censuit. Relata postero die per minorem trepidationem re tenuerunt optimates ut convectis omnibus ex agris urbem ac muros firmarent.

XXI. Per idem fere tempus litterae ex Sicilia
2 Sardiniaque Romam allatae. Priores ex Sicilia T. Otacilii propraetoris in senatu recitatae sunt: P. Furium praetorem cum classe ex Africa Lilybaeum venisse; ipsum graviter saucium in discrimine ultimo vitae esse; militi ac navalibus sociis neque stipendium neque frumentum ad diem dari neque
3 unde detur esse; magnopere suadere ut quam primum ea mittantur, sibique, si ita videatur, ex
4 novis praetoribus successorem mittant. Eademque ferme de stipendio frumentoque ab A. Cornelio Mammula propraetore ex Sardinia scripta. Responsum

[1] pro *Madvig*: in *z*: *om.* *P*(1).

[1] The siege lasted eleven months, and at the last they were subsisting on hides, bark, twigs, etc.; xxx. 1 ff.; Polybius VII. i. 3.

compelled to admit that they themselves no longer B.C. 216
had any means to protect distant allies. They ordered them to return home, and having fulfilled their obligation to the last, to shift for themselves for the future as best the situation permitted. When this outcome of the embassy was reported at Petelia, such dejection and fear unexpectedly seized their senate that some proposed to flee, each taking any possible road, and to abandon the city, while others, since they had been deserted by their old allies, proposed to join the rest of the Bruttians and through them to surrender to Hannibal. But those who thought nothing should be done hastily or rashly, and that they should deliberate again, prevailed. When the matter was brought up in less excitement the following day, the optimates carried their point, that they should bring in everything from the farms and strengthen the city and the walls.[1]

XXI. About the same time letters from Sicily and Sardinia were brought to Rome. First to be read in the senate were those from Sicily and Titus Otacilius, the propraetor, reporting that Publius Furius, the praetor, had come with his fleet from Africa to Lilybaeum: that Furius himself had been seriously wounded and his life was in the utmost danger; that neither pay nor grain was being furnished to the soldiers and the crews at the proper date, and they had no means of doing so; that he strongly urged that both be sent as soon as possible, and that they send a successor chosen, if they saw fit, from the number of the new praetors. Much the same facts in regard to pay and grain were reported from Sardinia by Aulus Cornelius Mammula, the propraetor. To each the reply was that there

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utrique non esse unde mitteretur, iussique ipsi
5 classibus atque exercitibus suis consulere. T. Otacilius ad unicum subsidium populi Romani, Hieronem, legatos cum misisset, in stipendium quanti argenti
6 opus fuit et sex mensum frumentum accepit; Cornelio in Sardinia civitates sociae benigne contulerunt. Et Romae quoque propter penuriam argenti triumviri mensarii rogatione M. Minuci tribuni plebis facti, L. Aemilius Papus, qui consul censorque fuerat, et M. Atilius Regulus, qui bis consul fuerat, et L.
7 Scribonius Libo, qui tum tribunus plebis erat. Et duumviri creati M. et C. Atilii aedem Concordiae, quam L. Manlius praetor voverat, dedicaverunt; et tres pontifices creati, Q. Caecilius Metellus et Q. Fabius Maximus et Q. Fulvius Flaccus, in locum P. Scantini demortui et L. Aemili Pauli consulis et Q. Aeli Paeti, qui ceciderant pugna Cannensi.

XXII. Cum cetera quae continuis cladibus fortuna minuerat, quantum consiliis humanis adsequi po-
2 terant, patres explessent, tandem se quoque et solitudinem curiae paucitatemque convenientium ad
3 publicum consilium respexerunt. Neque enim post L. Aemilium et C. Flaminium censores senatus lectus fuerat, cum tantum senatorum adversae pugnae, ad

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[1] Hiero II had ruled Syracuse 270–215 B.C.; a faithful ally of the Romans from 263 to his death. For his sympathy and aid, including the gift of a golden Victory, after the battle of the Trasumennus, cf. XXII. xxxvii.

[2] In the citadel, begun in 217 B.C.; XXII. xxxiii. 7 f.

was nothing on hand to send, and they were ordered B.C. 216
to provide for their own fleets and armies. Titus Otacilius sent legates to Hiero, the mainstay of the Roman people,[1] and received what money was needed for pay, and grain for six months. In Sardinia the allied states made generous contributions to Cornelius. And at Rome besides, on account of the lack of money, three bank-commissioners were named in accordance with a bill of Marcus Minucius, a tribune of the plebs, namely, Lucius Aemilius Papus, who had been consul and censor, and Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had been consul twice, and Lucius Scribonius Libo, who was at that time a tribune of the plebs. And Marcus Atilius and Gaius Atilius, elected duumvirs, dedicated a temple of Concord,[2] which Lucius Manlius had vowed in his praetorship. And three pontiffs, Quintus Caecilius Metellus and Quintus Fabius Maximus and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, were elected[3] in place of Publius Scantinius, deceased, and of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the consul, and Quintus Aelius Paetus, both of whom had fallen in the battle of Cannae.

XXII. After making good, in so far as they could accomplish it by human wisdom, the other losses fortune had caused by a series of disasters, the fathers at last had regard for themselves as well and for the desolate Senate House and the small number that came to the council of state. For since the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Flaminius the list of the senate had not been revised, although the defeats and in addition the fate of individuals

[3] *I.e.* by the college of pontiffs. Fabius is the Delayer, dictator in 217 B.C. Fulvius was consul twice before this war, and twice again during the war, 212 and 209.

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hoc sui quemque casus per quinquennium absump-
4 sissent. Cum de ea re M. Aemilius praetor, dictatore post Casilinum amissum profecto iam [1] ad exercitum, exposcentibus cunctis rettulisset, tum Sp. Carvilius, cum longa oratione non patrum [2] solum inopiam sed paucitatem etiam civium ex quibus in patres legeren-
5 tur conquestus esset, explendi senatus causa et iungendi artius Latini nominis cum populo Romano magnopere se suadere dixit ut ex singulis populis Latinorum binis senatoribus, quibus [3] patres Romani censuissent, civitas daretur atque inde in [4] demor-
6 tuorum locum in senatum legerentur. Eam sententiam haud aequioribus animis quam ipsorum quon-
7 dam postulatum Latinorum patres audierunt; et cum fremitus indignantium tota curia esset, et praecipue T. Manlius esse etiam nunc eius stirpis virum diceret ex qua quondam in Capitolio consul minatus esset quem Latinum in curia vidisset cum sua manu
8 se interfecturum, Q. Fabius Maximus numquam rei ullius alieniore tempore mentionem factam in senatu dicit quam inter tam suspensos sociorum animos incertamque fidem id iactum quod insuper sollici-
9 taret eos. Eam unius hominis temerariam vocem silentio omnium exstinguendam esse et, si quid unquam arcani sanctive ad silendum in curia fuerit,

[1] iam A^{γ} *Valla* : tam $P(1)$: tandem *Luchs* : *om.* xC^{x}.
[2] patrum *H. J. Müller* (*this order*) : senatus x : senatorum *Weissenborn* : eam *Harant* : *om.* $P(1)$.
[3] quibus *J. H. Voss* : quos A^{γ} : si x : *om.* $P(1)$.
[4] inde in x *Frigell* : in $P(1)$: ei in *Madvig*.

[1] Cf. above, vi. 8 and note.

had in the five years carried off so large a number B.C. 216
of senators. Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, raised that question, as all demanded that he should, since the dictator had already gone to the army after the loss of Casilinum. Thereupon Spurius Carvilius, after complaining in a long speech, not of the lack of senators only, but also of the small number of citizens from whom men might be chosen into the senate, said that for the sake of recruiting the senate and of linking the Latins more closely with the Roman people, he strongly urged that citizenship be bestowed upon two senators from each of the Latin states, to be selected by the Roman fathers; and that from this number men be chosen into the senate in place of the deceased members. The fathers gave no more favourable hearing to this proposal than they had given to a former demand of the Latins themselves.[1] There was a murmur of indignation everywhere in the hall, and in particular Titus Manlius said that there still lived a man of the family to which belonged the consul who on the Capitol had once threatened that he would slay with his own hand any Latin he should see in the Senate House.[2] Upon that Quintus Fabius Maximus said that never had anything been mentioned in the senate at a more unfavourable moment than this had been broached, in the midst of such unsettled feeling and wavering loyalty among the allies, only to stir them up the more: that that rash utterance of a single man should be drowned by silence on the part of them all: and that, if there was ever any hallowed secret to be left unmentioned

[2] The threat was recorded in VIII. v. 7. The present Manlius had opposed ransoming the captives at Cannae; XXII. lx. 5 ff.

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id omnium maxime tegendum, occulendum, oblivis-
cendum, pro non dicto[1] habendum esse. Ita eius
rei oppressa mentio est.
10 Dictatorem, qui censor ante fuisset vetustissi-
musque ex iis qui viverent censoriis esset, creari
placuit qui senatum legeret, accirique C. Terentium
11 consulem ad dictatorem dicendum iusserunt. Qui ex
Apulia relicto ibi praesidio cum magnis itineribus
Romam redisset, nocte proxima, ut mos erat, M.
Fabium Buteonem ex senatus consulto sine magistro
equitum dictatorem in sex menses dixit. XXIII. Is
ubi cum lictoribus in rostra escendit, neque duos
dictatores tempore uno, quod numquam antea factum
2 esset, probare se dixit, neque dictatorem sine magis-
tro equitum, nec censoriam vim uni permissam et
eidem iterum, nec dictatori, nisi rei gerendae causa
3 creato, in sex menses datum imperium. Quae in-
moderata forsan[2] tempus ac necessitas fecerit, iis
se modum impositurum: nam neque senatu quem-
quam moturum ex iis quos C. Flaminius L. Aemilius
4 censores in senatum legissent; transcribi tantum
recitarique eos iussurum, ne penes unum hominem
iudicium arbitriumque de fama ac moribus senatoris
fuerit; et ita in demortuorum locum sublecturum ut
ordo ordini, non homo homini praelatus videretur.
5 Recitato vetere senatu, inde primos in demortuorum
locum legit qui post L. Aemilium C. Flaminium cen-

[1] non dicto M^2A: dicto P(11): indicto *Alschefski*.
[2] forsan *Madvig*: fors P(1).

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[1] *I.e.* Varro, defeated at Cannae.

[2] Minucius, master of the horse, had finally been given by the people equal authority with Fabius, but that did not make him legally a dictator; XXII. xxvi. 7; xxvii. 3.

in the senate, this above all others must be covered, B.C. 216
concealed, forgotten, considered unsaid. So mention of the matter was suppressed.

It was decided that as dictator, to draw up the list of the senate, a man should be appointed who had previously been censor and was senior to all the other living ex-censors. And they ordered that Gaius Terentius,[1] the consul, be summoned that he might name a dictator. He returned to Rome by long stages from Apulia, leaving a garrison there; and that night, as was the custom, in accordance with the decree of the senate he named Marcus Fabius Buteo dictator for six months without master of the horse. XXIII. Fabius mounted the Rostra with his lictors and said that he did not approve of two dictators at the same time, an unprecedented thing,[2] nor of a dictator without master of the horse, nor of conferring a censor's power upon one man, and in fact to the same man a second time, nor of giving the full military authority for six months to a dictator not appointed for the conduct of affairs. He said that he would set a limit to such possible irregularities as the crisis and necessity had occasioned. For he would not eject from the senate any of those whom Gaius Flaminius and Lucius Aemilius as censors had chosen into the senate, but would order their names merely to be copied and read out, that judgment and decision in regard to the reputation and character of a senator might not rest with one man. And in place of the deceased he would make his choice in such a way that rank should obviously have been preferred to rank, not man to man. After reading the list of the old senate, he chose in place of the deceased first those who since the censorship of Lucius Aemilius

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sores curulem magistratum cepissent necdum in senatum lecti essent, ut quisque eorum primus creatus
6 erat; tum legit, qui aediles, tribuni plebis, quaestoresve fuerant; tum ex iis qui magistratus non[1] cepissent, qui spolia ex hoste fixa domi haberent aut
7 civicam coronam accepissent. Ita centum septuaginta septem cum ingenti adprobatione hominum in senatum lectis, extemplo se magistratu abdicavit privatusque de rostris descendit lictoribus abire
8 iussis, turbaeque se inmiscuit privatas agentium res, tempus hoc sedulo terens, ne deducendi sui causa populum de foro abduceret. Neque tamen elanguit cura hominum ea mora, frequentesque eum domum
9 deduxerunt. Consul nocte insequenti ad exercitum redit non facto certiore senatu, ne comitiorum causa in urbe retineretur.

XXIV. Postero die consultus a M. Pomponio praetore senatus decrevit dictatori scribendum uti, si e re publica censeret esse, ad consules subrogandos veniret
2 cum magistro equitum et praetore M. Marcello, ut ex iis praesentibus nosceere patres possent quo statu res publica esset, consiliaque ex rebus caperent. Qui acciti erant, omnes venerunt relictis legatis qui
3 legionibus praecessent. Dictator de se pauca ac

[1] non *Sigonius*: *om. P*(1): non (magistratus) *Conway*: minores (magistratus) *Stroth.*

[1] In 220 B.C.; *Periocha* 20.

[2] Pending the revision of the list by the censors, once in five years in the normal course of things.

and Gaius Flaminius [1] had held a curule office and had B.C. 216
not yet been chosen into the senate,[2] in each case in the order of his election. Then he chose those who had been aediles,[3] tribunes of the people or quaestors; then, from the number of those who had not held offices, the men who had spoils of the enemy affixed to their houses or had received the civic wreath.[4] Having thus chosen a hundred and seventy-seven into the senate with great approval, he at once abdicated his office and came down from the Rostra a private citizen, after ordering his lictors to leave him. And he mingled with the crowd of those engaged in private business, deliberately killing time, in order not to draw the people away from the forum for the purpose of escorting him. Yet men's attention was not relaxed by that delay, and so in large numbers they escorted him home. The consul returned that night to the army without informing the senate, for fear of being detained in the city to conduct the elections.

XXIV. On the next day the senate, presided over by Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, decreed that the dictator should be informed by letter that, if he thought it to the public interest, he should come with the master of the horse and the praetor, Marcus Marcellus, for the election of consuls, in order that from them in person the fathers could learn what was the condition of the state and make their plans in accordance with the facts. All of those summoned came, leaving their lieutenants to command the legions. The dictator spoke briefly and

[3] *I.e.* plebeian aediles.

[4] The reward of a soldier who had saved the life of a fellow-citizen.

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modice locutus in magistrum equitum Ti. Sempronium Gracchum magnam partem gloriae vertit, comitiaque edixit, quibus L. Postumius tertium absens, qui tum Galliam provinciam obtinebat, et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, qui tum magister equitum et aedilis curulis
4 erat, consules creantur. Praetores inde creati M. Valerius Laevinus iterum, Ap. Claudius Pulcher,
5 Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Mucius Scaevola. Dictator creatis magistratibus Teanum in hiberna ad exercitum redit relicto magistro equitum Romae, qui, cum post paucos dies magistratum initurus esset, de exercitibus scribendis conparandisque in annum patres consuleret.

6 Cum eae res maxime agerentur, nova clades nuntiata, aliam super aliam cumulante in eum annum fortuna, L. Postumium consulem designatum in
7 Gallia ipsum atque exercitum deletos. Silva erat vasta—Litanam Galli vocabant—qua exercitum traducturus erat. Eius silvae dextra laevaque circa viam Galli arbores ita inciderunt ut inmotae starent,
8 momento levi inpulsae occiderent. Legiones duas Romanas habebat Postumius, sociumque ab supero mari tantum conscripserat ut viginti quinque milia
9 armatorum in agros hostium induxerit. Galli oram extremae silvae cum circumsedissent, ubi intravit

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[1] What were the special achievements of M. Junius Pera we are not told. Probably "glory" is only conventional for "credit." The consul is absent with the army.

[2] The northernmost town in Campania was Teanum Sidicinum, an important road centre in a strong position.

modestly of himself, and then diverted a large share B.C. 216
of the glory [1] to the master of the horse, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus; and he ordered the elections at which these consuls were named: Lucius Postumius for the third time, then absent with Gaul as his sphere of action, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who was at that time master of the horse and curule aedile. Then the following men were elected as praetors: Marcus Valerius Laevinus for the second time, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Quintus Mucius Scaevola. The dictator, after the election of magistrates, returned to the army and the winter quarters at Teanum,[2] leaving the master of the horse at Rome, in order that he, inasmuch as he was to enter upon office a few days later, might advise with the fathers in regard to enrolling and providing armies for the year.

Just as these measures were being taken, a fresh disaster was reported—for fortune was piling one upon another for that year—namely, that the consul designate, Lucius Postumius, had perished, himself and his army, in Gaul. There was a huge forest,[3] called Litana by the Gauls, by way of which he was about to lead his army. In that forest the Gauls hacked the trees to right and left of the road in such a way that, if not disturbed, they stood, but fell if pushed slightly. Postumius had two Roman legions, and had enlisted from the coast of the Upper Sea [4] such numbers of allies that he led twenty-five thousand armed men into the enemy's territory. The Gauls had surrounded the very edge of the forest,

[3] Near Mutina (Modena), and northwest of Bononia (Bologna).

[4] Cf. xxxviii. 1; contrast i. 5.

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agmen saltum, tum extremas arborum succisarum impellunt. Quae alia in aliam, instabilem per se ac male haerentem, incidentes ancipiti strage arma, viros, equos obruerunt, ut vix decem homines effu-
10 gerent. Nam cum exanimati plerique essent arborum truncis fragmentisque ramorum, ceteram multitudinem inopinato malo trepidam Galli saltum omnem armati circumsedentes interfecerunt, paucis e tanto numero captis, qui pontem fluminis petentes,
11 obsesso ante ab hostibus ponte, interclusi sunt. Ibi Postumius omni vi ne caperetur dimicans occubuit. Spolia corporis caputque praecisum ducis Boii ovantes templo quod sanctissimum est apud eos
12 intulere. Purgato inde capite, ut mos iis est, calvam auro caelavere, idque sacrum vas iis erat quo sollemnibus libarent poculumque idem sacerdotibus [1]
13 esset ac templi antistitibus. Praeda quoque haud minor Gallis quam victoria fuit; nam etsi magna pars animalium strage silvae oppressa erat, tamen ceterae res, quia nihil dissipatum fuga est, stratae per omnem iacentis agminis ordinem inventae sunt.

XXV. Hac nuntiata clade cum per dies multos in tanto pavore fuisset civitas ut tabernis clausis velut

[1] sacerdotibus *Alschefski*: saecerdotis *P*(1): saecerdoti *x Sigonius*.

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[1] The particular spot chosen for the trap. Although *saltus* often = *silva*, the hacking of trees must have been confined to some stretch of the road offering special advantages to the enemy, and near the point where the road emerged into open country. Cf. xxxiii. 8.

[2] Here also it is difficult to believe that *saltus* is used as another word for "forest," since the whole *silva vasta* (§ 7) could hardly be surrounded by the Gauls. Cf. Frontinus I. vi. 4.

and when the column entered a defile [1] they pushed B.C. 216
against the outermost of the trees that had been hacked near the ground. As these fell, each upon the next tree, which was in itself unsteady and had only a slight hold, piling up from both sides they overwhelmed arms, men and horses, so that hardly ten men escaped. For after very many had been killed by tree-trunks and broken branches, and the rest of the troops were alarmed by the unforeseen calamity, the Gauls under arms, surrounding the whole defile [2] slew them, while but few out of so many were captured,—the men who were making their way to a bridge over a river, but were cut off, since the bridge had by that time been occupied by the enemy. There Postumius fell fighting with all his might to avoid capture. Spoils taken from his body and the severed head of the general were carried in triumph by the Boians to the temple which is most revered in their land. Then after cleaning the head they adorned the skull with gold according to their custom. And it served them as a sacred vessel from which to pour libations at festivals and at the same time as a drinking cup for the priests and keepers of the temple. The booty also meant no less to the Gauls than the victory. For although a large part of the cattle had been crushed by fallen trees, still everything else was found strewn the whole length of the column of the slain, since nothing was scattered by flight.

XXV. When this disaster was reported, the city was for many days in such alarm that, in view of the stillness, like that of night, produced

[1] Even in 43 B.C. there were still remnants of forest along the Aemilian Way; *ib.* II. v. 39.

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noctuma solitudine per urbem acta senatus aedilibus
2 negotium daret ut urbem circumirent aperirique tabernas et maestitiae publicae speciem urbi demi iuberent, tum Ti. Sempronius senatum habuit
3 consolatusque patres est, et adhortatus ne qui Cannensi ruinae non succubuissent ad minores calami-
4 tates animos summitterent. Quod ad Carthaginienses hostes Hannibalemque attineret, prospera modo essent, sicut speraret, futura, Gallicum bellum et omitti tuto et differri posse, ultionemque eam fraudis in deorum ac populi Romani potestate fore. De hoste Poeno exercitibusque, per quos id bellum
5 gereretur, consultandum atque agitandum. Ipse primum quid peditum equitumque, quid civium, quid sociorum in exercitu esset dictatoris, disseruit; tum Marcellus suarum copiarum summam exposuit.
6 Quid in Apulia cum C. Terentio consule esset a peritis quaesitum est; nec unde [1] consulares exercitus satis firmi ad tantum bellum efficerentur inibatur ratio. Itaque Galliam, quamquam stimulabat iusta ira, omitti eo anno placuit. Exercitus dictatoris con-
7 suli decretus est. De exercitu M. Marcelli, qui eorum ex fuga Cannensi essent, in Siciliam eos traduci atque ibi militare donec in Italia bellum esset
8 placuit; eodem ex dictatoris legionibus reici militem minimi quemque roboris, nullo praestituto militiae tempore nisi quod stipendiorum legitimorum esset.

[1] nec unde *Gronovius*: necundo *P*: ne secundo P^2R^2(14): nec secundo *C*: nec unde duo *Madvig*.

[1] This he did as *magister equitum*. His consulship would begin at the Ides of March; xxx. 17.

throughout the city by the closing of the shops, the B.C. 216
senate charged the aediles with the duty of going about the city and ordering that shops be opened and the appearance of public mourning removed from the city. And then Tiberius Sempronius held a session of the senate ; [1] and he comforted the fathers, and urged that men who had not given way to the catastrophe at Cannae should not lose heart in the face of lesser disasters. So far as concerned the Carthaginian enemy and Hannibal, he said that, if only coming events should prove favourable, as he hoped, a Gallic war could be both safely neglected and postponed, and punishment for that treachery would be in the power of the gods and of the Roman people. It was in regard to the Carthaginian enemy and the armies with which to carry on that war that they must deliberate and debate. He himself first stated what number of infantry and cavalry, of citizens and allies, were in the dictator's army. Then Marcellus set forth the total of his forces. What troops were in Apulia with the consul Gaius Terentius was a question asked of those who knew ; and no method of making up consular armies strong enough for so great a war was found. And so, although righteous indignation goaded them, it was decided that Gaul should be left out of account that year. The dictator's army was assigned to the consul. As for the army of Marcus Marcellus, it was voted that those of them who were survivors of the rout at Cannae should be transported to Sicily and serve there so long as there should be war in Italy ; also that from the dictator's legions all the least efficient soldiers should be sent away to the same province, with no definite term of service except that of the campaigns

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9 Duae legiones urbanae alteri consuli, qui in locum L. Postumi suffectus esset, decretae sunt, eumque, cum primum salvis auspiciis posset, creari placuit; 10 legiones praeterea duas primo quoque tempore ex Sicilia acciri, atque inde consulem, cui legiones urbanae evenissent, militum sumere quantum opus esset: C. Terentio consuli propagari[1] in annum imperium, neque de eo exercitu quem ad praesidium Apuliae haberet quicquam minui.

XXVI. Dum haec in Italia geruntur apparanturque, nihilo segnius in Hispania bellum erat, sed ad eam 2 diem magis prosperum Romanis. P. et Cn. Scipionibus inter se partitis copias, ut Gnaeus terra, Publius navibus rem gereret, Hasdrubal Poenorum imperator, neutri parti virium satis fidens, procul ab hoste intervallo ac locis tutus tenebat se, quoad multum ac diu obtestanti quattuor milia peditum et quingenti[2] 3 equites in supplementum missi ex Africa sunt. Tum refecta tandem spe castra propius hostem movit, classemque et ipse instrui pararique iubet ad insulas 4 maritimamque oram tutandam. In ipso impetu movendarum de integro rerum perculit eum praefectorum navium transitio, qui post classem ad Hiberum per pavorem desertam graviter inrepiti nunquam

[1] propagari *P*(1): prorogari A^{x}*Madvig*.
[2] et quingenti (*i.e.* D) $A^{2}z$: et *P*(4): mille *Alschefski* (*the numeral* ∞ *is often omitted in P*).

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[1] The usual word would be *prorogari*. But Cicero has *provinciae propagator*, *Att.* VIII. iii. 3, and uses the verb in the sense of "prolong" in *Cat.* iii. 26; so Suetonius *Aug.* 23.
[2] *I.e.* than in Italy.
[3] As voted by the Carthaginian senate, xiii. 7.
[4] Cf. XXII. xix. 11 f. Their desertion now consisted in going over to native tribes which sided with the Romans,

fixed by law. The two city legions were assigned to B.C. 216
the other consul, to be elected in place of Lucius Postumius; and it was voted that he be elected as soon as possible with due regard to the auspices; further, that two legions be summoned as soon as might be from Sicily, and that from them the consul to whom the city legions fell should take as many soldiers as he needed; also that the command of Gaius Terentius, the consul, should be extended [1] for one year and no reduction made in the army which he had for the defence of Apulia.

XXVI. During these operations and these preparations in Italy the war in Spain was no less active, but up to that time more successful [2] for the Romans. Publius and Gnaeus Scipio had divided the forces between them, so that Gnaeus should carry on the war on land, Publius with the fleet; and Hasdrubal, commander-in-chief of the Carthaginians, since he could not fully depend upon either arm of his forces, remained far from the enemy, being protected by distance and position, until, in answer to pleas urgent and long-continued, four thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry were sent from Africa to reinforce him.[3] Then, with hopes at last renewed, he moved his camp nearer to the enemy, and he too ordered that a fleet should be built and equipped, in order to protect the islands and the sea-coast. In the very flush of renewed operations he met a blow in the desertion of the commanders of his ships, who, being severely reprimanded after their abandonment of the fleet at the Hiberus in their fright,[4] had never

especially to the Tartesii (Turdetani), on the lower Baetis (Guadalquivir).

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deinde satis fidi aut duci aut Carthaginiensium rebus fuerant. Fecerant hi transfugae motum in Tartesiorum gente, desciverantque iis auctoribus urbes aliquot; una etiam ab ipsis vi capta fuerat.

6 In eam gentem versum ab Romanis bellum est, infestoque exercitu Hasdrubal ingressus agrum hostium pro captae ante dies paucos urbis moenibus Chalbum, nobilem Tartesiorum ducem, cum valido exercitu castris se tenentem, adgredi statuit. 7 Praemissa igitur levi armatura quae eliceret hostis ad certamen, equitum partem ad populandum per agros 8 passim dimisit et [1] ut palantis exciperent. Simul et ad castra tumultus erat et per agros fugaque et caedes; deinde undique diversis itineribus cum in castra se recepissent, adeo repente decessit animis pavor ut non ad munimenta modo defendenda satis animorum esset sed etiam ad lacessendum proelio 9 hostem. Erumpunt igitur agmine e castris tripudiantes more suo, repentinaque eorum audacia terrorem hosti paulo ante ultro lacessenti incussit. 10 Itaque et ipse Hasdrubal in collem satis arduum, flumine etiam obiecto tutum,[2] copias subducit et praemissam levem armaturam equitesque palatos eodem recipit, nec aut colli aut flumini satis fidens, 11 castra vallo permunit. In hoc alterno pavore certamina aliquot sunt contracta; nec Numida Hispano

[1] et *Heusinger*: *om.* *P*(1).
[2] tutum *Heerwagen*: tum *P*(1), *with* tutum *before* flumine.

since been entirely loyal either to the general or to B.C. 216
the cause of Carthage. These deserters had made trouble in the tribe of the Tartesii, and at their instigation a number of cities had rebelled. One city had even been stormed by them.

It was against this tribe that the war was now diverted from the Romans, and Hasdrubal, having entered the territory of the enemy with a hostile army, resolved to attack a noble in command of the Tartesii, Chalbus, who with a strong army was keeping to his camp before the walls of a city captured a few days before. Therefore Hasdrubal, sending the light-armed in advance, to draw out the enemy to battle, scattered part of his cavalry over the farms to ravage them and to capture stragglers. There was confusion at the camp and at the same time flight and slaughter in the country around. Then, after they had made their way from all sides back to the camp by different roads, fear was so suddenly banished from their hearts that they had sufficient spirit not only to defend the fortifications but also to attack the enemy. Accordingly they sallied out of the camp in a column, dancing, as is their custom; and their sudden boldness inspired alarm in the enemy, who a little before had been the aggressor. And so Hasdrubal likewise led his forces up a very steep hill, further defended by a river in front. Also he got back the light-armed who had been sent ahead and the scattered cavalry to the same position. Unable to put sufficient confidence in either the hill or the river, he strongly fortified his camp with an earthwork. While fear was shifting thus from one side to the other, a number of engagements took place, and the Numidian horseman was no match for the

A.U.C. 538 eques par fuit nec iaculator Maurus caetrato, velocitate pari, robore animi viriumque aliquantum praestanti.

XXVII. Postquam neque eliecre Poenum ad certamen obversati castris poterant neque castrorum 2 oppugnatio facilis erat, urbem Ascuam, quo finis hostium ingrediens Hasdrubal frumentum commeatusque alios convexerat, vi capiunt omnique circa agro potiuntur; nec iam aut in agmine aut in castris 3 ullo imperio contineri. Quam ubi neglegentiam ex re, ut fit, bene gesta oriri senserat Hasdrubal, cohortatus milites ut palatos sine signis hostes adgrederentur, degressus colle pergit ire acie instructa ad castra. 4 Quem ut adesse tumultuose nuntii refugientes [1] ex speculis stationibusque attulere, ad arma conclamatum est. 5 Ut quisque arma ceperat, sine imperio, sine signo, incompositi, inordinati in proelium ruunt. Iam primi conseruerant manus, cum alii catervatim 6 currerent, alii nondum e castris exissent. Tamen primo ipsa audacia terruere hostem; deinde rari in confertos inlati, cum paucitas parum tuta esset, respiecre alii alios et undique pulsi coire in orbem, 7 et dum corpora [2] corporibus applicant armaque armis iungunt, in artum compulsi, cum vix movendis armis satis spatii esset, corona hostium cineti ad

[1] nuntii refugientes A^2z: nuntiares fugientes $PC?(11)$ (*with* nuntiare $M^1?A$).

[2] corpora x: *om.* $P(1)$.

Spaniard, nor the Moorish dart-thrower for the man with the wicker shield, the Spaniard in both cases being an equal in speed and quite superior in spirit and strength. B.C. 216

XXVII. After the Tartesii had repeatedly failed to draw the Carthaginian out to battle by facing his camp, and it was also not easy to assault the camp, they took by storm the city of Ascua, to which Hasdrubal, on entering the land of the enemy, had brought grain and other supplies; and they gained possession of all the country around. And they could no longer be restrained by any authority either on the march or in camp. Hasdrubal, perceiving that this carelessness came, as usually happens, from success, exhorted his soldiers to attack the enemy while dispersed and in no formation, and coming down from the hill he proceeded to their camp in battle order. When his approach was reported by messengers fleeing wildly from the watch-towers and guard-posts, they shouted "To arms!" Snatching up arms, each man for himself, without commanders, without orders, in no units or formations, they dashed into battle. Already the first men had engaged, while some charged in separate masses and others had not yet left the camp. Nevertheless they at first frightened the enemy by sheer audacity. Then, as stragglers advancing against dense ranks, finding no safety in small numbers, they looked to one another for help; and, beaten back from every side, they formed a circle. And as they crowded bodies against bodies and touched arms to arms, they were forced into close quarters. Having hardly room enough to move their weapons, they were encircled by the enemy, and the slaughter continued until late in the

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8 multum diei caeduntur: exigua pars eruptione facta silvas ac montis petit. Parique terrore et castra sunt deserta et universa gens postero die in deditionem venit.

9 Nec diu in pacto [1] mansit; nam subinde ab Carthagine allatum est ut Hasdrubal primo quoque tempore in Italiam exercitum duceret, quae volgata res per Hispaniam omnium ferme animos ad Romanos avertit.

10 Itaque Hasdrubal extemplo litteras Carthaginem mittit, indicans quanto fama profectionis suae damno fuisset; si vero inde pergeret, priusquam Hiberum

11 transiret Romanorum Hispaniam fore; nam praeterquam quod nec praesidium nec ducem haberet quem relinqueret pro se, eos imperatores esse Romanos quibus vix aequis viribus resisti possit.[2]

12 Itaque si ulla Hispaniae cura esset, successorem sibi eum valido exercitu mitterent; cui ut [3] omnia prospere evenirent, non tamen otiosam provinciam fore.

XXVIII. Eae litterae quamquam primo admodum moverunt senatum, tamen, quia Italiae cura prior potiorque erat, nihil de Hasdrubale neque de copiis

2 eius mutatum est; Himilco cum exercitu iusto et aucta classe ad retinendam terra marique ac tuen-

3 dam Hispaniam est missus. Qui ut pedestris navalisque copias traiecit, castris communitis navibusque subductis et vallo circumdatis, cum equitibus delectis ipse, quantum maxime adcelerare poterat,

[1] pacto *Stroth*: pacato *P*(1).
[2] possit *P*(1) *Walters*: posset *Forchhammer*, *Madvig*.
[3] ut *Gronovius*: si A^2: *om.* *P*(1).

[1] Evidently exaggerated, as in xxix. 16 and xxxii. 6. A prosperous city near the Hiberus is mentioned in xxviii. 10 as still loyal to the Carthaginians.

day. A very small part of them sallied out and made B.C. 216
for the woods and the mountains. In no less alarm the camp was abandoned, and on the next day the whole tribe surrendered.

Yet not for long did the tribe abide by the agreement. For soon came the order from Carthage that Hasdrubal should at the first opportunity lead his army into Italy. And the spreading of this news throughout Spain made nearly all incline to the side of the Romans.[1] Accordingly Hasdrubal at once sent a letter to Carthage, showing what a loss the mere report of his departure had caused; that if he were actually to leave the country, Spain would belong to the Romans before he should cross the Hiberus.[2] For besides the lack of both an army and a general to leave in his place, so able were the Roman generals that they could scarcely be resisted if the forces were evenly matched. And so, if they had any regard for Spain, they should send him a successor with a strong army. Even if all should go well, that man would still find it no peaceful province.

XXVIII. Though this letter at first greatly stirred the senate, nevertheless, since concern for Italy was older and stronger, no change was made either in regard to Hasdrubal or to his forces. But Himilco was sent with a complete army and an enlarged fleet to hold and defend Spain by land and sea. After transporting his land and naval forces, Himilco fortified a camp, beached his ships and surrounded them with an earthwork. Then he himself with picked horsemen, making his way with all possible speed, and with equal alertness through the

[2] The Ebro was the treaty boundary; XXI. ii. 7.

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per dubios infestosque populos iuxta intentus ad
4 Hasdrubalem pervenit. Cum decreta senatus mandataque exposuisset atque edoctus esset [1] ipse in vicem quem ad modum tractandum bellum in Hispania foret, retro in sua castra redit [2] nulla re quam celeritate tutior, quod undique abierat ante-
5 quam consentirent. Hasdrubal priusquam moveret castra pecunias imperat populis omnibus suae dicionis, satis gnarus Hannibalem transitus quosdam
6 pretio mercatum nec auxilia Gallica aliter quam conducta habuisse; inopem tantum iter ingressum vix penetraturum ad Alpis fuisse. Pecuniis igitur raptim exactis ad Hiberum descendit.

7 Decreta Carthaginiensium et Hasdrubalis iter ubi ad Romanos sunt perlata, omnibus omissis rebus ambo duces iunctis copiis ire obviam coeptis atque
8 obsistere parant, rati, si Hannibali, vix per se ipsi tolerando Italiae hosti, Hasdrubal dux atque Hispaniensis exercitus esset iunctus, illum finem Ro-
9 mani imperii fore. His anxii curis ad Hiberum contrahunt copias, et transito amne cum diu consultassent utrum castra castris conferrent an satis [3] haberent sociis Carthaginiensium oppugnandis mo-
10 rari ab itinere proposito hostem, urbem a propinquo flumine Hiberam appellatam, opulentissimam ea
11 tempestate regionis eius, oppugnare parant. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, pro ope ferenda sociis pergit ire ipse ad urbem deditam nuper in fidem Romanorum

[1] edoctus esset A^{γ} *Valla* : edocuisset $P^{2?}(1)$: -uisse *P*.
[2] redit *P* : rediit $P^{3}(1)$.
[3] an satis A^{γ} *Valla* : antis *PR* : an iis *C* : tantis (14).

wavering and the hostile tribes, reached Hasdrubal. B.C. 216
After setting forth the decrees and instructions of the senate, and being himself informed in turn how the war in Spain must be conducted, he went back to his own camp, being protected by his quickness more than anything else, since he had left each place before the enemy could agree upon action. Hasdrubal, before breaking camp, exacted money from all the tribes under his rule, knowing well that Hannibal had repeatedly bought the right of passage, and that he had Gallic auxiliaries only by hiring them; but that if he had set out on so long a march without funds, he would scarcely have made his way to the Alps. Therefore he exacted money in haste and came down to the Hiberus.

When news of the decrees of the Carthaginians and Hasdrubal's expedition reached the Roman commanders, both dropped everything, and uniting their forces prepared to meet and resist his efforts, thinking that if Hannibal, who was himself an enemy Italy could scarcely endure, should be joined by Hasdrubal as a general and by an army from Spain, that would be the end of the Roman power. Troubled by these apprehensions, they concentrated their troops at the Hiberus, crossed the river, and after protracted deliberation, whether to pitch camp near that of the enemy or to be satisfied with keeping him from his projected march by attacking allies of the Carthaginians, they prepared to attack a city which had its name Hibera from the river near by, the richest city of the region at that time. On learning this Hasdrubal, instead of bringing aid to his allies, proceeded likewise to attack a city which had recently surrendered to the Romans. Thus the siege

A.U.C. 538 12 oppugnandam. Ita iam coepta obsidio omissa ab Romanis est et in ipsum Hasdrubalem versum bellum.

XXIX. Quinque milium intervallo castra distantia habuere paucos dies, nec sine levibus proeliis nec ut 2 in aciem exirent; tandem uno eodemque die velut ex composito utrimque signum pugnae propositum est atque omnibus copiis in campum descensum. 3 Triplex stetit Romana acies: velitum pars inter antesignanos locata, pars post signa accepta: equites 4 cornua cinxere. Hasdrubal mediam aciem Hispanis firmat; in cornibus, dextro Poenos locat, laevo Afros mercenariorumque auxilia; equitum Numidas Poenorum peditibus, ceteros Afris pro cornibus apponit. 5 Nec omnes Numidae in dextro locati cornu, sed quibus desultorum in modum binos trahentibus equos inter acerrimam saepe pugnam in recentem equum ex fesso armatis transultare mos erat; tanta velocitas ipsis tamque docile equorum genus est. 6 Cum hoc modo instructi starent, imperatorum utriusque partis haud ferme dispares spes erant; nam ne multum [1] quidem aut numero aut genere militum [2] hi aut illi praestabant; militibus longe 7 dispar animus erat. Romanis enim, quamquam procul a patria pugnarent, facile persuaserant duces pro Italia atque urbe Romana eos pugnare; itaque, velut quibus reditus in patriam in [3] eo discrimine pugnae verteretur, obstinaverant animis vincere aut

[1] multum *P*(1): militum *Harant, Conway*: minimum *Koch*.
[2] militum *P*(3): multum *D Conway*.
[3] in *Madvig*: *om. P*(1).

[1] Cf. XXXV. xxviii. 8.

already begun was abandoned by the Romans and the war directed against Hasdrubal himself. B.C. 216

XXIX. They had their camps five miles apart for a few days, not without skirmishes, but without drawing up lines of battle. Finally on one and the same day, as though by agreement, the signal for battle was raised on both sides and with all their forces they went down into the plain. The Roman line stood in triple ranks. Some of the light-armed were posted in the intervals between the maniples in advance of the standards, some placed behind the standards. Cavalry covered the wings. Hasdrubal made a strong centre of Spanish troops; on the right wing he placed Carthaginians, on the left Africans and mercenary auxiliaries. Of the cavalry he stationed the Numidians on the wing of the Carthaginian infantry, the rest on that of the Africans. And not all of his Numidians were placed on the right wing, but only those who, taking two horses apiece[1] after the manner of performers, had the custom of leaping armed from the tired horse to the fresh, often in the very heat of battle; such was the agility of the men, and so well-trained their breed of horses. While they were standing in this array, the hopes of the generals on the two sides were fairly balanced; for there was also not much superiority for the one army or the other either in the number or the type of its soldiers. But the spirit of the soldiers was far from being matched. For the Romans, although fighting far from their country, had been easily persuaded by their generals that they were fighting in defence of Italy and the city of Rome. And so, as men whose return to their native land would depend upon the issue of that battle, they had made up their

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8 mori. Minus pertinaces viros habebat altera acies; nam maxima pars Hispani erant, qui vinci in Hispania
9 quam victores in Italiam trahi malebant. Primo igitur concursu, cum vix pila conlecta essent, rettulit pedem media acies, inferentibusque se magno impetu
10 Romanis verlit terga. Nihilo segnius in[1] cornibus proelium fuit. Hinc Poenus, hinc Afer urguet, et
11 velut in circumventos proelio ancipiti pugnant; sed cum in medium tota iam coisset Romana acies, satis
12 virium ad dimovenda hostium cornua habuit. Ita duo diversa proelia erant. Utroque Romani, ut qui pulsis iam ante mediis et numero et robore virorum
13 praestarent, haud dubie superant. Magna vis hominum ibi occisa, et nisi Hispani vixdum conserto proelio tam effuse fugissent, perpauci ex tota super-
14 fuissent acie. Equestris pugna nulla admodum fuit, quia, simul inclinatam mediam aciem Mauri Numidaeque videre,[2] extemplo fuga effusa nuda cornua
15 elephantis quoque prae se actis deseruere. Hasdrubal usque ad ultimum eventum pugnae moratus e media caede cum paucis effugit. Castra Romani
16 cepere atque diripuere. Ea pugna si qua dubia in Hispania erant Romanis adiunxit, Hasdrubalique non modo in Italiam traducendi exercitus sed ne manendi quidem satis tuto in Hispania spes[3] reliqua

[1] in A^1 : *om.* P(1) *Frigell.*
[2] videre *Riemann, Luchs* : viderent P : viderunt P^3(1).
[3] spes C^1 *Gronovius* : spe P(4) : spem M^2D.

[1] As many as 25,000 according to Eutropius III. 11.

minds to win or die. The other battle-line had men B.C. 216
less firmly resolved. For the majority were Spaniards, who preferred to be vanquished in Spain, rather than as victors to be dragged to Italy. Therefore at the first clash, when they had barely hurled their javelins, the centre fell back, and, as the Romans advanced with a great charge, retreated. On the wings, however, there was more spirited fighting. On the one hand the Carthaginians pressed them hard, on the other hand the Africans; and it was a double conflict against men presumed to have been surrounded. But, although the whole Roman line had by this time crowded into the centre, it had sufficient strength to force apart the wings of the enemy. Thus there were two battles in opposite directions. In both the Romans were unquestionably victorious, since, once the centre had been routed, they were superior both in the numbers and in the strength of their men. A great number of men[1] were slain there, and if the Spaniards had not fled in such confusion when the battle had scarcely begun, very few out of that entire line would have survived. The cavalry were not engaged at all, since, as soon as the Mauri and the Numidians saw the centre giving way, they at once abandoned the wings, exposed by their wild flight as they drove the elephants also before them. Hasdrubal, after waiting for the final outcome of the battle, escaped with a few men out of the midst of the slaughter. His camp the Romans captured and plundered. That battle brought to the Roman side all that still wavered in Spain, and Hasdrubal had left to him no hope, not only of leading his army over into Italy, but not even of remaining with any safety in Spain. When these facts were generally known

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17 erat.[1] Quae posteaquam litteris Scipionum Romae volgata sunt, non tam victoria quam prohibito Hasdrubalis in Italiam transitu laetabantur.

XXX. Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Petelia in Bruttiis aliquot post mensibus quam coepta oppugnari erat ab Himilcone praefecto Hannibalis expu-
2 gnata est. Multo sanguine ac volneribus ea Poenis victoria stetit, nec ulla magis vis obsessos quam
3 fames expugnavit. Absumptis enim frugum alimentis carnisque omnis generis quadrupedum suetae insuetaeque,[2] postremo coriis herbisque et radicibus
4 et corticibus teneris strictisque foliis vixere, nec ante quam vires ad standum in muris ferendaque arma
5 decrant expugnati sunt. Receepta Petelia Poenus ad Consentiam copias traducit, quam minus pertinaciter defensam intra paucos dies in deditionem
6 aeeepit. Isdem ferme diebus et Bruttiorum exercitus Crotonem, Graecam urbem, circumsedit, opulentam quondam armis virisque, tum iam adeo multis magnisque cladibus adflictam ut omnis aetatis minus
7 duo milia civium superessent. Itaque urbe a defensoribus vasta[3] facile potiti hostes sunt; arx tantum retenta, in quam inter tumultum eaptae
8 urbis e media caede quidam effugere. Et Locrenses descivere ad Bruttios Poenosque prodita multitudine
9 a principibus. Regini tantummodo regionis eius et in fide erga Romanos et potestatis suae ad ultimum

[1] reliqua erat *Gronovius*: relinquerat *P*(11): reliquerat *CM*[3].

[2] insuetae *Fabri*: *om.* *P*(1).

[3] vasta *P*: vastata *P*[2](1).

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[1] Hasdrubal's invasion of Italy was carried out nine years later to a fatal conclusion at the Metaurus, XXVII. xlix. 4.

[2] For the long siege of Petelia cf. the note on xx. 10.

at Rome through the letter of the Scipios, people rejoiced, not so much over the victory, as that Hasdrubal's crossing into Italy had been prevented.[1] B.C. 216

XXX. While these things were going on in Spain, Petelia,[2] in the land of the Bruttii, was taken by Himilco, Hannibal's prefect, some months after the siege began. That victory cost the Carthaginians much blood and many wounds, and starvation[3] more than any assault overpowered the besieged. For after they had consumed their food-supply in cereals and flesh, the familiar and the unfamiliar, of four-footed beasts of every kind, they finally lived on hides and grasses and roots and tender bark and leaves stripped off. And they were not overpowered until they had no strength left to stand on the walls and bear arms. Having taken Petelia, the Carthaginian led his troops across to Consentia, and as it was less obstinately defended, he received its surrender within a few days. About the same time an army of the Bruttians also besieged Croton,[4] a Greek city formerly rich in arms and men, but even then so crushed by many great disasters that, including all ages, less than two thousand citizens remained. And so the enemy easily gained possession of the city bereft of its defenders. Only the citadel was still held, and to it some, in the uproar of a captured city, made their escape out of the midst of slaughter. And Locri went over to the Bruttians and Carthaginians, the populace having been betrayed by the leading men. Regium alone in that region remained loyal to the Romans and to the very last independent.

[3] Polybius also (VII. i. 3) gave such details as follow.

[4] The story of the siege and capture of Croton, on the Gulf of Tarentum, is told in some detail in XXIV. ii f.

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10 manserunt. In Siciliam quoque eadem inclinatio animorum pervenit, et ne domus quidem Hieronis
11 tota ab defectione abstinuit. Namque Gelo, maximus stirpis, contempta simul senectute patris simul post Cannensem cladem Romana societate ad Poenos
12 defecit, movissetque in Sicilia res, nisi mors adeo opportuna ut patrem quoque suspicione aspergeret, armantem cum multitudinem sollicitantemque socios
13 absumpsisset. Haec eo anno in Italia, in Africa, in Sicilia, in Hispania vario eventu acta.

Exitu anni Q. Fabius Maximus a senatu postulavit ut aedem Veneris Erycinae, quam dictator vovisset,
14 dedicare liceret. Senatus decrevit ut Ti. Sempronius consul designatus, cum primum [1] magistratum [2] inisset, ad populum ferret ut Q. Fabium duumvirum
15 esse iuberent aedis dedicandae causa. Et M. Aemilio Lepido, qui bis [3] consul augurque fuerat, filii tres, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, ludos funebres per triduum et gladiatorum paria duo et viginti in
16 foro dederunt. Aediles curules C. Lactorius et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, consul designatus, qui in aedilitate magister equitum fuerat, ludos Romanos
17 fecerunt, qui per triduum instaurati sunt. Plebei ludi aedilium M. Aurelii Cottae et M. Claudii Marcelli ter instaurati.

[1] primum *z* : *om.* *P*(1) *Madvig.*
[2] magistratum *xz* : honorem $C^{4}x$ *Madvig* : ibo *P* : ibono $P^{1}?$(3) ; bono *D*.
[3] qui bis $C^{4}M^{1}?DA^{y}$ *Valla* : quib. (quibus) *P*(3).

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[1] Polybius makes him a model of filial devotion (VII. viii. 9). Coins prove that he was king with his father.
[2] This brief résumé covers the events narrated from XXII. xxxviii up to this point. An eventful year.

The same trend of feeling reached Sicily also, and B.C. 216
even the house of Hiero did not hold aloof entirely from the revolt. For Gelo, the eldest son, scorning both the old age of his father and the Roman alliance since the disaster at Cannae, went over to the Carthaginians.[1] And he would have caused an uprising in Sicily, had not death, so timely as to besmirch even his father with suspicion, carried him off as he was arming the populace and trying to gain allies. Such were the checkered events of that year in Italy, in Africa, in Sicily, in Spain.[2]

At the end of the year Quintus Fabius Maximus requested of the senate that he be permitted to dedicate the Temple of Venus of Eryx[3] which he had vowed in his dictatorship. The senate decreed that Tiberius Sempronius, consul designate, as soon as he entered upon his office should propose to the people that they order that Quintus Fabius should be a duumvir for the purpose of dedicating the temple. And in honour of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who had been consul twice and augur, his three sons, Lucius, Marcus, Quintus, gave funeral games for three days and showed twenty-two pairs of gladiators in the Forum.[4] The curule aediles, Gaius Laetorius and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, consul designate, who in his aedileship had been master of the horse, celebrated the Roman Games, and on three of the days they were repeated. The Plebeian Games of the aediles, Marcus Aurelius Cotta and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, were repeated three times.

[3] Where the temple was we learn presently, xxxi. 9. Her chief temple was on the western headland of Sicily, Mt. Eryx.

[4] The earliest known example of a gladiatorial combat at Rome was in 264 B.C. That also was on the occasion of a funeral, and the gift of sons.

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Circumacto tertio anno Punici belli Ti. Sempronius consul idibus Martiis magistratum init. 18 Praetores Q. Fulvius Flaccus, qui antea consul censorque fuerat, urbanam, M. Valerius Laevinus peregrinam sortem in iuris dictione habuit; Ap. Claudius Pulcher Siciliam, Q. Mucius Scaevola 19 Sardiniam sortiti sunt. M. Marcello pro consule imperium esse populus iussit, quod post Cannensem cladem unus Romanorum imperatorum in Italia prospere rem gessisset.

XXXI. Senatus quo die primum est in Capitolio consultus decrevit ut eo[1] anno duplex tributum 2 imperaretur, simplex confestim exigeretur, ex quo stipendium praesens omnibus militibus daretur 3 praeterquam qui milites ad Cannas fuissent. De exercitibus ita decreverunt ut duabus legionibus urbanis Ti. Sempronius consul Cales ad conveniendum diem ediceret; inde eae legiones in castra 4 Claudiana supra Suessulam deducerentur. Quae ibi legiones essent—erant autem Cannensis maxime exercitus—eas Appius Claudius Pulcher praetor in Siciliam traiceret, quaeque in Sicilia essent Romam 5 deportarentur. Ad exercitum cui ad conveniendum Cales edicta dies erat, M. Claudius Marcellus missus, isque iussus in castra Claudiana deducere urbanas 6 legiones. Ad veterem exercitum accipiendum deducendumque inde in Siciliam Ti. Maecilius Croto legatus ab Ap. Claudio est missus.

7 Taciti primo expectaverant homines uti consul

[1] eo C^{x}: quo eo $P(5)$: quod eo A^{y}: quo die eo M.

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[1] In fact twice, 237 and 224 B.C.
[2] Named after Marcellus; cf. xvii. 3.

The third year of the Punic War being at an end, B.C. 215
Tiberius Sempronius entered upon office as consul on the Ides of March. Of the praetors Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who had previously been consul [1] and censor, had by lot his assignment as judge between citizens, Marcus Valerius Laevinus had his as judge in the cases of strangers, while to Appius Claudius Pulcher Sicily was allotted, and Sardinia to Quintus Mucius Scaevola. That Marcus Marcellus should have full military authority as proconsul was ordered by the people, because he alone of the Roman commanders since the disaster at Cannae had met with success in Italy.

XXXI. The senate on the first day on which it was in session on the Capitol, decreed that a double tax should be imposed that year and the normal tax collected at once; that from it pay should be given in cash to all the soldiers except those who had been soldiers at Cannae. As for the armies, they decreed that Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, should set for the two city legions a date for mobilization at Cales; that these legions should be led thence to the Claudian Camp [2] above Suessula; that the legions already there—it was chiefly the army of Cannae—should be taken over into Sicily by Appius Claudius Pulcher, the praetor, and that those which were in Sicily should be brought to Rome. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was sent to the army for which a date of mobilization at Cales had been set; and he was ordered to conduct the city legions to the Claudian Camp. To take over the old army and conduct it thence to Sicily, Appius Claudius sent his lieutenant, Tiberius Maecilius Croto.

At first men had been waiting in silence for the

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comitia collegae creando haberet; deinde ubi ablegatum velut de industria M. Marcellum viderunt, quem maxime consulem in eum annum ob egregie in praetura res gestas creari volebant, fremitus in
8 curia ortus. Quod ubi sensit consul, "Utrumque" inquit "e re publica fuit, patres conscripti, et M. Claudium ad permutandos exercitus in Campaniam proficisci et comitia non prius edici quam is inde confecto quod mandatum est negotio revertisset, ut vos consulem, quem tempus rei publicae postularet,
9 quem maxime voltis, haberetis." Ita de comitiis donec rediit Marcellus silentium fuit. Interea duumviri creati sunt Q. Fabius Maximus et T. Otacilius Crassus aedibus dedicandis, Menti Otacilius, Fabius Veneri Erucinae; utraque in Capitolio
10 est, canali uno discretae. Et de trecentis equitibus Campanis qui in Sicilia cum fide stipendiis emeritis Romam venerant latum ad populum ut cives Romani essent; item uti municipes Cumani essent pridie quam populus Campanus a populo Romano defecisset.
11 Maxime ut hoc ferretur moverat quod quorum hominum essent scire se ipsi negabant, vetere patria relicta, in eam in quam redierant nondum adsciti.
12 Postquam Marcellus ab exercitu rediit, comitia consuli uni [1] rogando in locum L. Postumii edicuntur.

[1] uni *P*(1): sub- *Madvig.*

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[1] Exact situation of the temples is unknown; cf. xxxii. 20; XXII. ix. 10; x, 10.

[2] Mentioned in iv. 8 and vii. 2.

[3] The Roman citizenship which they had lost with the revolt of Capua was restored, while their municipal rights and privileges were transferred to loyal Cumae and made to antedate the Campanian secession.

consul to preside over an election for the naming of B.C. 215
his colleague. Then, when they saw that Marcus Marcellus, whom they particularly desired to have elected consul for that year, on account of remarkable successes in his praetorship, had been sent away, apparently on purpose, murmurs began to be heard in the Senate House. Noting this the consul said: "Both acts were to the advantage of the state, fellow-senators, that Marcus Claudius should be sent to Campania to make the change of armies, and that the coming election should not be proclaimed until he, after accomplishing the task which was assigned him, should return thence, so that you might have the consul whom the critical situation in the state requires and whom you particularly desire." So until Marcellus returned, nothing was said about an election. Meanwhile Quintus Fabius Maximus and Titus Otacilius Crassus were made duumvirs for the dedication of temples, Otacilius for that of Mens, Fabius for that of Venus of Eryx. Both are on the Capitol,[1] separated by a single water-channel. And in regard to the three hundred Campanian knights[2] who, after loyally serving their terms in Sicily, had come to Rome, a bill was brought before the people that they should be Roman citizens; further, that they should be townsmen of Cumae from the day before that on which the Campanian people had revolted from the Roman people.[3] What had chiefly prompted the making of this proposal was that they said they did not themselves know with whom they belonged, having given up their old home-city, and not being enrolled as yet in the city to which they had returned. After Marcellus returned from the army, an election to name one consul in place of Lucius

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13 Creatur ingenti consensu Marcellus, qui extemplo magistratum occiperet. Cui ineunti consulatum cum tonuisset, vocati augures vitio creatum videri pronuntiaverunt: volgoque patres ita fama ferebant, quod tum primum duo plebeii consules facti essent,
14 id deis cordi non esse. In locum Marcelli, ubi is se magistratu abdicavit, suffectus Q. Fabius Maximus tertium.

15 Mare arsit eo anno; ad Sinuessam bos eculeum peperit: signa Lanuvii ad Iunonis Sospitae cruore manavere, lapidibusque circa id templum pluit. Ob quem imbrem novemdiale, ut adsolet, sacrum fuit, ceteraque prodigia cum cura expiata.

XXXII. Consules exercitus inter sese diviserunt. Fabio exercitus Teani, cui M. Iunius dictator praefuerat, evenit; Sempronio volones qui ibi erant [1] et
2 sociorum viginti quinque milia. M. Valerio praetori legiones quae ex Sicilia redissent decretae; M. Claudius pro consule ad eum exercitum qui supra Suessulam Nolae praesideret missus; praetores in Siciliam
3 ac Sardiniam profecti. Consules edixerunt, quotiens in senatum vocassent, uti senatores quibusque in senatu dicere sententiam liceret ad portam

[1] qui ibi erant *Madvig*: que fierent *P*(1): qui fierent (forent) *x*.

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[1] A very short list of portents and expiations, compared with those in XXI. lxii., XXII. i. and elsewhere.

[2] *I.e.* the slaves who, after the battle of Cannae, volunteered and were purchased by the state. By good service as soldiers they earned their freedom; xxxv. 6; XXII. lvii. 11; XXIV. x. 3; xiv. 4 f., etc.

Postumius was ordered by edict. With great B.C. 215
unanimity Marcellus was elected, to assume office at once. Just as he was entering upon his consulship it thundered, and thereupon the augurs, being summoned, declared that there seemed to be a defect in his election. And the fathers widely circulated the statement that it did not meet the approval of the gods that two plebeians had then for the first time been elected consuls. In place of Marcellus, after he had abdicated, Quintus Fabius Maximus was substituted as consul for the third time.

The sea was aflame in the course of that year. At Sinuessa a cow gave birth to a colt. At the Temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium images of the gods dripped blood, and it rained stones around the temple—a shower on account of which there were ceremonies, as usual, for nine days. And the rest of the portents were duly expiated.[1]

XXXII. The consuls divided the armies between them. To Fabius fell the army at Teanum, formerly commanded by Marcus Junius, the dictator; to Sempronius the slave volunteers[2] who were at that place and twenty-five thousand of the allies. To Marcus Valerius, the praetor, were assigned the legions which had returned from Sicily. Marcus Claudius was sent as proconsul to the army which was above Suessula, in order to guard Nola. The praetors set out for Sicily and Sardinia. The consuls issued an edict that, whenever they might call a meeting of the senate, the senators and any who had the right to give an opinion in the senate[3] should assemble at the

[3] In the present case the persons meant can only be the newly-elected magistrates, since the list has just been revised, and none can be waiting for a new *lectio senatus*. Cf. xxiii. 5.

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4 Capenam convenirent. Praetores quorum iuris dictio erat tribunalia ad Piscinam publicam posuerunt; eo vadimonia fieri iusserunt, ibique eo anno ius dictum est.

5 Interim Carthaginem, unde Mago, frater Hannibalis, duodecim milia peditum et mille[1] quingentos equites, viginti elephantos, mille argenti talenta in Italiam transmissurus erat cum praesidio sexaginta 6 navium longarum, nuntius adfertur in Hispania rem male gestam omnesque ferme eius provinciae populos 7 ad Romanos defecisse. Erant, qui Magonem cum classe ea copiisque omissa Italia in Hispaniam averterent, cum Sardiniae recipiendae repentina 8 spes adfulsit: parvum ibi exercitum Romanum esse; veterem praetorem inde A. Cornelium provinciae 9 peritum decedere, novum exspectari; ad hoc fessos iam animos Sardorum esse diuturnitate imperii Romani,[2] et proximo iis anno acerbe atque avare imperatum; gravi tributo et conlatione iniqua frumenti pressos: nihil deesse aliud quam auc to- 10 rem ad quem deficerent. Haec clandestina legatio per principes missa erat, maxime eam rem moliente Hampsicora, qui tum auctoritate atque opibus longe 11 primus erat. His nuntiis prope uno tempore turbati

[1] mille A^{γ} *Alblus*: *om.* $P(1)$.
[2] Romani *Luchs*: r P; *om.* $P^{2}(1)$.

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[1] By this gate in the "Servian Wall" the Via Appia left the city, near the east end of the Circus Maximus. Meeting probably in the nearby Temple of Honos, the senate could confer with returning generals outside the city.

[2] This swimming-pool of uncertain location was also outside the gate.

Porta Capena.[1] The praetors who had judicial duties B.C. 216
set up their tribunals at the Piscina Publica.[2] That place should be named—so they ordered—in recognizances,[3] and there justice was rendered that year.

Meanwhile Carthage, from which Mago,[4] Hannibal's brother, was on the point of transporting into Italy twelve thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry, twenty elephants and a thousand talents of silver, with a convoy of sixty warships, received the news that in Spain operations had failed and nearly all the tribes in that province had revolted to the Romans. There were some who, neglecting Italy, were ready to divert Mago to Spain with that fleet and those forces, when there suddenly appeared a ray of hope of recovering Sardinia. It was reported that the Roman army there was small; that the old praetor, Aulus Cornelius, who was well acquainted with the province, was retiring, and a new praetor expected; further, that the Sardinians were now weary of the long continuance of Roman rule, and in the previous year had been ruled with harshness and greed; that they were burdened by a heavy tribute and an unfair requisition of grain; that nothing was lacking but a leader to whom they might go over. Such was the report of a secret embassy sent by the leading men at the special instigation of Hampsicora, who at that time was far above the rest in prestige and wealth. By such news they were almost at the

[3] The defendant was bound to give assurances (in one of the various forms prescribed by the praetor's edict) that he would appear on the day and at the place named—here at the Piscina instead of in the Forum.

[4] He had not yet gone to Spain, as was intended in xiii. 8.

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erectique Magonem cum classe sua copiisque in
12 Hispaniam mittunt, in Sardiniam Hasdrubalem deligunt ducem et tantum ferme copiarum quantum Magoni decernunt.

13 Et Romae consules transactis rebus quae in urbe
14 agendae erant movebant iam sese ad bellum. Ti. Sempronius militibus Sinuessam diem ad conveniendum edixit, et Q. Fabius, consulto prius senatu, ut frumenta omnes ex agris ante kal. Iunias primas in
15 urbes munitas conveherent; qui non invexisset eius se agrum populaturum, servos sub hasta venditurum, villas incensurum. Ne praetoribus quidem qui ad ius dicendum creati erant vacatio a belli administra-
16 tione data est. Valerium praetorem in Apuliam ire placuit ad exercitum a Terentio accipiendum; cum ex Sicilia legiones venissent, iis potissimum uti ad regionis eius praesidium, Terentianum exercitum
17 Tarentum [1] mitti cum aliquo legatorum; et viginti quinque naves datae quibus oram maritimam inter
18 Brundisium ac Tarentum tutari posset. Par navium numerus Q. Fulvio praetori urbano decretus ad
19 suburbana litora tutanda. C. Terentio proconsuli negotium datum ut in Piceno agro conquisitionem
20 militum haberet locisque iis praesidio esset. Et T. Otacilius Crassus, postquam aedem Mentis in Capitolio dedicavit, in Siciliam cum imperio qui classi praeesset missus.

[1] exercitum Tarentum *Madvig*: *om.* *P*(1)*F*.

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[1] Either ripe or ripening, to be threshed in towns of such regions as were named in the order.

[2] In normal times short absences only from the city were permissible for the *urbanus* and the *peregrinus*.

same moment dejected and encouraged, and sent B.C. 215
Mago with his fleet and his forces to Spain. For Sardinia they chose Hasdrubal as general, and voted him about the same number of troops as to Mago.

And at Rome the consuls did what had to be done in the city, and were now bestirring themselves for the war. Tiberius Sempronius set his soldiers a date for mobilization at Sinuessa, and Quintus Fabius, after first consulting the senate, gave orders that all should bring their grain crops [1] from the farms into fortified cities before the next Kalends of June; that if any man should fail to do so, he would lay waste his farm, sell his slaves at auction and burn the farm buildings. Not even those praetors who had been appointed to administer justice [2] were granted exemption from the conduct of the war. It was decided that Valerius, the praetor, should go to Apulia, to take over the army from Terentius; that when the legions should arrive from Sicily, he should chiefly use these troops for the defence of that region; that Terentius' army should be sent to Tarentum under some one of the lieutenants. And twenty-five ships were given him, that with them he might be able to defend the coast between Brundisium and Tarentum. An equal number of ships was assigned by decree to Quintus Fulvius, the city praetor, for the defence of the shore near the city. Gaius Terentius as proconsul was given the task of conducting a levy of troops in the Picene territory and defending that region. And Titus Otacilius Crassus, after dedicating the Temple of Mens on the Capitol, was sent with full authority to Sicily, where he was to command the fleet.

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XXXIII. In hanc dimicationem duorum opulentissimorum in terris populorum omnes reges gentesque animos intenderant, inter quos Philippus Macedonum rex eo magis quod[1] propior Italiae ac mari tantum Ionio discretus erat. Is ubi primum fama accepit Hannibalem Alpis transgressum, ut bello inter Romanum Poenumque orto laetatus erat, ita utrius populi mallet victoriam esse incertis adhuc viribus fluctuatus animo fuerat. Postquam tertia iam pugna, tertia[2] victoria eum Poenis erat, ad fortunam inclinavit legatosque ad Hannibalem misit; qui vitantes portus Brundisinum Tarentinumque quia custodiis navium Romanarum tenebantur, ad Laciniae Iunonis templum in terram egressi sunt. Inde per Apuliam petentes Capuam media in praesidia Romana inlati sunt deductique ad Valerium Laevinum praetorem, circa Luceriam castra habentem. Ibi intrepide Xenophanes legationis princeps a Philippo rege se missum ait ad amicitiam societatemque iungendam cum populo Romano; mandata habere ad consules ac senatum populumque Romanum. Praetor[3] inter defectiones veterum sociorum nova societate tam clari regis laetus admodum hostes pro hospitibus comiter accepit; dat qui prosequantur, itinera cum cura demonstrent,[4] quae loca quosque saltus aut Romanus aut hostes teneant. Xenophanes per praesidia Romana in Campaniam,

[1] quod $P(1)F$: quo *Aldus*, *Madvig*.
[2] tertia M^1DAF: tertiam $P(4)$: tertium *Conway*.
[3] praetor A^2 *Muretus*: *om.* $P(1)F$ (*i.e.* pr. *after* r.).
[4] demonstrent $P(1)F$: demonstrat *Gronovius* (*with* et *Luchs*).

XXXIII. To this conflict of the two richest peoples B.C. 215
in the world all kings and nations had turned their attention, among them Philip, king of the Macedonians, all the more since he was nearer to Italy and separated from it only by the Ionian Sea. On first learning by report that Hannibal had crossed the Alps, although he had rejoiced at the outbreak of war between the Romans and the Carthaginians, still, as their resources were not yet known, he had wavered, uncertain which of the two peoples he wished to have the victory. Now that a third battle, a third victory, favoured the Carthaginians, he inclined to the side of success and sent ambassadors to Hannibal. These avoided the ports of Brundisium and Tarentum, because they were kept guarded by Roman ships, and landed at the Temple of Lacinian Juno.[1] Making their way thence toward Capua by way of Apulia, they encountered the centre of the Roman forces and were brought before Valerius Laevinus, the praetor, whose camp was near Luceria. There Xenophanes, the leader of the embassy, boldly said that he had been sent by King Philip to negotiate a friendly alliance with the Roman people; that he had communications for the consuls and for the senate and the Roman people. The praetor, who in the midst of the revolts of old allies was greatly delighted by a new alliance with so famous a king, hospitably received enemies as guests. He furnished men to escort them, to indicate the roads carefully, and what positions and what passes were held either by the Romans or by the enemy. Xenophanes made his way through the Roman forces into

[1] A famous temple on a promontory near Croton; cf. XXIV. iii. 3 ff.; XLII. iii. 2 ff.; Strabo VI. i. 11.

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inde qua proximum fuit in castra Hannibalis pervenit foedusque cum eo atque amicitiam iungit legibus
10 his: ut Philippus rex quam maxima classe—ducentas autem naves videbatur effecturus—in Italiam traiceret et vastaret maritimam oram, bellum pro parte
11 sua terra marique gereret; ubi debellatum esset, Italia omnis cum ipsa urbe Roma Carthaginiensium atque Hannibalis esset praedaque omnis Hannibali
12 cederet; perdomita Italia navigarent in Graeciam bellumque cum quibus regi[1] placeret gererent[2]; quae civitates continentis quaeque insulae ad Macedoniam vergunt, eae Philippi regnique eius essent.

XXXIV. In has ferme leges inter Poenum ducem
2 legatosque Macedonum ictum foedus; missique cum iis ad regis ipsius firmandam fidem legati, Gisgo et Bostar et Mago, eodem, ad Iunonis Laciniae, ubi
3 navis occulta in statione erat, perveniunt. Inde profecti cum altum tenerent, conspecti a[3] classe Romana sunt quae praesidio erat Calabriae litoribus;
4 Valeriusque Flaccus cercuros ad persequendam retrahendamque navem cum misisset, primo fugere regii conati; deinde, ubi celeritate vinci senserunt, tradunt se Romanis et ad praefectum classis adducti,
5 cum quaereret qui et unde et quo tenderent cursum, Xenophanes primo satis iam semel felix mendacium struere, a Philippo se ad Romanos missum ad M.

[1] regi *Gronovius*: regibus $P(1)F$.
[2] placeret gererent A^2: placerent PC^1RM: placeret $CM^{1?}DAF$.
[3] a M^1A^x: *om.* $P(1)$.

Campania and thence by the shortest road to the B.C. 215
camp of Hannibal, and arranged a treaty of friendship with him on the following terms: that King Philip with the largest possible fleet—and it was thought that he would make it two hundred ships—should cross to Italy and ravage the coast, and should carry on the war on land and sea with all his might: that after the war was over all Italy with the city of Rome itself should belong to the Carthaginians and Hannibal, and all the booty fall to Hannibal: that after the complete subjugation of Italy they should sail to Greece and wage war with such enemies as the king might choose; and that such states on the mainland and such islands as face Macedonia should belong to Philip and be a part of his kingdom.

XXXIV. On terms such as these a treaty was made between the Carthaginian general and the ambassadors of the Macedonians. And Gisgo and Bostar and Mago, who were sent with them as ambassadors, to reassure the king himself, reached the same place, the Temple of Juno Lacinia, where a ship lay in a hidden anchorage. Setting out thence and making for the open sea, they were sighted by the Roman fleet which was defending the coasts of Calabria. And Valerius Flaccus sent light craft to pursue the ship and bring her back; whereupon the king's ambassadors at first attempted to flee. Then, when they saw that they were being outstripped in speed, they surrendered to the Romans and were brought before the admiral of the fleet. When he asked who they were and whence, and whither they were bound, Xenophanes at first set up the false pretence which had been quite successful once before: that, being sent by Philip to the Romans, he had made his way

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Valerium, ad quem unum iter tutum fuerit, pervenisse, Campaniam superare nequisse, saeptam
6 hostium praesidiis. Deinde, ut Punicus cultus habitusque suspectos legatos fecit Hannibalis inter-
7 rogatosque sermo prodidit, tum comitibus eorum seductis ac metu territis, litterae quoque ab Hannibale ad Philippum inventae et pacta inter regem
8 Macedonum Poenumque ducem. Quibus satis cognitis optimum visum est captivos comitesque eorum Romam ad senatum aut ad consules, ubicumque
9 essent, quam primum deportare. Ad id celerrimae quinque naves delectae ac L. Valerius Antias, qui praecesset, missus, eique mandatum ut in omnis navis legatos separatim custodiendos divideret daretque operam ne quod iis conloquium inter se neve quae communicatio consilii esset.

10 Per idem tempus Romae cum A. Cornelius Mammula, ex Sardinia provincia decedens, rettulisset qui status rerum in insula esset: bellum ac defectionem
11 omnis spectare; Q. Mucium, qui successisset sibi, gravitate caeli aquarumque advenientem exceptum, non tam in periculosum quam longum morbum
12 implicitum, diu ad belli munia sustinenda inutilem fore, exercitumque ibi ut satis firmum pacatae provinciae praesidem esse, ita parum[1] bello quod
13 motum iri videretur, decreverunt patres ut Q. Fulvius Flaccus quinque milia[2] peditum, quad-

[1] parum $P(1)F$: parvum $M^2?A^{vg}x$: imparem *Madvig*: parum aptum *H. J. Müller*.

[2] quinque milia (= $\bar{v}$) z: vel $PRMF$ (cf. xxxvii. 13; xlvi. 4): vi C^4: mille DA^2.

to Marcus Valerius, the one man to whom there was B.C. 215
a safe road; that he had been unable to get across Campania, which was blocked by the enemy's forces. Then, when Carthaginian dress and appearance cast suspicion on Hannibal's ambassadors, and, being questioned, they were betrayed by their speech. Thereupon their attendants were led aside and frightened by threats; and a letter also from Hannibal to Philip was found, along with agreements between the king of the Macedonians and the Carthaginian general. So much being established, it seemed best to send the captured men and their attendants as soon as possible to the senate at Rome, or else to the consuls, wherever they might be. For that purpose five very swift ships were selected and Lucius Valerius Antias was sent to command them. And instructions were given him to distribute the ambassadors among all his ships, to be separately guarded; and he was to see to it that there should be no conversation among them or any interchange of plans.

About the same time at Rome Aulus Cornelius Mammula, on retiring from his province of Sardinia, reported what was the condition of affairs in the island: that all were aiming at war and rebellion; that Quintus Mucius, his successor, upon arriving was affected by the unwholesome climate and bad water, and having contracted an illness not so dangerous as protracted, would for a long time be useless for the performance of war duties; also that the army there, while strong enough to garrison a peaceful province, was not so for the war which seemed on the point of breaking out. The senate thereupon decreed that Quintus Fulvius Flaccus should enlist five thousand

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ringentos equites scriberet eamque legionem primo quoque tempore in Sardiniam traiciendam curaret, 14 mitteretque cum imperio quem ipsi videretur, qui 15 rem gereret quoad Mucius convaluisset. Ad eam rem missus est T. Manlius Torquatus, qui bis consul et censor fuerat subegeratque in consulatu Sardos. 16 Sub idem fere tempus et a Carthagine in Sardiniam classis missa duce Hasdrubale, cui Calvo cognomen erat, foeda tempestate vexata ad Balearis insulas 17 deicitur, ibique—adeo non armamenta modo sed etiam alvei navium quassati erant—subductae naves dum reficiuntur aliquantum temporis triverunt.

XXXV. In Italia cum post Cannensem pugnam, fractis partis alterius viribus, alterius mollitis animis, 2 segnius bellum esset, Campani per se adorti sunt rem Cumanam suae dicionis facere, primo sollicitantes ut ab Romanis deficerent; ubi id parum processit, dolum ad capiendos eos comparant. 3 Campanis omnibus statum sacrificium ad Hamas erat.[1] Eo senatum Campanum venturum certiores Cumanos fecerunt petieruntque ut et Cumanus eo senatus veniret ad consultandum communiter, ut eosdem uterque populus socios hostesque haberet; 4 praesidium ibi armatum se habituros, ne quid ab Romano Poenove periculi esset. Cumani, quamquam suspecta fraus erat, nihil abnuere, ita tegi fallax consilium posse rati.

[1] erat *Madvig* (*before* Campanis *Weissenborn*) : *om.* *P*(1).

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[1] In his first consulship, 235 B.C.; cf. xxii. 7.

[2] To the north-east of Cumae. An inscription gives some clue to its location.

[3] Their plan to aid the consul against the Campanians.

infantry and four hundred cavalry, and should see B.C. 215
to it that that legion should be transported to Sardinia at the first opportunity; also that he should send whomever he thought best with full authority, to carry on the war until Mucius should recover. For that duty Titus Manlius Torquatus was sent, a man who had been consul twice and censor, and in his consulship had conquered the Sardinians.[1] About the same time a fleet which had been sent from Carthage also to Sardinia, under command of the Hasdrubal who was surnamed Calvus, was damaged by a terrible storm and driven to the Balearic Islands. And there the ships were beached, to such an extent had not only the rigging but also the hulls been injured; and while undergoing repairs they caused a considerable loss of time.

XXXV. In Italy, while the war was less active after the battle of Cannae, since the resources of one side had been broken and the spirit of the other sapped, the Campanians attempted without assistance to reduce the state of Cumae to subjection, at first tempting them to revolt from the Romans. When that failed, they contrived a ruse to entrap them. All the Campanians had a regular sacrifice at Hamae.[2] To it they informed the men of Cumae that the Campanian senate would come, and requested that the senate of Cumae should come thither to deliberate together, so that both peoples might have the same allies and enemies. They said they would have an armed guard there, lest there be any danger from the Roman or the Carthaginian. The Cumaeans, though they had suspected guile, made no objections, thinking that a ruse of their own[3] to outwit them could thus be concealed.

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5 Interim Ti. Sempronius consul Romanus Sinuessae, quo ad conveniendum diem edixerat, exercitu lustrato transgressus Volturnum flumen circa Liter-
6 num posuit castra. Ibi quia otiosa stativa erant, crebro decurrere milites cogebat, ut tirones—ea maxima pars volonum erant—adsuescerent signa
7 sequi et in acie agnoscere ordines suos. Inter quae maxima erat cura duci, itaque legatis tribunisque praeceperat, ne qua exprobratio cuiquam veteris fortunae discordiam inter ordines sereret; vetus miles tironi, liber voloni sese exaequari sineret;
8 omnis satis honestos generososque ducerent quibus arma sua signaque populus Romanus commisisset; quae fortuna coegisset ita fieri, eandem cogere
9 tueri factum. Ea non maiore cura praecepta ab ducibus sunt quam a militibus observata, brevique tanta concordia coaluerant omnium animi ut prope in oblivionem veniret qua ex condicione quisque esset miles factus.

10 Haec agenti Graccho legati Cumani nuntiarunt quae a Campanis legatio paucos ante dies venisset
11 et quid iis ipsi respondissent: triduo post eum diem festum esse; non senatum solum omnem ibi futurum
12 sed castra etiam et exercitum Campanum. Gracchus iussis Cumanis omnia ex agris in urbem convehere

Meanwhile Tiberius Sempronius, the Roman consul, B.C. 215 after reviewing his army at Sinuessa, at which place he had announced a date for mobilization, crossed the river Volturnus and pitched camp near Liternum. There, since the permanent camp lacked occupation, he required the soldiers to manœuvre frequently, that the recruits—they were most of the slave-volunteers—might learn to follow the standards and to recognize their own ranks in the battle-line. In this it was the commander's greatest care, and he had instructed the lieutenants and tribunes to the same effect, that no reproach of any man's previous lot should sow strife between the different classes of soldiers; that the old soldier should allow himself to be rated with the recruit, the freeman with the slave-volunteer; that they should consider all to whom the Roman people had entrusted its arms and standards as sufficiently honoured and well-born. He said that the same fortune which had compelled them to do so now compelled them to defend what had been done. These injunctions were not given with greater care by the commanders than that with which they were followed by the soldiers. And soon they were all united in a harmony so great that it was almost forgotten from what status each man had been made a soldier.

While Gracchus was thus employed, legates from Cumae reported to him on what mission an embassy had come a few days before from the Campanians, and what answer they had themselves given them; that the festival was to be three days later, and not only would the whole senate be there, but a camp also and a Campanian army. Gracchus, having ordered the Cumaeans to bring everything from the

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et manere intra muros, ipse pridie quam statum sacrificium Campanis esset Cumas movet castra.
13 Hamae inde tria milia passuum absunt. Iam Campani eo frequentes ex composito convenerant, nec procul inde in occulto Marius Alfius medix tuticus—is [1] summus magistratus erat Campanis—cum
14 quattuordecim milibus armatorum habebat castra, sacrificio adparando et inter id instruendae fraudi aliquanto intentior quam muniendis castris aut ulli
15 militari operi.[2] Nocturnum erat sacrum, ita ut ante
16 mediam noctem compleretur. Huic Gracchus insidiandum tempori ratus, custodibus ad portas positis, ne quis enuntiare posset coepta, et ab decuma diei hora coactis militibus corpora curare somnoque
17 operam dare, ut primis tenebris convenire ad signum
18 possent, vigilia ferme prima tolli iussit signa, silentique profectus agmine cum ad Hamas media nocte pervenisset, castra Campana ut in pervigilio negleeta simul omnibus portis invadit; alios somno stratos, alios perpetrato sacro inermis redeuntis obtruncat.
19 Hominum eo tumultu nocturno caesa plus duo milia cum ipso duce Mario Alfio, capta . . . et [3] signa militaria quattuor et triginta.

[1] is *Fabri*: *om.* *P*(1).

[2] operi, *here* *P*(1) *add* triduum sacrificatum ad Hamas (*gloss on* § 11?)

[3] capta . . . et *Weissenborn*: capta est *PCR*: capta sunt *R*[1](14); capti * et *Madvig*.

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[1] For this Oscan term cf. XXIV. xix. 2.

farms into the city and to remain inside the walls, B.C. 215
moved his own camp to Cumae the day before the Campanians had their regular sacrifice. Hamae is three miles distant. Already the Campanians in large numbers had gathered there according to agreement. And in concealment, not far from there, Marius Alfius, the *medix tuticus*,[1] that is, the chief magistrate of the Campanians, had his camp, with fourteen thousand armed men, he being decidedly more intent upon preparing the sacrifice and contriving treachery during the same than upon fortifying his camp or upon any task of the soldier. The sacrifice took place at night, but it was to be finished before midnight. Gracchus, thinking he must be in waiting for that moment, placed guards at the gates, that no one might be able to carry away news of his undertaking. And having assembled his soldiers as early as the tenth hour of the day, he ordered them to get themselves in condition and take care to sleep, so that, as soon as it was dark, they might come together at the signal; and at about the first watch he ordered that the standards be taken up. And setting out with a silent column, he reached Hamae at midnight and entered the Campanian camp by all its gates at once; for, as was to be expected in view of the vigil, it was carelessly guarded. Some they slew as they lay asleep, others as they were returning unarmed after the rite had been completed. More than two thousand men were slain in that affray by night, including Marius Alfius, the commander himself. Captured were . . . thousand men[2] and thirty-four military standards.

[2] The large number makes the correctness of *capta* (sc. *milia*) doubtful; cf. xxxvii. 11.

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XXXVI. Graechus minus centum militum iactura castris hostium potitus Cumas se propere recepit, ab Hannibale metuens, qui super Capuam in Tifatis
2 habebat castra. Nec eum provida futuri fefellit opinio. Nam simul Capuam ea clades est nuntiata, ratus Hannibal ab re bene gesta insolenter laetum exercitum tironum, magna ex parte servorum, spoliantem victos praedasque agentem ad Hamas
3 se inventurum, citatum agmen praeter Capuam rapit, obviosque ex fuga Campanorum dato praesidio
4 Capuam duci, saucios vehiculis portari iubet. Ipse Hamis vacua ab hostibus castra nec quicquam praeter recentis vestigia caedis strataque passim corpora
5 sociorum invenit. Auctores erant quidam ut protinus inde Cumas duceret urbemque oppugnaret.
6 Id quamquam haud modice Hannibal cupiebat, ut, quia Neapolim non potuerat, Cumas saltem maritimam urbem haberet, tamen, quia praeter arma nihil secum miles raptim acto agmine extulerat,
7 retro in castra super Tifata se recepit. Inde fatigatus Campanorum precibus sequenti die cum omni apparatu oppugnandae urbis Cumas redit, perpopulatoque agro Cumano mille passus ab urbe castra
8 locat, cum Graechus magis verecundia in tali necessitate deserendi socios implorantis fidem suam populique Romani substitisset quam satis fidens exercitui.
9 Nec alter consul Fabius, qui ad Cales castra habebat, Volturnum flumen traducere audebat exercitum,

XXXVI. Graechus, having captured the camp of B.C. 215
the enemy with the loss of less than a hundred soldiers, hastily withdrew to Cumae in fear of Hannibal, who had his camp on Mount Tifata above Capua. And he was not mistaken in his forecast. For as soon as the defeat was reported at Capua, Hannibal, thinking he would find the army of recruits, largely slaves, at Hamae gloating for once over a success, spoiling the defeated and driving off the booty, rushed his column with all speed past Capua, and ordered that those of the fleeing Campanians whom he met should be furnished with an escort and led to Capua, and the wounded carried on wagons. As for himself, he found at Hamae a camp deserted by the enemy, and nothing except the traces of recent slaughter and corpses of his allies scattered everywhere. Some advised him to lead his troops away forthwith to Cumae and to attack the city. Although Hannibal was very eager to do so, in order that he might have Cumae at least as a seaport, since he had been unable to gain one at Neapolis, nevertheless, as his soldiers in their rapidly moving column had brought out nothing but their arms with them, he withdrew again to his camp on Tifata. Moved by the importunities of the Campanians, he returned thence on the following day to Cumae with all the equipment for besieging the city, and after ravaging the territory of Cumae, pitched his camp a mile from the city. Meanwhile Graechus, ashamed to desert allies in such straits and begging for his help and that of the Roman people, rather than because he had full confidence in his army, had remained there. Nor did the other consul, Fabius, who had his camp at Cales, venture to lead his army across the river Volturnus, being

A.U.C. 539 10 occupatus primo auspiciis repetendis, dein prodigiis quae alia super alia nuntiabantur; expiantique ea haud facile litari haruspices respondebant.

XXXVII. Eae causae cum Fabium tenerent, Sempronius in obsidione erat et iam operibus oppugna- 2 batur. Adversus ligneam ingentem admotam urbi turrem aliam[1] ex ipso muro excitavit consul Romanus, aliquanto altiorem, quia muro satis per se alto 3 subiectis validis sublicis pro solo usus erat. Inde primum saxis sudibusque et ceteris missilibus propugnatores moenia atque urbem tuebantur; 4 postremo, ubi promovendo adiunctam muro viderunt turrem, facibus ardentibus plurimum simul ignem 5 coniecerunt. Quo incendio trepida armatorum multitudo cum de turre sese praecipitaret, eruptio ex oppido simul duabus portis stationes hostium fudit fugavitque in castra, ut eo die obsesso quam obsidenti 6 similior esset Poenus. Ad mille trecenti Carthaginiensium caesi et undesexaginta vivi capti, qui circa muros et in stationibus solute ac neglegenter agentes, cum nihil minus quam eruptionem timuis- 7 sent, ex improviso oppressi fuerant. Gracchus, priusquam se hostes ab repentino pavore colligerent, receptui signum dedit ac suos intra muros recepit. 8 Postero die Hannibal, laetum[2] secunda re consulem iusto proelio ratus certaturum, aciem inter castra

[1] turrem aliam *Madvig*: aliam turrem *P*(1).

[2] laetum *Gronovius*: etum *P*(4): elatum *Aldus* (*after* re A^2x): tum P^3C^xD: cum *A*.

employed at first in taking new auspices and then B.C. 215
with the portents which were being reported one after another. And as he was making expiation, the soothsayers kept repeating their opinion that it was not easy to obtain favourable omens.

XXXVII. While these reasons detained Fabius, Sempronius was blockaded and already beset by siege-works. As a defence against a great wooden tower which was moved up to the city, the Roman consul reared from the wall itself another tower considerably higher. For he had used the wall, which in itself was quite high, as a base, shoring it up with stout timbers. From that tower the defenders first held the wall and the city by hurling stones and stakes and every other missile. Finally, seeing that the enemy's tower had been pushed close against the wall, they hurled a vast amount of fire all at once from their blazing torches. While great numbers of armed men, alarmed by the fire, were leaping down from the tower, a sally out of two gates of the town at the same time routed the enemy's guards and sent them in flight to the camp, so that on that day the Carthaginian resembled a besieged army more than a besieger. About one thousand and three hundred were slain and fifty-nine captured alive of the Carthaginians, who were relaxing and idling along the walls and at guard-posts, and, having feared anything rather than a sally, had unexpectedly been overpowered. Graechus, before the enemy could recover from their sudden fright, gave the signal for the recall and withdrew his men inside the walls. On the next day Hannibal, supposing that the consul, elated by success, would engage in a regular battle, drew up his line between the camp and the city.

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9 atque urbem instruxit; ceterum postquam neminem moveri ab solita custodia urbis vidit nec committi quicquam temerariae spei, ad Tifata redit infecta re.

10 Quibus diebus Cumae liberatae sunt obsidione, iisdem diebus et in Lucanis ad Grumentum Ti. Sempronius, cui Longo cognomen erat, cum Han-
11 none Poeno prospere pugnat. Supra duo milia hominum occidit, et ducentos octoginta milites,[1] signa militaria ad quadraginta unum cepit. Pulsus finibus Lucanis Hanno retro in Bruttios sese recepit.
12 Et ex Hirpinis oppida tria, quae a populo Romano defecerant, vi recepta per M. Valerium praetorem, Vercellium, Vescellium, Sicilinum, et auctores defec-
13 tionis securi percussi. Supra quinque milia[2] captivorum sub hasta venierunt; praeda alia militi concessa, exercitusque Luceriam reductus.

XXXVIII. Dum haec in Lucanis atque in Hirpinis geruntur, quinque naves, quae Macedonum atque Poenorum captos legatos Romam portabant, ab supero mari ad inferum circumvectae prope omnem
2 Italiae oram, cum praeter Cumas velis ferrentur neque hostium an sociorum essent satis sciretur,
3 Graechus obviam ex classe sua naves misit. Cum percunctando invicem cognitum esset consulem Cumis esse, naves Cumas adpulsae captivique ad consulem
4 deducti et litterae datae. Consul litteris Philippi atque Hannibalis perlectis consignata omnia ad senatum itinere terrestri misit, navibus devehi

[1] milites, *here* *P*(1) *add* amisit.
[2] quinque milia *Alschefski*: vel (*for* v̄) *P*(2): *cf.* xxxiv. 13.

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[1] This Sempronius was consul with P. Scipio in 218 B.C., and defeated by Hannibal at the Trebia; XXI. vi. 3 and liv ff.
[2] *I.e.* from the Adriatic to the Mare Tuscum; cf. i. 5; xxiv. 8.

But on seeing that no one stirred from the usual B.C. 215
defence of the city and that nothing was entrusted to a rash hope, he returned with nothing accomplished to Tifata.

At the same time that the siege of Cumae was raised, Tiberius Sempronius, surnamed Longus,[1] also fought successfully in Lucania, near Grumentum, with Hanno the Carthaginian. He slew above two thousand men, and captured two hundred and eighty soldiers and some forty-one military standards. Driven out of Lucanian territory, Hanno withdrew into the land of the Bruttians. And three towns of the Hirpini, Vercellium, Vescellium and Sicilinum, which had revolted from the Roman people, were forcibly recovered by Marcus Valerius, the praetor, and those who had advised revolt were beheaded. Over five thousand captives were sold at auction; the rest of the booty was given over to the soldiers, and the army led back to Luceria.

XXXVIII. While these things were going on in Lucania and among the Hirpini, the five ships which were carrying to Rome the captured ambassadors of the Macedonians and the Carthaginians cruised along nearly the whole coast of Italy from the Upper Sea to the Lower.[2] And when they were passing Cumae under sail, and it was uncertain whether they belonged to enemies or friends, Graechus sent ships from his fleet to meet them. When in the course of questioning on both sides it was learned that the consul was at Cumae, the ships put in at Cumae and the prisoners were brought before the consul and the letters handed over to him. The consul, after reading the letters of Philip and Hannibal, sent everything under seal by land to the senate, and ordered the

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5 legatos iussit. Cum eodem fere die litterae legatique Romam venissent et pernunctatione facta dicta cum scriptis congruerent, primo gravis cura patres incessit, cernentes quanta vix tolerantibus Punicum
6 bellum Macedonici belli moles instaret. Cui tamen adeo non succubuerunt ut extemplo agitaretur quem ad modum ultro inferendo bello averterent ab Italia
7 hostem. Captivis in vincula condi iussis comitibusque eorum sub hasta venditis, ad naves viginti quinque, quibus P. Valerius Flaccus praefectus praecerat,
8 viginti quinque[1] parari[2] alias decernunt. His comparatis deductisque et additis quinque navibus,
9 quae advexerant captivos legatos, triginta naves ab Ostia Tarentum profectae, inssusque P. Valerius militibus Varronianis, quibus L. Apustius legatus Tarenti praecerat, in naves impositis quinquaginta quinque navium classe non tueri modo Italiae oram
10 sed explorare de Macedonico bello; si congruentia litteris legatorumque indiciis Philippi consilia essent, ut M. Valerium praetorem litteris certiorem faceret,
11 isque L. Apustio legato exercitui praeposito Tarentum ad classem profectus primo quoque tempore in Macedoniam transmitteret daretque operam ut
12 Philippum in regno contineret. Pecunia ad classem tuendam bellumque Macedonicum ea decreta est quae Ap. Claudio in Siciliam missa erat, ut redderetur

[1] quinque *Jac. Gronovius* : *om.* *P*(1).
[2] parari M^2 *Gronovius* : paratis *P*(1).

[1] The total should be fifty; the five which carried the captives are counted twice; cf. xxxiv. 9.

ambassadors to be carried on the ships. Letters B.C. 215
and ambassadors arrived at Rome on about the same day, and upon enquiry their words and the texts were in agreement. Thereupon the senators were at first gravely concerned, seeing how serious a war with Macedonia threatened, at a time when they could scarcely endure that with the Carthaginians. However, they were so far from giving way to that concern that they at once discussed how by actual aggressive warfare they might keep the enemy away from Italy. The prisoners were ordered put in chains, their attendants were sold at auction, and it was decreed that, in addition to the twenty-five ships which Publius Valerius Flaccus commanded as admiral, twenty-five others should be made ready. The latter being now ready and launched, with the addition of the five ships which had brought the ambassadors as captives, thirty ships sailed from Ostia for Tarentum. And Publius Valerius was ordered to put on board the soldiers who had been Varro's, and at Tarentum were commanded by Lucius Apustius, the lieutenant, and then with a fleet of fifty-five [1] ships not merely to defend the coast of Italy, but to get information in regard to the Macedonian war. If the designs of Philip should agree with the letters and with the statements of the ambassadors, then he was to inform Marcus Valerius, the praetor, by letter; and Valerius, after placing his lieutenant, Lucius Apustius, in command of the army, was to proceed to the fleet at Tarentum, and as soon as possible to cross into Macedonia and take steps to keep Philip within his kingdom. For the maintenance of the fleet and for the Macedonian war there was voted the money which had been sent to Appius Claudius in Sicily, to

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Hieroni regi: ea per L. Antistium legatum Tarentum
13 est devecta. Simul ab Hierone missa ducenta milia modium tritici et hordei centum.

XXXIX. Dum haec Romani parant aguntque, ad Philippum captiva navis una, ex iis quae Romam missae erant, ex cursu refugit: inde scitum legatos
2 cum litteris captos. Itaque ignarus rex quae cum Hannibale legatis suis convenissent quaeque legati eius ad se adlaturi fuissent, legationem aliam cum
3 eisdem mandatis mittit. Legati ad Hannibalem missi Heraclitus, cui Scotino cognomen erat,[1] et Crito Boeotus et Sositheus Magnes. Hi prospere tulerunt
4 ac rettulerunt mandata; sed prius se aestas circumegit quam movere ac moliri quicquam rex posset: tantum navis una capta cum legatis momenti fecit ad dilationem imminentis Romanis belli.

5 Et circa Capuam, transgresso Volturnum Fabio post expiata tandem prodigia, ambo consules rem
6 gerebant. Combulteriam et Trebulam et Austiculam urbes, quae ad Poenum defecerant, Fabius vi cepit: praesidiaque in his Hannibalis Campanique
7 permulti capti. Et Nolae,[2] sicut priore anno, senatus Romanorum, plebs Hannibalis erat, consiliaque

[1] cui . . . erat *spurious according to Gronovius.*
[2] et Nolae $P(2)A^{y}$: Nolae M^{1}.

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[1] Pay for the soldiers had been lent by him in the previous year; cf. xxi. 5. His successor presently took the Carthaginian side: XXIV. vi f.

[2] Cf. xxxiv. 8 f.

[3] This term ("The Obscure") had been applied to the early philosopher of Ephesus of the same name, *ca.* 500 B.C. A pointless marginal note may have got into the text here, displacing the adjective of place which would be expected with this unknown Heraclitus.

be repaid to king Hiero.[1] This money was carried B.C. 215
to Tarentum by Lucius Antistius, the lieutenant. At the same time two hundred thousand pecks of wheat and a hundred thousand of barley were sent by Hiero.

XXXIX. While the Romans were engaged in these preparations and activities, the one captured ship escaped while under weigh from those which had been sent to Rome,[2] and returned to Philip. Thus it became known that the ambassadors had been captured with the letter. And so the king, not knowing what had been agreed upon between his ambassadors and Hannibal, and what message the latter's ambassadors were to have brought to him, sent another embassy with the same instructions. As ambassadors to Hannibal there were sent Heraclitus, surnamed Scotinus,[3] and Crito, the Boeotian, and Sositheus, of Magnesia. These succeeded in carrying and in bringing back instructions; but the summer was over before the king could make any active preparations. So effectual was the capture of a single ship and ambassadors in postponing a war which threatened the Romans.

Also in the vicinity of Capua both consuls were carrying on the war, now that Fabius, after finally making atonement for the prodigies,[4] had crossed the Volturnus. The cities of Combulteria and Trebula and Austicula, which had revolted to the Carthaginian, were forcibly taken by Fabius, and in them Hannibal's garrisons and very many Campanians were captured. And at Nola, just as in the previous year, the senate sided with the Romans, the common people with Hannibal, and secret plans were being formed for the

[4] Mentioned in xxxi. 15.

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occulta de caede principum et proditione urbis
8 inibantur. Quibus ne incepta procederent, inter Capuam castraque Hannibalis, quae in Tifatis erant, traducto exercitu Fabius super Suessulam in castris Claudianis consedit; inde M. Marcellum propraetorem cum iis copiis quas habebat Nolam in praesidium misit.

XL. Et in Sardinia res per T. Manlium praetorem administrari coeptae, quae omissae erant postquam Q. Mucius praetor gravi morbo est implicitus.
2 Manlius navibus longis ad Carales subductis navalibusque sociis armatis, ut terra rem gereret, et a praetore exercitu accepto duo et viginti milia
3 peditum, mille ducentos equites confecit. Cum his equitum peditumque copiis profectus in agrum hostium haud procul ab Hampsicorae castris castra posuit. Hampsicora tum forte profectus erat in Pellitos Sardos ad iuventutem armandam, qua
4 copias augeret; filius nomine Hostus castris praeerat. Is adulescentia ferox temere proelio inito fusus fugatusque. Ad tria milia Sardorum eo proelio
5 caesa, octingenti ferme vivi capti; alius exercitus primo per agros silvasque fuga palatus, dein, quo ducem fugisse fama erat, ad urbem nomine Cornum,
6 caput eius regionis, confugit; debellatumque eo proelio in Sardinia esset, ni classis Punica cum duce

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[1] Cf. xxxi. 3 and 5; xlvi. 9.

[2] Really proconsul; cf. xxx. 18; xxxii. 2; xlviii. 2.

[3] Acting in place of the regular praetor; cf. xxxiv. 15.

[4] Regularly called *socii navales*, from the time when seamen and oarsmen were allies, while the soldiers on board were Romans.

murder of the leading men and the betrayal of the city. That their undertaking should go no farther, Fabius led his army between Capua and the camp of Hannibal, which was on Tifata, and established himself above Suessula in the Claudian Camp.[1] From there he sent Marcus Marcellus, the propraetor,[2] with the forces which he had to Nola, to serve as a garrison. B.C. 215

XL. And in Sardinia under the direction of Titus Manlius, the praetor,[3] the operations which had been neglected ever since Quintus Mucius, the praetor, was attacked by a serious malady, were resumed. Manlius, after beaching his warships at Carales and arming their crews,[4] in order to wage war on land, and receiving an army from the praetor, made up a total of twenty-two thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry. With these cavalry and infantry forces he set out for the enemy's territory and pitched camp not far from the camp of Hampsicora. At that time Hampsicora, as it happened, had gone to the region of the Skin-clad Sardinians,[5] to arm their young men, in order to enlarge his forces. His son named Hostus was in command of the camp. He with the overconfidence of youth rashly went into battle, was routed and put to flight. About three thousand Sardinians were slain in that battle, some eight hundred taken alive. The rest of the army, at first wandering in flight through the farms and woods, then fled to the place to which it was reported that the commander had fled, a city named Cornus, the capital of that region. And the war in Sardinia would have been ended by that battle, had not the

[5] An earlier population living in the mountainous interior of the island and wearing goat-skins.

A.U.C. 539 Hasdrubale, quae tempestate deiecta ad Baliaris erat,
7 in tempore ad spem rebellandi advenisset. Manlius post famam adpulsae Punicae classis Carales se recepit: ea occasio Hampsicorae data est Poeno se
8 iungendi. Hasdrubal, copiis in terram expositis et classe remissa Carthaginem, duce Hampsicora ad sociorum populi Romani agrum populandum profectus Carales perventurus erat, ni Manlius obvio exercitu ab effusa cum populatione continuisset.
9 Primo castra castris modico intervallo sunt obiecta; deinde per[1] procursationes levia certamina vario eventu inita; postremo descensum in aciem. Signis conlatis insto proelio per quattuor horas pugnatum.
10 Diu pugnam ancipitem Poeni, Sardis facile vinci adsuetis, fecerunt; postremo et ipsi, cum omnia circa strage ac fuga Sardorum repleta essent, fusi;
11 ceterum terga dantes circumducto cornu quo pepulerat Sardos inclusit Romanus. Caedes inde magis
12 quam pugna fuit. Duodecim milia hostium caesa, Sardorum simul Poenorumque, ferme tria milia et septingenti capti et signa militaria septem et viginti.

XLI. Ante omnia claram et memorabilem pugnam fecit Hasdrubal imperator captus et Hanno et Mago,
2 nobiles Carthaginienses. Mago ex gente Barcina, propinqua cognatione Hannibali iunctus, Hanno

[1] deinde per *Madvig*: deinceps *P*(1).

Carthaginian fleet commanded by Hasdrubal, which B.C. 215
had been carried by a storm to the Balearic Islands, arrived at the right moment to revive hopes for the rebellion. Manlius, when the arrival of the Punic fleet was reported, withdrew to Carales. By so doing he gave Hampsicora the opportunity to unite with the Carthaginian. Hasdrubal, after landing his forces and sending the fleet back to Carthage, set out with Hampsicora as his guide to lay waste the lands of allies of the Roman people. And he would have reached Carales, had not Manlius by confronting him with an army restrained him from his widespread devastation. At first camp faced camp at no great distance. Then charges led to skirmishes with varying results. Finally they went into line of battle. With standards against standards they fought a regular engagement for four hours. For a long time the Carthaginians made the issue uncertain, while the Sardinians were used to being easily defeated. Finally, when the slain and the fleeing Sardinians had covered the whole field, the Carthaginians also were routed. But when they tried to flee, the Roman general hemmed them in by a flank movement of the wing with which he had beaten back the Sardinians. It was a slaughter after that, rather than a battle. Twelve thousand of the enemy were slain, Sardinians and Carthaginians reckoned together. About three thousand seven hundred were captured, and twenty-seven military standards.

XLI. What more than all made it a famous and memorable battle was the capture of Hasdrubal, the commander, and Hanno and Mago, Carthaginian nobles, Mago being of the Barca family and nearly related to Hannibal, while Hanno had advised the

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auctor rebellionis Sardis bellique eius haud dubie
3 conciitor. Nec Sardorum duces minus nobilem eam pugnam cladibus suis fecerunt: nam et filius Hampsicorae Hostus in acie cecidit, et Hampsicora cum
4 paucis equitibus fugiens, ut super adflictas res necem quoque filii audivit, nocte, ne cuius interventus
5 coepta impediret, mortem sibi conscivit. Ceteris urbs Cornus eadem quae ante fugae receptaculum fuit; quam Manlius victore exercitu adgressus intra
6 dies paucos recepit. Deinde aliae quoque civitates, quae ad Hampsicoram Poenosque defecerant, obsidibus datis dediderunt sese; quibus stipendio frumentoque imperato pro cuiusque aut viribus aut
7 delicto Carales exercitum reduxit. Ibi navibus longis deductis inpositoque quem secum advexerat milite Romam navigat Sardiniamque perdomitam nuntiat patribus; et stipendium quaestoribus, frumentum aedilibus, captivos Q. Fulvio praetori tradit.

8 Per idem tempus T. Otacilius praetor ab Lilybaeo classi in Africam transvectus depopulatusque agrum
9 Carthaginiensem, cum Sardiniam inde peteret, quo fama erat Hasdrubalem a Balearibus nuper traiecisse, classi Africam repetenti occurrit, levique certamine in alto commisso septem inde naves cum sociis navalibus cepit. Ceteras metus haud secus quam tempestas passim disiecit.

Sardinians to rebel and had undoubtedly fomented B.C. 215
that war. And the Sardinians' generals made the battle no less notable by their deaths. For Hostus, the son of Hampsicora, fell in battle, and also Hampsicora as he fled with a few horsemen, on hearing, not of the defeat only, but also of the death of his son, took his own life, doing this at night, that no one might come upon him and interfere with his attempt. For all the rest the same city of Cornus was a place of refuge, as before. Manlius with his victorious army attacked it and took it within a few days. Then other cities also which had revolted to Hampsicora and the Carthaginians gave hostages and surrendered. From these cities Manlius exacted tribute and grain in proportion to the resources of each or its guilt, and led his army back to Carales. There he launched his warships, took on board the soldiers he had brought with him, sailed for Rome, and reported to the senate the complete subjugation of Sardinia. He also turned over the tribute to the quaestors, the grain to the aediles, the captives to Quintus Fulvius, the praetor.

About the same time Titus Otacilius, the praetor,[1] sailed with his fleet from Lilybaeum across to Africa, and after laying waste the country about Carthage, was steering thence toward Sardinia, to which it was reported that Hasdrubal had recently crossed from the Balearic Islands, when he encountered the fleet returning to Africa; and in a slight engagement fought in open water he captured seven of their ships together with their crews. The rest were widely scattered by their fear quite as much as they had been by the storm.

[1] Here = *praefectus*, commander of the fleet.

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10 Per eosdem forte dies et Bomilcar cum militibus
ad supplementum Carthagine missis elephantisque
11 et commeatu Locros accessit. Quem ut incautum
opprimeret, Ap. Claudius per simulationem pro-
vinciae circumeundae Messanam raptim exercitu
12 ducto vento aestuque suo[1] Locros traiecit. Iam
inde Bomilcar ad Hannonem in Bruttios profectus
erat, et Locrenses portas Romanis clauserunt;
Appius magno conatu nulla re gesta Messanam
repetit.
13 Eadem aestate Marcellus ab Nola, quam praesidio
obtinebat, crebras excursiones in agrum Hirpinum
14 et Samnites Caudinos fecit adeoque omnia ferro
atque igni vastavit ut antiquarum cladium Samnio
memoriam renovaret. XLII. Itaque extemplo le-
gati ad Hannibalem missi simul ex utraque gente ita
Poenum adlocuti sunt: "Hostes populi Romani,
2 Hannibal, fuimus primum per nos ipsi quoad nostra
arma, nostrae vires nos tutari poterant. Postquam
his parum fidebamus, Pyrrho regi nos adiunximus;
3 a quo relicti pacem necessariam accepimus, fuimusque
in ea per annos prope quinquaginta ad id tempus quo
4 tu in Italiam venisti. Tua nos non magis virtus
fortunaque quam unica comitas ac benignitas erga
cives nostros, quos captos nobis remisisti, ita con
ciliavit tibi ut te salvo atque incolumi amico non
modo populum Romanum sed ne deos quidem iratos,
5 si fas est dici, timeremus. At hercule non solum

[1] vento aestuque suo *Weissenborn*: aestuquaesuo *PR*: aestuque suo R^1?(7).

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[1] In the Samnite Wars, as narrated in books VII to X, especially their defeats at Suessula, 343 B.C., and at Sentinum, 295.

[2] The speech is, of course, that of their leader.

About the same time, moreover, as it happened, B.C. 215
Bomilcar arrived at Locri with the soldiers sent as reinforcements from Carthage and with elephants and supplies. In order to take him unawares Appius Claudius, with the pretence of making the round of his province, led his army in haste to Messana, and with wind and current in his favour crossed over to Locri. Already Bomilcar had left that place, to join Hanno among the Bruttii, and the Locrians closed their gates against the Romans. Appius, having accomplished nothing by his great effort, returned to Messana.

The same summer Marcellus from Nola, which he held with a garrison, made frequent raids into the country of the Hirpini and the Samnites about Caudium and laid waste the whole region with fire and sword so completely that he revived the Samnites' memory of their old disasters.[1] XLII. Accordingly ambassadors were sent at once to Hannibal from both tribes, and they addressed the Carthaginian thus:[2] "We were enemies of the Roman people, Hannibal, at first by ourselves, so long as our arms and our resources were able to defend us. When we had lost confidence in these, we attached ourselves to Pyrrhus, the king. Abandoned by him we accepted an inevitable peace, and have remained in that peace for about fifty years, down to the time when you came to Italy. It is not more your courage and success than your singular kindness and consideration toward our citizens, whom you captured and then sent back to us, that so won us over to you that, so long as you were a friend safe and sound, we not only did not fear the Roman people, but not even the anger of the gods, if it is right to say so. But in fact,

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incolumi et victore sed praesente te, cum ploratum prope coniugum ac liberorum nostrorum exaudire et flagrantia tecta posses conspicere, ita sumus aliquotiens hac aestate devastati ut M. Marcellus, non Hannibal, vicisse ad Cannas videatur, glorianturque Romani te, ad unum modo ictum vigentem, velut
6 aculeo emisso torpere. Per annos centum [1] cum populo Romano bellum gessimus, nullo externo adiuti nec duce nec exercitu, nisi quod per biennium Pyrrhus nostro magis milite suas auxit vires quam
7 suis viribus nos defendit. Non ego secundis rebus nostris gloriabor, duos consules ac duos consulares exercitus ab nobis sub iugum missos, et si qua alia
8 aut laeta aut gloriosa nobis evenerunt. Quae aspera adversaque tunc acciderunt minore indignatione re-
9 ferre possumus quam quae hodie eveniunt. Magni dictatores cum magistris equitum, bini consules cum binis consularibus exercitibus ingrediebantur finis nostros: ante explorato et subsidiis positis et sub
10 signis ad populandum ducebant; nunc propraetoris unius et parvi ad tuendam Nolam praesidii praeda sumus; iam ne manipulatim quidem sed latronum modo percursant totis finibus nostris neglegentius
11 quam si in Romano vagarentur agro. Causa autem haec est quod neque tu defendis et nostra iuventus, quae si domi esset tutaretur, omnis sub signis militat
12 tuis. Nec te nec exercitum tuum norim nisi, a quo

[1] centum *x*: prope centum A^2x: *om.* *P*(1).

[1] *E.g.* Papirius Cursor, VIII. xxix ff.; again IX. xxxviii; five times consul.

[2] In disparagement of Marcellus, a proconsul; cf. xliii. 12.

while you are not merely safe and victorious, but also B.C. 215
here present, although you could almost hear the wailing of our wives and children and could see the blazing houses, we have been so ravaged several times this summer that Marcus Marcellus, not Hannibal, appears to have been the victor at Cannae, and the Romans are boasting that you, having strength for but a single stroke, are inactive, as if you had spent your sting. For a hundred years we waged war with the Roman people, unaided either by commander or army from abroad, except that for two years Pyrrhus did not so much defend us with his resources as enlarge these by adding our soldiers. I shall not boast of our successes, that two consuls and two consular armies were sent under the yoke by us, nor of any other events which have brought us either joy or fame. But the hardships and defeats which then befel us we can relate with less indignation than the things that are happening today. Great dictators[1] and masters of the horse, two consuls and two consular armies, used each time to enter our territory. After first reconnoitring and posting reserves, and in regular array they would lead out for a raid. But now we are the prey of a single propractor[2] and a small garrison assigned to the defence of Nola. Already they roam over our whole territory, not even in maniples, but after the manner of brigands, with less caution than if they were wandering in the country around Rome. The reason moreover is this: that you are not defending us, and at the same time our young men, who would be protecting us if they were at home, are all serving under your standards. I should be unacquainted both with you and your army if I were not to hold

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tot acies Romanas fusas stratasque esse sciam, ei facile esse ducam[1] opprimere populatores nostros vagos, sine signis palatos quo quemque trahit quamvis
13 vana praedae spes. Numidarum paucorum illi quidem praeda erunt praesidiumque miseris simul[2] nobis et Nolae ademeris, si modo, quos ut socios haberes dignos duxisti, haud[3] indignos iudicas quos in fidem receptos tuearis."

XLIII. Ad ea Hannibal respondit, omnia simul facere Hirpinos Samnitesque, et indicare clades suas et petere praesidium et queri indefensos se neglectos-
2 que. Indicandum autem primum fuisse, dein petendum praesidium, postremo ni impetraretur, tum denique querendum frustra opem inploratam.
3 Exercitum sese non in agrum Hirpinum Samnitemve, ne et ipse oneri esset, sed in proxima loca sociorum populi Romani adducturum. Iis populandis et militem suum repleturum se et metu procul ab his[4]
4 summoturum hostis. Quod ad bellum Romanum attineret, si Trasumenni quam Trebiae, si Cannarum quam Trasumenni pugna nobilior esset, Cannarum quoque se[5] memoriam obscuram maiore et clariore victoria facturum.

5 Cum hoc responso muneribusque amplis legatos dimisit; ipse praesidio modico relicto in Tifatis pro-
6 fectus cetero exercitu ire Nolam pergit. Eodem Hanno ex Bruttiis cum supplemento Carthagine advecto atque elephantis venit. Castris haud procul

[1] ducam *z* : dicam *P*(1).

[2] miseris simul *Madvig* : misul *P* : misum P^3?*R* : missum R^1(7)*z* : simul erit *Gronovius*.

[3] haud A^y *Valla* : at it *PR* : ad id *C* : ad id R^2(14).

[4] his *P Walters, without comment* : iis *vulgate*.

[5] quoque se *Siesbye* : se quoque *P*(1).

it easy for one who, I know, has routed and laid low B.C. 215
so many Roman battle-lines to surprise our scattered plunderers, roaming without their standards wherever a man is drawn by even the vain hope of booty. To a few Numidians they will in any case fall a prey, and you will have sent us troops and at the same time will have rid Nola of its garrison, if only men whom you have considered worthy to be your allies are not judged by you unworthy to be taken under your protection and defended."

XLIII. To this Hannibal replied that the Hirpini and Samnites were doing everything at once, reporting their losses, and asking for troops, and complaining that they were undefended and neglected. But they ought first to have reported, then asked for protection, finally, if this was not obtained, they should then, and not sooner, have complained that help had been besought in vain. He would lead his army, not into the territory of the Hirpini or the Samnites, in order not to be another burden, but into the nearest lands of allies of the Roman people. By devastating these he would satisfy his own army and drive the frightened enemy to a distance from them. As for the Roman war, if the battle of the Trasumennus was more celebrated than that of the Trebia, if Cannae than Trasumennus, he would overshadow the memory even of Cannae by a greater and more famous victory.

With this answer and also with ample gifts he sent the ambassadors away. He himself set out, leaving a moderate force on Tifata, and proceeded with the rest of his army to Nola. Hanno also came thither from the land of the Bruttii with reinforcements brought from Carthage and with the elephants.

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positis longe alia omnia inquirenti comperta sunt
7 quam quae a legatis sociorum audierat. Nihil enim Marcellus ita egerat ut aut fortunae aut temere hosti commissum dici posset. Explorato cum firmisque praesidiis tuto receptu praedatum ierat, omniaque velut adversus praesentem Hannibalem cauta
8 provisaque fuerant. Tum, ubi sensit hostem adventare, copias intra moenia tenuit; per muros inambulare senatores Nolanos iussit et omnia circa explorare
9 quae apud hostes fierent. Ex his Hanno, cum ad murum successisset, Herennium Bassum et Herium Pettium ad conloquium evocatos permissuque Mar-
10 celli egressos per interpretem adloquitur. Hannibalis virtutem fortunamque extollit: populi Romani
11 obterit senescentem cum viribus maiestatem. Quae si paria essent, ut quondam fuissent, tamen expertis quam grave Romanum imperium sociis, quanta indulgentia Hannibalis etiam in captivos omnis Italici nominis fuisset, Punicam Romanae societatem
12 atque amicitiam praeoptandam esse. Si ambo consules cum suis exercitibus ad Nolam essent, tamen non magis pares Hannibali futuros quam ad Cannas fuissent, nedum praetor unus cum paucis et
13 novis militibus Nolam tutari possit. Ipsorum quam Hannibalis magis[1] interesse capta an tradita Nola poteretur; potiturum enim, ut Capua Nuceriaque

[1] magis *Harant* (*after* ipsorum *in* A^{rz}) : *om.* $P(1)$.

Having pitched his camp not far away, Hannibal B.C. 215
found on enquiry that everything was very different from what he had heard from the legates of his allies. For Marcellus had not done anything in such a way that it could be said to have been left to fortune or rashly left to the enemy. After reconnoitring, having strong forces and a safe refuge, he had gone out to forage, and every possible precaution had been taken, as though against Hannibal in person. Then on learning of the approach of the enemy, he kept his troops inside the walls. He ordered the senators of Nola to walk up and down on the walls, and to observe everything that went on among the enemy all around. Hanno, having come close to the wall, called out from their number Herennius Bassus and Herius Pettius to a conference, and when they came out with Marcellus' permission, he addressed them through an interpreter. He lauded Hannibal's courage and success. He belittled the majesty of the Roman people, as wasting away along with their resources. And if these qualities were evenly matched, he said, as once they had been, nevertheless those who had found out how burdensome was Roman rule to the allies, how great had been Hannibal's indulgence even to all captives who called themselves Italians, these were bound to prefer Carthaginian alliance and friendship to Roman. If both consuls were at Nola with their armies, still they would be no more a match for Hannibal than they had been at Cannae; much less could one praetor with a few raw soldiers defend Nola. It was their own concern more than Hannibal's whether he took Nola by capture or by surrender. For he would take it, as he had taken Capua and Nuceria. But what a difference

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potitus esset; sed quid inter Capuae ac Nuceriae fortunam interesset ipsos prope in medio sitos
14 Nolanos scire. Nolle ominari quae captae urbi casura[1] forent, et potius spondere, si Marcellum cum praesidio ac Nolam tradidissent, neminem alium quam ipsos legem qua in societatem amicitiamque Hannibalis venirent dicturum.

XLIV. Ad ea Herennius Bassus respondit multos annos iam inter Romanum Nolanumque populum amicitiam esse, cuius neutros ad eam diem paenitere, et sibi, si cum fortuna mutanda fides fuerit, sero
2 iam esse mutare. An dedituris se Hannibali fuisse accersendum Romanorum praesidium? Cum iis qui ad sese tuendos venissent omnia sibi et esse consociata et ad ultimum fore.

3 Hoc conloquium abstulit spem Hannibali per proditionem recipiendae Nolae. Itaque corona oppidum circumdedit, ut simul ab omni parte moenia adgrede-
4 retur. Quem ut successisse muris Marcellus vidit, instructa intra portam acie cum magno tumultu erupit. Aliquot primo impetu perculsi caesique sunt; dein concursu ad pugnantis facto aequatisque viribus atrox esse coepit pugna, memorabilisque inter paucas fuisset, ni ingentibus procellis effusus
5 imber diremisset pugnantis. Eo die commisso modico certamine atque inritatis animis in urbem Romani, Poeni in castra receperunt sese; nam[2]

[1] casura *Nipperdey*: cessura $P(11)A^{z}$.
[2] nam *Weissenborn*: tam $P(1)$: tamen M^{1}.

there was between the lot of Capua and that of B.C. 215
Nuceria the men of Nola themselves knew, being situated about half-way between them. He did not wish to forecast what would happen to the city if captured, but assured them instead that if they surrendered Marcellus and Nola with the garrison, no one but themselves should name the terms on which they might enter alliance and friendship with Hannibal.

XLIV. To this Herennius Bassus replied that for many years there had been friendship between the Roman people and that of Nola; that down to that time neither party regretted it, and for themselves, if with altered fortune they ought to have changed their loyalty, it was now too late to change. If they were going to surrender to Hannibal, had they needed to send for a Roman garrison? With the men who had come to defend them they had allied themselves in everything, and it would be so to the end.

This conference deprived Hannibal of the hope of getting Nola by treachery. And so he completely invested the town, in order to attack the walls from all sides at once. Marcellus, on seeing that Hannibal had approached the walls, drew up his line inside the gate and sallied out with a great uproar. Not a few were terrified by the first attack and slain. Then, when they had charged the attacking force and brought up equal numbers, the battle began to be a fierce one, and would have been among the most memorable, if a downpour of rain in heavy squalls had not separated the combatants. That day, after beginning an engagement of no importance and merely inflaming their passions, they withdrew, the Romans into the city, the Carthaginians to the camp. For of

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Poenorum prima eruptione perculsi ceciderunt haud
6 plus quam triginta,[1] Romani quinquaginta.[2] Imber[3] continens per noctem totam usque ad horam tertiam diei insequentis tenuit. Itaque, quamquam utraque pars avidi certaminis erant, eo die tenuerunt sese tamen munimentis.

Tertio die Hannibal partem copiarum praedatum
7 in agrum Nolanum misit. Quod ubi animadvertit Marcellus, extemplo in aciem copias eduxit; neque Hannibal detractavit. Mille fere passuum inter urbem erant castraque; eo spatio—et sunt omnia
8 campi circa Nolam—concurrerunt. Clamor ex parte utraque sublatus proximos ex cohortibus iis quae in agros praedatum exierant ad proelium iam com-
9 missum revocavit. Et Nolani aciem Romanam auxerunt, quos conlaudatos Marcellus in subsidiis stare et saucios ex acie efferre iussit, pugna abstinere, ni ab se signum accepissent. XLV. Proelium erat anceps; summa vi et duces hortabantur et milites pugnabant. Marcellus victis ante diem tertium, fugatis ante paucos dies a Cumis, pulsis priore anno ab Nola ab eodem se duce, milite alio, instare iubet.
2 Non omnis esse in acie; praedantis vagari in agro; et[4] qui pugnent, marcere Campana luxuria, vino et scortis omnibusque lustris per totam hiemem con-
3 fectos. Abisse illam vim vigoremque, dilapsa[5] esse robora corporum animorumque quibus Pyrenaei Alpiumque superata sint iuga. Reliquias illorum

[1] triginta (XXX) PC^{x}(14) : XXXX R : trecenti *Gronovius*.
[2] quinquaginta *Gronovius* (*see next note*).
[3] imber R^{2}(7) : liber (*i.e.* L = 50 + iber) P : inber P^{1}?.
[4] agro; et *Alschefski* : agro sed P(1) : agris; et *Luchs*.
[5] dilapsa z : delapsa P(1).

[1] The small number is probably an error of the copyists.

the Carthaginians not more than thirty,[1] who were B.C. 215
terrified by the first sally, fell, of the Romans fifty. The rain continued incessantly throughout the night to the third hour of the next day. And so, although both sides were eager for the fray, they nevertheless kept within their fortifications that day.

On the third day Hannibal sent a part of his forces into the country about Nola to plunder. On observing this Marcellus at once drew up his troops in line. And Hannibal did not refuse battle. There was about a mile between the city and the camp. In that space—and there is only a plain around Nola—they met each other. A shout raised on both sides recalled to a battle already begun the nearest men of the cohorts which had gone out to the farms for booty. And the men of Nola reinforced the Roman line. Marcellus praised them and ordered them to keep their place among the reserves and to carry off the wounded from the field; to refrain from fighting unless they should receive a signal from him. XLV. The battle was doubtful. The generals were doing their utmost in cheering on their men, the soldiers in fighting. Marcellus bids them attack men defeated two days before, driven from Cumae in flight a few days earlier, beaten back from Nola the previous year by himself, the same commander, and other soldiers. Not all of the enemy, he said, were in the line of battle; the booty-hunters were roaming about the country, and those who were fighting were weakened by Campanian luxury, exhausted by wine and harlots and every kind of dissipation the whole winter through. Gone was that force and energy, lost the strength of body and spirit with which they had crossed the ranges of the Pyrenees and the Alps.

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virorum vix arma membraque sustinentis pugnare.
4 Capuam Hannibali Cannas fuisse: ibi virtutem bellicam, ibi militarem disciplinam, ibi praeteriti temporis
5 famam, ibi spem futuri exstinctam. Cum haec exprobrando hosti Marcellus suorum militum animos erigeret, Hannibal multo gravioribus probris increpa-
6 bat: arma signaque eadem se noscere quae ad Trebiam Trasumennumque, postremo ad Cannas viderit habueritque; militem alium profecto se in hiberna Capuam duxisse, alium inde eduxisse.
7 "Legatumne Romanum et legionis unius atque alae magno certamine vix toleratis pugnam, quos binae
8 acies consulares numquam sustinuerunt? Marcellus tirone milite ac Nolanis subsidiis inultus nos iam iterum lacessit! Ubi ille miles meus est qui derepto ex equo C. Flaminio consuli caput abstulit? Ubi,
9 qui L. Paulum ad Cannas occidit? Ferrum nunc hebet? an dextrae torpent? an quid prodigii est aliud? Qui pauci plures vincere soliti estis, nunc paucis plures vix restatis? Romam vos expugna-
10 turos, si quis duceret, fortes lingua iactabatis: en,[1] in minore re[2] hic experiri vim virtutemque volo. Expugnate Nolam, campestrem urbem, non flumine, non mari saeptam. Hinc vos ex tam opulenta urbe

[1] en A^{γ} *Valla, Madvig*: enim *P*(10).
[2] in minore re *Madvig*: minor res est $PM^{2}?A^{\gamma}$(13) *Valla*.

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[1] Again disparagement of Marcellus, as in xlii. 10.
[2] A somewhat different account in XXII. vi. 4.
[3] Cf. XXII. xlix. 12.

Remnants only of those men were fighting, scarcely B.C. 215
able to hold up their weapons and their limbs. Capua had been Hannibal's Cannae. It was there that warlike courage had been extinguished, there the discipline of the soldier, there the past reputation, there the hope for the future. While by thus reviling the enemy Marcellus was raising the spirits of his soldiers, Hannibal was uttering much more serious reproaches; he recognized the same arms and standards which he had seen and had at the Trebia and Trasumennus, finally at Cannae; but as for the soldier, he had certainly led one man into winter quarters at Capua, and out of them a different man. "Are you," he said, "hardly able with great effort to hold out against a mere Roman lieutenant,[1] and an engagement with a single legion and its auxiliaries —you, whom two consular armies combined have never withstood? Marcellus with recruits and with reserves from Nola is now attacking us for the second time with impunity! Where is that soldier of mine who pulled Gaius Flaminius, the consul, down from his horse and carried away his head?[2] Where the man who slew Lucius Paulus at Cannae?[3] Is the sword now blunted? Or are your right hands benumbed? Or is it some other portent? You who, though few, were wont to defeat larger numbers, now in larger numbers with difficulty resist the few? You used to boast, brave men in speech, that if some one led you, you would take Rome by storm. Look you, in a less difficult situation, here and now I wish to test your might and courage. Take Nola by storm, a city of the plain, not fenced by a river nor by the sea. From this place, a city of such wealth, I will either lead you, laden with booty and

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praeda spoliisque onustos vel ducam quo voletis vel sequar."

XLVI. Nec bene nec male dicta profuerunt ad
2 confirmandos animos. Cum omni parte pellerentur, Romanisque crescerent animi, non duce solum adhortante sed Nolanis etiam per clamorem favoris indicem accendentibus ardorem pugnae, terga Poeni dederunt
3 atque in castra compulsi sunt. Quae oppugnare capientis milites Romanos Marcellus Nolam reduxit cum magno gaudio et gratulatione etiam plebis, quae
4 ante inclinatior ad Poenos fuerat. Hostium plus quinque milia [1] caesa eo die, vivi capti sescenti et signa militaria undeviginti et duo elephanti, quattuor in acie occisi; Romanorum minus mille interfecti.
5 Posterum diem indutiis tacitis sepeliendo utrimque caesos in acie consumpserunt. Spolia hostium
6 Marcellus Volcano votum cremavit. Tertio post die, ob iram, credo, aliquam aut spem liberalioris militiae, ducenti septuaginta duo equites, mixti Numidae et Hispani, ad Marcellum transfugerunt. Eorum forti fidelique opera in eo bello usi sunt saepe Romani.
7 Ager Hispanis in Hispania et Numidis in Africa post bellum virtutis causa datus est.

8 Hannibal, ab Nola remisso in Bruttios Hannone cum quibus venerat copiis, ipse Apuliae hiberna petit
9 circaque Arpos consedit. Q. Fabius ut profectum in

[1] quinque milia *Gronovius*: vel *P*(1); *cf.* xxxiv. 13.

spoils, or I will follow you whithersoever you shall B.C. 215
desire."

XLVI. Neither encouragement nor reproaches had any effect in steadying their spirits. Since they were everywhere beaten back, while the Romans' courage rose, as not only the general exhorted them, but the men of Nola also kindled their ardour for battle by shouting as evidence of their support, the Carthaginians retreated and were forced back into the camp. The Roman soldiers were eager to assault the camp, but Marcellus led them back to Nola, in the midst of great rejoicing and congratulation on the part of the common people as well, who had previously been more inclined to the Carthaginians. Of the enemy more than five thousand were slain that day, six hundred captured alive, and nineteen military standards and two elephants were taken, four killed in battle. Of the Romans less than a thousand were slain. The next day they spent under a tacit armistice, burying those slain in the battle on both sides. Marcellus burned the spoils of the enemy, paying a vow to Vulcan. Two days later in anger on some account, I suppose, or in the hope of a more generous service, two hundred and seventy-two horsemen, partly Numidians, partly Spaniards, deserted to Marcellus. Their brave and loyal services were repeatedly employed by the Romans in that war. As a reward for their courage farm land was given after the war to the Spaniards in Spain, to the Numidians in Africa.

Hannibal, sending Hanno back from Nola into the country of the Bruttii with the forces with which he had come, himself sought winter quarters in Apulia and established himself near Arpi. Quintus Fabius,

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Apuliam Hannibalem audivit, frumento ab Nola Neapolique in ea castra convecto quae super Suessulam erant, munimentisque firmatis et, praesidio quod per hiberna ad obtinendum[1] locum satis esset relicto, ipse Capuam propius movit castra agrumque Campanum ferro ignique est depopulatus, donec coacti sunt Campani, nihil admodum viribus suis fidentes, egredi portis et castra ante urbem in aperto com-
11 munire. Sex milia armatorum habebant, peditem inbellem, equitatu plus poterant; itaque equestribus proeliis lacessebant hostem.

12 Inter multos nobiles equites Campanos Cerrinus Vibellius erat, cognomine Taurea. Civis indidem erat, longe omnium Campanorum fortissimus eques, adeo ut, cum apud Romanos militaret, unus eum Romanus Claudius Asellus gloria equestri aequaret.
13 Tunc[2] Taurea, cum diu perlustrans oculis obequitasset hostium turmis, tandem silentio facto, ubi
14 esset Claudius Asellus quaesivit et, quoniam verbis secum de virtute ambigere solitus esset, cur non ferro decerneret daretque opima spolia victus aut victor caperet.

XLVII. Haec ubi Asello sunt nuntiata in castra, id modo moratus ut consulem pereunetaretur liceretne extra ordinem in provocantem hostem pugnare,

[1] obtinendum *Madvig*: tenendum *x Gronovius*: petendum *P*(1).

[2] tunc *Walch*: hunc *P*(4): hic *DA*.

on hearing that Hannibal had gone into Apulia, B.C. 215
brought in grain from Nola and Neapolis to the camp above Suessula, strengthened the fortifications, and left a garrison which was strong enough to hold the place through the winter season. He then moved his camp nearer to Capua and ravaged the Campanian territory with fire and sword, until the Campanians, who had no confidence at all in their own resources, were compelled to come out of the gates and fortify a camp in the open before the city. They had six thousand armed men, infantry unfit for war; but in cavalry they were more effective. Accordingly they kept harassing the enemy by cavalry battles.

Among the many distinguished Campanian horsemen was Cerrinus Vibellius, surnamed Taurea. A citizen of that state, he was far the bravest horseman of all the Campanians, so much so that while he served with the Romans only one Roman, Claudius Asellus, rivalled him in reputation as a cavalryman. At this time Taurea, looking all around again and again, rode up to the squadrons of the enemy's cavalry and, when silence was at last obtained, asked where Claudius Asellus was, and why, since he had been in the habit of disputing with him about their courage, did he not settle the matter with the sword and, if vanquished, give, or if victorious, take, the splendid spoils.[1]

XLVII. When this was reported to Asellus in the camp, he waited only to ask the consul whether he might fight out of the ranks against an enemy who

[1] Strictly speaking the *opima spolia* were those taken by a Roman general in command from the general of the enemy after a single combat; I. x. 4–7 (Romulus); IV. xx. 2 and 5–6 (Cossus); *Periocha* 20 (Marcellus).

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2 permissu eius arma extemplo cepit, provectusque ante stationes equo Tauream nomine compellavit
3 congredique ubi vellet iussit. Iam[1] Romani ad spectaculum pugnae eius frequentes exierant, et Campani non vallum modo castrorum sed moenia
4 etiam urbis prospectantes repleverant.[2] Cum iam ante ferocibus dictis rem nobilitassent, infestis hastis concitarunt equos: dein libero spatio inter se ludi-
5 ficantes sine vulnere pugnam extrahebant.[3] Tum Campanus Romano "Equorum" inquit "hoc non equitum erit certamen, nisi e campo in cavam hanc viam demittimus equos. Ibi nullo ad evagandum
6 spatio comminus conserentur manus." Dicto prope citius equum in viam Claudius deiecit.[4] Taurea verbis ferocior quam re "Minime sis" inquit "cantherium in fossam"; quae vox in rusticum inde proverbium
7 prodita est. Claudius, cum ea via[5] longe perequitasset,[6] nullo obvio hoste in campum rursus evectus, increpans ignaviam hostis, cum magno gaudio et
8 gratulatione victor in castra redit. Huic pugnae equestri rem—quam vera sit,[7] communis existimatio est—mirabilem certe adiciunt quidam annales: cum refugientem ad urbem Tauream Claudius sequeretur, patenti hostium porta[8] invectum per alteram, stupentibus miraculo hostibus, intactum evasisse.

[1] iam (13): hinc C^4M^1: in *PCMF*.
[2] repleverant A^{vz} *Madvig*: -erunt $P(1)F$.
[3] extrahebant $P^1?(1)F$: extraherebant P: extrahere *Gronovius*.
[4] deiecit A^2 *Madvig*: delegit $PA?(2)F$: egit A^3x *Aldus*.
[5] ea via *Perizonius*, *Madvig*: exva P: ex via $P^2?(1)F$: cava *Madvig (later)*.
[6] perequitasset, $P(1)F$ *add* quia, $P^1?$ via.
[7] quam vera sit *Gronovius*: quam vetatis $P(4)F$: quam etatis *DA*.
[8] porta *Ingerslev*: portae $P(1)F$.

challenged him. With the consul's permission he at B.C. 215
once took up his arms, and riding out in front of the guard-posts he addressed Taurea by name and bade him engage wherever he pleased. Already the Romans had gone out in crowds to that spectacle of a combat, and the Campanians who looked on had filled not only the earthwork of the camp but also the walls of the city. First calling attention to the affair by high-spirited words, they levelled spears and spurred their horses. Then, eluding each other in the open space, they prolonged the bloodless fray. Then the Campanian said to the Roman: "This will be a contest of horses, not of horsemen, unless we let our horses go down from the open field into this deep-cut road. There, with no room to avoid each other, we shall fight hand to hand." Almost sooner than said Claudius put his horse into the road. Taurea, more spirited in words than in action, said: "Never a nag, please, into a ditch!"[1]—words which have come down from that time as a farmer's parable. Claudius rode a long way on that road, and then riding back to the field without meeting any enemy, returned as victor to the camp, reviling the cowardice of his enemy in the midst of great rejoicing and congratulations. To this combat of horsemen some annals add what is certainly marvellous—how true, it is for everyone to judge—that, as Claudius was pursuing Taurea fleeing to the city, he rode in through the enemy's open gate and, while they were spellbound in amazement, escaped unharmed by the opposite gate.

[1] To be supplied is a verb, probably *demiseris*. Colloquial *sis* (= *si vis*, an insistent "please") merely strengthens the prohibition.

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XLVIII. Quieta inde stativa fuere, ac retro etiam consul movit castra, ut sementem Campani facerent, nec ante violavit agrum Campanum quam iam altae 2 in segetibus herbae pabulum praebere poterant. Id convexit in Claudiana castra super Suessulam ibique hiberna aedificavit. M. Claudio proconsuli imperavit ut, retento Nolae necessario ad tuendam urbem praesidio, ceteros milites dimitteret Romam, ne 3 oneri sociis et sumptui rei publicae essent. Et Ti. Graechus, a Cumis Luceriam in Apuliam legiones cum duxisset, M. Valerium inde praetorem Brundisium cum eo quem Luceriae habuerat exercitum misit tuerique oram agri Sallentini et providere quod ad Philippum bellumque Macedonicum attineret iussit.

4 Exitu aestatis eius qua haec gesta perscripsimus litterae a P. et Cn. Scipionibus venerunt, quantas quamque prosperas in Hispania res gessissent; sed pecuniam in stipendium vestimentaque et frumentum 5 exercitui et sociis navalibus omnia deesse. Quod ad stipendium attineat, si aerarium inops sit, se aliquam rationem inituros quomodo ab Hispanis sumatur;[1] cetera utique ab Roma mittenda esse, nec aliter aut 6 exercitum aut provinciam teneri posse. Litteris recitatis nemo omnium erat quin et vera scribi et postulari aequa fateretur; sed occurrebat animis quantos exercitus terrestris navalisque tuerentur, quantaque nova classis mox paranda esset, si bellum

[1] sumatur (sumat') $P^{1?}$ *Alschefski, Walters*: summat'q. P: sumant' $P^{2?}R^{1?}(7)F$.

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[1] The time is early autumn.

[2] In the extreme south of Calabria; XXIV. xx. 16; XXV. i. 1.

[3] As told in XXII. xxii. and XXIII. xxvi ff.

[4] *I.e.* the senators present.

XLVIII. Thereafter the winter quarters were undisturbed, and the consul moved his camp back again, that the Campanians might do their sowing.[1] And he did not ravage the Campanian country until the growing grain in the fields was tall enough to furnish fodder. This he transported to the Claudian Camp above Suessula and there built winter barracks. He ordered Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, to keep at Nola only the garrison needed to defend the city, and to send away the rest of the soldiers to Rome, lest they be a burden to the allies and an expense to the state. And Tiberius Gracchus, after leading his legions from Cumae to Luceria in Apulia, sent thence Marcus Valerius, the praetor, to Brundisium with the army which he had had at Luceria, and ordered him to defend the coast of the Sallentine region[2] and to take measures concerning Philip and the Macedonian war. B.C. 215

At the end of the summer in which occurred the events I have described, there came a letter from Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, reporting how great and how successful had been their operations in Spain;[3] but that money for pay, also clothing and grain, were lacking for the army, and for the crews everything. So far as pay was concerned, if the treasury was empty, they would find some method of getting it from the Spaniards. Everything else, they said, must in any case be sent from Rome, and in no other way could either the army or the province be kept. After the reading of the letter, there was no one among them all[4] who did not admit that the statements were true and the demands fair. But they reflected what great forces on land and sea they were maintaining, and how large a new fleet must soon be made ready

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7 Macedonicum moveretur: Siciliam ac Sardiniam, quae ante bellum vectigales fuissent, vix praesides provinciarum exercitus alere; tributo sumptus
8 suppeditari; ipsum [1] tributum conferentium numerum tantis exercituum stragibus et ad Trasumennum lacum et ad Cannas imminutum; qui superessent pauci, si multiplici gravarentur stipendio, alia peri-
9 turos peste. Itaque nisi fide staretur,[2] rem publicam [3]
10 opibus non staturam. Prodeundum in contionem Fulvio praetori esse, indicandas populo publicas necessitates cohortandosque, qui redempturis auxissent patrimonia, ut rei publicae, ex qua crevissent,
11 tempus commodarent conducerentque ea [4] lege praebenda quae ad exercitum Hispaniensem opus essent, ut, cum pecunia in aerario esset, iis primis
12 solveretur. Haec praetor in contione; edixitque diem [5] quo vestimenta frumentum Hispaniensi exercitui praebenda quaeque alia opus essent navalibus sociis esset locaturus. XLIX. Ubi ea dies venit, ad conducendum tres societates aderant hominum undeviginti, quorum duo postulata fuere:
2 unum ut militia vacarent, dum [6] in eo publico essent, alterum ut quae in naves inposuissent ab hostium
3 tempestatisque vi publico periculo essent. Utroque impetrato conduxerunt, privataque pecunia res publica administrata est. Ii mores eaque caritas patriae per omnes ordines velut tenore uno pertine-

[1] ipsum, *P*(1)*F have* eum ipsum.
[2] staretur (staret') *P Walters*: staret (1)*F vulgate*.
[3] rem publicam *P*(2)*F*: res publica *Az*.
[4] ea *Sigonius*: ex *P*(1)*F*.
[5] -que diem *Riemann*: *om. P*(1).
[6] ut militia vacarent dum *Gronovius*: *hopeless confusion in P*(1)*F*.

[1] A direct tax paid by Roman citizens.

if a Macedonian war should begin; that Sicily and Sar- B.C. 215
dinia, which before the war had paid taxes in kind, were hardly feeding the armies that garrisoned those provinces; that necessary expenses were met only by the property tax;[1] that the number of those who paid that particular tax had been diminished by such great losses of troops at Lake Trasumennus and also at Cannae; that if the few who survived should be burdened by a much greater levy, they would perish by another malady. And so they thought that, unless support should be found in credit, the state would not be sustained by its assets; that Fulvius, the praetor, must go before the assembly, inform the people of the public needs and exhort those who by contracts had increased their property to allow the state, the source of their wealth, time for payment, and to contract for furnishing what was needed for the army in Spain, on the condition that they should be the first to be paid, as soon as there was money in the treasury. To this effect the praetor addressed the people, and named a date on which he would let the contracts for furnishing clothing and grain to the army in Spain and whatever else was needed for the crews. XLIX. When that day came, three companies of nineteen members presented themselves to take the contracts. And their demands were two: one, that they should be exempt from military duty so long as they were in that public service, the other, that the cargoes which they shipped should be at the risk of the state, so far as concerned the violence of enemies and of storms. Both demands being obtained, they contracted, and the state was carried on by private funds. Such character and such love of country pervaded all the classes virtually without

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4 bat. Quemadmodum conducta omnia magno animo sunt, sic summa fide praebita, nec quicquam parcius militibus quam [1] si ex opulento aerario, ut quondam, alerentur.

5 Cum hi commeatus venerunt, Iliturgi oppidum ab Hasdrubale ac Magone et Hannibale Bomilcaris filio
6 ob defectionem ad Romanos oppugnabatur. Inter haec trina castra hostium Scipiones cum in urbem sociorum magno certamine ac strage obsistentium pervenissent, frumentum, cuius inopia erat, advexe-
7 runt, cohortatique oppidanos ut eodem animo moenia tutarentur quo pro se pugnantem Romanum exercitum vidissent, ad castra maxima oppugnanda,
8 quibus Hasdrubal praecerat, ducunt. Eodem et duo duces et duo exercitus Carthaginiensium, ibi rem
9 summam agi cernentes, convenerunt. Itaque eruptione e castris pugnatum est. Sexaginta hostium milia eo die in pugna fuerunt, sedecim circa
10 a Romanis. Tamen adeo haud dubia victoria fuit ut plures numero quam ipsi erant Romani hostium
11 occiderint, ceperint amplius tria milia hominum, paulo minus mille equorum, undesexaginta militaria signa, septem elephantos, quinque in proelio occisis,
12 trinisque eo die castris potiti sint. Iliturgi obsidione liberato ad Intibili oppugnandum Punici exercitus traducti suppletis copiis ex provincia, ut quae maxime

[1] parcius militibus quam *Madvig* (*one line*), *but he added* datum (*before* quam) *with Weissenborn* : *om. P*(1)*F*.

[1] In southern Spain, on the upper course of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), destroyed by Scipio Africanus in 206 B.C.; XXVIII. XX.

exception. As all the supplies were magnanimously contracted for, so they were delivered with great fidelity, and nothing was furnished to the soldiers less generously than if they were being maintained, as formerly, out of an ample treasury. B.C. 215

When these supplies arrived, the town of Iliturgi,[1] because of its revolt to the Romans, was being besieged by Hasdrubal and Mago and Hannibal, the son of Bomilcar. Between these three camps of the enemy the Scipios made their way into a city of their allies with great effort and great loss to those that opposed them. And they brought grain, of which it had no supply, and encouraged the townspeople to defend their walls with the same spirit with which they had seen the Roman army fighting for them. Then they led their troops to an attack upon the largest camp, which Hasdrubal commanded. To it also came the other two generals and two armies of the Carthaginians, seeing that the whole issue was at stake there. Accordingly a sally from the camp opened the battle. Sixty thousand of the enemy were in the battle that day, about sixteen thousand on the Roman side. Yet so far was the victory from being uncertain that the Romans slew more than their own number, captured more than three thousand men, a little less than a thousand horses, fifty-nine military standards, seven elephants, five having been slain in battle. And they took the three camps that day. The siege of Iliturgi having been raised, the Carthaginian armies were led over to attack Intibili,[2] while their forces were recruited from a province which, more than any

[2] Apparently not far from Iliturgi; cf. Frontinus II. iii. 1. The only town of this name of which we hear elsewhere was on the east coast south of the Hiberus (Ebro).

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omnium belli avida, modo praeda aut merces esset,
13 et tum iuventute abundante. Iterum signis conlatis eadem fortuna utrinsque partis pugnatum. Supra tredecim milia hostium caesa, supra duo capta cum signis duobus et quadraginta et novem elephantis.
14 Tum vero omnes prope Hispaniae populi ad Romanos defecerunt, multoque maiores ea aestate in Hispania quam in Italia res gestae.

other, was eager for war, if only there was booty or B.C. 215
pay, and at that time was well supplied with young men. A second time there was a battle in regular line, with the same result for each side. Over thirteen thousand of the enemy were slain, over two thousand captured, with forty-two standards and nine elephants. Then indeed nearly all the peoples of Spain revolted to the Romans, and there were much greater achievements that summer in Spain than in Italy.

LIBRI XXIII PERIOCHA[1]

CAMPANI ad Hannibalem defecerunt. Nuntius Cannensis victoriae Mago Carthaginem missus anulos aureos corporibus occisorum detractos in vestibulo curiae effudit, quos excessisse modii mensuram traditur. Post quem nuntium Hanno, vir ex Poenis nobilibus, suadebat senatui Carthaginiensium ut pacem a populo Romano peterent; nec tenuit obstrepente Barcina factione. Claudius Marcellus praetor ad Nolam eruptione adversus Hannibalem ex oppido facta prospere pugnavit. Casilinum a Poenis obsessum ita fame vexatum est ut lora et pelles scutis detractas et mures inclusi essent. Nucibus per Volturnum amnem a Romanis missis vixerunt. Senatus ex equestri ordine hominibus centum nonaginta septem suppletus est. L. Postumius praetor a Gallis cum exercitu caesus est. Cn. et P. Scipiones in Hispania Hasdrubalem vicerunt et Hispaniam suam fecerunt. Reliquiae Cannensis exercitus in Siciliam relegatae sunt, ne recederent inde nisi finito bello. Sempronius Graechus consul Campanos cecidit. Claudius Marcellus praetor Hannibalis exercitum ad Nolam proelio fudit et vicit, primusque tot cladibus fessis Romanis meliorem spem belli dedit. Inter Philippum Macedoniae regem et Hannibalem societas iuncta est. Praeterea in Hispania feliciter a P. et Cn. Scipionibus, in Sardinia a[2] T. Manlio praetore adversus Poenos res gestas continet, a quibus Hasdrubal dux et Mago et Hanno capti. Exercitus Hannibalis per hiberna ita luxuriatus est ut corporis animique viribus enervaretur.

[1] For the *Periochae* cf. Vol. I, pp. xvii f.

[2] *The words* Cn. . . . a, *omitted in MSS., were added by O. Jahn.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIII

The Campanians revolted to Hannibal. Mago, who was sent to Carthage to report the victory at Cannae, poured out before the entrance of the Senate House golden rings taken from bodies of the slain; and the tradition is that there were more than a peck of them. After that report Hanno, one of the Carthaginian nobles, tried to persuade the Carthaginian senate to sue for peace from the Roman people. And he did not carry it through, since the Barca faction protested loudly. Claudius Marcellus, a praetor, fought with success at Nola, making a sally from the city against Hannibal. Casilinum, beset by the Carthaginians, suffered so much from starvation that the besieged ate thongs, hides stripped off from shields, and rats. They lived on nuts sent down the river Volturnus by the Romans. The senate was recruited by one hundred and ninety-seven men from the equestrian order. Lucius Postumius, the praetor, was slain with his army by the Gauls. Gnaeus and Publius Scipio defeated Hasdrubal in Spain and made Spain their own. The remnant of the army of Cannae was relegated to Sicily, not to leave it except after the end of the war. Sempronius Gracchus, the consul, utterly defeated the Campanians. Claudius Marcellus, a praetor, routed and worsted Hannibal's army in battle at Nola, and was the first to give the Romans, exhausted by so many disasters, a better hope for the war. An alliance was formed between Philip, king of Macedonia, and Hannibal. The book also contains the successes gained over the Carthaginians by Publius and Gnaeus Scipio in Spain and by Titus Manlius, the praetor, in Sardinia. Hasdrubal, the general, and Mago and Hanno were captured by them. The army of Hannibal lived in such indulgence in winter quarters as to be weakened in body and spirit.

BOOK XXIV

LIBER XXIV

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I. Ut ex Campania in Bruttios reditum est, Hanno adiutoribus et ducibus Bruttiis Graecas urbes temptavit, eo facilius in societate manentes Romana quod Bruttios, quos et oderant et metuebant, Car-
2 thaginiensium partis factos cernebant. Regium primum temptatum est diesque aliquot ibi nequiquam absumpti. Interim Locrenses frumentum lignaque et cetera necessaria usibus ex agris in urbem rapere, etiam ne quid relictum praedae hostibus esset, et in dies maior omnibus portis multitudo
3 effundi: postremo sescenti[1] modo relicti in urbe erant, qui reficere muros ac[2] portas, telaque in pro-
4 pugnacula congerere cogebantur. In permixtam omnium aetatium ordinumque multitudinem et vagantem in agris magna ex parte inermem Hamilcar Poenus[3] equites emisit, qui violare quemquam vetiti, tantum ut ab urbe excluderent fuga dissi-
5 patos, turmas obiecere. Dux ipse loco superiore capto, unde agros urbemque posset conspicere, Bruttiorum cohortem adire muros atque evocare

[1] sescenti (DC) *W. Heraeus*: ob *P*: oc P^{1}?: hoc (1): hi *x*: ii *z*.
[2] ac *x*: *om.* *P*(1).
[3] Poenus *P*(1): Poenos A^{2}.

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[1] He had been with Hannibal around Nola, and was sent back to the country of the Bruttii; XXIII. xlvi. 8.

BOOK XXIV

I. Having returned from Campania to the land of B.C. 215
the Bruttii, Hanno,[1] with the Bruttii as supporters and guides, attacked the Greek cities,[2] which were all the more ready to remain in alliance with Rome because they saw that the Bruttii, whom they both hated and feared, had gone over to the side of the Carthaginians. Regium was the first city to be attacked, and some days were spent there to no purpose. Meantime the Locrians hastily brought grain and wood and the other things needed to supply their wants from the farms into the city, also that no booty might be left for the enemy. And every day a larger crowd poured out of all the gates. Finally there were left in the city only six hundred men, who were made to repair walls and gates and to carry arms to the battlements. Against the multitude made up of all ages and classes, wandering about the country, many of the unarmed, Hamilcar the Carthaginian sent out his cavalry. Forbidden to injure anyone, they interposed their squadrons merely to shut off from the city those who had scattered in flight. The commander himself, after capturing higher ground from which he could see the country and the city, ordered a cohort of Bruttii

[2] Operations against Regium, Locri and Croton, barely mentioned in XXIII. xxx. 6 ff., are given here in greater detail. It is late autumn, 215 B.C.

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principes Locrensium ad conloquium iussit et pollicentes amicitiam Hannibalis adhortari ad urbem tra-
6 dendam. Bruttiis in conloquio nullius rei primo fides est; deinde, ut Poenus apparuit in collibus et refugientes pauci aliam omnem multitudinem in potestate hostium esse adferebant, tum metu victi consulturos
7 se populum responderunt. Advocataque extemplo contione, cum et levissimus quisque novas res novamque societatem mallent et, quorum propinqui extra urbem interclusi ab hostibus erant, velut
8 obsidibus datis pigneratos haberent animos, pauci magis taciti probarent constantem fidem quam prolatam[1] tueri auderent, haud dubio in speciem
9 consensu fit ad Poenos deditio. L. Atilio praefecto praesidii quique cum eo milites Romani erant clam in portum deductis atque impositis in navis, ut Regium deveherentur, Hamilcarem Poenosque ea condicione ut foedus extemplo aequis legibus fieret in
10 urbem acceperunt. Cuius rei prope non servata fides deditis est, cum Poenus dolo dimissum Romanum incusaret, Locrenses profugisse ipsum cau-
11 sarentur. Insecuti etiam equites sunt, si quo casu in freto aestus morari aut deferre naves in terram posset. Et eos quidem quos sequebantur non sunt adepti: alias a Messana traicientis freto Regium
12 naves conspexerunt. Milites erant Romani a

[1] prolatam *P*(4) *Conway*: probatam *DA*: propalam *Walch*.

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[1] Not directly opposite Messana, but about seven miles to the southeast.

to go up to the walls and call out the chief men of B.C. 215
the Locrians to a conference, and with a promise of Hannibal's friendship to encourage them to surrender the city. In the conference the Bruttians at first were not believed at all. Then, when the Carthaginians were seen on the hills, and a few returning fugitives repeatedly asserted that all the rest of the multitude were in the power of the enemy, overcome by fear, they answered that they would consult the people. An assembly being at once called, all the fickle preferred political change and a new alliance; also those whose relations had been shut off outside the city by the enemy had mortgaged their affections, having virtually given hostages. And the few silently approved of steadfast loyalty, rather than dared to declare and defend it. Hence surrender to the Carthaginians was voted with apparently unquestioned unanimity. After Lucius Atilius, commander of the garrison, and the Roman soldiers who were with him had been secretly led down to the harbour and put on ships to be carried to Regium, they admitted Hamilcar and the Carthaginians into the city on condition that a treaty be made at once on fair terms. The promise of such a treaty was almost broken after they surrendered, when the Carthaginian charged that the Roman had been allowed by trickery to go away, while the Locrians pleaded that he had escaped unaided. Also the cavalry pursued him in the hope that possibly the current in the strait might delay the ships or bring them to shore. They did not indeed overtake the men they were pursuing, but they sighted other ships crossing the strait from Messana to Regium.[1] It was the Roman soldiers sent by Claudius, the

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Claudio praetore missi ad obtinendam urbem praesidio. Itaque Regio extemplo abscessum est. Loerensibus iussu Hannibalis data pax ut liberi suis legibus viverent, urbs pateret Poenis, portus in potestate Loerensium esset, societas eo iure staret ut Poenus Loerensem Loerensisque Poenum pace ac bello iuvaret.

II. Sic a freto Poeni reducti frementibus Bruttiis quod Regium ac Loeros, quas urbes direpturos se destinaverant, intactas reliquissent. Itaque per se ipsi conscriptis armatisque iuventutis suae quindecim milibus ad Crotonem oppugnandum pergunt ire, Graecam et ipsam urbem et maritimam, plurimum accessurum opibus, si in ora maris urbem ac portum[1] moenibus validam tenuissent, credentes. Ea cura angebat quod neque non accersere ad auxilium Poenos satis audebant, ne quid non pro sociis egisse viderentur et, si Poenus rursus magis arbiter pacis quam adiutor belli fuisset, ne in libertatem Crotonis, sicut ante Loerorum, frustra pugnaretur. Itaque optimum visum est ad Hannibalem mitti legatos caverique ab eo ut receptus Croto Bruttiorum esset. Hannibal cum praesentium eam consultationem esse respondisset et ad Hannonem eos reiecisset, ab Hannone nihil certi ablatum. Nec[2] diripi volebat nobilem atque opulentam urbem et sperabat, cum Bruttius oppugnaret, Poenos nec

[1] ac portum *P*(1) : portu ac *x*.
[2] nec *Riemann* : nec eo *P*(1) : nec enim A^3.

praetor, to garrison and hold the city. And so the B.C. 215
siege of Regium was at once raised. Peace was granted the Locrians by Hannibal's order: they were, namely, to live in freedom under their own laws, the city to be open to the Carthaginians, the harbour in the power of the Locrians, the alliance to rest upon this basis : that the Carthaginian should help the Locrian, the Locrian the Carthaginian, in peace and in war.

II. Thus the Carthaginians were withdrawn from the strait, though the Bruttians were indignant because they had left Regium and Locri untouched, the cities which they had counted upon plundering. And so without aid they enlisted and armed 15,000 of their young men and set out to besiege Croton, another Greek city and on the sea, believing that it would be a great addition to their resources if they should hold a fortified city and harbour on the sea-coast. It troubled them that they did not quite dare not to call the Carthaginians to their aid, for fear they might seem to have failed to act as became allies. At the same time they feared that, if the Carthaginian should again be rather an arbiter of peace than a helper in war, fighting to secure freedom for Croton might be profitless, as previously for Locri. And thus it seemed best to send legates to Hannibal and gain assurance from him that Croton when captured should belong to the Bruttians. Hannibal having replied that decision in the matter lay with those on the ground, thus referring them to Hanno, they obtained no definite answer from Hanno. He did not wish a city well-known and rich to be plundered, and he was hoping that, while the Bruttian was besieging them and the Carthaginians

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probare nec iuvare eam oppugnationem appareret,
8 eo maturius ad se defecturos. Crotone nec consilium unum inter populares nec voluntas erat. Unus velut morbus invaserat omnes Italiae civitates ut plebes ab optimatibus dissentirent, senatus Romanis
9 faveret, plebs ad Poenos rem traheret. Eam dissensionem in urbe perfuga nuntiat Bruttiis: Aristomachum esse principem plebis tradendaeque auctorem urbis, et in vasta urbe lateque moenibus disiectis[1] raras stationes custodiasque senatorum esse; quacumque custodiant plebis homines, ea patere aditum.
10 Auctore ac duce perfuga Bruttii corona cinxerunt urbem acceptique ab plebe primo impetu omnem
11 praeter arcem cepere. Arcem optimates tenebant praeparato iam ante ad talem casum perfugio. Eodem Aristomachus perfugit, tamquam Poenis, non Bruttiis auctor urbis tradendae fuisset.

III. Urbs Croto murum in circuitu patentem duodecim milia passuum habuit ante Pyrrhi in Italiam
2 adventum. Post vastitatem eo bello factam vix pars dimidia habitabatur: flumen, quod medio oppido fluxerat, extra frequentia tectis loca praeterfluebat,
3 et arx procul eis erat[2] quae habitabantur. Sex milia aberat ab[3] urbe nobili[4] templum ipsa urbe

[1] moenibus disiectis *Jacobs*: omnibus disiectis moenibus *P*(1).
[2] erat *H. J. Müller* (*after* arx *Weissenborn*; *before* et *Walters*): *om. P*(1).
[3] ab *z*: in *P*(1): inde *Gronovius*.
[4] nobili *PM*^{3}*A*^{1}: nobile *P*^{2}(1).

obviously neither approving nor helping the siege, B.C. 215
they would all the more promptly come over to his side. At Croton there was among the citizens no one policy or common preference. One malady, so to speak, had attacked all the city-states of Italy, that the common people were at odds with the upper class, the senate inclining to the Romans, the common people drawing the state to the side of the Carthaginians. This disagreement in the city was reported to the Bruttians by a deserter: that Aristomachus was the leader of the plebeians and advised surrender of the city; also that in the sparsely inhabited city, with its walls at a great distance, there were only scattered posts and guards of the senators; that wherever plebeians were on guard there was free access to the city. With the deserter as adviser and leader the Bruttians completely encircled the city, and being admitted by the plebeians, they took the whole city by assault, with the exception of the citadel. The optimates held the citadel, having previously prepared a place of refuge for such an emergency. To it Aristomachus also fled, as though he had advised surrendering the city to the Carthaginians, not to the Bruttians.

III. The city of Croton had a wall with a circuit of twelve miles before the coming of Pyrrhus to Italy. Since the desolation caused by that war scarcely half of the city was inhabited.[1] The river which had flowed through the middle of the city now flowed past, outside the quarters which had numerous houses, and the citadel was far from the inhabited portions. Six miles from the famous city was a temple more

[1] According to XXIII. xxx. 6 the city now had less than 2000 inhabitants.

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nobilius[1] Laciniae Iunonis, sanctum omnibus circa
4 populis. Lucus ibi frequenti silva et proceris abietis arboribus saeptus laeta in medio pascua habuit, ubi omnis generis sacrum deae pecus pascebatur sine
5 ullo pastore, separatimque greges sui cuiusque generis nocte remeabant ad stabula, numquam
6 insidiis ferarum, non fraude violati hominum. Magni igitur fructus ex eo pecore capti, columnaque inde aurea solida facta et sacrata est; inclitumque templum divitiis etiam, non tantum sanctitate fuit.
7 Ac miracula aliqua adfingunt, ut plerumque tam insignibus locis: fama est aram esse in vestibulo templi, cuius cinerem nullo[2] umquam moveri[3]
8 vento. Sed[4] arx Crotonis una parte imminens mari, altera vergente in agrum, situ tantum naturali quondam munita, postea et muro cincta est qua per aversas rupes ab Dionysio Siciliae tyranno per dolum
9 fuerat capta. Ea tum arce satis, ut videbatur, tuta Crotoniatum optimates tenebant se, circumsedente
10 eum Bruttiis eos etiam plebe sua. Postremo Bruttii, cum suis viribus inexpugnabilem viderent arcem,
11 coacti necessitate Hannonis auxilium implorant. Is condicionibus ad deditionem compellere Crotoniates

[1] nobilius, *before this* $P(1)$ *have* erat.
[2] nullo *P Gronovius*: nullus $P^3(1)$.
[3] moveri *Gronovius*: move *P*: movet $P^3(1)$: moveat *z*.
[4] vento. Sed *Gronovius*: ventos et *PCR*: vento et P^z: ventus et $C^zM^2D^1$.

[1] Cp. XXIII. xxxiii. 4. At that temple, the most celebrated shrine in Magna Graecia, Polybius found and used Hannibal's own inscription in Punic and Greek, recording his successes (Polyb. III. xxxiii. 18; lvi. 4), a document which Livy barely mentions (XXVIII. xlvi. 16). A single column of the temple still stands on the promontory. Livy is correct in regard to the distance from the city of Croton (*ca.* 9 km.).

famous than the city itself, that of Lacinian Juno,[1] B.C. 215
revered by all the surrounding peoples. There a sacred grove, which was enclosed by dense woods and tall fir-trees, had in its centre luxuriant pastures, where cattle of all kinds, being sacred to the goddess, used to pasture without any shepherd. And at night the flocks of each kind would return separately to their stalls, being never harmed by wild beasts lying in wait, nor by the dishonesty of men. Therefore great profits were made from the cattle, and out of the profits a massive golden column [2] was wrought and consecrated. And the temple was famous for its wealth also, not merely for its sanctity. They give it some pretended marvels also, as generally in places so noted. It is reported that in the space in front of the temple there is an altar whose ashes are never stirred by any wind. But the citadel of Croton, on one side overhanging the sea, while the other slopes down toward the country, was once protected merely by its natural situation, but later encircled with a wall also, where, along the cliffs on the farther side, it had been captured by Dionysius,[3] the tyrant of Sicily. In that citadel, sufficiently safe, as it seemed, the optimates of Croton were at the time maintaining themselves, besieged even by their own plebs as well as by the Bruttians. Finally the Bruttians, seeing that the citadel was for their resources impregnable, were of necessity constrained to beg aid of Hanno. He attempted to compel the Crotonians to surrender on condition that they

[2] Coelius the historian said that Hannibal, finding it was not merely plated, decided to carry it away, but was deterred by a dream; Cicero *de Div.* I. 48.

[3] Who captured Croton about 389 B.C. and is said to have held it twelve years.

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conatus ut coloniam Bruttiorum eo deduci antiquamque frequentiam recipere vastam ac desertam bellis urbem paterentur, omnium neminem praeter
12 Aristomachum movit. Morituros se adfirmabant citius quam immixti Bruttiis in alienos ritus mores
13 legesque ac mox linguam etiam verterentur. Aristomachus unus, quando nec suadendo ad deditionem satis valebat nec, sicut urbem prodiderat, locum prodendae arcis inveniebat, transfugit ad Hannonem.
14 Locrenses brevi post legati, cum permissu Hannonis arcem intrassent, persuadent ut traduci se in Locros
15 paterentur nec ultima experiri vellent. Iam hoc ut sibi liceret impetraverant et ab Hannibale missis ad id ipsum legatis. Ita Crotone excessum est deductique Crotoniatae ad mare naves conscendunt. Locros omnis multitudo abeunt.

16 In Apulia ne hiems quidem quieta inter Romanos atque Hannibalem erat. Luceriae Sempronius con-
17 sul, Hannibal haud procul Arpis hibernabat. Inter eos levia proelia ex occasione aut opportunitate huius aut illius partis oriebantur, meliorque eis Romanus et in dies cautior tutiorque ab insidiis fiebat.

IV. In Sicilia Romanis omnia mutaverat mors Hieronis regnumque ad Hieronymum nepotem eius translatum, puerum vixdum libertatem, nedum domi-
2 nationem modice laturum. Eam aetatem, id inge-

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[1] The entire population, while "Crotonians" refers primarily to the optimates.

[2] For Hiero's family see the table on p. 338.

permit a colony of Bruttians to be established there, B.C. 215
and allow the city, desolate and depopulated by wars, to recover its old-time numbers. But among them all he prevailed upon no one except Aristomachus. They claimed that they would sooner die than mingle with the Bruttians and change to the rites, customs and laws, and presently even the language, of another people. Aristomachus, since he was unable by persuasion to bring them to surrender and could find no opportunity to betray the citadel, as he had betrayed the city, alone went over to Hanno. Soon after that the Locrian legates entered the citadel with Hanno's consent and persuaded them to allow themselves to be transferred to Locri, and not to risk desperate measures. Permission to that effect they had already obtained from Hannibal, having sent legates for that very purpose. So Croton was evacuated, and the Crotonians were led down to the sea and went on shipboard. They went, the whole number of them,[1] to Locri.

In Apulia even the winter was not without conflict between the Romans and Hannibal. Sempronius, the consul, was wintering at Luceria, Hannibal not far from Arpi. Skirmishes between them kept occurring as opportunity offered, or the favourable moment for one side or the other. And in consequence the Romans were better soldiers, daily more cautious and safer from surprise attacks.

IV. In Sicily everything had been changed for the Romans by the death of Hiero [2] and the transfer of the kingdom to his grandson Hieronymus, a boy hardly able to keep his independence under control, much less absolute power. Such was the age, such

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nium tutores atque amici ad praecipitandum in omnia vitia acceperunt. Quae ita futura cernens Hiero ultima senecta voluisse dicitur liberas Syracusas relinquere, ne sub dominatu puerili per ludibrium bonis artibus partum firmatumque interiret regnum. 3 Huic consilio eius summa ope obstitere filiae, nomen regium penes puerum futurum ratae, regimen rerum omnium penes se virosque suos Adranodorum et 4 Zoippum, qui tutorum [1] primi relinquebantur. Non facile erat nonagensimum iam agenti annum, circumsesso die noctesque muliebribus blanditiis, liberare animum et convertere ad publicam a privata curam. 5 Itaque tutores modo quindecim puero relinquit, quos precatus est moriens ut fidem erga populum Romanum quinquaginta annos ab se cultam inviolatam servarent iuvenemque suis potissimum vestigiis insistere vellent et disciplinae in qua eductus esset. 6 Haec mandata. Cum expirasset, tutores testamento prolato pueroque in contionem producto— 7 erat autem quindecim tum ferme annorum—paucis, qui per contionem ad excitandos clamores dispositi erant, adprobantibus testamentum, ceteris velut patre amisso in orba civitate omnia timentibus . . .[2] 8 Funus fit regium, magis amore civium et caritate 9 quam cura suorum celebre. Brevi deinde ceteros

[1] *The loss of a line in P*(1) *reduced five words apparently to* andranorum; *restored by Gronovius from Polybius.*

[2] *The lost words may have covered the transfer of power to Hieronymus* (*Madvig*). *Or, more briefly, it may have been merely the assumption of control by the guardians, e.g.* munus suscipiunt (*i.e.* tutores, § 6); *then perhaps followed* Tum funus, *etc.* (*Weissenborn*).

the disposition which guardians and friends took in B.C. 215
hand, to throw him into all the vices. Hiero, seeing that this would happen, is said in his extreme old age to have wished to leave Syracuse free, that kingly power gained and confirmed by good qualities might not come to an end in disgrace under the tyranny of a boy. This his plan was opposed might and main by his daughters, who thought the boy would have the kingly title, but that complete control would be in their hands and those of their husbands, Adranodorus and Zoippus, who were being left as the principal guardians. It was not easy for a man now in his ninetieth year,[1] surrounded day and night by the blandishments of women, to be independent and turn his attention from the personal to the public interest. Accordingly he merely left fifteen guardians for the boy, and dying entreated them to keep inviolate that loyalty to the Roman people which he had maintained for fifty years[2] and to choose above all to have the young man tread in his footsteps and continue the training in which he had been brought up. Such were his instructions. After he had breathed his last the guardians produced the will and brought the boy, at that time about fifteen years old, before an assembly of the people. While a few men, who had been posted in all parts of the assembly to start applause, showed approval of the will, while the rest, as if deprived of a father and in an orphaned city, had only fears, the guardians ⟨took charge⟩. Then came the king's funeral, honoured rather by the love and regard of the citizens than by the grief of his

[1] He lived more than ninety years according to Polybius VII. viii. 7.

[2] In fact 48 years (263–215 B.C.).

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tutores summovet Adranodorus, iuvenem iam esse dictitans Hieronymum ac regni potentem; deponendoque tutelam ipse, quae cum pluribus communis erat, in se unum omnium vires convertit.

V. Vix quidem ulli vel[1] bono moderatoque regi facilis erat favor apud Syracusanos, succedenti 2 tantae caritati Hieronis; verum enimvero Hieronymus, velut suis vitiis desiderabilem efficere vellet avum, primo statim conspectu omnia quam disparia 3 essent ostendit. Nam qui per tot annos Hieronem filiumque eius Gelonem nec vestis habitu nec alio ullo insigni differentes a ceteris civibus vidissent, ei conspexere purpuram ac diadema ac satellites armato- 4 s, quadrigisque etiam albarum equorum interdum 5 ex regia procedentem more Dionysi tyranni. Hunc tam superbum apparatum habitumque convenientes sequebantur contemptus omnium hominum, superbae aures, contumeliosa dicta, rari aditus non alienis modo sed tutoribus etiam, libidines novae, inhumana 6 crudelitas. Itaque tantus omnis terror invaserat ut quidam ex tutoribus aut morte voluntaria aut fuga 7 praeverterent metum supplicionum. Tres ex iis, quibus solis aditus in domum familiarior erat, Adranodorus et Zoippus, generi Hieronis, et Thraso quidam, de aliis quidem rebus haud magnopere audiebantur; 8 tendendo autem duo ad Carthaginienses, Thraso ad societatem Romanam, certamine ac studiis interdum 9 in se convertebant animum adulescentis, cum coniu-

[1] ulli vel *Conway*: ulli *PC*[3](11): vel *Madvig*.

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[1] See note on XXIII. xxx. 11.

[2] In xxv. 1–2 the blame for his conduct is laid upon the guardians. The youth reigned only thirteen months; Polybius VII. vii. 3.

family. Soon afterwards Adranodorus removed the B.C. 215
rest of the guardians, saying that Hieronymus was now a young man and capable of ruling. And laying down his own guardianship, which was shared with a number of others, he took to himself alone the powers of them all.

V. It would have been difficult for any king, even a good one and self-controlled, to find favour with the Syracusans as successor to Hiero, so beloved. But certainly Hieronymus at his very first appearance showed how different everything was, just as if he wished by his vices to make them regret his grandfather. For, though through so many years they had seen Hiero and his son Gelo [1] not differing from the rest of the citizens in garb or in any other distinction, they beheld purple and a diadem and armed attendants and a man who came forth from the palace sometimes even in a chariot with four white horses after the manner of Dionysius the tyrant. This haughty state and costume were suitably attended by contempt shown towards everyone, by haughty ears, insulting words, infrequent access, not only for outsiders but even for his guardians, by unheard-of lusts, by inhuman cruelty.[2] Consequently such alarm had laid hold of all that some of the guardians anticipated the dreaded punishments either by suicide or by flight. Three of them, who alone had more intimate access to the palace, Adranodorus and Zoippus, the sons-in-law of Hiero, and a certain Thraso, were not indeed much listened to on other matters; but as two of them were inclining to the Carthaginians, Thraso to alliance with Rome, by their partisan rivalry they were occasionally attracting the young man's attention, when a conspiracy

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ratio in tyranni caput facta indicatur per Callonem quendam, aequalem Hieronymi et iam inde a puero
10 in omnia familiaria iura adsuetum. Index unum ex coniuratis Theodotum, a quo ipse appellatus erat, nominare potuit. Qui comprensus extemplo traditusque Adranodoro torquendus, de se ipse haud
11 cunctanter fassus conscios celabat. Postremo, cum omnibus intolerandis patientiae humanae cruciatibus laceraretur, victum malis se simulans avertit
12 ab conscriis in insontes indicium, Thrasonem esse auctorem consilii mentitus, nec nisi tam potenti duce
13 confisos rem tantam ausuros fuisse; addit socios[1] ab latere tyranni quorum capita vilissima fingenti inter dolores gemitusque occurrere. Maxime animo tyranni credibile indicium Thraso nominatus fecit: itaque extemplo traditur ad supplicium, adiectique
14 poenae ceteri iuxta insontes. Conscierum nemo, cum diu socius consilii torqueretur, aut latuit aut fugit; tantum illis in virtute ac fide Theodoti fiduciae fuit tantumque ipsi Theodoto virium ad arcana occultanda.

VI. Ita, quod unum vinculum cum Romanis societatis erat, Thrasone sublato e medio extemplo haud
2 dubie ad defectionem res spectabat; legatique ad Hannibalem missi ac remissi ab eo cum Hannibale, nobili adulescente, Hippocrates et Epicydes, nati

[1] fuisse; addit socios *Madvig (a line)*: *om. P*(1).

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[1] Zoippus had been sent about this time to Egypt; xxvi. 1.
[2] Livy mentions only Hannibal's envoys. Polybius gives the names of two sent from Hieronymus' court, viz. Polyclitus and Philodemus (VII. ii. 2).
[3] This Hannibal was only a trierarch; *ibid.* § 3.

formed against the life of the tyrant was revealed B.C. 215
by one Callo, of the same age as Hieronymus and from boyhood accustomed to all the rights of intimacy. The informer was able to name but one of the conspirators, Theodotus, by whom he had himself been approached. And Theodotus, at once seized and handed over for torture to Adranodorus,[1] confessed without hesitation in regard to himself, but did not reveal his accomplices. Finally, racked by all the tortures which pass human endurance, pretending to be mastered by his sufferings, he turned informer against the innocent instead of against his accomplices, and falsely stated that Thraso was responsible for the plan: that they would not have ventured upon such an undertaking if they had not relied upon so powerful a leader. He also named attendants of the tyrant as associates, men whose lives, it occurred to him, as he was fabricating between pains and groans, were of the least account. His mentioning Thraso made the information particularly credible to the mind of the tyrant. Accordingly Thraso was forthwith handed over for execution, and the rest, equally innocent, shared his punishment. Not one of the accomplices either hid himself or fled, though their partner in the plot was long under torture. Such confidence was theirs in the courage and loyalty of Theodotus, and such will-power to keep secrets did Theodotus himself possess.

VI. Thus as soon as Thraso, who was the sole link to an alliance with the Romans, had been removed from their midst, matters at once tended unquestionably toward defection. And ambassadors [2] were sent to Hannibal, and he sent back with a young noble named Hannibal [3] also Hippocrates and Epicydes,

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Carthagine sed oriundi ab Syracusis exule avo, Poeni
3 ipsi materno genere. Per hos iuncta societas
Hannibali ac Syracusano tyranno, nec invito Hanni-
4 bale apud tyrannum manserunt. Appius Claudius
praetor, cuius Sicilia provincia erat, ubi ea accepit
extemplo legatos ad Hieronymum misit. Qui cum
sese ad renovandam societatem quae cum avo fuisset
venisse dicerent, per ludibrium auditi dimissique
sunt ab quaerente per iocum Hieronymo quae
5 fortuna eis pugnae ad Cannas fuisset: vix credibilia
enim legatos Hannibalis narrare; velle quid veri sit
scire, ut ex eo utram spem sequatur consilium capiat.
6 Romani, cum serio legationes audire coepisset redi-
turos se ad eum dicentes esse, monito magis eo
quam rogato ne fidem temere mutaret proficiscuntur.
7 Hieronymus legatos Carthaginem misit ad foedus ex
societate cum Hannibale pacta faciendum. Convenit
ut, cum Romanos Sicilia expulissent—id autem brevi
fore, si naves atque exercitum misissent—, Himera
amnis, qui ferme mediam [1] dividit, finis regni Syracu-
8 sani ac Punici imperii esset. Aliam deinde, inflatus
adsentationibus eorum qui eum non Hieronis tantum
sed Pyrrhi etiam regis, materni avi, iubebant memi-
nisse, legationem misit, qua aecum censebat Sicilia
sibi omni cedi, Italiae imperium proprium quaeri
9 Carthaginiensi populo. Hanc levitatem ac iacta-

[1] mediam *Riemann*: *om.* *P*(1): insulam (*after* dividit) *Weissenborn*.

[1] Pyrrhus seems to have been his mother's grandfather; see table on p. 338.

who were born at Carthage but Syracusans by origin B.C. 215
(their grandfather being an exile), Carthaginians themselves on the mother's side. Through these men an alliance was made between Hannibal and the tyrant of Syracuse, and with Hannibal's consent they remained with the tyrant. Appius Claudius, the praetor, whose province was Sicily, on learning of this, forthwith sent legates to Hieronymus. While they were saying that they had come to renew the alliance which they had had with his grandfather, they were heard with derision and dismissed by Hieronymus, who in jest asked what success they had had in the battle at Cannae; for Hannibal's envoys reported what was scarcely to be believed. He wished to know, he said, what the truth was, that he might accordingly determine from which side he had the more to hope. The Romans departed, saying that they would return to him when he began to give a sober hearing to embassies, and warning rather than asking him not to be rash in changing his loyalty. Hieronymus sent ambassadors to Carthage to make a treaty in accordance with the alliance arranged with Hannibal. The agreement was that, after they had driven the Romans out of Sicily (and this would be shortly done if *they* would send ships and an army), the river Himera, which nearly divides the island in halves, should be the boundary of the kingdom of Syracuse and the Carthaginian empire. Thereupon, puffed up by the flatteries of those who bade him remember not Hiero only but also King Pyrrhus, his maternal grandfather,[1] Hieronymus sent another embassy, through which he declared it was fair for them to yield all Sicily to him, and for the Carthaginian people to seek their own dominion over Italy.

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tionem animi neque mirabantur in iuvene furioso neque arguebant, dummodo averterent eum ab Romanis.

VII. Sed omnia in eo praeeipitia ad exitium fuerunt. Nam cum praemissis Hippoerate atque Epicyde cum binis milibus armatorum ad temptandas 2 urbes quae praesidiis tenebantur Romanis, et ipse in Leontinos eum eetero omni exercitu—erant autem ad quindecim milia peditum equitumque—profectus 3 erat,[1] liberas aedis coniurati—et omnes forte militabant—imminentes viae angustae, qua descendere 4 ad forum rex solebat, sumpserunt. Ibi cum instructi armatique ceteri transitum expectantes starent, uni ex eis—Dinomeni fuit nomen—, quia custos corporis erat partes datae sunt ut, cum adpropinquaret ianuae rex, per causam aliquam in angustiis sustineret ab 5 tergo agmen. Ita ut convenerat factum est. Tamquam laxaret elatum pedem ab stricto nodo, moratus turbam Dinomenes tantum intervalli fecit ut, eum in praetereuntem sine armatis regem impetus fieret, confoderetur aliquot prius vulneribus quam succurri 6 posset. Clamore et tumultu audito in Dinomenem iam haud dubie obstantem tela coniciuntur, inter quae tamen duobus acceptis vulneribus evasit. 7 Fuga satellitum, ut iacentem videre regem, facta est. Interfectores pars in forum ad multitudinem laetam libertate, pars Syracusas pergunt ad praeoccupanda 8 Adranodori regiorumque aliorum consilia. Incerto

[1] erat $P(1)$ *Conway* : esset A^2 *Walters*.

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[1] Northwest of Syracuse and looking down on a lake and the plain of Catana; captured by Marcellus, xxx. 1.

At this trifling and boastful spirit in a madcap youth B.C. 215
they did not wonder, nor find fault either, provided they made him break with the Romans.

VII. But in everything he was on the verge of ruin. For after sending Hippocrates and Epicydes in advance, each with two thousand armed men, to attack the cities which were held by Roman garrisons, he too setting out with all the rest of the army—and they were about fifteen thousand infantry and cavalry—had gone to Leontini.[1] The conspirators, all of whom, as it happened, were in the army, took possession of an empty house looking down upon the narrow street by which the king used to go down to the market-place. There, while the rest, drawn up under arms, were to stand waiting for him to pass, one of them—his name was Dinomenes—, as being a body-guard, was assigned the rôle of halting, on some pretext, the column following the king in the narrow street, when he approached the door of the house. This was carried out as had been arranged. Dinomenes, raising one foot and pretending to loosen a knot drawn too tight, delayed the crowd and caused such a gap that, when the attack on the king was made as he passed without guards, he was stabbed with several thrusts before help could reach him. On hearing the shouting and uproar they hurled their weapons at Dinomenes, who was now obviously blocking the way. In the midst of these, however, he escaped with only two wounds. The guards fled as soon as they saw the king lying there. Of the assassins some proceeded to the market-place and into a crowd which rejoiced in its freedom, some to Syracuse to forestall the designs of Adranodorus and the other supporters of the king. In the unsettled

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rerum statu Ap. Claudius bellum oriens ex propinquo cum cerneret, senatum litteris certiorem fecit Siciliam Carthaginiensi populo et Hannibali conciliari; 9 ipse adversus Syracusana consilia ad provinciae regnique fines omnia convertit praesidia.

10 Exitu anni eius Q. Fabius ex auctoritate senatus Puteolos, per bellum coeptum frequentari emporium, 11 communiit praesidiumque imposuit. Inde Romam comitiorum causa veniens in eum quem primum diem comitialem habuit comitia edixit atque ex itinere 12 praeter urbem in campum descendit. Eo die cum sors praerogativae Aniensi iuniorum exisset eaque T. Otacilium M. Aemilium Regillum consules diceret, tum Q. Fabius silentio facto tali oratione est usus:

VIII. "Si aut pacem in Italia aut id bellum cumque hostem haberemus in quo neglegentiae laxior locus esset, qui vestris studiis, quae in campum ad mandandos quibus velitis honores adfertis, moram ullam offerret, is mihi parum meminisse videretur 2 vestrae libertatis; sed cum in hoc bello, in hoc hoste numquam ab ullo duce sine ingenti nostra clade erratum sit, eadem vos cura qua in aciem armati descenditis inire suffragium ad creandos consules decet et sibi sic quemque dicere: 'Hannibali 3 imperatori parem consulem nomino.' Hoc anno

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[1] In 241 B.C. Hiero as a faithful ally for 22 years was allowed to keep the eastern end of the island (about one-fourth, and not including Messana).

[2] The Delayer, consul this year and the next (five times in all), dictator in 217 B.C.

[3] Thus he retains full military authority, which would not be the case if he had entered the city; cp. ix. 2.

state of affairs Appius Claudius, seeing a war begin- B.C. 215
ning near at hand, informed the senate by letter that Sicily was being won over to the Carthaginian people and Hannibal. For his own part, to meet the schemes of the Syracusans, he concentrated all his garrisons on the frontier between the province and the kingdom.[1]

At the end of that year Quintus Fabius [2] by the authority of the senate fortified and garrisoned Puteoli, which as a commercial centre had grown in population during the war. Then, while on his way to Rome to hold the elections, he proclaimed them for the first date available for an election, and without stopping passed the city and came down to the Campus.[3] On the day set the right to vote first fell to the century of the younger men of the Aniensis tribe, and it named Titus Otacilius and Marcus Aemilius Regillus as consuls. Thereupon Quintus Fabius, after silence had been made, spoke somewhat as follows:

VIII. "If we had either peace in Italy or such a war and such an enemy that there was ample room for carelessness, should someone interpose any delay to the enthusiasm which you bring to the Campus in order to entrust magistracies to the men of your choice, such a man would seem to me forgetful of your freedom. But since in this war, in dealing with this enemy, never has a mistake been made by any commander without huge losses to us, you ought in electing consuls to enter the polls with the same seriousness with which you go into battle-line under arms, and each man should say to himself: 'I name as consul a man who is a match for Hannibal the general.' This year at Capua, when Vibellius

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ad Capuam Vibellio Taureae, Campano summo equiti, provocanti summus Romanus eques Asellus
4 Claudius est oppositus. Adversus Gallum quondam provocantem in ponte Anienis T. Manlium fidentem
5 et animo et viribus misere maiores nostri. Eandem causam haud multis annis post fuisse non negaverim cur M. Valerio non diffideretur adversus similiter provocantem arma capienti Gallum ad certamen.
6 Quem ad modum pedites equitesque optamus ut validiores, si minus, ut pares hosti habeamus, ita duci
7 hostium parem imperatorem quaeramus. Cum qui est summus in civitate dux eum legerimus, tamen repente lectus, in annum creatus adversus veterem ac perpetuum imperatorem comparabitur, nullis neque temporis nec iuris inclusum angustiis quo minus ita omnia gerat administretque ut tempora postulabunt
8 belli; nobis autem in apparatu ipso ac tantum inco-
9 hantibus res annus circumagitur. Quoniam quales viros creare vos consules deceat satis est dictum, restat ut pauca de eis in quos praerogativae favor
10 inclinavit dicam. M. Aemilius Regillus flamen est Quirinalis, quem neque mittere a sacris neque retinere possumus ut non deum aut belli deseramus
11 curam. T. Otacilius sororis meae filiam uxorem atque ex ea liberos habet; ceterum non ea vestra in me maioresque meos merita sunt ut non potiorem privatis necessitudinibus rem publicam habeam.

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[1] Cf. XXIII. xlvii.
[2] Cf. VII. x. 2 ff.
[3] Also in Book VII (xxvi. 2 ff.).

Taurea, a distinguished Campanian knight, chal- B.C. 215
lenged, Asellus Claudius, a distinguished Roman knight, was matched against him.[1] Against the Gaul who once challenged at the bridge over the Anio our ancestors sent Titus Manlius,[2] who relied upon his courage and his strength. There was the same reason, I am inclined to admit, why not many years later Marcus Valerius[3] found no lack of confidence in him when he took up arms for the fray against a Gaul who made a like challenge. Just as we desire to have foot and horse stronger than those of the enemy, if not, then a match for him, so let us seek a general who is a match for the commander of the enemy. When we shall have chosen the man who is the greatest commander in the state, nevertheless, although suddenly chosen, elected for a single year, he will be pitted against an experienced permanent general, hampered by no restrictions of time or authority to prevent him from doing and directing everything as the phases of the war shall require. But with us the year rolls round in mere preparation and while we are just beginning. Having sufficiently stated what kind of men you ought to elect as consuls, it remains for me to say a few words in regard to those to whom the favour of the first century to vote has inclined. Marcus Aemilius Regillus is the flamen of Quirinus, and we can neither send him away from the sacred rites nor keep him at home without abandoning our responsibility for the gods or else for the war. Titus Otacilius has my sister's daughter as his wife and children by her. But not so slight are your favours to my ancestors and myself that I can fail to hold the state of more account than personal ties. Any one of the

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12 Quilibet nautarum vectorumque tranquillo mari gubernare potest; ubi saeva orta tempestas est ac turbato mari rapitur vento navis, tum viro et guberna-
13 tore opus est. Non tranquillo navigamus, sed iam aliquot procellis submersi paene sumus; itaque quis ad gubernacula sedeat summa cura providendum ac praecavendum vobis est. In minore te experti, T. Otacili, re sumus; haud sane cur ad maiora tibi
14 fidamus documenti quicquam dedisti. Classem hoc anno, cui tu praefuisti, trium rerum causa paravimus, ut Africae oram popularetur, ut tuta nobis Italiae litora essent, ante omnia ne supplementum cum stipendio commeatuque ab Carthagine Hannibali
15 transportaretur. Create consulem T. Otacilium, non dico si omnia haec, sed si aliquid eorum rei publicae praestitit. Sin autem te classem obtinente,[1] ea[2] etiam velut pacato mari quibus non erat opus[3] Hannibali tuta atque integra ab domo vene-
16 runt, si ora Italiae infestior hoc anno quam Africae fuit, quid dicere potes cur te potissimum ducem
17 Hannibali hosti opponamus?[4] Si consul esses, dictatorem dicendum exemplo maiorum nostrum censeremus, nec tu id indignari posses, aliquem in civitate Romana meliorem bello haberi quam te. Magis nullius interest quam tua, T. Otacili, non
18 imponi cervicibus tuis onus sub quo concidas. Ego magnopere oro[5] suadeoque,[6] eodem animo quo si

[1] obtinente C^2M^3BDA : obtinentes $P(4)A^x$.

[2] ea *H. J. Müller* : *om.* $P(1)$.

[3] non erat opus *Riemann* (*after H. J. M.*): *om.* P(1): *various emendations.*

[4] opponamus *Salmasius* : -pugnabant $FC?RM$: -ponant DA^z *Walters* (*inserting* hi).

[5] oro *Hertz* : moneo *Alschefski* : *om.* $P(1)$.

sailors and passengers can steer when the sea is B.C. 215
calm. When a savage storm comes and the ship is swept over a rough sea by the wind, then there is need of a man and a pilot. We are not sailing a calm sea, but have been almost sunk already by a number of squalls. And so who is to sit at the helm is for you to decide with the greatest seriousness and foresight. In a lesser affair we have tested you, Titus Otacilius. Certainly you have not shown any reason why we should trust you for greater things. This year we equipped the fleet which you commanded for three purposes: to ravage the coast of Africa, to make our Italian shores safe, but above all to prevent reinforcements with pay and supplies from being brought over from Carthage for Hannibal. Citizens, elect Titus Otacilius consul, if he has performed, I do not say all of these things, but some part of them, for the state. But if, while you, Titus Otacilius, commanded the fleet, even the things he did not need came to Hannibal from home safe and intact, as though he had conquered the sea, if the coast of Italy has been more unsafe this year than that of Africa, what reason can you give why we are to match you by preference as commander against such an enemy as Hannibal? If you were consul we should propose the appointment of a dictator, following the precedent of our ancestors, and you could not be incensed that some one in the Roman state was considered a better man in war than you. It is to no one's interest more than yours, Titus Otacilius, that no such burden be placed on your shoulders that you may fall beneath it. I earnestly entreat and urge you, citizens, that the same spirit which you

[6] suadeoque *P*(4): suadeo *BDA*.

A.U.C. 539

stantibus vobis in acie armatis repente deligendi duo imperatores essent quorum ductu atque auspicio
19 dimicaretis, hodie quoque consules creetis quibus sacramento liberi vestri dicant, ad quorum edictum conveniant, sub quorum tutela atque cura militent.
20 Lacus Trasumennus et Cannae tristia ad recordationem exempla, sed ad praecavendas[1] similes[2] clades[3] documento sunt. Praeco, Aniensem iuniorum in suffragium revoca."

IX. Cum T. Otacilius ferociter eum continuare consulatum velle vociferaretur atque obstreperet,
2 lictores ad eum aceedere consul iussit et, quia in urbem non inierat protinus in campum ex itinere profectus, admonuit eum securibus sibi fasces prae-
3 ferri. Interim praerogativa suffragium init creatique in ea consules Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M. Marcellus tertium. Eosdem consules ceterae
4 centuriae sine variatione ulla dixerunt. Et praetor unus refectus Q. Fulvius Flaccus, novi alii creati, T. Otacilius Crassus iterum, Q. Fabius consulis filius, qui tum aedilis curulis erat, P. Cornelius Lentulus.
5 Comitiis praetorum perfectis senatus consultum factum, ut Q. Fulvio extra ordinem urbana provincia esset isque potissimum consulibus ad bellum profectis
6 urbi praeesset. Aquae magnae bis eo anno fuerunt

[1] praecavendas *Stroth* : -enda *P*(2) *Conway* : -endum *Axz*.
[2] similes *PC?RM* : simile *BDAxz* : similia C^4 *Conway*.
[3] clades *Stroth* : utiles *P*(10) : utile *C* : utili M^5 : utilia *z*.

[1] Removed when a magistrate entered the city, as an indication that there his sentence was subject to appeal.
[2] His first praetorship was in 217 B.C.; XXII. x. 10.

would show if, while standing armed in battle-line, B.C. 215
you had suddenly to choose two generals under whose command and auspices you should fight, be yours today also in electing consuls to whom your sons shall repeat the oath, in response to whose edict they shall assemble, under whose guardian care they shall serve. The Lake of Trasumennus and Cannae are sad examples to recall, but to guard against like disasters they are a warning. Herald, summon the Aniensis century of the younger men to vote again!"

IX. While Titus Otacilius was fiercely and noisily shouting that Fabius wanted to have his consulship prolonged, the consul ordered the lictors to go up to him, and, as he had not entered the city, having gone without a halt directly to the Campus, he warned Otacilius that the fasces carried before the consul had their axes.[1] Meanwhile the leading century proceeded to vote, and in it were elected consuls Quintus Fabius Maximus for the fourth time and Marcus Marcellus for the third time. The rest of the centuries without exception named the same men as consuls. And of the praetors one, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, was reëlected, the others newly created, Titus Otacilius Crassus for the second time,[2] Quintus Fabius, son of the consul and at the time curule aedile, and Publius Cornelius Lentulus. The election of praetors being now completed, the senate decreed[3] that Quintus Fulvius by special designation should have the duties of city praetor, and that he, and no one else, should be in charge of the city when the consuls took the field. There were great floods twice

[3] Ordinarily praetors received their particular assignment of duty by casting lots or by agreement.

A.U.C. 539 Tiberisque agros inundavit cum magna strage tectorum pecorumque et hominum pernicie.

A.U.C. 540 7 Quinto anno secundi Punici belli Q. Fabius Maximus quartum M. Claudius Marcellus tertium consulatum inceuntes plus solito converterant in se civitatis animos; multis enim annis tale consulum par non 8 fuerat. Referebant senes sic Maximum Rullum cum P. Decio ad bellum Gallicum, sic postea Papirium Carviliumque adversus Samnites Bruttiosque et Lucanum cum Tarentino populum consules declaratos. Absens Marcellus consul creatus, cum ad 9 exercitum esset; praesenti Fabio atque ipso comitia 10 habente consulatus continuatus. Tempus ac necessitas belli ac discrimen summae rerum faciebant ne quis aut in eam rem[1] exemplum exquireret aut suspectum cupiditatis imperii consulem haberet; 11 quin laudabant potius magnitudinem animi quod, cum summo imperatore esse opus rei publicae sciret seque eum haud dubie esse, minoris invidiam suam, si qua ex ea re oreretur, quam utilitatem rei publicae fecisset.

X. Quo die magistratum inierunt consules, senatus 2 in Capitolio est habitus decretumque omnium primum ut consules sortirentur compararentve[2] inter se uter censoribus creandis comitia haberet, prius- 3 quam ad exercitum proficisceretur. Prorogatum

[1] eam rem *M. Müller*: *om. P*(1).
[2] -ve *z*: -quae *or* -que *P*(1).

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[1] For 295 B.C.; X. xxiv. 1.
[2] For 272 B.C.

that year and the Tiber overflowed the farms with great destruction of buildings and cattle and much loss of life. B.C. 215

In the fifth year of the Second Punic War, Quintus Fabius Maximus entering his fourth consulship and Marcus Claudius Marcellus his third attracted the attention of the citizens more than was usual. For many years there had been no such pair of consuls. Old men recalled that thus Maximus Rullus had been declared consul [1] with Publius Decius for the Gallic war, thus, later on,[2] Papirius and Carvilius against the Samnites and Bruttians and the people of Lucania and of Tarentum. Marcellus was made consul in his absence, being with the army; for Fabius, who was present and himself conducted the election, his consulship was continued. The times and the straits of war and danger to the existence of the state deterred any one from searching for a precedent for that,[3] and from suspecting the consul of greed for power. On the contrary they praised his high-mindedness, in that, knowing the state had need of a great commander, and that he was himself undoubtedly that man, he counted his own unpopularity, should any be the consequence, as of less moment than the advantage of the state. B.C. 214

X. On the day on which the consuls entered upon office the senate met on the Capitol, and it was decreed first of all that the consuls should decide by lot or by mutual arrangement which of them should hold the election for naming the censors before leaving for the army. Then for all who were with

[3] *I.e.*, immediate reëlection, which a plebiscite of 217 B.C. had made legal for the duration of the war in Italy; cf. XXVII. vi. 7 f.

A.U.C. 540

deinde imperium omnibus qui ad exercitus erant iussique in provinciis manere, Ti. Gracchus Luceriae, ubi cum volonum exercitu erat, C. Terentius Varro in agro Piceno, M. Pomponius in Gallico; et praetores[1] prioris anni pro praetoribus, Q. Mucius obtineret Sardiniam, M. Valerius ad Brundisium orae maritimae, intentus adversus omnes motus Philippi Macedonum regis, praecesset. P. Cornelio Lentulo praetori Sicilia decreta provincia, T. Otacilio classis eadem quam adversus Carthaginienses priore anno habuisset.

Prodigia eo anno multa nuntiata sunt, quae quo magis credebant simplices ac religiosi homines, eo plura nuntiabantur: Lanuvi in aede intus Sospitae Iunonis corvos nidum fecisse; in Apulia palmam viridem arsisse; Mantuae stagnum effusum Mincio amni cruentum visum; et Calibus creta et Romae in foro bovario sanguine pluvisse: et in vico Insteio fontem sub terra tanta vi aquarum fluxisse ut serias doliaque quae in eo loco erant provoluta velut impetus[2] torrentis tulerit; tacta de caelo atrium publicum in Capitolio, aedem in campo Volcani, Vacunae[3] in Sabinis publicamque viam, murum ac portam Gabiis. Iam alia vulgata miracula erant:

[1] praetores *Gronovius*: praetorum *Drakenborch*: $\overline{\text{pr}}$ *P*(2).
[2] impetus *P*(1): impetu *x Gronovius*.
[3] Vacunae *Hertz*: vocem *P*(1): arcem *z*.

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[1] Cf. XXIII. xxxii. 1.
[2] Cf. XXIII. xxxi. 15; XXIV. xliv. 8.
[3] A street leading up to the Collis Latiaris (part of the Quirinal), not far from the Curia.

the army their commands were continued, and they B.C. 214
were ordered to remain in their assignments, Tiberius Gracchus at Luceria, where he was with the army of slave-volunteers,[1] Gaius Terentius Varro in the Picene district, Marcus Pomponius in the Gallic; and that of the praetors of the previous year, now as propraetors, Quintus Mucius should govern Sardinia and Marcus Valerius should be in command of the sea-coast at Brundisium, watchful against all movements of Philip, King of the Macedonians. Sicily was assigned as his province to Publius Cornelius Lentulus, the praetor, and to Titus Otacilius the same fleet which he had had against the Carthaginians the previous year.

Prodigies[2] in large numbers—and the more they were believed by men simple and devout, the more of them used to be reported—were reported that year: that at Lanuvium ravens had made a nest inside the temple of Juno Sospita; that in Apulia a green palm took fire; that at Mantua a lake, the overflow of the river Mincius, appeared bloody; and at Cales it rained chalk, and at Rome in the Cattle Market blood; and that on the Vicus Insteius[3] an underground spring flowed with such a volume of water that the force of a torrent, as it were, overturned the jars, great and small, that were there and carried them along; that the Atrium Publicum on the Capitol, the temple of Vulcan in the Campus, that of Vacuna[4] and a public street in the Sabine country, the wall and a gate at Gabii were struck by lightning. Moreover other marvels were widely

[4] Honoured especially by the Sabines, and known to modern readers chiefly in Horace's *post fanum putre Vacunae*; *Epist.* I. x. 49.

A.U.C. 540 hastam Martis Praeneste sua sponte promotam; bovem in Sicilia locutum; infantem in utero matris in Marrucinis "Io triumphe" clamasse; ex muliere Spoleti virum factum: Hadriae aram in caelo speciesque hominum circum eam cum candida veste visas
11 esse. Quin Romae quoque in ipsa urbe, secundum apum examen in foro visum—quod mirabile est, quia rarum—adfirmantes quidam legiones se armatas in Ianiculo videre concitaverunt civitatem ad arma,
12 cum qui in Ianiculo essent negarent quemquam ibi praeter adsuetos collis eius cultores adparuisse.
13 Haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata sunt ex haruspicum responso, et supplicatio omnibus deis quorum pulvinaria Romae essent indicta est.

XI. Perpetratis quae ad pacem deum pertinebant, de re publica belloque gerendo et quantum copiarum et ubi quaeque essent consules ad senatum rettule-
2 runt. Duodeviginti legionibus bellum geri placuit: binas consules sibi sumere, binis Galliam Siciliamque
3 ac Sardiniam obtineri; duabus Q. Fabium praetorem Apuliae, duabus volonum Ti. Gracchum circa Luceriam praecesse; singulas C. Terentio proconsuli ad Picenum et M. Valerio ad classem circa Brundi-
4 sium relinqui; duas urbi praesidio esse. Hic ut numerus legionum expleretur, sex novae legiones

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[1] *I.e.*, draped *lecti* with their cushions, kept in the temples of such gods as received the special honour of a *lectisternium*, a feast at which images of gods reclined in pairs; XXII. x. 9.

[2] Not including those in Spain. Similarly in § 5 no mention is made of a fleet for Spain.

circulated : that the spear of Mars at Praeneste moved B.C. 211
of itself; that an ox in Sicily spoke; that among the Marrucini an infant in its mother's womb shouted "Hail, triumph!"; that at Spoletium a woman was changed into a man; that at Hadria an altar was seen in the sky, and about it the forms of men in white garments. In fact at Rome also, actually in the city, directly after the appearance of a swarm of bees in the Forum—a wonder because it is rare—certain men, asserting that they saw armed legions on the Janiculum, aroused the city to arms, whereas those who were on the Janiculum denied that anyone had been seen there except the usual dwellers on that hill. Atonement was made for these prodigies with full-grown victims on the advice of the soothsayers, and a season of prayer to all the gods who had festal couches [1] at Rome was proclaimed.

XI. The rites which concerned peace with the gods being now completed, the consuls laid before the senate the condition of the state and the conduct of the war, and what forces there were and where severally stationed. It was voted to carry on the war with eighteen legions; [2] that each consul should take two; that with two legions in each case Gaul and Sicily and Sardinia should be held; that with two legions Quintus Fabius, a praetor, should be in charge of Apulia, and that with two legions of slave-volunteers Tiberius Gracchus should be in command in the region of Luceria; that one legion each should be left for Gaius Terentius, the proconsul, in the Picene district and for Marcus Valerius for service with the fleet near Brundisium; that two should form the garrison of the city. To make up this number of legions six new legions had to be enrolled.

A.U.C. 530

5 erant scribendae. Eas primo quoque tempore consules scribere iussi et classem parare, ut cum eis navibus quae pro Calabriae litoribus in statione essent, centum quinquaginta longarum classis navium eo
6 anno expleretur. Dilectu habito et centum navibus novis deductis Q. Fabius comitia censoribus creandis habuit: creati M. Atilius Regulus et P. Furius Philus.

Cum increbresceret rumor bellum in Sicilia esse,
7 T. Otacilius eo cum classe proficisci iussus est. Cum deessent nautae, consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut, qui L. Aemilio C. Flaminio censoribus milibus aeris quinquaginta ipse aut pater eius census fuisset usque ad centum milia, aut cui postea tanta res[1] esset facta, nautam unum cum sex mensum stipendio daret; qui supra centum milia usque ad trecenta
8 milia, tris nautas cum stipendio annuo; qui supra trecenta milia usque ad deciens aeris, quinque nautas; qui supra deciens, septem; senatores octo
9 nautas cum annuo stipendio darent. Ex hoc edicto dati nautae, armati instructique ab dominis, cum triginta dierum coctis cibariis naves conscenderunt. Tum primum est factum ut classis Romana sociis navalibus privata inpensa paratis compleretur.

XII. Hic maior solito adparatus praecipue conterruit Campanos, ne ab obsidione Capuae bellum eius
2 anni Romani inciperent. Itaque legatos ad Hannibalem oratum miserunt ut Capuam exercitum admoveret: ad eam oppugnandam novos exercitus

[1] tanta res *Weissenborn*: res tanta *z*: tanta *P*(1).

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[1] Meaning chiefly *remiges*, who pulled the long oars and were in general slaves; cf. XXVI. xxxv.

The consuls were ordered to enroll them as soon as B.C. 214
possible, and to furnish a fleet, so that, including the ships at anchor defending the coast of Calabria, the fleet should amount that year to a hundred and fifty warships. After conducting the levy and launching a hundred new ships, Quintus Fabius held an election for the choosing of censors. Marcus Atilius Regulus and Publius Furius Philus were elected.

As the rumour that there was a war in Sicily spread more widely, Titus Otacilius was ordered to set sail thither with his fleet. Owing to the lack of sailors [1] the consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate issued an edict that a man who in the censorship of Lucius Aemilius and Gaius Flaminius [2] had been rated—either he or his father—at from 50,000 to 100,000 asses, or if his property had since increased to that amount, should furnish one sailor provided with six months' pay; that one who had more than 100,000 and up to 300,000 should furnish three sailors and a year's pay; he who had over 300,000 and up to a million asses, five sailors; he who had over a million, seven; that senators should furnish eight sailors and a year's pay. The sailors furnished in accordance with this edict went on board armed and equipped by their masters, and with cooked rations for thirty days. It was the first time that a Roman fleet was manned with crews secured at private expense.

XII. This extraordinary preparation particularly alarmed the Campanians, for fear the Romans might begin that year's war with a siege of Capua. Accordingly they sent legates to Hannibal to beg him to bring his army to Capua. New armies, they said,

[2] *I.e.* 220 B.C.; XXIII. xxiii. 5.

A.U.C. 540

scribi Romae, nec ullius urbis defectioni magis infensos
3 eorum animos esse. Id quia tam trepide nuntiabant, maturandum Hannibal ratus, ne praevenirent Romani, profectus Arpis ad Tifata in veteribus castris
4 super Capuam consedit. Inde Numidis Hispanisque ad praesidium simul castrorum simul Capuae relictis cum cetero exercitu ad lacum Averni per speciem sacrificandi, re ipsa ut temptaret Puteolos quodque
5 ibi praesidium erat, descendit. Maximus, postquam Hannibalem Arpis profectum et regredi in Campaniam adlatum est, nec die nec nocte intermisso
6 itinere ad exercitum redit, et Ti. Gracchum ab Luceria Beneventum copias admovere, Q. Fabium praetorem—is filius consulis erat—ad Luceriam Graccho succedere iubet.

7 In Siciliam eodem tempore duo praetores profecti, P. Cornelius ad exercitum, T. Otacilius qui mari-
8 timae orae reique navali praeesset. Et ceteri in suas quisque provincias profecti, et quibus prorogatum imperium erat easdem quas priori anno regiones obtinuerunt.

XIII. Ad Hannibalem, cum ad lacum Averni esset, quinque nobiles iuvenes ab Tarento venerunt, partim ad Trasumennum lacum, partim ad Cannas capti dimissique domos cum eadem comitate qua usus ad-
2 versus omnes Romanorum socios Poenus fuerat. Ei memores beneficiorum eius perpulisse magnam partem se iuventutis Tarentinae referunt ut Hannibalis

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[1] Probably in connection with the necromancy practised at Avernus.

were being enrolled at Rome for besieging it, and the B.C. 214
defection of no city had more embittered the Romans. Since they reported this with such excitement, Hannibal, thinking he must make haste, lest he be anticipated by the Romans, set out from Arpi and established himself by Tifata in his old camp above Capua. Then leaving Numidians and Spaniards to defend the camp and Capua at the same time, he came down with the rest of his army to the Lake of Avernus, with the pretext of sacrificing,[1] in reality to attack Puteoli and the garrison which was there. Maximus, on being informed that Hannibal had left Arpi and was returning to Campania, without interrupting his journey by day or night returned to the army. And he ordered Tiberius Gracchus to bring his troops from Luceria to Beneventum, and Quintus Fabius, the praetor—he was the consul's son—, to relieve Gracchus at Luceria.

Two praetors set out at the same time for Sicily, Publius Cornelius to the army, and Titus Otacilius to take command of the sea-coast and of naval operations. And the others set out for their several assignments, and those whose commands had been prolonged held the same regions as in the previous year.

XIII. While Hannibal was at the Lake of Avernus five noble young men came to him from Tarentum, some of whom had been captured at the Lake of Trasumennus, others at Cannae, and sent to their homes with that same courtesy which the Carthaginian had shown toward all allies of the Romans. Mindful of his favours, they reported that they had induced a large part of the young men of Tarentum to prefer the friendship and alliance of Hannibal to

A.U.C. 540

amicitiam ac societatem quam populi Romani mallent, legatosque ab suis missos rogare Hannibalem ut exercitum propius Tarentum admoveat: si signa eius, si castra conspecta a Tarento sint, haud ullam intercessuram moram quin in deditionem veniat [1] urbs; in potestate iuniorum plebem, in manu plebis rem Tarentinam esse. Hannibal conlaudatos eos oneratosque ingentibus promissis domum ad coepta maturanda redire iubet: se in tempore adfuturum esse. Hac cum spe dimissi Tarentini. Ipsum ingens cupido incesserat Tarenti potiundi. Urbem esse videbat eum opulentam nobilemque, tum maritimam et in Macedoniam opportune versam, regemque Philippum hunc portum, si transiret in Italiam, quoniam [2] Brundisium Romani haberent, petiturum. Sacro inde perpetrato ad quod venerat et, dum ibi moratur, pervastato agro Cumano usque ad Miseni promunturium Puteolos repente agmen convertit ad opprimendum praesidium Romanum. Sex milia hominum erant et locus munimento quoque, non natura modo tutus. Triduum ibi moratus Poenus ab omni parte temptato praesidio, deinde, ut nihil procedebat, ad populandum agrum Neapolitanum magis ira quam potiundae urbis spe processit.

Adventu eius in propinquum agrum mota Nolana est plebs, iam diu aversa ab Romanis et infesta senatui suo. Itaque legati ad arcessendum Hannibalem cum haud dubio promisso tradendae urbis

[1] in deditionem veniat (*a line*) *Conway*: *om. P*(1): (*after* urbs) dedatur A^2: ei tradatur *Madvig*: in potestatem eius tradatur *Weissenborn*.

[2] quoniam *Madvig*, *Conway*: *om. P*(1).

those of the Roman people; and that, as legates B.C. 214
sent by their people, they asked Hannibal to bring his army nearer to Tarentum. If his standards, if his camp should be seen from Tarentum there would be no delay in the surrender of the city; that the common people were in the power of the younger men, the Tarentine state in the hands of the common people. Hannibal praised them and overwhelmed them with great promises, and bade them return home to carry out their undertaking promptly; that he would be there at the right moment. With this hope the Tarentines were sent away. He himself had conceived a great desire to gain possession of Tarentum. He saw that the city was not only rich and famous but also a seaport, and favourably placed in the direction of Macedonia, and that accordingly King Philip, if he should cross into Italy, would make for this port, since the Romans held Brundisium. Then, after accomplishing the rite for which he had come, and devastating the territory of Cumae as far as the promontory of Misenum, while he lingered there, he suddenly headed his column toward Puteoli, to surprise the Roman garrison. There were six thousand men and the place was defended by a wall also, not merely by nature. There the Carthaginian tarried three days, attacking the garrison from every side; and then, when he met with no success, he set out to ravage the territory of Neapolis, rather in anger than with the hope of taking the city.

His coming into a neighbouring region aroused the common people of Nola, who had long been estranged from the Romans and hostile to their own senate. Consequently legates came to invite Hannibal, bringing a definitive promise to surrender the city.

A.U.C. 549

9 venerunt. Praevenit inceptum eorum Marcellus consul a primoribus accitus. Die uno Suessulam a Calibus, cum Volturnus amnis traicientem moratus
10 esset, contenderat; inde proxima nocte sex milia peditum, equites trecentos, qui [1] praesidio senatui
11 essent, Nolam intromisit. Et uti a consule omnia impigre facta sunt ad praeoccupandam Nolam, ita Hannibal tempus terebat, bis iam ante nequiquam temptata re segnior ad credendum Nolanis factus.

XIV. Isdem diebus et Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum temptandum, quod praesidio Punico tenebatur, venit et ad Beneventum velut ex composito parte altera Hanno ex Bruttiis cum magna peditum equitumque manu, altera Ti. Graechus ab Luceria accessit.
2 Qui primo oppidum intravit, deinde, ut Hannonem tria milia ferme ab urbe ad Calorem fluvium castra posuisse et inde agrum populari audivit, et ipse egressus moenibus mille ferme passus ab hoste
3 castra locat. Ibi contionem militum habuit. Legiones magna ex parte volonum habebat, qui iam alterum annum libertatem tacite mereri quam postulare palam maluerant. Senserat tamen hibernis egrediens murmur in agmine esse quaerentium,
4 en umquam liberi militaturi essent, scripseratque senatui non tam quid desiderarent quam quid meruissent: bona fortique opera eorum se ad eam diem

[1] trecentos, qui A^2x: quingentos, qui *Weissenborn*: *om.* *P*(1).

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[1] Since Hannibal had captured the city; XXIII. xix. 15 f.; xx. 1.

Marcellus, the consul, was called in by the leading men and forestalled their undertaking. From Cales he had hastened in one day to Suessula, though the river Volturnus had delayed his crossing. Thence he sent six thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen that night into Nola, to defend the senate. And whereas the consul did everything with energy, in order to anticipate him in occupying Nola, Hannibal was wasting time, having twice already made the vain attempt, and being now less inclined to believe the men of Nola. B.C. 214

XIV. At the same time not only did Quintus Fabius, the consul, come to Casilinum, to attack the city, held by a Carthaginian garrison,[1] but also, as if by prearrangement, Hanno, with a large force of infantry and cavalry, from the land of the Bruttii, came to Beneventum from one side, while on the other side Tiberius Gracchus came to it from Luceria. The latter at first entered the town, and then, on hearing that Hanno had pitched his camp about three miles from the city by the river Calor, and from that point was ravaging the country, he likewise left the city and pitched camp about a mile from the enemy. There he held an assembly of the soldiers. The legions he had were largely made up of slave-volunteers, who now for two years had preferred silently to earn their freedom rather than openly to demand it. Yet as he came out of winter quarters he had been aware that there was murmuring in the column, as they asked whether they were ever at all to serve as free men. And he had written to the senate, not so much what they wanted as what they had deserved; that he had had good and brave service from them up to that time, and that they lacked

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usum, neque ad exemplum iusti militis quicquam eis praeter libertatem deesse. De eo permissum ipsi erat faceret quod e re publica duceret esse. Itaque priusquam cum hoste manum consereret, pronuntiat tempus venisse eis libertatis quam diu sperassent potiundae; postero die signis conlatis dimicaturum puro ac patenti campo, ubi sine ullo insidiarum metu vera virtute geri res posset. Qui caput hostis rettulisset, eum se extemplo liberum iussurum esse; qui loco cessisset, in eum servili supplicio animadversurum; suam cuique fortunam in manu esse. Libertatis auctorem eis non se fore solum, sed consulem M. Marcellum, sed universos patres, quos consultos ab se de libertate eorum sibi permisisse. Litteras inde consulis ac senatus consultum recitavit; ad quae clamor cum ingenti adsensu est sublatus. Pugnam poscebant signumque ut daret extemplo ferociter instabant. Gracchus proelio in posterum diem pronuntiato contionem dimisit. Milites laeti, praecipue quibus merces navatae in unum diem operae libertas futura erat, armis expediendis diei [1] relieum consumunt.

XV. Postero die ubi signa coeperunt canere, primi omnium parati instructique ad praetorium conveniunt. Sole orto Gracchus in aciem copias educit; nec hostes moram dimicandi fecerunt. Decem [2] septem milia peditum erant, maxima ex parte Bruttii ac Lucani, equites mille ducenti, inter quos pauci admodum Italici, ceteri Numidae fere

[1] diei *x Gronovius*: que *P*: quod $P^2(1)$: A^2 *adds* diei fuit.
[2] decem *P*(2): C^2A *add* et.

nothing toward the standard of the real soldier except B.C. 214
their freedom. In this matter he had been given permission to do whatever he thought to be for the good of the state. And so, before engaging the enemy, he announced that the time had come for them to gain the freedom for which they so long had hoped; that the next day he would fight, standards against standards, in a clear and open field, where without any fear of ambush the battle could be fought with pure courage. Whoever should bring back the head of an enemy would by his order be a free man at once. Whoever retreated from his post would meet the punishment of a slave. Each man's fortune was in his own hand. The giver of their freedom would be not merely himself, but the consul Marcus Marcellus, but the whole senate, for they had been consulted by him and had given him permission in the matter of their freedom. He then read the letter of the consul and the decree of the senate. Upon that a shout was raised with great applause. They clamoured for battle and with high spirit insisted that he give the signal at once. Graechus announced a battle for the morrow and dismissed the assembly. The soldiers were happy, especially those for whom freedom was to be the reward of a single day's service, and spent the rest of the day in putting their arms in order.

XV. On the next day, when the signals began to sound, these soldiers were the first of all to assemble at headquarters, ready and in formation. After sunrise Graechus led his troops out into line, and the enemy did not delay the battle. They had seventeen thousand infantry, mostly Bruttians and Lucanians, twelve hundred cavalry, among them very few

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3 omnes Maurique. Pugnatum est et acriter et diu; quattuor horis neutro inclinata est pugna. Nec alia magis Romanum impediebat res quam capita hostium
4 pretia libertatis facta; nam ut quisque hostem inpigre occiderat, primum capite aegre inter turbam tumultumque abscidendo terebat tempus; deinde occupata dextra tenendo caput fortissimus quisque pugnator esse desierat, segnibus ac timidis tradita
5 pugna erat. Quod ubi tribuni militum Graccho nuntiaverunt, neminem stantem iam vulnerari hostem, carnificari iacentes, et in dextris militum pro gladiis humana capita esse, signum dari propere iussit, pro-
6 icerent capita invaderentque hostem: claram satis et insignem virtutem esse nec dubiam libertatem futuram strenuis viris. Tum redintegrata pugna est,
7 et eques etiam in hostes emissus. Quibus cum inpigre Numidae occurrissent,[1] nec segnior equitum quam peditum pugna esset, iterum in dubium adducta res. Cum utrimque duces, Romanus Bruttium Lucanumque totiens a maioribus suis victos subactosque, Poenus mancipia Romana et ex ergas-
8 tulo militem verbis obtereret, postremo pronuntiat Gracchus esse nihil quod de libertate sperarent, nisi eo die fusi fugatique hostes essent. XVI. Ea demum vox ita animos accendit ut renovato clamore, velut alii repente facti, tanta vi se in hostem intule-

[1] occurrissent *xz*: concurrissent *P*(1).

Italians, nearly all the rest Numidians and Mauri. B.C. 214
The battle was fierce and long; for four hours it did not incline either way. And nothing hampered the Romans more than that enemies' heads were made the price of freedom. For when a man had boldly slain an enemy, in the first place he was wasting time in cutting off the head with difficulty in the confusion and turmoil; and then, as his right hand was occupied in holding the head, the bravest had ceased to be fighters, while the battle was turned over to the spiritless and the fearful. When the tribunes of the soldiers reported this to Gracchus: that they were not wounding a single enemy standing, but butchering the fallen; and that in the soldier's right hands there were human heads instead of swords, he ordered the command at once given that they should throw away the heads and attack the enemy. Their courage, he said, was sufficiently clear and conspicuous, and for active men freedom would be beyond a doubt. Thereupon the battle was renewed, and the cavalry also charged the enemy. Since the Numidians met this charge gallantly and the cavalry battle was no less spirited than that of the infantry, the issue was for the second time made doubtful. While the commanders on both sides heaped abuse, the Roman on the Bruttians and Lucanians, so many times defeated and subdued by their ancestors, the Carthaginian on the Roman slaves and prison-house soldiers, Gracchus finally declared that they had no reason to hope for freedom, unless on that day the enemy should be routed and put to flight. XVI. Those words at last so fired their courage that, as though they were suddenly different men, they raised a shout again and charged the enemy

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2 rint ut sustineri ultra non possent. Primo antesignani Poenorum, dein signa perturbata, postremo tota inpulsa acies; inde haud dubie terga data, ruuntque fugientes in castra adeo pavidi trepidique ut ne in portis quidem aut vallo quisquam restiterit, ac prope continenti agmine Romani insecuti novum de integro proelium inclusi hostium vallo ediderint. 3 Ibi sicut pugna inpeditior in angustiis, ita caedes atrocior fuit. Et adiuvere captivi, qui rapto inter tumultum ferro conglobati et ab tergo ceciderunt 4 Poenos et fugam impedierunt. Itaque minus duo milia hominum ex tanto exercitu, et ea maior pars equitum, cum ipso duce effugerunt; alii omnes caesi aut capti; capta et signa duodequadraginta. 5 Ex victoribus duo milia ferme cecidere. Praeda omnis praeterquam hominum captorum militi concessa est; et pecus exceptum est quod intra dies triginta domini cognovissent.

6 Cum praeda onusti in castra redissent, quattuor milia ferme volonum militum, quae pugnaverant segnius nec in castra inruperant simul, metu poenae 7 collem haud procul castris ceperunt. Postero die per tribunos militum inde deducti contione militum 8 advocata a Graccho superveniunt. Ubi cum proconsul veteres milites primum, prout cuiusque virtus atque opera in ea pugna fuerat, militaribus donis 9 donasset, tunc quod ad volones attineret, omnes ait

[1] Livy often applies Roman military terms to the enemy's army. Here *signa* suggests a second line somewhat like the Roman *principes*. Cf. XXII. v. 7 for *antesignani*.

with such force that they could no longer be with- B.C. 214
stood. At first the front line [1] of the Carthaginians, then the second was in confusion; finally the whole line was forced back. Then it was unmistakeable flight, and fleeing they dashed into their camp in such fright and excitement that no one halted even at the gates or on the wall. And the Romans, pursuing in almost unbroken column, fought an entirely new battle while hemmed in by the enemies' wall. There the battle was indeed more hampered in a confined space, but the slaughter was more savage. And they were aided by the captives, who, seizing weapons during the confusion and advancing in a mass, slashed the Carthaginians from the rear and also hindered their flight. And so out of that great army less than two thousand men, mainly cavalry at that, escaped along with the general himself. All the rest were slain or captured. Captured were also thirty-eight standards. Of the victors about two thousand fell. All the booty except the captives was given to the soldiers. Cattle also were excepted, if the owners should identify them within thirty days.

When they had returned to camp laden with booty, about four thousand of the slave-volunteers, who had fought with less spirit and had not dashed into the camp with the others, for fear of punishment occupied a hill not far from the camp. The next day they were brought down by military tribunes and arrived after an assembly of the soldiers had been called by Gracchus. There the proconsul first presented military decorations to the old soldiers, to each according to his valour and his part in that battle; and then he said that, so far as the slave-volunteers

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malle laudatos a se, dignos indignosque, quam quemquam eo die castigatum esse. Quod bonum faustum felixque rei publicae ipsisque esset, omnes eos
10 liberos esse iubere. Ad quam vocem cum clamor ingenti alacritate sublatus esset, ac nunc conplexi inter se gratulantesque, nunc manus ad caelum tollentes bona omnia populo Romano Graecchoque
11 ipsi precarentur, tum Gracchus "Priusquam omnes iure libertatis aequassem" inquit, "neminem nota
12 strenui aut ignavi militis notasse volui; nunc exsoluta iam fide publica, ne discrimen omne virtutis ignaviaeque pereat, nomina eorum qui detractatae pugnae memores secessionem paulo ante fecerunt referri ad me iubebo, citatosque singulos iure iurando adigam,
13 nisi quibus[1] morbus causa erit, non aliter quam stantes cibum potionemque, quoad stipendia facient, capturos esse. Hanc multam ita aequo animo feretis, si reputabitis nulla ignaviae nota leviore vos
14 designari potuisse." Signum deinde colligendi vasa dedit; militesque praedam portantes agentesque per lasciviam ac iocum ita ludibundi Beneventum
15 rediere ut ab epulis per celebrem festumque diem
16 actis, non ex acie reverti viderentur. Beneventani omnes turba effusa cum obviam ad portas exissent, complecti milites, gratulari, vocare in hospitium.
17 Adparata convivia omnibus in propatulo aedium

[1] quibus C^2M^2: quis .t: que $P(2)$: cui *Weissenborn*: queis *Gronovius*.

[1] Thus the good things could be seen through the open door, as in XXV. xii. 15: *apertis ianuis in propatulo epulati sunt.*

were concerned, he preferred to have all of them, the worthy and the unworthy, praised by himself, rather than to have any one of them punished that day; that, with the prayer that it might be good and happy and fortunate for the state and for the men themselves, he ordered them all to be free. At these words they raised a shout with great enthusiasm, and now embracing and congratulating each other, now raising their hands to heaven, they prayed for every blessing for the Roman people and for Gracchus himself. Thereupon Gracchus said: "Before making you all equals by the right of freedom, I wished to stamp not one man of you with the mark of a brave or of a cowardly soldier. But now, the promise made in the name of the state being already fulfilled, to prevent the loss of every distinction between valour and cowardice, I shall order the names of those who, remembering their refusal to fight, left us a while ago to be reported to me; and summoning them one by one I shall make them swear that, excepting men who shall have illness as an excuse, they will take food and drink standing only, so long as they shall be in the service. This penalty you will bear with patience, if you will reflect that you could not have been marked with any slighter sign of cowardice." He then gave the signal to pack baggage, and the soldiers carrying and driving their booty returned with sport and mirth so gaily to Beneventum that they seemed to be returning from a feast on a day of general festivity, not from a battle. All the people of Beneventum, having come out *en masse* to the gates to meet them, embraced the soldiers, congratulated them, invited them into their houses. Feasts had been made ready by all in the atria [1] of B.C. 214.

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fuerant; ad ea invitabant Gracchumque orabant ut epulari permitteret militibus; et Gracchus ita permisit, si[1] in publico epularentur omnes ante suas
18 quisque fores. Prolata omnia. Pilleati aut lana alba velatis capitibus volones epulati sunt, alii accubantes, alii stantes, qui simul ministrabant vescebanturque.
19 Digna res visa ut simulacrum celebrati eius diei Gracchus, postquam Romam rediit, pingi iuberet in aede Libertatis quam pater eius in Aventino ex multaticia pecunia faciendam curavit dedicavitque.

XVII. Dum haec ad Beneventum geruntur, Hannibal depopulatus agrum Neapolitanum ad Nolam
2 castra movet. Quem ubi adventare consul sensit, Pomponio propraetore cum eo exercitu qui super Suessulam in castris erat accito ire obviam hosti parat
3 nec moram dimicandi facere. C. Claudium Neronem cum robore equitum silentio noctis per aversam maxime ab hoste portam emittit circumvectumque occulte subsequi sensim agmen hostium iubet et, cum coortum proelium videret, ab tergo se obicere.
4 Id errore viarum an exiguitate temporis Nero exsequi
5 non potuerit incertum est. Absente eo cum proelium commissum esset, superior quidem haud dubie Romanus erat; sed quia equites non adfuere in

[1] si *Sigonius*: ut *x*: *om. F*(1).

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[1] The *pilleus* was evidence of freedom, as was the *lana alba*.
[2] The closing words are possibly copied from an inscription on the temple. The father was consul in 238 B.C.

their houses. To these they invited the soldiers and B.C. 214
implored Gracchus to allow the soldiers to feast. And Gracchus did permit them, provided they all feasted in the open, each before the door of his house. Everything was brought out. Wearing caps[1] or white woollen headbands the volunteers feasted, some reclining, and some standing served and ate at the same time. This seemed to deserve the order Gracchus gave on his return to Rome for a representation of that day of festivity to be painted in the Temple of Liberty which his father, with money yielded by fines, caused to be built on the Aventine and dedicated.[2]

XVII. While these things were going on about Beneventum, Hannibal, after ravaging the territory of Neapolis, removed his camp to Nola. When the consul learned of his approach, summoning Pomponius, the propractor, with the army which was in camp[3] above Suessula, he prepared to advance to meet the enemy and to engage without delay. He sent Gaius Claudius Nero with the best of the cavalry out by the gate farthest from the enemy in the silence of the night, and commanded him to ride around unseen and follow the enemy's column slowly, and when he saw that the battle had begun, to throw himself upon their rear. Whether it was by losing the way that Nero was unable to carry this out, or from the shortness of the time, is uncertain. After the battle had begun in his absence, the Roman indeed unquestionably had the upper hand; but since the cavalry were not there at the right moment, the

[3] *Castra Claudiana*; XXIII. xxxi. 3 and elsewhere. Pomponius must have been relieved of his duties in the North (x. 3).

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tempore, ratio compositae rei turbata est. Non ausus insequi cedentes Marcellus vincentibus suis
6 signum receptui dedit. Plus tamen duo milia hostium eo die caesa traduntur, Romani minus
7 quadringenti. Solis fere occasu Nero diem noctemque nequiquam fatigatis equis hominibusque, ne viso quidem hoste rediens, adeo graviter est ab consule increpitus ut per eum stetisse diceret [1] quo minus accepta ad Cannas redderetur hosti clades.
8 Postero die Romanus in aciem descendit, Poenus, tacita etiam confessione victus castris se tenuit. Tertio die silentio noctis omissa spe Nolae potiundae, rei numquam prospere temptatae, Tarentum ad certiorem spem proditionis proficiscitur.

XVIII. Nec minore animo res Romana domi quam
2 militiae gerebatur. Censores, vacui ab operum locandorum cura propter inopiam aerarii, ad mores hominum regendos animum adverterunt castigandaque vitia quae, velut diutinis morbis aegra corpora
3 ex sese gignunt, eo [2] nata bello erant. Primum eos citaverunt qui post Cannensem pugnam rem publicam deseruisse [3] dicebantur. Princeps eorum M.
4 Caecilius Metellus quaestor tum forte erat. Iusso deinde eo ceterisque eiusdem noxae reis causam

[1] diceret *z* : diceretur *P*(1).
[2] eo C^2 : aea *P* : ea *C* : *om.* P^2?(10).
[3] pugnam rem publicam deseruisse $.1^2x$: *om.* *P*(1) : *the gap indicated in P.1, probably a single line, is variously supplied, e.g.* cladem a re publica defecisse *Walters.*

[1] Cannae was avenged by this Nero and his colleague Livius at the Metaurus, 207 B.C.; XXVII. xlviii f.; xlix. 5.

prearranged plan for the battle was ruined. Marcellus, B.C. 214
not venturing to pursue the retreating, gave his men, victorious though they were, the signal to retire. More than two thousand of the enemy, however, are said to have been slain that day, of the Romans less than four hundred. About sunset Nero, returning with his horses and men exhausted to no purpose by their efforts for a day and a night, without even seeing the enemy, was sternly rebuked by the consul, who went so far as to say that it was his fault that the disaster suffered at Cannae was not paid back to the enemy.[1] On the next day the Roman went into line of battle, while the Carthaginian, beaten, as he tacitly admitted also, remained in camp. The third day, giving up hope of capturing Nola, an undertaking which had never prospered, he set out in the dead of night for Tarentum, led by a surer hope of its betrayal.

XVIII. And it was with no less spirit that the Roman state was administered at home than in the field. The censors, freed from the charge of contracting for public works on account of the emptiness of the treasury, turned their attention to the control of morals and the punishment of vices which had sprung from that war, just as bodies suffering from long illnesses of themselves produce defects. First they summoned those who after the battle of Cannae were said to have abandoned the state. The foremost among them, Marcus Caecilius Metellus,[2] happened at this time to be quaestor. Inasmuch as he and the rest of those guilty of the same offence, on being ordered to plead their cases, proved unable

[2] For his plan to leave Italy cf. XXII. liii. 5, where his praenomen is Lucius.

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dicere, cum purgari nequissent, pronuntiarunt verba orationemque eos adversus rem publicam habuisse, quo coniuratio deserendae Italiae causa fieret. 5 Secundum eos citati nimis callidi exsolvendi iuris iurandi interpretes, qui captivorum ex itinere regressi etiam in castra Hannibalis solutum quod iuraverunt redituros rebantur. 6 His superioribusque illis equi adempti qui publicum equom habebant, tribuque 7 moti aerarii omnes facti. Neque senatu modo aut equestri ordine regendo cura se censorum tenuit; nomina omnium ex iuniorum tabulis exceerpserunt qui quadriennio non militassent, quibus neque vacatio 8 iusta militiae neque morbus causa fuisset. Et ea supra duo milia nominum[1] in aerarios relata tribuque 9 omnes moti; additumque tam truci censoriae notae triste senatus consultum, ut ei omnes quos censores notassent pedibus mererent mitterenturque in Siciliam ad Cannensis exercitus reliquias, cui militum generi non prius quam pulsus Italia hostis esset finitum stipendiorum tempus erat.

10 Cum censores ob inopiam aerarii se iam locationibus abstinerent aedium sacrarum tuendarum curuliumque equorum praebendorum ac similium his

[1] nominum *P*(1) *Aldus*: hominum *xz Madvig*.

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[1] So ten of them pretended to think, XXII. lxi. 8. Another version (*ib.* 4 and lviii. 8) had only a single perjurer.

[2] Transfer to one of the four city tribes was a degradation, but, since the reform of 312 B.C., *aerarii* ("taxpayers only") were allowed to vote and serve in the army.

to clear themselves, the censors gave their verdict B.C. 214
that in conversation and formal speeches they had attacked the state, in order to form a conspiracy to desert Italy. Next after them were summoned those who had been too crafty in interpreting the discharge of an oath,—those of the captives who, after setting out and then returning secretly to Hannibal's camp, thought the oath they had sworn, that they would return, had been discharged.[1] From these men and those mentioned above their horses, if they had such from the state, were taken away, and all were ejected from their tribes and made *aerarii*.[2] And the diligence of the censors did not confine itself to regulating the senate and the order of the knights. From the lists of the younger men they culled the names of all who during four years had not served, without having had a legitimate exemption from the service or ill health as an excuse. And of these above two thousand names were placed on the list of the *aerarii*, and they all were ejected from their tribes. And to this relentless stigma of the censors was added a severe decree of the senate that all of those whom the censors had stigmatised should serve on foot and be sent to Sicily, to the remnant of the army of Cannae. For this class of soldiers the term of service was not at an end until the enemy should be driven out of Italy.

Since the censors on account of the emptiness of the treasury now refrained from letting contracts for the maintenance of temples and the furnishing of horses[3] used in religious processions and for similar

[3] The two-wheeled vehicles (*tensae*) which carried attributes of the Capitoline deities in procession to the Circus were usually drawn by four horses.

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11 rerum, convenire[1] ad eos frequentes qui hastae huius generis adsueverant, hortarique[2] censores ut omnia perinde agerent locarent ac si pecunia in aerario esset: neminem nisi bello confecto pecuniam
12 ab aerario petiturum esse. Convenere deinde domini eorum quos Ti. Sempronius ad Beneventum manu emiserat arcessitosque se ab triumviris mensariis esse dixerunt ut pretia servorum acciperent; ceterum non ante quam bello confecto accepturos esse.
13 Cum haec inclinatio animorum plebis ad sustinendam inopiam aerarii fieret, pecuniae quoque pupillares
14 primo, deinde viduarum coeptae conferri, nusquam eas tutius sanctiusque deponere credentibus qui deferebant quam in publica fide; inde si quid emptum paratumque pupillis ae viduis foret, a quaestore
15 perscribebatur. Manavit ea privatorum benignitas ex urbe etiam in castra, ut non eques, non centurio stipendium acciperet, mercennariumque increpantes vocarent qui accepisset.

XIX. Q. Fabius consul ad Casilinum castra habebat, quod duum milium Campanorum et septingentorum militum Hannibalis tenebatur praesidio.
2 Praecerat Statius Metius, missus ab Cn. Magio Atellano, qui eo anno medix tuticus erat, servitiaque

[1] convenire *H. J. Müller*: convenere *P*(1).
[2] hortarique *P*(1): hortatique *z Madvig, adding* sunt *after* censores.

[1] At sales and the letting of contracts a spear (*hasta*) symbolised the authority of the state, and gave its name to the proceedings.

matters, those who had been in the habit of such B.C. 214
bidding[1] came in large numbers to the censors, and urged them to take action and let contracts at once for everything, just as if there were money in the treasury; that no one would claim his money from the treasury until the war was over. Then came the owners of the slaves Tiberius Sempronius had manumitted at Beneventum, and said they had been summoned by the bank commissioners[2] to receive the price of their slaves; but that they would not receive it until the war was over. Such being now the tendency of the people to relieve the poverty of the treasury, funds, first of wards, and then of widows and single women, began also to be turned in; for those who brought in the sums believed that nowhere could they deposit them with a sense of greater safety and honesty than under the guarantee of the state. Thereafter when anything was purchased or provided for wards and widows and single women, it was paid for by an order of a quaestor. This generosity of private citizens spread from the city also even to the camps, so that no knight, no centurion accepted pay, and the man who did accept was reproachfully called a hireling.

XIX. Quintus Fabius, the consul, had his camp near Casilinum, which was held by a garrison of two thousand Campanians and seven hundred of Hannibal's soldiers. In command was Statius Metius, who had been sent by Gnaeus Magius, of Atella (who was the *medix tuticus*[3] that year), and Metius had armed slaves and plebeians without distinction, in order to

[2] Cf. XXIII. xxi. 6. These emergency officials (*triumviri mensarii*) evidently served for some years; cf. XXVI. xxxvi. 8.
[3] Cf. XXIII. xxxv. 13; XXVI. vi. 13.

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et plebem promiscue armarat, ut castra Romana invaderet intento consule ad Casilinum oppugnandum. Nihil eorum Fabium fefellit. Itaque Nolam ad collegam mittit: altero exercitu, dum Casilinum oppugnatur, opus esse qui Campanis opponatur; vel ipse relicto Nolae praesidio modico veniret, vel, si cum Nola teneret necdum securae res ab Hannibale essent, se Ti. Gracchum proconsulem a Benevento acciturum. Hoc nuntio Marcellus duobus militum milibus Nolae in praesidio relictis cum cetero exercitu Casilinum venit, adventuque eius Campani iam moventes sese quieverunt. Ita ab duobus consulibus Casilinum oppugnari coepit. Ubi cum multa succedentes temere moenibus Romani milites acciperent vulnera neque satis inceptu[1] succederet, Fabius omittendam rem parvam ac iuxta magnis difficilem abscedendumque inde censebat, cum res maiores instarent: Marcellus multa magnis ducibus sicut non adgredienda, ita semel adgressis non dimittenda esse dicendo, quia magna famae momenta in utramque partem fierent, tenuit ne inrito incepto abiretur. Vineae inde omniaque alia operum machinationumque genera cum admoverentur, Campanique Fabium orarent ut abire Capuam tuto liceret, paucis egressis Marcellus portam qua egrediebantur occupavit, caedesque promiscue omnium circa portam primo, deinde inruptione facta etiam in urbe

[1] inceptu (*dative*) *P*(6) : -tus *M* : -tis *A* : -tum *x Gronovius* : -to *Luchs*.

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[1] Catapults, towers, rams, etc. Movable sheds protected the besiegers.

[2] Livy touches lightly upon Marcellus' apparent ruthlessness; cf. xxxix. 7.

make an attack upon the Roman camp while the B.C. 214
consul was occupied with the siege of Casilinum. Of all this nothing escaped Fabius. So he sends word to his colleague at Nola that he needs the other army, to face the Campanians while Casilinum was being besieged: either Marcellus should leave a suitable garrison at Nola and come in person, or if Nola held him back and there was still danger from Hannibal, he would himself summon Tiberius Gracchus, the proconsul, from Beneventum. On receiving this message Marcellus left two thousand soldiers as a garrison at Nola, and with the rest of his army came to Casilinum; and upon his arrival the Campanians, who were already bestirring themselves, became inactive. So began the siege of Casilinum by the two consuls. Since in this operation the Roman soldiers rashly approaching the walls were receiving many wounds and the undertaking was not successful, Fabius thought that they should give up a small affair which was as difficult as great ventures, and that they must leave the place, since greater matters were impending. Marcellus, saying that, while there were many places which great generals ought not to attack, yet, once the attack has begun, they should not give them up, since reputation has great influence in both directions, carried his point, not to depart while their attempt was unsuccessful. Then while sheds and all other kinds of siege-works and apparatus[1] were being brought up, and the Campanians were begging Fabius for permission to go to Capua in safety, after a few had left the city, Marcellus occupied the gate by which they were leaving. And a general slaughter began,[2] first around the gate, and then, as the troops burst in,

A.U.C. 540 10 fieri coepta est. Quinquaginta fere primo egressi Campanorum, cum ad Fabium confugissent, praesidio eius Capuam pervenerunt. Casilinum inter conloquia cunctationemque petentium fidem per 11 occasionem captum est, captivique Campanorum quive[1] Hannibalis militum erant Romam missi atque ibi in carcere inclusi sunt; oppidanorum turba per finitimos populos in custodiam divisa.

XX. Quibus diebus a Casilino re bene gesta recessum est, eis Gracchus in Lucanis aliquot cohortes in ea regione conscriptas cum praefecto socium in 2 agros hostium praedatum misit. Eos effuse palatos Hanno adortus haud multo minorem quam ad Beneventum acceperat reddidit hosti cladem atque in Bruttios raptim, ne Gracchus adsequeretur, concessit. 3 Consules Marcellus retro unde venerat Nolam rediit, Fabius in Samnites ad populandos agros recipiendas- 4 que armis quae defecerant urbes processit. Caudinus Sammis gravius devastatus: perusti late agri, 5 praedae pecudum hominumque actae; oppida vi capta Compulteria, Telesia, Compsa inde, Fugifulae et Orbitanium ex Lucanis, Blanda et Apulorum 6 Aecae oppugnatae. Milia hostium in his urbibus viginti quinque capta aut occisa, et recepti perfugae trecenti septuaginta; quos cum Romam misisset consul, virgis in comitio caesi omnes ac de saxo

[1] quive *P*(1) *Conway*: quique *z*.

even inside the city. About fifty Campanians who B.C. 214
had left the city first sought refuge with Fabius and, escorted by his men, reached Capua. Casilinum was captured, as opportunity offered during the conversations and the delay due to those who begged a promise of protection. And the captives, whether Campanians or of Hannibal's soldiers, were sent to Rome and there imprisoned. The mass of the townspeople were distributed among the neighbouring communities to be guarded.

XX. At the same time that they left Casilinum after their success, Gracchus in Lucania sent a number of cohorts which had been enlisted in that region, under the command of a prefect of the allies, into the enemy's farm lands to plunder. Hanno attacked them as they were widely scattered and gave the enemy in return a defeat not much less serious than that which he had received near Beneventum, and withdrew hastily into the land of the Bruttians, that Gracchus might not overtake him. Of the consuls, Marcellus returned to Nola, whence he had come, Fabius advanced into Samnium, to lay waste their farms and to recover by force the cities which had revolted. Samnium around the Caudine Pass was more thoroughly laid waste. Farms were burned over far and wide, cattle and men carried off as booty. Compulteria, Telesia and Compsa, towns of that region, were taken by storm, also Fugifulae and Orbitanium in Lucania. Blanda and, in Apulia, Aecae were taken after a siege. In these cities twenty-five thousand of the enemy were captured or slain, and three hundred and seventy deserters recovered. These were all sent to Rome by the consul, scourged in the Comitium and hurled from

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7 deiecti. Haec a Q. Fabio intra paucos dies gesta. Marcellum ab gerundis rebus valetudo adversa Nolae
8 tenuit. Et a praetore Q. Fabio, cui circa Luceriam provincia erat, Aeuca oppidum per eos dies vi captum stativaque ad Ardaneas communita.
9 Dum haec in aliis[1] locis ab Romanis geruntur, iam Tarentum pervenerat Hannibal cum maxima omni-
10 um quacumque ierat clade; in Tarentino demum agro pacatum incedere agmen coepit. Nihil ibi violatum neque usquam via excessum est; apparebatque non id modestia militum sed ducis iussu[2] ad
11 conciliandos animos Tarentinorum fieri. Ceterum cum prope moenibus successisset,[3] nullo ad conspectum primum agminis, ut rebatur, motu facto
12 castra ab urbe ferme passus mille locat. Tarenti triduo ante quam Hannibal ad moenia accederet a M. Valerio propraetore, qui classi ad Brundisium
13 praeerat, missus M. Livius impigre[4] conscripta iuventute dispositisque ad omnes portas circaque muros qua res postulabat stationibus die ac nocte iuxta intentus neque hostibus neque dubiis sociis loci
14 quicquam praebuit ad temptandum.[5] Diebus aliquot frustra ibi absumptis Hannibal, cum eorum nemo qui ad lacum Averni se[6] adissent aut ipsi venirent aut nuntium litterasve mitterent, vana promissa se temere secutum cernens castra inde

[1] in aliis *Madvig, Emend.*: maliis *P*: aliis P^2(1) *Madvig*[4].

[2] sed ducis iussu *Wölfflin*: aut ducis usi *P*(2): aut ducis sed *x Sigonius, Madvig*: aut ducis nisi *Ax Walters*: aut ducis iussu sed M^3?.

[3] successisset *Gronovius*: accessisset *P*(1).

[4] impigre *Weissenborn*: inpriore *P*(1).

[5] temptandum, *PM add* q. (-que *CRB*.1): quare M^2? *Gronovius*.

[6] se *Madvig*: *om.* *P*(1).

the Rock.[1] Such were the acts of Fabius within a few days, while Marcellus was kept out of employment by illness at Nola. And the praetor Quintus Fabius, whose field of duty was around Luceria, stormed the town of Aecua about that time and fortified a permanent camp at Ardaneae.[2] B.C. 214

While the Romans were thus employed elsewhere, Hannibal had now reached Tarentum, leaving the most complete devastation wherever he had passed. Not until it had entered the territory of Tarentum did his column begin to advance peaceably. There they did no damage, and nowhere did they leave the road. And it was plain that this was not due to the self-restraint of the soldiers, but to the commander's orders, for the purpose of winning over the Tarentines. But when he had come quite close to the walls, and there was no movement at the first sight of his column, as he supposed there would be, he pitched camp about a mile from the city. In Tarentum three days before Hannibal approached the walls, Marcus Livius, who had been sent by Marcus Valerius, the propraetor in command of the fleet at Brundisium, actively enlisted young men, posted guards at all the gates and along the walls, wherever required, and alert by night as well as by day, he left neither the enemy nor wavering allies any opening for an attack. After spending some days there to no purpose, Hannibal, since none of the men who had come before him at the Lake of Avernus either came in person or sent a messenger or letter, saw that he had rashly followed empty promises and moved his camp away. Even then he left the

[1] The Tarpeian Rock of the Capitol (site still disputed).
[2] The same as Herdonea, XXV. xxi. 1; XXVII. i. 3.

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15 movit, tum quoque intacto agro Tarentino, quamquam simulata lenitas nihildum profuerat, tamen spe labefactandae fidei haud absistens. Salapiam ut venit, frumentum ex agris Metapontino atque Heracleensi—iam enim aestas exacta erat et hibernis
16 placebat locus—comportat. Praedatum inde Numidae Maurique per Sallentinum agrum proximosque Apuliae saltus dimissi; unde ceterae praedae haud multum, equorum greges maxime abacti, e quibus ad quattuor milia domanda equitibus divisa.

XXI. Romani, cum bellum nequaquam contemnendum in Sicilia oreretur morsque tyranni duces magis inpigros dedisset Syracusanis quam causam aut animos mutasset, M. Marcello alteri consulum
2 eam provinciam decernunt. Secundum Hieronymi caedem primo tumultuatum in Leontinis apud milites fuerat vociferatumque ferociter parentandum
3 regi sanguine coniuratorum esse. Deinde libertatis restitutae dulce auditu nomen crebro usurpatum et spes[1] facta ex pecunia regia largitionis militiaeque fungendae potioribus ducibus et relata tyranni foeda scelera foedioresque libidines adeo mutavere animos ut insepultum iacere corpus paulo ante
4 desiderati regis paterentur. Cum ceteri ex coniuratis ad exercitum obtinendum remansissent, Theodotus et Sosis regiis equis quanto maximo

[1] et spes (*or* spesque) *Madvig*: spes *P*(1): spe *Conway*.

[1] Cf. XXIII. xlviii. 3.

territory of Tarentum unharmed, as he did not give B.C. 214
up his hope of weakening their loyalty, although his pretended clemency had had no effect as yet. Arrived at Salapia, he brought in grain from the districts of Metapontum and Heraclea; for the summer was now over, and he thought well of the place for winter quarters. From it Numidians and Mauri were sent out to plunder in the Sallentine territory[1] and the nearest forests of Apulia. From these places not many other cattle were driven off as booty, but chiefly herds of horses, about four thousand of which were distributed among the cavalry to be broken.

XXI. The Romans, inasmuch as a war that was by no means to be despised was breaking out in Sicily, and the death of the tyrant had given energetic commanders to the Syracusans, and had not changed the situation or their feelings, assigned that country to Marcus Marcellus, one of the consuls, as his province. Directly after the assassination of Hieronymus there was at first an uproar among the soldiers at Leontini, and a fierce outcry that they must offer sacrificial vengeance to the dead king in the blood of the conspirators. Later the frequent mention of restored freedom—a word sweet to the ears—and the hope of a largess out of the king's money, and of serving under better generals, also the enumeration of the shameful crimes and still more shameful lusts of the tyrant, so changed their feelings that they allowed the body of the king, whose loss they had just been regretting, to lie unburied. Although the rest of the conspirators had remained, in order to keep their hold on the army, Theodotus[2] and Sosis hastened to

[2] Cf. v. 10 ff.

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cursu poterant, ut ignaros omnium regios opprime-
5 rent, Syracusas contendunt. Ceterum praevenerat
non fama solum, qua nihil in talibus rebus est celerius,
6 sed nuntius etiam ex regiis servis. Itaque Adrano-
dorus et Insulam et aream et alia quae poterat
7 quaeque opportuna erant praesidiis firmarat. Hexa-
pylo Theodotus ac Sosis post solis occasum iam
obscura luce invecti, cum cruentam regiam vestem
atque insigne capitis ostentarent, travecti per
Tycham simul ad libertatem simul ad arma vocantes,
8 in Achradinam convenire iubent. Multitudo pars
procurrit in vias, pars in vestibulis stat, pars ex
tectis fenestrisque prospectant et quid rei sit rogi-
9 tant. Omnia luminibus conlucent strepituque vario
complentur. Armati locis patentibus congregantur;
inermes ex Olympii Iovis templo spolia Gallorum
Illyriorumque, dono data Hieroni a populo Romano
10 fixaque ab eo, detrahunt, precantes Iovem ut volens
propitius praebeat sacra arma pro patria, pro deum
11 delubris, pro libertate sese armantibus. Haec quo-
que multitudo stationibus per principes regionum
urbis dispositis adiungitur. In Insula inter cetera
Adranodorus praesidiis firmarat horrea publica.
12 Locus saxo quadrato saeptus atque arcis in modum
munitus capitur ab iuventute quae praesidio eius

[1] The oldest quarter of Syracuse, Ortygia. Cf. Cicero's description of the city, *Verr.* IV. 117 ff.

[2] The great northern gate of the Wall of Dionysius; xxxii. 4 ff.; XXV. xxiv. 2f., etc.; v. Appendix.

[3] A quarter that included a level tract, in which lay the market-place (xxii. 12), but not the rocky heights to the northward facing the sea; frequently mentioned below; v. Appendix.

Syracuse on the king's horses at the greatest possible B.C. 214
speed, to surprise his supporters while they were in complete ignorance. However, not only rumour, than which nothing is swifter in such cases, but also a messenger, one of the royal slaves, had anticipated them. And so Adranodorus had garrisoned the Island [1] and the citadel and such other places as were possible and of advantage. By the Hexapylon [2] after sunset Theodotus and Sosis rode into the city in the twilight, showing the bloody garment of the king and his diadem. Then riding across the quarter of Tycha, and calling people to freedom and at the same time to arms, they bid them assemble in Achradina.[3] Of the populace some dash into the streets, some stand before the entrance to their houses, some look out from roofs and windows and keep asking what it means. Everywhere there are bright lights, every place filled with mingled noises. The armed gather in open spaces; those without arms take down from the Temple of Olympian Jupiter [4] the spoils of Gauls and Illyrians, presented by the Roman people to Hiero and hung up there by him. And this they did with a prayer to Jupiter that he graciously consent to furnish consecrated arms to men arming themselves for their native city, for the temples of the gods, for liberty. This crowd also was added to the guard stationed by the leading citizens of the quarters. On the Island Adranodorus had garrisoned, among other positions, the public granaries. This place, which was walled about with squared stone and made strong like a citadel, was captured by the young

[4] On the market-place; built by Hiero; not to be confused with the much older and larger temple west of the Great Harbour; xxxiii. 3; cf. Cicero *op. cit.* 119.

A.U.C. 540 loci adtributa erat. mittuntque nuntios in Achradinam horrea frumentumque in senatus potestate esse.

XXII. Luce prima populus omnis, armatus inermisque, in Achradinam ad curiam convenit. Ibi pro Concordiae ara, quae in eo sita loco erat, ex principibus unus nomine Polyaenus contionem et liberam et
2 moderatam habuit. Servitutis formidines[1] indignitatesque homines expertos adversus notum malum inritatos esse: discordia civilis quas inportet clades, audisse magis a patribus Syracusanos quam ipsos
3 vidisse. Arma quod inpigre ceperint, laudare; magis laudaturum, si non utantur nisi ultima necessitate
4 coacti. In praesentia legatos ad Adranodorum mitti placere qui denuntient ut in potestate senatus ac populi sit, portas Insulae aperiat, reddat praesi-
5 dium. Si tutelam alieni regni suum regnum velit facere, eundem se censere multo acrius ab Adrano-
6 doro quam ab Hieronymo repeti libertatem. Ab hac contione legati missi sunt. Senatus inde haberi coeptus est, quod sicut regnante Hierone manserat publicum consilium, ita post mortem eius ante eam diem nulla de re neque convocati neque consulti
7 fuerant. Ut ventum ad Adranodorum est, ipsum

[1] servitutis formidines *Weissenborn*: servitudinis *P*(4): servitutis M^3DA^2: servitu onus *A*: servitii onus *Walters*.

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[1] A council, rather than a senate in the Roman sense.

men who had been assigned to its defence; and they B.C. 214
sent messengers into Achradina to say that the granaries and the grain were under the authority of the senate.[1]

XXII. At daybreak all the people, armed and unarmed, gathered at the Senate House in Achradina. There, standing on the altar of Concord,[2] which had been erected on that spot, one of the leading men, Polyaenus by name, delivered a speech at once outspoken and restrained. He said that men who had experienced the terrors of slavery and its humiliations had been inflamed against an evil which they knew. As for civil strife, the Syracusans had heard from their fathers, rather than seen for themselves, what disasters it brings. He praised them for having taken up arms readily, and would praise them the more willingly if they did not use them except when compelled by absolute necessity. For the present he approved of sending representatives to Adranodorus, to instruct him to put himself under the authority of the senate and people, open the gates of the Island and surrender the citadel. At the same time, if Adranodorus should try to turn a regency into a kingship of his own, he favoured reclaiming their freedom from Adranodorus much more fiercely than from Hieronymus. After this speech representatives were sent directly. Then began a session of the senate, which in the reign of Hiero had indeed continued to be the council of state, yet since his death had not been called together nor consulted about anything until that day. When the legates reached Adranodorus, he for his part was

[2] This altar and the Senate House were in the market-place; 12 f.

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quidem movebat et civium consensus et cum aliae occupatae urbis partes, tum pars Insulae vel munitissima prodita atque alienata. Sed evocatum eum ab legatis Damarata uxor, filia Hieronis, inflata adhuc regiis animis ac muliebri spiritu, admonet saepe usurpatae Dionysi tyranni vocis, qua pedibus tractum, non insidentem equo relinquere tyrannidem dixerit debere. Facile esse momento quo quis velit cedere possessione magnae fortunae; facere et parare eam difficile atque arduum esse. Spatium sumeret ad consultandum ab legatis; eo uteretur ad arcessendos ex Leontinis milites, quibus si pecuniam regiam pollicitus esset, omnia in potestate eius futura. Haec muliebria consilia Adranodorus neque tota aspernatus est neque extemplo accepit, tutiorem ad opes adfectandas ratus esse viam, si in praesentia tempori cessisset. Itaque legatos renuntiare iussit futurum se in senatus ac populi potestate.

Postero die luce prima patefactis Insulae portis in forum Aehradinae venit. Ibi in aram Concordiae, ex qua pridie Polyaenus contionatus erat, escendit orationemque eam orsus est qua primum cunctationis suae veniam petivit: se enim clausas habuisse portas, non separantem suas res a publicis, sed strictis semel gladiis timentem qui finis caedibus esset futurus, utrum, quod satis libertati foret, contenti nece tyranni essent, an quicumque aut

moved by the agreement of the citizens, also by the B.C. 214
occupation of other quarters of the city, and especially by the betrayal and loss of the most strongly fortified part of the Island. But his wife Damarata, daughter of Hiero and still puffed up with princely pride and a woman's boldness, called him aside from the legates and reminded him of the oft-repeated utterance of Dionysius the tyrant, that one should leave a tyranny, not on horseback, but dragged by the feet. It was easy, she said, to give up the possession of an exalted station at any moment one wished; to create and achieve it was difficult and all but impossible. He should gain time for deliberation from the legates. He should use it to summon the soldiers from Leontini, and if he should promise them money from the royal treasury everything would be in his power. These feminine counsels Adranodorus neither wholly rejected nor at once adopted, thinking it a safer way to gain power if for the moment he should yield to the crisis. And so he bade the legates report that he would be under the authority of the senate and people.

On the following day at dawn he opened the gates of the Island and came to the market-place of Achradina. There he mounted the altar of Concord, from which Polyaenus had addressed the people the day before, and began a speech in which he first begged pardon for his hesitation. For he had kept the gates closed, he said, not that he wished to separate his cause from that of the people, but because he feared what limit there would be to slaughter, when swords should once be drawn; whether they would be content with the death of the tyrant, which would be sufficient to secure freedom,

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propinquitate aut adfinitate aut aliquis ministeriis regiam contigissent alienae culpae rei trucidarentur.
15 Postquam animadverterit eos qui liberassent patriam servare etiam liberatam velle atque undique consuli in medium, non dubitasse quin et corpus suum et cetera omnia quae suae fidei tutelaeque essent, quoniam eum qui mandasset suus furor absumpsisset,
16 patriae restitueret. Conversus deinde ad interfectores tyranni ac nomine appellans Theodotum ac
17 Sosin, "Facinus" inquit "memorabile feecistis; sed mihi credite, incohata vestra gloria, nondum perfecta est periculumque ingens manet, nisi paci et concordiae consulitis, ne libera efferatur res publica."

XXIII. Post hanc orationem claves portarum pecuniaeque regiae ante pedes eorum posuit. Atque illo quidem die dimissi ex contione laeti circa fana omnia deum supplicaverunt cum coniugibus ac liberis; postero die comitia praetoribus creandis habita.
2 Creatus in primis Adranodorus, ceteri magna ex parte interfectores tyranni; duos etiam absentes,
3 Sopatrum ac Dinomenen, fecerunt. Qui auditis[1] quae Syracusis acta erant pecuniam regiam quae in Leontinis erat Syracusas devectam quaestoribus ad
4 id ipsum creatis tradiderunt. Et ea quae in Insula erat Achradinam tralata est; murique ea pars quae ab cetera urbe nimis firmo munimento intersaepiebat Insulam consensu omnium deiecta est. Secutae

[1] auditis *Gronovius*: -tiis *P*: -tis iis P^1?(3) *Madvig*: -tis his *D*.

or on the other hand every one who either by blood B.C. 214
or marriage or certain duties was connected with the palace would be slain, as being chargeable with another's guilt. After he observed that those who had freed their native city wished also to keep her free, and that the common good was the aim of all, he had not hesitated to surrender to the city his own person and in addition all that had been confided to his honour and protection, since the man who had given that charge had been destroyed by his own madness. Turning then to the assassins of the tyrant and addressing Theodotus and Sosis by name, he said: "It is a memorable deed that you have done. But believe me, your glory is but begun, not yet finished, and unless you provide for peace and harmony there remains a very great danger that this may be the funeral of the liberated state."

XXIII. After this speech he laid the keys of the gates and those of the royal treasure at their feet. And they, dismissed from the assembly and happy that day at least, with their wives and children gave thanks at all the temples of the gods. On the next day elections for the naming of magistrates were held. Among the first so named was Adranodorus, the rest largely assassins of the tyrant. Two who were not even present, Sopater and Dinomenes, were elected. These, hearing what had been done at Syracuse, brought the royal treasure that was at Leontini to Syracuse and turned it over to treasurers elected for that very purpose. The money that was on the Island was also transferred to Achradina. And that part of the wall which shut off the Island from the rest of the city by a needlessly strong fortification was thrown down by common consent. The other

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et ceterae res hanc inclinationem animorum ad libertatem.[1]

5 Hippocrates atque Epicydes audita morte tyranni, quam Hippocrates etiam nuntio interfecto eclare voluerat, deserti a militibus, quia id tutissimum ex 6 praesentibus videbatur, Syracusas rediere. Ubi ne suspecti obversarentur tamquam novandi res aliquam occasionem quaerentes, praetores primum, 7 dein per eos senatum adeunt. Ab Hannibale se missos praedicant ad Hieronymum tamquam amicum ac socium paruisse imperio eius cuius imperator 8 suus voluerit. Velle ad Hannibalem redire; ceterum, cum iter tutum non sit vagantibus passim per totam Siciliam Romanis, petere ut praesidii dent aliquid quo Locros in Italiam perducantur; gratiam magnam 9 eos parva opera apud Hannibalem inituros. Facile res impetrata: abire enim duces regios cum peritos militiae, tum egentes eosdem atque audaces cupiebant; sed quod volebant non quam maturato opus 10 erat naviter expediebant. Interim iuvenes militares et adsueti militibus, nunc apud eos ipsos, nunc apud transfugas, quorum maxima pars ex navalibus sociis Romanorum erat, nunc etiam apud infimae plebis homines crimina serebant in senatum opti- 11 matesque: illud[2] moliri clam eos atque struere ut Syracusae per speciem reconciliatae societatis in

[1] libertatem, *PCRM add* -que.
[2] illud *Luchs*: ut *P*(1): et *x*: id *Gronovius*.

[1] For their service under Hieronymus, cf. vii. 1.

measures also were in keeping with this trend toward B.C. 214
freedom.

Hippocrates and Epicydes, on hearing of the tyrant's death, which Hippocrates had wished to keep secret even by slaying the messenger, were deserted by the soldiers and returned to Syracuse,[1] since that course seemed safest in the circumstances. There, to avoid going about under suspicion as seeking some opportunity for a revolution, they first came before the magistrates, and then through them before the senate. They stated that, having been sent by Hannibal to Hieronymus as his friend and ally, they had obeyed the orders of the man to whom their own commander wished them to be obedient. They wished to return to Hannibal; but since the way was unsafe while the Romans were at large everywhere in Sicily, they asked the senators to give them some escort to conduct them to Locri[2] in Italy. The senate, they said, would gain great favour with Hannibal by a small service. This request was readily granted; for the senate greatly desired the departure of the king's generals, as men skilled in military art, and, what was more, needy also and daring. But they took no active steps to carry out their wish with the required promptness. Meanwhile the generals, as young men of military training and familiar with soldiers, at one time in the presence of these, at another among the deserters, the majority of whom were from the crews of the Romans, at another even among the lowest of the people, made charges against the senate and the aristocrats: that they were secretly working and contriving that Syracuse under the guise of a reëstablished alliance should be subject to the

[2] Cf. i. 2 ff.

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dicione Romanorum sint, dein factio ac pauci auctores foederis renovati dominentur.

XXIV. His audiendis credendisque opportuna multitudo maior in dies Syracusas confluebat, nec Epicydi solum spem novandarum rerum, sed Adranodoro etiam praebebat. Qui fessus tandem uxoris 2 vocibus monentis nunc illud esse tempus occupandi res, dum turbata omnia nova atque incondita libertate essent, dum regiis stipendiis pastus obversaretur miles, dum ab Hannibale missi duces adsueti militibus iuvare possent incepta, cum Themisto, cui Gelonis filia nupta erat, rem consociatam paucos post dies Aristoni cuidam tragico actori, cui et alia arcana com- 3 mittere adsuerat, incaute aperit. Huic et genus et fortuna honesta erant, nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Graecos pudori est, ea deformabat. Itaque fidem potiorem [1] ratus quam patriae debebat, indicium ad 4 praetores defert. Qui ubi rem haud vanam esse certis indiciis compererunt, consultis senioribus et [2] auctoritate eorum praesidio ad fores posito ingressos curiam Themistum atque Adranodorum interfece- 5 runt. Et cum tumultus ab re in speciem atrociore causam aliis ignorantibus ortus esset, silentio tandem 6 facto indicem in curiam introduxerunt. Qui cum ordine omnia edocuisset: principium coniurationis factum ab Harmoniae Gelonis filiae nuptiis, quibus 7 Themisto iuncta esset; Aforum Hispanorumque auxiliares instructos ad caedem praetorum princi-

[1] potiorem, *PCRM add* -que: priorem potioremque *Alschefski*.

[2] et *P*(1): ex *Luchs*: et ex *Walters*.

Romans, and that then a faction, that is, a few who B.C. 214
supported the renewal of the treaty, should rule.

XXIV. Ready to hear and believe these charges, a daily larger multitude was flocking to Syracuse and giving not Epicydes only, but also Adranodorus, the hope of a revolution. The latter was at length wearied by admonitions of his wife: that it was now the time to seize the power, while everything was confused by the new freedom not yet organized; while the soldiers one met were fattened on the king's pay; while generals sent by Hannibal and familiar with the soldiers could aid the undertaking. Accordingly he formed a plot with Themistus, whose wife was Gelo's daughter, and after a few days rashly revealed it to one Aristo, a tragic actor, to whom he had been in the habit of confiding other secrets. This man's family and station were respectable and not tarnished by his artistic profession, since among the Greeks nothing of the sort brings discredit. And so thinking that the loyalty he owed to his native city took precedence, he reports the matter to the magistrates. They, finding from trustworthy information that this was not unfounded, conferred with the older men, placed a guard at the doors on their advice, and when Themistus and Adranodorus had entered the senate, slew them. And after the confusion resulting from an act even more terrible in appearance than in reality, since others were unaware of the reason, they at length secured silence and brought the informer into the Senate House. He first told everything in order: that the conspiracy had taken its start from the marriage of Gelo's daughter Harmonia, uniting her with Themistus; that African and Spanish auxiliaries had been made ready for the

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pumque aliorum, bonaque eorum praedae futura
8 interfectoribus pronuntiatum; iam mercennariorum manum, adsuetam imperiis Adranodori, paratam fuisse ad Insulam rursus occupandam; singula deinde quae per quosque agerentur, totamque viris armisque instructam coniurationem ante oculos posuit. Et senatui quidem tam iure caesi quam
9 Hieronymus videbantur: ante curiam variae atque incertae rerum multitudinis clamor erat. Quam ferociter minitantem in vestibulo curiae corpora coniuratorum eo metu compresserunt ut silentes integram plebem in contionem sequerentur. Sopatro
10 mandatum ab senatu et a collegis ut verba faceret.

XXV. Is, tamquam reos ageret, ab [1] ante acta vita orsus, quaecumque post Hieronis mortem scelestе atque impie facta essent, Adranodorum ac Themi-
2 stum arguit fecisse: quid enim sua sponte [2] Hieronymum, puerum ac vixdum pubescentem facere potuisse? Tutores ac magistros eius sub aliena invidia regnasse; itaque aut ante Hieronymum aut
3 certe cum Hieronymo perire eos debuisse. At illos debitos iam morti destinatosque, alia nova scelera post mortem tyranni molitos, palam primo, cum clausis Adranodorus Insulae portis hereditatem regni creverit et quae procurator tenuerat pro domino
4 possederit; proditus deinde ab eis qui in Insula

[1] ab *xz*: *om.* *P*(1).
[2] sponte. *P*(1) *add* fecisse.

slaughter of the magistrates and other leading B.C. 214
citizens, and the announcement made that their property would be spoil for the assassins; moreover that a force of mercenaries accustomed to the orders of Adranodorus had been provided, to occupy the Island again. He then set forth in detail what was to be done, and by whom, and pictured the whole conspiracy manned and armed. And to the senators indeed they appeared to have been slain with as much justice as Hieronymus. But in front of the Senate House there was shouting by the mixed crowd unacquainted with the situation. Uttering wild threats, they were checked by the corpses of the conspirators before the entrance to the Senate House, in such fear that they silently followed the orderly populace to the assembly. Sopater was instructed by the senate and his colleagues to speak.

XXV. Beginning with their previous life, just as if he were prosecuting them, he charged that every act of violence or impiety committed since the death of Hiero had been done by Adranodorus and Themistus. For what could Hieronymus, a boy who had hardly reached puberty, have done of his own motion? His guardians and teachers, shielded by the embitterment directed against another, had been the real kings. Accordingly they ought to have perished either before Hieronymus or at least with Hieronymus. But though doomed already and marked for death, they had contrived fresh crimes since the death of the tyrant, at first openly, when Adranodorus, closing the gates of the Island, took over the kingdom as his own inheritance and as owner entered into possession of what he had held as agent: again when, betrayed by those who were on the Island, beset by the whole

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erant, circumsessus ab universa civitate quae Achradinam tenuerit, nequiquam palam atque aperte petitum regnum clam et dolo adfectare conatus sit, et ne beneficio quidem atque honore potuerit vinci, cum inter liberatores patriae insidiator ipse libertatis creatus esset praetor. Sed animos eis regios regias coniuges fecisse, alteri Hieronis, alteri Gelonis filias nuptas. Sub hanc vocem ex omnibus partibus contionis clamor oritur nullam earum vivere debere nec quemquam superesse tyrannorum stirpis. Ea natura multitudinis est: aut servit humiliter aut superbe dominatur; libertatem, quae media est, nec suscipere [1] modice nec habere sciunt; et non ferme desunt irarum indulgentes ministri, qui avidos atque intemperantes suppliciorum animos ad sanguinem et caedes inritent; sicut tum extemplo praetores rogationem promulgarunt, acceptaque paene prius quam promulgata est, ut omnes regiae stirpis interficerentur; missique a praetoribus Damaratam Hieronis et Harmoniam Gelonis filiam, coniuges Adranodori et Themisti, interfecerunt.

XXVI. Heraclia erat filia Hieronis, uxor Zoippi, qui legatus ab Hieronymo ad regem Ptolomaeum missus voluntarium consciverat exilium. Ea cum ad se quoque veniri [2] praescisset, in sacrarium ad penates confugit eum duabus filiis [3] virginibus, resolutis crinibus miserabilique alio habitu, et ad ea

[1] suscipere *x*: cupere *x*: stupere *P*(2): struere *Conway*: sibi parare *M. Müller*.

[2] veniri *x Gronovius*: venire *P*(1).

[3] filiis *Weissenborn conj.* (*cf.* XXXVIII. lvii. 2): filiabus *P*(1).

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[1] Cf. v. 7.

[2] Ptolemy IV Philopator, XXIII. x. 11.

body of citizens holding Achradina, he attempted B.C. 214
secretly and craftily to win the kingdom which he had sought in vain openly and above board, and could not be won over even by the bestowal of public office. For among those who gained liberty for the state, he, a plotter against liberty himself, had been elected a magistrate. But their autocratic temper was due to their royal consorts, Hiero's daughter married to the one, Gelo's daughter to the other. Following this statement there arose in all parts of the assembly a shout that none of those women ought to live, nor any one of the family of the tyrants to survive. This is the nature of the mass: either it is a humble slave or a haughty master. As for freedom, which is the mean, they know no moderation either in assuming or in keeping it. And angry passions usually do not lack complaisant helpers, to provoke to bloodshed those who are immoderately eager for punishment; as in this case the magistrates forthwith proposed a bill—and it was adopted almost before it was proposed—that all members of the royal family should be put to death. And by order of the magistrates men were sent who put to death Damarata the daughter of Hiero and Harmonia the daughter of Gelo, being the wives of Adranodorus and Themistus.

XXVI. Heraclia was the daughter of Hiero and wife of Zoippus,[1] who was sent as ambassador to King Ptolemy [2] by Hieronymus and had accepted voluntary exile. She, having learned in advance that they were coming to her house also, fled into the chapel of the household gods with her two maiden daughters, her hair dishevelled and her general appearance moving to pity. And in addition were

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addidit preces, nunc per deos, nunc [1] per memoriam Hieronis patris Gelonisque fratris, ne se innoxiam 4 invidia Hieronymi conflagrare sinerent: nihil se ex regno illius praeter exilium viri habere; neque fortunam suam eandem vivo Hieronymo fuisse quam sororis, neque interfecto eo causam eandem esse. 5 Quid quod si Adranodoro consilia processissent, illa cum viro fuerit regnatura, sibi cum ceteris servien- 6 dum? Si quis Zoippo nuntiet interfectum Hieronymum ac liberatas Syracusas, cui dubium esse quin extemplo conscensurus sit navem atque in patriam 7 rediturus? Quantum spes hominum falli! in liberata patria coniugem eius ac liberos de vita dimicare, 8 quid obstantes libertati aut legibus? Quod ab se cuiquam periculum, a sola ac prope vidua et puellis in orbitate degentibus esse? At enim periculi quidem nihil ab se timeri, invisam tamen stirpem regiam esse. 9 Ablegarent ergo procul ab Syracusis Siciliaque et asportari Alexandriam iuberent, ad virum uxorem, ad 10 patrem filias. Aversis auribus animisque cum conclamassent [2] ne tempus tereretur [3] ferrum quosdam 11 expedientes cernebat; tum omissis pro se precibus, puellis ut saltem parcerent orare instit, a qua aetate etiam hostes iratos abstinere; ne tyrannos ulciscendo 12 quae odissent scelera ipsi imitarentur. Inter haec abstractam a penetralibus iugulant; in virgines

[1] per deos, nunc *Ruperti*: *om.* *P*(1).

[2] cum conclamassent *Novák*: cassae *P*: cassae *or* casse (1): *variously emended*: adstare *Madvig*: questa est *Koch*.

[3] tereretur A^2: terrerentur *P*(4): tererentur *A*: tererent *Madvig*.

her prayers, now by the gods, now by the memory of B.C. 214
her father Hiero and her brother Gelo, that they should not allow her innocent self to perish by the fire of resentment against Hieronymus. Nothing had she gained by his reign except the exile of her husband; and while Hieronymus lived, her station had not been so high as her sister's, nor was their situation the same after his death. What of it that, if Adranodorus' plans had succeeded, the sister would have reigned with her husband, while she herself and all the rest must be slaves? If someone should inform Zoippus that Hieronymus had been slain and Syracuse set free, who would have any doubt that he would forthwith board ship and return to his native city? How the hopes of men were disappointed! In his native city, now set free, his wife and children were fighting for their lives, offering what obstacle to freedom and laws? What danger to anyone was there from herself, a lone woman, virtually a widow, and from maidens living as orphans? But they might say that no danger was indeed feared from her, that nevertheless the royal family was hated. Therefore they should send them far from Syracuse and Sicily and bid them to be carried away to Alexandria, the wife to her husband, the daughters to their father. When they paid no attention whatever and shouted not to waste time, she could see some men drawing swords. Then ceasing entreaties for herself, she urgently begged them at least to spare the girls—an age on which even enraged enemies do not lay hands; that in taking vengeance on the tyrants they should not themselves imitate the crimes which they hated. While still speaking, they dragged her away from the altar and cut her throat,

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deinde respersas matris cruore impetum faciunt. Quae alienata mente simul luctu metuque velut captae furore eo cursu se ex sacrario proripuerunt ut, si effugium patuisset in publicum, impleturae urbem
13 tumultu fuerint. Tum quoque haud magno aedium spatio inter medios tot armatos aliquotiens integro corpore evaserunt tenentibusque, cum tot ac tam validae eluctandae manus essent, sese eripuerunt.
14 Tandem vulneribus confectae, cum omnia replessent sanguine, exanimes corruerunt. Caedemque per se miserabilem miserabiliorem casus fecit, quod paulo post nuntius venit, mutatis repente ad misericordiam
15 animis, ne interficerentur. Ira deinde ex misericordia orta, quod adeo festinatum ad [1] supplicium neque locus paenitendi aut regressus ab ira relictus
16 esset. Itaque fremere multitudo et in locum Adranodori ac Themisti—nam ambo praetores fuerant—comitia poscere, quae nequaquam ex sententia praetorum futura essent.

XXVII. Statutus est comitiis dies; quo neeopinantibus omnibus unus ex ultima turba Epicyden nominavit, tum inde alius Hippocratem; crebriores deinde hae voces et cum haud dubio adsensu multi-
2 tudinis esse. Et erat confusa contio non populari modo sed militari quoque turba, magna ex parte etiam perfugis, qui omnia novare cupiebant, per-
3 mixtis. Praetores dissimulare primo et trahenda re morae [2] esse [3]; postremo, victi consensu et sedi-

[1] ad *P*(1): id *Madvig, Emend.*

[2] morae *M. Müller*: *om. P*(1).

[3] esse, *for* et trahenda re esse (*PRD*: et -dam rem esse C^2MBA) *Madvig and Walters read* extrahenda re; sed.

then turned their attack upon the girls spattered with B.C. 214
their mother's blood. Beside themselves for grief and fear, as though insane, they dashed out of the chapel with such speed that, if there had been any escape to the street, they would have caused a riot throughout the city. Even as it was, in the limited space of the house, amidst so many armed men, they several times escaped unharmed and tore themselves away from those who tried to hold them, although they had to fight off hands so many and so strong. At last exhausted by wounds, after staining everything with their blood, they fell lifeless. The slaughter, in itself pitiful, was made still more pitiful by the coincidence that shortly after came the word that they were not to be put to death, for animosity had suddenly changed to pity. From pity then came anger, that such haste to punish had been made, and no chance left for a change of mind or a cooling of anger. And so the multitude complained, and to replace Adranodorus and Themistus—for both had been magistrates—they clamoured for an election, which would not prove at all to the liking of the magistrates.

XXVII. A day was set for the election, and on that day, to the surprise of everybody, one man on the outskirts of the crowd nominated Epicydes, then after him another named Hippocrates, whereupon these shouts were repeated and with evident approval of the multitude. And the assembly was disturbed by the crowd not only of citizens but also of soldiers, even deserters in large part mingling with them and eager for any change. The magistrates at first ignored them and by postponing delayed matters. Finally, compelled by the general

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4 tionem metuentes, pronuntiant eos praetores. Nec illi primo statim creati nudare quid vellent, quamquam aegre ferebant et de indutiis dierum decem legatos isse ad Appium Claudium et inpetratis eis alios qui de foedere antiquo renovando agerent
5 missos. Ad Murgantiam tum classem navium centum Romanus habebat, quonam evaderent motus ex caedibus tyrannorum orti Syracusis quove eos ageret nova atque insolita libertas opperiens.
6 Per eosdem dies cum ad Marcellum venientem in Siciliam legati Syracusani missi ab Appio essent, auditis condicionibus pacis Marcellus, posse rem convenire ratus, et ipse legatos Syracusas qui coram cum praetoribus de renovando foedere agerent misit.
7 Et iam ibi nequaquam eadem quies ac tranquillitas erat. Postquam Punicam classem accessisse Pachynum adlatum est, dempto timore Hippocrates et Epicydes nunc apud mercennarios milites, nunc apud transfugas prodi Romano Syracusas criminabantur.
8 Ut vero Appius naves ad ostium portus, quo [1] aliae [2] partis hominibus animus accederet, in statione habere coepit, ingens in speciem criminibus vanis
9 accesserat fides; ac primo etiam tumultuose decurrerat multitudo ad prohibendos, si in terram egrederentur.

[1] quo *x Gronovius*: quid *P*(1).
[2] aliae *P*(1)*x Hertz*: alius A^2: amicae *Madvig*: suae *Bauer*. *For the old form* aliae *cf. Cicero de Divinatione* II. 30 (*twice*).

[1] Now a legatus of Marcellus; praetor in Sicily the previous year; vi. 4; vii. 8.

agreement and fearing an uprising, they declared B.C. 214
Epicydes and Hippocrates magistrates. And at first the newly elected did not reveal their intentions, although they were indignant that legates had gone to Appius Claudius [1] to sue for a ten days' truce, and that, this being secured, others had been sent to negotiate the renewal of the old treaty. At that time the Roman commander had a fleet of a hundred ships off Murgantia,[2] waiting to see what would be the outcome of the disturbances at Syracuse due to the massacre of the tyrant's family, and to what the new and unwonted freedom would prompt them.

About the same time Marcellus was just arriving in Sicily, and the Syracusan ambassadors were sent to him by Appius. After hearing the peace terms, Marcellus thought agreement could be reached, and himself sent ambassadors to Syracuse to treat in person with the magistrates for a renewal of the treaty. And by this time the situation there was by no means so orderly and peaceful. When word was received that a Carthaginian fleet had reached the promontory of Pachynum,[3] Hippocrates and Epicydes, relieved of their fear, kept making the charge, now before the mercenaries, now among the deserters, that Syracuse was being betrayed to the Roman. But from the time Appius began to keep ships at anchor at the harbour mouth in order to encourage the men of the other party, the false charges apparently had received strong confirmation. And at first the crowd had even rushed down in disorder to keep them off in case they should be landing.

[2] A seaport of unknown situation. Another town of the same name was in the interior, to the east of Henna.

[3] Little more than thirty miles south of Syracuse.

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XXVIII. In hac turbatione rerum in contionem vocari placuit. Ubi cum alii alio tenderent nec procul seditione res esset, Apollonides, princeipum unus, orationem salutarem ut in tali tempore habuit:
2 nec spem salutis nec perniciem propiorem umquam
3 civitati ulli fuisse. Si enim uno animo omnes vel ad Romanos vel ad Carthaginienses inclinent, nullius
4 civitatis statum fortunatiorem ac beatiorem fore; si alii alio trahant res, non inter Poenos Romanosque bellum atrocius fore quam inter ipsos Syracusanos, cum intra eosdem muros pars utraque suos exercitus,
5 sua arma, suos habitura sit duces. Itaque ut idem omnes sentiant summa vi agendum esse. Utra societas sit utilior, eam longe minorem ac levioris
6 momenti consultationem esse; sed tamen Hieronis potius quam Hieronymi auctoritatem sequendam in sociis legendis, vel quinquaginta annis feliciter expertam amicitiam nunc incognitae, quondam
7 infideli praeferendam. Esse etiam momenti aliquid ad consilium quod Carthaginiensibus ita pax negari possit, ut non utique in praesentia bellum cum eis geratur: cum Romanis extemplo aut pacem aut
8 bellum habendum. Quo minus cupiditatis ac studii visa est oratio habere, eo plus auctoritatis habuit. Adiectum est praetoribus ac delectis senatorum militare etiam consilium; iussi et duces ordinum
9 praefectique auxiliorum simul consulere. Cum saepe acta res esset magnis certaminibus, postremo, quia

XXVIII. In this confused state of affairs it was B.C. 214
decided to summon the people to an assembly. There while some inclined in one direction, some in another, and an uprising was not far away, Apollonides, one of the leading citizens, made a speech which was well-advised, considering the crisis. He said that neither the prospect of safety nor that of destruction had ever been nearer to any state. For if with one mind they should all incline, whether to the Romans or to the Carthaginians, no state would be in a more highly favoured and happier condition. If they pulled in different directions, war between Carthaginians and Romans would not be more cruel than that among the Syracusans themselves, since within the same walls each side would have its own armies, its own weapons, its own generals. Accordingly they must make the greatest effort to reach agreement. Which alliance was the more advantageous was a question decidedly subordinate and of far less weight. Yet Hiero's authority ought to be followed in choosing allies rather than that of Hieronymus; in other words, a friendship which had proved happy for fifty years should be preferred to one unknown at present and formerly faithless. For their decision it was also of considerable importance that they could decline the Carthaginians' offer of peace without necessarily waging war with them at once. With the Romans they must straightway have either peace or war. The less of party passion the speech seemed to have, the greater was its influence. To the magistrates and picked senators they added a military council also. Commanders of units and prefects of auxiliaries as well were ordered to take part in the deliberations. After the question had been repeatedly debated with

A.U.C. 540 belli cum Romanis gerendi ratio nulla apparebat, pacem fieri placuit mittique legatos ad rem eum eis [1] confirmandam.

XXIX. Dies haud ita multi intercesserunt, cum ex Leontinis legati praesidium finibus suis orantes venerunt; quae legatio peropportuna visa ad multitudinem inconditam ac tumultuosam exonerandam
2 ducesque eius ablegandos. Hippocrates praetor ducere eo transfugas iussus; secuti multi ex mercennariis auxiliis quattuor milia armatorum effecerunt.
3 Et mittentibus et missis ea laeta expeditio fuit; nam et illis, quod iam diu cupiebant, novandi res occasio data est, et hi sentinam quandam urbis rati exhaustam laetabantur. Ceterum levaverunt modo in praesentia velut corpus aegrum, quo mox in
4 graviorem morbum recideret. Hippocrates enim finitima provinciae Romanae primo furtivis excursionibus vastare coepit; deinde, cum ad tuendos sociorum agros missum ab Appio praesidium esset, omnibus copiis impetum in oppositam stationem cum
5 caede multorum fecit. Quae cum essent nuntiata Marcello, legatos extemplo Syracusas misit qui pacis fidem ruptam esse dicerent nec belli defuturam umquam causam, nisi Hippocrates atque Epicydes non ab Syracusis modo, sed tota procul Sicilia ablegarentur. Epicydes, ne aut reus criminis absentis fratris
6 praesens esset, aut deesset pro parte sua concitando bello, profectus et ipse in Leontinos, quia satis eos

[1] cum eis *P*(1), *but after* mittique : *after* rem *Gronovius*.

great contention, finally, as they evidently had no B.C. 214
means of carrying on a war with the Romans, it was decided to make an alliance with them, and to send ambassadors for the ratification.

XXIX. Not many days had elapsed, when ambassadors from Leontini arrived, pleading for a force to defend their territory. The request of this embassy seemed very timely for the purpose of relieving the city of a disorderly and turbulent multitude and of sending away its leaders. Hippocrates as magistrate was ordered to lead the deserters thither. Many of the mercenary auxiliaries followed, making four thousand armed men. That enterprise gave joy both to the senders and the sent; for the one party were given a long-desired opportunity for revolution, and the other rejoiced also to think that the dregs of the city had been drained off. But they relieved the diseased body, so to speak, merely for the moment, only to have it relapse presently into a more serious ailment. For Hippocrates began, at first with stealthy raids, to ravage lands on the border of the Roman province. Later, when Appius had sent troops to protect the farms of the allies, he made an attack with all his forces upon the unit on guard-duty facing him, and many were slain. Marcellus, being informed of this, at once sent legates to Syracuse, to say that the promised peace had been broken, and that a reason for war would never be wanting unless Hippocrates and Epicydes should be sent far away, not merely from Syracuse, but from all Sicily. Epicydes, to avoid being present under an accusation brought against his absent brother, or else failing to do his part in provoking war, went likewise to Leontini; and seeing that its citizens were sufficiently

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adversus populum Romanum concitatos cernebat,
7 avertere etiam ab Syracusanis coepit: nam ita eos pacem pepigisse cum Romanis ut quicumque populi sub regibus fuissent [1] suae dicionis essent, nec iam libertate contentos esse nisi etiam regnent ac domi-
8 nentur. Renuntiandum igitur eis esse Leontinos quoque aequom censere liberos [2] esse, vel quod in solo urbis suae tyrannus ceciderit, vel quod ibi primum conclamatum ad libertatem relictisque
9 regiis ducibus Syracusas concursum sit.[3] Itaque aut eximendum id de foedere esse, aut legem eam
10 foederis non accipiendam. Facile multitudini persuasum; legatisque Syracusanorum et de caede stationis Romanae quaerentibus et Hippocratem atque Epicydem abire seu Locros seu quo alio mallent, dummodo Sicilia cederent, iubentibus ferociter responsum est neque mandasse sese Syracu-
11 sanis ut pacem pro se cum Romanis facerent, neque
12 teneri alienis foederibus. Haec ad Romanos Syracusani detulerunt, abnuentes Leontinos in sua potestate esse: itaque integro secum foedere bellum Romanos cum iis gesturos, neque sese defuturos ei bello, ita ut in potestatem redacti suae rursus dicionis essent, sicut pax convenisset.

XXX. Marcellus cum omni exercitu profectus in

[1] fuissent *Madvig*[1]: fuissent et *P*(1) *Conway*: fuissent ei *Riemann*.
[2] liberos *P*(1) *Conway*: liberos se *Madvig*.
[3] sit *Weissenborn* (*before* concursum *z*): *om. P*(1).

aroused against the Roman people, began also to B.C. 214
estrange them from the Syracusans. For, he explained, the Syracusans had made an alliance with the Romans with the provision that all the states which had been subject to the kings should be under their rule; that now they were not satisfied with freedom, without also being lords and masters. They must therefore report to them that the Leontinians likewise thought it right that they should be free, either because it was on the soil of their city that the tyrant fell, or because there for the first time men shouted the summons to liberty, and deserting the king's generals flocked to Syracuse. Accordingly either that clause, he said, must be removed from the treaty, or else an alliance on such terms was not to be accepted. The multitude was easily persuaded, and when the legates of the Syracusans complained of the slaughter of the Roman guard-post and also bade Hippocrates and Epicydes go away to Locri or wherever they preferred, provided they withdrew from Sicily, the people replied with spirit that they had not instructed the Syracusans to make a treaty for them with the Romans, and that they were not bound by treaties not of their own making. This was reported to the Romans by the Syracusans who stated that the men of Leontini were not subject to their authority; and that consequently the Romans would make war upon them without violating the treaty made with Syracuse; also that they would themselves not refuse to give help in the war, on condition that, when reduced to subjection, the Leontini should again be under their authority, as had been settled in the treaty.

XXX. Marcellus, proceeding with his whole army

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Leontinos, Appio quoque accito ut altera parte adgrederetur, tanto ardore militum est usus ab ira inter condiciones pacis interfectae stationis ut primo impe-
2 tu urbem expugnarent. Hippocrates atque Epicydes, postquam capi muros refringique portas videre, in arcem sese cum paucis recepere; inde clam nocte
3 Herbesum perfugiunt. Syracusanis octo milium armatorum agmine profectis domo ad Mylan flumen nuntius occurrit captam urbem esse, cetera falsa
4 mixta veris ferens: caedem promiscuam militum atque oppidanorum factam, nec quicquam puberum arbitrari superesse; direptam urbem, bona locuple-
5 tium donata. Ad nuntium tam atrocem constitit agmen, concitatisque omnibus duces—erant autem Sosis ac Dinomenes—quid agerent consultabant.
6 Terroris speciem haud vanam mendacio praebuerant verberati ac securi percussi transfugae ad duo milia
7 hominum; ceterum Leontinorum militumque aliorum nemo post captam urbem violatus fuerat, suaque omnia eis, nisi quae primus tumultus captae urbis
8 absumpserat, restituebantur. Nec ut Leontinos irent, proditos ad caedem commilitones querentes, perpelli potuere, nec ut eodem loco certiorem nun-
9 tium expectarent. Cum ad defectionem inclinatos animos cernerent praetores, sed eum motum haud diuturnum fore, si duces amentiae sublati essent,
10 exercitum ducunt Megara, ipsi cum paucis equitibus

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[1] Probably between Syracuse and Leontini, perhaps on the Mylas.

[2] Leontini.

[3] The *praetores*, having taken the field, are now generals, as repeatedly below.

[4] On the coast north of Syracuse; destroyed by Marcellus, xxxv. 2.

to Leontini and summoning Appius also to make an B.C. 214
attack from the other side, found such enthusiasm in his soldiers, due to anger aroused by the slaughter of men of the guard while negotiations were pending, that they took the city at the first assault. Hippocrates and Epicydes, on seeing that the walls were being taken and gates forced, sought refuge with a few men in the citadel. Thence they fled secretly by night to Herbesus.[1] The Syracusans, who had set out from home in a column of eight thousand men, were met at the river Mylas by a messenger, reporting that the city [2] had been captured, but for the rest mingling the false with the true: that a general massacre of soldiers and townspeople had occurred, and no adults, he thought, had survived; that the city had been plundered, the property of the wealthy given away. On hearing news so terrible the column halted, and in the general excitement the commanders—and they were Sosis and Dinomenes—considered what they should do. The appearance of well-founded alarm had been lent to the falsehood by the scourging and beheading of deserters, about two thousand men. But not one of the Leontinians or of the other soldiers had been injured after the capture of the city; and, except what had been lost in the first confusion of the capture of the city, all their property was being restored to them. And the soldiers, complaining that their comrades had been betrayed to their death, could neither be induced to go to Leontini nor to wait at the same spot for more trustworthy news. The generals,[3] seeing them inclined to mutiny, but that the outbreak would not last long if the leaders in folly should be removed, led the army to Megara;[4] and then with a few

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Herbesum proficiscuntur spe territis omnibus per
11 proditionem urbis potiundae. Quod ubi frustra eis fuit inceptum, vi agendum rati postero die Megaris castra movent, ut Herbesum omnibus copiis oppug-
12 narent. Hippocrates et Epicydes non tam tutum prima specie quam unum spe undique abscisa consilium esse rati, ut se militibus permitterent et adsuetis magna ex parte sibi et tum fama caedis commilitonum accensis, obviam agmini procedunt.
13 Prima forte signa seseentorum Cretensium erant, qui apud Hieronymum meruerant sub eis et Hannibalis beneficium habebant, capti ad Trasumennum
14 inter Romanorum auxilia dimissique. Quos ubi ex signis armorumque habitu cognovere, Hippocrates atque Epicydes ramos oleae ac velamenta alia supplicum porrigentes orare ut reciperent sese, receptos tutarentur, neu proderent Syracusanis, a quibus ipsi mox trucidandi populo Romano dederentur. XXXI. Enimvero conclamant bonum ut animum haberent; omnem se cum illis fortunam
2 subituros. Inter hoc conloquium signa constiterant tenebaturque agmen, needum quae morae causa foret pervenerat ad duces. Postquam Hippocraten atque Epicyden adesse [1] pervasit rumor, fremitusque toto agmine erat haud dubie adprobantium adventum

[1] adesse *z Madvig*: esse $A^{2}x$: *om.* $P(1)$: adesse ordines *Weissenborn.*

[1] They were archers.

horsemen they went themselves to Herbesus, in the B.C. 214
hope of getting possession of the city by treachery, owing to the general alarm. When this undertaking disappointed them, they thought they must use force, and moved their camp from Megara the next day, to attack Herbesus with all their troops. Hippocrates and Epicydes, thinking that their plan to put themselves at the mercy of the soldiers, who were in large part used to them and also at that time inflamed by the report of the slaughter of their comrades, was not so much one which at first sight promised safety, as it was the only possible plan in a desperate situation, went out to meet the column. The first unit happened to be that of six hundred Cretans, who had served under them in the army of Hieronymus and were under obligations to Hannibal, as they had been captured among the Roman auxiliaries at the Trasumennus and allowed to go free. Recognizing them from their standards and the character of their weapons,[1] Hippocrates and Epicydes, holding out olive branches and in addition the woollen bands of suppliants, implored them to admit them and, having done so, to protect and not betray them to the Syracusans, to be themselves presently surrendered by the same to the Roman people for slaughter. XXXI. And in fact the Cretans shouted to them to take courage, saying they would share every lot with them. During this conversation the standards had halted and the column was being held up. And word had not yet reached the generals as to what was the cause of the delay. When the report that Hippocrates and Epicydes were there did reach them, and down the whole length of the column there was a shout of evident joy over their coming, at once the

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eorum, extemplo praetores citatis equis ad prima
3 signa perrexerunt. Qui mos ille, quae licentia
Cretensium esset rogitantes, conloquia serendi cum
hoste iniussuque praetorum miscendi eos agmini
suo, comprehendi inicique catenas iusserunt Hippo-
4 crati. Ad quam vocem tantus extemplo primum a
Cretensibus clamor est ortus, deinde exceptus ab
aliis, ut facile, si ultra tenderent, appareret eis ti-
5 mendum esse. Solliciti incertique rerum suarum
Megara, unde profecti erant, referri signa iubent
nuntiosque de statu praesenti Syracusas mittunt.
6 Fraudem quoque Hippocrates addit inclinatis ad
omnem suspicionem animis et Cretensium quibusdam
ad itinera insidenda missis velut intercceptas litteras
7 quas ipse composuerat, recitat: "Praetores Syra-
cusani consuli Marcello." Secundum salutem, ut
adsolet, scriptum erat recte eum atque ordine fecisse,
8 quod in Leontinis nulli pepercisset. Sed omnium
mercennariorum militum eandem esse causam, nec
umquam Syracusas quieturas donec quicquam ex-
ternorum auxiliorum aut in urbe aut in exercitu suo
9 esset. Itaque daret operam ut eos qui cum suis
praetoribus castra ad Megara haberent in suam
potestatem redigeret ac supplicio eorum liberaret
10 tandem Syracusas. Haec cum recitata essent, cum
tanto clamore ad arma discursum est ut praetores
11 inter tumultum pavidi abequitaverint Syracusas. Et
ne fuga quidem eorum seditio compressa est, impetus-
que in Syracusanos milites fiebant; nec ab ullo

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[1] Mention of one brother is meant to include the other, Epicydes; xxiv. 1; xxxv. 4.

[2] Only the heading is quoted verbatim, with suppression of the conventional greeting.

generals made their way at a gallop to the head of the column. Asking what a practice, what a breach of discipline, it was on the part of the Cretans to join in conversation with an enemy and to admit the men to their own column without orders from the generals, they ordered them to be arrested and Hippocrates [1] to be put in chains. Upon that command such an outcry was first raised by the Cretans, and then caught up by others, that it was easy to see that if they took any further steps they would have to fear for themselves. Troubled and uncertain as to their own situation, they ordered a retreat to Megara, from which they had set out, and sent messengers to Syracuse to report how matters stood. B.C. 214

While men were inclined to suspect everything, Hippocrates also resorted to a ruse. After sending some of the Cretans to lie in wait by the roads, with the pretence that it had been intercepted, he publicly read a letter written by himself: "The magistrates of Syracuse to the Consul Marcellus." [2] Following the customary greeting it was stated that he had been entirely right in sparing no one at Leontini; but that the situation of all the mercenary soldiers was the same, and Syracuse would never have peace so long as there were any foreign auxiliaries in either the city or its army. Therefore he should take measures to reduce to submission the men who were encamped at Megara under the command of their own generals, and by their punishment to set Syracuse free at last. After this had been read, they rushed to arms with such shouting that during the confusion the generals rode away in alarm to Syracuse. And the mutiny was not quelled even by their flight; but attacks were repeatedly made on the Syracusan soldiers.

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temperatum foret, ni Epicydes atque Hippocrates
12 irae multitudinis obviam issent, non a misericordia aut humano consilio, sed ne spem reditus praeciderent sibi et, cum ipsos simul milites fidos haberent
13 simul obsides, tum cognatos quoque eorum atque amicos tanto merito primum, dein pignore sibi
14 conciliarent. Expertique quam vana aut levi aura mobile volgus esset, militem nancti ex eo numero qui in Leontinis circumsessi erant, subornant, ut Syracusas perferret nuntium convenientem eis quae ad
15 Mylan falso nuntiata erant, auctoremque se exhibendo ac velut visa quae dubia erant narrando concitaret iras hominum.

XXXII. Huic non apud volgum modo fides fuit, sed senatum quoque in curiam introductus movit. Haud vani quidam homines palam ferre perbene detectam in Leontinis esse avaritiam et crudelitatem Romanorum. Eadem, si intrassent Syracusas, aut foediora etiam, quo maius ibi avaritiae praemium
2 esset, facturos fuisse. Itaque claudendas cuncti portas et custodiendam urbem censere. Sed non ab iisdem omnes timere nec eosdem odisse: ad militare genus omne partemque magnam plebis
3 invisum esse nomen Romanum; praetores optimatiumque pauci, quamquam inflati vano nuntio erant, tamen ad propius praesentiusque malum cautiores
4 esse. Et iam ad Hexapylum erant Hippocrates

[1] Since the soldiers would virtually be hostages, to ensure the support of many friends and relatives in the city.

Nor would they have spared any of them, had not B.C. 214
Epicydes and Hippocrates opposed the enraged multitude, not out of pity and a humane intent, but in order not to cut off the hope of their own return, and that they might not only keep the men themselves as loyal soldiers and at the same time hostages, but also win over their relatives and friends, first by so great a service, and then by the personal security.[1] And having learned how empty or faint a breath moves the crowd, they took a soldier from among those who had been besieged at Leontini and bribed him to carry to Syracuse a message in agreement with what had been falsely reported at the Mylas, and by showing himself to vouch for it and by relating the doubtful as things that he had seen, to inflame men's anger.

XXXII. This man was not only believed by the common people, but on being admitted to the Senate House, he stirred the senate as well. Some men of consequence openly declared it was very well that the avarice and cruelty of the Romans had been revealed at Leontini; that if they had entered Syracuse they would have done the same things or even more terrible, in proportion to the greater prize for avarice there. Accordingly, they all voted that the gates should be closed and the city guarded. But not all were afraid of the same persons or hated the same men. Among the whole military class and a large part of the common people the Roman name was hated. As for the generals and a few of the best citizens, although they had been misled by the false news, they were nevertheless more circumspect in the face of a danger more immediately impending. And already Hippocrates

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atque Epicydes, serebanturque conloquia per propinquos popularium qui in exercitu erant, ut portas aperirent sinerentque communem patriam defendi ab impetu Romanorum. Iam unis foribus Hexapyli apertis coepti erant recipi, cum praetores intervenerunt. Et primo imperio minisque, deinde auctoritate deterrendo, postremo, ut omnia vana erant, obliti maiestatis precibus agebant ne proderent patriam tyranni ante satellitibus et tum corruptoribus exercitus. Sed surdae ad ea omnia [1] aures concitatae multitudinis erant, nec minore intus vi quam foris portae effringebantur, effractisque omnibus toto Hexapylo agmen receptum est. Praetores in Achradinam cum iuventute popularium confugiunt. Mercennarii milites perfugaeque et quidquid regiorum militum Syracusis erat agmen hostium augent. Ita Achradina quoque primo impetu capitur, praetorumque nisi qui inter tumultum effugerunt omnes interficiuntur. Nox caedibus finem fecit. Postero die servi ad pilleum vocati et carcere vincti emissi; confusaque haec omnis multitudo Hippocraten atque Epicyden ereant praetores; Syracusaeque, cum breve tempus libertas adfulsisset, in antiquam servitutem reciderant.

XXXIII. Haec nuntiata cum essent Romanis, ex Leontinis mota sunt extemplo castra ad Syracusas.

[1] ad ea omnia *Böttcher*: ad omnia *Madvig*: aditomnium *P*: adeo omnium P^2?(1).

[1] Cf. xvi. 18.

and Epicydes were at the Hexapylon, and there were B.C. 214
communications through intermediaries who were relatives of citizens in the army: that they should open the gates and allow the defence of the city, their common home, against attack by the Romans. By this time one of the gates of the Hexapylon had been opened, and by it they had begun to be admitted, when the generals intervened. And at first by their military authority and by threats, then by using their personal influence to restrain them, finally, when all was without affect, disregarding dignity they prayed them not to betray their native city to former minions of the tyrant and present seducers of the army. But the ears of the excited crowd were deaf to all that; and the gates were being forced with no less violence from within than from without, and when all had been forced, the column was admitted through the whole breadth of the Hexapylon. The generals with the younger citizens flee for refuge to Aehradina. The mercenary soldiers and deserters and such royal troops as were at Syracuse swell the column of the enemy. Thus Aehradina also is taken by assault, and all the magistrates, except those who escaped in the midst of the uproar, are slain. Night put an end to the slaughter. On the next day slaves were called to wear the cap of freedom[1] and criminals in chains released from prison; and all this assorted multitude elected Hippocrates and Epicydes generals. And Syracuse, after the light of liberty had shone upon it for a short time, had fallen back into its old-time servitude.

XXXIII. When these facts were reported to the Romans, the camp was at once removed from Leontini

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2 Et ab Appio legati per portum missi forte in quinqueremi erant. Praemissa quadriremis cum intrasset
3 fauces portus, capitur; legati aegre effugerunt. Et iam non modo pacis sed ne belli quidem iura relicta erant, cum Romanus exercitus ad Olympium—Iovis id templum est—mille et quingentos passus ab urbe
4 castra posuit. Inde quoque legatos praemitti placuit; quibus, ne intrarent urbem, extra portam Hippocrates atque Epicydes obviam cum suis pro-
5 cesserunt. Romanus orator non bellum se Syracusanis sed opem auxiliumque adferre ait, et eis qui ex media caede elapsi perfugerint ad se, et eis qui metu oppressi foediorem non exilio solum sed etiam
6 morte servitutem patiantur; nec eaedem nefandam sociorum inultam Romanos passuros. Itaque, si eis qui ad se perfugerint tutus in patriam reditus pateat,[1] caedis auctores dedantur, et libertas legesque Syracusanis restituantur, nihil armis opus esse; si ea non fiant, quicumque in mora sit bello perse-
7 cuturos. Ad ea Epicydes, si qua ad se mandata haberent, responsum eis ait se daturos fuisse; cum in eorum ad quos venerint manu res Syracusana esset,
8 tum reverterentur. Si bello lacesserent, ipsa re intellecturos nequaquam idem esse Syracusas ac

[1] pateat *Crévier*: pateat et *Walters*: pateret *P*(1).

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[1] Westward of the Great Harbour, plainly visible from the Island and from part of Achradina. Near this great temple the Athenians had encamped, as also the Carthaginians, in other sieges. Two columns still stand.

to Syracuse. And, as it happened, legates had B.C. 214
been sent by Appius by way of the harbour on a five-banker. The four-banker sent in advance was captured on entering the narrows. The legates barely escaped. And now there remained no longer any rights even of war, not to say of peace, when the Roman army pitched camp at the Olympium, that is, the Temple of Jupiter,[1] a mile and a half from the city. From this place also it was decided to send legates in advance. To prevent their entering the city, Hippocrates and Epicydes and their retinue advanced beyond the gate to meet them. The speaker for the Romans said he was not bringing war, but aid and comfort to the Syracusans, both to those who, escaping from the midst of the slaughter, had sought refuge with the Romans, and to those who, subdued by their fear, were enduring a slavery more shameful, not only than exile, but even than death; and that the Romans would not leave the atrocious slaughter of their allies unavenged. Accordingly, if a safe return to their native city should be open to those who had sought refuge with the Romans, if those responsible for the slaughter should be surrendered and their freedom and laws restored to the Syracusans, there was no need of arms. If those conditions should not be met, the Romans would wage war against every man who caused delay. In reply Epicydes said that, if their message had been addressed to his colleague and himself, they would have given them an answer. When the Syracusan state should be under the control of the men to whom they came, then let them return. Should they make war, they would find from actual experience that to attack Syracuse was by no means the same as

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Leontinos oppugnare. Ita legatis relictis portas clausit.

9 Inde terra marique simul coeptae oppugnari Syracusae, terra ab Hexapylo, mari ab Achradina, cuius murus fluctu adluitur. Et quia, sicut Leontinos terrore ac primo impetu ceperant, non diffidebant vastam disiectamque spatio urbem parte aliqua se invasuros, omnem apparatum oppugnandarum urbium muris admoverunt. XXXIV. Et habuisset tanto impetu coepta res fortunam, nisi unus homo Syra-
2 cusis ea tempestate fuisset. Archimedes is erat, unicus speetator caeli siderumque, mirabilior tamen inventor ac machinator bellicorum tormentorum operumque quibus quicquid [1] hostes ingenti mole
3 agerent ipse perlevi momento ludificaretur. Muros per inaequalis ductos [2] colles, pleraque alta et difficilia aditu, submissa quaedam et quae planis vallibus adiri possent, ut cuique aptum visum est loco, ita
4 genere omni tormentorum instruxit. Achradinae murum, qui, ut ante dictum est, mari adluitur, segaginta [3] quinqueremibus Marcellus oppugnabat.
5 Ex ceteris navibus sagittarii funditoresque et velites etiam, quorum telum ad remittendum inhabile imperitis est, vix quemquam sine vulnere consistere
6 in muro patiebantur; hi, quia spatio missilibus opus est, procul muro tenebant naves: iunctae aliae binae

[1] quicquid *Madvig*: *om.* *P*(1): si quid *Weissenborn*.
[2] muros . . . ductos *Weissenborn*: murus . . . ductus *P*(1): murum . . . ductum *z* *Madvig*.
[3] sexaginta *Böttcher*: ex (*for* LX *or* ex LX) *P*(1).

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[1] Livy does not mention Archimedes' celebrity as a mathematician.
[2] The number sixty agrees with Polybius VIII. 4(6). 1.

to attack Leontini. So he left the ambassadors and B.C. 214
closed the gates.

Thereupon began the siege of Syracuse at the same time by land and by sea, by land from the side of the Hexapylon, by sea from that of Achradina, the wall of which is washed by the waves. And because, having taken Leontini by a panic and the first assault, the Romans did not doubt that at some point they would make their way into a city immense and widely scattered, they brought all their equipment for besieging cities up to the walls. XXXIV. And an undertaking begun with so vigorous an assault would have met with success if one man had not been at Syracuse at that time. It was Archimedes, an unrivalled observer of the heavens and the stars, more remarkable, however, as inventor and contriver of artillery and engines of war, by which with the least pains he frustrated whatever the enemy undertook with vast efforts.[1] The walls, carried along uneven hills, mainly high positions and difficult to approach, but some of them low and accessible from level ground, were equipped by him with every kind of artillery, as seemed suited to each place. The wall of Achradina, which, as has been said already, is washed by the sea, was attacked by Marcellus with sixty five-bankers.[2] From most[3] of the ships archers and slingers, also light-armed troops, whose weapon is difficult for the inexpert to return,[4] allowed hardly anyone to stand on the wall without being wounded; and these men kept their ships at a distance from the wall, since range is needed for missile weapons.

[3] "Most," since *ceterae* is contrasted with *aliae* in § 6 (eight in Polybius).

[4] Owing to the skill required in using the thong (*amentum*).

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quinqueremes demptis interioribus remis, ut latus
7 lateri adplicaretur, cum exteriore ordine remorum velut una navis agerentur, turres contabulatas machinamentaque alia quatiendis muris portabant.
8 Adversus hunc navalem apparatum Archimedes variae magnitudinis tormenta in muris disposuit. In eas quae procul erant navis saxa ingenti pondere emittebat, propiores levioribus eoque magis crebris
9 petebat telis; postremo, ut sui volnere intacti tela in hostem ingererent, murum ab imo ad summum crebris cubitalibus fere cavis aperuit, per quae cava pars sagittis, pars scorpionibus modicis ex occulto
10 petebant hostem. Quae [1] propius [2] subibant naves, quo interiores ictibus tormentorum essent, in eas tollenone super murum eminente ferrea manus, firmae catenae inligata, cum iniecta prorae esset gravique libramento plumbi [3] recelleret ad solum,
11 suspensa prora navem in puppim statuebat; dein remissa subito velut ex muro cadentem navem cum ingenti trepidatione nautarum ita undae adfligebat [4] ut, etiamsi recta reciderat,[5] aliquantum aquae acci-
12 peret. Ita maritima oppugnatio est elusa omnisque spes eo [6] versa ut totis viribus terra adgrederentur.

[1] quae *P*(1) : quia *Madvig* : *om. Walters*.
[2] propius *P*(1), *adding* quaedam (*retained by Madvig, Walters* : *om. x Crévier*).
[3] plumbi *P*(10) : blumbi *C* : plumbum *Heller, Conway*.
[4] adfligebat *Sigonius* : -bant *P*(1) *Walters*.
[5] reciderat *Gronovius* : receiderant *PCR* : reciderant *M* : -erat *BA*²*?Madvig* : -erent *DA*.
[6] eo *Böttcher* : ea *P*² : est *C* : ad(versa) *P*(10).

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[1] Livy seems to mean the width on the inside, while Polybius gives a palm (three inches) as the width of a loophole on the outside (VIII. 7. 6).

Other five-bankers, paired together, with the inner B.C. 214
oars removed, so that side was brought close to side, were propelled by the outer banks of oars like a single ship, and carried towers of several stories and in addition engines for battering walls. To meet this naval equipment Archimedes disposed artillery of different sizes on the walls. Against ships at a distance he kept discharging stones of great weight; nearer vessels he would attack with lighter and all the more numerous missile weapons. Finally, that his own men might discharge their bolts at the enemy without exposure to wounds, he opened the wall from bottom to top with numerous loopholes about a cubit wide,[1] and through these some, without being seen, shot at the enemy with arrows, others from small scorpions. As for the ships which came closer, in order to be inside the range of his artillery, against these an iron grapnel, fastened to a stout chain, would be thrown on to the bow by means of a swing-beam projecting over the wall. When this[2] sprung backward to the ground owing to the shifting of a heavy leaden weight, it would set the ship on its stern, bow in air. Then, suddenly released, it would dash the ship, falling, as it were, from the wall, into the sea, to the great alarm of the sailors, and with the result that, even if she fell upright, she would take considerable water. Thus the assault from the sea was baffled, and all hope shifted to a plan to attack from the land with all their forces. But that

[2] Literally the grappling hook; but here, as if the *ferrea manus* might serve as a name for the entire crane, the reference is in fact to another part, viz. the beam, the after end of which sank to the ground inside the wall when the leaden weight was shifted. Polybius, VIII. 6(8). 1–4, gives a more detailed account.

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13 Sed ea quoque pars eodem omni apparatu tormentorum instructa erat Hieronis impensis curaque per
14 multos annos, Archimedis unica arte. Natura etiam adiuvabat loci, quod saxum, cui inposita muri fundamenta sunt, magna parte ita proclive est ut non solum missa tormento, sed etiam quae pondere suo provoluta essent, graviter in hostem inciderent.
15 Eadem causa ad subeundum arduum aditum insta-
16 bilemque ingressum praebebat. Ita consilio habito, quoniam [1] omnis conatus ludibrio esset, absistere oppugnatione atque obsidendo tantum arcere terra marique commeatibus hostem placuit.

XXXV. Interim Marcellus cum tertia fere parte exercitus ad recipiendas urbes profectus quae in motu rerum ad Carthaginienses defecerant, Helorum atque
2 Herbesum dedentibus ipsis recipit, Megara vi capta diruit ac diripuit ad reliquorum ac maxime Syracusa-
3 norum terrorem. Per idem fere tempus et Himilco, qui ad Pachyni promunturium classem diu tenuerat, ad Heracleam, quam vocant Minoam, quinque et viginti milia peditum, tria equitum, duodecim elephantos exposuit, nequaquam cum quantis copiis ante tenue-
4 rat ad Pachynum classem: sed, postquam ab Hippocrate occupatae Syracusae erant, profectus Carthaginem adiutusque ibi et ab legatis Hippocratis et litteris Hannibalis, qui venisse tempus aiebat Siciliae
5 per summum decus repetendae, et ipse haud vanus

[1] quoniam *Alschefski*: quo (*for* quom?) *P*(1): quod A^2x: quando *Luchs*.

side also had been provided with the same complete B.C. 214
equipment of artillery, at the expense and the pains of Hiero during many years, by the unrivalled art of Archimedes. The nature of the place [1] also helped, in that the rock on which the foundations of the wall were laid is generally so steep that not only missiles from a machine, but also whatever rolled down of its own weight fell heavily upon the enemy. The same circumstance made approach to the wall difficult and footing unsteady. So, after a war council, since every attempt was being balked, it was decided to give up the assault and merely by a blockade to cut off the enemy by land and sea from their supplies.

XXXV. Meanwhile Marcellus set out with about a third of his army to recover the cities which in the unsettled state of affairs had gone over to the Carthaginians. Helorus and Herbesus he did recover by their own surrender; Megara he took by assault, destroyed and plundered, to terrify the others and especially the Syracusans. About the same time also Himilco, who had long kept his fleet off the promontory of Pachynum, landed at Heraclea,[2] called Minoa, 25,000 infantry, 3,000 cavalry and twelve elephants, a very much larger force than that with which he had previously kept his fleet off Pachynum. But after Syracuse had been seized by Hippocrates, Himilco went to Carthage and was aided there both by the legates of Hippocrates and by a letter from Hannibal, who said the time had come to recover Sicily in the most honourable manner. Himilco

[1] Evidently meaning the northern face of Epipolae, the great triangle at whose western apex stood the fortress of Euryalus; cf. XXV. xxiv. 4; xxv. 2; v. Appendix.

[2] West of Agrigentum, on the south coast.

A.U.C. 519

praesens monitor facile perpulerat ut quantae maxime[1] possent peditum equitumque copiae in Siciliam
6 traicerentur. Adveniens Heracleam, intra paucos inde dies Agrigentum recepit; aliarumque civitatium, quae partis Carthaginiensium erant, adeo accensae sunt spes ad pellendos Sicilia Romanos ut postremo etiam qui obsidebantur Syracusis animos sustulerint.
7 Et parte copiarum satis defendi urbem posse rati, ita inter se munera belli partiti sunt ut Epicydes praeesset custodiae urbis, Hippocrates Himilconi coniunctus bellum adversus consulem Romanum gereret.
8 Cum decem milibus peditum, quingentis equitibus nocte per intermissa custodiis loca profectus castra
9 circa Acrillas urbem ponebat. Munientibus supervenit Marcellus ab Agrigento iam occupato, cum frustra eo praevenire hostem festinans tetendisset, rediens, nihil minus ratus quam illo tempore ac loco
10 Syracusanum sibi exercitum obvium fore; sed tamen metu Himilconis Poenorumque, ut quibus nequaquam eis copiis quas habebat par esset, quam poterat maxime intentus atque agmine ad omnes casus composito ibat. XXXVI. Forte ea cura quae adversus Poenos praeparata erat[2] adversus Siculos usui fuit. Castris ponendis incompositos ac dispersos nanctus eos et plerosque inermes quod peditum fuit circumvenit; eques levi certamine inito cum Hippocrate Acras perfugit.

[1] maxime *PBDA* : maximae *CRM Madvig.*
[2] erat *x* : *om. P*(1) *Walters, who rejects* quae (*or* q. *P*(7)).

[1] To the west of Syracuse, as was Acrae, xxxvi. 1.

himself, being an influential adviser, present in B.C. 214
person, had easily prevailed upon them to send across to Sicily the largest possible forces of infantry and cavalry. Arrived at Heraclea, he recovered Agrigentum within a few days. And the hopes of the other city-states which were on the side of the Carthaginians were so fired to drive the Romans out of Sicily that finally even those who were besieged at Syracuse took courage. And thinking the city could be sufficiently defended by a part of the forces, they so divided the military duties that Epicydes should be in charge of the defence of the city, and Hippocrates, together with Himilco, should carry on the war against the Roman consul. With 10,000 infantry and five hundred horse he set out by night through places unguarded and pitched camp near the city of Acrillae.[1] As they were fortifying, Marcellus arrived, returning from Agrigentum, which was already occupied, since it was in vain that he had endeavoured to anticipate the enemy by hastening thither. Nothing was farther from his thoughts than that a Syracusan army should meet him there at that time. Nevertheless, from fear of Himilco and the Carthaginians, being no match for them with the forces he had, he was advancing with all possible alertness and with a column so formed as to meet any emergency. XXXVI. The precaution which had been taken against Carthaginians served him, as it happened, against Sicilians. Coming upon them after they had broken ranks and were scattered in the act of pitching camp and mostly unarmed, he overwhelmed all the infantry. The cavalry, after a slight engagement, fled with Hippocrates to Acrae.

A.U.C. 540

2 Ea pugna deficientes ab Romanis cum cohibuisset Siculos, Marcellus Syracusas redit; et post paucos dies Himilco adiuncto Hippocrate ad flumen Anapum, octo 3 ferme inde milia, castra posuit. Sub idem forte[1] tempus et naves longae quinque et quinquaginta Carthaginiensium cum Bomilcare[2] in magnum por- 4 tum Syracusas ex alto decurrere, et Romana item classis, triginta quinqueremes, legionem primam Panormi exposuere; versumque ab Italia bellum—adeo uterque populus in Siciliam intentus fuit[3]—videri 5 poterat. Legionem Romanam quae exposita Panormi erat venientem Syracusas praedae haud dubie sibi 6 futuram Himilco ratus via decipitur. Mediterraneo namque Poenus itinere duxit; legio maritimis locis classe prosequente ad Appium Claudium Pachynum cum parte copiarum obviam progressum pervenit. 7 Nec diutius Poeni ad Syracusas morati sunt: et Bomilcar simul parum fidens navibus suis duplici facile numero classem habentibus Romanis, simul inutili mora cernens nihil aliud ab suis quam inopiam adgravari sociorum, velis in altum datis in Africam 8 transmisit, et Himilco, secutus nequiquam Marcellum Syracusas, si qua priusquam maioribus copiis iungeretur occasio pugnandi esset, postquam ea nulla

[1] idem forte $P^2(4)$ *Madvig*: itemfor P: idem fere A *Walters*.

[2] Bomilcare $P(1)$, *adding* classis (*to which* $A^x x$ *add* praefecto), *rejected by Kästner*.

[3] fuit *Bekker, Madvig*: fuisse $P(1)$, *joined with* videri.

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[1] The small river of Syracuse, emptying into the Great Harbour. Near its mouth was a Roman camp; xxxiii. 3.

[2] Now Palermo: the chief city of Carthaginian Sicily, until taken by the Romans in 254 B.C.; Polybius I. xxxviii. fin.

Marcellus, by that battle having restrained the B.C. 214
Sicilians inclined to revolt from the Romans, returned to Syracuse. And a few days later Himilco was joined by Hippocrates and pitched camp by the river Anapus,[1] about eight miles away. About the same time it so happened that fifty-five warships of the Carthaginians under Bomilcar sailed from the open sea into the Great Harbour of Syracuse, and also a Roman fleet of thirty quinqueremes debarked the first legion at Panormus.[2] And the war could be considered as now diverted from Italy, so intent were both nations upon Sicily. Himilco, thinking that the legion which had been landed at Panormus would certainly fall a prey to him on its way to Syracuse, was baffled by its route. For the Carthaginian led his troops along an inland road, while the legion, escorted by the fleet, made its way along the coast to Appius Claudius, who with a part of his forces had advanced as far as Pachynum[3] to meet it. And so the Carthaginians did not tarry longer near Syracuse. On the one hand Bomilcar, lacking confidence in his own ships, since the Romans had a fleet of fully double the number, and at the same time seeing that by useless delay the lack of supplies for the allies was only intensified by his forces, put out to sea and crossed over to Africa. On the other hand Himilco first followed Marcellus to Syracuse to no purpose, in the hope that there might be some opportunity for an engagement before he should unite with larger forces. Then, when no such opportunity fell to him, and he

[3] Probably an error for Pelorum, the north-eastern promontory of Sicily, since, with Agrigentum in the hands of the Carthaginians, the route via the western and southern coasts (much longer in any case) would have been impracticable.

A.U.C. 540 contigerat tutumque ad Syracusas et munimento
9 et viribus hostem cernebat, ne frustra adsidendo spectandoque obsidionem sociorum tempus tereret, castra inde movit, ut quocumque vocasset defectionis ab Romano spes admoveret exercitum ac praesens suas
10 res foventibus adderet animos. Murgantiam primum prodito ab ipsis praesidio Romano recipit, ubi frumenti magna vis commeatusque omnis generis convecti erant Romanis.

XXXVII. Ad hanc defectionem erecti sunt et aliarum civitatium animi, praesidiaque Romana aut pellebantur arcibus aut prodita per fraudem opprimebantur. Henna, excelso loco ac praerupto undique sita,
2 cum loco inexpugnabilis erat, tum praesidium in arce validum praefectumque praesidii haud sane oppor-
3 tunum insidiantibus habebat. L. Pinarius erat, vir acer et qui plus in eo ne posset deciji quam in fide Siculorum reponeret. Et tum intenderant eum ad cavendi omnia curam tot auditae proditiones defec-
4 tionesque urbium et clades praesidiorum. Itaque nocte dieque iuxta parata instructaque omnia custodiis ac vigiliis erant, nec ab armis aut loco suo miles
5 abscedebat. Quod ubi Hennensium principes, iam pacti cum Himilcone de proditione praesidii, animadverterunt, nulli occasioni fraudis Romanum patere,
6 palam erat[1] agendum. Urbem arcemque suae potestatis aiunt debere esse, si liberi in societatem,

[1] palam erat *Lipsius*: patuerat *P*: placuerat P^2(1): per vim erat *Salmasius*.

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[1] Cf. xxvii. 5.

[2] The most commanding city-site in Sicily, with its citadel 3200 ft. above the sea. Described by Cicero *in Verr.* IV. 107. Henna was the centre of the worship of Demeter and Persephone; cf. xxxix. 8.

saw the enemy safe near Syracuse thanks to his B.C. 214
fortifications and military strength, fearing to waste time in besieging him in vain and watching the blockade of the allies, he moved his camp away. His purpose was to bring up his army to any point to which the hope of revolting from the Romans might call him, and by his presence to give encouragement to those who inclined to support his cause. Murgantia [1] was first recovered, after the inhabitants had betrayed the Roman garrison. There a great quantity of grain and supplies of every kind had been accumulated for the Romans.

XXXVII. Upon this revolt, feeling was aroused in other city-states, and Roman garrisons were being either driven out of citadels or betrayed by treachery and slain. Henna,[2] perched on a lofty site with cliffs on every side, was not only impregnable from its position, but also had a strong garrison in its citadel and a garrison commander who was certainly no easy prey to plotters. This was Lucius Pinarius, a man of high spirit and one who gave more weight to precautions against possible deception than to the honour of Sicilians. And at this time the news of so many cities betrayed and in revolt and of so many garrisons destroyed had made him more intent upon guarding against every danger. Accordingly every position had been prepared and provided with guards and sentinels night and day; and the soldier did not leave his arms and his post. When this was noticed by the leading men of Henna, who had already made an agreement with Himilco to betray the garrison, namely, that the Roman left no opportunity for treachery, they were forced to act openly. They said that city and citadel ought to be under their own control, if as free men

A.U.C. 549

non servi in custodiam traditi essent Romanis. 7 Itaque claves portarum reddi sibi aequom censent: bonis sociis fidem suam maximum vinculum esse, et ita sibi populum Romanum senatumque gratias habiturum, si volentes ac non coacti mansissent in 8 amicitia. Ad ea Romanus se in praesidio impositum esse dicere ab imperatore suo clavesque portarum et custodiam arcis ab eo accepisse, quae nec suo nec Hennensium arbitrio haberet, sed eius qui commisis- 9 set. Praesidio decedere apud Romanos capital esse, et nece liberorum etiam suorum eam noxiam [1] parentes sanxisse. Consulem Marcellum haud procul esse: ad eum mitterent legatos cuius iuris atque 10 arbitrii res [2] esset. Se vero negare illi missuros testarique, si verbis nihil agerent, vindictam aliquam 11 libertatis suae quaesituros. Tum Pinarius: at illi, si ad consulem gravarentur mittere, sibi saltem darent populi concilium, ut sciretur, utrum paucorum ea denuntiatio an universae civitatis esset. Consensa in posterum diem contio.

XXXVIII. Postquam ab eo conloquio in aream sese recepit, convocatis militibus [3] "Credo ego vos audisse, milites" inquit, "quem ad modum praesidia Romana ab Siculis circumventa et oppressa sint per hos dies. 2 Eam vos fraudem deum primo benignitate, dein vestra ipsi virtute dies noctesque perstando ac pervigilando

[1] noxiam *Weissenborn*: *om.* *P*(1).
[2] res *Crévier, Fabri*: *om.* *P*(1) *Walters*.
[3] militibus A^2x: quibus *P*(2)*A*?: aliquibus C^4: sociis *x*: suis *Gronovius*.

they had entered into alliance with the Romans, B.C. 214
and had not been consigned to custody as slaves. Consequently they said they thought it right that the keys of the gates should be restored to them. For good allies their loyalty was the strongest bond, and the Roman people and senate would be grateful to them only in case they remained in their friendship willingly and not under compulsion. In reply to this the Roman commandant said that he had been placed at his post by his general and had received from him both the keys to the gates and the guarding of the citadel, to keep them, not at his own discretion nor that of the people of Henna, but of the man who had confided them to him. To leave one's post was among the Romans a capital offence, and fathers had punished that crime with the death even of their own sons. The consul Marcellus was not far away; they should send legates to him who had the right to decide the matter. But they said that they would not send them, and asserted that if they accomplished nothing by words, they would seek some means of recovering their freedom. Upon that Pinarius said that, if they objected to sending to the consul, very well, let them at least give him an assembly of the people, that it might be known whether their demand was that of a few men or of the whole city. They agreed to an assembly on the next day.

XXXVIII. Returning from that conference to the citadel, he called his men together and said: "I believe you have heard, soldiers, how in these days Roman garrisons have been beset and overwhelmed by Sicilians. Such treachery you have escaped, thanks first to the favour of the gods, and then to your own courage, by standing guard day and night

A.U.C. 540

in armis vitastis. Utinam relicum tempus nec patien-
3 do infanda nec faciendo traduci posset![1] Haec oc-
culta in fraude cautio est qua usi adhuc sumus; cui
quoniam parum succedit, aperte ac propalam claves
portarum reposcunt; quas simul tradiderimus, Car-
thaginiensium extemplo Henna erit, foediusque hic
trucidabimur quam Murgantiae praesidium inter-
4 fectum est. Noctem unam aegre ad consultandum
sumpsi, qua vos certiores periculi instantis facerem.
Orta luce contionem habituri sunt ad criminandum
5 me concitandumque in vos populum. Itaque crastino
die aut vestro aut Hennensium sanguine Henna
inundabitur. Nec praeoccupati spem ullam nec
occupantes periculi quicquam habebitis; qui prior
6 strinxerit ferrum, eius victoria erit. Intenti ergo
omnes armatique signum expectabitis. Ego in
contione ero et tempus, quoad omnia instructa sint,
7 loquendo altercandoque traham. Cum toga signum
dedero, tum mihi undique clamore sublato turbam
invadite ac sternite omnia ferro; et cavete quicquam[2]
8 supersit cuius[3] aut vis aut fraus timeri possit. Vos,
Ceres mater ac Proserpina, precor, ceteri superi
infernique di, qui hanc urbem, hos sacratos lacus
lucosque colitis, ut ita nobis volentes propitii adsitis,
si vitandae, non inferendae fraudis causa hoc consilii
9 capimus. Pluribus vos, milites, hortarer, si cum
armatis dimicatio futura esset; inermes, incautos ad

[1] posset *A*^{2}z: possit *Valla*: potest *P*(1).
[2] quicquam *P*(1) *Conway*: quisquam *C*^{2}x *Madvig*.
[3] cuius *Alschefski*: quiusa *P*: a quibus *P*^{2}(1).

under arms. Would that the remaining time B.C. 211
could be passed without either suffering or committing atrocities! In covert trickery the method of defence is that which we have so far employed. Since the trick does not succeed, they demand back the keys of the gates openly and above board. And the moment we surrender them, Henna will be in the hands of the Carthaginians, and we shall be more cruelly slaughtered here than was the garrison slain at Murgantia. With difficulty I have gained for deliberation one night in which to inform you of the impending danger. At daybreak they are to hold an assembly for the purpose of accusing me and arousing the people against you. And so tomorrow Henna will be deluged either with your blood or with that of the Hennensians. If forestalled, you will have no hope, nor any danger if you forestall them. Who first draws the sword will have the victory. Therefore, alert and armed, you will all await the signal. I shall be in the assembly, and I will kill time in speaking and disputing, until everything is ready. When I give the signal with my toga, then do you from all sides raise a shout, attack the crowd, and strike down everyone with the sword; and see to it that no one survives whose violence or treachery can be feared. Mother Ceres and Proserpina, and all the other gods, above and below, who inhabit this city, these hallowed lakes and groves, I pray that ye attend us with your favour and support, if so be that we are taking this step for the purpose of guarding against treachery, not of practising it. I should exhort you, soldiers, at greater length if your battle were to be with armed men. Unarmed and off their guard, you will massacre them to your hearts' content.

A.U.C. 540

satietatem trucidabitis; et consulis castra in propinquo sunt, ne quid ab Himilcone et Carthaginiensibus timeri possit."

XXXIX. Ab hac adhortatione dimissi corpora curant. Postero die alii aliis locis ad obsidenda itinera claudendosque oppositi[1] exitus; pars maxima super theatrum circaque, adsueti et ante
2 spectaculo contionum, consistunt. Productus ad populum a magistratibus praefectus Romanus cum consulis de ea re ius ac potestatem esse, non suam,
3 et pleraque eadem quae pridie dixisset, et primo sensim ac pauci, mox plures[2] reddere claves, dein iam una voce id omnes iuberent cunctantique et differenti ferociter minitarentur nec viderentur ultra vim ultimam dilaturi, tum praefectus toga signum, ut
4 convenerat, dedit, militesque intenti dudum ac parati alii superne in aversam contionem clamore sublato decurrunt, alii ad exitus theatri conferti
5 obsistunt. Caeduntur Hennenses cavea inclusi coacervanturque non caede solum sed etiam fuga, cum super aliorum alii capita ruerent, et[3] integri[4]
6 sauciis,[5] vivi mortuis incidentes cumularentur. Inde passim discurritur et urbis captae modo fugaque et caedes omnia tenet nihilo remissiore militum ira quod

[1] oppositi A^x *Valla*: opsiti A: -positis M^2: -ponitis $P(2)$.
[2] pauci, mox plures *Riemann*: plus $P(1)$: plures A^xz *Madvig*: pauci *Weissenborn*.
[3] et *Madvig*: *om.* $P(1)$.
[4] integri $P(1)$: -gris M^9 *Conway*.
[5] sauciis BDA: -ci P: -ii $P^2(4)M^9$ *Conway*.

And the consul's camp is near; I tell you this that B.C. 214
you may have no possible fear from Himilco and the Carthaginians."

XXXIX. Dismissed immediately after this exhortation, they took food and rest. On the following day they were posted in different places, to occupy the roads and close the ways of escape. The majority took their positions above and around the theatre, being already familiar with the sight of an assembly. The Roman commandant, being brought before the people by the magistrates, said that right and authority in the matter belonged to the consul, not to himself, and in general the same things he had said the day before. And at first insensibly and only a few, presently a larger number, then all, now with one voice kept bidding him to deliver the keys; and when he delayed and postponed, they repeated savage threats and apparently would not further postpone violence, their last resort. Thereupon the prefect gave the signal with his toga, as had been agreed, and the soldiers, alert and ready long before, dashed down, some of them from above, upon the rear of the assembly with a shout, while others, massed at the exits of the theatre, blocked the way. The men of Henna, shut up in the eavea, were slain and piled together not only owing to the slaughter, but also by the panic, since they rushed down over each others' heads, and as the unharmed fell upon the wounded, the living upon the dead, they were lying in heaps. Thence the soldiers scattered in every direction, and, just as in a captured city, flight and slaughter were in complete possession, while the wrath of the soldiers was not a whit less intense because they were slaying an unarmed

A.U.C. 540

turbam inermem caedebant quam si periculum par et
7 ardor certaminis eos inritaret. Ita Henna aut malo aut necessario facinore retenta.

Marcellus nec factum improbavit et praedam Hennensium militibus concessit, ratus timore deterritos
8 proditionibus praesidiorum Siculos. Atque ea clades, ut urbis in media Sicilia sitae claraeque vel ob insignem munimento naturali locum vel ob sacrata omnia vestigiis raptae quondam Proserpinae, prope uno
9 die omnem Siciliam pervasit; et quia caede infanda rebantur non hominum tantum sed etiam deorum sedem violatam esse, tum vero etiam qui[1] ante dubii
10 fuerant defecere ad Poenos. Hippocrates inde Murgantiam, Himilco Agrigentum sese recepit, cum acciti a proditoribus nequiquam ad Hennam exercitum
11 admovissent. Marcellus retro in Leontinos redit frumentoque et commeatibus aliis in castra convectis, praesidio modico ibi relicto ad Syracusas obsidendas
12 venit. Inde Appio Claudio Romam ad consulatum petendum misso T. Quinctium Crispinum in eius
13 locum classi castrisque praeficit veteribus; ipse hibernacula quinque milia passuum ab Hexapylo—Leonta vocant locum—communiit aedificavitque. Haec in Sicilia usque ad principium hiemis gesta.

XL. Eadem aestate et cum Philippo rege quod
2 iam ante suspectum fuerat motum bellum est. Legati

[1] etiam qui *Madvig*: qui etiam *P*(1).

[1] As in Cicero *in Verr.* IV. 107 the very place reminds one how Pluto carried off Proserpina from the meadows below Henna.

crowd, than if equal danger and ardour for the fray B.C. 211
were spurring them on. So by an act, it may have been criminal, it may have been unavoidable, Henna was held.

Marcellus, without reproving the act, allowed the soldiers to plunder the Hennensians, thinking the frightened Sicilians had been deterred from betraying their garrisons. And as was natural in the case of a city in the heart of Sicily and famous, whether for the remarkable natural defences of its site, or as hallowed everywhere by the footprints of Proserpina, long ago carried away,[1] news of the massacre made its way over the whole of Sicily almost in a single day. And then in truth, since they thought that the abode, not of men only but also of gods, had been desecrated by an atrocious massacre, even those who till then had wavered went over to the Carthaginians. Hippocrates thereupon went back to Murgantia, Himilco to Agrigentum, after bringing up their army to Henna to no purpose at the summons of the traitors. Marcellus returned to Leontini, had grain and other supplies brought into the camp, left a suitable garrison there and came to Syracuse to carry on the siege. He then relieved Appius Claudius, to sue for the consulship at Rome, and in his place put Titus Quinctius Crispinus in command of the fleet and the old camp.[2] As for himself, he fortified and built winter quarters five miles from the Hexapylon—Leon they call the place. Such were the events in Sicily up to the beginning of the winter.

XL. The same summer the war with King Philip also that for some time had been foreshadowed broke

[2] Cf. xxxiii. 3; XXV. xxvi. 4. The new winter camp was northwest of Syracuse.

A.U.C. 549

ab Orico ad M. Valerium praetorem venerunt, praesidentem classi Brundisio Calabriaeque circa litoribus, nuntiantes Philippum primum Apolloniam temptasse lembis biremibus centum viginti flumine adverso sub-
3 vectum; deinde, ut ea res tardior spe fuerit, ad Oricum clam nocte exercitum admovisse; eamque urbem, sitam in plano neque moenibus neque viris atque armis validam, primo impetu oppressam esse.
4 Haec nuntiantes orabant ut opem ferret hostemque haud dubium Romanis mari ac terra a maritimis urbibus arceret, quae ob nullam aliam causam nisi
5 quod immineret Italiae, peterentur. M. Valerius duorum milium praesidio relicto praepositoque [1] eis P. Valerio legato cum classe instructa parataque et, quod longae naves militum capere non poterant in
6 onerarias inpositis altero die Oricum pervenit; urbemque eam levi tenente praesidio quod rex [2] recedens inde reliquerat haud magno certamine
7 recepit. Legati eo ab Apollonia venerunt, nuntiantes in obsidione sese, quod defiecre ab Romanis nollent, esse neque sustinere ultra vim Macedonum
8 posse, ni [3] praesidium mittatur Romanum. Facturum se quae vellent pollicitus, duo milia delectorum mili-

[1] praepositoque *Crévier* : q. *or* que *only* *P*(1).
[2] rex *Fabri* (*before* reliquerat *Gronovius*) : *om.* *P*(1).
[3] ni *Riemann* : nil *P* : nisi P^{2}*?*(1).

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[1] In southern Illyria (Albania), at the south end of the bay behind the Acroceraunian Mountains, almost directly opposite Brundisium.

out. Legates came from Oricum[1] to Marcus B.C. 214
Valerius, the praetor,[2] who with his fleet was guarding Brundisium and the neighbouring coast of Calabria. They reported that Philip had first sailed up the river with a hundred and twenty small vessels having two banks of oars and attacked Apollonia;[3] and that then, when the undertaking proved slower than he anticipated, had secretly moved his army to Oricum by night; also that that city, situated in a plain and not strong either in walls or armed men, had been taken by assault. Making this report, they begged him to lend aid and by land and sea to keep an undoubted enemy of the Romans away from the coast cities, which were being attacked for no other reason than that they faced Italy. Marcus Valerius, after leaving a garrison of two thousand soldiers and placing Publius Valerius, his lieutenant, in command of them, with his fleet drawn up and in readiness, while such soldiers as the warships could not accommodate had been placed on transports, came on the second day to Oricum; and as only a small garrison which the king had left when he withdrew held the city, he recaptured it after slight resistance. To it came legates from Apollonia, reporting that they were being besieged because they refused to revolt from the Romans and could no longer withstand the attack of the Macedonians, unless a Roman force should be sent. Valerius promised to do as they desired, and sent two thousand picked soldiers in

[2] Strictly propraetor; x. 4; xx. 12.

[3] The city, in southern Illyria, and allied with Rome since 229 B.C., lay near the river Aoüs and about seven miles inland, about thirty miles north of Oricum. Later it attracted young Romans pursuing their studies, *e.g.* Octavian.

A.U.C. 540 tum navibus longis mittit ad ostium fluminis cum praefecto socium Q. Naevio Crista, viro inpigro et
9 perito militiae. Is expositis in terram militibus navibusque Oricum retro, unde venerat, ad ceteram classem remissis, milites procul a flumine per viam minime ab regiis obsessam duxit et nocte, ita ut nemo hostium
10 sentiret, urbem est ingressus. Diem insequentem quievere, dum praefectus inventutem Apolloniatium armaque et urbis vires inspiceret. Ubi ea visa inspectaque satis animorum fecere, simulque ab exploratoribus comperit quanta socordia ac neglegentia apud hostes esset, silentio noctis ab urbe sine
11 ullo tumultu egressus castra hostium adeo neglecta atque aperta intravit ut satis constaret prius mille hominum vallum intrasse quam quisquam sentiret, ac, si caede abstinuissent, pervenire ad tabernaculum
12 regium potuisse. Caedes proximorum portae excitavit hostes. Inde tantus terror pavorque omnis occupavit ut non modo alius quisquam arma caperet
13 aut castris pellere hostem conaretur, sed etiam ipse rex, sicut somno excitus erat, prope seminudus fugiens militi quoque, nedum regi, vix decoro habitu, ad flumen navisque perfugerit. Eodem et alia turba
14 effusa est. Paulo minus tria milia militum in castris aut capta aut occisa; plus tamen hominum aliquanto
15 captum quam caesum est. Castris direptis Apolloniatae catapultas, ballistas tormentaque alia quae

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[1] *I.e.* the Aoüs.

warships to the mouth of the river[1] under the B.C. 214
command of a prefect of the allies, Quintus Naevius Crista, a man of action and an experienced soldier. He landed his men, sent the ships back to the rest of the fleet at Oricum, his starting-point, led his soldiers at a distance from the river along the road least beset by the king's troops and entered the city by night, so that no one of the enemy was aware of it. The following day they rested, that the prefect might inspect the young men of Apollonia and the arms and resources of the city. The result of that inspection gave him sufficient encouragement, and he learned also from scouts what carelessness and indifference there was among the enemy. Thereupon in the silence of the night and without making any noise he went out of the city and entered the enemy's camp, so neglected and open that a thousand men had entered the wall before anyone was aware of it, so it was generally asserted; also, that if they had refrained from slaughter, they could have reached the king's tent. The slaughter of the men nearest to the gate aroused the enemy. Then such alarm and panic took possession of them all that not only did no one else seize his arms and attempt to drive the enemy out of the camp, but even the king himself, fleeing almost half-naked, just as he was when awakened, fled to the river and his ships in a garb scarcely seemly even for a common soldier, much less a king. Thither the rest of the disorderly crowd also poured out. Little fewer than three thousand soldiers were either captured or slain in the camp; a considerably larger number of men were captured than slain. After plundering the camp the Apollonians carried away the catapults, ballistae and other

A.U.C. 540 oppugnandae urbi conparata erant ad tuenda moenia, si quando similis fortuna venisset, Apolloniam devexere; cetera omnis praeda castrorum Romanis
16 concessa est. Haec cum Oricum essent nuntiata, M. Valerius classem extemplo ad ostium fluminis duxit,
17 ne navibus capessere fugam rex posset. Itaque Philippus, neque terrestri neque navali certamini satis fore parem se fidens, subductis navibus atque incensis terra Macedoniam petiit magna ex parte inermi exercitu spoliatoque. Romana classis cum M. Valerio Oriei hibernavit.

XLI. Eodem anno in Hispania varie res gestae. Nam priusquam Romani amnem Hiberum transirent, ingentes copias Hispanorum Mago et Hasdrubal fude-
2 runt; defecissetque ab Romanis ulterior Hispania, ni P. Cornelius raptim traducto exercitu Hiberum dubiis
3 sociorum animis in tempore advenisset. Primo ad Castrum Album—locus est insignis caede magni
4 Hamilcaris—castra Romani habuere. Arx erat munita et convexerant ante frumentum; tamen, quia omnia circa hostium plena erant, agmenque Romanum inpune incursatum ab equitibus hostium fuerat et ad duo milia aut moratorum aut palantium per agros interfecta, cessere inde Romani propius pacata loca et
5 ad montem Victoriae castra communivere. Eo Cn. Scipio cum omnibus copiis et Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius, tertius Carthaginiensium dux, cum exercitu iusto

[1] Probably modern Alicante, on the coast and northeast of Carthago Nova; built by Hamilcar Barca, who fell in battle there 229–8 B.C.

[2] Situation unknown.

engines which had been provided for a siege of the B.C. 214
city to Apollonia, in order to defend their walls, if ever a similar situation should arise. All the remaining booty of the camp was left to the Romans. When this news reached Oricum, Marcus Valerius at once led his fleet to the mouth of the river, to prevent the king from escaping by ship. And so Philip, believing he would not be quite equal to a battle either on land or sea, stranded his ships, set fire to them, and started for Macedonia with an army in large part disarmed and despoiled. The Roman fleet wintered at Oricum under the command of Marcus Valerius.

XLI. In the same year operations in Spain were chequered. For Mago and Hasdrubal, before the Romans should cross the Ebro, routed immense forces of Spaniards. And Farther Spain would have revolted from the Romans if Publius Cornelius had not hastily led his army across the Ebro and arrived in the nick of time, while the allies were still wavering. At first the Romans had their camp at Castrum Album,[1] noted as the place where the great Hamilcar fell. The citadel had been fortified and they had previously brought in grain. Yet the country all around was filled with the enemy, and the Roman column had been attacked with impunity by the enemy's cavalry and about two thousand men, either straggling or scattered over the farms, had been slain. The Romans therefore retired from the place to a position nearer peaceful regions and fortified a camp at Victory Mountain.[2] Thither came Gnaeus Scipio with all his troops, and Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, making three Carthaginian generals and a complete army; and all three established themselves across

A.U.C. 540

advenit, contraque castra Romana trans fluvium
6 omnes consedere. P. Scipio cum expeditis clam profectus ad loca circa visenda haud fefellit hostes, oppressissentque eum in patentibus campis, ni tumulum in propinquo cepisset. Ibi quoque cir-
7 cumsessus adventu fratris obsidione eximitur. Castulo, urbs Hispaniae valida ac nobilis et adeo coniuncta societate Poenis ut uxor inde Hannibali esset,
8 ad Romanos defecit. Carthaginienses Iliturgim oppugnare adorti, quia praesidium ibi Romanum erat, videbanturque inopia maxime eum locum
9 expugnaturi. Cn. Scipio, ut sociis praesidioque ferret opem, cum legione expedita profectus inter bina castra cum magna caede hostium urbem est ingressus et
10 postero die eruptione aeque felici pugnavit. Supra duodecim milia hominum caesa duobus proeliis, plus mille hominum captum cum sex et triginta militari-
11 bus signis. Ita ab Iliturgi recessum est. Bigerra inde urbs—socii [1] et hi [2] Romanorum erant [3]—a Carthaginiensibus oppugnari coepta est. Eam obsidionem sine certamine adveniens Cn. Scipio solvit.

XLII. Ad Mundam exinde castra Punica mota et
2 Romani eo confestim secuti sunt. Ibi signis conlatis pugnatum per quattuor ferme horas; egregieque vincentibus Romanis signum receptui est datum, quod Cn. Scipionis femur tragula confixum erat

[1] socii *Hertz* : socie *P* : socia P^1(1) *Walters*.
[2] hi *P Hertz* : hec *or* haec P^1(1) *Walters*.
[3] erant *PCR*^{1}*M* : erat C^2(13).

[1] In the upper valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir), on the main road from the Pyrenees to Gades.
[2] Imilce, if Silius Italicus (III. 97 and 106) is correct.
[3] On the left bank of the Baetis, southwest of Castulo; cf. XXIII. xlix. 5, where the form was Iliturgi.

the river, opposite the Roman camp. Publius B.C. 214
Scipio, who set out secretly to reconnoitre with unencumbered troops, did not escape the notice of the enemy, and they would have overwhelmed him in the open meadows if he had not captured a hill near by. Even there he was beset, but by the arrival of his brother he escaped a siege. Castulo[1] revolted to the Romans, a strong and famous city of Spain, so closely joined to the Carthaginians by alliance that Hannibal's wife[2] was from that place. The Carthaginians attempted to capture Iliturgis,[3] because there was a Roman garrison there, and it seemed that they would take the town mainly by starvation. Gnaeus Scipio, to lend aid to the allies and the garrison, set out with an unencumbered legion, passing between their two camps, and after slaying many of the enemy entered the city, and on the following day engaged them in an equally successful sally. Over twelve thousand men were slain in the two battles, more than a thousand men captured, with thirty-six military standards. So they withdrew from Iliturgis. Then began the siege of Bigerra[4] —these also were allies of the Romans—by the Carthaginians. Gnaeus Scipio on his arrival raised the siege without an engagement.

XLII. Thereupon the Carthaginian camp was removed to Munda,[5] and the Romans promptly followed them thither. There they fought in pitched battle for about four hours, and though the Romans were winning a brilliant victory, the signal for recall was given, because Gnaeus Scipio's thigh had been

[4] Site unknown.

[5] Near Corduba. This is the first mention of Caesar's Munda; probably Montilla.

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pavorque circa eum coeperat milites, ne mortiferum
3 esset vulnus. Ceterum haud dubium fuit quin, nisi ea mora intervenisset, castra eo die Punica capi potuerint. Iam[1] non milites solum sed elephanti etiam usque ad vallum acti erant, superque ipsas fossas[2] novem et triginta elephanti pilis confixi.
4 Hoc quoque proelio ad duodecim milia hominum dicuntur caesa, prope tria capta cum signis militari-
5 bus septem et quinquaginta. Ad Auringem inde urbem Poeni recessere et, ut territis instaret, secutus Romanus. Ibi iterum Scipio lecticula in aciem inlatus conflixit, nec dubia victoria fuit; minus tamen dimidio hostium quam antea, quia pauciores super-
6 fuerant qui pugnarent, occisum. Sed gens nata instaurandis reparandisque bellis, Magone ad conquisitionem militum a fratre misso, brevi replevit exercitum animosque ad temptandum de integro
7 certamen fecit; Galli[3] plerique milites, iique[4] pro parte totiens intra paucos dies victa, iisdem animis quibus priores[5] eodemque eventu pugnavere.
8 Plus octo milia hominum caesa, et haud[6] multo minus quam mille captum et signa militaria quinquaginta octo. Et spolia plurima Gallica fuere, aurei torques armillaeque, magnus numerus. Duo etiam insignes reguli Gallorum—Moeniacoepto et Vismaro nomina

[1] iam $P(1)$: nam *Madvig*.
[2] ipsas fossas *Riemann*: ipsas $P(2)$: ipsos Ax: ipsum x: fossas *Madvig*.
[3] Galli A^{y} *Valla*: alii $P(1)$ *Madvig*.
[4] iique A^{y} *Valla*: sique $P(1)$: quippe *Madvig*.
[5] priores *Valla*: pr. orta $P(11)A?$: prius x.
[6] et haud $P(2)$ *Conway*: et non A: haud z *Madvig*.

pierced by a light javelin, and fear that the wound B.C. 214
might prove fatal had seized the soldiers around him. But there was no doubt that, if this delay had not occurred, the Carthaginian camp could have been captured that day. Already not only soldiers but the elephants also had been driven even up to the wall, and just as they crossed the trenches thirty-nine elephants were struck down by heavy javelins. In this battle also about twelve thousand men are said to have been slain, about three thousand captured, with fifty-seven military standards. The Carthaginians then retired to the city of Aurinx,[1] and the Roman followed, to threaten them while terrified. There Scipio again engaged, being carried into battle-line in a litter, and the victory was not to be questioned. Less than half as many of the enemy as before, however, were slain, because fewer men had survived to fight. But, as Mago was sent by his brother to recruit soldiers, a race adapted by nature to renew wars and to make fresh preparations for them soon refilled the army and gave them the spirit to essay another conflict. The soldiers were mostly Gauls,[2] and they fought with the same spirit as their predecessors for the side which had been beaten so many times within a few days, and with the same result. More than eight thousand men were slain, and not much less than a thousand captured, also fifty-eight military standards. And the spoils were largely Gallic, golden collars and armbands—a great number of them. Also two conspicuous princes of the Gauls —Moeniacoeptus and Vismarus were their names

[1] Perhaps the same as Orongis, XXVIII. iii. 2.
[2] From Celtic tribes already established in Spain, even in the southwest.

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erant—eo proelio ceciderunt. Octo elephanti capti, tres occisi.

9 Cum tam prosperae res in Hispania essent, verecundia Romanos tandem cepit, Saguntum oppidum, quae causa belli esset, octavum iam annum sub
10 hostium potestate esse. Itaque id oppidum vi pulso praesidio Punico receperunt cultoribusque antiquis,
11 quos ex iis vis reliquerat belli, restituerunt: et Turdetanos, qui contraxerant eis cum Carthaginiensibus bellum, in potestatem redactos sub corona vendiderunt urbemque eorum delerunt.

XLIII. Haec in Hispania Q. Fabio M. Claudio
2 consulibus gesta. Romae cum tribuni plebis novi magistratum inissent, extemplo censoribus P. Furio et M. Atilio a M. Metello tribuno plebis dies dicta ad popu-
3 lum est—quaestorem eum proximo anno adempto equo tribu moverant atque aerarium fecerant propter coniurationem deserendae Italiae ad Cannas factam —sed novem tribunorum auxilio vetiti causam in
4 magistratu dicere dimissique fuerunt.[1] Ne lustrum perficerent, mors prohibuit P. Furi; M. Atilius magistratu se abdicavit.

5 Comitia consularia habita ab Q. Fabio Maximo consule. Creati consules ambo absentes Q. Fabius Maximus, consulis filius, et Ti. Sempronius Graechus

[1] fuerunt *Crévier*: fuerant *P*(1): *om. Ussing, Walters.*

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[1] Livy's own chronology would make it four complete years; XXI. vii. ff.; xv. 5; XXIV. ix. 7.

[2] Cf. XXI. vi. 1. Better known is the tribe of the same name in southern Baetica.

[3] Cf. xviii. 3 and 6; XXVII. xi. 12. The scene was Canusium, after Cannae.

—fell in that battle. Eight elephants were captured, B.C. 214
three slain.

The situation in Spain being so favourable, the Romans came at last to be ashamed that the town of Saguntum, which was the cause of the war, had been by that time seven years [1] in the power of the enemy. Accordingly the Carthaginian garrison was driven out by force, and recovering the town the Romans restored it to its former inhabitants—such of them as the violence of war had spared. And as for the Turdetani,[2] who had brought on the war between Saguntum and the Carthaginians, they reduced them to subjection, sold them under the garland and destroyed their city.

XLIII. Such were the events in Spain in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Marcus Claudius. At Rome, immediately after the newly elected tribunes of the plebs had entered upon office, a day was set by Marcus Metellus, a tribune of the plebs, for the censors Publius Furius and Marcus Atilius to appear at the bar of the people. In his quaestorship the year before they had taken away his horse, removed him from his tribe and made him an aerarian on account of the conspiracy formed at Cannae to desert Italy.[3] But by the aid of nine tribunes they were forbidden to plead their cause while in office and were released. From completing the ceremony of purification they were prevented by the death of Publius Furius. Marcus Atilius abdicated his office.

For the consulship the election was conducted by Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul. Elected consuls, both in absence, were Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul's son, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the latter for the second time. Two men

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6 iterum. Praetores fiunt duo qui tum aediles curules erant, P. Sempronius Tuditanus et Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, et cum illis[1] M. Atilius et[2] M. Aemilius
7 Lepidus. Ludos scenicos per quadriduum eo anno primum factos ab curulibus aedilibus memoriae
8 proditur. Aedilis Tuditanus hic erat[3] qui ad Cannas pavore aliis in tanta clade torpentibus per medios hostes duxit.

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9 His[4] comitiis perfectis auctore Q. Fabio consule designati consules Romam accersiti magistratum inierunt, senatumque de bello ac provinciis suis praetorumque et de exercitibus quibus quique praeessent consuluerunt; (XLIV) itaque provinciae atque exercitus divisi: bellum cum Hannibale consulibus mandatum et exercituum unus quem ipse Sempronius habuerat, alter quem Fabius consul;
2 eae binae erant legiones. M. Aemilius praetor, cuius peregrina sors erat, iuris dictione M. Atilio collegae, praetori urbano, mandata, Luceriam provinciam haberet legionesque duas quibus Q. Fabius,
3 qui tum consul erat, praetor praefuerat. P. Sempronio provincia Ariminum, Cn. Fulvio Suessula eum binis item legionibus evenerunt, ut Fulvius urbanas legiones duceret, Tuditanus a M. Pomponio acciperet.
4 Prorogata imperia provinciaeque, M. Claudio Sicilia

[1] cum illis *Walters*: cum iis *M. Müller*: *om.* *P*(1).
[2] M. Atilius et *Madvig*: *om.* *P*(1).
[3] erat $C^2M^xA^2$: erit *P*(1) *Walters*.
[4] duxit. His *Madvig*[1] (Iis *Weissenborn*): auxiliis *P*(1).

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[1] Cf. XXII. 1. 6 ff.
[2] Gallia was the more recent name of this "province," *ager Gallicus* in x. 3.
[3] With the important Roman camp near it, the *castra Claudiana*; xvii. 2; xlvii. 12; XXIII. xxxi. 3.

who were at the time curule aediles, Publius Sem- B.C. 214
pronius Tuditanus and Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, were made praetors, and with them M. Atilius and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. Tradition has it that at the festival given that year by the curule aediles four days had dramatic performances for the first time. The aedile Tuditanus was the man who at Cannae, when others were paralyzed by fear in such a disaster, led his men through the midst of the enemy.[1]

These elections being completed, the consuls B.C. 213
designate were summoned to Rome, as proposed by Quintus Fabius, the consul, entered upon office and consulted the senate in regard to the war and the provinces, their own and those of the praetors, and as to the armies which they should respectively command; (XLIV) and the provinces and armies were divided as follows: the war with Hannibal was assigned to the consuls, and two armies, one which Sempronius himself, and the other which Fabius had commanded as consul. These were of two legions each. Marcus Aemilius, the praetor to whom fell jurisdiction in cases involving foreigners, was to assign his judicial function to his colleague Marcus Atilius, the city praetor, and have Luceria as his province, and two legions which Quintus Fabius, who was now consul, had commanded as praetor. To Publius Sempronius Ariminum fell as his assignment,[2] to Gnaeus Fulvius, Suessula,[3] likewise with two legions in each case, so assigned that Fulvius should take with him the legions at the city, and Tuditanus take over from Marcus Pomponius his legions. Commands and assignments were continued as follows: for Marcus Claudius Sicily, with the

A.U.C. 541 finibus eis quibus regnum Hieronis fuisset, P. Lentulo propraetori provincia vetus, T. Otacilio classis—exercitus nulli additi novi—, M. Valerio Graecia Macedoniaque cum legione et classe quam haberet, Q. Mucio cum vetere exercitu—duae autem legiones erant—Sardinia, C. Terentio legio una[1] cui iam 6 praeerat ac[2] Picenum. Scribi praeterea duae urbanae legiones iussae et viginti milia sociorum. His ducibus, his copiis adversus multa simul aut mota aut suspecta bella muniverunt Romanum imperium. 7 Consules duabus urbanis legionibus scriptis supplementoque in alias lecto, priusquam ab urbe moverent, 8 prodigia procurarunt quae nuntiata erant. Murus ac portae . . .,[3] et Ariciae etiam Iovis aedes de caelo tacta fuerat. Et alia ludibria oculorum auriumque credita pro veris: navium longarum species in flumine Tarracinae quae nullae erant visas, et in Iovis Vicilini templo, quod in Compsano agro est, arma concrepuisse, et flumen Amiterni cruentum fluxisse. 9 His procuratis ex decreto pontificum profecti consules, Sempronius in Lucanos, in Apuliam Fabius. Pater 10 filio legatus ad Suessulam in castra venit. Cum obviam filius progrederetur lictoresque verecundia maiestatis eius taciti anteirent, praeter undecim fasces equo praevectus senex, ut consul animadvertere proximum lictorem iussit et is ut descenderet ex

[1] legio una *P*(1): cum legione una *Aldus*.
[2] ac *Weissenborn*: et *x Gronovius*: *om. P*(1).
[3] portae (*or* -te) *P*(1), *followed by* tactae (*or* -te), *into which a town name has been corrupted*: porta Caietae *Luterbacher*, *Walters*.

[1] Cf. XXIII. i. 1. In that southern part of Samnium Jupiter had the rare epithet Vicilinus.

boundaries which Hiero's kingdom had had; for B.C. 213
Publius Lentulus, as propraetor, the old province; for Titus Otacilius the fleet; and for them new armies were not added. So also for Marcus Valerius Greece and Macedonia, with the legion and the fleet which he had; for Quintus Mucius Sardinia, with its old army—there were two legions; for Gaius Terentius one legion which he already commanded, and Picenum. It was further ordered that two city legions should be enrolled, also twenty thousand allies. With these generals, these forces, they defended the Roman empire at the same time against many wars, either already begun or foreshadowed.

The consuls, after enrolling two legions for the city and enlisting recruits to reinforce the others, before setting out from the city made expiation for the prodigies which had been reported. The wall and gates at . . . and at Aricia even the temple of Jupiter had been struck by lightning. And for eyes and ears there were other illusions, accepted as real: that in the river at Tarracina forms of warships which had no existence had been seen; and that in the temple of Jupiter Vicilinus, in the territory of Compsa,[1] there was a sound of clashing arms; and that the river at Amiternum ran with blood. These portents being expiated according to a decree of the pontiffs, the consuls set out, Sempronius for Lucania, Fabius for Apulia. The father came as his son's lieutenant to the camp at Suessula. While the son was advancing to meet him and the lictors out of respect for the father's dignity were silent as they preceded the consul, the old man rode past eleven fasces. And not until the consul had ordered the last lictor to take notice and the latter had called

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equo inclamavit, tum demum desiliens "Experiri" inquit "volui, fili, satin' scires consulem te esse."

XLV. In ea castra Dasius Altinius Arpinus clam nocte cum tribus servis venit promittens, si sibi praemio foret, se Arpos prodituram esse. Eam rem ad consilium cum rettulisset Fabius, aliis pro transfuga verberandus necandusque videri ancipitis animi communis hostis, qui post Cannensem cladem, tamquam cum fortuna fidem stare oporteret, ad Hannibalem descisset traxissetque ad defectionem Arpos; tum, quoniam [1] res Romana contra spem votaque eius velut resurgere ab stirpibus videatur, novam referre proditionem proditis polliceatur, aliunde stet [2] semper, aliunde sentiat, infidus socius, vanus hostis; id [3] ad Faleriorum Pyrrhique proditorem tertium transfugis documentum esset. Contra ea consulis pater Fabius temporum oblitos homines in medio ardore belli, tamquam in pace, libera de quoque arbitria agere aiebat, ut,[4] cum illud potius agendum atque cogitandum sit, si quo modo fieri possit, ne qui socii a populo Romano desciscant, id non cogitent,[5] documentum autem dicant [6] statui oportere, si quis resipiscat et

[1] quoniam C^1x: quia M^2A^2: quam $P(11)$.
[2] aliunde stet *Gronovius*: aliunde ipse stet *Conway*: aliudicioestet $P(10)C^2$.
[3] id *Madvig*: om. $P(1)$.
[4] ut *Weissenborn*: et $P(1)$: qui *Gronovius*.
[5] id non cogitent *Gronovius*: et non vocitent $P(1)$: et ut novos concilient *Madvig*.
[6] dicant *Valla*: dicatur $P(1)$.

[1] A famous story. Gellius (II. ii. 13) gives the brief version of Claudius Quadrigarius.

out the order to dismount, did the father leap to the B.C. 213
ground and say: "I wished to find out, son, whether you were quite aware that you are consul." [1]

XLV. To that camp came Dasius Altinius of Arpi secretly by night with three slaves, promising that if rewarded he would betray Arpi.[2] When Fabius brought the matter before the council, the others thought that as a deserter he should be scourged and put to death, a waverer and an enemy to both sides, who after the disaster at Cannae, as if loyalty should side with success, had gone over to Hannibal and dragged Arpi into revolt, and then, because, contrary to his expectation and his wishes, the Roman state seemed to be springing up again, as it were from the roots, he was promising to present the betrayed with a new betrayal, and always taking part with one side, but with the other in heart, faithless as an ally, inconstant as an enemy. To the betrayers of Falerii [3] and of Pyrrhus [4] he should be added as a third example to deserters. On the contrary the consul's father Fabius said that men were forgetting the situation, when they exercised free judgment in each individual case in the midst of the heat of war, as though in peace, with the result that, although the thing to be done and to be borne in mind was rather to prevent any allies—if this was somehow possible—from abandoning the Roman people, they were not bearing that in mind and, further, they were saying that, if a man came to his senses and turned his eyes to the previous alliance, he ought to be made a warn-

[2] In northern Apulia, east of Luceria and not far from the Adriatic; cf. iii. 16; xii. 3, 5; XXIII. xlvi. 8.

[3] Cf. V. xxvii. 2 ff.

[4] This story was told in the lost XIIIth book (cf. *Epit.*).

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6 antiquam societatem respiciat. Quod si abire ab Romanis liceat, redire ad eos non liceat, cui dubium esse quin brevi desperata[1] ab sociis Romana res foederibus Punicis omnia in Italia iuncta visura
7 sit?[2] Se tamen non eum esse qui Altinio fidei quicquam censeat habendum, sed mediam secuturum
8 consilii viam. Neque enim[3] pro hoste neque pro socio in praesentia habitum libera custodia haud procul a castris placere in aliqua fida civitate eum[4] servari per belli tempus; perpetrato bello tum consultandum utrum prior defectio plus merita
9 sit poenae, an hic reditus veniae. Fabio adsensum est, Calenisque legatis traditus et ipse et comites; et auri satis magnum pondus, quod secum tum
10 attulerat, ei servari iussum. Calibus eum interdiu solutum custodes sequebantur, nocte clausum ad-
11 servabant. Arpis domi primum desiderari quaerique est coeptus; dein fama per totam urbem volgata tumultum, ut principe amisso, fecit, metuque rerum
12 novarum extemplo nuntii missi. Quibus nequaquam offensus Poenus, quia et ipsum ut ambiguae fidei virum suspectum iam pridem habebat et causam nactus erat tam ditis hominis bona possidendi
13 vendendique; ceterum, ut irae magis quam avaritiae datum crederent homines, crudelitatem
14 quoque aviditati[5] addidit, coniugemque eius ac liberos in castra acceitos, quaestione prius habita

[1] desperata *Madvig*: desiderata *P*(1): deserta *z*.
[2] res . . . visura sit *P*(1): re . . . visuri sint *Madvig*.
[3] enim *Weissenborn*: eum *P*(1) *Madvig*.
[4] eum *P*(1): om. *Aldus*, *Madvig*.
[5] aviditati *Stroth*: gravitatem *P*(1).

[1] *I.e.* to Hannibal.

ing example. If then it was permissible to leave the B.C. 213
Romans, but not to return to them, who could doubt that soon the Roman state, despaired of by the allies, would see the whole of Italy joined together by Carthaginian treaties? For himself, however, he was not the man to think that any trust should be placed in Altinius, but would follow a middle course. He thought it best, namely, that Altinius should not be treated as either enemy or ally for the present, that under qualified arrest he should be guarded for the duration of the war in some loyal city-state not far from the camp. When the war was over they should then deliberate whether his previous defection deserved punishment more than his present return merited pardon. They agreed with Fabius, and the man was turned over to representatives of Cales, himself and his companions. And it was ordered that the gold—and the weight of it was considerable—which he had then brought with him should be kept for him. At Cales he was free to go about by day followed by guards, at night confined and watched by them. At Arpi it was in his house that he was first missed and search for him began. Then the report spreading through the city caused the usual commotion when a leading man is missing, and for fear of a rebellion they at once sent messengers.[1] The Carthaginian was by no means displeased at this news, since he had long regarded the man himself with suspicion, as unsettled in his loyalty, and also he now had an excuse for taking possession of the property of a man of such wealth and selling it. But that men might believe he was yielding to anger rather than greed, he added cruelty also to avarice, that is, he summoned the wife and children to the camp, and,

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primum de fuga Altini, dein quantum auri argentique domi relictum esset, satis cognitis omnibus vivos combussit.

XLVI. Fabius ab Suessula profectus Arpos primum institit oppugnare. Ubi cum a quingentis [1] fere passibus castra posuisset, contemplatus ex propinquo situm urbis moeniaque, quae pars tutissima moenibus erat, quia maxime neglectam custodia vidit, ea potissimum
2 adgredi statuit. Comparatis omnibus quae ad urbes oppugnandas usui sunt centurionum robora ex toto exercitu delegit tribunosque viros fortes eis praefecit, et milites sescentos, quantum satis visum est, attribuit eosque, ubi quartae vigiliae signum cecinisset, ad eum
3 locum scalas iussit ferre. Porta ibi humilis et angusta erat infrequenti via per desertam partem urbis. Eam portam scalis prius transgressos murum aperire [2] ex interiore parte aut claustra refringere iubet et tenentes partem urbis cornu signum dare ut ceterae copiae admoverentur: parata omnia atque instructa
4 sese [3] habiturum. Ea inpigre facta, et quod impedimentum agentibus fore videbatur, id maxime ad fallendum adiuvit. Imber ab nocte media coortus custodes vigilesque dilapsos e stationibus subfugere
5 in tecta coegit, sonitusque [4] primo largioris procellae strepitum molientium portam exaudiri prohibuit, lentior deinde aequaliorque accidens auribus magnam

[1] a quingentis *Gronovius*: ad (= a D) *P*(4).
[2] murum aperire *Crévier*: aperire *Madvig*: amurumperire *P* (-pergere P^2(4)): ad murum pergere C^2BDA.
[3] sese A^2 *Aldus*: esse *P*(1): *om. Conway.*
[4] sonitusque A^2*?x Madvig*: sonituque *P*(2)*A? Walters.*

after investigating first the flight of Altinius, then how much gold and silver had been left in his house, now fully informed, he burned them alive. B.C. 213

XLVI. Fabius setting out from Suessula first pressed the siege of Arpi. There he pitched his camp at a distance of about five hundred paces, and after observing the situation of the city and the walls at close range, he decided to attack just at that part of the city which was best defended by walls, because he saw that that was the most carelessly guarded. He assembled everything useful for siege operations, selected from the entire army the pick of the centurions, and placed tribunes who were brave men in command of them. And he assigned them six hundred soldiers—all that seemed necessary—and ordered them to carry ladders to that place, when the trumpet should sound for the fourth watch. There was a low, narrow gate there, as the street, leading through a deserted part of the city, was not much frequented. He ordered them first to climb over the wall by means of their ladders, and then to open that gate from the inside, or else break down the bars, and then, holding a part of the city, to give the signal on a trumpet for the rest of the troops to move up. He would have everything ready and in order. These commands were carried out with spirit, and a circumstance which seemed likely to hamper action proved of the greatest help to secrecy. Heavy rain beginning at midnight forced the guards and sentries to slip away from their posts and run to cover. And the sound, at first of a heavier shower, prevented the noise they made in forcing the gate from being heard clearly, and then, gentler and more monotonous as they listened, it lulled a great many

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6 partem hominum sopivit. Postquam portam tenebant, cornicines, in via paribus intervallis dispositos,
7 canere iubent, ut consulem excirent. Id ubi factum ex composito est, signa efferri consul iubet ac paulo ante lucem per effractam portam urbem ingreditur.

XLVII. Tum demum hostes excitati sunt iam et
2 imbre conquiescente et propinqua luce. Praesidium in urbe erat Hannibalis, quinque milia ferme armatorum, et ipsi Arpini tria milia hominum armarant. Eos primos Poeni, ne quid ab tergo fraudis esset,
3 hosti opposuerunt. Pugnatum primo in tenebris angustisque viis est. Cum Romani non vias tantum sed tecta etiam proxima portam [1] occupassent, ne peti
4 superne ac volnerari possent, cogniti inter se quidam Arpinique et Romani atque inde conloquia coepta fieri, percunctantibus Romanis quid sibi vellent
5 Arpini, quam ob noxam Romanorum aut quod meritum Poenorum pro alienigenis ac barbaris Italiei adversus veteres socios Romanos bellum gererent et vectigalem ac stipendiariam Italiam Africae facerent,
6 Arpinis purgantibus ignaros omnium se venum a principibus datos Poeno, captos oppressosque a
7 paucis esse. Initio orto plures cum pluribus conloqui; postremo praetor Arpinus ab suis ad consulem deductus, fideque data inter signa aciesque Arpini repente

[1] portam *Drakenborch* : portae $C^2M^3?A^2$: porta $P(2)A?$.

of the men to sleep. Once in possession of the gate, B.C. 213
they ordered the trumpeters, posted at equal intervals along the road, to sound, in order to summon the consul. This done according to agreement, the consul orders the standards to be carried out of the camp, and a little before daylight enters the city through the gate they had forced.

XLVII. Not until then were the enemy aroused, as the noise of the rain was now lessening and daylight approaching. In the city there was a garrison of Hannibal's, about five thousand armed men, and the citizens of Arpi also had armed three thousand men. These were the first troops with which the Carthaginians, to prevent any treachery in the rear, confronted the enemy. They fought at first in darkness and in narrow streets. The Romans gained possession not only of the streets but also of the houses nearest to the gate, that they might not be attacked and wounded from above. Thereupon some Arpini and Romans recognized each other and then began conversations. The Romans asked what the Arpini meant, for what offence on the part of the Romans, or for what service on the part of the Carthaginians they, although Italians, were waging war for foreigners and barbarians against their old allies the Romans, and making Italy a tributary and a taxpayer to Africa. The Arpini pleaded as excuse that in complete ignorance they had been sold by their leading citizens to the Carthaginian and captured and overpowered by a few men. With that beginning larger groups conversed with larger. Finally the magistrate of Arpi was escorted by fellow-citizens to the consul, and after promises had been given in the midst of standards and battle-lines, the

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pro Romanis adversus Carthaginiensem arma verte-
8 runt. Hispani quoque, paulo minus mille homines, nihil praeterea cum consule pacti quam ut sine fraude Punicum emitteretur praesidium, ad consulem
9 transtulerunt signa. Carthaginiensibus portae patefactae emissique cum fide incolumes ad Hannibalem
10 Salapiam venerunt. Arpi sine clade ullius praeterquam unius veteris proditoris, novi perfugae, resti-
11 tuti ad Romanos. Hispanis duplicia cibaria dari iussa; operaque eorum forti ac fideli persaepe res publica usa est.

12 Cum consul alter in Apulia, alter in Lucanis esset, equites centum duodecim nobiles Campani per speciem praedandi ex hostium agro permissu magistratuum ab Capua profecti ad castra Romana, quae super Suessulam erant, venerunt; stationi militum qui essent dixerunt: conloqui sese cum praetore velle.
13 Cn. Fulvius castris praeerat; cui ubi nuntiatum est, decem ex eo numero iussis inermibus deduci ad se, ubi quae postularent audivit—nihil autem aliud petebant quam ut Capua recepta bona sibi restitue-
14 rentur—, in fidem omnes accepti. Et ab altero praetore Sempronio Tuditano oppidum Atrinum expugnatum. Amplius septem milia [1] hominum capta et
15 aeris argentique signati aliquantum. Romae foedum incendium per duas noctes ac diem unum tenuit. Solo aequata omnia inter Salinas ac portam Carmen-

[1] septem milia *P*(4) *in numerals* (ⅠↃↃↃↃ) : LXX *A*.

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[1] *I.e.* Gracchus; xliv. 9.
[2] Situation unknown.

Arpini suddenly fought for the Romans, turning their B.C. 213
weapons against the Carthaginians. The Spanish troops also, hardly fewer than a thousand men, after making no other terms with the consul than that the Punic garrison be allowed to go without injury, brought their standards over to the consul. The gates were opened for the Carthaginians, they were allowed to leave, as promised, and came unharmed to Hannibal at Salapia. Arpi, with the loss of no man but a single veteran traitor and recent deserter, was restored to the Romans. To the Spaniards double rations were ordered to be issued, and the state repeatedly availed itself of their brave and faithful service.

While one consul was in Apulia, the other [1] in Lucania, a hundred and twelve noble Campanian horsemen, setting out from Capua, with permission of the magistrates, under pretext of plundering the enemy's country, came to the Roman camp above Suessula. They told the guards outside who they were; that they wished to speak with the praetor. Gnaeus Fulvius was in command of the camp, and on being informed, he ordered that ten of their number be disarmed and brought to him. After he had heard their demands—and they made no other request than that upon the recovery of Capua their property should be restored to them, they were all taken under his protection. And the other praetor, Sempronius Tuditanus, took the town of Atrinum [2] by storm. More than seven thousand men were captured and a considerable amount of coined copper and silver. At Rome a terrible fire lasted two nights and a day. Everything between the Salinae and Porta Carmentalis was levelled to the ground,

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talem cum Aequimaelio lugarioque vico et [1] templis
16 Fortunae ac matris Matutae. Et extra portam late vagatus ignis sacra profanaque multa absumpsit.

XLVIII. Eodem anno P. et Cn. Cornelii, cum in Hispania res prosperae essent multosque et veteres reciperent socios et novos adicerent, in Africam quo-
2 que spem extenderunt. Syphax erat rex Numidarum
3 subito Carthaginiensibus hostis factus; ad eum centuriones tres legatos miserunt qui cum eo amicitiam societatemque facerent et pollicerentur, si perseveraret urguere bello Carthaginienses, gratam eam rem fore senatui populoque Romano et adnisuros ut in tempore et bene cumulatam gratiam referant.
4 Grata ea legatio barbaro fuit; conloeutusque cum legatis de ratione belli gerundi, ut veterum militum verba audivit, quam multarum rerum ipse ignarus esset, ex comparatione tam ordinatae disciplinae
5 animum advertit. Tum id [2] primum ut pro bonis ac fidelibus sociis facerent oravit, ut duo legationem referrent ad imperatores suos, unus apud sese magister rei militaris remaneret [3]: rudem ad pedestria bella Numidarum gentem esse, equis tantum habilem;
6 ita iam inde a principiis gentis maiores suos bella

[1] et *Madvig*: in *P*(1).
[2] tum id *Crévier*: id tum *Riemann*: tum *P*(1).
[3] remaneret A^2 *Riemann*: retieret *P*: rediret C^4(10): restaret *Walters*.

[1] The devastated area was that along the river from the Aventine to the Capitoline, including part of the southeast slope (Aequimaelium) of the latter, and the street (Vicus Iugarius) leading to the Forum. The temples mentioned were near the Tiber and close together; cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 4.

including the Aequimaelium and Vicus Iugarius,[1] also the Temples of Fortune and Mater Matuta. Outside the gate also the fire spread to a distance and destroyed many buildings sacred [2] and profane. B.C. 213

XLVIII. The same year Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius, in consequence of their success in Spain and their recovery of many old allies and the addition of new allies, enlarged their hopes in the direction of Africa as well. There was Syphax, king of the Numidians,[3] who had suddenly become an enemy of the Carthaginians. To him they sent three centurions as legates, to establish friendship and alliance with him, and to promise that if he should continue to embarrass the Carthaginians by war, it would be acceptable to the senate and the Roman people, and they would endeavour to return the favour at the right moment and with generous interest. This embassy pleased the barbarian, and he conferred with the ambassadors on the conduct of the war; and hearing what was said by experienced soldiers, he noted, from comparison with so well-ordered a system, how many things he did not know himself. Then, as the first act befitting good and faithful allies, he begged that two of the legates might report to their generals, and one remain with him as instructor in tactics. He said the Numidian nation was inexpert in infantry warfare, of service only as horsemen. This was the way their ancestors from their earliest history had waged war, thus they had

[2] Among these was the Temple of Spes, one of three in the Forum Holitorium, outside the wall; XXI. lxii. 4; XXV. vii. 6.

[3] *I.e.* of the western Numidians, the Masaesulians, in Algeria and Oran; XXVIII. xvii. 5.

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gessisse, ita se a pueris insuetos. Sed habere hostem pedestri fidentem Marte, cui si aequari robore
7 virium velit, et sibi pedites comparandos esse. Et ad id multitudine hominum regnum abundare, sed armandi ornandique et instruendi eos artem ignorare. Omnia, velut forte congregata turba, vasta [1] ac
8 temeraria esse. Facturos se in praesentia quod vellet legati respondent, fide accepta ut remitteret extemplo eum, si imperatores sui non comprobassent
9 factum. Q. Statorio nomen fuit, qui ad regem remansit. Cum duobus Romanis rex tres a [2] Numidis [3] legatos in Hispaniam misit ad accipiendam fidem ab
10 imperatoribus Romanis. Isdem mandavit ut protinus Numidas qui intra praesidia Carthaginiensium auxili-
11 ares essent [4] ad transitionem perlicerent. Et Statorius ex multa iuventute regi pedites conscripsit ordinatosque proxime morem Romanum instruendo et decurrendo signa sequi et servare ordines docuit,
12 et operi aliisque iustis militaribus ita adsuefecit ut brevi rex non equiti magis fideret quam pediti conlatisque aequo campo signis iusto proelio Carthagi-
13 niensem hostem superaret. Romanis quoque in Hispania legatorum regis adventus magno emolumento fuit; namque ad famam eorum transitiones crebrae ab Numidis coeptae fieri.

Ita cum Syphace Romanis coepta amicitia est. Quod ubi Carthaginienses acceperunt, extemplo

[1] vasta *Rubens*: suasca PR^1: suaisca P^2??(12).
[2] rex tres a *Conway*: relata $P(1)$: rex tres *Alschefski*: rex *Weissenborn*.
[3] Numidis $P(4)$: -das $B.1^2$.
[4] essent z: erant A^2x: *om.* $P(1)$.

themselves been trained from boyhood. But he B.C. 213
had an enemy who relied upon infantry battles, and if he wished to be a match for him in military strength he too must acquire infantry. And for that purpose his kingdom was supplied with men in great numbers, but they did not understand the art of arming and equipping them and placing them in battle-line. Everything was formless and unmethodical, as if a mob had been gathered by chance. The legates replied that for the present they would do as he desired, after receiving his pledge to send back the man at once, if their generals should not approve of their action. Quintus Statorius was the name of the one who remained with the king. With the two Romans the king sent three legates from the Numidians to Spain, to receive confirmation from the Roman generals. He further instructed them at once to persuade Numidians who were auxiliaries in the forces of the Carthaginians to desert them. And Statorius out of the mass of young men enrolled infantry for the king, organized them almost in the Roman manner, taught them in formation and evolution to follow standards and keep their ranks, and to such an extent accustomed them to fortifying and other regular duties of the soldier that in a short time the king had as much confidence in his infantry as in his cavalry, and in a regular engagement in formal array on level ground he defeated the Carthaginian enemy. The Romans also in Spain profited greatly by the coming of the king's representatives. For upon the news of their arrival desertions by the Numidians began to be frequent.

Thus began the friendship of the Romans with Syphax. When the Carthaginians learned of the

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ad Galam in parte altera Numidiae—Maesuli ea gens vocatur—regnantem legatos mittunt. XLIX. Filium Gala Masinissam habebat septem decem annos natum, ceterum iuvenem ea indole ut iam tum appareret maius regnum opulentiusque quam quod accepisset
2 facturum. Legati, quoniam Syphax se Romanis iunxisset, ut potentior societate eorum adversus
3 reges populosque Africae esset, docent melius fore Galae quoque Carthaginiensibus iungi quam primum, antequam Syphax in Hispaniam aut Romani in Africam transeant; opprimi Syphacem nihildum praeter nomen ex foedere Romano habentem posse.
4 Facile persuasum Galae, filio deposcente id bellum, ut mitteret exercitum; qui Carthaginiensibus legionibus coniunctus[1] magno proelio Syphacem devicit. Triginta milia eo proelio hominum caesa dicuntur.
5 Syphax cum paucis equitibus in Maurusios ex acie Numidas—extremi prope Oceanum adversus Gadis colunt—refugit, adfluentibusque ad famam eius undi-
6 que barbaris ingentis brevi copias armavit cum quibus in Hispaniam angusto diremptam freto traiceret. Sed[2] Masinissa cum victore exercitu advenit; isque ibi cum Syphace ingenti gloria per se sine ullis Carthaginiensium opibus gessit bellum.

[1] coniunctus *Madvig*: -iis *P*: -i $P^2\ell$: -is (1).
[2] Sed *H. J. Müller*: *om.* *P*(1): eo *or* et *Madvig*: ceterum *Luchs*: interim *Weissenborn*.

[1] The eastern part, adjoining Carthaginian territory. Cirta (Constantine) was Syphax's capital, until it fell to Masinissa in 203 B.C.; XXX. xii.

matter they at once sent legates to Gala, who reigned B.C. 213
in the other part of Numidia,[1] his people being called the Maesulians. XLIX. Gala had a son Masinissa,[2] seventeen years old, but a young man of such promise that even then it was evident that he would make the kingdom larger and richer than what he had received. The legates stated that, inasmuch as Syphax had attached himself to the Romans, in order, through alliance with them, to be more powerful against the kings and peoples of Africa, it would be well for Gala too to attach himself as soon as possible to the Carthaginians, before Syphax should cross into Spain or the Romans into Africa. Syphax could be surprised, they said, while he had as yet no advantage from his treaty with the Romans except the name. They easily persuaded Gala to send an army, as his son was begging for the command; and reinforced by the Carthaginian legions, Masinissa defeated Syphax in a great battle. Thirty thousand men are said to have been slain in that battle. Syphax with a few horsemen fled from the field to the Maurusian Numidians, who live far away, near the Ocean opposite Gades. And as the barbarians on hearing of him flocked together from all sides, he soon armed immense forces with which to cross into Spain, separated only by a narrow strait. But Masinissa came with his victorious army, and there by himself, without any help from the Carthaginians, he carried on war against Syphax with great distinction.

[2] Who fought against the Romans in Spain down to the time of Gala's death in 206 B.C., and then became an ally of Rome, and a friend of Scipio. At present he must have been nearer twenty-seven, since he died in 149 B.C. at 92 (*Epit.* 48 fin.; cf. 50).

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7 In Hispania nihil memorabile gestum praeterquam quod Celtiberum iuventutem eadem mercede qua pacta cum Carthaginiensibus erat imperatores
8 Romani ad se perduxerunt, et nobilissimos Hispanos supra trecentos in Italiam ad sollicitandos populares qui inter auxilia Hannibalis erant miserunt. Id [1] modo eius anni in Hispania [2] ad memoriam insigne est, quod mercennarium militem in castris neminem ante quam tum Celtiberos Romani habuerunt.

[1] Id modo . . . habuerunt *P*(1) : *spurious Geyer.*
[2] eius (*or* eris) anni in Hispania *P*(1) : *spurious Conway.*

In Spain nothing notable occurred except that the B.C. 213
Roman commanders attracted to their side the young men of the Celtiberians at the same pay at which these had made an agreement with the Carthaginians, and more than three hundred Spaniards of the highest rank were sent to Italy to win over their fellow-countrymen who were among Hannibal's auxiliaries. This is the only occurrence of that year in Spain that is worthy of record, since the Romans had no mercenary soldiers in their camps previous to the Celtiberians whom they had at that time.

LIBRI XXIV PERIOCHA

Hieronymus Syracusanorum rex, cuius pater Hiero amicus populi Romani fuerat, ad Carthaginienses defecit et propter crudelitatem superbiamque a suis interfectus est. Tib. Sempronius Graechus proconsul prospere adversus Poenos et Hannonem ducem ad Beneventum pugnavit servorum maxime opera, quos liberos esse iussit. Claudius Marcellus consul in Sicilia, quae prope tota ad Poenos defecerat, Syracusas obsedit. Philippo Macedonum regi bellum indictum est, qui ad Apolloniam nocturno proelio oppressus fugatusque in Macedoniam cum prope inermi exercitu profugit. Ad id bellum gerendum M. Valerius praetor missus. Res praeterea in Hispania a P. et Cn. Scipionibus adversus Carthaginienses gestas continet;[1] a quibus Syphax rex Numidiae in amicitiam adscitus, qui a Masinissa Massyliorum rege pro Carthaginiensibus pugnante victus in Hispaniam ad Scipionem cum magna manu transiit contra Gades, ubi angusto freto Africa et Hispania dirimuntur. Celtiberi quoque in amicitiam recepti sunt, quorum auxiliis adscitis tunc primum mercennarium militem Romana castra habuerunt.

[1] *The following lines (to the end) appear to be a later addition. Zangemeister, Wölfflin.*

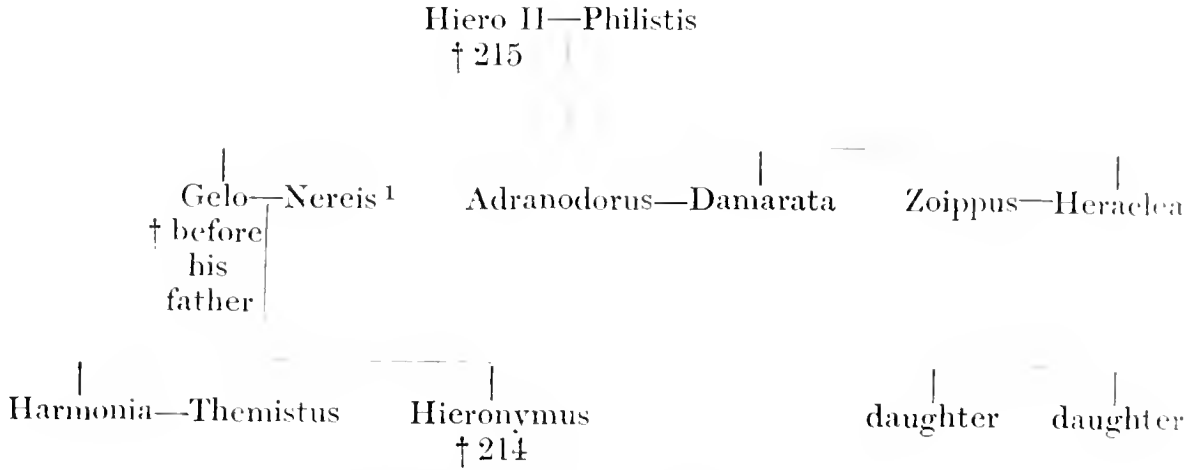
SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIV

HIERONYMUS, king of the Syracusans, whose father[1] Hiero had been a friend of the Roman people, revolted to the Carthaginians and on account of his cruelty and haughtiness was slain by his own men. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus as proconsul fought with success against the Carthaginians and Hanno their general near Beneventum, chiefly by the help of the slaves, whom he ordered to be free men. Claudius Marcellus, the consul, in Sicily, which had almost entirely revolted to the Carthaginians, besieged Syracuse. War was declared against Philip, king of the Macedonians, and he, surprised at Apollonia in a battle at night and put to flight, fled with an army almost disarmed into Macedonia. Marcus Valerius, a praetor, was sent to conduct that war. Furthermore the book contains what was accomplished against the Carthaginians in Spain by Publius and Gnaeus Scipio, by whom Syphax, king of Numidia, was won over to friendship. Syphax, defeated by Masinissa, king of the Massylians,[2] who was fighting for the Carthaginians, crossed over with a large force to Scipio in Spain, from a point opposite Gades, where Africa and Spain are parted by a narrow strait.[3] The Celtiberians also were admitted to friendship, and by their enrollment as auxiliaries Roman camps then for the first time had mercenary soldiers.

[1] An error for grandfather.

[2] *I.e.* the Maesulians.

[3] The statement that Syphax actually crossed over to Spain conflicts with the text (xlix. 6).



[1] A grand-daughter, rather than daughter, of Pyrrhus.

BOOK XXV

LIBER XXV

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I. Dum haec in Africa atque in Hispania geruntur, Hannibal in agro Sallentino aestatem consumpsit spe per proditionem urbis Tarentinorum potiundae. Ipsorum interim Sallentinorum ignobiles urbes ad
2 eum defecerunt. Eodem tempore in Bruttiis ex duodecim populis qui anno priore ad Poenos desciverant Consentini et Tauriani in fidem populi Romani
3 rediernnt; et plures redissent, ni T. Pomponius Veientanus, praefectus socium, prosperis aliquot populationibus in agro Bruttio iusti ducis speciem nactus tumultuario exercitu coacto cum Hannone
4 conflixisset. Magna ibi vis hominum, sed inconditae turbae agrestium servorumque, caesa aut capta est. Minimum iacturae fuit quod praefectus inter ceteros est captus, et tum temerariae pugnae auctor et ante publicanus omnibus malis artibus et rei publicae et
5 societatibus infidus damnosusque. Sempronius consul in Lucanis multa proelia parva, haud ullum dignum memoratu fecit et ignobilia oppida Lucanorum aliquot expugnavit.

[1] Hannibal is now in the southern part of Calabria, three days' march from Tarentum; cf. viii. 12. He had previously been near Arpi, in Apulia; XXIV. xlv. 11 ff.

BOOK XXV

I. While these things were being done in Africa and Spain, Hannibal spent the summer in the Sallentine region,[1] in the hope of getting possession of the city of Tarentum through treachery. Meantime, however, Sallentine cities of no importance went over to his side. At the same time among the Bruttians, out of twelve states which in the previous year had revolted to the Carthaginians, Consentia and Taurianum returned to their allegiance to the Roman people; and more would have returned if a prefect of the allies, Titus Pomponius Veientanus, who by successfully ravaging Bruttian territory a number of times gained the appearance of a regularly appointed general, had not gathered a hastily mustered army and engaged Hanno. A great many men were slain or captured there, an ill-organized mass, however, of rustics and slaves. It was the smallest part of the loss that, along with the rest, the prefect was captured, who was responsible at that time for a reckless battle, and had previously been a tax-farmer possessed of all the dishonest devices, faithless and ruinous both to the state and to the companies. Sempronius, the consul, fought many small engagements in Lucania, not one worthy of record, and took by storm a number of unimportant Lucanian towns. B.C. 213

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6 Quo diutius trahebatur bellum et variabant secundae adversaeque res non fortunam magis quam animos hominum, tanta religio, et ea magna ex parte externa, civitatem incessit ut aut homines aut dei 7 repente alii viderentur facti. Nec iam in secreto modo atque intra parietes abolebantur Romani ritus, sed in publico etiam ac foro Capitolioque mulierum turba erat nec sacrificantium nec precantium deos 8 patrio more. Sacrificuli ac vates ceperant hominum mentes, quorum numerum auxit rustica plebs, ex incultis diutino bello infestisque agris egestate et metu in urbem compulsa, et quaestus ex alieno errore facilis, quem velut concessae artis usu exercebant. 9 Primo secretae bonorum indignationes exaudiebantur; deinde ad patres et iam ad[1] publicam 10 querimoniam excessit res. Incusati graviter ab senatu aediles triumvirique capitales quod non prohiberent, cum emovere eam multitudinem e foro ac disicere adparatus sacrorum conati essent, haud 11 procul afuit quin violarentur. Ubi potentius iam esse id malum apparuit quam ut minores per magistratus sedaretur, M. Aemilio praetori urbano[2] negotium ab senatu datum est ut eis religionibus 12 populum liberaret. Is et in contione senatus consultum recitavit et edixit ut quicumque libros vaticinos precationesve aut artem sacrificandi con-

[1] et iam ad *Alschefski* : etiamad *P*(1) : etiam ac *Weissenborn.*

[2] urbano (*i.e.* urb.) *P*(1) : *om. as gloss Walters.*

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[1] Forsaken, as they felt, by their own gods, the populace were turning to foreign divinities and strange cults.

[2] An error of Livy for Marcus Atilius; XXIV. xliv. 2, where Aemilius, *praetor peregrinus*, assigns his duties to Atilius,

The longer the war dragged on and success and B.C. 213
failure altered the situation, and quite as much so the attitude of men, superstitious fears, in large part foreign at that, invaded the state to such a degree that either men or else gods suddenly seemed changed. And now not only in secret and within the walls of houses were Roman rites abandoned, but in public places also and in the Forum and on the Capitol there was a crowd of women who were following the custom of the fathers neither in their sacrifices nor in prayers to the gods.[1] Petty priests and also prophets had taken hold on men's minds. And the number of these was increased by the mass of rustics forced by want and fear into the city from their farms neglected and endangered because of the long war, and by easy profit from the delusion of others—a trade which they plied as though it were sanctioned. At first good men's indignation was voiced in private; then the matter reached the senate and now even official complaints. The aediles and the three police magistrates were roundly censured by the senate because they did not stop it; and after they had attempted to drive that crowd out of the Forum and to scatter the properties required for the rites, they narrowly escaped violence. Now that the disorder appeared to be too strong to be quelled by the lower magistrates, the senate assigned to Marcus Aemilius,[2] the city praetor, the task of freeing the people from such superstitions. He read the decree of the senate in an assembly, and also issued an edict that whoever had books of prophecies or prayers or a ritual of sacrifice set down in writing should bring all such

praetor urbanus, and takes a command in Apulia. The error is repeated in iii. 12 and xii. 3.

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scriptam haberet, eos libros omnis litterasque ad se ante kal. Apriles deferret, neu quis in publico sacroue loco nouo aut externo ritu sacrificaret.

II. Aliquot publici sacerdotes mortui eo anno sunt, L. Cornelius Lentulus pontifex maximus et C. Papirius C. f. Masso pontifex et P. Furius Philus augur et C. Papirius L. f. Masso decemvir sacrorum. 2 In Lentuli locum M. Cornelius Cethegus, in Papiri Cn. Seruilius Caepio pontifices suffecti sunt, augur creatus L. Quinctius Flamininus, decemvir sacrorum L. Cornelius Lentulus.

3 Comitiorum consularium iam adpetebat tempus; sed quia consules bello[1] intentos auocare non placebat, Ti. Sempronius consul comitiorum causa dictatorem dixit C. Claudium Centonem. Ab eo magister 4 equitum est dictus Q. Fulvius Flaccus. Dictator primo comitiali die creauit consules Q. Fulvium Flaccum magistrum equitum et Ap. Claudium Pulchrum, 5 cui Sicilia prouincia in praetura fuerat. Tum praetores creati Cn. Fulvius Flaccus, C. Claudius Nero, M. Iunius Silanus, P. Cornelius Sulla. Comitiis 6 perfectis dictator magistratu abiit. Aedilis curulis fuit eo anno cum M. Cornelio Cethego P. Cornelius Scipio, cui post Africano fuit cognomen. Huic petenti aedilitatem cum obsisterent tribuni plebis, negantes rationem eius habendam esse, quod

[1] bello P^1?x: a bello P(10).

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[1] Exact compliance with written directions being essential, as in the Roman religion, to seize the texts was in effect to suppress the cults.

[2] Cf. xii. 10 f.

[3] Scipio was probably only 22, but the famous law fixing statutory ages for the different offices (Lex Villia annalis) was not passed until 180 B.C.; XL. xliv. 1.

books and writings [1] to him before the first of April, B.C. 213
and that no one should sacrifice in a public or consecrated place according to a strange or foreign rite.

11. A number of priests of the state died that year: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, pontifex maximus, and Gaius Papirius Masso, son of Gaius, a pontifex, and Publius Furius Philus, an augur, and Gaius Papirius Masso, son of Lucius, a decemvir in charge of rites.[2] In place of Lentulus they made Marcus Cornelius Cethegus a pontiff and Gnaeus Servilius Caepio in that of Papirius; Lucius Quinctius Flamininus was named augur. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in charge of rites.

For the consular elections the time was now approaching, but because the consuls were occupied with the war and it was not thought advisable to call them away, Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, named Gaius Claudius Cento dictator to hold the elections. He in turn named Quintus Fulvius Flaccus master of the horse. On the first day available for elections the dictator announced the choice as consuls of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, master of the horse, and Appius Claudius Pulcher, who as praetor had had Sicily as his province. Then the following were elected praetors: Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, Gaius Claudius Nero, Marcus Junius Silanus, Publius Cornelius Sulla. Having finished the elections, the dictator laid down his office. Curule aedile that year, together with Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, was Publius Cornelius Scipio,[3] who was later called Africanus. When he was a candidate for the aedileship, and the tribunes of the plebs tried to oppose him, saying that he ought not to be considered because he did

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7 nondum ad petendum legitima aetas esset, "Si me" inquit "omnes Quirites aedilem facere volunt, satis annorum habeo." Tanto inde favore ad suffragium ferendum in tribus discursum est ut tribuni 8 repente incepto desiterint. Aedilicia largitio haec fuit: ludi Romani pro temporis illius copiis magnifice facti et diem unum instaurati, et congii olei in vicos 9 singulos dati . . . .[1] L. Villius Tappulus et M. Fundanius Fundulus aediles plebei aliquot matronas apud populum probri accusarunt; quasdam ex eis 10 damnatas in exilium egerunt. Ludi plebei per biduum instaurati et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

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III. Q. Fulvius Flaccus tertium Appius Claudius 2 consulatum ineunt. Et praetores provincias sortiti sunt, P. Cornelius Sulla urbanam et peregrinam, quae duorum ante sors fuerat, Cn. Fulvius Flaccus Apuliam, C. Claudius Nero Suessulam, M. Iunius 3 Silanus Tuscos. Consulibus bellum cum Hannibale et binae legiones decretae; alter a Q. Fabio superioris anni consule, alter a Fulvio Centumalo acciperet; 4 praetorum Fulvi Flacci quae Luceriae sub Aemilio praetore, Neronis Claudi quae in Piceno sub C. Terentio fuissent legiones essent; supplementum in eas ipsi scriberent sibi. M. Iunio in Tuscos

[1] *Numeral missing, perhaps* L *preceding* L. (*Engelmann*) *at end of line in P.*

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[1] The *ludi Romani* or *maximi* occurred in mid-September and lasted four days. For repetition cf. XXIII. xxx. 16.

[2] A *congius* held about three quarts.

[3] As in wartime cases to be heard by the *praetor peregrinus* would be much reduced in number, he could be spared for service at the front; XXIV. xliv. 2.

[4] A military base in Campania, southeast of Capua, half-way to Nola. Its Castra Claudiana lay near the entrance to the Caudine Pass. Cf. XXIII. xxxi. 3; XXIV. xvii. 2; xliv. 3.

not have the legal age for candidacy, he said, "If all B.C. 213
the citizens want to make me aedile I have years enough." Thereupon with such enthusiasm they separated to form by tribes in order to cast their votes, that the tribunes suddenly gave up their attempt. The generosity of the aediles consisted in celebrating the Roman Games [1] splendidly, for the resources of that time, and in repeating them for one day; also in giving . . . measures [2] of oil for each precinct. Lucius Villius Tappulus and Marcus Fundanius Fundulus as plebeian aediles brought before the people charges of immorality against a number of matrons. Some of these being convicted, they drove them into exile. The Plebeian Games were repeated for two days, and on account of the festival a banquet for Jupiter was held.

III. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius B.C. 212
entered upon their consulship, the former for the third time. And the praetors received by lot the following assignments: Publius Cornelius Sulla, the duties of praetor urbanus and praetor peregrinus,[3] previously two separate offices; Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, Apulia, Gaius Claudius Nero, Suessula,[4] Marcus Junius Silanus, Etruria. To the consuls were assigned by decree the war with Hannibal and two legions each. The one was to take over his troops from Quintus Fabius, consul in the previous year, the other from Fulvius Centumalus. Of the praetors, Fulvius Flaccus was to have the legions which had been at Luceria under the praetor Aemilius, Nero Claudius the one [5] which had been in the Picene district under Gaius Terentius. They were themselves to enlist more recruits for the same. To Marcus Junius the

[5] Terentius Varro had had only one legion; XXIV. xliv. 5.

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5 legiones urbanae prioris anni datae. Ti. Sempronio Graccho et P. Sempronio Tuditano imperium provinciaeque Lucani et Gallia cum suis exercitibus
6 prorogatae; item P. Lentulo qua vetus provincia in Sicilia esset, M. Marcello Syracusae et qua Hieronis regnum fuisset; T. Otacilio classis, Graecia M. Valerio, Sardinia Q. Mucio Scaevolae, Hispaniae P.
7 et Cn. Corneliis. Ad veteres exercitus duae urbanae legiones a consulibus scriptae, summaque trium et viginti legionum eo anno effecta est.

8 Dilectum consulum M. Postumii Pyrgensis cum
9 magno prope motu rerum factum impediit. Publicanus erat Postumius, qui multis annis parem fraude avaritiaque neminem in civitate habuerat praeter T. Pomponium Veientanum, quem populantem temere agros in Lucanis ductu Hannonis priore anno
10 ceperant Carthaginienses. Hi, quia publicum periculum erat a vi tempestatis in iis quae portarentur ad exercitus et ementiti erant falsa naufragia et ea ipsa quae vera renuntiaverant fraude ipsorum facta
11 erant, non casu. In veteres quassasque naves paucis et parvi pretii rebus impositis, cum mersissent eas in alto exceptis in praeparatas scaphas nautis,
12 multiplices fuisse merces ementiebantur. Ea fraus indicata M. Aemilio praetori priore anno fuerat ac per eum ad senatum delata nec tamen ullo senatus

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[1] Cf. XXIV. xliv. 4; vii. 9.
[2] Cf. i. 3 f.

city legions of the previous year were given for B.C. 212
Etruria. For Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus their commands and provinces, Lucania and Gaul, with their armies, were continued. And the same was done for Publius Lentulus, within the limits of the old province in Sicily, and for Marcellus, whose province was Syracuse and up to the former boundaries of Hiero's kingdom.[1] The fleet was assigned to Titus Otacilius, Greece to Marcus Valerius, Sardinia to Quintus Mucius Scaevola, the Spanish provinces to Publius and Gnaeus Cornelius. In addition to the old armies two city legions were enrolled by the consuls, and the total that year amounted to twenty-three legions.

The consular levy was hampered by the conduct of Marcus Postumius of Pyrgi, which almost occasioned a serious insurrection. Postumius was a tax-farmer, who in many years had had no equal in dishonesty and avarice in the state, except Titus Pomponius Veientanus, whom the Carthaginians under Hanno's command had captured in the preceding year, while he was rashly ravaging the country in Lucania.[2] These men, since the state assumed the risk from violent storms in the case of shipments to the armies, had falsely reported imaginary shipwrecks, and even those which they had correctly reported had been brought about by their own trickery, not by accident. They would put small cargoes of little value on old, battered vessels, sink them at sea, after taking off the crews in small boats that were in readiness, and then falsely declare that the shipments were far more valuable. This dishonesty had been reported in the previous year to Marcus Aemilius, the praetor, and by him brought before the senate, but it was not branded by

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consulto notata, quia patres ordinem publicanorum
13 in tali tempore offensum nolebant. Populus severior
vindex fraudis erat, excitatique tandem duo tribuni
plebis, Spurius et L. Carvilii, cum rem invisam
infamemque cernerent, ducentum milium aeris
14 multam M. Postumio dixerunt. Cui certandae cum
dies advenisset, conciliumque tam frequens plebis
adesset ut multitudinem area Capitolii vix caperet,
15 perorata causa una spes videbatur esse si C. Servilius
Casca tribunus plebis, qui propinquus cognatusque
Postumio erat, priusquam ad suffragium tribus
16 vocarentur, intercessisset. Testibus datis tribuni
populum summoverunt, sitellaque lata est, ut sorti-
17 rentur ubi Latini suffragium ferrent. Interim
publicani Cascae instare ut concilio diem eximeret;
populus reclamare; et forte in cornu primus sedebat
Casca, cui simul metus pudorque animum versabat.
18 Cum in eo parum praesidii esset, turbandae rei causa
publicani per vacuum summoto locum cuneo inrupe-
19 runt iurgantes simul cum populo tribunisque. Nec
procul dimicatione res erat cum Fulvius consul
tribunis "Nonne videtis" inquit "vos in ordinem
coactos esse et rem ad seditionem spectare, ni
propere dimittitis plebis concilium?"

IV. Plebe dimissa senatus vocatur et consules

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[1] It was left for the people to confirm or remit such a fine; cf. XXXVII. li. 4 f.; lviii. 1; Cicero, *Phil.* XI. 18; *de Leg.* III. 6.

[2] The witnesses were to watch the balloting.

[3] *I.e.* such Latins as were present at Rome. In which of the tribes they should vote was determined by the tribunes, who cast lots.

[4] Any action interfering with a tribune's duties or privileges was held equivalent to degrading him from office; cf. XLIII. 16. 9 f.

any decree of the senate, because the senators were B.C. 212
unwilling to offend the tax-farmers as a class at such a crisis. The people proved a more unsparing avenger of dishonesty; namely, two tribunes of the plebs, Spurius and Lucius Carvilius, were at length aroused, and seeing that the affair was unpopular and notorious, imposed a fine of two hundred thousand asses upon Marcus Postumius. When the day for his protest against this fine arrived, the assembly of the commons [1] was so large that the open space on the Capitol could scarcely contain the crowd. After the arguments were concluded, there seemed to be but one hope, namely, if Gaius Servilius Casca, a tribune of the plebs who was a blood-relative of Postumius, should interpose his veto before the tribes should be called to vote. The tribunes provided witnesses,[2] cleared the people away, and the urn was brought, that they might determine by lot in which tribe the Latins [3] should vote. Meantime the tax-farmers pressed Casca to adjourn that day's hearing before the assembly. The people protested; and it so happened that the first seat at the end of the platform was occupied by Casca, whose mind was swayed at once by fear and shame. Finding in him no sufficient protection, the publicans, in order to prevent action, rushed in a wedge through the space cleared by removal of the crowd, while at the same time they reviled the people and the tribunes. And it had almost come to a battle when Fabius, the consul, said to the tribunes, "Do you not see that you are reduced to the ranks,[4] and that this means an insurrection if you do not promptly dismiss the popular assembly?"

IV. The assembly being dismissed, the senate was summoned and the consuls brought up the matter

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referunt de concilio plebis turbato vi atque audacia
2 publicanorum: M. Furium Camillum, cuius exilium ruina urbis secutura[1] fuerit, damnari se ab iratis
3 civibus passum esse; decemviros ante eum, quorum legibus ad eam diem viverent, multos postea principes
4 civitatis iudicium de se populi passos: Postumium Pyrgensem suffragium populo Romano extorsisse, concilium plebis sustulisse, tribunos in ordinem coegisse, contra populum Romanum aciem instruxisse, locum occupasse, ut tribunos a plebe intercluderet,
5 tribus in suffragium vocari prohiberet. Nihil aliud a caede ac dimicatione continuisse homines nisi patientiam magistratuum, quod cesserint in praesentia furori atque audaciae paucorum vincique se ac populum
6 Romanum passi sint et comitia, quae reus vi atque armis prohibiturus erat, ne causa quaerentibus dimicationem daretur, voluntate ipsi sua sustulerint.
7 Haec cum ab optimo quoque pro atrocitate rei accepta[2] essent, vimque eam contra rem publicam et pernicioso exemplo factam senatus decresset,
8 confestim Carvilii tribuni plebis omissa multae certatione rei capitalis diem Postumio dixerunt ac, ni vades daret, prendi a viatore atque in carcerem
9 duci iusserunt. Postumius vadibus datis non adfuit.

[1] secutura *Alschefski*: secura *P*(1).
[2] accepta *Madvig*: acta *P*(1).

[1] Cf. V. xxxii. 9; xxxiii. 1.

of the disturbance in the popular assembly owing to B.C. 212
the violence and audacity of the publicans. Marcus Furius Camillus,[1] it was said, a man whose exile would have been followed by the ruin of the city, had allowed himself to be condemned by the angry citizens; that before his time the decemvirs, under whose laws they were then still living, and later many leading men in the state, had submitted to the judgment of the people in their cases; that Postumius of Pyrgi had wrested the vote from the Roman people, had brought to naught an assembly of the plebs, reduced the tribunes to the ranks, drawn up a battle-line against the Roman people, had taken his position, to separate the tribunes from the people and to prevent the tribes from being summoned to vote. Nothing had restrained men from slaughter and battle but the forbearance of the magistrates in yielding for the moment to the mad audacity of a few men, and in allowing themselves and the Roman people to be worsted, also in that, as regards the voting, which the defendant would have prevented by force of arms, they had of their own accord suspended it, to avoid giving excuse to those eager for the fray. These words were interpreted by all the best citizens as deserved by an outrageous occurrence, and the senate declared that this violence had been employed against the state, setting a dangerous precedent. Thereupon the Carvilii, tribunes of the people, in place of the procedure to fix the amount of the fine, at once named a day for Postumius' appearance on a capital charge, and ordered that if he did not furnish sureties he should be seized by an attendant and taken to prison. Postumius furnished sureties, but did not appear.

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Tribuni plebem rogaverunt plebesque ita scivit, si M. Postumius ante kal. Maias non prodisset citatusque eo die non respondisset neque excusatus esset, videri eum in exilio esse bonaque eius venire, ipsi aqua et igni placere interdici. Singulis deinde eorum qui turbae ac tumultus concitatores fuerant, rei capitalis diem dicere ac vades poscere coeperunt. Primo non dantis, deinde etiam eos qui dare possent in carcerem coiciebant; cuius rei periculum vitantes plerique in exilium abierunt.

V. Hunc fraus publicanorum, deinde fraudem audacia protegens exitum habuit. Comitia inde pontifici maximo creando sunt habita; ea comitia novus pontifex M. Cornelius Cethegus habuit. Tres ingenti certamine petierunt, Q. Fulvius Flaccus consul, qui et ante bis consul et censor fuerat, et T. Manlius Torquatus, et ipse duobus consulatibus et censura insignis, et P. Licinius Crassus, qui aedilitatem curulem petiturus erat. Hic senes honoratosque iuvenis in eo certamine vicit. Ante hunc intra centum annos et viginti nemo praeter P. Cornelium Calussam pontifex maximus creatus fuerat qui sella curuli non sedisset.

Consules dilectum cum aegre conficerent, quod inopia iuniorum non facile in utrumque, ut et novae urbanae legiones et supplementum veteribus seriberetur, sufficiebat, senatus absistere eos incepto

The tribunes put the question to the plebs and the B.C. 212
plebs ordained that, if Marcus Postumius should not appear before the first of May, and on being summoned on that day should not reply nor be excused, it should be understood that he was in exile, and be decided that his property should be sold and himself refused water and fire. The tribunes then began to name a day for the appearance on a capital charge of each of those who had been instigators of riot and sedition, and to demand sureties from them. At first they threw into prison those who did not give security, and then even those who were able to do so. Avoiding this danger many went into exile.

V. Such was the outcome of dishonesty on the part of the publicans and of audacity seeking to cover dishonesty. Next was held an election for the choice of a pontifex maximus. This election was conducted by a new pontiff, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. Three men canvassed with great rivalry: Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the consul, who had been consul twice before and also censor, and Titus Manlius Torquatus, likewise distinguished by two consulships and a censorship, and Publius Licinius Crassus, who was only about to be a candidate for a curule aedileship. This young man defeated in that contest old men who had held high offices. Before him for a hundred and twenty years no one who had not occupied a curule chair had been elected pontifex maximus, except Publius Cornelius Calussa.

The consuls were finding it difficult to complete the levy, since the scant supply of young men was hardly sufficient for the two purposes, enrollment of new legions for the city and replacements for the old ones. The senate accordingly forbade them to give

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vetuit et triumviros binos creari iussit, alteros qui citra, alteros qui ultra quinquagensimum lapidem in pagis forisque et conciliabulis omnem copiam ingenuorum inspicerent et, si qui roboris satis ad ferenda arma habere viderentur, etiamsi nondum militari aetate essent, milites facerent; tribuni plebis, si iis videretur, ad populum ferrent ut, qui minores septem decem annis sacramento dixissent, iis perinde stipendia procederent ac si septem decem annorum aut maiores milites facti essent. Ex hoc senatus consulto creati triumviri bini conquisitionem ingenuorum per agros habuerunt.

10 Eodem tempore ex Sicilia litterae Marci Marcelli de postulatis militum qui cum P. Lentulo militabant in senatu recitatae sunt. Cannensis reliquiae cladis hic exercitus erat, relegatus in Siciliam, sicut ante dictum est, ne ante Punici belli finem in Italiam reportarentur. VI. Hi permissu Lentuli primores equitum centurionumque et robora ex legionibus peditum legatos in hiberna ad M. Marcellum mise-
2 runt, e quibus unus potestate dicendi facta: "Consulem te, M. Marcelle, in Italia[1] adissemus, cum primum de nobis, etsi non iniquum, certe triste senatus consultum factum est, nisi hoc sperassemus,

[1] Italia x: italiam $P(1)$.

[1] For *fora* and *conciliabula*, cf. xxii. 4; XXXIX. xiv. 7; xviii. 2; XL. xxxvii. 3 f.; XLIII. xiv. 10. *A forum* was a Roman settlement, usually on an important road (*e.g.* Forum Appii), but lacking the status of a *colonia*. A *conciliabulum* was a petty administrative centre for rural districts (*pagi*).

[2] Cf. XXIII. xxv. 7; XXIV. xviii. 9.

up the attempt and ordered the appointment of two B.C. 212
commissions of three officials each, to inspect in rural districts, market-towns and local centres [1] all possible freeborn men within fifty miles, the other beyond that distance, and any that seemed to them strong enough to bear arms, even if not yet of military age, they were to recruit. The tribunes of the plebs, if they should see fit, were to bring before the people a bill that, in the case of those who had taken the military oath at less than seventeen years, their campaigns should run just as if they had been recruited at seventeen years or older. In accordance with this decree of the senate two commissions of three members each were appointed and they conducted the search for freeborn men in the country.

At the same time a letter from Marcus Marcellus in Sicily was read in the senate concerning demands of the soldiers serving under Publius Lentulus. This army was the remnant of the disaster at Cannae, and, as has been said above, was relegated to Sicily, not to be brought back to Italy before the end of the Punic War.[2] VI. These men with Lentulus' permission sent their leading knights and centurions and picked men from the infantry of the legions to Marcus Marcellus at his winter quarters as their representatives, and one of them, receiving permission to speak, said: "In your consulship,[3] Marcus Marcellus, and in Italy we should have come to you already, directly after the senate made in our case a decree that, if not unjust, was surely severe, had it not been our hope that we were being sent into a province thrown

[3] But at the time of the *senatus consultum* Marcellus was not consul, but praetor, and the men in question were in his own army; cf. XXIII. xxiv. 1; xxv. 7.

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in provinciam nos morte regum turbatam ad grave
3 bellum adversus Siculos simul Poenosque mitti, et sanguine nostro vulneribusque nos senatui [1] satisfacturos esse, sicut patrum memoria qui capti a Pyrrho ad Heracleam erant adversus Pyrrhum ipsum
4 pugnantes satisfecerunt. Quamquam quod ob meritum nostrum suscensuistis, patres conscripti, nobis
5 aut suscensetis? Ambo mihi consules et universum senatum intueri videor, cum te, M. Marcelle, intueor, quem si ad Cannas consulem habuissemus, melior et
6 rei publicae et nostra fortuna esset. Sine, quaeso, priusquam de condicione nostra queror, noxam cuius arguimur nos purgare. Si non deum ira nec fato, cuius lege immobilis rerum humanarum ordo seritur, sed culpa periimus ad Cannas, cuius tandem
7 ea culpa fuit? Militum an imperatorum? Equidem miles nihil umquam dicam de imperatore meo, cui praesertim gratias sciam ab senatu actas quod non desperaverit de re publica, cui post fugam ab Cannis [2]
8 per omnes annos prorogatum imperium. Ceteros item ex reliquiis cladis eius, quos tribunos militum habuimus, honores petere et gerere et provincias
9 obtinere audivimus. An vobis vestrisque liberis ignoscitis facile, patres conscripti, in haec vilia capita saevitis? [3] Et consuli primoribusque aliis civitatis fugere, cum spes alia nulla esset, turpe non fuit,
10 milites utique morituros in aciem misistis? Ad

[1] nos senatui *Bentley*: nostris senatui *Crévier*: nostratui *PA?*(2).

[2] ab Cannis *Gronovius*: actamnis *P*: actamnisi P^{2}*?*(1): Cannensem A^{y}.

[3] saevitis A^{2}: saeviret *PA?*(11): saevire $P^{z}CM^{1}$: saevire libet *Hertz.*

[1] Cf. V. xxxviii.

into confusion by the death of its kings, to carry on a serious war against Sicilians and Carthaginians combined, and that by our blood and wounds we were to give satisfaction to the senate, just as in the time of our fathers the men who had been captured by Pyrrhus at Heraclea had done by fighting against Pyrrhus himself. And yet for what desert of ours have you been angry at us, conscript fathers, or are now angry? It seems that I am looking at both consuls and the entire senate when I look at you, Marcus Marcellus. If we had had you as consul at Cannae the lot of the state, and of ourselves as well, would be a better one. Before I complain of our plight, permit us, I pray, to clear ourselves of the offence of which we are charged. If it was not by anger of the gods nor by Fate, according to whose law the chain of human events is unalterably linked, but by a fault that we were undone at Cannae, whose fault, pray, was it? Of the soldiers or of the generals? For my part I, a soldier, will never say anything about my general, especially since I know that he was thanked by the senate because he did not lose hope for the state, and that after the flight from Cannae his command was continued year after year. The others too who survived that disaster, the men whom we had as our tribunes of the soldiers, canvass for offices, we have heard, and hold them, and govern provinces. Can it be, conscript fathers, that you readily pardon yourselves and your sons, but are cruel to these creatures of no account? And while it was no disgrace to the consul and other leading men in the state to flee, since there was no other hope, did you send your common soldiers into battle to die inevitably? At the Allia [1] almost the entire B.C. 212

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Alliam prope omnis exercitus fugit; ad Furculas Caudinas ne expertus quidem certamen arma tradidit hosti, ut alias pudendas clades exercituum
11 taceam; tamen tantum afuit ab eo ut ulla ignominia iis exercitibus quaereretur ut et urbs Roma per eum exercitum qui ab Allia Veios transfugerat recipera-
12 retur, et Caudinae legiones, quae sine armis redierant Romam, armatae remissae in Samnium eundem illum hostem sub iugum miserint qui hac sua igno-
13 minia laetatus fuerat. Cannensem vero quisquam exercitum fugae aut pavoris insimulare potest, ubi plus quinquaginta milia hominum ceciderunt, unde consul cum equitibus septuaginta fugit, unde nemo superest nisi quem hostis caedendo fessus reliquit?
14 Cum captivis redemptio negabatur, nos vulgo homines laudabant quod rei publicae nos reservassemus, quod ad consulem Venusiam redissemus et
15 speciem iusti exercitus fecissemus; nunc deteriore condicione sumus quam apud patres nostros fuerunt[1] captivi. Quippe illis arma tantum atque ordo militandi locusque in quo tenderent in castris est mutatus, quae tamen semel navata rei publicae opera et uno
16 felici proelio recuperarunt; nemo eorum relegatus in exilium est, nemini spes emerendi stipendia adempta, hostis denique est datus, cum quo dimicantes aut vitam semel aut ignominiam finirent;
17 nos, quibus, nisi quod commisimus ut quisquam ex Cannensi acie miles Romanus superesset, nihil obici potest, non solum a patria procul Italiaque sed ab

[1] fuerunt *J. H. Voss*: fuerant *P*(1).

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[1] Cf. IX. iv. The following phrase is exaggerated.

army fled; at the Caudine Forks,[1] without even B.C. 212
attempting a battle, the army surrendered its weapons to the enemy, not to mention other shameful defeats of armies. But so far were men from devising any disgrace for those armies that the city of Rome was recovered by the army which had fled from the Allia over to Veii, and the Caudine legions, which had returned to Rome without their arms, were sent back armed into Samnium and sent under the yoke that same enemy who had exulted in a disgrace now their own. But at Cannae can any one accuse the army of panic and fright, where more than fifty thousand men fell, whence the consul fled with seventy horsemen, and of which no one survives except the man whom the enemy, tired of slaying, spared? At the time when ransom was refused to captives, men were everywhere praising us because we had saved ourselves for the state, had returned to the consul at Venusia and had formed the semblance of a regular army. But now we are in a worse situation than in our fathers' time were captives. For in their case only their arms and their rank and the position of their tents when in camp were changed. These, however, they recovered by a single service rendered to the state and one victory. Not one of them was sent into exile, not one of them was deprived of the hope of serving out his term; in fine they were given an enemy, so that in battle with him they might once for all end either life or disgrace. But we, against whom no charge can be brought except that we are to blame for the survival of any Roman soldier from the battle-line at Cannae, have been sent far away, not only from our native city and Italy, but also from the enemy, that there

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18 hoste etiam relegati sumus, ubi senescamus in exilio, ne qua spes, ne qua occasio abolendae ignominiae, ne qua placandae civium irae, ne qua denique bene moriendi sit. Neque ignominiae finem nec virtutis praemium petimus: modo experiri animum et virtutem exercere liceat. Laborem et periculum petimus, ut virorum, ut militum officio fungamur. Bellum in Sicilia iam alterum annum ingenti dimicatione geritur; urbes alias Poenus, alias Romanus expugnat; peditum, equitum acies concurrunt; ad Syracusas terra marique geritur res; clamorem pugnantium crepitumque armorum exaudimus resides ipsi ac segnes, tamquam nec manus nec arma habeamus. Servorum legionibus Ti. Sempronius consul totiens iam cum hoste signis conlatis pugnavit; operae pretium habent libertatem civitatemque. Pro servis saltem ad hoc bellum emptis vobis simus; congredi cum hoste liceat et pugnando quaerere libertatem. Vis tu mari, vis terra, vis acie, vis urbibus oppugnandis experiri virtutem? Asperrima quaeque ad laborem periculumque deposcimus, ut quod ad Cannas faciundum fuit quam primum fiat, quoniam, quidquid postea viximus,[1] id omne destinatum ignominiae est."

VII. Sub haec dicta ad genua Marcelli procubuerunt. Marcellus id nec iuris nec potestatis suae esse dixit; senatui scripturum se omniaque de sententia patrum facturum esse. Eae litterae ad novos consules allatae ac per eos in senatu recitatae sunt, consultusque de iis litteris ita decrevit senatus:

[1] viximus *P*(1): vivimus *Luchs*: vixerimus *Harant.*

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[1] XXIV. xvi. 9.

we may grow old in exile, that we may have no hope, B.C. 212
no opportunity of wiping out disgrace, none of appeasing the anger of our citizens, none even of dying bravely. It is neither an end of our disgrace nor a reward for our courage that we ask. Only let us prove our spirit and put our courage into practice. It is for hardship and danger we are asking, that we may do the duty of men and soldiers. The war in Sicily has now been carried on with intensity for two years. Some cities are being stormed by the Carthaginian, some by the Roman. Infantry and cavalry clash in battle-line. At Syracuse the war goes on by land and by sea. The cries of men in battle and the din of arms can be heard by us, who are ourselves unemployed and listless, as if we had neither hands nor weapons. With legions of slaves Tiberius Sempronius, the consul, has engaged the enemy again and again in battle formation. As a reward for their service they have freedom [1] and citizenship. Reckon us at least slaves purchased for this war; let us engage the enemy and by fighting earn freedom. Do you wish, sir, to test our courage on sea, on land, in battle-line, in besieging cities? We demand all the worst in hardship and danger, in order that what should have been done at Cannae be done as soon as possible, since every day that we have since lived has been marked for disgrace."

VII. At the close of this speech they fell at Marcellus' knees. Marcellus said the matter was neither within his competence nor his authority; he would write to the senate and do everything according to the opinion of the fathers. The letter was delivered to the new consuls and by them read in the senate. And after discussion of the letter the senate decreed

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militibus, qui ad Cannas commilitones suos pugnantis deseruissent, senatum nihil videre cur res publica committenda esset. Si M. Claudio proconsuli aliter videretur, faceret quod e re publica fideque sua duceret, dum ne quis eorum munere vacaret neu dono militari virtutis ergo donaretur neu in Italiam reportaretur donec hostis in terra Italia esset.

Comitia deinde a praetore urbano de senatus sententia plebique scitu sunt habita, quibus creati sunt quinqueviri muris turribus[1] reficiendis, et triumviri bini, uni sacris conquirendis donisque persignandis, alteri reficiendis aedibus Fortunae et matris Matutae[2] intra portam Carmentalem et Spei extra portam, quae priore anno incendio consumptae fuerant.

Tempestates foedae fuere; in Albano monte biduum continenter lapidibus pluvit. Tecta de caelo multa, duae in Capitolio aedes, vallum in castris multis locis supra Sucssulam, et duo vigiles exanimati; murus turresque quaedam Cumis non ictae modo fulminibus sed etiam decussae. Reate saxum ingens visum volitare, sol rubere solito magis sanguineoque similis. Horum prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit, et per aliquot dies consules rebus divinis operam dederunt, et per eosdem dies sacrum novemdiale fuit.

Cum Tarentinorum defectio iam diu et in spe

[1] turribus *P*(1): et turribus *Weissenborn*: turribusque A^{ν}.
[2] Matutae *z*: *om.* *P*(1).

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[1] Cf. XXIV. xlvii. 15 f.

as follows: that to soldiers who had deserted their B.C. 212
comrades in battle at Cannae the senate saw no reason why the welfare of the state should be entrusted. If Marcus Claudius, the proconsul, should take a different view, he should do what he thought to accord with the interest of the state and his own conscience, provided that no one of them should be exempt from duties, or be decorated for valour, or be brought back to Italy, so long as the enemy should be in the land of Italy.

Elections were then held by the praetor urbanus in accordance with a decision of the senate and a plebiscite, and at these there were elected five commissioners for the restoration of the walls and towers, and two boards of three, one to recover sacred vessels and register temple gifts, the other to rebuild the Temple of Fortune and that of Mater Matuta inside Porta Carmentalis, and that of Hope outside the gate—temples that had been destroyed by fire the preceding year.[1]

There were terrible storms; on the Alban Mount it rained stones steadily for two days. Many things were struck by lightning: two temples on the Capitol, the embankment of the camp above Suessula in many places, and two sentries were killed. At Cumae the wall and certain towers were not merely struck by the bolts but even thrown down. At Reate a huge stone seemed to fly, the sun to be redder than usual and of a bloody colour. On account of these prodigies there was a single day of prayer, and for several days the consuls devoted themselves to religious rites; and about the same time there was a nine days' observance.

While a revolt of the Tarentines had long been

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Hannibali et in suspicione Romanis esset, causa forte
11 extrinsecus maturandae eius intervenit. Phileas Tarentinus diu iam per speciem legationis Romae cum esset, vir inquieti animi et minime otium, quo tum diutino senescere videbatur, patientis, aditum sibi ad obsides Tarentinos et Thurinos [1] invenit.
12 Custodiebantur in atrio Libertatis minore cura, quia nec ipsis nec civitatibus eorum fallere Romanos
13 expediebat. Hos crebris conloquiis sollicitatos corruptis adcdituis duobus cum primis tenebris custodia eduxisset, ipse comes occulti itineris factus profugit. Luce prima volgata per urbem fuga est, missique qui sequerentur ab Tarracina comprensos omnis retraxerunt. Deducti in comitium virgisque adprobante populo caesi de saxo deiciuntur.

VIII. Huius atrocitas poenae duarum nobilissimarum in Italia Graecarum civitatium animos
2 inritavit cum publice, tum etiam singulos privatim, ut quisque tam foede interemptos aut propinquitate
3 aut amicitia contingebat. Ex iis tredecim fere nobiles iuvenes Tarentini coniuraverunt, quorum
4 principes Nico et Philemenus erant. Hi priusquam aliquid moverent, conloquendum cum Hannibale rati, nocte per speciem venandi urbe egressi ad eum
5 proficiscuntur. Et cum haud procul castris abessent, ceteri silva prope viam sese occuluerunt, Nico et

[1] Tarentinos et Thurinos *Heusinger* : Thurinos *P* (*cf.* viii. 1) : Tarentinos P^1?(1).

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[1] As in XXIV. xx. 6.

hoped for by Hannibal and suspected by the Romans, B.C. 212
a reason for expediting the same happened to come from without. Phileas of Tarentum, a man of restless spirit and quite unable to endure the long inactivity in which he seemed to be losing his powers, had been at Rome for a long time, nominally as an ambassador. Thus he found means of access to the hostages from Tarentum and Thurii. They were kept under guard in the Atrium Libertatis, with less watchfulness because it was to the interest neither of the hostages themselves nor of their states to outwit the Romans. Phileas worked upon them by frequent conferences, and after bribing two temple-wardens brought them out of confinement at night-fall. Then he himself fled, sharing their secret journey. At daybreak their flight was reported everywhere in the city, and the men sent to pursue them arrested and brought them all back from Tarracina. They were led into the Comitium, scourged with rods with the approval of the people, and thrown down from the Rock.[1]

VIII. The relentlessness of this punishment outraged two of the most important Greek cities in Italy, both as states and personally as well, whenever individuals were connected either by relationship or friendship with those who were so cruelly executed. Of those so connected some thirteen noble youths of Tarentum formed a conspiracy, and Nico and Philemenus were the leaders. Thinking that they ought to confer with Hannibal before taking any step, these men left the city by night under pretext of hunting and set out to go to him. And when they were not far from his camp, the rest concealed themselves in the woods near the road; but Nico

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Philemenus progressi ad stationes comprehensique, ultro id petentes, ad Hannibalem deducti sunt. 6 Qui cum et causas consilii sui et quid pararent exposuissent, conlaudati oneratique promissis iubentur, ut fidem popularibus facerent praedandi causa se urbe egressos, pecora Carthaginiensium, quae pastum propulsa essent, ad urbem agere; tuto ac 7 sine certamine id facturos promissum est. Conspecta ea praeda invenum est, minusque iterum ac 8 saepius id eos audere miraculo fuit. Congressi cum Hannibale rursus fide sanxerunt liberos Tarentinos leges suas [1] suaque omnia habituros neque ullum vectigal Poeno pensuros praesidiumve invitos recepturos; prodita hospitia Romanorum cum [2] praesidio Carthaginiensium fore. Haec ubi convenerunt, 9 tunc vero Philemenus consuetudinem nocte egrediundi redeundique in urbem frequentiorem facere. Et erat venandi studio insignis, canesque et alius 10 apparatus sequebatur; captumque ferme aliquid aut ab hoste ex praeparato adlatum reportans donabat aut praefecto aut custodibus portarum. Nocte maxime commeare propter metum hostium credebant.

11 Ubi iam eo consuetudinis adducta res est ut, quocumque noctis tempore sibilo dedisset signum, porta aperiretur, tempus agendae rei Hannibali 12 visum est. Tridui viam aberat; ubi, quo minus

[1] suas *Wesenberg*: *om. P*(1).

[2] hospitia Romanorum cum *Weissenborn, Conway*: *om. P*(1), *a lost line*: *various emendations.*

and Philemenus advanced to the outposts, were B.C. 212
seized and at their own request brought before Hannibal. After explaining the reasons for their plan and what they were plotting, they were warmly commended and loaded with promises. In order to make their fellow-citizens believe they had left the city to forage, they were bidden to drive to the city cattle belonging to the Carthaginians which had been turned out to graze. Promise was given that they would do so in safety and without a conflict. The young men's booty attracted attention, and less astonishment was caused by their making the same venture again and again. On meeting Hannibal again they had his formal assurance that the Tarentines as free men should have their own laws and all their possessions, and pay no tribute to the Carthaginians nor admit a garrison against their own wish; that houses occupied by Romans should be handed over, together with the garrison, and be assigned to the Carthaginians. So much agreed upon, Philemenus thereafter made it his more constant habit to leave the city and return to it by night. In fact he was noted for his devotion to the chase, and his hounds and other equipment would follow him. Usually he carried back something he had taken or that the enemy had brought him by agreement, and he would give it either to the commandant or to the gate-guards. They believed that he came and went preferably by night for fear of the enemy.

When the thing had become so habitual that the gate was opened at whatever hour of the night he gave the signal by a whistle, it seemed to Hannibal to be the time for action. He was at a distance of three days' march, and there he played the invalid, that his

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mirum esset uno eodemque loco stativa eum tam diu
13 habere, aegrum simulabat. Romanis quoque qui in praesidio Tarenti erant suspecta esse tam[1] segnis mora eius desierat. IX. Ceterum postquam Tarentum ire constituit, decem milibus peditum atque equitum, quos in expeditionem velocitate corporum ac levitate armorum aptissimos esse ratus est,
2 electis, quarta vigilia noctis signa movit, praemissisque octoginta fere Numidis equitibus praecepit ut discurrerent circa vias perlustrarentque omnia oculis, ne quis agrestium procul spectator agminis
3 falleret; praegressos retraherent, obvios occiderent, ut praedonum magis quam exercitus accolis species esset. Ipse raptim agmine acto quindecim ferme
4 milium spatio castra ab Tarento posuit, et ne ibi quidem denuntiato[2] quo pergerent, tantum convocatos milites monuit via omnes irent nec deverti quemquam aut excedere ordine agminis paterentur, et in primis intenti ad imperia accipienda essent neu quid nisi ducum iussu facerent; se in tempore edituru
5 rum quae vellet agi. Eadem ferme hora Tarentum fama praevenerat Numidas equites paucos populari
6 agros terroremque late agrestibus iniecisse. Ad quem nuntium nihil ultra motus praefectus Romanus quam ut partem equitum postero die luce prima iuberet exire ad arcendum populationibus hostem;
7 in cetera adeo nihil ab eo intenta cura est ut contra

[1] tam *Madvig* : iam *P*(2) : *om. Ax.*
[2] denuntiato *Madvig* : nuntiato *P*(1).

keeping a fixed camp so long in one and the same B.C. 212
place might cause less wonder. The Romans also on garrison duty at Tarentum had ceased to find such prolonged inaction suspicious. IX. Once he had determined, however, to go to Tarentum, he picked ten thousand infantry and cavalry—the men whom he thought best suited to the enterprise on account of swiftness of foot and lightness of arms —and at the fourth watch of the night got in motion. And he ordered some eighty Numidian horsemen, who were sent in advance, to scour the country near the roads and keep an eye in every direction, that no farmer in the distance might observe the column without being noticed. They were to hold up those ahead of them and slay those they met, so that people living near by might have the impression of foragers rather than of an army. He himself, after a forced march, pitched camp at a distance of about fifteen miles from Tarentum. And not even there did he announce whither they were going. He merely summoned the soldiers and bade them all to keep to the road and not allow anyone to turn aside or leave his place in the column; and to be especially alert to hear commands and not to do anything without orders from their officers. He would in due time inform them what he wished to have done. About the same hour a rumour had preceded him to Tarentum that a few Numidian horsemen were ravaging the farms and had inspired widespread alarm among the rustics. On receiving this news the Roman commandant was only so far aroused as to command part of the cavalry to go out the next day at dawn, in order to prevent depredations of the enemy. For the rest his attention was so little aroused that

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pro argumento fuerit illa procursatio Numidarum Hannibalem exercitumque e castris non movisse.

8 Hannibal concubia nocte movit. Dux Philemenus erat cum solito captae venationis onere; ceteri proditores ea quae composita erant expectabant. 9 Convenerat autem ut Philemenus portula adsueta venationem inferens armatos induceret, parte alia 10 portam Temenitida adiret Hannibal. Ea mediterranea regio est orientem spectans; busta [1] aliquantum intra moenia ineludunt. Cum portae adpropinquaret, editus ex composito ignis ab Hannibale est refulsitque idem redditum ab Nicone signum; 11 extinctae deinde utrimque flammae sunt. Hannibal silentio ducebat ad portam. Nico ex improviso adortus sopitos vigiles in cubilibus suis obtruncat 12 portamque aperit. Hannibal cum peditum agmine ingreditur, equites subsistere iubet, ut quo res 13 postulet occurrere libero campo possent. Et Philemenus portulae parte alia, qua commeare adsuerat, adpropinquabat. Nota vox eius et familiare iam signum cum excitasset vigilem, dicenti [2] vix sustineri 14 grandis bestiae onus portula aperitur. Inferentes aprum duos invenes secutus ipse cum expedito venatore vigilem, incautius miraculo magnitudinis in 15 eos qui ferebant versum venabulo traicit. Ingressi deinde triginta fere armati ceteros vigiles obtruncant

[1] spectans; busta *Ussing*: spectabest *P* (-bast $P^{1?}$): spectabat (1).

[2] dicenti *x*: dicente *P*(1).

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[1] *I.e.* at the time of the first sound sleep, not yet *intempesta nocte* (toward midnight); Cicero *de Div.* I. 57; Macrobius I. iii. 15.

on the contrary the raid of the Numidians was to B.C. 212
him a proof that Hannibal and the army had not stirred from their camp.

Hannibal broke camp early in the night.[1] His guide was Philemenus with his usual load of game. The rest of the traitors were waiting for acts previously arranged. It had been agreed, namely, that Philemenus, as he brought in his game by the usual postern, should lead in armed men, while on another side Hannibal should approach the Temenitis Gate. That quarter is toward the inland, facing east; tombs occupy a considerable space inside the walls. As he approached the gate the fire signal was given by Hannibal according to agreement, and in reply from Nico the same signal blazed; then on both sides the flames were extinguished. Hannibal was leading his men silently to the gate. Nico unexpectedly attacks the sleeping sentries in their beds, slays them and opens the gate. Hannibal with his infantry column enters, orders the cavalry to halt, so that they can meet the enemy in the open, in whatever direction the situation may require. And Philemenus on another side of the city was approaching the postern by which he was accustomed to come and go. His well-known voice and the now familiar signal having aroused a sentry, the little gate was opened for Philemenus, just as he was saying they could scarcely carry the weight of a huge beast. While two young men were carrying in the boar, he himself followed them with a huntsman who was unencumbered, and as the sentry, thrown off his guard by its marvellous size, faced the men who were carrying it, Philemenus ran him through with a hunting spear. Then about thirty armed men

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refringuntque portam proximam, et agmen sub signis confestim inrupit. Inde cum silentio in forum
16 ducti Hannibali sese coniunxerunt. Tum duo milia Gallorum Poenus in tres divisa partis per urbem dimittit; Tarentinos iis addit duces binos[1]; itinera
17 quam maxume frequentia occupari iubet, tumultu orto Romanos passim caedi, oppidanis parci. Sed ut fieri id posset, praecipit iuvenibus Tarentinis ut, ubi quem suorum procul vidissent, quiescere ac silere ac bono animo esse iuberent.

X. Iam tumultus erat clamorque qualis esse in capta urbe solet; sed quid rei esset nemo satis pro
2 certo scire. Tarentini Romanos ad diripiendam urbem credere coortos; Romanis seditio aliqua cum
3 fraude videri ab oppidanis mota. Praefectus primo excitatus tumultu in portum effugit; inde acceptus
4 scapha in arcem circumvehitur. Errorem et tuba audita ex theatro faciebat; nam et Romana erat, a proditoribus ad hoc ipsum praeparata, et inscienter a Graeco inflata quis aut quibus signum daret incertum
5 efficiebat. Ubi inluxit, et Romanis Punica et Gallica arma cognita dubitationem exemerunt, et Graeci Romanos passim caede stratos cernentes, ab Hanni-
6 bale captam urbem senserunt. Postquam lux certior erat et Romani qui caedibus superfuerant in arcem

[1] iis addit duces binos *Böttcher*: *om. P*(1), *a lost line restored from Polybius* VIII. xxx (xxxii). 1.

entered, cut down the rest of the sentries and broke B.C. 212
open the neighbouring gate; and the column with its standards at once rushed in. Thence they were marched in silence to the market-place and joined Hannibal. The Carthaginian then sent two thousand Gauls, divided into three units, through the city, and to each he attached two Tarentines as guides. He ordered them to occupy the most frequented streets, and when the uproar had begun, to slay the Romans everywhere, to spare the townspeople. But to make this possible he instructed the young Tarentines, whenever they saw one of their own people in the distance, to bid him be quiet and say nothing and be of good cheer.

X. Already there was such uproar and shouting as is usual in a captured city, but what it was about no one quite knew for certain. The Tarentines believed the Romans had surprised them, in order to plunder the city; the Romans thought it was some kind of uprising treacherously started by the townspeople. The commandant, aroused by the first uproar, escaped to the harbour; picked up by a skiff, he was rowed around from there to the citadel. Confusion was caused also by the sound of a trumpet from the theatre. For it was a Roman trumpet, furnished by the traitors for this very purpose; and in addition, being unskillfully sounded by a Greek, it left it uncertain who was giving the signal and to whom. When day broke the Punic and Gallic arms, now recognized, relieved the Romans of their uncertainty, and at the same time the Greeks, seeing slain Romans everywhere, were aware that the city had been captured by Hannibal. When it was no longer twilight and the Romans who survived the slaughter

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confugerant conticiscebatque paulatim tumultus, tum Hannibal Tarentinos sine armis convocare iubet. 7 Convenere omnes, praeterquam qui cedentis in arcem Romanos ad omnem adeundam simul fortu- 8 nam persecuti fuerant. Ibi Hannibal benigne adlocutus Tarentinos testatusque quae praestitisset civibus eorum quos ad Trasumennum aut ad Cannas 9 cepisset, simul in dominationem superbam Romanorum invectus, recipere se in domos suas quemque iussit et foribus nomen suum inscribere; se domos eas quae inscriptae non essent signo extemplo dato diripi iussurum: si quis in hospitio civis Romani—vacuas autem tenebant domos—nomen inscripsisset, 10 eum se pro hoste habiturum. Contione dimissa cum titulis notatae fores discrimen pacatae ab hostili domo fecissent, signo dato ad diripienda hospitia Romana passim discursum est; et fuit praedae aliquantum.

XI. Postero die ad oppugnandam arcem ducit; quam cum et a mari, quo in paene insulae modum pars maior circumluitur, praealtis rupibus et ab ipsa urbe muro et fossa ingenti saeptam videret eoque 2 nec vi nec operibus expugnabilem esse, ne aut se ipsum cura tuendi Tarentinos a maioribus rebus moraretur, aut in relictos sine valido praesidio Tarentinos impetum ex arce, cum vellent, Romani facerent, vallo urbem ab arce intersaepire statuit,

[1] According to Polybius the legend was to be simply Ταραντίνου; VIII. xxxi. 4.

had fled to the citadel, and the uproar was gradually B.C. 212
being stilled, Hannibal then gave orders to summon the Tarentines without arms. They all assembled, except those who had followed the Romans in their retreat to the citadel, to share with them any outcome. Thereupon Hannibal had kind words for the Tarentines and called to mind what he had done for their fellow-citizens whom he had captured at the Trasumennus or at Cannae. At the same time he inveighed against the haughty rule of the Romans and ordered them to go each to his own house and to write his name on the door.[1] He would order that at a given signal such houses as were not marked should at once be plundered. If any one should write his name on the quarters of a Roman citizen —now they were occupying vacant houses—he would regard such a man as an enemy. After the assembly had been dismissed and the marking of doors had distinguished the house of a citizen from that of an enemy, the signal was given and they scattered in all directions to plunder the Roman dwellings; and the booty was considerable.

XI. On the next day he led his men to an attack upon the citadel. He saw that not only was this defended by very high cliffs on the side towards the sea, which surrounds the larger part of it as a peninsula, but on the side toward the city itself by a wall and a great fosse, and hence could not be taken by assault nor by siege-works. Accordingly, to avoid either keeping himself from larger operations in his effort to protect the Tarentines, or else letting the Romans, whenever they pleased, make an attack from the citadel upon the Tarentines if he left them without a strong garrison, he decided to wall off

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3 non sine illa etiam spe, cum prohibentibus opus Romanis manum posse conseri et, si ferocius procucurrissent, magna caede ita attenuari praesidii vires, ut facile per se ipsi Tarentini urbem ab iis tueri
4 possent. Ubi coeptum opus est, patefacta repente porta impetum in munientis fecerunt Romani pellique se statio passa est quae pro opere erat, ut sueeessu cresceret audacia pluresque et longius pulsos perse-
5 querentur. Tum signo dato coorti undique Poeni sunt, quos instructos ad hoc Hannibal tenuerat. Nec sustinuere impetum Romani, sed ab effusa fuga loci angustiae eos impeditaque alia opere iam coepto,
6 alia apparatu operis morabantur. Plurimi in fossam praecipitavere, occisique sunt plures in fuga quam in
7 pugna. Inde et[1] opus nullo prohibente fieri coeptum: fossa ingens ducta, et vallum intra eam erigitur, modicoque post intervallo murum etiam eadem regione addere parat, ut vel sine praesidio tueri se
8 adversus Romanos possent. Reliquit tamen modicum praesidium, simul ut in perficiendo muro adiuvaret. Ipse profectus cum ceteris copiis ad Galaesum flumen—quinque milia ab urbe abest—posuit castra.

9 Ex his stativis regressus ad inspiciendum, quod opus aliquantum opinione eius celerius creverat,

[1] Inde et *P*(1): inde *Madvig*.

the city from the citadel by an earthwork. He was B.C. 212
not without the hope also that he could engage the Romans if they tried to prevent the work, and that, if they should make a furious sally, the strength of the garrison would be so reduced by serious losses that the Tarentines by themselves could easily defend the city against them. After fortification began, a gate was suddenly opened and the Romans made an attack upon the men at work. And the outpost stationed in advance of the work allowed itself to be driven back, that boldness might grow with success and a larger number might pursue the repulsed and to a greater distance. Then at a given signal the Carthaginians, whom Hannibal had kept drawn up for this purpose, rose up on all sides. And the Romans did not withstand the attack, but limited space and ground obstructed partly by the work already begun, partly by preparations for the work, kept them from a disorderly flight. Very many leaped into the fosse, and more were slain in flight than in battle. Then even fortification began to proceed, with no one attempting to prevent. A great fosse was carried along, and inside of it an earthwork was raised; and at a short distance he prepared to add a stone wall likewise in the same direction, so that even without a garrison they could protect themselves against the Romans. He did, however, leave a garrison of moderate size, to aid as well in the completion of the wall. He himself set out with the rest of his forces and pitched camp at the river Galaesus, which is five miles from the city.

On returning from this permanent camp to inspect, inasmuch as the work had progressed with considerably more speed than he had anticipated, he

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spem cepit etiam arcem expugnari posse. Et est non altitudine, ut ceterae,[1] tuta, sed loco plano posita
10 et ab urbe muro tantum ac fossa divisa. Cum iam machinationum omni genere et operibus oppugnaretur, missum a Metaponto praesidium Romanis fecit animum ut nocte ex improviso opera hostium invaderent. Alia disiecerunt, alia igni corruperunt, isque finis Hannibali fuit ea parte arcem oppugnandi.
11 Reliqua erat in obsidione spes, nec ea satis efficax, quia arcem tenentes, quae in paene insula posita imminet faucibus portus, mare liberum habebant, urbs contra exclusa maritimis commeatibus propiusque in-
12 opiam erant obsidentes quam obsessi. Hannibal convocatis principibus Tarentinis omnes praesentis difficultates exposuit: neque arcis tam munitae expugnandae cernere viam neque in obsidione quicquam habere spei, donec mari hostes potiantur;
13 quod si naves sint, quibus commeatus invehi prohibeat, extemplo aut arce cessuros [2] aut dedituros se
14 hostis. Adsentiebantur Tarentini; ceterum ei qui consilium adferret opem quoque in eam rem adferen-
15 dam censebant esse. Punicas enim naves ex Sicilia accitas id posse facere; suas, quae sinu exiguo intus inclusae essent, cum claustra portus hostis haberet, quem ad modum inde in apertum mare evasuras?
16 "Evadent" inquit Hannibal; "multa quae impedita natura sunt consilio expediuntur. Urbem in campo

[1] ceterae *Crévier*: cetera *P*(1).
[2] arce cessuros *Gronovius*: arcessuros *P*(1): abscessuros A^2.

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[1] According to Strabo VI. iii. 1 the only elevation of any consequence was the citadel.
[2] The mouth of the harbour was closed, as Strabo (*l.c.*) says, by a large bridge.

hoped that the citadel also could be taken by storm. B.C. 212
And it is not defended by height,[1] as other citadels are, but is on level ground and separated from the city merely by a wall and a fosse. While the attack was now in progress with engines of every kind and with siege-works, a garrison sent from Metapontum encouraged the Romans to make a surprise attack by night upon the works of the enemy. Some of these they pulled apart, others they ruined by fire; and this was the end of Hannibal's attack upon the citadel from that side. His remaining hope was in a blockade, and that was not very effectual, because the occupants of the citadel, which is situated on a peninsula and commands the harbour mouth, had the sea at their disposal, while the city on the other hand was shut off from supplies by sea and the besiegers were nearer to starvation than the besieged. Hannibal summoned the leading men of Tarentum and laid before them all the difficulties of the situation, saying that he neither saw a way to take so well fortified a citadel by storm, nor had any hope in a blockade, so long as the enemy had command of the sea. But if he should have ships with which to prevent the bringing in of supplies, the enemy would at once either withdraw from the citadel or surrender. The Tarentines assented, but thought that the giver of advice must give aid also to carry it out. For Carthaginian ships, summoned from Sicily, they said, could do it. As for their own ships, which were shut up inside a very small bay, while the enemy held the key to the harbour,[2] how were they to get out into the open sea? "They will get out", said Hannibal; "many things which are naturally difficult are solved by ingenuity. You have a city

A.U.C. 542 sitam habetis; planae et satis latae viae patent in
17 omnis partis. Via quae e portu per mediam urbem ad mare transmissa est plaustris transveham naves haud magna mole, et mare nostrum erit, quo nunc hostes potiuntur, et illinc mari, hinc terra circumsedebimus aream; immo brevi aut relictam ab hostibus
18 aut cum ipsis hostibus capiemus." Haec oratio non spem modo effectus sed ingentem etiam ducis admirationem fecit. Contracta extemplo undique plaustra iunctaque inter se, et machinae ad subducendas naves admotae, munitumque iter, quo faciliora plaustra minorque moles in transitu esset.
19 Iumenta inde et homines contracti et opus impigre coeptum; paucosque post dies classis instructa ac parata circumvehitur aream et ante os ipsum portus
20 ancoras iacit. Hunc statum rerum Hannibal Tarenti relinquit regressus ipse in hiberna. Ceterum defectio Tarentinorum utrum priore anno an hoc facta sit, in diversum auctores trahunt; plures propioresque aetate memoriae rerum hoc anno factam tradunt.

XII. Romae consules praetoresque usque ad ante
2 diem quintum kal. Maias Latinae tenuerunt. Eo die perpetrato sacro in monte in suas quisque provincias proficiscuntur. Religio deinde nova obiecta est ex
3 carminibus Marcianis. Vates hic Marcius inlustris fuerat, et cum conquisitio priore anno ex senatus con-

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[1] That 213 B.C. was the correct date for their defection is shown by XXVII. xxv. 4.

[2] Mons Albanus (Monte Cavo), where a sacrifice on the fourth day brought the festival to an end.

situated in a plain. Level streets of ample breadth B.C. 212
lead in all directions. Along the street that is carried across from the harbour through the centre of the city to the sea I shall transport ships on wagons with no great difficulty, and the sea, which the enemy now possess, will be ours, and we shall besiege the citadel on that side by sea, on this side by land; or rather we shall soon either take it, abandoned by the enemy, or take it enemy and all." This speech produced not merely the hope of success, but great admiration for the general as well. At once wagons were assembled from everywhere and joined together, and the tackle brought to draw up the ships, and the roadway paved, that the wagons might be easier to move, and the difficulty of transport lessened. Then mules and men were brought together and the work was begun with energy. And so a few days later a fleet furnished and equipped sailed around the citadel and cast anchor at the very mouth of the harbour. Such was the state of things which Hannibal left at Tarentum when he himself returned to his winter quarters. But whether the rebellion of the Tarentines took place in the previous year or in this year, authorities differ.[1] More of them and those nearer in time to men who remembered the events relate that it occurred in this year.

XII. At Rome the consuls and praetors were detained by the Latin festival until the 26th of April. After performing the rites on that day on the Mount,[2] each set out for his assignment. Then fresh religious scruples were aroused by the verses of Marcius. A noted seer had been this Marcius, and when in the preceding year search was being made by decree of the senate for such books, they had come

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sulto talium librorum fieret, in M. Aemili praetoris
4 urbani,[1] qui eam rem agebat, manus venerant. Is protinus novo praetori Sullae tradiderat. Ex huius Marcii duobus carminibus alterius post rem actam[2] editi comprobata[3] auctoritas eventu alteri quoque, cuius nondum tempus venerat, adferebat fidem.
5 Priore carmine Cannensis praedicta clades in haec fere verba erat: "Amnem, Troiugena,[4] fuge Cannam, ne te alienigenae cogant in campo Diomedis
6 conserere manus. Sed neque credes tu mihi, donec compleris sanguine campum, multaque milia occisa tua deferet amnis in pontum magnum ex terra frugifera; piscibus atque avibus ferisque quae incolunt terras iis fuat esca caro tua. Nam mihi ita
7 Iuppiter fatus est." Et Diomedis Argivi campos et Cannam flumen ii qui militaverant in iis locis iuxta
8 atque ipsam cladem agnoscebant. Tum alterum carmen recitatum, non eo tantum obscurius quia incertiora futura praeteritis sunt, sed perplexius
9 etiam scripturae genere. "Hostis, Romani, si expellere[5] vultis, vomicam[6] quae gentium venit longe, Apollini vovendos censeo ludos, qui quotannis comiter Apollini fiant; cum populus dederit ex publico partem, privati uti conferant pro se atque
10 suis; iis ludis faciendis praeerit[7] praetor is qui ius

[1] urbani *Sigonius*: urbem *P*(4): urb' (*or* -bis) $C^4M^{1?}BDA$: *rejected by Walters.*

[2] actam CA^y: acta *P*(10): factam *Madvig.*

[3] comprobata *Ussing*: cumrato *P*(4): curato *BDA*: comperto *Walters.*

[4] Troiugena *G. Hermann*: -nam *P*(1), *adding* romanae, *probably a gloss.*

[5] expellere *P*(1): ex agro expellere *Macrobius* I. xvii. 28.

[6] vomicam *A Macrobius*: vomica *P*(2).

[7] praeerit $CM^1B^xA^x$: praeterit *P*(10): praesit *Macrobius.*

into the hands of Marcus Aemilius,[1] the praetor urbanus, who was in charge of the matter. He had immediately turned them over to the new praetor, Sulla. Of the two propheeies[2] of this Marcius the authority of one, made known after the event, was confirmed by the outeome and lent eredibility to the other also, whose time had not yet come. In the earlier propheey the disaster at Cannae had been predicted in such terms as these: "Flee the river Canna, thou deseendant of Troy, that foreigners may not eompel thee to do battle in the Plain of Diomed. But thou wilt not believe me until thou hast filled the plain with blood, and many thousands of thy slain will the river bear from the fruitful land down to the great sea. To fishes and birds and beasts that dwell on the land thy flesh shall be meat. For thus hath Jupiter declared to me." And those who had fought in that region reeognized the plains of the Argive Diomed and the river Canna no less than the disaster itself. Then the seeond propheey was read, being not only more obseure beeause the future is more uncertain than the past, but more difficult also in the way it was written. "If you wish, Romans, to drive out enemies, the sore which has eome from afar, I propose that a festival be vowed to Apollo, to be observed with good cheer in honour of Apollo every year. When the people shall have given a part out of the treasury, private citizens shall contribute on their own behalf and that of their families. In charge of the conduct of that festival shall be the praetor who is then chief judge for the people and B.C. 212

[1] For the error cf. note on i. 11.

[2] The rough hexameters (probably translated from the Greek) had been reduced to prose.

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populo plebeique dabit summum; decemviri Graeco ritu hostiis sacra faciant. Hoc si recte facietis, gaudebitis semper fietque res vestra melior; nam is deum [1] extinguet perduellis vestros qui vestros
11 campos pascit placide." Ad id carmen explanandum [2] diem unum sumpserunt; postero die senatus consultum factum est ut decemviri [3] de ludis Apollini
12 reque divina facienda inspicerent. Ea cum inspecta relataque ad senatum essent, censuerunt patres Apollini ludos vovendos faciendosque et, quando ludi facti essent, duodecim milia aeris praetori ad
13 rem divinam et duas hostias maiores dandas. Alterum senatus consultum factum est ut decemviri sacrum Graeco ritu facerent hisque hostiis, Apollini bove aurato et capris duabus albis auratis, Latonae
14 bove femina aurata. Ludos praetor in circo maximo cum facturus esset, edixit ut populus per eos ludos stipem Apollini, quantam commodum esset, con-
15 ferret. Haec est origo ludorum Apollinarium, victoriae, non valetudinis ergo, ut plerique rentur, votorum factorumque. Populus coronatus spectavit, matronae supplicavere; vulgo apertis ianuis in propatulo [4] epulati sunt, celeberque dies omni caerimoniarum genere fuit.

XIII. Cum Hannibal circa Tarentum, consules

[1] deum *Riemann* (*or* divum) : dium $P(1)$: divus *x Macrobius*.
[2] explanandum $P^2(1)$ *Madvig* : expiandum *P Walters*.
[3] decemviri $P(1)$: decemviri libros *z Macrobius*.
[4] propatulo *A* : -lis $P(2)$.

[1] '*I.e.* the *decemviri sacris faciundis*, charged with the oversight of sacrifices.

[2] The *libri Sibyllini*, of which the decemvirs were the custodians and authorized interpreters, but could not refer to them unless empowered by a decree of the senate.

the commons. The decemvirs[1] shall offer the victims B.C. 212
according to Greek rite. If ye will do this rightly ye shall forever rejoice, and your state will change for the better. For that god who graciously nurtures your meadows will destroy your enemies." For the interpretation of the prophecy they took one day. On the next day the senate made a decree that in regard to the festival to be held and the sacrifices in honour of Apollo the decemvirs should consult the books.[2] Those passages having been consulted and reported to the senate, the fathers voted that a festival should be vowed and held in honour of Apollo, and after the festival had been held the sum of twelve thousand asses should be given to the praetor for the ceremonies, and two full-grown victims. A second decree of the senate was made, that the decemvirs should offer sacrifice according to Greek rite and with these victims: to Apollo an ox with gilded horns and two white she-goats[3] with gilded horns, to Latona a cow with gilded horns. When the praetor was about to open the festival in the Circus Maximus, he ordered by edict that during that feast the people should make their contribution to Apollo according to their means. Such is the origin of the festival of Apollo, vowed and kept to secure victory, not health, as most think. The people wore garlands at the spectacles, the matrons offered prayers, everybody feasted in the atrium with open doors, and the day was kept with every kind of ceremony.

XIII. While Hannibal was near Tarentum, and

[3] As she-goats would surely be offered to Diana, not to Apollo, there is good reason to believe that her name has been lost from the text, and before Macrobius' time, since he has the same statement; *Saturnalia* I. xvii. 29.

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ambo in Samnio essent, sed circumsessuri Capuam viderentur, quod malum diuturnae obsidionis esse solet, iam famem Campani sentiebant, quia sementem
2 facere prohibuerant eos Romani exercitus. Itaque legatos ad Hannibalem miserunt orantes ut, priusquam consules in agros suos educerent legiones viaeque omnes hostium praesidiis insiderentur, frumentum ex propinquis locis convehi iuberet
3 Capuam. Hannibal Hannonem ex Bruttiis cum exercitu in Campaniam transire et dare operam ut
4 frumenti copia fieret Campanis iussit. Hanno ex Bruttiis profectus cum exercitu, vitabundus castra hostium consulesque, qui in Samnio erant, cum Benevento iam adpropinquaret, tria milia passuum
5 ab ipsa urbe loco edito castra posuit; inde ex sociis circa populis, quo aestate comportatum erat, devehi frumentum in castra iussit praesidiis datis quae
6 commeatus eos prosequerentur. Capuam inde nuntium misit qua die in castris ad accipiendum frumentum praesto essent omni undique genere vehiculorum
7 iumentorumque ex agris contracto. Id pro cetera socordia neglegentiaque a Campanis actum: paulo plus quadringenta vehicula missa et pauca praeterea iumenta. Ob id castigatis ab Hannone quod ne fames quidem, quae mutas accenderet bestias, curam eorum stimulare posset, alia prodicta dies ad frumen-
8 tum maiore apparatu petendum. Ea omnia, sicut acta erant, cum enuntiata Beneventanis essent,

both consuls were in Samnium but seemed about to B.C. 212
invest Capua, already the Campanians were suffering hunger (the usual hardship of a long investment), because the Roman armies had prevented them from sowing. And so they sent legates to Hannibal, praying that, before the consuls should lead the legions into their lands and all the roads should be blocked by forces of the enemy, he should order grain to be brought from neighbouring places to Capua. Hannibal ordered Hanno to march with his army from the land of the Bruttii over into Campania, and to see to it that the Campanians should have a supply of grain. Hanno set out from the land of the Bruttii with his army, avoided camps of the enemy and the consuls, who were in Samnium, and when he was now nearing Beneventum, pitched camp on high ground three miles from the city itself. Then he ordered grain to be brought into camp from allied peoples of the neighbourhood, among whom it had been garnered in the summer; and he furnished troops to escort the supplies. Then he sent word to Capua, naming a day on which they should appear at the camp to get their grain, after bringing together from the farms on all sides every kind of vehicle and beast of burden. This order was carried out by the Campanians with their usual carelessness and indifference. Little more than four hundred vehicles were sent, and a few beasts of burden besides. For this they were censured by Hanno, that not even hunger, which, as he said, inflames even dumb brutes, could spur their diligence; and another day was assigned for getting their grain with ampler means of transport. When all this was reported, just as it happened, to the Beneventans, they at once

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legatos decem extemplo ad consules—circa Bovianum
9 castra Romanorum erant—miserunt. Qui cum auditis quae ad Capuam agerentur inter se comparassent ut alter in Campaniam exercitum duceret, Fulvius, cui ea provincia obvenerat, profectus nocte Bene-
10 venti moenia est ingressus. Ex propinquo cognoscit Hannonem cum exercitus parte profectum frumentatum; per quaestorem Campanis datum frumentum; duo milia plaustrorum, inconditam inermemque aliam turbam advenisse; per tumultum ac trepidationem omnia agi, castrorumque formam et militarem ordinem inmixtis agrestibus et [1] iis externis sublatum.

11 His satis compertis, consul militibus edicit, signa tantum armaque in proximam noctem expedirent;
12 castra Punica oppugnanda esse. Quarta vigilia profecti sarcinis omnibus impedimentisque Beneventi relictis, paulo ante lucem cum ad castra pervenissent, tantum pavoris iniecerunt ut, si in plano castra posita essent, haud dubie primo impetu capi potuerint.
13 Altitudo loci et munimenta defendere,[2] quae nulla ex parte adiri nisi arduo ac difficili ascensu poterant.
14 Luce prima proelium ingens accensum est. Nec vallum modo tutantur Poeni, sed, ut quibus locus aequior esset, deturbant nitentis per ardua hostes. XIV. Vincit tamen omnia pertinax virtus, et aliquot simul partibus ad vallum ac fossas perventum est, sed cum
2 multis vulneribus ac militum pernicie. Itaque

[1] et *Madvig* : *om.* *P*(1).
[2] defendere *Alschefski* : -erent *PCRMB*^{x} : -erunt *DA* : -erant $C^{1}B$.

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[1] *I.e.* not Campanians.

sent ten legates to the consuls, the camp of the B.C. 212
Romans being near Bovianum. The consuls, on hearing what was going on near Capua, mutually arranged that one of them should lead his army into Campania, and Fulvius, to whom that assignment had fallen, set out and entered the walls of Beneventum at night. Being near now, he learned that Hanno had gone with a part of his army to procure grain; that through his quaestor grain had been furnished to the Campanians; that two thousand wagons and in addition a mixed and unarmed multitude had arrived; that everything was being done in confusion and excitement, and that the arrangement of the camp and military routine had been broken down by the influx of rustics, foreigners [1] at that.

These facts being sufficiently established, the consul ordered the soldiers to make ready their standards and arms, and nothing else, for the following night; they must attack the Carthaginian camp. Setting out at the fourth watch, leaving all their packs and baggage at Beneventum, they reached the camp shortly before daylight and inspired such panic that, if the camp had been placed on level ground, it could undoubtedly have been taken by the first assault. The lofty situation protected it, also the fortifications, which could not be approached from any side except by a steep and difficult slope. At daybreak a great battle blazed up. And the Carthaginians not only defended the earthwork but, as they had the more favourable situation, pushed down the enemy struggling up the steep slope. XIV. Nevertheless obstinate courage surmounted everything, and so the earthwork and the trenches were reached in several places at once, but with many wounds and heavy loss of

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convocatis legatis [1] tribunisque militum consul absistendum temerario incepto ait; tutius sibi videri reduci eo die exercitum Beneventum, dein postero castra [2] castris hostium iungi, ne exire inde Campani neve Hanno regredi posset; id quo facilius obtineatur, collegam quoque et exercitum eius se acciturum totumque eo versuros bellum. Haec consilia ducis, cum iam receptui caneret, clamor militum aspernantium tam segne imperium disiecit. Proxima forte hosti [3] erat cohors Paeligna, cuius praefectus Vibius Accaus arreptum vexillum trans vallum hostium traiecit. Execratus inde seque et cohortem, si eius vexilli hostes potiti essent, princeps ipse per fossam vallumque in castra inrupit. Iamque intra vallum Paeligni pugnabant, cum altera parte, Valerio Flacco tribuno militum tertiae legionis exprobrante Romanis ignaviam, qui sociis captorum castrorum concederent deeus, T. Pedanius princeps primus centurio, cum signifero signum ademisset, "Iam hoc signum et hic centurio" inquit "intra vallum hostium erit: sequantur qui capi signum ab hoste prohibituri sunt." Manipulares sui primum transcendentem fossam, dein legio tota secuta est. Iam et consul, ad conspectum transgredientium vallum mutato consilio, ab revocando ad incitandos hortandosque versus

[1] legatis *Alschefski* : *om. P*(1).
[2] castra *Crévier* : *om. P*(1).
[3] forte hosti *Madvig, Emend.* : portae (-e) hostium *P*(1).

men. Accordingly the consul called together his B.C. 212
lieutenants and tribunes of the soldiers and told them he must give up his rash undertaking; that it seemed to him safer to lead the army back that day to Beneventum, and then on the following day to pitch camp close to that of the enemy, so that the Campanians might not be able to leave it nor Hanno to return. To accomplish that more readily, he would summon his colleague also and his army, and they would focus the entire war upon that point. These plans of the general were disrupted, when he was already sounding the recall, by the shouts of the soldiers rejecting an order so lacking in spirit. Nearest to the enemy happened to be a Paelignian cohort, whose prefect Vibius Accaus seized the banner and threw it over the enemy's earthwork. Then, with a curse upon himself and the cohort if the enemy should get possession of that banner, he was himself the first to dash over the trench and wall into the camp. And already the Paelignians were fighting inside the wall, when from the other side of the camp, while Valerius Flaccus, tribune of the soldiers of the third legion, was reproaching the Romans for their cowardice in yielding to allies the honour of capturing the camp, Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the *principes*, took a standard away from the standard-bearer and said "This standard and this centurion will in a moment be inside the enemy's wall. Let those follow who are to prevent the standard from being captured by the enemy." First the men of his own maniple followed him as he crossed the trench, then the whole legion. And now the consul at the sight of men crossing the wall changed his plan, turned from recalling his soldiers to arousing

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milites, ostendere in quanto discrimine ac periculo fortissima cohors sociorum et civium legio esset. 9 Itaque pro se quisque omnes per aequa atque iniqua loca, cum undique tela conicerentur armaque et corpora hostes obicerent, pervadunt inrumpuntque; multi volnerati etiam quos vires et sanguis desereret, ut intra vallum hostium caderent nite- 10 bantur. Capta itaque momento temporis velut in plano sita nec permunita castra. Caedes inde, non iam pugna erat omnibus intra vallum permixtis. 11 Supra sex[1] milia hostium occisa, supra septem milia capitum cum frumentatoribus Campanis omnique plaustrorum et iumentorum apparatu capta; et alia ingens praeda fuit quam Hanno, populabundus passim cum isset, ex sociorum populi 12 Romani agris traxerat. Inde deletis hostium castris Beneventum reditum, praedamque ibi ambo consules—nam et Ap. Claudius eo post paucos dies 13 venit—vendiderunt diviseruntque. Et donati quorum opera castra hostium capta erant, ante alios Aceaus Paelignus et T. Pedanius, princeps tertiae 14 legionis. Hanno ab Cominio Ocrito, quo nuntiata castrorum clades est, cum paucis frumentatoribus quos forte secum habuerat fugae magis quam itineris modo in Bruttios rediit. XV. Et Campani, audita sua pariter sociorumque clade, legatos ad

[1] sex $R^2(7)$: ex PR : x P^x : decem *vulgate*.

and encouraging them, and pointed out to them in B.C. 212
what a critical and perilous situation were the bravest cohort of the allies and a legion of their fellow-citizens. And so, each doing his best, over ground favourable and unfavourable, while javelins were being hurled from every side and the enemy were interposing weapons and their bodies, they made their way and burst in. Many wounded men, even those whose strength and blood were ebbing, strove to fall inside the enemy's wall. And so in a moment's time the camp was captured, just as if pitched on level ground and not strongly fortified. Then came slaughter, no longer mere battle, since everything inside the wall was in confusion.

Over six thousand of the enemy were slain, over seven thousand men captured, including the Campanians who came for grain, and the entire train of wagons and mules. In addition there was the immense booty which Hanno, having set out to plunder far and wide, had taken from farms of allies of the Roman people. Then after destroying the enemy's camp they returned to Beneventum, and there the two consuls—for Appius Claudius came there a few days later—sold and divided the booty. And the men by whose efforts the camp of the enemy had been captured, were rewarded, first of all Accaus the Paelignian and Titus Pedanius, first centurion of the third legion. Hanno, leaving Cominius Ocritus, where he received news of the disaster at the camp, with the few men he happened to have with him to get grain, returned in what resembled a flight rather than a march to the land of the Bruttii. XV. And the Campanians, hearing of what was a disaster as much to themselves as to their allies, sent legates to

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Hannibalem miserunt, qui nuntiarent duos consules ad Beneventum esse, diei iter a Capua; tantum non ad portas et muros bellum esse; ni propere subveniat, celerius Capuam quam Arpos in potestatem hostium venturam. Ne Tarentum quidem, non modo arcem, tanti debere esse ut Capuam, quam Carthagini aequare sit solitus, desertam indefensamque populo Romano tradat. Hannibal, curae sibi fore rem Campanam pollicitus, in praesentia duo milia equitum cum legatis mittit, quo praesidio agros populationibus possent prohibere.

Romanis interim, sicut aliarum rerum, arcis Tarentinae praesidiique quod ibi obsideretur cura est. C. Servilius legatus, ex auctoritate patrum a P. Cornelio praetore in Etruriam ad frumentum coemendum missus, cum aliquot navibus onustis in portum Tarentinum inter hostium custodias pervenit. Cuius adventu qui ante in exigua spe vocati saepe ad transitionem ab hostibus per conloquia erant ultro ad transeundum hostis vocabant sollicitabantque. Et erat satis validum praesidium traductis ad arcem Tarenti tuendam qui Metaponti erant [1] militibus. Itaque Metapontini extemplo metu quo tenebantur liberati ad Hannibalem defecere.

Hoc idem eadem ora maris et Thurini fecerunt. Movit eos non Tarentinorum magis defectio Meta-

[1] qui Metaponti erant *z* : *om. P*(1). *a lost line.*

[1] Cf. XXIV. xlvi f.

Hannibal to report that the two consuls were at B.C. 212
Beneventum, a day's march from Capua; that the war was all but at their gates and walls; and that, if he did not come to their aid in haste, Capua would fall into the power of the enemy more promptly than Arpi.[1] They said that not even Tarentum, to say nothing of its citadel, ought to be of such importance that he should hand over to the Roman people the deserted and undefended Capua, which he had usually compared with Carthage. Hannibal, promising that the Campanian cause would be his concern, for the present sent two thousand horsemen with his lieutenants, that with this force they might be able to protect their farms from devastation.

The Romans meantime were concerned among other things for the citadel of Tarentum and the garrison there besieged. Gaius Servilius, who as lieutenant had been sent by Publius Cornelius, the praetor, into Etruria by authority of the senate to purchase grain, made his way through the enemy's blockade into the harbour of Tarentum with a number of shiploads. Thanks to his coming, the men who until then in their faint hope had often been invited by the enemy in parleys to change sides were actually inviting and urging the enemy to change sides. And the garrison was in fact strong enough, now that soldiers who were at Metapontum had been transferred to defend the citadel of Tarentum. Accordingly the Metapontines were at once relieved of the fear by which they were restrained, and went over to Hannibal.

The Thurians also, on the same coast, did the same. What impelled them was not more the

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pontinorumque, quibus indidem ex Achaia oriundi etiam cognatione iuncti erant, quam ira in Romanos
8 propter obsides nuper interfectos. Eorum amici cognatique litteras ac nuntios ad Hannonem Magonemque, qui in propinquo in Bruttiis erant, miserunt, si exercitum ad moenia admovissent, se in potestatem
9 eorum urbem tradituros esse. M. Atinius Thuriis cum modico praesidio praeerat, quem facile elici ad certamen temere ineundum rebantur posse, non tam [1] militum, quos perpaucos habebat, fiducia quam iuventutis Thurinae; eam ex industria centuria-
10 verat armaveratque ad talis casus. Divisis copiis inter se duces Poeni cum agrum Thurinum ingressi essent, Hanno cum peditum agmine infestis signis ire ad urbem pergit, Mago cum equitatu tectus collibus
11 apte ad tegendas insidias oppositis subsistit. Atinius peditum tantum agmine per exploratores comperto in aciem copias educit, et fraudis intestinae et hostium
12 insidiarum ignarus. Pedestre proelium fuit persegne paucis in prima acie pugnantibus Romanis, Thurinis expectantibus magis quam adiuvantibus eventum; et Carthaginiensium acies de industria pedem referebat, ut ad terga collis ab equite suo
13 insessi hostem incautum pertraheret. Quo ubi est ventum, coorti cum clamore equites prope inconditam Thurinorum turbam nec satis fido animo unde

[1] tam *z*: *om.* *P*(1).

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[1] Not the brother of Hannibal; xvi. 7 f., 24; xviii. 1; xxi. 4.
[2] So in mustering old men into the service in VI. ii. 6, and freedmen in X. xxi. 4.

revolt of the Tarentines and that of the Meta- B.C. 212
pontines, with whom they were linked by blood as well, being sprung from the same Achaia, than anger against the Romans on account of the recent execution of the hostages. Friends and relatives of these sent a letter and messengers to Hanno and Mago,[1] who were not far away in the land of the Bruttii, saying that, if they should bring up an army to their walls, they would themselves deliver the city into their power. Marcus Atinius was in command at Thurii with a garrison of moderate size, and they thought that he could easily be tempted to dash rashly into battle, from his confidence not so much in his soldiers, of whom he had very few, as in the young men of Thurii. He had purposely organized them in centuries[2] and armed them with a view to such emergencies. The Carthaginian generals divided their forces between them and, on entering the territory of Thurii, Hanno, with the infantry column ready to attack, proceeded to the city. Mago with the cavalry halted under cover of hills conveniently interposed to conceal an ambuscade. Atinius, informed of the infantry column alone by scouts, led his troops out into line, he being unaware both of the conspiracy within and of the enemy's ambuscade. The infantry battle was very lacking in spirit, for only a few Romans were fighting in the front line, and the men of Thurii were awaiting the outcome, rather than contributing to it. And the Carthaginian line purposely retreated, in order to draw the heedless enemy to the other side of the hill occupied by their own cavalry. When they reached the place, the cavalry, suddenly attacking with a shout, at once put to flight the mass of the Thurians, which was

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pugnabat stantem extemplo in fugam averterunt.
14 Romani, quamquam circumventos hinc pedes, hinc eques urgebat, tamen aliquamdiu pugnam traxere; postremo et ipsi terga vertunt atque ad urbem
15 fugiunt. Ibi proditores conglobati cum popularium agmen patentibus portis accepissent, ubi Romanos fusos ad urbem ferri viderunt, conclamant instare Poenum, permixtosque et hostis urbem invasuros, ni propere portas claudant. Ita exclusos Romanos praebuere hosti ad caedem; Atinius tamen cum
16 paucis receptus. Seditio inde paulisper tenuit, cum [1] alii cedendum fortunae et tradendam urbem
17 victoribus censerent. Ceterum, ut plerumque, fortuna et consilia mala vicerunt: Atinio cum suis ad mare ac naves deducto, magis quia ipsi ob imperium in se mite ac iustum consultum volebant quam respectu Romanorum, Carthaginienses in urbem accipiunt.

18 Consules a Beneventō in Campanum agrum legiones ducunt non ad frumenta modo, quae iam in herbis erant, corrumpenda, sed ad Capuam oppug-
19 nandam, nobilem se consulatum tam opulentae urbis excidio rati facturos, simul et ingens flagitium imperio dempturos, quod urbi tam propinquae
20 tertium annum impunita defectio esset. Ceterum ne Beneventum sine praesidio esset, et ut ad subita

[1] cum, *P*(1) *add another* inde, *variously emended by those who require* alii . . . alii.

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[1] In contrast with those who by admitting Atinius showed their preference for the Romans.

almost undisciplined and not entirely loyal to the side B.C. 212
on which they were fighting. The Romans, though surrounded and hard pressed on one side by the infantry, on the other by the cavalry, nevertheless kept on fighting for some time. Finally they also faced about and fled to the city. There the traitors massed together and admitted the column of their citizens through wide-open gates; but when they saw the routed Romans moving toward the city, they shouted that the Carthaginian was upon them, and unless they hastily closed the gates the enemy also, mingling with them, would make their way into the city. Thus they shut out the Romans and left them to be slain by the enemy. Atinius, however, with a few men was admitted. Then for a short time dissension continued, the other party [1] being of the opinion that they must yield to destiny and surrender the city to the victors. But, as usual, chance and bad advice prevailed. Atinius and his men were brought down to the sea and ships, more because they wished his personal safety, on account of his mild and just rule over them, than out of regard for the Romans, and then they admitted the Carthaginians to the city.

The consuls led their legions from Beneventum into the Campanian territory, not merely to ruin the grain, which was by now green, but also to besiege Capua. They thought to make theirs a notable consulship by the destruction of so rich a city, and at the same time to remove a great disgrace from the empire, in that the revolt of a city so near had been unpunished for three years.[2] But, not to leave Beneventum without a garrison, and, with a view to

[2] It was really over three years, from 216 B.C.

A.U.C. 542 belli, si Hannibal, quod facturum haud dubitabant, ad opem ferendam sociis Capuam venisset, equitis vim sustinere possent, Ti. Gracchum ex Lucanis cum equitatu ac levi armatura Beneventum venire iubent: legionibus stativisque ad obtinendas res in Lucanis aliquem praeficeret.

XVI. Graccho, prinsquam ex Lucanis moveret, 2 sacrificanti triste prodigium factum est: ad exta sacrificio perpetrato angues duo ex occulto adlapsi adedere iocur conspectique repente ex oculis abierunt. 3 Ideo[1] cum haruspicum monitu sacrificium instauraretur atque intentius exta reservarentur, iterum ac tertium tradunt adlapsos[2] libatoque iocinere intactos 4 angues abisse. Cum haruspices ad imperatorem id pertinere prodigium praemonuissent et ab occultis cavendum hominibus consultisque, nulla tamen 5 providentia fatum imminens moveri potuit. Flavus Lucanus fuit, caput partis eius Lucanorum, cum pars ad Hannibalem defecisset, quae cum Romanis stabat; et iam altero[3] anno[4] in magistratu erat, ab iisdem 6 illis creatus praetor. Is mutata repente voluntate locum gratiae apud Poenum quaerens neque transire ipse neque trahere ad defectionem Lucanos satis habuit, nisi imperatoris et eiusdem hospitis proditi capite ac sanguine foedus cum hostibus sanxisset.

[1] Ideo *Köhler*: id *P*(1): ob id *Weissenborn*: et *Crévier*.
[2] adlapsos *Weissenborn*: *om.* *P*(1).
[3] altero *Weissenborn*: *om.* *P*(1).
[4] anno *PCR*: hanno $R^1MBD.1$: annuo *Jac. Gronovius*: altero anno *Weissenborn*.

emergencies, if Hannibal should come to Capua, as B.C. 212
they had no doubt he would do, to lend aid to his allies, in order that they might be able to withstand the attack of his cavalry, they ordered Tiberius Gracchus to come from Lucania with his cavalry and light-armed troops to Beneventum. He was to put some one in command of the legions and permanent camps, in order to control the situation in Lucania.

XVI. As Gracchus was sacrificing before leaving Lucania, an unfavourable portent occurred. After the slaying of the victim two snakes gliding stealthily up to the entrails ate part of the liver, and on being noticed vanished suddenly from sight. When for that reason the sacrifice was repeated on the advice of the soothsayers, and while the entrails were being kept with greater care, they relate that the snakes for the second and the third time gliding up tasted the liver and went away unharmed. Although the soothsayers had warned in advance that that portent applied to the general, and that he must beware of men in hiding and of covert plans, still the impending fate could not be averted by any foresight. There was a Lucanian, Flavus, head of that party of the Lucanians which remained on the Roman side, although the other party had revolted to Hannibal. And he was now in the second year of his office, having been elected praetor by that same party. He suddenly changed his intention and, seeking to find favour with the Carthaginian, was not satisfied to change sides himself nor to draw the Lucanians into revolt without ratifying his agreement with the enemy by the life-blood of the general, betrayed though at the same time his guest-friend. He came

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7 Ad Magonem, qui in Bruttiis praeerat, clam in colloquium venit fideque ab eo accepta, si Romanum iis imperatorem tradidisset, liberos cum suis legibus venturos in amicitiam Lucanos, deducit Poenum in locum quo cum[1] paucis Gracchum adducturum
8 ait: Mago ibi pedites equitesque armatos—et capere eas latebras ingentem numerum—occuleret.
9 Loco satis inspecto atque undique explorato dies composita gerendae rei est. Flavus ad Romanum
10 imperatorem venit. Rem se ait magnam incohasse, ad quam perficiendam ipsius Gracchi opera opus esse: omnium populorum praetoribus qui ad Poenum in illo communi Italiae motu descissent, persuasisse ut redirent in amicitiam Romanorum,
11 quando res quoque Romana, quae prope exitium clade Cannensi venisset, in dies melior atque auctior fieret, Hannibalis vis senesceret ac prope ad nihilum
12 venisset; veteri delicto haud inplacabilis fore Romanos; nullam umquam gentem magis exorabilem promptioremque veniae dandae fuisse; quotiens re-
13 bellioni etiam maiorum suorum ignotum! Haec ab sese dicta; ceterum ab ipso Graccho eadem haec audire malle eos praesentisque contingere dextram
14 et id pignus fidei secum ferre. Locum se concilio iis dixisse a conspectu amotum, haud procul castris Romanis; ibi paucis verbis transigi rem posse ut

[1] quo cum *Gronovius, Madvig*: *om.* *P*(1): illo cum *A*^{v}.

to Mago, who was in command in the country of the B.C. 212
Bruttii, for a secret conference, and received his promise that, if he should surrender the Roman commander into their hands, the Lucanians as free men with their own laws would be accepted as friends. He then led the Carthaginian to a place to which he said he would bring Gracchus with a few men; there Mago should conceal armed infantry and cavalry; and the hiding-place had room, he said, for a very large number. After they had sufficiently examined the spot and reconnoitred all around, a day was settled upon for the execution of the plan. Flavus came to the Roman commander, saying that he had begun an important business for the completion of which he needed Gracchus' own help; that he had persuaded the magistrates of all the peoples which in that general commotion in Italy had gone over to the Carthaginians, to return to the friendship of the Romans, since the Roman state also, which had been nearly destroyed by the disaster at Cannae, was daily improving and increasing, while Hannibal's power was growing feebler and had been reduced almost to nothing. To their old offence, he said, the Romans would not be implacable; no people had ever been more easily entreated and readier to grant forgiveness. How often had a rebellion even of their own ancestors been pardoned! These things he said he had told them; but that they preferred to hear these same statements from Gracchus himself, and to take hold of his right hand there before them, and to carry with them that pledge of his honour. He had appointed for their council a place out of sight, not far from the Roman camp; there in a few words it could be

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omne nomen Lucanum in fide ac societate Romana
15 sit. Gracchus fraudem et sermoni et rei abesse
ratus ac similitudine veri captus cum lictoribus ac
turma equitum e castris profectus duce hospite in
16 insidias praecipitat.[1] Hostes subito exorti, et, ne
dubia proditio esset, Flavus iis se adiungit. Tela
undique in Gracchum atque equites coniciuntur.
17 Gracchus ex equo desilit; idem ceteros facere
iubet hortaturque ut, quod unum reliquum fortuna
18 fecerit, id honestent virtute: reliquum autem
quid esse paucis a multitudine in valle silva ac
montibus saepta circumventis praeter mortem?
19 Id referre, utrum praebentes corpora pecorum modo
inulti trucidentur, an toti a patiendo expectandoque
eventu in impetum atque iram versi, agentes auden-
tesque, perfusi hostium cruore, inter exspirantium
inimicorum cumulata armaque et corpora cadant.
20 Lucanum proditorem ac transfugam omnes peterent;
qui eam victimam prae se ad inferos misisset, eum
decus eximium, egregium solacium suae morti
21 inventurum. Inter haec dicta paludamento circa
laevum brachium intorto—nam ne scuta quidem
22 secum extulerant—in hostis impetum fecit. Maior
quam pro numero hominum editur pugna. Iaculis
maxime aperta corpora Romanorum, cum [2] undique
ex altioribus locis in cavam vallem coniectus esset,

[1] praecipitat *Madvig* (*possibly* P^x): -tatus $P(1)$: -tatur *B marg. Gronovius.*

[2] cum *Madvig, Conway*: et cum $P(1)$.

settled that the whole Lucanian people should be B.C. 212
under the protection of the Romans and in alliance with them. Gracchus, thinking that both speech and proposal were free from guile, and misled by the plausibility of it, set out from the camp with his lictors and a troop of cavalry, and with a guest-friend as his guide fell into the ambush. The enemy suddenly came out, and, to leave no doubt about his treachery, Flavus joined them. Javelins assail Gracchus and his horsemen from every side. He springs from his horse, bids the rest to do the same and urges them to ennoble by courage the one thing fortune has left open to them. But to a few men surrounded by a multitude, in a valley hedged about by forest and mountains, what was left, he asked, but death? The one thing that mattered was whether they were to submit themselves like sheep to be slaughtered unavenged, or, far from calmly awaiting the outcome, were to be altogether bent on angry attack, and then, daring and doing, drenched by the blood of the enemy, among the heaps of arms and bodies of their dying foes, were to fall. They must all attack the Lucanian traitor and deserter. The man who sent that victim before him to the lower world would find great distinction and for his own death an extraordinary consolation. While thus speaking he wound his general's cloak around his left arm—for they had not taken even shields with them—and attacked the enemy. The battle was out of all proportion to the number of men engaged. The bodies of the Romans were especially unprotected against javelins, and were pierced by them, as they could be thrown from higher ground all around into the hollow valley. Gracchus, who

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23 transfiguntur. Gracchum iam nudatum praesidio vivum capere Poeni nituntur; ceterum conspicatus Lucanum hospitem inter hostis, adeo infestus confertos invasit ut parci ei sine multorum pernicie
24 non posset. Exanimem eum Mago extemplo ad Hannibalem misit ponique cum captis simul fascibus ante tribunal imperatoris iussit.

Haec si[1] vera fama est, Gracchus in Lucanis ad campos qui Veteres vocantur periit. XVII. Sunt qui in agro Beneventano prope Calorem fluvium contendant a castris cum lictoribus ac tribus servis
2 lavandi causa progressum, cum forte inter salicta innata ripis laterent hostes, nudum atque inermem saxisque quae volvit amnis propugnantem interfectum.
3 Sunt qui haruspicum monitu quingentos passus a castris progressum, uti loco puro ea quae ante dicta prodigia sunt procuraret, ab insidentibus forte locum duabus turmis Numidarum circumventum scribant. Adeo nec locus nec ratio mortis in viro
4 tam claro et insigni constat. Funeris quoque Gracchi varia est fama. Alii in castris Romanis sepultum ab suis, alii ab Hannibale—et ea vulgatior fama est—tradunt in vestibulo Punicorum castrorum
5 rogum extructum esse, armatum exercitum decucurrisse cum tripudiis Hispanorum motibusque armorum et corporum suae cuique genti adsuetis, ipso Hannibale

[1] si *Madvig* : *om. P*(1).

was by this time stripped of his defenders, the B.C. 212
Carthaginians strove to capture alive. But catching sight of his Lucanian guest-friend among the enemy, he dashed into the dense ranks with such animosity that he could not be spared without the loss of many lives. Mago at once sent the corpse to Hannibal and ordered it to be placed before the general's tribune together with the captured fasces.

If this is the true report, Graechus perished in Lucania, on the Old Plains, as they are called. XVII. There are some who maintain that in the region of Beneventum, by the river Calor, he had gone out of the camp with his lictors and three slaves to bathe, while enemies, as it happened, were hiding among the willows growing on the banks, and was slain, naked and unarmed and defending himself with stones which the river rolls along. There are some writers who say that on the advice of the soothsayers he had gone five hundred paces from the camp to make atonement on an uncontaminated spot for the prodigies mentioned above, and was overpowered by two troops of Numidians who chanced to be in ambush there. So far are both the place and the manner of his death from being established, in spite of his eminence and distinction. In regard to Graechus's funeral also reports vary. Some relate that he was buried in the Roman camp by his own men, others—and this is the prevalent report—that by Hannibal's order a pyre was erected directly outside the gate of the Carthaginian camp, and that the army defiled under arms, with dances by the Spanish troops and such movements of weapons and bodies as were customary for each tribe, while Hannibal himself

A.U.C. 542 omni rerum verborumque honore exequias celebrante.
6 Haec tradunt qui in Lucanis rei gestae auctores sunt. Si illis qui ad Calorem fluvium interfectum memorant credere velis, capitis tantum Gracchi
7 hostes potiti sunt; eo delato ad Hannibalem, missus ab eo confestim Carthalo, qui in castra Romana ad Cn. Cornelium quaestorem deferret; is funus imperatoris in castris celebrantibus cum exercitu Beneventanis fecit.

XVIII. Consules agrum Campanum ingressi cum passim popularentur, eruptione oppidanorum et Magonis cum equitatu territi et trepidi ad signa milites palatos passim revocarunt, et vixdum instructa acie fusi supra mille et quingentos milites
2 amiserunt. Inde ingens ferocia superbae suopte ingenio genti crevit, multisque proeliis laeessebant Romanos; sed intentiores ad cavendum consules una pugna fecerat ineaute atque inconsulte inita.
3 Restituit tamen his animos et illis minuit audaciam parva una res; sed in bello nihil tam leve est quod non magnae interdum rei momentum faciat.
4 T. Quinctio Crispino Badius Campanus hospes erat, perfamiliari hospitio iunctus. Creverat consuetudo, quod aeger Romae apud Crispinum Badius ante defectionem Campanam liberaliter comiterque curatus
5 fuerat. Is tum[1] Badius, progressus ante stationes quae pro porta stabant, vocari Crispinum iussit.

[1] Is tum *Crévier* : stu *P* : tum P^2(1).

[1] Not to be confused with another man of the same name in xxvi. 4; XXIV. xxxix. 12; and frequently in XXVII.

honoured the obsequies with every tribute in act B.C. 212
and word. These are the statements of those who vouch for its occurrence in Lucania. If you incline to believe those who state that he was slain at the river Calor, the enemy gained possession of Gracchus' head only. This being brought to Hannibal, Carthalo was at once sent by him to bring it to the Roman camp and Gnaeus Cornelius the quaestor. He conducted the funeral of the general in the camp, while the people of Beneventum joined with the army in doing him honour.

XVIII. While the consuls, on entering the Campanian region, were devastating it far and wide, being alarmed and dismayed by a sally of the Capuans and of Mago with his cavalry, they recalled their widely scattered soldiers to the standards, and being routed almost before their line was formed, lost over fifteen hundred men. Upon this the great overconfidence of a people naturally proud was greatly increased, and they sought to provoke the Romans by many battles. But a single engagement incautiously and imprudently begun had made the consuls more careful to be on their guard. One small occurrence, however, restored the courage of one army and lessened the boldness of the other. But in war nothing is so slight as not at times to bring about a great result. Titus Quinctius Crispinus[1] had one Badius, a Campanian, as his guest-friend, linked to him by intimate hospitality. Friendship had grown because in an illness Badius had been generously and kindly nursed at the house of Crispinus at Rome before the rebellion of Campania. This Badius at the time came up to the outposts stationed before the gate and bade them call

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Quod ubi est Crispino nuntiatum, ratus conloquium amicum ac familiare quaeri, manente memoria etiam in discidio publicorum foederum privati iuris, paulum
6 a ceteris processit. Postquam in conspectum venere, "Provoco te" inquit "ad pugnam, Crispine," Badius; "conscendamus equos summotisque aliis
7 uter bello melior sit decernamus." Ad ea Crispinus nec sibi nec illi ait hostes deesse in quibus virtutem ostendant; se, etiamsi in acie occurrerit, declinaturum, ne hospitali caede dextram violet; con-
8 versusque abibat. Enimvero ferocius tum Campanus increpare mollitiam ignaviamque et se digna probra in insontem iacere, hospitalem hostem appellans simulantemque parcere cui sciat parem se non esse.
9 Si parum publicis foederibus ruptis dirempta simul et privata iura esse putet, Badium Campanum T. Quinctio Crispino Romano palam duobus exercitibus audientibus renuntiare hospitium. Nihil sibi
10 cum eo consociatum, nihil foederatum, hosti cum hoste, cuius patriam ac penates publicos privatosque oppugnatum venisset. Si vir esset, congrederetur.
11 Diu cunctantem Crispinum perpulere turmales ne
12 impune insultare Campanum pateretur. Itaque tantum moratus dum imperatores consuleret permitterentne sibi extra ordinem in provocantem

Crispinus. When this was reported to Crispinus, he B.C. 212
went a little beyond the others, thinking a friendly and intimate conversation was wanted, since the memory of a personal tie lingered in spite of the rupture of public treaties. When they had come in sight of each other, "I challenge you to battle, Crispinus," said Badius. "Let us mount our horses and, with others kept at a distance, decide which is the better warrior." In reply Crispinus said that neither he nor Badius lacked enemies on whom to show his courage. For himself, even if he should meet the other in battle-line, he would avoid him, lest he stain his right hand with the blood of a guest-friend. And he turned and was walking away. Then in truth the Campanian more fiercely reviled the effeminacy and cowardice of Crispinus and hurled reproaches which he himself deserved against an innocent man, calling him a guest-enemy and a man who pretended to spare one to whom he knew he was not equal. If he thought that with the rupture of public treaties private ties had not also been broken, then, he said, Badius the Campanian, openly in the hearing of two armies, renounced the guest-friendship of Titus Quinctius Crispinus the Roman. For himself, an enemy, nothing was hallowed by association, nothing by compact, with him, an enemy, since he had come to attack his native city and the Penates of the state and of the household. If he was a man, let him come on. Crispinus, after long hesitation, was prevailed upon by his comrades not to allow the Campanian to revile him with impunity. And so he delayed only long enough to consult the generals as to whether they permitted him to fight out of ranks against an enemy who challenged him.

A.U.C. 542 hostem pugnare, permissu eorum arma cepit equumque conscendit et Badium nomine compellans ad
13 pugnam evocavit. Nulla mora a Campano facta est; infestis equis concurrerunt. Crispinus supra scutum sinistrum umerum Badio hasta transfixit, superque delapsum cum vulnere ex equo desiluit, ut pedes
14 iacentem conficeret. Badius, prinsquam opprimeretur, parma atque equo relicto ad suos aufugit;
15 Crispinus equum armaque capta et cruentam cuspidem insignis spoliis ostentans cum magna laude et gratulatione militum ad consules est deductus laudatusque ibi magnifice et donis donatus.

XIX. Hannibal ex agro Beneventano castra ad Capuam cum movisset, tertio post die quam venit
2 copias in aciem eduxit, haudquaquam dubius, quod Campanis absente se paucos ante dies secunda fuisset pugna, quin multo minus se suumque totiens
3 victorem exercitum sustinere Romani possent. Ceterum postquam pugnari coeptum est, equitum maxime incursu, cum iaculis obrueretur, laborabat Romana acies, donec signum equitibus datum est
4 ut in hostem admitterent equos. Ita equestre proelium erat, cum procul visus Sempronianus exercitus, cui Cn. Cornelius quaestor praeerat, utrique parti parem metum praebuit ne hostes novi adven-
5 tarent. Velut ex composito utrimque signum receptui datum, reductique in castra prope aequo Marte discesserunt; plures tamen ab Romanis primo

[1] For the forces Gracchus had commanded cf. xv. 20.

With their permission he took his arms and mounted B.C. 212
his horse, and addressing Badius by name called him out to battle. The Campanian made no delay; riding directly at each other they clashed. Crispinus with his spear pierced Badius' left shoulder above the shield; and after he fell wounded, leaped upon him from his horse, that, now dismounted, he might despatch the fallen. Badius, not to be overpowered, left shield and horse and fled to his own men. Crispinus, decked with spoils and displaying the horse and captured arms and his bloody spear, was conducted with much praise and congratulation on the part of the soldiers to the consuls, and there he was highly praised and rewarded with gifts.

XIX. Hannibal, having moved his camp from the region of Beneventum to the vicinity of Capua, led his troops out into battle-line on the third day after his arrival. Since in his absence the Campanians had had a successful battle a few days before, he had no doubt whatever that the Romans would be much less able to withstand himself and his repeatedly victorious army. But once the battle had begun, the Roman line was hard pressed, especially by the cavalry charge, being overwhelmed by their darts, until the signal was given to the cavalry to urge their horses against the enemy. Thus a cavalry battle was in progress when the distant sight of the Sempronian army,[1] commanded by Gnaeus Cornelius, the quaestor, inspired in both armies the same fear that fresh enemies were approaching. As if by agreement the signal for recall was given on both sides, and marching back to the camp they separated on almost even terms. Yet a larger number fell on the

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6 incursu equitum ecciderunt. Inde consules, ut averterent Capua Hannibalem, nocte quae secuta est diversi, Fulvius in agrum Cumanum, Claudius
7 in Lucanos abit. Postero die, cum vacua castra Romanorum esse nuntiatum Hannibali esset et duobus agminibus diversos abisse, incertus primo
8 utrum sequeretur, Appium institit sequi. Ille circumducto hoste qua voluit alio itinere ad Capuam redit.

Hannibali alia in his locis bene gerendae rei for-
9 tuna oblata est. M. Centenius fuit cognomine Paenula, insignis inter primi pili centuriones et
10 magnitudine corporis et animo. Is, perfunctus militia, per P. Cornelium Sullam praetorem in senatum introductus petit a patribus uti sibi quinque milia
11 militum darentur: se peritum et hostis et regionum brevi operae pretium facturum et, quibus artibus ad id locorum nostri et duces et exercitus capti forent,
12 iis adversus inventorem usurum. Id non promissum magis stolide quam stolide creditum, tamquam
13 eadem militares et imperatoriae artes essent. Data pro quinque octo milia militum, pars dimidia cives, pars socii. Et ipse aliquantum voluntariorum in itinere ex [1] agris concivit ac prope duplicato exercitu in Lucanos pervenit, ubi Hannibal nequiquam
14 secutus Claudium substiterat. Haud dubia res

[1] ex *Madvig*: in *P*(1).

[1] A *primi pili centurio* (or *primus pilus*) was the ranking centurion of his legion, commanding the first century of the first maniple of the *triarii*.

Roman side because of the first charge of the horse- B.C. 212
men. Thereupon the consuls, in order to draw Hannibal away from Capua, marched off the following night in different directions, Fulvius into the region of Cumae, Claudius into Lucania. The next day Hannibal, on being informed that the Roman camp was empty and that they had marched away in different directions in two columns, was at first uncertain which to follow, but pushed on in pursuit of Appius, who after leading the enemy around wherever he pleased, returned by a different road to Capua.

Hannibal had another opportunity for success presented to him in this region. There was one Marcus Centenius, with the cognomen Paenula, conspicuous among the centurions of the highest rank [1] for his huge body and his courage. Having finished his military service, he was brought into the senate by Publius Cornelius Sulla, a praetor, and begged the fathers to give him five thousand soldiers. He, being well-acquainted, he said, both with the enemy and the country, would soon accomplish something worth while, and as for the arts by which both our generals and our armies had till then been ensnared, he would use them against their inventor. This was not more stupidly promised than stupidly believed, as if the qualities of soldier and general were the same. Instead of five thousand, eight thousand soldiers were given him, half of them citizens, half allies. And he himself on his march raised a considerable number of volunteers from the farms, and with his army nearly doubled reached Lucania, where Hannibal had halted after vainly pursuing Claudius. The result was never in doubt,

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erat, quippe inter Hannibalem ducem et centurionem, exercitusque alterum vincendo veteranum, alterum novum totum, magna ex parte etiam tumultuarium
15 ac semermem. Ut conspecta inter se agmina sunt et neutra pars detrectavit pugnam, extemplo instructae acies. Pugnatum tamen ut in nulla pari re; duas amplius horas constitit pugna spe[1] con-
16 citante,[2] donec dux stetit, Romanam aciem.[3] Postquam is non pro vetere fama solum, sed etiam metu futuri dedecoris, si sua temeritate contractae cladi superesset, obiectans se hostium telis cecidit, fusa
17 extemplo est Romana acies; sed adeo ne fugae quidem iter patuit omnibus viis ab equite insessis, ut ex tanta multitudine vix mille evaserint, ceteri passim alii alia peste absumpti sint.

XX. Capua a consulibus iterum summa vi obsideri coepta est, quaeque in eam rem opus erant compor-
2 tabantur parabanturque. Casilinum frumentum convectum; ad Volturni ostium, ubi nunc urbs est, castellum communitum ibique et Puteolis, quos iam[4] ante Fabius Maximus munierat, praesidium impositum,
3 ut mare proximum et flumen in potestate essent. In ea duo maritima castella frumentum, quod ex Sardinia nuper missum erat quodque M. Iunius praetor ex Etruria coemerat, ab Ostia conveetum est, ut exerci-
4 tui per hiemem copia esset. Ceterum super eam cladem quae in Lucanis accepta erat volonum quo-

[1] -stitit pugna spe con- *M. Müller*: *om. P*(1), *a lost line.*
[2] concitante *Madvig*: concitata et *P*(1): -atae P^1*?*: -ata *Sigonius, Walters.*
[3] Romanam aciem *P*(1): -a acie A^y *Valla.*
[4] ibique . . . iam *Conway, a line om. by P*(1).

[1] Cf. XXIV. vii. 10.

as between Hannibal as commander and a centurion, B.C. 212
and between armies one of which was a veteran in victory and the other altogether raw, in large part also irregular and half-armed. When the columns were in sight of each other and neither side refused battle, the lines were immediately drawn up. They fought, however, as was to be expected where nothing was fairly matched. For more than two hours the battle continued, since hope inspired the Roman line so long as their commander held his ground. Not only in keeping with his old reputation, but also for fear of future disgrace, if he should survive a disaster brought on by his own rashness, he threw himself upon the weapons of the enemy and fell, whereupon the Roman line was at once routed. But, as all the roads were occupied by cavalry, so far were they from having any route open even for flight that out of so great a multitude barely a thousand escaped, while the rest scattering met death in various forms.

XX. The siege of Capua was resumed with intensity by the consuls, and all that was needed for the purpose was being brought together and made ready. Casilinum was the depot for grain. At the mouth of the Volturnus, where there is now a city, a stronghold was fortified, and there and at Puteoli,[1] which Fabius Maximus had previously fortified, a garrison was placed, that the sea in that neighbourhood and the river might be in their power. To these two strongholds by the sea the grain which had been sent recently from Sardinia and that which the praetor Marcus Junius had purchased in Etruria was transported from Ostia, so that the army might have a supply through the winter. But in addition to the disaster incurred in Lucania, the army of slave-

A.U.C. 542 que exercitus, qui vivo Graccho summa fide stipendia fecerat, velut exauctoratus morte ducis ab signis discessit.

5 Hannibal non Capuam neglectam neque in tanto discrimine desertos volebat socios; sed prospero ex temeritate unius Romani ducis successu in alterius ducis exercitusque opprimendi occasionem immine-
6 bat. Cn. Fulvium praetorem Apuli legati nuntiabant primo, dum urbes quasdam Apulorum quae ad Hannibalem descivissent oppugnaret, intentius rem egisse: postea nimio successu et ipsum et milites praeda impletos in tantam licentiam socordiamque effusos
7 ut nulla disciplina militiae esset. Cum saepe alias, tum paucis diebus ante expertus qualis sub inscio duce exercitus esset, in Apuliam castra movit. XXI. Circa Herdoneam Romanae legiones et praetor Fulvius erat. Quo ubi allatum est hostis adventare, prope est factum ut iniussu praetoris signis convulsis in aciem exirent; nec res magis ulla tenuit quam spes haud dubia suo id arbitrio ubi vellent facturos.
2 Nocte insequenti Hannibal, cum tumultuatum in castris et plerosque ferociter, signum ut daret,
3 institisse duci ad arma vocantis sciret, haud dubius prosperae pugnae occasionem dari, tria milia expeditorum militum in villis circa vepribusque et silvis disponit, qui signo dato simul omnes e latebris

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[1] Cf. XXIV. xx. 8.

volunteers also, which had served with the utmost loyalty while Graechus lived, abandoned its standards, as if discharged by the death of the general. B.C. 212

Hannibal did not wish that Capua should be neglected nor his allies abandoned in such a crisis. But in view of a success due to the rashness of one Roman general he was eager for an opportunity to surprise a second general and army. Apulian legates were informing him that the praetor Gnaeus Fulvius had at first been very active while besieging some Apulian cities which had revolted to Hannibal; but that later, owing to unmerited success, both he himself and his soldiers, who were loaded with booty, had gone to such lengths in licence and indifference that there was no military discipline. Hannibal, who frequently at other times, and particularly within a few days, had discovered what an army is under an incompetent general, moved his camp into Apulia. XXI. Near Herdonea [1] were Roman legions and the praetor Fulvius. When the news reached them there that the enemy were approaching, they barely refrained from catching up their standards and going out into battle-line without orders from the praetor. And nothing restrained them more than the hope, now beyond question, that they would do so at their own discretion whenever they pleased. The following night Hannibal, knowing that there had been an uproar in the camp and that many, calling to arms, had over-confidently pressed the commander to give the signal, had no doubt that an opportunity for a victory was offered. He accordingly posted three thousand lightly equipped soldiers in farmhouses near by and in the thickets and the woods, to come out of their hiding-places all at once,

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4 existerent, et Magonem ac duo ferme milia equitum, qua fugam inclinaturam credebat, omnia itinera insidere iubet. His nocte praeparatis, prima luce 5 in aciem copias educit; nec Fulvius est cunctatus, non tam sua ulla spe quam militum impetu fortuito tractus. Itaque eadem temeritate qua processum in aciem est instruitur ipsa acies ad libidinem militum forte procurrentium consistentiumque quo loco ipsorum tulisset animus, deinde per libidinem aut 6 metum deserentium locum. Prima legio et sinistra ala in primo instructae et in longitudinem porrecta 7 acies. Clamantibus tribunis nihil introrsus roboris ac virium esse et, quaecumque impetum fecisset hostis, perrupturos, nihil quod salutare esset non modo ad animum sed ne ad aures quidem admittebat. 8 Et Hannibal haudquaquam similis dux neque simili exercitu neque ita instructo aderat. Ergo ne clamorem quidem atque impetum primum eorum 9 Romani sustinuere. Dux, stultitia et temeritate Centenio par, animo haudquaquam comparandus, ubi rem inclinatam ac trepidantis suos videt, equo arrepto cum ducentis ferme equitibus effugit; 10 cetera a fronte pulsa, inde a[1] tergo atque alis circumventa acies eo usque est caesa ut ex duodeviginti milibus hominum duo milia haud amplius evaserint. Castris hostes potiti sunt.

[1] inde a *Weissenborn* : in *P*(1).

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[1] The *alae* were auxiliaries of the allies, each *ala* equal in strength to a legion (4200 men). When drawn up as here the second line would be made up of the other legion and the *ala dextra*. Such a formation was at times employed instead of the usual three lines, *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*, of the legionaries. Cf. XXVII. i. 8; ii. 6.

when the signal was given. And he ordered Mago B.C. 212
and about two thousand horsemen to lie in wait along all the roads in the direction which he believed the flight would take. After making these preparations at night, he led his troops out into line at daybreak. Nor did Fulvius hesitate, dragged into it not so much by any hope of his own as by the haphazard impulse of the soldiers. And so, with the same recklessness with which they went out to form, they drew up even the line of battle according to the whim of soldiers who happened to dash forward and take their stand wherever their own fancy had carried them, and then capriciously or in fear abandoned their positions. The first legion and the left *ala* were placed in front,[1] and the line was made very long. Although the tribunes shouted that in depth it had no power to resist, and that wherever the enemy should make their attack they would pierce it, the men in line allowed no advice that was helpful to reach even their ears, not to say their attention. And there was Hannibal, surely not that sort of a general, nor with that sort of an army, drawn up in that fashion. Consequently the Romans did not withstand even their shout and the first onset. The general, a match for Centenius in folly and recklessness, but in courage by no means to be compared with him, seeing that the line was giving way and his own men in confusion, seized a horse and with about two hundred horsemen made his escape. The rest of the line, beaten back in front and then surrounded in the rear and on the wings, was so cut to pieces that out of eighteen thousand men not more than two thousand escaped. The camp was occupied by the enemy.

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XXII. Hac clades super aliam alia Romam cum essent nuntiatae, ingens quidem et luctus et pavor civitatem cepit; sed tamen quia consules, ubi summa rerum esset, ad id locorum prospere rem
2 gererent, minus his cladibus commovebantur. Legatos ad consules mittunt C. Laetorium M. Metilium qui nuntiarent ut reliquias duorum exercituum cum
3 cura colligerent darentque operam ne per metum ac desperationem hosti se dederent, id quod post Cannensem accidisset cladem, et ut desertores de
4 exercitu volonum conquirerent. Idem negotii P. Cornelio datum, cui et dilectus mandatus erat; isque per fora conciliabulaque edixit ut conquisitio volonum fieret iique ad signa reducerentur. Haec omnia intentissima cura acta.

5 Ap. Claudius consul D. Iunio ad ostium Volturni, M. Aurelio Cotta Puteolis praeposito, qui, ut quaeque naves ex Etruria ac Sardinia accessissent,
6 extemplo in castra mitterent frumentum, ipse ad Capuam regressus Q. Fulvium collegam invenit Casilino omnia deportantem molientemque ad
7 oppugnandam Capuam. Tum ambo circumsederunt urbem et Claudium Neronem praetorem ab Suessula
8 ex Claudianis castris exciverunt. Is quoque modico ibi praesidio ad tenendum locum relicto ceteris omnibus copiis ad Capuam descendit. Ita tria praetoria circa Capuam erecta; tres et [1] exercitus

[1] et *P*(2) *Conway*: *om. A Weissenborn, Walters.*

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[1] *I.e.* the senate.
[2] In XXII. xxv. 3 he was *tribunus plebis.*
[3] Cf. above, note on v. 6.

XXII. When the news of these disasters one after B.C. 212
another had reached Rome, great sorrow and alarm, it is true, took possession of the state. Nevertheless because the consuls, to whom fell the supreme command, were up to that time successful, they were less disturbed by these disasters. They[1] sent Gaius Laetorius and Marcus Metilius[2] as legates to the consuls, to inform them that they should carefully gather up the remnants of the two armies, and see to it that in fear and despair they did not surrender to the enemy, as had happened after the disaster at Cannae; also that they should search for the deserters from the army of slave-volunteers. The same duty was given to Publius Cornelius, to whom the levy also had been assigned. And he issued an edict in the market-towns and local centres,[3] that search should be made for the slave-volunteers, and that they be brought back to their standards. All these things were done with the utmost diligence.

Appius Claudius, the consul, placed Decimus Junius in command at the mouth of the Volturnus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta at Puteoli, in order that, as fast as ships came in from Etruria and Sardinia, they should send the grain at once to the camps. He himself, on returning to Capua, found his colleague Quintus Fulvius transporting everything from Casilinum and making every preparation for the siege of Capua. Then they both invested the city and summoned the praetor, Claudius Nero, from the Claudian camp at Suessula. He, leaving there only a garrison of moderate size to hold the place, likewise came down with all the rest of his forces to Capua. Thus three headquarters were set up around Capua. There were three armies too that,

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diversis partibus opus adgressi fossa valloque circumdare urbem parant et castella excitant modicis
9 intervallis multisque simul locis cum prohibentibus opera Campanis eo eventu pugnant ut postremo
10 portis muroque se contineret Campanus. Prius tamen quam haec continuarentur opera, legati ad Hannibalem missi qui quererentur desertam ab eo Capuam ac prope redditam Romanis obtestarenturque ut tunc saltem opem non circumsessis modo sed
11 etiam circumvallatis ferret. Consulibus litterae a P. Cornelio praetore missae ut, priusquam clauderent Capuam operibus, potestatem Campanis facerent ut qui eorum vellent exirent a Capua suasque res
12 secum ferrent: [1] liberos fore suaque omnia habituros qui ante idus Martias exissent; post eam diem quique exissent quique ibi mansissent, hostium
13 futuros numero. Ea pronuntiata Campanis atque ita spreta ut ultro contumelias dicerent minarenturque.

14 Hannibal ab Herdonea Tarentum duxerat legiones, spe aut vi aut dolo arcis Tarentinae potiundae; quod ubi parum processit, ad Brundisium flexit
15 iter, prodi id oppidum ratus. Ibi quoque cum frustra tereret tempus, legati Campani ad eum venerunt querentes simul orantesque; quibus Hannibal magnifice respondit et antea se solvisse obsidionem et nunc adventum suum consules non laturos.

[1] ferrent M^{1}? *Madvig*: inferrent $P(6)M$?: au- M?Ax: inde ferrent *Weissenborn*.

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[1] In the name of the senate.

fell to work on different sides, made ready to encircle B.C. 212
the city with a ditch and an earthwork, and erected redoubts at moderate intervals; and at many points at the same time they fought with such success against the Campanians who endeavoured to hinder the works that finally the Campanians remained inside the gates and the wall. But before these siege-works could be made continuous, legates were sent to Hannibal, to complain that Capua had been deserted by him and almost given back to the Romans, and to implore him to bring aid, then at least, to men not only besieged but also encircled by entrenchments. The consuls received a letter from Publius Cornelius, the praetor, ordering[1] that, before enclosing Capua with their works, they should permit such of the Campanians as wished to do so to leave Capua and carry their possessions with them. Those who should leave before the fifteenth of March were to be free men and to keep all their property; those who left after that date and those who remained there were to be reckoned enemies. These terms were published to the Campanians, and were received with such contempt by them that they were actually insulting and made threats.

Hannibal had led his legions from Herdonea to Tarentum in the hope of getting possession of the citadel of Tarentum either by force or by ruse. When this did not succeed, he turned aside to Brundisium, thinking that town would certainly be betrayed. While there also he was wasting time, the Campanian legates came to him with complaints and at the same time entreaties. Hannibal replied to them grandly that he had previously raised a siege, and that now also the consuls would not with-

A.U.C. 512 16 Cum hac spe dimissi legati vix regredi Capuam iam duplici fossa valloque cinctam potuerunt.

XXIII. Cum maxume Capua circumvallaretur, Syracusarum oppugnatio ad finem venit, praterquam vi ac virtute ducis exercitusque, intestina 2 etiam proditione adiuta. Namque Marcellus initio veris incertus utrum Agrigentum ad Himilconem et Hippocraten verteret bellum an obsidione Syra- 3 cusas premeret, quamquam nec vi capi videbat posse inexpugnabilem terrestri ac maritimo situ urbem nec fame, ut quam prope liberi a Carthagine com- 4 meatus alerent, tamen, ne quid inexpertum relinqueret, transfugas Syracusanos—erant autem apud Romanos aliqui nobilissimi viri, inter defectionem ab Romanis, quia ab novis consiliis abhorrebant, pulsi—conloquiis suae partis temptare hominum animos iussit et fidem dare, si traditae forent Syra- 5 cusae, liberos eos ac suis legibus victuros esse. Non erat conloquii copia, quia multorum animi suspecti omnium curam oculosque eo [1] converterant ne quid 6 falleret tale admissum. Servus unus exulum, pro transfuga intromissus in urbem, conventis paucis initium conloquendi de tali re fecit. Deinde in [2] piscatoria quidam nave retibus operti circumvectique ita ad castra Romana conlocutique cum transfugis,

[1] eo *B Riemann* : *om. P*(1).
[2] Deinde in *z* : dein *P*(1) : deinde A^2.

[1] Beyond the northern Wall of Dionysius, not far from the Hexapylon.

stand his coming. With this hope the legates were sent away, and it was with difficulty that they were able to return to Capua, now surrounded by two trenches and a double earthwork. B.C. 212

XXIII. Just as Capua was being encircled the siege of Syracuse came to an end, expedited not only by the vigour and valour of the general and the army but also by treachery within. For Marcellus, who at the beginning of the spring had been uncertain whether to shift the war to Agrigentum against Himilco and Hippocrates, or to press the siege of Syracuse, saw indeed that the city, impregnable in its position both on the landward and the seaward side, could not be taken by assault, nor by starvation, inasmuch as it was sustained by almost unhampered supplies from Carthage. Nevertheless, to leave nothing untried, deserters from Syracuse—and there were in the Roman lines some men of highest rank who during the estrangement from the Romans had been driven out because they were averse to a change of policy—were ordered by him to sound men of their faction in conferences, and to give them a pledge that, if Syracuse should be surrendered, they should live as free men and under their own laws. For a conference there was no opportunity, because the suspicious attitude of many men had attracted the attention and the eyes of all, to prevent such an offence from passing unnoticed. A single slave belonging to the exiles was admitted to the city as a deserter and by meeting a few men made a beginning of parleys on a matter of such moment. Then some men were hidden under nets on a fishing vessel, and thus sailed around to the Roman camp [1] and talked with the deserters. And

A.U.C. 542 et iidem saepius eodem modo et alii atque alii;
7 postremo ad octoginta facti. Et cum iam composita omnia ad proditionem essent, indicio delato ad Epicyden per Attalum quendam, indignantem sibi rem creditam non esse, necati omnes cum cruciatu sunt.

8 Alia subinde spes, postquam haec vana evaserat, excepit. Damippus quidam Lacedaemonius, missus ab Syracusis ad Philippum regem, captus ab Romanis
9 navibus erat. Huius utique redimendi et Epicydae cura erat ingens, nec abnuit Marcellus, iam tum Aetolorum, quibus socii Lacedaemonii erant, amicitiam
10 adfectantibus Romanis. Ad conloquium de redemptione eius missis medius maxime atque utrisque opportunus locus ad portum Trogilorum, propter
11 turrim quam vocant Galeagram, est visus. Quo cum saepius commearent, unus ex Romanis ex propinquo murum contemplans, numerando lapides aestimandoque ipse secum quid in fronte paterent
12 singuli, altitudinem muri, quantum proxime coniectura poterat, permensus humilioremque aliquanto pristina opinione sua et ceterorum omnium ratus esse et vel mediocribus scalis superabilem, ad Marcellum rem
13 defert. Haud spernenda visa; sed cum adiri locus, quia ob id ipsum intentius custodiebatur, non posset,
14 occasio quaerebatur; quam obtulit transfuga nuntians diem festum Dianae per triduum agi et, quia alia in obsidione desint, vino largius epulas celebrari

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[1] Merely a small bay, of no value for large vessels.

[2] The tower was probably beyond the wall in the open country.

the same men did this repeatedly in the same way, B.C. 212
also others and again others. Finally they amounted to about eighty. And when now everything had been arranged for the betrayal, information was brought to Epicydes by one Attalus, who was outraged that the matter had not been confided to him, and they were all put to death with torture.

This hope having proved false, another at once took its place. Damippus a Lacedaemonian, who had been sent from Syracuse to King Philip, had been captured by Roman ships. Epicydes was very much concerned to ransom him at any cost, and Marcellus also was not averse, since the Romans were already courting the friendship of the Aetolians, whose allies the Lacedaemonians were. The men sent to confer in regard to the man's ransom thought that the most convenient place for both sides, and just half-way, was at the Trogili Harbour,[1] near the tower called Galeagra.[2] As they came there repeatedly, one of the Romans, observing the wall from near at hand, by counting the courses and making his own estimate of the height of each on its face, measured the height of the wall as nearly as he could by guesswork. And thinking it considerably lower than his own previous estimate of it and that of all the rest, and that it could be scaled by ladders even of moderate length, he reported to Marcellus. It did not seem a matter to be despised. But since the place, being more closely guarded for the very reason mentioned, could not be approached, they cast about for an opportunity. And this was offered by a deserter, reporting that the feast of Diana was being observed for three days, and that, since other things were lacking during the siege, it was with wine that the

A.U.C. 542 et ab Epicyde praebito universae plebei et per tribus a principibus diviso.

15 Quod ubi [1] accepit Marcellus, cum paucis tribunorum militum conlocutus, electisque per eos ad rem tantam agendam audendamque idoneis centurionibus militibusque et scalis in occulto comparatis, ceteris signum dari iubet ut mature corpora curarent quietique darent: nocte in expeditionem eundum 16 esse. Inde ubi id temporis visum quo de die epulatis iam vini satias principiumque somni esset, signi unius milites ferre scalas iussit; et ad mille fere 17 armati tenui agmine per silentium eo dedueti. Ubi sine strepitu ac tumultu primi evaserunt in murum, secuti ordine alii, cum priorum audacia dubiis etiam animum faceret. XXIV. Iam mille armatorum muri [2] ceperant partem, cum ceterae admotae sunt copiae [3] pluribusque scalis in murum evadebant signo ab 2 Hexapylo dato, quo per ingentem solitudinem erat perventum, quia magna pars in turribus epulati aut sopiti vino erant aut semigraves potabant; paucos tamen eorum improviso oppressos [4] in cubilibus 3 interfecerunt. Prope Hexapylon est portula; ea magna vi refringi coepta et e muro ex composito tuba datum signum erat et iam undique non furtim, 4 sed vi aperta [5] gerebatur res. Quippe ad Epipolas,

[1] quod ubi M^1: id ubi M^2: dubia $P(1)$.
[2] muri *Madvig*: om. $P(1)$: eam *Harant.*
[3] sunt copiae *Weissenborn*: *om.* $P(1)$.
[4] improviso oppressos *Hertz*: inpressos $P(1)$: oppressos *xz.*
[5] aperta *Gronovius*: aperte $P(1)$.

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[1] *I.e.* the φυλαί, corresponding in a way to the Roman tribes.
[2] For this, the most important gate to the north, cf. XXIV. xxi. 7; xxxii. 5, etc.

banquets were more lavishly provided, this being B.C. 212
furnished to the entire populace by Epicydes and distributed among the tribes [1] by leading citizens.

On learning of this, Marcellus conferred with a few tribunes of the soldiers, and after these had chosen centurions and soldiers able to dare and do a thing of such importance, and after ladders had been secretly made ready, he ordered the signal to be given to the others to eat early and then rest. In the night, he said, they must go on a raid. Then, when it seemed to be late enough for those who had begun their feast during the day to be sated, he thought, with their wine and now to be falling asleep, he ordered the soldiers of one maniple to carry the ladders. And about a thousand armed men were led in a thin column to the place in silence. When the first men without noise and confusion had made their way to the top of the wall, the others followed one after another, since the boldness of those ahead of them gave courage even to the wavering. XXIV. The thousand armed men had already taken a part of the wall, when the rest of the forces were brought up, and on more ladders they were making their way to the top of the wall, a signal having been given from the Hexapylon.[2] To that point they had advanced without encountering a soul, since many of the enemy, after feasting in the towers, either had been put to sleep by their wine or, while half-intoxicated, were still drinking. A few of them, however, they surprised and slew in their beds. Near the Hexapylon there is a postern. This they had begun to break open with great force, and from the wall the signal had been given by a trumpet, as agreed; and now the fighting was from every side, no longer by stealth, but with open violence. For

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frequentem custodiis locum, perventum erat, terrendique magis hostes erant quam fallendi, sicut territi
5 sunt. Nam simulac tubarum est auditus cantus clamorque tenentium muros partemque urbis, omnia teneri custodes rati[1] alii per murum fugere, alii salire de muro praecipitarique turba paventium.
6 Magna pars tamen ignara tanti mali erat et gravatis omnibus vino somnoque et in vastae magnitudinis urbe partium sensu non satis pertinente in omnia.
7 Sub lucem Hexapylo effracto Marcellus omnibus copiis urbem ingressus excitavit convertitque omnes ad arma capienda opemque, si quam possent, iam captae prope urbi ferendam.
8 Epicydes ab Insula, quam ipsi Nason vocant, citato profectus agmine, haud dubius quin paucos, per neglegentiam custodum transgressos murum,
9 expulsurus foret, occurrentibus pavidis tumultum augere eos dictitans et maiora ac terribiliora vero adferre, postquam conspexit omnia circa Epipolas armis completa, lacessito tantum hoste paucis missili-
10 bus retro in Achradinam agmen convertit, non tam vim multitudinemque hostium metuens quam ne qua intestina fraus per occasionem oreretur clausasque inter tumultum Achradinae atque Insulae inveniret
11 portas. Marcellus ut moenia ingressus ex superioribus locis urbem omnium ferme illa tempestate

[1] rati A^2 : *om.* $P(1)N$.

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[1] Doric for Νῆσος, Insula.

[2] Timaeus, the historian of Sicily, had called Syracuse the greatest of Greek cities, the most beautiful of all cities; Cicero, *de Re Publica* III. 43; *in Verrem* IV. 117.

they had reached Epipolae, a well-guarded region, B.C. 212
and the enemy had rather to be terrified than deceived, as they were in fact terrified. For as soon as they heard the notes of the trumpet and the shouting of the men holding the walls and a part of the city, the guards, thinking the whole city was occupied, fled, some of them along the wall; others leaped from the wall or were pushed over by the panic-stricken crowd. A large part of the people, however, were unaware of the great danger; for all were heavy with wine and sleep, and in a city of immense size knowledge concerning its quarters failed to reach the whole. At daybreak Marcellus burst open the Hexapylon, and entering the city with his entire force awakened everybody and set them to arming themselves and bringing aid, if possible, to a city now all but captured.

Epicydes came out from the Island, which they themselves call Nasos,[1] with a quickly moving column, not doubting that he would drive out a few men who, owing to the carelessness of the guards had got over the wall. When men met him in alarm, he would say that they were adding to the confusion and bringing exaggerated and unduly alarming news. On discovering that in and near Epipolae armed men were everywhere, he merely challenged the enemy by a few missiles and then marched his column back into Achradina. He feared, not so much the attack of the enemy and their great numbers, as that some treachery within the city might have opportunity to break out, and he might find the gates of Achradina and the Island closed during the disturbance. Marcellus, on entering the walls and from the higher ground viewing one of the most beautiful of all cities[2] in

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pulcherrimam subiectam oculis vidit, inlacrimasse dicitur partim gaudio tantae perpetratae rei, partim
12 vetusta gloria urbis. Atheniensium classes demersae et duo ingentes exercitus cum duobus clarissimis ducibus deleti occurrebant et tot bella cum Carthagi-
13 niensibus tanto cum discrimine gesta, tot tam opulenti tyranni regesque, praeter ceteros Hiero cum recentissimae memoriae rex, tum ante omnia quae virtus ei fortunaque sua dederat beneficiis
14 in populum Romanum insignis. Ea cum universa occurrerent animo subiretque cogitatio, iam illa momento horae arsura omnia et ad cineres reditura,
15 priusquam signa Achradinam admoveret, praemittit Syracusanos qui intra praesidia Romana, ut ante dictum est, fuerant, ut adloquio leni pellicerent[1] hostis ad dedendam urbem.

XXV. Tenebant Achradinae portas murosque maxume transfugae, quibus nulla erat per condiciones veniae spes; ei nec adire muros nec adloqui quem-
2 quam passi. Itaque Marcellus, postquam id ineptum inritum fuit, ad Euryalum signa referri iussit. Tumulus est in extrema parte urbis aversus a mari viaeque imminens ferenti in agros mediterraneaque insulae, percommode situs ad commeatus excipiendos.
3 Praerat huic arci Philodemus Argivus ab Epicyde impositus; ad quem missus a Marcello Sosis, unus

[1] pellicerent $M^1?A^2$: pellerent $P(1)$: im- *Weissenborn.*

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[1] *I.e.* Nicias and Demosthenes.

[2] At the western apex of the triangle; a narrow ridge nearly 500 feet above the sea, with a commanding view.

that age lying before his eyes, is said to have wept, B.C. 212
partly for joy over his great achievement, partly for the ancient glory of the city. The sinking of the fleets of the Athenians and the destruction of two mighty armies along with two very distinguished generals[1] came to his mind, and so many wars waged with so great a risk against the Carthaginians; tyrants and kings, so many and so wealthy, above all Hiero, a king vividly remembered and also, above all that his own merit and success had given him, conspicuous for his favours to the Roman people. Since all that came to mind and the thought suggested itself that now in the course of an hour everything there would be in flames and reduced to ashes, before advancing his standards into Achradina, he sent forward the Syracusans who had been within the Roman lines, as has been said before, in order to entice the enemy by mild words to surrender the city.

XXV. Holding the gates and walls of Achradina were chiefly deserters, who had no hope of pardon if terms were made. They did not allow the men either to approach the walls or to speak to any one. And so Marcellus, now that this attempt was fruitless, ordered the standards to be carried back to Euryalus. This is a hill[2] in the most distant part of the city, facing away from the sea, and commanding the road which leads to the country and the interior of the island, very conveniently placed for receiving supplies. In command of this citadel[3] was Philodemus the Argive, posted there by Epicydes. Sosis, one of the slayers

[3] The crowning point of Dionysius' great fortifications, and still accounted the strongest of Greek fortresses, with its three fosses, its towers, and a complicated system of tunnels cut through solid rock.

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ex interfectoribus tyranni, cum longo sermone habito dilatus per frustrationem esset, rettulit Marcello tempus cum ad deliberandum sumpsisse. 4 Cum is diem de die differret, dum Hippocrates atque Himilco admoverent castra legionesque,[1] haud dubius, si in arcem accepisset eos, deleri 5 Romanum exercitum inclusum muris posse, Marcellus, ut Euryalum neque tradi neque capi vidit posse, inter Neapolim et Tycham—nomina ea partium urbis et instar urbium sunt—posuit castra, timens ne, si frequentia intrasset loca, contineri ab discursu miles 6 avidus praedae non posset. Legati eo ab Tycha et Neapoli cum infulis et velamentis venerunt, precantes 7 ut a caedibus et ab incendiis parceretur. De quorum precibus quam postulatis magis consilio habito Marcellus ex omnium sententia edixit militibus ne quis liberum corpus violaret: cetera praedae 8 futura. Castra testis[2] parietum pro muro saepta; portis regione platearum patentibus stationes praesidiaque disposuit, ne quis in discursu militum 9 impetus in castra fieri posset. Inde signo dato milites discurrerunt; refractisque foribus cum omnia terrore ac tumultu streperent, a caedibus tamen temperatum est; rapinis nullus ante modus fuit quam omnia diuturna felicitate cumulata bona

[1] -que C^1A^2: *om.* $P(1)$.

[2] testis *M. Müller* (*after* -que testis *Rōhl, Riemann*): -que tectis $P(1)$: obiectu *Stroth, Madvig*[3], *Walters*: contextu *Madvig*[1] (*praef.*), *Luchs*: contextis *Heusinger*.

[1] Cf. XXIV. xxx. 14.

[2] Here the text is very uncertain, but most of the emendations are open to serious objections, as involving Marcellus' use of more or less continuous house-walls—a feeble defence, and not easily to be reconciled with the idea of an open space lying between two built-up quarters of the city.

of the tyrant, was sent to him by Marcellus, and after B.C. 212
being balked and put off by the delivery of a long speech, he reported to Marcellus that Philodemus had taken time to consider. Philodemus was postponing from day to day, waiting for Hippocrates and Himilco to move up their camp and legions, and not doubting that, if he should get them into the citadel, the Roman army, shut up within the city walls, could be destroyed. Consequently Marcellus, seeing that Euryalus could neither be won by surrender nor by assault, pitched his camp between Neapolis and Tycha, these being the names of quarters of the city, virtually cities in themselves. For he feared that, if he should enter thickly settled parts, the soldiers in their eagerness for booty could not be restrained from scattering. To this camp came legates from Tycha and Neapolis with fillets and woollen bands,[1] praying that they be spared bloodshed and fires. Marcellus held a council in regard to their prayers—such they were rather than demands—and with the approval of all gave an order to the soldiers that no one should injure a free person; everything else would be spoil. The camp was enclosed by bricks from house-walls [2] to serve as a wall of defence. At those camp gates which opened toward the streets outposts and detachments were stationed by Marcellus, that no attack upon the camp might occur while the soldiers were dispersed. Then at a given signal the soldiers scattered. And although doors were forced and everywhere were the sounds of panic and uproar, they nevertheless refrained from bloodshed. To plundering there was no limit until they had carried away all the possessions accumulated in a long-continued

prosperity.

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10 egesserunt. Inter haec et Philodemus, cum spes auxilii nulla esset, fide accepta ut inviolatus ad Epicyden rediret, deducto praesidio tradidit tumulum
11 Romanis. Aversis omnibus ad tumultum ex parte captae urbis Bomilcar noctem eam nactus qua propter vim tempestatis stare ad ancoram in salo Romana
12 classis non posset, cum triginta quinque navibus ex portu Syracusano profectus libero mari vela in altum dedit quinque et quinquaginta navibus Epicydae
13 et Syracusanis relictis; edoctisque Carthaginiensibus in quanto res Syracusana discrimine esset, cum centum navibus post paucos dies redit, multis, ut fama est, donis ex Hieronis gaza ab Epicyde donatus.

XXVI. Marcellus Euryalo recepto praesidioque addito una cura erat liber, ne qua ab tergo vis hostium in arcem accepta inclusos impeditosque moe-
2 nibus suos turbaret. Achradinam inde trinis castris per idonea dispositis loca spe ad inopiam omnium
3 rerum inclusos redacturum, circumsedit. Cum per aliquot dies quietae stationes utrimque fuissent, repente adventus Hippocratis et Himilconis ut ultro
4 undique oppugnarentur Romani fecit. Nam et Hippocrates castris ad magnum portum communitis signoque iis dato qui Achradinam tenebant castra vetera Romanorum adortus est, quibus Crispinus praeerat, et Epicydes eruptionem in stationes Marcelli fecit, et classis Punica litori quod inter urbem

[1] Cf. XXIV. xxxiii. 3; xxxix. 12.

prosperity. Meanwhile even Philodemus, having B.C. 212
no hope of assistance and receiving assurance that he might return unharmed to Epicydes, led his garrison out and surrendered the hill to the Romans. While the attention of all was diverted in the direction of the uproar of a city in part captured, Bomilcar, favoured by such a night that on account of a violent storm the Roman fleet could not ride at anchor in open water, came out of the harbour of Syracuse with thirty-five ships, and with no enemy to prevent, put to sea, leaving fifty-five ships to Epicydes and the Syracusans. And after informing the Carthaginians how critical was the situation at Syracuse, he returned after a few days with a hundred ships. He was presented with many gifts, it is reported, by Epicydes out of the royal treasures of Hiero.

XXVI. Marcellus, after getting possession of Euryalus and garrisoning it, was relieved of one fear, that some troops of the enemy in the rear might be admitted to the citadel and embarrass his men, hemmed in and hampered by the walls. He thereupon laid siege to Achradina with three camps placed in suitable positions, in the hope of reducing the beleaguered to absolute want. When the outposts on both sides had been inactive for some days, suddenly the arrival of Hippocrates and Himilco had the effect that the Romans were actually besieged on all sides. For Hippocrates, after fortifying a camp by the Great Harbour and giving the signal to the forces occupying Achradina, attacked the old Roman camp,[1] which was commanded by Crispinus, at the same time that Epicydes made a sally against Marcellus' outposts, and just when the Carthaginian fleet put in to the shore lying between the city and

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et castra Romana erat adpulsa est, ne quid praesidii Crispino submitti a Marcello posset. Tumultum tamen maiorem hostes praebuerunt quam certamen; nam et Crispinus Hippocraten non reppulit tantum munimentis, sed insecutus etiam est trepide fugientem, et Epicyden Marcellus in urbem compulit; satisque iam etiam in posterum videbatur provisum ne quid ab repentinis eorum excursionibus periculi foret. Accessit et ab [1] pestilentia commune malum quod facile utrorumque animos averteret a belli consiliis. Nam tempore autumni et locis natura gravibus, multo tamen magis extra urbem quam in urbe, intoleranda vis aestus per utraque castra omnium ferme corpora movit. Ac primo temporis ac loci vitio et aegri erant et moriebantur; postea curatio ipsa et contactus aegrorum volgabat morbos, ut aut neglecti desertique qui incidissent morerentur, aut adsidentis curantisque eadem vi morbi repletos secum traherent, cotidianaque funera et mors ob oculos esset et undique dies noctesque ploratus audirentur. Postremo ita adsuetudine mali efferaverant animos ut non modo lacrimis iustoque conploratu prosequerentur mortuos, sed ne efferrent quidem aut sepelirent, iacerentque strata exanima corpora inconspectu similem mortem expectantium, mortuique aegros, aegri validos cum metu, tum tabe ac pestifero odore corporum conficerent; et ut ferro potius morerentur, quidam invadebant soli hostium stationes.

[1] ab *Salvinius*: ad *P*(1): ad haec A^y *Walters*: *om.* C^z *Conway*.

the Roman camp, to make it impossible for any force B.C. 212
to be sent to the aid of Crispinus by Marcellus. However, it was more of an uproar than a battle that the enemy offered. For Crispinus not only drove Hippocrates back from his fortifications, but also pursued him as he fled in disorder, and Marcellus likewise forced Epicydes into the city. And now, even for the future, he seemed to have sufficiently insured that there should be no danger from their sudden raids. And in addition pestilence brought to both sides a calamity which forthwith diverted the attention of the two armies from strategy. For owing to the autumn season and places naturally unhealthy, unendurable heat affected the health of nearly all the men in both camps, but much more outside the city than within. And at first they sickened and died owing to the season and their position. Later the mere care of the ill and contagion spread the disease, so that those who had fallen ill died neglected and abandoned, or else they carried off with them those who sat by them and those who nursed, having caught the same malignant disease. And so every day funerals and death were before their eyes, and wailings were heard on all sides day and night. Finally, from habituation to misery they had so lost their humane feelings that, so far from escorting the dead with tears and the wailing that was their due, they did not even carry them out and bury them; and dead bodies lay strewn about before the eyes of men awaiting a like death, and the dead seriously affected the ill, the ill the sound, not only through fear, but also by putrefaction and the pestilent odour of corpses. And some, to die by the sword instead, would dash into the outposts of

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12 Multo tamen vis maior pestis Poenorum castra quam Romana invaserat; nam Romani[1] diu circumsedendo 13 Syracusas caelo aquisque adsuerant magis. Ex hostium exercitu Siculi, ut primum videre ex gravitate loci volgari morbos, in suas quisque propinquas 14 urbes dilapsi sunt: et Carthaginienses, quibus nusquam receptus erat, cum ipsis ducibus Hippocrate atque Himilcone ad internecionem omnes 15 perierunt. Marcellus, ut tanta vis ingruebat mali, traduxerat in urbem suos infirmaque corpora tecta et umbrae recreaverant; multi tamen ex Romano exercitu eadem peste absumpti sunt.

XXVII. Deleto terrestri Punico exercitu Sieuli qui Hippocratis milites fuerant . . .,[2] haud magna oppida, ceterum et situ et munimentis tuta; tria milia alterum ab Syracusis, alterum quindecim abest; eo et commeatus e civitatibus suis comporta- 2 bant et auxilia accersebant. Interea Bomilcar iterum cum classe profectus Carthaginem, ita exposita fortuna sociorum ut spem faceret non ipsis modo salutarem opem ferri posse, sed Romanos quoque in 3 capta quodam modo urbe capi, perpulit ut onerarias naves quam plurumas omni copia rerum onustas 4 secum mitterent classemque suam augerent. Igitur centum triginta navibus longis, septingentis onerariis profectus a Carthagine satis prosperos

[1] invaserat; nam Romani *H. J. Müller*: *om. P*(1), *a lost line.*

[2] *Missing are two town names and perhaps* ceperant, *in an omitted line.*

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[1] One of the two omitted towns was perhaps Bidis, mentioned by Cicero *in Verrem* II. 53. Rossbach and Conway thought that the other might be Dascon (Thucydides and Diodorus).

the enemy single-handed. A much more violent B.C. 212
epidemic, however, had attacked the Carthaginian camp than the Roman. For the Romans in their long blockade of Syracuse had grown more accustomed to the climate and the water. Of the enemy's army, the Sicilians scattered, each to his own neighbouring city, as soon as they saw that the disease was spreading owing to the unwholesomeness of the place, while the Carthaginians, who had no refuge anywhere, with even their generals, Hippocrates and Himilco, perished to the last man. Marcellus, as soon as the pestilence began to be so serious, had transferred his soldiers into the city, and shelter and shade had revived the invalids. Nevertheless many in the Roman army were carried off by the same pestilence.

XXVII. The Carthaginian land-army having been destroyed, the Sicilians who had been Hippocrates' soldiers had occupied . . .,[1] not large towns, but defended both by situation and fortifications. One of them is three miles from Syracuse, the other fifteen miles. To these they were bringing supplies from their own communities and also summoning auxiliaries. Meanwhile Bomilcar left for Carthage a second time with his fleet, and he set forth the situation of their allies in such terms as to inspire hope, not only that effectual aid could be lent to them, but also that the Romans could be captured in the virtually captured city. He thus prevailed upon them to send with him as many transports as possible, laden with all kinds of supplies, and to enlarge his fleet. Accordingly, setting out from Carthage with a hundred and thirty warships and seven hundred transports, he had winds quite favourable for the

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ventos ad traiciendum in Siciliam habuit; sed iidem
5 venti superare eum Pachynum prohibebant. Bomilcaris adventus fama primo, dein praeter spem mora cum gaudium et metum in vicem Romanis Syra-
6 cusanisque praebuisset, Epicydes metuens ne, si pergerent iidem qui tum tenebant ab ortu solis flare per dies plures venti, classis Punica Africam
7 repeteret, tradita Achradina mercennariorum mili-
8 tum ducibus ad Bomilcarem navigat. Classem in statione versa in Africam habentem atque timentem navale proelium, non tam quod impar viribus aut numero navium esset—quippe etiam plures habebat —quam quod venti aptiores Romanae quam suae classi flarent, perpulit tamen ut fortunam navalis
9 certaminis experiri vellet. Et Marcellus, cum et Siculum exercitum ex tota insula conciri videret et eum ingenti commeatu classem Punicam adventare, ne simul terra marique inclusus urbe hostium urgeretur, quamquam impar numero navium erat, prohibere aditu Syracusarum Bomilcarem constituit.
10 Duae classes infestae circa promunturium Pachynum stabant, ubi prima tranquillitas maris in altum
11 evexisset, concursurae. Itaque cadente iam Euro, qui per dies aliquot saevierat, prior Bomilcar movit; cuius primo classis petere altum visa est, quo facilius
12 superaret promunturium; ceterum postquam tendere ad se Romanas naves vidit, incertum qua subita

crossing to Sicily. But the same winds did not allow B.C. 212
him to round Pachynum. The report at first of Bomilcar's coming, and then its unexpected delay, brought rejoicing and fear by turns to Romans and Syracusans. Upon that Epicydes, fearing that, if the same winds which were then holding should continue to blow from the east for several days, the Carthaginian fleet would make for Africa again, turned over Achradina to the commanders of the mercenaries and sailed to meet Bomilcar, who was keeping his fleet in a roadstead facing Africa. He feared a naval battle, not so much because he was inferior in his forces and the number of his ships —in fact he had even more—as because the winds then blowing were more favourable to the Roman fleet than to his own. Nevertheless Epicydes gained his consent to try the fortune of a naval engagement. And Marcellus too, seeing that a Sicilian army was being brought together from the entire island and at the same time a Carthaginian fleet was approaching with unlimited supplies, and fearing that he might be hard pressed by land and sea, being shut up within the enemies' city, decided, although he was inferior in the number of his ships, to prevent Bomilcar from reaching Syracuse. The two opposing fleets lay on this side and that of the promontory of Pachynum, ready to engage as soon as calm weather should enable them to put to sea. And so, as the southeast wind, which had been blowing hard for some days, was now dropping, Bomilcar was the first to get under weigh. And at first his fleet appeared to be heading out to sea, the more readily to round the promontory. But on seeing that the Roman ships were steering towards

A.U.C. 512 territus re, Bomilcar vela in altum dedit missisque nuntiis Heracleam qui onerarias retro inde Africam repetere iuberent, ipse Siciliam praetervectus Tarentum petit. Epicydes, a tanta repente destitutus spe, ne in obsidionem magna ex parte captae urbis rediret, Agrigentum navigat, expectaturus magis eventum quam inde quicquam moturus.

XXVIII. Quae ubi in castra Siculorum sunt nuntiata, Epicyden Syracusis excessisse, a Carthaginiensibus relictam insulam et prope iterum traditam Romanis, legatos de conditionibus dedendae urbis explorata prius per conloquia voluntate eorum qui obsidebantur ad Marcellum mittunt. Cum haud ferme discreparet quin quae ubique regum fuissent Romanorum essent, Siculis cetera cum libertate ac legibus suis servarentur, evocatis ad conloquium iis quibus ab Epicyde creditae res erant, missos se simul ad Marcellum, simul ad eos ab exercitu Siculorum aiunt, ut una omnium qui obsiderentur quique extra obsidionem fuissent fortuna esset neve alteri proprie sibi paciscerentur quicquam. Recepti deinde ab iis, ut necessarios hospitesque adloquerentur, expositis quae pacta iam cum Marcello haberent, oblata spe salutis perpulere eos ut secum praefectos Epicydis Polyclitum et Philistionem et Epicyden, cui Sindon cognomen erat, adgrederentur. Interfectis iis et

[1] Cf. XXIV. xxxv. 3.

him, Bomilcar, alarmed by something unforeseen, B.C. 212
made sail for open water, and after sending messengers to Heraclea [1] to command the transports to return thence to Africa, he himself sailed along the coast of Sicily and made for Tarentum. Epicydes, suddenly bereft of a hope so high, in order not to return, only to share the siege of a city in large part captured, sailed to Agrigentum, intending to await the outcome, rather than to set anything in motion from there.

XXVIII. When these things were reported to the camp of the Sicilians, that Epicydes had left Syracuse, that the island had been abandoned by the Carthaginians and almost handed over a second time to the Romans, after first ascertaining by conferences the wish of the besieged, they sent legates to Marcellus to make terms for the surrender of the city. It was virtually agreed that all that had anywhere belonged to the kings should belong to the Romans, that everything else should be secured to the Sicilians along with freedom and their own laws. Accordingly the legates summoned to a conference the men to whom power had been entrusted by Epicydes, and said that they had been sent by the army of the Sicilians at the same time to Marcellus and to them, in order that all, the besieged and those who had been outside of the operations, might share the same lot and neither party make any special terms for itself. And then, being admitted by them, that they might speak with their relatives and guest-friends, they explained the terms which they had already settled with Marcellus, and by holding out assurances of safety prevailed upon them to join with themselves in an attack upon Epicydes' prefects, Polyclitus and Philistion and an Epicydes surnamed Sindon. After slaying them and

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multitudine ad contionem vocata, inopiam quaeque ipsi inter se fremere occulti[1] soliti erant conquesti, quamquam tot mala urgerent, negarunt fortunam accusandam esse, quod in ipsorum esset potestate
7 quamdiu ea paterentur. Romanis causam oppugnandi Syracusas fuisse caritatem Syracusanorum, non odium; nam ut occupatas res ab satellitibus Hannibalis, deinde Hieronymi, Hippocrate atque Epicyde, audierint, tum bellum movisse et obsidere urbem coepisse, ut crudelis tyrannos eius, non ut
8 ipsam urbem expugnarent. Hippocrate vero interempto, Epicyde intercluso ab Syracusis et praefectis eius occisis, Carthaginiensibus omni possessione Siciliae terra marique pulsis, quam superesse causam Romanis cur non, perinde ac si Hiero ipse viveret, unicus Romanae amicitiae cultor, incolumis Syracusas
9 esse velint? Itaque nec urbi nec hominibus aliud periculum quam ab semet ipsis esse, si occasionem reconciliandi se Romanis praetermisissent; eam autem, qualis illo momento horae sit, nullam deinde fore, si simul liberatas ab impotentibus tyrannis . . .[2] apparuisset.

XXIX. Omnium ingenti adsensu audita ea oratio est. Praetores tamen prius creari quam legatos nominari placuit; ex ipsorum deinde praetorum

[1] occulti *P*(2): occulte *A*.

[2] *A lacuna variously supplied, e.g.* Syracusas esse et applicare se Romanis *Madvig* (*two lines*): accipere noluissent *Walters* (*one line after* apparuisset).

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[1] Madvig's restoration is based upon the idea of an immediate return to their former friendship ("and was taking the Roman side"). Walters supplied the thought that the Romans might even reject such advances.

calling the populace to an assembly, they complained B.C. 212
of privation and other things at which among themselves they had been in the habit of murmuring in secret. And they said that, although so many hardships were a burden to them, they ought not to blame fortune, because it was in their own power to say how long they would endure them. The Romans, they said, had had as their ground for besieging Syracuse their love, not hatred, of the Syracusans. For on learning that the power had been seized by Hippocrates and Epicydes, minions of Hannibal and later of Hieronymus, it was then that they had made war and had begun to besiege the city, in order to capture, not the city itself, but its cruel tyrants. But now that Hippocrates had perished, that Epicydes had been cut off from Syracuse and his prefects slain, now that the Carthaginians had everywhere been driven by land and sea from their occupation of Sicily, what reason remained for the Romans not to wish Syracuse to be preserved, just as if Hiero himself, who was unrivalled in maintaining friendship with Rome, were still alive? Accordingly both for the city and for individuals there was no other danger than from themselves, if they should let slip the opportunity of a reconciliation with the Romans. Moreover so favourable an opportunity as there was at that moment, if it should be evident that Syracuse, once it had been freed from insolent tyrants, . . . ,[1] would never come again.

XXIX. The speech was heard with great and unanimous approval. It was decided, however, to elect magistrates before naming legates. Then out of the number of these magistrates' representatives

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2 numero missi oratores ad Marcellum, quorum princeps "Neque primo" inquit "Syracusani a vobis defecimus, sed Hieronymus, nequaquam tam
3 in vos impius quam in nos, nec postea pacem tyranni caede compositam Syracusanus quisquam, sed satellites regii Hippocrates atque Epicydes oppressis nobis hinc metu, hinc fraude turbaverunt. Nec quisquam dicere potest aliquando nobis libertatis tempus fuisse quod paeis vobiscum non fuerit.
4 Nunc certe caede eorum qui oppressas tenebant Syracusas cum primum nostri arbitrii esse coepimus, extemplo venimus ad tradenda arma, dedendos nos, urbem, moenia, nullam recusandam fortunam quae
5 imposita a vobis fuerit. Gloriam captae nobilissimae pulcherrimaeque urbis Graecarum dei tibi dederunt, Marcelle. Quidquid umquam terra marique memorandum gessimus, id tui triumphi titulo
6 accedit. Famaene credi velis quanta urbs a te capta sit, quam posteris quoque eam spectaculo esse, quo quisquis terra, quisquis mari venerit, nunc nostra de Atheniensibus Carthaginiensibusque tropaea, nunc tua de nobis ostendat, incolumesque Syracusas familiae vestrae sub clientela nominis Marcellorum
7 tutelaque habendas tradas? Ne plus apud vos Hieronymi quam Hieronis memoria momenti faciat. Diutius ille multo amicus fuit quam hic hostis, et

were sent to Marcellus. The foremost of these said: B.C. 212
"In the beginning it was not we Syracusans who forsook your friendship, but Hieronymus, who was by no means so conscienceless toward you as toward us. And later the peace concluded on the assassination of the tyrant was broken, not by any Syracusan, but by the king's minions, Hippocrates and Epicydes, after they had subdued us, now by terrorizing, now by treason. Nor can any man say that there has ever been any time of freedom for us that was not a time of peace with you. Certain it is that now, when through the slaying of those who were holding Syracuse in subjection we have begun for the first time to be our own masters, we have come forthwith to give up our arms, to surrender ourselves, the city, the walls, to reject no lot which shall be imposed by you Romans. The glory of capturing the most notable and most beautiful of Greek cities the gods have given to you, Marcellus. All that we have ever accomplished on land and sea that is worthy of record is added to the distinction of your triumph. Would you wish men merely to believe tradition as to the greatness of the city you have captured, rather than that it be a sight even to posterity, a city which shall show to every man who comes by land or by sea, at one spot our trophies won from the Athenians and the Carthaginians, at another your trophies won from us, and that you hand over Syracuse intact to your house, to be kept under the clientship and tutelage of those who bear the name Marcellus? Let not the memory of Hieronymus have more weight with you Romans than that of Hiero. The latter was much longer your friend than the former your enemy; and you

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illius benefacta etiam re[1] sensistis, huius amentia
8 ad perniciem tantum ipsius valuit." Omnia et impetrabilia et tuta erant apud Romanos: inter ipsos plus belli ac periculi erat. Namque transfugae, tradi se Romanis rati, mercennariorum quoque militum auxilia in eundem compulere metum;
9 arreptisque armis praetores primum obtruncant, inde ad caedem Syracusanorum discurrunt quosque fors obtulit irati interfecere atque omnia quae in promptu
10 erant diripuerunt. Tum, ne sine ducibus essent, sex praefectos creavere, ut terni Achradinae ac Naso praeessent. Sedato tandem tumultu exequentibus sciscitando quae acta cum Romanis essent, dilucere id quod erat coepit, aliam suam ac perfugarum causam esse.

XXX. In tempore legati a Marcello redierunt, falsa eos suspicione incitatos memorantes nec causam expetendae poenae eorum ullam Romanis esse.
2 Erat e tribus Achradinae praefectis Hispanus, Moericus nomine. Ad eum inter comites legatorum de industria unus ex Hispanorum auxiliaribus est missus, qui sine arbitris Moericum nanctus primum quo in statu reliquisset Hispaniam—et nuper inde venerat—exponit: omnia Romanis ibi obtineri armis.
3 Posse eum, si operae pretium faciat, principem popularium esse, seu militare cum Romanis seu in patriam reverti libeat; contra, si malle obsideri

[1] re *PC*: pre P^2?(10): recentia *M. Müller*: rebus adversis *Luchs.*

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[1] *I.e.* the mercenaries.
[2] We learn from XXVI. xxi. 13 that his name was Belligenes.

have had positive experience of the good deeds of B.C. 212
the one, while the other's folly resulted only in his own destruction." Everything could be obtained from the Romans and was already assured. It was among the Sicilians themselves that war and danger chiefly lay. For the deserters, thinking that they would surely be handed over to the Romans, aroused the mercenary auxiliaries also to the same fear. And seizing arms they[1] first slew the magistrates and then dispersed to massacre the Syracusans, and in anger they slew all whom chance threw in their way and carried off everything on which they could lay hands. Then, not to be without commanders, they chose six prefects, three to be in charge of Achradina and three of Nasus. When the uproar was at last stilled and they were diligently enquiring what terms had been made with the Romans, the truth began to dawn upon them, that their case was different from that of the deserters.

XXX. Just at the right moment the legates returned from Marcellus, stating that the mercenaries had been aroused by an unfounded suspicion, and that the Romans had no reason for demanding their punishment. One of the three prefects of Achradina was a Spaniard, Moericus by name. To him, among the retinue of the legates, one[2] of the Spanish auxiliaries was sent on purpose. Finding Moericus alone, he first explained the condition in which he had left Spain, from which he had recently come. The whole of that country, he said, was held by Roman arms. If he should do something worth while, he could be a chief among his own people, whether he preferred to serve on the Roman side or to return to his native town. On the other hand, if he

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pergat, quam spem esse terra marique clauso? 4 Motus his Moericus, cum legatos ad Marcellum mitti placuisset, fratrem inter eos mittit, qui per eundem illum Hispanum secretus ab aliis ad Marcellum deductus, cum fidem accepisset composuissetque 5 agendae ordinem rei. Achradinam redit. Tum Moericus, ut ab suspicione proditionis averteret omnium animos, negat sibi placere legatos commeare ultro citroque: neque recipiendum quemquam neque mittendum et, quo intentius custodiae serventur, opportuna dividenda praefectis esse, ut suae quisque partis tutandae reus sit. Omnes 6 adsensi sunt. Partibus dividendis ipsi regio evenit ab Arethusa fonte usque ad ostium magni portus; 7 id ut scirent Romani fecit. Itaque Marcellus nocte navem onerariam cum armatis remulco quadriremis trahi ad Achradinam [1] iussit exponique milites regione 8 portae quae prope fontem Arethusam est. Hoc cum quarta vigilia factum esset expositosque milites porta, ut convenerat, recepisset Moericus, luce prima Marcellus omnibus copiis moenia Achradinae adgre- 9 ditur, ita ut non eos solum qui Achradinam tenebant in se converteret, sed ab Naso etiam agmina armatorum concurrerent relictis stationibus suis ad vim 10 et impetum Romanorum arcendum. In hoc tumultu actuariae naves instructae iam ante circumvectaeque ad Nasum armatos exponunt, qui improviso adorti

[1] Achradinam *P*(1): Nasum *H. J. Müller.*

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[1] An evident error for the Island (Nasus), due possibly to Livy's attempt to combine several different accounts. There is further confusion in the passage which follows.

continued to prefer to be besieged, what hope was B.C. 212
there for a man shut in by land and sea? Moericus was impressed by these words, and when it was decided to send legates to Marcellus, sent his brother as one of them. He was escorted separately from the rest to Marcellus by that same Spaniard, and after receiving a promise and arranging the steps to be taken, returned to Achradina. Then Moericus, to divert the attention of everybody from the suspicion of treason, said he did not approve of having legates going back and forth; that none should be admitted or sent; and that, in order to keep a closer guard, suitable positions should be divided among the prefects, so that each should be responsible for the defence of his own section. All agreed. In the assignment of sections the region extending from the Fountain of Arethusa to the entrance of the Great Harbour fell to Moericus himself. He saw to it that the Romans knew that. Accordingly Marcellus ordered a transport with armed men to be towed at night by a four-banker to Achradina,[1] and the soldiers to be landed near the gate which is by the Fountain of Arethusa. This done at the fourth watch, and the soldiers landed there having been admitted according to agreement by Moericus through the gate, Marcellus at daybreak with all his forces assailed the walls of Achradina. The result was that not only did he turn the attention of the defenders of Achradina to himself, but from Nasus also columns of armed men, leaving their posts, united in haste, to ward off the violent attack of the Romans. During this confusion light vessels, previously equipped, sailed around to Nasus and landed their troops. These made an unexpected attack upon

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semiplenas stationes et adapertas fores portae, qua paulo ante excurrerant armati, haud magno certamine Nasum cepere desertam trepidatione et fuga
11 custodum. Neque in ullis minus praesidii aut pertinaciae ad manendum quam in transfugis fuit, quia ne suis quidem satis credentes e medio certa-
12 mine effugerunt. Marcellus, ut captam esse Nasum comperit [1] et Achradinae regionem unam teneri Moericumque cum praesidio suis adiunctum, receptui cecinit, ne regiae opes, quarum fama maior quam res erat, diriperentur.

XXXI. Suppresso impetu militum ut iis qui in Achradina erant transfugis spatium locusque fugae
2 datus est, Syracusani tandem liberi metu portis Achradinae apertis oratores ad Marcellum mittunt, nihil petentis aliud quam incolumitatem sibi liberis-
3 que suis. Marcellus consilio advocato et adhibitis etiam Syracusanis qui per seditiones pulsi ab domo
4 intra praesidia Romana fuerant, respondit non plura per annos quinquaginta benefacta Hieronis quam paucis his annis maleficia eorum qui Syracusas tenuerint erga populum Romanum esse; sed pleraque eorum quo debuerint receidisse, foederumque ruptorum ipsos ab se graviores multo quam populus
5 Romanus voluerit poenas exegisse. Se quidem tertium annum circumsedere Syracusas, non ut populus Romanus servam [2] civitatem haberet, sed

[1] comperit *Weissenborn*: *om.* *P*(1): vidit (*after* ut) *Walters*.

[2] Romanus (*i.e.* R.) servam *x Sigonius*: reservatam *P*(10): -ta *C*.

the half-manned outposts and the open doors of the gate through which the armed men had dashed out a little while before, and with no great resistance captured Nasus, deserted by the excitement and flight of the guards. And no others showed less capacity to defend or determination to hold out than the deserters, since they did not quite trust even their own men and fled out of the midst of the conflict. Marcellus, on learning that Nasus had been captured and one section of Achradina occupied, also that Moericus with his force had joined the Romans, sounded the recall, to prevent the royal treasures, which were reported to be larger than they really were, from being plundered. B.C. 212

XXXI. The onslaught of the soldiers being checked and time and place for their flight given to the deserters who were in Achradina, the Syracusans, at last relieved of their fear, open the gates of Achradina and send representatives to Marcellus, asking nothing else than their own lives and those of their children. Marcellus, calling a council and admitting also those Syracusans who, after being driven from home during the uprisings, had been inside the Roman lines, replied that the good acts of Hiero toward the Roman people during fifty years had not been more numerous than the evil deeds done in the last few years by those who held Syracuse. But most of the misdeeds, he said, had reacted just as they should, and the men had exacted from themselves much more serious penalties for the broken treaties than the Roman people wished. For his part, he was besieging Syracuse for the third year, not that the Roman people might keep the city enslaved, but to prevent the commanders of deserters

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ne transfugarum alienigenarumque [1] duces captam
6 et oppressam tenerent. Quid potuerint Syracusani
facere, exemplo vel eos esse Syracusanorum qui intra
praesidia Romana fuerint, vel Hispanum ducem
Moericum, qui praesidium tradiderit, vel ipsorum
Syracusanorum postremo serum quidem, sed forte
7 consilium. Sibi omnium laborum periculorumque
circa moenia Syracusana terra marique tam diu
exhaustorum nequaquam tanti eum [2] fructum esse
8 quod capere Syracusas [3] potuisset. Inde quaestor
cum praesidio ab Naso [4] ad accipiendam pecuniam
regiam custodiendamque missus. Urbs [5] diripienda
militi data est custodibus divisis per domos eorum
9 qui intra praesidia Romana fuerant. Cum multa
irae, multa avaritiae foeda exempla ederentur,
Archimeden memoriae proditum est in tanto tumultu,
quantum captae terror [6] urbis in discursu diripientium
militum ciere poterat, intentum formis quas in
pulvere descripserat, ab ignaro milite quis esset
10 interfectum; aegre id Marcellum tulisse sepulturae-
que curam habitam, et propinquis etiam inquisitis
honori praesidioque nomen ac memoriam eius
11 fuisse. Hoc maxume modo Syracusae captae; in
quibus praedae tantum fuit, quantum vix capta

[1] alienigenarum *Hertz*: mercennariorum *Gerlach*: *om.* *P*(1) *Walters* (*also the* -que *of PC*).

[2] tanti eum *Harant* (*without assuming a laeuna below*): tantum *P*(1) *Madvig*, *Conway*.

[3] *Here Madvig inserted* potuerit, quantum, si servare: *Conway* (*after* capere), sibi contigerit, quantum si servare (*two lines*): *Gronovius conj.* quam si parcere Syracusis *for* quod capere Syracusas.

[4] ab Naso ad *Geyer*: ab nassum et *P*(4): ad nassum et C^1M^3BDA: ad Nassum ad *z* *Walters*.

[5] Urbs *x* *Walters*: *om.* *P*(1): Achradina *Weissenborn*.

and foreigners from holding it in captivity and subjection. What the Syracusans could have done was shown by the example either of those Syracusans inside the Roman lines, or of the Spanish commander Moericus, who surrendered his post, or finally of the belated but courageous resolution of the Syracusans themselves. To his mind it was by no means a sufficient reward for all the hardships and dangers, so long endured on land and sea about the Syracusan walls, that he had been able to capture Syracuse. Thereupon the quaestor was sent from Nasus with a force to receive and guard the royal funds. The city was given over to the soldiers to plunder, guards being first assigned to the houses of the men who had been inside the Roman lines. While many shameful examples of anger and many of greed were being given, the tradition is that Archimedes, in all the uproar which the alarm of a captured city could produce in the midst of plundering soldiers dashing about, was intent upon the figures which he had traced in the dust and was slain by a soldier, not knowing who he was;[1] that Marcellus was grieved at this, and his burial duly provided for; and that his name and memory were an honour and a protection to his relatives, search even being made for them. Such in the main was the capture of Syracuse,[2] in which there was booty in such quantity as there would scarcely have been B.C. 212

[1] Cf. Plutarch's account, *Marcellus* 19; Valerius Maximus VIII. 7. Ext. 7; Cicero *de Finibus* V. 50.

[2] Actually the fall of Syracuse appears to have taken place in the following year, 211 B.C.

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[6] terror *Böttcher*: *om. P*(1): pavor *Weissenborn.*

A.U.C. 542 Carthagine tum fuisset, cum qua[1] viribus aequis certabatur.

12 Paucis ante diebus quam Syracusae caperentur, T. Otacilius cum quinqueremibus octoginta Uticam
13 ab Lilybaeo transmisit, et cum ante lucem portum intrasset, onerarias frumento onustas cepit, egressusque in terram depopulatus est aliquantum agri circa Uticam praedamque omnis generis retro ad navis
14 egit. Lilybaeum tertio die quam inde profectus erat cum centum triginta onerariis navibus frumento praedaque onustis rediit idque frumentum extemplo
15 Syracusas misit; quod ni tam in tempore subvenisset, victoribus victisque pariter perniciosa fames instabat.

XXXII. Eadem aestate in Hispania, cum biennio ferme nihil admodum memorabile factum esset consiliisque magis quam armis bellum gereretur, Romani imperatores egressi hibernis copias coniunxerunt.
2 Ibi consilium advocatum omniumque in unum congruerunt sententiae, quando ad id locorum id modo actum esset ut Hasdrubalem tendentem in Italiam retinerent, tempus esse id iam agi ut bellum in
3 Hispania finiretur. Et satis ad id virium credebant accessisse viginti milia Celtiberorum ea hieme ad arma excita. Hostium[2] tres exercitus erant:
4 Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius et Mago coniunctis castris quinque ferme dierum iter ab Romanis aberant;
5 propior erat Hamilcaris filius Hasdrubal, vetus in Hispania imperator; ad urbem nomine Amtorgim
6 exercitum habebat. Eum volebant prius opprimi

[1] cum qua *P*(1) : cum (quum) *Madvig.*

[2] excita. Hostium *Alschefski* : excitatum *PRM* : -ta *Cz* : -ti *DA* : excitorum *Gronovius.*

if Carthage, with which the conflict was on even terms, had at that time been captured. B.C. 212

A few days before Syracuse was taken, Titus Otacilius with eighty five-bankers crossed over from Lilybaeum to Utica. And having entered the harbour before daylight, he captured cargo-ships laden with grain, and disembarking ravaged a considerable area around Utica and drove booty of every kind back to the ships. On the third day after he had left Lilybaeum he returned thither with a hundred and thirty cargo-ships laden with grain and booty, and sent the grain at once to Syracuse. Had it not arrived so opportunely, a famine equally destructive to victors and vanquished was impending.

XXXII. In Spain in the same summer, when for about two years[1] nothing very notable had occurred and the war was being waged more by diplomacy than by arms, the Roman generals, on leaving their winter-quarters, united their forces. Thereupon a council was called and all were of one mind, that, since up to that time they had accomplished nothing except to hold Hasdrubal back from pushing on into Italy, it was time that their task should now be to end the war in Spain. And they believed they had sufficient reinforcements for that purpose in twenty thousand Celtiberians who had been called to arms that winter. The enemy had three armies. Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, and Mago with adjoining camps were about five days' march from the Romans. Nearer was Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, a veteran commander in Spain. He had his army near a city called Amtorgis. It was he that the

[1] This apparently from a source which placed the defeat and death of the Scipios in 211 B.C.; cf. note on xxxvi. 14.

A.U.C. 542 duces Romani; et spes erat satis superque ad id virium esse; illa restabat cura, ne fuso eo perculsi alter Hasdrubal et Mago in avios saltus montesque 7 recipientes sese bellum extraherent. Optimum igitur rati divisis bifariam copiis totius simul Hispaniae amplecti bellum, ita inter se diviserunt ut P. Cornelius duas partes exercitus Romanorum sociorumque adversus Magonem duceret atque Hasdru- 8 balem, Cn. Cornelius cum tertia parte veteris exercitus Celtiberis adiunctis cum Hasdrubale Barcino 9 bellum gereret. Una profecti ambo duces exercitusque Celtiberis praegredientibus ad urbem Amtorgim in conspectu hostium dirimente amni ponunt castra. 10 Ibi Cn. Scipio cum quibus ante dictum est copiis substitit; P. Scipio profectus ad destinatam belli partem.

XXXIII. Hasdrubal postquam animadvertit exiguum Romanum exercitum in castris et spem omnem 2 in Celtiberorum auxiliis esse, peritus omnis barbaricae et praecipue earum [1] gentium in quibus per tot 3 annos militabat perfidiae, facili linguae commercio,[2] cum utraque castra plena Hispanorum essent, per occulta conloquia paciscitur magna mercede cum Celtiberorum principibus ut copias inde abducant. 4 Nec atrox visum facinus—non enim ut in Romanos verterent arma agebatur—et merces quanta vel

[1] earum *Gronovius* : omnium earum *P*(1).
[2] commercio *z Conway* : *om. P*(1).

[1] Probably the Baetis, as Iliturgi was not far away; cf. XXVIII. xix. 2.

Roman generals wished first to overpower; and they B.C. 212
hoped they had quite ample forces for that end. The one remaining concern was the fear that, if he was defeated, the other Hasdrubal and Mago might in alarm withdraw to pathless forests and mountains and prolong the war. They thought it best therefore to divide their forces into two armies and include the whole of Spain in their plan of operations. And they divided in such manner that Publius Cornelius should lead two-thirds of the army of Romans and allies against Mago and Hasdrubal, and that Gnaeus Cornelius with one-third of the old army and the Celtiberians in addition should carry on the war with Hasdrubal Barca. Setting out together, with the Celtiberians in the van, both generals and armies pitched camp near the city of Amtorgis, in sight of the enemy, but separated by a river.[1] There Gnaeus Scipio remained with the above-mentioned forces, while Publius Scipio set out for his previously appointed share of the war.

XXXIII. Hasdrubal first noted that there was only a small army of Romans in the camp and that all their hope was in the Celtiberian auxiliaries. Then, as he was well acquainted with every form of treachery practised by barbarians and particularly by those tribes among which he had been campaigning for so many years, and as oral communication was easy, since both camps were full of Spaniards, by means of secret conferences he made an agreement with the chief men of the Celtiberians at a high price that they should withdraw their troops. Nor did it seem an outrageous act—for it was not urged that they should turn their arms against the Romans—and a price which would have been ample even for engaging

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pro bello satis esset dabatur ne bellum gererent, et eum quies ipsa, tum reditus domum fructusque
5 videndi suos suaque grata vulgo erant. Itaque non ducibus facilius quam multitudini persuasum est. Simul ne metus quidem ab Romanis erat, quippe
6 tam paucis, si vi retinerent. Id quidem cavendum semper Romanis ducibus erit exemplaque haec vere pro documentis habenda, ne ita externis credant auxiliis ut non plus sui roboris suarumque proprie
7 virium in castris habeant. Signis repente sublatis Celtiberi abeunt, nihil aliud quaerentibus causam obtestantibusque ut manerent Romanis respondentes
8 quam domestico se avocari bello. Scipio, postquam socii nec precibus nec vi retineri poterant, nec se aut parem sine illis hosti esse aut fratri rursus coniungi vidit posse, nec ullum aliud salutare consilium in
9 promptu esse, retro quantum posset cedere statuit, in id omni cura intentus necubi hosti aequo se committeret loco, qui transgressus flumen prope vestigiis abeuntium insistebat.

XXXIV. Per eosdem dies P. Scipionem par terror,
2 periculum maius ab novo hoste urgebat. Masinissa erat iuvenis, eo tempore socius Carthaginiensium, quem deinde clarum potentemque Romana fecit
3 amicitia. Is tum cum equitatu Numidarum et advenienti P. Scipioni occurrit et deinde adsidue

in the war was offered them not to wage war. Again, B.C. 212
not only peace itself, but also a return home and the advantage of seeing their families and their property were attractions to the mass of them. Accordingly their leaders were not more easily persuaded than the rank and file. At the same time they had no fear from the Romans either, if they, being so few in number, should try to hold them by force. It will always be a necessary precaution for Roman generals, and these instances must really be accounted warnings, not so to trust their foreign auxiliaries as not to have in camp more of their own strength and of forces that are absolutely their own. The Celtiberians suddenly took up their standards and departed, and when Romans asked the reason and implored them to remain, they gave no other answer than that they were called away by a war at home. Scipio, now that his allies could not be held either by entreaties or by force, saw that he could neither be a match for the enemy without them nor rejoin his brother, and that no other promising plan was available. Thereupon he decided to retire as far as possible, taking every care and being on the alert not to expose himself anywhere on level ground to the enemy, who crossed the river and kept almost at their heels as they withdrew.

XXXIV. About the same time Publius Scipio was beset by a fear no less grave and a danger that was greater from a new enemy. There was the young Masinissa, at that time an ally of the Carthaginians, a man whom friendship with the Romans later made famous and powerful. With his Numidian cavalry he now encountered Publius Scipio on his advance, and also was continually at hand day and night, ready

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4 dies noctesque infestus aderat, ut non vagos tantum procul a castris lignatum pabulatumque progressos exciperet, sed ipsis obequitaret castris invectusque in medias saepe stationes omnia ingenti tumultu
5 turbaret. Noctibus quoque saepe incursu repentino in portis valloque trepidatum est, nec aut locus aut tempus ullum vacuum a metu ac sollicitudine erat
6 Romanis, compulsique intra vallum adempto rerum omnium usu. Cum prope iusta obsidio esset futuramque artiorem eam appareret, si se Indibilis, quem eum septem milibus et quingentis Suessetanorum
7 adventare fama erat, Poenis coniunxisset, dux cautus et providens Scipio victus necessitatibus temerarium capit consilium, ut nocte Indibili obviam iret et, quocumque occurrisset loco, proelium
8 consereret. Relicto igitur modico praesidio in castris praepositoque Ti. Fonteio legato media nocte pro-
9 fectus cum obviis hostibus manus conseruit. Agmina magis quam acies pugnabant; superior tamen, ut in tumultuaria pugna, Romanus erat. Ceterum et equites Numidae repente, quos fefellisse se dux ratus erat, ab lateribus circumfusi magnum terrorem
10 intulere, et [1] contracto adversus Numidas certamine novo tertius insuper advenit hostis, duces Poeni adsecuti ab tergo iam pugnantis; anceps que proelium Romanos circumsteterat incertos in quem potissimum hostem quamve in partem conferti
11 eruptionem facerent. Pugnanti hortantique impera-

[1] et *Crévier*: *om. P*(1).

to attack, so that he not only captured soldiers B.C. 212
who had wandered far from the camp in search of wood and fodder, but also rode up to the camp itself, and often dashing into the midst of the outposts threw everything into great confusion. By night also there was often alarm at the gates and on the earthwork owing to a sudden attack, nor was any place or time free from fear and anxiety for the Romans, and they were confined within their earthwork, unable to obtain anything. It was almost a regular blockade, and this would evidently be stricter if Indibilis, who was reported as approaching with seven thousand five hundred Suessetani, should join the Carthaginians. Consequently Scipio, though a general marked by caution and foresight, being forced by his straits, adopted the rash plan of going by night to meet Indibilis and giving battle wherever he should encounter him. Therefore, leaving a moderate garrison at the camp and putting his lieutenant, Tiberius Fonteius, in command of it, he set out at midnight, and on meeting the enemy engaged them. It was a battle of columns rather than lines; yet, so far as could be in an engagement without order, the Roman had the advantage. But the Numidian cavalry, whose notice the general had thought he had escaped, by outflanking them inspired great alarm, and in addition, when they had entered a fresh battle with the Numidians, a third enemy also arrived, the Carthaginian generals, who from the rear overtook them when already engaged. And the Romans found themselves between two battles, uncertain against which enemy and in which direction they should choose to break through in a mass. As the general was fighting and exhorting,

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tori et offerenti se ubi plurimus labor erat latus dextrum lancea traicitur; cuneusque is hostium qui in confertos circa ducem impetum fecerat, ut exanimem labentem ex equo Scipionem vidit, alacres gaudio cum clamore per totam aciem nuntiantes 12 discurrunt imperatorem Romanum cecidisse. Ea pervagata passim vox ut et hostes haud dubie pro 13 victoribus et Romani pro victis essent fecit. Fuga confestim ex acie duce amisso fieri coepta est; ceterum ut ad erumpendum inter Numidas leviumque armorum alia auxilia haud difficilis erat, ita 14 effugere tantum equitum aequantiumque equos velocitate peditum vix poterant, caesique prope plures in fuga quam in pugna sunt; nec superfuisset quisquam, ni praecipiti iam ad vesperum die nox intervenisset.

XXXV. Haud segniter inde duces Poeni fortuna usi confestim e proelio vix necessaria quiete data militibus ad Hasdrubalem Hamilcaris citatum agmen rapiunt non dubia spe, cum [1] se [2] coniunxissent, 2 debellari posse. Quo ubi est ventum, inter exercitus ducesque victoria recenti laetos gratulatio ingens facta, imperatore tanto cum omni exercitu deleto et alteram pro haud dubia parem victoriam expectantes. 3 Ad Romanos nondum quidem fama tantae cladis pervenerat, sed maestum quoddam silentium erat et

[1] cum *Ax*: *om. P*(2).
[2] se *x*: *om. P*(1).

and exposing himself where there was most to be B.C. 212
done, his right side was pierced by a lance. And those of the enemy who in a wedge had made an attack upon the men pressing close about the general, on seeing the dying Scipio slipping from his horse, dashed everywhere along the line, wild with delight, shouting and announcing that the Roman commander had fallen. The broadcasting of that announcement far and wide made the enemy as good as victors beyond a doubt and the Romans as good as vanquished. Flight directly from the battle-line began, once they had lost their general. But while, so far as bursting through the Numidians and the light-armed auxiliaries as well was concerned, flight was not difficult, yet it was hardly possible for them to escape such numbers of horsemen and infantry who by their speed kept up with the horses. And almost more were slain in flight than in battle, nor would anyone have survived but for the coming on of night, as the day was now rapidly drawing to a close.

XXXV. Then the Carthaginian generals directly after the battle, making no indifferent use of their success, barely allowed their soldiers necessary rest, and rushed their column with all speed in the direction of Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, with the certain hope that, when they should unite with him, the war could be finished. Upon their arrival there was great congratulation between the armies and generals rejoicing in the recent victory, since so great a general and his entire army had been destroyed, and they were looking for just such another victory as beyond question. As for the Romans, not yet indeed had a report of the great disaster reached them, but there was a gloomy silence and an unexpressed foreboding,

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tacita divinatio, qualis iam praesagientibus animis
4 inminentis mali esse solet. Imperator ipse, praeterquam quod ab sociis se desertum, hostium tantum auctas copias sentiebat, coniectura etiam et ratione ad suspicionem acceptae cladis quam ad ullam bonam
5 spem pronior erat: quonam modo enim Hasdrubalem ac Magonem, nisi defunctos suo bello, sine certamine
6 addueere exercitum potuisse? Quo modo autem non obstitisse aut ab tergo secutum fratrem, ut, si prohibere quo minus in unum coirent et duces et exercitus hostium non posset, ipse certe cum fratre
7 coniungeret copias? His anxius curis id modo esse salutare in praesens eredebat, cedere inde quantum posset; exinde[1] una nocte ignaris hostibus et ob
8 id quietis aliquantum emensus est iter. Luec ut senserunt profectos, hostes praemissis Numidis quam poterant maxime citato agmine sequi coeperunt. Ante noctem adsecuti Numidae, nunc ab tergo, nunc in latera incursantes, consistere coegerunt ac tutari
9 agmen; quantum possent tamen tuto, ut simul pugnarent procederentque Scipio hortabatur, priusquam pedestres copiae adsequerentur. XXXVI. Ceterum nunc agendo, nunc sustinendo agmen eum aliquamdiu haud multum procederetur et nox iam
2 instaret, revocat e proelio suos Scipio et conlectos in tumulum quendam non quidem satis tutum, prae-

[1] exinde *Conway*: et inde *P*(1): et *Gronovius*.

such as is usually the forecast of impending misfor- B.C. 212
tune when men already have presentiments. The general himself, in addition to the knowledge that he had been deserted by his allies and that the enemy's forces had been so greatly increased, was more inclined by logical inference to suspect that a disaster had occurred than to entertain any good hope. For how, he thought, could Hasdrubal and Mago, unless they had quite finished their own war, have been able to bring up their army without an engagement? And how had his brother failed to confront them or to follow in their rear, so that, if unable to prevent the generals and armies of the enemy from uniting, he might himself at least combine his forces with those of his brother? Troubled by these anxieties, he believed that the one safe course at present was to retreat as far away as possible. Then in one night, while the enemy were unaware of it and hence made no move, he marched a considerable distance. In the morning the enemy, on discovering that they had gone, sent the Numidians in advance and began to follow them in a column at its utmost speed. Before night the Numidians had overtaken them, and charging now in the rear, now on the flanks, compelled them to halt and defend their column. Scipio kept encouraging them to fight and advance at the same time, so far, that is, as they could do so with safety, before the infantry forces should overtake them. XXXVI. But while he now urged his column forward, now ordered it to halt, for a long time little progress was being made and night was now at hand. Scipio therefore recalled his men from battle, concentrated them and led them up a hill that was not indeed quite safe, especially

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sertim agmini pereulso, editiorem tamen quam cetera circa erant, subducit. Ibi primo impedimentis et equitatu in medium receptis circumdati pedites haud difficulter impetus incursantium Numidarum arcebant; dein, postquam toto agmine tres imperatores cum tribus iustis exercitibus aderant apparebatque parum armis ad tuendum locum sine munimento valituros esse, circumspectare atque agitare dux coepit, si quo modo posset vallum circumicere. Sed erat adeo nudus tumulus et asperi soli ut nec virgulta vallo caedendo nec terra caespiti faciendo aut ducendae fossae aliive ulli operi apta inveniri posset; nec natura quicquam satis arduum aut abscisum erat quod hosti aditum ascensumve difficilem praeberet; omnia fastigio leni subvexa. Ut tamen aliquam imaginem valli obicerent, clitellas inligatas oneribus velut struentes ad altitudinem solitam circumdabant, cumulo sarcinarum omnis generis obiecto, ubi ad moliendum clitellae defuerant.

Punici exercitus postquam advenere, in tumulum quidem perfacile agmen erexere; munitionis facies nova primo eos velut miraculo quodam tenuit, cum duces undique vociferarentur quid starent et non ludibrium illud, vix feminis puerisve morandis satis validum, distraherent diriperentque? Captum hostem teneri, latentem post sarcinas. Haec contemptim duces increpabant; ceterum neque transilire nec moliri onera obiecta nec caedere stipatas clitellas ipsisque obrutas sarcinis facile erat. At

for a terrified column, but still was higher than the B.C. 21
country around it. There the infantry, surrounding the baggage and cavalry placed in the centre, at first kept off the charges of the Numidians without difficulty. Then, when three generals arrived in full force with three regular armies, and it was evident that they would be unable by arms to defend an unfortified position, the general began to cast about and consider whether he could in some way surround it with an earthwork. But the hill was so bare and rocky that neither could thickets be found for the cutting of stakes nor ground such that they could get turf or carry a trench in it or any other earthwork. And yet no spot was naturally so elevated or rugged as to make approach or ascent difficult for the enemy. Everywhere the ground rose at a gentle slope. However, in order to interpose some semblance of an earthwork, they laid up, as it were, to the usual height all around them, pack-saddles still tied to their loads, while, wherever the pack-saddles failed to make a barricade, they piled on top lighter baggage of every kind.

The Carthaginian armies, on arriving, very easily marched in column up the hill; but the strange appearance of the defences at first checked them in a certain amazement, while their commanders kept shouting from all sides, asking why they stood still and did not pull apart and scatter that pretence, hardly strong enough to delay women or children. The enemy, they said, was held captive, lurking behind his baggage. Such were the scornful taunts of the commanders. But it was not easy to leap over or clear away the baggage in front of them, nor to cut apart the mass of pack-saddles, buried under

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trudibus [1] cum amoliti obiecta onera armatis dedissent viam pluribusque idem partibus fieret, capta iam 12 undique castra erant. Pauci a multis perculsique a victoribus passim caedebantur; magna pars tamen militum, cum in propinquas refugisset silvas, in castra P. Scipionis, quibus Ti. Fonteius legatus prae- 13 erat, perfugerunt. Cn. Scipionem alii in tumulo primo impetu hostium caesum tradunt, alii cum paucis in propinquam castris turrim perfugisse; hanc igni circumdatam atque ita exustis foribus, quas nulla moliri potuerant vi, captam omnisque intus cum ipso imperatore occisos.

14 Anno octavo postquam in Hispaniam venerat Cn. Scipio, undetricensimo die post fratris mortem, est interfectus. Luctus ex morte eorum non Romae 15 maior quam per totam Hispaniam fuit; quin apud civis partem doloris et exercitus amissi et alienata 16 provincia et publica trahebat clades; Hispaniae ipsos lugebant desiderabantque duces, Gnaeum magis, quod diutius praefuerat iis priorque et favorem occupaverat et specimen iustitiae temperantiaeque Romanae primus dederat.

XXXVII. Cum deleti exercitus amissaeque Hispa- 2 niae viderentur, vir unus res perditas restituit. Erat in exercitu L. Marcius Septimi filius, eques Romanus,

[1] At trudibus W. *Heraeus*, *Walters*: traditisdibi *PR* (divi R^1: ibi CR^cM: dibu *BD*: diu *A*): trudentes sudibus *Madvig*.

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[1] Correct, though inconsistent with Livy's general chronology, which would make it the seventh year; cf. XXI. xxxii. 3. In xxxviii. 6 also Livy has followed an authority who placed the disasters in Spain in 211 B.C.; cf. note on xxxii. 1.

the added loads. But after they had cleared away B.C. 212
the baggage in front of them with hooked poles and made a way for the armed men, and the same thing was being done in different places, the camp had by this time been captured from all sides. Everywhere there was slaughter of the few by the many, of the panic-stricken by the victorious. A large part of the soldiers, however, after fleeing into the neighbouring forest, made their escape to Publius Scipio's camp, of which Tiberius Fonteius, his lieutenant, was commander. As for Gnaeus Scipio, some relate that he was slain on the hill in the first onset of the enemy, others that with a few men he made his escape to a tower near the camp: that fire was lighted around this, and so, by burning the doors which they had been unable to force in any way, they captured the tower and all were slain in it along with the commander himself.

In the eighth year[1] after his arrival in Spain Gnaeus Scipio was killed, on the twenty-ninth day after the death of his brother. Grief for their deaths was not greater in Rome than throughout Spain; in fact among the citizens the destruction of armies and the loss of a province and the national disaster claimed a part in their sorrow, while all Spain mourned for the generals themselves and missed them, Gnaeus more than Publius, because he had been longer in command and had earlier won their favour, and had given for the first time an example of Roman justice and self-control.

XXXVII. While it seemed that the armies had been wiped out and all Spain lost, a single man repaired their shattered fortunes. In the army was Lucius Marcius, son of Septimus, a Roman knight, an active

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impiger iuvenis animique et ingenii aliquanto quam
3 pro fortuna in qua erat natus maioris. Ad summam
indolem accesserat Cn. Scipionis disciplina, sub qua
4 per tot annos omnis militiae artis edoctus fuerat. Is [1]
et ex fuga collectis militibus et quibusdam de prae-
sidiis deductis haud contemnendum exercitum fecerat
iunxeratque cum Ti. Fonteio, P. Scipionis legato.
5 Sed tantum praestitit eques Romanus auctoritate
inter milites atque honore ut, castris citra Hiberum
communitis, cum ducem exercitus comitiis militari-
6 bus creari placuisset, subeuntes alii aliis in custo-
diam valli stationesque, donec per omnis suffragium
iret, ad L. Marcium cuncti summam imperii detule-
7 rint. Omne inde tempus—exiguum id fuit—mu-
niendis castris convehendisque commeatibus con-
sumpsit, et omnia imperia milites cum inpigre, tum
8 haudquaquam abiecto animo exequebantur. Cete-
rum postquam Hasdrubalem Gisgonis venientem ad
reliquias belli delendas transisse Hiberum et adpro-
pinquare adlatum est, signumque pugnae propositum
9 ab novo duce milites viderunt, recordati quos paulo
ante imperatores habuissent quibusque et ducibus
et copiis freti prodire in pugnam soliti essent, flere
omnes repente et offensare capita et alii manus ad
caelum tendere deos incusantes, alii strati humi
10 suum quisque nominatim ducem implorare. Neque

[1] Is *Weissenborn* : hic $M^{z}A^{y}$: *om.* P(1).

young man of much more spirit and talent than was B.C. 212
to be expected in the station in which he had been born. In addition to his high promise he had had the training of Gnaeus Scipio, in which during so many years he had mastered all the arts of the soldier. This man had made an army that was not to be despised out of soldiers gathered up from the flight and in part withdrawn from garrison towns, and he had united it with that of Tiberius Fonteius, the lieutenant of Publius Scipio. But so preëminent was a mere Roman knight in his personal influence with the soldiers and in the respect they paid him that, after they had fortified a camp on this side of the Hiberus and decided that a commander of the army should be chosen in an election by the soldiers, relieving each other as sentries on the wall and in outpost duty until all had cast their votes, they unanimously conferred the high command upon Lucius Marcius. He then spent the whole time—and it was very short—in fortifying the camp and bringing up supplies. And the soldiers carried out all his commands, not only with energy, but also in no dejected spirit. But when the news came that Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo, on his way to wipe out the last remains of the war, had crossed the Hiberus and was approaching, and the soldiers saw the signal for battle raised by a new general, they remembered what commanders they had had a short time before, and upon what generals and forces they had usually relied as they went into battle. Suddenly they all were weeping and dashing their heads against obstacles; and some raised their hands to heaven, blaming the gods, others lying on the ground invoked their respective generals by name. And the wailing

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sedari lamentatio poterat excitantibus centurioni
bus manipulares et ipso mulcente et increpante
Marcio, quod in muliebris et inutiles se proiecissent
fletus potius quam ad tutandos semet ipsos et rem
publicam secum acuerent animos, et ne inultos
11 imperatores suos iacere sinerent, cum subito clamor
tubarumque sonus—iam enim prope vallum hostes
erant—exauditur. Inde verso repente in iram luctu
discurrunt [1] ad arma ac velut accensi rabie discurrunt [2]
ad portas et in hostem neglegenter atque incom-
12 posite venientem incurrunt. Extemplo inprovisa
res pavorem incutit Poenis, mirabundique unde tot
hostes subito exorti prope deleto exercitu forent,
unde tanta audacia, tanta fiducia sui victis ac fugatis,
quis imperator duobus Scipionibus caesis exstitisset,
quis castris praeesset, quis signum dedisset pugnae—
13 ad haec tot tam necopinata primo omnium incerti
stupentesque referunt pedem, dein valida inpressione
14 pulsi terga vertunt. Et aut fugientium caedes
foeda fuisset aut temerarius periculosusque se-
quentium impetus, ni Marcius propere receptui
dedisset signum obsistensque ad prima signa et
quosdam ipse retinens concitatam repressisset aciem.
Inde in castra avidos adhuc caedisque et sanguinis
15 reduxit. Carthaginienses trepide primo ab hostium
vallo acti, postquam neminem insequi viderunt, metu

[1] discurrunt *P*(3) : *om. Crévier, Jac. Gronovius.*

[2] discurrunt *P*(1) *Conway* : concurrunt *Gronovius* : *Madvig rejected* discurrunt ad portas et.

could not be stilled, although the centurions tried to B.C. 212
arouse the men of their maniples and Marcius himself to calm them and upbraided them for having given themselves up to womanish and useless weeping, instead of whetting their courage to defend themselves and with them the state, and begged them not to let their commanders lie unavenged, when suddenly—for the enemy were now near the earthwork—a shout and the sound of trumpets were heard. Upon that, their grief instantly changing to anger, they scatter to arms, and as if fired by frenzy, to the different gates, and dash into the enemy coming on carelessly and in disorder. At once the unexpected act inspired alarm among the Carthaginians, and they wondered whence so many enemies had suddenly appeared after the army had been almost wiped out, whence came such boldness and self-confidence so great in men beaten and put to flight, what commander had arisen after the two Scipios had been slain, who was in command of the camp, who had given the signal for battle. In the face of all that—so many things so unexpected—they at first retreated, completely at a loss and dumbfounded; then beaten back by the strength of the attack they took to flight. And there would have been either a terrible slaughter of the fleeing or a reckless and dangerous attack on the part of the pursuers, had not Marcius promptly given the signal for the recall and kept back his own excited line, facing his men in the front line and laying hold of some with his own hands. He then led them back to camp still thirsting for slaughter and bloodshed. The Carthaginians were at first forced away in confusion from the enemies' earthwork; then, when they saw that no one was pursuing,

A.U.C. 542 substitisse rati, contemptim rursus et sedato gradu in castra abeunt.

16 Par neglegentia in castris custodiendis fuit; nam etsi propinquus hostis erat, tamen reliquias eum esse duorum exercituum ante paucos dies deletorum suc-
17 currebat. Ob hoc cum omnia neglecta apud hostis essent, exploratis iis Marcius ad consilium prima specie temerarium magis quam audax animum adie-
18 cit, ut ultro castra hostium oppugnaret, facilius esse ratus unius Hasdrubalis expugnari castra quam, si se rursus tres exercitus ac tres duces iunxissent, sua
19 defendi; simul aut, si successisset coeptis, erecturum se adflictas res aut, si pulsus esset, tamen ultro inferendo arma contemptum sui dempturum.

XXXVIII. Ne tamen subita res et nocturnus terror et iam non suae fortunae consilium perturbaret, adloquendos adhortandosque sibi milites ratus,
2 contione advocata ita disseruit: "Vel mea erga imperatores nostros vivos mortuosque pietas vel praesens omnium nostrum, milites, fortuna fidem cuivis facere potest mihi hoc imperium, ut amplum iudicio vestro, ita re ipsa grave ac sollicitum esse.
3 Quo enim tempore, nisi metus maerorem obstupefaceret, vix ita compos mei essem ut aliqua solacia invenire aegro animo possem, cogor vestram omnium vicem, quod difficillimum in luctu est, unus consulere.
4 Et ne tum quidem, ubi quonam modo has reliquias duorum exercituum patriae conservare possim cogi-

they thought they had halted for fear, and with fresh contempt and at a slow pace they retired to their camp. B.C. 212

There was just as much carelessness in guarding the camp. For, although the enemy was near, still they kept reflecting that it was only a remnant of the two armies wiped out a few days before. Since for this reason every precaution had been omitted on the enemy's side, Marcius, informed of the facts, turned his attention to a plan at first sight reckless rather than bold, actually to attack the camp of the enemy, in the belief that it was easier to storm the camp of Hasdrubal alone than to defend his own, if the three armies and three generals should again unite. At the same time he thought that, if his efforts should prove successful, he would relieve his critical situation or, even if defeated, by venturing to attack he would at least take away their contempt for himself. XXXVIII. But for fear an unexpected action, and alarm in the night and a plan no longer in keeping with his present situation, might bring confusion, he thought he must address his soldiers and encourage them, called an assembly and spoke as follows: "Either my devotion to our commanders, living and dead, or the present situation of us all, soldiers, can convince any one that this high command, though a great honour as your tribute, is yet in fact a burden to me and an anxious care. For at a time when, if fear did not paralyse grief, I should scarcely have such self-control as would enable me to find some comfort for distress of mind, I am compelled —a most difficult thing in sorrow—alone to plan for all of you. And even when I must consider how I may be able to save these remnants of two armies

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tandum est, avertere animum ab assiduo maerore
5 licet.[1] Praesto est enim acerba memoria, et Scipiones
me ambo dies noctesque curis insomniisque agitant
6 et excitant saepe somno, neu se neu invictos per octo
annos in his terris milites suos, commilitones vestros,
neu rem publicam patiar inultam, et suam disciplí-
7 nam suaque instituta sequi iubent et, ut imperiis
vivorum nemo oboedientior me uno fuerit, ita post
mortem suam, quod in quaque re facturos illos fuisse
8 maxime censeam, id optimum dueere. Vos quoque
velim, milites, non lamentis lacrimisque tamquam
extinctos prosequi—vivunt vigentque fama rerum
gestarum—, sed, quotienscumque occurret memoria
illorum, velut si adhortantis signumque dantis
9 videatis eos, ita proelia inire. Nec alia profecto
species hesterno die oblata oculis animisque vestris
memorabile illud edidit proelium, quo documentum
dedistis hostibus non cum Scipionibus extinctum esse
10 nomen Romanum et, cuius populi vis atque virtus
non obruta sit Cannensi clade, ex omni profecto
saevitia fortunae emersurum[2] esse.

11 "Nunc, quia tantum ausi estis sponte vestra, experiri
libet quantum audeatis duce vestro auctore. Non
enim hesterno die, cum signum receptui dedi sequenti-
bus effuse vobis turbatum hostem, frangere audaciam
vestram, sed differre in maiorem gloriam atque

[1] licet *Gronovius*: libet *P*(1) *Riemann.*
[2] emersurum *xz*: -am *P*(1) *Madvig.*

for our country, I may not turn my thoughts away B.C. 212
from unremitting grief. For a bitter memory is present with me, and both Scipios trouble me all day and all night with anxiety and loss of sleep, and often arouse me from slumber, bidding me not to allow either themselves or their soldiers, your comrades, undefeated in this land for eight years,[1] or the state, to go unavenged. And they command me to follow their teachings and their methods, and, just as while they lived not a man was more obedient to their orders than I, so after their death to hold that to be the best course which in each case I am confident they would have done. As for you, soldiers, I would have you also honour them, not with lamentations and tears as though dead. They live and work by the glory of their achievements. But whenever you shall remember them, just as if you saw them encouraging you and giving the signal,—in that spirit would I have you go into battle. It was surely no other image which presented itself yesterday to your eyes and minds and brought about that notable battle, by which you gave the enemy proof that the Roman name has not been extinguished with the Scipios, and that the people whose might and courage were not overwhelmed by the disaster at Cannae will surely survive any cruelty of Fortune.

"At present, because you have of your own accord shown such daring, I should like to find how much you have when your general gives the command. For yesterday, when I sounded the recall, as you in disorder were pursuing the routed enemy, it was not my wish to crush your boldness, but to reserve it for higher fame and a more favourable situation, that

[1] Cf. xxxvi. 14 and note.

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12 opportunitatem volui, ut postmodo praeparati incautos, armati inermes atque etiam sopitos per occasionem adgredi possetis. Nec huius occasionis spem, milites, forte temere, sed ex re ipsa conceptam
13 habeo. A vobis quoque profecto si quis quaerat quonam modo pauci a multis, victi a victoribus castra tutati sitis, nihil aliud respondeatis quam id ipsum timentis vos omnia et operibus firmata habuisse et
14 ipsos paratos instructosque fuisse. Et ita se res habet: ad id quod ne timeatur fortuna facit minime tuti sunt homines, quia quod neglexeris incautum
15 atque apertum habeas. Nihil omnium nunc minus metuunt hostes quam ne, obsessi modo ipsi atque oppugnati, castra sua ultro oppugnemus. Audeamus quod credi non potest ausuros nos; eo ipso quod
16 difficillimum videtur facilius erit. Tertia vigilia noctis silenti agmine ducam vos. Exploratum habeo non vigiliarum ordinem, non stationes iustas
17 esse. Clamor in portis auditus et primus impetus castra ceperit. Tum inter torpidos somno paventisque ad necopinatum tumultum et inermis in cubilibus suis oppressos illa caedes edatur a qua vos hesterno
18 die revocatos aegre ferebatis. Scio audax videri consilium: sed in rebus asperis et tenui spe fortissima quaeque consilia tutissima sunt, quia, si in occasionis momento cuius praetervolat opportunitas cunctatus paulum fueris, nequiquam mox omissam quaeras.
19 Unus exercitus in propinquo est, duo haud procul

later, being well prepared and armed, you might be B.C. 212
able, as opportunity offered, to attack the unprepared and unarmed, and even the sleeping. And not haphazard or at random do I cherish a hope of this opportunity, soldiers, but from the actual situation. You too, if someone should ask how you, a few men, have defended your camp against many, the vanquished against the victors, would surely give no other answer than that, fearing just that, you had kept everything in a state of defence and also had been in readiness yourselves and in line. And the fact is this: men are least protected against the thing which success leads them not to fear, since what one has made light of remains unguarded and uncovered. There is nothing in the world which the enemy now fear less than that we, who have ourselves just been beset and attacked, may venture to attack their camp. Let us dare what it is incredible that we should dare: for the very reason that it appears most difficult it will be easier. In the third watch of the night I shall lead you in a silent column. I am assured that there is no relieving of sentries, no regular outposts. The sound of a shout at the gate and a first assault will at once capture the camp. Then, among men dazed with sleep and alarmed at the unexpected uproar and surprised unarmed in their beds, let there be the slaughter from which you were recalled yesterday under protest. I know it seems a bold plan. But in dangerous and desperate situations the bravest decisions are always the safest. For if at the opportune moment, whose advantage swiftly passes, one hesitates even a little, it is vain for one to look later for the neglected opportunity. One army is near, two not far away. If we attack now there is

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absunt. Nunc adgredientibus spes aliqua est, et
20 iam temptastis vestras atque illorum vires: si diem
proferimus et hesternae eruptionis fama contemni
desierimus, periculum est ne omnes duces, omnes
copiae conveniant. Tres deinde duces, tres exercitus
sustinebimus hostium quos Cn. Scipio incolumi
21 exercitu non sustinuit? Ut dividendo copias periere
duces nostri, ita separatim ac divisi opprimi possunt
hostes. Alia belli gerendi via nulla est. Proinde
nihil praeter noctis proximae opportunitatem
22 expectemus. Ite deis bene iuvantibus, corpora
curate, ut integri vigentesque eodem animo in castra
hostium inrumpatis quo vestra tutati estis."

23 Laeti et audiere ab novo duce novum consilium,
et quo audacius erat magis placebat. Reliquum diei
expediendis armis et curatione corporum con-
sumptum et maior pars noctis quieti data est.
Quarta vigilia movere. XXXIX. Erant ultra proxu-
ma castra sex milium intervallo distantes aliae copiae
Poenorum. Valles cava intererat, condensa arbori-
bus; in huius silvae medio ferme spatio cohors
2 Romana arte Punica abditur et equites. Ita medio
itinere intercepto ceterae copiae silenti agmine ad
proximos hostis ductae et, cum statio nulla pro
portis neque in vallo custodiae essent, velut in sua
3 castra nullo usquam obsistente penetravere. Inde
signa canunt et tollitur clamor. Pars semisomnos

no little hope, and already you have tried your strength B.C. 212
and theirs. If we put off the day and owing to the report of yesterday's sally come to be no longer despised, there is danger that all the generals and all the forces may combine. Shall we then withstand the enemy's three generals, three armies, which Gnaeus Scipio with his army still undiminished did not withstand? Just as through dividing their forces our generals perished, so the enemy, if divided and in different places, can be overpowered. There is no other way of conducting the war. Therefore let us wait for nothing beyond the favourable moment to-night. Go with the kind aid of the gods, put yourselves in condition, that, sound and strong, you may burst into the camp of the enemy with the same spirit with which you defended yours."

With joy they heard of the new plan from their new commander, and the bolder it was the more it pleased them. The rest of the day was spent in putting their arms in order and themselves in condition; and the larger part of the night was given to rest. At the fourth watch they started. XXXIX. Beyond the nearest camp and at a distance of six miles from it were other forces of the Carthaginians. Between them there was a deep valley, densely wooded. About the middle of this wood a Roman cohort and cavalry were concealed after the Punic method. The road being thus cut off at the half-way, the rest of the forces were led in a silent column to the nearest enemy. And as there was no outpost before the gates nor sentinels on the earthwork, and no one anywhere opposed them, they made their way into the camp as if it were their own. Then the trumpets sound and a shout is raised. Some slay

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hostis caedunt, pars ignes casis stramento arido tectis iniciunt, pars portas occupant, ut fugam intercludant. 4 Hostes simul ignis, clamor, caedes velut alienatos sensibus nec audire nec providere quicquam sinunt. 5 Incidunt inermes inter catervas armatorum. Alii ruunt ad portas, alii obsaeptis itineribus super vallum 6 saliunt; et, ut quisque evaserat, protinus ad castra altera fugiunt, ubi ab cohorte et equitibus ex occulto procurrentibus circumventi caesique ad unum omnes 7 sunt; quamquam, etiamsi quis ex ea caede effugisset, adeo raptim a captis propioribus castris in altera transcursum castra ab Romanis est, ut praevenire 8 nuntius cladis non posset. Ibi vero, quo longius ab hoste aberant et quia sub lucem pabulatum lignatumque et praedatum quidam dilapsi fuerant, neglecta magis omnia ac soluta invenere, arma tantum in stationibus posita, milites inermes aut humi sedentes accubantesque aut obambulantes ante 9 vallum portasque. Cum his tam securis solutisque Romani calentes adhuc ab recenti pugna ferocesque victoria proelium incunt. Itaque nequaquam resisti in portis potuit; intra portas concursu ex totis castris ad primum clamorem et tumultum facto atrox proe- 10 lium oritur; diuque tenuisset, ni cruenta scuta Romanorum visa indicium alterius cladis, Poenis 11 atque inde pavorem iniecissent. Hic terror in fugam avertit omnis, effusique qua iter est, nisi quos

the enemy half-asleep, some throw firebrands on B.C. 212
the dry, thatched huts, some seize the gates, to block escape. As for the enemy, fire, shouting and slaughter, all at once, make them virtually senseless and do not allow them to hear any orders or to look out for themselves. Unharmed they encounter bodies of armed men. Some rush to the gates, others, since the roads are blocked, leap over the earthwork. And everyone who escaped fled at once in the direction of the other camp; whereupon they were surrounded by the cohort and cavalry dashing out of their hiding-place and were slain to the last man. Yet, even if a man had escaped from that slaughter, so swiftly did the Romans hasten from the captured nearer camp to the other camp that news of the disaster could not anticipate them. But there, the farther it was from their enemy, and since some had scattered just before daylight to bring in fodder and firewood and booty, the more neglect and disorder did they find everywhere; only stacked arms at the outposts, the soldiers unarmed, either sitting and lying on the ground or strolling outside the wall and the gates. Against these men, so care-free and regardless of order, the Romans, who were still fired by their recent battle and made confident by victory, went into battle. And so no resistance whatever could be offered at the gates. Inside the gates there was a rush from every part of the camp at the first shouting and commotion, and a fierce battle began. It would have lasted long too, had not the sight of the Romans' bloody shields given the Carthaginians evidence of the other disaster and consequently inspired alarm. This terror made them all take to flight, and pouring out wherever a way could be found

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caedes oppressit, exuuntur castris. Ita nocte ac die bina castra hostium expugnata[1] ductu L. Marcii. 12 Ad triginta septem milia hostium caesa auctor est Claudius, qui annales Acilianos ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem vertit, captos ad mille octingentos triginta, 13 praedam ingentem partam; in ea fuisse clipeum argenteum pondo centum triginta septem cum 14 imagine Barcini Hasdrubalis. Valerius Antias una castra Magonis capta tradit, septem milia caesa hostium; altero proelio eruptione pugnatum cum Hasdrubale, decem milia occisa, quattuor milia 15 trecentos triginta captos. Piso quinque milia hominum, cum Mago cedentis nostros effuse sequeretur, 16 caesa ex insidiis scribit. Apud omnis magnum nomen Marcii ducis est; et verae gloriae eius etiam miracula addunt, flammam ei contionanti fusam e capite sine ipsius sensu cum magno pavore circum- 17 stantium militum; monimentumque victoriae eius de Poenis usque ad incensum Capitolium fuisse in templo clipeum, Marcium appellatum, cum imagine 18 Hasdrubalis.—Quietae deinde aliquamdiu in Hispania res fuere, utrisque post tantas in vicem acceptas

[1] expugnata *z Conway* : oppugnata *P*(1).

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[1] *I.e.* Q. Claudius Quadrigarius, who wrote in the time of Sulla. His history, in at least 23 books, began with the capture of the city by the Gauls. Acilius' Greek history of Rome had begun with the founding of the city. In 155 B.C. Acilius acted as interpreter when the three Greek philosophers, Carneades among them, appeared before the senate.

[2] Valerius, a contemporary of Claudius, wrote a voluminous history from the founding of Rome in upwards of 75 books. Here by exception his figures for the enemy slain are very moderate.

[3] L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, the annalist, was consul in 133 B.C. His work, here cited for the last time in the extant Livy,

—except those overtaken by the sword—they lost B.C. 212
possession of the camp. Thus in a night and a day two camps of the enemy were taken by assault under the command of Lucius Marcius. That about thirty-seven thousand of the enemy were slain is the statement of Claudius,[1] who translated Acilius' annals out of Greek into the Latin language; that about one thousand eight hundred and thirty were captured and a vast amount of booty taken. And in this he says that there was a silver shield weighing a hundred and thirty-seven pounds, bearing the likeness of Hasdrubal Barca. Valerius of Antium[2] relates that one camp was captured, that of Mago, and seven thousand of the enemy slain; that in a second battle they sallied out and fought with Hasdrubal; that ten thousand were slain, four thousand three hundred and thirty captured. Piso[3] states that five thousand men were slain from an ambush, while Mago was pursuing in disorder our retreating men. In all of them great is the name of Marcius the general. And to his real fame they add even marvels: that as he was speaking a flame burst from his head without his knowledge, causing great alarm among the soldiers who stood around him. They say that as a memorial of his victory over the Carthaginians, down to the burning of the Capitol there was in the temple a shield called the Marcian, bearing a likeness of Hasdrubal.[4]—Thereafter the situation in Spain was quiet for a long time, since both sides, after receiving and inflicting such losses

probably consisted of seven books, beginning with the founding of the city.

[4] Pliny (*N.H.* XXXV. 14) says this shield hung above the door of the Capitoline temple until the fire of 84 B.C.

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inlatasque clades cunctantibus periculum summae rerum facere.

XL. Dum haec in Hispania geruntur, Marcellus captis Syracusis, cum cetera in Sicilia tanta fide atque integritate composuisset ut non modo suam gloriam sed etiam maiestatem populi Romani augeret, ornamenta urbis, signa tabulasque quibus abundabant Syracusae, Romam devexit, hostium
2 quidem illa spolia et parta belli iure; ceterum inde primum initium mirandi Graecarum artium opera licentiaeque huius[1] saera profanaque omnia vulgo spoliandi factum est, quae postremo in Romanos deos, templum id ipsum primum quod a Marcello
3 eximie ornatum est, vertit. Visebantur enim ab externis ad portam Capenam dedicata a M. Marcello templa propter excellentia eius generis ornamenta, quorum perexigua pars comparet.
4 Legationes omnium ferme civitatium Siciliae ad eum conveniebant. Dispar ut causa earum, ita condicio erat. Qui ante captas Syracusas aut non desciverant aut redierant in amicitiam, ut socii fideles accepti cultique; quos metus post captas Syracusas dediderat, ut victi a victore leges accepe-
5 runt. Erant tamen haud parvae reliquiae belli circa Agrigentum Romanis, Epicydes et Hanno, duces reliqui prioris belli, et tertius novus ab Hanni-

[1] huius *Ussing, Conway*: huic *P*(2): hinc *A Walters.*

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[1] The Temples of Honos and Virtus were outside the gate, on the Appian Way; XXVI. xxxii. 4; XXVII. xxv. 7–9; Plutarch, *Marcellus* 28. Dedicated in 205 B.C. by Marcellus' son; XXIX. xi. 13. In the Temple of Virtus stood the famous *sphaera* (orrery) of Archimedes; Cicero *de Re Publica* I. 21.

upon each other, hesitated to risk a decisive engage- B.C. 212
ment.

XL. While these things were being done in Spain, it is true that Marcellus, after the capture of Syracuse, had settled matters in general in Sicily with such conscientiousness and honesty that he added not only to his own fame, but also to the dignity of the Roman people. But as regards the adornments of the city, the statues and paintings which Syracuse possessed in abundance, he carried them away to Rome. They were spoils of the enemy, to be sure, and acquired by right of war. Yet from that came the very beginning of enthusiasm for Greek works of art and consequently of this general licence to despoil all kinds of buildings, sacred and profane, a licence which finally turned against Roman gods, and first of all against the very temple which was magnificently adorned by Marcellus. For temples dedicated by Marcus Marcellus near the Porta Capena [1] used to be visited by foreigners on account of their remarkable adornments of that kind; but of these a very small part is still to be seen.

Embassies from nearly all the states in Sicily kept coming to him. As their pleas were different, so was their status. Those who before the capture of Syracuse either had not rebelled or had returned to friendly relations were admitted and honoured as faithful allies. Those whom fear had led to surrender after the capture of Syracuse, as vanquished received terms from the victor. There was left to the Romans, however, no small remainder of the war around Agrigentum, namely, Epicydes and Hanno, the surviving commanders in the previous war, and a third new general sent by Hannibal in place of

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bale in locum Hippocratis missus, Libyphoenicum generis Hippacritanus—Muttinen populares vocabant—, vir inpiger et sub Hannibale magistro omnis
6 belli artes edoctus. Huic ab Epicyde et Hannone Numidae dati auxiliares, cum quibus ita pervagatus est hostium agros, ita socios ad retinendos in fide animos eorum ferendo in tempore cuique auxilium
7 adiit ut brevi tempore totam Siciliam impleret nominis sui, nec spes alia maior apud faventis rebus
8 Carthaginiensium esset. Itaque inclusi ad id tempus moenibus Agrigenti dux Poenus Syracusanusque, non consilio Muttinis quam fiducia magis ausi egredi extra muros ad Himeram amnem posuerunt
9 castra. Quod ubi perlatum ad Marcellum est, extemplo copias movit et ab hoste quattuor ferme milium intervallo consedit, quid agerent pararentve
10 expectaturus. Sed nullum neque locum neque tempus cunctationi consiliove dedit Muttines, transgressus amnem ac stationibus hostium eum ingenti
11 terrore ac tumultu invectus. Postero die prope iusto proelio compulit hostis intra munimenta. Inde revocatus seditione Numidarum in castris facta, eum trecenti ferme eorum Heracleam Minoam concessissent, ad mitigandos revocandosque eos profectus magno opere monuisse duces dicitur ne
12 absente se cum hoste manus conserrent. Id ambo aegre passi duces, magis Hanno, iam ante anxius gloria eius: Muttinem sibi modum facere, degene-

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[1] *I.e.* Hippo Diarrhytus, northwest of Utica, on the coast.

Hippocrates. He was of Libyphoenician race, from B.C. 212
Hippacra,[1] and called Muttines by his countrymen, a man of energy who under Hannibal's teaching had mastered all the arts of war. He was furnished by Epicydes and Hanno with Numidian auxiliaries, with which he so thoroughly scoured the enemy's lands and sought out allies, in order to retain their loyalty by lending aid to each man at the right moment, that in a short time he filled all Sicily with his name and was the highest hope of those supporting the Carthaginian cause. And so, after being confined until then within the walls of Agrigentum, the Carthaginian general and the Syracusan, emboldened not more by the advice of Muttines than by their confidence in him to go outside the walls, pitched their camp by the river Himera. When news of this reached Marcellus, he at once set his troops in motion and established himself at a distance of about four miles from the enemy, to wait and see what they were doing or intending. But Muttines gave no occasion or time for hesitation, or for a plan of action; for he crossed the river and attacked the outposts of the enemy, causing great alarm and confusion. The next day by an engagement almost in regular form he drove the enemy inside their fortifications. Then he was recalled by a mutiny of the Numidians breaking out in the camp, after about three hundred of them had retired to Heraclea Minoa. On leaving, to pacify and recall these men, he is said to have expressly warned the generals not to engage the enemy in his absence. At that both generals were indignant, especially Hanno, already uneasy because of the man's fame. To think that Muttines, a degenerate African, should set a limit

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rem Afrum imperatori Carthaginiensi misso ab
13 senatu populoque! Is perpulit cunctantem Epicyden ut transgressi flumen in aciem exirent: nam si Muttinem opperirentur, et secunda pugnae fortuna evenisset, haud dubie Muttinis gloriam fore.

XLI. Enimvero indignum ratus Marcellus se, qui Hannibalem subnixum victoria Cannensi ab Nola reppulisset, his terra marique victis ab se hostibus cedere, arma propere capere milites et efferri signa
2 iubet. Instruenti[1] exercitum decem effusis equis advolant ex hostium acie Numidae nuntiantes populares suos, primum ea seditione motos qua
3 trecenti ex numero suo concesserint Heracleam, dein quod praefectum suum ab obtrectantibus ducibus gloriae eius sub ipsam certaminis diem ablegatum
4 videant, quieturos in pugna. Gens fallax promissi fidem praestitit. Itaque et Romanis crevit animus nuntio celeri per ordines misso, destitutum ab equite
5 hostem esse, quem maxime timuerant, et territi hostes, praeterquam quod maxima parte virium suarum non iuvabantur, timore etiam incusso, ne
6 ab suomet ipsi equite oppugnarentur. Itaque haud magni certaminis res[2] fuit: primus clamor atque impetus rem decrevit. Numidae cum in concursu quieti stetissent in cornibus, ut terga dantis suos viderunt, fugae tantum parumper comites facti,

[1] instruenti *Gronovius*: -te *P*(1).
[2] res *Conway*: *om.* *P*(1): proelium *or* res (*after* fuit) *Weissenborn.*

for him, a Carthaginian commander, sent by senate and people! He prevailed upon the hesitating Epicydes to cross the river and form their battle-line. For if they should wait for Muttines and the fortune of battle should favour, the glory, he said, would unquestionably fall to Muttines. B.C. 212

XLI. Marcellus, thinking it was a veritable outrage for him, a man who had driven Hannibal, backed by his victory at Cannae, from Nola, to yield to these enemies whom he had himself defeated on land and sea, ordered his soldiers to take up their arms in haste and the standard-bearers to set out. As he was drawing up his army, ten Numidians rode out of the enemy's ranks and at full speed up to him, reporting that their countrymen were aroused, first by the mutiny in which three hundred of their number had retired to Heraclea, and then by seeing their commander sent away just on the eve of battle by generals who belittled his reputation, and that in the fight they would remain inactive. A deceitful race kept its promise faithfully. And so the Romans' spirits rose when the message was sent swiftly through the ranks that the enemy had been deserted by his cavalry, which they had particularly dreaded; at the same time the enemy were terrified not only because they were having no help from the largest part of their forces, but also by the fear thus aroused that they might themselves be attacked by their own cavalry. Accordingly it was no great struggle; the first shout, the first onset, decided the matter. The Numidians, having remained motionless on the wings at the beginning of the battle, seeing their men retreating, shared only the flight with them for a short time. When they saw them all making for

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7 postquam omnes Agrigentum trepido agmine petentes viderunt, ipsi metu obsidionis passim in civitatis proxumas dilapsi. Multa milia hominum caesa, capta . . .[1] et octo elephanti. Haec ultima in Sicilia Marcelli pugna fuit; victor inde Syracusas rediit.

8 Iam ferme in exitu annus erat; itaque senatus Romae decrevit ut P. Cornelius praetor litteras Ca-
9 puam ad consules mitteret, dum Hannibal procul abesset nec ulla magni discriminis res ad Capuam gereretur, alter eorum, si ita videretur, ad magistratus
10 subrogandos Romam veniret. Litteris acceptis inter se consules compararunt ut Claudius comitia per-
11 ficeret, Fulvius ad Capuam maneret. Consules Claudius creavit Cn. Fulvium Centumalum et P. Sulpicium Servii filium Galbam, qui nullum antea
12 curulem magistratum gessisset. Praetores deinde creati L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Cornelius Cethegus,
13 C. Sulpicius, C. Calpurnius Piso.[2] Pisoni iuris dictio urbana, Sulpicio Sicilia, Cethego Apulia, Lentulo Sardinia evenit. Consulibus prorogatum in annum imperium est.

[1] *Perhaps* sex milia (*i.e.* VI) *Madvig.*

[2] *Names in this sentence are in part restored by Aldus and Sigonius. P*(1) *omit* L. Cornelius Lentulus (13 *and* XXVI. i. 11) *and* M. (ii. 2), *also* C. Calpurnius (XXVI. iii. 9).

Agrigentum in a panic-stricken column, they themselves scattered in every direction to the neighbouring cities, fearing a siege. Many thousand men were slain . . . thousand captured, also eight elephants. This was Marcellus' last battle in Sicily; from it he returned as victor to Syracuse. B.C. 212

By this time the year was nearly at an end. Accordingly the senate at Rome decreed that Publius Cornelius, the praetor, should send a letter to the consuls at Capua, saying that, while Hannibal was far away and there was no decisive action around Capua, one of them, if they thought it best, should come to Rome for the replacement of magistrates. On receiving the letter the consuls arranged between them that Claudius should conduct the elections, and Fulvius remain near Capua. For the consulship Claudius announced the election of Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus and Publius Sulpicius Galba, son of Servius, although he had previously held no curule office. As praetors the following were then elected: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Gaius Sulpicius, Gaius Calpurnius Piso. The duties of the city praetor fell to Piso,[1] Sicily to Sulpicius, Apulia to Cethegus, Sardinia to Lentulus. As for the consuls, their military authority was continued for one year.

[1] Evidently the duties of the praetor peregrinus also were assigned to the praetor urbanus, as for the two preceding years; cf. notes on i. 11 and iii. 2.

LIBRI XXV PERIOCHA

P. Cornelius Scipio, postea Africanus, ante annos aedilis factus. Hannibal urbem Tarenton praeter arcem, in quam praesidium Romanorum fugerat, per Tarentinos iuvenes, qui se noctu venatum ire simulaverant, cepit. Ludi Apollinares ex Marcii carminibus, quibus Cannensis clades praedicta fuerat, instituti sunt. A Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio consulibus adversus Hannonem Poenorum ducem prospere pugnatum est. Tib. Sempronius Graechus proconsul, ab hospite suo Lucano in insidias deductus, a Magone interfectus est. Centenius Paenula, qui centurio militaverat, cum petisset a senatu ut sibi exercitus daretur, pollicitusque esset, si hoc impetrasset, de Hannibale victoriam, $\overline{\text{VIII}}$ acceptis militum dux factus conflixit acie cum Hannibale et cum exercitu caesus est. Capua obsessa est a Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio consulibus. Cn. Fulvius praetor male adversus Hannibalem pugnavit, in quo proelio $\overline{\text{XX}}$[1] hominum ceciderunt; ipse cum equitibus ducentis effugit. Claudius Marcellus Syracusas expugnavit tertio anno et ingentem se virum gessit. In eo tumultu captae urbis Archimedes intentus formis quas in pulvere descripserat interfectus est. P. et Cn. Scipiones in Hispania tot rerum feliciter gestarum tristem exitum tulerunt, prope cum totis exercitibus caesi anno octavo quam in Hispaniam ierunt. Amissaque eius provinciae possessio foret, nisi L. Marcii equitis Romani virtute et industria contractis exercituum reliquiis eiusdem hortatu bina castra hostium expugnata essent. Ad $\overline{\text{XXVII}}$[2] caesa, ad[3] mille octingentos, praeda ingens capta. Dux Marcius appellatus est.

[1] *This should be* $\overline{\text{XVI}}$: *cf.* xxi. 10.

[2] *An error for* $\overline{\text{XXXVII}}$: *cf.* xxxix. 12.

[3] *For* ad (*Sigonius*) *the MSS. have* ex.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXV

Publius Cornelius Scipio, later Africanus, was made aedile before the legal age. Hannibal, with the aid of young Tarentines who had pretended that they were going hunting at night, captured the city of Tarentum, except the citadel, to which the Roman garrison had fled. The Ludi Apollinares were established in accordance with the oracles of Marcius, in which the disaster at Cannae had been predicted. A successful battle was fought by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls, against Hanno, a general of the Carthaginians. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the proconsul, was led into an ambuscade by his Lucanian guest-friend and slain by Mago. Centenius Paenula, who had served as a centurion, after begging the senate to give him an army and promising a victory over Hannibal if he gained his request, received eight thousand soldiers, was made commander, engaged Hannibal in battle-line, and with his army was slain. Capua was besieged by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls. Gnaeus Fulvius, a praetor, was defeated in a battle with Hannibal in which twenty thousand men fell. Fulvius himself escaped with two hundred horsemen. Claudius Marcellus took Syracuse after two years and bore himself as a great man. In that uproar of the captured city Archimedes, while intent upon the figures he had traced in the dust, was slain. Publius and Gnaeus Scipio in Spain met with an unhappy end of their many successes, being slain with almost their entire armies in the eighth year after they went to Spain. And possession of that province would have been lost, had not the remnants of the armies been brought together by the bravery and activity of Lucius Marcius, a Roman knight, and with his encouragement two camps of the enemy been taken by storm. About twenty-seven thousand were slain, about one thousand eight hundred men and vast booty captured. Marcius was named commander.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES

VII

BOOKS XXVI—XXVII

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T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXVI

A.U.C. 543

I. Cn. Fulvius Centumalus P. Sulpicius Galba consules cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent, senatu in Capitolium vocato, de re publica, de administratione belli, de provinciis exercitibusque patres 2 consuluerunt. Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio, prioris anni consulibus, prorogatum imperium est atque exercitus quos habebant decreti, adiectumque ne a Capua, quam obsidebant, abscederent prius quam expugnas- 3 sent.[1] Ea tum cura maxime intentos habebat Romanos, non ab ira tantum, quae in nullam umquam civitatem iustior fuit, quam quod urbs tam nobilis 4 ac potens, sicut defectione sua traxerat aliquot populos, ita recepta inclinatura rursus animos videbatur 5 ad veteris imperii respectum. Et praetoribus prioris

[1] expugnassent *z Aldus*: oppugnassent *P*(1)*JK*.

---

[1] The first session of the senate was then regularly held on the Capitol in the Temple of Jupiter; XXIII. xxxi. 1;

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXVI

I. Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus and Publius Sul- B.C. 211
picius Galba, the consuls, having entered upon office on the Ides of March, summoned the senate to the Capitol [1] and consulted the fathers in regard to the state, the conduct of the war, and the provinces and armies. The military authority of Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, consuls of the previous year, was continued, and the armies which they had were assigned to them, with orders in addition that they were not to withdraw from Capua, which they were besieging, until they had taken the city. That affair claimed the closest attention of the Romans at the time, not so much because of anger, which has never been more justified against any state, as because a city so important and powerful, which by its revolt had drawn with it a number of communities, in like manner, if recovered, might turn the scale to respect, so it seemed, for the old authority. And for the praetors of the previous year, Marcus

[1] XXIV. x. 1; and the new year began on the Ides of March; xxvi. 5; XXVII. vii. 7.

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anni, M. Iunio in Etruria, P. Sempronio in Gallia, cum binis legionibus quas habuerant prorogatum est
6 imperium. Prorogatum et M. Marcello, ut pro consule in Sicilia reliqua belli perficeret eo exercitu
7 quem haberet; si supplemento opus esset, suppleret de legionibus quibus P. Cornelius propraetore in
8 Sicilia praeesset, dum ne quem militem legeret ex eo numero quibus senatus missionem reditumque in
9 patriam negasset ante belli finem. C. Sulpicio, cui Sicilia evenerat, duae legiones quas P. Cornelius habuisset decretae et supplementum de exercitu Cn. Fulvii, qui priore anno in Apulia foede caesus fuga-
10 tusque erat. Huic generi militum senatus eundem quem Cannensibus finem statuerat militiae. Additum etiam utrorumque ignominiae est ne in oppidis hibernarent neve hiberna propius ullam urbem decem
11 milibus passuum aedificarent. L. Cornelio in Sardinia duae legiones datae quibus Q. Mucius praefuerat; supplementum, si opus esset, consules scribere iussi.
12 T. Otacilio et M. Valerio Siciliae Graeciaeque orae[1] cum legionibus classibusque quibus praeerant decretae; quinquaginta Graecia cum legione una, centum Sicilia cum duabus legionibus habebat[2]
13 naves. Tribus et viginti legionibus Romanis eo anno bellum terra marique est gestum.

II. Principio eius anni cum de litteris L. Marcii referretur, res gestae magnificae senatui visae:

[1] orae *Walters*: ora *P*(1)*JK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] habebat *Walters*: habebant *P*(1)*JK.*

---

[1] Cf. XXIV. xviii. 9; XXV. vii. 4.
[2] Not including the army in Spain; cf. XXIV. xi. 2.
[3] Cf. XXV. xxxvii. ff.

Iunius in Etruria, Publius Sempronius in Gaul, their B.C. 211
command was continued, with the two legions which each had had. The command of Marcus Marcellus also was continued, that as proconsul in Sicily he might finish the remainder of the war with the army which he had. If he should need reinforcements, he should provide them from the legions which Publius Cornelius, the propraetor, commanded in Sicily, provided he did not enlist any soldier from the number of those to whom the senate had refused a discharge and a return to their home towns before the end of the war. To Gaius Sulpicius, to whom Sicily had fallen, were assigned the two legions which Publius Cornelius had had, and reinforcements from Gnaeus Fulvius' army, which in the previous year had been terribly cut to pieces and put to flight in Apulia. For soldiers of this sort the senate had established the same term of service as for the men who were at Cannae.[1] It was added to the disgrace of both alike that they were not to winter in towns, nor to construct their winter quarters within ten miles of any city. To Lucius Cornelius in Sardinia were given the two legions which Quintus Mucius had commanded. Reinforcements, if necessary, the consuls were bidden to enroll. To Titus Otacilius and Marcus Valerius were assigned the coasts of Sicily and Greece, together with the legions and fleets which they commanded. Greece had fifty ships and one legion, Sicily a hundred ships and two legions. Twenty-three Roman legions[2] carried on the war that year on land and sea.

II. At the beginning of that year, when the letter of Lucius Marcius[3] was brought before the senate,

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titulus honoris, quod imperio non populi iussu, non ex auctoritate patrum dato " propraetor senatui " scripserat, magnam partem hominum offendebat: 2 rem mali exempli esse imperatores legi ab exercitibus et sollemne auspicandorum [1] comitiorum in castra et provincias, procul ab legibus magistratibusque, 3 ad militarem temeritatem transferri. Et cum quidam referendum ad senatum censerent, melius visum differri eam consultationem donec proficiscerentur equites qui ab Marcio litteras attulerant. 4 Rescribi de frumento et vestimentis exercitus placuit eam utramque rem curae fore senatui; adscribi autem " propraetori L. Marcio " non placuit, ne id ipsum quod consultationi reliquerant pro praeiudi- 5 cato ferret. Dimissis equitibus, de nulla re prius consules rettulerunt, omniumque in unum sententiae congruebant, agendum cum tribunis plebis esse, primo quoque tempore ad plebem ferrent quem cum imperio mitti placeret in Hispaniam ad eum exerci- 6 tum cui Cn. Scipio imperator praefuisset. Ea res cum tribunis acta promulgataque est; sed aliud certamen occupaverat animos.

7 C. Sempronius Blaesus die dicta Cn. Fulvium ob exercitum in Apulia amissum in contionibus vexabat, multos imperatores temeritate atque inscitia exer-

[1] auspicandorum *Madvig*: -ciatorum *P*(3): -catorum *AJK Aldus*.

---

[1] A tribune of the plebs; cf. iii. 8. For the defeat in question cf. note on XXVII. i. 15.

his achievement was thought magnificent; but many B.C. 211
were offended by the official title used, since he had written "The Propraetor to the Senate," although his command had not been given him by order of the people, nor by authority of the senate. It was a bad precedent, they said, for generals to be chosen by armies, and for the sanctity of elections with the required auspices to be removed instead to camps and the provinces, far from laws and magistrates, at the bidding of reckless soldiers. And when some moved that the matter be laid before the senate, it seemed better to postpone deliberation on that point until the knights who had brought the letter from Marcius should depart. In regard to grain and clothing for the army, it was voted to reply that both matters would receive the attention of the senate, but not to address it "To the Propraetor Lucius Marcius," for fear he should get, as though already decided, the very thing which they had left to be considered. When the knights had been sent away, the consuls brought up that matter first of all, and there was complete unanimity that the tribunes of the plebs should be persuaded to bring before the plebs at the earliest possible moment the question as to whom they preferred to send with full authority to Spain and the army of which Gnaeus Scipio had been the commander-in-chief. The matter was arranged with the tribunes and due notice given; but a different dispute had claimed men's attention.

Gaius Sempronius Blaesus,[1] having named a day for the trial, was inveighing against Gnaeus Fulvius in harangues, because of the loss of his army in Apulia, insisting that many generals out of recklessness and lack of experience had led their

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citum in locum praecipitem perduxisse[1] dictitans,
8 neminem praeter Cn. Fulvium ante conrupisse omnibus vitiis legiones suas quam proderet. Itaque vere dici posse prius eos perisse quam viderent hostem, nec ab Hannibale, sed ab imperatore suo victos esse.
9 Neminem, cum suffragium ineat, satis cernere cui imperium, cui exercitum permittat. Quid interfuisse inter Ti. Sempronium et Cn. Fulvium? Ti. Sem-
10 pronium,[2] cum ei servorum exercitus datus esset, brevi effecisse disciplina atque imperio ut nemo eorum generis ac sanguinis sui memor in acie esset,[3] praesidio sociis, hostibus terrori essent; Cumas, Beneventum aliasque urbes eos velut e faucibus
11 Hannibalis ereptas populo Romano restituisse: Cn. Fulvium Quiritium Romanorum exercitum, honeste genitos, liberaliter educatos servilibus vitiis imbuisse. Ergo effecisse ut feroces et inquieti inter socios, ignavi et inbelles inter hostes essent, nec impetum modo Poenorum, sed ne clamorem quidem sustinere
12 possent. Nec hercule mirum esse cessisse[4] milites in acie, cum primus omnium imperator fugeret:
13 magis mirari se aliquos stantis cecidisse, et non omnes comites Cn. Fulvi fuisse pavoris ac fugae. C. Flaminium, L. Paulum, L. Postumium, Cn. ac P. Scipiones cadere in acie maluisse quam deserere
14 circumventos exercitus: Cn. Fulvium prope unum

[1] perduxisse M^2? *Aldus, Luchs*: prae- $P(3)$: pro- B^2: duxisse *conj. Luchs (earlier)*.
[2] et Cn. Fulvium? Ti. Sempronium *Madvig*: *om.* $P(1)JK$.
[3] esset $P(1)JK$: esset sed *Conway*.
[4] cessisse *Alschefski*: *om.* $P(1)J$.

[1] For the battle at Beneventum see XXIV. xv. f.
[2] Here called Quirites (rare of soldiers) to heighten the contrast with slaves.

armies into a dangerous place; but that no one B.C. 211
except Gnaeus Fulvius had ruined his legions with every vice before he betrayed them. And so it could be truly said that they were lost before they saw the enemy, and that they were defeated, not by Hannibal, but by their own commander. No one, in casting his vote, he said, clearly saw to what sort of man he was entrusting a command and an army. What had been the difference between Tiberius Sempronius and Gnaeus Fulvius? Tiberius Sempronius, though he had been given an army of slaves, by his training and authority had soon brought it about that no one of them in battle remembered his class and origin, and that they were a defence to allies, a terror to enemies. They had rescued Cumae, Beneventum[1] and other cities out of the jaws of Hannibal, as it were, and restored them to the Roman people. But Gnaeus Fulvius, having an army of Roman citizens,[2] men well born and brought up as free men, had steeped them in the vices of slaves. Consequently he had accomplished this, that they were overbearing and turbulent in their dealings with allies, cowardly and unwarlike towards the enemy, and unable to withstand even the battle-cry of the Carthaginians, to say nothing of their attack. And surely it was no wonder that the soldiers had given way in battle, when their commander was the first of all to flee. He wondered more, he said, that some had fallen where they stood, and that not all had shared the consternation and flight of Gnaeus Fulvius. Gaius Flaminius, Lucius Paulus, Lucius Postumius, Gnaeus and Publius Scipio had preferred to fall in battle-line rather than to desert their entrapped armies. But Gnaeus Fulvius, almost

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nuntium deleti exercitus Romam redisse. Facinus indignum esse Cannensem exercitum, quod ex acie fugerit, in Siciliam deportatum, ne prius inde dimittatur quam hostis ex Italia decesserit, et hoc idem 15 in Cn. Fulvi legionibus nuper decretum, Cn. Fulvio fugam ex proelio ipsius temeritate commisso impunitam esse, et eum in ganea lustrisque, ubi iuventam 16 egerit, senectutem acturum, milites qui nihil aliud peccaverint quam quod imperatoris similes fuerint, relegatos prope in exsilium ignominiosam pati militiam. Adeo imparem libertatem Romae diti ac pauperi, honorato atque inhonorato esse.

III. Reus ab se culpam in milites transferebat: eos ferociter pugnam poscentis, productos in aciem non eo quo voluerint, quia serum diei fuerit, sed postero die, et tempore et loco aequo instructos, seu 2 famam seu vim hostium non sustinuisse. Cum effuse omnes fugerent, se quoque turba ablatum, ut Varronem Cannensi pugna, ut multos alios imperatores. 3 Qui [1] autem solum se restantem prodesse rei publicae, nisi si mors sua remedio publicis cladibus futura 4 esset, potuisse? [2] Non se inopia commeatus in loca iniqua incaute deductum, non agmine inexplorato euntem insidiis circumventum: vi aperta, armis, acie

[1] Qui $P(3)$: quid M^3BDAJK *Aldus*.
[2] esset, potuisse *Gronovius*: esse potuisset $P(1)JK$.

the only man to report the destruction of his army, B.C. 211
had returned to Rome. It was a shameful thing that the army of Cannae, for having escaped from the battle-line, had been deported to Sicily, not to be relieved of service there until the enemy withdrew from Italy, and that the same action had been taken recently in the case of Gnaeus Fulvius' legions; that the flight of Gnaeus Fulvius from a battle begun by his own recklessness should have gone unpunished, and he should be expecting to spend his old age in cook-shops and brothels in which he passed his youth, whereas the soldiers, whose only fault was that they were like their commander, had been all but exiled and were enduring military service in disgrace. So different was freedom at Rome for the rich and the poor, for the man who had held and the man who had not held public office!

III. The defendant shifted the blame from himself to the soldiers. They had been fiercely clamouring for battle, he said, when they were led out into line, not on the day they wished, since it was too late, but on the following day, and although drawn up at a favourable time and place, they failed to withstand the reputed or the real strength of the enemy. When they were all fleeing in disorder, he too was carried away by the crowd, as Varro in the battle of Cannae, as many other generals. How, he said, could he have been of service to the state by resisting all alone, unless his death was to be a remedy for national disasters? It was not that for lack of supplies he had been imprudently led into an unfavourable position; it was not that while advancing in column without reconnoitring he had been surprised and surrounded; it was by an open attack, by arms, by a

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victum. Nec suorum animos nec hostium in potestate habuisse: suum cuique ingenium audaciam aut pavorem facere. Bis est accusatus pecuniaque anquisitum; tertio testibus datis, cum, praeterquam quod omnibus probris onerabatur, iurati permulti dicerent fugae pavorisque initium a praetore ortum, ab eo desertos milites, cum haud vanum timorem ducis crederent, terga dedisse, tanta ira accensa est ut [1] capite anquirendum contio succlamaret. De eo quoque novum certamen ortum; nam cum bis pecunia anquisisset, tertio capitis se anquirere diceret, tribuni plebis appellati conlegae negarunt se in mora esse quo minus, quod ei more maiorum permissum esset, seu legibus seu moribus mallet, anquireret quoad vel capitis vel pecuniae iudicasset privato. Tum Sempronius perduellionis se iudicare Cn. Fulvio dixit, diemque comitiis ab C. Calpurnio praetore urbano petit. Inde alia spes ab reo temptata est, si adesse in iudicio Q. Fulvius frater posset, florens tum et fama rerum gestarum et propinqua spe Capuae potiundae. Id cum per litteras miserabiliter pro fratris capite scriptas petisset Fulvius, negassentque patres e re publica esse abscedi a Capua,

[1] ut *P*(1) *Aldus*: ut id *A*[4]*JKz*.

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[1] At the first and again at the second hearing the accuser (Blaesus) stated the charge and the penalty demanded in case of conviction.

[2] Namely, the right to demand a severer punishment, after having twice announced that it would be a fine.

[3] *I.e.* by Fulvius.

[4] For a similar procedure cf. XXV. iii. 13 ff.

[5] The *comitia centuriata*, for the fourth hearing and a final verdict by popular vote. Cicero enumerates the formalities required, including the *quarta accusatio*; *de Domo* 45.

battle-line that he had been defeated. Neither the B.C. 211
spirit of his own men nor that of the enemy had been under his control: every man's own temperament, he said, produces boldness or consternation. Twice he was accused and a fine required;[1] at the third hearing witnesses were furnished, and he was not only loaded with every kind of reproach, but also many swore that the beginning of flight and panic was made by the praetor; that the soldiers, deserted by him, in the belief that the general's fear was not unfounded, had retreated. Thereupon such anger was kindled that the assembly shouted that the magistrate must demand a capital penalty. On that point[2] also a fresh dispute began. For when the accuser, having twice demanded a fine, said at the third hearing that he demanded capital punishment, the tribunes were appealed to.[3] And they said that they would not stand in their colleague's way, to prevent him from doing what was permitted him by ancestral custom, that is, from making his demand either according to the laws or according to custom, as he preferred, until he should condemn the defendant either to capital punishment or to pay a fine.[4] Upon that Sempronius said he judged Gnaeus Fulvius guilty of treason and asked of Gaius Calpurnius, the city praetor, a day for the assembly.[5] Then the defendant had recourse to another hope, in case his brother Quintus Fulvius might be able to attend at the trial, as he was then influential both from the fame of his successes and from the hope, now almost fulfilled, of taking Capua. After Fulvius had written a pitiful letter in that sense on behalf of his brother's life, and the senators had declared that leaving Capua was not to the interest of the state,

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12 postquam dies comitiorum aderat, Cn. Fulvius exsulatum Tarquinios abiit. Id ei iustum exsilium esse scivit plebs.

IV. Inter haec vis omnis belli versa in Capuam erat; obsidebatur tamen acrius quam oppugnabatur, nec aut famem tolerare servitia ac plebs poterant aut mittere nuntios ad Hannibalem per custodias 2 tam artas. Inventus est Numida qui acceptis litteris evasurum se professus praestaret promissum. Per media Romana castra nocte egressus spem accendit Campanis, dum aliquid virium superesset, ab omni 3 parte eruptionem temptandi. Ceterum in multis certaminibus equestria proelia ferme prospera faciebant, pedite [1] superabantur. Sed nequaquam tam laetum vincere quam triste vinci ulla parte erat ab 4 obsesso et prope expugnato hoste. Inita tandem ratio est ut quod viribus deerat arte aequaretur. Ex omnibus legionibus electi sunt iuvenes maxime vigore ac levitate corporum veloces; eis parmae breviores quam equestres et septena iacula quaternos longa pedes data, praefixa ferro quale hastis velitaribus 5 inest. Eos singulos in equos suos accipientes equites adsuefecerunt et vehi post sese et desilire perniciter, 6 ubi datum signum esset. Postquam [2] adsuetudine cotidiana satis intrepide fieri visum est, in campum qui medius inter castra murumque erat adversus

[1] pedite *Gronovius*: pedites *P*(1)*JK*.
[2] Postquam *P*(1)*JK*: postquam id *Koch*: id postquam *M. Müller*.

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[1] Cf. the similar plebiscite XXV. iv. 9.
[2] *I.e.* to the Romans.
[3] Such had been mentioned in XXI. lv. 11, at the Trebia. But they were not combined with the cavalry.

when the day for the assembly was at hand Gnaeus B.C. 211
Fulvius went into exile at Tarquinii. The plebs voted that his exile was legal.[1]

IV. Meanwhile the whole effort of the war had been directed against Capua. But it was rather an intensive blockade than a series of assaults, and the slaves and commoners were unable either to endure hunger or to send messengers to Hannibal through guards so near to each other. A Numidian was discovered who took a letter, declared that he would make his way out, and kept his promise. Going out right through the Roman camp at night he inspired in the Capuans the hope that, while they still had some strength left, they might attempt a sally in all directions. But in the many engagements they were as a rule successful in cavalry battles, while in infantry they were worsted. To be victorious, however, was by no means so cheering[2] as it was depressing to be vanquished at any point by a beleaguered and almost captured enemy. At length a method was devised, so that what was lacking to their strength might be compensated by skilful tactics. Out of all the legions were picked young men who by reason of strength and lightness of build were the swiftest. These were furnished with round shields of smaller size than those used by cavalry, and seven javelins apiece four feet long and having iron heads such as are on the spears of the light-armed troops.[3] The horsemen would each of them take one of these men on to their own horses, and they trained them both to ride behind and to leap down nimbly when the signal was given. When thanks to daily practice they seemed to do this with sufficient daring, they advanced into the plain which lay half-way between the camp and

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7 instructos Campanorum equites processerunt, et, ubi ad coniectum teli ventum est, signo dato velites desiliunt. Pedestris inde acies ex equitatu repente in hostium equites incurrit, iaculaque cum impetu alia
8 super alia emittunt. Quibus plurimis in equos virosque passim coniectis permultos volneraverunt; pavoris tamen plus ex re nova atque inopinata iniectum est, et in perculsum hostem equites invecti fugam stragemque eorum usque ad portas fecerunt.
9 Inde equitatu quoque superior Romana res fuit;
10 institutum [1] ut velites in legionibus essent. Auctorem peditum equiti inmiscendorum centurionem Q. Navium ferunt,[2] honorique id ei apud imperatorem fuisse.

V. Cum in hoc statu ad Capuam res essent, Hannibalem diversum [3] Tarentinae arcis potiundae Capuae-
2 que retinendae trahebant curae. Vicit tamen respectus Capuae, in quam omnium sociorum hostiumque conversos videbat animos, documento futurae, qualemcumque eventum defectio ab Romanis habuisset.
3 Igitur magna parte impedimentorum relicta in Bruttiis et omni graviore armatu,[4] cum delectis peditum equitumque quam poterat aptissimus [5] ad maturandum iter in Campaniam contendit. Secuti tamen tam raptim euntem tres et triginta elephanti.
4 In valle occulta post Tifata, montem imminentem

[1] institutum $P(1)JK$: et institutum *Ussing*.
[2] ferunt $P(3)M^1$ *Aldus* : tradunt A^2JKz : fuerunt *RM*.
[3] diversum $P(1)JK$: in diversum C^1M^1x *Aldus*.

the city-wall in the face of the Capuan cavalry in battle-line. And when they had come within range, at a given signal the light-armed leaped to the ground. Thereupon an infantry line suddenly dashes out from the cavalry at the enemy's horsemen, and while attacking they hurl one javelin after another. By throwing a great number of these against horses and men in all directions, they wounded very many. But more consternation was created by the strange and the unexpected, and the cavalry charging into the frightened enemy caused them to flee with slaughter all the way to the gates. Thereafter the Roman side was superior in cavalry also; it was made the practice to have light-armed in the legions. The originator of combining infantry with cavalry they say was Quintus Navius, a centurion, and that for so doing honour was paid him by the general. B.C. 211

V. While matters stood thus at Capua, Hannibal was drawn in opposite directions by the desire to take the citadel of Tarentum and to hold Capua. However, regard for Capua prevailed, a city on which he saw that the attention of all his allies and enemies was concentrated, and one destined to be a striking example, whatever might be the result of its revolt from the Romans. Accordingly, leaving in the land of the Bruttii a large part of his baggage and all the heavy-armed, with picked infantry and cavalry he hastened into Campania in the best possible condition for a rapid march. In spite of his swift movement thirty-three elephants managed to follow him. He encamped in a closed valley behind Tifata, a moun-

[4] armatu $P(1)$ *Gronovius*: armatura $C^2M^1A^sJKz$.
[5] aptissimus $P(3)B^1J$: -is M^1A^sKx *Aldus*.

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Capuae, consedit. Adveniens cum castellum Galatiam praesidio vi pulso cepisset, in circumsedentis
5 Capuam se vertit, praemissisque nuntiis Capuam, quo tempore castra Romana adgressurus esset, ut eodem et illi ad eruptionem parati portis omnibus
6 sese effunderent, ingentem praebuit terrorem. Nam alia parte ipse adortus est, alia Campani omnes, equites peditesque, et cum iis Punicum praesidium, cui Bostar et Hanno praecrant, erupit.
7 Romani ut in re trepida, ne ad unam concurrendo partem aliquid indefensi relinquerent, ita inter sese
8 copias partiti sunt: Ap. Claudius Campanis, Fulvius Hannibali est oppositus: C. Nero propraetor cum equitibus sex legionum via quae Suessulam fert, C. Fulvius Flaccus legatus cum sociali equitatu
9 constitit e regione Volturni amnis. Proelium non solito modo clamore ac tumultu est coeptum, sed ad alium virorum, equorum armorumque sonum disposita in muris Campanorum inbellis multitudo tantum cum aeris crepitu, qualis in defectu lunae silenti nocte cieri solet, edidit clamorem ut averteret [1]
10 etiam pugnantium animos. Campanos facile a vallo Appius arcebat: maior vis ab altera parte Fulvium
11 Hannibal et Poeni urgebant. Legio ibi sexta loco cessit, qua pulsa cohors Hispanorum cum tribus elephantis usque ad vallum pervasit, ruperatque

[1] averteret $P(1)JK$: adverteret x *Muretus.*

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[1] Unknown; not to be confused with Calatia, a city which had revolted in 216 B.C. (XXII. lxi. 11), and was not recovered by the Romans until later in this year, 211 B.C. (xvi. 5).

[2] Cf. Tacitus *Annals* I. xxviii: Plutarch *Aemilius* xvii. 4; Pliny *N.H.* II. 54.

tain commanding Capua. As he approached, he B.C. 211
first captured the stronghold of Galatia,[1] overpowering its garrison, and then directed his march against the besiegers of Capua. And sending word in advance to Capua, stating at what time he proposed to attack the Roman camp, so that they also, making ready for a sally, might at the same time burst out of all the gates, he inspired great alarm. For on one side he himself attacked, on the other all the Capuans, cavalry and infantry, sallied out, and with them the Carthaginian garrison, commanded by Bostar and Hanno.

The Romans in their alarm, so as not to leave one point undefended by rushing in the same direction, divided their forces among them as follows: Appius Claudius was placed facing the Capuans, Fulvius facing Hannibal: Gaius Nero, the propraetor, with the cavalry of six legions took his place along the road leading to Suessula, Gaius Fulvius Flaccus, the lieutenant, with the cavalry of the allies in the direction of the river Volturnus. The battle began not only with the usual shouting and uproar, but, in addition to the noise of men and horses and arms, the non-combatant populace of Capua disposed along the walls produced so much shouting, together with the clashing of bronze,[2] such as is usually kept up in the still night of a lunar eclipse, as to divert the attention even of the combatants. Appius was easily keeping the Capuans away from the earthwork of the camp; on the other side a larger force, Hannibal and the Carthaginians, were pressing Fulvius. There the sixth legion gave way, and after it had been forced back, a cohort of Spaniards with three elephants managed even to reach the earth-

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mediam aciem Romanorum et in ancipiti spe ac periculo erat utrum in castra perrumperet an interclu-
12 deretur a suis. Quem pavorem legionis periculumque castrorum Fulvius ubi vidit, Q. Navium primoresque alios centurionum hortatur ut cohortem hostium sub
13 vallo pugnantem invadant: in summo discrimine rem verti; aut viam dandam iis esse—et minore conatu quam condensam aciem rupissent[1] in castra
14 inrupturos—aut conficiendos sub vallo esse. Nec magni certaminis rem fore; paucos esse et ab suis interclusos, et quae. dum paveat Romanus, interrupta acies videatur, eam. si se utrimque[2] in hostem vertat,
15 ancipiti pugna medios circumventuram. Navius ubi haec imperatoris dicta accepit, secundi hastati signum ademptum signifero in hostis infert, iacturum in medios eos minitans, ni se propere sequantur
16 milites et partem capessant pugnae. Ingens corpus erat et arma honestabant; et sublatum alte signum
17 converterat ad spectaculum cives hostesque. Ceterum postquam iam ad signa pervenerat Hispanorum, tum undique in eum tragulae coniectae et prope tota in unum acies versa; sed neque multitudo hostium neque telorum vis arcere impetum eius viri potuerunt.[3]

VI. Et M. Atilius legatus primi principis ex eadem

[1] rupissent *Crévier*: inrupissent $P(3)A^{z}JK$ *Aldus*.
[2] utrimque $PCM^{1}z$: utrumque *RMBDAJK*.
[3] potuerunt $P(3)$ *Aldus*: potuit *AJKz*.

work, and had broken through the Roman centre, B.C. 211
and wavered between the hope of breaking through into the camp and the danger of being cut off from their own troops. Fulvius, on seeing the alarm of the legion and the danger to the camp, bade Quintus Navius and other first centurions to attack the cohort of the enemy fighting beneath the earthwork. He said that it was a very critical moment; that either they must be allowed to pass—and it would be less of an effort for them to burst into the camp than it had been to break through the solid line—or else they must be disposed of beneath the earthwork. Also that it would not involve much fighting; they were few and cut off from their own men; and if the battle-line, which in the panic of the Romans seemed to have been broken through, should face against the enemy from both sides, it would enclose them between two fronts. Navius, on hearing these words of the commander, snatched a standard of the second maniple of the *hastati* from the standard-bearer and carried it towards the enemy, threatening that he would throw it into their midst if the soldiers did not quickly follow him and take a hand in the battle. A huge frame he had, and his arms added distinction; and the standard held aloft had attracted citizens and enemies to the sight. But when he had pushed through to the standards of the Spaniards, spears were then hurled at him from every side, and almost the entire line turned against him alone. But neither the numbers of the enemy nor the mass of weapons could beat off the attack of such a man.

VI. And Marcus Atilius, the lieutenant, started to carry the standard of the first maniple of the *prin-*

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legione signum inferre in cohortem Hispanorum coepit; et qui castris praeerant, L. Porcius Licinus et T. Popilius legati, pro vallo acriter propugnant elephantosque transgredientes in ipso vallo conficiunt. 2 Quorum corporibus cum oppleta fossa esset, velut aggere aut ponte iniecto transitum hostibus dedit. Ibi per[1] stragem iacentium elephantorum atrox 3 edita caedes. Altera in parte castrorum iam inpulsi erant Campani Punicumque praesidium et sub ipsa porta Capuae quae Volturnum fert pugnabatur; 4 neque tam armati inrumpentibus Romanis resistebant, quam porta ballistis scorpionibusque instructa missi- 5 libus procul hostis arcebat. Et suppressit impetum Romanorum volnus imperatoris Ap. Claudi, cui suos ante prima signa adhortanti sub laevo umero summum pectus gaeso ictum est. Magna vis tamen hostium ante portam est caesa, ceteri trepidi in 6 urbem conpulsi. Et Hannibal, postquam cohortis Hispanorum stragem vidit summaque vi castra hostium defendi, omissa oppugnatione recipere signa et convertere agmen peditum obiecto ab tergo 7 equitatu, ne hostis instaret, coepit. Legionum ardor ingens ad hostem insequendum fuit: Flaccus receptui cani iussit, satis ad utrumque profectum

[1] per *P*(1)*JK*: super *Ussing*.

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[1] In the second line, advancing to aid the *hastati*.

[2] A stronghold recently fortified at the mouth of the river Volturnus, later a city; cf. XXV. xx. 2.

cipes[1] of the same legion towards the cohort of B.C. 211
Spaniards, and at the same time Lucius Porcius Licinus and Titus Popilius, the lieutenants in command of the camp, fought with spirit on the earthwork and slew the elephants directly on the wall, as they were trying to cross. When the trench was filled with their bodies, it furnished the enemy with a passage, just as if an embankment or a bridge had been thrown over it. There, all over the heap of fallen elephants, a terrible slaughter ensued. On the other side of the camp the Capuans and the Carthaginian garrison had already been repulsed, and fighting was going on just outside the gate of Capua leading toward Volturnum.[2] And it was not so much the armed men that were resisting the Romans trying to burst in, as that the gate, armed with larger and smaller artillery, kept the enemy back by missiles hurled from a distance. The attack of the Romans was further checked by the wounding of Appius Claudius, the general encouraging his men at the front, when the upper part of his chest was struck by a javelin below the left shoulder. Nevertheless a great number of the enemy were slain before the gate, and the rest driven in disorder into the city. Hannibal likewise, seeing the slaughter of the Spanish cohort, and that the enemy's camp was being defended with the utmost vigour, gave up the attack upon it and began to recall his standards and to make his infantry beat a retreat, while interposing his cavalry in the rear, to prevent the enemy from pursuing. The legions showed great eagerness to pursue the enemy; but Flaccus ordered the recall to be sounded, thinking that enough had been accom-

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ratus, ut et Campani quam haud multum in Hannibale
8 praesidii esset, et ipse Hannibal sentiret. Caesa eo die quidam[1], qui huius pugnae auctores sunt, octo milia hominum de Hannibalis exercitu, tria ex Campanis tradunt, signaque Carthaginiensibus quindecim adempta, duodeviginti Campanis.

9 Apud alios nequaquam tantam molem pugnae inveni[2] plusque pavoris quam certaminis fuisse, cum inopinato in castra Romana Numidae Hispanique
10 cum elephantis inrupissent, elephanti per media castra vadentes stragem tabernaculorum ingenti sonitu ac fugam abrumpentium vincula iumentorum
11 facerent; fraudem quoque super tumultum adiectam, inmissis ab Hannibale qui habitu Italico gnari Latinae linguae iuberent consulum verbis, quoniam amissa castra essent, pro se quemque militum in
12 proxumos montes fugere; sed eam celeriter cognitam fraudem oppressamque magna caede hostium;
13 elephantos igni e castris exactos. Hoc ultimum, utcumque initum finitumque est, ante deditionem Capuae proelium fuit.

Medix tuticus, qui summus magistratus apud Campanos est, eo anno Seppius Loesius erat, loco
14 obscuro tenuique fortuna ortus. Matrem eius quondam pro pupillo eo procurantem familiare ostentum, cum respondisset haruspex summum quod esset imperium Capuae perventurum ad eum puerum, nihil ad eam spem adgnoscentem dixisse

[1] quidam *Luchs*: *om.* *P*(1)*JK Conway*.
[2] inveni *P*: inveniri P^{2}?(1): invenio $A^{s}JKz$.

[1] No doubt chiefly Valerius Antias; Vol. VI., p. 492, n. 2; below, xlix. 3, 5.
[2] Meaning proconsuls.
[3] Cf. XXIII. xxxv. 13; XXIV. xix. 2.

plished for both purposes—that the Campanians B.C. 211
should appreciate how little defence they had in Hannibal, and that Hannibal himself should be aware of it. Some of the authorities [1] on this battle relate that eight thousand men were slain in Hannibal's army, three thousand in the Campanian, and that fifteen standards were taken from the Carthaginians and eighteen from the Campanians.

In other writers I have found that the battle was by no means on such a scale, but that there was more panic than fighting, when Numidians and Spaniards with elephants had burst into the Roman camp unexpectedly, and while the elephants, on their way straight through the camp, were causing wreckage of tents in the midst of a terrible din, and making the beasts of burden break their halters and flee; that, in addition to the uproar, there was also a ruse; for Hannibal sent in men in Italian dress and acquainted with the Latin language, to bid the soldiers, in the name of the consuls,[2] each for himself to flee to the neighbouring mountains, since the camp had been taken; but that the ruse was quickly recognized and frustrated with great loss to the enemy; that the elephants were driven out of the camp by the use of fire. In whatever way it began and ended, this was the last battle before the surrender of Capua.

As *medix tuticus*,[3] which is the highest office among the Campanians, Seppius Loesius was serving that year, though born in a humble station and having slender means. They say that his mother on his behalf as a minor was once expiating a household portent, and when the soothsayer had given his answer that the very highest authority at Capua would come to that boy, she, finding nothing to

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15 ferunt: "Ne tu perditas res Campanorum narras, ubi summus honos ad filium meum perveniet." 16 Ea ludificatio veri et ipsa in verum vertit; nam cum fame ferroque urgerentur nec spes ulla superesset sisti posse,[1] iis qui nati[2] in spem honorum erant 17 honores detrectantibus, Loesius querendo desertam ac proditam a primoribus Capuam, summum magistratum ultimus omnium Campanorum cepit.

VII. Ceterum Hannibal, ut nec hostis elici amplius ad pugnam vidit neque per castra eorum perrumpi ad 2 Capuam posse, ne suos quoque commeatus intercluderent novi consules, abscedere ~~inrito incepto~~ et 3 movere a Capua statuit castra. Multa secum quonam[3] inde ire pergeret volventi subiit animum impetus caput ipsum belli Romam petendi, cuius rei semper cupitae praetermissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et alii volgo[4] fremebant et ipse 4 non dissimulabat: necopinato pavore ac tumultu non esse desperandum aliquam partem urbis occu- 5 pari posse; et si Roma in discrimine esset, Capuam extemplo omissuros aut ambo imperatores Romanos aut alterum ex iis, et si divisissent copias, utrumque infirmiorem factum aut sibi aut Campanis bene 6 gerendae rei fortunam daturos esse. Una ea cura angebat ne, ubi abscessisset, extemplo dederentur Campani. Numidam promptum ad omnia audenda agendaque[5] donis perlicit ut litteris acceptis specie

[1] posse *Alschefski*: *om. P*(1)*JK*.
[2] iis qui nati *z Alschefski*: *om. P*(1)*JK*.
[3] quonam *A*[1]*JK Aldus*: quo iam *P*(1)*A*[2]*z*.
[4] volgo *P*: *om. Madvig, Hertz, Conway, without giving reason or citing MSS.*
[5] agendaque *Wesenberg*: que *P*(3): *om. M*[1]*DAJK Conway*.

justify that hope, said "Surely you mean the ruin B.C. 211
of the Campanians, when the highest office shall come to my son." That mockery of a true prediction also came true. For when they were hard pressed by starvation and the sword, and there remained no hope that they could hold out, while those who were born to the expectation of public offices were refusing them, Loesius, who complained that Capua had been abandoned and betrayed by its leading men, was the last of all the Campanians to receive their highest magistracy.

VII. But Hannibal, seeing that it was impossible either to tempt the enemy into battle again, or to break a way through their camp to Capua, for fear the new consuls should cut off his supplies also, resolved to retire without accomplishing his undertaking and to move his camp away from Capua. While carefully considering whither he should remove, the impulse came to him to proceed to Rome, the very centre of the war. It was something which he had always desired to do, but after the battle of Cannae he had let the opportunity pass, as others commonly complained, and as he himself frequently admitted. In unexpected alarm and confusion it need not be beyond his hopes that some part of the city could be seized. And if Rome should be in danger, he thought that either both of the Roman commanders or one of them would at once abandon Capua: and that if they should divide their forces, each being weakened would give either himself or the Capuans the chance of success. Only one concern tormented him, the fear that as soon as he had withdrawn, the Capuans might at once be surrendered. A Numidian who was ready to dare and do anything was induced

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transfugae castra Romana ingressus, altera parte
7 clam Capuam pervadat. Litterae autem erant adhortatione plenae: profectionem suam, quae salutaris illis foret, abstracturam ad defendendam Romam ab oppugnanda Capua duces atque exercitus
8 Romanos. Ne desponderent animos; tolerando
9 paucos dies totam soluturos obsidionem. Inde navis in flumine Volturno conprehensas subigi ad id quod iam ante praesidii causa fecerat castellum iussit.
10 Quarum ubi tantam copiam esse ut una nocte traici posset exercitus allatum est, cibariis decem dierum praeparatis deductas nocte ad fluvium legiones ante lucem traiecit.

VIII. Id priusquam fieret, ita futurum conpertum ex transfugis Fulvius Flaccus senatui Romam cum scripsisset, varie animi hominum[1] pro cuiusque
2 ingenio adfecti sunt. Ut in re tam trepida senatu extemplo vocato, P. Cornelius cui Asinae cognomen erat omnes duces exercitusque ex tota Italia, neque Capuae neque ullius alterius rei memor, ad urbis
3 praesidium revocabat. Fabius Maximus abscedi a Capua terrerique et circumagi ad nutus commina-
4 tionesque Hannibalis flagitiosum ducebat:[2] qui ad Cannas victor ire tamen ad urbem ausus non esset, eum a Capua repulsum spem potiundae urbis Romae

[1] animi hominum *P*(3): hominum animi *AJK Aldus*.
[2] ducebat *P*(1): dicebat *JK*.

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[1] To protect his passage: not the same *castellum* as in vi. 3.
[2] He had been consul before this war, in 221 B.C.; cf. XXII. xxxiv. 1.

by Hannibal's gifts to take a letter, enter the Roman B.C. 211
camp under the guise of a deserter, and then from the other side of the camp make his way in secret to Capua. And the letter was filled with encouragements. His departure, Hannibal said, which would be of advantage to them, would draw off the Roman generals and armies from the siege of Capua to the defence of Rome. They should not be downcast; by holding out for a few days they would cause the entire blockade to be raised. He then ordered that boats on the Volturnus should be seized and rowed up to the fort which he had previously built for a defence.[1] And when word came that the number of these was such that his army could be ferried across in a single night, he had food prepared for ten days, led his legions down to the river by night, and transported them across before daylight.

VIII. Before this happened Fulvius Flaccus had learned from deserters that it was to be done, and had so written to the senate at Rome: whereupon men's feelings were differently stirred according to their several natures. As was natural in so alarming a situation, the senate was at once summoned, and Publius Cornelius, surnamed Asina,[2] with no thought of Capua or of anything else, was for recalling all the generals and armies from the whole of Italy for the defence of the city. But Fabius Maximus thought it a shameful thing to withdraw from Capua, to be frightened and led about at the beck of Hannibal and in response to his threats. To think, he said, that the man who, though victor at Cannae, had not ventured to go to the city, on being beaten back from Capua should have conceived the hope of capturing the city of

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5 cepisse! Non ad Romam obsidendam, sed ad Capuae liberandam obsidionem ire. Romam cum eo exercitu qui ad urbem esset Iovem foederum ruptorum ab Hannibale testem deosque alios defensuros esse. 6 Has diversas sententias media sententia P. Valerii Flacci vicit, qui utriusque rei memor imperatoribus qui ad Capuam essent scribendum censuit quid ad urbem praesidii esset; quantas autem Hannibal copias duceret aut quanto exercitu ad Capuam 7 obsidendam opus esset, ipsos scire. Si ita[1] Romam e ducibus alter et exercitus pars mitti posset, ut ab reliquo et duce et exercitu Capua recte obsideretur, 8 inter se compararent Claudius Fulviusque utri obsidenda Capua, utri ad prohibendam obsidione patriam 9 Romam veniundum esset. Hoc senatus consulto Capuam perlato Q. Fulvius proconsul, cui, collega ex volnere aegro, redeundum[2] Romam erat, e tribus exercitibus milite electo, ad quindecim milia 10 peditum, mille equites Volturnum traducit. Inde cum Hannibalem Latina via iturum satis comperisset, ipse per Appiae municipia quaeque propter eam viam 11 sunt. Setiam. Coram, Lavinium praemisit, ut commeatus paratos et in urbibus haberent et ex agris deviis in viam proferrent, praesidiaque in urbes contraherent, ut sua cuique res publica in manu esset.

IX. Hannibal quo die Volturnum est transgressus,

[1] Si ita *Alschefski*: sieta *PCR*: si et $C^{2}R^{1?}MBDAJK$ *Aldus*.

[2] aegro, redeundum *Walters*: aegro eundum C^{2}: aegrediundum *PR*; egrediundum $CR^{2}MBDAJKz$ (-endum *JK*).

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[1] Consul 227 B.C.; ambassador to Hannibal at Saguntum, and to Carthage 218 B.C.; XXI. vi. 8.

Rome! It was not to besiege Rome that he was on B.C. 211
the march, but to raise the siege of Capua. As for Rome, Jupiter, witness of the treaties broken by Hannibal, and the other gods would defend her with the aid of the army stationed at the city. These conflicting motions were defeated by the compromise of Publius Valerius Flaccus,[1] who, mindful of both situations, proposed that they write to the generals at Capua, informing them what forces there were to defend the city; on the other hand, what forces Hannibal was taking with him or how large an army was needed for the siege of Capua they themselves knew. If one of the two generals and a part of the army could be sent to Rome, provided Capua should be duly besieged by the general and army remaining, then let Claudius and Fulvius arrange between them which of the two must besiege Capua, and which must come to Rome to prevent a siege of their native city. When this decree of the senate was brought to Capua, Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, who, since his colleague was disabled by a wound, was obliged to return to Rome, after picking soldiers from three armies, led about fifteen thousand infantry and a thousand horsemen across the Volturnus. Thence, on learning definitely that Hannibal would march along the Latin Way, he himself sent word in advance to the towns along the Appian Way and such as are near that road, Setia, Cora, Lavinium, that they should have supplies on hand in the cities and also bring them down from farms at a distance to the road, and bring garrisons into the cities, so that each might have the defence of its public interests in hand.

IX. Hannibal on the day that he crossed the Vol-

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haud procul a flumine castra posuit: postero die praeter Cales in agrum Sidicinum pervenit. Ibi diem unum populando moratus per Suessanum Allifanumque et Casinatem agrum via Latina ducit. Sub Casino [1] biduo stativa habita et passim populationes factae. Inde praeter Interamnam Aquinumque in Fregellanum agrum ad Lirim fluvium ventum, ubi intercisum pontem a Fregellanis morandi itineris causa invenit. Et Fulvium Volturnus tenuerat amnis, navibus ab Hannibale incensis, rates ad traiciendum exercitum in magna inopia materiae aegre comparantem. Traiecto ratibus exercitu, relicum Fulvio expeditum iter, non per urbes modo sed circa viam expositis benigne commeatibus, erat; alacresque milites alius alium ut adderet gradum, memor ad defendendam iri [2] patriam, hortabantur. Romam Fregellanus nuntius, diem noctemque itinere continuato, ingentem attulit terrorem. Tumultuosius quam allatum erat volgatum periculum discursu [3] hominum adfingentium vana auditis totam urbem concitat. Ploratus mulierum non ex privatis solum domibus exaudiebatur, sed undique matronae in publicum effusae circa deum delubra discurrunt, crinibus passis aras verrentes, nixae genibus, supinas manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantesque ut urbem Romanam e manibus hostium eriperent

[1] Casino *Ussing*: Casinum *P*(1)*JK*.
[2] iri *PCR*: ire R^2*MDAJK Aldus*: irae *B*.
[3] volgatum periculum dis- *Conway*: propagatum dis- *Madvig*: *om. P*(1)*JK, a lost line, these having simply* cursu *or other cases of the same word.*

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[1] Near Fregellae the Via Latina crossed the Liris, after steadily approaching it most of the way from Casinum.

turnus pitched camp not far from the river; on the next day he made his way past Cales into the region of the Sidicini. There he lingered one day devastating the country, and then led along the Latin Way through the territory of Suessa, Allifae and Casinum. Before Casinum he remained encamped two days, and ravaged the country in all directions. Then passing Interamna and Aquinum he came into the region of Fregellae as far as the river Liris,[1] where he found the bridge broken down by the men of Fregellae, to delay his march. Fulvius too had been detained by the river Volturnus, as the boats had been burned by Hannibal, and he had difficulty in getting together rafts for the transporting of his army, owing to the great scarcity of timber. After the army had been carried across on rafts, the rest of Fulvius' march was unhampered, as supplies had been generously set out for them not only in the cities, but also by the roadside. And the eager soldiers kept encouraging one another to quicken their pace, remembering that they were marching to defend their native city. To Rome a messenger from Fregellae, riding on for a day and a night, brought great alarm. Still greater confusion than at its first reception was occasioned by news of the danger spread by men who ran about, adding unfounded reports to what they had heard, and it stirred the entire city. The wailings of women were heard not only from private houses, but from every direction matrons pour into the streets and run about among the shrines of the gods, sweeping the altars with their dishevelled hair, kneeling, holding up their palms to heaven and the gods, and praying them to rescue the city of Rome from the hands of the enemy and to

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matresque Romanas et liberos parvos inviolatos serva-
9 rent. Senatus magistratibus in foro praesto est, si quid consulere[1] velint. Alii accipiunt imperia discedunt que ad suas quisque officiorum partes, alii offerunt se, si quo usus operae sit. Praesidia in arce, in Capitolio, in muris, circa urbem, in monte etiam
10 Albano atque arce Aefulana ponuntur. Inter hunc tumultum Q. Fulvium proconsulem profectum cum exercitu Capua adfertur; cui ne minueretur imperium, si in urbem venisset, decernit senatus ut Q.
11 Fulvio par cum consulibus imperium esset. Hannibal, infestius perpopulato agro Fregellano propter intercisos pontis, per Frusinatem Ferentinatemque et
12 Anagninum agrum in Labicanum venit. Inde Algido Tusculum petiit, nec receptus moenibus infra Tusculum dextrorsus Gabios descendit. Inde in Pupiniam exercitu demisso octo milia passuum ab
13 Roma posuit castra. Quo propius hostis accedebat, eo maior caedes fiebat fugientium praecedentibus Numidis, pluresque omnium generum atque aetatium capiebantur.

X. In hoc tumultu Fulvius Flaccus porta Capena cum exercitu Romam ingressus, media urbe per Carinas Esquilias contendit: inde egressus inter Esquilinam Collinamque portam posuit castra.
2 Aediles plebis commeatum eo comportarunt; con-

[1] consulere C^4A^1JK: consule PCR: consules R^2MDBA.

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[1] Aefula, not far from Tibur, disappeared early, but gave its name to the Mons Aeflanus, which in Domitian's time (A.D. 88) was pierced by a long tunnel for the Aqua Claudia.

[2] According to Livy it had been a colony since 418 B.C.; IV. xlvii. 6; xlix 6.

[3] Between Rome and Tusculum. From it came the name of the tribus Pupinia; Festus p. 264 L.

keep Roman mothers and little children unharmed. B.C. 211
The senate is ready in the Forum for the magistrates, in case they wish its advice about anything. Some receive commands and depart each to the duty assigned him; others volunteer, if there be any need of their services. Garrisons are posted on the Citadel, on the Capitol, on the walls, around the city, also on the Alban Mount and on the citadel of Aefula.[1] In the midst of this turmoil word comes that Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, has set out from Capua with an army. And that his military power may not be annulled if he should come into the city, the senate decrees that Quintus Fulvius shall have equal authority with the consuls. Hannibal, after laying waste the territory of Fregellae more ruthlessly on account of the breaking down of the bridges, came through the districts of Frusino and Ferentinum and Anagnia into that of Labici.[2] Then over Mount Algidus he went to Tusculum, and not being admitted to the city, he descended toward the right below Tusculum to Gabii. Thence he led his army down into the Pupinian district[3] and pitched camp eight miles distant from Rome. The nearer the enemy approached the greater was the slaughter of fugitives, as the Numidians were in the lead, and the greater was the number of the captured of every class and age.

X. In this confusion Fulvius Flaccus entered Rome with his army by the Porta Capena,[4] and hastened through the centre of the city by way of the Carinae to the Esquiline. Then going out he pitched his camp between Porta Esquilina and Porta Collina. The plebeian aediles brought supplies thither: the

[4] Cf. XXV. xl. 3.

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sules senatusque in castra venerunt; ibi de summa re publica consultatum. Placuit consules circa portas Collinam Esquilinamque ponere castra; C. Calpurnium praetorem urbanum Capitolio atque arci praeesse, et senatum frequentem in foro contineri, si quid in tam subitis rebus consulto opus esset. 3 Inter haec Hannibal ad Anienem fluvium tria milia passuum ab urbe castra admovit. Ibi stativis positis ipse cum duobus milibus equitum ad portam Collinam usque ad Herculis templum est progressus atque, unde proxime poterat, moenia situmque urbis 4 obequitans contemplabatur. Id eum tam licenter atque otiose facere Flacco indignum visum est; itaque immisit equites summoverique atque in castra 5 redigi hostium equitatum iussit. Cum commissum proelium esset, consules transfugas Numidarum, qui tum in Aventino ad mille et ducenti erant, media 6 urbe transire Esquilias iusserunt, nullos aptiores inter convalles tectaque hortorum et sepulcra et cavas [1] undique vias ad pugnandum futuros rati. Quos cum ex arce Capitolioque clivo Publicio in equis decurrentis quidam vidissent, captum Aventi- 7 num conclamaverunt. Ea res tantum tumultum ac fugam praebuit ut, nisi castra Punica extra urbem fuissent, effusura se omnis pavida multitudo fuerit; tunc in domos atque in tecta refugiebant, vagosque

[1] cavas $P(3)A^{\gamma}$ *Aldus* : vacuas $B^{2}AJKz$.

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[1] Thus there would be three camps eastward of the Agger of Servius Tullius so-called, where Hannibal's attack might be anticipated.

[2] Site unknown.

[3] This street led from the northwest end of the Circus Maximus up on to the Aventine, and southward across that hill; cf. XXVII. xxxvii. 15; XXX. xxvi. 5.

consuls and the senate came to the camp; there they B.C. 211
deliberated on the most important matters of state. It was decided that the consuls should pitch their camps near the gates, Collina and Esquilina;[1] that Gaius Calpurnius, the city praetor, should be in command of the Capitol and the Citadel, and that the senate in full numbers should be kept in the Forum, in case there might be need of deliberation in such an emergency. Meanwhile Hannibal moved his camp to the river Anio, three miles from the city. There he established a permanent camp and himself with two thousand horsemen advanced toward Porta Collina as far as the Temple of Hercules,[2] and riding up surveyed the walls and situation of the city from the nearest possible point. That he should do so with such freedom and so at his leisure seemed to Flaccus a shame. Accordingly he sent his horsemen against him and ordered that the cavalry of the enemy be driven away and back into their own camp. After the engagement had begun, the consuls ordered the Numidian deserters, of whom there were at that time on the Aventine about twelve hundred, to pass through the centre of the city across the Esquiline, thinking that none were better suited to do battle in the valleys and around buildings in gardens, among tombs and along roads hemmed in on every side. When some men on the Citadel and the Capitol saw them riding down the Clivus Publicius,[3] they shouted that the Aventine had been captured. That caused so much confusion and flight that, if there had not been a Carthaginian camp outside the city, the whole panic-stricken multitude would have poured out. As it was they fled to their homes and into buildings, and as their own people

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in viis suos pro [1] hostibus lapidibus telisque incesse-
8 bant. Nec comprimi tumultus aperirique error
poterat refertis itineribus agrestium turba pecorumque quae repentinus pavor in urbem compulerat.
9 Equestre proelium secundum fuit summotique hostes
sunt. Et quia multis locis comprimendi tumultus
erant qui temere oriebantur, placuit omnes qui
dictatores, consules censoresve fuissent cum imperio
10 esse, donec recessisset a muris hostis. Et diei quod
reliquum fuit et nocte insequenti multi temere
excitati tumultus sunt compressique.

XI. Postero die transgressus Anienem Hannibal
in aciem omnis copias eduxit: nec Flaccus consu-
2 lesque certamen detrectavere. Instructis utrimque
exercitibus in eius pugnae casum in qua urbs Roma
victori praemium esset, imber ingens grandine
mixtus ita utramque aciem turbavit ut vix armis
retentis in castra sese receperint, nullius rei minore
3 quam hostium metu. Et postero die eodem loco
acies instructas eadem tempestas diremit; ubi recepissent se in castra, mira serenitas cum tranquillitate
4 oriebatur. In religionem ea res apud Poenos versa
est, auditaque vox Hannibalis fertur, potiundae sibi
urbis Romae modo mentem non dari, modo fortunam.
5 Minuere etiam spem eius duae [2] aliae, parva magnaque, res, magna illa quod, cum ipse ad moenia urbis
Romae armatus sederet, milites sub vexillis in supple-

[1] pro *A*$^{\nu}$*JK Aldus*: *om. P*(1)*x*.
[2] duae (*i.e.* ii) *Madvig*: et *P*(1)*JK*.

roamed the streets, they would hurl stones and javelins at them, as though they were enemies. Nor could the uproar be checked and their mistake revealed, since the roads were clogged by the crowd of rustics and the cattle that sudden alarm had driven into the city. The cavalry battle was successful and the enemy driven away. And because in many places disturbances which arose without reason had to be checked, it was decreed that all who had been dictators, consuls or censors should have full military power until the enemy should have retired from the walls. And in fact during the rest of the day and the following night many disturbances were provoked without reason and were checked. B.C. 211

XI. On the next day Hannibal crossed the Anio and led all his forces out into line, and Flaccus and the consuls did not refuse battle. After the armies had been drawn up on both sides for the issue of a battle in which the city of Rome was to be the prize for the victor, a great downpour mingled with hail so confused both battle-lines that, holding on to their arms with difficulty, they returned to camp, fearing everything more than the enemy. And the following day, when the lines were drawn up on the same spot, the same bad weather parted them. On both days, when they had retired to their camps, to their astonishment there came a clear sky and a calm. For the Carthaginians it became a solemn warning, and it is reported that Hannibal was heard to say that at one time the purpose to take Rome, at another the chance, was denied him. Two other things, small and great, further diminished his hope. The important thing was that he heard that, although he was sitting armed before the walls of the city of Rome, soldiers

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mentum Hispaniae profectos audiit, parva autem
6 quod per[1] eos dies eum forte agrum in quo ipse
castra haberet venisse nihil ob id deminuto pretio
7 cognitum ex quodam captivo est. Id vero adeo
superbum atque indignum visum, eius soli quod ipse
bello captum possideret haberetque inventum Romae
emptorem, ut extemplo vocato praecone tabernas
argentarias quae circa forum Romanum essent
iusserit venire.

8 His motus ad Tutiam fluvium castra rettulit, sex
milia passuum ab urbe. Inde ad lucum Feroniae
pergit ire, templum ea tempestate inclutum divitiis.
9 Capenates aliique qui[2] accolae eius erant primitias
frugum eo donaque alia pro copia portantes multo
auro argentoque id exornatum habebant. Iis
omnibus donis tum spoliatum templum; aeris
acervi, cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent,
10 post profectionem Hannibalis magni inventi. Huius
populatio templi haud dubia inter scriptores est.
Coelius Romam euntem ab Ereto devertisse eo
Hannibalem tradit, iterque eius ab Reate Cutiliisque
11 et ab Amiterno orditur: ex Campania in Samnium,
inde in Paelignos pervenisse, praeterque oppidum
Sulmonem in Marrucinos transisse, inde Albensi
agro in Marsos, hinc Amiternum Forulosque vicum

[1] per *Kz*: *om.* *P*(1)*J*.
[2] qui *x Gronovius*: *om.* *P*(1): *B*²*JK seem to have reduced* aliique qui *to* aliqui.

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[1] *I.e.* small banners hanging from a cross-bar. The ***vexillum*** was used by detachments, here by recruits, as also by cavalry; cf. XXV. xiv. 4.

[2] In southern Etruria, at the foot of Mt. Soracte; XXVII. iv. 14 f.; XXXIII. xxvi. 8.

had set out under their banners[1] to reinforce Spain. B.C. 211
And the unimportant circumstance was that he learned from a prisoner that about that time the land on which he had his camp chanced to have been sold, with no reduction in price on that account. But it seemed to him so arrogant and such an indignity that a purchaser should have been found at Rome for the ground which he had seized in war and was himself its occupier and owner, that he forthwith summoned a herald and ordered the bankers' shops which were round the Roman Forum to be sold.

Influenced by these circumstances he moved his camp back to the river Tutia, six miles from the city. Thence he proceeded to the grove of Feronia,[2] a shrine which at that time was noted for its wealth. The people of Capena and others who lived near it used to carry thither first-fruits and gifts in addition according to their means, and had kept it richly adorned with gold and silver. Of all those gifts the temple was at that time despoiled. Great heaps of bronze were found after the departure of Hannibal, since the soldiers inspired by religious fear deposited crude lumps. As to the spoiling of this temple there is no uncertainty among the historians. Coelius relates that on his way to Rome Hannibal turned aside to it from Eretum, and traces his march from Reate and Cutiliae and Amiternum. He says that from Campania he came into Samnium, thence into the land of the Paelignians, and passing the town of Sulmo, over into the country of the Marrucini; thence through the territory of Alba[3] into that of the Marsians, and then to Amiternum and the village of

[3] Alba Fucens, northwest of the Lacus Fucinus; XXX. xvii. 2.

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12 venisse. Neque ibi error est quod tanti ducis tantique [1] exercitus vestigia intra tam brevis aevi memoriam potuerint confundi—isse enim ea con-
13 stat—: tantum id interest, veneritne eo itinere ad urbem an ab urbe in Campaniam redierit.

XII. Ceterum non quantum Romanis pertinaciae ad premendam obsidione Capuam fuit, tantum ad
2 defendendam Hannibali. Namque per Samnium Apuliamque [2] et Lucanos in Bruttium agrum ad fretum ac Regium eo cursu contendit ut prope re-
3 pentino adventu incautos oppresserit. Capua etsi nihilo segnius obsessa per eos dies fuerat, tamen adventum Flacci sensit, et admiratio orta est non
4 simul regressum Hannibalem. Inde per conloquia intellexerunt relictos se desertosque et spem Capuae
5 retinendae deploratam apud Poenos esse. Accessit edictum proconsulum [3] ex senatus consulto propositum volgatumque apud hostis, ut qui civis Campanus
6 ante certam diem transisset sine fraude esset. Nec ulla facta est transitio, metu magis eos quam fide continente, quia maiora in defectione deliquerant
7 quam quibus ignosci posset. Ceterum quem ad modum nemo privato consilio ad hostem transibat,
8 ita nihil salutare in medium consulebatur. Nobilitas rem publicam deseruerant [4] neque in senatum cogi poterant; in magistratu erat qui non sibi honorem adiecisset, sed indignitate sua vim ac ius magistratui

[1] ducis tanti- *Weissenborn*: *om. P*(1)*JK*.
[2] per Samnium Apuliamque *Luchs*: *om. P*(1)*JK, a lost line.*
[3] proconsulum *x*: -lis $A^{v}K$ *Aldus*: *abbreviated in P*(1)*J*.
[4] deseruerant *P*(3): -rat $M^{1/2}AJK$ *Aldus*.

[1] Actually he avoided Campania and went on to the southernmost part of Italy: xii. 2.
[2] *I.e.* the people of Regium.

Foruli. And the uncertainty is not because the traces of so great a commander and so large an army could within the memory of so short a period have become confused, for it is agreed that he passed that way. The only difference is whether he came to the city by that route, or returned by it from the city into Campania.[1] B.C. 211

XII. But the Romans' persistence in pressing the siege of Capua was not matched by that of Hannibal in defending it. For through Samnium and Apulia and Lucania he hastened into the Bruttian region, to the strait and Regium, at such a pace as almost to overwhelm them[2] unawares by arriving suddenly. Capua, although during that time it had been besieged with no less spirit, nevertheless was aware of the coming of Flaccus, and began to wonder that Hannibal had not returned at the same time. Then by conversing with the enemy they learned that they had been deserted and abandoned, and that the hope of retaining Capua had been given up by the Carthaginians. There was also an edict of the proconsuls, posted and published among the enemy in accordance with a decree of the senate, that any Capuan citizen who changed sides before a certain date should suffer no penalty. And yet there was no changing of sides, for fear restrained them more than honour, because in their revolt they had committed offences too serious to be pardoned. But just as no one of his own motion went over to the enemy, so they made no promising plans for the common interest. The nobility had deserted the state and could not be brought together in the senate. In the office of magistrate was a man who had not gained additional honour for himself, but by his own unworthiness had

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9 quem gerebat dempsisset. Iam ne in foro quidem aut publico loco principum quisquam apparebat; domibus inclusi patriae occasum cum suo exitio in dies exspectabant.

10 Summa curae omnis in Bostarem Hannonemque, praefectos praesidii Punici, versa erat, suo non
11 sociorum periculo sollicitos. Ii conscriptis ad Hannibalem litteris non libere modo, sed etiam aspere, quibus non Capuam solam[1] traditam in manum hostibus, sed se quoque et[2] praesidium
12 in omnis cruciatus proditos incusabant: abisse eum in Bruttios velut avertentem sese, ne Capua in oculis eius caperetur. At hercule Romanos ne oppugnatione quidem urbis Romanae abstrahi a
13 Capua obsidenda potuisse; tanto constantiorem inimicum Romanum quam amicum Poenum esse. Si redeat Capuam bellumque omne eo vertat, et se
14 et Campanos paratos eruptioni fore. Non cum Reginis neque Tarentinis bellum gesturos transisse Alpis: ubi Romanae legiones sint, ibi et Carthaginiensium exercitus debere esse. Sic ad Cannas, sic ad Trasumennum rem bene gestam, coeundo conferundoque cum hoste castra, fortunam temptando.
5 In hanc sententiam litterae conscriptae Numidis, proposita mercede eam[3] professis operam, dantur. Ii specie transfugarum cum ad Flaccum in castra

[1] solam *P*(1): solum *JK Aldus*.
[2] et *A*²*JK Aldus*: *om.* *P*(1).
[3] eam *Duker*: iam *P*(1)*JK*.

[1] Cf. vi. 13 ff.

taken away power and authority from the office which B.C. 211
he was holding.[1] No longer did any one of the foremost citizens show himself even in the forum or any public place. Shut up in their houses they were awaiting from day to day the fall of their native city and their own destruction.

The chief responsibility had fallen wholly to Bostar and Hanno, commanders of the Carthaginian garrison, and they were concerned only for their own danger, not that of their allies. They wrote a letter to Hannibal in terms not only outspoken, but also bitter, in which they charged that it was not Capua alone that had been delivered into the hands of the enemy, but that they themselves also and the garrison had been abandoned to every kind of torture; that he had gone away to the land of the Bruttii, as though turning his back so that Capua should not be captured before his eyes. But assuredly, they said, the Romans could not be drawn away from besieging Capua even by an assault upon the city of Rome: so much more steadfast was the Roman as an enemy than the Carthaginian as a friend. If he should return to Capua and there concentrate the whole war, they and the Capuans likewise would be ready for a sally. It was not to wage war with the people of Regium and Tarentum that they had crossed the Alps. Where the Roman legions were, there ought the Carthaginian armies also to be. Thus at Cannae, thus at Trasumennus, by coming to grips and pitching camp near the enemy, by trying their luck they had met with success. A letter to this effect was given to Numidians who with a reward set before them promised to perform that service. Posing as deserters they had come before Flaccus in his camp, with the

A.U.C. 543 venissent, ut inde tempore capto abirent, famesque, quae tam[1] diu Capuae erat, nulli non probabilem
16 causam transitionis faceret, mulier repente Campana in castra venit, scortum transfugarum unius, indicatque imperatori Romano Numidas fraude composita
17 transisse litterasque ad Hannibalem ferre: id unum ex iis qui sibi rem aperuisset arguere sese paratam esse. Productus primo satis constanter ignorare se mulierem simulabat; paulatim dein convictus veris,
18 cum tormenta posci et parari videret, fassus[2] id ita
19 esse, litteraeque prolatae. Additum[3] etiam indicio quod celabatur, et alios specie transfugarum Numidas vagari in castris Romanis. Ii supra septuaginta comprensi et cum transfugis novis mulcati virgis manibusque praecisis Capuam rediguntur.

XIII. Conspectum tam triste supplicium fregit animos Campanorum. Concursus ad curiam populi factus coegit Loesium senatum vocare; et primoribus, qui iam diu publicis consiliis aberant, propalam minabantur, nisi venirent in senatum, circa domos eorum ituros se et in publicum omnis vi extracturos esse. Is timor frequentem senatum magistratui
2 praebuit. Ibi cum ceteri de legatis mittendis ad imperatores Romanos agerent, Vibius Virrius, qui

[1] tam *P*(1)*JK Aldus*: iam *Sigonius*.
[2] fassus *P* 3)*B*²*JK*: fassus est *Madvig*.
[3] Additum *Duker*, *Madvig*: et additum *P*(1)*JK*.

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[1] The usual punishment for spies: XXII. xxxiii. 1.
[2] Cf. XXIII. vi.

intention of choosing the right moment and then B.C. 211
departing—and the famine which had lasted so long at Capua gave every man a plausible reason for deserting—when suddenly a Campanian woman, mistress of one of the deserters, came into the camp and informed the Roman general that the Numidians by agreement had pretended to change sides and were bearing a letter to Hannibal: that she was prepared to prove that charge against one of their number who had revealed the matter to her. On being produced, he at first quite firmly pretended that he did not know the woman. Then by degrees he was overpowered by the facts, and seeing that they were demanding and preparing torture, he admitted that it was true, and the letter was produced. She added to her information what they were trying to conceal, namely, that other Numidians also were abroad in the Roman camp playing the part of deserters. Over seventy of them were arrested, and together with the new deserters they were scourged with rods, and after their hands had been cut off[1] they were sent back to Capua.

XIII. The sight of so merciless a punishment broke the spirit of the Capuans. A gathering of the people before the Senate House compelled Loesius to summon the senate. And they openly threatened the leading citizens, who for a long time had been absent from public deliberations, that if they did not come into the senate, they would make the rounds of their homes and forcibly bring them all out into the streets. The fear of that gave the magistrate a full session of the senate. There, while all the rest were speaking of sending legates to the Roman generals, Vibius Virrius,[2] who had proposed rebellion from

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defectionis auctor ab Romanis fuerat, interrogatus
3 sententiam negat eos qui de legatis et de pace ac
deditione loquantur meminisse nec quid facturi
fuerint, si Romanos in potestate habuissent, nec quid
4 ipsis patiendum sit. "Quid? vos" inquit "eam
deditionem fore censetis qua quondam, ut adversus
Samnites auxilium impetraremus, nos nostraque
5 omnia Romanis dedidimus?[1] Iam e memoria ex-
cessit quo tempore et in qua fortuna a populo Romano
defecerimus? iam, quem ad modum in defectione
praesidium, quod poterat emitti, per cruciatum et
6 ad contumeliam necarimus? quotiens in obsidentis
quam inimice eruperimus, castra oppugnarimus,
Hannibalem vocaverimus ad opprimendos eos?
hoc, quod recentissimum est, ad oppugnandam
7 Romam hinc eum miserimus? Age contra, quae illi
infeste in nos fecerint, repetite, ut ex eo quid speretis
habeatis. Cum hostis alienigena in Italia esset, et
Hannibal hostis, et cuncta bello arderent, omissis
omnibus, omisso ipso Hannibale, ambo consules et
duo consulares exercitus ad Capuam oppugnandam
8 miserunt. Alterum annum circumvallatos inclusosque
nos fame macerant, et ipsi nobiscum ultima pericula
et[2] gravissimos labores perpessi, circa vallum ac
fossas saepe trucidati ac prope ad extremum castris
9 exuti. Sed omitto haec: vetus atque usitata res est

[1] dedidimus *Modius*: dedimus *P*1*DJK Aldus.*
[2] et *C*: e *P*: *om. RMBDAJK Aldus.*

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[1] Cf. VII. xxxi.
[2] Somewhat differently told in XXIII. vii. 3.

Rome, on being asked for his opinion, said that the men who were speaking of embassies and of peace and surrender did not recall either what they would have done, if they had had the Romans in their power, or what they themselves must suffer. "Tell me," he said, "do you suppose it will be the same kind of surrender as that under which we once gave up ourselves and all our possessions to the Romans, that we might obtain their aid against the Samnites?[1] Have you already forgotten in what a critical moment and in what a situation for the Roman people we have revolted from them? Have you already forgotten how at the time of our revolt we with torture and as an insult put to death a garrison which we might have let go?[2] or how often and with what bitterness we have made a sally against the besiegers, have beset their camps, have called in Hannibal to overpower them? or how—this the most recent occurrence—we have sent him away to lay siege to Rome? And now for the other side, recall what have been their acts of hostility towards us, that by so doing you may know what you have to expect. When a foreign enemy was in Italy, and that enemy Hannibal, and when everywhere were the flames of war, neglecting everything, neglecting even Hannibal, they sent both consuls and two consular armies to besiege Capua. Now for the second year they are wasting us away by starvation, shut up inside their contravallation, while they too like ourselves have endured the utmost dangers and most serious hardships, have been slain, many of them, about their earthworks and trenches, and have at last had their camp almost taken. But I pass over these things; to suffer hardships and dangers in besieging a city of B.C. 211

a.u.c. 543 in oppugnanda hostium urbe labores ac pericula pati. Illud irae atque odii exsecrabilis[1] indicium est:
10 Hannibal ingentibus copiis peditum equitumque castra oppugnavit et ex parte cepit: tanto periculo nihil moti sunt ab obsidione. Profectus trans Volturnum perussit Calenum agrum: nihil tanta
11 sociorum clade avocati sunt. Ad ipsam urbem Romam infesta signa ferri iussit: eam quoque tempestatem imminentem spreverunt. Transgressus Anienem[2] tria milia passuum ab urbe castra posuit, postremo ad moenia ipsa et ad portas accessit; Romam se adempturum eis, nisi omitterent Capuam,
12 ostendit: non omiserunt. Feras bestias caeco impetu ac rabie concitatas, si ad cubilia et catulos earum ire pergas, ad opem suis ferendam avertas:
13 Romanos Roma circumsessa, coniuges, liberi, quorum ploratus hinc prope exaudiebantur, arae, foci, deum delubra, sepulcra maiorum temerata ac violata a Capua non averterunt: tanta aviditas supplicii expetendi, tanta sanguinis nostri hauriendi est
14 sitis. Nec iniuria forsitan; nos quoque idem fecissemus, si data fortuna esset. Itaque quoniam aliter dis immortalibus est visum, cum mortem ne recusare quidem debeam, cruciatus contumeliasque quas parat hostis, dum liber, dum mei potens sum, effugere morte praeterquam honesta, etiam leni
15 possum. Non videbo Ap. Claudium et Q. Fulvium victoria insolenti subnixos, neque vinctus per urbem

[1] exsecrabilis C^2M^1JK *Aldus*: $P(1)$ *add* -que: inexpiabilis exsecrabilisque *Alschefski, Conway.*

[2] Anienem D *Aldus*: $P(3)$ *add* amnem (*before the name* JK).

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[1] His first camp had been on the right bank of the Anio; x. 3; xi. 1; Polybius IX. v. 9.

the enemy is an old and familiar story. I proceed to B.C. 211
proof of anger and hatred that are unspeakable. Hannibal with immense forces of infantry and cavalry besieged and partly captured their camp: by such danger they were not moved at all to give up the siege. Setting out across the Volturnus he ravaged the territory of Cales with fire: by such a disaster to allies they were in no wise called away. He ordered his hostile standards to be carried to the city of Rome itself: that impending storm also they scorned. Crossing the Anio [1] he pitched camp three miles from the city, finally came close to the very walls and gates, showed that unless they should leave Capua he would take Rome away from them: they did not leave Capua. Wild beasts, though excited by blind impulse and fury, can be diverted to bring help to their young, if one goes towards their lairs and their whelps. As for the Romans, the siege of Rome, their wives and children, whose wailing could almost be heard from here, their altars and hearths, the shrines of their gods, the desecrated and profaned tombs of their ancestors did not divert them from Capua. Such is their ardour in demanding punishment, such their thirst to drink our blood. And perhaps not without reason; we too should have done the same, had the chance been given us. Therefore since the immortal gods have made a contrary decision, inasmuch as I ought under no circumstances to refuse death, I, while free and my own master, can escape tortures and insults which the enemy is preparing, by a death which is not only honourable, but also gentle. I shall not see Appius Claudius and Quintus Fulvius, emboldened by their insolent victory, nor shall I be dragged in chains

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Romanam triumphi spectaculum trahar, ut deinde in carcerem[1] conditus exspirem[2] aut ad[3] palum deligatus, lacerato virgis tergo, cervicem securi Romanae subiciam; nec dirui incendique patriam videbo, nec rapi ad stuprum matres Campanas virginesque et
16 ingenuos pueros. Albam, unde ipsi oriundi erant, a fundamentis proruerunt, ne stirpis,[4] ne memoria originum suarum exstaret: nedum eos Capuae parsuros credam, cui infestiores quam Carthagini
17 sunt. Itaque quibus vestrum ante fato cedere quam haec tot tam acerba videant in animo est iis apud
18 me hodie epulae instructae parataeque sunt. Satiatis vino ciboque poculum idem quod mihi datum fuerit circumferetur; ea potio corpus a cruciatu, animum a contumeliis, oculos, auris a videndis audiendisque omnibus acerbis indignisque quae manent victos vindicabit. Parati erunt qui magno rogo in propatulo aedium accenso corpora exanima iniciant.
19 Haec una via et honesta et libera ad mortem. Et ipsi virtutem mirabuntur hostes, et Hannibal fortis socios sciet ab se desertos ac proditos esse."

XIV. Hanc orationem Virri plures cum adsensu audierunt quam forti animo id quod probabant
2 exsequi potuerunt. Maior pars senatus, multis saepe bellis expertam populi Romani clementiam

[1] carcerem (*or* -carem) *P*(1)*JK Aldus*: carcere A^z *Froben* 2, *Madvig* (*who omits* aut).
[2] conditus exspirem *W*. *Heraeus*: *om*. *P*(1): expirem *M*. *Müller* (*with* in carcere).
[3] ad A^z*JK Aldus*: *om*. *P*(1).
[4] stirpis *P*(1)*Jz*: stirps *Kz*.

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[1] Cf. I. xxix.

through the city of Rome as a spectacle in a triumph, B.C. 211
so that I may then breathe my last in the prison, or else, bound to a stake, with my back mangled by rods, may submit my neck to the Roman axe. Nor shall I see my native city destroyed and burned, nor Capuan matrons and maidens and free-born boys carried off to be dishonoured. Alba, from which they had themselves sprung, they levelled with its foundations,[1] that their stock, that the memory of their origin, might not survive; much less am I to believe that they will spare Capua, to which they are more hostile than to Carthage. Accordingly, as many of you as are minded to yield to fate before they see all these sights that are so bitter, for such in my house a feast is spread and in readiness today. When we have had our fill of wine and food, the same cup which has been served to me shall be carried round. That draught will defend the body from torture, the mind from insults, eyes and ears from seeing and hearing all the bitter and unseemly things which await the vanquished. Men will be ready to light a great pyre in the court[2] of the house and throw our lifeless bodies upon it. This is the one way, at once honourable and independent, that leads to death. Even our enemies will admire our courage, and Hannibal will also know that they were brave allies whom he has abandoned and betrayed."

XIV. This speech of Virrius more men heard with approval than had the courage to carry out what they commended. The majority of the senate, not doubting that the clemency of the Roman people,

[2] Here evidently the peristyle, not the atrium (as in XXIV. xvi. 17 and XXV. xii. 15). A forecourt (*vestibulum*) would have been too public.

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haud diffidentes sibi quoque placabilem fore, legatos ad dedendam Romanis Capuam decreverunt mise-
3 runtque. Vibium Virrium septem et viginti ferme senatores domum secuti sunt, epulatique cum eo et, quantum facere potuerant alienatis mentibus vino ab imminentis sensu mali, venenum omnes sumpserunt;
4 inde misso convivio dextris inter se datis ultimoque conplexu conlacrimantes suum patriaeque casum, alii, ut eodem rogo cremarentur, manserunt, alii
5 domos digressi sunt. Inpletae cibis vinoque venae minus efficacem in maturanda morte vim veneni fecerunt: itaque noctem totam plerique eorum et diei insequentis partem cum animam egissent, omnes tamen prius quam aperirentur hostibus portae exspirarunt.

6 Postero die porta Iovis, quae adversus castra Romana erat, iussu proconsulum[1] aperta est. Ea intromissa
7 legio una et duae alae cum C. Fulvio legato. Is cum omnium primum arma telaque quae Capuae erant ad se conferenda curasset, custodiis ad omnes portas dispositis, ne quis exire aut emitti posset, praesidium Punicum comprehendit, senatum Campanum ire in
8 castra ad imperatores Romanos iussit. Quo cum venissent, extemplo iis omnibus catenae iniectae, iussique ad quaestores deferre quod auri atque argenti haberent. Auri pondo duo milia[2] septuaginta fuit, argenti triginta milia pondo et mille[3]

[1] proconsulum *K Ruperti, Madvig*: -lis B^2J: *abbreviated* $P(3)$.

[2] duo milia (*i.e.* ∞ ∞) PC: *other MSS. omit.*

[3] mille (*i.e.* ∞) PC: *similar omission in others.*

[1] Towards Tifata and its temple of Jupiter. By this gate the Via Appia seems to have left the city on its way to Beneventum.

known to them frequently in many wars, would be B.C. 211
forgiving to them also, voted and sent legates to surrender Capua to the Romans. About twenty-seven senators followed Vibius Virrius home; and after they had feasted with him, and so far as possible had deadened their minds with wine to the sense of impending misfortune, they all took the poison. Then at the end of the feast they gave each other the right hand and a last embrace, and weeping for their own fate and that of their native city, some remained, that they might be cremated on the same pyre, others left for their several homes. Filled with food and wine, their veins made the poison less effectual in hastening death. And so, although most of them were in the throes through the whole of the night and part of the following day, all of them, however, died before the gates were opened to the enemy.

On the next day the Jupiter Gate,[1] which faced the Roman camp, was opened by order of the proconsuls. By that gate one legion was admitted and two *alae*[2] with Gaius Fulvius, the lieutenant. He first of all saw to it that the arms and weapons that were in Capua should be brought to him; then posting sentinels at all the gates, that no one might be able to go out or be sent out, he seized the Carthaginian garrison, and ordered the Capuan senate to go to the Roman generals in the camp. Arrived there, they were all put in chains and bidden to bring to the quaestors what gold and silver they had. The amount of gold was two thousand and seventy pounds, of silver thirty-one thousand two hundred

[2] *I.e.* cavalry units of the allies, say 500 men each.

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9 ducenta. Senatores quinque et viginti Cales in custodiam, duodetriginta Teanum missi,[1] quorum de sententia maxime descitum ab Romanis constabat.

XV. De supplicio Campani senatus haudquaquam inter Fulvium Claudiumque conveniebat: facilis impetrandae veniae Claudius, Fulvii[2] durior sententia 2 erat. Itaque Appius Romam ad senatum arbitrium 3 eius rei totum reiciebat: percunctandi etiam aequum esse potestatem fieri patribus, num communicassent consilia cum aliquis[3] sociorum Latini nominis,[4] et 4 num ope eorum in bello forent adiuti. Id vero minime committendum esse Fulvius dicere ut sollicitarentur criminibus dubiis sociorum fidelium animi, et subicerentur indicibus quis neque quid diceret[5] neque quid facerent quicquam umquam pensi fuisset; itaque se eam quaestionem oppressurum 5 exstincturumque. Ab hoc sermone cum digressi essent, et Appius quamvis ferociter loquentem collegam non dubitaret tamen litteras super tanta 6 re ab Roma exspectaturum, Fulvius, ne id ipsum impedimentum incepto foret, dimittens praetorium tribunis militum ac praefectis socium imperavit uti duobus milibus equitum delectis denuntiarent ut ad tertiam bucinam praesto essent.

7 Cum hoc equitatu nocte Teanum profectus, prima luce portam intravit atque in forum perrexit; concursuque ad primum equitum ingressum facto

[1] missi M^2?AJK *Aldus*: misit $P(3)$.
[2] Fulvi(i) AJK *Aldus*: fulvio $P(3)$ *Gronovius*.
[3] aliquis $P(1)x$: aliquibus A^1JK *Aldus*.
[4] nominis $P(1)JK$ *Aldus, adding* municipiorum, *a gloss, and repeating it* (*except* P^1C^2?A^1K) *after* forent.

pounds. Of the senators known to have especially promoted revolt from the Romans twenty-five were sent to Cales to be imprisoned, twenty-eight to Teanum. B.C. 211

XV. On the punishment of the Capuan senators there was no kind of agreement between Fulvius and Claudius. Ready to hear a plea for pardon was Claudius; Fulvius' opinion was more inflexible. Accordingly Appius was inclined to refer the entire decision of the case to the senate at Rome. Furthermore he thought it right that the fathers should be given authority to enquire of these men whether they had shared their plans with some of the Latin allies, and whether they had been helped by them in the war. But Fulvius said that they must on no account run the risk of troubling the feelings of faithful allies by unsubstantiated charges and of exposing them to informers, who never had had any scruple as to what they were saying or what they were doing; hence he would quash and suppress that investigation. When they had separated directly after this speech, Appius had no doubt that his colleague, in spite of his fierce words, would wait, however, for a letter from Rome on a matter of such importance. But Fulvius for fear that very thing might hinder his project, dismissed the council, and ordered the tribunes of the soldiers and the prefects of allies to instruct two thousand picked cavalry to be ready at the bugle-call of the third watch.

Setting out by night for Teanum with this cavalry, he entered the gate at dawn and proceeded to the forum. At the first entry of the horsemen a crowd

[5] neque quid dicerent *Alschefski*: *om. P*(1)*JK*.

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magistratum Sidicinum citari iussit imperavitque ut produceret Campanos quos in custodia haberet. 8 Producti omnes virgisque caesi ac securi percussi. Inde citato equo Cales percurrit; ubi cum in tribunali consedisset productique Campani deligarentur ad palum, eques citus ab Roma venit litterasque a C. Calpurnio praetore Fulvio et senatus consultum 9 tradit. Murmur ab tribunali totam contionem pervasit differri rem integram ad patres de Campanis. Et Fulvius, id ita esse ratus acceptas litteras neque resolutas cum in gremio reposuisset, praeconi imperavit ut lictorem lege agere iuberet. Ita de iis quoque qui Calibus erant sumptum supplicium. 10 Tum litterae lectae senatusque consultum, serum ad impediendam rem actam quae summa ope adproperata 11 erat, ne impediri posset. Consurgentem iam Fulvium Taurea Vibellius Campanus, per mediam vadens turbam, nomine inclamavit et, cum mirabundus 12 quidnam sese vellet resedisset Flaccus, "Me quoque" inquit "iube occidi, ut gloriari possis multo fortiorem 13 quam ipse es virum abs te occisum esse." Cum Flaccus negaret profecto satis compotem mentis esse,[1] modo prohiberi etiam se, si id vellet, senatus consulto 14 diceret, tum Vibellius "Quando quidem" inquit "capta patria, propinquis amicisque amissis, cum ipse manu mea coniugem liberosque interfecerim,

[1] mentis esse $P(3)B^2$ *Aldus*, *Priscian*: esse mentis *AJKz*.

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[1] *I.e.* no doubt the *medix tuticus* of the region in which Teanum lay.

[2] Not as prisoners of war, but as Roman citizens whose lives were forfeited because of dealing with the enemy; so ordained in the XII Tables; cf. *Digest* XLVIII. iv. 3.

gathered, and he bade that the Sidicinian magis- B.C. 211
trate[1] be summoned, and ordered him to bring out the Capuans whom he had under arrest. All were brought out, scourged with rods and beheaded.[2] Thence he hastened at full speed to Cales. There, after he had taken his seat on the tribunal and the Capuans were brought out and were being bound to stakes, came a horseman post haste from Rome and handed to Fulvius a letter from Gaius Calpurnius, the praetor, and a decree of the senate. Beginning at the tribunal a rumour spread through the whole assembly that the case of the Capuans was reserved for decision by the senators. Fulvius also thought that was the case, took the letter, but without breaking the seal, and having placed it in his bosom, commanded a herald to order the lictor to carry out the legal punishment. Thus was punishment visited upon those also who were at Cales. Then the letter was read and the decree of the senate, too late to prevent an action which had been hastened by every means, that prevention might be impossible. Just as Fulvius was rising from his seat, Taurea Vibellius the Capuan, striding through the middle of the crowd, called him by name, and when Flaccus, wondering what he wished of him, had sat down again, Vibellius said "Order me also to be slain, that you may be able to boast that a much braver man than you are yourself has been slain by you." When Flaccus said that the man was doubtless of unsound mind, and then added that, if he wished to do so, he was forbidden by the decree of the senate, thereupon Vibellius said "Since indeed, although my native city has been taken, my relatives and friends lost, and with my own hand I have killed my wife and

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ne quid indigni paterentur, mihi ne mortis quidem copia eadem est quae his civibus meis, petatur a virtute invisae huius vitae vindicta." Atque ita gladio quem veste texerat per adversum pectus transfixus, ante pedes imperatoris moribundus procubuit.

XVI. Quia et quod ad supplicium attinet Campanorum et pleraque alia de Flacci unius sententia acta erant, mortuum Ap. Claudium sub deditionem Capuae quidam tradunt. Hunc quoque ipsum Tauream neque sua sponte venisse Cales neque sua manu interfectum, sed dum[1] inter ceteros ad palum deligatur,[2] quia parum inter strepitus exaudiri possent quae vociferaretur,[3] silentium fieri Flaccum iussisse; tum Tauream illa quae ante memorata sunt dixisse, virum se fortissimum ab nequaquam pari ad virtutem occidi; sub haec dicta iussu proconsulis praeconem ita pronuntiasse: "Lictor, viro forti adde virgas et in eum primum lege age." Lectum quoque senatus consultum, priusquam securi feriret, quidam auctores sunt, sed quia adscriptum in senatus consulto fuerit, si ei videretur, integram rem ad senatum reiceret, interpretatum esse quid magis e re publica duceret aestimationem sibi permissam. Capuam a Calibus reditum est, Atellaque et Calatia in deditionem acceptae. Ibi quoque in eos qui

[1] dum *Froben* 2, *Conway*: cum $P(1)JK$ *Aldus*.

[2] deligatur *Froben* 2, *Conway*: -atus $P(1)JK$ *Aldus*, *Weissenborn* (*adding* quiritaret).

[3] vociferaretur *Harant*, *Conway*: -feratur $P(3)A^{1?}$: -ferantur BDA: -ferabatur $C^4M^3A^sJ^1K$ *Aldus*.

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[1] So Zonaras IX. vi. Livy at xxxiii. 4 says *post captam* (*Capuam*), following another authority. Appius died of his wound.

children, that they might suffer no indignity, for B.C. 211
myself there is not the same possibility even to die that these my fellow-citizens have had, let courage give me a release from this odious life." And so with a sword which he had concealed under his clothing he ran himself directly through the breast and fell dying at the feet of the general.

XVI. Because all that had to do with the punishment of the Capuans and many other things were done by the decision of Flaccus alone, some relate that Appius Claudius died just before the surrender of Capua.[1] Further, they say that Taurea himself did not voluntarily come to Cales, and was not slain by his own hand, but that while he was being bound along with the rest to a stake, because what he was shouting could not be heard clearly for the noise, Flaccus ordered silence; that then Taurea, as has been stated above, said that he, the bravest of men, was being killed by one who was in no way his equal in courage; that after these words the herald by order of the proconsul proclaimed "Lictor, give the brave man a beating; on him first the legal penalty!" Some authorities say that the decree of the senate also was read before he beheaded them; but that, because in the decree of the senate it was added that, if he saw fit,[2] he should refer the decision to the verdict of the senate, he interpreted it that they allowed him to decide which course he thought more to the interest of the state.

From Cales they returned to Capua, and the surrender of Atella and Calatia was received. There also punishment was inflicted on the responsible

[2] Merely a polite formula, which Flaccus pretends to take seriously.

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6 capita rerum erant animadversum. Ita ad septuaginta principes senatus interfecti, trecenti ferme nobiles Campani in carcerem conditi, alii per sociorum Latini nominis urbes in custodias dati, variis casibus interierunt: multitudo alia civium Campanorum
7 venum data. De urbe agroque reliqua consultatio fuit, quibusdam delendam censentibus urbem praevalidam, propinquam, inimicam. Ceterum praesens utilitas vicit; nam propter agrum, quem omni fertilitate terrae satis constabat primum in Italia esse, urbs servata est, ut esset aliqua aratorum
8 sedes. Urbi frequentandae multitudo incolarum libertinorumque et institorum opificumque retenta: ager omnis et tecta publica populi Romani facta.
9 Ceterum habitari tantum tamquam urbem Capuam frequentarique placuit, corpus nullum civitatis nec senatum [1] nec plebis concilium nec magistratus esse:
10 sine consilio publico, sine imperio multitudinem, nullius rei inter se sociam, ad consensum inhabilem fore; praefectum ad iura reddenda ab Roma quo-
11 tannis missuros. Ita ad Capuam res compositae consilio ab omni parte laudabili. Severe et celeriter in maxime noxios animadversum; multitudo civium
12 dissipata in nullam spem reditus; non saevitum incendiis ruinisque in tecta innoxia murosque, et

[1] senatum *JKzz Duker*: senatus *P*(1) *Aldus*.

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[1] Including the fifty-three executed at Teanum and Cales. For a more detailed statement of the terms meted out to Capua see below, xxxiv. 2 ff.

[2] *I.e.* at Rome, in the senate.

[3] A *praefectus iure dicundo*, elected by popular vote. The treatment of Capua in contrast with Corinth and Carthage is enlarged upon by Cicero, *de Lege Agr.* II. 84 and 88 f. Among

leaders. Thus about seventy prominent senators B.C. 211
were put to death;[1] some three hundred noble Campanians who were put in prison, and others who were distributed among cities of Latin allies to be guarded, met death in different ways. The remaining mass of Campanian citizens were sold. In regard to the city and its territory discussion continued,[2] inasmuch as some thought a city very powerful, near, and unfriendly should be destroyed. But immediate advantage prevailed. For on account of the territory, which was well known to be foremost in Italy in all that the fertile soil produced, the city was preserved, that the tillers of the land might have some abode. To people the city the multitude of resident aliens and freedmen and petty tradesmen and artisans was retained. The whole territory and the buildings became public property of the Roman people. But it was decided that Capua, as a nominal city, should merely be a dwelling-place and a centre of population, but should have no political body nor senate nor council of the plebs nor magistrates. They thought that the multitude, without a public council, without military authority, having nothing in common amongst them, would be incapable of agreement; the Romans would send out every year a prefect to administer justice.[3] Thus matters concerning Capua were settled according to a plan that was in every respect praiseworthy. Stern and prompt was the punishment of the most guilty; the mass of citizens were scattered with no hope of a return; no rage was vented upon innocent buildings and city-walls by burning and demolition. And

the prefectures Festus lists Capua, Casilinum, Volturnum (p. 262 L).

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cum emolumento quaesita etiam apud socios lenitatis
species incolumitate urbis nobilissimae opulentissi-
maeque. cuius ruinis omnis Campania, omnes qui
Campaniam circa accolunt populi ingemuissent;
13 confessio expressa hosti quanta vis in Romanis ad
expetendas poenas ab infidelibus sociis et quam nihil
in Hannibale auxili ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset.

XVII. Romani patres perfuncti quod ad Capuam
attinebat cura, C. Neroni ex iis duabus legionibus
quas ad Capuam habuerat sex milia peditum et
trecentos equites quos ipse legisset et socium Latini
nominis peditum numerum parem et octingentos
2 equites decernunt. Eum exercitum Puteolis in naves
impositum Nero in Hispaniam transportavit. Cum
Tarraconem navibus venisset, expositisque ibi copiis
et navibus subductis, socios quoque navalis multi-
3 tudinis augendae causa armasset, profectus ad
Hiberum flumen exercitum ab Ti. Fonteio et L.
4 Marcio accepit. Inde pergit ad hostis ire. Hasdrubal
Hamilcaris ad Lapides Atros castra habebat; in
Ausetanis [1] is locus est inter oppida Iliturgim et
Mentissam. Huius saltus fauces Nero occupavit.
5 Hasdrubal, ne [2] in arto res esset, caduceatorem
misit qui promitteret, si inde emissus [3] foret, se
omnem exercitum ex Hispania deportaturum.
6 Quam rem cum laeto animo Romanus accepisset,
diem posterum Hasdrubal conloquio petivit ut

[1] Ausetanis $P(1)JK$: Oretanis *Glareanus*.

[2] occupavit. Hasdrubal, ne $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Froben* : *om.* $P(3)$, *a lost line*.

[3] emissus *Madvig* : missus $P(1)JK$.

along with profit they sought a reputation among B.C. 211
the allies as well for clemency, by saving a very important and very rich city, over whose ruins all Campania, all the neighbouring peoples on every side of Campania, would have mourned. The enemy were forced to acknowledge what power the Romans possessed to exact punishment from faithless allies, and how helpless Hannibal was to defend those whom he had taken under his protection.

XVII. At Rome the senate, having discharged its responsibilities so far as concerned Capua, voted to assign to Gaius Nero six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry of his own choosing, from the two legions which he had had before Capua, and from the Latin allies the same number of infantry and eight hundred cavalry. This army Nero embarked at Puteoli and transported to Spain. Arrived at Tarraco by sea, he there disembarked his troops, beached the ships, and armed even the crews, to increase his numbers. Then setting out for the river Ebro, he took over the army from Tiberius Fonteius and Lucius Marcius.[1] He thereupon proceeded against the enemy. Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, was encamped at the Black Rocks. The place is in the country of the Ausetani, between the towns of Iliturgis[2] and Mentissa. Nero occupied the entrance to this pass. Hasdrubal, to avoid being entrapped, sent a herald to promise that if he should be allowed to get away, he would transport his entire army out of Spain. The Roman accepted the proposal with joy, and Hasdrubal asked for the next day for a conference, that in person they might draw up

[1] Cf. XXV. xxxvii. 2 ff.; XXVI. ii. 1 ff.
[2] Cf. XXIII. xlix. 5 and 12; XXIV. xli. 8 and 11.

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coram[1] leges conscriberentur de tradendis arcibus urbium dieque statuenda ad quam praesidia deducerentur suaque omnia sine fraude Poeni deportarent. 7 Quod ubi impetravit, extemplo primis tenebris atque inde tota nocte quod gravissimum exercitus erat Hasdrubal quacumque posset evadere e saltu[2] 8 iussit. Data sedulo opera est ne multi ea nocte exirent, ut ipsa paucitas cum ad hostem silentio fallendum aptior, tum ad evadendum per artas 9 semitas ac difficilis esset. Ventum insequenti die ad conloquium est; sed loquendo plura scribendoque dedita opera quae in rem non essent die consumpto, 10 in posterum dilatum est. Addita insequens nox spatium dedit et alios emittendi; nec postero die 11 res finem invenit. Ita aliquot dies disceptando palam de legibus noctesque emittendis clam e castris Carthaginiensibus absumptae. Et postquam pars maior emissa exercitus erat, iam ne iis quidem quae 12 ultro dicta erant stabatur; minusque ac minus, cum timore simul fide decrescente, conveniebat. Iam ferme pedestres omnes copiae evaserant e saltu, cum prima luce densa nebula saltum omnem camposque circa intexit. Quod ubi sensit Hasdrubal, mittit ad Neronem qui in posterum diem conloquium differret: illum diem religiosum Carthaginiensibus 13 ad agendum quicquam rei seriae[3] esse. Ne tum

[1] coram *Madvig*: romam $P(1)J$: romani (*with* conscriberent) M^2A^yK *Aldus*.

[2] e saltu $BDAJK$ *Aldus*: saltu M^1: salu $P(3)$.

[3] seriae G^2? *Gronovius*: seria $P(3)$: feria D: feriam M^2?: feriatum *Aldus* (*and A, which omits* esse).

the terms for the surrender of the citadels of cities B.C. 211
and fix a date before which the garrisons were to be evacuated, and the Carthaginians might remove all their property without molestation. Having gained that request, Hasdrubal at once gave orders that at dusk and then all through the night the heaviest troops should escape from the pass by any possible way. Great pains were taken not to have many leave that night, that even their small numbers might be better suited both to escaping the enemy's notice by silence and to making their way out by narrow and difficult paths. Next day they came to the conference;[1] but by speaking at unnecessary length and by purposely writing what was not to the point the day was spent, and postponement taken to the next day. The addition of the following night gave them time to send out others as well; and on the following day the business did not reach an end. Thus several days were spent in arguing openly about terms, and several nights in secretly sending Carthaginians away from the camp. And after the larger part of the army had been sent away, they ceased any longer to stand by even what they had been the first to propose. And there was less and less agreement, as honesty declined along with fear. By this time nearly all the infantry forces had escaped from the pass, when at daybreak a dense fog covered the whole pass and the meadows around. Hasdrubal on noticing that, sends a messenger to Nero, to postpone the conference until the next day: that day was banned among the Carthaginians, he said, for the doing of anything serious. As even then fraud was

[1] Frontinus gives a brief account of Hasdrubal's ruse; *Strat.* I. v. 19.

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quidem suspecta fraus cum esset, data venia eius diei, extemploque Hasdrubal cum equitatu elephantisque castris egressus sine ullo tumultu in tutum evasit.
14 Hora ferme quarta dispulsa sole nebula aperuit diem, vacuaque hostium castra conspexerunt Romani.
15 Tum demum Claudius Punicam fraudem adgnoscens, ut se dolo captum sensit, proficiscentem institit sequi paratus confligere acie; sed hostis detrectabat
16 pugnam; levia tamen proelia inter extremum Punicum agmen praecursoresque Romanorum fiebant.

XVIII. Inter haec Hispaniae populi nec qui post cladem acceptam defecerant redibant ad Romanos,
2 nec ulli novi deficiebant. Et Romae senatui populoque post receptam Capuam non Italiae iam maior quam Hispaniae cura erat. Et exercitum augeri et
3 imperatorem mitti placebat; nec tam[1] quem mitterent satis constabat quam illud, ubi duo summi imperatores intra dies triginta cecidissent, qui in locum duorum succederet extraordinaria cura de-
4 ligendum esse. Cum alii alium nominarent, postremum eo decursum est ut proconsuli creando in Hispaniam comitia haberentur;[2] diemque comitiis consules

[1] tam *Gronovius*: tamen *P*(1)*JK Aldus*.
[2] haberentur *Madvig*: haberet (*with* populus *before* proconsuli) *P*(1)*JK Aldus*, *Weissenborn*.

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[1] *I.e.* to the Romans.
[2] Nero as propraetor held a command of lower grade. He was succeeded by Silanus; xx. 4. Livy follows authorities who placed Scipio's election to the chief command and his departure for Spain in 211 B.C. and the capture of New Carthage in 210. In XXVII. vii. 5 f., however, he mentions the opposing view, which would give 210 and 209 respectively for these dates, the now accepted chronology. Cf. note *l.c.*

not suspected, excuse for that day was granted, and B.C. 211
forthwith Hasdrubal with his cavalry and elephants left camp, and without any noise escaped to a place of safety. At about the fourth hour the burning away of the fog by the sun cleared the air, and the Romans caught sight of the empty camp of the enemy. When Claudius, who until then did not recognize the Punic deception, perceived that he had been tricked, he pressed the pursuit of a departing enemy, he being all ready to engage in pitched battle. But the enemy refused battle. And yet there were slight engagements between the rear of the Carthaginian column and the advance guard of the Romans.

XVIII. Meanwhile of the peoples of Spain none who had revolted after the disaster occurred were returning to the Romans, and at the same time no new nations were revolting.[1] And at Rome, after the recovery of Capua, senate and people were no longer more concerned about Italy than about Spain. They favoured an increase of the army and the sending of a commander-in-chief:[2] nor were they so well agreed whom to send, as they were on this point, that, where two great commanders had fallen within thirty days, there a successor to both must be chosen with unusual care. While some were naming one man, others another, finally they had recourse to the holding of an election to name a proconsul[3] for Spain; and the consuls announced a date for the

[3] To be so styled there was no requirement that a man should have been consul or even praetor; cf. XXIX. xiii. 7. Scipio's father and uncle had been consuls before they went out to Spain. For their fate cf. XXV. xxxiv. 11 ff.; xxxvi. 13 f.

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5 edixerunt. Primo exspectaverant ut qui se tanto imperio dignos crederent nomina profiterentur. Quae ut destituta exspectatio est, redintegratus luctus acceptae cladis desideriumque imperatorum amissorum.

6 Maesta itaque civitas, prope inops consilii, comitiorum die tamen in campum descendit; atque in magistratus versi circumspectant ora principum aliorum alios intuentium fremuntque adeo perditas res desperatumque de re publica esse ut nemo 7 audeat in Hispaniam imperium accipere, cum subito P. Cornelius, Publi Cornelii eius [1] qui in Hispania ceciderat filius, quattuor et viginti ferme annos natus, professus se petere, in superiore unde conspici 8 posset loco constitit. In quem postquam omnium ora conversa sunt, clamore ac favore ominati extemplo 9 sunt felix faustumque imperium. Iussi deinde inire suffragium ad unum omnes non centuriae modo, sed etiam homines P. Scipioni imperium esse in Hispania 10 iusserunt. Ceterum post rem actam, ut iam resederat impetus animorum ardorque, silentium subito ortum et tacita cogitatio quidnam egissent. Nonne [2] 11 favor plus valuisset quam ratio? Aetatis maxime paenitebat; quidam fortunam etiam domus horrebant nomenque ex funestis duabus familiis in eas provincias

[1] Publi Cornelii eius *Jac. Gronovius*: *om.* *P*(1): P Cornelii M^2: illius *ANJK Aldus*: Publi filius eius *Conway* (*omitting* filius *below*).

[2] Nonne *Madvig*: novi *P*(1)J^1K: noni *J*.

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[1] He had distinguished himself at seventeen in the battle of the Ticinus; XXI. xlvi. 7 ff.; Polybius X. iii, 4 ff., who with a later date for his command in Spain makes him twenty-

election. At first people had waited for those who B.C. 211
thought themselves deserving of so important a command to hand in their names. When that hope was disappointed, grief for the disaster they had suffered was renewed, and regret for the lost generals.

And so the citizens mourned, being almost devoid of any plan; nevertheless on the election day they went down into the Campus. And turning towards the magistrates they scanned the faces of the leading men, who were looking at one and another of their number, and there were complaints that the situation was so desperate and hope for the state so given up that no man ventured to accept the command for Spain, when suddenly Publius Cornelius, son of that Publius Cornelius who had fallen in Spain, being about twenty-four years of age,[1] declared that he was a candidate, and took his place on higher ground from which he could be seen. Towards him all faces were turned, and then by their shouts of approval they at once predicted a fortunate and auspicious command. Then, bidden to cast their votes, not only all the centuries, but also every single man voted that Publius Scipio should have the command in Spain. But after the thing was done, now that impulsiveness and enthusiasm had subsided, there came a sudden silence and they thought to themselves, What had they done? Had not partiality outweighed reasoning? It was his youth that they especially regretted. Some also shrank from the destiny of the house, and from the name of one who was setting out from two afflicted families [2] for pro-

seven at this time (*l.c.* vi. 10). Cf. XXVII. vii. 5 and note. Of course this Scipio had had no normal advancement.

[2] But at least a year has elapsed.

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ubi inter sepulcra patris patruique res gerendae essent proficiscentis.

XIX. Quam[1] ubi ab re tanto impetu acta sollicitudinem curamque hominum animadvertit, advocata contione ita de aetate sua imperioque mandato et bello quod gerundum esset magno elatoque animo 2 disseruit, ut ardorem eum qui resederat excitaret rursus novaretque et[2] impleret homines certioris spei quam quantam fides promissi humani aut ratio 3 ex fiducia rerum subicere solet. Fuit enim Scipio non veris tantum virtutibus mirabilis, sed arte quoque quadam ab iuventa in ostentationem earum 4 compositus, pleraque apud multitudinem aut ut[3] per nocturnas visa[4] species aut velut divinitus mente monita agens, sive et ipse capti quadam superstitione animi, sive ut imperia consiliaque velut sorte oraculi 5 missa sine cunctatione exsequerentur. Ad hoc iam inde ab initio praeparans animos, ex quo togam virilem sumpsit, nullo die prius ullam publicam privatamque rem egit quam in Capitolium iret ingressusque aedem consideret et plerumque solus 6 in secreto ibi tempus tereret. Hic mos, quem[5] per omnem vitam servabat,[6] seu consulto seu temere volgatae opinioni fidem apud quosdam fecit stirpis 7 eum divinae virum esse, rettulitque famam in Alexandro Magno prius volgatam, et vanitate et

[1] Quam *M²A^y Aldus* : qua vi *PC²R*¹ : qua *P^xC^xRM* : quod *AJKz*.

[2] et *AJK Aldus* : *om. P*(3).

[3] ut *Duker, Weissenborn* : *om. P*(1)*JK*.

[4] visa *P*(1)*JK Eds., Conway* : visas *Fabri, Weissenborn, Luchs, Riemann*.

[5] quem *Weissenborn* : qui *Aldus* : *om. P*(1)*JK, Conway*.

[6] servabat *PCR* : servabatur *MBDAJKz Aldus* : servatus *C²x Gronovius, Conway*.

vinces where his campaign must be about the tombs B.C. 211
of his father and his uncle.

XIX. When he noticed this anxiety and concern, following an action taken with such impulsiveness, Scipio called an assembly, and discoursed with such elevation of spirit on his age and the command entrusted to him and the war to be waged, that he again awakened and revived the ardour which had cooled, and filled men with a more assured hope than belief in a man's promise or reasoning based upon confidence of his success usually inspires. For Scipio was remarkable not only for his real abilities, but thanks to a certain skill also had from his youth adapted himself to their display, doing most of his actions before the public either as if they were prompted by visions in the night or inspired by the gods, whether because he also was possessed by a certain superstition, or in order that men might carry out without hesitation his commands and advice, as though emanating from an oracular response. More than that, preparing men's minds from the very beginning, from the time when he put on the manly gown, there was not a day on which he did any business public or private without going first to the Capitol, and after he had entered the temple, sitting down and usually passing the time there alone in seclusion.[1] This custom, which he maintained throughout his lifetime, confirmed in some men the belief, whether deliberately circulated or by chance, that he was a man of divine race. And it revived the tale previously told of Alexander the Great[2] and rivalling it as unfounded gossip, that his conception

[1] Before daylight according to Gellius VI (VII), i. 6.
[2] Plutarch *Alexander* ii. 4.

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fabula parem, anguis immanis concubitu conceptum, et in cubiculo matris eius visam persaepe prodigii eius speciem interventuque hominum evolutam
8 repente atque ex oculis elapsam. His miraculis numquam ab ipso elusa fides est; quin potius aucta arte quadam nec abnuendi tale quicquam nec palam
9 adfirmandi. Multa alia eiusdem generis, alia vera, alia adsimulata, admirationis humanae in eo iuvene excesserant modum; quibus freta tunc civitas aetati haudquaquam maturae tantam rerum molem tantumque imperium permisit.

10 Ad eas copias quas ex vetere exercitu Hispania habebat quaeque a Puteolis cum C. Nerone traiectae erant, decem milia militum et mille[1] equites adduntur; et M. Iunius Silanus propraetor adiutor ad res
11 gerendas datus est. Ita cum triginta navium classe—omnes autem quinqueremes erant—ostiis[2] Tiberinis profectus praeter oram Tusci maris, Alpesque . . . et[3] Gallicum sinum et deinde Pyrenaei circumvectus promunturium, Emporiis, urbe Graeca —oriundi et ipsi a Phocaea sunt—copias exposuit.
12 Inde sequi navibus iussis Tarraconem pedibus profectus conventum omnium sociorum—etenim legationes ad famam eius ex omni se provincia
13 effuderant—habuit. Naves ibi subduci iussit, remissis quattuor triremibus Massiliensium quae

[1] mille A^1JK *Aldus*: *om.* $P(3)$, *space being left in P for numeral* (∞).

[2] ostiis PRM: hostiis $CBDAJK$: ab ostiis *Wesenberg*.

[3] -que et A^1JK: neque $P(3)$: -que $C^xM^{1?}$: atque *Aldus*. *Here a gap in the text is suspected* (*Crévier*) *on account of* et ipsi § 11 *and* triremibus Massiliensium § 13.

[1] Gellius *l.c.* 3. To the Roman mind the serpent would be the Genius of the house.

was due to an immense serpent, and that the form of B.C. 211
the strange creature had very often been seen in his mother's chamber, and that, when persons came in, it had suddenly glided away and disappeared from sight.[1] He himself never made light of men's belief in these marvels; on the contrary it was rather promoted by a certain studied practice of neither denying such a thing nor openly asserting it. Many other things of the same sort, some true, some pretended, had passed the limits of admiration for a mere man in the case of this youth. Such were the things on which the citizens relied when at that time they entrusted to an age far from mature so great a responsibility and so important a command.

To the forces which Spain had from the old army, and those which had been transported under Gaius Nero from Puteoli, were added ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry. And Marcus Iunius Silanus, the propraetor, was assigned to aid in the conduct of the war. So with a fleet of thirty ships (and they were all five-bankers) Scipio set out from the mouth of the Tiber, sailed along the coast of the Tuscan Sea and past the Alps . . . and the Gallic Gulf, and then rounding the promontory of the Pyrenees, landed his troops at Emporiae, a Greek city, for they also[2] are sprung from Phocaea. Then ordering the ships to follow, and proceeding by land to Tarraco, he held an assembly of all the allies; for on hearing of his coming embassies had poured out from the entire province. There he ordered the ships to be beached, while he sent back four triremes of the Massilians

[2] As well as the Massilians, whose city must have been mentioned in the lacuna.

A.U.C. 543 14 officii causa ab domo prosecutae fuerant. Responsa inde legationibus suspensis varietate tot casuum dare coepit, ita elato ab ingenti virtutum suarum fiducia animo ut nullum ferox verbum excideret, ingensque omnibus quae diceret cum maiestas inesset tum fides.

XX. Profectus ab Tarracone et civitates sociorum et hiberna exercitus adiit, conlaudavitque milites quod duabus tantis deinceps cladibus icti provinciam 2 obtinuissent, nec fructum secundarum rerum sentire hostis passi omni cis Hiberum agro eos arcuissent, 3 sociosque cum fide tutati essent. Marcium secum habebat cum tanto honore ut facile appareret nihil minus vereri quam ne quis obstaret gloriae suae. 4 Successit inde Neroni Silanus, et in hiberna milites novi deducti. Scipio omnibus quae adeunda agendaque erant mature aditis peractisque Tarraconem 5 concessit. Nihilo minor fama apud hostis Scipionis erat quam apud civis sociosque, et divinatio quaedam futuri, quo minus ratio timoris reddi poterat oborti 6 temere, maiorem inferens metum. In hiberna diversi concesserant, Hasdrubal Gisgonis usque ad Oceanum et Gadis, Mago in mediterranea maxime supra Castulonensem saltum: Hasdrubal Hamilcaris filius proximus Hibero circa Saguntum hibernavit.

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[1] It is already the end of the season; cf. § 6.

[2] In Carthaginian hands since 219 B.C. Polybius places the three Carthaginian armies somewhat differently (X. vii. 5).

which out of courtesy had escorted him from their home. Then he began to give answers to the embassies which were in suspense owing to the repeated changes of fortune, and that with high spirit indeed, due to his great faith in his own abilities, yet so that no over-confident word slipped from his lips, and that in all he said there was not only great dignity but also great sincerity. B.C. 211

XX. Setting out from Tarraco he visited cities of the allies and also winter quarters of the army,[1] and warmly praised the soldiers because, after suffering two such disasters in succession, they had held the province, and not allowing the enemy to feel any benefit from their successes, had kept them out of the whole region this side of the Ebro, and had loyally protected the allies. Marcius he kept by him in so much honour as to make it clear that he had not the least fear that anyone would stand in the way of his own fame. Then Silanus succeeded Nero, and the new soldiers were led into winter quarters. Scipio, having promptly visited all the necessary places and having done all that was to be done, retired to Tarraco. Not a whit less was Scipio's fame among the enemy than among citizens and allies, and there was a certain presentiment of the future, inspiring the greater fear in proportion as they were the less able to account for their unreasoned apprehension. They had withdrawn in different directions into winter quarters, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, as far as the Ocean and Gades, Mago into the interior, especially beyond the Forest of Castulo. Hasdrubal, the son of Hamilcar, was the nearest to the Ebro in his winter quarters near Saguntum.[2]

B.C. 13 7 Aestatis eius extremo qua capta est Capua et Scipio in Hispaniam venit Punica classis ex Sicilia Tarentum accita ad arcendos commeatus praesidii 8 Romani quod in arce Tarentina erat, clauserat quidem omnis ad arcem a mari aditus, sed adsidendo diutius artiorem annonam sociis quam hosti[1] facie- 9 bat. Non enim tantum subvehi oppidanis per pacata litora apertosque portus praesidio navium Punicarum poterat quantum frumenti classis ipsa turba navali mixta ex omni genere hominum absu- 10 mebat, ut arcis praesidium etiam sine invecto, quia pauci erant, ex ante praeparato sustentari posset, Tarentinis classique ne invectum quidem sufficeret. 11 Tandem maiore gratia quam venerat classis dimissa est: annona haud multum laxaverat,[2] quia remoto maritimo praesidio subvehi frumentum non poterat.

XXI. Eiusdem aestatis exitu M. Marcellus ex Sicilia provincia cum ad urbem venisset, a C. Calpurnio praetore senatus ei ad aedem Bellonae datus 2 est. Ibi cum de rebus ab se gestis disseruisset, questus leniter non suam magis quam militum vicem quod provincia confecta exercitum deportare non licuisset, postulavit ut triumphanti urbem inire 3 liceret. Id non impetravit. Cum multis verbis actum esset utrum minus conveniret, cuius nomine

[1] hosti M^1AJK *Aldus*: hostis $P(3)$: hostibus *Alschefski*.
[2] laxaverat $P(1)JK$: laxata est *conj. Luchs*.

[1] Bomilcar, the admiral, was entreated by the Tarentines to sail away; Polybius IX. ix. 11.

At the end of the summer in which Capua was B.C. 211
taken and Scipio came to Spain a Carthaginian fleet was summoned from Sicily to Tarentum to cut off the supplies of the Roman garrison which was in the citadel of Tarentum, and it had indeed closed every approach to the citadel from the sea, but by lying there for a long time it was making the grain supply more limited for their allies than for the enemy. For it was impossible for such a quantity of grain to be brought to the townspeople by way of the peaceful shores and open harbours, under the protection of the Carthaginian ships, as the fleet itself was consuming, with its swarming crews, including men of every race. The result was that, while the garrison of the citadel, as being few in number, could be supported from previous stores without importation, for the Tarentines and the fleet even the imported grain was insufficient. In the end the departure of the fleet was more welcome than had been its coming.[1] The scarcity had not been much relieved, because, with the removal of naval protection, grain could not be brought in.

XXI. At the end of the same summer, upon the arrival of Marcus Marcellus at the city from his province of Sicily, a session of the senate in the Temple of Bellona was granted him by Gaius Calpurnius, the praetor. There after speaking of his achievements he complained gently, not more on his own account than that of the soldiers, because even after completing his task in the province, he had not been permitted to bring away his army, and he demanded that he be permitted to enter the city in triumph. That request was not granted. There was first a wordy discussion whether it was more illogical

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absentis ob res prospere ductu eius gestas supplicatio decreta foret et dis immortalibus habitus honos, ei praesenti negare triumphum, an quem tradere exercitum successori iussissent—quod nisi manente in provincia bello non[1] decerneretur—eum quasi debellato triumphare. cum exercitus testis meriti atque immeriti triumphi abesset, medium visum ut ovans urbem iniret. Tribuni plebis ex auctoritate senatus ad populum tulerunt ut M. Marcello quo die urbem ovans iniret imperium esset. Pridie quam urbem iniret in monte Albano triumphavit; inde ovans multam prae se praedam in urbem intulit. Cum simulacro captarum Syracusarum catapultae ballistaeque et alia omnia instrumenta belli lata et pacis diuturnae regiaeque opulentiae ornamenta, argenti aerisque fabrefacti vis, alia supellex pretiosaque vestis et multa nobilia signa, quibus inter primas Graeciae urbes Syracusae ornatae fuerant. Punicae quoque victoriae signum octo ducti elephanti; et non minimum fuere[2] spectaculum cum coronis aureis praecedentes Sosis Syracusanus et Moericus Hispanus, quorum altero duce[3] nocturno

[1] non A^6 *Aldus*: num P: *om.* $P^2(1)JKz$: numquam *conj. Weissenborn.*

[2] fuere $P(3)A^y$ *Aldus*: fuit $AJKz$.

[3] duce $C^xA^x?JK$ *Aldus*: ducere PCR: ducente R^2MBDA.

[1] On horseback, or even on foot, not in the triumphal chariot. For the ovation cf. *e.g.* XXXIX. xxix. 5; Plutarch *Marcellus* xxii. 2; Cassius Dio LIV. viii.; Dionysius V. xlvii.; Gellius V. vi. 27.

[2] Cf. XXXIII. xxiii. 8; XLV. xxxviii. 4. This inferior form of triumph was often connected with the *ovatio.*

[3] Such representations of captured cities and towns were frequent features of triumphal processions. At the triumph of Lucius Scipio there were 134 *oppidorum simulacra*; XXXVII. lix. 3.

that he in whose name, though absent, a thanks- B.C. 211
giving for successes gained under his command had been decreed and honour rendered to the gods, should be denied a triumph when present, or on the other hand that he whom they had ordered to turn over his army to a successor—a vote which was not taken except when a war still remained in the province—should triumph just as though the war were finished, and in spite of the absence of the army to witness his triumph as deserved or undeserved. And then they adopted a compromise, that he should enter the city in an ovation.[1] The tribunes of the plebs on the authority of the senate brought before the people the proposal that Marcus Marcellus should have full military power on the day on which he entered the city in an ovation. On the day before his entry into the city he triumphed on the Alban Mount.[2] Then in his ovation he caused a great amount of booty to be carried before him into the city. Together with a representation of captured Syracuse[3] were carried catapults and *ballistae* and all the other engines of war, and the adornments of a long peace and of royal wealth, a quantity of silverware and bronzeware, other furnishings and costly fabrics, and many notable statues, with which Syracuse had been adorned more highly than most cities of Greece. As a sign of triumph over Carthaginians as well, eight elephants were in the procession. And not the least spectacle, in advance of the general and wearing golden wreaths, were Sosis[4] of Syracuse and Moericus[5] the Spaniard.

[4] Cf. xxx. 6; xxxi. 4. Probably not the same Sosis as in XXIV. and XXV.

[5] Cf. XXV. xxx.

U.C. 43 Syracusas introitum erat, alter Nasum quodque ibi
11 praesidii erat prodiderat. His ambobus civitas data et quingena iugera agri, Sosidi in agro Syracusano, qui aut regius aut hostium populi Romani fuisset, et aedes Syracusis cuius vellet eorum in quos belli iure
12 animadversum esset; Moerico Hispanisque qui cum eo transierant urbs agerque in Sicilia ex iis qui a
13 populo Romano defecissent, iussa dari. Id M. Cornelio mandatum ut, ubi ei videretur, urbem agrumque eis adsignaret. In eodem agro Belligeni, per quem inlectus ad transitionem Moericus erat, quadringenta iugera agri decreta.

14 Post profectionem ex Sicilia Marcelli Punica classis octo milia peditum, tria Numidarum equitum exposuit. Ad eos Murgentia et Ergetium urbes defecere.[1] Secutae defectionem earum Hybla et Macella sunt
15 et[2] ignobiliores quaedam aliae. Et Numidae praefecto Muttine vagi per totam Siciliam sociorum
16 populi Romani agros urebant. Super haec exercitus Romanus iratus, partim quod cum imperatore non devectus ex provincia esset, partim quod in oppidis hibernare vetiti erant, segni fungebantur militia, magisque eis auctor ad seditionem quam animus
17 decerat. Inter has difficultates M. Cornelius praetor et militum animos nunc consolando nunc castigando

[1] -tia et Ergetium urbes defecere *Weissenborn* : -tiaeterre *P, a line lost after* er : -i(a)eterr(a)e (1)*JK*.
[2] sunt et : *Aldus* : st *PCRM* : sunt *AJK* : et *Weissenborn* : *om.* M^3BC^2.

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[1] Cethegus, who succeeded Marcellus in Sicily.
[2] Cf. XXV. xxx. 2, where no name is given.
[3] To share in the triumph of Marcellus. The remainder of the sentence refers to the legions in disgrace; i. 10; ii. 14.

With one of them as guide at night Syracuse had B.C. 211
been entered: the other had betrayed Nasus and the garrison there. To both of these citizenship was granted and five hundred *iugera* of land; to Sosis, in the territory of Syracuse, land which had either belonged to the king or to enemies of the Roman people, and a house at Syracuse, to be chosen by him from those owned by men whom they had punished by the law of war. To Moericus and the Spaniards who had changed sides with him a city and land in Sicily were ordered to be given, chosen from among those who had revolted from the Roman people. Instructions were given to Marcus Cornelius[1] to assign them a city and land wherever he saw fit. In the same region four hundred *iugera* of land were voted to Belligenes,[2] by whom Moericus had been induced to change sides.

After Marcellus' departure from Sicily a Carthaginian fleet landed eight thousand infantry and three thousand Numidian cavalry. To them the cities of Murgentia and Ergetium revolted. Their rebellion was followed by that of Hybla and Macella and some others of less importance. And the Numidians, roaming everywhere in Sicily under their prefect Muttines, burned over lands of allies of the Roman people. In addition the Roman army, being indignant, partly because it had not been transported out of the province along with its commander,[3] and partly because they had been forbidden to winter in towns, was serving without spirit. And what they lacked for a mutiny was a leader rather than the inclination. In the midst of these difficulties Marcus Cornelius, the praetor, quieted the soldiers' excitement, now by consoling, now by censuring them;

A.U.C. 543 sedavit, et civitates omnis quae defecerant in dicionem redegit; atque ex iis Murgentiam Hispanis quibus urbs agerque debebatur ex senatus consulto attribuit.

XXII. Consules cum ambo Apuliam provinciam haberent, minusque iam terroris a Poenis et Hannibale esset, sortiri iussi Apuliam Macedoniamque provincias. Sulpicio Macedonia evenit isque Laevino successit. 2 Fulvius Romam comitiorum causa arcessitus cum comitia consulibus rogandis haberet, praerogativa Voturia iuniorum T. Manlium Torquatum et T. 3 Otacilium absentem consules dixit.[1] Cum ad Manlium.[2] qui praesens erat, gratulandi causa turba coiret, nec dubius esset consensus populi, magna 4 circumfusus turba ad tribunal consulis venit, petitque ut pauca sua verba audiret centuriamque quae 5 tulisset suffragium revocari iuberet. Erectis omnibus exspectatione quidnam postulaturus esset, oculorum 6 valetudinem excusavit: impudentem et gubernatorem et imperatorem esse qui, cum alienis oculis ei omnia agenda sint, postulet sibi[3] aliorum capita 7 ac fortunas committi. Proinde, si videretur ei, redire in suffragium Voturiam iuniorum iuberet et meminisse in consulibus creandis belli quod in Italia 8 sit temporumque rei publicae. Vixdum requiesse auris a strepitu et tumultu hostili, quo paucos

[1] absentem consules dixit *Fabri* : *om. P*(1)*JK in a lacuna of probably two lines.*

[2] Cum ad Manlium *Weissenborn* : *om. P*(1)*JK.*

[3] sibi *K* : sibi post *P*(1)*J* : sibi potius *Gronovius.*

[1] *I.e.* by lot. Cf. the similar case in 215 B.C.; XXIV. vii. 12; ix. 3.

likewise he reduced to subjection all the city-states B.C. 211
which had revolted. And of these he assigned Murgentia to the Spaniards to whom a city with its territory was due in conformity with a decree of the senate.

XXII. Since both consuls had Apulia as their province, and there was now less alarm from the Carthaginians and Hannibal, they were ordered to cast lots for Apulia and Macedonia as their provinces. Macedonia fell to Sulpicius, and he succeeded Laevinus. Fulvius was summoned to Rome for the election, and while he was conducting the election for the choice of consuls, the century of the younger men of the Voturia tribe, having the right to vote first,[1] declared in favour of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Titus Otacilius as consuls, the latter being absent. When a crowd gathered before Manlius, who was present, in order to congratulate him, and the approval of the people was unquestioned, surrounded by a great crowd he came to the tribunal of the consul, begged him to hear a few words from him, and bade him recall the century which had cast its vote. While all were in suspense, waiting to know what he was going to demand, he gave the condition of his eyes as an excuse. Shameless, he said, was a pilot and a general too, who, though he must use other men's eyes for everything he did, demanded that the lives and fortunes of others be entrusted to him. Therefore, if Fulvius approved, let him order the Voturia century of the younger men to vote again, and in electing consuls to remember the war that was in Italy and the critical times for the state. Their ears had hardly yet had a respite from the noise and uproar of the enemy when

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ante menses arserint[1] prope moenia Romana. Post haec cum centuria frequens succlamasset nihil se mutare sententiae eosdemque consules dicturos
9 esse, tum Torquatus "Neque ego vestros" inquit "mores consul ferre potero neque vos imperium meum. Redite in suffragium et cogitate bellum Punicum in Italia et hostium ducem Hannibalem
10 esse." Tum centuria et auctoritate mota viri et admirantium circa fremitu, petiit a consule ut
11 Voturiam seniorum citaret: velle sese cum maioribus natu conloqui et ex auctoritate eorum consules dicere. Citatis Voturiae senioribus, datum secreto
12 in Ovili cum iis conloquendi tempus. Seniores de tribus consulendum dixerunt esse, duobus plenis iam honorum, Q. Fabio et M. Marcello, et si utique novum aliquem adversus Poenos consulem creari vellent, M. Valerio Laevino: egregie adversus
13 Philippum regem terra marique rem gessisse. Ita de tribus consultatione data, senioribus dimissis iuniores suffragium ineunt. M.[2] Claudium, fulgentem tum Sicilia domita, et M. Valerium absentis consules dixerunt. Auctoritatem praerogativae omnes centu-
14 riae secutae sunt. Eludant nunc antiqua mirantis: non equidem, si qua sit sapientium civitas, quam

[1] arserint *Alschefski*: asserint *P*(1): cesserint *M*[1] *Madvig, Conway.*

[2] M., *here P*(1)*J Aldus insert* Marcellus *or* -um: *K has normal order of the three names.*

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[1] The corresponding century of the same first class.

[2] A large enclosed area in the Campus Martius for election purposes. Ovile, its older name, gave way in general use to that of Saepta. Agrippa erected there a huge building, the Saepta Iulia, completed in 26 B.C.; Cassius Dio LIII. xxiii.

the city of Rome had been all but ablaze a few B.C. 211
months before. After these words the century *en masse* cried out they would not make any change in their opinion and would vote for the same men as consuls. Thereupon Torquatus said: "Neither shall I as consul be able to put up with your manners, nor will you with my authority. Vote again, and reflect that a Punic war is in Italy and the commander of the enemy Hannibal." Then the century, moved by the prestige of the man and the expressions of admiration on all sides, begged the consul to summon the Voturia century of the older men.[1] They wished, they said, to confer with their elders and on their authority to name consuls. When the older men of the Voturia had been summoned, time for a secret conference with them was granted in the Sheepfold.[2] The elders said that they must deliberate in regard to three men, two of them already full of honours, Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus, and if they were quite decided to elect some new man as consul to face the Carthaginians, Marcus Valerius Laevinus; that he had carried on the war brilliantly against King Philip on land and sea. So after deliberation in regard to the three men had been allowed, the elders were sent away, and the younger men cast their vote. They voted for Marcus Claudius, at that time resplendent in the light of his conquest of Sicily, and Marcus Valerius as consuls, both being absent. The authority of the leading century was followed by all the rest. Let men now make sport of those who admire what is old.[3] For my part, if there should be a city-state of sages, such as philosophers imagine rather than

[3] Cf. VI. xli. 8.

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docti fingunt magis quam norunt, aut principes graviores temperantioresque[1] a cupidine imperii aut multitudinem melius moratam censeam fieri posse. Centuriam vero iuniorum seniores consulere voluisse quibus imperium suffragio mandaret, vix ut veri simile sit parentium quoque hoc saeculo vilis levisque apud liberos auctoritas fecit.

XXIII. Praetoria inde comitia habita. P. Manlius Volso[2] et L. Manlius Acidinus et C. Laetorius et L. Cincius Alimentus creati sunt. Forte ita incidit ut comitiis perfectis nuntiaretur T. Otacilium, quem T. Manlio, nisi interpellatus ordo comitiorum esset, conlegam absentem daturus fuisse videbatur populus, mortuum in Sicilia esse. Ludi Apollinares et priore anno fuerant et eo anno ut fierent referente Calpurnio praetore, senatus decrevit ut in perpetuum voverentur. Eodem anno prodigia aliquot visa nuntiataque sunt. In aede Concordiae Victoria quae in culmine erat fulmine icta decussaque ad Victorias quae in antefixis erant haesit neque inde procidit. Et Anagniae[3] et Fregellis nuntiatum est murum portasque de caelo tactas,[4] et in foro Subertano sanguinis rivos per diem totum fluxisse, et Ereti lapidibus pluvisse, et Reate mulam peperisse.

[1] temperantioresque B^2J *Sigonius*: -atioresque $P(1)K$.
[2] Volso *Aldus*: Vulso *Sigonius*: valens $P(1)JKz$.
[3] Anagniae C *Aldus*: angnia P: anagnia $P^1(3)$.
[4] tactas $P^2(1)JK$(-tus D) *Aldus*: tacta P.

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[1] The annalist: XXI. xxxviii. 3.
[2] At the upper end of the Forum, built after 367 B.C. Another temple in the citadel had been dedicated in 216 B.C.; XXIII. xxi. 7.

actually know, I am inclined to think that neither B.C. 211
could leading men possibly be of more solid worth and more self-controlled as regards the lust for power, nor could the populace show a higher character. But that a century of the younger men wished to confer with their elders as to men whom they should vote to entrust with a command should seem to us scarcely credible—this is due to the cheapened and diminished authority even of parents over their children in our day.

XXIII. Then an election for the praetorships was held. Elected were Publius Manlius Volso and Lucius Manlius Acidinus and Gaius Laetorius and Lucius Cincius Alimentus.[1] It was after the election, as it happened, that news came of the death in Sicily of Titus Otacilius, whom the people in his absence would, it seemed, have given as a colleague to Titus Manlius, if the course of the election had not been interrupted. The festival of Apollo had been observed in the previous year, and in order that it might be observed in this year also, the senate, on motion of Calpurnius, the praetor, decreed that it be vowed as a permanency. In the same year a number of prodigies were seen and reported. At the Temple of Concord[2] a Victory which stood on the pediment was struck by lightning, and being dislodged, it caught upon the Victories which were among the antefixes and did not fall farther. And at Anagnia and at Fregellae the wall and gates were reported to have been struck from heaven; and that at Forum Subertanum there had been streams of blood for a whole day; and that at Eretum there was a shower of stones; and that at Reate a mule had foaled. These prodigies were

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6 Ea prodigia hostiis maioribus sunt procurata, et obsecratio in unum diem populo indicta et novemdiale sacrum. Sacerdotes publici aliquot eo anno de-
7 mortui sunt novique suffecti: in locum M'. Aemili Numidae decemviri sacrorum M. Aemilius Lepidus, in locum M. Pomponi Mathonis pontificis C. Livius,
8 in locum Sp. Carvili Maximi auguris M. Servilius. T. Otacilius Crassus pontifex quia exacto anno mortuus erat, ideo nominatio in locum eius non est facta. C. Claudius flamen Dialis, quod exta perperam dederat, flamonio abiit.

XXIV. Per idem tempus M. Valerius Laevinus, temptatis prius per secreta conloquia principum animis, ad indictum ante ad id ipsum concilium
2 Aetolorum classe expedita venit. Ubi cum Syracusas Capuamque captam [1] in fidem in Italia Sicilia-
3 que [2] rerum secundarum ostentasset, adiecissetque iam inde a maioribus traditum morem Romanis colendi socios, ex quibus alios in civitatem atque aequum secum ius accepissent, alios in ea fortuna
4 haberent ut socii esse quam cives mallent; Aetolos eo in maiore futuros honore quod gentium trans-
5 marinarum in amicitiam primi venissent; Philippum eis et Macedonas gravis accolas esse, quorum se vim ac spiritus et iam fregisse et eo redacturum

[1] captam $P(1)$: capitam N: captas A^2JK *Aldus, Froben*: itas N^2.

[2] Italia Siciliaque *Alschefski*: italiaque $P(3)A^2JK$ *Aldus*: Sicilia Italiaque A^y *Gronovius*.

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[1] The regular method of expiation when a shower of stones had been reported: XXI. lxii. 6; XXIII. xxxi. 15; XXV. vii. 9; XXVII. xxxvii. 4.

atoned for with full-grown victims, and a single day B.C. 211
of prayer was proclaimed to the people and nine days of ceremonies.[1] A number of public priests died that year, and new priests were appointed: in place of Manius Aemilius Numida, a decemvir in charge of rites, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was appointed, in place of Marcus Pomponius Matho, a pontifex, Gaius Livius, in place of Spurius Carvilius Maximus, the augur, Marcus Servilius. Since Titus Otacilius Crassus, a pontifex, had died at the end of the year, no one was named to take his place. Gaius Claudius, flamen of Jupiter, abdicated his office because of an error in his placing the entrails.

XXIV. About the same time Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had previously sounded the leading men in secret conferences, came on a swift sailing fleet to a council of the Aetolians already appointed for that very purpose. There he first set before them the capture of Syracuse and Capua, to convince them of success in Italy and Sicily, and in addition referred to the customary good treatment of allies as handed down to the Romans by their ancestors. Some of the allies, he said, they had admitted to citizenship and to the same rights as themselves, others they kept in so favoured a situation that they preferred to be allies rather than citizens: that the Aetolians would be held in all the higher honour because they would have been the first of the peoples across the sea to enter their friendship;[2] that Philip and the Macedonians were their oppressive neighbours, whose might and over-confidence he had

[2] Ptolemy Philadelphus sent an embassy to Rome about 273 B.C., but friendly relations were not followed by any formal alliance, as stated in *Periocha* 14.

c.c. 43

esse ut non iis modo urbibus quas per vim ademissent[1] Aetolis excedant, sed ipsam Macedoniam
6 infestam habeant; et Acarnanas, quos aegre ferrent Aetoli a corpore suo diremptos, restituturum se in
7 antiquam formulam iurisque ac dicionis eorum;— haec dicta promissaque a Romano imperatore Scopas, qui tum praetor gentis erat, et Dorimachus, princeps Aetolorum, adfirmaverunt auctoritate sua, minore cum verecundia et maiore cum fide vim maiestatem-
8 que populi Romani extollentes. Maxime tamen spes potiundae movebat Acarnaniae. Igitur conscriptae condiciones quibus in amicitiam societatem-
9 que populi Romani venirent; additumque ut, si placeret vellentque, eodem iure amicitiae Elei Lacedaemoniique et Attalus et Pleuratus et Scerdilaedus essent, Asiae Attalus, hi Thracum et Illyriorum
10 reges; bellum ut extemplo Aetoli cum Philippo terra gererent; navibus ne minus viginti quinque quinque-
11 remibus adiuvaret Romanus; urbium Corcyrae tenus ab Aetolia incipienti solum tectaque et muri cum agris Aetolorum, alia omnis praeda populi Romani esset, darentque operam Romani ut Acarnaniam
12 Aetoli haberent; si Aetoli pacem cum Philippo facerent, foederi adscriberent ita ratam fore[2]

[1] ademissent *Aldus*: ademisset *P*(1)*JKz Conway.*
[2] fore *Muretus* (*x*?): eorum *P*(1)*JK Aldus.*

[1] *I.e.* στρατηγός.
[2] Meaning the cities in Acarnania and a large part of Epirus.

already broken and would further reduce to such a B.C. 211
pass that they would not only retire from the cities which they had forcibly taken from the Aetolians, but also would find Macedonia itself continually endangered. And as for the Acarnanians, whose forcible separation from their federation the Aetolians resented, he said he would restore them to the old written basis, establishing both the rights and the supremacy of the Aetolians. These statements and promises by the Roman general were confirmed by the authority of Scopas, then magistrate [1] of the tribe, and of Dorimachus, a leading man of the Aetolians, while they extolled the might and majesty of the Roman people, using less restraint and bringing more conviction. But most effective was the hope of getting possession of Acarnania. Accordingly the terms were written down under which they should enter friendship and alliance with the Roman people; furthermore that, if so disposed and willing, the Eleans and Lacedaemonians and Attalus and Pleuratus and Scerdilaedus should have the same rights of friendship, Attalus being king of Asia and the last mentioned kings of the Thracians and Illyrians; that the Aetolians should at once wage war against Philip by land; that the Roman should assist with not less than twenty-five ships with five banks of oars; that, of the cities between the Aetolian border and Corcyra [2] the soil and buildings and city-walls, together with their territory, should belong to the Aetolians, all the rest of the booty to the Roman people; and that the Romans were to see to it that the Aetolians should have Acarnania. If the Aetolians should make peace with Philip they were to append to the treaty that the peace would be

c.c. 43 pacem si Philippus arma ab Romanis sociisque
13 quique eorum dicionis essent abstinuisset; item si populus Romanus foedere iungeretur regi, ut caveret ne ius ei belli inferendi Aetolis sociisque eorum
14 esset. Haec convenerunt, conscriptaque biennio post Olympiae ab Aetolis, in Capitolio ab Romanis, ut testata sacratis monumentis essent, sunt posita.
15 Morae causa fuerant retenti Romae diutius legati Aetolorum; nec tamen impedimento id rebus gerendis fuit. Et Aetoli extemplo moverunt adversus Philippum bellum, et Laevinus Zacynthum—parva insula est propinqua Aetoliae; urbem unam eodem quo ipsa est nomine habet; eam praeter arcem vi cepit—et Oeniadas Nasumque Acarnanum captas
16 Aetolis contribuit; Philippum quoque [1] satis implicatum bello finitimo ratus, ne Italiam Poenosque et pacta cum Hannibale posset respicere, Corcyram ipse se recepit.

XXV. Philippo Aetolorum defectio Pellae hibernanti adlata est. Itaque quia primo vere moturus
2 exercitum in Graeciam erat, ut [2] Illyrios finitumasque eis urbes ab tergo metu quietas [3] Macedonia haberet, expeditionem subitam in Oricinorum atque Apolloniatium fines fecit, egressosque Apolloniatas cum magno
3 terrore ac pavore compulit intra muros. Vastatis

[1] quoque *P*(1)*JK*: -que *Weissenborn.*
[2] ut *Alschefski*: *om. P*(1).
[3] quietas *P*(3) *Alschefski*: quietas ut *ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] Set up in temples, as was usual among Greeks and Romans.
[2] Breaking a treaty made with him six years before.
[3] Cf. XXIV. xl.

valid only in case Philip should refrain from war B.C. 211
with the Romans and their allies and those who were subject to the latter. In like manner, if the Roman people should make a treaty with the king, they should take care that he have no right to invade the land of the Aetolians and their allies. These terms were agreed upon, and not until two years later were the texts set up, at Olympia by the Aetolians, on the Capitol by the Romans, that they might be attested by consecrated records.[1] The reason for the delay had been the retention of the Aetolian envoys for a long time at Rome. And yet that did not hinder active measures. On the one hand the Aetolians at once began the war against Philip, on the other Laevinus captured Zacynthus. This is a small island, near Aetolia, and has one city of the same name as the island itself; that city he took by storm, except for its citadel. And after capturing Oeniadae and Nasus, belonging to the Acarnanians, he annexed them to Aetolia. Thinking that Philip also was sufficiently involved in a war with neighbours to prevent him from having any possible thought of Italy and the Carthaginians and treaties with Hannibal, he himself retired to Corcyra.

XXV. As Philip was wintering at Pella, the estrangement of the Aetolians[2] was reported to him. Accordingly because he intended at the beginning of spring to move his army into Greece, in order that Macedonia should keep the Illyrians in her rear and the cities near them intimidated, he made a sudden incursion into the territories of Oricum and Apollonia,[3] and when the Apollonians came out of their city, he drove them inside their walls, causing great

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proximis Illyrici in Pelagoniam eadem celeritate vertit iter: inde Dardanorum urbem Sintiam, in Macedoniam transitum Dardanis facturam, cepit. His raptim actis, memor Aetolici iunctique cum eo Romani belli per Pelagoniam et Lyncum et Bottiaeam in Thessaliam descendit—ad bellum secum adversus Aetolos capessendum incitari posse homines credebat—et relicto ad fauces Thessaliae Perseo cum quattuor milibus armatorum ad arcendos aditu Aetolos, ipse, priusquam maioribus occuparetur rebus, in Macedoniam atque inde in Thraciam exercitum ac Maedos duxit. Incurrere ea gens in Macedoniam solita erat, ubi regem occupatum externo bello ac sine praesidio esse regnum sensisset. Ad frangendas igitur vires[1] gentis simul[2] vastare agros et urbem Iamphorynnam, caput arcemque Maedicae, oppugnare coepit. Scopas ubi profectum in Thraciam regem occupatumque ibi bello audivit, armata omni iuventute Aetolorum bellum inferre Acarnaniae parat. Adversus quos Acarnanum gens, et viribus impar et iam Oeniadas Nasumque amissa[3] cernens Romanaque insuper arma ingruere, ira magis instruit quam consilio bellum. Coniugibus liberisque et senioribus super sexaginta annos in propinquam Epirum missis, ab quindecim ad sexaginta annos

[1] vires C^4 *Madvig*: *om.* $P(1)JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] gentis simul *Conway*: *om.* $P(1)$ *etc.*; *one line has been lost.*

[3] amissa P *Madvig, Conway (without remark)*: -sas *Gronovius, Weissenborn.*

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[1] A high mountain region between the upper Peneus and the Aoüs rivers.

[2] No doubt through the Vale of Tempe.

panic and alarm. After ravaging the nearest parts B.C. 211
of Illyricum, he changed the direction of his march with the same speed into Pelagonia. Then he captured a city of the Dardanians, Sintia, as likely to afford a passage for the Dardanians into Macedonia. So much having been done in haste, mindful of the Aetolian war and the Roman war combined with it, he came down through Pelagonia and Lyncus [1] and Bottiaea into Thessaly,[2] believing that men could be aroused to join him in undertaking a war against the Aetolians, and leaving Perseus at the pass into Thessaly [3] with four thousand armed men, to prevent the Aetolians from entering, he led his army, before he should be engaged in more important matters, into Macedonia and thence into Thrace and against the Maedi. That tribe had been in the habit of making raids into Macedonia, whenever it knew that the king was engaged in a foreign war and the kingdom unprotected. Therefore to break its power he began at the same time to lay waste the country and to besiege the city of Iamphorynna, the capital and citadel of Maedica. Scopas, on learning that the king had gone into Thrace and was there occupied with a war, armed all the young men among the Aetolians and prepared to invade Acarnania. Against these the Acarnanian tribe, inferior in strength, and at the same time seeing Oeniadae and Nasus lost and a war with Rome impending in addition, prepared for war out of resentment rather than calculation. Sending away wives and children and the older men above sixty years to the nearest part of Epirus, from fifteen years of age up to sixty

[3] *I.e.* from the south via Thermopylae: XXVIII. v. 8; XXXVI. xv. 6 ff.

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12 coniurant nisi victores se non redituros: qui victus acie excessisset, eum ne quis urbe, tecto, mensa, lare reciperet, diram exsecrationem in popularis, obtestationem quam sanctissimam potuerunt adversus
13 hospites composuerunt; precatique simul Epirotas sunt ut, qui suorum in acie cecidissent, eos uno tumulo contegerent, adfigerentque[1] humatis titu-
14 lum: "Hic siti sunt Acarnanes, qui adversus vim atque iniuriam Aetolorum pro patria pugnantes
15 mortem occubuerunt."[2] Per haec incitatis animis castra in extremis finibus suis obvia hosti posuerunt. Nuntiis ad Philippum missis, quanto res in discrimine esset, omittere Philippum id quod in manibus erat coegerunt bellum, Iamphorynna per deditionem
16 recepta et prospero alio successu rerum. Aetolorum impetum tardaverat primo coniurationis fama Acarnanicae; deinde auditus Philippi adventus regredi
17 etiam in intimos coegit fines. Nec Philippus, quamquam, ne opprimerentur Acarnanes, itineribus magnis ierat, ultra Dium est progressus. Inde, cum audisset reditum Aetolorum ex Acarnania, et ipse Pellam rediit.

XXVI. Laevinus veris principio a Corcyra profectus navibus superato Leucata promunturio cum venisset Naupactum, Anticyram inde se petiturum edixit, ut praesto ibi Scopas Aetolique essent.

[1] adfigerentque *Madvig*: -liberentque *PRM*: -hiberentque *CM²?BDAJK Aldus*: -icerentque *Weissenborn, Conway.*
[2] occubuerunt *P*(3) *Aldus*: oppetierunt *AJKz.*

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[1] *Viz.* the Epirotes.
[2] Dium, at the foot of Mt. Olympus, was a strong city, commanding both the coast road into Macedonia from

they took an oath that they would not return except as victors: should any man come out of the battle defeated, they drew up a dreadful curse upon their countrymen, a most solemn adjuration adressed to their hosts:[1] that no one should receive that man into the city, into his house, to his table, to his hearth. And at the same time they besought the Epirotes to cover under one mound all of their men who were to fall in battle, and to set up this inscription for those they had buried: "Here lie the Acarnanians who, fighting for their country against the violence and injustice of the Aetolians, have met their death." Having aroused their spirits by these means, they pitched camp facing the enemy at their very frontier. Sending messengers to Philip to inform him how great was the danger, they compelled him to give up the war which he had on hand, after the surrender of Iamphorynna and in spite of his other successes. The Aetolians' attack was delayed at first by the report of the oath of the Acarnanians, and then news of Philip's approach forced them to retire far back into the interior. And Philip, although he had been making forced marches to prevent the Acarnanians from being overpowered, did not advance beyond Dium.[2] Thence, on hearing that the Aetolians had returned from Acarnania, he too returned to Pella. B.C. 211

XXVI. Laevinus at the beginning of spring set out by ship from Corcyra, rounded the promontory of Leucata, and on reaching Naupactus, made it known by an edict that he would proceed to Anticyra, and that Scopas and the Aetolians should meet him there.

[1] Thessaly and a road leading down from the pass northwest of the mountain.

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2 Sita Anticyra est in Locride[1] laeva parte sinum
3 Corinthiacum intranti: breve terra iter eo, brevis navigatio ab Naupacto est. Tertio ferme post die utrimque oppugnari coepta est. Gravior a mari oppugnatio erat, quia et tormenta machinaeque omnis generis in navibus erant, et Romani inde oppugnabant. Itaque intra paucos dies recepta urbs per deditionem Aetolis traditur, praeda ex pacto Romanis
4 cessit. Litterae interea Laevino redditae consulem eum absentem declaratum, et successorem venire P. Sulpicium: ceterum diuturno ibi morbo inplicitus serius spe omnium Romam venit.

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5 M. Marcellus cum idibus Martiis consulatum inisset, senatum eo die moris modo causa habuit, professus nihil se absente conlega neque de re publica
6 neque de provinciis acturum. Scire se frequentis Siculos prope urbem in villis obtrectatorum suorum esse; quibus tantum abesse ut per se non liceat
7 palam Romae crimina edita[2] ab inimicis volgare, ut, ni simularent aliquem sibi timorem absente conlega dicendi de consule esse, ipse eis extemplo daturus senatum fuerit. Ubi quidem conlega venisset, non passurum quicquam prius agi quam ut Siculi in

[1] Locride *z*: locide *P*: *same or* loci de (3)B^2JKx: Phocide *Cellarius*.

[2] edita *Madvig, Emend.*: edita ficta $P(3)A^r$: edicta ficta *BD*: edicta facta $AJKx$: edita fictaque *z* *Aldus*: ficta *Ussing*.

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[1] The stronghold of Anticyra in Locris, only 20 miles east of the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, is less well known than the city of the same name in Phocis, ca. 40 miles farther (by the

Anticyra is situated in Locris, on the left as one B.C. 211
enters the Gulf of Corinth.[1] It is a short journey by land, a short sail thither from Naupactus. About two days later the siege began from both sides. More serious was the attack from the sea, because the artillery and engines of all kinds were on the ships, also because it was the Romans who were besieging from that side. And so within a few days the city surrendered and was turned over to the Aetolians, while the booty fell to the Romans in accordance with the agreement. A letter was delivered meanwhile to Laevinus informing him that in his absence he had been declared consul, and that his successor, Publius Sulpicius, was on the way. But contracting a long illness there, he came to Rome later than anyone had anticipated.

Marcus Marcellus, having entered upon his con- B.C. 210
sulship on the Ides of March, held a session of the senate on that day merely as a matter of custom, declaring that in the absence of his colleague he would do nothing concerning either the state or the provinces. He knew, he said, that a large number of Sicilians were near the city at the country-places of his detractors; that so far was it from being true that these men were not permitted by him to noise abroad openly at Rome the charges emanating from his personal foes, that he would himself immediately have given them a hearing in the senate but for their pretending no little fear to speak of the consul in the absence of his colleague. When indeed his colleague should arrive, he said, he would not allow any business to be taken up prior to the question of

road) to the east. Cf. W. A. Oldfather in Pauly-Wissowa, Lokris, 1226.

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8 senatum introducantur. Dilectum prope a M. Cornelio per totam Siciliam habitum, ut quam plurumi questum de se Romam venirent; eundem litteris falsis urbem inplesse, bellum in Sicilia esse,
9 ut suam laudem minuat. Moderati animi gloriam eo die adeptus consul senatum dimisit; ac prope iustitium omnium rerum futurum videbatur donec alter consul ad urbem venisset.

10 Otium, ut solet, excitavit plebis rumores: belli diuturnitatem[1] et vastatos agros circa urbem, qua infesto agmine isset Hannibal, exhaustam dilectibus Italiam et prope[2] quotannis[3] caesos exercitus quere-
11 bantur, et consules bellicosos ambo viros acresque nimis et feroces creatos qui vel in pace tranquilla bellum excitare possent, nedum in bello respirare civitatem forent passuri.

XXVII. Interrupit hos sermones nocte quae pridie Quinquatrus fuit pluribus simul locis circa forum in-
2 cendium ortum. Eodem tempore septem tabernae quae postea quinque, et argentariae quae nunc novae
3 appellantur, arsere; conprehensa postea privata aedificia—neque enim tum basilicae erant—, conprehensae lautumiae forumque piscatorium et atrium

[1] diuturnitatem *A*^{r}*x*: -tate *P*(1)*JK Aldus.*
[2] prope *Gronovius*: pro re *P*(1)*Jz*: per te *K*: pro rep. *Aldus.*
[3] quotannis *Gronovius*: quodannis *P*: quod cannis *P*^{2}(3) (cannensis *AJKz*): cannis *Aldus.*

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[1] Cf. xxi. 13, 17.
[2] Chief festival of Minerva, 19th to 23rd of March. Cf. Festus pp. 304, 306 L; Ovid *Fasti* III. 809 ff. and Frazer's note.
[3] The rows of shops on opposite sides of the Forum were public property, but leased to tenants, chiefly bankers and money-changers. The New Shops were on the north side.

bringing the Sicilians before the senate. It was almost a levy that Marcus Cornelius[1] had conducted all over Sicily, in order that as many as possible might come to Rome to complain of himself. He added that Cornelius had also filled the city with letters falsely stating that there was a war in Sicily, in order to detract from the praise of the speaker. After winning a reputation for moderation on that day, the consul dismissed the senate. And it seemed that public business would be almost at a standstill until the other consul should come to the city. B.C. 210

Inaction, as usual, stirred up talk among the common people. They kept complaining of the duration of the war and of the devastation of farms around the city, wherever Hannibal had passed with his hostile army; of the draining of Italy by levies, and of armies cut to pieces almost every year; and of the election to both consulships of men of war, with an excess of spirit and confidence, who even in unruffled peace were capable of stirring up war, and were still less likely in time of war to allow the state a breathing-spell.

XXVII. Such utterances were interrupted on the night before the Quinquatrus[2] by a fire which broke out in several places at once about the Forum. At the same time the seven shops which later were five, and the bankers' offices, now called Tabernae Novae, caught fire;[3] then private houses took fire—for there were no basilicas then,—the quarter of the Quarries[4] took fire, and the Fish Market and the

[4] The Lautumiae were near the Carcer, west of the Comitium.

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4 regium. Aedis[1] Vestae vix defensa est tredecim maxime servorum opera, qui in publicum redempti
5 ac manu missi sunt. Nocte ac die continuatum incendium fuit, nec ulli dubium erat humana id fraude factum esse, quod pluribus simul locis, et iis diversis,
6 ignes coorti essent. Itaque consul ex auctoritate senatus pro contione edixit qui, quorum opera id conflatum[2] incendium, profiteretur, praemium fore
7 libero pecuniam, servo libertatem. Eo praemio inductus Campanorum Calaviorum servus—Manus ei nomen erat—indicavit dominos et quinque praeterea iuvenes nobiles Campanos quorum parentes a Q. Fulvio securi percussi erant id incendium fecisse,
8 volgoque facturos alia, ni conprendantur.[3] Conprehensi ipsi familiaeque eorum. Et primo elevabatur index indiciumque: pridie eum verberibus castigatum ab dominis discessisse; per iram ac
9 levitatem ex re fortuita crimen commentum. Ceterum ut coram coarguebantur, et quaestio ex ministris facinoris foro medio haberi coepta est, fassi omnes, atque in dominos servosque conscios animadversum est; indici libertas data et viginti milia aeris.
10 Consuli Laevino Capuam praetereunti circumfusa multitudo Campanorum est obsecrantium cum lacrimis ut sibi Romam ad senatum ire liceret oratum, si qua misericordia tandem flecti possent, ne se ad

[1] Aedis *PC*: -des *RMBDAJK*.

[2] conflatum. *here perhaps* esset *has been omitted (inserted by Madvig after* incendium).

[3] -prendantur $P^2(3)$: -prehendantur *BDAJK*.

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[1] For contracts to rebuild this House of the Vestals and the Macellum cf. XXVII. xi. 16.

[2] Under torture, as being slaves.

Atrium Regium.[1] The Temple of Vesta was saved B.C. 210
with difficulty chiefly by the aid of thirteen slaves, who were purchased by the state and manumitted. The fire held on night and day, and no one doubted that it was the work of incendiaries, since the flames had burst out in several places at once, and places not adjacent at that. Accordingly the consul on the authority of the senate declared before an assembly that any man who made known through whose action the fire had been kindled should have, if a freeman, money as his reward, if a slave, his freedom. Led by that reward a slave of the Capuan Calavii—his name was Manus—declared that his masters, and in addition five young men, Capuan nobles, whose fathers had been beheaded by Quintus Fulvius, had set that fire, and would set others everywhere if they were not arrested. They were arrested, themselves and their slaves. And at first they tried to discredit the informer and the information. It was said that, having been punished by scourging the day before, he had left his masters; that owing to anger and worthless character he had made up a charge out of a chance occurrence. But when they were accused in the presence of the informer, and an examination[2] of those who had served them in the crime began in the centre of the Forum, they all confessed, and punishment was visited upon the masters and their slave accomplices. The informer was given his liberty and twenty thousand *asses*.

As the consul Laevinus was passing Capua, a multitude of Capuans flocked about him, begging him with tears to be permitted to go to the senate at Rome, to plead with them, if they could at last be touched by any sense of pity, not to proceed utterly to destroy

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ultimum perditum irent nomenque Campanorum a
11 Q. Flacco deleri sinerent. Flaccus sibi privatam simultatem cum Campanis negare ullam esse: publicas inimicitias [1] et esse et futuras, quoad eo
12 animo esse erga populum Romanum sciret. Nullam enim in terris gentem esse, nullum infestiorem populum nomini Romano. Ideo se moenibus inclusos tenere eos, quia,[2] si qui evasissent aliqua, velut feras bestias per agros vagari et laniare et trucidare
13 quodcumque obvium detur. Alios ad Hannibalem transfugisse, alios ad Romam incendendam profectos. Inventurum in semusto foro consulem vestigia
14 sceleris Campanorum. Vestae aedem petitam et aeternos ignes et conditum in penetrali fatale pignus imperi Romani. Se minime censere tutum esse Campanis potestatem intrandi Romana moenia
15 fieri. Laevinus Campanos, iure iurando a Flacco adactos, quinto die quam ab senatu responsum accepissent Capuam redituros, sequi se Romam
16 iussit. Hac circumfusus multitudine, simul Siculis obviam egressis secutisque Romam, praebuit speciem dolentis duarum [3] clarissimarum urbium excidio ac celeberrimis viris victos bello accusatores in urbem
17 adducentis. De re publica tamen primum ac de provinciis ambo consules ad senatum rettulere.

[1] inimicitias, *P*(3) *add* hostilis.
[2] quia *P*(1)*J Weissenborn* (*rejected by Madvig*): quod *K*: quippe *Friedersdorff*.
[3] speciem dolentis duarum *M. Müller*: *om. P*(1)*JK, a lost line.*

them, and not to allow Quintus Flaccus to wipe out B.C. 210
the Capuan people. Flaccus said that he had no personal quarrel with the Capuans; his enmity was national, and would be as long as he knew they were so disposed toward the Roman people. For no nation, no people in the world was more hostile to the Roman people. He was keeping them shut up inside the walls for the reason that, if any escaped in some way, they roamed like wild beasts over the country and mangled and slew all that met them. Some had deserted, he said, to Hannibal, others had gone to set Rome on fire. In the half-burned Forum the consul would find traces of the crime of the Capuans. Vesta's temple had been the object of attack, and the eternal fires, and, hidden away in its holy place, the fateful pledge [1] of Roman rule. He did not think it at all safe to give the Capuans permission to enter the walls of Rome. After Flaccus had required the Capuans to take an oath that they would return to Capua on the fifth day after they should receive the senate's answer, Laevinus bade them follow him to Rome. Surrounded by this multitude, while at the same time the Sicilians came out to meet him and followed him into Rome, he bore the appearance of a man grieving for the destruction of two very famous cities, and bringing into the city the vanquished in war to be the accusers of men of the greatest eminence. Nevertheless it was in regard to the state and the provinces that the two consuls first introduced business into the senate.

[1] The Palladium, the sacred image of Athena, said to have been brought from Troy.

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XXVIII. Ibi Laevinus, quo statu Macedonia et Graecia, Aetoli, Acarnanes Locrique essent, quasque 2 ibi res ipse egisset terra marique, exposuit: Philippum inferentem bellum Aetolis in Macedoniam retro ab se conpulsum ad intuma penitus regni abisse, legionemque inde deduci posse; classem satis esse ad 3 arcendum Italia regem. Haec de se deque provincia cui praefuerat consul: tum de provinciis communis relatio fuit. Decrevere patres ut alteri consulum Italia bellumque cum Hannibale provincia esset, alter classem cui T. Otacilius praefuisset Siciliamque provinciam cum L. Cincio praetore obtineret. 4 Exercitus eis duo decreti qui in Etruria Galliaque essent; eae quattuor erant legiones; urbanae duae superioris anni in Etruriam, duae quibus Sulpicius consul praefuisset in Galliam mitterentur. 5 Galliae et legionibus praeesset quem consul cuius 6 Italia provincia esset praefecisset; in Etruriam C. Calpurnius post praeturam prorogato in annum imperio missus. Et Q. Fulvio Capua provincia 7 decreta prorogatumque in annum imperium; exercitus civium sociorumque minui iussus, ut ex duabus legionibus una legio, quinque milia peditum et trecenti equites essent, dimissis qui plurima sti- 8 pendia haberent, et sociorum septem milia peditum et trecenti[1] equites relinquerentur, eadem ratione

[1] trecenti (ccc) *P*(1) *JK*: cccc *conj. Weissenborn.*

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[1] The Locrians are ad led on account of the capture of their Anticyra: xxvi. 1–3.

XXVIII. There Laevinus explained how matters B.C. 210
stood with Macedonia and Greece, the Aetolians, Acarnanians and Locrians,[1] and what had been his own achievements there by land and sea: that when Philip was on the point of invading Aetolia, he had driven him back into Macedonia, retiring into the very heart of his kingdom: and that the legion could be withdrawn from that country: that the fleet was enough to keep the king away from Italy. So much did the consul report in regard to himself and the province, his late command. Then they both brought up the question of the provinces. The senate decreed that Italy and the war with Hannibal should be the province of one consul, that the other should have the fleet which Titus Otacilius had commanded and Sicily as his province, with Lucius Cincius, the praetor. To the consuls were assigned the two armies which were in Etruria and Gaul: these were four legions. The two city legions of the previous year were to be sent into Etruria: the two which Sulpicius had commanded as consul, into Gaul. Gaul and its legions were to be under the command of the man appointed by the consul whose province was Italy. Into Etruria Gaius Calpurnius was sent after his praetorship, with his command extended for a year. And to Quintus Fulvius Capua was assigned as his province, and his command was extended for a year. A reduction in the army of citizens and allies was ordered, so that out of two legions should be formed one, five thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen, while those who had the largest number of campaigns were discharged, and of the allies there should remain only seven thousand infantry and three hundred horsemen,

c. stipendiorum habita[1] in veteribus militibus di-
9 mittendis. Cn. Fulvio consuli superioris anni nec de provincia Apulia nec de exercitu quem habuerat quicquam mutatum; tantum in annum prorogatum imperium est. P. Sulpicius, conlega eius, omnem exercitum praeter socios navalis iussus dimittere est.
10 Item ex Sicilia exercitus cui M. Cornelius praeesset, ubi consul in provinciam venisset, dimitti iussus.
11 L. Cincio praetori ad obtinendam Siciliam Cannenses
12 milites dati. duarum instar legionum. Totidem legiones in Sardiniam P. Manlio Volsoni praetori decretae, quibus L. Cornelius in eadem provincia
13 priore anno praefuerat. Urbanas legiones ita scribere consules iussi ne quem militem facerent qui in exercitu M. Claudii, M. Valerii, Q. Fulvi fuisset, neve eo anno plures quam una et viginti Romanae legiones essent.

XXIX. His senatus consultis perfectis sortiti[2] provincias consules. Sicilia et classis Marcello, Italia cum bello adversus Hannibalem Laevino evenit.
2 Quae sors, velut iterum captis Syracusis, ita exanimavit Siculos, exspectatione sortis in consulum conspectu stantis, ut comploratio eorum flebilesque voces et extemplo oculos hominum converterint et
3 postmodo sermones praebuerint. Circumibant enim

[1] habita *P*(1) *Aldus*: inita *JK*.
[2] sortiti *DAJK Aldus*: sortirii *PR*: sortiri *CMB*: sortiri iussi *conj. Weissenborn.*

[1] *I.e.* the army which Laevinus had had the year before in Greece. But in the next year Sulpicius still kept one legion; XXVII. vii. 15.

with the same reckoning of campaigns in discharg- B.C. 210
ing old soldiers. For Gnaeus Fulvius, consul in the previous year, no change was made either in regard to his province of Apulia, or as to the army he had had: his command was merely extended for a year. Publius Sulpicius, his colleague, was bidden to discharge his entire army,[1] except the marines. From Sicily in the same way the army which Marcus Cornelius commanded was ordered to be discharged as soon as the consul should reach the province. In order to hold Sicily the soldiers from Cannae, amounting to about two legions, were given to Lucius Cincius, the praetor. The same number were assigned for Sardinia to Publius Manlius Volso, the praetor—legions which Lucius Cornelius had commanded in the same province the preceding year. As for the city legions, the consuls were ordered to enrol them, with the restriction that they should not enlist any man who had been in the army of Marcus Claudius, Marcus Valerius, or Quintus Fulvius,[2] and that there should not be in that year more than twenty-one Roman legions.

XXIX. After these decrees of the senate were completed, the consuls cast lots for their provinces. Sicily and the fleet fell to Marcellus, Italy with the war against Hannibal to Laevinus. That allotment, just as if Syracuse had again been captured, so badly frightened the Sicilians, who were standing before the eyes of the consuls while awaiting the result, that their lamentation and tearful voices at once attracted the eyes of men and later occasioned remark. For

[2] *I.e.* there were to be no veterans who had been discharged from the armies mentioned above in §§ 6–10, partly under the names of later commanders.

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senatorum domos[1] cum veste sordida, adfirmantes se non modo suam quosque[2] patriam, sed totam Siciliam relicturos, si eo Marcellus iterum cum
4 imperio redisset. Nullo suo merito eum ante inplacabilem in se fuisse: quid iratum, quod Romam de se questum venisse Siculos sciat, facturum? Obrui Aetnae ignibus aut mergi freto satius illi
5 insulae esse quam velut dedi noxae inimico. Hae Siculorum querellae domos primum nobilium circumlatae celebrataeque sermonibus, quos partim misericordia Siculorum, partim invidia Marcelli exci-
6 tabat, in senatum etiam pervenerunt. Postulatum a consulibus est ut de permutandis provinciis senatum consulerent. Marcellus, si iam auditi ab senatu Siculi essent, aliam forsitan futuram fuisse sententiam
7 suam dicere: nunc, ne quis timore frenari eos dicere posset,[3] quo minus de eo libere querantur in cuius potestate mox futuri sint, si conlegae nihil intersit,
8 mutare se provinciam paratum esse; deprecari senatus praeiudicium: nam cum extra sortem conlegae optionem dari provinciae inicum fuerit, quanto maiorem iniuriam, immo contumeliam esse, sortem suam ad eum transferri?
9 Ita senatus, cum quid placeret magis ostendisset quam decresset,[4] dimittitur. Inter ipsos consules permutatio provinciarum, rapiente fato Marcellum

[1] domos *Weissenborn*: *om.* *P*(1).
[2] quosque *Madvig*: quisque *P*(1)*JK Aldus*: quemque *A*[y] *Valla, Gronovius.*
[3] posset *P*(1)*NJK*: possit *J. H. Voss.*
[4] decresset *P*: -crevisset *P*[1]?(1) *Conway.*

[1] Since a vote of the senate that an exchange of provinces be made would prejudice any subsequent action concerning Marcellus' administration in Sicily.

they went the rounds of the senators' houses in mourning garb, asserting that they would not only leave, each group of them, their native city, but all Sicily, if Marcellus should return again in command. For no fault of theirs he had before been merciless to them; what would he do when angry, knowing that Sicilians had come to Rome to complain about himself? It was better for that island to be overwhelmed by the fires of Aetna or sunk in the strait than to be handed over as it were to a personal foe for punishment. These complaints of the Sicilians, at first circulated in the homes of the nobles, and repeated in conversations inspired partly by pity for the Sicilians, partly by antagonism to Marcellus, even reached the senate. It was demanded of the consuls that they raise in the senate the question of an exchange of provinces. Marcellus said that, if the Sicilians had already been heard by the senate, his opinion would perhaps have been different. As it was, to prevent any one from saying that they were restrained by fear from freely complaining about the man in whose power they would presently be, he was ready, if it was of no consequence to his colleague, to exchange his province. He deprecated, he said, a verdict from the senate in advance;[1] for, granted that it would have been unfair for the choice of a province to be given to his colleague without casting lots, how much greater was the injustice, or rather the insult, if his own allotment should be transferred to that colleague? B.C. 210

Accordingly the senate adjourned, after showing what it favoured, but making no such decree. Between themselves the consuls made an exchange of provinces, for Fate was sweeping Marcellus in the

l.c. 10 ad Hannibalem, facta est, ut ex quo primus post
4 adversissimas haud adversae[1] pugnae gloriam ceperat, in eius laudem postremus Romanorum imperatorum, prosperis tum maxime bellicis rebus, caderet.

XXX. Permutatis provinciis Siculi in senatum introducti multa de Hieronis regis fide perpetua erga populum Romanum verba fecerunt, in gratiam
2 publicam avertentes: Hieronymum ac postea Hippocraten atque Epicyden tyrannos cum ob alia, tum propter defectionem ab Romanis ad Hannibalem invisos fuisse sibi. Ob eam causam et Hieronymum a principibus iuventutis prope[2] publico consilio
3 interfectum, et in Epicydis Hippocratisque caedem septuaginta nobilissimorum iuvenum coniurationem factam; quos Marcelli mora destitutos, quia ad praedictum tempus exercitum ad Syracusas non admovisset, indicio facto omnis ab tyrannis inter-
4 fectos. Eam quoque Hippocratis et Epicydis tyrannidem Marcellum excitasse Leontinis crudeliter
5 direptis. Numquam deinde principes Syracusanorum desisse ad Marcellum transire pollicerique se urbem, cum vellet, ei tradituros; sed eum primo vi
6 capere maluisse; dein cum id neque terra neque mari omnia expertus potuisset, auctores traditarum Syracusarum fabrum aerarium Sosim et Moericum

[1] adversissimas haud *Madvig*: *om.* $P(1)NJK$, *a lost line, variously supplied.*
[2] prope *z Aldus*: pro $P(1)Nxz$: *om.* M^1A^2JK.

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[1] At Nola; XXIII. xvi.
[2] As Flaminius and Aemilius Paulus had fallen. The death of Marcellus actually occurred two years later, in his 5th consulship; XXVII. xxvii.
[3] About eighty in number in XXV. xxiii. 6.
[4] Cf. *l.c.* § 7.

direction of Hannibal. The result was that he who, B.C. 210
after the greatest reverses, had been the first to win from Hannibal the glory of a battle that was not a reverse,[1] added to his opponent's fame, being the last of the Roman commanders to fall,[2] at the very moment of success in the war.

XXX. After the exchange of provinces the Sicilians were introduced into the senate, and spoke at length on the invariable loyalty of King Hiero towards the Roman people, laying that to the credit of the state. As for Hieronymus, and later, Hippocrates and Epicydes, the tyrants, they said they had themselves hated them for other reasons and especially because of their desertion from the Romans to Hannibal. On that account Hieronymus had been slain by the foremost of the young men, almost as if by a verdict of the people. And also to bring about the death of Epicydes and Hippocrates a conspiracy of seventy young men of the highest rank had been formed.[3] These men, they said, had been left in the lurch by the delay of Marcellus, in that he had not brought up his army to Syracuse at the time named in advance, and when an informer appeared, they had all been slain by the tyrants.[4] That tyranny also of Hippocrates and Epicydes had been provoked by Marcellus' cruel plundering of Leontini. After that, they said, leading men among the Syracusans had never ceased going over to Marcellus and promising that, whenever he wished it, they would turn the city over to him; but that at first he had preferred to take it by force; then, when after all his efforts he had proved unable to do so either by land or by sea, he had preferred to have the coppersmith Sosis and the Spaniard Moericus advocating

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Hispanum quam principes Syracusanorum habere, totiens id nequiquam ultro offerentis, praeoptasse, quo scilicet iustiore de causa vetustissimos socios populi
7 Romani trucidaret ac diriperet. Si non Hieronymus ad Hannibalem defecisset, sed populus Syracusanus et senatus, si portas Marcello Syracusani publice et non oppressis Syracusanis tyranni eorum Hippocrates et Epicydes clausissent, si Carthaginiensium animis
8 bellum cum populo Romano gessissent, quid ultra quam quod fecerit, nisi ut deleret Syracusas, facere
9 hostiliter Marcellum potuisse? Certe praeter moenia et tecta exhausta urbis et refracta[1] ac spoliata deum delubra, dis ipsis ornamentisque eorum
10 ablatis, nihil relictum Syracusis esse. Bona quoque multis adempta, ita ut ne nudo[2] quidem solo reliquiis[3] direptae fortunae[4] alere sese ac suos possent. Orare se patres conscriptos ut, si nequeant omnia, saltem quae compareant cognoscique possint restitui
11 dominis iubeant. Talia conquestos cum excedere ex templo, ut de postulatis eorum patres consuli
12 possent, Laevinus iussisset, "Maneant immo"[5] inquit Marcellus "ut coram iis respondeam, quando ea condicione pro vobis, patres conscripti, bella

[1] et refracta *Sp? Froben* 2 : ac refracta *P* : sacra fracta P^{1}?(1)*JK Aldus*.
[2] nudo *P*(3)*JK Froben* : in nudo *Madrig*.
[3] reliquiis *P* (*in repeated lines*) *Froben* 2 : reliis *Sp* : reliquis *P* (*before repetition*) (1)*JK*.
[4] fortunae *P* (*in repeated lines*) *CSp Froben* 2 : nae P^{2}(3)*JK*.
[5] immo *Sp* : imo *Froben* 2 : *om*. *P*(1)*JK*.

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[1] It was now *ager publicus* (cf. xvi. 8), to be leased normally from the censors, by exception from a general; XXVII. iii. 1.
[2] The Curia had been duly inaugurated as a *templum*.

the surrender of Syracuse, rather than the leading B.C. 210
Syracusans, although these volunteered again and again to do so, but to no purpose. His motive, of course, was to have the more reasonable excuse for slaughtering and plundering the oldest allies of the Roman people. If it had been not Hieronymus that went over to Hannibal, but the Syracusan people and senate, if it had been the Syracusans that by an act of the state closed the gates to Marcellus, and not rather their tyrants, Hippocrates and Epicydes, after overpowering the Syracusans, if with the animus of Carthaginians they had waged war against the Roman people, what hostile deed could Marcellus have done beyond what he did do, unless it be to destroy Syracuse? Certainly apart from the city-walls and the emptied houses and the sanctuaries of the gods, broken open and despoiled by removal of the statues of the gods themselves and their adornments, nothing had been left at Syracuse. Their landed property also had been taken away from many,[1] so that they could not support themselves and their families, even on the bare soil, with the help of what was left of their plundered possessions. They implored the conscript fathers, they said, if it was impossible for them to restore everything, to order that at least what was visible and could be identified be returned to the owners. After they had uttered such complaints and Laevinus had ordered them to leave the temple,[2] that the fathers might be able to deliberate in regard to their demands, "No, no," said Marcellus, "let them wait, that I may answer them to their faces, since such are the terms on which we wage war in your behalf, conscript fathers, that we have men vanquished by

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gerimus ut victos armis accusatores habeamus, duae [1] captae hoc anno urbes, Capua Fulvium reum, Marcellum Syracusae habeant."

XXXI. Reductis in curiam legatis tum consul "Non adeo maiestatis" inquit "populi Romani imperiique huius oblitus sum, patres conscripti, ut, si de meo crimine ambigeretur, consul dicturus
2 causam accusantibus Graecis fuerim. Sed non quid ego fecerim in disquisitionem venit—nam quidquid [2] in hostibus feci ius belli defendit—sed quid isti pati debuerint. Qui si non fuerunt hostes, nihil interest, nunc an vivo Hierone Syracusas violaverim.
3 Sin autem desciverunt a populo Romano, si [3] legatos nostros ferro atque armis petierunt, urbem ac moenia clauserunt, exercituque Carthaginiensium adversus nos tutati sunt, quis passos esse hostilia,
4 cum fecerint, indignatur? Tradentis urbem principes Syracusanorum aversatus sum; Sosim et Moericum Hispanum quibus tantam rem [4] crederem potiores habui. Non estis extremi Syracusanorum,
5 quippe qui aliis humilitatem obiciatis: quis est vestrum qui se mihi portas aperturum, qui armatos milites meos in urbem accepturum promiserit? Odistis et exsecramini eos qui fecerunt, et ne hic [5]

[1] duae $P(1)JK$: duaeque *Conway*: et duae *Ussing*.

[2] nam quidquid $P(1)$: quem quidquid *Sp Froben* 2; *the eight following words* (in . . sed quid) *are omitted in* $P(1)$, *but preserved by Sp, with a single correction* (*Rhenanus*) *in* defendit *for* -dendi.

[3] a populo Romano, si (*i.e.* a p. Ro. si) *Madvig*: a p. R. *Fabri*: portasi P^2: portas $P^2(1)$: *om.* A^2JK *Aldus, Froben.*

[4] tantam rem *x Aldus, Froben*: rem tantam A^2JKx: tantam $P(1)$: *Böttcher and Conway place* rem *after* crederem.

[5] hic *Aldus, Froben*: his $P(1)K$: hiis J.

our arms as accusers, and of the two cities captured B.C. 210
this year Capua has Fulvius as its defendant, Syracuse has Marcellus."

XXXI. When the legates had been led back into the Senate House, the consul said: "Not so forgetful have I been of the majesty of the Roman people and of this authority of mine, conscript fathers, that if it were a question of a charge brought against me, I as consul would have pleaded my case with Greeks as my accusers. But it is not what I have done that is to be inquired into—for whatever I did in the case of enemies is defended by the law of war—but what they deserved to suffer. If they have not been enemies, it makes no difference whether it was recently or in the time of Hiero that I desolated Syracuse.[1] But if they rebelled against the Roman people, if they attacked our ambassadors with sword and arms,[2] closed their city and walls, defended them against us with an army of Carthaginians, who is indignant because they suffered hostile acts, when they have committed them? When leading men among the Syracusans tried to surrender the city, I rejected them; I preferred Sosis and Moericus the Spaniard as the men to whom I should entrust so important a matter. You are not Syracusans of the lowest rank, inasmuch as you reproach others with their humble station. Who is there among you who promised that he would open the gates to me, that he would admit my soldiers under arms into the city? You hate and curse those who did so, and even here

[1] An indirect way of saying, Why did they bring in Hiero? Cf. xxx. 1.

[2] They escaped, though their ship was captured; XXIV. xxxiii. 2.

quidem contumeliis in eos dicendis parcitis; tantum
6 abest ut et ipsi tale quicquam facturi fueritis. Ipsa
humilitas eorum, patres conscripti, quam isti obiciunt,
maximo argumento est me neminem qui navatam
operam rei publicae nostrae vellet aversatum esse.
7 Et antequam obsiderem Syracusas, nunc legatis
mittendis, nunc ad conloquium eundo temptavi
pacem; et posteaquam neque legatos violandi
verecundia erat, nec mihi ipsi congresso ad portas
cum principibus responsum dabatur, multis terra
marique exhaustis laboribus tandem vi atque armis
8 Syracusas cepi. Quae captis acciderint apud Hanni-
balem et Carthaginienses victos iustius quam apud
9 victoris populi senatum quererentur. Ego, patres
conscripti, Syracusas spoliatas si negaturus essem,
numquam spoliis earum urbem Romam exornarem.
Quae autem singulis victor aut ademi aut dedi,
cum belli iure tum ex cuiusque merito satis scio me
10 fecisse. Ea vos rata habeatis, patres conscripti,
necne,[1] magis rei publicae interest quam mea.
Quippe mea fides exsoluta est: ad rem publicam
pertinet ne acta mea rescindendo alios in posterum
11 segniores duces faciatis. Et quoniam coram et
Siculorum et mea verba audistis, patres conscripti,
simul templo excedemus, ut me absente liberius

[1] necne *x Aldus, Froben*: ne *P*(1)*JK*.

[1] Legates at the gates are mentioned in XXIV. xxxiii. 4 and XXV. xxiii. 10, but Marcellus is not named. Cf. Plutarch

you do not refrain from uttering insults against them. B.C. 210
So far is it from the truth that you also would have done anything of the sort. Their humble rank, conscript fathers, of which those men make a reproach, is itself the strongest proof that I did not turn my back upon any man who wished to serve our state. And before I laid siege to Syracuse, I endeavoured, now by sending embassies, now by going to a conference, to secure peace. And it was not until after they showed no shame in injuring ambassadors, and no answer was given even to myself, when I met with their leading men at the gates,[1] that, having endured many hardships on land and sea, I at last captured Syracuse by force of arms. Of what befell the captured it is more reasonable for them to complain in the presence of Hannibal and the defeated Carthaginians than in the senate of a victorious nation. For myself, conscript fathers, if I had been intending to deny the despoiling of Syracuse, I should never be using its spoils to adorn the city of Rome. But in what I as victor either took from individuals or gave to them, I am quite sure that I acted both according to the law of war and in accordance with each man's desert. Whether you confirm those acts, conscript fathers, or not, concerns the state more than myself. For my duty has been fully discharged: it is to the interest of the state that you do not make other commanders less energetic for the future by annulling my acts. And seeing that you have heard face to face the words of the Sicilians, and mine as well, conscript fathers, we shall leave the temple at the same time, so that in my

[1] *Marcellus* xviii. 2, where he takes part in conferences near a certain tower.

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consuli senatus possit." Ita dimissi Siculi,[1] et ipse in Capitolium ad dilectum discessit.

XXXII. Consul alter de postulatis Siculorum ad patres rettulit. Ibi cum diu sententiis certatum esset, et magna pars senatus, principe eius sententiae 2 T. Manlio Torquato, cum tyrannis bellum gerendum fuisse censerent, hostibus et Syracusanorum et populi Romani, et urbem recipi, non capi, et receptam legibus antiquis et libertate stabiliri, non fessam 3 miseranda servitute bello adfligi; inter tyrannorum et ducis Romani certamina praemium victoris in medio positam urbem pulcherrimam ac nobilissimam perisse, horreum atque aerarium quondam populi Romani, cuius munificentia ac donis multis tempestatibus, hoc denique ipso Punico bello adiuta ornataque 4 res publica esset. Si ab inferis existat rex Hiero, fidissimus imperi Romani cultor, quo ore aut Syracusas aut Romam ei ostendi posse, cum, ubi semirutam ac spoliatam patriam respexerit, ingrediens Romam in vestibulo urbis, prope in porta, spolia patriae 5 suae visurus sit?—haec taliaque cum ad invidiam consulis miserationemque Siculorum dicerentur, mi- 6 tius tamen decreverunt patres: acta M.[2] Marcelli quae is gerens bellum victorque egisset rata habenda

[1] dimissi Siculi *C*: -sis siculi *PRJ*: -sis -lis *M*[1]*BDAJK Aldus, Froben.*

[2] acta M. *Weissenborn*: ctam *P*: tam *P*[2](3): cam *M* causam *A*[s]*JK*: causa *M*[6] *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] As an ally, after its surrender.

[2] For Hiero's ample gifts see XXII. xxxvii; XXIII. xxi. 5 and xxxviii, 13.

[3] The reference is to the two temples built by Marcellus outside the Porta Capena and adorned by him with spoils of Syracuse; XXVII. xxv. 7 ff. Cf. Vol. VI, p. 494 n. They were still unfinished; cf. xxxi. 9.

absence the senate can deliberate with greater free- B.C. 210
dom." So the Sicilians were dismissed, and he himself withdrew to the Capitol to conduct the levy.

XXXII. The other consul laid the matter of the Sicilians' demands before the fathers. Among them for a long time there was a conflict of opinions, and many senators, with Titus Manlius Torquatus as spokesman for that opinion, thought that they should have gone to war with the tyrants, enemies both of the Syracusans and of the Roman people, and that the city ought to have been taken over,[1] not captured, and once taken over, should have been confirmed in the possession of its former laws and its freedom, not crushed by war when already exhausted by a pitiful slavery. They said that in the conflicts between the tyrants and the Roman commander the most beautiful and famous of cities, set up in the midst as a prize for the victor, had been destroyed, the granary and treasury formerly of the Roman people, for by its generous gifts on many occasions, and last of all in this very Punic war,[2] the republic had been aided and enriched. If King Hiero, most faithful in his devotion to the Roman empire, should rise from the lower world, with what face could they show him either Syracuse or Rome, when after a backward look at his native city, half-ruined and despoiled, upon entering Rome he was to see in the forecourt of the city, almost at the gate, the spoils of his own city?[3] Although these words and others to the same effect were spoken in order to arouse hatred against the consul and pity for the Sicilians, the senate nevertheless adopted a milder decree: that the acts of Marcus Marcellus, during his conduct of the war and as victor, were to be ratified; for the

U.C. 44 esse; in relicum curae senatui fore rem Syracusanam, mandaturosque consuli Laevino ut, quod[1] sine iactura rei publicae fieri posset, fortunis eius civitatis 7 consuleret. Missis duobus senatoribus in Capitolium ad consulem, uti rediret in curiam, et introductis 8 Siculis, senatus consultum recitatum est; legatique benigne appellati ac dimissi ad genua se Marcelli consulis proiecerunt obsecrantes[2] ut quae deplorandae ac levandae calamitatis causa dixissent veniam eis daret, et in fidem clientelamque se urbemque Syracusas acciperet. Pollicens hoc[3] consul clementer appellatos eos dimisit.

XXXIII. Campanis deinde senatus datus est, quo- 2 rum oratio miserabilior, causa durior erat. Neque enim meritas poenas negare poterant, nec tyranni erant in quos culpam conferrent;[4] sed satis pensum poenarum tot veneno absumptis, tot securi percussis 3 senatoribus credebant: paucos nobilium superstites esse,[5] quos nec sua conscientia ut quicquam de se gravius consulerent impulerit, nec victoris ira capitis damnaverit; eos libertatem sibi suisque et bonorum aliquam partem orare, cives Romanos, adfinitatibus

[1] ut, quod *Alschefski*: vi quod *P*: quod P^2?(1) *Gronovius*: quoad *z*.

[2] obsecrantes *AJK Aldus, Froben*: et obsecrantes *P*(3): orantes et obsecrantes *Weissenborn*.

[3] Pollicens hoc *Böttcher*: potens oc (*for* sōc *or* s.c?)*P*(3): potens senatus consulto *Walters*: potens sui *Alschefski*: post haec M^3A^1JK *Aldus, Froben*.

[4] conferrent *P*(3) *Aldus*: deferrent *BDANJKz*.

[5] superstites esse A^1N^2JK *Aldus, Froben*: superior esse *P*: -iores esse P^2(1)A^2N: superesse *Alschefski*.

future the Syracusan state would be cared for by the B.C. 210
senate, and they would instruct the consul Laevinus to take measures for the property of its citizens, so far as could be done without loss to the republic. Two senators were sent to the consul on the Capitol, that he should return to the Senate House; and after the Sicilians had been brought in, the decree of the senate was read. And the legates, dismissed with kind words, threw themselves down before the knees of Marcellus, the consul, imploring him to pardon what they had said in lamenting and seeking to mitigate their misfortune, and that he would take them and the city of Syracuse under his protection and patronage. Making this promise the consul spoke to them gently and dismissed them.

XXXIII. The Campanians then had their hearing in the senate, and their speech was more pitiful, their case more difficult. For they could not deny that punishment had been deserved, nor were there tyrants on whom they could throw the blame. But they believed that a sufficient penalty had been paid, since so many senators had been carried off by poison, so many executed by beheading; that few of the nobles survived, whom neither their conscience had prompted to do violence to themselves, nor an angry victor had condemned to death. Those were the men who were begging, they said, for freedom for themselves and their families and for some part of their property, being Roman citizens,[1] linked to them in many cases through relations by marriage, and

[1] Cf. § 10. Roman citizenship had been conferred upon the Campanian knights in 339 B.C., and *civitas sine suffragio* upon all the Campanians soon after; cf. VIII. xi. 16; xiv. 10.

plerosque et propinquis iam[1] cognationibus ex conubio vetusto iunctos.

4 Summotis deinde a templo paulisper dubitatum an arcessendus a Capua Q. Fulvius esset—mortuus enim post captam Claudius consul erat—ut[2] coram imperatore qui res gessisset, sicut inter Marcellum 5 Siculosque disceptatum fuerat, disceptaretur. Dein cum M. Atilium, C. Fulvium fratrem Flacci, legatos eius, et Q. Minucium et L. Veturium Philonem, item Claudii legatos, qui omnibus gerendis rebus adfuerant, in senatu viderent nec Fulvium avocari a Capua nec 6 differri Campanos vellent, interrogatus sententiam M. Atilius Regulus, cuius ex iis qui ad Capuam 7 fuerant maxima auctoritas erat. "In consilio" inquit "arbitror me fuisse consulibus, Capua capta cum quaereretur eequi Campanorum bene meritus 8 de re publica nostra esset. Duas mulieres conpertum est, Vestiam Oppiam Atellanam Capuae habitantem et Paculam Cluviam, quae quondam quaestum corpore fecisset, illam cotidie sacrificasse pro salute et victoria populi Romani, hanc captivis egentibus 9 alimenta clam suppeditasse; ceterorum omnium Campanorum eundem erga nos animum quem Carthaginiensium fuisse, securique percussos a Q. Fulvio fuisse[3] magis quorum dignitas inter alios 10 quam quorum culpa eminebat. Per senatum agi de

[1] iam *Froben* 2 : iamiam $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus* : etiam *Madvig* : iam etiam *Gronovius*.

[2] ut A^sJK *Aldus*, *Froben* : *om.* $P(1)N$.

[3] Fulvio fuisse A^sJK *Aldus*. *Froben* : fulvi cisse P : fulvio vicisse $P^2(3)$: Fulvio esse *Gronovius*.

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[1] At this time proconsul. For his death cf. xvi. 1.

[2] *I.e.* former *legati* before Capua.

now by close blood relations in consequence of their long-established right of intermarriage. B.C. 210

Then after they had been conducted out of the temple, there was for a short time hesitation whether Quintus Fulvius should be summoned from Capua—for Claudius, the consul,[1] had died after the capture of the city—in order that the discussion might go on in the presence of the general who had conducted the campaign, just as it had been carried on between Marcellus and the Sicilians. Then, when they saw Flaccus' lieutenants[2] in the senate, namely his brother Gaius Fulvius and Marcus Atilius, also Claudius' lieutenants, Quintus Minucius and Lucius Veturius Philo, men who had witnessed everything that was done, and they did not wish Fulvius to be recalled from Capua nor the Campanians to be put off, Marcus Atilius Regulus, who had the greatest influence of all the men who had been at Capua, was asked his opinion. "I testify," he said, "that I was one of the advisers to the consuls when, after the capture of Capua, the question was raised whether there was anyone of the Campanians who had deserved well of our republic. It was ascertained that there were two women only, Vestia Oppia, of Atella, domiciled at Capua, and Pacula Cluvia, who had formerly been a harlot; that the former had sacrificed every day for the safety and victory of the Roman people, and the latter had secretly supplied food to needy captives; that all the rest of the Campanians had had the same feelings towards us as had the Carthaginians; and those beheaded by Quintus Fulvius were the men whose rank rather than their guilt was conspicuous among the others. I do not see that it is possible for action to be taken

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Campanis, qui cives Romani sunt, iniussu populi non video posse, idque et apud maiores nostros in Satricanis factum esse, cum defecissent, ut M. Antistius tribunus plebis prius rogationem ferret, sciscerentque plebs uti senatui de Satricanis sententiae
11 dicendae ius esset. Itaque censeo cum tribunis plebis agendum esse ut eorum unus pluresve rogationem ferant ad plebem qua nobis statuendi de
12 Campanis ius fiat." L. Atilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in haec verba rogavit: "Omnes Campani, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, qui se dediderunt in arbitrium dicionemque populi Romani
13 Q. Fulvio proconsuli, quosque una secum dedidere,[1] quaeque una secum dedidere, agrum urbemque, divina humanaque, utensiliaque sive quid aliud dediderunt, de iis rebus quid fieri velitis vos rogo,
14 Quirites." Plebes sic iussit: "Quod senatus iuratus, maxima pars, censeat, qui adsient,[2] id volumus iubemusque."

XXXIV. Ex hoc plebei scito senatus consultus Oppiae Cluviaeque primum bona ac libertatem restituit: si qua alia praemia petere ab senatu vellent,
2 venire eas Romam. Campanis in familias singulas decreta facta, quae non operae pretium est omnia

[1] quosque . . . dedidere *P*: *rejected by Madvig (following z Aldus), while* P^1 *or* P^2 *wished to delete the* quaeque *clause, which* (1)*JKz omit.*

[2] adsient *Cobet*: adsidens *P*(1) *Aldus, Froben*: assidens *DJK*: adsidet *C*[4].

[1] Satricum, near Antium and subject to it, revolted to the Samnites in 319 B.C. Livy's account at IX. xvi. 10 does not cover the procedure here mentioned, but tells only of the severity of Papirius Cursor.

[2] All non-citizens, including freedmen and the rest mentioned in xvi. 5.

by the senate in regard to the Campanians, who are B.C. 210
Roman citizens, without the command of the people; and I see that in the time of our ancestors also the procedure in the case of the Satricani, after their revolt, was that Marcus Antistius, tribune of the plebs, first introduced a bill, and the plebs voted that the senate should have the right to pronounce judgment upon the men of Satricum.[1] Accordingly I think that we must persuade the tribunes of the plebs that one or more of them should propose to the plebs a bill by which we should be given the right to decide in regard to the Campanians." Lucius Atilius, tribune of the plebs, by authority of the senate brought before the plebs a bill in these terms: "All the Capuans, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, who under Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, surrendered themselves to the will and authority of the Roman people, and the men[2] whom they have surrendered along with themselves, and the possessions which they have surrendered along with themselves, the land and the city, property of gods and property of men, and implements or anything else that they have surrendered—concerning those matters, Quirites, I ask you what you wish to be done." The plebs ordered as follows: "What the senate under oath, a majority of those present, shall decree, that is our wish and command."

XXXIV. In accordance with this plebiscite the senate, on being consulted, restored to Oppia and Cluvia first their property and their freedom: if they wished to request other compensations from the senate, it ordered them to come to Rome. For the Capuans, family by family,[3] decrees were passed,

[3] For he is speaking of the aristocracy.

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3 enumerare: aliorum bona publicanda, ipsos liberosque eorum et coniuges vendendas, extra filias quae enupsissent priusquam in populi Romani potestatem
4 venirent; alios in vincula condendos, ac de iis posterius consulendum; aliorum Campanorum summam [1] etiam census distinxerunt publicanda necne
5 bona essent. Pecua captiva praeter equos et mancipia praeter puberes virilis sexus [2] et omnia quae solo non continerentur restituenda censuerunt
6 dominis. Campanos omnis, Atellanos, Calatinos, Sabatinos, extraquam qui eorum aut ipsi aut parentes
7 eorum apud hostis essent, liberos esse iusserunt, ita ut nemo eorum civis Romanus aut Latini nominis esset, neve quis eorum qui Capuae fuisset, dum portae clausae essent, in urbe agrove Campano intra certam diem maneret; locus ubi habitarent trans Tiberim qui non contingeret Tiberim daretur;
8 qui nec Capuae nec in urbe Campana quae a populo Romano defecisset per bellum fuissent, eos cis Lirim
9 amnem Romam versus, qui ad Romanos transissent, priusquam Capuam Hannibal veniret, cis Volturnum emovendos censuerunt, ne quis eorum propius mare quindecim milibus passuum agrum aedificiumve
10 haberet. Qui eorum trans Tiberim emoti essent, ne ipsi posterive eorum uspiam pararent haberentve

[1] summam $P(1)JKM^{1\frac{1}{2}}$: summa M^2 *Duker*.
[2] virilis sexus CM^2AJK *Aldus, Froben*: viriles sexus $P(3)$: virile secus *Jac. Gronovius*.

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[1] This class of persons retained their freedom and part of their property.
[2] *I.e.* in the Carthaginian army.
[3] In the interior of Etruria; § 10.

which it is not worth while to recount in full. The property of some of them was to be confiscated, themselves and their children and wives sold, except the daughters who, before they became subject to the authority of the Roman people, had married into other communities. Others were to be put in chains and action concerning them considered later. In the case of other Capuans they graded their census rating also, to determine whether their property should be confiscated or not.[1] As for captured cattle, except horses, they decreed that they be restored to their owners, and slaves, except adult males, also everything which was not attached to the soil. All Capuans, Atellani, Calatini, Sabatini, except such of them as had been with the enemy,[2] either themselves or their fathers, were to be free men, it was ordered, with the reservation that no one of them should be a Roman citizen or reckoned a Latin, and that no one of them who had been at Capua while the gates were closed should remain in the city or in the territory of Capua beyond a certain date: that a region across the Tiber, but not touching the Tiber, be given them as a dwelling-place.[3] As for those who during the war had not been in Capua nor in a Campanian city which had revolted from the Roman people, it was voted that these should be removed this side of the Liris river in the direction of Rome; and that those who had come over to the Romans before Hannibal came to Capua should be removed this side of the Volturnus, no one of them to have land or building nearer the sea than fifteen miles.[4] Of those removed across the Tiber, neither the men themselves nor their descendants were to acquire or B.C. 210

[4] Thus they were to be cut off from maritime commerce.

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nisi in Veiente,[1] Sutrino Nepesinove agro, dum ne cui maior quam quinquaginta iugerum agri modus
11 esset. Senatorum omnium quique magistratus Capuae, Atellae, Calatiae gessissent bona venire Capuae iusserunt; libera corpora quae venum dari placuerat
12 Romam mitti ac Romae venire. Signa, statuas aeneas quae capta de hostibus dicerentur, quae eorum sacra ac profana essent ad pontificum collegium reiecerunt. Ob haec decreta maestiores aliquanto quam Romam venerant Campanos dimiserunt. Nec iam Q. Fulvii saevitiam in sese, sed iniquitatem deum atque exsecrabilem fortunam suam incusabant.

XXXV. Dimissis Siculis Campanisque dilectus habitus. Scripto deinde exercitu de remigum supple-
2 mento agi coeptum: in quam rem cum neque hominum satis, nec ex qua pararentur stipendiumque acciperent pecuniae quicquam ea tempestate in
3 publico esset, edixerunt consules ut privati [2] ex censu ordinibusque, sicut antea, remiges darent cum
4 stipendio cibariisque dierum triginta. Ad id edictum tantus fremitus hominum, tanta indignatio fuit ut magis dux quam materia seditioni deesset: secundum Siculos Campanosque plebem Romanam perdendam
5 lacerandamque sibi consules sumpsisse. Per tot annos tributo exhaustos nihil reliqui praeter terram

[1] Veiente. $A^{z}N^{2}JK$; *Aldus, Froben add* aut.
[2] privati *Froben* 1: privatim $P(1)JK$ *Aldus, Conway*: privato *z*.

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[1] In 214 B.C.: XXIV. xi. 7 f.

hold anywhere except in the districts of Veii, Sutrium B.C. 210
or Nepete, with the provision that no one was to have a larger amount of land then fifty *iugera*. The property of all senators and of those who had held office at Capua, Atella, Calatia they ordered to be sold at Capua; that the free persons who, it had been voted, should be offered for sale be sent to Rome and sold at Rome. Images, statues of bronze, which were said to have been captured from the enemy, they referred to the college of pontiffs, to decided which of them were sacred and which profane. In view of these decrees the Campanians were much sadder when dismissed than when they had come to Rome. And no longer did they lay the blame upon the harshness of Quintus Fulvius towards them, but upon the partiality of the gods and their accursed fortune.

XXXV. The Sicilians and Campanians having been sent away, a levy was held. Then when an army had been enrolled, they began to take up the question of recruiting more oarsmen. For this purpose, inasmuch as there was neither a sufficient supply of men, nor any money at that time in the treasury out of which they might be procured and receive their pay, the consuls in an edict ordered that private citizens according to their census and classes, as before,[1] should furnish oarsmen, with pay and rations for thirty days. In response to that edict there was such protest among the people, such indignation, that what was lacking for an uprising was a leader rather than fuel. Next after the Sicilians and Campanians the consuls, they said, had taken upon themselves the task of ruining and mangling the Roman populace. Exhausted by tribute for so many years, they had nothing left

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nudam ac vastam habere. Tecta hostis incendisse, servos agri cultores rem publicam abduxisse, nunc ad militiam parvo aere emendo, nunc remiges
6 imperando; si quid cui argenti aerisve fuerit, stipendio remigum et tributis annuis ablatum. Se ut dent quod non habeant nulla vi, nullo imperio cogi posse. Bona sua venderent; in corpora quae reliqua essent saevirent; ne unde redimantur quidem
7 quicquam superesse. Haec non in occulto, sed propalam in foro atque oculis ipsorum consulum
8 ingens turba circumfusi fremebant; nec eos sedare consules nunc castigando, nunc consolando poterant. Spatium deinde iis tridui se dare ad cogitandum dixerunt; quo ipsi ad rem inspiciendam et expe-
9 diendam[1] usi sunt. Senatum postero die habuerunt de remigum supplemento; ubi cum multa disseruissent cur aequa plebis recusatio esset, verterunt orationem eo ut dicerent privatis id seu aequum seu
10 iniquum onus iniungendum esse; nam unde, cum pecunia in aerario non esset, paraturos navalis socios? Quo modo autem sine classibus aut Siciliam obtineri aut Italia Philippum arceri posse aut tuta Italiae litora esse?

XXXVI. Cum in hac difficultate rerum consilium haereret, ac prope torpor quidam occupasset homi-
2 num mentes, tum Laevinus consul: magistratus

[1] et expediendam *Alschefski*: -damque *K Aldus, Froben*: -dam *P*(1)*J*.

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[1] For the emergency tax (direct) cf. XXIII. xxxi. 1 and xlviii. 8. Normally citizens were exempt from this *tributum*. It was regarded as a forced loan, to be repaid later, *e.g.* after a triumph in 187 B.C.; XXXIX. vii. 5.

but the land, bare and desolate. Their houses had B.C. 210
been burned by the enemy, the slaves who tilled the soil had been taken away by the state, now by purchase at a low price for military service, now by impressing them as oarsmen. If a man had any money in silver or bronze, it had been taken away for the pay of oarsmen and the yearly taxes.[1] As for themselves, they could not be compelled by any force, by any authority, to give what they did not have. Let their property be sold, let their bodies —all that remained—be harshly treated; not even for the purposes of a ransom was anything left to them. Such were the complaints of a great multitude, not in secret, but openly in the Forum and even before the eyes of the consuls, as they flocked about them. And the consuls, now upbraiding, now consoling, were unable to quiet them. Thereupon they said that they gave the people three days for reflection, a time which they themselves employed in looking into the matter and seeking a solution. The following day they held a session of the senate on the recruiting of more oarsmen. There, after setting forth many reasons why refusal on the part of the populace was fair, they so far altered their language as to say that the burden, whether fair or unfair, must be laid upon private citizens. For from what source were they to get crews, when there was no money in the treasury? And without fleets how could either Sicily be held, or Philip kept away from Italy, or the coasts of Italy be safe?

XXXVI. When in this difficult situation wisdom faltered, and a kind of lethargy had almost taken possession of men's minds, Laevinus, the consul, said that, as magistrates are superior to the senate in

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senatui et senatum populo, sicut honore praestent,[1] ita ad omnia quae dura atque aspera essent subeunda
3 duces[2] debere esse. "Si, quod[3] iniungere inferiori velis, id prius in te ac tuos[4] ipse iuris statueris, facilius omnis oboedientis habeas. Nec impensa gravis est, cum ex ea[5] plus quam pro virili parte sibi quemque
4 capere principum vident. Itaque classes si[6] habere atque ornare volumus populum Romanum, privatos sine recusatione remiges dare, nobismet ipsis pri-
5 mum imperemus. Aurum, argentum, aes[7] signatum omne senatores crastino die in publicum conferamus, ita ut anulos sibi quisque et coniugi et liberis, et filio bullam, et quibus uxor filiaeve sunt singulas
6 uncias pondo auri relinquant; argenti qui curuli sella sederunt equi ornamenta et libras pondo, ut salinum patellamque deorum causa habere possint;
7 ceteri senatores libram argenti tantum; aeris signati quina milia in singulos patres familiae re-
8 linquamus: ceterum omne aurum, argentum, aes signatum ad triumviros mensarios extemplo deferamus nullo ante senatus consulto facto, ut voluntaria conlatio et certamen adiuvandae rei publicae excitet ad aemulandum animos primum equestris
9 ordinis, dein reliquae plebis. Hanc unam viam

[1] praestent *P*(3): praestet *A*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: praestitit *MBD*.

[2] duces *Crévier*: ducem *P*(1)*JK Aldus, Froben*.

[3] quod *Madvig*: quid *P*(3)*R*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*.

[4] tuos, *here a second* si *is added in A*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*; *not in P*(1) *or Madvig*.

[5] ex ea *z Madvig*: ea *P*(1)*z*: eam *A*[1]*JK*.

[6] classes si *Alschefski*: si classes *Madvig*: classes *P*(1)*JK*: ut classem *Aldus, Froben*.

[7] aes *z* (cf. § 8): *om. P*(1)*JK*.

dignity, and as the senate is superior to the people, so ought they to be leaders in shouldering all that was hard and drastic. "If there is a duty which you wish to lay upon an inferior, and you first set up the same obligation as against yourself and your family, you more readily find everyone submitting. And the outlay is not burdensome, when they see every prominent man taking upon himself more than his share in it. Accordingly, if we wish the Roman people to have fleets and equip them, and private citizens to furnish oarsmen without protest, let us first impose that upon ourselves. Gold, silver, coined bronze, let us senators bring it all into the treasury tomorrow, with the reservation that each is to leave a ring for himself and for his wife and his children, and a *bulla* for a son, and those who have a wife or daughters may leave for each an ounce of gold by weight. Of silver those who have occupied curule chairs may leave horse-trappings [1] and one pound each, so that they may keep a salt-cellar and a saucer for offerings to the gods. The rest of the senators may leave only a pound of silver. Of coined bronze let us leave five thousand *asses* to each paterfamilias. All the rest of the gold, silver, coined bronze let us forthwith deposit with the bank commissioners,[2] without first making any decree of the senate, so that a voluntary contribution and competition in helping the republic may stir up to rivalry, first the spirit of the knightly order, and then of the plebeians as well. This is the one way we consuls B.C. 210

[1] *I.e. phalerae*, disks or medallions, a distinction here reserved for a small number of the senators; cf. XXII. lii. 5; XXX. xvii. 13.

[2] Cf. XXIV. xviii. 12; XXIII. xxi. 6.

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multa inter nos conlocuti consules invenimus; ingredimini dis bene iuvantibus. Res publica incolumis et privatas res facile salvas praestat; publica prodendo tua nequiquam serves."

10 In haec tanto animo consensum est ut gratiae
11 ultro consulibus agerentur. Senatu inde misso pro se quisque aurum et [1] argentum et aes in publicum conferunt, tanto certamine iniecto ut prima aut [2] inter primos nomina sua vellent in publicis tabulis esse, ut nec triumviri accipiundo nec scribae refe-
12 rundo sufficerent. Hunc consensum senatus equester ordo est secutus, equestris ordinis plebs. Ita sine edicto, sine coercitione magistratus nec remige in supplementum nec stipendio res publica eguit; paratisque omnibus ad bellum consules in provincias profecti sunt.

XXXVII. Neque aliud [3] tempus belli fuit quo Carthaginienses Romanique pariter variis casibus immixti [4] magis in ancipiti spe ac metu fuerint.
2 Nam Romanis et in provinciis, hinc in Hispania adversae res, hinc prosperae in Sicilia luctum et
3 laetitiam miscuerant: et in Italia cum Tarentum amissum damno et dolori, tum arx cum praesidio
4 retenta praeter spem gaudio fuit; et terrorem subitum pavoremque urbis Romae obsessae et oppugnatae Capua post dies paucos capta in laetitiam
5 vertit. Transmarinae quoque res quadam vice

[1] et *C*: *om. P*(3)*JK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] aut *Madvig*: ut *P*: *om. P*²(1)*JK Aldus, Froben.*
[3] aliud *Kx Perizonius*: aliud magis *P*(1)*J Aldus, Froben.*
[4] immixti *MA*²*JKz Madvig*: immixtis *P*(3)*M*¹ *Aldus, Weissenborn.*

[1] For the ultimate repayment of all these voluntary loans cf. XXIX. xvi. 1–3; XXXI. xiii. 2 ff.

have found, after conferring together at length; B.C. 210
enter upon it with the kind aid of the gods! The commonwealth, if preserved, easily assures the preservation of private wealth also. In betraying what belongs to the commonwealth one tries in vain to save one's own possessions."

To these words agreement was so spirited that they actually thanked the consuls. The senate then adjourned, and each man brought his own gold and silver and bronze into the treasury, while such rivalry was aroused to have their names the first or among the first men on the public records, that neither were the commissioners equal to the task of receiving nor the clerks to that of making the entries. The knightly order followed this unanimity of the senate, the populace that of the knights.[1] Thus without an edict, without constraint on the part of the magistrates, the state lacked neither oarsmen to fill the complement nor their pay. And every preparation for war being complete, the consuls set out for their provinces.

XXXVII. And there was no other time in the war when Carthaginians and Romans, equally involved in changing fortunes, were in a more uncertain state of hope and fear. That is, for the Romans, in the provinces, defeat in Spain on the one hand, success in Sicily on the other, had mingled sorrow and rejoicing; so also in Italy the capture of Tarentum brought loss and grief, while the retention of the citadel and garrison contrary to expectation brought joy. And the sudden alarm and panic when the city of Rome was beset and attacked was turned into gladness by the taking of Capua a few days later. Overseas also were events balanced with a certain alternation:

u.c. 544 pensatae: Philippus hostis tempore haud satis opportuno factus. Aetoli novi adsciti socii Attalusque Asiae rex, iam velut[1] despondente fortuna Romanis 6 imperium orientis. Carthaginienses quoque Capuae amissae Tarentum captum aequabant, et ut ad moenia urbis Romanae nullo prohibente se pervenisse in gloria ponebant, ita pigebat inriti incepti, pudebat- 7 que adeo se spretos ut sedentibus ipsis ad Romana moenia alia porta exercitus Romanus in Hispaniam 8 duceretur. Ipsae quoque Hispaniae quo propius spem venerant tantis duobus ducibus exercitibusque caesis debellatum ibi ac pulsos inde Romanos esse, eo plus ab L. Marcio, tumultuario duce, ad vanum et inritum victoriam redactam esse indignationis 9 praebebant. Ita aequante fortuna suspensa omnia utrisque[2] erant, integra spe, integro metu, velut illo tempore primum bellum inciperent.

XXXVIII. Hannibalem ante omnia angebat quod Capua pertinacius oppugnata ab Romanis quam defensa ab se multorum Italiae populorum animos aver- 2 terat, quos neque omnis tenere praesidiis, nisi vellet in multas parvasque partis carpere exercitum, quod minime tum expediebat, poterat, nec deductis praesidiis spei liberam vel obnoxiam timori sociorum relin- 3 quere fidem. Praeceps in avaritiam et crudelitatem

[1] velut *AJK Froben* 1 : vel *P*(3) *Aldus*; *om. M*.
[2] utrisque M^{7} : utriusque *P*(1) : utrinque $A^{2}JK$ *Aldus*, *Froben*.

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[1] But this rhetorical balance does not do justice to Hannibal's sense of what he had lost in the fall of Capua. Cf. xxxviii. 1.
[2] *I.e.* that they might gain the favour of the winning side.

Philip's turning enemy at an inopportune moment, B.C. 210
the addition of the Aetolians and Attalus, King of Asia, as new allies, just as if fortune were now pledging to the Romans rule over the East. The Carthaginians likewise balanced the capture of Tarentum against the loss of Capua;[1] and although they made it their boast that they had reached the walls of the city of Rome with no one preventing, yet they were annoyed at the failure of their undertaking and ashamed to find themselves so scorned that, while they were sitting before the walls of Rome, out of another gate marched a Roman army bound for Spain. As for their Spanish provinces, the nearer they had come to the hope that, after the slaughter of two great commanders and armies, the war there was over and the Romans driven out, the more indignation did those very provinces arouse that the victory had been rendered null and void by Lucius Marcius, an emergency commander. Thus with Fortune maintaining the balance, there was general suspense for both sides, hope remaining unchanged, fear unchanged, as though they were then for the first time beginning the war.

XXXVIII. Hannibal was above all else distressed that Capua, besieged with more persistence by the Romans than it was defended by himself, had estranged from him many peoples in Italy, not all of whom could he hold by garrisons, unless he were willing to parcel out his army in many small detachments, which was not at all to his advantage at that time. Nor on the other hand could he by withdrawing his garrisons leave the loyalty of allies free to hope[2] or exposed to fear. Naturally inclined to greed and cruelty, his temperament favoured despoiling what

u.c. animus ad spolianda quae tueri nequibat, ut vastata
544 4 hosti relinquerentur, inclinavit. Id foedum consilium cum incepto, tum etiam exitu fuit. Neque enim indigna patientium modo abalienabantur animi, sed ceterorum etiam; quippe ad pluris exemplum quam 5 perpessio malorum[1] pertinebat. Nec consul Romanus temptandis urbibus, sicunde spes aliqua se ostendisset, deerat.

6 Salapiae principes erant Dasius et Blattius; Dasius Hannibali amicus, Blattius quantum ex tuto poterat rem Romanam fovebat et per occultos nuntios spem proditionis fecerat Marcello; sed sine 7 adiutore Dasio res transigi non poterat. Multum ac diu cunctatus, et tum quoque magis inopia consilii potioris quam spe effectus, Dasium appellat;[2] at ille, cum ab re aversus, tum aemulo potentatus 8 inimicus, rem Hannibali aperit. Arcessito utroque Hannibal cum pro tribunali quaedam ageret mox de Blattio cogniturus, starentque summoto populo accusator et reus, Blattius de proditione Dasium 9 appellat.[3] Enimvero ille, velut in manifesta re, exclamat sub oculis Hannibalis secum de proditione agi. Hannibali atque eis qui aderant quo audacior 10 res erat, minus similis veri visa est: aemulationem profecto atque odium esse, et id crimen adferri

[1] perpessio malorum *conj. Conway, a lost line*: *om. P*(1), *K omitting* quam *also*: calamitas *Aldus, Froben, Madvig*: pestis *Harant*: pernicies *Weissenborn*.

[2] appellat *Madvig*: -abat *P*(1)*JK Aldus, Conway*.

[3] appellat *Madvig, Emend., Conway*: -abat *P*(1)*JK Aldus, Madvig*.

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[1] Between Arpi and Cannae, on a lake close to the Adriatic. Hannibal had once wintered there; XXIV. xx. 15; xlvii. 9. Cf. XXVII. i. 1 and xxviii. 5 ff. Later Sal(a)pia was removed

he was unable to protect, in order to leave desolated B.C. 210
lands to the enemy. That policy was shameful in the beginning, and especially so in the outcome. For not only were those who suffered undeserved treatment alienated, but all the rest as well; for the lesson reached larger numbers than did the suffering. Nor did the Roman consul fail to work upon the feelings of cities, if any hope had showed itself from any quarter.

At Salapia[1] Dasius and Blattius were leading citizens. Dasius was friendly to Hannibal, Blattius promoted the Roman cause so far as he safely could, and through secret messengers had roused in Marcellus a hope of betrayal. But without the aid of Dasius the matter could not be carried out. After much hesitation for a long time, and even then rather owing to the lack of a better plan than with the hope of success, he addressed himself to Dasius. But Dasius, being not only averse to the project, but also unfriendly to one who was his rival for the highest position, disclosed the matter to Hannibal. When both had been summoned, and Hannibal on the tribune was occupied with certain business, intending presently to hear the case of Blattius, and accuser and defendant were standing there, while the crowd had been cleared away, Blattius addressed himself to Dasius on the treason. Dasius, to be sure, as though the evidence was clear, cried out that before Hannibal's eyes he was being urged to turn traitor. To Hannibal and his assessors the matter seemed less credible as being so bold. It was only their rivalry and hatred surely, they said, and the charge

to a healthier situation and by cutting a canal became a seaport; Vitruvius I. iv. 12; Strabo VI. iii. 9.

quod, quia testem habere non posset,[1] liberius fingenti
11 esset. Ita [2] inde dimissi sunt. Nec Blattius ante
abstitit tam audaci incepto quam idem obtundendo,
docendoque quam ea res ipsis patriaeque salutaris
esset, pervicit ut praesidium Punicum—quingenti [3]
autem Numidae erant—Salapiaque traderetur Mar-
12 cello. Nec sine caede multa tradi potuit. Longe
fortissimi equitum toto Punico exercitu erant.
Itaque quamquam inprovisa res fuit, nec usus
equorum in urbe erat, tamen armis inter tumultum
13 captis et eruptionem temptaverunt et, cum evadere
nequirent, pugnantes ad ultumum occubuerunt, nec
plus quinquaginta ex his [4] in potestatem hostium
14 vivi venerunt. Plusque aliquanto damni haec ala
equitum amissa Hannibali quam Salapia fuit;
nec deinde umquam Poenus, quo longe plurimum
valuerat, equitatu superior fuit.

XXXIX. Per idem tempus cum in arce Tarentina
vix inopia tolerabilis esset, spem omnem praesidium
quod ibi erat Romanum praefectusque praesidii atque
arcis M. Livius in commeatibus ab Sicilia missis habe-
2 bant, qui ut tuto praeterveherentur oram Italiae,
3 classis viginti ferme navium Regii stabat. Praerat
classi commeatibusque D. Quinctius, obscuro genere
ortus, ceterum multis fortibus factis militari gloria
4 inlustris. Primo quinque naves, quarum maximae

[1] posset $P(1)JK$ *Aldus*: possit *Madvig*.
[2] esset. Ita A^1JKx *Conway*: sitia P: (-ti)s ita *or* (-ti) ita $P^2(1)$.
[3] quingenti (=D) *Sigonius from Valerius Max.* III. viii. *Ext.* 1: *om.* $P(1)$: hii A^2J: hi *Aldus, Froben*: ii K.
[4] his $P(1)$ *Aldus, Froben*: hiis J: iis K.

[1] It had been his for six years.

brought was of a sort in which the fabricator had the B.C. 210
more freedom because it could not have a witness. So they were discharged. And Blattius did not desist from so bold an undertaking until by dinning the same story into his ears, and by showing how advantageous for themselves and their native city it was, he prevailed upon Dasius to have the Carthaginian garrison—now it consisted of five hundred Numidians—and Salapia surrendered to Marcellus. And it was not without much bloodshed that it could be surrendered. They were far the bravest horsemen in the entire Carthaginian army. Accordingly, although the attack was unexpected, and they had no use of their horses in the city, nevertheless catching up their arms in the midst of the uproar, they attempted a sally, and being unable to escape, they fell fighting to the last, and not more than fifty of them came alive into the hands of the enemy. The loss of this regiment of cavalry was considerably more serious for Hannibal than that of Salapia.[1] And at no later time was the Carthaginian superior in cavalry, in which had been easily his greatest strength.

XXXIX. About the same time, when in the citadel of Tarentum scarcity was barely endurable, the Roman garrison posted there and Marcus Livius, the commander of the garrison and citadel, had all their hopes in supplies sent from Sicily; and that these might safely pass along the coast of Italy, a fleet of about twenty ships lay at anchor at Regium. Commanding the fleet and in charge of supplies was Decimus Quinctius, a man of unknown family, but made famous as a soldier by many brave deeds. At first only five ships, of which the largest were two

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duae triremes, a Marcello ei traditae erant;[1] postea rem impigre saepe gerenti tres additae quinqueremes; postremo ipse a sociis Reginisque et a Velia et a Paesto debitas ex foedere exigendo, classem viginti navium, sicut ante dictum est, efficit. Huic ab Regio profectae classi Democrates cum pari navium Tarentinarum numero quindecim milia ferme ab urbe ad Sapriportem obvius fuit. Velis tum forte inprovidus futuri certaminis Romanus veniebat; sed circa Crotonem Sybarimque suppleverat remigio navis, instructamque et armatam egregie pro magnitudine navium classem habebat. Et tum forte sub idem[2] tempus et venti vis omnis cecidit et hostes in conspectu fuere, ut ad componenda armamenta expediendumque remigem ac militem ad imminens certamen satis temporis esset. Raro alias tantis animis iustae concurrerunt classes, quippe cum in maioris discrimen rei quam ipsae erant pugnarent, Tarentini, ut recuperata urbe ab Romanis post centesimum prope annum, arcem etiam liberarent, spe commeatus quoque hostibus, si navali proelio possessionem maris ademissent, interclusuros,[3] Romani, ut retenta possessione arcis ostenderent non vi ac virtute, sed proditione ac furto Tarentum amissum.

Itaque ex utraque parte signo dato cum rostris

[1] erant *P*(1)*JK Aldus, Froben, but all add* habuit.

[2] idem, *AJK Aldus, Froben add* fere.

[3] spe . . . interclusuros *P*(3): spem . . . interclusuri *A*[s]*JK Aldus, Froben.*

[1] A Latin colony of 273 B.C., but a great part of its population were Greeks; still famous for its Doric temples.

[2] Its site has not been discovered.

[3] *I.e.* Thurii. Only here does Livy use the older name.

triremes, had been assigned to him by Marcellus. B.C. 210
Later, as he repeatedly showed energy, three quinqueremes were added. Finally by personally demanding from the allies and from Regium and Velia and Paestum [1] the ships due under the treaty, he formed a fleet of twenty ships, as has been said above. This fleet had sailed from Regium, when Democrates with an equal number of Tarentine ships met it off Sapriportis,[2] about fifteen miles from the city. At that time the Roman, as it happened, was approaching under sail, not foreseeing an impending battle. But in the neighbourhood of Croton and Sybaris [3] he had fully manned the ships with oarsmen, and had a fleet remarkably equipped and armed considering the size of the ships. And it happened then that about the same time the wind dropped entirely and the enemy came in sight, with the result that time enough was left to take down the rigging [4] and to get the oarsmen and soldiers ready for the battle that was imminent. Seldom have regular fleets ever clashed with such spirit, since they were fighting for a greater issue than themselves. The Tarentines, having regained their city from the Romans after almost a hundred years,[5] fought to free the citadel as well, in the hope that they would cut off the enemy's supplies also, if by a naval battle they should deprive them of their command of the sea; the Romans, in order to show by keeping their hold upon the citadel that Tarentum had been lost, not by force and courage, but by treachery and a surprise.

Accordingly after the signal had been given on

[4] Cf. XXI. xlix. 11.

[5] In reality only 62 years since its capture by the Romans, 272 B.C.

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concurrissent neque retro navem inhiberent nec dirimi ab se hostem paterentur, quam quis indeptus navem erat ferrea iniecta manu, ita conserebant ex propinquo pugnam ut non missilibus tantum, sed gladiis etiam prope conlato pede gereretur res. 13 Prorae inter se iunctae haerebant, puppes alieno remigio circumagebantur. Ita in arto stipatae erant naves ut vix ullum telum in mari[1] vanum intercideret; frontibus velut pedestris[2] acies urge- 14 bant, perviaeque naves pugnantibus erant. Insignis tamen inter ceteras pugna fuit duarum quae primae 15 agminum concurrerant inter se. In Romana nave ipse Quinctius erat, in Tarentina Nico, cui Perconi fuit cognomen, non publico modo sed privato etiam odio invisus atque infestus Romanis, quod eius factionis erat quae Tarentum Hannibali prodiderat. 16 Hic Quinctium simul pugnantem hortantemque suos incautum hasta transfigit. Ille ut[3] praeceps cum 17 armis procidit ante proram, victor Tarentinus in turbatam duce amisso navem inpigre transgressus cum summovisset hostis, et prora iam Tarentinorum esset, puppim male conglobati tuerentur Romani, repente et alia a puppe triremis hostium apparuit; 18 ita in medio circumventa Romana navis capitur.

[1] mari *P*(1) *Aldus, Froben*: mare *JK Forchhammer*.
[2] pedestris *P*(1)*JK Aldus, Conway*: pedestres *Fabri, Madvig*.
[3] Ille ut *A*[1]*JK Conway*: ille atque *P*(1) *Aldus, Froben*: atque ille *Ruperti, Madvig*.

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[1] The grappling-hook was attached to a stout chain. Cf. the *harpagones* (poles, each carrying an iron hook) similarly used in XXX. x. 16. Cf. XXXVI. xliv. 8; Frontinus *Strat.* II. iii. 24; Caesar *B.C.* I. lvii. 2; Pliny *N.H.* VII. 209.

both sides, and they had encountered each other B.C. 210
with their beaks and did not reverse their motion with oars nor allow the enemy to cast loose from them, a commander closing in on a ship would throw grappling-irons [1] on it, and they engaged in a battle at such close quarters that they fought not only with missiles, but also with swords, almost man to man. The bows in contact could not detach themselves, the sterns were swung about by the efforts of the enemy's oarsmen. So closely massed together were the ships that hardly a missile fell without effect between them into the sea. Forming each a front, like a battle-line on land, they tried to push each other back, and the ships were a highway for the combatants. Conspicuous, however, among all the rest was the battle between the two ships which had encountered each other at the head of the columns. On the Roman ship was Quinctius himself, on the Tarentine was Nico, surnamed Perco, who hated the Romans and was hated by them with a hatred that was not only national but also personal, because he was of the party which had betrayed Tarentum to Hannibal. As Quinctius was fighting and at the same time encouraging his men, Nico ran him through with a spear while off his guard. When Quinctius with his weapons fell forward over the bow, the victorious Tarentine boldly crossed over on to the ship thrown into confusion by the loss of its commander; and when he had driven the enemy back, and the bow was now in the hands of the Tarentines, while the Romans, massed together, were vainly defending the stern, suddenly another trireme of the enemy also appeared astern. Thus the Roman ship was caught between them and captured. Con-

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Hinc ceteris terror iniectus, ubi [1] praetoriam navem captam videre; fugientesque passim aliae in alto mersae, aliae in terram remis abreptae mox praedae
19 fuere Thurinis Metapontinisque. Ex onerariis, quae cum commeatu sequebantur, perpaucae in potestatem hostium venere; aliae ad incertos ventos hinc atque illinc obliqua transferentes vela in altum evectae sunt.
20 Nequaquam pari fortuna per eos dies Tarenti res gesta. Nam ad quattuor milia hominum frumenta-
21 tum egressa cum in agris passim vagarentur, Livius, qui arci praesidioque Romano praeerat, intentus in omnis occasiones gerendae rei, C. Persium, inpigrum virum, cum duobus milibus et quingentis [2]
22 armatorum ex arce emisit, qui vage effusos per agros palatosque adortus cum diu passim cecidisset, paucos ex multis, trepida fuga incidentis semiapertis portarum foribus, in urbem compulit, neque multum
23 afuit quin [3] urbs eodem impetu caperetur. Ita aequatae res ad Tarentum, Romanis victoribus terra, Tarentinis [4] mari. Frumenti spes, quae in oculis fuerat, utrosque frustrata pariter.

XL. Per idem tempus Laevinus consul, iam magna parte anni circumacta, in Siciliam veteribus novisque sociis exspectatus cum venisset, primum ac potissimum omnium ratus Syracusis nova pace inconditas

[1] ubi *Wölfflin*: uti M^2 *Conway*: utin $P(3)$: ut C^2BDAJK *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] et quingentis (=D) *Alschefski*: et $P(3)$: *om. BDAJK Aldus, Froben.*

[3] neque multum afuit quin (*after Alschefski*) *Madvig, a lost line*: ne $P(3)JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[4] terra, Tarentinis *z*: terra *x*: *om.* $P(1)J$, *a lost line*: cartaginensibus *K*: terra, Carthaginiensibus *Conway.*

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[1] Cf. § 7 and note.

[2] *I.e.* for the Tarentines.

sequently alarm was inspired on the rest of the ships when they saw the flagship captured. And as they fled in all directions, some were sunk in open water, others were quickly rowed to the shore and presently fell a prey to the men of Thurii [1] and Metapontum. Of the transports, which were following with the supplies, very few fell into the power of the enemy. The rest shifted their sails obliquely, now this way, now that, according to the variable winds, and put out to sea. B.C. 210

By no means so successful [2] was the fighting at Tarentum during those days. For while about four thousand men who had gone out to get grain were roaming about the country, Livius, who was in command of the citadel and the Roman garrison, was alert for every opportunity of an engagement. He sent out from the citadel Gaius Persius, an active man, with two thousand five hundred armed men. After Persius, attacking men widely dispersed over the farms and wandering about, had for a long time been slaying them everywhere, he drove the few survivors into the city, as in their excited flight they dashed into the half-opened gates. And by that same onslaught the city was all but taken. Thus were issues balanced near Tarentum, the Romans being victors on land, the Tarentines on the sea. The hope of grain—a hope which had been very real—was equally illusory for both sides.

XL. About the same time Laevinus, the consul, when a large part of the year had already gone by, arrived in Sicily awaited by the old and the new allies. Accordingly he thought it of the very first importance to settle affairs at Syracuse, that were in disorder owing to the short time since the peace.

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componere res, Agrigentum inde, quod belli reliquum erat tenebaturque a Carthaginiensium valido praesidio, duxit legiones. Et adfuit fortuna incepto. Hanno erat imperator Carthaginiensium, sed omnem in Muttine Numidisque spem repositam habebant. Per totam Siciliam vagus praedas agebat ex sociis Romanorum neque intercludi ab Agrigento vi aut arte ulla nec quin erumperet, ubi vellet, prohiberi poterat. Haec eius gloria quia iam imperatoris quoque famae officiebat, postremo in invidiam vertit, ut ne bene gestae quidem res iam Hannoni propter auctorem satis laetae essent. Postremo[1] praefecturam eius filio suo dedit, ratus cum imperio auctoritatem quoque ei inter Numidas erepturum. Quod longe aliter evenit; nam veterem favorem eius sua insuper invidia auxit; neque ille indignitatem iniuriae tulit confestimque ad Laevinum occultos nuntios misit de tradendo Agrigento. Per quos ut est facta fides compositusque rei gerendae modus, portam ad mare ferentem Numidae cum occupassent pulsis inde custodibus aut caesis, Romanos ad id[2] ipsum missos in urbem acceperunt. Et cum agmine iam in media urbis ac forum magno tumultu iretur, ratus Hanno non aliud quam tumultum ac secessionem, id quod et ante acciderat, Numidarum esse, ad conprimendam seditionem processit. Atque ille, cum ei multitudo maior

[1] Postremo $C^{x}M^{2x}B$, *also* (*with* propter *prefixed*) $P(3)B^{2}$ *and so* (*with* propterea) A^{x}: propterea JK: propter quae *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] id C^{4} *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)JK$.

[1] Below the colossal unfinished Temple of Zeus, about two miles from the sea at the mouth of the Hypsas (no real harbour); Polybius IX. xxvii. 2.

Then he led his legions to Agrigentum, being the last B.C. 210
remnant of the war and held by a strong garrison of Carthaginians. And in fact fortune favoured the undertaking. Hanno was the general of the Carthaginians, but all their hope continued to rest upon Muttines and the Numidians. Roaming all over Sicily, Muttines was carrying off booty from allies of the Romans, and he could neither be shut off from Agrigentum by force or by any ruse, nor be prevented from sallying out whenever he pleased. This distinction of the man, as already eclipsing the reputation of the general also, finally developed into hatred, so that not even successes any longer brought much joy to Hanno on account of the man who was responsible for them. Finally he gave Muttines' command of the cavalry to his own son, thinking that with the command he would take away his prestige also among the Numidians. But it turned out quite differently. For by his own unpopularity he even increased the old-time partiality for Muttines. And the latter did not put up with a shameful wrong, but at once sent secret messengers to Laevinus in regard to the betrayal of Agrigentum. These men having reassured the consul and arranged a plan of action, the Numidians seized the gate leading toward the sea,[1] driving away or slaying the guards: whereupon they admitted Romans sent for that very purpose into the city. And when now they were marching in column into the centre of the city and to the market-place with a great uproar, Hanno, thinking it was nothing more than an outbreak and mutiny of the Numidians, as had happened before also, went forth to quell the uprising. But when he caught sight of a crowd in the distance larger than the number of the

u.c. 544 quam Numidarum procul visa, et clamor Romanus haudquaquam ignotus ad auris accidisset, priusquam
11 ad ictum teli veniret, capessit fugam. Per aversam portam emissus adsumpto comite Epicyde cum paucis ad mare pervenit, nactique opportune parvum navigium, relicta hostibus Sicilia, de qua per tot
12 annos certatum erat, in Africam traiecerunt. Alia multitudo Poenorum Siculorumque ne temptato quidem certamine cum caeci in fugam ruerent clausique exitus essent, circa portas caesa.
13 Oppido recepto Laevinus qui capita rerum Agrigenti erant virgis caesos securi percussit, ceteros praedamque vendidit; omnem pecuniam Romam
14 misit. Fama Agrigentinorum cladis Siciliam cum pervasisset, omnia repente ad Romanos inclinaverunt. Prodita brevi sunt viginti oppida, sex vi capta; voluntaria deditione in fidem venerunt ad quadra-
15 ginta. Quarum civitatium principibus cum pro cuiusque merito consul pretia [1] poenasque exsolvisset, coegissetque Siculos positis tandem armis ad agrum
16 colendum animos convertere, ut esset non incolarum modo alimentis frugifera insula, sed urbis Romae atque Italiae, id quod multis saepe tempestatibus fecerat, annonam levaret, ab Agathyrna inconditam
17 multitudinem secum in Italiam transvexit. Quattuor milia hominum erant, mixti ex omni conluvione, exsules, obaerati, capitalia ausi plerique, cum [2] in civitatibus suis ac sub legibus vixerant, et postquam

[1] pretia *P*(3): praemia *AJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] cum *Madvig*: et cum *P*(1)*JK Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] Probably that to the east of the lofty citadel (1080 ft.), and on the northeast side of the city.
[2] He himself returned to Sicily; XXVII. v. 15.

Numidians, and the shouts of the Romans, by no B.C. 210
means unfamiliar, had reached his ears, he took to flight before coming within range of a missile. Escaping by the gate farthest from the enemy[1] and taking Epicydes as his companion, with a few men he made his way to the sea. And fortunately finding a small vessel and leaving to the enemy Sicily, for which the struggle had lasted so many years, they crossed over to Africa. While the rest of the Carthaginians and Sicilians in a body, without even attempting to fight, were blindly fleeing, and ways of escape had been closed, they were slain near the gates.

On gaining possession of the town, Laevinus scourged and beheaded the responsible men at Agrigentum, and sold the rest and the booty. All the money he sent to Rome. When the news of the disaster to the Agrigentines had been carried all over Sicily, suddenly there was a general trend towards the Romans. Betrayed soon after were twenty towns, six taken by assault; by voluntary surrender about forty came under Roman protection. After the consul had bestowed upon the leading men of these states the reward or the penalty that each deserved, and had compelled the Sicilians to lay down their arms at last and turn their attention to tilling the soil, so that the island might not only produce food enough for the inhabitants, but might relieve the grain market of the city of Rome and of Italy, as it had often done on many occasions, he took with him an unruly mob from Agathyrna over into Italy.[2] There were four thousand men, refuse of every kind, exiles, debtors, guilty, many of them, of capital offences, so long as they had lived in their own cities and under the laws; and they were dragging out an

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eos ex variis causis fortuna similis conglobaverat Agathyrnam, per latrocinia ac rapinam tolerantes
18 vitam. Hos neque relinquere Laevinus in [1] insula tum primum nova pace coalescente velut materiam novandis rebus satis tutum ratus est, et Reginis usui futuri erant ad populandum Bruttium agrum adsuetam latrociniis quaerentibus manum. Et quod ad Siciliam attinet eo anno debellatum est.

XLI. In Hispania principio veris P. Scipio navibus deductis evocatisque edicto Tarraconem sociorum auxiliis classem onerariasque ostium inde Hiberi
2 fluminis petere iubet. Eodem legiones ex hibernis convenire cum iussisset, ipse cum quinque milibus sociorum ab Tarracone profectus ad exercitum est. Quo cum venisset, adloquendos maxime veteres milites qui tantis superfuerunt [2] cladibus ratus,
3 contione advocata ita disseruit: "Nemo ante me novus imperator militibus suis, priusquam opera eorum usus esset, gratias agere iure ac merito
4 potuit: me vobis, priusquam provinciam aut castra viderem, obligavit fortuna, primum quod ea pietate erga patrem patruumque meum vivos mortuosque
5 fuistis, deinde quod amissam tanta clade provinciae possessionem integram et populo Romano et successori
6 mihi virtute vestra obtinuistis. Sed cum iam benignitate deum id paremus atque agamus, non ut ipsi maneamus in Hispania, sed ne Poeni maneant,

[1] in $C^4M^2A^s$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)JK$.
[2] superfuerunt $P(1)Jx$: -fuerant K *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] Livy has expanded the speech found in his sources, such as that which Polybius puts in the mouth of Scipio (X. vi. 2 ff.).

existence by highway robbery and plundering, after B.C. 210
their common misery, for one reason or another, had concentrated them at Agathyrna. These men Laevinus did not think it quite safe to leave on the island, then for the first time attaining unity under the recent peace, as being fuel for a revolution, and at the same time they would prove useful to the men of Regium, who were looking for a band accustomed to brigandage, in order to devastate the Bruttian territory. And so far as concerned Sicily the war was finished that year.

XLI. In Spain at the beginning of spring Publius Scipio launched his ships, and after summoning to Tarraco the allied auxiliaries by an edict, he ordered the fleet and the transports to sail thence to the mouth of the river Ebro. Having ordered the legions to leave their winter quarters and meet at the same point, he himself with five thousand allies set out from Tarraco to join the army. Arrived there, and thinking he must address particularly the old soldiers, survivors of defeats so serious, he summoned the men to an assembly and spoke as follows:[1] "No new general in command before me has been able with reason and deservedly to thank his soldiers before he had made use of their services. In my case, before I could see my province or camp, Fortune laid me under obligation to you, in the first place because you have showed such devotion towards my father and uncle, living and dead, and then because, when possession of the province had been lost by so great a disaster, you by your courage have held it intact both for me as their successor and for the Roman people. But now with the favour of the gods we are preparing and striving, not to remain in Spain our-

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nec ut pro ripa Hiberi stantes arceamus transitu hostes, sed ut ultro transeamus transferamusque
7 bellum, vereor ne cui vestrum maius id audaciusque consilium quam aut pro memoria cladium nuper
8 acceptarum aut pro aetate mea videatur. Adversae pugnae in Hispania nullius in animo quam meo minus oblitterari possunt, quippe cui pater et patruus intra triginta dierum spatium, ut aliud super aliud cumularetur familiae nostrae funus, interfecti
9 sunt; sed ut familiaris paene orbitas ac solitudo frangit animum, ita publica cum fortuna tum virtus desperare de summa rerum prohibet. Ea fato quodam data[1] nobis sors est ut magnis omnibus bellis victi vicerimus.

10 "Vetera omitto, Porsennam,[2] Gallos, Samnites: a Punicis bellis incipiam. Quot classes, quot duces,
11 quot exercitus priore bello amissi sunt! Iam quid hoc bello memorem? Omnibus aut ipse adfui cladibus aut quibus afui, maxime unus omnium eas sensi. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae quid aliud sunt quam monumenta occisorum exercituum con-
12 sulumque Romanorum? Adde defectionem Italiae, Siciliae maioris partis, Sardiniae; adde ultimum terrorem ac pavorem, castra Punica inter Anienem ac moenia Romana posita et visum prope in portis victorem Hannibalem. In hac ruina rerum stetit una integra atque immobilis virtus populi Romani;

[1] data *Gronovius*: nata *P*(3): (quo) donata *JKx Aldus, Froben*: innata A^5.

[2] Porsennam $P^2(3)C^4Jx$: -sinam *P* (*probably*): -senam *Kx*.

selves, but to prevent the Carthaginians from B.C. 210
remaining, and not to stand on the bank of the Ebro and keep the enemy from crossing, but taking the offensive to cross over and shift the scene of the war. Consequently I am afraid that that design may seem to some of you too great and too bold to be in keeping either with the memory of disasters recently incurred or with my years. As for the reverses in Spain, there is no man from whose mind it is less possible for them to be effaced than from mine, for my father and uncle fell within the space of thirty days, that for our family one fatality might be piled upon another. But although within the family it is crushing to be all but orphaned and left desolate, yet the destiny of the state and her courage forbid me to despair of her preservation. It is a lot assigned to us by some fate that in all the great wars we have been first defeated and then victorious.

"Ancient examples I pass over, Porsenna, the Gauls, the Samnites. I shall begin with the Punic Wars. How many fleets, how many generals, how many armies were lost in the former war! And now in the present war what shall I say has happened? In every disaster I was either present myself, or if absent, I above all others felt them. Trebia, Trasumennus, Cannae, what are they but memorials of Roman armies and consuls fallen? Add the revolt of Italy, of the greater part of Sicily, of Sardinia: add that extreme of alarm and panic, a Carthaginian camp pitched between the Anio and the walls of Rome, and the sight of a victorious Hannibal almost at the gates. In this general crash the one thing left standing, intact and immovable, was the courage of the Roman people. It was this that raised and

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13 haec omnia strata humi erexit ac sustulit. Vos omnium primi, milites, post Cannensem cladem vadenti Hasdrubali ad Alpis Italiamque, qui si se cum fratre coniunxisset, nullum iam nomen esset populi Romani, ductu auspicioque patris mei obstitistis; et hae secundae res illas adversas sustinuerunt. 14 Nunc benignitate deum omnia secunda, prospera, in dies laetiora ac meliora in Italia Siciliaque geruntur. 15 In Sicilia Syracusae, Agrigentum captum, pulsi tota insula hostes, receptaque provincia in dicionem[1] populi Romani est: in Italia Arpi recepti, Capua 16 capta. Iter omne ab urbe Roma trepida fuga emensus Hannibal, in extremum angulum agri Bruttii compulsus nihil iam maius precatur deos quam ut incolumi cedere atque abire ex hostium terra liceat. 17 Quid igitur minus conveniat, milites, quam, cum aliae super alias clades cumularentur ac di prope ipsi cum Hannibale starent, vos hic cum parentibus meis—aequentur enim etiam honore nominis—sustinuisse labantem fortunam populi Romani, nunc eosdem, cum iam[2] illic omnia secunda laetaque 18 sunt,[3] animis deficere? Nuper quoque quae[4] acciderunt utinam tam sine meo luctu quam . . .[5]

[1] dicionem *Aldus, Luchs*: -ione *P*(1)*JKxz Madvig.*

[2] cum iam (cū iā) *Madvig*: quia *P*(1) *Aldus, Froben, Riemann, Conway*: cum *z J. H. Voss.*

[3] sunt, *for this JK and one x have* sint.

[4] quae $A^{z}JKx$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1).

[5] *Here begins in P*(1)*N the long lacuna extending to* xliii. 8. *The missing text is almost completely preserved for us in* $A^{z}JKx$ *Aldus and Froben, having been supplied from the Spirensis, in which the passage, misplaced in book* XXVII, *was found by Rhenanus.*

set up all the scattered debris. When Hasdrubal B.C. 210
after the rout at Cannae was on his way to the Alps and Italy—and if he had joined his brother even the name of the Roman people would be no more—you were the very first, soldiers, to stand in his path under the command and auspices of my father. And victory here has upheld defeats there. Now by the favour of the gods everything in Italy and Sicily is flourishing and successful, more cheering and better from day to day. In Sicily Syracuse and Agrigentum [1] have been captured, the enemy driven out of the entire island, and the recovered province is under the rule of the Roman people. In Italy Arpi has been recovered, Capua taken. The entire road from the city of Rome has been traversed in nervous flight by Hannibal, who, driven into the farthest corner of the Bruttian land, now prays the gods for nothing greater than that he may be allowed to retire in safety and leave the enemy's country. What therefore is less consistent, soldiers, than that, while disasters were being piled one upon another and the gods themselves, one might almost say, were on Hannibal's side, you here under my fathers—for let them be coupled in that honourable name also—upheld the wavering fortune of the Roman people, but that at present, when in Italy everything is now favourable and encouraging, you, the same men, should be faint-hearted? Recent occurrences also I could wish had been as free from sorrow for me as . . .[2]

[1] In reality the capture of Agrigentum occurred late in the summer (xl *init.*), while the speech is imagined to have been delivered in the spring.

[2] Lost is the end of this paragraph and the beginning of the next.

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". . . Nunc dii immortales imperii Romani praesides, qui centuriis omnibus ut mihi imperium iuberent dari fuere auctores, iidem auguriis auspiciisque et per nocturnos etiam visus omnia laeta ac prospera
19 portendunt. Animus quoque meus, maximus mihi ad hoc tempus vates, praesagit nostram Hispaniam esse, brevi extorre hinc omne Punicum nomen maria
20 terrasque foeda fuga impleturum. Quod mens sua sponte divinat, idem subicit ratio haud fallax. Vexati ab iis socii nostram fidem per legatos implorant; tres duces discordantes, prope ut defecerint alii ab aliis, trifariam exercitum in diversissimas
21 regiones distraxere. Eadem in illos ingruit fortuna quae nuper nos adflixit; nam et deseruntur ab sociis, ut prius ab Celtiberis nos, et diduxere exercitus,
22 quae patri patruoque meo causa exitii fuit. Nec discordia intestina coire eos in unum sinet, neque singuli nobis resistere poterunt. Vos modo, milites, favete nomini Scipionum, suboli imperatorum vestro-
23 rum velut accisis recrescenti stirpibus. Agite, veteres milites, novum exercitum novumque ducem traducite Hiberum, traducite in terras cum multis fortibus
24 factis saepe a vobis peragratas. Brevi faciam ut, quem ad modum nunc noscitatis in me patris patruique similitudinem oris vultusque et lineamenta
25 corporis, ita ingenii, fidei virtutisque effigiem [1] vobis reddam, ut revixisse aut renatum sibi quisque Scipionem imperatorem dicat."

[1] effigiem *Hertz*: exemplum ef- *A*^{1}*JKx*: exemplum ac ef- *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] In Polybius' briefer speech Scipio stresses this point (X. vi. 5; vii. 3).

[2] Cf. XXV. xxxiii; Polybius *l.c.* vi. 2.

". . . Now the immortal gods, who are protectors of the Roman empire, who inspired all the centuries of the people to order that the command be bestowed upon me, by auguries and auspices and visions in the night are likewise forecasting only joy and success. My own mind as well, heretofore my greatest soothsayer, foresees that Spain is ours, that soon all the Carthaginians, banished from here, will cover seas and lands with their disgraceful flight. What the mind of itself divines undeluded reasoning also suggests. Harassed by them their allies through embassies are begging for our help. Three generals, unable to agree,[1] so that they have almost proved disloyal to each other, have dispersed their army in three parts in widely scattered regions. The same fortune which lately crushed us is assailing them. For they are being deserted by their allies, as formerly were we by the Celtiberians,[2] and also they have separated their armies, which was the cause of destruction for my father and uncle. Neither will internal strife permit them to unite, nor will they be able singly to resist us. Only do you, soldiers, look with favour upon the name of the Scipios, upon the scion of your generals, growing again, as it were, from stems that have been cut down. Come now, veterans, lead a new army and a new commander across the Ebro, lead them over into lands often traversed by you with many deeds of bravery. Just as now you note in me a resemblance to my father and uncle in face and countenance and recognize the lines of the figure, so I will soon take pains to reproduce for you an image of their minds, of their loyalty and courage, so that each man shall say that there has come back to life, or has been born again, his general Scipio."

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XLII. Hac oratione accensis militum animis, relicto ad praesidium regionis eius M. Silano cum tribus milibus peditum et trecentis equitibus, ceteras omnes copias—erant autem viginti quinque milia peditum, duo milia quingenti equites—Hiberum traiecit. 2 Ibi quibusdam suadentibus ut, quoniam in tris tam diversas regiones discessissent Punici exercitus, proximum adgrederetur, periculum esse ratus ne eo facto in unum omnes contraheret, nec par esset unus tot exercitibus, Carthaginem Novam interim oppugnare 3 statuit, urbem cum ipsam opulentam suis opibus, tum hostium omni bellico apparatu plenam—ibi arma, ibi pecunia, ibi totius Hispaniae obsides erant—, 4 sitam praeterea cum opportune ad traiciendum in Africam, tum super portum satis amplum quantaevis classi et nescio an unum in Hispaniae 5 ora qua nostro adiacet mari. Nemo omnium quo iretur sciebat praeter C. Laelium. Is classe circummissus ita moderari cursum navium iussus erat ut eodem tempore Scipio ab terra exercitum 6 ostenderet et classis portum intraret. Septimo die ab Hibero Carthaginem ventum est simul terra marique. Castra ab regione urbis qua in septemtrionem versa est posita; his ab tergo—nam frons 7 natura tuta erat—vallum[1] obiectum. Etenim[2] sita

[1] vallum *Rhenanus, Froben* 2 : nullum *Sp* : nullum vallum *A¹JKx Aldus* : duplex vallum *Schelius from Polybius* X. ix. 7, *Weissenborn*.

[2] Etenim *Sp²A¹ Froben* 2 : ceterum *JKx Aldus*.

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[1] Five hundred in Polybius *l.c.* vi. 7.

[2] Polybius gives the same figures, ix. 6 f.

[3] Six days for the march is incredible, since the distance is 2600 stadia (325 miles) according to Polybius III. xxxix. 6, or 298 miles in the Antonine Itinerary.

XLII. Having fired the spirits of the soldiers by this speech, and leaving for the defence of the region Marcus Silanus with three thousand infantry and three hundred[1] horsemen, all the rest of the forces—and they were twenty-five thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry[2]—he led across the Ebro. There, although some tried to persuade him that, since the Carthaginian armies had withdrawn into three regions so widely scattered, he should attack the nearest of them, he thought there was danger that by doing so he might cause them all to concentrate and one army might not be a match for so many armies. Consequently he decided meanwhile to lay siege to New Carthage, a city both itself rich in its own resources and filled with the enemy's warlike equipment of every kind. There were his arms, there his money, there hostages from all Spain. Furthermore the city was not only situated favourably for the passage to Africa, but also on a harbour ample enough for the greatest fleet, and perhaps the only port on the coast of Spain where it faces our sea. Not a man except Gaius Laelius knew whither they were going. He was sent with the fleet round the headlands, under previous orders so to regulate the speed of his ships that Scipio might display his army on the landward side at the same time that the fleet was entering the harbour. On the seventh day from the Ebro they reached (New) Carthage by sea and land at the same time.[3] Camp was pitched opposite the city where it faces the north.[4] At the rear of the camp—for the front was protected by nature—an earthwork was thrown up. For the B.C. 210

[4] Rather the eastern side.

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Carthago sic est: sinus est maris media fere Hispaniae ora, maxime Africo vento oppositus, ad duo milia[1] et quingentos passus introrsus retractus, paulo[2] plus passuum mille et ducentos[3] in latitudinem patens. 8 Huius in ostio sinus parva insula obiecta ab alto portum ab omnibus ventis praeterquam Africo tutum facit. Ab intimo sinu paeninsula excurrit, tumulus is ipse in quo condita urbs est, ab ortu solis et a meridie cincta mari; ab occasu stagnum claudit paulum etiam ad septemtrionem fusum, incertae altitudinis 9 utcumque exaestuat aut deficit[4] mare. Continenti urbem iugum ducentos fere et quinquaginta passus patens coniungit. Unde cum tam parvi operis munitio esset, non obiecit vallum imperator Romanus, 10 seu fiduciam hosti superbe ostentans, sive ut subeunti saepe ad moenia urbis recursus pateret.

XLIII. Cetera quae munienda erant cum perfecisset, naves etiam in portu, velut maritimam quoque ostentans obsidionem, instruxit; circumvectusque classem cum monuisset praefectos navium ut vigilias nocturnas intenti[5] servarent, omnia 2 ubique primo obsessum hostem conari, regressus in

[1] ad duo milia *supplied by Sigonius from Polybius* X. x. 1.
[2] paulo *A¹JKx Aldus*: paululo *Sp? Froben* 2.
[3] mille et ducentos *supplied by Madvig from Polybius l.c.*
[4] aut deficit *Sp?A¹ Froben* 2: *om. JKx Aldus.*
[5] intenti *Sp Froben* 2: interim *A¹JKx Aldus.*

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[1] Polybius, who had visited the place, gives a fuller description (X. x.), to which Livy is directly or indirectly indebted, reproducing the mistaken orientation of the city. Cf. H. H. Scullard, *Scipio Africanus*, pp. 289 ff. The city and its brilliant capture must have been fully treated in Plutarch's lost life of Scipio.

[2] Polybius' orientation of the *bay* was correct.

situation of (New) Carthage is as follows:[1] there is B.C. 210
an arm of the sea about half-way down the coast of Spain, a bay that mainly faces the southwest wind[2] and makes inland about two miles and a half, with a breadth of little more than a mile and one-fifth. At the mouth of this bay a small island facing the harbour on the seaward side makes it safe from all winds except the southwest. From the innermost part of the bay a peninsula runs out, the very hill on which the city was built, skirted by sea on the east[3] and the south.[4] On the west[4] a lagoon hems the city in, extending somewhat to the north[4] also: it is of varying depth according as the sea is coming in or going out.[5] With the mainland a ridge about two hundred and fifty paces wide connects the city. Although fortification on this side would have involved so little labour, the Roman commander did not throw up an earthwork, whether as proudly displaying his confidence to the enemy, or that, as he repeatedly approached the walls of the city, retirement might be open to him.

XLIII. Having completed such other works of fortification as were necessary, he drew up the ships also in the harbour, as though to display a blockade from the sea as well. And making the round of the fleet he reminded the commanders of the vessels to keep a close watch at night, saying that a blockaded enemy at first makes every attempt wherever pos-

[3] Really south, since these points of the compass must be corrected clockwise almost 90 degrees.

[4] Making the necessary corrections, S = W, W = N, N = E.

[5] Explained as caused by winds, not as Polybius, Livy and Appian thought, by tides; for there is *no* tide on the east coast of Spain. Cf. Scullard, *op. cit.* pp. 78 f.

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castra, ut consilii sui rationem, quod ab urbe potissimum oppugnanda bellum orsus esset, militibus ostenderet et spem potiundae cohortando faceret, contione advocata ita disseruit: "Ad urbem unam oppugnandam si quis vos adductos credit, is magis operis vestri quam emolumenti rationem exactam, milites, habet. Oppugnabitis enim vere moenia unius urbis, sed in una urbe universam ceperitis Hispaniam. Hic sunt obsides omnium nobilium regum populorumque: qui simul in potestate vestra erunt, extemplo omnia quae nunc sub Carthaginiensibus sunt in dicionem tradent; hic pecunia omnis hostium, sine qua neque illi gerere bellum possunt, quippe qui mercennarios exercitus alant, et quae nobis [1] maximo usui ad conciliandos animos barbarorum erit; hic tormenta, arma, omnis apparatus belli est, qui simul et [2] vos instruet et hostis nudabit. Potiemur praeterea cum pulcherrima opulentissimaque urbe, tum opportunissima portu egregio unde terra marique quae belli usus poscunt suppeditentur. Quae cum magna ipsi habebimus, tum dempserimus hostibus multo maiora. Haec illis arx, hoc horreum, aerarium, armamentarium, hoc omnium rerum receptaculum est: huc rectus ex Africa cursus est; haec una inter Pyrenaeum et Gadis statio; hinc omni Hispaniae imminet Africa . . ." [3]

[1] nobis *Aldus, Froben*: vobis A^sJKx.

[2] et Sp^2A^s *Froben* 2: *om. by the rest.*

[3] *Here ends the passage from the Spirensis, replacing two leaves lost out of P (or its archetype); cf.* xli. 18. *To fill the following gap other MSS. (Aldus also and Froben) have several lines of indifferent text, obviously not genuine. No further readings of Spirensis are known until* xlvi. 2.

[1] Lost is the conclusion of Scipio's speech, probably including rewards promised for bravery, and stating that

sible. He then returned to the camp to explain to B.C. 210
the soldiers the reason for his plan, in having elected to begin the campaign with the siege of a city, and in order that by encouraging them he might inspire the hope of its capture, called an assembly, and spoke as follows: "If any man believes that you have been brought here to besiege a single city, he has justly reckoned your labour, soldiers, rather than the profit. For it is true that you are to attack the walls of a single city, but in that single city you will have taken the whole of Spain. Here are the hostages of all the important kings and peoples; and once they are in your power, they will immediately surrender all that is now subject to the Carthaginians. Here is all the money of the enemy, without which, inasmuch as they maintain mercenary armies, they are incapable of waging war, while it will be of the greatest service to us in winning the support of the barbarians. Here is their artillery, their arms, all their war material, which will equip you and at the same time will strip the enemy. Furthermore we shall gain possession of a city very beautiful and very rich, likewise most convenient in its remarkable harbour, from which by land and sea everything which the needs of war demand may be supplied. We shall not only have these great advantages ourselves, but shall deprive the enemy of things much more important. This is their citadel, this is their granary, their treasury, their arsenal, this their storehouse for everything. To this port lies the direct course from Africa; this is the one roadstead between the Pyrenees and Gades: from this Africa menaces the whole of Spain. . . ."[1]

[1] Neptune had appeared to him in a dream and had pledged his aid at the right moment; Polybius X. xi. 6 f.

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XLIV. . . . armaverat.[1] Cum terra marique instrui oppugnationem videret, et ipse copias ita
2 disponit: oppidanorum duo milia ab ea parte qua castra Romana erant opponit; quingentis militibus arcem insidit, quingentos tumulo urbis in orientem verso inponit; multitudinem aliam quo clamor, quo subita vocasset res intentam ad omnia occurrere
3 iubet. Patefacta deinde porta eos quos in via ferente ad castra hostium instruxerat emittit.[2] Romani duce ipso praecipiente parumper cessere, ut propiores subsidiis in certamine ipso summittendis essent.
4 Et primo haud impares stetere acies; subsidia deinde identidem summissa e castris non averterunt solum in fugam hostis, sed adeo effusis institerunt ut, nisi receptui cecinisset, permixti fugientibus inrupturi fuisse in urbem viderentur.
5 Trepidatio vero non in proelio maior quam tota urbe fuit. Multae stationes pavore atque fuga[3] desertae sunt relictique muri, cum qua cuique
6 erat proximum desiluissent. Quod ubi[4] egressus[5] Scipio in tumulum quem Mercuri vocant anim-

[1] armaverat $P(1)$: *deleted* A^s: *om.* *JKx Aldus, Froben.*
[2] emittit *Weissenborn*: mittit $P(1)JK$ *Aldus.*
[3] fuga *Gronovius*: oga P: loga $P^{1?}$: loca (3) *and* (*with* deserta) AJK_2.
[4] ubi *Aldus, Froben, Salmasius*: ob $P(1)$.
[5] egressus *Salmasius*: veressus $P^{1?}R$: *variously altered in* (1): versus *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Missing is the narrative also of the beginning of the assault (*l.c.* xii. 1 ff.). The subject of the broken sentence is to be supplied from xlvi. 8 f., *i.e.* Mago, commandant of the place. He had armed available civilians.

XLIV. . . . had provided them with arms.[1] When B.C. 210
he saw the preparations for a siege by land and sea, he also disposed his troops as follows: two thousand of the townsmen he stationed against the enemy on that side on which lay the Roman camp; the citadel [2] he garrisoned with five hundred soldiers; five hundred he posted on the hill in the city towards the east; [3] the rest of the multitude he ordered to be on the alert in every direction and to confront the enemy wherever shouting or an emergency should call them. Then opening the gate he sent out the men he had drawn up on a street leading towards the camp of the enemy. The Romans, instructed by the general himself, drew back for a short time, that they might be nearer the reinforcements to be sent in the midst of the engagement. And at first the battle-lines stood fairly matched; then reinforcements sent again and again from the camp not only put the enemy to flight, but so pressed upon them in their disorder that, if Scipio had not sounded the recall, they would, it seemed, have mingled with the fugitives, and burst into the city.

But the alarm in the battle was no greater than that throughout the city. Many positions were deserted in panic and flight, and the walls were abandoned, when the men had leaped down, each taking the shortest way. When this was noticed by Scipio, who had climbed the hill which they call Mercury's Hill,[4]

[2] A height close to the wall on its northwest side, above the bridge and a gate leading to it.

[3] *I.e.* facing south (correcting Polybius' orientation; *l.c.* x. 8). On it was a temple of Aesculapius.

[4] On this hill, east of the isthmus, the Roman camp had been pitched.

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advertit[1] multis partibus nudata defensoribus moenia esse, omnis e castris excitos ire ad oppugnandam
7 urbem et ferre scalas iubet. Ipse trium prae se iuvenum validorum scutis oppositis—ingens enim iam vis omnis generis telorum e muris volabat—ad urbem succedit, hortatur, imperat quae in rem sunt,
8 quodque plurumum ad accendendos militum animos intererat, testis spectatorque virtutis atque ignaviae
9 cuiusque adest. Itaque in volnera ac tela ruunt, neque illos muri neque superstantes armati arcere
10 queunt quin certatim ascendant. Et ab navibus eodem tempore ea quae mari adluitur pars urbis oppugnari coepta est. Ceterum tumultus inde
11 maior quam vis adhiberi poterat. Dum adplicant, dum raptim[2] exponunt scalas militesque, dum qua cuique proximum est in terram evadere properant, ipsa festinatione et certamine alii alios inpediunt.

XLV. Inter haec repleverat iam Poenus armatis muros, et vis magna ex ingenti[3] copia congesta
2 telorum suppeditabat. Sed neque viri nec tela nec quicquam aliud aeque quam moenia ipsa sese defendebant. Rarae enim scalae altitudini aequari poterant, et quo quaeque altiores, eo infirmiores
3 erant. Itaque cum summus quisque evadere non posset, subirent tamen alii, onere ipso frangebantur. Quidam stantibus scalis, cum altitudo caliginem oculis offudisset, ad terram delati sunt.
4 Et cum passim homines scalaeque ruerent, et ipso

[1] vocant animadvertit C^1 *Salmasius*: (-ium) cantanti advertit $P(3)JK$.

[2] raptim *Crévier*: partim $P(1)JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[3] ex ingenti *Gronovius*: et ingenti $P(1)$: et ingens $A^6?JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

namely, that at many points the walls were stripped B.C. 210
of defenders, he gave orders to call all the men out of camp, to advance to the attack upon the city and to bring ladders. He himself, while three strong young men held their shields in front of him—for a great number of missiles of every kind were flying from the walls—comes up to the city, gives encouragement and pertinent orders, and, what was of most importance in firing the soldiers' spirits, is at hand as witness and spectator of every man's courage or cowardice. And so the men dash on in the face of wounds and missiles, and neither walls nor armed men standing on them can restrain them from vying with each other in the attempt to climb. And at the same time from the ships an attack began upon that part of the city which is washed by the sea. But from that side they were able to create an uproar rather than to launch an attack. In making fast, in hastily landing ladders and men, in their impatience to get ashore, each the shortest way, they hindered one another by their very haste and rivalry.

XLV. Meanwhile the Carthaginian had now fully manned the walls with armed men, and he had a great number of missiles ready at hand out of his immense reserves. But neither men nor missiles nor anything else defended the walls so much as the walls were their own defence. For few ladders could reach to their height, and the higher these were the weaker. And so since the highest man could not climb over, but nevertheless others kept coming up, the ladders were breaking by the mere weight. Some men, although the ladders stood, owing to the dizziness produced by the height fell to the ground. And while everywhere men and ladders were dropping,

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successu audacia atque alacritas hostium cresceret, signum receptui datum est: quod spem non praesentis modo ab tanto certamine ac labore quietis obsessis, sed etiam in posterum dedit, scalis et corona capi urbem non posse: opera et difficilia esse et tempus datura [1] ad ferendam opem imperatoribus suis.

6 Vix prior tumultus conticuerat cum Scipio ab defessis iam volneratisque recentis integrosque alios accipere scalas iubet et [2] vi maiore adgredi urbem.
7 Ipse, ut ei nuntiatum est aestum decedere, quod per piscatores Tarraconenses, nunc levibus cumbis, nunc, ubi eae siderent, vadis pervagatos stagnum, conpertum habebat facilem pedibus ad murum transitum dari, eo secum [3] armatos quingentos [4]
8 duxit. Medium ferme diei erat, et ad id, quod sua sponte cedente in mare aestu trahebatur aqua, acer etiam septemtrio ortus inclinatum stagnum eodem quo aestus ferebat et adeo nudaverat vada ut alibi umbilico tenus aqua esset, alibi genua vix superaret.
9 Hoc cura ac ratione compertum in prodigium ac deos vertens Scipio, qui ad transitum Romanis mare verterent et stagna auferrent viasque ante numquam initas humano vestigio aperirent, Neptunum iubebat ducem itineris sequi ac medio stagno evadere ad moenia.

[1] datura *Kz Froben* 1 : -rum *P*(1)*Jz Aldus*.
[2] et *JK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P*(1).
[3] eo secum *Gronovius* : eoseum *P* : eos P^2(1)*JK* : eo M^2x *Aldus, Froben*.
[4] quingentos (= D) *Weissenborn* (*cf.* xlvi. 2) : *om. P*(1) *JK Aldus*.

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[1] It was now late in the day; so Polybius X. xiii. 11.
[2] In the previous winter; Polybius *l.c.* viii. 7.
[3] See above, p. **167,** n. 5.
[4] For Polybius' conflicting statement cf. note 1.

and the enemies' boldness and zest were increasing B.C. 210
just because of their success, the signal for the recall was given.[1] This gave the besieged not only the hope of present respite from such conflict and effort, but also confidence for the future that the city could not be taken by ladders and encirclement; that siege-works were difficult and would also give time for their generals to bring aid.

Hardly had the first uproar been stilled when Scipio orders the ladders to be taken from men now weary and wounded, by others who were fresh and uninjured, and that an attack in greater force should be made upon the city. As for himself, having been informed by fishermen of Tarraco[2] who had crossed the lagoon everywhere, now in light vessels, now, when these would go aground, through shallow water, that an easy crossing on foot up to the wall was possible, Scipio, when word was brought to him that the tide was ebbing,[3] led five hundred armed men with him to the place. It was about the middle of the day,[4] and in addition to the draining away of the water of itself as the tide ebbed seaward, a fierce north wind also had sprung up and was carrying the receding lagoon in the same direction as the tide, and had so laid bare the shoals that in one place the water was up to the navel only, in another scarcely reached beyond the knees. What he had ascertained by painstaking and calculation, Scipio represented as a miracle and an act of the gods, who for the passage of the Romans were diverting the sea, he said, and draining lakes and opening up ways never before trodden by man's foot. And he bade them to follow Neptune as their guide on the march, and to make their way straight across the lagoon to the walls.

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XLVI. Ab terra ingens labor succedentibus erat; nec altitudine tantum moenium impediebantur, sed quod defensores adgredientis[1] ad ancipites utrimque ictus subiectos habebant Romanos, ut latera infestiora subeuntibus quam adversa corpora essent. At parte in[2] alia quingentis et per stagnum facilis transitus et in murum ascensus inde fuit; nam neque opere emunitus erat, ut ubi ipsius loci ac stagni praesidio satis creditum foret, nec ulla armatorum statio aut custodia opposita, intentis omnibus ad opem eo[3] ferendam unde periculum ostendebatur.

Ubi urbem sine certamine intravere, pergunt inde quanto maximo cursu poterant ad eam portam circa quam omne contractum certamen erat. In quod adeo intenti omnium non animi solum fuere, sed etiam oculi auresque pugnantium spectantiumque et[4] adhortantium pugnantis, ut nemo ante ab tergo senserit[5] captam urbem quam tela in aversos inciderunt et[6] utrimque ancipitem hostem habebant. Tunc turbatis defensoribus metu et moenia capta, et porta intus forisque pariter refringi coepta; et mox caedendo confectis ac distractis, ne iter impediretur, foribus armati impetum fecerunt. Magna multitudo et muros transcendebat, sed ii passim ad caedem oppidanorum versi; illa quae portam ingressa erat iusta acies cum ducibus, cum ordinibus

[1] defensores adgredientis *conj. Conway*: euntes (*or* -is) *P*(1) *JK Aldus, Froben*: coeuntis *N*: *many conjectures.*

[2] in, *suspected by Weissenborn, Conway; defended by Friedersdorff.*

[3] eo *Sp²N² Froben* 2: of- *P*(3): *om. MBANJK Aldus.*

[4] et *A²JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N.*

[5] senserit *Sp² Froben* 2: sentiret *P*(3)*ANJK Aldus, with different order.*

[6] et *Sp Froben* 2: *om. P*(1)*NJK Aldus.*

XLVI. On the landward side it was a very serious B.C. 210
task for men approaching the walls; and they were hindered not only by the height of these, but also because the defenders had the attacking Romans doubly exposed to wounds on the right and on the left, so that as they approached their sides were in greater danger than the front of their bodies. But on the other side of the city the five hundred found both an easy passage across the lagoon and then an easy climb to the top of the wall. For it had not been built up to the full height, since they had sufficient confidence in the protection offered by the position itself and by the lagoon, and there was no post of armed men nor a guard to confront them, since all were intent upon bringing aid to any quarter from which danger was indicated.

Having entered the city without a struggle, they then proceeded with all possible speed to the gate round which the whole battle had been brought on. On that fighting so intent were not only the minds, but also the eyes and ears of all the fighters and spectators and of those who were encouraging the fighters, that no one was aware that the city had been captured in their rear until missiles fell upon their backs and they had the enemy on both front and rear. Then as the defenders were panic-stricken, the walls were captured and men began to batter down the gate at the same time from within and from without. And presently, when the gates had been chopped to pieces and dragged off, so as not to block the passage, the armed men charged. A great multitude climbed over the wall also, but they scattered in all directions to slay the townspeople. The regular formation which had entered the gate made its way with its

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8 media urbe usque [1] in forum processit. Inde cum duobus itineribus fugientis videret hostis, alios ad tumulum in orientem versum, qui tenebatur quingentorum militum praesidio, alios in arcem, in quam et ipse Mago cum omnibus fere armatis qui muris pulsi fuerant refugerat, partim [2] copiarum ad tumulum expugnandum mittit, partim [3] ipse ad arcem
9 ducit. Et tumulus primo impetu est captus, et Mago arcem conatus defendere, cum omnia hostium plena videret neque spem ullam esse, se arcemque et
10 praesidium dedidit. Quoad dedita arx est, caedes tota urbe passim factae, nec ulli puberum qui obvius fuit parcebatur; tum signo dato caedibus finis factus; ad praedam victores versi, quae ingens omnis generis fuit.

XLVII. Liberorum capitum virile secus ad decem milia capta. Inde qui cives Novae Carthaginis erant dimisit, urbemque et sua omnia quae reliqua eis
2 bellum fecerat restituit. Opifices ad duo milia hominum erant; eos publicos fore populi Romani edixit, cum spe propinqua libertatis, si ad ministeria
3 belli enixe operam navassent. Ceteram multitudinem incolarum iuvenum ac validorum servorum in classem ad supplementum remigum dedit; et
4 auxerat navibus octo [4] captivis classem. Extra

[1] usque N^2: *om.* $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] partim $P(3)N$: partem $C^1M^2A^2JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[3] partim $P(1)$: partem C^1A^1 *Aldus*: *om.* $SpJK$ *Froben* 2.
[4] octo $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: XVIII *Sigonius from Polybius* X. xvii. 13.

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[1] *I.e.* south; cf. p. 167, n. 3.
[2] Eighteen in Polybius *l.c.* xvii. 13; cf. below, xlix. 6. The preceding figures, however, show how closely Livy

officers and its ranks through the centre of the city B.C. 210
even into the market-place. From that point Scipio saw the enemy fleeing down two streets, one party towards the hill facing the east [1] and held by a garrison of five hundred soldiers, the rest into the citadel, into which Mago also with nearly all the armed men who had been beaten back from the walls had fled for refuge. Accordingly he sent part of his forces to storm the hill, and himself led a part to the citadel. The hill was taken at the first assault, and Mago, who attempted to defend the citadel, seeing the whole city filled with the enemy and that there was no hope, surrendered himself and the citadel with its garrison. Until the surrender of the citadel there was slaughter everywhere throughout the city, and they did not spare any adult who met them. Then the signal was given and an end was made of slaughter. The victors turned to the spoils, which were immense and of every kind.

XLVII. Of male free men about ten thousand were captured. From that number Scipio released those who were citizens of New Carthage and restored to them their city and also all the property which the war had spared to them. The artisans numbered about two thousand men. These he announced would be public slaves of the Roman people, with the not distant hope of freedom if they should actively exert themselves in providing the equipment for war. The rest of the multitude, made up of young non-citizens and strong slaves, he turned over to the fleet to recruit the oarsmen: and he had enlarged the fleet by eight [2] captured ships. Apart

followed him; not as in §§ 5 ff. drawing from a different source.

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hanc multitudinem Hispanorum obsides erant, quorum perinde ac si sociorum liberi essent cura habita. Captus et apparatus ingens belli: catapultae maximae formae centum viginti, minores ducentae octoginta una; ballistae maiores viginti tres, minores quinquaginta duae, scorpionum maiorum minorumque et armorum telorumque ingens numerus; signa militaria septuaginta quattuor. Et auri argentique[1] relata ad imperatorem magna vis: paterae aureae fuerunt ducentae septuaginta sex, librales[2] ferme omnes pondo; argenti infecti[3] signatique decem et octo milia et trecenta pondo, vasorum argenteorum magnus numerus; haec omnia C. Flaminio quaestori adpensa adnumerataque sunt; tritici quadringenta[4] milia modium, hordei ducenta septuaginta. Naves onerariae sexaginta tres in portu expugnatae captaeque,[5] quaedam cum suis oneribus, frumento, armis, aere praeterea ferroque et linteis et sparto et navali alia materia ad classem aedificandam, ut minimum omnium inter tantas opes belli captas[6] Carthago ipsa fuerit.

XLVIII. Eo die Scipio, C. Laelio cum sociis navalibus urbem custodire iusso, ipse in castra legiones reduxit fessosque milites omnibus uno die belli operibus, quippe qui et acie dimicassent et capienda

[1] -que M^2ANJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(3)$ *Conway.*

[2] librales Sp^2A^6JK *Froben 2. Conway*: libras $P(3)$ *Gronovius*: librae AN *Aldus, Madvig.*

[3] infecti *Gronovius*: facti $P(3)JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: facte AN.

[4] quadringenta PRB^2D: quadraginta (*or* XL) $CMBANJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[5] captaeque A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: que $P(3)$.

[6] belli captas Sp^2N^s *Froben 2*: belli castas P: bellicas $P^2(1)N^2JK$ *Aldus.*

from this multitude were the Spanish hostages, who B.C. 210
were cared for just as if they were the children of allies. Captured also was a vast amount of war material: a hundred and twenty catapults of the largest model, two hundred and eighty-one of the smaller; twenty-three larger *ballistae*, fifty-two smaller; larger and smaller scorpions and arms and missile weapons, a vast number: seventy-four military standards. Of gold also and silver a large quantity was brought to the general. There were two hundred and seventy-six gold *paterae*,[1] nearly all of them weighing a pound; of silver, the unwrought and coined, there were eighteen thousand three hundred pounds, of silver vessels a large number. All of these, after weighing and counting, were delivered to Gaius Flaminius, the quaestor. Of wheat there were four hundred thousand pecks; of barley two hundred and seventy thousand. Sixty-three merchantmen were attacked and captured in the harbour, some with their cargoes, grain, arms, also bronze and iron and linen and Spanish broom[2] and ship timber also for the building of a fleet, so that in the midst of these great resources for the war that were captured (New) Carthage itself was the smallest part of it all.

XLVIII. On that day Scipio, after ordering Gaius Laelius with the marines to guard the city, himself led the legions back into camp. And as the soldiers were exhausted by all the warlike operations combined in a single day—since they had fought in line of battle,

[1] Deep saucers used as drinking cups, but usually mentioned when a libation was poured.

[2] Esparto, of which much was grown near New Carthage for use in making ropes, etc., cf. XXII. xx. 6.

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urbe tantum laboris periculique adissent et capta cum iis qui in arcem confugerant iniquo etiam loco pugnas-
3 sent, curare corpora iussit. Postero die militibus navalibusque sociis convocatis primum dis immortalibus laudes gratesque egit, qui se non urbis solum opulentissimae omnium in Hispania uno die compotem fecissent, sed ante eo congessissent omnis Africae atque Hispaniae opes, ut neque hostibus quicquam relinqueretur, et sibi ac suis omnia super-
4 essent. Militum deinde virtutem conlaudavit quod eos non eruptio hostium, non altitudo moenium, non inexplorata stagni vada, non castellum in alto tumulo situm, non munitissima arx deterruisset quo minus transcenderent omnia perrumperentque.
5 Itaque quamquam omnibus omnia deberet, praecipuum muralis coronae decus eius esse qui primus murum ascendisset; profiteretur qui se dignum eo
6 duceret dono. Duo professi sunt, Q. Trebellius,[1] centurio legionis quartae, et Sex. Digitius, socius navalis. Nec ipsi tam inter se acriter contendebant quam studia excitaverant uterque sui corporis
7 hominum. Sociis C. Laelius, praefectus[2] classis,
8 legionariis M. Sempronius Tuditanus aderat. Ea contentio cum prope seditionem veniret, Scipio tris recuperatores cum se daturum pronuntiasset qui cognita causa testibusque auditis iudicarent uter

[1] Trebellius *Sp*?A^1JK *Froben* 2 : tiberilius $P(1)N$.
[2] praefectus N^1 *marg. Rhenanus, Froben* 2 : que tectus *Sp* : q. *or* que $P(3)N$: *om.* C^2A^2JK *Aldus*.

[1] A rare example of an open competition for a military distinction to be awarded.

and in taking the city had been involved in such exertion and danger, and after the capture had contended, on unfavourable ground at that, with those who had sought refuge in the citadel—he ordered them to rest. On the following day he called together the soldiers and marines, and first praised and thanked the immortal gods, who had made him master in a single day, not only of the richest of all the cities in Spain, but had previously accumulated there all the resources of Africa and Spain, so that nothing was left to the enemy, while for himself and his men there was abundance of everything. He went on to praise warmly the courage of the soldiers because neither a sally of the enemy, nor the height of walls, nor the unsounded waters of the lagoon, nor the fortress on a lofty hill, nor the very strongly fortified citadel had deterred them from climbing over or bursting through every obstacle. Accordingly, although he owed everything to everybody, the special distinction of a mural crown belonged to the man who had been the first to climb the wall; let him who thought himself deserving of that gift declare himself.[1] Two came forward as claimants, Quintus Trebellius, a centurion of the fourth legion, and Sextus Digitius, a marine. And these men themselves were not so much hotly competing with one another, as already fanning the partisanship of the men of their respective arms of the service. The marines were supported by Gaius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, the legionaries by Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus. When the strife was verging on mutiny, Scipio announced that he would name three arbiters to hear the claims, and after taking testimony, to decide which of the two had been the first to climb B.C. 210

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9 prior in oppidum transcendisset, C. Laelio et M. Sempronio, advocatis partis utriusque, P. Cornelium Caudinum de medio adiecit eosque tris recuperatores 10 considere et causam cognoscere iussit. Cum res eo maiore ageretur certamine quod amoti tantae dignitatis non tam advocati quam moderatores studiorum fuerant, C. Laelius relicto consilio ad 11 tribunal ad Scipionem accedit, eumque docet rem sine modo ac modestia agi, ac prope esse ut manus inter se conferant. Ceterum, etiam si vis absit, nihilo minus detestabili exemplo rem agi, quippe ubi 12 fraude ac periurio decus petatur virtutis. Stare hinc legionarios milites, hinc classicos, per omnis deos paratos iurare magis quae velint quam quae sciant vera esse, et obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput, sed signa militaria et aquilas sacra- 13 mentique religionem. Haec se [1] ad eum de sententia P. Cornelii et M. Sempronii deferre. Scipio conlaudato Laelio ad contionem advocavit pronuntiavitque se satis compertum habere Q. Trebellium [2] et Sex. Digitium pariter in murum escendisse, seque eos ambos [3] virtutis causa coronis muralibus donare. 14 Tum reliquos prout cuiusque meritum virtusque erat donavit; ante omnis C. Laelium praefectum

[1] Haec se *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben* : haec *P*(1)*N Madvig.*
[2] Trebellium : *see p.* 182, *crit. n.* 1.
[3] ambos *N'JK Aldus, Froben* ; *om. P*(1)*N.*

over the wall into the town. Then in addition to B.C. 210
Gaius Laelius and Marcus Sempronius, who represented this faction and that, he named Publius Cornelius Caudinus, a neutral, and ordered the three arbiters to sit down and hear the case. This was argued with all the more heat because they were separated from men of such high rank, who had acted less as representatives than as a check upon party feelings. Whereupon Gaius Laelius left the council, went up to Scipio on his tribune, and informed him that the matter was being debated without limit or self-restraint, and that the soldiers were on the point of laying hands on each other. But he said that, even if there should be no violence, they were nevertheless setting an abominable precedent in seeking by deception and perjury to win a reward for courage. On one side the legionaries were standing, he said, on the other the marines, ready to swear by all the gods rather what they wished to have true than what they knew to be true, and ready to involve not only themselves and their own persons in the perjury, but also the military standards and eagles and the sanctity of the oath of allegiance; that he was making this report to him on the advice of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Sempronius. Scipio warmly praised Laelius, summoned the soldiers to an assembly and declared that he was reliably informed that Quintus Trebellius and Sextus Digitius had climbed to the top of the wall at the same moment, and that for their courage he bestowed mural crowns upon them both. Then he rewarded the rest, each according to his desert and his courage. Above all the others he placed Gaius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, on a level with himself in every kind

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classis et omni genere laudis sibimet ipse [1] aequavit et corona aurea ac triginta bubus donavit.

XLIX. Tum obsides civitatium Hispaniae vocari iussit; quorum quantus numerus fuerit piget scribere, quippe cum [2] alibi trecentos ferme, alibi tria milia [3] septingentos viginti quattuor fuisse inveniam. 2 Aeque et alia inter auctores discrepant. Praesidium Punicum alius decem, alius septem, alius haud plus quam duum milium fuisse scribit. Capta alibi decem milia capitum,[4] alibi supra quinque et viginti 3 invenio.[5] Scorpiones maiores minoresque ad sexaginta captos scripserim, si auctorem Graecum sequar Silenum; si Valerium Antiatem, maiorum scorpionum sex milia, minorum tredecim [6] milia; adeo nullus 4 mentiendi modus est. Ne de ducibus quidem convenit. Plerique Laelium praefuisse classi, sunt 5 qui M. Iunium Silanum dicant; Arinen praefuisse Punico praesidio deditumque Romanis Antias Valerius, 6 Magonem alii scriptores tradunt. Non de numero navium captarum, non de pondere auri atque argenti et redactae pecuniae [7] convenit. Si aliquis adsentiri

[1] ipse $P(3)JK$: ipsi AN *Aldus, Froben, Madvig.*
[2] cum A^sJK *Froben* 2: ubi $P(1)$ $(A^2)N$ *Aldus.*
[3] tria milia (∞ ∞ ∞)PC: *om. by the rest.*
[4] alibi decem milia capitum A^sN^2JK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *a lost line.*
[5] invenio A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: -ias P: -ias *or* -ies (1).
[6] tredecim *Gronovius*: decem tria $P(3)N$: decem et tria AN^2: XIII DA^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: decem et tria AN^2; *cf. crit. note on* XXVII. xxix. 8.
[7] redactae pecuniae $P(1)$ NJK *Aldus:* -ta -nia *Sp Froben* 2, *Conway.*

of commendation, and also presented him with a golden wreath and thirty oxen. B.C. 210

XLIX. Then he ordered the hostages of the states of Spain to be summoned. How great was their number I dislike to state, since in one source I find that they were about three hundred,[1] in another three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four. There is no less disagreement on other matters also between the authorities. One writes that the Carthaginian garrison consisted of ten thousand men, another of seven thousand, another of not more than two thousand.[2] As for the captives, in one writer[3] I find ten thousand persons, in another above twenty-five thousand. I should set down about sixty larger and smaller scorpions as captured, if I were to follow a Greek authority, Silenus,[4] if Valerius Antias, then six thousand of the larger scorpions, thirteen thousand of the smaller; so lacking is any limit to his mendacity. Even as to the generals there is no agreement. Most say that Laelius commanded the fleet, there are some who say it was Marcus Iunius Silanus. Valerius Antias relates that Arines was in command of the Carthaginian garrison and surrendered to the Romans, other writers that it was Mago. There is no agreement as to the number of ships captured, none as to the weight of gold and silver and of money brought in. If one must agree

[1] Over 300, says Polybius X. xviii. 3.

[2] In Polybius 1000 only for the regular garrison, but an emergency force of 2000 was recruited; xii. 2 f.

[3] *I.e.* Polybius xvii. 6.

[4] Who was with Hannibal and wrote in Greek on his campaigns; Nepos *Hann.* xiii. 3. Coelius used him (Cicero *de Div.* I. 49). Known to Polybius, but not mentioned by him; only here in Livy. For Valerius cf. note on vi. 8.

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7 necesse est, media simillima [1] veri [2] sunt. Ceterum vocatis obsidibus primum universos bonum animum
8 habere iussit: venisse enim [3] eos in populi Romani potestatem, qui beneficio quam metu obligare homines malit exterasque gentis fide ac societate
9 iunctas habere quam tristi subiectas servitio. Deinde acceptis nominibus civitatium recensuit captivos, quot cuiusque populi essent, et nuntios domum misit
10 ut ad suos quisque recipiendos veniret. Si quarum forte civitatium legati aderant, eis praesentibus suos restituit; ceterorum curam benigne tuendorum C. Flaminio quaestori attribuit.

11 Inter haec e media turba obsidum mulier magno natu, Mandonii uxor, qui frater Indibilis Ilergetum reguli erat, flens ad pedes imperatoris procubuit obtestarique coepit ut curam cultumque feminarum
12 impensius custodibus commendaret. Cum Scipio nihil defuturum iis [4] profecto diceret, tum rursus mulier "Haud magni ista facimus" inquit; "quid enim huic fortunae non satis est? Alia me cura aetatem harum intuentem—nam ipsa iam extra peri-
13 culum iniuriae muliebris sum—stimulat." Et [5] aetate et forma florentes circa eam Indibilis filiae erant aliaeque [6] nobilitate pari, quae omnes eam pro
14 parente colebant. Tum Scipio "Meae populique Romani disciplinae causa facerem" inquit "ne quid

[1] simillima $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: similia *Sp Froben* 2.
[2] veri M^1BSp *Froben* 2: veris $DANJK$ *Aldus*: veneris $P(3)$.
[3] enim A^sN^sJK: *om. by the rest.*
[4] iis Sp: his N^s: *om.* $P(3)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben* 2.
[5] stimulat. Et PC: stimulat $C^4(3)N^sJK$: simul *Sp Froben* 2 (*with* angit *inserted above after* alia me): animum stimulat *z Aldus.*
[6] filiae erant aliaeque SpN^s *Froben* 2: filiaeque PC: filii aeque $(3)N^2$.

with some authorities, moderate figures are the most B.C. 210
probable. To resume, calling the hostages, Scipio first bade them all to be of good cheer; for they had come into the power of the Roman people, which prefers to bind men by favour rather than by fear, and to keep foreign nations linked by loyalty and alliance, rather than reduced to a harsh slavery. Then on learning the names of the states, he made a list of the captives, showing how many belonged to each people, and sent messengers to their homes, bidding that each man come to recover his own children. If ambassadors of any states happened to be there, he restored their hostages to them directly.[1] The task of kindly protecting the rest he assigned to Gaius Flaminius, the quaestor.

Meanwhile out of the midst of the crowd of hostages came an elderly woman, the wife of Mandonius, who was the brother of Indibilis, prince of the Ilergetes, and weeping she fell at the feet of the general and began to implore him to charge the guards more strictly with the care and comfort of the women. When Scipio said that they would surely lack nothing, the woman then replied: "We do not greatly care," she said, "for such things: for in our condition what is not sufficient? It is another concern which impels me as I look at these maidens; for as for myself, I am beyond the danger of violence done to woman." And in the bloom of youth and beauty the daughters of Indibilis were standing about her, and others of no less rank, all of whom paid her the honour due a parent. Then Scipio said: "Thanks to my own training and that of the Roman

[1] In Polybius he takes the hostages with him on his way to Tarraco; *l.c.* xx. 8.

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quod sanctum usquam esset apud nos violaretur; nunc ut id curem inpensius vestra quoque virtus dignitasque facit, quae ne in malis quidem oblitae decoris matronalis estis." Spectatae deinde integritatis viro tradidit eas, tuerique haud secus verecunde ac modeste quam hospitum coniuges ac matres iussit.

L. Captiva deinde a militibus adducitur ad eum adulta virgo, adeo eximia forma ut quacumque incedebat converteret omnium oculos. Scipio, percunctatus patriam parentesque, inter cetera accepit desponsam eam principi Celtiberorum; adulescenti Allucio nomen erat. Extemplo igitur parentibus sponsoque ab domo accitis, cum interim audiret deperire eum sponsae amore, ubi primum venit, accuratiore cum sermone quam parentis adloquitur: "Iuvenis" inquit "iuvenem appello, quo minor[1] sit inter nos huius[2] sermonis verecundia. Ego, cum sponsa tua capta a militibus nostris ad me ducta[3] esset audiremque tibi eam cordi esse, et forma faceret fidem, quia ipse, si frui liceret ludo aetatis, praesertim in recto et legitimo[4] amore, et non res publica animum nostrum occupasset, veniam mihi dari sponsam impensius amanti vellem, tuo, cuius possum, amori faveo. Fuit sponsa tua apud me eadem

[1] quo minor N^s *Gronovius*: quo minus *Sp Froben* 2: minor $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*.
[2] huius $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *before* inter SpN^s.
[3] ducta $P(3)N$: deducta AN^1JK *Aldus, Froben*.
[4] et legitimo $P(3)Sp^?$ *Froben* 2: legitimoque $ANJK$ *Aldus*.

people I would see to it that nothing which is any- B.C. 210
where sacred should suffer violence among us. But as it is, I am moved to an even stricter care in that respect by the courage and dignity of you women also, who even in misfortune have not forgotten what is seemly for a matron." He then handed them over to a man of proved uprightness, and ordered him to protect them with no less respect and modesty than the wives and mothers of guest-friends.

L. Then there was brought to him as a captive by the soldiers a grown maiden of a beauty so extraordinary that, wherever she went, she drew the eyes of everyone. Scipio, upon enquiring about her native city and her parents, learned among other things that she had been betrothed to a leading man of the Celtiberians. The young man's name was Allucius. Accordingly he at once summoned parents and fiancé from home, and as soon as he had arrived, Scipio, having heard meantime that he was desperately in love with his betrothed, addressed him in more studied language than he had used towards the parents. "As a young man," he said, "I speak to you as a young man—to lessen embarrassment between us in this conversation. It was to me that your betrothed was brought as a captive by our soldiers, and I learned of your love for her—and her beauty made that easy to believe. Therefore, since in my own case, if it were only permitted me to enjoy the pleasures of youth, especially in a proper and legitimate love, and had not the state preoccupied my attention, I should wish to be pardoned for an ardent love of a bride, I favour what is in my power—*your* love. Your betrothed has been

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qua apud soceros tuos parentisque suos verecundia; servata tibi est, ut inviolatum et dignum me teque 7 dari tibi donum posset. Hanc mercedem unam pro eo munere paciscor: amicus populo Romano sis et, si me virum bonum credis esse, qualis patrem patruumque meum iam ante hae gentes norant, scias 8 multos nostri similes in civitate Romana esse, nec ullum in terris hodie populum dici posse quem minus tibi hostem tuisque esse velis aut amicum malis." 9 Cum[1] adulescens simul pudore et gaudio perfusus,[2] dextram Scipionis tenens, deos omnis invocaret ad gratiam illi pro se referendam, quoniam sibi nequaquam satis facultatis pro suo animo atque illius erga se merito[3] esset, parentes inde cognatique virginis 10 appellati; qui, quoniam gratis sibi redderetur virgo, ad quam redimendam satis magnum attulissent 11 auri pondus, orare Scipionem ut id ab se donum acciperet coeperunt, haud minorem eius rei apud se gratiam futuram esse adfirmantes quam redditae 12 inviolatae foret virginis. Scipio, quando tanto opere peterent, accepturum se pollicitus poni ante pedes iussit vocatoque ad se Allucio "Super dotem" inquit "quam accepturus a socero es, haec tibi a me dotalia dona accedent," aurumque tollere ac 13 sibi habere iussit. His laetus donis honoribusque

[1] Cum *Sp Froben* 2 : *om. P*(1)*NJK Aldus.*

[2] perfusus *Sp Froben* 2 : perusus *P* : -cusus P^2R : -cussus R^2MBDAN : -culsus CA^{vi} *Aldus.*

[3] merito SpN^sK *Froben* 2 : *om. P*(1)*NJ Aldus.*

in my camp with the same regard for modesty as B.C. 210
in the house of your parents-in-law, her own parents. She has been kept for you, so that she could be given you as a gift, unharmed and worthy of you and of me. This is the only price that I stipulate in return for that gift: be a friend to the Roman people, and if you believe me to be a good man, such as these tribes formerly came to know in my father and uncle, be assured that in the Roman state there are many like us, and that no people in the world can be named to-day which you would be less desirous of having as an enemy to you and yours, or more desirous of having as a friend." The young man, overcome by embarrassment and at the same time by joy, holding Scipio's right hand, called upon all the gods to compensate him on his own behalf, since he was far from having sufficient means to do so in accordance with his own feeling and the other's services to himself. Whereupon the parents and blood-relations of the maiden were summoned. They began to entreat Scipio, because the maiden, for whose ransom they had brought, as they said, a considerable weight of gold, was being restored to them without price, to accept that gift from them, assuring him that they would feel no less gratitude for his acceptance than for the restoration of the maiden unharmed. Scipio, since they so earnestly besought, promised that he would accept it, ordered the gift to be laid before his feet, and calling Allucius to him, said: "In addition to the dowry which you are about to receive from your father-in-law, this will be added by me as a nuptial gift to you." And he ordered him to take up the gold and keep it. Delighting in this gift and courteous treatment he was

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dimissus domum, implevit popularis laudibus meritis Scipionis: venisse dis simillimum iuvenem, vincentem omnia cum armis tum benignitate ac beneficiis. 14 Itaque dilectu clientium habito cum delectis mille et quadringentis equitibus intra paucos dies ad Scipionem revertit.

LI. Scipio retentum secum Laelium, dum captivos obsidesque et praedam ex consilio eius disponeret, 2 satis [1] omnibus compositis, data quinqueremi et [2] captivis cum [3] Magone et quindecim fere senatoribus qui simul cum eo capti erant in navem [4] inpositis 3 nuntium victoriae Romam mittit. Ipse paucos dies quibus morari Carthagine statuerat exercendis 4 navalibus pedestribusque copiis absumpsit. Primo die legiones in armis quattuor milium spatio decurrerunt; secundo die arma curare et tergere ante tentoria iussi; tertio die rudibus [5] inter se in modum iustae pugnae concurrerunt praepilatisque missilibus iaculati sunt; quarto die quies data; quinto iterum 5 in armis decursum est. Hunc ordinem laboris quietisque, quoad Carthagine morati sunt, servarunt. 6 Remigium classicique milites tranquillo in altum evecti, agilitatem navium simulacris navalis pugnae 7 experiebantur. Haec extra urbem terra marique corpora simul animosque ad bellum acuebant; urbs ipsa strepebat apparatu belli fabris omnium generum

[1] satis $P(3)NJK$ *Aldus*: rebus SpN^s *Froben* 2 (*inserted after* omnibus *by Walters, who keeps* satis).

[2] et *Johnson*: e *Madvig*: *om.* $P(1)Sp$, *etc.*

[3] cum SpN^s *Froben* 2: -que PC: atque *Madvig*: *om.* $(1)NJK$ *Aldus*.

[4] navem JK *Madvig* (*cf. Polybius* X. xix. 8): nave C^4M^1BDAN *Aldus, Froben*: nave ut $P(3)$: naves sex (*i.e.* VI) *Conway*.

[5] rudibus $P(1)N$: sudibus M^6JK *Aldus, Froben*.

sent away to his home, and he filled his countrymen B.C. 210
with the well-earned praises of Scipio, saying that there had come a most godlike youth, conquering everything by arms and especially by generosity and favours. And so, after conducting a levy among his clients, he returns within a few days to Scipio with fourteen hundred picked horsemen.

LI. Scipio kept Laelius by him until with his advice he should dispose of captives and hostages and the booty. Then when everything had been properly arranged, he furnished him with a five-banker,[1] put on shipboard the captives with Mago and about fifteen senators who had been captured with him, and sent Laelius to Rome to report the victory. He himself spent the few days during which he had decided to remain at (New) Carthage in drilling his naval and land forces. On the first day the legions would run under arms for four miles; on the second they were ordered to take care of their arms and clean them in front of their tents; on the third day with wooden foils they encountered each other after the manner of a regular battle and hurled missile weapons provided with a button at the end: on the fourth day they were given a rest; on the fifth they again ran quickly under arms. This disposition of work and rest they maintained so long as they remained at (New) Carthage. The oarsmen and marines, when the sea was calm, would sail out into open water and test the mobility of their ships in sham naval battles. Such training outside the city by land and sea steeled both bodies and minds for war. The city itself rang with preparations for war, since artisans

[1] Polybius also mentions the quinquereme only (xix. 8). But a small convoy is to be presumed; cf. XXVII. vii. 4.

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8 in publicam officinam[1] inclusis. Dux cuncta pari cura obibat: nunc in classe ac navali erat, nunc cum legionibus decurrebat.[2] nunc operibus aspiciendis tempus dabat, quaeque in officinis quaeque in armamentario ac navalibus fabrorum multitudo pluruma 9 in singulos dies certamine ingenti faciebat. His ita incohatis refectisque quae quassata erant muri,[3] dispositisque praesidiis ad custodiam urbis, Tarraconem est profectus, a multis legationibus protinus 10 in via aditus, quas partim dato responso ex itinere dimisit, partim distulit Tarraconem, quo omnibus novis veteribusque sociis edixerat conventum. Et cuncti fere qui cis Hiberum incolunt populi, multi etiam ulterioris provinciae convenerunt.

11 Carthaginiensium duces primo ex industria famam captae Carthaginis conpresserunt; deinde, ut clarior res erat quam ut tegi ac dissimulari posset, eleva- 12 bant verbis: necopinato adventu ac prope furto unius diei urbem unam Hispaniae interceptam, cuius[4] rei tam parvae praemio elatum insolentem iuvenem inmodico gaudio speciem magnae victoriae 13 imposuisse; at ubi adpropinquare tres duces, tres victores hostium exercitus audisset, occursuram ei 14 extemplo domesticorum funerum memoriam. Haec in volgus iactabant, haudquaquam ipsi ignari quantum sibi ad omnia virium Carthagine amissa decessisset.

[1] -cam officinam *Sp* (*omitting a line from* -li fabris *to* in publi-) *Walters*: -ca officina *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben.*

[2] nunc in classe . . . decurrebat *SpN*[s] *Froben* 2: *om. P*(1)*NJK Aldus* (*three lines lost*).

[3] quae quassata erant muri *SpN*[s], Froben 2: qua quassaverant muris *P*: *same omitting* qua *P*[1](3), *but with* quos *CA*[s] *Aldus*: qua quassati erant, muris *Crévier.*

[4] cuius *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben*: eius *Sp.*

of all kinds were shut up in public workshops. The general inspected everything with the same care; now he was on the fleet and the docks, now he was with the legions as they ran; now he was giving his time to viewing the work that was done from day to day in shops and arsenal and on the docks, with the utmost rivalry, by the great multitude of artisans. Having made such a beginning, and having repaired battered parts of the wall, and leaving forces posted to defend the city, he set out for Tarraco, being approached by many embassies in the course of his march. Some of these he answered and dismissed without stopping, some he postponed till he reached Tarraco, at which he had announced an assembly for all the allies new and old. And nearly all the peoples dwelling on this side of the Ebro came together, and many also from the farther province. B.C. 210

The Carthaginian commanders at first purposely suppressed the news of the capture of (New) Carthage. Then, when the matter was too well known to be concealed or masked, their language would minimize it, saying that by a sudden arrival and almost by stealth on a single day a single city of Spain had been seized; and carried away by success on so small a scale, an arrogant youth in an excess of joy had given it the appearance of a great victory; but when he heard that three generals, three victorious armies of the enemy were approaching, there would at once come to him the memory of the losses in his family. Such were their remarks in public, but in themselves they were by no means unaware what a mass of resources for every purpose had gone with the loss of (New) Carthage.

LIBRI XXVI PERIOCHA

Hannibal ad tertium lapidem ab urbe Roma super Anienem castra posuit. Ipse cum duobus milibus equitum usque ad ipsam Capenam portam, ut situm urbis exploraret, obequitavit. Et cum per triduum in aciem utrimque exercitus omnis descendisset, certamen tempestas diremit; nam cum in castra redisset, statim serenitas erat. Capua capta est a Q. Fulvio et Ap. Claudio consulibus. Principes Campanorum veneno sibi mortem consciverunt. Cum senatus Campanorum deligatus esset ad palos, ut securi feriretur, litteras a senatu missas Q. Fulvius consul, quibus iubebatur parcere, antequam legeret, in sinu posuit et lege agi iussit et supplicium peregit. Cum comitiis apud populum quaereretur cui mandaretur Hispaniarum imperium, nullo id volente suscipere, P. Scipio, P. filius eius qui in Hispania ceciderat, professus est se iturum, et suffragio populi consensuque omnium missus Novam Carthaginem expugnavit, cum haberet annos XXIV videreturque divina stirpe creatus, quia et ipse, postquam togam acceperat, cotidie in Capitolio erat, et in cubiculo matris eius anguis saepe videbatur. Res praeterea gestas in Sicilia continet et amicitiam cum Aetolis iunctam bellumque gestum adversus Acarnanas et Philippum, Macedoniae regem.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVI

Hannibal pitched his camp on the bank of the Anio at the third milestone from the city of Rome. In person with two thousand horsemen he rode up even to the Porta Capena,[1] to examine the lie of the city. And when for three days the entire army on each side had gone out into battle-line, a storm broke off the combat; for when they had returned to camp, at once there was a clear sky. Capua was taken by Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius, the consuls. The leading men of the Capuans took their own lives by poison. When the senators of Capua had been bound to stakes, to be beheaded, Quintus Fulvius, the consul, on receiving a letter from the senate in which he was bidden to spare them, put the letter in his bosom before reading it and ordered that the law be complied with, and carried out the penalty. When at the comitia in the presence of the people the question was raised, to whom should the command of the Spanish provinces be entrusted, and no one was willing to undertake it, Publius Scipio, son of that Publius who had fallen in Spain, declared that he would go; and having been sent by vote of the people and by general agreement, he stormed New Carthage, being twenty-four years old and seeming to have sprung from a divine race, because he was himself daily on the Capitol, from the time he had assumed the toga, and because in his mother's chamber a serpent used often to be seen. In addition this book contains events in Sicily and the establishment of friendship with the Aetolians and the war waged against the Acarnanians and Philip, King of Macedonia.

[1] An error for Collina; cf. x. 3.

BOOK XXVII

LIBER XXVII

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I. Hic status rerum in Hispania erat. In Italia consul Marcellus Salapia per proditionem recepta 2 Marmoreas et Meles de Samnitibus vi cepit. Ad tria milia militum ibi Hannibalis, quae praesidii causa relicta erant, oppressa: praeda—et aliquantum eius fuit—militi concessa. Tritici quoque ducenta quadraginta milia modium et centum 3 decem milia hordei inventa. Ceterum nequaquam inde tantum gaudium fuit quanta clades intra paucos 4 dies accepta est haud procul Herdonea urbe. Castra ibi Cn. Fulvius proconsul habebat spe recipiendae Herdoneae, quae post Cannensem cladem ab Romanis defecerat, nec loco satis tuto posita nec prae- 5 sidiis firmata. Neglegentiam insitam ingenio ducis augebat spes ea, quod labare iis adversus Poenum fidem senserat, postquam Salapia amissa excessisse 6 iis locis in Bruttios Hannibalem auditum est. Ea omnia ab Herdonea per occultos nuntios delata Hannibali simul curam sociae retinendae urbis et spem fecere incautum hostem adgrediendi. Exercitu

[1] Two unknown towns where Hannibal had important supply bases. For Salapia, in Apulia, northwest of Cannae, cf. XXVI. xxxviii. 6 ff. and note. Its garrison consisted of 500 Numidians: *l.c.* § 11.

[2] In Apulia, 30 miles west of Cannae; XXV. xxi. 1; xxii. 14.

BOOK XXVII

I. Such was the state of affairs in Spain. In Italy the consul Marcellus, having regained possession of Salapia by betrayal, took Marmoreae and Meles [1] from the Samnites by force. About three thousand of Hannibal's soldiers, who had been left as a garrison, were overpowered there. The booty—and there was much of it—was turned over to the soldiers. In addition two hundred and forty thousand pecks of wheat and a hundred and ten thousand pecks of barley were found. But the rejoicing in consequence by no means balanced the great loss suffered within a few days not far from the city of Herdonea.[2] There Gnaeus Fulvius, the proconsul, was encamped, in the hope of regaining Herdonea, which had deserted the Romans after the disaster at Cannae; but his camp was pitched in a position neither quite safe nor strongly held. Carelessness, ingrained in the character of the general, was increased by that hope, inasmuch as he had learned that their loyalty was weakening and turning against the Carthaginian, ever since they had heard that, after the loss of Salapia, Hannibal had withdrawn from that region into the land of the Bruttii. The report of all this to Hannibal from Herdonea by secret messengers made him concerned to retain an allied city and at the same time gave him the hope of attacking the enemy unawares. With an army unencumbered B.C. 210

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expedito, ita ut famam prope praeveniret, magnis itineribus ad Herdoneam contendit et, quo plus terroris hosti obiceret, acie instructa accessit. 7 Par audacia Romanus, consilio et viribus impar, 8 copiis raptim eductis conflixit. Quinta legio et sinistra ala acriter pugnam inierunt: ceterum Hannibal signo equitibus dato ut, cum pedestres acies occupassent praesenti certamine oculos animosque, circumvecti pars castra hostium, pars terga trepi- 9 dantium[1] invaderent, ipse Cn. Fulvi similitudinem nominis, quia Cn. Fulvium praetorem biennio ante in isdem devicerat locis, increpans, similem eventum 10 pugnae fore adfirmabat. Neque ea spes vana fuit; nam cum comminus acie et peditum certamine multi 11 cecidissent Romanorum, starent tamen ordines signaque, equestris tumultus a tergo, simul a castris[2] clamor hostilis auditus sextam ante[3] legionem, quae in secunda acie posita prior ab Numidis turbata est, quintam deinde atque eos qui ad prima signa 12 erant avertit. Pars in fugam effusi, pars in medio caesi, ubi et ipse Cn. Fulvius cum undecim tribunis 13 militum cecidit. Romanorum sociorumque quot caesa in eo proelio milia sint, quis pro certo adfirmet, cum tredecim milia alibi,[4] alibi[5] haud plus quam

[1] trepidantium *Gronovius*: oppidantium *P*(3): oppugnantium *AN Aldus*: pugnantium *JK Froben*: necopinantium *Sauppe*.

[2] a castris A^sN^sJK: acris *P*(3).

[3] ante *P*(3)*JK Froben* 2 (*after* legionem *AN Aldus*): *deleted by J. H. Voss, Conway.*

[4] alibi *P*(3)*AN Aldus, Froben* (*after* cum JKC^4).

[5] alibi *AN Aldus, Froben*: *om. PJK.*

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[1] For this formation (legion and auxiliaries in the same line) see Vol. VI. p. 422, note; cf. ii. 6; xii. 14; xiv. 3; xlii. 2.

by baggage he hastened by forced marches to Her- B.C. 210
donea, so that he almost outstripped reports of his coming; and to strike more alarm into the enemy, he approached the city in battle-array. The Roman, who was his equal in boldness but not in strategy and in forces, hastily led out his troops and engaged. The fifth legion and the left *ala* [1] went into battle with spirit. But Hannibal gave the order to his cavalry, that when the infantry lines should have concentrated the eyes and attention of the enemy upon the immediate conflict, they should turn the flanks and attack, some of them the enemy's camp, some the rear of the wavering troops. And he himself, scornfully alluding to the similarity in the name of Gnaeus Fulvius, since he had defeated a praetor Gnaeus Fulvius two years before in the same region, asserted that the outcome of the battle would be similar. Nor was that hope groundless. For when many of the Romans had fallen in the close contact of the lines during the infantry battle, while the ranks and standards nevertheless held their ground, the wild charge of the cavalry was heard in the rear, and at the same time the shouts of the enemy from the camp. This routed first the sixth legion, which was posted in the second line and was the first to be thrown into disorder by the Numidians; and then it routed the fifth legion and the men who were with the front-line standards. Some scattered in flight, some were slain in the centre of the battle, where Gnaeus Fulvius also fell together with eleven tribunes of the soldiers. How many thousand Romans and allies were slain in that battle who could state with certainty, inasmuch as in one source I find thirteen thousand, in another not more

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septem inveniam? Castris praedaque victor potitur.
14 Herdoneam, quia et defecturam fuisse ad Romanos comperit nec mansuram in fide, si inde abscessisset, multitudine omni Metapontum ac Thurios traducta incendit; occidit principes qui cum Fulvio conloquia
15 occulta habuisse comperti sunt. Romani qui ex tanta clade evaserant diversis itineribus semermes ad Marcellum consulem in Samnium perfugerunt.

II. Marcellus nihil admodum tanta clade territus litteras Romam ad senatum de duce atque exercitu ad
2 Herdoneam amisso scribit: ceterum eundem se, qui post Cannensem pugnam ferocem victoria Hannibalem contudisset,[1] ire adversus eum, brevem illi laetitiam
3 qua exsultet[2] facturum. Et Romae quidem cum luctus ingens ex praeterito, tum timor in futurum
4 erat: consul ex Samnio in Lucanos transgressus ad Numistronem in conspectu Hannibalis loco plano,
5 cum Poenus collem teneret, posuit castra. Addidit et aliam fidentis speciem, quod prior in aciem eduxit; nec detractavit Hannibal, ut signa portis efferri vidit. Ita tamen aciem instruxerunt ut Poenus dextrum cornu in collem erigeret, Romani
6 sinistrum ad oppidum adplicarent. Ab Romanis

[1] contudisset $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway*: contuderit *JK Madvig.*

[2] exsultet $P(1)NJK$: exsultaret *conj. Conway.*

[1] There is reason to believe that Livy's authorities had duplicated the defeat of a Fulvius (with identity of place and suspiciously similar circumstances), and that this is the real event, while that in XXV. xxi. is the doublet, due to confusion between Gnaeus Fulvius Centumalus, consul in 211 B.C., and Gnaeus Fulvius Flaccus, praetor in 212 B.C. But the praetor must have suffered a shameful defeat somewhere; for the detailed account of his trial in XXVI. ii. 7 ff. and iii. for cowardice and neglect of duty could hardly be invented. Cf.

than seven? The camp and booty fell to the victor. B.C. 210
As for Herdonea, in view of his information that it would have revolted to the Romans and would not remain loyal to him if he should withdraw, he removed the whole population to Metapontum and Thurii and set fire to the city. He put to death the leading men who, he was informed, had had secret conversations with Fulvius. The Romans who had made their escape from so disastrous a battle, by different roads and half-armed sought refuge with the consul Marcellus in Samnium.[1]

II. Marcellus, who was not particularly alarmed by so serious a defeat, wrote a letter to the senate at Rome in regard to the loss of general and army at Herdonea. He said that nevertheless, being the same man who had frustrated Hannibal, after the battle of Cannae elated by that victory, he was marching against him to cut short his joy and exultation. At Rome, to be sure, there was not only great sorrow owing to what had happened, but also great fear for the future. The consul, however, crossing over from Samnium into Lucania, pitched camp near Numistro,[2] in sight of Hannibal on level ground, while the Carthaginian held a hill. He added the further appearance of confidence in being the first to lead out into battle-line. And Hannibal did not refuse, when he saw the standards borne out of the gates. Nevertheless they drew up their lines so that the Carthaginian made his right wing reach up the hill, while the Romans rested their left wing on the town.

De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III. 2. 300, 459 f.; *Cambridge Ancient History* VIII. 81; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* II³. 320 f.

[2] In the extreme north of Lucania, southwest of Venusia, at a distance of *ca.* 25 miles.

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prima legio et dextra ala, ab Hannibale Hispani milites et funditores Baliares, elephanti quoque commisso iam certamine in proelium acti; diu 7 pugna neutro inclinata stetit. Ab hora tertia cum ad noctem pugnam extendissent, fessaeque pugnando primae acies essent,[1] primae legioni tertia, dextrae alae sinistra subiit, et apud hostis integri a fessis 8 pugnam accepere. Novum atque atrox proelium ex iam segni repente exarsit, recentibus animis corporibusque; sed[2] nox incerta victoria diremit 9 pugnantis. Postero die Romani ab sole orto in multum diei stetere in acie; ubi nemo hostium adversus prodiit, spolia per otium legere et congestos 10 in unum locum cremavere suos. Nocte insequenti Hannibal silentio movit castra et in Apuliam abiit. Marcellus, ubi lux fugam hostium aperuit, sauciis cum praesidio modico Numistrone relictis praepositoque iis L. Furio Purpurione tribuno militum, vestigiis institit sequi. Ad Venusiam adeptus eum 11 est. Ibi per dies aliquot, cum ab stationibus procursaretur, mixta equitum peditumque tumultuosa magis proelia quam[3] magna, et ferme omnia Romanis 12 secunda fuere. Inde per Apuliam ducti exercitus sine ullo memorando certamine, cum Hannibal nocte

[1] *The sentence* Ab hora tertia . . . primae acies essent *precedes* Ab Romanis, § 6, *in* $P(1)JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *transferred to this position by Heusinger, Conway. An early copyist seems at first to have overlooked the sentence* Ab Romanis . . . stetit. *Hence the confused order of time. If the MS. order is retained, one may begin a new sentence with* Ut (*supplied by Madvig before* primae, § 7).

[2] sed A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: ex P: et $P^{2?}(1)N$.

[3] quam, *with this word begins a lacuna in* $P(1)N$, *extending to* (*not through*) quia, iii. 7. *Apparently P omitted a whole page of the copy before him*; *supplied for us by* A^sN^sJKx.

On the Roman side the first legion and right *ala*, on B.C. 210
Hannibal's side the Spanish soldiers and Balearic slingers were engaged; and the elephants also were driven into battle after the conflict had begun. For a long time the battle hung in the balance, not inclining in either direction. After they had prolonged the battle from the third hour to nightfall and the front lines were exhausted by fighting, the third legion relieved the first, the left *ala* relieved the right, and among the enemy fresh troops took over the battle from the weary. A new battle and fierce suddenly flamed out of a conflict now grown spiritless, for the combatants were now fresh in spirit and in body. But night parted them with victory undecided. On the next day the Romans stood in line from sunrise until late in the day. When none of the enemy came out against them, they gathered spoils at their leisure, carried corpses of their men into one place and burned them. On the following night Hannibal broke camp silently and marched away into Apulia. Marcellus, when day disclosed the flight of the enemy, left the wounded at Numistro with a small garrison, placed Lucius Furius Purpurio, a tribune of the soldiers, in command of them, and made haste to follow on Hannibal's heels. Near Venusia [1] he overtook him. There for a number of days, while charges were made by outposts, there were mixed cavalry and infantry engagements, rather skirmishes than important battles, and nearly all of them favourable to the Romans. Thence the armies were led through Apulia without any notable conflict, since Hannibal

[1] In Apulia, near the borders of Samnium, to which it is sometimes assigned; cf. XXII. xlix. 14; liv. 1 ff.

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signa moveret, locum insidiis quaerens, Marcellus nisi certa luce et explorato ante non sequeretur.

III. Capuae interim Flaccus dum bonis principum vendendis, agro qui publicatus erat locando—locavit autem omnem frumento—tempus terit, ne deesset materia in Campanos saeviendi, novum in occulto gliscens per indicium protractum est facinus. Milites aedificiis emotos, simul ut cum agro tecta urbis fruenda locarentur, simul metuens ne suum quoque exercitum sicut Hannibalis nimia urbis amoenitas emolliret, in portis murisque sibimet ipsos tecta militer coegerat aedificare. Erant autem pleraque ex cratibus ac tabulis facta, alia harundine texta, stramento intecta omnia,[1] velut de industria alimentis[2] ignis. Haec noctis una hora omnia ut[3] incenderent, centum septuaginta Campani principibus Blossiis fratribus coniuraverant. Indicio eius rei ex familia Blossiorum facto, portis repente iussu proconsulis clausis, cum ad arma signo dato milites concurrissent, comprehensi omnes qui in noxa erant, et quaestione acriter habita damnati necatique;

[1] omnia *Rhenanus*: omne $SpA^{s}N^{s}JKx$ *Conway*: omnibus *z Aldus, Froben.*

[2] alimentis $Sp^{2}N^{s}JKx$ *Aldus, Froben*: alimentum A^{s} *Conway.*

[3] ut *Madvig*: *om.* $A^{s}N^{s}JKx$.

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[1] Lands and buildings belonging to the Capuans had been added to the *ager publicus* of the Roman people (XXVI. xvi. 8), and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, consul in 212 B.C., as conqueror is leasing lands and houses. His duties were later taken over by the censors, who normally had that task; cf. xi. 8.

would set his standards in motion by night, seeking B.C. 210
positions for ambuscades, while Marcellus did not follow except in broad daylight and after reconnoitring.

III. At Capua meantime, while Flaccus was spending his time in selling the property of leading men, in leasing lands that had been confiscated[1]—and he leased them all in return for grain—a fresh crime fomented in secret was brought to light by informers, that he might not lack occasion for harsh treatment of the Capuans. The soldiers had been removed from dwellings, in order that houses in the city might be leased together with the land, and because Flaccus at the same time feared that the great charms of the city might weaken his army also, as they had Hannibal's. Accordingly he had compelled them to build their own shelters soldier-fashion at the gates and along the walls. Furthermore most of these were made of wickerwork and planks, others of reeds interwoven, all of them thatched with straw, as though these materials were deliberately intended to feed the flames. A hundred and seventy Capuans,[2] under the lead of the brothers Blossii, had conspired to set fire to all of these huts at the same hour of the night. Information in regard to this was given by slaves of the Blossii, and the gates were suddenly closed by order of the proconsul. The soldiers having rushed to arms at a given signal, all who were involved in the crime were arrested, and after a rigorous inquiry were condemned and put to death. The informers received

[2] Evidently the rigorous measures against the Capuans (XXVI. xxxiv. 7) had not yet been carried out, for the Blossii were still in possession of their slaves; § 5.

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6 indicibus libertas et aeris dena milia data. Nucerinos et Acerranos, querentes ubi habitarent non esse, Acerris ex parte incensis, Nuceria deleta, Romam
7 Fulvius ad senatum misit. Acerranis permissum ut aedificarent quae incensa erant: Nucerini Atellam, quia[1] id maluerant, Atellanis Calatiam migrare iussis, traducti.
8 Inter multas magnasque res, quae nunc secundae, nunc adversae occupabant cogitationes hominum, ne
9 Tarentinae quidem arcis excidit memoria. M. Ogulnius et P. Aquilius in Etruriam legati ad frumentum coemendum quod Tarentum portaretur profecti, et mille milites de exercitu urbano, par numerus Romanorum sociorumque, eodem in praesidium cum frumento missi.

IV. Iam aestas in exitu erat, comitiorumque consularium instabat tempus; sed litterae Marcelli negantis e re publica esse vestigium abscedi ab Hannibale, cui cedenti certamenque abnuenti gravis
2 ipse instaret, curam[2] iniecerant ne aut consulem tum maxime res agentem a bello avocarent, aut in
3 annum consules deessent. Optimum visum est, quamquam extra Italiam esset, Valerium potius
4 consulem ex Sicilia revocari. Ad eum litterae iussu

[1] quia, *here P(1)N resume*; cf. *p.* 208, *note* 3.
[2] curam *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: patribus curam *A*[s]*JK Conway.*

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[1] For the destruction of these cities cf. XXIII. xv. 6 and xvii. 7.
[2] Atella and Calatia, nearest towns (south and southeast) to Capua, had revolted from the Romans after Cannae; XXII. lxi. 11. Recovered five years later; XXVI. xvi. 5.

their freedom and ten thousand *asses* each. As for B.C. 210
the men of Nuceria and Acerrae, who complained that they had no dwelling-place, since Acerrae had been partly burned and Nuceria destroyed,[1] Fulvius sent them to the senate at Rome. The Acerrans were permitted to build what had been burned; the Nucerians, having so elected, were conducted to Atella, while the Atellans were ordered to migrate to Calatia.[2]

Among the many important events which were engaging men's attention, as being now favourable and now unfavourable, the citadel of Tarentum[3] also was not forgotten. Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Aquilius set out for Etruria as commissioners to buy up grain to be shipped to Tarentum. And a thousand soldiers from the army at the city, equally divided between Romans and allies, were sent with the grain to the same place on garrison duty.

IV. Already the summer was at an end and the time for the consular election at hand. But a letter from Marcellus, stating that it was against the public interest for him to move a step away from Hannibal, since he was himself pressing him hard as he retired and refused an engagement, had inspired concern, for fear they must call the consul away from the war at the moment when he was actively engaged, or else should be without consuls for the next year. It seemed best instead to recall the consul Valerius from Sicily, even though he was outside of Italy. To Valerius under orders from the senate Lucius

[3] For two years Hannibal had been master of Tarentum, while the Roman garrison was still holding out in the citadel; XXV. ix–xi; xv. 4 f.

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senatus ab L. Manlio praetore urbano missae cum litteris consulis M. Marcelli, ut ex iis nosceret quae causa patribus eum potius quam collegam revocandi ex provincia esset.

5 Eo fere tempore legati ab rege Syphace Romam venerunt, quae is [1] prospera proelia cum [2] Cartha-6 giniensibus fecisset memorantes: regem nec inimiciorem ulli populo quam Carthaginiensi nec amiciorem quam Romano esse adfirmabant; misisse eum antea legatos in Hispaniam ad Cn. et P. Cornelios imperatores Romanos; nunc ab ipso velut fonte petere 7 Romanam amicitiam voluisse. Senatus non legatis modo benigne respondit, sed et ipse legatos cum donis ad regem misit, L. Genucium, P. Poetelium, 8 P. Popillium. Dona tulere togam et tunicam purpuream, sellam eburneam, pateram ex quinque 9 pondo auri [3] factam. Protinus et alios Africae regulos iussi adire. Iis quoque quae darentur portata, togae praetextae et terna pondo paterae 10 aureae. Et Alexandream ad Ptolomaeum et Cleopatram reges M. Atilius et M'. Acilius legati, ad commemorandam renovandamque amicitiam missi, dona tulere, regi togam et tunicam purpuream cum sella eburnea, reginae pallam pictam cum amiculo purpureo.

11 Multa ea aestate qua haec facta sunt ex pro-

[1] quae is *SpN*[s]*JK Froben 2*: quaeque *P*(1)*N*.
[2] cum *ANJK*: rex cum *P*(1) *Aldus, Froben*.
[3] auri *P*(1)*N Aldus*: *om. SpJK (these having* auream *after* pateram).

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[1] Cf. XXIV. xlviii. 9.
[2] Like the *sella curulis*, with tusks for legs. As a present for kings cf. XXX. xv. 11; XXXI. xi. 12; XLII. xiv. 10. For the *patera* cf. XXVI. xlvii. 7 and note.

Manlius, the city praetor, sent a letter, together with the letter of Marcus Marcellus, the consul, that from these letters Valerius might learn what reason the senators had for recalling him rather than his colleague from his province. B.C. 210

About the same time legates from King Syphax came to Rome, reporting what successes he had had in battle with the Carthaginians. They stated that the king was not more hostile to any people than to the Carthaginian, nor more friendly to any than to the Roman people; that previously he had sent legates to Spain to Gnaeus and Publius Cornelius,[1] the Roman generals; that now he was minded to seek Roman friendship, as it were at the very source. The senate not only replied graciously to the legates, but also sent its legates, Lucius Genucius, Publius Poetelius, Publius Popillius, to the king with gifts. They took with them as gifts a purple toga and tunic, an ivory chair,[2] a golden *patera* weighing five pounds. They were ordered to go on and visit other princes in Africa. For these also they took with them bordered togas and golden *paterae*, each of them three pounds in weight, to be presented to them. Also to Alexandria as ambassadors to the monarchs, Ptolemy and Cleopatra,[3] were sent Marcus Atilius and Manius Acilius, to call to mind and revive friendship with them. As gifts they carried for the king a purple toga and tunic, with an ivory chair, for the queen an embroidered palla and a purple cloak.

During the summer in which these events occurred

[3] Arsinoë was her real name, daughter of Ptolemy III, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV.

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pinquis urbibus agrisque nuntiata sunt prodigia: Tusculi agnum cum ubere lactenti natum, Iovis aedis culmen fulmine ictum ac prope omni tecto nudatum; 12 isdem ferme diebus Anagniae terram ante portam ictam diem ac noctem sine ullo ignis alimento arsisse, et aves ad compitum Anagninum in luco Dianae 13 nidos in arboribus reliquisse; Tarracinae in mari haud procul portu angues magnitudinis mirae lascivientium 14 piscium modo exsultasse; Tarquiniis porcum cum ore humano genitum, et in agro Capenate ad lucum Feroniae quattuor signa sanguine multo diem ac 15 noctem sudasse. Haec prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata decreto pontificum; et supplicatio diem unum[1] Romae ad omnia pulvinaria, alterum in Capenati agro ad Feroniae lucum indicta.

V. M. Valerius consul litteris excitus, provincia exercituque mandato L. Cincio praetori, M. Valerio Messalla praefecto classis cum parte navium in Africam praedatum simul speculatumque quae populus Carthaginiensis ageret pararetque misso, 2 ipse decem navibus Romam profectus cum prospere pervenisset, senatum extemplo habuit, ubi[2] de suis 3 rebus gestis commemoravit: cum annos prope sexaginta in Sicilia terra marique magnis saepe

[1] unum *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben* : *om.* *P*(1)*N*.
[2] ubi *P*(1)*N Aldus* : ibi *SpJK Froben* 2.

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[1] At the junction of the Via Latina and the Via Labicana, 40 miles from Rome by the latter.
[2] Cf. XXVI. xi. 8.
[3] Cf. XXIV. x. 13 and note; XXI. lxii. 9; XXII. i. 15; x. 9.

many portents were reported from neighbouring B.C. 210
cities and from the country: that at Tusculum a lamb was born with an udder full of milk, and that the ridge of Jupiter's temple was struck by lightning and stripped of almost all its roofing; that at Anagnia about the same time ground struck by lightning outside the gate burned for a day and a night without any fuel; and that at the crossroads [1] near Anagnia, in the grove of Diana, birds deserted their nests in the trees; that at Tarracina, in the sea not far from the harbour, serpents of remarkable size leaped about after the manner of fish at play; that at Tarquinii a pig was born with a human face; and that in the territory of Capena, at the grove of Feronia,[2] four statues sweated blood profusely for a day and a night. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims by decree of the pontiffs. And prayers were ordered for one day in Rome at all the *pulvinaria*,[3] and for a second day at the grove of Feronia, in the territory of Capena.

V. Marcus Valerius, the consul, on being summoned by the letter, assigned his province and army to Lucius Cincius,[4] a praetor, and sent Marcus Valerius Messalla, admiral of the fleet, with a part of his ships to Africa, to plunder and at the same time to find out what the Carthaginian state was doing and preparing to do. The consul himself set out for Rome with ten ships, and on his safe arrival he at once held a session of the senate, in which he set forth his own achievements: that for almost sixty years war had been carried on in Sicily by land and sea, often with great losses, but now he had completed

[4] The annalist Cincius Alimentus; XXVI. xxiii. 1; repeatedly mentioned in XXVII.

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cladibus bellatum esset, se eam provinciam confecisse. Neminem Carthaginiensem in Sicilia esse; 4 neminem Siculum non esse:[1] qui fugati metu inde afuerint, omnis in urbes, in agros suos reductos arare, 5 serere;[2] desertam recoli terram, tandem[3] frugiferam ipsis cultoribus, populoque Romano pace ac bello 6 fidissimum annonae subsidium. Exim Muttine et si quorum aliorum merita erga populum Romanum erant in senatum introductis, honores omnibus ad ex- 7 solvendam fidem consulis[4] habiti. Muttines etiam civis Romanus factus, rogatione ab tribunis[5] plebis ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem lata.

8 Dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Valerius quinquaginta navibus cum ante lucem ad Africam accessisset, improviso in agrum Uticensem escensionem fecit: 9 eumque late depopulatus multis mortalibus cum alia omnis generis praeda captis ad naves redit atque in[6] Siciliam tramisit, tertio decumo die quam profectus 10 inde erat,[7] Lilybaeum revectus. Ex captivis quaestione habita haec comperta consulique Laevino omnia ordine perscripta, ut sciret quo in statu 11 res Africae[8] essent: quinque milia Numidarum cum Masinissa, Galae filio, acerrimo iuvene, Cartha-

[1] non *esse, placed here by Madvig*: *after* afuerint *P*(1)*NJKSp*?
[2] serere *N*²*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N*.
[3] tandem, *here P*(1)*N Aldus*: *before* terram *JK Froben* 2.
[4] consulis *SpJK Froben* 2: a consule *P*(1)*N Aldus*: consulis a consule *conj. Conway*.
[5] tribunis *x Luchs*: *abbrev. P*(1)*NK*: tribuno *J Eds.*
[6] atque in *JK Froben* 2: et ad *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[7] erat *N*²*JK Froben* 2: *om. P*(1)*N*.
[8] res Africae *SpJK Froben* 2: Africae res *P*(1)*N Aldus*.

the conquest of that province. He said that there B.C. 210
was not a Carthaginian in Sicily; that not a Sicilian was absent; that those who had been absent, banished by their fears, had all been brought back to their cities, to their lands, and were ploughing and sowing; that a deserted land was again under cultivation, productive at last for the farmers themselves, and for the Roman people in peace and in war a most dependable source of the grain supply.[1] Then Muttines and any others who had done services to the Roman people were brought into the senate, and honours were bestowed upon them all, in fulfilment of the consul's promise.[2] Muttines was even made a Roman citizen, when in accordance with a decree of the senate a bill had been proposed to the plebs by its tribunes.

While these events were occurring at Rome, Marcus Valerius, having approached the coast of Africa with fifty ships before daybreak, made an unexpected landing on the territory of Utica. And this he ravaged far and wide, captured many persons together with other booty of every description, returned to his ships and crossed over to Sicily, sailing back to Lilybaeum on the 13th day after he had left that port. Upon inquiry made from the captives the following facts were ascertained and written down fully and in order for the consul Laevinus, that he might know what the condition of affairs in Africa was: that five thousand Numidians were at Carthage under Masinissa,[3] son of Gala

[1] As in XXVI. xl. 16.
[2] Muttines' service was the betrayal of Agrigentum; XXVI. xl. 7 ff.
[3] Cf. XXIV. xlix. 1 ff.; XXV. xxxiv. 1 ff.

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gine esse, et alios per totam Africam milites mercede conduci qui in Hispaniam ad Hasdrubalem traicerentur, ut is quam maximo exercitu primo quoque tempore in Italiam transgressus iungeret se Hannibali; in eo positam victoriam credere Carthaginienses; classem praeterea ingentem apparari ad Siciliam repetendam, eamque se credere brevi traiecturam. Haec recitata a consule ita movere senatum ut non exspectanda comitia consuli censerent,[1] sed dictatore comitiorum habendorum causa dicto[2] extemplo in provinciam redeundum. Illa disceptatio tenebat, quod consul in Sicilia se M. Valerium Messallam, qui tum classi praeesset, dictatorem dicturum esse aiebat, patres extra Romanum agrum—eum autem Italia[3] terminari—negabant dictatorem dici posse. M. Lucretius tribunus plebis cum de ea re consuleret, ita decrevit senatus, ut consul, priusquam ab urbe discederet, populum rogaret quem dictatorem dici placeret, eumque quem populus iussisset diceret dictatorem: si consul noluisset, praetor populum rogaret; si ne is quidem vellet, tum tribuni ad plebem ferrent. Cum consul se populum rogaturum negasset quod suae potestatis esset, praetoremque vetuisset rogare, tribuni plebem[4] rogarunt, plebesque scivit

[1] censerent *P*(1)*N Aldus*: censeret *SpJK Froben* 2.
[2] dictatore . . . dicto *SpJK Froben* 2: -rem . . . dici et *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[3] Italia *A*[1]*JK Madvig*: in Italia *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*.
[4] plebem *K Conway*: pl *or* plebis *P*(1)*NJ Aldus, Froben*.

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[1] For a tribune presiding in the senate cf. XXII. lxi. 7.
[2] *I.e.* the *comitia centuriata*.
[3] Probably meaning the *comitia tributa* here, as directly contrasted with the *centuriata*. Livy uses the term *plebis concilium* in § 18 just below, but in such technicalities he is

and a most impetuous young man; and that other B.C. 210
soldiers were being hired everywhere in Africa, to be sent over to Hasdrubal in Spain, so that he should cross over into Italy with the largest possible army as soon as he could and join Hannibal; that upon this the Carthaginians believed that victory depended; furthermore that a very large fleet was being made ready, for the purpose of recovering Sicily; and he believed that fleet would soon make the passage. These statements as read by the consul so swayed the senators that they decided that he must not wait for the elections, but that after appointing a dictator to conduct the elections, the consul must at once return to his province. Debate continued on one point—namely, the consul kept promising to appoint in Sicily Marcus Valerius Messalla, then in command of the fleet, as dictator, while the fathers maintained that a dictator could not be appointed outside of Roman territory, and that this was confined to Italy. When Marcus Lucretius, tribune of the plebs, sought to know its pleasure [1] in the matter, the senate decreed that, before leaving the city, the consul should ask the people [2] whom they preferred to have named dictator, and should name as dictator the man ordered by the people; that if the consul should refuse, the praetor should ask the people; in case of his refusal also, the tribunes should bring the matter before the commons.[3] When the consul refused to submit to the people a question that belonged to his own authority, and forbade the praetor to do so, the tribunes asked the commons

very often vague, *e.g.* in XXV. iii. 13–iv. 9. In 217 B.C., after Trasumennus, the *populus* had made Fabius Maximus dictator; XXII. viii. 6.

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ut Q. Fulvius, qui tum ad Capuam erat, dictator
18 diceretur. Sed quo die id plebis concilium futurum
erat, consul clam nocte in Siciliam abiit: destitutique
patres litteras ad M. Claudium mittendas censuerunt
ut desertae ab conlega rei publicae subveniret dice-
19 retque quem populus iussisset dictatorem. Ita a M.
Claudio consule Q. Fulvius dictator dictus, et ex
eodem plebis scito ab Q. Fulvio dictatore P. Licinius
Crassus pontifex maximus magister equitum dictus.

VI. Dictator postquam Romam venit, C. Sempro-
nium Blaesum legatum, quem ad Capuam habuerat,
in Etruriam provinciam ad exercitum misit in locum
C. Calpurni praetoris, quem, ut Capuae exercituique
2 suo praeesset, litteris excivit. Ipse comitia in
quem diem primum potuit edixit: quae certamine
inter[1] tribunos dictatoremque iniecto perfici non
3 potuerunt. Galeria iuniorum, quae sorte praero-
gativa erat, Q. Fulvium et Q. Fabium consules
dixerat, eodemque iure vocatae inclinassent, ni se[2]
4 tribuni plebis C. et L. Arrenii interposuissent, qui
neque magistratum continuari satis civile esse
aiebant, et multo foedioris exempli eum ipsum
5 creari qui comitia haberet; itaque si suum nomen

[1] inter *A*^{1}*JK Aldus, Froben*: in *P*(1)*N*.
[2] ni se *Drakenborch*: nisi *P*(1)*N*.

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[1] Marcellus, still in Apulia, did not come to Rome; ii. 12; iv. 1.

[2] For the *sors praerogativae* and *centuria praerogativa* cf. XXIV. vii. 12; ix. 3; XXVI. xxii. 13.

and the commons ordained that Quintus Fulvius, B.C. 210
who was then at Capua, should be named dictator. But on the day on which that plebeian assembly was to be held the consul left for Sicily secretly by night. And the fathers, being deserted, voted to send a letter to Marcus Claudius, that he should come to the aid of the state abandoned by his colleague, and should name as dictator whomsoever the people might command. Thus Quintus Fulvius was named dictator by Marcus Claudius,[1] the consul, and in accordance with the same decree of the commons Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, was named master of the horse by Quintus Fulvius as dictator.

VI. On coming to Rome the dictator sent Gaius Sempronius Blaesus, his lieutenant, whom he had had at Capua, into Etruria as his province, to be with the army, taking the place of the praetor Gaius Calpurnius, whom he had summoned by letter to take command of Capua and his own army. As for himself, he proclaimed the elections for the earliest possible date. But owing to the conflict which arose between the tribunes and the dictator the election could not be completed. The Galeria century of the younger men, which obtained by lot the right to vote first,[2] had voted for Quintus Fulvius and Quintus Fabius as consuls: and the centuries called in the legal order would have inclined in the same direction, if the tribunes of the plebs, Gaius and Lucius Arrenius, had not intervened. They repeated that to prolong a magistracy was not consistent with the common interest, and also that it was a much more dangerous precedent for the man who was conducting the election to be himself elected. Accord-

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dictator acciperet, se comitiis intercessuros; si aliorum praeterquam ipsius ratio haberetur, comitiis 6 se moram non facere. Dictator causam comitiorum auctoritate senatus, plebis scito, exemplis tutabatur: 7 namque Cn. Servilio consule, cum C. Flaminius alter consul ad Trasumennum cecidisset, ex auctoritate patrum ad plebem latum, plebemque scivisse [1] ut, quoad bellum in Italia esset, ex iis qui consules fuissent quos et quotiens vellet reficiendi 8 consules populo ius esset; exemplaque [2] in eam rem se habere, vetus L. Postumi Megelli, qui interrex iis comitiis quae ipse habuisset consul cum C. Iunio Bubulco creatus esset; recens Q. Fabii, qui sibi continuari consulatum, nisi id bono publico fieret, 9 profecto numquam sisset.[3] His orationibus cum diu certatum esset, postremo ita inter dictatorem ac tribunos convenit ut eo quod censuisset senatus 10 staretur. Patribus id tempus rei publicae visum est ut per veteres et expertos bellique peritos imperatores res publica gereretur; itaque moram fieri 11 comitiis non placere. Concedentibus tribunis comitia habita; declarati consules Q. Fabius Maximus 12 quintum, Q. Fulvius Flaccus quartum. Praetores inde [4] creati L. Veturius Philo, T. Quinctius Crispinus,

[1] scivisse *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: iussisse *SpA*^{s}*N*^{s}*JK*.
[2] exemplaque *SpJK Froben* 2: exemplumque (*or* -quae) *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[3] sisset *P*(3): sivisset *CAN*^{1} *Aldus, Froben*.
[4] inde *A*^{s}*JKx*: in *P*: *om. P*^{2}(1)*N Aldus, Froben*.

[1] This important act was overlooked by Livy in Book XXII. A plebiscite of 339 B.C., requiring an interval of ten years, was repeatedly disregarded in this period. Cf. VII. xlii; X. xiii. 8.
[2] For the third time, 291 B.C.
[3] 215 B.C.; XXIV. ix. 3 and 9 ff.

ingly, they said, if the dictator admitted his own name, they would veto the election; if other men than himself were considered, they would not delay the election. The dictator defended the procedure in the election by the authority of the senate, by the decree of the commons, by precedents. For, he said, in the consulship of Gnaeus Servilius, when Gaius Flaminius, the other consul, had fallen at Trasumennus, by authority of the fathers it was proposed to the commons, and the commons had ordained that, so long as the war remained in Italy, the people should have the right to re-elect as consuls the men they pleased and as often as they pleased from the number of those who had been consuls.[1] He added that he had precedents for so doing: an old instance, that of Lucius Postumius Megellus, who as *interrex* had been elected consul [2] with Gaius Iunius Bubulcus at an election which he had himself conducted; and a recent case, that of Quintus Fabius,[3] who surely would never have permitted his consulship to be prolonged unless it were done for the public welfare. After a contest long continued by such speeches, final agreement between the dictator and the tribunes was reached: that they would stand by whatever the senate should decide. To the fathers it seemed a time for the state to have its affairs in the hands of generals mature and experienced and skilled in war; and so they said they did not favour any delaying of the election. Since the tribunes gave way, the election was held. Quintus Fabius Maximus was declared consul for the fifth time, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth. Then as praetors the following were elected: Lucius Veturius Philo, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Gaius Hostilius B.C. 210

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C. Hostilius Tubulus, C. Aurunculeius. Magistratibus in annum creatis Q. Fulvius dictatura se abdicavit.

13 Extremo aestatis huius classis Punica navium quadraginta cum praefecto Hamilcare in Sardiniam
14 traiecta, Olbiensem primo, dein,[1] postquam ibi P. Manlius Volso praetor cum exercitu apparuit, circumacta inde ad alterum insulae latus, Caralitanum agrum vastavit, et cum praeda omnis generis in Africam redit.[2]

15 Sacerdotes Romani eo anno mortui aliquot suffectique: C. Servilius pontifex factus in locum T. Otacilii Crassi; Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Longus augur factus
16 in locum T. Otacilii Crassi;[3] decemvir item sacris faciundis in locum Ti. Sempronii C. f. Longi Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Longus suffectus. M. Marcius rex sacrorum mortuus est et M. Aemilius Papus maximus curio; neque in eorum locum sacerdotes eo anno suffecti.

17 Et censores hic annus habuit L. Veturium Philonem et P. Licinium Crassum, maximum pontificem. Crassus Licinius nec consul nec praetor ante fuerat quam censor est factus; ex aedilitate gradum ad
18 censuram fecit. Sed hi censores neque senatum legerunt neque quicquam publicae rei egerunt: mors diremit L. Veturi; inde et Licinius censura se

[1] dein *P*(1)*N Froben* 2: deinde *JK Aldus*.
[2] redit *P*(1)*N*: rediit $C^1?M^2JK$ *Aldus, Froben*.
[3] factus . . . Crassi, *bracketed by Madvig, while JK Aldus, Froben omit* Ti. Sempronius . . . Crassi, *three lines in P, found also in* (1).

[1] Cagliari, at the south end of the island, originally settled by Phoenicians, as had been Olbia on the northeast coast. Sardinia and Corsica had been taken by the Romans shortly after the First Punic War; XXI. i. 5; *Periocha* 20.

Tubulus, Gaius Aurunculeius. The magistrates B.C. 210
having been elected for the year, Quintus Fulvius abdicated his dictatorship.

At the end of this summer a Carthaginian fleet of forty ships under command of the prefect Hamilcar crossed over to Sardinia and first laid waste the region of Olbia. Then after Publius Manlius Volso, the praetor, showed himself there with an army, the fleet coasted around from Olbia to the other side of the island, ravaged the territory of Carales[1] and returned with booty of every kind to Africa.

Of the Roman priests a number died that year and successors were appointed. Gaius Servilius was made pontifex in place of Titus Otacilius Crassus; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was made augur in place of Titus Otacilius Crassus. In like manner Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, was appointed decemvir for the performance of rites in place of Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Gaius. Marcus Marcius, *rex sacrorum*, and Marcus Aemilius Papus, the chief *curio*,[2] died; and no priests were appointed that year in their places.

And as censors this year had Lucius Veturius Philo and Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus. Crassus Licinius had been neither consul nor praetor before he became censor; he made but one step from aedileship to censorship. But these censors neither revised the senate list nor did any public business. The death of Veturius dissolved their censorship,[3] consequently Licinius abdicated

[2] Each of the 30 *curiae* was headed by a *curio*, and at the head of the *curiones* was the *maximus curio*, whose duties were religious; cf. viii. 1–3; III. vii. 6.

[3] The only office that was terminated by the death of a colleague. Cf. XXIV. xliii. 4.

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19 abdicavit. Aediles curules L. Veturius et P. Licinius Varus ludos Romanos diem unum instaurarunt. Aediles plebei[1] Q. Catius et L. Porcius Licinus ex multaticio argento signa aenea ad Cereris[2] dedere, et ludos pro temporis eius[3] copia magnifice apparatos[4] fecerunt.

VII. Exitu anni huius C. Laelius legatus Scipionis[5] die quarto et tricensimo quam a Tarracone profectus erat Romam venit; isque cum agmine captivorum ingressus urbem magnum concursum hominum
2 fecit. Postero die in senatum introductus captam Carthaginem, caput Hispaniae, uno die, receptasque aliquot urbes quae defecissent novasque in societatem
3 adscitas exposuit. Ex captivis comperta iis fere congruentia quae in litteris fuerant M. Valerii Messallae. Maxime movit patres Hasdrubalis transitus in Italiam, vix Hannibali atque eius armis
4 obsistentem.[6] Productus et in[7] contionem Laelius eadem edisseruit.[8] Senatus ob res feliciter a

[1] plebei (*or* -eii) *PCR*: plebis $M^1BDANJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] Cereris A^vJ *Aldus, Froben (also K, inserting* edem = aedem): cererem N^s: ceteris *PCR*: ceteros R^2MBDAN.
[3] eius SpA^sJK *Froben* 2: huius $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*
[4] magnifice apparatos *SpJKx Froben* 2: -fici -atus $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Conway.*
[5] C. Laelius legatus Scipionis *om.* $P(1)N$, *a line supplied* from A^sN^sJK.
[6] obsistentem A^{vs} *Froben* 2: subsistentem $P(1)JK$ *Aldus.*
[7] et in $P(1)N$: in *JK Aldus, Froben.*
[8] edisseruit P (aed-): disseruit $P^2(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] He was consul in 206 B.C.; XXVIII. x. 8.

his office. The curule aediles, Lucius Veturius [1] B.C. 210
and Publius Licinius Varus, renewed the Roman Games for one day. The plebeian aediles, Quintus Catius and Lucius Porcius Licinus, out of money paid in fines set up bronze statues at the Temple of Ceres,[2] and they celebrated the games with splendid appointments, considering the resources of the time.

VII. At the end of this year [3] Gaius Laelius, Scipio's lieutenant, came to Rome on the thirty-fourth day after leaving Tarraco. And on entering the city with a train of captives [4] he occasioned a great concourse of people. Introduced into the senate the next day, he set forth the capture of (New) Carthage, chief city of Spain, in a single day, and the recovery of a number of cities that had revolted, and the admission of new cities into alliance. From the captives they ascertained facts which in general agreed with statements previously made in the letter of Marcus Valerius Messalla.[5] What especially stirred the fathers was Hasdrubal's proposed crossing into Italy, which was with difficulty withstanding Hannibal and his arms. On being brought before an assembly also, Laelius discoursed on the same subject. The senate decreed a thanksgiving for

[2] This was the temple of the Roman plebeians and headquarters of the plebeian aediles, who conducted these *ludi plebeii* in November. It was founded 493 B.C.

[3] This late season may be drawn from a different authority, since the capture of New Carthage has been described as taking place in the spring, and 40 days would have been sufficient for the entire voyage. But see De Sanctis *l.c.* pp. 468 f.; cf. XXVI. li. 2.

[4] About 15 senators of New Carthage, according to XXVI. *l.c.*, in addition to Mago, the commandant; cf. Polybius X. xviii. 1; xix. 8.

[5] Cf. v. 8 and 10–13.

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P. Scipione gestas supplicationem[1] in unum diem decrevit; C. Laelium primo quoque tempore cum quibus venerat navibus redire in Hispaniam iussit.— 5 Carthaginis expugnationem in hunc annum contuli multis auctoribus, haud nescius quosdam esse qui 6 anno insequenti captam tradiderint, quod[2] mihi minus simile veri visum est annum integrum Scipionem nihil gerundo in Hispania consumpsisse.

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7 Q. Fabio Maximo quintum, Q. Fulvio Flacco quartum consulibus, idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum inierunt, Italia ambobus provincia decreta, regionibus tamen partitum imperium: Fabius ad Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucanis ac Bruttiis rem gereret. 8 M. Claudio prorogatum in annum imperium. Praetores sortiti provincias, C. Hostilius Tubulus urbanam, L. Veturius Philo peregrinam cum Gallia, T. Quinctius Crispinus Capuam, C. Aurunculeius Sardiniam. 9 Exercitus ita per provincias divisi: Fulvio duae legiones quas in Sicilia M. Valerius Laevinus haberet, Q. Fabio, quibus in Etruria C. Calpurnius praefuisset; urbanus[3] exercitus ut in Etruriam succederet; C. 10 Calpurnius eidem praeesset provinciae exercituique;

[1] supplicationem *Sp²A⁴N⁴ Froben 2*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*: -nes *C⁴x Aldus*.

[2] quod *P*(1)*N Aldus*: sed *SpJK Froben 2*.

[3] praefuisset; urbanus *A⁴N⁴JK*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*, *one line*.

[1] A single quinquereme was mentioned XXVI. li. 2 (see note there). Smaller vessels, not deserving of mention in comparison with the captured five-banker, probably escorted her.

[2] The chronology now accepted is based on Polybius, from whose Book X. it is shown that New Carthage was taken in 209 B.C. Cf. XXVI. xviii. 2, note; De Sanctis *ibid.* By Livy's reckoning 208 B.C. is the year in which Scipio did nothing, since the historian has anticipated the battle of Baecula also by one year.

one day on account of Publius Scipio's successes. It B.C. 210
ordered Gaius Laelius to return as soon as possible to Spain on the ships[1] with which he had come. —The storming of (New) Carthage I have set in this year on the authority of many writers, though not unaware that there are some who have related its capture in the following year.[2] I have done so because it has seemed to me less probable that Scipio spent a whole year in Spain doing nothing.

Quintus Fabius Maximus being now consul for the B.C. 209
fifth and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus for the fourth time, on the Ides of March, the day of their entry upon office, Italy was assigned to the two as their province; their military authority, however, was geographically divided. Fabius was to command around Tarentum, Fulvius in Lucania and the land of the Bruttii. For Marcus Claudius his command was prolonged for one year. The praetors received their assignments by lot, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus the city praetorship, Lucius Veturius Philo the jurisdiction over foreigners, together with Gaul;[3] Titus Quinctius Crispinus received Capua, Gaius Aurunculeius Sardinia. The armies were distributed among the assignments as follows: to Fulvius the two legions which Marcus Valerius Laevinus had in Sicily, to Quintus Fabius those which Gaius Calpurnius had commanded in Etruria; the army at the city was to take the place of that in Etruria; Gaius Calpurnius was to be in command of that province and its army;

[3] *I.e.* his duties as a judge are to be taken over by the praetor urbanus, in order to leave the praetor peregrinus free to take the field as a commander; cf. xxii. 3; xxxvi. 11; XXV. iii. 2 and note.

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Capuam [1] exercitumque quem Q. Fulvius habuisset
11 T. Quinctius obtineret. C. Hostilius ab C. Laetorio propraetore provinciam exercitumque qui tum Arimini erat acciperet. M. Marcello quibus consul
12 rem gesserat legiones decretae. M. Valerio cum L. Cincio—iis quoque enim prorogatum in Sicilia imperium—Cannensis exercitus datus, eumque supplere ex militibus qui ex legionibus Cn. Fulvi
13 superessent iussi. Conquisitos eos consules in Siciliam miserunt; additaque eadem militiae ignominia [2] sub qua Cannenses militabant quique ex praetoris Cn. Fulvi exercitu ob similis iram fugae missi eo ab
14 senatu fuerant. C. Aurunculeio eaedem in Sardinia [3] legiones quibus P. Manlius Volso eam provinciam
15 obtinuerat decretae. P. Sulpicio eadem legione eademque classe Macedoniam obtinere iusso prorogatum in annum imperium. Triginta quinqueremes ex Sicilia Tarentum ad Q. Fabium consulem mitti
16 iussae; cetera classe placere [4] praedatum in Africam aut ipsum M. Valerium Laevinum traicere, aut mittere [5] seu L. Cincium seu M. Valerium Messallam

[1] exercituique; Capuam *Sp²A²N²JK Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N*, *one line.*

[2] -dem militiae ignominia *om. P*(1)*N*, *one line supplied from Sp, as above.*

[3] in Sardinia; *following these words there was a long gap in S, as we know from Rhenanus, extending up to* ix. 14 idem socios.

[4] placere *A²N²JK Aldus*: *om. P*(1)*N*.

[5] Laevinum traicere, aut mittere *A²N²JK Aldus*: messallam misere *P*(1)*N*(*A²*).

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[1] An error for Lucius Veturius Philo, who was assigned to Cisalpine Gaul, while Hostilius as city-praetor must remain at Rome.

[2] Cf. i. 7–12.

Titus Quinctius was to be in charge of Capua and the army which Quintus Fulvius had had. Gaius Hostilius[1] was to take over from Gaius Laetorius, the propraetor, his province and the army which was then at Ariminum. To Marcus Marcellus were assigned the legions with which he had carried on operations as consul. To Marcus Valerius and Lucius Cincius—for their command in Sicily was also prolonged—was assigned the army from Cannae, and they were ordered to recruit it from the soldiers who survived from the legions of Gnaeus Fulvius.[2] These were sought out and sent by the consuls into Sicily. And there was added the same humiliation in the service as that under which the men from Cannae were serving, and those from the army of the praetor Gnaeus Fulvius,[3] who had been sent thither by the senate out of anger on account of their similar flight. To Gaius Aurunculeius in Sardinia were assigned the same legions with which Publius Manlius Volso had held that province.[4] Publius Sulpicius was ordered to hold Macedonia with the same legion[5] and the same fleet, and his command was prolonged for one year. Thirty five-bankers were ordered to be sent from Sicily to Quintus Fabius, the consul, at Tarentum. With the rest of his fleet it was the will of the senate, he was informed, that Marcus Valerius Laevinus should either cross over into Africa himself to plunder the country, or should send at his discretion Lucius Cincius or Marcus Valerius B.C. 209

[3] For the defeat of this Fulvius (doubted by recent historians) cf. note on i. 15.

[4] Cf. XXVI. xxviii. 11.

[5] In spite of XXVI. xxviii. 9 he seems to retain one legion, not mentioned, however, below at xxii. 10.

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17 vellet.[1] Nec de Hispania quicquam mutatum, nisi quod non in annum Scipioni Silanoque, sed donec revocati ab senatu forent, prorogatum imperium est. Ita provinciae exercituumque in eum annum partita imperia.

VIII. Inter maiorum rerum curas comitia maximi curionis, cum in locum M. Aemili sacerdos crearetur, 2 vetus excitaverunt certamen, patriciis negantibus C. Mamili Atelli, qui unus ex plebe petebat, habendam rationem esse, quia nemo ante eum nisi ex patribus 3 id sacerdotium habuisset. Tribuni appellati ad senatum rem[2] reiecerunt; senatus populi potestatem fecit: ita primus ex plebe creatus maximus curio 4 C. Mamilius Atellus. Et flaminem Dialem invitum inaugurari coegit P. Licinius pontifex maximus C. Valerium Flaccum; decemvirum sacris faciundis creatus in locum Q. Muci Scaevolae demortui C. 5 Laetorius. Causam inaugurari coacti flaminis libens reticuissem, ni ex mala fama in bonam vertisset. Ob adulescentiam neglegentem luxuriosamque C. Flaccus flamen captus a P. Licinio pontifice maximo erat. L. Flacco fratri germano cognatisque aliis ob 6 eadem vitia invisus. Is ut animum eius cura sacrorum et caerimoniarum cepit, ita repente exuit antiquos mores ut nemo tota iuventute haberetur prior nec

[1] vellet $A^{1}N^{1}JK$ *Aldus*: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] rem *Gronovius*: *om.* $P(1)NJK$.

[1] On this Livy's authorities must have differed, for a year later we read that their commands were prolonged for one year; xxii. 7.
[2] Cf. vi. 16 and note.

Messalla. And in regard to Spain no change was made, except that the commands of Scipio and Silanus were prolonged, not for one year, but until they should be recalled by the senate.[1] Thus were the assignments and army commands apportioned for that year. B.C. 209

VIII. In the midst of their attention to more important matters the election of a *maximus curio*,[2] when they were choosing a priest to succeed Marcus Aemilius, stirred up an old contest. The patricians declared that no regard should be paid to Manilius Atellus, the one plebeian who was a candidate, since no one not a patrician had previously held that priesthood. The tribunes were appealed to, and referred the case back to the senate; the senate gave the people power to decide. Thus as the first plebeian Gaius Manilius Atellus was elected *maximus curio*. Installation as flamen of Jupiter Gaius Valerius Flaccus, though unwilling, was compelled by Publius Licinius, the pontifex maximus, to accept. Gaius Laetorius was named one of the decemviri for the performance of rites in place of Quintus Mucius Scaevola deceased. The reason for installing a flamen perforce I should gladly have passed over in silence, had not his reputation changed from bad to good. Because of his irresponsible and dissipated youth Gaius Flaccus, who was odious to his own brother, Lucius Flaccus, and other relatives on account of the same vices, had been seized upon as flamen by Publius Licinius, pontifex maximus. As soon as the charge of rites and ceremonies took possession of his mind, Gaius so suddenly put off his old character that no one among all the young men stood higher in the estimation and approval of the leading sena-

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probatior primoribus patrum, suis pariter alienisque,
7 esset. Huius famae consensu elatus ad iustam
fiduciam sui rem intermissam per multos annos ob
indignitatem flaminum priorum repetivit, ut in
8 senatum introiret. Ingressum eum curiam cum
P.[1] Licinius praetor inde eduxisset, tribunos plebis
appellavit. Flamen vetustum ius sacerdotii repete-
bat: datum id cum toga praetexta et sella curuli ei [2]
9 flamonio esse. Praetor non exoletis vetustate
annalium exemplis stare ius, sed recentissimae
cuiusque consuetudinis usu volebat: nec patrum
nec avorum memoria Dialem quemquam id ius
10 usurpasse. Tribuni rem inertia flaminum oblitteratam ipsis, non sacerdotio damno fuisse cum aequom censuissent, ne ipso quidem contra tendente praetore, magno adsensu patrum plebisque flaminem in senatum introduxerunt, omnibus ita existimantibus, magis sanctitate vitae quam sacerdotii iure eam rem flaminem obtinuisse.

11 Consules priusquam in provincias irent, duas urbanas legiones in supplementum quantum opus erat
12 ceteris exercitibus militum scripserunt. Urbanum veterem exercitum Fulvius consul C. Fulvio Flacco legato—frater hic consulis erat—in Etruriam dedit ducendum et legiones quae in Etruria erant Romam
13 deducendas. Et Fabius consul reliquias exercitus

[1] P. *Glareanus, Sigonius*: L. *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[2] ei *Madvig*: et *P*(1)*N*: est *J*.

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[1] As now a member of the senate.

tors, both of his own family and of strangers alike. B.C. 209
By the unanimity of this good report he was raised to a well-founded self-confidence, and claimed what had been in abeyance for many years owing to the unworthiness of former flamens, namely, that he should be admitted to the senate. When he had entered the Senate House, and the praetor, Publius Licinius, had escorted him out of it, he appealed to the tribunes of the plebs. The flamen insistently claimed an ancient right of his priesthood, saying it had been granted to that office of flamen along with the *toga praetexta* and the *sella curulis*. The praetor maintained that a right was based, not upon outmoded instances from the annals, but in each case upon very recent practice; and that within the memory neither of their fathers nor grandfathers had any flamen of Jupiter exercised that right. The tribunes expressed the opinion that obsolescence due to the indolence of flamens was justly accounted their own loss, not a loss to the priestly office. Whereupon, without opposition even from the praetor himself, and with the general approval of the senators and of the commons, the tribunes led the flamen into the senate,[1] for it was the opinion of everyone that the flamen had carried his point rather by the uprightness of his life than by virtue of priestly privilege.

The consuls, before leaving for their provinces, enrolled two city legions to supplement the other armies so far as was necessary. The duty of leading the former city army into Etruria the consul Fulvius assigned to Gaius Fulvius Flaccus, his lieutenant—this was the consul's brother—also that of bringing the legions that were in Etruria away to Rome. And Fabius, the consul, ordered his son Quintus

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Fulviani conquisitas—fuere autem ad quattuor milia [1] trecenti quadraginta quattuor—Q. Maximum filium ducere in Siciliam ad M. Valerium proconsulem iussit, atque ab eo duas legiones et triginta quin-
14 queremes accipere. Nihil eae deductae [2] ex insula legiones minuerunt nec viribus nec specie eius pro-
15 vinciae praesidium; nam cum praeter egregie suppletas duas veteres legiones transfugarum etiam Numidarum equitum peditumque magnam vim haberet, Siculos quoque qui in exercitu Epicydis aut Poenorum fuerant, belli peritos viros, milites scripsit.
16 Ea externa auxilia cum singulis Romanis legionibus adiunxisset, duorum speciem exercituum servavit: altero L. Cincium partem insulae regnum qua [3]
17 Hieronis fuerat tueri iussit; altero ipse ceteram insulam tuebatur, divisam quondam Romani Punicique imperii finibus, classe quoque navium [4] septuaginta partita, ut omni ambitu litorum praesidio [5] orae
18 maritumae essent. Ipse cum Muttinis equitatu provinciam peragrabat, ut viseret agros cultaque ab incultis notaret et perinde dominos laudaret
19 castigaretque. Ita tantum ea cura frumenti provenit ut et Romam mitteret et Catinam conveheret

[1] quattuor milia (∞ ∞ ∞ ∞) *PC* : *om. by rest of* (1) : tria milia *x Aldus*.
[2] deductae A^1 : eductae *P*(3)*JK Aldus* : educte A^2N.
[3] regnum qua *P*(1)*N* : qua regnum A^1J.
[4] navium C^1x *Aldus* : *om.* *P*(1)*NJK*.
[5] praesidio C^2JK *Aldus* : -dia *P*(1)*N*.

[1] Cf. vii. 12 f. [2] Cf. vii. 15.

Maximus to search out the remains of the Fulvian army [1]—and they amounted to four thousand three hundred and forty-four—and to conduct them to Sicily to Marcus Valerius, the proconsul: also to receive from him two legions and thirty five-bankers.[2] The withdrawal of those legions from the island did not reduce the garrison of that province at all either in actual strength or in appearance. For Valerius, in addition to the two old legions remarkably well recruited, had a large number of Numidian deserters also, cavalry and infantry; and he enrolled Sicilians likewise who had been in the army of Epicydes [3] or of the Carthaginians, being men trained in warfare. Having attached these foreign auxiliary forces to each of the Roman legions, he preserved the appearance of two armies. With the one he ordered Lucius Cincius to defend that part of the island where had been the kingdom of Hiero: with the other he himself defended the rest of the island, formerly divided by the boundaries between the Roman and the Punic empires.[4] The fleet also of seventy ships was divided, so that they might protect the seacoast around its entire circuit. Valerius himself with Muttines' cavalry roamed about his province, in order to visit the farms and to distinguish between cultivated and uncultivated lands, and to praise or upbraid the owners accordingly. So, owing to this diligence, such a crop of grain was produced that he sent grain to Rome and also transported it to Catina. B.C. 209

[3] A prominent figure in XXIV. and XXV. He fled to Africa in 210 B.C.; XXVI. xl. 11.

[4] A statement for which no explanation has been found, since we do not know of a time when that part of Sicily west of the Syracusan kingdom was divided between Romans and Carthaginians. Did Livy write *Romani* for *Graeci*?

A.U.C. 545 unde exercitui qui ad Tarentum aestiva acturus esset posset praeberi.

IX. Ceterum transportati milites in Siciliam—et erant[1] maior pars Latini nominis sociorumque—prope magni motus causa fuere; adeo ex parvis saepe mag- 2 narum momenta rerum pendent. Fremitus enim inter Latinos sociosque in conciliis ortus, decimum annum dilectibus, stipendiis se[2] exhaustos esse; 3 quotannis ferme clade magna pugnare; alios in acie occidi, alios morbo absumi; magis perire sibi civem qui ab Romano miles lectus sit quam qui ab Poeno captus: quippe ab hoste gratis remitti in patriam, ab Romanis extra Italiam in exsilium verius 4 quam in militiam ablegari. Octavum iam ibi annum senescere Cannensem militem, moriturum ante quam Italia hostis, quippe nunc cum maxime 5 florens viribus, excedat. Si veteres milites non redeant in patriam, novi legantur, brevi neminem superfuturum. Itaque, quod propediem res ipsa negatura sit, priusquam ad ultimam solitudinem atque egestatem perveniant,[3] negandum populo 6 Romano esse. Si consentientes in hoc socios videant Romani, profecto de pace cum Carthaginiensibus iungenda cogitaturos; aliter numquam vivo Hannibale sine bello Italiam fore. Haec acta in conciliis.

[1] erant *PCR*: erat *the rest.*
[2] se *Ruperti*: s *P*; *om.* P^2(1)*JK Aldus.*
[3] perveniant *PCJK Aldus, Froben*: -iat *RBDA*: -iatur *N*.

whence it could be supplied to the army which was to B.C. 209
have its summer camp near Tarentum.

IX. But the transfer of soldiers to Sicily—and the most of them were of Latin status or allies—was the cause of an outbreak which might have been serious; so true is it that on small things often depends the course of great events. For complaints began to be heard among Latins and allies in their gatherings:[1] that for now the tenth year they had been exhausted by levies of troops and their pay; that almost every year they fought in a disastrous defeat. Some, they said, were slain in battle, others carried off by disease. The townsman who was enlisted by the Roman was lost to them more completely than a man taken captive by the Carthaginian. For with no demand for a ransom the enemy sent him back to his native town; the Romans transported him out of Italy, really into exile rather than into military service. For the eighth year now the soldiers from Cannae were growing old there, certain to die before the enemy, who at the very moment was in the flower of his strength, departed out of Italy. If the old soldiers should not return to their native places, and fresh soldiers continued to be levied, soon no one would be left. Accordingly what the situation itself would soon refuse, before they should reach the extreme of desolation and poverty, must be refused the Roman people. If the Romans should see the allies unanimous to this effect, surely they would think of making peace with the Carthaginians. Otherwise never, so long as Hannibal lived, would Italy be rid of war. Such were the matters debated in their meetings.

[1] *i.e.* local meetings.

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7 Triginta tum coloniae populi Romani erant; ex iis duodecim, cum omnium legationes Romae essent, negaverunt consulibus esse unde milites pecuniamque darent. Eae fuere Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carsioli, Sora,[1] Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, 8 Narnia, Interamna. Nova re consules icti cum absterrere eos a tam detestabili consilio vellent, castigando increpandoque plus quam leniter agendo 9 profecturos rati, eos ausos esse consulibus dicere aiebant quod consules ut in senatu pronuntiarent in animum inducere non possent; non enim detrectationem eam munerum militiae, sed apertam defec- 10 tionem a populo Romano esse. Redirent itaque propere in colonias et tamquam integra re, locuti magis quam ausi tantum nefas, cum suis consulerent. Admonerent non Campanos neque Tarentinos esse 11 eos sed Romanos, inde oriundos, inde in colonias atque in agrum bello captum stirpis[2] augendae causa missos. Quae liberi parentibus deberent, ea illos Romanis debere, si ulla pietas, si memoria 12 antiquae patriae esset. Consulerent igitur de integro; nam tum quidem quae temere agitassent, ea prodendi imperii Romani, tradendae Hannibali 13 victoriae esse. Cum alternis haec consules diu iactassent, nihil moti legati neque se quod[3] domum

[1] Sora M^5 *Froben* 1: eo $P(3)N$: *om.* CA^sJK *Aldus*; *cf.* XXIX. xv. 5, *where* $P(1)N$ *omit this name.*
[2] stirpis A^sJK *Aldus*: urbis $P(1)N$.
[3] quod $P(3)C^3A^sNJK$ *Aldus*: quis *Conway.*

[1] *Latin* colonies sent out by Rome. Their inhabitants did not have the full Roman citizenship but only the Latin. There were at this time but ten colonies of *Roman* citizens, *e.g.* Ostia, Minturnae, Sena Gallica and other seaports.

There were at that time thirty colonies of the Roman state.[1] Of these, while delegations from them all were at Rome, twelve informed the consuls that they had no means of furnishing soldiers and money. These were Ardea, Nepete, Sutrium, Alba, Carsioli, Sora, Suessa, Circeii, Setia, Cales, Narnia, Interamna.[2] The consuls, deeply impressed by what was unheard-of, wishing to deter them from so abominable a move, and thinking they should accomplish more by upbraiding and rebuking them than by soft words, told them that they had dared to say to the consuls what the consuls could not bring themselves to utter in the senate. For it was not a refusal of burdens and of military service, but an open revolt from the Roman people. Accordingly they should return to their colonies promptly, and, as though nothing had been settled, since they had spoken of so great a crime, but had not yet ventured to commit it, they should deliberate with their people. Let them remind them that they were not Capuans nor Tarentines, but Romans, sprung from Rome and sent thence into colonies and on land captured in war, to increase their race. All that children owed to their parents they owed, it was said, to the Romans, if there was any filial affection, any memory of their former city. Let them therefore deliberate again; for their present reckless proposal tended to betray the Roman empire, to give over the victory to Hannibal. The consuls by turns kept on for a long time in this strain; but the deputies, still unmoved, said B.C. 209

[2] In a somewhat different order these twelve reappear in XXIX. xv. 5, where Sora is better attested than in our passage. They were established at various dates between 442 and 298 B.C.

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renuntiarent habere dixerunt neque senatum suum quod [1] novi consuleret, ubi nec miles qui legeretur, nec pecunia quae daretur in stipendium esset.
14 Cum obstinatos eos viderent consules, rem ad senatum detulerunt, ubi tantus pavor animis hominum est iniectus ut magna pars actum de imperio diceret: [2] idem alias colonias facturas,[3] idem socios; consensisse omnes ad prodendam Hannibali urbem Romanam.

X. Consules hortari et consolari senatum et dicere alias colonias in fide atque officio pristino fore; eas quoque ipsas quae officio decesserint,[4] si legati circa eas colonias mittantur qui castigent, non qui precentur, verecundiam imperii habituras esse.
2 Permissum ab senatu iis cum esset, agerent facerentque [5] ut e re publica ducerent, pertemptatis [6] prius aliarum coloniarum animis citaverunt legatos quaesiveruntque ab iis ecquid milites ex formula paratos
3 haberent. Pro duodeviginti coloniis M. Sextilius Fregellanus respondit et milites paratos ex formula [7]
4 esse, et, si pluribus opus esset, pluris daturos, et quidquid aliud imperaret velletque populus Romanus enixe facturos: ad id sibi neque opes deesse et [8] animum

[1] quod *Madvig, Emend.*: quid *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben, Madvig*, 1872.
[2] diceret *P*(1)*N Aldus*: -rent *JK*.
[3] facturas, *here ended the long lacuna in the Spirensis*; cf. p. 232, n. 3.
[4] decesserint *SpJK Froben* 2: -sissent *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[5] facerentque, *P*(1)*N om.* facerent.
[6] pertemptatis *Sp*N^s*JK Froben* 2: temptatis *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[7] paratos ex formula $A^s N^s$ *also* (*om.* ex) *P*(1)*N*: ex formula paratos *JK Aldus, Froben*.
[8] deesse et *Alschefski*: -esset *or* -essent *P*(3): -esse $CM^2A^sN^sJK$ *Aldus, Froben*.

that they had nothing to report back home, nor did B.C. 209
their senates have anything new to decide upon, in towns where there were neither soldiers to be enlisted nor money to be furnished for pay. The consuls, finding them unyielding, brought the matter before the senate; and there such terror was inspired in the minds of the members that a great many of them said the empire was at an end; that the same thing would be done by the other colonies, the same by the allies; that they all had conspired to betray the city of Rome to Hannibal.

X. The consuls exhorted and comforted the senate, and said that the rest of the colonies would be loyal and dutiful as formerly; that even the colonies which had abandoned their duty would have respect for the empire, if legates should be sent about among them to upbraid, not to entreat. Permission having been given the consuls by the senate to act and do as they thought to be for the interest of the state, after first sounding the temper of the other colonies, they summoned their legates, and asked them whether they had any soldiers in readiness according to the compact.[1] On behalf of the eighteen colonies Marcus Sextilius, of Fregellae, replied that they had soldiers in readiness according to the compact, and would give more if more were needed, and would exert themselves to do whatever else the Roman people might command and desire. To that end, he said, they did not lack means and had even a surplus of

[1] To each of the allies and to every colony a *formula* was given, *i.e.* a formal agreement or covenant in which mutual obligations were stated, including what military assistance was to be furnished; cf. XXII. lvii. 10; XXIX. xv. 12.

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5 etiam superesse. Consules parum sibi videri praefati pro merito eorum sua voce conlaudari eos,[1] nisi universi patres iis in curia gratias egissent, sequi in
6 senatum eos[2] iusserunt. Senatus quam poterat honoratissimo decreto adlocutus eos[3] mandat consulibus ut ad populum quoque eos producerent, et inter multa alia praeclara quae ipsis maioribusque suis praestitissent recens etiam meritum eorum in rem
7 publicam commemorarent. Ne nunc quidem post tot saecula sileantur fraudenturve laude sua: Signini fuere et Norbani Saticulanique et Fregellani, et Lucerini et Venusini, et Brundisini et Hadriani et
8 Firmani et Ariminenses, et ab altero mari Pontiani et Paestani et Cosani, et mediterranei Beneventani et Aesernini et Spoletini, et Placentini et Cremo-
9 nenses. Harum coloniarum subsidio tum imperium populi Romani stetit, iisque gratiae in senatu et
10 apud populum actae. Duodecim aliarum coloniarum quae detractaverunt imperium mentionem fieri patres vetuerunt, neque illos dimitti neque retineri neque appellari a consulibus; ea tacita castigatio maxime ex dignitate populi Romani visa est.
11 Cetera expedientibus quae ad bellum opus erant consulibus, aurum vicensimarium, quod in sanctiore

[1] eos, *bracketed by Conway.*
[2] eos *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds.*: *om. Sp²JK Froben* 2.
[3] eos *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: *om. N²JK.*

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[1] On the coast of Etruria, but a Roman, not an Etruscan town, which still preserves its imposing polygonal walls.

[2] The names show a studied arrangement in pairs or larger groups: Latium and Samnium near the coast, a group of four; Apulia; Adriatic coast; coast and islands of the Tuscan Sea; Samnium and Umbria; Cisalpine Gaul.

spirit. The consuls began by saying that to do the men justice it did not seem enough that they should receive praise from the lips of the consuls only, without having the entire senate first return thanks to them in the Senate House; and then they bade them to follow into the senate. After addressing them in a decree as complimentary as possible, the senate instructed the consuls to bring them before the people also, and along with the many other conspicuous services they had rendered to the senators themselves and their ancestors, to recount their recent service also to the state. Even now, after so many generations, they shall not be passed over in silence or defrauded of their praise. It was the men of Signia and Norba and Saticula and Fregellae, and of Luceria and Venusia, and of Brundisium and Hadria and Firmum and Ariminum, and on the other sea, the men of Pontiae and Paestum and Cosa,[1] and in the interior, the men of Beneventum and Aesernia and Spoletium, and of Placentia and Cremona.[2] With the aid of these colonies at that time the empire of the Roman people stood fast, and thanks were rendered to them in the senate and before the people. Of the other twelve colonies, which refused to obey orders, the senators forbade any mention to be made; their legates should neither be dismissed nor detained nor spoken to by the consuls. That silent rebuke seemed most in keeping with the majesty of the Roman people. B.C. 209

While the consuls were endeavouring to provide everything else needed for the war, it was voted that the gold yielded by the five per cent tax on manumissions, and kept in the more sacred treasury to

A.U.C. 545 aerario ad ultimos casus servabatur,[1] promi placuit.
12 Prompta ad quattuor milia pondo auri. Inde quingena pondo data consulibus et M. Marcello et P. Sulpicio proconsulibus et L. Veturio praetori qui
13 Galliam provinciam erat sortitus, additumque Fabio consuli centum pondo auri praecipuum quod in arcem Tarentinam portaretur; cetero auro[2] usi sunt ad vestimenta praesenti pecunia locanda exercitui qui in Hispania bellum secunda sua fama ducisque gerebat.

XI. Prodigia quoque, priusquam ab urbe consules
2 proficiscerentur, procurari placuit. In Albano monte tacta de caelo erant signum Iovis arborque templo propinqua, et Ostiae[3] lacus,[4] et Capuae murus Fortunaeque aedis, et Sinuessae murus portaque.
3 Haec de caelo tacta: cruentam etiam fluxisse aquam Albanam quidam auctores erant, et Romae intus in cella aedis[5] Fortis Fortunae de capite signum, quod in corona erat, in manum sponte sua prolapsum: et
4 Priverni satis constabat bovem locutum, volturiumque frequenti foro in tabernam devolasse, et Sinuessae

[1] servabatur $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -aretur Sp^sNJK *Froben* 2.
[2] auro A^sN^sJK: *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben, Madvig.*
[3] Ostiae (hostiae) C^1 *Aldus*: ostium (*or* hostium) $P(1)NJK$.
[4] lacus $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: locus $A^s?N^sJK$: lucus *Crévier.*
[5] aedis $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* A^sJK *Luchs.*

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[1] In the *aerarium sanctius* was kept a reserve of gold bars (at this period), stored separately from other funds and to be drawn upon only in some great emergency. This is the first instance of its use. The five per cent tax imposed upon the master who manumitted slaves was the chief source of supply.

[2] The quaestors would have the duty of letting the contracts, in this case for cash, with no resort to credit and a moratorium, as in XXIII. xlvii. 11.

meet extreme emergencies, should be brought out.[1] B.C. 209
About four thousand pounds of gold were brought out. Of this five hundred pounds each were given to the consuls and to Marcus Marcellus and Publius Sulpicius, the proconsuls, and to Lucius Veturius, the praetor who had by lot received Gaul as his province. And for Fabius, the consul, there were added a hundred pounds of gold above the rest, to be conveyed to the citadel of Tarentum. The remainder of the gold they employed in letting contracts[2] in terms of ready money for clothing for the army which was carrying on the war in Spain, with distinction to itself and to its commander.

XI. It was further voted that for prodigies the atonement be made before the consuls should set out from the city. On the Alban Mount a statue of Jupiter and a tree near the temple had been struck by lightning; and at Ostia a basin,[3] and at Capua the city wall and the temple of Fortune, and at Sinuessa the wall and a gate. These were struck by lightning. Also some persons testified that the current of the outlet[4] of the Alban Lake was blood-red, and that at Rome inside the cella of the Temple of Fors Fortuna[5] a small image on a garland fell of itself from the head of the statue into the hand. And at Privernum it was established that an ox spoke, and that in the crowded market-place a vulture flew down upon a shop, and that at Sinuessa

[3] Probably of a public fountain, such as may be seen at street corners in Pompeii; cf. XXXIX. xliv. 5.

[4] The famous *emissarium*, made in accordance with a response of the Delphic oracle in 396 B.C.; V. xvi. 9.

[5] Outside the city and by the Tiber, probably that at the first milestone of the road later known as Via Portuensis.

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natum ambiguo inter marem ac feminam sexu infantem, quos androgynos volgus, ut pleraque, faciliore ad duplicanda verba Graeco sermone, appellat, et lacte pluvisse, et cum elephanti capite puerum natum. Ea prodigia hostiis maioribus procurata, et supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria, obsecratio[1] in unum diem indicta; et decretum ut C. Hostilius praetor ludos Apollini, sicut iis annis voti factique erant, voveret faceretque.

Per eos dies et censoribus creandis Q. Fulvius consul comitia habuit. Creati censores, ambo qui nondum consules fuerant, M. Cornelius Cethegus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus. Ii[2] censores ut agrum Campanum fruendum locarent ex auctoritate patrum latum ad plebem est plebesque scivit.

Senatus lectionem contentio inter censores de principe legendo tenuit. Semproni lectio erat; ceterum Cornelius morem traditum a patribus sequendum aiebat, ut qui primus censor ex iis qui viverent fuisset, eum principem legerent; is T. Manlius Torquatus erat; Sempronius, cui di sortem legendi dedissent, ei[3] ius liberum eosdem dedisse deos; se id suo arbitrio facturum lecturumque Q. Fabium Maximum, quem tum principem Romanae civitatis esse vel Hannibale iudice victurus esset.

[1] obsecratio $P(1)N$ *Aldus*, *Froben* : et obsecratio C^1N^1JK.
[2] Ii *Drakenborch* : duo $Sp^2A^sN^sJK$ *Froben* 2 : in P : *om.* $P^2(1)N$ *Aldus*, *Madvig*.
[3] ei Sp^2N^sK *Froben* 2 : et $P(1)N$ *Aldus* : eis J.

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[1] Cf. iv. 15 and note.
[2] Cf. XXV. xii. 11 ff.; XXVI. xxiii. 3; and below, xxiii. 5 f.
[3] For the censors chosen in the previous year and the reason for this election cf. vi. 17 f.

a child was born of uncertain sex, as between male B.C. 209
and female—the populace call them hermaphrodites, as it uses many similar terms, since the Greek language is more apt in compounding words—; also that it rained milk there, and that a child was born with the head of an elephant. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims, and prayers were ordered at all the *pulvinaria*,[1] and entreaties for one day. And it was decreed that Gaius Hostilius, the praetor, should vow and conduct games in honour of Apollo, as they had been vowed and conducted in those years.[2]

About that time Quintus Fulvius, the consul, also held an election for the naming of censors.[3] Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, both of whom had not yet been consuls, were named censors. That these censors should lease lands in the Campanian region was proposed to the commons on the authority of the senate, and the commons so ordered.

The revision of the list of the senate was delayed by a dispute between the censors in regard to the choice of a *princeps senatus*. The choice belonged to Sempronius; but Cornelius said that they must follow the traditional custom of the senate, namely, to choose as *princeps* the man who, among the living, had been censor first. That was Titus Manlius Torquatus. Sempronius claimed that if the gods had given a man the choice by lot, they also gave him an unrestricted right; he would make the choice according to his own judgment, and would choose Quintus Fabius Maximus, whom he could prove, even with Hannibal as judge, to be at that time the first citizen of the Roman state. After the war of words had

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12 Cum diu certatum verbis esset, concedente conlega lectus a Sempronio princeps in senatum[1] Q. Fabius Maximus consul. Inde alius lectus senatus octo praeteritis, inter quos M. Caecilius Metellus erat, infamis auctor deserendae Italiae post Cannensem
13 cladem. In equestribus quoque notis eadem servata causa, sed erant perpauci quos ea infamia attingeret.
14 Illis omnibus—et multi erant—adempti equi qui Cannensium legionum equites in Sicilia erant. Addiderunt acerbitati etiam tempus, ne praeterita stipendia procederent iis quae[2] equo publico meruerant, sed dena stipendia equis privatis facerent.
15 Magnum praeterea numerum eorum conquisiverunt qui equo merere deberent; atque ex iis qui principio eius belli septemdecim annos nati fuerant neque
16 militaverant omnes aerarios fecerunt. Locaverunt inde reficienda quae circa forum incendio consumpta erant septem tabernas, macellum, atrium regium.

XII. Transactis omnibus quae Romae agenda
2 erant consules ad bellum profecti. Prior Fulvius praegressus Capuam; post paucos dies consecutus Fabius, qui et conlegam coram obtestatus et per litteras Marcellum ut quam acerrimo bello detinerent[3]
3 Hannibalem, dum ipse Tarentum oppugnaret—ea urbe adempta hosti iam undique pulso, nec ubi

[1] senatum *Riemann (from an inscr. in honour of Fabius, C.I.L.* I. i. p. 288): senatu *P*(1)*NJK Eds.*
[2] quae *P*(3): q; *BDN*: qui A^1N^2JK *Aldus, Froben.*
[3] detinerent *JK*: -eret *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben.*

[1] XXII. liii. 5; XXIV. xliii. 2 f. and note.
[2] Cf. XXIV. xviii. 6 and note.
[3] See XXVI. xxvii. 2 f. and notes. Of the shops there mentioned as destroyed the so-called *novae* (north side of the Forum) were apparently not rebuilt until 194 B.C.; XXXV. xxiii f.

lasted long, his colleague was giving way, and Sem- B.C. 209
pronius chose Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, as *princeps senatus*. Then the rest of the list of the senate was made up, with eight men ignored, among whom was Marcus Caecilius Metellus, notorious as having advised the desertion of Italy after the disaster at Cannae.[1] In attaching their *nota* to knights also the same principle was maintained, but very few were the men to whom that notoriety applied. From all of those who, as horsemen belonging to the legions from Cannae, were in Sicily—and there were many of them—their horses were taken away. To this severity the censors added also prolonged service—that the years previously served with horses furnished by the state should not be reckoned, but that they must serve ten years, furnishing their own mounts. Furthermore they sought out a great number of the men who were bound to serve in the cavalry, and reduced to the grade of *aerarii*[2] all those who at the beginning of the war had been seventeen years old and had not served. They then contracted for the rebuilding of what had been destroyed by fire around the Forum, namely, seven shops, the market, the Atrium Regium.[3]

XII. Having completed everything that was to be done at Rome, the consuls set out for the war. Fulvius went first and led the way to Capua. After a few days he was overtaken by Fabius, who in person implored his colleague and by letter Marcellus also to keep Hannibal occupied by the most spirited fighting while he himself was laying siege to Tarentum. With that city taken from him, he said, the enemy, beaten back on every side, and having no

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consisteret nec quod [1] fidum respiceret habenti, ne
4 remorandi [2] quidem causam in Italia fore—, Regium
etiam nuntium mittit ad praefectum praesidii quod
ab Laevino consule adversus Bruttios ibi locatum
5 erat, octo milia hominum, pars maxima ab Agathyrna,
sicut ante dictum est, ex Sicilia traducta, rapto
vivere hominum adsuetorum; additi erant Bruttiorum
indidem perfugae, et audacia et audendi omnia
6 necessitatibus pares. Hanc manum ad Bruttium
primum agrum depopulandum duci iussit, inde ad
Cauloniam urbem oppugnandam. Imperata non
inpigre solum sed etiam avide exsecuti direptis
fugatisque cultoribus agri summa vi urbem oppugna-
bant.

7 Marcellus et consulis litteris excitus et quia ita [3]
induxerat in animum neminem ducem Romanum
tam parem Hannibali quam se esse, ubi primum in
agris pabuli copia fuit, ex hibernis profectus ad
8 Canusium Hannibali occurrit. Sollicitabat ad de-
fectionem Canusinos Poenus; ceterum ut adpro-
pinquare Marcellum audivit, castra inde movit.
Aperta erat regio sine ullis ad insidias latebris;
9 itaque in loca saltuosa cedere inde coepit. Marcellus
vestigiis instabat castraque castris conferebat, et
opere perfecto extemplo in aciem legiones educebat.
Hannibal turmatim per equites peditumque iacula-
tores levia certamina serens casum universae pugnae

[1] quod *Wesenberg*: quid *P*(1)*N Madvig, Conway* (*cf.* ix. 13).
[2] remorandi *P*(1)*N*[1] *Aldus*: remoranti *N*: morandi *SpJK Froben* 2.
[3] ita *Sp? Froben* 2: *om. P*(1) *NJK Aldus.*

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[1] Cf. XXVI. xl. 16 ff.
[2] On the coast 23 miles northeast of Locri.

place where he might make a stand nor any loyal B.C. 209
support to look to, would also find no reason for lingering in Italy. He sent a messenger to Regium also, to the commander of the garrison which had been posted there against the Bruttii by Laevinus, the consul, eight thousand men, for the most part from Agathyrna, as has been said above, who had been brought over from Sicily, being men accustomed to live by plundering.[1] To their number had been added from the same region Bruttian deserters, a match for them in daring and in the urgent needs that compelled them to take any risk. This force Fabius ordered to be led out first for the purpose of ravaging the country of the Bruttians, and then of besieging the city of Caulonia.[2] After carrying out their orders not only with energy but also with zest, robbing and putting to flight the tillers of the soil, they proceeded to assail the city with great violence.

Marcellus, spurred by the consul's letter, and also because he had come to believe that no Roman general was so good a match for Hannibal as himself, set out from winter quarters as soon as there was abundance of pasture in the fields, and encountered Hannibal near Canusium. The Carthaginian was tempting the men of Canusium to revolt; but on hearing of the approach of Marcellus, he moved his camp away. It was an open country, with no concealment for ambuscades; accordingly he began to retire from it into wooded regions. Marcellus kept at his heels and would place camp close to camp, and after completing his fortifications, he would at once lead his legions out into battle-line. Hannibal by his cavalry in single troops and by spearmen on foot kept bringing on slight engagements, but

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10 non necessarium ducebat. Tractus est tamen ad id quod vitabat certamen. Nocte praegressum adsequitur locis planis ac patentibus Marcellus; castra inde ponentem pugnando undique in munitores operibus prohibet. Ita signa conlata pugnatumque totis copiis est, cum iam nox instaret, Marte aequo discessum est. Castra exiguo distantia spatio raptim
11 ante noctem permunita. Postero die luce prima Marcellus in aciem copias eduxit; nec Hannibal detractavit certamen, multis verbis adhortatus milites ut memores Trasumenni Cannarumque con-
12 tunderent ferociam hostis: urgere atque instare eum, non iter quietos facere,[1] non castra ponere pati, non respirare aut circumspicere: cotidie simul orientem solem et Romanam aciem in campis videndam esse; si uno proelio haud incruentus abeat, quietius deinde
13 tranquilliusque eum bellaturum. His inritati adhortationibus simulque taedio ferociae hostium cotidie instantium lacessentiumque acriter proelium ineunt.
14 Pugnatum amplius duabus horis est. Cedere inde ab Romanis dextra ala et extraordinarii coepere. Quod ubi Marcellus vidit, duodevicensimam legionem
15 in primam aciem inducit. Dum alii trepidi[2] cedunt, alii segniter subeunt, turbata tota acies est, dein

[1] non iter quietos facere *Sp Froben* 2: *om. P*(1)*N Aldus, one line.*

[2] trepidi *P*(1)*N Aldus*: trepide *SpJK Froben* 2.

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[1] Of the allies, while the *ala* filled the rest of the front line; cf. note on i. 8.

[2] Marcellus had still another legion and another *ala* as a reserve probably.

thought the risk of a general conflict unnecessary. B.C. 209
Nevertheless he was drawn into the conflict which he was trying to avoid. When the enemy had gone ahead by night, Marcellus overtook him in level and open country. Then as Hannibal was pitching camp, the Roman by fighting on all sides against the men engaged in fortifying prevented them from doing so. Thus standards faced standards and it was a battle with all their forces, and when night was now at hand, they separated on even terms. The camps, separated by a very short distance, were hastily fortified before night. The next day Marcellus led out his forces into line at daybreak. And Hannibal did not refuse battle, after he had exhorted his soldiers at length, that, remembering Trasumennus and Cannae, they should crush the over-confidence of the enemy, who was pressing them, Hannibal said, and threatening them, not allowing them to march undisturbed, nor to pitch their camp, nor to take breath and look around them; every day they must at the same moment see the sun rising and in the meadows the Roman battle-line; if he should come out of a single battle not without some losses, the enemy would thereafter carry on the war more calmly and quietly. Inflamed by these exhortations and also weary of the high spirit of a foe who daily pressed upon them and challenged them, they went into battle fiercely. They fought for more than two hours. Then on the side of the Romans the right *ala* and the élite troops [1] began to give way. Seeing this Marcellus led up the eighteenth legion into the front rank.[2] While the one part in disorder was yielding ground, and the other was slow in coming up, the whole line was confused, then thoroughly routed, and as fear over-

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prorsus fusa, et vincente pudorem metu terga
16 dabant. Cecidere in pugna fugaque[1] ad duo milia et septingenti civium sociorumque: in iis[2] quattuor Romani centuriones, duo tribuni militum, M. Licinius
17 et M. Helvius. Signa militaria quattuor de ala prima quae fugit, duo de legione quae cedentibus sociis successerat amissa.

XIII. Marcellus, postquam in castra reditum est, contionem adeo saevam atque acerbam apud milites habuit ut proelio per diem totum infeliciter tolerato
2 tristior iis irati ducis oratio esset. "Dis immortalibus, ut in tali re, laudes gratesque," inquit "ago quod victor hostis cum tanto pavore incidentibus vobis in vallum portasque non ipsa castra est adgressus; deseruissetis profecto eodem terrore castra quo
3 omisistis pugnam. Qui pavor hic, qui terror, quae repente qui et cum quibus pugnaretis oblivio animos cepit? Nempe idem sunt hi hostes quos vincendo et victos sequendo priorem aestatem[3] absumpsistis,
4 quibus dies noctesque fugientibus per hos dies institistis, quos levibus proeliis fatigastis,[4] quos hesterno die nec iter facere nec castra ponere passi
5 estis. Omitto ea quibus gloriari potestis; cuius et ipsius pudere ac paenitere vos oportet referam[5]:

[1] fugaque A^sJK: que $P(3)$: *om. AN Aldus, Froben.*

[2] in iis $PCR?$: in his $MBDAN$ *Aldus, Froben*: inter quos fuere A^sJK.

[3] priorem aestatem *TaSp? Froben 2* (*with* in *J and K*): priore aestate $P(1)N$.

[4] fatigastis $P^2(3)Ta^2$: fatigatis PTa: fugastis *ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

powered the sense of shame, they fled. In battle B.C. 209
and flight some two thousand seven hundred citizens and allies fell, among them four Roman centurions, two tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Licinius and Marcus Helvius. Four military standards were lost from the *ala* which was the first to flee, and two from the legion which had relieved the allies as they gave way.

XIII. Marcellus, after they had returned to camp, made a speech to the soldiers which was so savage and bitter that, although they had borne the battle all day long without success, the angry general's speech was more ferocious to them. "The immortal gods," he said, "have my praises and thanks, so far as one can be grateful now, because the victorious enemy, when you were throwing yourselves in such fright upon the earthwork and the gates, did not attack the camp itself. You would surely have deserted the camp in terror, just as in terror you abandoned the battle. What fright is this, what terror, that have taken possession of your minds, what sudden forgetting who you are and in battle with whom? Of course these are the same enemies in defeating whom, and in pursuing them when defeated, you have spent last summer, the same men whom you have pressed hard in these days, as they were fleeing day and night, whom you have wearied by slight engagements, whom yesterday you did not allow either to march or to pitch camp. I pass over the things of which you can boast. I shall mention something for which you ought also to feel shame

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[5] referam *P*(1)*NTa Aldus*: *om. SpN*[2]*JK Froben* 2.

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nempe aequis manibus hesterno die diremistis
6 pugnam. Quid haec nox, quid hic dies attulit? Vestrae iis copiae inminutae sunt an illorum auctae? Non equidem mihi cum exercitu meo loqui videor nec cum Romanis militibus: corpora tantum atque
7 arma sunt eadem. An, si eosdem animos habuissetis, terga vestra vidisset hostis? signa alicui manipulo aut cohorti ademisset?[1] Adhuc caesis legionibus Romanis gloriabatur: vos illi hodierno die primum
8 fugati exercitus dedistis decus." Clamor inde ortus ut veniam eius diei daret; ubi vellet deinde experiretur militum suorum animos. "Ego vero experiar," inquit "milites, et vos crastino die in aciem educam, ut victores potius quam victi veniam impetretis quam
9 petitis." Cohortibus quae signa amiserant hordeum dari iussit, centurionesque manipulorum quorum signa amissa fuerant destrictis gladiis discinctos destituit: et ut postero die omnes, pedites equites,[2]
10 armati adessent edixit. Ita contio dimissa fatentium iure ac merito sese increpitos, neque illo die virum quemquam in acie Romana fuisse praeter unum ducem, cui aut morte satisfaciendum aut egregia victoria esset.

11 Postero die armati ornatique[3] ad edictum aderant.

[1] ademisset *TaJK*: abstulisset *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben.*

[2] pedites equites *Ta, Aldus and Froben add* -que: equites pedites *P*(1), *NJK add* -que.

[3] armati ornatique *TaSpK Froben* 2: ornati armatique *P*(1)*NJ*; ornati *Conway* (*deleting* armatique).

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[1] *I.e.* the drawn battle of yesterday is something of which you should be ashamed, as well as of your rout to-day, though not to the same degree.

[2] Cohorts of allies had their *signa*; XXV. xiv. 4. In the legions it was the maniple, not the cohort, which had a standard until Marius' time.

and regret; namely, you broke off the battle B.C. 209
yesterday while it was undecided.[1] What has this night, what has this day brought? Have your troops in that time been reduced, or their forces increased? For my part I do not seem to be speaking with my army nor with Roman soldiers. It is merely your bodies and weapons that are the same. Can it be that, if you had had the same spirit, the enemy would have seen your backs? And would he have taken standards from any maniple or cohort?[2] Till now his boasting was in the slaughter of Roman legions: you have this day given him for the first time the distinction of putting an army to flight." Then they began to shout that he should pardon them for that day, and afterwards, whenever he wished, he should test the spirit of his soldiers. "I will indeed test them, soldiers," said he, "and to-morrow I will lead you out into battle-line, that as victors, rather than as vanquished, you may gain the pardon for which you ask." To the cohorts which had lost their standards he ordered barley to be issued, and as for the centurions of the maniples whose standards had been lost, he made them stand aside with drawn swords and no belts; and he ordered that on the morrow they should all, infantry and cavalry, present themselves under arms. So the assembly was dismissed, as the men confessed that they had been upbraided with good reason and deservedly, and that on that day in the Roman line no one had been a man except the general alone, whom they must satisfy either by dying or by a notable victory.

The next day they presented themselves according to orders armed and equipped. The general

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Imperator eos conlaudat pronuntiatque a quibus orta pridie fuga esset cohortesque quae signa amisissent se in primam aciem inducturum: edicere iam sese omnibus pugnandum ac vincendum esse et adnitendum singulis universisque ne prius hesternae fugae quam hodiernae victoriae fama Romam perveniat. Inde cibo corpora firmare iussi, ut, si longior pugna esset, viribus sufficerent. Ubi omnia dicta factaque sunt quibus excitarentur animi militum in aciem procedunt. XIV. Quod ubi Hannibali nuntiatum est, "Cum eo nimirum," inquit "hoste res est qui nec bonam nec malam ferre fortunam possit. Seu vicit, ferociter instat victis: seu victus[1] est, instaurat cum victoribus certamen." Signa inde canere iussit et[2] copias educit. Pugnatum utrimque aliquanto quam pridie acrius est, Poenis ad obtinendum hesternum decus adnitentibus, Romanis ad demendam ignominiam. Sinistra ala ab Romanis et cohortes quae amiserant signa in prima acie pugnabant, et legio duodevicensima[3] ab dextro cornu instructa. L. Cornelius Lentulus et C. Claudius Nero legati cornibus praeerant; Marcellus mediam aciem hortator testisque praesens firmabat. Ab Hannibale Hispani primam obtinebant frontem, et id roboris in omni exercitu erat. Cum anceps diu pugna esset, Hannibal elephantos in primam aciem induci iussit, si quem inicere ea res tumultum ac

[1] seu victus A^1N^1JK *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* $P(1)$: P^2 *changes* victis *(above) to* victus (1).

[2] et Sp^2N^2JK *Froben* 2 : *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*

[3] duodevice(n)sima *Perizonius* : vice(n)sima $P(1)NJK$; *cf.* xii. 14.

[1] Cf. the words put into Scipio's mouth in XXVI. xli. 12 *fin.* and into Hannibal's by Horace in *Carm.* IV. iv. 53–68.

praised them warmly and declared that he would B.C. 209
lead out into the first line the men with whom the flight had begun the day before, and the cohorts which had lost their standards; that now he proclaimed that they must all fight and win, and strive singly and collectively to prevent news of yesterday's flight from reaching Rome before that of to-day's victory. They were then bidden to strengthen themselves by eating, so that, if the battle should be prolonged, they might have sufficient endurance. When everything had been said and done that could arouse the soldiers' spirits, they advanced into line.

XIV. When this was reported to Hannibal, "Of a truth," he said, "we have to deal with an enemy who can bear neither good fortune nor bad. If he has won, he furiously presses the defeated; if on the other hand he has been defeated, he renews the conflict with the victors."[1] Then he ordered the trumpets to sound and led out his forces. On both sides the battle was much fiercer than the day before, the Carthaginians striving to maintain the distinction of yesterday, while the Romans strove to rid themselves of their disgrace. The left *ala* on the Roman side and the cohorts which had lost their standards were fighting in the first line, and the eighteenth legion was drawn up on the right wing. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Gaius Claudius Nero, the lieutenants, commanded the wings. Marcellus in person upheld the centre, to encourage them and as a witness. On Hannibal's side Spanish troops held the front line, and they were the best troops in the entire army. When the battle had long been indecisive Hannibal ordered the elephants to be driven up to the front, in the hope that that move might

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7 pavorem posset. Et primo turbarunt signa ordinesque, et partim occulcatis partim dissupatis terrore qui
8 circa erant nudaverant una parte aciem, latiusque fuga manasset, ni C. Decimius Flavus tribunus militum signo arrepto primi hastati manipulum eius signi sequi se iussisset. Duxit ubi maxime tumultum conglobatae beluae faciebant pilaque in eas conici iussit.
9 Haesere omnia tela haud difficili ex propinquo in tanta corpora ictu et tum [1] conferta turba: sed ut non omnes volnerati sunt, ita in quorum tergis infixa stetere pila, ut est genus anceps, in fugam versi
10 etiam integros avertere. Tum iam non unus manipulus, sed pro se quisque miles, qui modo adsequi agmen fugientium elephantorum poterat, pila conicere. Eo magis ruere in suos beluae tantoque maiorem stragem edere quam inter hostes ediderant, quanto acrius pavor consternatam [2] agit quam
11 insidentis magistri imperio regitur.[3] In perturbatam transcursu beluarum aciem signa inferunt Romani pedites et haud magno certamine dissupatos trepi-
12 dantesque avertunt. Tum in fugientes equitatum inmittit Marcellus, nec ante finis sequendi est factus
13 quam in castra paventes conpulsi sunt. Nam super alia quae terrorem trepidationemque facerent,[4] elephanti quoque [5] duo in ipsa porta corruerant,

[1] tum *P*(3): eum *Sp*: tam *BDANJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] consternatam *P*(3 *Sp*N^s *Froben* 2: -tas A^sJ *Aldus.*
[3] regitur *P*(1)*NSp Froben* 2: reguntur A^sJK *Aldus.*
[4] facerent *P*(1) *Aldus, Froben*: fecerant A^sJK.
[5] quoque *Gronovius (from a Ms.)*: que *P*(1)*N*: forte A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Cf. XXVI. v. 15.

bring about confusion and panic. And at first they B.C. 209
did cause disorder among the standards and ranks, and by trampling down some of those who were near, and scattering others in alarm, they had stripped the line of battle at one point, and the flight would have spread further, had not Gaius Decimius Flavus, a tribune of the soldiers, seized a standard from the first maniple of the *hastati*[1] and ordered the maniple to which it belonged to follow him. He led them to the spot where the brutes massed together were causing confusion and bade them hurl their javelins against them. All the weapons stuck fast, for it was not difficult to hit bodies of such size from a short distance and now packed in a dense mass. But although not all were wounded, still those in whose backs the javelins remained well fixed—so undependable is the species—took to flight and even made the uninjured wheel about. Then no longer a single maniple hurled its javelins, but every soldier for himself, provided he was able to catch up with the column of the fleeing elephants. All the more did the brutes dash among their own men and cause a greater slaughter than they had done among the enemy, in proportion as the frightened beast is urged on more fiercely by terror than when under the control of a driver on its back. Into the line thrown into confusion by the brutes dashing through it the Roman infantry carried their standards and with no great struggle they made the scattered and wavering enemy retreat. Then, as they fled, Marcellus sends his cavalry against them, and pursuit did not end until in alarm they were driven into their camp. For in addition to the other causes of terror and consternation, two elephants had fallen in the very gate,

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coactique erant milites per fossam vallumque ruere in castra. Ibi maxima hostium caedes facta; caesa 14 ad octo milia hominum, quinque elephanti. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit: mille ferme et septingenti de duabus legionibus et sociorum supra mille et trecentos occisi; volnerati permulti civium 15 sociorumque. Hannibal nocte proxima castra movit: cupientem insequi Marcellum prohibuit multitudo sauciorum. XV. Speculatores qui prosequerentur[1] agmen missi postero die rettulerunt Bruttios Hannibalem petere.

2 Isdem ferme diebus et ad Q. Fulvium consulem Hirpini et Lucani et Volceientes traditis praesidiis Hannibalis quae in urbibus habebant dediderunt sese, clementerque a consule cum verborum tantum castigatione ob errorem praeteritum accepti sunt;[2] 3 et Bruttiis similis spes veniae facta est, cum ab iis Vibius et Paccius fratres, longe nobilissimi gentis eius, eandem quae data Lucanis erat condicionem deditionis petentes venissent.

4 Q. Fabius consul oppidum in Sallentinis Manduriam vi cepit; ibi ad tria milia[3] hominum capta et ceterae praedae aliquantum. Inde Tarentum profectus in

[1] prosequerentur *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: sequerentur *Sp Froben* 2; per- *x*.

[2] accepti sunt *BDAN*: accepti *SpéJK Froben* 2: acceptis *P*(3).

[3] tria milia (ɔɔ ɔɔ ɔɔ *PC Madvig*: quattuor milia $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Conway*: *om. RMBDAN*.

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[1] According to Plutarch he went to Campania; *Marcellus* xxvi. 4.

and the soldiers were forced to dash into the camp B.C. 209
over fosse and earthwork. It was there that the greatest slaughter of the enemy occurred. Slain were about eight thousand men and five elephants. And for the Romans also it was not a bloodless victory. About one thousand seven hundred from the two legions, and of the allies more than one thousand three hundred, were killed; wounded were a large number of citizens and allies. Hannibal moved his camp that night; Marcellus was eager to pursue, but the numbers of the wounded prevented him. XV. Scouts sent to pursue the column reported next day that Hannibal was on his way to the land of the Bruttii.[1]

About the same time the Hirpini and Lucani and the men of Volceii[2] surrendered to Quintus Fulvius, the consul, handing over Hannibal's garrisons which they had in their cities, and were kindly received by him with nothing more than an oral reprimand for their past aberrations. The Bruttii[3] also were given to expect a like pardon, upon the arrival from that region of the brothers Vibius and Paccius, easily the noblest of that tribe, to ask for the same terms of surrender as had been given to the Lucanians.

Quintus Fabius, the consul, took the town of Manduria,[4] in the land of the Sallentini, by storm. There about three thousand persons were captured, and other booty in quantity. Then removing to

[2] An unimportant city in northern Lucania is unaccountably added, as if its citizens were not Lucanians. Some of their people still sided with Hannibal two years later: li. 13.

[3] For Bruttian towns that had returned to Roman allegiance four years before cf. XXV. i. 2.

[4] About 20 miles southeast of Tarentum.

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ipsis faucibus portus posuit castra. Naves quas Laevinus [1] tutandis commeatibus habuerat partim machinationibus onerat apparatuque moenium oppugnandorum. partim tormentis et saxis omnique missilium telorum genere instruit, onerarias quoque, non eas [2] solum quae remis agerentur, ut alii machinas scalasque ad muros ferrent, alii procul ex navibus volnerarent moenium propugnatores. Hae naves ab aperto mari ut [3] urbem adgrederentur instructae parataeque sunt; et erat liberum mare classe Punica, cum Philippus oppugnare Aetolos pararet, Corcyram tramissa. In Bruttiis interim Cauloniae oppugnatores sub adventum [4] Hannibalis, ne opprimerentur, in tumulum a praesenti impetu tutum, ad cetera inopem, concessere.[5]

Fabium Tarentum obsidentem leve dictu momentum ad rem ingentem potiundam adiuvit. Praesidium Bruttiorum datum ab Hannibale Tarentini habebant. Eius praesidii praefectus deperibat amore mulierculae cuius frater in exercitu Fabii consulis erat. Is certior litteris sororis factus de nova consuetudine advenae locupletis atque inter popularis tam honorati, spem nactus per sororem

[1] Laevinus *Unger*: il. iuius *P*: il iuius *CRM*: liuius $M^1BDANJK$ *Eds.*; *cf.* vii. 15 f.

[2] quoque, non eas A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*.

[3] ut C^4N *Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1), *and JK* (*having* ut *after* naves).

[4] adventum *JK Aldus, Froben, Madvig*: adventu *P*(1)*N Conway*.

[5] ad cetera inopem, concessere *Sp*A^sJK *Froben* 2: sere *P* (*omitting a line*): se recepere (*or* cipe-) P^2(1)*N*.

[1] And opposite the citadel; XXV. xi. 1.

[2] *I.e.* the smaller and swifter vessels, contrasted with heavier ships probably anchored at a distance.

Tarentum he pitched camp at the very entrance to B.C. 209
the harbour.[1] Of the ships which Laevinus had had to protect his supplies, the consul loaded some with devices and equipment for attacking city walls, while some of them he fitted out with artillery and stones and every kind of missile weapon. And so also with the merchantmen, not merely those propelled by oars,[2] in order that some crews should carry engines and ladders up to the walls, and others from ships at long range should wound the defenders of the walls. These ships were equipped and made ready to attack the city from the open sea. And the sea was unmolested by the Punic fleet, which had been sent over to Corcyra, since Philip was preparing to attack the Aetolians. In the country of the Bruttii meanwhile the besiegers of Caulonia,[3] to avoid being surprised, just before Hannibal's arrival withdrew to a hill that was safe from immediate attack, but otherwise offered nothing.

While Fabius was besieging Tarentum,[4] a circumstance hardly worth mentioning aided him in attaining his great objective. The Tarentines had a guard of Bruttians, furnished by Hannibal. The commander of that guard[5] was desperately in love with a young woman whose brother was in the army of Fabius, the consul. This brother, informed by a letter from his sister of her new acquaintance with a stranger who was rich and held in such honour by his people, conceived the hope that through his sister her

[3] Cf. xii. 6; xvi. 9.

[4] Of Polybius' narrative of the recovery of Tarentum only an introductory page has survived (X. i.).

[5] Not of the entire garrison, which was commanded by a Carthaginian, Carthalo; xvi. 5.

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quolibet inpelli amantem posse, quid speraret ad
11 consulem detulit. Quae cum haud vana cogitatio visa esset, pro perfuga[1] iussus Tarentum transire, ac per sororem praefecto conciliatus, primo occulte temptando animum, dein satis explorata levitate blanditiis muliebribus perpulit eum ad proditionem
12 custodiae loci cui praepositus erat. Ubi et ratio agendae rei et tempus convenit, miles nocte per intervalla stationum clam ex urbe emissus ea quae acta erant quaeque ut agerentur convenerat ad consulem refert.

13 Fabius vigilia prima dato signo iis qui in arce erant quique custodiam portus habebant, ipse circumito portu ab regione urbis in orientem versa
14 occultus consedit. Canere inde tubae simul ab arce simul[2] a portu et ab navibus quae ab[3] aperto mari adpulsae erant, clamorque undique cum ingenti tumultu unde minimum periculi erat de industria
15 ortus. Consul interim silentio continebat suos. Igitur Democrates, qui praefectus antea[4] classis fuerat, forte illo[5] loco praepositus, postquam quieta omnia circa se vidit, alias partes eo tumultu personare
16 ut captae urbis interdum excitaretur clamor, veritus ne inter cunctationem suam consul aliquam vim faceret ac signa inferret, praesidium ad arcem,

[1] perfuga *CJK*: terfuga *PR*: profuga *Sp.* (*om. preceding* pro): perfuga (*om.* pro) *Rhenanus*, *Froben* 2: transfuga est *DAN*: tran(s)fuga B^{z} *Aldus*.
[2] simul *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: et *Sp Froben* 2.
[3] ab *P*(3) *Aldus*: *om. ANSpJK Froben* 2.
[4] antea *Sp?N*^{a}*JK*: *om. P*(1)*N*.
[5] illo *P*(1)*N Aldus*: illi *Sp?A*^{a}*JK Froben* 2, *Conway*.

[1] On leaving his camp near the bridge-head Fabius must have left troops to guard the camp and harbour entrance.

lover could be swayed in any desired direction, and B.C. 209
informed the consul what he hoped for. Since that seemed no empty idea, he was bidden to go over to Tarentum, as if he were a deserter. And having won the friendship of the commander through his sister, he first guardedly sounded him, then, his lack of character being demonstrated, he used a woman's blandishments to lead him on to betray the defence of a place of which he had been put in command. When the method of carrying out the plan and the time also had been settled, a soldier, sent out of the city secretly by night through intervals between outposts, reported to the consul the steps which had been taken and those which it had been agreed should be taken.

Fabius at the first watch gave the signal to the men in the citadel and to those who were guarding the harbour[1]; and thereupon, making the circuit of the harbour, he established himself in hiding on the eastern side of the city. Then trumpets sounded at the same time from the citadel and from the harbour, and from the ships which had approached from the open sea, and from all sides shouting and great uproar were purposely raised where there was the least danger. The consul meantime kept his men quiet. Accordingly Democrates, who had previously been admiral of the fleet,[2] and chanced to be in command at that point, on seeing everything near him quiet, while other quarters resounded with such an uproar that from time to time shouts arose as in a captured city, feared that, while he himself delayed, the consul might make an assault and bring in his troops. He thereupon led his forces over to

[2] Cf. XXVI. xxxix. 6.

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unde maxime terribilis accidebat sonus, traducit.
17 Fabius cum et ex temporis spatio et ex silentio ipso, quod, ubi paulo ante strepebant excitantes vocantesque ad arma, inde nulla accidebat vox, deductas custodias sensisset, ferri scalas ad eam partem muri qua Bruttiorum cohortem praesidium agitare[1]
18 proditionis conciliator nuntiaverat iubet. Ea primum captus est murus adiuvantibus recipientibusque Bruttiis, et transcensum in urbem est; inde[2] et[3] proxuma refracta porta, ut frequenti agmine signa
19 inferrentur. Tum clamore sublato sub ortum ferme lucis nullo obvio armato in forum perveniunt, omnesque undique qui ad arcem portumque pugnabant in se converterunt.

XVI. Proelium in aditu fori maiore impetu quam perseverantia commissum est. Non animo, non armis, non arte belli, non vigore ac viribus corporis
2 par Romano Tarentinus erat. Igitur pilis tantum coniectis, prius paene quam consererent manus terga dederunt, dilapsique per nota urbis itinera in
3 suas amicorumque domos. Duo ex ducibus Nico et Democrates fortiter pugnantes cecidere. Philemenus, qui proditionis ad Hannibalem auctor fuerat, cum
4 citato equo ex proelio avectus esset, vacuus[4] paulo post equus errans[5] per urbem cognitus, corpus

[1] agitare *P*(1)*NJ Rhenanus, Froben* 2 : cogitare *Sp.*
[2] inde *P*(1)*N Aldus* : deinde *SpJK Froben* 2.
[3] et C^2DAN *Aldus* : ex *P*(3) : *om. SpJK Froben* 2.
[4] vacuus *Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : vagus *P*(1)*NJK Conway.*
[5] errans *P*(1)*NJK* (*Aldus, Froben adding* -que) : *bracketed by Walters, Conway.*

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[1] Probably the Temenitis Gate of XXV. ix. 9 f.

the citadel, from which came the most terrifying noise. Fabius, both from the time elapsed and from the mere silence—since no voice came from the direction where a little while before there was shouting to waken men and call them to arms—was aware that the guards had been removed. Accordingly he ordered ladders to be carried to that part of the wall where the go-between in the betrayal had reported that the cohort of Bruttians was on guard duty. There first the wall was taken, the men being aided and welcomed by the Bruttians, and they climbed over the wall into the city. Then also the nearest gate [1] was broken open, so that a dense column might march in. Thereupon raising a shout they made their way into the market-place at about daybreak, while no armed men encountered them, and they drew against themselves an attack on every side from all the men who were fighting at the citadel and by the harbour. B.C. 209

XVI. They joined battle at the entrance to the market-place with more spirit than persistence. The Tarentine was no match for the Roman in courage, in arms, in the art of war, in bodily energy and strength. Therefore, after merely throwing their javelins, they retreated almost before they came to blows, and slipped away along the familiar streets of the city to their homes and those of friends. Two of their commanders, Nico and Democrates, fell fighting bravely. Philemenus,[2] who was the originator of the betrayal to Hannibal, had ridden away at full speed from the battle; and a little later his riderless horse was recognized wandering about

[2] For Nico and Philemenus cf. XXV. viii. 3 ff.; ix. 8 ff.; XXVI. xxxix. 15.

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nusquam[1] inventum est: creditum volgo est in puteum apertum ex equo praecipitasse.[2] Carthalonem autem, praefectum Punici praesidii, cum commemoratione paterni hospitii positis armis venien- 6 tem ad consulem miles obvius obtruncat. Alii alios passim[3] sine discrimine armatos inermis[4] caedunt, Carthaginienses Tarentinosque pariter. Bruttii quoque multi passim[5] interfecti, seu per errorem seu vetere in eos insito odio seu ad proditionis famam, ut vi potius atque armis captum Tarentum 7 videretur, exstinguendam. Tum a caede ad diripiendam urbem discursum. Triginta milia[6] servilium capitum dicuntur capta, argenti vis ingens facti signatique, auri tria milia octoginta[7] pondo, signa et[8] tabulae, prope ut Syracusarum ornamenta 8 aequaverint.[9] Sed maiore animo generis eius praeda abstinuit Fabius quam Marcellus; qui interrogante scriba[10] quid fieri signis vellet ingentis magnitudinis —di sunt, suo quisque habitu in modum pugnantium formati—deos iratos Tarentinis relinqui iussit.

[1] nusquam *AJK*: nunquam (*or* num-) *P*(3)*N*.
[2] praecipitasse *P*(3)*Spé Froben* 2: -cipitatum *AN*[1]*JK Aldus*.
[3] passim *P*(1)*NJK*: *bracketed by Conway*.
[4] inermis *P*(1)*N*: -que *added by A*[s]*N*[s]*JK Aldus, Froben*.
[5] passim *A*[s]*N*[s]*JK*: *om*. *P*(1)*A*[z]*N*.
[6] XXX milia *JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: mil(l)ia XXX *P*(1)*N*.
[7] tria milia octoginta *Madvig, Emend., Conway*: LXXXIII millia *P*(1)*N*: LXXIIII m. *JK*.
[8] signa et *Alschefski*: signata *P*(1): signa *N*[s]*JK Aldus, Froben*: signa ac *Weissenborn*.
[9] aequaverint *P*(3) *Aldus*: -arent *Spé*[2]*A*[s]*N*[s]*JK Froben* 2: -arint *W. Heraeus*.
[10] interrogante scriba *Drakenborch*: -ganti scribae *C*[z]*A*[y]*N*[s]*JK Aldus, Froben*: -gatis scribae *P*(1)*N*: *Conway inserts dagger*.

[1] Presumably with Fabius, and the tie was inherited. But his protest was in vain.

the city, but his body was nowhere found. It was B.C. 209
generally believed that he had thrown himself from his horse into an open well. Moreover Carthalo, commander of the Punic garrison, mentioning his father's guest-friendship,[1] had laid down his arms and was on his way to the consul, when he was slain by a soldier who met him. Other soldiers slew other men everywhere, whether armed or unarmed, Carthaginians and Tarentines alike. Everywhere Bruttians also were slain, many of them, either by mistake or out of old, inbred hatred of them, or to blot out the report of treachery, that Tarentum might be thought to have been captured rather by force of arms. Then from the slaughter they dispersed to plunder the city. Thirty thousand slaves are said to have been captured, an immense quantity of silver, wrought and coined, of gold three thousand and eighty pounds,[2] statues and paintings, so that they almost rivalled the adornments of Syracuse.[3] But Fabius showed more magnanimity in refraining from plunder of that kind than did Marcellus. When a clerk asked what he wished to have done with statues of colossal size—they are gods in the form of warriors, but each in his own attitude—Fabius ordered that their angry gods be left to the Tarentines.[4]

[2] If the MS. tradition (83,000) could be accepted as conceivable, we should be obliged to explain how Capua, so much more prosperous than Tarentum, could have yielded only 2,070 pounds of gold to the captors; XXVI. xiv. 8.

[3] For statues and paintings removed by Marcellus from Syracuse to Rome cf. XXV. xl. 1 ff.

[4] One colossal statue of Jupiter, attributed to Lysippus, Fabius was unable to remove; Pliny *N.H.* XXXIV. 40. Another of Hercules he brought to Rome and set up on the Capitol; cf. Plutarch *Fabius* xxii. 5, making a comparison with Marcellus, but unfavourable to Fabius; cf. *Marcellus* xxi. 3 f.

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9 Murus inde qui urbem ab arce dirimebat dirutus est ac disiectus.

Dum haec[1] aguntur, Hannibal, iis qui Cauloniam 10 obsidebant in deditionem acceptis, audita oppugnatione Tarenti dies noctesque cursim agmine acto, cum festinans ad opem ferendam captam urbem audisset, "Et Romani suum Hannibalem" inquit "habent; eadem qua ceperamus arte Tarentum 11 amisimus." Ne tamen fugientis modo convertisse agmen videretur, quo constiterat[2] loco quinque milia ferme ab urbe posuit castra. Ibi paucos 12 moratus dies Metapontum sese recepit. Inde duos Metapontinos cum litteris principum eius civitatis ad Fabium Tarentum mittit, fidem ab consule accepturos inpunita iis[3] priora fore, si Metapontum 13 cum praesidio Punico prodidissent. Fabius vera quae[4] adferrent esse ratus, diem qua accessurus esset Metapontum constituit litterasque ad principes 14 dedit, quae ad Hannibalem delatae sunt. Enimvero laetus successu fraudis, si ne Fabius quidem dolo invictus fuisset, haud procul Metaponto insidias 15 ponit. Fabio auspicanti, priusquam egrederetur ab Tarento, aves semel atque iterum non addixerunt. Hostia quoque caesa consulenti deos haruspex cavendum a fraude hostili et ab insidiis praedixit.

[1] haec, *after this* A^1JK *Aldus and Froben insert* Tarenti, *not found in* P(1)*N*.

[2] constiterat $C^2M^2A^1JK$ *Aldus*: constituerat *P*(1)*N*.

[3] iis *PR Aldus*: his $R^2MBDANK$: hiis *J*: tis *C*: *om. Sp*?N^s *Froben* 2, *Conway*.

[4] vera quae *CMBDAN Aldus, Froben*: veraq. *P* (-que *R*); quae (adferrent) vera *JK*.

Then the wall which separated the city from the citadel was torn down and completely destroyed. B.C. 209

While these things were going on, Hannibal received the surrender of the force besieging Caulonia and, on hearing of the attack upon Tarentum, urged his column rapidly forward day and night. When informed, while hastening to bring aid, that the city had been taken, "The Romans also," he said, "have their Hannibal; by the same art by which we had captured Tarentum we have lost it." Nevertheless, in order not to appear to have reversed his column as if in retreat, he pitched camp just where he had halted, about five miles from the city. After lingering there a few days he withdrew to Metapontum. From there he sent to Fabius at Tarentum two men of Metapontum carrying a letter from the leading men of that city and expecting to receive the consul's promise that their previous acts would go unpunished, if they should betray Metapontum and its Punic garrison. Fabius, assuming their message to be true, appointed a day on which he would come to Metapontum, and gave them a letter addressed to the leading citizens—a letter which was delivered to Hannibal. Pleased indeed at the success of the ruse, if even Fabius was to prove not unconquerable by trickery, Hannibal laid an ambush not far from Metapontum. When Fabius endeavoured to take the auspices before leaving Tarentum, the fowls were again and again unfavourable.[1] And when with the slaughter of a victim also he consulted the gods, the soothsayer declared that he must be on his guard against a ruse of the enemy and against an ambus-

[1] *i.e.* the sacred fowls refused to eat.

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16 Metapontini, postquam ad constitutam [1] non venerat diem, remissi, ut cunctantem hortarentur, ac repente conprehensi, metu gravioris quaestionis detegunt insidias.

XVII. Aestatis eius principio qua haec agebantur, P. Scipio in Hispania cum hiemem totam reconciliandis barbarorum animis partim donis, partim remissione obsidum captivorumque absumpsisset, Edesco ad eum clarus inter duces Hispanos venit. 2 Erant coniunx liberique eius apud Romanos; sed praeter eam causam etiam velut fortuita inclinatio animorum, quae Hispaniam omnem averterat ad 3 Romanum a Punico imperio, traxit eum. Eadem causa Indibili Mandonioque fuit, haud dubie omnis Hispaniae principibus, cum omni popularium manu relicto Hasdrubale secedendi in imminentes castris eius tumulos, unde per continentia iuga tutus 4 receptus ad Romanos esset. Hasdrubal, cum hostium res tantis augescere incrementis cerneret, suas imminui, ac fore ut, nisi audendo aliquid moveret, qua coepissent fluerent,[2] dimicare quam primum 5 statuit. Scipio avidior etiam certaminis erat, cum a[3] spe quam successus rerum augebat, tum quod, priusquam iungerentur hostium exercitus, cum uno dimicare duce exercituque quam simul cum

[1] constitutam *JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: constitutum *P*(1)*N*[1] *Madvig, Conway.*

[2] fluerent *P*(1)*(C?)N Aldus*: ruerent *SpA*[s]*N*[s]*JK Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[3] a *Sp? Froben* 2: ea *P*(1)*NJK Aldus.*

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[1] On the art of the haruspices and the widespread practice of finding omens in the *exta*, particularly the liver, cf. Pease's notes on Cicero *de Div.* I. 16. Cf. below xxvi. 13.

[2] *I.e.* by torture; cf. iii. 5: XXIII. xxxiv. 7.

cade.[1] The men of Metapontum, when the consul B.C. 209
had not come on the appointed day, were sent back to urge him if he hesitated; and being suddenly seized, in fear of a more relentless inquiry[2] they revealed the plot.

XVII. At the beginning of the summer in which these events were taking place, after Publius Scipio in Spain had spent the entire winter in winning over the support of the barbarians, partly by gifts and partly by restoring their hostages and captives, Edesco, who was eminent among the Spanish chieftains, came to him.[3] His wife and children were in the hands of the Romans; but in addition to this reason he was drawn by that more or less fortuitous trend of feeling which had turned all Spain away from Punic rule to Roman. Indibilis and Mandonius,[4] unquestionably the leading men of all Spain, had the same reason for leaving Hasdrubal, taking with them the entire band of their countrymen and withdrawing to heights which overlooked his camp, and from which there was a safe retreat along continuous ridges to the Romans. Hasdrubal, seeing that the resources of the enemy were increasing by such large accessions, while his own were diminishing and, unless he ventured to do something, they would melt away to the Roman side, as they had begun to do, decided to fight as soon as possible. Scipio was even more eager for battle, both because of confidence which was increasing with his success, and because he preferred to fight with one general and army before the armies of the enemy should unite, rather than with them all at

[3] More of Ede(s)co in Polybius X. xxxiv. f.

[4] For these leaders of the Ilergetes cf. XXII. xxi. 2 f.; XXV. xxxiv. 6 f.; XXVI. xlix. 11; Polybius X. xxxv. 6 ff.

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6 universis malebat. Ceterum, etiamsi cum pluribus pariter dimicandum foret, arte quadam copias auxerat. Nam cum videret nullum esse navium usum, quia vacua omnis Hispaniae ora classibus Punicis erat,[1] subductis navibus Tarracone navales socios terrestri-
7 bus copiis addidit. Et armorum adfatim erat, et[2] captorum Carthagine[3] et quae post captam eam fecerat tanto opificum numero incluso.[4]
8 Cum iis copiis Scipio veris principio ab Tarracone egressus—iam enim et Laelius redierat ab Roma, sine quo nihil maioris rei motum volebat—ducere
9 ad hostem pergit. Per omnia pacata eunti, ut cuiusque populi fines transiret, prosequentibus excipientibusque sociis, Indibilis et Mandonius cum suis
10 copiis occurrerunt. Indibilis[5] pro utroque locutus haudquaquam ut[6] barbarus stolide incauteve, sed potius cum verecundia ac[7] gravitate, propiorque excusanti transitionem ut necessariam quam glorianti
11 eam velut primam occasionem raptam; scire enim se transfugae nomen exsecrabile veteribus sociis, novis suspectum esse; neque eum se reprehendere morem[8] hominum, si tamen[9] anceps odium causa, non
12 nomen faciat. Merita inde sua in duces Cartha-

[1] Punicis erat A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] et *Alschefski*: *om. all MSS.*
[3] captorum Carthagine A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line.*
[4] numero incluso A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *probably a short line at the end of a paragraph in P's exemplar.*
[5] et Mandonius . . . occurrerunt. Indibilis A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *probably three lines omitted on account of the repeated name.*
[6] ut *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)NJK$.
[7] ac *Alschefski*: et $C^1?$: *om.* $P(1)NJK$.

once. But even supposing he should have to fight B.C. 209
with several at the same time, he had enlarged his forces by a certain artifice. For, seeing that he was making no use of ships, since the whole coast of Spain was rid of Punic fleets, he beached his vessels at Tarraco and added their crews to the land forces. And arms he had in abundance, both those captured at (New) Carthage and those which after the capture of that city he had caused to be made by impounding a large number of artisans.

With these troops Scipio set out at the beginning of spring from Tarraco and proceeded to lead against the enemy; for by this time Laelius also, without whom he did not wish any important action to be taken, had returned from Rome. As Scipio was passing through an entirely peaceful region, while allies escorted and welcomed him whenever he crossed the boundary of a tribe, Indibilis and Mandonius with their forces met him. Indibilis spoke for them both, not at all boorishly or carelessly, as one might expect of a barbarian, but rather with modesty and dignity, and more like a man who excused their change of sides as necessary than one who bragged that they had, as it were, seized that as the first opportunity. For he was aware, he said, that the word deserter was detested by old allies, suspected by new ones; and he did not blame men for that habit, if only it was the motive, not the word, which produced hatred in both parties. He then recounted their services to the Carthaginian

[8] morem *Alz Rhenanus, Froben 2*: amorem *SpAsNs*: nomen *P(1)(A?)N Aldus.*

[9] tamen *SpNs Froben 2, Drakenborch. Eds.*: tam *P(1)NJK Aldus, Alschefski, Conway.*

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ginienses commemoravit, avaritiam contra eorum superbiamque et omnis generis iniurias in se atque
13 populares. Itaque corpus dumtaxat suum ad id tempus apud eos fuisse; animum iam pridem ibi esse ubi ius ac fas crederent coli. Ad deos quoque confugere supplices qui nequeant hominum vim atque
14 iniurias pati; se id Scipionem orare, ut transitio sibi nec fraudi apud eum nec honori sit. Quales ex hac[1] die experiundo cognorit, perinde operae eorum pretium faceret.[2]

15 Ita prorsus respondet facturum Romanus, nec pro transfugis habiturum qui non duxerint societatem ratam ubi nec divini quicquam nec humani sanctum
16 esset. Productae deinde in conspectum iis coniuges
17 liberique lacrumantibus gaudio redduntur. Atque eo die in hospitium abducti; postero die foedere accepta fides, dimissique ad copias adducendas. Isdem deinde castris tendebant, donec ducibus iis ad hostem perventum est.

XVIII. Proximus Carthaginiensium exercitus Hasdrubalis prope urbem Baeculam erat. Pro castris
2 equitum stationes habebant. In eas velites antesignanique et qui primi agminis erant advenientes

[1] hac *P*(1)*N Aldus*: ea *SpA*[s]*N*[s]*JK Froben* 2.
[2] faceret *P*(1)*N Aldus*: faciat *SpN*[s]*JK Froben* 2.

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[1] Not mentioning their attack upon the Romans in XXII. *l.c.* For their later disloyalties see XXVIII. xxiv. 3; xxxi. 5 ff.; XXIX. i. 19 ff.; Polybius XI. xxix. 3; xxxi. ff.
[2] Polybius gives only an outline; X. xxxvii. *fin.*

generals,[1] and on the other hand the greed and B.C. 209
haughtiness of the generals and the wrongs of every sort they had done to them and their countrymen. Consequently it was till then merely their body that had been with them; their mind had long since been where they believed justice and right were held in honour. Even to the gods, he said, do those who cannot endure the violence and the wrongs of men flee as suppliants; as for themselves, their prayer to Scipio was that he should not reckon the change of sides either to their detriment or to their credit. According as he should henceforward come to know their worth by testing them, let him in that light estimate the value of their service.[2]

The Roman replied that he would do precisely that, and not regard as deserters men who did not consider an alliance valid in which nothing either divine or human was sacred. Thereupon their wives and children were brought before their eyes and given over to them as they wept for joy. And on that day they were escorted to guest-quarters, while the next day their promise of loyalty was accepted on the basis of a treaty, and they were sent away to bring up their forces. Thereafter they were quartered in the same camp, until with these men as guides the enemy was reached.

XVIII. The nearest army of the Carthaginians, that of Hasdrubal, was close to the city of Baecula.[3] Before the camp they had cavalry outposts. Upon these the light-armed, the vanguard and men at the head of the column, just as they came up after the

[3] A short distance north of the river Baetis, not far from Castulo, and in the silver mining region: XXVIII. xiii. 5; Polybius *l.c.* xxxviii. 7.

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ex itinere, priusquam castris locum caperent,[1] adeo contemptim impetum fecerunt ut facile appareret 3 quid utrique parti animorum esset. In castra trepida fuga compulsi equites sunt, signaque Romana portis 4 prope ipsis inlata. Atque illo quidem die inritatis tantum ad certamen animis castra Romani posuerunt. 5 Nocte Hasdrubal in tumulum copias recipit plano campo in summo patentem; fluvius ab tergo, ante circaque velut ripa praeceps oram eius omnem 6 cingebat. Suberat et altera inferior summissa fastigio planities; eam quoque altera crepido haud 7 facilior in ascensum [2] ambibat. In hunc inferiorem campum postero die Hasdrubal, postquam stantem pro castris hostium aciem vidit, equites Numidas leviumque armorum Baliares et Afros demisit.

8 Scipio circumvectus ordines signaque ostendebat hostem, praedamnata spe aequo dimicandi [3] campo captantem tumulos, loci fiducia, non virtutis aut armorum [4] stare in conspectu; sed altiora moenia habuisse Carthaginem, quae transcendisset miles 9 Romanus; nec tumulos nec arcem, ne mare quidem armis obstitisse suis. Ad id fore altitudines quas cepissent hostibus, ut per praecipitia et praerupta salientes fugerent; eam quoque se illis fugam 10 clausurum. Cohortesque duas alteram tenere fauces

[1] caperent N^2JK *Aldus*, *Froben*: acciperent $P(1)N$ *Conway*.

[2] facilior in ascensum $P(1)NJ$ *Aldus*, *Froben* (-su K): faciliori adscensu *Madvig*.

[3] aequo dimicandi JK *Froben* 2: dimicandi aequo $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.

[4] aut armorum Sp^2N^2JK *Froben* 2: armorumque $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.

march and before choosing a site for a camp, made an B.C. 209
attack with such disdain that it was easy to perceive the spirit of each side. The horsemen were forced into the camp in alarm and flight, and the Roman standards were all but carried inside the very gates. And on that day, indeed, after they had merely provoked each other to battle, the Romans pitched camp; but by night Hasdrubal withdrew his troops to a hill the top of which formed an open, level plain.[1] The river was behind it, while in front and at the sides a steep bank, as it were, encircled its entire margin. Beneath was also a lower level area, gently sloping down. This also was surrounded by another ledge no easier to climb. Down to this lower plain Hasdrubal next day, on seeing the enemy's line standing before his camp, sent down his Numidian cavalry and the light-armed Balearic and African troops.

Scipio, while riding about his ranks and standards, pointed out that the enemy, having given up in advance the hope of fighting on level ground, were hugging the hills and were standing before them in reliance upon position, not upon courage and arms. But (New) Carthage, he said, had possessed higher walls, which the Roman soldier had scaled: and neither hills nor citadel, not even the sea, had withstood his arms. The heights which the enemy had taken would only serve them for purposes of flight, as they leaped over precipices and crags. He would cut them off from such a flight too. And of two cohorts he ordered one to hold the entrance

[1] In Polybius' account Hasdrubal had occupied this stronger position before the first attack of the Romans, two days after their arrival (*l.c.* xxxviii. 8 f.).

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vallis per quam deferretur amnis iubet, alteram viam insidere quae ab urbe per tumuli obliqua in agros ferret. Ipse expeditos qui pridie stationes hostium pepulerant ad levem armaturam infimo stantem
11 supercilio ducit. Per aspreta[1] primum, nihil aliud quam via impediti, iere. Deinde ut sub ictum venerunt, telorum primo omnis generis vis ingens effusa
12 in eos est; ipsi contra saxa quae locus strata passim, omnia ferme missilia, praebet ingerere, non milites solum sed etiam turba calonum inmixta armatis.
13 Ceterum quamquam ascensus difficilis erat, et prope obruebantur telis saxisque, adsuetudine tamen succedendi muros et pertinacia animi subierunt
14 primi. Qui simul cepere aliquid aequi loci ubi firmo consisterent gradu, levem et concursatorem hostem atque intervallo tutum, cum procul missilibus pugna eluditur, instabilem eundem ad comminus conserendas manus, expulerunt loco et cum caede magna in aciem
15 altiori[2] superstantem tumulo inpegere. Inde Scipio iussis adversus mediam evadere aciem victoribus ceteras copias cum Laelio dividit, atque eum parte dextra tumuli circumire, donec mollioris ascensus viam inveniret, iubet; ipse ab laeva, circuitu haud
16 magno, in transversos hostes incurrit. Inde primo

[1] aspreta *Sp Froben* 2 : aspera *P*(1)*NJK Aldus.*
[2] altiori *SpJK* : altiore *P*(1)*N Aldus.*

into the valley through which the river flowed, the B.C. 209
other to block the road leading from the city down the slope of the hill into the country. He himself led the unencumbered men, who the day before had routed the outposts of the enemy, to meet the light-armed standing on the lowest brow of the hill. At first they advanced over rugged ground, hampered only by the footing. Then when they came within range, at first an immense number of missile weapons of every kind was showered upon them. In return they hurled stones which the place affords, strewn broadcast and almost all of them of a size to be thrown, and not only did the soldiers do so, but also the mass of camp-servants mingling with the armed men.

But although the ascent was difficult and they were almost overwhelmed by missile weapons and stones, still, thanks to their practice in scaling walls and to their persistence, they were the first to reach the top. As soon as they had taken some level ground where they could get a firm footing, they dislodged the light-armed enemy—such troops are accustomed to skirmishing and, so long as they avoid the battle by hurling their missiles from afar, are protected by distance, but are unsteady in the face of hand-to-hand conflict—and with great slaughter they drove them against the battle-line standing on the higher level of the hill. Then Scipio ordered his victorious troops to go up facing the centre of the line, divided the rest of his forces with Laelius, and bade him circle round the right side of the hill, until he found a way less difficult of ascent. He himself on the left, after a moderate circuit, charged into the flank of the enemy. In consequence the line was at first

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turbata acies est, dum ad circumsonantem undique clamorem flectere cornua et obvertere ordines
17 volunt. Hoc tumultu et Laelius subiit, et dum pedem referunt, ne ab tergo volnerarentur, laxata prima acies locusque ad evadendum et mediis datus
18 est, qui per tam iniquum locum stantibus integris ordinibus elephantisque ante signa locatis numquam
19 evasissent. Cum ab omni parte caedes fieret, Scipio, qui laevo cornu in dextrum incucurrerat,[1]
20 maxime in nuda latera hostium pugnabat; et iam ne fugae quidem patebat locus; nam et stationes utrimque Romanae dextra laevaque insederant vias, et porta [2] castrorum ducis principumque fuga clausa erat,[3] addita trepidatione elephantorum, quos territos aeque atque hostes timebant. Caesa igitur ad octo milia hominum.

XIX. Hasdrubal, iam antequam dimicaret pecunia rapta elephantisque praemissis, quam plurumos poterat de fuga excipiens praeter Tagum flumen ad
2 Pyrenaeum tendit. Scipio castris hostium potitus, cum praeter libera capita omnem praedam militibus concessisset, in recensendis captivis decem milia

[1] incucurrerat *P*(3)*j*: incurrerat *ANJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] porta *P*(3)*N*: portam *MJK Aldus, Froben*: -tas *A*.
[3] clausa erat *P*(3)*N*: clauserat *RMBDANJK Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] His original intention was to cross the Pyrenees about this time on his way to Italy; Polybius X. xxxix. 7 f.; cf. above, v. 12.

[2] By this route (vaguely indicated, as in Polybius *l.c.* § 8) Hasdrubal avoided any possibility of Roman opposition while following the upper valleys of the Tagus and the Ebro. The only indication which we have of his passage over into Gaul

thrown into disorder, while the men tried to wheel B.C. 209
and make their ranks face the uproar resounding on every side. In the midst of this disorder Laelius also reached the top; and the front line of the enemy, as the men gave way and were afraid of being wounded from the rear, lost its solidity, and room was given even for the Romans in the centre to mount to the top. These men would never have done so over such unfavourable ground if the ranks had stood unbroken with the elephants placed in front of the standards. While on all sides the slaughter was in progress, Scipio, who with the left wing had charged into the enemy's right wing, was fighting chiefly against the exposed flank of the enemy. And no longer was space left open even for flight; for both on the right and on the left Roman outposts had blocked the roads, and the gate of the camp was obstructed by the flight of the general and chief officers, while in addition there was the panic of the elephants, of which, when terrified, they were as much afraid as of the enemy. Accordingly about eight thousand men were slain.

XIX. Hasdrubal, who even before the battle had hastily gathered up his money and had sent elephants in advance,[1] picking up as many men as possible in the course of their flight, directed his march along the river Tagus towards the Pyrenees.[2] Scipio took possession of the enemy's camp, and after giving up to the soldiers all the booty except free persons, in listing the captives found ten thousand foot-soldiers

is in Appian *Hisp.* 28, who says Hasdrubal crossed near the northern ocean, *i.e.* the Atlantic. The time was really the autumn of 208 B.C., and in the following spring he crossed the Alps; cf. note on xx. 8.

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peditum duo milia equitum invenit. Ex iis [1] Hispanos sine pretio omnes domum dimisit, Afros vendere
3 quaestorem iussit. Circumfusa inde multitudo Hispanorum et ante deditorum et pridie captorum regem
4 eum ingenti consensu appellavit. Tum Scipio silentio per praeconem facto sibi maximum nomen imperatoris esse dixit, quo se milites sui appellassent; regium nomen alibi magnum, Romae intolerabile [2] esse.
5 Regalem animum in se esse, si id in hominis ingenio amplissimum ducerent, tacite [3] iudicarent; vocis
6 usurpatione abstinerent. Sensere etiam barbari magnitudinem animi, cuius miraculo nominis alii mortales stuperent, id ex tam alto [4] fastigio aspernantis.
7 Dona inde regulis principibusque Hispanorum divisa, et ex magna copia captorum equorum trecen-
8 tos quos vellet eligere Indibilem iussit. Cum Afros venderet iussu imperatoris quaestor, puerum adultum inter eos forma insigni cum audisset regii generis
9 esse, ad Scipionem misit. Quem cum percunctaretur Scipio quis et cuias et cur id aetatis in castris fuisset, Numidam esse [5] ait, Massivam populares vocare; orbum a patre relictum, apud maternum avum

[1] iis *J Aldus, Froben*: his *K Conway*: *om. P*(1)*N*.
[2] intolerabile *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: intolerandum *Sp Froben* 2.
[3] tacite(-tae) *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: taciti $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Conway*.
[4] alto $A^{s}JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: magno *P*(1)*N*.
[5] esse *P*(1)*N*: esse se $N^{s}JK$: se esse A^{y} *Aldus, Froben*.

and two thousand horsemen. Of these he sent all B.C. 209
the Spaniards to their homes without ransom; the Africans he ordered the quaestor to sell. Then the crowd of Spaniards, both those previously surrendered and those captured the day before, flocked round him and with great unanimity hailed him as king. Thereupon Scipio, after silence had been secured by a herald, said that his highest title was that of general-in-command; with that his soldiers had addressed him:[1] the title of a king, elsewhere in high honour, was not to be endured at Rome. As for his having the spirit of a king, if they thought *that* was the noblest thing in the nature of man, let it be their silent verdict; from the use of the word let them refrain.[2] Even the barbarians appreciated the magnanimity of a man who from so lofty a height scorned a title by whose fascination the rest of mortals were dazed.

Then gifts were apportioned to the princes and chieftains of the Spaniards, and out of the large number of captured horses he ordered Indibilis to select three hundred of his own choosing. While the quaestor at the general's command was selling the Africans, and had heard that a well-grown boy of conspicuous beauty among them was of royal race, he sent him to Scipio. When Scipio asked him who he was and from what region, and why at that age he was in the camp, he said he was a Numidian; that his people called him Massiva; that, left an orphan by his father, he had been brought up in the house of

[1] This (though not mentioned by Livy as such) is the earliest known instance of a commander being saluted as *imperator* by his troops.

[2] Cf. Polybius *l.c.* xl. 5.

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Galam, regem Numidarum, eductum,[1] cum avunculo Masinissa, qui nuper cum equitatu subsidio Carthaginiensibus venisset, in Hispaniam traiecisse; prohibitum propter aetatem a Masinissa numquam ante proelium inisse; eo die quo pugnatum cum Romanis esset, inscio avunculo, clam armis equoque sumpto in aciem exisse; ibi prolapso equo effusum in praeceps captum ab Romanis esse. Scipio cum adservari Numidam iussisset, quae pro tribunali agenda erant peragit; inde cum se in praetorium recepisset, vocatum eum interrogat velletne ad Masinissam reverti. Cum effusis gaudio lacrimis cupere vero diceret, tum puero anulum aureum, tunicam lato clavo cum Hispano sagulo et aurea fibula equumque ornatum donat, iussisque prosequi quoad vellet equitibus dimisit.

XX. De bello inde consilium habitum. Et auctoribus quibusdam ut confestim Hasdrubalem consequeretur, anceps id ratus, ne Mago atque alter [2] Hasdrubal cum eo iungerent copias, praesidio tantum ad insidendum Pyrenaeum misso ipse reliquum aestatis recipiendis in fidem Hispaniae populis absumpsit.

Paucis post proelium factum ad Baeculam diebus, cum Scipio rediens iam Tarraconem saltu Castulo-

[1] eductum *BDAN*: edictum *P*(3): educatum M^2A^sJK *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] alter N^sJK *Luchs*: *om.* *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: *cf.* § 5.

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[1] For the two Hasdrubals and Mago cf. also XXVI. xx. 6; XXV. xxxii. 3–8.

[2] Meaning obviously the road near the Mediterranean. At the pass (Le Perthus, *ca.* 940 feet) it was about 12 miles back from a rugged coast. Scipio was criticized for allowing Has-

his maternal grandfather Gala, king of the Numi- B.C. 209
dians; that with his uncle Masinissa, who had recently come with his cavalry to the assistance of the Carthaginians, he had crossed over into Spain; forbidden by Masinissa on account of his age, he had never before gone into battle. On the day they had fought with the Romans, without his uncle's knowledge, he said, he had secretly taken arms and a horse and gone out into the battle-line; there, thrown headforemost by a fall of his horse, he had been captured by the Romans. Scipio, after ordering that the Numidian should be guarded, completed such duties as he had to perform from the platform; and then, having returned to headquarters, summoned him and asked whether he would like to return to Masinissa. When he shed tears of joy and said that he was indeed eager to do so, Scipio thereupon presented the boy with a gold ring, a tunic with a broad stripe, and a Spanish cloak, a golden brooch and a horse with his harness. And ordering horsemen to escort him as far as he desired, Scipio sent him away.

XX. Then a council was held on the conduct of the war. And when some advised him to overtake Hasdrubal at once, Scipio thought that a dangerous course, for fear lest Mago and the other Hasdrubal[1] should join forces with him. He therefore merely sent a force to occupy the Pyrenees,[2] and himself spent the remainder of the summer in receiving the submission of the peoples of Spain.

A few days after the battle at Baecula, when Scipio, now on his way back to Tarraco, had emerged

drubal to escape from Spain. But only a much larger army could have closed the other passes, few as they are.

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nensi excessisset, Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius et Mago imperatores ex ulteriore Hispania ad Hasdrubalem venere, serum post male gestam rem auxilium, consilio in cetera exsequenda [1] belli haud parum
4 opportuni. Ibi conferentibus quid in cuiusque provinciae [2] regione animorum Hispanis esset, unus Hasdrubal Gisgonis ultimam Hispaniae oram, quae ad Oceanum et Gades vergit, ignaram adhuc Romanorum esse eoque Carthaginiensibus satis fidam
5 censebat; inter Hasdrubalem alterum et Magonem constabat beneficiis Scipionis occupatos omnium animos publice privatimque esse, nec transitionibus finem ante fore quam omnes Hispani milites aut in ultima Hispaniae amoti aut traducti in Galliam
6 forent. Itaque etiam si senatus Carthaginiensium non censuisset, eundum tamen Hasdrubali fuisse in Italiam, ubi belli caput rerumque [3] summa esset, simul ut Hispanos omnes procul ab nomine Scipionis
7 ex Hispania abduceret. Exercitum eius cum transitionibus tum adverso proelio imminutum Hispanis repleri militibus, et Magonem, Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio tradito exercitu, ipsum cum grandi pecunia ad conducenda mercede auxilia in Baliares traicere;
8 Hasdrubalem Gisgonis cum exercitu penitus in Lusitaniam abire, nec cum Romano manus conserere; Masinissae ex omni equitatu quod roboris esset, tria milia equitum expleri, eumque vagum per

[1] ex(s)equenda $P(1)NJK$: -sequendi *Madvig*.

[2] provinciae $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben, Johnson* : provincia ac *Riemann* (et *Madvig*) : *Conway would delete*.

[3] rerumque A^1N^1JK : rerum $P(1)N$: et rerum C^2 *Aldus, Froben*.

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[1] The brother of Mago. [2] Cf. v. 12.

from the forest of Castulo, Hasdrubal, the son of B.C. 209
Gisgo, and Mago, the generals, came from farther Spain to Hasdrubal, bringing belated aid after the defeat, but not inopportunely for a council on the prosecution of the rest of the war. There, as they were exchanging information concerning the spirit of the Spaniards in the territory assigned to each of them, Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, was alone of the opinion that the most remote part of Spain, which extends toward the Ocean and Gades, was still unacquainted with the Romans and in consequence sufficiently loyal to the Carthaginians. The other Hasdrubal[1] and Mago agreed that, both as states and as individuals, all men were prepossessed owing to the favours of Scipio; and there would be no end to desertions until all the Spanish soldiers had been either segregated in the farthest part of Spain, or led over into Gaul. And so, they said, even if the Carthaginian senate had not decreed it,[2] Hasdrubal would still have been obliged to proceed into Italy, where was the focus of the war and the main issue, with this purpose also, in order that he might lead all the Spanish troops out of Spain, far removed from the fame of Scipio. They proposed that his army, depleted both by desertions and by defeat, should be recruited with Spanish soldiers; and further, that Mago, after turning over his army to Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should himself cross to the Balearic Isles with a large sum of money, to hire mercenary auxiliaries; that Hasdrubal, son of Gisgo, should retire with his army into the interior of Lusitania and not engage in battle with the Roman; that for Masinissa there should be a full complement of three thousand horsemen, the pick of all the cavalry, and

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citeriorem Hispaniam sociis opem ferre, hostium oppida atque agros populari. His decretis ad exsequenda quae statuerant duces[1] digressi. Haec eo anno in Hispania acta.

9 Romae fama Scipionis in dies crescere. Fabio Tarentum captum astu[2] magis quam virtute gloriae
10 tamen esse. Fulvi senescere fama, Marcellus etiam adverso rumore esse, superquam quod primo male pugnaverat, quia vagante per Italiam Hannibale media aestate Venusiam in tecta milites abduxisset.
11 Inimicus erat ei C. Publicius Bibulus tribunus plebis. Is iam a prima pugna, quae adversa fuerat, adsiduis contionibus infamem invisumque plebei Claudium
12 fecerat, et iam de imperio abrogando eius agebat, cum tamen necessarii Claudi obtinuerunt ut relicto Venusiae legato Marcellus Romam veniret[3] ad purganda ea quae inimici obicerent,[4] nec de imperio
13 eius abrogando absente ipso ageretur. Forte sub idem tempus et Marcellus ad deprecandam ignominiam et Q. Fulvius consul comitiorum causa Romam venit.

XXI. Actum de imperio Marcelli in circo Flaminio est ingenti concursu plebisque et omnium ordinum;

[1] duces $A^{z}N^{s}JK$ *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* $P(1)N$ *Madvig.*

[2] astu $SpA^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Froben* 2 : *om.* P^{3} : ingenio AN *Aldus* : fraude C^{4}.

[3] veniret $SpJK$ *Froben* 2 : rediret $P^{1}(1)N$ *Aldus, Madvig, Conway.*

[4] obicerent $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Aldus, Froben* : decernerent $P(1)N$: deferrent *M. Müller.*

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[1] Here again we correct Livy's chronology by Polybius Book X. in which the battle of Baecula falls in 208 B.C., leaving the winter and early spring only for Hasdrubal's stay in Gaul; cf. vii. 5 note. Livy has him remain a whole year among the Gauls, and makes no attempt to explain a delay so incredible.

that, roaming about over hither Spain, he should lend B.C. 209
aid to allies and devastate towns and farms of the enemy. Having thus ordered, the generals separated, to carry out the measures decided upon. Such were the events in Spain that year.[1]

At Rome Scipio's fame was growing from day to day; Fabius, although Tarentum had been taken by ruse rather than by courage, nevertheless gained glory thereby: Fulvius' celebrity was declining: Marcellus was even in bad repute, not only because he had at first been defeated, but also because, while Hannibal was wandering about Italy, he had drawn off his troops to their billets at Venusia in midsummer. He had a personal enemy, Gaius Publicius Bibulus, tribune of the plebs. This man, beginning with the first battle, which had been unsuccessful, by continually haranguing had defamed Claudius to the common people and made them hate him, and by this time he was arguing for the abrogation of his command, when the relatives of Claudius nevertheless carried their point that Marcellus should leave a lieutenant at Venusia and come to Rome, to clear himself of the charges which his enemies were making, and that the abrogation of his command should not be discussed while he himself was absent. By chance Marcellus came to Rome to avert disgrace, about the same time that Quintus Fulvius, the consul, arrived to conduct the elections.

XXI. The argument in regard to Marcellus' command was staged in the Flaminian Circus,[2] before a great assemblage of the commons and of all classes,

[2] For the use of the Flaminian Circus at times for assemblies see Cicero *pro Sestio* 33; *ad Att.* I. xiv. 1. Plutarch in *Marcellus* xxvii. is following Livy, as often.

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2 accusavitque [1] tribunus plebis non Marcellum modo, sed omnem nobilitatem: fraude eorum et cunctatione fieri ut Hannibal decimum iam annum Italiam provinciam habeat, diutius ibi quam Carthagine vixerit. 3 Habere fructum imperii prorogati Marcello populum Romanum: bis caesum exercitum eius aestiva 4 Venusiae sub tectis agere. Hanc tribuni orationem ita obruit Marcellus commemoratione rerum suarum ut non rogatio solum de imperio eius abrogando antiquaretur, sed postero die consulem eum ingenti 5 consensu centuriae omnes crearent. Additur conlega T. Quinctius Crispinus, qui tum praetor erat. Postero die praetores creati P. Licinius Crassus Dives pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Varus, Sex. Iulius Caesar, Q. Claudius.[2]

6 Comitiorum ipsorum diebus sollicita civitas de Etruriae defectione fuit. Principium eius rei ab Arretinis fieri C. Calpurnius scripserat, qui eam 7 provinciam pro praetore obtinebat. Itaque [3] confestim eo missus Marcellus consul designatus, qui rem inspiceret ac, si digna videretur, exercitu accito bellum ex Apulia in Etruriam transferret. Eo 8 metu conpressi Etrusci quieverunt. Tarentinorum legatis pacem petentibus cum libertate ac legibus suis responsum ab senatu est ut redirent, cum Fabius consul Romam venisset.

9 Ludi et Romani et plebei eo anno in [4] singulos

[1] -que $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: *om. Sp Froben* 2, *Conway*.

[2] Claudius $P(1)NJK$: Claudius Flamen *Froben* 2 (Flaminius x *Aldus*); *cf. p.* 300, *n.* 5.

[3] Itaque *Aldus*, *Froben*: aque PRM: atque $N(3)$: ita JK.

[4] in $P^{x}(3)R^{x}NJK$ *Aldus*: sin PR: *om. Froben* 2, *Riemann*, *Luchs*.

And the tribune of the plebs accused not Marcellus merely, but the entire nobility. It was due to their dishonesty and delaying, he said, that Hannibal had Italy as his province for now the tenth year, and had lived longer there than at Carthage. The Roman people had this fruit from the continuation of Marcellus' command, namely, that his army, twice cut to pieces, had its summer quarters at Venusia in billets! This speech of the tribune was so completely refuted by Marcellus' statement of his achievements that not only was the bill to abrogate his command rejected, but on the following day all the centuries with great unanimity elected him consul. Joined with him as colleague was Titus Quinctius Crispinus, who at the time was praetor. On the following day Publius Licinius Crassus Dives, pontifex maximus, Publius Licinius Varus, Sextus Iulius Caesar and Quintus Claudius were elected praetors. B.C. 209

Precisely on these election days the state was concerned in regard to a revolt in Etruria. First steps in that direction were reported in a letter of Gaius Calpurnius, propraetor in charge of the assignment, as being taken by the men of Arretium. Accordingly Marcellus, the consul-elect, was at once sent thither to look into the matter and, if he thought it important enough, to send for an army and shift the war from Apulia to Etruria. The Etruscans, restrained by the fear of that move, kept quiet. When legates of the Tarentines sued for peace with freedom and their own laws, the senate answered that they should return when Fabius, the consul, came to Rome.

The Roman Games and the Plebeian Games were repeated that year for one day in each case. The

A.U.C. 545 dies instaurati. Aediles curules fuere L. Cornelius Caudinus et Ser. Sulpicius Galba, plebei C. Servilius et Q. Caecilius Metellus.[1] Servilium negabant iure aut tribunum plebis fuisse aut aedilem esse, quod patrem eius, quem triumvirum agrarium occisum a Boiis circa Mutinam esse opinio per novem[2] annos fuerat, vivere atque in hostium potestate esse satis constabat.

A.U.C. 546 XXII. Undecimo anno Punici belli consulatum inierunt M. Marcellus quintum—ut numeretur consulatus quem vitio creatus non gessit—et T. Quinctius Crispinus. Utrisque consulibus[3] Italia decreta provincia est et duo consulum prioris anni exercitus—tertius Venusiae tum erat, cui Marcellus praefuerat—ita ut ex tribus eligerent duo quos vellent, tertius ei traderetur cui Tarentum et Sallentini provincia evenisset. Ceterae provinciae ita divisae: praetoribus P. Licinio Varo urbana, P. Licinio[4] Crasso pontifici maximo peregrina et quo senatus censuisset, Sex. Iulio Caesari Sicilia, Q. Claudio[5] Tarentum. Prorogatum in annum imperium[6] est Q. Fulvio

[1] et Q. Caecilius Metellus *A*[1]*N*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N, one line.*

[2] novem *C Conway*: nexem *P*(3): decem *ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

[3] Utrisque consulibus *P*(1)*N Aldus*: utrique consulum *Sp*[2]*JK Froben* 2.

[4] Varo . . . Licinio: *an omitted line in P*(1)*N*: *supplied by A*[1]*N*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben.*

[5] Claudio, *P*(3) *Froben* 2 *add* Flamini: *M*[2]*ANJK Aldus add* Flaminio; *cf. p.* 298, *n.* 2.

[6] in annum imperium *JK Luchs*: imperium in annum *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben.*

curule aediles were Lucius Cornelius Caudinus and B.C. 209
Servius Sulpicius Galba, the plebeian aediles being Gaius Servilius and Quintus Caecilius Metellus. It was said that legally Servilius had not been tribune of the plebs, nor was he now legally aedile, because his father, of whom it had been believed for nine years that he was slain as one of the three land-commissioners by the Boii near Mutina, was alive, it was now established, and in the hands of the enemy.[1]

XXII. In the eleventh year of the Punic War the B.C. 208
consuls entering office were Marcellus, for the fifth time—to include the consulship which he had not held on account of a defective election [2]—and Titus Quinctius Crispinus. Italy was assigned as their province to both consuls, also the two armies of the consuls of the previous year. A third, hitherto commanded by Marcellus, was then at Venusia. The decree ordered that of the three they should choose two of their own selection, and that the third be given to the general whose assignment should be Tarentum and the Sallentini. The rest of the assignments were distributed as follows: for the praetors, jurisdiction in the city to Publius Licinius Varus, that involving strangers to Publius Licinius Crassus, pontifex maximus, with a command wherever the senate should decide; Sicily to Sextus Iulius Caesar and Tarentum to Quintus Claudius. Continued for one year was the command of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus,

[1] Cf. XXI. xxv. 3. So long as a patrician father lived and had not sanctioned a son's transfer to a plebeian *gens*, the son's election to plebeian offices was accounted void; cf. XXX. xix. 9; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* I³. 487 and note.

[2] Cf. XXIII. xxxi. 13.

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Flacco, ut provinciam Capuam, quae T. Quincti praetoris fuerat, cum una legione obtineret. Prorogatum et C. Hostilio Tubulo est, ut pro praetore in Etruriam ad duas legiones succederet C. Calpurnio. Prorogatum et L. Veturio Philoni est, ut pro praetore Galliam eandem provinciam cum isdem duabus legionibus obtineret quibus praetor obtinuisset. Quod in L. Veturio, idem in C. Aurunculeio decretum ab senatu, latumque de prorogando imperio ad populum est, qui praetor Sardiniam provinciam cum duabus legionibus obtinuerat. Additae ei ad praesidium provinciae quinquaginta longae[1] naves quas P. Scipio ex Hispania misisset. Et P. Scipioni et M. Silano suae Hispaniae suique exercitus in annum decreti. Scipio ex octoginta navibus quas aut secum ex Italia adductas aut captas Carthagine habebat quinquaginta in Sardiniam tramittere iussus, quia fama erat magnum navalem apparatum eo anno Carthagine esse, ducentis navibus omnem oram Italiae Siciliaeque ac[2] Sardiniae inpleturos. Et in Sicilia ita divisa res est: Sex. Caesari exercitus Cannensis datus est; M. Valerius Laevinus—ei quoque enim prorogatum imperium est—classem quae ad Siciliam erat navium septuaginta obtineret; adderet eo triginta naves quae ad Tarentum priore anno fuerant; cum ea centum navium classe, si videretur ei, praedatum in Africam traiceret. Et

[1] longae *N*[s]*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N*.
[2] -que ac *Sp*?*JK Froben* 2: -que (*after* Sardiniae) *P*(3)*N Aldus*.

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[1] Polybius makes his entire fleet number 53 ships (18 captured); X. xvii. 13.

who with one legion was to be in charge of Capua as his assignment, formerly held by Titus Quinctius, a praetor. Continued also was the command of Gaius Hostilius Tubulus, who was to succeed Gaius Calpurnius as propraetor for Etruria, at the head of two legions. Continued also was the command of Lucius Veturius Philo, to hold Gaul as propraetor—the same assignment with the same two legions with which he had held it as praetor. The measure adopted in the case of Lucius Veturius was likewise decreed by the senate in that of Gaius Aurunculeius, and the bill to continue his command was brought before the people. As praetor he had had Sardinia for his province with two legions. In addition he was given for the defence of the province the fifty warships which Publius Scipio had sent from Spain. And to Publius Scipio and Marcus Silanus were decreed for one year their own provinces in Spain and their own armies. Scipio was ordered to send over to Sardinia fifty of the eighty [1] ships which he had either brought with him from Italy or captured at (New) Carthage. This was owing to the report that at Carthage there were great naval preparations that year, and that with two hundred ships the Carthaginians would cover the whole coast of Italy, also of Sicily and Sardinia. In Sicily, moreover, the apportionment was as follows: the army from Cannae was given to Sextus Caesar; Marcus Valerius Laevinus—for his command also was continued—to have the fleet of seventy vessels then in Sicilian waters. To that he should add thirty ships which had been at Tarentum the previous year. With that fleet of a hundred ships he was, if he saw fit, to cross over to Africa, to ravage the country. Likewise Publius B.C. 208

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P. Sulpicio, ut eadem classe Macedoniam Graeciamque provinciam haberet, prorogatum in annum imperium est. De duabus quae ad urbem Romam
11 fuerant legionibus nihil mutatum. Supplementum quo opus esset ut [1] scriberent consulibus [2] permissum. Una et viginti legionibus eo anno defensum imperium
12 Romanum est. Et P. Licinio Varo praetori urbano negotium datum ut naves longas triginta veteres reficeret quae Ostiae erant et viginti novas naves sociis navalibus conpleret, ut quinquaginta navium classe oram maris [3] vicinam urbi Romanae tueri
13 posset. C. Calpurnius vetitus ab Arretio movere exercitum, nisi cum successor venisset; idem et Tubulo imperatum, ut inde praecipue caveret ne qua nova consilia orerentur.[4]

XXIII. Praetores in provincias profecti; consules religio tenebat, quod prodigiis aliquot nuntiatis non
2 facile litabant. Et [5] ex Campania nuntiata erant, Capuae duas aedes, Fortunae et Martis, et sepulcra aliquot de caelo tacta, Cumis—adeo minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit deos—mures in aede Iovis aurum rosisse. Casini [6] examen apium ingens in
3 foro consedisse; et Ostiae murum portamque de

[1] ut N^2JK *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] consulibus N^2JK : *consules* $P(1)N$.
[3] maris A^2N^2JK : magis $P(1)N$.
[4] orerentur *Luchs*, 1879 : orirentur N^2JK *Aldus, Froben* : caperentur $P(1)N$ *Luchs*, 1888.
[5] Et $P(1)N$: *om. JK Aldus, Froben.*
[6] Casini $P(1)N^2J$: Casilini *K.*

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[1] He must have had troops as well; but the legion of vii. 15 is not expressly mentioned.

Sulpicius' command was continued for one year, B.C. 208
and he was to have Macedonia and Greece as his province with the same fleet as before.[1] In regard to the two legions that had been at the city of Rome no change was made. Permission was given to the consuls to recruit additional numbers, to be assigned to meet any need. It was with twenty-one legions that the Roman empire was defended that year. In addition, Publius Licinius Varus, the city praetor, was given the task of repairing the thirty old warships which were at Ostia and of manning twenty new ships with crews, so that with a fleet of fifty ships he might defend the seacoast near the city of Rome.[2] Gaius Calpurnius was forbidden to move his army away from Arretium before the arrival of his successor. The same order was given to Tubulus also, to be particularly on his guard there against the outbreak of any sedition.

XXIII. The praetors set out for their assignments. The consuls were detained by religious scruples, because, when a number of portents were reported, they did not easily obtain favourable sacrifices. From Campania had come reports that at Capua two temples, those of Fortune and of Mars, and a number of tombs were struck by lightning; that at Cumae mice had gnawed the gold in the temple of Jupiter—so true is it that superstition brings the gods into the smallest circumstances. At Casinum it was said that a great swarm of bees had settled in the forum.[3] It was also reported that at Ostia the wall and a gate

[2] Thus even the city praetor has an emergency command.

[3] Cf. XXIV. x. 11 (Rome, Forum); XXI. xlvi. 2 (in camp, over the headquarters). Casinum was not in Campania, but on the way thither (Via Latina).

B.C. caelo tactam. Caere vulturium volasse in aedem
4 Iovis, Volsiniis sanguine lacum manasse. Horum prodigiorum causa diem unum supplicatio fuit. Per dies aliquot hostiae maiores sine litatione caesae, diuque non impetrata pax deum. In capita consulum re publica incolumi exitiabilis prodigiorum eventus vertit.

5 Ludi Apollinares Q. Fulvio Ap. Claudio consulibus a P.[1] Cornelio Sulla praetore urbano primum facti erant: inde omnes deinceps praetores urbani fecerant; sed in unum annum vovebant dieque incerta[2]
6 faciebant. Eo anno pestilentia gravis incidit in[3] urbem agrosque, quae tamen magis in longos morbos
7 quam in perniciabiles[4] evasit. Eius pestilentiae causa et supplicatum per compita tota urbe est, et P. Licinius Varus praetor urbanus legem ferre ad populum iussus ut ii ludi in perpetuum in statam diem voverentur. Ipse primus ita vovit, fecitque ante diem tertium nonas[5] Quinctiles. Is dies deinde sollemnis servatus.

XXIV. De Arretinis et fama in dies gravior et cura crescere patribus. Itaque C. Hostilio scriptum

[1] Claudio consulibus a P. *x Aldus, Froben* 2: *om. P*(1)*NJK, a line following* Ap.
[2] incerta *JK Froben* 2: incerto *P*(1)*N Aldus.*
[3] in *P*(1)*N*: per *Sp Froben* 2.
[4] perniciabiles(-is) *CBDA Madvig, Luchs*: -iales *N*[a]*JK Aldus, Froben* 2: permitiales *Sp Conway*: -abilis *PRM.*
[5] nonas *P*(1) *NSp*[2]*JK*: idus *Merkel.*

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[1] The Lake of Bolsena.
[2] *I.e.* 212 B.C.
[3] A decree of the senate in 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxiii. 3) seems not to have been carried out.
[4] A slip, as Livy himself in giving the time of the festival in XXXVII. lv. 4 reckons from the Ides, not from the Nones.

of the city had been struck by lightning, that at Caere B.C. 208
a vulture had flown into the temple of Jupiter, that at Volsinii the lake[1] was stained with blood. On account of these prodigies prayers were offered for one day. For several days full-grown victims were slain without a favourable result, and for a long time the peace of the gods was not secured. It was upon the heads of the consuls that dire consequences of the portents descended, while the state remained unharmed.

The Games of Apollo had been observed for the first time in the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius,[2] under the direction of Publius Cornelius Sulla, the city praetor. From that time all the successive city praetors had conducted them. But they vowed them for a single year and did not conduct them on a fixed date. That year a serious epidemic fell upon the city and the countryside, occasioning maladies, however, that were rather lingering than fatal. On account of that epidemic prayers were offered at the street corners throughout the city; and in addition Publius Licinius Varus, the city praetor, was ordered to propose to the people a bill that those games should be vowed in perpetuity for a fixed date.[3] He himself was the first to vow them in those terms, and he conducted them on the fifth[4] of Quinctilis.[5] Thenceforward that day was kept as a regular holiday.

XXIV. As regards the Arretines, reports grew more serious every day, and the anxiety of the senators was increased. Accordingly Gaius Hostilius

Thus the corrected date is the 13th of the month by our reckoning. The extended festival of later times covered the days from the 6th through the 13th.

[5] July in Caesar's calendar.

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est ne differret obsides ab Arretinis accipere, et cui traderet Romam deducendos C. Terentius Varro cum imperio missus. Qui ut venit, extemplo Hostilius legionem unam, quae ante urbem castra habebat, signa in urbem ferre iussit praesidiaque locis idoneis disposuit: tum in forum [1] citatis senatoribus obsides imperavit. Cum senatus biduum ad considerandum [2] peteret, aut ipsos extemplo dare aut se postero die senatorum omnes liberos sumpturum edixit. Inde portas custodire iussi tribuni [3] militum praefectique [4] socium et centuriones,[5] ne quis nocte urbe exiret. Id segnius neglegentiusque factum; septem principes senatus, priusquam custodiae in portis locarentur, ante noctem cum liberis evaserunt. Postero die luce prima, cum senatus in forum citari coeptus esset, desiderati, bonaque eorum venierunt. A ceteris senatoribus centum viginti obsides, liberi ipsorum, accepti traditique C. Terentio Romam deducendi. Is omnia suspectiora quam ante fuerant in senatu fecit. Itaque tamquam imminente Etrusco tumultu, legionem unam, alteram ex urbanis, Arretium ducere iussus ipse C. Terentius, eamque habere in praesidio urbis; C. Hostilium cum cetero exercitu placet [6] totam provinciam peragrare et cavere ne qua occasio

[1] forum *Duker*: foro $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*.
[2] considerandum, *after this* $P(1)N$ *Aldus have* tempus (*after* peteret JK *Froben* 2; *om. Duker*).
[3] iussi tribuni *Gronovius*: iussit tribuni $P(3)N^{1/2}$ (tribunos $Sp^2A^{y/2}JK$ *Froben* 2; -nis M^2BDAN *Aldus*).
[4] praefectique $P(3)N^{1/2}$ (-tosque Sp^2 *etc., as above*: -tisque M^2 *etc., as above*).
[5] centuriones $P(3)A^{y/2}JKSp^2$ *Froben* 2: -ibus M^2BDAN.
[6] placet $P(1)N$: -uit $A^{y/2}N^{1/2}JK$.

received written orders not to postpone taking hostages from the Arretines, and Gaius Terentius Varro was sent with military authority, that Hostilius might turn them over to him to be escorted to Rome. Upon Varro's arrival Hostilius at once ordered the one legion which was encamped before the city to advance into the city, and he posted his forces in suitable positions. Then, summoning the senate to the forum, he demanded hostages of them. When the senate asked for two days to consider, he ordered that they themselves furnish them forthwith, or else on the next day, he declared, he would take all the children of the senators. Thereupon the tribunes of the soldiers and prefects of allies and centurions were bidden to guard the gates, that no one might leave the city in the night. This was done slowly and with carelessness. Seven leading members of the senate, before guards could be posted at the gates, escaped before nightfall with their children. Next day at dawn they were missed when the senators began to be summoned to the forum, and their property was sold. From the rest of the senators a hundred and twenty hostages, their own children, were taken and handed over to Gaius Terentius Varro to be escorted to Rome. Varro in the senate represented everything as causing more apprehension than before. And so, just as if an outbreak in Etruria were imminent, Gaius Terentius himself was ordered to lead a single legion, one or the other of the city legions, to Arretium and to keep that legion as the garrison of the town. As for Gaius Hostilius, it was decided that with the rest of the army he should scour the whole province and see to it that no opportunity was given to those eager

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8 novare cupientibus res daretur. C. Terentius ut Arretium cum legione venit, claves portarum cum magistratus poposcisset, negantibus iis comparere, fraude amotas magis ratus quam neglegentia intercidisse, ipse alias claves omnibus portis imposuit, cavitque cum cura[1] ut omnia in potestate sua essent; 9 Hostilium intentius monuit ut in eo spem non moturos quicquam Etruscos poneret, si ne quid movere possent[2] praecavisset.

XXV. De Tarentinis inde magna contentione in senatu actum coram Fabio, defendente ipso quos ceperat armis, aliis infensis et plerisque aequantibus 2 eos Campanorum noxae poenaeque. Senatus consultum in sententiam M'. Acili factum est ut oppidum praesidio custodiretur, Tarentinique omnes intra moenia continerentur, res integra postea referretur, 3 cum tranquillior status Italiae esset. Et de M. Livio praefecto arcis Tarentinae haud minore certamine actum est, aliis senatus consulto notantibus praefectum, quod eius socordia Tarentum proditum hosti 4 esset, aliis praemia decernentibus, quod per quinquennium arcem tutatus esset, maximeque unius 5 eius opera receptum Tarentum foret, mediis ad censores, non ad senatum notionem de eo pertinere dicentibus; cuius sententiae et Fabius fuit. Adiecit

[1] cum cura *P*(1)*N Aldus*: *om. SpJK Froben* 2.

[2] movere possent *A*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: moveri posset *P*(1)*N (omitting* prae- *with the next word)*.

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[1] As at Capua, the citizens were to be treated as political prisoners; XXVI. xxvii. 12.

[2] Livius had been drinking, according to Polybius VIII. xxvii.

for a revolution. Upon the arrival of Gaius Teren- B.C. 208
tius at Arretium with his legion, when he demanded of the magistrates the keys of the gates, and they said they were not to be found, thinking they were removed by stealth and not really missing through carelessness, he himself provided other keys for all the gates, and took great pains to have everything under his own control. He very earnestly warned Hostilius to rest his hope that the Etruscans would not make any move upon one thing—that he had first made it impossible for them to do so.

XXV. Then in regard to the Tarentines there was very heated discussion in the senate in the presence of Fabius, who himself defended the men whom he had captured by force, whereas others were hostile and many put them upon the same level of guilt and punishment as the Capuans. A decree of the senate was adopted on motion of Manius Acilius, that the town should be guarded by a garrison and all the Tarentines confined within the walls;[1] that, with no action now, the case should be brought up later, when the condition of Italy was more peaceful. Also in regard to Marcus Livius, commandant of the citadel of Tarentum, there was no less heated discussion. For some were proposing to brand the commandant by a decree of the senate, because by his lack of spirit Tarentum had been betrayed to the enemy,[2] and others proposed to vote him rewards, because he had defended the citadel for five years, and it was thanks to him more than to anyone else that Tarentum had been recovered. And those who took a middle course were claiming that a verdict in his case belonged to the censors, not to the senate. Of this mind was Fabius also. He added, however,

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tamen fateri se opera Livi Tarentum receptum, quod amici eius volgo in senatu iactassent; neque enim recipiundum fuisse, nisi amissum foret.

6 Consulum [1] alter T. Quinctius Crispinus ad exercitum quem Q. Fulvius Flaccus habuerat cum sup-
7 plemento in Lucanos est profectus. Marcellum aliae atque aliae obiectae animo religiones tenebant, in quibus quod, cum bello Gallico ad Clastidium aedem Honori et Virtuti vovisset, dedicatio eius a pontifici-
8 bus impediebatur, quod negabant unam cellam amplius quam uni deo [2] recte dedicari, quia, si de caelo tacta aut prodigii aliquid in ea factum esset,
9 difficilis procuratio foret, quod utri deo res divina fieret, sciri non posset; neque enim duobus nisi certis deis rite una hostia fieri. Ita addita Virtutis aedes adproperato opere; neque tamen ab ipso aedes eae
10 dedicatae sunt. Tum demum ad exercitum quem priore anno Venusiae reliquerat cum supplemento proficiscitur.

11 Locros in Bruttiis Crispinus oppugnare conatus, quia magnam famam attulisse Fabio Tarentum rebatur,[3] omne genus tormentorum machinarumque ex Sicilia arcessierat; et naves indidem accitae erant

[1] Consulum *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: consul *JK*.
[2] amplius quam uni deo *SpA*[2]*N*[2]*JK Froben* 2: duobus *P*(1)*N Aldus*: duobus diis *Weissenborn*.
[3] rebatur *PCR*: ferebatur *R*[1](3)*NJK Aldus, Froben*.

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[1] Cicero *Cato Maior* 11, Certe, nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem; *de Oratore*, II. 273; Plutarch, *Fabius* xxiii. 3.
[2] 222 B.C., in his first consulship.
[3] Doubtless those specified in the books of the pontiffs as divinities who might be so paired together. Cf. Valerius Maximus I. i. 8.

his admission that the recovery of Tarentum was due B.C. 208
to Livius, as his friends had repeatedly declared in the senate; for it would not have had to be recovered unless it had been lost.[1]

Of the consuls one, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, set out for Lucania with additional recruits to join the army which Quintus Fulvius Flaccus had had. Marcellus was detained by religious scruples one after another, as they were impressed upon his mind. One of them was that, although he had vowed at Clastidium, in the Gallic War,[2] a temple to Honour and Valour, the dedication of the temple was being blocked by the pontiffs. These said that one cella was not properly dedicated to more than a single divinity, since, if it should be struck by lightning, or some portent should occur in it, expiation would be difficult, because it could not be known to which god sacrifice should be offered; for, with the exception of certain deities,[3] sacrifice of a single victim to two gods was not proper. Accordingly a temple of Valour was added, its construction being hastened. Even so the temples were not dedicated by Marcellus in person.[4] Then at last he set out with additional recruits to join the army which he had left at Venusia the previous year.

Crispinus attempted to besiege Locri[5] in the land of the Bruttii, because he thought that Tarentum had brought great repute to Fabius: and he had requisitioned artillery and machines of every kind from Sicily. And from the same quarter ships also

[4] For these temples outside the Porta Capena and their dedication by his son, see Vol. VI. p. 494. note; Cicero *de Nat. Deor.* II. 61; *in Verr.* IV. 121; Val. Max. *l.c.*

[5] Cf. XXIV. i.–iii.

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quae vergentem ad mare partem urbis oppugnarent.
12 Ea omissa oppugnatio est, quia Lacinium Hannibal admoverat copias, et conlegam eduxisse iam a Venusia exercitum fama erat, cui coniungi volebat.
13 Itaque in Apuliam ex Bruttiis reditum, et inter Venusiam Bantiamque minus trium milium passuum
14 intervallo consules binis castris consederunt.[1] In eandem regionem et Hannibal rediit[2] averso ab Locris bello. Ibi consules ambo ingenio feroces prope cotidie in aciem exire[3] haud dubia spe, si duobus exercitibus consularibus iunctis commisisset sese hostis, debellari posse.

XXVI. Hannibal quia cum Marcello bis priore anno congressus vicerat victusque erat, ut, cum eodem si dimicandum foret, nec spem nec metum ex vano habere,[4] ita duobus consulibus haudquaquam
2 sese parem futurum credebat.[5] Itaque totus in suas
3 artes versus insidiis locum quaerebat. Levia tamen proelia inter bina castra vario eventu fiebant; quibus cum extrahi aestatem posse consules crederent, nihilo minus oppugnari Locros posse rati, L. Cincio ut ex
4 Sicilia Locros cum classe traiceret scribunt. Et ut ab terra quoque oppugnari moenia possent, ab Tarento partem exercitus qui[6] in praesidio erat duci

[1] consederunt $A^{1?}JK$ *Madvig*: -rant $P(3)M^5N$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway*: -siderant R^1MBD.

[2] rediit $P(3\ B^1N$: redit JK.

[3] in aciem exire x *Gronovius*: inacieheare P: milites in aciem excire (-ciere) A^2JK *Aldus, Froben* (exire N^2): in acte heare $CRMBD$: in acie stare *Weissenborn*.

[4] habere *Harant, Riemann, Conway (in note)*: haberet $P(1)NJK$ *Eds., Johnson*: habebat *Gronovius*.

[5] credebat $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: censebat A^2N^2JK *Conway*.

[6] qui x *Sigonius*: quae $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: qui ibi *Weissenborn*.

had been sent for, to attack the part of the city B.C. 208
facing the sea. That siege was given up, because Hannibal had brought up his forces to Lacinium,[1] and the consul wished to unite with his colleague, who, it was reported, had already led his army away from Venusia. And so he returned from the land of the Bruttii into Apulia, and the consuls established themselves between Venusia and Bantia in two camps less than three miles apart. Hannibal also, now that the war had been diverted from Locri, returned into the same region. There both consuls, who were by nature high-spirited, went out into battle-line almost daily, with no uncertain hope that, if the enemy should risk a battle with two united consular armies, the war could be finished.

XXVI. Hannibal, since in his two encounters with Marcellus in the previous year he had been both victor and vanquished, believed indeed that, if he should have to fight with the same general, he would find neither hope nor fear unfounded; nevertheless he believed that he would be by no means a match for the two consuls. Accordingly, devoting himself exclusively to his own arts, he was in search of a place for an ambush. Slight engagements, however, were taking place in the space between the two camps with varying results. The consuls, believing that the whole summer could be spent in that way, and yet thinking it possible to besiege Locri, wrote to Lucius Cincius to cross over from Sicily with his fleet to Locri. And, to make an attack upon the walls possible from the landward side also, they ordered that a part of the force which was serving as a garrison

[1] For promontory and temple cf. Vol. VI. p. 182, note; XXXVI. xlii. 2.

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5 eo iusserunt. Ea ita futura per quosdam Thurinos conperta Hannibali cum essent, mittit ad insidendam ab Tarento viam. Ibi sub tumulo Peteliae tria 6 milia equitum, duo peditum in occulto locata; in quae inexplorato euntes Romani cum incidissent, ad duo milia armatorum caesa, mille et quingenti ferme vivi capti, alii dissupati fuga per agros saltusque Tarentum rediere.

7 Tumulus erat silvestris inter Punica et Romana castra, ab neutris primo occupatus, quia Romani qualis pars eius quae vergeret ad[1] hostium castra esset ignorabant, Hannibal insidiis quam castris 8 aptiorem eum crediderat. Itaque nocte ad id missas aliquot Numidarum turmas medio in saltu condiderat, quorum interdiu nemo ab statione movebatur, ne aut 9 arma aut ipsi procul conspicerentur. Fremebant volgo in castris Romanis occupandum eum tumulum esse et castello firmandum, ne, si occupatus ab Hannibale foret, velut in cervicibus haberent hostem. 10 Movit ea res Marcellum, et conlegae "Quin imus" inquit "ipsi cum equitibus paucis exploratum? Subiecta res oculis nostris[2] certius dabit consilium." 11 Adsentienti[3] Crispino, cum equitibus ducentis

[1] ad *P*(1)*N Aldus*: in *JK Froben* 2.
[2] nostris *P*(1)*N Aldus*: *om. JKSp Froben* 2, *Conway*.
[3] Adsentienti *Luchs, Conway*: -ente *Sp*²*JK Froben* 2: consentienti *P*(1)*N Aldus*. *Cf.* adsentienti *in abl. abs.* XXXVI. xxxii. 9.

[1] The town crowned a hill 1,100 feet high, and could be reduced only by starvation in 216 B.C.; cf. XXIII. xx. 4 ff.; xxx. 1 ff.

should be brought from Tarentum to Locri. Hanni- B.C. 208
bal, being informed by some men of Thurii that this was about to be done, sent men to lie in wait along the road from Tarentum. There, beneath the hill of Petelia,[1] three thousand horsemen and two thousand foot were posted in hiding. When the Romans, as they advanced without reconnoitring, encountered this force, about two thousand of their armed men were slain, about fifteen hundred taken alive. The rest, scattering in flight over the farms and through the woods, returned to Tarentum.

Between the Carthaginian and the Roman camps [2] there was a wooded hill, at first not occupied by either army, because the Romans did not know what was the character of that side of it which faced the enemy's camp, and Hannibal had believed it better suited to an ambuscade than to a camp. And so, sending by night a number of squadrons of the Numidians for that purpose, he had concealed them in the middle of the wood. And during the day none of them would stir from his post, for fear lest either their arms or the men themselves should be seen from a distance. In the Roman camp[3] there was a general outcry that the hill must be occupied and defended by a fort, in order that they might not have the enemy, as it were, upon their necks, if the hill should be occupied by Hannibal. That roused Marcellus, and he said to his colleague, "Why not go ourselves with a few horsemen to reconnoitre? Seeing the situation before our eyes will give us a surer judgment." As Crispinus assented, they set out with two

[2] For the scene we revert to the region of Venusia; cf. xxv. 13; xxviii. 5; Plutarch, *Marcellus* xxix. 1.

[3] Evidently that of Marcellus.

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viginti. ex quibus quadraginta Fregellani, ceteri
12 Etrusci erant, proficiscuntur: secuti tribuni militum M. Marcellus consulis filius et A. Manlius, simul et duo praefecti socium L. Arrenius et M'. Aulius.
13 Immolasse eo die quidam prodidere memoriae [1] consulem Marcellum, et prima hostia caesa iocur sine
14 capite inventum, in secunda omnia conparuisse quae adsolent, auctum etiam visum in capite; nec id sane haruspici placuisse quod secundum trunca et turpia exta nimis laeta apparuissent. XXVII. Ceterum consulem Marcellum tanta cupiditas tenebat dimicandi cum Hannibale ut numquam satis castra
2 castris conlata diceret.[2] Tum quoque vallo egrediens signum dedit ut ad locum miles esset paratus, ut, si collis in quem speculatum irent placuisset, vasa colligerent ac[3] sequerentur.
3 Exiguum campi ante castra erat: inde in collem aperta undique et conspecta ferebat via. Numidis speculator, nequaquam in spem tantae rei positus, sed si quos vagos pabuli aut lignorum causa longius a castris progressos possent excipere, signum dat ut pariter ab suis quisque latebris [4] exorerentur.
4 Non ante apparuere quibus obviis ab iugo ipso consurgendum erat quam circumiere qui ab tergo intercluderent viam. Tum undique omnes exorti, et

[1] memoriae. *JK Froben 2 have it before* prodidere.
[2] diceret *SpA*[s]*JK Froben* 2: crederet *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[3] ac *JK Aldus, Froben*: et *P*(3)*N*.
[4] ab (*or* a) suis quisque latebris *A*[s]*N*[s]*JK Aldus, Froben*: ab utrisque lateribus *P*(1)*N*.

[1] Polybius' briefer account makes their escort two troops of cavalry, about 30 light-armed infantry and the lictors (who would be 24 in number); X. xxxii. 2.
[2] So Plutarch also, at greater length; *Marcellus* xxix. 5.

hundred and twenty horsemen, of whom forty were B.C. 208
from Fregellae, the rest Etruscans.[1] The tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Marcellus, son of the consul, and Aulus Manlius, followed them, along with two prefects of the allies, Lucius Arrenius and Manius Aulius. Some have related that the consul Marcellus offered a sacrifice that day, and that when the first victim was slain, the liver was found headless; that in the second everything usually found was present; that the head seemed even enlarged; also that the soothsayer had not been at all pleased that, after organs defective and deformed, others had appeared which were more than promising.[2] XXVII. But such eagerness to fight with Hannibal possessed the consul Marcellus that he said the camps were never close enough together. At this time also, as he came out from the earthwork, he gave the command that the soldiers should be ready and in place, so that, in case the hill which they were on their way to reconnoitre proved satisfactory, they might gather up their baggage and follow.

There was only a small level space before the camps; then a road open and visible from every side led up the hill. As for the Numidians, a scout who had been posted not at all in the hope of so important a result, but in case they might be able to capture any men who, in wandering about in search of fodder or firewood, had gone too far from camp, gave the signal to spring up, all of them at the same time, from their different hiding-places. Those who had to rise up from the hillside itself facing the enemy did not show themselves before those who were to cut off the road in the rear turned the enemy's flanks. Then they all sprang up from every side and, raising a

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5 clamore sublato impetum fecere. Cum in ea valle consules essent ut neque evadere possent [1] in iugum occupatum ab hoste nec receptum ab tergo circumventi haberent, extrahi tamen diutius certamen potuisset, ni coepta ab Etruscis fuga pavorem ceteris
6 iniecisset. Non tamen omisere pugnam deserti ab Etruscis Fregellani, donec integri consules hortando
7 ipsique ex parte pugnando rem sustinebant; sed postquam volneratos ambo consules, Marcellum etiam transfixum lancea prolabentem ex equo moribundum videre, tum et ipsi—perpauci autem supererant—cum Crispino consule duobus iaculis icto et Marcello
8 adolescente saucio et ipso effugerunt. Interfectus A. Manlius tribunus militum, et ex duobus praefectis socium M'. Aulius occisus, L. Arrenius captus; et lictores consulum quinque vivi in hostium potestatem venerunt, ceteri aut interfecti aut cum consule effu-
9 gerunt. Equitum [2] tres et quadraginta aut in proelio aut in fuga ceciderunt, duodeviginti vivi capti.
10 Tumultuatum in [3] castris fuerat, ut consulibus irent subsidio, cum consulem et filium alterius consulis saucios exiguasque infelicis expeditionis reliquias
11 ad castra venientes cernunt. Mors Marcelli cum alioqui miserabilis fuit, tum quod nec pro aetate—iam enim maior sexaginta annis erat—neque pro veteris prudentia ducis tam inprovide se conlegamque et prope totam rem publicam in praeceps dederat.

[1] evadere possent *P*(1)*N Aldus*: evaderent *SpJK Froben* 2.
[2] Equitum *P*(1)*N Aldus*: equites *Sp*?*A*[1]*N*[1]?*J Froben* 2.
[3] in. *SpN*[1]*JK Froben* 2, *Conway add* et *before* in.

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[1] Polybius enlarges upon Marcellus' indefensible temerity and contrasts Hannibal's prudent care of his personal safety; X. xxxii. f.; cf. Plutarch *Pelopidas and Marcellus* iii. 3 f.

shout, they attacked. Although the consuls were in such a depression that they neither could make their way up on to the ridge occupied by the enemy, nor had any retreat open, being enclosed in the rear, still the combat might possibly have been prolonged, had not flight begun by the Etruscans inspired alarm in the others. Nevertheless the men of Fregellae, deserted by the Etruscans, did not give up the battle, so long as the consuls unwounded withstood the attack, encouraging their men and themselves taking part in the fight. But after they saw both consuls wounded, Marcellus even pierced by a lance and slipping, a dying man, from his horse, then they likewise—now only a very few were left—fled with Crispinus, the consul, who had been struck by two javelins, and Marcellus the younger, also wounded. Slain was Aulus Manlius, tribune of the soldiers, and of the two prefects of the allies Manius Aulius was killed, Lucius Arrenius captured. And five of the consuls' lictors came alive into the hands of the enemy; the rest were either slain or they escaped with the consul. Of the horse forty-three fell either in battle or in flight, eighteen were captured alive. In the camps there had been an uproar, a clamour that they should go to the relief of the consuls, when now they saw the consul and the son of the other consul both wounded, and the little remnant of the unlucky enterprise coming towards the camps. Marcellus' death was pitiable both for other reasons and also because it was neither consistent with his age—for he was now more than sixty years old—nor with his foresight as a veteran commander, that with such imprudence he had carried himself and his colleague and almost the entire state over the brink.[1] B.C. 208

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12 Multos circa unam rem ambitus fecerim, si quae de Marcelli morte variant auctores omnia exsequi
13 velim. Ut omittam alios, Coelius triplicem gestae rei commemorationem [1] ordine [2] edit: unam traditam fama, alteram scriptam in [3] laudatione fili, qui rei gestae interfuerit, tertiam quam ipse pro inquisita
14 ac sibi conperta adfert. Ceterum ita fama variat ut tamen plerique loci speculandi causa castris egressum, omnes insidiis circumventum tradant.

XXVIII. Hannibal magnum terrorem hostibus morte consulis unius, volnere alterius iniectum esse ratus, ne cui deesset occasioni, castra in tumulum in quo pugnatum erat extemplo transfert. Ibi inven-
2 tum Marcelli corpus sepelit. Crispinus et morte conlegae et suo volnere territus, silentio insequentis noctis profectus, quos proxumos nanctus est montes,
3 in iis loco alto et tuto undique castra posuit. Ibi duo duces sagaciter moti sunt, alter ad inferendam,
4 alter ad cavendam [4] fraudem. Anulis [5] Marcelli simul cum corpore Hannibal potitus erat. Eius signi errore ne qui [6] dolus necteretur a Poeno metuens, Crispinus circa civitates proximas miserat nuntios occisum conlegam esse anulisque eius hostem

[1] commemorationem *Conway conj.*: *om. MSS.*
[2] ordine *Conway conj.*: ordinem $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: seriem *J. Perizonius*: rationem *Weissenborn*: memoriam *Luchs.*
[3] in N^1: *om. the rest.*
[4] alter ad cavendam A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line.*
[5] Anulis $P(3)A^sN$: anulo A^5JK *Aldus, Froben.*
[6] qui *Sp Froben* 2, *Conway*: quis A^sJK: cui $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*

[1] Cf. Cicero *Cato Maior* 75; Val. Max. V. i. Ext. 6. For different accounts see Plutarch *Marcellus* xxx. 2 ff., with incorrect citation of his authorities.

I should be very discursive in regard to a single B.C. 208
event, if I should aim to rehearse all the statements in which authorities differ concerning the death of Marcellus. Not to mention others, Coelius furnishes successively a threefold relation of what happened: one the traditional account, a second set down in the eulogy pronounced by the son, who was present, Coelius says, when it happened, a third which he himself contributes as investigated and established by him. But the divergent reports fall within this range, that most authorities relate that he left the camp to reconnoitre a position, while all say that he was overwhelmed by an ambush.

XXVIII. Hannibal, thinking that great terror had been inspired in the enemy by the death of one consul and the wounding of the other, not to miss any opportunity, at once removed his camp to the hill on which they had fought. There Marcellus' body was found and buried.[1] Crispinus, alarmed both by the death of his colleague and by his own wound, set out in the silence of the following night and in the first mountains which he reached pitched camp on a high place that was also safe on every side. There the two generals set their wits to work, the one to employ, the other to guard against, a ruse. Marcellus' ring [2] had come into the hands of Hannibal along with the body. Fearing some trickery might be contrived by the Carthaginian through a fraudulent use of that seal, Crispinus had sent word around to the nearest city-states that his colleague had been slain and the enemy was in possession of his ring;

[2] Livy's probably unique use of the plural where only a single seal ring can be meant has never been satisfactorily explained.

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potitum: ne quibus litteris crederent nomine Marcelli compositis. Paulo ante hic nuntius consulis Salapiam venerat quam litterae ab Hannibale allatae sunt Marcelli nomine compositae, se nocte quae diem illum secutura esset Salapiam venturum: parati milites essent qui in praesidio erant, si quo opera eorum opus esset. Sensere Salapitani fraudem, et ab ira non defectionis modo sed etiam equitum interfectorum rati occasionem supplicii peti, remisso retro nuntio—perfuga autem Romanus erat—ut[1] sine arbitro milites quae vellent agerent, oppidanos per muros urbisque opportuna loca in stationibus disponunt; custodias vigiliasque in eam noctem intentius instruunt; circa portam qua venturum hostem rebantur quod roboris in praesidio erat opponunt. Hannibal quarta vigilia ferme ad urbem accessit. Primi agminis erant perfugae Romanorum et arma Romana habebant. Ii, ubi ad portam est ventum, Latine omnes loquentes excitant vigiles aperireque[2] portam iubent: consulem adesse. Vigiles velut ad vocem eorum excitati tumultuari, trepidare, moliri portam. Cataracta[3] clausa erat: eam partim vectibus levant, partim funibus subducunt in tantum altitudinis ut subire

[1] erat ut A^1N^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: erat C^4: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] aperireque JK: aperirique $C^{4?}M^2BDAN$ *Aldus*: aperique PCR^1M.
[3] cataracta, $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben add* deiecta (*om.* JKx *Conway*).

[1] Cf. XXVI. xxxviii. 6, note; and for the betrayal of its garrison of Numidian cavalry, *ibid.* §§ 11–13.

that they should not trust any letters written in the B.C. 208
name of Marcellus. This message of the consul had come to Salapia [1] a little before a letter from Hannibal written in Marcellus' name arrived, saying that he would come to Salapia in the night following that day; that the soldiers on garrison duty should be ready, in case he should have any need of their services. The men of Salapia were aware of the deception, and thinking that Hannibal, out of anger not only because of their revolt, but also for the slaughter of his cavalry, was seeking an excuse for punishing them, they sent back the messenger—he was, in fact, a Roman deserter—that the soldiers might do what they wished unobserved. And they posted men of the town along the walls and at favourable positions in the city in detachments on guard duty. For that night they established guard-lines and sentries with more than usual care. Around the gate by which they thought the enemy would come they drew up the best men in the garrison. Hannibal approached the city about the fourth watch. At the head of the column were the Roman deserters, and they had Roman arms. When they came up to the gate, all of them, speaking Latin, called out to the sentinels and bade them open the gate. The consul, they said, was coming. The sentries, pretending to have been awakened by their outcry, were in a turmoil, excited and labouring to open the gate. The portcullis [2] had been closed. Some of them raise it with levers, some hoist it with ropes, just high enough for men to pass

[2] Constructed of stout timbers strengthened with iron, as described in Aeneas Tacticus xxxix. 3 f. (about 150 years earlier); cf. Vegetius IV. iv.: Appian *B. C.* IV. 78. The vertical grooves are often found in remains of city gates.

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11 recti[1] possent. Vixdum satis patebat iter, cum perfugae certatim ruunt per portam; et cum sescenti[2] ferme intrassent, remisso fune quo suspensa
12 erat cataracta magno sonitu cecidit. Salapitani alii perfugas neglegenter ex itinere suspensa umeris, ut inter pacatos, gerentis arma invadunt, alii e turribus[3] portae murisque saxis, sudibus, pilis
13 absterrent hostem. Ita inde Hannibal suamet ipse fraude captus abiit, profectusque ad Locrorum solvendam obsidionem, quam urbem[4] L. Cincius summa vi, operibus tormentorumque omni genere ex
14 Sicilia advecto oppugnabat.[5] Magoni iam haud ferme fidenti retenturum defensurumque se urbem,
15 prima spes morte nuntiata Marcelli adfulsit. Secutus inde nuntius Hannibalem Numidarum equitatu praemisso ipsum, quantum adcelerare posset, cum
16 peditum agmine sequi. Itaque ubi primum Numidas edito e speculis signo adventare sensit, et ipse patefacta repente porta ferox in hostes erumpit. Et primo magis quia inproviso id fecerat quam quod
17 par viribus esset, anceps certamen erat; deinde ut supervenere Numidae, tantus pavor Romanis est iniectus ut passim ad mare ac naves fugerent relictis operibus machinisque quibus muros quatiebant. Ita adventu Hannibalis soluta Locrorum obsidio est.

[1] recti *A¹JK Aldus, Froben* : recte *P*(1)*N*.

[2] sescenti *A¹JK Aldus* : d c *N²* : d *C* : de *P*(3)*R²N*.

[3] e turribus *SpA¹JK Froben, Conway* : et turribus *N²* : e turri eius *C Aldus* : et turri eius *P*(3)*N*.

[4] quam urbem *Wesenberg, Luchs* : quam *P*(1)*NA¹JK* : qua cingebat urbem *Johnson*.

[5] oppugnabat *A¹JK* : oppugnas *P* : -pugnans *Johnson* : -pugnasset *P²*(1)*N*.

[1] This is the Mago responsible for the death of Gracchus in 212 B.C.; cf. XXV. xvi.

under it upright. Hardly had the way been quite B.C. 208
cleared, when the deserters vied with each other in dashing through the gate. And when about six hundred had entered and the rope by which it was held up had been let go, the portcullis fell with a great crash. Some of the Salapians attack the deserters, who fresh from their march were carrying arms carelessly slung from their shoulders, as if among peaceable people; others from towers of the gate and from the walls frighten off the enemy with stones, poles and javelins. Thus Hannibal, having been ensnared by his own ruse, went away. And he set out to raise the siege of Locri, a city which Lucius Cincius was besieging with great violence by means of siege-works and with every sort of artillery brought from Sicily. For Mago,[1] who no longer was confident that he would hold and defend the city, the first ray of hope came with the news of Marcellus' death. Then followed the news that Hannibal had sent the Numidian cavalry in advance and was himself following with the infantry column, making all possible speed. Accordingly, as soon as Mago knew from signals given from watch-towers that the Numidians were approaching, he also suddenly opens a gate and sallies out confidently against the enemy. And at first it was a doubtful conflict, rather because his action had been unexpected than because he was a match in forces. Then when the Numidians came up, such terror was inspired among the Romans that they fled pell-mell to the sea and the ships, leaving siege-works and engines with which they were battering the walls. Thus by Hannibal's coming the siege of Locri was raised.

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XXIX. Crispinus postquam in Bruttios profectum Hannibalem sensit, exercitum cui conlega praefuerat M. Marcellum tribunum militum Venusiam abducere
2 iussit; ipse cum legionibus suis Capuam profectus, vix lecticae agitationem prae gravitate volnerum patiens, Romam litteras de morte conlegae scripsit,
3 quantoque ipse in discrimine esset: se comitiorum causa non posse Romam venire, quia nec viae laborem passurus videretur et de Tarento sollicitus esset, ne ex Bruttiis Hannibal eo converteret agmen; legatos opus esse ad se mitti, viros prudentes cum quibus
4 quae vellet de re publica loqueretur. Hae litterae recitatae magnum et luctum morte alterius consulis et metum de altero fecerunt. Itaque et Q. Fabium filium ad exercitum Venusiam miserunt, et ad consulem tres legati missi, Sex. Iulius Caesar, L. Licinius Pollio, L. Cincius Alimentus, cum paucis
5 ante diebus ex Sicilia redisset. Hi nuntiare consuli iussi ut, si ad comitia ipse [1] venire Romam non posset, dictatorem in agro Romano diceret comitiorum
6 causa; si consul Tarentum profectus esset, Q. Claudium praetorem placere in eam regionem inde abducere legiones in qua plurimas sociorum urbes tueri posset.
7 Eadem aestate M. Valerius cum classe centum

[1] ipse *N²JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N*.

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[1] Valerius Laevinus (xxii. 9), not Valerius Messalla (vii. 16).

XXIX. Crispinus, on learning that Hannibal had B.C. 208
set out for the country of the Bruttii, ordered Marcus Marcellus, tribune of the soldiers, to lead away to Venusia the army which his colleague had commanded. He himself set out with his legions for Capua, although on account of his serious wounds he was barely able to endure the motion of his litter. And he sent to Rome a letter in regard to the death of his colleague, stating also in what danger he was himself; that he was unable to come to Rome for the elections, because it seemed that he would not be able to endure the strain of the journey, also because he was concerned about Tarentum, lest Hannibal, leaving the land of the Bruttii, should head his column in that direction. It was necessary, he wrote, that envoys be sent to him, men of foresight with whom he might say what he wished to say about the state. The reading of this letter caused at the same time great grief for the death of one consul and great fear in regard to the other. Accordingly they sent Quintus Fabius the son to the army at Venusia, and also three legates were sent to the consul, namely, Sextus Iulius Caesar, Lucius Licinius Pollio and Lucius Cincius Alimentus, the last named having returned from Sicily a few days before. These men were bidden to report to the consul that, if he could not come himself to Rome for the elections, on Roman territory he should name a dictator for the purpose of the elections: that if the consul should go to Tarentum, it was the will of the senate that Quintus Claudius, the practor, should lead his legions away to a region in which he could defend the greatest number of cities of the allies.

The same summer Marcus Valerius [1] crossed over

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navium ex Sicilia in Africam tramisit, et ad Clupeam urbem escensione facta agrum late nullo ferme obvio armato vastavit.[1] Inde ad naves raptim praedatores recepti, quia repente fama accidit classem Punicam
8 adventare. Octoginta erant et tres naves. Cum his haud procul Clupea prospere pugnat Romanus. Duodeviginti[2] navibus captis, fugatis aliis, cum magna terrestri navalique praeda Lilybaeum rediit.
9 Eadem aestate et Philippus implorantibus Achaeis auxilium tulit, quos et Machanidas tyrannus Lacedaemoniorum finitimo bello urebat, et Aetoli, navibus per fretum quod Naupactum et Patras interfluit—Rhion incolae vocant—exercitu traiecto, depopulati
10 erant. Attalum quoque regem Asiae, quia Aetoli summum gentis suae magistratum ad eum proximo[3] concilio detulerant,[4] fama erat in Europam traiecturum. XXX. Ob haec Philippo in Graeciam descendenti ad Lamiam urbem Aetoli duce Pyrrhia,
2 qui praetor in eum annum cum absente Attalo creatus erat, occurrerunt. Habebant et ab Attalo auxilia secum et mille[5] ferme ex Romana classe a P. Sulpicio missos. Adversus hunc ducem atque

[1] vastavit $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -abat *JK Froben* 2.

[2] Duodeviginti *Conway*: decem et octo *Eds.*: X et VIII $P(1)N$. *Cf. p.* 186, *crit. note* 6.

[3] proximo, $P(3)A^1N$ *add* anno (*om.* A^vJK *Aldus, Froben, Luchs*): proximo annuo *Weissenborn*: proximi anni *Conway conj.*

[4] detulerant *JK Aldus, Froben*: -erunt $P(1)N$.

[5] mille (∞) PCA^1N^1JK: *om.* *RMBDAN*.

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[1] So named (= Ἀσπίς, shield) from the shape of the hill; south of Cape Bon (Promuntorium Mercurii) and east of Carthage (85 miles): Strabo XVII. iii. 16.

[2] In this passage Livy departs from strict chronology by summarizing under 208 B.C. events also in Macedonia and

from Sicily to Africa with a fleet of a hundred ships, B.C. 208
and making a landing at the city of Clupea,[1] he ravaged the country far and wide, meeting hardly any armed men. Then the foragers were hurriedly brought back to the ships, because suddenly came the report that a Carthaginian fleet was approaching. There were eighty-three ships. With these the Roman fought with success not far from Clupea. After capturing eighteen ships and putting the rest to flight, he returned to Lilybaeum with a great quantity of booty from the land and from the ships.

The same summer[2] Philip, in response to their appeal, lent aid to the Achaeans, whom Machanidas, tyrant of Lacedaemon, was harassing with a war on their border, while the Aetolians also, sending their army on ships across the strait—the inhabitants call it Rhion—which flows between Naupactus and Patrae, had devastated their country. Furthermore Attalus, King of Asia, it was reported, was about to cross over into Europe, since the Aetolians had at their last council conferred upon him the highest magistracy of their nation. XXX. Consequently, as Philip was coming down into Greece, the Aetolians encountered him at the city of Lamia, their general being Pyrrhias, who along with the absent Attalus had been elected praetor[3] for that year. They had with them auxiliary troops from Attalus and also about a thousand men sent by Publius Sulpicius from the Roman fleet. Against this general and these forces

Greece which belong to the previous year, but had been passed over. Thus the Nemean Games (xxx. f.) occurred in 209 B.C.

[3] *I.e.* *στρατηγός*. Attalus I (241–197 B.C.) had the same title as an honour merely.

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has copias Philippus bis prospero eventu pugnavit; mille[1] admodum hostium utraque pugna occidit. 3 Inde cum Aetoli metu compulsi Lamiae urbis moenibus tenerent sese, Philippus ad Phalara exercitum reduxit.[2] In Maliaco sinu is locus est, quondam frequenter habitatus propter egregium portum tutasque circa stationes et aliam opportunitatem maritu- 4 mam terrestremque. Eo legati ab rege Aegypti Ptolomaeo Rhodiisque et Atheniensibus et Chiis venerunt ad dirimendum inter Philippum atque Aetolos bellum. Adhibitus ab Aetolis et ex finitimis 5 pacificator Amynander rex Athamanum. Omnium autem non tanta pro Aetolis cura erat, ferociori quam pro ingeniis Graecorum gente, quam ne Philippus regnumque eius rebus Graeciae,[3] grave libertati 6 futurum, immisceretur. De pace dilata consultatio est in concilium Achaeorum, concilioque ei et[4] locus et dies certa indicta: interim triginta dierum indutiae 7 impetratae. Profectus inde rex per Thessaliam Boeotiamque Chalcidem Euboeae venit, ut Attalum, quem classe Euboeam petiturum audierat, portibus 8 et litorum adpulsu arceret. Inde praesidio relicto adversus Attalum, si forte interim traiecisset, profectus ipse cum paucis equitum levisque[5] armaturae 9 Argos venit. Ibi curatione Heraeorum Nemeorumque

[1] mille (≃ *PC*: *om. RMBDAN*: milites N^{1}: multos $A^{1}JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] reduxit $A^{1}JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: duxit $P(1)A^{2}N$.

[3] rebus Graeciae, *JK Aldus, Froben have this after* futurum.

[4] -que ei et N^{1} *Aldus, Froben*: -que ei $A^{1}J^{1}K$: et $P(1)(A^{2})$ $A^{1}N$.

[5] -que $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpJK.*

[1] On the north shore of the Gulf. Phalara was the port of Lamia.

[2] *I.e.* from Phalara.

Philip fought twice with success. In each battle he B.C. 208
slew fully a thousand of the enemy. Then, while the Aetolians, constrained by fear, remained inside the walls of the city of Lamia, Philip led his army back to Phalara. The place is on the Maliac Gulf,[1] and was formerly populous on account of its remarkable harbour and safe roadsteads on this side and that and other advantages from the sea and the land. To that place came ambassadors from Ptolemy, King of Egypt, and from the Rhodians and Athenians and Chians, in order to bring to an end the war between Philip and the Aetolians. A peacemaker from their neighbours also was brought in by the Aetolians, Amynander, King of the Athamanians. For all of them, however, it was not so much solicitude for the Aetolians, a race more warlike than comports with the character of Greeks, as it was the fear lest Philip and his kingdom might become involved in the affairs of Greece and become a menace to freedom. As for the peace, consideration was postponed until the council of the Achaeans, and for that council a place and also a fixed date were appointed. Meantime a truce for thirty days was obtained. Setting out from thence [2] King Philip came by way of Thessaly and Boeotia to Chalcis in Euboea, in order that he might prevent Attalus, who, he had heard, was about to make for Euboea with a fleet, from using the harbours and from landing on the shore. And then, leaving a garrison against Attalus, in case he should cross over in the meantime, he set out himself with a few horsemen and light-armed and came to Argos. There the direction of the games in honour of Hera and of the Nemean Games [3] was conferred upon him by vote of

[3] Celebrated in the 2nd and 4th year of each Olympiad; cf. pp. 330–331, note 2.

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suffragiis populi ad eum delata, quia se Macedonum reges ex ea civitate oriundos referunt,[1] Heraeis peractis ab ipso ludicro extemplo Aegium profectus est ad indictum multo ante sociorum concilium. Ibi de Aetolico finiendo bello actum, ne causa aut Romanis aut Attalo intrandi Graeciam esset. Sed ea omnia vixdum indutiarum tempore circumacto Aetoli turbavere, postquam et Attalum Aeginam venisse et Romanam classem stare ad Naupactum audivere. Vocati enim in concilium Achaeorum, in quo et eae legationes erant quae ad Phalara egerant de pace, primum questi sunt quaedam parva contra fidem conventionis tempore indutiarum facta: postremo negarunt dirimi bellum posse, nisi Messeniis Achaei Pylum redderent, Romanis restitueretur Atintania, Scerdilaedo et Pleurato Ardiaei. Enimvero indignum ratus Philippus victos victori sibi ultro condiciones ferre, ne antea quidem se aut de pace audisse aut indutias pepigisse dixit spem ullam habentem quieturos Aetolos, sed ut [2] omnes socios testes haberet se pacis, illos belli causam quaesisse. Ita infecta pace concilium dimisit quattuor milibus armatorum relictis ad praesidium Achaeorum et quinque longis navibus acceptis, quas si adiecisset missae nuper ad se classi Carthaginiensium et ex Bithynia ab rege Prusia venientibus

[1] referunt $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben* : ferunt *Perizonius.*
[2] ut $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben* : uti A^1N^2JK.

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[1] Attalus purchased the island three years before this from the Aetolians; these had acquired it under a treaty made with the Romans, who had taken forcible possession; Polybius XXII. viii. 10.

[2] Cf. XXVI. xxiv. 9.

the people, because the kings of the Macedonians B.C. 208
claim that they sprang from that city. When the Heraea were over, immediately after the games he left for Aegium and the long since appointed council of his allies. There they discussed the termination of the Aetolian war, that neither the Romans nor Attalus might have reason to enter Greece. But all such plans, though the time of the truce had scarcely elapsed, were thrown into confusion by the Aetolians, when they heard that Attalus had reached Aegina[1] and also that a Roman fleet was lying at Naupactus. For on being called into the council of the Achaeans, in which were also present the embassies which at Phalara had spoken on behalf of peace, they at first complained of certain small breaches of the agreement committed during the truce. Finally they asserted that the war could not be brought to an end unless the Achaeans should restore Pylus to the Messenians, and Atintania should be returned to the Romans, and the Ardiaei to Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus.[2] Philip, who thought it a perfect outrage for the vanquished actually to offer terms to him, the victor, said that on the former occasion also it was not with any hope that the Aetolians would keep quiet that he had either listened to pleas for peace or agreed to a truce, but in order to have all the allies witnesses that he had sought a ground for peace, the Aetolians a ground for war. So, with peace unachieved, he dismissed the council, leaving four thousand armed men to protect the Achaeans and receiving five warships from them. He had decided that, if he should add these to the Carthaginian fleet lately sent to him and to the ships that were coming from Bithynia from King Prusias, he would attack the

A.U.C. 546 navibus, statuerat navali proelio lacessere Romanos
17 iam diu in regione ea potentes maris. Ipse ab eo concilio Argos regressus; iam enim Nemeorum adpetebat tempus, quae celebrari[1] volebat praesentia sua.

XXXI. Occupato rege apparatu ludorum et per dies festos licentius quam inter belli tempora remittente animum P. Sulpicius ab Naupacto profectus classem appulit inter Sicyonem et Corinthum, agrumque nobilissimae[2] fertilitatis effuse vastavit.
2 Fama eius rei Philippum ab ludis excivit; raptimque cum equitatu profectus, iussis subsequi peditibus, palatos passim per agros gravesque praeda, ut qui nihil tale metuerent, adortus Romanos compulit
3 ad[3] naves. Classis Romana haudquaquam laeta praeda Naupactum redit. Philippo ludorum quoque qui reliqui erant celebritatem quantaecumque, de Romanis tamen, victoriae partae fama auxerat,
4 laetitiaque ingenti celebrati festi dies, eo magis etiam quod populariter dempto capitis insigni purpuraque atque alio regio habitu aequaverat ceteris se in speciem, quo nihil gratius est civitatibus
5 liberis; praebuissetque haud dubiam eo facto spem libertatis, nisi omnia intoleranda libidine foeda ac deformia[4] effecisset. Vagabatur enim[5] cum uno aut
6 altero comite per maritas domos dies noctesque, et summittendo se in privatum fastigium quo minus conspectus, eo solutior erat, et libertatem, cum aliis

[1] celebrari $A^{s}N^{2}$?JK *Aldus*, *Froben* : -are $P(1)N$.
[2] agrumque nobilissimae $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Aldus*, *Froben* : *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line.*
[3] ad *Sp*?$N^{s}JK$ *Froben* 2 : in $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*
[4] deformia $CM^{1}N^{s}$: deformi $P(3)NJK$.
[5] enim $P(1)N$ *Aldus*, *Froben* : autem $N^{s}JK$ *Conway.*

Romans, who had long commanded the sea in that region, in a naval battle. As for himself, he returned from that council to Argos; for the time of the Nemean Games was at hand, and he wished them to be more festive because of his presence. B.C. 208

XXXI. While the king was engaged in preparing for the games and relaxing during the festal days with more freedom than in war-times, Publius Sulpicius sailing from Naupactus put in with his fleet between Sicyon and Corinth and ravaged a region of the most noted fertility far and wide. The report of this called Philip away from the games; and setting out in haste with the cavalry, after ordering the infantry to follow, he attacked the Romans, who, fearing nothing of the kind, were widely scattered over the country and loaded down with their plunder, and drove them to their ships. The Roman fleet, not at all happy over its plunder, returned to Naupactus. For Philip the remainder of the games also had gained in festivity from the news of a victory, unimportant as it might be, but still over the Romans. And the festival was observed with immense rejoicing, all the more because, to be popular, he had removed his diadem and purple and other regal attire, and in appearance had put himself on the same plane as the others, than which nothing is more acceptable to free states. And by doing so he would have offered them no uncertain hope of freedom, had he not degraded and debased everything by his insufferable lust. For with one or two companions he would roam day and night round the homes of married couples, and lowering himself to the level of a private citizen, the less he was observed the more unrestrained was he, and liberty, of which

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vanam ostendisset, totam in suam licentiam verterat.
7 Neque enim omnia emebat aut eblandiebatur, sed vim etiam [1] flagitiis adhibebat, periculosumque et viris et parentibus erat moram incommoda severi-
8 tate libidini regiae fecisse. Uni etiam principi Achaeorum Arato adempta uxor nomine Polyeratia ac spe regiarum nuptiarum in Macedoniam asportata fuerat.
9 Per haec flagitia sollemni Nemeorum peracto paucisque additis diebus, Dymas est profectus ad praesidium Aetolorum, quod ab Eleis adcitum accep-
10 tumque in urbem erat, eiciendum. Cycliadas—penes eum summa imperii erat—Achaeique ad Dymas regi occurrere, et Eleorum accensi odio, quod a ceteris Achaeis dissentirent, et infensi Aetolis, quos Romanum quoque adversus se movisse bellum
11 credebant. Profecti ab Dymis coniuncto exercitu transeunt Larisum amnem, qui Eleum agrum ab [2] Dymaeo dirimit. XXXII. Primum diem quo fines hostium ingressi sunt populando absumpserunt; postero die acie instructa ad urbem accesserunt praemissis equitibus qui obequitando portis [3] promptum ad excursiones genus lacesserent Aetolorum.
2 Ignorabant Sulpicium cum quindecim navibus ab Naupacto Cyllenen traiecisse et expositis in terram quattuor milibus armatorum silentio noctis, ne con-

[1] etiam $A^{s}?N^{s}JK$ *Froben* 2 : *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] ab $A^{s}N^{s}JK$, *as in line above* : a $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.
[3] portis $A^{s}N^{s}JK$: *om.* $P(1)N$.

he had made but an empty show to others, for his purpose he turned wholly to licence. For he did not obtain everything by purchase or cajoling, but even employed force to gain his shameful ends. And it was dangerous for both husbands and parents if they had delayed the royal lust by disobliging strictness. Even from one of the leading men of the Achaeans, Aratus, his wife, named Polycratia, had been taken away and carried off into Macedonia with the prospect of a royal marriage. B.C. 208

After the festival of the Nemea had been completed in the midst of such shameful conduct, and he had added a few more days, he set out for Dymae, in order to expel the Aetolian garrison which had been summoned by the Eleans and admitted to their city.[1] Cycliadas, who held the chief command, and the Achaeans met the king near Dymae, being not only inflamed with hatred of the Eleans because they were at odds with the rest of the Achaeans, but also hostile to the Aetolians, who, they believed, had stirred the Romans likewise to a war against them. Setting forth from Dymae and uniting their armies, they crossed the river Larisus, which separates the Elean territory from that of Dymae. XXXII. The first day on which they entered the territory of the enemy they spent in devastation. On the next day, drawing up a battle-line, they approached the city, after sending the cavalry in advance; it was to ride up to the gates and provoke the Aetolians, a race of men alert for sallies. They did not know that Sulpicius with fifteen ships had crossed over from Naupactus to Cyllene, and landing four thousand armed men had entered Elis in the dead of night, so that the column

[1] The city of Elis, not Dymae, which was in Achaia.

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3 spici agmen posset, intrasse Elim. Itaque inprovisa
res ingentem iniecit terrorem, postquam inter Aetolos
4 Eleosque Romana signa atque arma cognovere. Et
primo recipere suos voluerat rex; deinde [1] contracto
iam inter Aetolos et Tralles—Illyriorum id est genus
—certamine cum urgeri videret suos, et ipse rex
5 cum equitatu in cohortem Romanam incurrit. Ibi
equus pilo traiectus cum prolapsum super [2] caput
regem effudisset, atrox pugna utrimque accensa est,
et ab Romanis impetu in regem facto et protegentibus
6 regiis. Insignis et ipsius pugna fuit, cum pedes inter
equites coactus esset proelium inire. Dein cum iam
impar certamen esset, caderentque circa eum multi
et volnerarentur, raptus ab suis atque alteri equo
7 iniectus fugit.[3] Eo die castra quinque milia passuum
ab urbe Eleorum posuit. Postero die ad propin-
quum Eleorum castellum [4]—Pyrgum vocant—copias
omnes [5] eduxit, quo agrestium multitudinem cum
pecoribus metu populationum compulsam audierat.
8 Eam inconditam inermemque multitudinem primo
statim terrore adveniens cepit; compensaveratque
ea praeda quod ignominiae ad Elim acceptum fuerat.
9 Dividenti praedam captivosque—fuere autem quat-
tuor milia hominum, pecorum [6] omnis generis ad

[1] deinde *P*(1)*N Aldus*, dein *JK Froben* 2.
[2] super *Madvig*: per *P*(1)*NSp Froben* 2: in *A*[s]*?JK Aldus*.
[3] fugit *P*(1)*NJK*: fuit *Sp*.
[4] castellum, *P*(3) *omit the three preceding words* (*a line*) *supplied by A*[s]*JK, Aldus, Froben*.

should not be seen. Consequently the surprise B.C. 208
inspired great alarm, when they had recognized Roman standards and arms among the Aetolians and Eleans. And at first the king had wished to recall his men; then, on seeing his own men hard pressed by the battle already begun between the Aetolians and the Tralles, an Illyrian race, the king also with his cavalry charged a Roman cohort. There his horse was run through by a javelin and threw the king sprawling over his head, whereupon a fierce battle was kindled on both sides, as the Romans made an attack upon the king and at the same time the king's guards tried to protect him. Conspicuous was his own fighting also, although he had been forced to go into battle on foot among horsemen. Then, when the combat was now one-sided and many were falling and being wounded around him, he was seized by his men, was lifted upon another horse, and fled. On that day he pitched camp five miles from the city of Elis. The next day he led out all his troops to a neighbouring fortress of the Eleans—they call it Pyrgus—into which he had heard that a great number of rustics, together with their flocks, had been driven by the fear of being robbed. That unorganized and unarmed multitude he at once captured in the first panic as he came up. And by that booty he had made good the disgrace he had suffered at Elis. As he was dividing the booty and the captives—there were in fact four thousand persons and about twenty thousand cattle of every

[5] copias omnes $P(3)$: omnes copias AN (*also* A^sN^sJK *Aldus, Froben, but after* die *above*).

[6] pecorum JK (-rumque *Aldus, Froben*): pecoris $P(1)N$: pecorisque N^s *Conway.*

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viginti milia—nuntius ex Macedonia venit Aëropum quendam corrupto arcis praesidiique praefecto Lychnidum cepisse, tenere et Dassaretiorum quosdam vicos et Dardanos etiam concire. Omisso igitur Achaico atque Aetolico[1] bello, relictis tamen duobus milibus et quingentis omnis generis armatorum cum Menippo et Polyphanta ducibus ad praesidium sociorum, profectus ab Dymis per Achaiam Boeotiamque et Euboeam decumis castris Demetriadem in Thessaliam pervenit.

XXXIII. Ibi alii maiorem adferentes tumultum nuntii occurrunt: Dardanos in Macedoniam effusos Orestidem iam tenere ac descendisse in Argestaeum campum, famamque inter barbaros celebrem esse Philippum occisum. Expeditione ea qua cum populatoribus agri ad Sicyonem pugnavit in arborem inlatus impetu equi ad eminentem ramum cornu alterum galeae praefregit; id inventum ab Aetolo quodam perlatumque in Aetoliam ad Scerdilaedum, cui notum erat insigne galeae, famam interfecti regis[2] volgavit. Post profectionem ex Achaia regis Sulpicius Aeginam classe profectus cum Attalo sese coniunxit. Achaei cum Aetolis Eleisque haud procul Messene prosperam pugnam fecerunt. Attalus rex et P. Sulpicius Aeginae hibernarunt.

[1] atque Aetolico A^1N^1JK: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[2] regis $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: philippi SpA^1JK *Froben* 2: philippi regis N^1.

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[1] Now Ochrida, at the north-east end of the lake of the same name (between Albania and Jugoslavia), on the main road from the Adriatic to Thessalonica (later the Via Egnatia). South of the lake and bordering on Macedonia were the Dassaretii, an important Illyrian tribe in a mountain country. North-east of the lake were the Illyrian Dardani.

[2] The commercial centre of Thessaly, in Magnesia, at the north end of the Gulf of Pagasae, and strongly fortified.

kind—came the news from Macedonia that one B.C. 208
Aëropus by bribing the commander of the citadel and garrison had captured Lychnidus,[1] was holding some villages of the Dassaretii and also stirring up the Dardani. Consequently the king, dropping the Achaean and Aetolian war, but still leaving twenty-five hundred armed men of every sort with Menippus and Polyphantas as commanders to defend his allies, setting out from Dymae, made his way through Achaia and Boeotia and Euboea in ten day's marches to Demetrias[2] in Thessaly.

XXXIII. There other messengers met him, bringing news of a greater inroad: that the Dardanians pouring into Macedonia were already holding Orestis[3] and had come down into the Argestaean Plain; and that it was currently reported among the barbarians that Philip had been slain. On that raid in which he fought near Sicyon[4] with men who were ravaging the country, he was dashed against a tree by his charging horse, and broke off one of the two horns of his helmet against a projecting branch. It was found by a certain Aetolian and carried into Aetolia to Scerdilaedus, who was acquainted with the ornament of the helmet, and this spread abroad the report that the king had been slain. After the departure of the king from Achaia, Sulpicius went with his fleet to Aegina[5] and joined Attalus. The Achaeans fought a successful engagement with the Aetolians and Eleans not far from Messene. King Attalus and Publius Sulpicius spent the winter at Aegina.

[3] A region of Macedonia east of the Dassaretii and in the upper basin of the river Haliacmon.

[4] Cf. xxxi. 1 f.

[5] Cf. xxx. 11 and note.

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6 Exitu huius anni T. Quinctius[1] consul, dictatore comitiorum ludorumque faciendorum causa dicto T. Manlio Torquato, ex volnere moritur; alii Tarenti, 7 alii in Campania mortuum tradunt. Ita,[2] quod nullo ante bello acciderat, duo consules sine memorando proelio interfecti velut orbam rem publicam reliquerant. Dictator Manlius magistrum equitum 8 C. Servilium—tum aedilis curulis erat—dixit. Senatus quo die primum est habitus ludos magnos facere dictatorem iussit, quos M. Aemilius praetor urbanus C. Flaminio, Cn. Servilio consulibus fecerat et in quinquennium voverat. Tum dictator et fecit ludos 9 et in insequens[3] lustrum vovit. Ceterum cum duo consulares exercitus tam prope hostem sine ducibus essent, omnibus aliis omissis una praecipua cura patres populumque incessit consules primo quoque tempore creandi, et ut[4] eos crearent potissimum 10 quorum virtus satis tuta a fraude Punica esset: cum toto eo bello damnosa praepropera ac fervida ingenia imperatorum fuissent,[5] tum eo ipso anno consules nimia cupiditate conserendi cum hoste manum in 11 necopinatam fraudem lapsos esse; ceterum deos immortales, miseritos nominis Romani, pepercisse innoxiis exercitibus, temeritatem consulum ipsorum capitibus damnasse.

XXXIV. Cum circumspicerent patres quosnam consules facerent, longe ante alios eminebat C.

[1] Quinctius, *A¹JK add* Crispinus.
[2] Ita *Weissenborn*: id *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben*: ita, id *Riemann*: et, id *Madvig*.
[3] insequens *P*(1)*N Aldus*: sequens *JK Froben* 2.
[4] et ut *JK Froben* 2: ut *P*(1)*N Aldus*: et *N*¹.
[5] fuissent *P*(1)*NJK*: fuisse *Sp*? *Froben* 2.

[1] Votive games, vowed in 217 B.C.; XXII. ix. 10; x. 7.

At the end of this year Titus Quinctius, the consul, B.C. 208
after naming Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator for the purpose of holding elections and games, died of his wound. Some relate that he died at Tarentum, others in Campania. So two consuls—and this had happened in no previous war—losing their lives without a notable battle, had left the state as it were bereft. The dictator Manlius named Gaius Servilius, then a curule aedile, as master of the horse. The senate on the first day on which it sat ordered the dictator to conduct the great games[1] which Marcus Aemilius, the city praetor, had conducted in the consulship of Gaius Flaminius and Gnaeus Servilius and had vowed for the fifth year thereafter.[2] At this time the dictator conducted the games and also vowed them for the succeeding lustrum. But inasmuch as two consular armies were so near the enemy without their commanders, the senate and the people, neglecting everything else, were possessed by one particular concern—to elect consuls at the first possible moment, and to elect especially men whose courage was quite safe against the Carthaginian wiles. Not only throughout that war, they said, had the over-hasty, fiery temperament of the generals proved ruinous, but in that very year the consuls in their excessive eagerness to engage with the enemy had fallen unawares into a trap. But, they added, the immortal gods, taking pity upon the Roman people, had spared the innocent armies, and had punished the rashness of the consuls by the loss of their own lives.

XXXIV. While the fathers were casting about to see whom they should make consuls, pre-eminent

[2] But the vow had not been fulfilled.

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2 Claudius Nero. Ei[1] conlega quaerebatur: et virum quidem eum egregium ducebant, sed promptiorem acrioremque quam tempora belli postularent aut 3 hostis Hannibal: temperandum acre ingenium eius[2] moderato et prudenti viro adiuncto conlega censebant. M. Livius erat, multis ante annis ex consulatu 4 populi iudicio damnatus, quam ignominiam adeo aegre tulerat ut rus migrarit[3] et per multos annos 5 et urbe et omni coetu careret[4] hominum. Octavo ferme post damnationem anno M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Valerius Laevinus consules redduxerant eum in urbem; sed erat veste obsoleta capilloque et barba promissa, prae se ferens in voltu habituque 6 insignem memoriam ignominiae acceptae. L. Veturius et P. Licinius censores eum tonderi et squalorem deponere et in senatum venire fungique aliis 7 publicis muneribus coegerunt. Sed tum quoque aut verbo adsentiebatur aut pedibus in sententiam ibat, donec cognati hominis eum causa M. Livii Macati, cum fama[5] eius ageretur, stantem coegit in senatu 8 sententiam dicere. Tunc ex tanto intervallo auditus convertit ora hominum in se, causamque sermonibus praebuit,[6] indigno iniuriam a populo factam, magno-

[1] Ei *A*[1]*N*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: et *P*(3)*N*: set *B*.

[2] eius *P*(1)*N* (*before* ingenium *JK Froben* 2): *om. Conway*.

[3] migrarit *Ta*[2]*x Froben* 2, : *Conway*: -aret *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: -arent *Ta*.

[4] careret *P*(1)*N Aldus, Conway*: caruerit *TaSpJK*.

[5] fama *P*(3)*A*[1]?*N*[1]: de fama *A*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: in fama *AN*.

[6] praebuit *TaA*[1]*N*[1]*JK*: *om. P*(1)*N*.

[1] Following his consulship, for the year 219 B.C. with Aemilius Paulus, he was charged with taking too large a share in the spoils of a war against the Illyrians, for which they were granted triumphs; Frontinus IV. i. 45; *ex invidia*

above all the rest was Gaius Claudius Nero: their B.C. 208
quest was for his colleague. And they considered Nero a remarkable man, to be sure, but more hasty and violent than the war situation and Hannibal as enemy demanded. They thought his violent nature must be tempered by giving him as his colleague a man of moderation and foresight. There was Marcus Livius,[1] who many years before, after his consulship, had been condemned by verdict of the people, and had been so indignant at that disgrace that he removed to the country and for many years absented himself from the city and also from every gathering of men. About seven years after his condemnation Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the consuls, had brought him back into the city. But he wore old clothing and long hair and beard, revealing outwardly in countenance and garb a vivid memory of the disgrace he had incurred. Lucius Veturius and Publius Licinius, the censors, compelled him to shave and lay aside his neglected appearance and to come into the senate and perform other public duties. Even then, however, he would either assent in a word or go over to the side of the mover, until the case of his relative, Marcus Livius Macatus,[2] whose reputation was involved, obliged him to stand up and deliver his opinion in the senate. When he was heard at that time after so long an interval, he attracted men's attention to himself and gave occasion for their saying that the people had wronged a man who did not deserve it, and that it had been a great loss that

peculatus reus. Aurelius Victor (?) I. i; cf. XXIX. xxxvii. Livius was fined according to Suetonius *Tiberius* iii.

[2] Cf. xxv. 3 ff.

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que id damno fuisse quod tam gravi bello nec opera
9 nec consilio talis viri usa res publica esset: C. Neroni neque Q. Fabium neque M. Valerium Laevinum dari conlegam[1] posse, quia duos patricios
10 creari non liceret; eandem causam in T. Manlio esse, praeterquam quod recusasset delatum consulatum recusaturusque esset; egregium par consulum fore, si M. Livium C. Claudio conlegam adiunxissent.
11 Nec populus mentionem eius rei ortam a patribus
12 est aspernatus. Unus eam rem in civitate is cui deferebatur honos abnuebat, levitatem civitatis accusans: sordidati rei non miseritos candidam togam invito offerre; eodem honores poenasque
13 congeri. Si virum bonum[2] ducerent, quid ita pro malo ac noxio damnassent? [3] Si noxium comperissent, quid ita male credito priore consulatu
14 alterum crederent? Haec taliaque arguentem et querentem castigabant patres, et M. Furium memorantes revocatum de exsilio patriam pulsam sede sua restituisse—ut parentium saevitiam, sic patriae patiendo ac ferendo leniendam esse—
15 adnisi omnes cum C. Claudio M. Livium consulem fecerunt.

XXXV. Post diem tertium eius diei praetorum comitia habita. Praetores creati L. Porcius Licinus,

[1] conlegam *JK*: -gas *P*(1)*NTa Aldus, Froben.*
[2] virum bonum *Ta*?: bonum virum *A*[1]*N*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: bonum *P*(3)*N*.
[3] malo ac noxio damnassent *TaA*[1]*N*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N* (*these om.* si *following*).

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[1] On Camillus and his restoration of Rome see V. li. 1 f.; VII. i. 9 Plutarch *Camillus* xxx. 1.

in so serious a war the state had not availed itself of B.C. 208
the services and the advice of such a man; that neither Quintus Fabius nor Marcus Valerius Laevinus could be given to Gaius Nero as his colleague, because it was not lawful to elect two patricians; that the same reason applied to Titus Manlius, in addition to the fact that he had refused and would refuse the offer of a consulship. An extraordinary pair of consuls it would be, if they should link Marcus Livius with Gaius Claudius as his colleague. And mention of the matter, beginning with the fathers, was not frowned upon by the people. The only one in the state who rejected it, accusing the citizens of inconsistency, was the man to whom the office was tendered. He said that, having shown no pity toward a defendant in mourning, they were offering the whitened toga to a reluctant man; honours and penalties were being heaped upon the same person. If they thought him a good man, why then had they condemned him as a bad man and a criminal? If they had found him a criminal, why then, after unfortunately entrusting a former consulship, were they now entrusting a second to him? When he made use of these and similar arguments and complaints, the fathers would rebuke him, and by reminding him that Marcus Furius,[1] on being recalled from exile, had restored his native city when driven from her place—that, as in the case of parents, so the harshness of one's native city must be appeased by suffering and bearing it—through the united efforts of them all, they elected Marcus Livius consul with Gaius Claudius.

XXXV. On the third day after that the election of praetors took place. Elected praetors were

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C. Mamilius, C. et A. Hostilii Catones. Comitiis perfectis ludisque factis dictator et magister equitum magistratu abierunt. C. Terentius Varro in Etruriam pro praetore missus, ut ex ea provincia C. Hostilius Tarentum ad eum exercitum iret quem T. Quinctius consul habuerat; et L.[1] Manlius trans mare legatus iret viseretque quae res ibi gererentur; simul quod Olympiae ludicrum ea aestate futurum erat, quod maximo coetu Graeciae[2] celebraretur, ut, si tuto per hostem posset, adiret id concilium, ut qui Siculi bello ibi profugi aut Tarentini cives relegati ab Hannibale essent, domos redirent scirentque sua omnia iis quae ante bellum habuissent reddere populum Romanum.

Quia periculosissimus annus inminere videbatur, neque consules in re publica erant, in consules designatos omnes versi, quam primum eos sortiri provincias et praesciscere quam quisque eorum provinciam, quem hostem haberet, volebant. De reconciliatione etiam gratiae eorum in senatu actum est principio facto a Q. Fabio Maximo. Inimicitiae autem nobiles inter eos erant et acerbiores eas indignioresque Livio sua calamitas fecerat quod spretum se in ea fortuna credebat. Itaque is magis inplacabilis erat et nihil opus esse reconciliatione aiebat:

[1] Quinctius consul habuerat; et L. $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line*.
[2] Graeciae $A^{s}N^{s}JK$: *om.* $P(1)N$.

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[1] Cf. iv. 4; 1. 8; XXVI. xxiii. 1.

Lucius Porcius Licinus, Gaius Mamilius, Gaius Hostilius Cato and Aulus Hostilius Cato. After completing the elections and holding the games, the dictator and master of the horse abdicated office. Gaius Terentius Varro was sent into Etruria as propraetor, with the understanding that Gaius Hostilius should go from that province to Tarentum, to the army which Titus Quinctius, the consul, had had. It was decreed also that Lucius Manlius[1] should cross the sea as an emissary and ascertain what was going on there; at the same time, inasmuch as the Olympic Festival was to be held that summer—and, as they said, it was observed by a great multitude of Greeks—if he could be safe from the enemy, he should go to that gathering, so that such Sicilians as were there as refugees on account of the war, or citizens of Tarentum banished by Hannibal, might return and know that the Roman people was restoring to them all the possessions which they had held before the war. B.C. 208

Inasmuch as a very dangerous year seemed impending, and the state had no consuls, everyone turned to the consuls-elect and wished that as soon as possible they should cast lots for their provinces and settle in advance what province and what enemy each of them was to have. Also a reconciliation between them was discussed in the senate, Quintus Fabius Maximus taking the initiative. Now between them was a well-known enmity, and for Livius his own downfall had embittered that enmity and made it more intolerable, because he believed that in that misfortune he had been treated with contempt. And so he was the more deaf to entreaty, and kept saying they had no need to be reconciled; that in

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acrius et intentius omnia gesturos timentes ne crescendi ex se inimico conlegae potestas fieret. 9 Vicit tamen auctoritas senatus ut positis simultatibus communi animo consilioque administrarent rem 10 publicam. Provinciae iis non permixtae regionibus, sicut superioribus annis, sed diversae extremis Italiae finibus, alteri adversus Hannibalem Bruttii et Lucani, alteri Gallia adversus [1] Hasdrubalem, quem iam Alpibus adpropinquare fama erat, decreta. 11 Exercitum e duobus qui in Gallia quique in Etruria esset, addito urbano, eligeret quem mallet, qui 12 Galliam esset sortitus. Cui Bruttii provincia evenisset, novis legionibus urbanis scriptis, utrius 13 mallet consulum prioris anni exercitum sumeret; relictum a consule exercitum Q. Fulvius proconsul ac- 14 ciperet, eique in annum imperium esset. Et C. Hostilio, cui pro Etruria Tarentum mutaverant provinciam, pro Tarento Capuam mutaverunt; legio una data est,[2] cui Fulvius proximo anno praefuerat.

XXXVI. De Hasdrubalis adventu in Italiam cura in dies crescebat. Massiliensium primum legati nun- 2 tiaverant [3] eum in Galliam transgressum, erectosque

[1] adversus *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben* : contra *JK*.
[2] est *P*(1)*N Aldus* : *om. Sp?JK Froben* 2.
[3] nuntiaverant *JK Aldus, Froben* : -erunt *P*(1)*N*.

every act each would show more spirit and alertness B.C. 208
for fear an unfriendly colleague might have the opportunity to gain at his expense. Nevertheless by the authority of the senate they were prevailed upon to lay aside their quarrels and to carry on the government with a common spirit and policy. The provinces assigned to them were not locally indistinguishable, as in the preceding years, but separated by the whole length of Italy. To the one was assigned the land of the Bruttii and Lucania facing Hannibal, to the other Gaul facing Hasdrubal, who was reported to be already nearing the Alps. Whichever of them should receive Gaul in the allotment was to choose the army he preferred out of the two that were in Gaul and in Etruria and the one at the city. The consul to whom the land of the Bruttii should fall as his province was to enrol new legions for the city and take, at his own discretion, the army of one or the other of the consuls of the previous year. As for the army which was not taken by a consul, Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul, was to take it, and his command was to be for one year. And for Gaius Hostilius, for whom they had made a change of provinces, Tarentum in place of Etruria, they made a change of Capua instead of Tarentum. One legion was assigned to him, that which in the previous year Fulvius had commanded.

XXXVI. In regard to Hasdrubal's coming to Italy anxiety was daily increasing. First, ambassadors from Massilia [1] had announced that he had passed over into Gaul, and that the Gauls were aroused by

[1] Livy, whose chronology gives Hasdrubal a whole year in Gaul, does not speak of Scipio's couriers sent to Rome; Zonaras IX. viii. 7.

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adventu eius, quia magnum pondus auri attulisse diceretur ad mercede auxilia conducenda. Gallorum
3 animos. Missi deinde cum iis legati ab Roma Sex. Antistius et M. Raecius ad rem inspiciendam rettulerant misisse se [1] cum Massiliensibus ducibus qui per hospites eorum principes Gallorum omnia
4 explorata referrent; pro comperto habere Hasdrubalem ingenti iam coacto exercitu proximo vere Alpes traiecturum, nec tum eum quicquam aliud morari nisi quod clausae hieme Alpes essent.
5 In locum M. Marcelli P. Aelius Paetus augur creatus inauguratusque; et Cn. Cornelius Dolabella rex sacrorum inauguratus est in locum M. Marcii,
6 qui biennio ante mortuus erat. Hoc eodem anno et lustrum conditum est a censoribus P. Sempronio Tudi-
7 tano et M. Cornelio Cethego. Censa civium capita centum triginta septem milia centum octo, minor ali-
8 quanto numerus quam qui ante bellum fuerat. Eo anno primum, ex quo Hannibal in Italiam venisset, comitium tectum esse memoriae proditum est, et ludos Romanos semel instauratos ab aedilibus curuli-
9 bus Q. Metello et C. Servilio. Et plebeis ludis [2]

[1] se *PCAN Aldus* : *om. RMBDJK.*

[2] plebeis ludis *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben* : plebei ludi (*with* instaurati) A^z *Wesenberg.*

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[1] His route from the western Pyrenees across Gaul is thought by some to have been a northerly one, as possibly indicated by mention of the Arverni at xxxix. 6; see p. 288, n. 2, but also p. 366, n. 2. Highly improbable is Jullian's theory (based upon a questionable interpretation of Silius Italicus XV. 494) that Hasdrubal wintered at Iliberris (Elne), hardly 15 miles from the eastern pass guarded by Scipio's detachment. More can be said for the historic low-level route Tolosa–Carcaso–Narbo, and then on the trail of Hannibal at least until the Rhone was reached. Cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule* I. 496; De Sanctis *l.c.* 483.

his coming,[1] because he was said to have brought a B.C. 208
great amount of gold in order to hire mercenaries. After that, Sextus Antistius and Marcus Raecius, who were sent with them from Rome as ambassadors to look into the matter, had reported that with Massilians as guides they had sent men to ascertain all the facts through leading Gauls who were guest-friends of their guides, and to report: that they had established that Hasdrubal with a huge army already concentrated would cross the Alps the next spring, and that at that time nothing else was detaining him than that the Alps were closed by the winter.

In place of Marcus Marcellus as augur Publius Aelius Paetus was elected and installed: and Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella was installed as *rex sacrorum* in place of Marcus Marcius, who had died two years before. Also in the same year the lustration was completed[2] by the censors, Publius Sempronius Tuditanus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. Enrolled in the census were 137,108 citizens, a considerably smaller number than it had been before the war.[3] In that year for the first time since Hannibal had invaded Italy it is recorded that the Comitium was covered,[4] and that the Roman Games were repeated for one day by the curule aediles, Quintus Metellus and Gaius Servilius. And at the

[2] The usual phrase in describing the formal rite of purification with which the work of the censors came to an end; cf. I. xliv. 2, etc.

[3] Ten years before, in the censorship of Flaminius and Aemilius Papus, the number of citizens had been over 270,000, almost twice as many; *Periocha* XX.

[4] *I.e.* with awnings to protect the spectators at gladiatorial shows. For the same purpose Caesar covered the entire Forum; Pliny *N.H.* XIX. 23.

A.U.C. 546 biduum instauratum a C. Mamilio et M. Caecilio Metello aedilibus plebis; et tria signa ad Cereris eidem dederunt; et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

A.U.C. 547 10 Consulatum inde ineunt C. Claudius Nero et M. Livius iterum; qui quia iam[1] designati provincias 11 sortiti erant, praetores sortiri iusserunt. C. Hostilio urbana[2] evenit; addita et peregrina, ut tres in provincias exire possent: A. Hostilio Sardinia, C. 12 Mamilio Sicilia, L. Porcio Gallia evenit. Summa legionum trium et viginti ita per provincias divisa: binae consulum essent, quattuor Hispania haberet, binas tres praetores, in Sicilia et Sardinia et Gallia, 13 duas C. Terentius in Etruria, duas Q. Fulvius in Bruttiis, duas Q. Claudius[3] circa Tarentum et Sallentinos, unam C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuae; 14 duae urbanae ut scriberentur. Primis quattuor legionibus populus tribunos creavit; in ceteras consules miserunt.

XXXVII. Priusquam consules proficiscerentur, novendiale sacrum fuit, quia Veis de caelo lapidaverat. 2 Sub unius prodigii, ut fit, mentionem alia quoque nuntiata. Minturnis aedem Iovis et lucum Maricae, 3 item Atellae murum et portam de caelo tacta;[4] Min-

[1] iam *x Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N*.

[2] urbana, *before this N*²*JK Aldus Froben have* iurisdictio (*om. P*(1)*N*); *cf.* XXVIII. x. 9; XXIX. xiii. 2.

[3] in Bruttiis duas Q. Claudius *A*¹*N*²*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N, one line.*

[4] tacta *P*(3)*N*?: tactam *CDN*?*JK Aldus, Froben*; *cf.* xxiii. 3.

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[1] As in XXV. ii. 10; XXIX. xxxviii. 8; XXX. xxxix. 8.

[2] Cf. Vol. VI. p. 346, n. 3, and 501, note.

[3] *I.e.* the legions to be assigned to the consuls.

[4] Cf. note on XXVI. xxiii. 6.

Plebeian Games there was a repetition for two days by order of Gaius Mamilius and Marcus Caecilius Metellus, plebeian aediles. And they likewise gave three statues at the Temple of Ceres. There was also a banquet for Jupiter on account of the festival.[1] B.C. 208

Thereupon Gaius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius entered upon their consulship, the latter for the second time. Because as consuls-elect they had already cast lots for their provinces, they ordered the praetors to cast lots. To Gaius Hostilius fell the city praetorship; the foreign praetorship also was assigned to him, to enable three praetors to go out to provinces.[2] Sardinia fell to Aulus Hostilius, Sicily to Gaius Mamilius, Gaul to Lucius Porcius. The total of the legions was twenty-three, divided as follows among the provinces: the consuls were each to have two legions, Spain four, each of three praetors was to have two, in Sicily and Sardinia and Gaul, Gaius Terentius to have two in Etruria, Quintus Fulvius two in the land of the Bruttii, Quintus Claudius two in the vicinity of Tarentum and the Sallentini, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus one at Capua. Two city legions were to be enrolled. For the first four legions[3] the people elected the tribunes, to the rest of the legions tribunes were sent by the consuls. B.C. 207

XXXVII. Before the consuls set out there were nine days of rites,[4] because stones had rained from the sky at Veii. Following mention of one prodigy, as usual, others also were reported: that at Minturnae the Temple of Jupiter and the grove of Marica,[5] also at Atella the city wall and a gate had been struck by

[5] A goddess especially honoured here at the mouth of the Liris. There was a temple as well; Plutarch *Marius* xxxix. 4; xl. 1.

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turnenses, terribilius quod esset, adiciebant sanguinis rivum in porta fluxisse; et Capuae lupus nocte 4 portam ingressus vigilem laniaverat. Haec procurata hostiis maioribus prodigia, et supplicatio diem unum fuit ex decreto pontificum. Inde iterum novendiale instauratum, quod in Armilustro lapidibus 5 visum pluere. Liberatas religione mentes turbavit rursus nuntiatum Frusinone natum infantem esse[1] quadrimo parem, nec magnitudine tam mirandum quam quod is quoque, ut Sinuessae biennio ante, 6 incertus mas an femina esset natus erat. Id vero haruspices ex Etruria adciti foedum ac turpe prodigium dicere: extorrem agro Romano, procul terrae contactu, alto mergendum. Vivum in arcam condi- 7 dere provectumque in mare proiecerunt. Decrevere item pontifices ut virgines ter novenae per urbem euntes carmen canerent. Id cum in Iovis Statoris aede discerent conditum ab Livio poeta carmen, tacta de caelo aedis[2] in Aventino Iunonis Reginae; 8 prodigiumque id ad matronas pertinere haruspices cum respondissent donoque divam placandam esse, 9 aedilium curulium edicto in Capitolium convocatae quibus in urbe Romana intraque decimum lapidem ab urbe domicilia essent, ipsae inter se quinque et

[1] infantem esse *P*(1)*N*: esse infantem *JK Conway*.
[2] aedis *P*(1)*N*: -des *JK*.

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[1] An open space on the Aventine (near S. Sabina) where the purification of arms took place at an annual festival in October.

[2] Cf. xi. 4 f.

[3] In expiation of a similar portent seven years later a chorus of 27 maidens rendered a hymn. Livius Andronicus being dead, the poet was one Licinius Tegula; XXXI. xii.

lightning. To make it more terrible, the men of Min- B.C. 207
turnae added that there had been a river of blood in the gate. And at Capua a wolf had entered a gate at night and mangled a sentry. These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims, and a single day of prayer was observed by decree of the pontiffs. Then again the nine days of rites were repeated, because in the Armilustrum [1] it seemed to rain stones. Relieved of their religious scruples, men were troubled again by the report that at Frusino there had been born a child as large as a four-year-old, and not so much a wonder for size as because, just as at Sinuessa two years before,[2] it was uncertain whether male or female. In fact the soothsayers summoned from Etruria said it was a terrible and loathsome portent: it must be removed from Roman territory, far from contact with earth, and drowned in the sea. They put it alive into a chest, carried it out to sea and threw it overboard. The pontiffs likewise decreed that thrice nine maidens should sing a hymn as they marched through the city.[3] While they were in the Temple of Jupiter Stator, learning that hymn, composed by Livius the poet, the Temple of Juno the Queen on the Aventine was struck by lightning. That this portent concerned the matrons was the opinion given by the soothsayers, and that the goddess must be appeased by a gift: whereupon the matrons domiciled in the city of Rome or within ten miles of it were summoned by an edict of the curule aediles to the Capitol. And from their own number they themselves chose twenty-five, to whom they

9 f. Two other cases of this choral expiation of an *androgynus* are reported from lost books of Livy by Julius Obsequens 34 and 36.

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viginti delegerunt ad quas ex dotibus stipem conferrent. Inde donum pelvis aurea facta lataque in Aventinum, pureque et caste [1] a matronis sacrificatum.

Confestim ad aliud sacrificium eidem divae ab decemviris edicta dies, cuius ordo talis fuit: ab aede Apollinis boves feminae albae duae porta Carmentali in urbem ductae; post eas duo signa cupressea Iunonis Reginae portabantur; tum septem et viginti virgines, longam indutae vestem, carmen in Iunonem Reginam canentes ibant, illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur. Virginum ordinem sequebantur decemviri coronati laurea praetextatique. A porta Iugario vico in forum venere. In foro pompa constitit, et per manus reste data virgines sonum vocis pulsu pedum modulantes incesserunt. Inde vico Tusco Velabroque per Bovarium forum in clivum Publicium atque aedem Iunonis Reginae perrectum. Ibi duae hostiae ab decemviris immolatae et simulacra cupressea in aedem inlata.

XXXVIII. Deis rite placatis dilectum consules habebant acrius intentiusque quam prioribus annis quisquam meminerat habitum; nam et belli terror duplicatus novi hostis in Italiam adventu, et minus

[1] pureque et caste *SpJK Froben* 2: pure casteque *P*(3)*N Aldus*.

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[1] In the Campus Martius, between the gate and the Flaminian Circus; the only Apollo temple at Rome until the time of Augustus.

[2] As the first known lyric by the very first poet writing at Rome the historian might have told his readers more about it. For the honour paid to Andronicus at the time v. Festus 446 L.

should bring a contribution from their dowries. B.C. 207
Out of that a golden basin was made as a gift and carried to the Aventine, and the matrons after due purification offered sacrifice.

At once a day was appointed by the decemvirs for another sacrifice to the same goddess; and the order of procedure was as follows: from the Temple of Apollo[1] two white cows were led through the Porta Carmentalis into the city; behind them were carried two statues of Juno the Queen in cypress wood. Then the seven and twenty maidens in long robes marched, singing their hymn in honour of Juno the Queen, a song which to the untrained minds of that time may have deserved praise, but now, if repeated, would be repellent and uncouth.[2] Behind the company of maidens followed the decemvirs wearing laurel garlands and purple-bordered togas. From the gate they proceeded along the Vicus Iugarius into the Forum. In the Forum the procession halted, and passing a rope from hand to hand the maidens advanced, accompanying the sound of the voice by beating time with their feet. Then by way of the Vicus Tuscus and the Velabrum, through the Forum Boarium they made their way to the Clivus Publicius[3] and the Temple of Juno the Queen. There the two victims were sacrificed by the decemvirs and the cypress statues borne into the temple.

XXXVIII. After due appeasement of the gods the consuls conducted the levy more vigorously and more strictly than anyone remembered its conduct in previous years. For the terror of the war was doubled by the coming of a new enemy into Italy,

[3] Cf. XXVI. x. 6 and note.

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3 iuventutis erat unde scriberent milites. Itaque colonos etiam maritimos, qui sacrosanctam vacationem dicebantur habere, dare milites cogebant. Quibus recusantibus edixere in diem certam ut quo quisque iure vacationem haberet ad senatum deferret.
4 Ea die ad senatum hi populi venerunt: Ostiensis Alsiensis Antias Anxurnas Minturnensis Sinuessanus,
5 et ab supero mari Senensis. Cum vacationes suas quisque populus recitaret, nullius, cum in Italia hostis esset, praeter Antiatem Ostiensemque vacatio observata est; et earum coloniarum iuniores iure iurando adacti supra dies triginta non pernoctaturos se[1] extra moenia coloniae suae, donec hostis in Italia esset.
6 Cum omnes censerent primo quoque tempore consulibus eundum ad bellum—nam et Hasdrubali occurrendum esse descendenti ab Alpibus, ne Gallos Cisalpinos neve Etruriam erectam in spem rerum
7 novarum sollicitaret, et Hannibalem suo proprio occupandum bello, ne emergere ex Bruttiis atque obviam ire fratri posset—Livius cunctabatur, parum
8 fidens suarum provinciarum exercitibus; conlegam ex duobus consularibus egregiis exercitibus et tertio, cui Q. Claudius Tarenti praeesset, electionem habere; intuleratque mentionem de volonibus re-
9 vocandis ad signa. Senatus liberam potestatem

[1] se, *after this Sp?JK Froben 2, Eds. have* esse, *om. by P(1)N Aldus, Conway.*

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[1] *I.e.* Adriatic; cf. Vol. VI., p. 131 and note.
[2] *I.e.* as represented by its legates. Each delegation probably produced its formula (cf. p. 245, n. 1).
[3] No mention of this possibility is made at xxxv. 12 nor at xl. 14. This Claudius had two legions; xxxvi. 13.

and also there were fewer young men from whom to enlist soldiers. Accordingly they compelled even the men of the seaboard colonies, who, it was said, had an exemption that could not be touched, to furnish soldiers. When they refused, the consuls named a date for them to report to the senate on what basis each state had exemption. On that day these came before the senate: Ostia, Alsium, Antium, Anxur, Minturnae, Sinuessa, and from the Upper[1] Sea, Sena. Although each state[2] read the evidence of its exemption, in no case except Antium and Ostia was exemption respected so long as the enemy was in Italy; and in the case of these colonies the younger men were made to swear that they would not pass the night outside the walls of their colony for more than thirty days, so long as the enemy was in Italy. B.C. 207

All the senators were indeed of the opinion that the consuls must take the field at the earliest possible moment. For they felt that Hasdrubal must be met as he came down from the Alps, to prevent his stirring up the Cisalpine Gauls or Etruria, which was already aroused to the hope of rebellion, and likewise that Hannibal must be kept busy with a war of his own, that he might not be able to leave the country of the Bruttii and go to meet his brother. Nevertheless Livius was hesitating, having small confidence in the armies of his provinces, while his colleague, he thought, had his choice between two excellent consular armies and a third army,[3] which Quintus Claudius commanded at Tarentum. Livius had also mentioned a proposal to recall the slave-volunteers[4] to their standards. The senate gave the

[1] Cf. Vol. VI. p. 108, note; XXV. xx. 4; xxii. 3.

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consulibus fecit et supplendi unde vellent et eligendi de omnibus exercitibus quos vellent, permutandique et [1] ex provinciis quo [2] e re publica censerent esse traducendi.[3] Ea [4] omnia cum summa concordia consulum acta. Volones in undevicensimam et vicensimam legiones scripti. Magni roboris auxilia ex Hispania quoque a P. Scipione M. Livio missa quidam ad id bellum auctores sunt, octo milia Hispanorum Gallorumque et [5] duo milia de legione militum, equitum mille octingentos [6] mixtos Numidas Hispanosque; M. Lucretium has copias navibus advexisse; [7] et sagittariorum funditorumque ad tria milia ex Sicilia C. Mamilium misisse.

XXXIX. Auxerunt Romae tumultum litterae ex Gallia allatae ab L. Porcio praetore: Hasdrubalem movisse ex hibernis et iam Alpes transire; octo milia Ligurum conscripta armataque coniūnctura se transgresso in Italiam esse, nisi mitteretur in Ligures qui eos bello occuparet; se cum invalido exercitu quoad tutum putaret progressurum. Hae litterae consules raptim confecto dilectu maturius quam constituerant exire in provincias coegerunt ea mente ut uterque hostem in sua provincia contineret neque coniungi aut conferre in unum vires pateretur. Plurimum in eam rem adiuvit opinio Hannibalis,

[1] et *Aldus*, *Madvig*: *om.* *P*(1)*NJK Conway.*
[2] quo *Madvig*: quos *P*(3)*NJK Aldus, Conway.*
[3] traducendi *P*(1)*NJK*: -cendos *Conway.*
[4] Ea $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Aldus*: *om.* *P*(1)*N.*
[5] et *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: ad *Sp?*$N^{s}JK$.
[6] octingentos *Sp?x Aldus, Froben* 2: *om.* *P*(1)*N.*
[7] advexisse *Sp?*$N^{s}JK$: adduxisse *P*(1)*N Aldus.*

consuls unlimited power both to supplement from B.C. 207
any source they pleased, and to choose out of all the armies men whom they preferred, and to exchange them, and to transfer them from their provinces whithersoever they thought to the advantage of the state. All of this was done with the greatest harmony on the part of the consuls. The slave-volunteers were enrolled in the nineteenth and twentieth legions. Auxiliary forces of great strength, according to some of the authorities for this war, were sent from Spain as well to Marcus Livius by Publius Scipio, namely, eight thousand Spaniards and Gauls and two thousand legionary soldiers, one thousand eight hundred cavalry, partly Numidians, partly Spanish. They report that Marcus Lucretius brought these troops by sea; and that about three thousand archers and slingers were sent from Sicily by Gaius Mamilius.

XXXIX. At Rome the confusion was increased by the receipt of a letter from Gaul written by Lucius Porcius, the praetor, reporting that Hasdrubal had left his winter quarters and was already crossing the Alps; that eight thousand Ligurians, enrolled and armed, would join him after he had crossed into Italy, unless some one should be sent into Liguria to forestall them by a war; that he would himself advance, so far as he thought safe, with an army that was not strong. This letter constrained the consuls to complete the levy in haste and to leave for their provinces earlier than they had planned, with this intention, that each of them should keep an enemy in his province, and not allow them to come together and combine their armies in one. Of the greatest assistance in that direction was Hannibal's miscalcu-

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quod, etsi ea aestate transiturum in Italiam fratrem crediderat, recordando quae ipse in transitu nunc Rhodani, nunc Alpium cum hominibus locisque pugnando per quinque menses exhausisset, haudquaquam tam facilem maturumque transitum exspectabat; ea tardius movendi ex hibernis causa fuit. 6 Ceterum Hasdrubali et sua et aliorum spe omnia celeriora atque expeditiora fuere. Non enim receperunt modo Arverni eum deinceps[1]que aliae Gallicae atque Alpinae gentes, sed etiam secutae 7 sunt ad bellum. Et cum per munita pleraque transitu fratris, quae antea invia fuerant, ducebat, tum etiam duodecim annorum adsuetudine perviis Alpibus factis inter mitiora iam transibant[2] homi- 8 num ingenia. Invisitati namque antea alienigenis nec videre ipsi advenam in sua terra adsueti, omni generi humano insociabiles erant. Et primo ignari quo Poenus pergeret suas rupes suaque castella et pecorum hominumque praedam peti crediderant; 9 fama deinde Punici belli, quo duodecimum annum Italia urebatur, satis edocuerat viam tantum Alpes

[1] aliae *P(1)N Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpJK.*
[2] transibant *P(1)N Conway*: -ibat *JK Aldus, Froben, Madvig.*

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[1] So a fragment of Polybius, XI. i. 1; in two months (*i.e.* from the time he left winter quarters) according to Appian *Hann.* 32.

[2] As to Hasdrubal's route across Gaul, we may not safely argue from the mention of this powerful tribe (really a wide-spreading confederacy) that he passed north of the Cevennes, through the home-country of the Arverni. Cf. Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, I, 496, note 4.

[3] Appian accepted, with Livy, the same route as had been followed by Hannibal. That route brought Hannibal down into the land of the Taurini, according to Livy, XXI. xxxviii. 5 ff.

lation. He had believed, indeed, that his brother B.C. 207
would come over into Italy that summer: but when he recalled what he had himself endured during five months, in crossing first the Rhone, and then the Alps, in conflicts with men and the nature of the country, he looked forward to a crossing by no means so easy and so soon accomplished. This accounted for his slowness in leaving winter quarters. But for Hasdrubal everything moved more quickly and more easily than had been expected by himself and others.[1] For not only did the Arverni,[2] and then in turn other Gallic and Alpine tribes, receive him, but they even followed him to war. And not merely was he leading an army through country for the most part made passable by his brother's crossing,[3] although previously trackless, but, thanks to the opening up of the Alps by twelve years of habitual use,[4] they were also crossing through tribes now less savagely disposed. For previously, being never seen by strange peoples and unaccustomed themselves to see a stranger in their own land, they were unfriendly to the human race in general. And at first, not knowing whither the Carthaginian was bound, they had believed that their own rocks and fastnesses and booty in cattle and men were the objects of attack. Then reports of the Punic war, with which Italy had been aflame for ~~eleven~~ 15 years, had made it quite plain to them that the Alps were

Hence the inference that the pass was either Mont-Genèvre or Mont-Cenis. Varro had placed Hasdrubal's pass farther north than that of Hannibal; cf. Servius on *Aeneid* X. 13; De Sanctis *l.c.* pp. 65 f., 561.

[4] By whom Livy omits to state; certainly not by armies comparable to Hasdrubal's.

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esse; duas praevalidas urbes, magno inter se maris terrarumque spatio discretas, de imperio et opibus certare.

10 Hae causae aperuerant Alpes Hasdrubali. Ceterum
11 quod celeritate itineris profectum erat, id mora ad Placentiam, dum frustra obsidet magis quam oppug-
12 nat, corrupit. Crediderat campestris oppidi facilem expugnationem esse, et nobilitas coloniae induxerat eum, magnum se excidio eius urbis terrorem
13 ceteris ratum iniecturum. Non ipse se [1] solum ea oppugnatione [2] impediit, sed Hannibalem post famam transitus eius tanto spe sua celeriorem iam moventem
14 ex hibernis continuerat, quippe reputantem non solum quam lenta urbium oppugnatio esset, sed etiam quam ipse frustra eandem illam coloniam ab Trebia victor regressus temptasset.

XL. Consules diversis itineribus profecti ab urbe velut in duo pariter bella distenderant curas hominum, simul recordantium, quas primus adventus
2 Hannibalis intulisset Italiae clades, simul cum illa angeret cura, quos tam propitios urbi atque imperio fore deos ut eodem tempore utrobique res publica prospere gereretur? Adhuc adversa secundis pen-
3 sando rem ad id tempus extractam esse. Cum in Italia ad Trasumennum et Cannas praecipitasset Romana res, prospera bella in Hispania prolapsam
4 eam erexisse; postea, cum in Hispania alia super

[1] ipse se *Sp²N¹JK Froben* 2: ipse *PRM*: ipsum *CBDAN Aldus, Madvig.*

[2] oppugnatione *Sp²K* (imp- *N¹J*): oppugnatio *P*(1)*N Madvig.*

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[1] No such siege of Placentia was mentioned in XXI. lvii., lix., but only an unsuccessful attack upon its port.

merely a route; that two very powerful cities, B.C. 207
separated from each other by a wide expanse of sea and land, were contending for empire and supremacy.

These were the reasons which had opened the Alps for Hasdrubal. But what had been gained by the rapidity of his march he lost by delaying before Placentia, in a futile blockade rather than a siege. He had believed that the storming of a town in the plain was easy, and the reputation of the colony had led him on, thinking that by the destruction of that city he would inspire great alarm in the others. Not only did he hinder himself by that siege, but he had kept back Hannibal, who was just preparing to leave winter quarters, on hearing so much sooner than he had expected news of his brother's crossing. For Hannibal recalled not only how slow was the besieging of cities, but also how vainly he had himself attempted to take that same colony, upon returning as a victor from the Trebia.[1]

XL. The setting out of the consuls from the city in opposite directions, as though for two wars at the same time, had drawn men's anxious thoughts both ways, while they not only remembered what disasters the first coming of Hannibal had brought into Italy, but also were tormented by this anxiety: what gods were to be so kindly disposed to the city and the empire that the state should meet with success at the same time in both quarters? It was with a balancing of defeats so far by victories, they thought, that matters had dragged on up to that time. When in Italy at Trasumennus and Cannae the Roman state had gone down to defeat, victorious campaigns in Spain had saved her from falling. Later, when in Spain one disaster after another had

aliam clades duobus egregiis ducibus amissis duos exercitus ex parte delesset, multa secunda in Italia Siciliaque gesta quassatam rem publicam excepisse; et ipsum intervallum loci, quod in ultimis terrarum oris alterum bellum gereretur, spatium dedisse ad respirandum. Nunc duo bella in Italiam accepta, duo celeberrimi nominis duces circumstare urbem Romanam, et unum in locum totam periculi molem, omne onus incubuisse. Qui eorum prior vicisset, intra paucos dies castra [1] cum altero iuncturum. Terrebat et proximus annus lugubris duorum consulum funeribus. His anxii curis homines digredientes in provincias consules prosecuti sunt. Memoriae proditum est plenum adhuc irae in civis M. Livium ad bellum proficiscentem monenti Q. Fabio ne, priusquam genus hostium cognosset, temere manum consereret, respondisse, ubi primum hostium agmen conspexisset, pugnaturum. Cum quaereretur quae causa festinandi esset, "Aut ex hoste egregiam gloriam" inquit "aut ex civibus victis gaudium meritum certe, etsi non honestum, capiam."

Priusquam Claudius consul in provinciam perveniret,[2] per extremum finem agri [3] . . . ducentem in Sallentinos exercitum Hannibalem expeditis cohortibus adortus C. Hostilius Tubulus incomposito

[1] paucos dies castra A^1N^1JK : *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line.*
[2] perveniret *SpJK Froben* 2 : veniret $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*
[3] agri, *followed in* P^1JK *by* larinatis, *impossible on account of the distance of Larinum* : *Madvig* (*Emend.*) *conj.* Tarentini; *also* Uriatis (*later*), *adopted by Riemann* : laritanis $P(3)$: -tani *BAN.*

partially destroyed two armies with the loss of two B.C. 207
extraordinary generals, many successes in Italy and Sicily had supported the tottering state. And the very distance, they said, in that one of the wars was fought in the remotest part of the world, had given time to recover breath. But now two wars had been admitted into Italy, two generals of the greatest celebrity were encircling the city of Rome, and upon one spot the whole mass, the entire weight of the danger had settled. Whichever of them was the first to win a victory would within a few days unite his camp with the other's. Alarm was caused also by the preceding year, saddened by the death of two consuls. Troubled by such anxieties men escorted the consuls as they parted, leaving for their provinces. It is related that when Marcus Livius, still filled with resentment toward his fellow-citizens, was setting out for the war, and Quintus Fabius warned him not to engage the enemy rashly, before he had come to know their character, he replied that he would fight when he first caught sight of the enemy's column. When the question was asked what reason he had for haste, he said, "I shall win either great fame from the enemy, or from my defeated fellow-citizens a joy that surely is earned, even if not to my credit."

Before Claudius, the consul, reached his province, as Hannibal was leading his army along the very border of the territory of . . .[1] into the country of the Sallentini, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus with cohorts unencumbered by baggage attacked him and caused

[1] Some town not far from Tarentum; cf. § 12. Uria (chief town of the Sallentini), suggested by Madvig, was on the Via Appia, halfway between Tarentum and Brundisium. Cf. Strabo VI. iii. 6 f.

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11 agmini terribilem tumultum intulit: ad quattuor milia hominum occidit, novem signa militaria cepit. Moverat ex hibernis ad famam hostis Q. Claudius, qui per urbes agri Sallentini castra disposita habebat.
12 Itaque ne cum duobus exercitibus simul confligeret, Hannibal nocte castra ex agro Tarentino movit atque
13 in Bruttios concessit. Claudius in Sallentinos agmen convertit, Hostilius Capuam petens obvius[1] ad
14 Venusiam fuit[2] consuli Claudio. Ibi ex utroque exercitu electa peditum quadraginta milia, duo milia[3] et quingenti equites, quibus consul adversus Hannibalem rem gereret: reliquas copias Hostilius Capuam ducere iussus, ut Q. Fulvio proconsuli traderet.

XLI. Hannibal undique contracto exercitu, quem in hibernis aut in praesidiis agri Bruttii habuerat, in Lucanos ad Grumentum venit spe recipiendi oppida
2 quae per metum ad Romanos defecissent. Eodem a Venusia consul Romanus exploratis itineribus contendit, et mille fere et quingentos passus castra ab hoste
3 locat.[4] Grumenti moenibus prope iniunctum videbatur Poenorum vallum; quingenti passus intererant.
4 Castra Punica ac Romana interiacebat campus; colles imminebant nudi sinistro lateri Carthaginiensium, dextro Romanorum, neutris suspecti, quod nihil

[1] obvius $P(1)N$: obviam JK.
[2] fuit $P(1)N$: fit N^sJK *Aldus, Froben*.
[3] duo milia *x Aldus, Froben*: duo d N^s: duo A^cJK: *om.* (*also* quingenti, *i.e.* D) $P(1)(A?)N$.
[4] ab hoste (urbe J) locat JK *Aldus, Froben*: locat ab hoste $P(3)N$.

[1] *I.e.* the winter stations among which his two legions were dispersed; xxxvi. 13. Note that Quintus Claudius is different from the consul Gaius Claudius Nero of section 13.
[2] But in xl. 10 Hannibal had already taken the field. This statement is evidently from a different source.

terrible confusion in the straggling column. He B.C. 207
slew about four thousand men and captured nine military standards. On hearing of the approach of the enemy, Quintus Claudius, who had his camps[1] established near the various cities of the Sallentine territory, had left his winter quarters. Accordingly, not to engage two armies at the same time, Hannibal moved his camp out of the region of Tarentum by night and retired into the country of the Bruttii.[2] Claudius turned his column into the territory of the Sallentini, while Hostilius on his way to Capua met the consul Claudius near Venusia. There forty thousand infantry and twenty-five hundred horsemen were selected from both their armies, that with them the consul might campaign against Hannibal. As for the rest of the forces, Hostilius was ordered to lead them to Capua, to be handed over to Quintus Fulvius, the proconsul.

XLI. Hannibal, after concentrating the army which he had kept in winter quarters or garrisons in the land of the Bruttii, came to Grumentum[3] in Lucania, in the hope of recovering the towns which out of fear had gone over to the Romans. The Roman consul hastened from Venusia to the same place, reconnoitring as he advanced, and pitched camp about fifteen hundred paces from the enemy. The Carthaginians' earthwork seemed almost in contact with the walls of Grumentum; the distance was only five hundred paces. Between the Punic camp and the Roman lay a plain. Bare hills overhung the left flank of the Carthaginians and the right flank of the Romans, without arousing suspi-

[3] An important town in the interior, with a large territory; cf. XXIII. xxxvii. 10.

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5 silvae neque ad insidias latebrarum habebant. In medio campo ab stationibus procursantes certamina haud satis digna dictu serebant. Id modo Romanum quaerere apparebat, ne abire hostem pateretur: Hannibal inde evadere cupiens totis viribus in aciem
6 descendebat. Tum consul ingenio hostis usus, quo minus in tam apertis collibus timeri insidiae poterant, quinque cohortes additis quinque manipulis nocte iugum superare et in aversis collibus[1] considere
7 iubet. Tempus exsurgendi ex insidiis et adgrediendi hostem Ti. Claudium Asellum tribunum militum et P. Claudium praefectum socium edocet,
8 quos cum iis mittebat. Ipse luce prima copias omnes peditum equitumque in aciem eduxit. Paulo post et ab Hannibale signum pugnae propositum est, clamorque in castris ad arma discurrentium est sublatus. Inde eques pedesque certatim portis ruere ac
9 palati per campum properare ad hostes. Quos ubi effusos consul videt, tribuno militum tertiae legionis C. Aurunculeio imperat ut equites legionis quanto
10 maximo impetu possit in hostem emittat: ita pecorum modo incompositos toto passim se campo[2] fudisse ut sterni obterique, priusquam instruantur, possint.

XLII. Nondum Hannibal e castris exierat cum pugnantium clamorem audivit. Itaque excitus tu-

[1] collibus *P*(1)*N*; vallibus *A*[c]*N*[c]*JK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] se campo *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: campo se *Froben* 2.

cions for either army, because they had no woods nor B.C. 207
any hiding-places for an ambush. In the plain between them charges starting from outposts brought on engagements not important enough to be mentioned. It was evident that the Roman general's only object was not to allow the enemy to get away. But Hannibal in his eagerness to make his way out of the place would go down into battle-line with all his forces. Then the consul, using the enemy's talent, all the more readily that on such exposed hills ambuscades could not be feared, commanded five cohorts, with five maniples in addition, to cross over the ridge in the night, and to post themselves on the farther side of the hills. As to the time for them to rise from ambush and attack the enemy he instructed Tiberius Claudius Asellus, tribune of the soldiers, and Publius Claudius, prefect of the allies, officers whom he was sending with them. At daybreak he himself led out all his forces, infantry and cavalry, into battle-line. A little later the signal for battle was set up by Hannibal also, and a shout was raised in the camp as the men rushed in all directions to get their arms. Then cavalry and infantry in rivalry dashed out of the gates and, scattering over the plain, made haste to reach the enemy. On seeing their disorder, the consul ordered Gaius Aurunculeius, tribune of the soldiers of the third legion, to send out the cavalry of the legion with all possible momentum against the enemy, saying that they had scattered so widely, like sheep, in disorder over the whole plain that they could be routed and crushed before they were drawn up in line.

XLII. Not yet had Hannibal left the camp when he heard the shouting of the combatants. Accord-

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multu raptim ad hostem copias agit. Iam primos occupaverat equestris[1] terror; peditum etiam prima legio et dextra ala proelium inibat. Incompositi hostes, ut quemque aut pediti aut equiti casus obtulit, ita conserunt manus. Crescit pugna subsidiis et procurrentium ad certamen numero augetur; pugnantisque—quod nisi in vetere exercitu et duci veteri[2] haud facile est—inter tumultum ac terrorem instruxisset Hannibal, ni cohortium ac manipulorum decurrentium[3] per colles clamor ab tergo auditus metum ne intercluderentur a castris iniecisset. Inde pavor incussus et fuga passim fieri coepta est. Minorque caedes fuit, quia propinquitas castrorum breviorem fugam perculsis fecit. Equites enim tergo inhaerebant: in transversa latera invaserant cohortes secundis collibus via nuda ac facili decurrentes. Tamen supra octo milia hominum occisa, supra septingentos[4] capti; signa militaria novem adempta; elephanti etiam, quorum nullus usus in repentina ac tumultuaria pugna fuerat, quattuor occisi, duo capti. Circa quingentos Romanorum sociorumque victores ceciderunt.

Postero die Poenus quievit; Romanus in aciem copiis eductis,[5] postquam neminem signa contra efferre vidit, spolia legi caesorum hostium et suorum

[1] equestris A^1N^sJK *Froben* 2: eques $P(3)R^1$: equites RC^1 *Aldus*: equester *Salmasius, Madvig.*

[2] duci veteri $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Madvig*: duce vetere A^1N^sJK *Froben* 2: duce veteri N^s, *Conway.*

[3] decurrentium $C^1A^1N^sJK$: decursū (*or* -um) $P(1)N$: decursu *Madvig.*

[4] septingentos *z Eds.*: -ti *PK Conway, who brackets* supra: *some MSS. have* LXX.

[5] eductis Sp^2A^sJK *Froben* 2: ductis $P(1)N$.

ingly, being summoned by the uproar, he rapidly B.C. 207
moved his troops up to the enemy. Already the foremost had been seized with the panic caused by the cavalry. Of the Roman infantry also the first legion and the right *ala* [1] were coming into battle. In disorder the enemy engaged, just as chance brought a man face to face with either a foot-soldier or a horseman. The battle was enlarged by the reserves and increased by the numbers of men rushing into the fray. And while his men were actually fighting, in spite of the uproar and the panic, Hannibal would have drawn them up—a thing not easy except in a veteran army and for a veteran commander—if from the rear the sound of the shouting cohorts and maniples, as they dashed down the hillsides, had not inspired the fear of being cut off from the camp. Thereupon they were panic-stricken and flight began on all sides. And the slaughter was less only because the nearness of the camp shortened flight for the routed. For the cavalry clung close to their rear; on the flank the cohorts, charging down the slope of the hills by an open, easy road, had attacked them. However, more than eight thousand men were slain, more than seven hundred captured; nine military standards were taken. Of the elephants also, of which no use had been made in a battle sudden and disorderly, four were slain, two captured. About five hundred Romans and allies fell although victorious.

On the next day the Carthaginian remained inactive. The Roman led his forces out into line, and on seeing that no standards were coming out against him, ordered the spoils of the fallen enemies to be gathered and the bodies of his own men to be

[1] Cf. i. 7 and note.

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9 corpora conlata in unum sepeliri iussit. Inde insequentibus continuis [1] diebus aliquot ita institit portis
10 ut prope inferre signa videretur, donec Hannibal tertia vigilia crebris ignibus tabernaculisque, quae pars castrorum ad hostes vergebat, et Numidis paucis qui in vallo portisque se ostenderent relictis, profec-
11 tus Apuliam petere intendit. Ubi inluxit, successit vallo Romana acies, et Numidae ex composito paulisper in portis se valloque ostentavere, frustratique aliquamdiu hostes citatis equis agmen suorum adse-
12 quuntur. Consul ubi silentium in castris et ne paucos quidem qui prima luce obambulaverant parte ulla cernebat, duobus equitibus speculatum in castra praemissis, postquam satis tuta omnia esse exploratum
13 est, inferri signa iussit; tantumque ibi moratus, dum milites ad praedam discurrunt, receptui deinde
14 cecinit multoque ante noctem copias reduxit. Postero die prima luce [2] profectus, magnis itineribus famam et vestigia agminis sequens haud procul
15 Venusia hostem adsequitur. Ibi quoque tumultuaria pugna fuit; supra duo milia Poenorum caesa. Inde nocturnis montanisque itineribus Poenus, ne locum
16 pugnandi daret, Metapontum petiit. Hanno inde—is enim praesidio eius loci praefuerat—in Bruttios cum paucis ad exercitum novum comparandum missus; Hannibal copiis eius ad suas additis Venusiam retro quibus venerat itineribus repetit,[3] atque

[1] continuis $P(1)N$ (*after* diebus JK): *Conway would bracket.*
[2] prima luce $P(1)N$: luce prima JK.
[3] repetit JK *Aldus*, *Froben*: repetiit $P(1)N$.

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[1] His only object apparently was to reinforce his army.

brought together and buried. Then for several B.C. 207
days in succession he came up so close to the gates that he almost seemed to be advancing into the camp, until at the third watch Hannibal set out, leaving numerous fires and tents in that part of the camp which faced the enemy, also a few Numidians to show themselves on the earthwork and at the gates; and he pushed on toward Apulia. When day dawned, the Roman line came up to the earthwork, and the Numidians showed themselves a while, as arranged, at the gates and on the wall. And after deceiving the enemy for some time, riding at full speed they overtook their own column. The consul, perceiving the stillness in the camp and not seeing anywhere even the few men who at daybreak had been strolling about, sent two horsemen in advance into the camp to reconnoitre. Then, once it had been ascertained that everything was quite safe, he ordered an advance into the camp. And after lingering there only long enough for the soldiers to scatter for plunder, he then sounded the recall, and long before nightfall led his troops back. Setting out at dawn on the next day, in forced marches he followed reports of the enemy's column and its tracks and overtook them not far from Venusia. There also there was a disorderly battle; over two thousand Carthaginians were slain. Then, marching by night and in the mountains, to give no opportunity for battle, the Carthaginian made for Metapontum.[1] Thereupon Hanno, who had commanded the garrison of that place, was sent with a few men into the land of the Bruttii to muster a fresh army. Hannibal added Hanno's troops to his own, returned to Venusia by the same route by which he

A.U.C. 547 17 inde Canusium procedit. Numquam Nero vestigiis hostis abstiterat et Q. Fulvium, cum Metapontum ipse proficisceretur, in Lucanos, ne regio ea sine praesidio esset, arcessierat.

XLIII. Inter haec ab Hasdrubale, postquam a Placentiae obsidione abscessit, quattuor Galli equites, duo Numidae cum litteris missi ad Hannibalem, cum per medios hostes totam ferme longitudinem Italiae 2 emensi essent, dum Metapontum cedentem Hannibalem sequuntur, incertis itineribus Tarentum delati, a vagis per agros pabulatoribus Romanis ad Q. Clau- 3 dium propraetorem deducuntur. Eum primo incertis inplicantes responsis, ut metus tormentorum admotus fateri vera coegit, edocuerunt litteras se ab Hasdru- 4 bale ad Hannibalem ferre. Cum iis litteris, sicut erant, signatis L. Verginio tribuno militum ducendi 5 ad Claudium consulem traduntur; duae simul turmae Samnitium praesidii causa missae. Qui ubi ad consulem pervenerunt, litteraeque lectae per interpretem sunt, et ex captivis percunctatio facta, 6 tum Claudius non id tempus esse rei publicae ratus quo consiliis ordinariis provinciae suae quisque finibus per exercitus suos cum hoste destinato ab senatu 7 bellum gereret—audendum ac novandum [1] aliquid inprovisum, inopinatum, quod coeptum non minorem apud cives quam hostes terrorem faceret, perpetra-

[1] ac novandum $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Froben* : *om.* $P(1)N$.

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[1] Later evidently to the camp near Canusium to face Hannibal, though Livy does not mention it; cf. p. 384, n. 1.

[2] *I.e.* Gaius Claudius Nero.

[3] For the present emergency, however, traditional methods had been set aside and the senate had given the consuls *carte blanche*; xxxviii. 9.

had come, and proceeded thence to Canusium. Nero B.C. 207
had never left the enemy's heels and, when setting out himself for Metapontum, he had summoned Quintus Fulvius into Lucania,[1] in order that that region should not be without troops.

XLIII. Meanwhile Hasdrubal, after abandoning the siege of Placentia, sent four Gallic horsemen and two Numidians with a letter to Hannibal. When they had already traversed nearly the whole length of Italy through the midst of the enemy, in following Hannibal as he withdrew to Metapontum they came by roads of which they were uncertain to Tarentum and were brought by Roman foragers who roamed about the country to Quintus Claudius, the propraetor. At first they tried to confuse him by vague answers, but when the fear of torture was brought to bear and compelled them to admit the truth, they informed him that they were carrying a letter from Hasdrubal to Hannibal. Together with the letter, still sealed as it was, they were turned over to Lucius Verginius, tribune of the soldiers, to be conducted to Claudius, the consul.[2] At the same time two troops of Samnites were sent as an escort. When they had reached the consul, and the letter had been read by an interpreter and the captives questioned, Claudius thereupon judged that the situation of the state was not such that they should carry on the war by routine methods, each consul within the bounds of his own province, operating with his own armies against an enemy prescribed by the senate.[3] Rather must he venture to improvise something unforeseen, unexpected, something which in the beginning would cause no less alarm among citizens than among enemies, but if accomplished would convert

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tum in magnam laetitiam ex magno metu verteret—
8 litteris Hasdrubalis Romam ad senatum missis simul et ipse patres conscriptos, quid pararet,[1] edocet: ut,[2] cum in Umbria se occursurum Hasdrubal fratri scribat,
9 legionem a Capua Romam arcessant, dilectum Romae habeant, exercitum urbanum ad Narniam hosti
10 opponant. Haec senatu[3] scripta. Praemissi item per agrum Larinatem Marrucinum Frentanum Praetutianum, qua exercitum ducturus erat, ut omnes ex agris urbibusque commeatus paratos militi ad vescendum in viam deferrent, equos iumentaque alia
11 producerent, ut vehiculorum fessis copia esset. Ipse de toto exercitu civium sociorumque quod roboris erat delegit, sex milia peditum, mille equites; pronuntiat occupare se in Lucanis proximam urbem Punicumque in ea praesidium velle; ut ad iter parati
12 omnes essent. Profectus nocte flexit in Picenum.

Et consul quidem quantis maximis itineribus poterat ad conlegam ducebat, relicto Q. Catio legato qui castris praeesset. XLIV. Romae haud minus terroris ac tumultus erat quam fuerat quadriennio[4]

[1] pararet *P*(1)*N Aldus*: paret *SpJK Froben* 2.
[2] ut *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: monet ut A^sN^sJK *Conway*: et ut *Duker, Madvig*.
[3] senatu PCR^z: -tui $P^3(3)C^1NJK$.
[4] quadriennio *Glareanus, Conway*: biennio *P*(1)*NJK Eds*.

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[1] Meaning that part of Umbria which lies east of the Apennines along the Adriatic between the Rubico and the Aesis rivers, *i.e.* the Ager Gallicus. He expected Hannibal to follow the coast until they met.

great fear into great rejoicing. Sending Has- B.C. 207
drubal's letter to the senate at Rome, he likewise informed the conscript fathers what he was himself intending to do. In view of Hasdrubal's writing to his brother that he would meet him in Umbria,[1] the consul advised the senate to summon a legion from Capua to Rome, to conduct a levy at Rome, to confront the enemy at Narnia[2] with the city troops. In such terms he wrote to the senate. He sent also messengers in advance through the regions of Larinum, of the Marrucini, the Frentani, the Praetutii, along the line of his proposed march, that they should all carry from the farms and the cities provisions, ready for the soldiers to eat, down to the road, and should bring out horses and mules as well, that the weary might have no lack of vehicles. As for himself, out of the whole army he chose the best soldiers, citizens and allies, six thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry. He announced that he intended to seize the nearest city in Lucania and its Carthaginian garrison: that they must all be ready for the march. Setting out at night, he changed his direction to that of Picenum.[3]

While the consul by marches forced to the limit was leading his army towards his colleague, having left Quintus Catius, his lieutenant, to command the camp, (XLIV.) at Rome there was no less panic and confusion than there had been four years before,[4] when

[2] Here were two legions, from which no doubt various detachments had been sent up the Via Flaminia, even as far as the pass, we must presume (cf. p. 407, n. 1), about 25 miles from the Adriatic.

[3] The distance to be traversed (Canusium to Sena Gallica) was nearly 250 miles.

[4] Cf. XXVI. ix. 6 ff., x.

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ante, cum castra Punica obiecta Romanis moenibus portisque fuerant. Neque satis constabat animis tam audax iter consulis laudarent vituperarentne; apparebat, quo nihil iniquius est, ex eventu famam 2 habiturum: castra prope Hannibalem hostem relicta sine duce, cum exercitu cui detractum foret omne quod roboris, quod floris fuerit; et consulem in Lucanos ostendisse iter, cum Picenum et Galliam 3 peteret, castra relinquentem nulla alia re tutiora quam errore hostis, qui ducem inde atque exercitus 4 partem abesse [1] ignoraret. Quid futurum, si id palam fiat, et aut insequi Neronem cum sex milibus armatorum profectum Hannibal toto exercitu velit aut castra invadere praedae relicta, sine viribus, sine 5 imperio, sine auspicio? Veteres eius belli clades, duo consules proximo anno interfecti terrebant; et ea omnia accidisse, cum unus imperator, unus exercitus hostium in Italia esset; nunc duo bella Punica facta, duos ingentes exercitus, duos prope 6 Hannibales in Italia esse. Quippe et Hasdrubalem patre eodem Hamilcare genitum, aeque inpigrum ducem, per tot annos in Hispania Romano exercitatum bello, gemina victoria insignem, duobus exercitibus cum clarissimis ducibus deletis. Nam itineris 7 quidem celeritate ex Hispania et concitatis ad arma Gallicis gentibus multo magis quam Hannibalem

[1] abesse $P^{2}(3)M^{1?}N$ *Aldus*: abisse $Sp^{?}N^{s}JK$ *Froben* 2: abesset *PRM*.

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[1] As a matter of fact the Roman forces left behind near Canusium probably numbered 30,000, including the legions commanded by one of the most capable generals, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, a proconsul. And as a reserve there were two more legions near Tarentum.

a Carthaginian camp had been pitched before the B.C. 207
Roman walls and gates. Nor was it quite clear to men's minds whether they should praise or blame so bold a march on the part of the consul. It was plain that it would be praised or blamed according to the outcome, than which nothing is more unjust. They said that the camp had been left near an enemy who was Hannibal, without a general, with an army from which had been detached all its strength, all its flower. And the consul had indicated a march into Lucania, whereas he was heading for Picenum and Gaul, leaving a camp that was defended by nothing else than the deception of the enemy, who was unaware that the general and a part of his army were not there. What was to happen, if that became known and Hannibal should wish either with his whole army to pursue Nero, who had set out with only six thousand armed men, or else to attack the camp, abandoned to plunder, without proper forces, without its high command, without the auspices?[1] The earlier disasters in that war, the death of two consuls in the preceding year, were still terrifying. And they said that all those misfortunes had befallen them when the enemy had but a single general, a single army, in Italy. At present it had become two Punic wars, two mighty armies, two Hannibals, so to speak, in Italy. For Hasdrubal also was a son of the same father, Hamilcar, and an equally strenuous commander, trained for so many years in Spain by a war with Romans, famous too for a double victory, the destruction of two armies and generals of great distinction. Certainly of the swiftness of his march from Spain, and of having aroused the Gallic tribes to war he could boast far more than Hannibal him-

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8 ipsum gloriari posse; quippe in iis locis hunc coegisse exercitum quibus ille maiorem partem militum fame ac frigore, quae miserrima mortis genera sint,
9 amisisset. Adiciebant etiam periti rerum Hispaniae haud cum ignoto eum [1] duce C. Nerone congressurum, sed quem in saltu impedito deprensus forte haud secus quam pueruni conscribendis fallacibus condi-
10 cionibus pacis frustratus elusisset. Omnia maiora etiam vero praesidia hostium, minora sua, metu interprete semper in deteriora inclinato, ducebant.

XLV. Nero postquam iam [2] tantum intervalli ab hoste fecerat, ut detegi consilium satis tutum esset,
2 paucis milites alloquitur. Negat ullius consilium imperatoris in speciem audacius, re ipsa tutius fuisse quam suum: ad certam eos se victoriam ducere;
3 quippe ad quod bellum collega non ante quam ad satietatem ipsius peditum atque equitum datae ab senatu copiae fuissent, maiores instructioresque quam si adversus ipsum Hannibalem iret, profectus sit, eo ipsi si [3] quantumcumque virium momentum addiderint,
4 rem omnem inclinaturos. Auditum modo in acie—nam ne ante audiatur daturum operam—alterum consulem et alterum exercitum advenisse haud
5 dubiam victoriam facturum. Famam bellum conficere, et parva momenta in spem metumque impellere animos; gloriae quidem ex re bene gesta partae

[1] eum *Crévier*: cum *PCR*: eo N^{1}?*JK*: *om. C*^{2}*MBDAN Aldus, Froben, Johnson.*

[2] iam $A^{1}N^{1}JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)A^{2}N$.

[3] eo ipsi si *Madvig*: eos ipsos *ANJK Conway*: eo ipsos $P(3)N^{1}$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Cf. XXVI. xvii. 5 ff.

self. For he had gathered an army in the very region in which Hannibal had lost the larger part of his forces by hunger and cold, the most pitiable forms of death. Furthermore, men acquainted with events in Spain repeatedly added that he would encounter in Gaius Nero no unknown general, but one whom he, when himself surprised, as it happened, in a difficult pass, had baulked and baffled like a child by the pretence of drawing up terms of peace.[1] They reckoned all the enemy's forces even larger, their own less, than they were, since fear is an interpreter always inclined to the worse side. B.C. 207

XLV. Nero, now that he had already made his distance from the enemy such that it was quite safe to reveal his plan, briefly addressed his soldiers. He said that no plan of any general had been in appearance more reckless, but in fact safer, than his. He was leading them to certain victory. For inasmuch as his colleague had set out for the war only when infantry and cavalry forces had been furnished by the senate to his own satisfaction—larger forces and better equipped than if he were marching even against Hannibal—if they should themselves with their troops add ever so small a makeweight, they would change the whole situation. The mere report along the battle-line—for he would see to it that they did not hear sooner—that a second consul and a second army had arrived would put their victory beyond a doubt. Hearsay,[2] he said, decides a war and slight influences move men in the direction of hope and fear. Of the glory at least to be derived from success they

[2] *I.e.* reports, even unfounded, crystallized into prevailing impressions or popular opinion, and so determining morale. So *e.g.* Seneca *Epist.* xiii. 8; cf. XXXIV. xii. 4.

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6 fructum prope omnem ipsos laturos; semper quod postremum adiectum sit, id rem totam videri traxisse. Cernere ipsos quo concursu, qua admiratione, quo favore hominum iter suum celebretur.

7 Et hercule per instructa omnia ordinibus virorum mulierumque undique ex agris effusorum, inter vota ac[1] preces et laudes ibant. Illos praesidia rei publicae, vindices urbis Romanae imperiique appellabant: in illorum armis dextrisque suam liberorumque 8 suorum salutem ac libertatem repositam esse. Deos omnes deasque precabantur ut illis faustum iter, felix pugna, matura ex hostibus victoria esset, damnarenturque ipsi votorum quae pro iis suscepissent, ut, 9 quem ad modum nunc solliciti prosequerentur eos, ita paucos post dies laeti ovantibus victoria obviam irent. 10 Invitare inde pro se quisque et offerre et fatigare precibus ut quae ipsis iumentisque usui essent ab se potissimum sumerent; benigne omnia cumulata 11 dare. Modestia certare milites, ne quid ultra usum necessarium sumerent; nihil morari, nec abire[2] ab signis nec[3] subsistere[4] nisi[5] cibum capientes; diem ac noctem ire; vix quod satis ad naturale desiderium 12 corporum esset, quieti dare. Et ad collegam praemissi erant qui nuntiarent adventum percunctarenturque clam an palam, interdiu an noctu venire sese

[1] ac *Sp?JK Froben* 2: et *P*(1)*N Aldus, Madvig.*

[2] abire *Weissenborn*: discedere (*or* abs-) *Madvig: om. MSS., Conway.*

[3] nec *P*(1)*N*: *om. N²JK Froben, Conway.*

[4] subsistere *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: absistere *Froben* 2, *Gronovius, Conway.*

[5] nisi *Madvig*: *om. MSS., Conway.*

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[1] The scene recalls one more briefly pictured in XXVI. ix. 5.

would themselves reap almost the whole benefit. B.C. 207
Always what was the last to be added is felt to have brought with it the whole issue. They themselves could see by what throngs of people, by what admiration, by what approval, their march was acclaimed.

And in fact they were marching everywhere between lines of men and women who had poured out from the farms on every side, and amidst their vows and prayers and words of praise. Defenders of the state men called them, champions of the city of Rome and of the empire. In their weapons and their right hands, they said, were placed their own safety and freedom, and those of their children. They kept imploring all the gods and goddesses that the soldiers might have a successful march, a favourable battle, a prompt victory over the enemy, and that they might themselves be obliged to pay the vows they had made on their behalf; that, just as they were now anxiously escorting them, so after a few days they might with rejoicing go to meet them in the exultation of victory. Then they vied with each other in invitations and offers and in importuning them to take from them in preference to others whatever would serve the men themselves and their beasts; they heaped everything upon them generously.[1] The soldiers competed in self-restraint, not to take more than they needed. There was no loitering, no straggling, no halt except while taking food; they marched day and night; they gave to rest hardly enough time for the needs of their bodies. And men had been sent in advance by Nero to his colleague, to announce their coming and to inquire whether he wished them to come secretly or openly,

u.c. 547 vellet, isdem an aliis considere castris. Nocte clam ingredi melius [1] visum est.

XLVI. Tessera per castra ab Livio consule data erat ut tribunus tribunum, centurio centurionem, 2 eques equitem, pedes peditem acciperet: neque enim dilatari castra opus esse, ne hostis adventum alterius consulis sentiret; et coartatio plurium in angusto tendentium facilior futura erat, quod Claudianus exercitus nihil ferme [2] praeter arma secum 3 in expeditionem tulerat. Ceterum in ipso itinere auctum voluntariis agmen erat, offerentibus ultro sese et veteribus militibus perfunctis iam militia et iuvenibus, quos certatim nomina dantes, si quorum corporis species roburque virium aptum militiae 4 videbatur, conscripserat. Ad Senam castra alterius consulis erant, et quingentos ferme inde [3] passus Hasdrubal aberat. Itaque cum iam adpropinquaret, tectus montibus substitit Nero, ne ante noctem castra 5 ingrederetur. Silentio ingressi, ab sui quisque ordinis hominibus in tentoria abducti cum summa omnium laetitia hospitaliter excipiuntur. Postero

[1] melius *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: *om. Spx Froben* 2, *Conway.*
[2] ferme *SpN²JK Froben* 2: fere *PCA*[1] *Aldus*: ferre *RMBDAN.*
[3] inde *P*(1)*N* (*before* ferme *Sp²JK Aldus, Froben*): *om. Conway.*

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[1] *I.e.* by Livius.
[2] With the countersign (on a wooden tablet) were sent out orders for the night; VII. xxxv. 1; IX. xxxii. 4. Cf. Polybius VI. xxxiv. 7 ff.
[3] Livius' army was very much larger than Nero's 7,000 plus the volunteers who had joined them on the march.

by day or by night, to establish themselves in the same B.C. 207
camp or in another. It was thought best[1] that they should enter by night in secret.

XLVI. Orders[2] had been sent by Livius, the consul, throughout the camp that tribune should receive tribune, centurion centurion, horseman horseman, foot-soldier foot-soldier;[3] for to enlarge the camp was not to the purpose, he said, lest the enemy should know of the arrival of the other consul. And to crowd in larger numbers of men in cramped quarters was to prove easier, because Claudius' army had brought with it on its expedition hardly anything besides its arms. But in the very course of the march the column had been enlarged by volunteers: for not only did old soldiers who had already completed their service offer themselves of their own motion, but also young men who had vied with each other in giving in their names and whom Claudius had enrolled whenever their physical appearance and solid strength seemed suitable for military service. The other consul's camp was near Sena,[4] and about five hundred paces away was Hasdrubal. Accordingly, as he was now approaching, Nero came to a halt under cover of the hills, in order not to enter the camp before night. Silently they entered, each man being led to his tent by one of the same rank, and they were hospitably welcomed with great

[4] Modern Senigallia (or Sinigaglia), directly on the sea, but with no harbour. 15 miles beyond (north-west) was the mouth of the river Metaurus, and at Fanum, less than two miles farther on, the Via Flaminia, coming from Ariminum, turned inland up the valley of the river and went on its way over the Apennines. No sufficient reason has been given for disputing Livy's statement that the camps were near Sena, as do some of the critics.

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die consilium habitum, cui et L. Porcius Licinus
6 praetor adfuit. Castra iuncta consulum castris habebat, et ante adventum eorum per loca alta ducendo exercitum, cum modo insideret angustos saltus, ut transitum clauderet, modo ab latere aut ab tergo carperet agmen, ludificatus hostem omnibus
7 artibus belli fuerat; is tum in consilio aderat. Multorum eo inclinant [1] sententiae ut, dum fessum via ac vigiliis reficeret militem Nero, simul et ad noscendum hostem paucos sibi sumeret dies, tempus pugnae [2]
8 differretur. Nero non suadere modo, sed summa ope orare institit ne consilium suum, quod tutum celeritas
9 fecisset, temerarium morando facerent; errore, qui non diuturnus futurus esset, velut torpentem Hannibalem nec castra sua sine duce relicta adgredi nec ad sequendum se iter intendisse. Antequam se moveat, deleri exercitum Hasdrubalis posse redirique [3]
10 in Apuliam. Qui prolatando spatium hosti det, eum et illa castra prodere Hannibali et aperire in Galliam iter, ut per otium ubi velit Hasdrubali coniungatur.
11 Extemplo signum dandum et exeundum in aciem abutendumque errore hostium absentium praesentiumque, dum neque illi sciant cum paucioribus nec
12 hi cum pluribus et validioribus rem esse. Consilio

[1] inclinant *P*(1)*NJK Conway*: -abant *x Aldus, Froben, Eds.*

[2] pugnae *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds.*: pugnandi *Sp?N²JK Conway.*

[3] -que, *before this P*(1)*N om. two lines* (exercitum . . . rediri) *found* (*with* redireque) *in A¹N¹JK; corrected by Gronovius.*

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[1] But he had been unable appreciably to retard Hasdrubal's southward march.

general rejoicing. On the next day a council of war B.C. 207
was held, at which Lucius Porcius Licinus, the praetor, was present. His camp adjoined that of the consuls, and before their arrival he had baffled the enemy by all the arts of war, leading his army on high ground, while at one time he would occupy a narrow pass, to block their way, at another would make sudden attacks upon the column from the flank or the rear.[1] And now he was present at the council. The opinions of many inclined in the direction of postponing the time for battle, until Nero should refresh his troops, worn by the march and lack of sleep, and at the same time should take a few days to acquaint himself with the enemy. But Nero began not merely to urge, but by all means also to implore them not to make his plan, which rapid movement had made safe, a reckless plan by delaying. It was by a deception which would not last long, he said, that Hannibal, as though dazed, was not attacking his camp, left without its commander, and had not set his army in motion to pursue him; that before Hannibal should bestir himself, they could destroy Hasdrubal's army and return to Apulia. Whoever by delaying gave the enemy time, was betraying the distant camp to Hannibal, at the same time opening the way into Gaul, so that unmolested he might join Hasdrubal whenever he pleased. At once, he said, the signal must be given and they must go out into battle-line and take advantage of the deception of their enemies, both the distant and those near at hand, while the one army was unaware that it had to do with smaller numbers, and the other that it had to deal with larger and stronger forces. Dismissing the council they raised

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dimisso signum pugnae proponitur, confestimque in aciem procedunt.

XLVII. Iam hostes ante castra instructi stabant. Moram pugnae attulit quod Hasdrubal, provectus ante signa cum paucis equitibus, scuta vetera hostium notavit, quae ante non viderat, et strigosiores equos; 2 multitudo quoque maior solita visa est. Suspicatus enim id quod erat, receptui propere cecinit ac misit ad flumen unde aquabantur, ubi et excipi aliqui possent et notari oculis, si qui forte adustioris coloris 3 ut ex recenti via essent; simul circumvehi procul castra iubet specularique num auctum aliqua parte sit vallum, et ut attendant semel bisne signum canat 4 in castris. Ea cum ordine omnia relata[1] essent, castra nihil aucta errorem faciebant; bina erant, sicut ante adventum consulis alterius fuerant, una M. Livi, altera L. Porci; neutris quicquam quo 5 latius tenderetur ad munimenta adiectum. Illud veterem ducem adsuetumque Romano hosti movit quod semel in praetoriis castris signum, bis in consularibus referebant cecinisse. Duos profecto consules esse,[2] et quonam modo alter ab Hannibale 6 abscessisset cura angebat. Minime id quod erat suspicari poterat, tantae rei frustratione Hannibalem elusum, ut ubi dux, ubi exercitus esset cum quo

[1] omnia relata *A*[1]*J Aldus, Froben*: relata omnia *N*[1]*K Conway*: *P*(1)*N om.* relata.

[2] Duos profecto consules esse *A*[1]*N*[2]*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N, one line.*

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[1] Cf. Zonaras IX. ix. 8. At supper-time the trumpets regularly sounded outside the general's tent as a signal to post the guards for the night; so Polybius XIV. iii. 6.

the signal for battle and forthwith went out into B.C. 207
battle-line.

XLVII. Already the enemy were standing in line before the camp. Delay in beginning the battle was due to Hasdrubal, in that, riding out in front of the standards with a few horsemen, he observed among the enemy old shields which he had not seen before and very lean horses; and he thought the numbers also larger than was usual. For, suspecting what had happened, he promptly sounded the recall and sent men to the river from which the Romans were drawing water, that some Romans might be captured there and scanned to see whether any chanced to be more sunburned, as though from a recent march. At the same time he ordered men to ride round the camps at a distance, and to notice whether the earthworks had been somewhere enlarged, and to mark whether the trumpet sounded once in the camp or twice.[1] All this having been duly reported, the fact that the camps had not been enlarged deceived him. There were two of them, as there had been before the coming of the second consul, one that of Marcus Livius, the other that of Lucius Porcius. In neither case had anything been added to the fortifications to give ampler space for the tents. The one thing that impressed an experienced general and one accustomed to a Roman enemy was their report that the trumpet had sounded once in the praetor's camp, twice in the consul's. There surely were two consuls, he thought, and sadly concerned he was how the one had got away from Hannibal. Least of all could he suspect the fact—that Hannibal had been baffled and baulked to such an extent that he did not know where the

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7 castra conlata[1] habuerit[2] ignoraret; profecto haud mediocri clade absterritum insequi non ausum; magno opere vereri ne perditis rebus serum ipse auxilium venisset Romanisque eadem iam fortuna in
8 Italia quae in Hispania esset. Interdum litteras suas ad eum non pervenisse credere, interceptisque iis consulem ad sese opprimendum adcelerasse. His anxius curis, exstinctis ignibus, vigilia prima dato signo ut taciti vasa colligerent, signa ferri iussit.
9 In trepidatione et nocturno tumultu duces parum intente adservati, alter in destinatis iam ante animo latebris subsedit, alter per vada nota Metaurum flumen tranavit. Ita desertum ab ducibus agmen primo per agros palatur, fessique aliquot somno ac vigiliis sternunt corpora passim atque infrequentia
10 relinquunt signa. Hasdrubal, dum lux viam ostenderet, ripa fluminis[3] signa ferri iubet, et per tortuosi amnis sinus flexusque cum errorem[4] volvens haud multum processisset, substitit,[5] ubi prima lux transi-

[1] conlata *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: coniuncta *A*[s]*?J Conway*: iuncta *K*.

[2] habuerit *P*(1)*N Aldus, Conway*: haberet *SpJK Froben* 2, *Luchs*.

[3] ripa fluminis *A*[s]*NsJK Aldus*: *om. P*(1)*N*.

[4] errorem *P*(3)(*C*[2]): errore *C*[x]*?DANSp?JK Aldus*: orbem *Weissenborn conj.*: errore iter re- *Riemann*: iter errore re- *M. Müller*.

[5] substitit *Sartorius, Madvig*: *om. MSS., Weissenborn, Conway*.

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[1] The right (south) bank must be meant. Had Hasdrubal been on the left bank the treachery of his guides would have been of no consequence. For he would simply have followed the Flaminian Way. Livy represents them as vainly seeking for a road; therefore they were on the south side of the Metaurus. Polybius' narrative at this point has not been preserved. It resumes with the battle formation (XI. i. 2).

general, where the army was with which his camp B.C. 207
was formerly in contact. Surely he had been deterred by no common disaster, and had not dared to pursue. Hasdrubal greatly feared that after all was lost he had himself come too late to assist, and that the Romans would have the same good fortune in Italy as in Spain. At times he believed his own letter had not reached Hannibal, and that the consul, upon intercepting it, had made haste, in order to overpower him. Troubled by these anxieties, he had the fires put out and orders given at the first watch that they should pack up their baggage in silence, and then he commanded the standards to advance. In the excitement and confusion of the night the guides were not closely watched, and one of them settled himself in a hiding-place he had previously determined upon, while the other swam across the river Metaurus, using a shallow place known to him. So the column, deserted by its guides, wandered at first about the country, and a considerable number, overcome by drowsiness and lack of sleep, threw themselves down anywhere and left few men with the standards. Hasdrubal ordered the standard-bearers to move along the bank of the river,[1] until daylight should disclose a road. And having made little progress, while describing blind circles along the bends and curves of the twisting stream he halted, intending to cross the river as

Cf. Frontinus I. i. 9; Zonaras IX. ix. 7–12; Appian *Hann.* 52; Valerius Max. VII. iv. 4; Kromayer and Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder* III. 1. esp. 456 ff. and maps; De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III. 2. 491 ff. and 562 ff., but he places the battle on the *left* bank and the camps at the mouth of the river, instead of near Sena. The left bank is preferred by the *Cambridge Ancient History* also (VIII. 94 f.).

U.C. 647 11 tum opportunum ostendisset, transiturus.[1] Sed cum quantum a mari abscedebat, tanto altioribus coercentibus amnem ripis non inveniret vada, diem terendo spatium dedit ad insequendum sese hosti.

XLVIII. Nero primum cum omni equitatu advenit, Porcius deinde adsecutus cum levi armatura. 2 Qui cum fessum agmen carperent ab omni parte incursarentque, et iam omisso itinere quod fugae simile erat, castra metari Poenus in tumulo super 3 fluminis ripam vellet, advenit Livius peditum omnibus copiis non itineris modo, sed ad conserendum 4 extemplo proelium instructis armatisque. Sed ubi omnes copias coniunxerunt directaque[2] acies est, Claudius dextro in cornu, Livius ab sinistro pugnam 5 instruit; media acies praetori tuenda data. Hasdrubal omissa munitione castrorum postquam pugnandum vidit, in prima acie ante signa elephantos locat[3]; circa eos laevo in cornu adversus Claudium Gallos opponit, haud tantum iis fidens quantum ab hoste 6 timeri eos credebat; ipse dextrum cornu adversus M. Livium sibi atque Hispanis—et ibi maxime in 7 vetere milite spem habebat—sumpsit; Ligures in medio post elephantos positi. Sed longior quam latior acies erat; Gallos prominens collis tegebat. 8 Ea frons quam Hispani tenebant cum sinistro Romanorum cornu concurrit: dextra omnis acies

[1] transiturus, *Sp?A*[s]*N*[s]*JKz Conway, M. Müller add* erat (*om. by P*(1)*N Madvig*).

[2] directaque *R*[2]*MBDAJK Madvig, Conway*: derectaque *PCRN*.

[3] locat *SpJK Froben* 2, *Luchs*: conlocat *P*(1)*N Aldus*.

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[1] So Polybius XI. i. 5, who makes no mention of Porcius.

[2] 10 in number and in the centre, Polybius § 3; 15 according to Appian *Hann.* 52.

soon as daylight should show a favourable crossing. B.C. 207
But inasmuch as the farther he marched away from the sea the higher were the banks that confined the stream, and hence he could not find a ford, by wasting the day he gave the enemy time to overtake him.

XLVIII. First Nero with all the cavalry arrived, then Porcius with the light-armed caught up with them. And while they made skirmishing attacks from every side and charged the weary column, and the Carthaginian, now abandoning a march which resembled a flight, was aiming to lay out a camp on the hill above the bank of the river, came Livius with all the infantry forces, not in marching order, but formed and armed to begin the battle at once. But after they had combined all their troops and the line had been drawn up, Claudius on the right wing,[1] Livius on the left, prepared for battle, while the command of the centre was assigned to the praetor. Hasdrubal, on seeing that he must fight, ceased fortifying his camp and placed his elephants in the front line before the standards. Flanking the elephants,[2] on the left wing he placed the Gauls facing Claudius—not so much that he trusted them, as that he believed the enemy was afraid of them. The right wing facing Marcus Livius he took for himself and his Spanish troops, and above all he rested his hopes on these veteran soldiers.[3] The Ligurians were placed in the centre behind the elephants. But the battle-line was deep rather than widely extended. A projecting hill shielded the Gauls. That part of the front which the Spaniards held clashed with the left wing of the Romans, whose

[3] Polybius puts Hasdrubal in the centre, but makes him attack the Roman left wing; §§ 3–5.

B.C. 207 extra proelium eminens cessabat; collis oppositus arcebat ne aut a fronte aut ab latere adgrederentur.
9 Inter Livium Hasdrubalemque ingens contractum certamen erat, atroxque caedes utrimque edebatur.
10 Ibi duces ambo, ibi pars maior peditum equitumque Romanorum, ibi Hispani, vetus miles peritusque Romanae pugnae, et Ligures, durum in armis genus. Eodem versi elephanti, qui primo impetu turbaverant
11 antesignanos et iam signa moverant loco; deinde crescente certamine et clamore inpotentius iam regi et inter duas acies versari, velut incerti quorum essent, haud dissimiliter navibus sine gubernaculo
12 vagis. Claudius "Quid ergo praecipiti cursu tam longum iter emensi sumus?" clamitans militibus, cum in adversum collem frustra signa erigere conatus
13 esset, postquam ea regione penetrari ad hostem non videbat posse, cohortes aliquot subductas e dextro cornu, ubi stationem magis segnem quam pugnam
14 futuram cernebat, post aciem circumducit et non hostibus modo sed etiam suis inopinantibus in dextrum [1] hostium latus incurrit: tantaque celeritas fuit ut, cum ostendissent se ab latere, mox in terga
15 iam pugnarent. Ita ex omnibus partibus, ab fronte, ab latere, ab tergo, trucidantur Hispani Liguresque,

[1] dextrum *Glareanus, Eds.*: sistrum *PRM*: sinistrum *P*[1](3)*NJK Aldus, Froben, Conway (who assumes omission of a line,* evectus in dextrum, *following this).*

---

[1] Since Livius outranks Nero, he is here thought of as commander-in-chief.

[2] *I.e. hastati* and *principes*, after which came the standards.

whole right wing extended beyond the fighting and had nothing to do. The hill facing them prevented them from attacking either in front or on the flank. B.C. 207

Between Livius and Hasdrubal a mighty battle had begun, and a savage slaughter on both sides was in progress. There both generals[1] were engaged, there the greater part of the Roman infantry and cavalry, there the Spanish troops, the old soldiers, acquainted also with the Roman mode of fighting, and the Ligurians, a hardy race of warriors. To the same place came the elephants, which had thrown the front lines[2] into confusion by their first charge and had by this time forced the standards back. Then as the conflict and the shouting increased, they were no longer under control and roamed about between the two battle-lines,[3] as though uncertain to whom they belonged, not unlike ships drifting without their steering-oars. Claudius shouted to his soldiers, "Why then have we covered so long a march at headlong speed?" and endeavoured without success to lead his line up the hill. Thereupon, after discovering that they could not get to the enemy in that direction, he drew off a number of cohorts from the right wing, where he saw that they would be standing idly by instead of fighting. He led them round behind the battle-line,[4] and to the surprise not only of the enemy, but also of his own troops, charged into the enemy's right flank. And such was his speed that, soon after showing themselves on the flank, they were already attacking the rear. Thus from all sides, front, flank, rear, the Spaniards and Ligurians

[3] Polybius stresses the confusion caused in both armies by the elephants; § 9.

[4] *I.e.* of the Romans; cf. Polybius §§ 7, 10 f.

A.U.C. 547

16 et ad Gallos iam caedes pervenerat. Ibi minimum certaminis fuit; nam et pars magna ab signis aberant, nocte dilapsi stratique somno passim per agros, et qui aderant, itinere ac vigiliis fessi, intolerantissima
17 laboris corpora, vix arma umeris gestabant;[1] et iam diei medium erat, sitisque et calor hiantes caedendos capiendosque adfatim praebebat.

XLIX. Elephanti plures ab ipsis rectoribus quam ab hoste interfecti. Fabrile scalprum cum malleo habebant; id, ubi saevire beluae ac ruere in suos coeperant, magister inter aures positum, ipso in articulo quo[2] iungitur capiti cervix, quanto maximo
2 poterat ictu adigebat. Ea celerrima via mortis in tantae molis belua inventa erat, ubi regendi spem vicissent,[3] primusque id Hasdrubal instituerat, dux cum saepe alias memorabilis, tum illa praecipue
3 pugna. Ille pugnantes hortando pariterque obeundo pericula sustinuit; ille fessos abnuentesque taedio et labore nunc precando nunc castigando accendit; ille fugientes revocavit omissamque pugnam aliquot
4 locis restituit; postremo, cum haud dubie fortuna hostium esset, ne superstes tanto exercitui suum nomen secuto esset, concitato equo se in cohortem

[1] gestabant $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*: gerebant *SpJK Froben* 2, *Conway*.

[2] ipso in articulo quo $P(1)$ *Eds.*: *same om.* quo N: ipsa in compage qua $N^{s}JK$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway*.

[3] regendi spem vicissent $Sp^{2}A^{s}N^{v}JK$ *Froben* 2, *Johnson* (*with* vi vicissent N^{s} *Conway*): regendis pervicissent $P(1)(A^{2})N$: regentis sprevissent *Weissenborn* (*with* regentis imperium *M. Müller*).

[1] Indians, *id.* XI. i. 12 (six elephants killed, four captured).

were slain, and the slaughter had now reached the B.C. 207
Gauls. At that point there was the least fighting; for a large proportion of them were not with the standards, having slipped away in the night and lying asleep scattered over the fields. And further, those who were present, being exhausted by marching and lack of sleep, lusty, but utterly lacking in endurance, could scarcely carry their arms on their shoulders. And now it was midday, and thirst and heat exposed the gasping men to unlimited slaughter or capture.

XLIX. More of the elephants were slain by their own drivers[1] than by the enemy. These used to have a carpenter's chisel and a mallet. When the beasts began to grow wild and to dash into their own men, the keeper would place the chisel between the ears, precisely at the joint which connects the neck with the head, and would drive it in with all possible force. That had been found to be the quickest means of death[2] in a brute of such size, when they got beyond the hope of control. And the first man to introduce the practice had been Hasdrubal, a general who was often notable at other times, but pre-eminently in that battle. It was he that by encouraging them and sharing the same dangers sustained his men in battle; he that fired them, now by entreating, now by upbraiding, the exhausted and those who because of weariness and over-exertion were giving up; he that recalled those who tried to flee and at not a few points revived the battle they were abandoning. Finally, when fortune unquestionably was on the enemy's side, in order not to survive so large an army that had followed his fame, he spurred his horse and

[2] This discovery is not mentioned by Polybius.

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Romanam inmisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit.

5 Numquam eo bello una acie tantum hostium interfectum est, redditaque aequa Cannensi clades vel 6 ducis vel exercitus interitu videbatur. Quinquaginta sex [1] milia hostium occisa, capta quinque milia et quadringenti; magna praeda alia cum omnis generis, 7 tum auri etiam argentique. Civium etiam Romanorum qui capti apud hostes erant supra quattuor milia [2] capitum recepta. Id solacii fuit pro amissis eo proelio militibus. Nam haudquaquam incruenta victoria fuit: octo ferme milia Romanorum socio- 8 rumque occisa; adeoque etiam victores sanguinis caedisque ceperat satias [3] ut postero die, cum esset nuntiatum Livio consuli Gallos Cisalpinos Liguresque, qui aut proelio non adfuissent aut inter caedem effugissent, uno agmine abire sine certo duce, sine signis, sine ordine ullo aut imperio; posse,[4] si una 9 equitum ala mittatur, omnes deleri: "Quin [5] supersint" inquit [6] "aliqui nuntii et hostium cladis et nostrae virtutis."

[1] sex *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: septem *A*[1]*JK Conway.*
[2] quattuor milia *A*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: tria milia (*in numerals PC*) *Madvig*: *corrupted into* XXX *or* $\overline{\text{XXX}}$ *in other MSS.*
[3] satias *Sp Froben* 2 (*cf.* XXV. xxiii. 16): satietas *P*(3)*NJK Aldus.*
[4] posse *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: *after* mittatur *A*[1]*?N*[1]*?JK.*
[5] deleri: Quin *Gronovius, Eds., Conway*: delerique (*or* qui) *P*(1)(*A*[2])*N*: deleri *A*[1]*N*[1]*JKz Johnson.*
[6] inquit *A*[1]*N*[1]*JK*: *om. P*(1)*N.*

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[1] Polybius pays a high tribute to Hasdrubal as a general and as a man; XI. ii.

charged into a Roman cohort. There, in a manner worthy of his father Hamilcar and of Hannibal his brother, he fell fighting.[1] B.C. 207

Never in a single battle of that war were so many of the enemy slain, and a disaster equal to that of Cannae, whether in the loss of the general or that of an army, seemed to have been inflicted in return. Fifty-six thousand[2] of the enemy were slain, fifty-four hundred captured. Great was the rest of the booty, both of every kind and of gold and silver as well. In addition, Roman citizens—over four thousand of them—who as captives were in the hands of the enemy were recovered. This was some compensation for the soldiers lost in the battle. For the victory was by no means bloodless. About eight thousand Romans and allies were slain, and to such an extent were even the victors sated with bloodshed and slaughter that on the next day, when word was brought to Livius, the consul, that the Cisalpine Gauls and Ligurians, who either had not been present in the battle, or had escaped in the midst of the carnage, were moving away in one column, with no trustworthy guide, no standards, no formation or high command, that they all could be wiped out, if a single regiment of cavalry should be sent, the consul said, "No! let there be some survivors, to carry the news both of the enemy's disaster and of our valour."[3]

[2] Livy's high figures for the losses on both sides (cf. § 7) must be contrasted with those of the Greek historian—10,000 and 2,000 respectively; ch. iii. 3.

[3] Livy omits mention of a temple to Iuventas vowed on this day by Livius. It was dedicated in 191 B.C.; XXXVI. xxxvi. 5 f. The date of the battle was 23rd June; Ovid *Fasti* VI. 769 f.

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L. Nero ea nocte quae secuta est pugnam profectus in Apuliam [1] citatiore quam inde venerat agmine die sexto ad stativa sua atque ad [2] hostem pervenit. 2 Iter eius frequentia minore, quia nemo [3] praecesserat nuntius, laetitia vero tanta vix ut compotes mentium 3 prae gaudio essent celebratum est. Nam Romae neuter animi habitus satis dici enarrarique potest, nec quo incerta expectatione eventus civitas fuerat, 4 nec quo victoriae famam accepit. Numquam per omnis dies, ex quo Claudium consulem profectum fama attulit, ab orto sole ad occidentem aut senator quisquam a curia atque ab magistratibus abscessit aut 5 populus e [4] foro. Matronae, quia nihil in ipsis opis erat, in preces obtestationesque versae, per omnia delubra vagae suppliciis votisque fatigare [5] deos. 6 Tam sollicitae ac suspensae civitati fama incerta primo accidit duos Narnienses equites in castra quae in faucibus Umbriae opposita erant venisse ex 7 proelio nuntiantes caesos hostes. Et primo magis auribus quam animis id acceptum erat, ut maius laetiusque quam quod mente capere aut satis credere possent; et ipsa celeritas fidem impediebat, quod 8 biduo ante pugnatum dicebatur. Litterae deinde ab L. Manlio Acidino missae ex castris adferuntur 9 de Narniensium equitum adventu. Hae litterae per

[1] profectus in Apuliam *Rossbach, Conway*: *om. P*(1)*NJK, one line*: profectus *Sartorius, Eds.*: regressus *Madvig.*
[2] ad N^1JK *Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N.*
[3] quia nemo *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds.*: nemo enim Sp^2JK *Froben* 2, *Conway.*
[4] e *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben* 2: *om.* Sp^2JK.
[5] fatigare *P*(1)*N Aldus*: -avere Sp^2N^1JK *Froben* 2.

L. Nero on the night following the battle set out B.C. 207
for Apulia, and with a column moving more rapidly than when he had come from that region, reached his permanent camp and the enemy on the sixth day. His march was attended by smaller throngs, because no messenger had come in advance, but by rejoicing so great that people were almost beside themselves for joy. At Rome, of course, neither state of feeling can be sufficiently described and set forth, neither that in which the city had waited in suspense for the outcome, nor that in which it heard news of the victory. Not once in all the days since it was first reported that Claudius, the consul, had set out did a senator leave the Senate House and the magistrates from sunrise to sunset, nor did the people leave the Forum. The matrons, being in themselves unable to help, resorted to prayers and supplications, and wandering from one to another of all the temples, importuned the gods with entreaties and vows. While the city was in a state of such anxiety and suspense, came first a vague rumour that two horsemen of Narnia, coming from the battle, had reached the camp which had been placed to guard the gateway of Umbria,[1] reporting that the enemy had been cut to pieces. And at first men had heard it, rather than taken it in, as something too great and too joyous for them to grasp and quite believe. And the promptness was in itself an obstacle to belief, in that the battle was said to have been fought but two days before. Then came a letter sent by Lucius Manlius Acidinus from the camp in regard to the arrival of the Narnian horsemen. This letter, carried through the

[1] The pass of Furlo, Intercisa of the Itineraries; cf. xliii. 9.

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forum ad tribunal praetoris latae senatum curia[1] exciverunt: tantoque certamine ac tumultu populi ad fores curiae concursum est ut adire nuntius non posset, sed traheretur a percunctantibus vociferantibusque ut in rostris prius quam in senatu litterae recitarentur. Tandem summoti et coerciti a magistratibus, dispensarique laetitia inter inpotentes eius animos potuit. In senatu primum, deinde in contione litterae recitatae sunt; et pro cuiusque ingenio aliis iam certum gaudium, aliis nulla ante futura fides erat quam legatos consulumve litteras audissent.

LI. Ipsos deinde adpropinquare legatos adlatum est. Tunc enim vero omnis aetas currere obvii,[2] primus quisque oculis auribusque haurire tantum gaudium cupientes. Ad Mulvium usque pontem continens agmen pervenit. Legati—erant L. Veturius Philo, P. Licinius Varus, Q. Caecilius Metellus —circumfusi omnis generis hominum frequentia in forum pervenerunt, cum alii ipsos, alii comites eorum quae acta essent[3] percunctarentur. Et ut quisque audierat exercitum hostium imperatoremque occisum, legiones Romanas incolumes, salvos consules esse, extemplo aliis porro impertiebant gaudium suum. Cum aegre in curiam perventum esset,[4] multo aegrius summota turba, ne patribus misceretur, litterae in senatu recitatae sunt. Inde traducti in

[1] curia *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: in curiam $N^{a}JK$.
[2] obvii *P*(1)(*A?*)*N Aldus*: obviam *Sp?*$A^{a}JK$ *Froben* 2.
[3] essent *P*(1)*N Aldus*: sint *Sp?JK Froben* 2.
[4] perventum esset *P*(1)*N Aldus*: -venissent *Sp?JK Froben* 2.

[1] Until Gaius Hostilius could make his way to the Curia there could be no session of the senate.

Forum to the tribunal of the praetor,[1] brought the B.C. 207
senate out of the Curia. And with such rivalry and disorder did the people rush up to the doors of the Curia that the messenger could not get near, but was jostled by men asking questions and shouting that the letter should be read from the Rostra before the reading in the senate. Finally the rioters were pushed aside and restrained by magistrates, and the joy could be progressively imparted to men unable to contain it. In the senate first, then in the assembly, was the letter read. And, according to each man's temperament, some felt a delight already well founded, others would have no assurance until they should hear the emissaries or a letter from the consuls.

LI. Next came word that the emissaries themselves were approaching. Then in truth all ages ran to meet them, each one eager to be the first to take in with eyes and ears a joy so great. An unbroken column reached all the way to the Mulvian Bridge. The emissaries, who were Lucius Veturius Philo, Publius Licinius Varus and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, beset by a crowd of men of every class made their way into the Forum, while some were questioning the emissaries themselves, some their companions, as to what had happened. And whenever a man heard that the army of the enemy and their general had been slain, that the Roman legions were intact, the consuls safe, forthwith he would pass his delight on to others. After they had made their way with difficulty into the Senate House and with much more difficulty the crowd had been pushed aside, so as not to mingle with the senators, the letter was read in the senate. Then the emissaries were led over into the

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6 contionem legati. L. Veturius litteris recitatis, ipse planius omnia quae acta erant exposuit cum ingenti adsensu. postremo etiam clamore universae 7 contionis, cum vix gaudium animis caperent. Discursum inde ab aliis circa templa deum, ut grates agerent, ab aliis domos, ut coniugibus liberisque tam 8 laetum nuntium impertirent. Senatus quod M. Livius et C. Claudius consules incolumi exercitu ducem hostium legionesque occidissent, supplicationem in triduum decrevit. Eam supplicationem C. Hostilius praetor pro contione [1] edixit, celebra- 9 taque a viris feminisque est. Omnia [2] templa per totum triduum aequalem turbam habuere, cum matronae amplissima veste cum liberis, perinde ac si debellatum foret, omni solutae metu deis immortali- 10 bus grates agerent. Statum quoque civitatis ea victoria movit, ut iam [3] inde haud secus quam in pace res inter se contrahere vendendo, emendo, mutuum dando [4] argentum creditumque [5] solvendo auderent.

11 C. Claudius consul cum in castra redisset, caput Hasdrubalis, quod servatum cum cura attulerat, proici ante hostium stationes, captivosque Afros vinctos ut erant ostendi, duos etiam ex iis solutos ire ad Hannibalem et expromere quae acta essent iussit.

[1] pro contione A^1JK *Aldus* : *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] Omnia $P(1)N$ *Aldus* : omniaque N^2JK *Froben* 2.
[3] victoria movit ut iam A^1N^2JK *Aldus* : victoriam $P(1)N$.
[4] emendo, mutuum dando A^1N^2JK *Aldus* : *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line*.
[5] creditumque $Sp A^2J$ *Froben* 2 : creditum $P(1)NK$ *Aldus*.

[1] *I.e.* across the Comitium to the Rostra.
[2] And the once dreaded Hannibal seemed no longer to be in Italy (Polybius XI. iii. 6).

assembly.[1] Lucius Veturius, after the reading of the letter, himself set forth more clearly everything that had been done, with great approval and finally even shouting from the entire assembly, since they were barely able to contain their joy. Then some hastened to one temple of the gods after another to return thanks, others to their homes, to share news so joyous with wives and children. The senate decreed that, whereas Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius, the consuls, with their army safe, had slain the general and legions of the enemy, there should be a thanksgiving for three days. This thanksgiving was proclaimed before an assembly by Gaius Hostilius, the praetor, and observed by men and women. All the temples were uniformly crowded for all three days, while the matrons in their richest garments, together with their children, being relieved of every fear, just as if the war were already finished,[2] returned thanks to the immortal gods. Even the financial situation of the state was changed by that victory, so that from that time on, just as if in peace, they ventured to carry on business with one another, selling and buying, lending money and repaying loans. B.C. 207

Gaius Claudius, the consul, having returned to his camp, ordered the head of Hasdrubal, which he had kept with care and brought with him, to be thrown in front of the enemy's outposts,[3] and that captured Africans should be displayed, as they were, in chains; furthermore that two of them, released from bonds, should go to Hannibal and relate to him what

[3] For parallel examples v. Pais' list in *Guerre Punique*[2] II. 452. Contrast in Hannibal's favour xxviii. 1 *fin.* and XXV. xvii. 4–7.

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12 Hannibal, tanto simul publico familiarique ictus luctu, agnoscere se fortunam Carthaginis fertur dixisse;
13 castrisque inde motis, ut omnia auxilia quae diffusa latius tueri non poterat in extremum Italiae angulum Bruttios contraheret, et Metapontinos, civitatem universam, excitos sedibus suis, et Lucanorum qui suae dicionis erant in Bruttium agrum traduxit.

had happened. Hannibal, under the blow of so great B.C. 207
a sorrow, at once public and intimate, is reported to have said that he recognized the destiny of Carthage. And moving his camp away, with the intention to concentrate in the extreme corner of Italy, the land of the Bruttii, all the forces which he was unable to defend if widely scattered, he removed the whole body of citizens of Metapontum, whom he had summoned to leave their homes,[1] and such Lucanians also as were subject to him, into the Bruttian country.

[1] As Metapontum was close to the border of Apulia and dangerously near Tarentum; cf. XXV. xv. 6.

LIBRI XXVII PERIOCHA

Cn. Fulvius proconsul cum exercitu ab Hannibale ad Herdoneam caesus est. Meliore eventu ab Claudio Marcello consule adversus eundem ad Numistronem pugnatum est. Inde Hannibal nocte recessit; Marcellus insecutus est et subinde cedentem pressit, donec conflĭgeret. Priore pugna Hannibal superior, sequenti Marcellus. Fabius Maximus pater consul Tarentinos per proditionem recepit. Claudius Marcellus T. Quinctius Crispinus consules, speculandi causa progressi e castris, insidiis ab Hannibale circumventi sunt. Marcellus occisus, Crispinus fugit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita C̄XXXVII CVIII; ex quo numero apparuit quantum hominum tot proeliorum adversa fortuna populo Romano abstulisset. In Hispania ad Baeculam Scipio cum Hasdrubale et Hamilcare conflixit et vicit. Inter alia captum regalem puerum eximiae formae ad avunculum Masinissam cum donis dimisit. Hasdrubal, qui cum exercitu novo Alpes transcenderat, ut se Hannibali iungeret, cum milibus hominum LVI caesus est, capta V̄CCCC M. Livi consulis ductu, sed non minore opera Claudi Neronis consulis, qui, cum Hannibali oppositus esset, relictis castris ita ut hostem falleret, cum electa manu profectus Hasdrubalem circumvenerat. Res praeterea feliciter a P. Scipione in Hispania et a P. Sulpicio praetore adversus Philippum et Achaeos gestas continet.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVII

Gnaeus Fulvius, the proconsul, was slain with his army by Hannibal near Herdonea. With a happier outcome a battle was fought by Claudius Marcellus, the consul, against the same commander near Numistro. Hannibal thereupon withdrew by night. Marcellus pursued him and repeatedly bore heavily on him as he retreated, until he engaged. In the first battle Hannibal was the winner, Marcellus in the second. Fabius Maximus the father, as consul, recovered Tarentum by treachery. Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quinctius Crispinus, the consuls, having advanced from the camp to reconnoitre, were overpowered by Hannibal in an ambush. Marcellus was slain, Crispinus escaped. The ceremony of purification was completed by the censors. Listed in the census were 137,108 citizens, from which number it was evident how many men the unfavourable fortune of so many battles had carried off from the Roman people. In Spain Scipio engaged with Hasdrubal and Hamilcar [1] near Baecula and was victorious. A boy of royal birth and remarkable beauty, who had been captured with the rest of the spoils, was sent away to his maternal uncle Masinissa by Scipio with gifts. Hasdrubal, who with a fresh army had crossed the Alps to unite with Hannibal, was slain with 56,000 men, and 5,400 were captured, under the command of Marcus Livius, the consul, but with no smaller share borne by Claudius Nero, the consul, who, after being assigned to confront Hannibal, had left his camp in such a way as to escape the enemy's notice, had set out with a picked force and overpowered Hasdrubal. The book contains in addition the operations successfully carried on by Publius Scipio in Spain and by Publius Sulpicius, the praetor, against Philip and the Achaeans.

[1] An obvious error.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

VIII

BOOKS XXVIII—XXX

TRANSLATED BY

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXVIII

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I. Cum transitu Hasdrubalis, quantum in Italiam [1] declinaverat belli, tantum levatae Hispaniae viderentur, renatum ibi subito par priori bellum est. Hispanias ea tempestate sic habebant Romani Poenique: Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius ad Oceanum penitus Gadesque concesserat; nostri maris ora omnisque ferme Hispania qua in orientem vergit Scipionis ac Romanae dicionis erat. Novus imperator Hanno in locum Barcini Hasdrubalis novo cum exercitu ex Africa transgressus Magonique iunctus, cum in Celtiberia, quae media inter duo maria est, brevi magnum hominum numerum armasset, Scipio adversus eum M. Silanum cum decem haud amplius [2] milibus militum, equitibus quingentis misit. Silanus quantis maximis potuit

[1] Italiam *JK Froben* 2 : italia *P*(1)*N Aldus.*
[2] haud amplius *Conway* : haud plus *Gronovius, Eds.* : iliauoplus *P* : seu plus (*preceded by* milia) P^2(1)*N om.* A^1N^2 *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] Hasdrubal's attempt to aid his brother Hannibal by a second invasion of Italy had ended in disaster at the Metaurus; XXVII. xlvii. ff. The narrative now reverts to Spain, where a third brother, Mago, was in command of an army.

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXVIII

I. While the passage of Hasdrubal,[1] by shifting B.C. 207
the war to Italy, was felt to have lightened in proportion the burden for Spain, suddenly a war as dangerous as the former broke out again in that country. Spanish territory was at that time occupied by Romans and Carthaginians as follows: Hasdrubal son of Gisgo had retired all the way to the Ocean and Gades; the coast of Our Sea and nearly all of Spain facing eastward were under Scipio and Roman rule; a new commander, Hanno,[2] as successor to Hasdrubal Barca had crossed over from Africa with a new army, and uniting with Mago, had promptly armed men in large numbers in Celtiberia, which lies directly between the two seas. Whereupon Scipio sent Marcus Silanus[3] with not more than ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry against Hanno. Silanus made his marches as long

[2] When a second descent upon Italy was first planned nine years earlier, Hasdrubal had urged the authorities at Carthage to send out another army with a general to take his place in Spain; XXIII. xxvii. 12. A new commander has now arrived, but this Hanno is soon captured and sent to Rome; ii. 11; iv. 4.

[3] Cf. XXVI. xix. 10; XXVII. vii. 17; xxii. 7.

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itineribus—inpediebant autem et asperitates viarum et angustiae saltibus crebris, ut pleraque Hispaniae sunt, inclusae—, tamen non solum nuntios sed etiam famam adventus sui praegressus, ducibus indidem ex
7 Celtiberia transfugis ad hostem pervenit. Eisdem auctoribus conpertum est, cum decem circiter milia ab hoste abessent, bina castra circa viam qua irent esse; laeva Celtiberos, novum exercitum, supra novem milia hominum, dextra Punica tenere castra.
8 Ea stationibus, vigiliis, omni iusta militari custodia tuta et firma esse; illa altera soluta neglectaque, ut barbarorum et tironum et minus timentium, quod in sua terra essent.
9 Ea prius adgredienda ratus Silanus signa quam maxime ad laevam iubebat ferri, necunde ab stationibus Punicis conspiceretur; ipse praemissis speculatoribus citato agmine ad hostem pergit. II. Tria milia ferme aberat cum hauddum quisquam hostium senserat; confragosa loca et obsiti virgultis tegebant [1]
2 colles. Ibi in cava valle atque ob id occulta considere militem et cibum capere iubet. Interim [2] speculatores transfugarum dicta adfirmantes vene-
3 runt; tum sarcinis in medium coniectis arma Romani capiunt acieque iusta in pugnam vadunt. Mille passuum aberant cum a bhoste conspecti sunt trepidarique repente coeptum; et Mago ex castris citato

[1] tegebant *Kreyssig, Eds.*: tenebant A^2N^2JK *Aldus*: tenebat $P(1)N$.
[2] interim A^1N^1JK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.

as possible, being hampered, however, both by rough B.C. 207
roads and narrow passes frequently hemmed in by wooded mountains, as is usual in Spain. Nevertheless he outstripped not only messengers reporting his approach but even rumours of it, and guided by deserters from the same Celtiberia he made his way to the enemy. From the same informants it was learned, when they were about ten miles from the enemy, that there were two camps, one on each side of the road along which they were moving; that, on the left lay the Celtiberians, a new army, over nine thousand men, on the right the Carthaginian camp; that this was strongly defended by outposts, sentries and all the protection usual in the field, while the other camp was lax and carelessly guarded, as belonging to barbarians who were raw recruits and less afraid because they were in their own country.

Silanus, thinking this camp must be attacked first, ordered the standards to move as far to the left as possible, for fear he might be seen from somewhere by the Carthaginian outposts. He sent scouts in advance and himself proceeded towards the enemy with a swiftly moving column. II. He was some three miles away when not one of the enemy had yet noticed them; a rugged terrain and brush-covered hills kept them concealed. There in a deep valley that was consequently unseen he bade his soldiers sit down and take food. Meantime came the scouts confirming the deserters' reports. Then the Romans piled their light baggage in the centre, took up their arms and advanced to fight in regular line of battle. They were a mile away when they were seen by the enemy, who suddenly began to show alarm. Mago too, leaving his

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equo ad primum clamorem et tumultum advehitur.
4 Erant in Celtiberorum exercitu quattuor milia scutata et ducenti equites; hanc iustam legionem—et id ferme roboris erat—in prima acie locat; ceteros,
5 levem armaturam, in subsidiis posuit. Cum ita instructos educeret e castris, vixdum in egressos vallo
6 eos [1] Romani pila coniecerunt. Subsidunt Hispani adversus emissa tela ab hoste, inde ad mittenda ipsi consurgunt; quae cum Romani conferti, ut solent, densatis excepissent scutis, tum pes cum pede con-
7 latus et gladiis geri res coepta est. Ceterum asperitas locorum et Celtiberis, quibus in proelio concursare mos est, velocitatem inutilem faciebat, et haud iniqua
8 eadem erat Romanis stabili pugnae adsuetis, nisi quod angustiae et internata virgulta ordines dirimebant et singuli binique velut cum paribus conse-
9 rere pugnam cogebantur. Quod ad fugam impedimento hostibus erat, id ad [2] caedem eos velut vinctos
10 praebebat. Et iam ferme omnibus scutatis Celtiberorum interfectis levis armatura et Carthaginienses qui ex alteris castris subsidio venerant, perculsi cae-
11 debantur. Duo haud amplius milia peditum et equitatus omnis vix inito proelio cum Magone effugerunt; Hanno, alter imperator, cum eis qui postremi iam profligato proelio advenerant vivus
12 capitur. Magonem fugientem equitatus ferme omnis et quod veterum peditum erat secuti, decimo die in

[1] eos $P(1)N$: in eos $M^1A^2N^1JK$: *om. Aldus, Froben, Conway.*

[2] id ad $P(1)NJK$: *om. Sp* : et ad *Rhenanus.*

camp at the first shouting and uproar, rode up at a gallop. In the army of the Celtiberians there were four thousand men with long shields and two hundred horsemen. This complete legion—and they were the best of his troops—was placed in the front line. The rest, the light-armed, he posted as reserves. While he was leading the men in that order out of their camp and they had scarcely got beyond the rampart, the Romans hurled their javelins at them. The Spaniards squatted down to meet the enemy's volley; then they in turn rose to hurl their weapons. After the Romans in dense array, as usual, had received these on their shields held close together, men fought at close quarters and began to use swords. But the roughness of the ground made nimbleness of no use to the Celtiberians, whose custom it is to be skirmishers in battle, and at the same time it was not unfavourable for the Romans, accustomed to a static order of battle, except that restricted spaces and intervening thickets broke up their ranks, and they were forced to engage now singly, now in couples, as though with men paired against them. Whatever hampered the flight of the enemy exposed them to slaughter, as if they were fettered. And now that nearly all the Celtiberian heavy infantry had been slain, the light-armed and the Carthaginians who had come to their aid from the other camp were being routed and cut down. Not more than two thousand infantry and all the cavalry escaped with Mago almost at the beginning of the battle. Hanno, the second in command, was captured alive with those who had been the last to arrive when the battle was nearly over. Almost all the cavalry and such old soldiers as there were in the infantry B.C. 207

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Gaditanam provinciam ad Hasdrubalem pervenerunt; Celtiberi, novus miles, in proximas dilapsi silvas inde domos diffugerunt.

13 Peropportuna victoria nequaquam tantum iam conflatum bellum, quanta [1] futuri materia belli, si licuisset iis Celtiberorum gente excita et alios ad 14 arma sollicitare populos, oppressa erat. Itaque conlaudato benigne Silano Scipio spem debellandi, si nihil eam ipse cunctando moratus esset, nactus, ad id quod reliquum belli erat in ultimam Hispaniam 15 adversus Hasdrubalem pergit. Poenus cum castra tum [2] forte in Baetica ad sociorum animos continendos in fide haberet, signis repente sublatis fugae magis quam itineris modo penitus ad Oceanum et Gades 16 ducit. Ceterum, quoad continuisset exercitum,[3] propositum bello se fore ratus, antequam freto Gades traiceret,[3] exercitum omnem passim in civitates divisit, ut et muris se ipsi et armis muros tutarentur.

III. Scipio, ubi animadvertit dissipatum passim bellum, et circumferre ad singulas urbes arma diutini 2 magis quam magni esse operis, retro vertit iter. Ne tamen hostibus eam relinqueret regionem, L. Scipio-

[1] quanta *A'JK Aldus, Froben* : quantum *P*(1)*N*.
[2] tum *P*(1, *except D*)*N Aldus* : sua *SpA'N'JK Froben* 2 : *om. D*.
[3] exercitum . . . traiceret *P*(1)*NxJK* : *om. Sp, four lines.*

[1] The son of Gisgo, mentioned just above, i. 2; cf. iii. 3.

followed Mago in flight and on the tenth day reached B. C. 207
Hasdrubal[1] in the region of Gades. The newly recruited Celtiberians slipped away into the neighbouring forests and thence scattered to their homes.

This very timely victory had made a sudden end, not so much indeed of the war already in progress, as of the resources for some subsequent war, had it been possible for the Carthaginians, after calling out the Celtiberian nation, to entice other tribes also to take up arms. Accordingly Scipio praised Silanus in generous terms and cherished the hope of ending the war if only he should not retard the fulfilment by his own delaying. Aiming to finish what remained of the war he proceeded into the farthest part of Spain against Hasdrubal. The Carthaginian, in order to ensure the loyalty of his allies, had his camp at that time, as it happened, in Baetica.[2] Nevertheless he suddenly took up his standards and with the appearance of a flight rather than of a march led his men all the way to the Ocean and Gades. But before taking ship along the strait to Gades, thinking he would be the object of attack so long as he kept his army together, he scattered his entire force among the cities in every direction, that they might defend themselves by walls and at the same time defend walled cities by their arms.

III. Scipio, observing that the field of operations was widely extended, and that to attack the cities one after another would be a protracted task, if not a great one, turned back. Not to leave the region, however, to the enemy, he sent his brother Lucius

[2] Here not the later (Augustan) province of that name, but a vague term for the southernmost part of Spain, including Gades and most of the valley of the Baetis (Guadalquivir).

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nem fratrem cum decem milibus peditum, mille [1] equitum ad oppugnandam opulentissimam in iis locis urbem—Orongin barbari appellabant—mittit. Sita in Maesessum finibus est, Bastetanae [2] gentis; ager frugifer; argentum etiam incolae fodiunt. Ea arx fuerat [3] Hasdrubali ad excursiones circa mediterraneos populos faciendas. Scipio castris prope urbem positis, priusquam circumvallaret urbem, misit ad portas qui ex propinquo alloquio animos temptarent suaderentque ut amicitiam potius quam vim experirentur Romanorum. Ubi nihil pacati respondebatur, fossa duplicique vallo circumdata urbe [4] in tres partes exercitum dividit, ut una semper pars quietis interim duabus oppugnaret. Prima pars cum adorta oppugnare est,[5] atrox sane et anceps proelium fuit: non subire, non scalas ferre ad muros prae incidentibus telis facile erat; etiam qui erexerant ad murum scalas, alii furcis ad id ipsum factis detrudebantur, in alios lupi superne ferrei iniecti, ut in periculo essent ne suspensi in murum extraherentur. Quod ubi animadvertit Scipio nimia paucitate suorum exaequatum certamen esse, et iam eo superare hostem quod ex muro pugnaret, duabus simul partibus, prima recepta, urbem est adgressus. Quae res tantum

[1] mille *A'JK* : *om.* *P*(1)*N*.
[2] Bastetanae *Weissenborn* (*from Zonaras* IX. viii. 8): Hispanae *P*(3)*N* *Conway*.
[3] fuerat *P*(1)*N* *Aldus* : fuit *SpJK* *Froben* 2.
[4] urbe *P*(1)*N* *Aldus*, *Froben* : urbem (*with* circumdat) *SpN'JK*.
[5] est *P*(1)*NJK* : esset *Riemann* : *Conway would prefer* adorta esset, *rejecting* oppugnare.

[1] Probably the same as Auringis (or Aurinx) in Andalusia; XXIV. xlii. 5.

Scipio with ten thousand infantry and a thousand B.C. 207
cavalry to besiege the wealthiest city in that country —Orongis [1] the barbarians called it. It is situated in the territory of the Maesesses,[2] a Bastetanian tribe. Its land is fruitful; the inhabitants mine silver also. That city had been a stronghold for Hasdrubal in making raids among the tribes of the interior. Scipio pitched his camp near the city and before investing it sent men up to the gates to sound the inhabitants by speaking to them from a short distance, urging them to test the friendship of the Romans rather than their power. When no peaceable replies were forthcoming, he surrounded the city with a trench and a double earthwork and divided his army into three parts, so that one third should always be attacking while two thirds in the meantime were resting. When the first third essayed an attack there was, to be sure, a fierce battle and indecisive. It was not easy to come near the walls for the shower of missiles, nor to bring up ladders. Some who had succeeded in raising their ladders against the walls were pushed down by forks made for that very purpose, others had iron grappling-hooks lowered upon them from above, so that they were in danger of being caught up and dragged to the top of the wall. When Scipio noted that owing to the greatly inferior number of his men the struggle was evenly balanced, and that the enemy had an advantage already in fighting from the wall, he attacked the city with two thirds of his men at the same time, having recalled the first third. This

[2] Mention of silver mining places this lesser tribe in the mountains, while the Bastetani proper occupied the south coast.

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pavoris iniecit fessis iam cum primis pugnando, ut et oppidani moenia repentina fuga desererent, et Punicum praesidium metu ne prodita urbs esset relictis stationibus in unum [1] se colligeret.

10 Timor inde oppidanos incessit ne, si hostis urbem intrasset, sine discrimine Poenus an Hispanus esset
11 obvii passim caederentur; itaque [2] patefacta repente porta frequentes ex oppido sese eiecerunt, scuta prae se tenentes, ne tela procul conicerentur, dextras nudas ostentantes, ut gladios abiecisse appareret.
12 Id utrum parum ex intervallo sit conspectum an dolus aliquis suspectus fuerit incompertum est; impetus hostilis in transfugas factus, nec secus quam adversa acies caesi; eademque porta signa infesta
13 urbi inlata. Et aliis partibus securibus dolabrisque caedebantur et refringebantur [3] portae, et ut quisque intraverat eques, ad forum occupandum—ita enim
14 praeceptum erat—citato equo pergebat. Additum erat et triariorum equiti praesidium; legionarii ceteras partis urbis pervadunt. Direptione et caede obviorum, nisi qui armis se tuebantur, abstinuerunt.
15 Carthaginienses omnes in custodiam dati sunt, oppidanorum quoque trecenti [4] ferme qui clauserant portas; ceteris traditum oppidum, suae redditae
16 res. Cecidere in urbis eius oppugnatione hostium

[1] unum $P(1)N$: unum locum SpA^1J (*and with* locum *at the end* K).

[2] itaque A^1N^2(*altern.*): adque P: atque $(1)N$.

[3] et refringebantur A^1JK *Aldus, Froben, Johnson*: *after* portae N^2 *Conway*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line.*

[4] quoque trecenti $A^{1?}N^1JK$: con P (*for* CCC): *om.* $P^2(1)N$.

[1] The seasoned infantry, here on special duty, not in the formal battle line with its *ordines* (as in XXVI. xlvi. 7). Cf. VIII. viii. 9ff.; x. 5; Polybius VI. xxi. 7ff.

inspired so much alarm among men already spent in fighting with the first to attack them that the townsmen in sudden flight abandoned the walls and for fear the city had been betrayed the Carthaginian garrison also left their posts and gathered in one place. B.C. 207

Then the men of the town were possessed by the fear that, if the enemy should enter the city, those whom they happened to meet anywhere would be slain with no distinction between Carthaginian and Spaniard. Accordingly they suddenly opened a gate and dashed out of the town in large numbers, holding their shields in front of them for fear weapons might be hurled at long range, but displaying their right hands empty, so that it should be clear that they had thrown away their swords. Whether this was not seen owing to distance, or whether some ruse was suspected, has not been ascertained. The Romans, making an attack upon the deserters, cut them down like an opposing battle-line; and by the same gate hostile units entered the city. Elsewhere also gates were being hewed to pieces and broken open with hatchets and pickaxes, while a cavalryman on entering would ride ahead at full speed to seize the forum; for such were their orders. A detachment of *triarii*[1] also had been assigned to support the cavalry. The legionaries made their way through the other quarters of the city. They refrained from plundering and from slaying those they met, except when men defended themselves with arms. The Carthaginians were all put under guard, also about three hundred of the citizens who had closed the gates. The town was handed over to the rest and their property restored. About two thousand of the

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duo milia ferme, Romanorum haud amplius[1] nonaginta.

IV. Laeta et ipsis qui rem gessere urbis eius expugnatio fuit et imperatori ceteroque exercitui; et speciosum adventum suum ingentem turbam captivo-
2 rum prae se agentes fecerunt. Scipio conlaudato fratre cum quanto poterat verborum honore Carthagini ab se captae captam ab eo Orongin aequasset,
3 quia et hiems instabat, ut nec temptare Gades nec disiectum passim per provinciam exercitum Hasdrubalis consectari posset, in citeriorem Hispaniam
4 omnes suas copias reduxit;[2] dimissisque in hiberna legionibus, L. Scipione fratre Romam misso et Hannone hostium imperatore ceterisque nobilibus captivis ipse Tarraconem concessit.

5 Eodem anno classis Romana cum M. Valerio Laevino proconsule ex Sicilia in Africam transmissa in Uticensi Carthaginiensique agro late populationes fecit. Extremis finibus Carthaginiensium circa ipsa
6 moenia Uticae praedae actae sunt. Repetentibus Siciliam classis Punica—septuaginta erant longae naves—occurrit; septemdecim[3] naves ex iis captae sunt, quattuor in alto mersae, cetera fusa ac fugata
7 classis. Terra marique victor Romanus cum magna omnis generis praeda Lilybaeum repetit. Tuto[4] inde mari pulsis hostium navibus magni conmeatus frumenti Romam subvecti.

[1] amplius *P*(3)*M*[1]*N Aldus*: plus *Sp?JK Froben* 2.

[2] omnes (*or* -nis) suas copias reduxit *P*[1] *or* *P*[2](1)*NJK Aldus* (sua *P*: redixit *D*): recipit exercitum *Spx Froben* 2.

[3] septemdecim, *P has* decem et septem *and so* (*or numerals*) *the rest*: *cf. Vol. VII, p.* 186, *crit. note* 6.

[4] Tuto *P*(1)*N Aldus*: toto *SpN*[1](*altern.*)*JK Froben* 2.

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[1] See p. 3, n. 2.

enemy were slain in the siege of the city, of the Romans not more than ninety. B.C. 207

IV. The storming of that city brought joy not only to those who took part in the exploit but also to the commander-in-chief and the rest of his army; and the troops made their approach an impressive sight, as they drove before them a great crowd of captives. Scipio warmly praised his brother, with the highest possible compliment placing his capture of Orongis on the same level as his own capture of (New) Carthage. Thereupon, and because winter was at hand, so that he was unable either to attack Gades or to follow up Hasdrubal's army, widely scattered throughout the province, he led all his forces back into Hither Spain. After sending the legions away to their winter quarters and his brother Lucius Scipio to Rome, and with him Hanno,[1] a general of the enemy, and the rest of the noble captives, he himself retired to Tarraco.

The same year a Roman fleet under Marcus Valerius Laevinus, the proconsul, was sent over from Sicily to Africa, and in the territory of Utica and Carthage they ravaged the country far and wide. Along the edge of the Carthaginian territory, close to the very walls of Utica, booty was carried off. On their return voyage to Sicily a Carthaginian fleet of seventy warships encountered them. Seventeen of these were captured, four sunk at sea, the rest of the fleet routed and put to flight. Victorious on land and sea, the Romans returned with ample plunder of every kind to Lilybaeum. Thereafter, as the sea was safe in consequence of the discomfiture of the enemy's ships, great supplies of grain were brought to Rome.

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V. Principio aestatis eius qua haec sunt gesta P. Sulpicius proconsul et Attalus rex cum Aeginae, sicut ante dictum est, hibernassent, Lemnum inde classe iuncta—Romanae quinque et viginti quinqueremes, regiae quinque et triginta [1]—transmiserunt. 2 Et Philippus ut, seu terra seu mari obviam eundum hosti foret, paratus ad omnes conatus esset, ipse Demetriadem ad mare descendit, Larisam diem ad 3 conveniendum exercitui edixit. Undique ab sociis legationes Demetriadem ad famam regis convenerunt. 4 Sustulerant enim animos Aetoli cum ab Romana societate tum post Attali adventum, finitimosque 5 depopulabantur. Nec Acarnanes solum Boeotique et qui Euboeam incolunt in magno metu erant, sed Achaei quoque, quos super Aetolicum bellum Machanidas etiam Lacedaemonius tyrannus haud procul 6 Argivorum fine positis castris terrebat. Hi omnes suis quisque urbibus quae pericula terra marique portenderentur [2] memorantes auxilia regem orabant. 7 Ne ex regno quidem ipsius tranquillae nuntiabantur res: et Scerdilaedum Pleuratumque motos esse, et Thracum maxime Maedos, si quod longinquum bellum regem occupasset, proxima Macedoniae in-

[1] triginta, *after this Ussing inserted* erant (*Madvig after* quinqueremes).

[2] portenderentur *Sp?A¹J Froben* 2: -bantur *P*(1)*N Aldus.*

[1] Since Roman progress in Greece had been slow Livy is summarizing events of 208 and 207 B.C. in that theatre under the latter year. Cf. XXVII. xxix. 9 ff. (Vol. VII. p. 330, n. 2). Polybius is the source (X. xli. f.) for the events which follow.

[2] *I.e.* XXVII. xxxiii. 5.

V. At the beginning of the summer in which these events took place[1] Publius Sulpicius, the proconsul, and King Attalus, after wintering at Aegina, as has been stated above,[2] sailed across to Lemnus with their combined fleets, twenty-five Roman and thirty-five royal quinqueremes. And Philip, to be prepared for every effort of the enemy, whether he must be met on land or on sea, came down himself to the sea at Demetrias[3] and appointed a day for the army to assemble at Larisa. From his allies all around deputations gathered at Demetrias on the first report of the king's coming. For the Aetolians in consequence of their alliance with the Romans, and particularly after the arrival of Attalus, had been emboldened and were laying waste their neighbours' lands. And not only were the Acarnanians and Boeotians and the inhabitants of Euboea greatly alarmed but also the Achaeans, who in addition to the Aetolian war were further terrified by Machanidas,[4] tyrant of Sparta, who had pitched his camp not far from the Argive frontier. All these delegations stated the dangers impending by land and sea for their several cities and were imploring the aid of the king. Even from his own kingdom the report was of no peaceful conditions: that Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus had taken the field; also that of the Thracians the Maedi[5] in particular were ready to invade the nearest part of Macedonia if some distant war should B.C. 207

[3] At the north end of the Sinus Pagasaeus (Demetriacus in § 18), it was the chief trade centre of Thessaly; cf. Vol. VII. p. 342, n. 2.

[4] Cf. XXVII. xxix. 9; below, vii. 17.

[5] Between Thrace and Paeonia, in the upper valley of the Strymon and eastward; XXVI. xxv. 6, 8.

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8 cursuros. Boeoti quidem et interiores Graeciae populi Thermopylarum saltum,[1] ubi angustae fauces coartant iter, fossa valloque intercludi ab Aetolis nuntiabant, ne transitum ad sociorum urbes tuendas Philippo darent.

9 Vel segnem ducem tot excitare tumultus circumfusi poterant. Legationes dimittit pollicitus, prout tem-
10 pus ac res sineret, omnibus laturum se auxilium. In praesentia quae maxime urgebat res, Peparethum praesidium urbi mittit, unde allatum erat Attalum ab Lemno classe transmissa omnem circum urbem
11 agrum depopulatum. Polyphantam cum modica manu in Boeotiam, Menippum item quendam ex regiis ducibus cum mille peltatis[2]—pelta caetrae
12 haud dissimilis est—Chalcidem mittit; additi quingenti[3] Agrianum, ut omnes insulae partes tueri posset. Ipse Scotussam est profectus, eodemque ab
13 Larisa Macedonum copias traduci iussit. Eo nuntiatum est concilium Aetolis Heracleam indictum regemque Attalum ad consultandum de summa belli
14 venturum. Hunc conventum ut turbaret subito
15 adventu,[4] magnis itineribus Heracleam duxit. Et

[1] saltum *JK* : saltus *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben.*

[2] peltatis *P*(1)*NJK Weissenborn, Conway* : peltastis *Jac. Gronovius, Eds.*

[3] quingenti (*or* d) $P A^1 N^2 JK$: *om.* $P^2(1)N$.

[4] hunc conventum . . . adventu $A^1 N^1 JK$ *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* *P*(1)*N, two lines.*

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[1] Cf. vii. 3; Strabo IX. iv. 12 ff.

[2] Of the same name as the island, and destroyed by Philip; XXXI. xxviii. 6.

[3] Paeonian auxiliaries (archers) of the Macedonians; XXXIII. xviii. 9; Thucydides II. 96; Polybius II. lxv; X. xlii. 3; Strabo VII. fr. 36 f.

engage the king's attention. In fact the Boeotians and inland Greek states reported that the pass of Thermopylae,[1] where a narrow entrance hems in the road, was being closed with a ditch and an earthwork by the Aetolians, that it might not allow Philip a passage in order to defend the cities of his allies. B.C. 207

Even a general lacking in spirit might have been aroused by so many alarms from all sides. Philip sent the deputations away with a promise that he would lend aid to them all as time and circumstances might permit. As the urgency of the moment required, he sent to Peparēthus a garrison for the city,[2] from which had come the news that Attalus, sending his fleet over from Lemnus, had ravaged all the country round the city. Philip sent Polyphantas with a force of moderate size into Boeotia; also one of his own generals, Menippus, to Chalcis with a thousand peltasts, whose shield is not unlike the *caetra*. Five hundred of the Agrianes[3] were added, to enable Menippus to protect all parts of the island. The king himself set out for Scotussa and ordered that the Macedonian troops should march across from Larisa to the same place. There the report reached him that a council had been appointed for the Aetolians at Heraclēa,[4] and that King Attalus would attend for a consultation on the issues of the war. To break up this gathering by his sudden arrival Philip led his men by forced marches to Heraclēa. He arrived indeed after the

[4] Above Thermopylae, to the west of the pass and commanding the road to it; XXXVI. xvi. 4 f.; xxii. 1, 4 f.; Thuc. III. 92; Strabo IX. iv. 13; Polybius X. xlii. 4. From Scotussa, in eastern Thessaly, to Thermopylae the distance was about 50 Roman miles; cf. vii. 3.

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concilio quidem dimisso [1] venit; segetibus tamen, quae iam [2] prope maturitatem erant, maxime in sinu Aenianum evastatis Scotussam copias reduxit. Ibi exercitu omni relicto, cum cohorte regia Demetriadem
16 sese recipit.[3] Inde ut ad omnes hostium motus posset occurrere, in Phocidem atque Euboeam et Peparethum mittit qui loca alta eligerent unde editi
17 ignes apparerent; ipse in Tisaeo—mons est in altitudinem ingentem cacuminis editi—speculam posuit, ut ignibus procul sublatis signum, ubi quid molirentur hostes, momento temporis acciperet.
18 Romanus imperator et Attalus rex a Peparetho Nicaeam traiecerunt; inde classem in Euboeam ad urbem Oreum tramittunt, quae ab Demetriaco sinu Chalcidem et Euripum petenti ad laevam prima
19 urbium Euboeae posita est. Ita inter Attalum ac Sulpicium convenit, ut Romani a mari, regii a terra oppugnarent. VI. Quadriduo post quam adpulsa classis est, urbem adgressi sunt. Id tempus occultis cum Platore, qui a Philippo praepositus urbi erat,
2 conloquiis absumptum est. Duas arces urbs habet, unam imminentem mari, altera urbis media [4] est. Cuniculo inde via ad mare ducit, quam a mari turris

[1] dimisso, *followed by* iam *in* $P(1)NJK$ *Eds.*: *Conway rejects* iam.
[2] iam A^1N^1JK *Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[3] recipit *Sp?K Froben* 2: recepit $P(1)NJ$ *Aldus, Conway.*
[4] media $P(3)$: medio AN *Aldus Froben.*

[1] *I.e.* the Sinus Maliacus (XXVII. xxx. 3), for the Aenianes lay to the west of that gulf.
[2] Plainly visible from Demetrias across the gulf. The height of the mountain is 2112 ft. Cf. Polybius X. xlii. 7.
[3] For signalling by fires cf. XXIX. vi. 8, 10. Polybius has an excursus of several pages on the subject, including improvements he had himself made; *l.c.* xliii–xlvii. The Romans

council had been dismissed; but he destroyed crops B.C. 207
which were now almost ripe, especially along the Gulf of the Aenianes,[1] and led his troops back to Scotussa. There he left the whole army and with his cohort of guards returned to Demetrias. From there, in order that he might meet every movement of his enemies, he sent men into Phocis and Euboea and to Peparethus, to select heights from which signal fires might be visible. For himself he placed a watch-tower on Mount Tisaeus,[2] whose peak rises to a great height, so that by fires [3] on distant heights he might in an instant receive a message as to where his enemies were active.

The Roman commander and King Attalus crossed from Peparēthus to Nicaea.[4] From there they sailed over to Euboea in their fleet and to the city of Oreum,[5] which is the first of the cities of Euboea situated on the left as one coming from the Gulf of Demetrias steers towards Chalcis and the Euripus. Between Attalus and Sulpicius it was agreed that the Romans should attack from the sea, the king's forces from the land. VI. In four days after the fleet came in they attacked the city. That time was spent in secret conversations with Plator, who had been put in command of the city by Philip. The place has two citadels, one overhanging the sea; the other is in the centre of the city. From it a road leads down to the sea through a tunnel, and at

seem to have made no use of so elaborate a system; cf. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* 61 f., 74 ff., 91 ff.

[4] A stronghold of the Eastern Locrians and a seaport 2½ miles east of Thermopylae; XXXII. xxxii. 9; xxxv. 2; Polybius X. xlii. 4; XVIII. vii. 8; Strabo IX. iv. 13.

[5] Cf. XXXI. xlvi. 6 ff.; Strabo X. i. 3 ff. Earlier it had been called Histiaea.

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quinque tabulatorum, egregium propugnaculum, 3 claudebat. Ibi primo atrocissimum contractum est certamen, et turre instructa omni genere telorum, et tormentis machinisque ad oppugnandam eam ex 4 navibus expositis. Cum omnium animos oculosque id certamen avertisset, porta maritumae arcis Plator Romanos accepit, momentoque arx occupata est. Oppidani pulsi inde in mediam urbem ad alteram 5 tendere arcem; et ibi positi erant qui fores portae obicerent. Ita exclusi in medio caeduntur capi- 6 unturque. Macedonum praesidium conglobatum sub arcis muro stetit nec fuga effuse petita, nec 7 pertinaciter proelio inito.[1] Eos Plator venia ab Sulpicio impetrata in naves impositos ad Demetrium Phthiotidis exposuit, ipse ad Attalum se recepit.

8 Sulpicius tam facili ad Oreum successu elatus Chalcidem inde protinus victrici classe petit, ubi haud- 9 quaquam ad spem eventus respondit. Ex patenti utrimque coactum in angustias mare speciem intuenti primo gemini portus in ora duo versi praebuerit;[2] 10 sed haud facile alia infestior classi statio est. Nam et venti ab utriusque terrae praealtis montibus subiti ac procellosi se[3] deiciunt, et fretum ipsum Euripi non septiens die, sicut fama fert, temporibus statis

[1] proelio inito *Sp?JK Froben* 2: proelium initium *P*(3), *corrected to* initum $P^{z}C^{z}M^{1}B^{2}AN$.

[2] praebuerit *Sp?A*^{t}*N*^{t}*J Froben* 2: -buere *P*(1)*N*: -buit *K Aldus*.

[3] se *Gronovius, Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*NJK Conway*.

the seaward end a tower having five stories, a B.C. 207
remarkable defensive work, used to close the road. There at first a very fierce engagement began, for the tower was provided with missiles of every kind, while artillery also and engines had been landed from the ships for an attack upon it. When that conflict had diverted the attention and the eyes of all, Plator admitted the Romans through a gate in the citadel by the sea, and in an instant the citadel was seized. The citizens being repulsed hastened to the heart of the city and the other citadel; and men had been posted there to close the gates. Being thus shut out they were surrounded and slain or captured. The Macedonian garrison stood in a mass under the wall of the citadel, having neither taken to flight in disorder nor gone into battle with determination. Plator, having gained permission from Sulpicius, embarked his men and landed them at Demetrium [1] in Phthiotis, while he himself joined Attalus.

Sulpicius, inspired by a success so easily won at Oreum, sailed thence with his victorious fleet directly to Chalcis, where the result by no means matched his expectation. The sea, which from a wide expanse on both sides is narrowed into a strait, might give one at first sight the appearance of a double harbour facing two entrances. But hardly any other anchorage is more dangerous for a fleet. For sudden, squally winds blow down from very high mountains on either shore, and also the Euripus strait itself does not reverse its direction seven times a day at

[1] Two and a half miles from Thebae Phthiotides and named from a temple of Demeter. It was known also as Pyrasus; Strabo IX. v. 14.

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reciprocat, sed temere in modum venti nunc huc nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte praecipiti devolutus torrens rapitur. Ita nec nocte nec die quies
11 navibus datur. Cum classem tam infesta statio accepit, tum et oppidum alia parte clausum mari, alia ab terra egregie munitum praesidioque valido firmatum et praecipue fide praefectorum principumque, quae fluxa et vana apud Oreum fuerat,
12 stabile atque inexpugnabile fuit. Id prudenter, ut in temere suscepta re, Romanus fecit quod circumspectis difficultatibus, ne frustra tempus tereret, celeriter abstitit incepto classemque inde ad Cynum Locridis—emporium id est urbis Opuntiorum[1] mille passuum a mari sitae—traiecit.

VII. Philippum et ignes ab Oreo editi monuerant, sed serius Platoris fraude ex specula elati; et inpari maritumis[2] viribus haud facilis erat in insulam classi
2 accessus; ita re[3] per cunctationem omissa, ad Chalcidis auxilium, ubi signum accepit, impigre est motus. Nam et ipsa Chalcis quamquam eiusdem insulae urbs est, tamen adeo arto interscinditur freto ut ponte continenti iungatur terraque aditum faciliorem quam
3 mari habeat. Igitur[4] Philippus ab Demetriade

[1] urbis Opuntiorum, *this order indicated by* $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*; *reversed in* $A^{a}JKx$ *Froben* 2.

[2] maritumis, *before this* $A^{a}N^{a}$*Aldus, Conway have* tum (*om.* $SpJK$ *Froben* 2, *but possibly preserved in* tumvis, *which* $P(3)$ *have in place of* maritumis.

[3] re $A^{a}JK$ *Aldus, Conway*: res *Sp? Froben* 2: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[4] Igitur $P(1)NJK$: Rediit igitur *M. Müller.*

[1] This is the statement of Strabo *l.c.* ii. 8 and Pliny *N.H.* II. 219. Regularity is stressed by Cicero *N.D.* III. 24, without giving the number of times daily. But the irregularity was proverbial; Plato *Phaedo* 90 C. In actual fact the real tides are perfectly regular, with four changes daily, while in

fixed times,[1] as report has it, but with a current that B.C. 207
like the wind changes irregularly, now this way, now that, it races along as a torrent dashes down from a steep mountain. Thus neither by night nor by day are ships given rest. Not only was the anchorage into which the fleet came so dangerous, but in addition the town was strong and impregnable, being protected on one side by the sea, on the other side, towards the land, extraordinarily fortified and secured by a strong garrison and in particular by the loyalty of its commanders and leading citizens, a quality which at Oreum had been uncertain and delusive. It was wise on the part of the Roman, considering his rash undertaking, that after surveying the difficulties, in order not to waste time for nothing, he promptly gave up the attempt and with his fleet crossed over to Cynus in Locris, the mart of the city of Opus, which is situated a mile from the sea.[2]

VII. Philip had been warned also by fire-signals from Oreum, but through the treachery of Plator they were set too late on the watch-tower. Also, since he was no match in naval strength, approach to the island by a fleet was not easy. He let slip that project by delaying, and, on receiving the signal accordingly, set out with spirit to bring aid to Chalcis. For although Chalcis is likewise a city of the same island, still it is separated by a strait so narrow that the city is linked to the mainland by a bridge, and approach by land is easier than by sea. Accordingly Philip

a strait so narrow very marked irregularities are due to secondary causes, chiefly winds.

[2] Nearly two miles from the sea according to Strabo IX. iv. 2, and less than eight east of its port, Cynus. Opus was the chief city of the Eastern (Opuntian) Locrians.

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Scotussam, inde de tertia vigilia profectus,[1] deiecto praesidio fusisque Aetolis qui saltum Thermopylarum insidebant, cum trepidos hostis Heracleam compulisset, ipse uno die Phocidis Elatiam milia amplius 4 sexaginta contendit. Eodem ferme die ab Attalo rege Opuntiorum urbs capta diripiebatur. Concesserat eam regi praedam Sulpicius, quia Oreum paucos ante dies ab Romano milite, expertibus regiis, 5 direptum fuerat. Cum [2] Romana classis Oreum sese recepisset,[3] Attalus ignarus adventus Philippi pecu- 6 niis a principibus exigendis terebat tempus, adeoque improvisa res fuit ut, nisi Cretensium quidam forte pabulatum ab urbe longius progressi agmen hostium 7 procul conspexissent, opprimi potuerit. Attalus inermis atque incompositus cursu effuso mare ac naves petit, et molientibus ab terra naves Philippus supervenit [4] tumultumque etiam ex terra nauticis 8 praebuit. Inde Opuntem rediit, deos hominesque accusans quod tantae rei fortunam ex oculis prope 9 raptam amisisset. Opuntii quoque ab eadem ira increpiti quod, cum trahere obsidionem in adventum suum potuissent, viso statim hoste prope in voluntariam deditionem concessissent.

[1] ab Demetriade . . . profectus, *placed here by Madvig and many eds.*; *in P*(1)*NJK Aldus these words follow* deiecto . . . insidebant cum; *i.e. P om. four lines and inserted them later.*

[2] Cum *P*(3)*NA*[1]*Aldus*: *om. SpJK Froben* 2.

[3] recepisset *A*[1]*N*[1]*CM*[1] *Aldus*: se cepisset *P*(3)*N*: receperat et *SpA*[1]*JK Froben* 2.

[4] supervenit *P*(1)*N Aldus*: advenit *SpJK Froben* 2.

hastened from Demetrias to Scotussa, whence he set B.C. 207
out in the third watch, dislodged the garrison and routed the Aetolians occupying the pass of Thermopylae. Then after driving the enemy in alarm into Heraclēa, he himself in a single day covered a distance of more than sixty miles to Elatīa [1] in Phocis. On about the same day the captured city of Opus was being sacked by King Attalus. Its booty had been given up to the king by Sulpicius because Oreum [2] had been sacked by Roman soldiers a few days before, while the king's troops had no share in it. When the Roman fleet had returned to Oreum, Attalus, unaware of the coming of Philip, was spending his time in exacting money from leading citizens. And so unexpected was the attack that if some of the Cretans, who happened to have gone a long distance from the city to forage, had not caught sight of the enemy's column in the distance, the king could have been overpowered. Attalus' men, being unarmed and in disorder, rushed pell-mell to the sea and their ships; and as they were struggling to cast off, Philip came upon them and from the shore caused further confusion among the sailors. Then he returned to Opus, accusing gods and men because he had lost so great an opportunity, snatched away almost before his eyes. The men of Opus also were no less angrily upbraided because, although they could have dragged out the siege until his coming, at the first sight of the enemy they had almost willingly surrendered.

[1] The largest city of Phocis, commanding roads from the north coast and Thermopylae; Strabo IX. iii. 2, 15.

[2] The name is always masculine in our Greek sources.

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Compositis circa Opuntem rebus Thronium[1] est
10 profectus. Et Attalus primo Oreum se recepit[2]; inde, cum fama accidisset Prusian Bithyniae regem in fines regni sui transgressum, omissis Romanis rebus
11 atque Aetolico bello in Asiam traiecit. Et Sulpicius Aeginam classem recepit,[3] unde initio veris profectus erat. Haud maiore certamine quam Opuntem
12 Attalus ceperat, Philippus Thronium cepit. Incolebant urbem eam profugi ab Thebis Phthioticis; urbe sua capta a Philippo cum in fidem Aetolorum perfugissent,[4] sedem iis Aetoli eam dederant urbis vastae ac desertae priore eiusdem Philippi bello.
13 Tum ab Thronio, sicut paulo[5] ante dictum est, recepto profectus Tithronion et Drumias, Doridis parva atque ignobilia oppida, cepit. Inde Elatiam, iussis ibi se opperiri Ptolomaei Rhodiorumque legatis,
14 venit. Ubi cum de finiendo Aetolico bello ageretur— adfuerant enim legati nuper Heracleae concilio Romanorum Aetolorumque—. nuntius adfertur Machanidam Olympiorum sollemne ludicrum parantes Eleos
15 adgredi statuisse. Praevertendum id ratus legatis cum

[1] Thronium *Glareanus. Eds.*: Toronen (*or* -em) $P(1)N$ *Luchs, Conway, and similarly in* §§ 11 *and* 13, *requiring us to believe that Livy was wrong in his geography.*

[2] se recepit N^sJK *Aldus, Froben, Conway*: est profectus $P(1)N$: *om. Gronovius, Madvig.*

[3] recepit $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: recipit SpN^s *Froben* 2.

[4] perfugissent $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: -venissent SpA^sN^s *(altern.)* JK.

[5] paulo N^sJK: *om.* $P(1)N$. *For* recepto *the MSS. have* -cepta *to agree with* Torone, *and the fem. was retained by Alschefski and Madvig with* Thronio.

[1] More than two miles from the sea (Strabo IX. iv. 4), this ancient town was high-perched at the west end of Mt. Cnemis. Hence the Locrians of this region were called Epicnemidian.

Having settled matters in the neighbourhood of B.C. 207
Opus, he went to Thronium.[1] Attalus also retired at first to Oreum; and then, when the report reached him that Prusias, King of Bithynia, had crossed into territory belonging to his kingdom, he sailed over to Asia, forsaking the Roman cause and the Aetolian war. And Sulpicius withdrew with his fleet to Aegina, from which he had set out at the beginning of the spring. Philip captured Thronium with no greater struggle than Attalus had in capturing Opus. The inhabitants of the former were refugees from Thebes[2] in Phthiotis. When their city was taken by Philip they had sought refuge in the protection of the Aetolians, whereupon the Aetolians had given them an abiding-place in that city, desolated and abandoned in a previous war with the same Philip. Then setting out from Thronium, which he had recovered, as has just been said, he captured Tithronion and Drumiae, small and unimportant towns in Doris. Then he came to Elatīa, having bidden the envoys of Ptolemy and of the Rhodians[3] to wait for him there. While they were there discussing how to end the Aetolian war—for the envoys had recently been present at the council of the Romans and Aetolians at Heraclēa[4]—came the news that Machanidas had decided to attack the Eleans, who were making ready to celebrate the Olympic Games.[5] Thinking he must make that his first task, the king

[2] A very ancient and important city of Achaia Phthiotis, on a ridge above its port, Pyrasus, two miles away on the Sinus Pagasaeus; Strabo IX. v. 14.

[3] Cf. XXVII. xxx. 4.

[4] Cf. v. 13 f.

[5] *I.e.* those of the year 208 B.C.; cf. XXVII. xxxv. 3.

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benigno responso dimissis—se neque causam eius belli fuisse nec moram, si modo aequa et honesta con-
16 dicione liceat. paci facturum—cum expedito agmine profectus per Boeotiam Megara atque inde Corinthum descendit, unde commeatibus sumptis Phliunta
17 Pheneumque petit. Et iam cum Heraeam venisset, audito Machanidam fama adventus sui territum refugisse Lacedaemonem, Aegium se ad concilium Achaeorum recepit, simul classem Punicam, ut mari quoque aliquid posset,[1] accitam, ibi ratus se inventu-
18 rum. Paucis ante diebus inde Oxeas [2] traiecerant Poeni; inde portus Acarnanum petierant, cum ab Oreo profectum Attalum Romanosque audissent, veriti ne ad [3] se iretur et intra Rhium—fauces eae sunt Corinthii sinus—opprimerentur.

VIII. Philippus maerebat quidem et angebatur, cum ad omnia ipse raptim isset, nulli tamen se rei in tempore occurrisse, et rapientem omnia ex oculis
2 elusisse celeritatem suam fortunam. In concilio autem dissimulans aegritudinem elato animo disseruit,

[1] posset *JK Aldus, Froben*: possit $P(1)N$.
[2] Oxeas *Crévier (cf. Strabo* X. ii. 19): uaeas $P(3)N$: ut eas A: phoceas $A^{1}JK$.
[3] ad $P(1)N$: in *JK Aldus, Froben, Conway.*

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[1] Phlius lay south-west of Corinth; Pheneus farther west, near a lake of the same name, at the foot of Mt. Cyllene in north-eastern Arcadia.

[2] In western Arcadia, on the river Alpheus and the road to Olympia. It still belonged to the Macedonian king. Cf. Pausanias VIII. xxvi.

[3] The Oxeae were small western islands off the mouth of the Achelous and opposite Cephallenia. They formed the

sent away the envoys with a friendly answer: that B.C. 207
he had not been the cause of this war, and would not delay making peace, provided it was possible to do so on fair and honourable terms. Setting out with a light column he came down through Boeotia to Megara and then to Corinth, from which he took on supplies and marched to Phlīus and Phenĕus.[1] And when he had already reached Heraea,[2] he heard that Machanidas, alarmed by the report of his coming, had fled back to Sparta. Thereupon the king went to Aegium for the council of the Achaeans, at the same time thinking that there he would find the Carthaginian fleet which he had summoned that he might be able to accomplish something by sea as well. A few days earlier the Carthaginians had crossed over to the Oxēae,[3] and then had made for the Acarnanian ports, on hearing that Attalus and the Romans had set sail from Oreum. They were afraid they might be pursued and overpowered inside of Rhium,[4] the narrows, that is, of the Gulf of Corinth.

VIII. Philip was sorry indeed and vexed that, although he had himself made rapid marches in every direction, nevertheless he had not met a single situation at the right moment, and that fortune had mocked his speed by whisking everything out of his sight. In the council, however, concealing his vexation, he made a proud speech, calling gods and men

southernmost group of the Echinades archipelago. Cf. Strabo VIII. iii. 26 *fin.*; X. ii. 19.

[4] Properly the Headland on the south side of the strait, and its counterpart, Antirrhium, on the Aetolian side, marking the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth; Thuc. II. 86; Strabo VIII. ii. 3; Pausanias VII. xxii. 10 (Frazer). Also at times of the strait itself; so Livy here and in XXVII. xxix. 9.

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testatus deos hominesque se nullo loco nec tempore[1] defuisse quin, ubi hostium arma concrepuissent, eo 3 quanta maxima posset celeritate tenderet; sed vix[2] rationem iniri posse utrum a se audacius an fugacius ab hostibus geratur bellum. Sic ab Opunte Attalum, sic Sulpicium ab Chalcide, sic eis ipsis diebus Machani- 4 dam e manibus suis elapsum. Sed non semper felicem esse fugam, nec pro difficili id bellum habendum in quo, si modo congressus cum hostibus[3] sis, viceris. 5 Quod primum esset, confessionem se hostium habere nequaquam pares esse sibi[4]; brevi et victoriam haud dubiam habiturum, nec meliore eventu eos secum quam spe pugnaturos.

6 Laeti regem socii audierunt. Reddidit inde Achaeis Heraeam et Triphuliam, Alipheram autem Megalopolitis, quod suorum fuisse finium satis probabant, 7 restituit. Inde navibus acceptis ab Achaeis—erant autem tres quadriremes et biremes totidem— 8 Anticyram traiecit. Inde quinqueremibus septem et lembis viginti amplius, quos, ut adiungeret Carthaginiensium classi, miserat in Corinthium sinum, pro-

[1] nullo . . . tempore *Gronovius, Madvig, Conway*: nullo . . . tempori $P(1)N$: nulli . . . tempori A^1K *Luchs* (*with* tempore J).

[2] vix $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: haud *Rhenanus, from* id *of* SpN^e(*altern.*).

[3] hostibus $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*: hoste $SpJK$ *Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[4] sibi $P(1)N$: eos $SpJK$ *Froben* 2: eos sibi x *Aldus.*

to witness that at no place or time had he failed to B.C. 207
hasten with all possible speed to any place where the din of enemies' arms had been heard. But it could scarcely be made out, he said, whether his audacity in carrying on the war was the greater, or his enemies' eagerness to run away. So from Opus Attalus had slipped out of his hands, so had Sulpicius from Chalcis, so in those very days had Machanidas. But not always was flight successful, nor must that be accounted a difficult war in which you are the victor if you have merely made contact with the enemy. What was of most significance, he said, he had the confession of his enemies that they were by no means his equals. Soon he would likewise have no uncertain victory, and they would fight against him with a result no better than they had hoped.

The allies rejoiced when they listened to the king. Thereupon he delivered Heraea and Triphylia[1] to the Achaeans, but restored Aliphēra[2] to Megalopolis, because the citizens of the latter gave sufficient proofs that it had belonged to their territory. Then on receiving ships—they were three quadriremes and as many biremes—from the Achaeans, he sailed over to Anticyra.[3] From there he set sail with seven quinqueremes and more than twenty light vessels previously sent by him into the Gulf of Corinth to be added to the Carthaginian fleet, and made a landing at

[1] Not actually given back to Achaia until 198 B.C.; XXXII. v. 4. Cf. Strabo VIII. iii. 3. For Heraea cf. p. 30, n. 2. Triphylia lay south of the Alphēus, and reached the sea on the west.

[2] In Arcadia, near the border of Triphylia; XXXII. *l.c.*; Pausanias VIII. xxvi. 5–7.

[3] The Locrian Anticyra, near the entrance to the Gulf; cf. Vol. VII. p. 100, n.

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fectus ad Eruthras Aetolorum, quae prope Eupalium
9 sunt, escensionem fecit. Haud fefellit Aetolos; nam hominum quod aut in agris aut in propinquis castellis Potidaniae atque Apolloniae fuit in silvas montesque
10 refugit; pecora, quae inter festinationem abigi nequierant, sunt direpta et in naves conpulsa. Cum iis ceteraque praeda Nicia praetore Achaeorum Aegium misso, cum Corinthum petisset, pedestris
11 inde copias per Boeotiam terra duci iussit. Ipse ab Cenchreis praeter terram Atticam [1] super Sunium navigans inter medias prope hostium classes Chalci-
12 dem pervenit. Inde conlaudata fide ac virtute, quod neque timor nec spes flexisset eorum animos, hortatusque in posterum ut eadem constantia permanerent in societate, si suam quam Oritanorum atque [2]
13 Opuntiorum fortunam mallent, ab Chalcide Oreum navigat, principumque iis qui fugere capta urbe quam se Romanis tradere maluerant summa rerum et custodia urbis permissa, ipse Demetriadem ab Euboea, unde primum [3] ad opem ferendam sociis
14 profectus erat, traiecit. Cassandreae deinde centum navium longarum carinis positis contractaque ad effectum eius operis multitudine fabrorum navalium, quia res in Graecia tranquillas et profectio Attali fecerat et in tempore laborantibus sociis latum ab se

[1] terram Atticam $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: atticen *SpJ*(-em) *Froben* 2.
[2] in posterum . . . atque $A^{1}N^{1}JK$ *Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *four or five lines.*
[3] primum $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: primo *Sp*?*JK Froben* 2.

[1] A seaport of the Ozolian Locrians, on the north shore of the Gulf, but at this time belonging to the Aetolians. Inland and to the north lay Eupalium.
[2] Mentioned by Thucydides III. 96; along the upper course of the Daphnus river, north-west of Anticyra and Erythrae.

Erythrae,[1] in Aetolia and near Eupalium. He did B.C. 207
not surprise the Aetolians, for all the men who were either on the farms or in the nearest strongholds, Potidania [2] and Apollonia, fled into the forests and the mountains. Sheep and goats which in their haste could not be driven away were seized and loaded on the ships. With these and the rest of the booty Nicias, chief magistrate of the Achaeans, was sent to Aegium; and when the king had reached Corinth, he ordered his land forces to march from there overland across Boeotia. He himself sailing from Cenchreae along the coast of Attica round Sunium, almost through the midst of enemy fleets, came to Chalcis. Then, after praising their loyalty and courage, in that neither fear nor hope had swayed their spirit, and encouraging them to remain his allies with the same steadfastness for the future, if they preferred their own lot to that of the men of Oreum and Opus, he sailed from Chalcis to Oreum. Then entrusting the government and defence of the city to leading citizens who had preferred to flee after the capture of the city rather than to surrender to the Romans, he himself crossed over from Euboea to Demetrias, from which he had first set out to bring aid to his allies. At Cassandrīa [3] he then laid down the keels of a hundred war-ships and brought together a great number of ship-carpenters to complete the task. Having done so, inasmuch as peaceful conditions had been produced in Greece both by the departure of Attalus and by the timely aid which he

Not far away was a similar stronghold, Apollonia, not to be confused with any of the better-known Apollonias.

[3] On the Chalcidic Peninsula; formerly called Potidaea, but rebuilt by Cassander (founder of Thessalonica also) in 316 B.C. Cf. XLIV. xi. 2.

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auxilium, retro in regnum concessit, ut Dardanis bellum inferret.

IX. Extremo aestatis eius qua haec in Graecia gesta sunt, cum Q. Fabius Maximus filius [1] legatus ab M. Livio consule Romam ad senatum [2] nuntiasset consulem satis praesidii Galliae provinciae credere L. 2 Porcium cum suis legionibus esse, decedere se inde ac deduci exercitum consularem posse, patres non M. Livium tantum redire ad urbem, sed conlegam 3 quoque eius C. Claudium iusserunt. Id modo in decreto interfuit quod M. Livi exercitum reduci, Neronis legiones Hannibali oppositas manere in 4 provincia iusserunt. Inter consules ita per litteras convenit ut, quem ad modum uno animo rem publicam gessissent, ita, quamquam ex diversis regionibus convenirent, uno tempore ad urbem accederent; Praeneste qui prior venisset, collegam ibi opperiri 5 iussus. Forte ita evenit ut eodem die ambo Praeneste venirent. Inde praemisso edicto ut triduo post frequens senatus ad aedem Bellonae adesset, omni multitudine obviam effusa ad urbem accessere. 6 Non salutabant modo universi circumfusi,[3] sed con-

[1] Maximus filius *Allen, Conway (with* Maximi *Gronovius, Eds.)*: maximi p (*or* p̄) *P*(3): maximus pre *N*: maximus $C^2A^2Sp^2JK$.

[2] senatum, *followed by* missus *in* A^4N^5JK *Aldus, Froben*: *not so in P*(1)*N*.

[3] circumfusi *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: *om. Froben* 2, *Johnson*.

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[1] For their threatened invasion cf. XXVII. xxxii. 9; xxxiii. 1.

[2] The undefined region meant by Gallia was often called Ager Gallicus, or merely suggested by the town-name Ariminum. There was no province then in the sense comparable to 'province of Sardinia.' Cf. Vol. VI. p. 315 and n. 2; below, x. 12; xxxviii. 13; XXIX, xiii. 2; XXX. i. 7.

had himself borne to his distressed allies, he withdrew B.C. 207
into his own kingdom in order to wage war against the Dardanians.[1]

IX. At the end of the summer in which these events took place in Greece, Quintus Fabius Maximus the son, as an emissary of Marcus Livius, the consul, reported to the senate at Rome that the consul considered Lucius Porcius with his legions a sufficient defence for Gaul, his own assignment;[2] that he himself could retire from it and his consular army could be withdrawn. Thereupon the senators ordered that not merely Marcus Livius but also his colleague Gaius Claudius should return to the city. The only difference in the decree was that they ordered the return of the army of Marcus Livius, but that Nero's legions facing Hannibal should remain in that province. Between the consuls an agreement was made by letter that, just as they had carried on the war with one purpose only, so, although coming from opposite directions, they should approach the city at one and the same time. Whichever should first reach Praeneste was instructed to wait for his colleague there. It chanced that both reached Praeneste on the same day. From there they sent in advance an edict that three days later the senate should meet with full attendance in the Temple of Bellona;[3] and with the whole populace flocking out to meet them they drew near to the city. Not only did everyone in the surrounding crowd greet them,

[3] This temple stood below the Citadel and near the east end of the Flaminian Circus. Being outside the pomerium it was used by the senate when returning generals were to present their claims to a triumph; also when foreign ambassadors were to be received. Cf. xxxviii. 2; XXVI. xxi. 1; XXX. xxi. 12; XLII. xxxvi. 2.

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tingere[1] pro se quisque victrices dextras consulum cupientes, alii gratulabantur, alii gratias agebant,
7 quod eorum opera incolumis res publica esset. In senatu cum more omnium imperatorum expositis rebus ab se gestis postulassent ut pro re publica fortiter feliciterque[2] administrata et deis immortalibus haberetur honos et ipsis triumphantibus urbem
8 inire liceret, se vero ea quae postularent decernere patres merito deorum primum, dein secundum deos
9 consulum responderunt; et supplicatione amborum nomine et triumpho utrique decreto, inter ipsos, ne, cum bellum communi animo gessissent, triumphum
10 separarent, ita convenit, ut,[3] quoniam et in provincia M. Livi res gesta esset, et eo die quo pugnatum foret eius forte auspicium fuisset et exercitus Livianus deductus Romam venisset, Neronis deduci de provincia non potuisset, ut M. Livium quadrigis urbem ineuntem milites sequerentur, C. Claudius equo sine militibus inveheretur.

11 Ita consociatus triumphus cum utrique, tum magis ei qui quantum merito anteibat, tantum honore
12 conlegae cesserat, gloriam auxit. Illum equitem aiebant sex dierum spatio transcurrisse longitudinem

[1] contingere *A¹JK Aldus, Froben* : *om.* *P*(1) : prospicere *N*.
[2] feliciterque *P*(1)*N Aldus* : fideliterque *SpA¹JK Froben* 2.
[3] ut *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Eds.* : *om.* *Sp Froben* 2, *Conway*.

[1] Since the consuls had commanded on alternate days, only one of them had both *imperium* and auspices on the day of the battle.

but vying with one another in their desire to grasp B.C. 207
the victorious right hands of the consuls some were congratulating them, others were offering thanks because by their services the state was safe. In the senate after the manner of all commanders-in-chief they stated their achievements and demanded that for a brave and successful conduct of the war honour should be paid to the immortal gods; likewise that they themselves should be permitted to enter the city in triumph. Whereupon the senators replied that they did indeed decree the granting of their demands with due recognition first of the gods, and then next to the gods, of the consuls. After a thanksgiving had been decreed in honour of them both and a triumph also to each, in order that they should not have separate triumphs after conducting the war with a common purpose, they came to an agreement as follows. Inasmuch as the battle had been fought in the province of Marcus Livius, and on the day of the battle the auspices also, as it happened, had been his,[1] and inasmuch as Livius' army had been brought back to Rome, while Nero's could not be brought back from his province, they agreed between them that Marcus Livius should enter the city in a four-horse chariot with his soldiers following him, and that Gaius Claudius should ride on horseback without his soldiers.

This sharing of the triumph added indeed to the glory of both, but even more so for the one who had yielded to his colleague in honour to the same degree that he surpassed him in his achievement. That man now on horseback in the space of six days had traversed the whole length of Italy, men kept saying, and had fought, standards against standards, with

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Italiae, et eo die cum Hasdrubale in Gallia signis conlatis pugnasse quo eum castra adversus sese in
13 Apulia posita habere Hannibal credidisset. Ita unum consulem pro utraque parte Italiae adversus duos exercitus,[1] duos imperatores, hinc consilium suum,
14 hinc corpus opposuisse. Nomen Neronis satis fuisse ad continendum castris Hannibalem; Hasdrubalem vero qua alia re quam adventu eius obrutum atque
15 exstinctum esse? Itaque iret alter consul sublimis curru multiiugis, si vellet, equis; uno equo per urbem verum triumphum vehi, Neronemque, etiam si pedes incedat, vel parta eo bello vel spreta eo triumpho
16 gloria memorabilem fore. Hi sermones spectantium Neronem usque in Capitolium prosecuti sunt. Pecuniae[2] in aerarium tulerunt sestertium triciens,
17 octoginta[3] milia aeris. Militibus M. Livius quinquagenos senos asses divisit; tantundem C. Claudius absentibus militibus suis est pollicitus, cum ad
18 exercitum redisset. Notatum est[4] eo die plura carmina militaribus iocis in C. Claudium quam in
19 consulem suum iactata; equites L. Veturium et Q. Caecilium legatos magnis tulisse laudibus hortatosque esse plebem ut eos consules in proxumum annum
20 crearent; adiecisse equitum praerogativae auctoritatem consules postero die in contione quam forti fidelique duorum praecipue legatorum opera usi essent commemorantes.

[1] exercitus *Luchs, M. Müller* (*cf.* xxviii. 9; xxxviii. 3): duces $P(1)NJK$. *Koch and Madvig* (1886) *would substitute* duas acies *for* duos duces, *which Conway considers corrupt. Anaphora is defended by the balanced structure.*

[2] Pecuniae $PSp?A^{a}JK$ *Froben* 2: -iam $P^{2}(3)$*Aldus*: -ia *BDN*.

[3] octoginta $P(1)NSp?$ *Aldus, Froben*: nonaginta A^{a}(*marg.*) *and in numerals JK*.

Hasdrubal in Gaul on a day on which Hannibal had B.C. 207
believed the consul had his camp established facing his own in Apulia. Thus a single consul in defence of both regions of Italy had confronted two armies and two generals, here with his strategy and there in person. Nero's name had been enough, they said, to keep Hannibal within his camp. As for Hasdrubal, what else than Nero's arrival had overwhelmed and destroyed him? Thus let the other consul drive standing erect in a chariot drawn, if he wished, by many horses. The truly triumphant progress through the city was on a single horse; and Nero, even if he went on foot, would be memorable, be it for the glory won in that war, or for his contempt of it in that triumph. Such was the talk of the spectators who accompanied Nero all the way to the Capitol. As for money, the consuls carried into the Treasury three million sesterces and eighty thousand *asses*. To his soldiers Marcus Livius apportioned fifty-six *asses* apiece. Gaius Claudius promised the same amount to his absent soldiers when he should return to the army. It has been remarked that in the jesting of the soldiers on that day more of their songs were levelled at Gaius Claudius than at their own consul; that the knights highly extolled Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius, the lieutenant-generals, and urged the commons to elect them consuls for the following year; also that to the knights' preliminary choice the consuls on the next day added their authority by an address to the people, stating what brave and faithful service they had had in particular from their two lieutenants.

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[4] est A^1N^2JK : *om.* $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben.*

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X. Cum comitiorum tempus adpeteret et per dictatorem comitia haberi placuisset, C. Claudius consul M. Livium conlegam dictatorem dixit, Livius Q. Caecilium magistrum equitum. A M. Livio dictatore creati consules L. Veturius Q. Caecilius, is ipse qui tum erat magister equitum. Inde praetorum comitia habita; creati C. Servilius M. Caecilius Metellus Ti. Claudius Asellus Q. Mamilius Turrinus, qui tum aedilis plebis erat. Comitiis perfectis dictator magistratu abdicato dimissoque exercitu in Etruriam provinciam ex senatus consulto est profectus ad quaestiones habendas qui Etruscorum Umbrorumve populi defectionis ab Romanis ad Hasdrubalem sub adventum[1] eius consilia agitassent quique eum auxiliis aut commeatu aut ope aliqua iuvissent. Haec eo anno domi militiaeque gesta.

Ludi Romani ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus curulibus Cn. Servilio Caepione Ser. Cornelio Lentulo; item ludi plebeii semel toti instaurati ab aedilibus plebis M. Pomponio Mathone et Q. Mamilio Turrino.

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Tertio decimo anno Punici belli, L. Veturio Philone et Q. Caecilio Metello consulibus, Bruttii ambobus, ut cum Hannibale bellum gererent, provincia decreta. Praetores exinde sortiti sunt M. Caecilius

[1] adventum *P*(1)*NSp*?*JK Froben* 2: -tu *x Aldus* (*and so in* § 12).

X. Inasmuch as the time for elections was approaching and it had been decided that the elections should be conducted by a dictator, the consul Gaius Claudius named his colleague Marcus Livius dictator, and Livius named Quintus Caecilius master of the horse. The consuls elected were announced by Marcus Livius as dictator, namely, Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius, the same being at the time master of the horse. Then the elections of praetors were held. Elected were Gaius Servilius, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, Tiberius Claudius Asellus, Quintus Mamilius Turrinus, who was at the time a plebeian aedile. The elections being completed, the dictator, abdicating his office and discharging his army, set out in accordance with a decree of the senate for Etruria as his province, to conduct an investigation as to what communities among the Etruscans or Umbrians had discussed plans to revolt from the Romans to Hasdrubal upon his arrival, and which states had aided him with auxiliaries or supplies or any kind of assistance. Such were the events at home and in the field that year. B.C. 207

The Roman Games were repeated three times completely by the curule aediles, Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Servius Cornelius Lentulus. Likewise the Plebeian Games were completely repeated once by the plebeian aediles, Marcus Pomponius Matho and Quintus Mamilius Turrinus.

In the thirteenth year of the Punic war, the consulship of Lucius Veturius Philo and Quintus Caecilius Metellus, the land of the Bruttii was assigned by decree to them both as their province, to carry on war with Hannibal. The praetors then received their assignments by lot, Marcus Caecilius Metellus the B.C. 206

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Metellus urbanam, Q. Mamilius peregrinam, C. Ser-
10 vilius Siciliam, Ti. Claudius Sardiniam. Exercitus
ita divisi: consulum alteri quem C. Claudius prioris
anni consul, alteri quem Q. Claudius propraetor—
eae binae legiones erant—habuissent[1] exercitum;
11 in Etruria duas volonum legiones a C. Terentio pro-
praetore M. Livius proconsul, cui prorogatum in
12 annum imperium erat, acciperet; et Q. Mamilius ut
collegae iurisdictione tradita Galliam cum exercitu
cui L. Porcius praetor[2] praefuerat obtineret decretum
est, iussusque populari agros Gallorum qui ad Poenos
13 sub adventum Hasdrubalis defecissent. C. Servilio
cum Cannensibus duabus legionibus, sicut C. Mami-
14 lius tenuerat, Sicilia tuenda data. Ex Sardinia vetus
exercitus, cui A. Hostilius praefuerat, deportatus;
novam legionem quam Ti. Claudius traiceret secum
15 consules conscripserunt. Q. Claudio ut Tarentum,
C. Hostilio Tubulo ut Capuam provinciam haberet,
16 prorogatum in annum imperium est. M. Valerius
proconsul, qui tuendae circa Siciliam maritumae orae
praefuerat, triginta navibus C. Servilio praetori
traditis[3] cum cetera omni classe redire ad arbem
iussus.

XI. In civitate tanto discrimine belli sollicita, cum omnium secundorum adversorumque causas in

[1] habuissent *P*(1)*NJ Eds.*: -set *K Aldus, Froben, Conway.*
[2] praetor *Pighius, Eds.*: pro pr. *P*(1)*NJK Weissenborn, who accepts it as Livy's error.*
[3] praetori traditis *Weissenborn, Conway*: praeditis *P*(1)*N*: traditis $C^3A^1N^aJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] *I.e.* the city praetor. It was a frequent practice during this war to relieve the praetor peregrinus of his judicial duties so that he might take a command; *e.g.* XXV. iii. 2; XXVII. xxxvi. 11; XXX. i. 9; xxvii. 9; xl. 5.

city praetorship, Quintus Mamilius the duties of B.C. 206
praetor peregrinus; Gaius Servilius received Sicily and Tiberius Claudius Sardinia. The armies were divided as follows: to one of the consuls the army which Gaius Claudius had had as consul in the preceding year, to the other consul that which Quintus Claudius had had as propraetor; and these were of two legions each. In Etruria Marcus Livius as proconsul, with his command continued for one year, was to take the two legions of slave-volunteers from Gaius Terentius, the propraetor; and it was decreed that Quintus Mamilius, handing over his judicial duties to his colleague,[1] should have command of Gaul with the army which Lucius Porcius, the praetor, had commanded; and he was ordered to lay waste the lands of the Gauls who had revolted to the Carthaginians upon the coming of Hasdrubal. The defence of Sicily was given to Gaius Servilius with the two legions from Cannae, just as Gaius Mamilius had held it. From Sardinia the old army which Aulus Hostilius had commanded was withdrawn. A new legion which Tiberius Claudius should take across with him was enrolled by the consuls. Military authority was continued for the year for Quintus Claudius, to have Tarentum as his assignment, and for Gaius Hostilius Tubulus, who was to have Capua. Marcus Valerius, the proconsul, who had been in charge of the defence of the entire seacoast of Sicily, was ordered to turn over thirty ships to Gaius Servilius, the praetor, and to return to the city with all the rest of his fleet.

XI. In the state perturbed by so critical a moment in the war, since men attributed to the gods the causes of everything fortunate and unfortunate,

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2 deos verterent, multa prodigia nuntiabantur: Tarracinae Iovis aedem, Satrici Matris [1] Matutae de caelo tactam; Satricanos haud minus terrebant in aedem Iovis foribus ipsis duo perlapsi angues; ab Antio nuntiatum est cruentas spicas metentibus visas 3 esse; Caere porcus biceps et agnus mas idem feminaque natus erat; et Albae duo soles visos ferebant 4 et nocte Fregellis lucem obortam; et bos in agro Romano locutus, et ara Neptuni multo manasse sudore [2] in circo Flaminio dicebatur, et aedes Cereris, 5 Salutis, Quirini de caelo tactae. Prodigia consules hostiis maioribus procurare iussi et supplicationem unum diem habere; ea ex senatus consulto facta. 6 Plus omnibus aut nuntiatis peregre aut visis domi prodigiis terruit animos hominum ignis in aede Vestae exstinctus, caesaque flagro est Vestalis cuius custodia eius noctis fuerat iussu P. Licini pontificis. 7 Id quamquam nihil portendentibus deis ceterum neglegentia humana acciderat, tamen et hostiis maioribus procurari et supplicationem ad Vestae haberi placuit.

8 Priusquam proficiscerentur consules ad bellum, moniti [3] a senatu sunt ut in agros reducendae plebis curam haberent: deum benignitate summotum bellum ab urbe Romana et Latio esse, et [4] posse sine

[1] Matris, *after this* $P(1)N$ *om. as far as* Satri- : *supplied by* $A^{1}N^{1}JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] manasse sudore $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: sudore manasse JK *Froben* 2.

[3] moniti $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: admoniti $Sp?A^{1}JK$ *Froben* 2.

[4] et $SpA^{1}N^{1}JK$ *Froben* 2 : *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*

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[1] As in XXII. i. 10, also at Antium.

[2] Probably an aurora; cf. note on XXIX. xiv. 3.

[3] *I.e.* pontifex maximus, elected in 212 B.C.; XXV. v. 2-4.

many portents were reported: that at Tarracina the temple of Jupiter, at Satricum that of Mater Matuta, had been struck by lightning. The people of Satricum were no less alarmed by two serpents that glided into the temple of Jupiter, actually through the doorway. From Antium it was reported that ears of grain appeared to the reapers to be blood-stained.[1] At Caere a pig had been born with two heads and a lamb that was at the same time male and female; and at Alba they said that two suns were seen, and at Fregellae that light had appeared in the night ;[2] and an ox was said to have spoken in the country about Rome, and the altar of Neptune in the Flaminian Circus to have been dripping with sweat; and the temples of Ceres and Salus and Quirinus to have been struck by lightning. The consuls were bidden to expiate the prodigies with full-grown victims and to have a single day of prayer observed. Both orders were carried out in accordance with the decree of the senate. More terrifying to men than all the prodigies, whether reported from outside or seen in the city, was the extinction of the fire in the Temple of Vesta; and the Vestal who had been on duty that night was scourged by order of Publius Licinius, the pontifex.[3] Although the thing had happened without a portent from the gods but by a mortal's negligence, it was nevertheless decided that it should be expiated by full-grown victims and that a day of prayer at the Temple of Vesta should be observed. B.C. 206

Before the consuls should leave for the field they were reminded by the senate that they should take care to restore the common people to their farms. By the favour of the gods the war had been removed, they said, from the city of Rome and from Latium,

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metu in agris habitari; minime [1] convenire Siciliae
9 quam Italiae colendae maiorem curam esse. Sed res haudquaquam erat populo facilis, et [2] liberis cultoribus bello absumptis et inopia servitiorum et pecore direpto villisque dirutis aut incensis. Magna tamen pars auctoritate consulum compulsa in agros remi-
10 gravit. Moverant autem huiusce rei mentionem Placentinorum et Cremonensium legati, querentes agrum suum ab accolis Gallis incursari ac vastari, magnamque partem colonorum suorum dilapsam esse, et iam infrequentis se urbes, agrum vastum ac
11 desertum habere. Mamilio praetori mandatum ut colonias ab hoste tueretur; consules ex senatus consulto edixerunt ut qui cives Cremonenses atque Placentini essent ante certam diem in colonias reverterentur. Principio deinde veris et ipsi ad bellum profecti sunt.

12 Q. Caecilius consul exercitum ab C. Nerone, L. Veturius a Q. Claudio propraetore accepit novisque
13 militibus quos ipse conscripserat supplevit. In Consentinum agrum consules exercitum duxerunt, passimque depopulati, cum agmen iam grave praeda esset, in saltu angusto a Bruttiis iaculatoribusque
14 Numidis turbati sunt ita ut non praeda tantum sed armati quoque in periculo fuerint. Maior tamen tumultus quam pugna fuit, et praemissa praeda in-
15 columes legiones in loca culta evasere. Inde [3] in

[1] metu . . . minime $A^1N^1(JK$ *with* habitare): *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] et A^1N^1JK *Aldus*: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[3] Inde N^2 *or* N^1JK *Aldus*: *om.* $P(1)N$.

and it was possible to live on the farms without fear; B.C. 206
it was illogical to give more attention to the cultivation of Sicily than of Italy. But it was no easy matter for the people, since free farmers had been wiped out by the war, and there was a scarcity of slaves, while cattle had been stolen and farm-houses demolished or burned. A large proportion of the rustics, however, were constrained by the authority of the consuls to move back to their farms. The occasion for bringing up the matter had been the complaints of representatives of Placentia and Cremona that their territory was being raided and laid waste by neighbouring Gauls, and that a large part of their colonists had scattered, and that now they had sparsely peopled cities and land desolated and deserted. Mamilius, the praetor, was ordered to protect the colonies from the enemy. The consuls in accordance with a decree of the senate proclaimed that all citizens of Cremona and Placentia should return to their colonies before a fixed date. Then at the beginning of spring they also set out for the field.

Quintus Caecilius, the consul, received his army from Gaius Nero; Lucius Veturius took his from Quintus Claudius, the propraetor, and recruited it with fresh soldiers whom he had himself enrolled. The consuls led their army into the territory of Consentia and ravaged it far and wide. When the column was now laden with booty, they were so harried by Bruttians and Numidian spearmen in a narrow pass that not only the booty but also the troops were in danger. However, there was more commotion than battle; and sending the booty in advance the legions without loss made their way out into arable country. Thence the consul set out

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Lucanos profecti; ea sine certamine tota gens in dicionem populi Romani rediit.

XII. Cum Hannibale nihil eo anno rei gestum est. Nam neque ipse se obtulit in tam recenti volnere publico privatoque neque lacessierunt quietum Romani: tantam inesse vim, etsi omnia alia circa eum 2 ruerent, in uno illo duce censebant. Ac nescio an 3 mirabilior adversis quam secundis rebus fuerit, quippe qui, cum [1] in hostium terra per annos tredecim, tam procul ab domo, varia fortuna bellum gereret, exercitu non suo civili, sed mixto ex conluvione omnium gentium, quibus non lex, non mos, non lingua communis, 4 alius habitus, alia vestis, alia arma, alii ritus, alia sacra, alii prope dei essent, ita quodam uno vinculo copulaverit eos ut nulla nec inter ipsos nec adversus 5 ducem seditio exstiterit, cum et pecunia saepe in stipendium et commeatus in hostium agro deessent,[2] quorum inopia priore Punico bello multa infanda inter 6 duces militesque commissa fuerant. Post Hasdrubalis vero exercitum cum duce, in quibus spes omnis reposita victoriae fuerat, deletum cedendoque in angulum Bruttium cetera Italia concessum, cui non videatur mirabile nullum motum in castris factum? 7 Nam ad cetera id quoque accesserat ut ne alendi quidem exercitus nisi ex Bruttio agro spes esset, qui, ut

[1] qui cum *x Crévier*: qui cum et *x Aldus, Froben*: cum A^2N^2 *or* N^1: eum *JK*: et $P(1)A^2N$.
[2] deessent *NJK Froben* 2: -set $P(1)$ *Aldus*.

[1] This passage is obviously reminiscent of Polybius' tribute to Hannibal in a fragment of Book XI (xix. esp. 3–5). Cf. XXIII. v. 11; XXX. xxxiii. 8; XXIV. iii. 12.

for Lucania. That entire nation returned without a struggle to its allegiance to the Roman people. B.C. 206

XII. With Hannibal there was no campaigning that year. For neither did he invite attack, owing to his very recent wound, a blow national as well as personal, nor did the Romans provoke him so long as he remained inactive; such power they believed to be present in that one commander, even though everything else round him crashed. And I am inclined to think he was more marvellous in adversity than in success. For here he was, carrying on war in the enemy's land for thirteen years, so far from home with varying fortune, having an army not made up of his own citizens but a mixture of the offscourings of all nations, men who had in common no law, no custom, no language, differing from each other in bearing, in garb, in their arms, differing as to religious rites, sacred observances, one might almost say as to their gods. Yet he somehow bound them together by a single bond, so that no outbreak ensued among the men themselves nor any mutiny against their general.[1] Yet in the enemy's country both money to pay them and supplies were often wanting—deficiencies which in the previous Punic war had given rise to many unspeakable acts on the part of commanders and soldiers. Certainly after the destruction of Hasdrubal's army with its commander—and on them he had rested all his hope of victory—, when by retiring into the remote land of the Bruttii he had given up the rest of Italy, who would not find it a marvel that there was no outbreak in his camp? For added to everything else was this also, that he had no hope even of feeding his army except from the Bruttian region; and even supposing all of it to be under cultivation, it

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omnis coleretur, exiguus tamen tanto alendo exercitui
8 erat; tum magnam partem iuventutis abstractam a cultu agrorum bellum occupaverat et mos vitio etiam insitus genti per [1] latrocinia militiam exercendi.
9 Nec ab domo quicquam mittebatur de Hispania retinenda sollicitis, tamquam omnia prospera in Italia essent.
10 In Hispania [2] res quadam ex parte eandem fortunam, quadam longe disparem habebant: eandem quod proelio victi Carthaginienses duce amisso in ultimam Hispaniae oram usque ad Oceanum compulsi
11 erant, disparem autem quod Hispania non quam Italia modo, sed quam ulla pars terrarum bello reparando
12 aptior erat locorum hominumque ingeniis. Itaque ergo prima Romanis inita provinciarum, quae quidem continentis sint, postrema omnium nostra demum aetate ductu auspicioque Augusti Caesaris perdomita
13 est. Ibi tum Hasdrubal Gisgonis, maximus clarissimusque eo bello secundum Barcinos dux, regressus ab Gadibus rebellandi spe, adiuvante Magone Hamilcaris filio, dilectibus per ulteriorem Hispaniam habitis ad quinquaginta milia peditum, quattuor milia et
14 quingentos equites armavit. De equestribus copiis ferme inter auctores convenit; peditum septuaginta milia quidam adducta ad Silpiam urbem

[1] per $P^{z}A^{z}$*Aldus*: par $P(1)N$: inter $Sp^{?}N^{s}JK$ *Froben* 2.
[2] retinenda. . . . In Hispania *om.* $P(1)N$, *three lines*: *supplied by* $N^{s}A^{s}JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Since Agrippa's completion of the conquest of north-western Spain is evidently meant here, we have in this refer-

was nevertheless too small to feed so large an army. B.C. 206
Moreover a great part of the young men, drawn off from the farming of the land, had been claimed instead by the war and by their custom of training soldiers through brigandage, a practice viciously inbred in their nation. Furthermore, nothing was being sent from home, since they were concerned about their hold upon Spain, as though everything was succeeding in Italy.

In Spain the campaign was having an issue in part the same, in part very different: the same in that the Carthaginians, vanquished in battle with the loss of a general, had been forced to the farthest coast of Spain, even to the Ocean; on the other hand different in that Spain, owing to the nature of the country and its people, was better adapted not merely than Italy but than any other part of the world to preparing for another war. In consequence, though the first of the provinces, at least of those on the mainland, to be entered by the Romans, it has been the last of all to be completely conquered, and not until our own times under the command and auspices of Augustus Caesar.[1] There Hasdrubal son of Gisgo, being the greatest and most distinguished general after the Barca family in that war, had at that time returned from Gades in the hope of renewing the war. After conducting levies in Farther Spain with the help of Mago the son of Hamilcar, he armed about fifty thousand infantry and four thousand five hundred cavalry. As to the cavalry forces there is substantial agreement among the authorities, but some writers state that seventy thousand foot-soldiers were

ence to a contemporary event evidence that Book XXVIII was written (or published) after 19 B.C.

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15 scribunt. Ibi super campos patentes duo duces Poeni ea mente ne detrectarent certamen consederunt.[1]

XIII. Scipio, cum ad eum fama tanti comparati exercitus perlata esset, neque Romanis legionibus tantae se fore[2] parem multitudini ratus ut non in speciem saltem opponerentur barbarorum auxilia, 2 neque in iis tamen tantum virium ponendum ut mutando fidem, quae cladis causa fuisset patri patruoque, 3 magnum momentum facerent, praemisso Silano ad Culcham duodetriginta oppidis regnantem, ut equites peditesque ab eo quos se per hiemem conscripturum 4 pollicitus erat acciperet, ipse ab Tarracone profectus protinus ab sociis qui accolunt viam modica contra- 5 hendo auxilia Castulonem pervenit. Eo adducta ab Silano auxilia, tria milia peditum et quingenti equites. Inde ad Baeculam urbem progressus[3] omni exercitu civium, sociorum, peditum equitumque quinque et 6 quadraginta milibus. Castra ponentes eos Mago et Masinissa cum omni equitatu adgressi sunt, tur-

[1] consederunt B^2ANJK *Froben* 2, *Conway*: -siderunt $P(3)$ *Aldus*, *Eds.*

[2] fore $P(3)N^2$ *or* N^1 *Eds.*: *after* parem JKx: *om. Sp Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[3] progressus $P(3)$ *Eds.*: progressus cum $ANJK$ *Aldus*: processum cum *Sp? Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[1] In the MSS. of Polybius 'ΗΛΙΓΓΑ (Elinga, unknown), probably an error for 'ΙΛΙΠΠΑ, *i.e.* Ilipa (accepted by his editors, XI. xx. 1). It lay 10 miles north of Hispalis (Seville), and on the right bank of the Baetis. Cf. XXXV. i. 10; Pliny *N.H.* III. 11; Strabo III. ii. 3; v. 9. For Livy's habit of substituting place-names familiar to his readers for those

brought to the city of Silpia.[1] There in open plains B.C. 206
the two Carthaginian generals established themselves, resolved not to refuse a battle.

XIII. Scipio, when the news reached him that they had got together so large an army, thought that with Roman legions alone he would be no match for such a multitude unless barbarian auxiliaries should confront them, at least for appearance' sake. Yet he felt that these must not compose so large a part of his forces that by changing sides—which had been the cause of disaster to his father and uncle—they might decide the outcome. Accordingly he sent Silanus in advance to Culchas,[2] who ruled over twenty-eight towns, in order to receive from him the cavalry and infantry which he had promised to enlist during the winter. Then Scipio himself set out from Tarraco, and gathering up as he went a moderate number of auxiliaries from the allies dwelling near the road, he arrived at Castulo.[3] Thither Silanus brought auxiliaries, three thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. From there Scipio advanced to the city of Baecula [4] with the entire army, forty-five thousand legionaries and allies, infantry and cavalry. As they were pitching camp Mago and Masinissa with all their

used by Polybius cf. Ed. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* II, 406 ff.; Veith in Kromayer, *Antike Schlachtfelder* IV, 518; Scullard, *Scipio Africanus in the Second Punic War* 127 f.

[2] Kolichas in Polybius *l.c.* §§ 3, 5.

[3] On a tributary of the upper Baetis, giving its name to the Saltus Castulonensis (Sierra Morena). The main road to Corduba and Gades passed through the city; Strabo III, iv. 9. *fin.* Cf. xix. 2, 4; xx. 8; XXIV. xli. 7.

[4] Cf. Vol. VII. p. 283 n. It was west of Castulo but on the same road. The site cannot be certainly determined, although it has been identified with Bailén. Cf. Polybius XI. xx. 5; Veith in Kromayer *op. cit.* IV. 503 ff.; Scullard *op. cit.* 300 ff.

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bassentque munientes, ni abditi post tumulum opportune ad id positum ab Scipione equites inproviso in
7 effusos incurrissent. Ei promptissimum quemque et proxime vallum atque in ipsos munitores primum invectum vixdum proelio inito fuderunt. Cum ceteris, qui sub signis atque ordine agminis incesserant, longior et diu ambigua pugna fuit. Sed cum
8 ab stationibus primum expeditae cohortes, deinde ex opere deducti milites atque arma capere iussi plures usque [1] et integri fessis subirent,[2] magnumque iam agmen armatorum a castris in proelium rueret, terga
9 haud dubie vertunt Poeni Numidaeque. Et primo turmatim abibant, nihil propter pavorem festinationemve confusis ordinibus; dein, postquam acrius ultimis incidebat Romanus neque sustineri impetus poterat, nihil iam ordinum memores passim, qua
10 cuique proximum fuit, in fugam effunduntur. Et quamquam eo proelio aliquantum et [3] Romanis aucti et deminuti hostibus animi erant, tamen numquam [4] per aliquot insequentes dies ab excursionibus equitum levisque armaturae cessatum est.

XIV. Ubi satis temptatae per haec levia certamina vires sunt, prior Hasdrubal in aciem copias eduxit,

[1] usque *Sp²JK Froben* 2 : *om. P*(1)*N Aldus.*
[2] subirent *A¹N²JK Aldus* : *om. P*(1)*N.*
[3] et *A¹N²JK Aldus* : *om. P*(1)*N.*
[4] numquam *SpA¹N²JK Aldus* : *om. P*(1)*N.*

[1] The reader would naturally assume that this attack and the important battle which follows took place very near Baecula. But at xii. 14 the Carthaginian generals were encamped near Silpia (Ilipa), *i.e.* less than 60 miles from the Atlantic at the nearest point, while Baecula is 130 miles farther in a straight line. In Polybius it is Scipio who does the marching (XI. xx. 9). No long march of the Carthaginians to meet him is mentioned, and near Baecula there is

cavalry attacked them [1] and would have thrown the men working on the fortifications into confusion, had not cavalry concealed by Scipio behind a hill favourably situated for the purpose unexpectedly charged them in their disorder. These horsemen at the very beginning of the battle put to flight the most active and those who had been the first to ride up close to the earthwork and even among the men at work. With the rest, who had advanced under their standards and in marching order, the battle was more protracted and for a long time indecisive. But when light cohorts at first drawn off from the outposts, and then soldiers withdrawn from work on the fortifications and ordered to take up arms, came up in increasing number, and fresh to assist the weary, while by this time a long column of men under arms was dashing out from camp into battle, Carthaginians and Numidians thereupon faced about in unmistakable retreat. And at first they were retiring by troops, while their ranks were not at all broken on account of fear or haste. Then when the Roman fell more fiercely upon their rear and the attack could not be withstood, no longer mindful of their ranks, they scattered in flight hither and thither, each taking the shortest way. And although the spirit of the Romans was notably higher in consequence of that battle and that of the enemy notably lowered, still for some days following there was never any respite from sudden attacks by cavalry and light-armed. B.C. 206

XIV. When his forces had been sufficiently tested by these skirmishes, Hasdrubal was the first to lead

no open plain suited to this battle. Hence this was near modern Seville and not a "second battle of Baecula," as Mommsen, Ihne and others have it.

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2 deinde et Romani processere. Sed utraque acies pro vallo stetit instructa, et cum ab neutris pugna coepta esset, iam die ad occasum inclinante a Poeno prius, deinde ab Romano in castra copiae reductae. 3 Hoc idem per dies aliquot factum. Prior semper Poenus copias castris educebat, prior fessis stando signum receptui dabat; ab neutra parte procursum 4 telumve missum aut vox ulla orta. Mediam aciem hinc Romani illinc Carthaginienses mixti Afris, cornua socii tenebant—erant autem utrisque [1] Hispani—; pro cornibus ante Punicam aciem elephanti 5 castellorum procul speciem praebebant. Iam hoc in utrisque castris sermonis erat, ita ut instructi stetissent pugnaturos; medias acies, Romanum Poenumque, quos inter belli causa esset, pari robore 6 animorum armorumque concursuros. Scipio ubi hoc obstinate credi [2] animadvertit, omnia de industria 7 in eum diem quo pugnaturus erat mutavit. Tesseram vesperi per castra dedit ut ante lucem viri equique curati et [3] pransi essent, armatus eques frenatos instratosque teneret equos.

8 Vixdum satis certa luce equitatum omnem cum

[1] utrisque $P(1)N$: utrimque N^1JK *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] hoc . . . credi JK *Conway* (*with* haec *most Eds.*): haec . . . credita $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben, Alschefski, Weissenborn.*

[3] et *supplied by Lipsius, Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$ *Conway*: curati *also is om. by Sp?JK Froben* 2.

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[1] Some of the elephants carried on their backs a crenellated tower from which javelins were hurled by four or more soldiers posted on the tower; hence the resemblance to forts; XXXVII. xl. 4; cf. Curtius VIII. xii. 7; Pliny *N.H.* VIII. 22 and 27; Lucretius V. 1302. Such *elephanti turriti* are represented in terracotta figures and on painted ware.

his troops out into battle-line; then the Roman also B.C. 206
went forward. But each of the two lines stood drawn up in front of its earthwork, and when neither side had begun the battle and the day was now nearing sunset, the troops were led back into camp, first by the Carthaginian and then by the Roman. The same thing happened for a number of days. Always the first to lead his troops out of camp, the first to sound the recall for his men weary of standing still, would be the Carthaginian. From neither side was there a charge, or a missile hurled, or any raising of a shout. The centre was held on one side by the Romans, on the other by the Carthaginians combined with Africans, the wings by their allies, and for both armies these were Spanish troops. In front of the wings, in advance of the Punic line of battle, the elephants presented from a distance the appearance of forts.[1] Already it was common talk in both camps that they were to fight in the formation in which they had stood; that the centres, the Roman and Carthaginian troops, between whom lay the cause of the war, would clash, evenly matched in spirit and in arms. When Scipio observed that this was a persistent belief, he deliberately changed everything for the day on which he was to give battle. At evening he passed a written order through the camp that before daybreak the horses should be cared for and the men have breakfast, that the horsemen under arms should keep their mounts bridled and saddled.[2]

It was not yet quite daylight when he sent all his

[2] Not quite literal for this period. Primarily the word has to do with a cloth kept in place by a girth and straps. Evolution of cloth into saddle was slow.

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levi armatura in stationes Punicas immisit; inde confestim ipse cum gravi agmine legionum procedit, 9 praeter opinionem destinatam suorum hostiumque Romano milite cornibus firmatis, sociis in mediam 10 aciem acceptis. Hasdrubal clamore equitum excitatus ut ex tabernaculo prosiluit tumultumque ante vallum et trepidationem suorum et procul signa legionum fulgentia plenosque hostium campos vidit, 11 equitatum omnem extemplo in equites emittit; ipse cum peditum agmine castris egreditur, nec ex ordine 12 solito quicquam acie instruenda mutat. Equitum iam diu anceps pugna erat nec ipsa per se decerni poterat,[1] quia pulsis, quod prope in vicem fiebat, in 13 aciem peditum tutus receptus erat; sed ubi iam haud plus quingentos passus acies inter sese aberant, signo receptui dato Scipio patefactisque ordinibus equitatum omnem levemque armaturam, in medium acceptam divisamque in partes duas, in subsidiis post 14 cornua locat. Inde, ubi incipiendae iam pugnae tempus erat, Hispanos—ea media acies fuit— 15 presso gradu incedere iubet; ipse e[2] dextro cornu —ibi namque praecrat—nuntium ad Silanum et Marcium mittit ut cornu extenderent in sinistram partem, quem ad modum se tendentem ad dextram 16 vidissent, et cum expeditis peditum equitumque prius pugnam consererent cum hoste quam coire inter se

[1] ipsa . . . poterat *om. Spx*: *supplied from* $P(1)NJK$.
[2] e *om. Sp²JK*.

[1] For this battle of Ilipa see the works already cited: Scullard, 126 ff. with plan; Veith, 517 ff. with map.

cavalry with the light-armed against the Punic outposts.[1] Immediately afterwards he himself with the heavy column of the legions went forward, and contrary to the fixed idea of his own men and of the enemy, he formed strong wings of his Roman soldiers, while the allies were taken into the centre. When Hasdrubal, who was aroused by the shouts of the horsemen, sprang out of his tent and saw the uproar outside his earthwork and the excitement among his men, and in the distance the gleaming standards of the legions and the plain filled with the enemy, he forthwith sent out all his cavalry against the horsemen. As for himself, he marched out of the camp with the infantry column, and in drawing up his line made no change from the customary order. The cavalry engagement had long been uncertain, and by itself it could not be decisive because when repulsed—and this repeatedly happened almost by turns—they could safely retire into the infantry line. But when the lines of battle were not more than half a mile apart, Scipio sounding the recall and opening his ranks admitted all the cavalry and the light-armed into the centre; and dividing them into two sections he posted them as a reserve behind the wings. Then, when it was now time to begin the battle, he ordered the Spaniards—they formed the centre of the line—to advance at a slow pace. From the right wing—for he was himself in command there—he sent a message to Silanus and Marcius [2] that they should prolong their wing towards the left, just as they had seen him pressing to the right, and with the light infantry and cavalry should engage the enemy B.C. 206

[2] Cf. Vol. VII. pp. 5 *fin.*, 65 (and notes), 77. Repeatedly mentioned in this Book.

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17 mediae acies possent. Ita diductis cornibus cum ternis peditum cohortibus ternisque equitum turmis, ad hoc velitibus, citato gradu in hostem ducebant,
18 sequentibus in obliquum aliis. Sinus in medio erat, qua segnius Hispanorum signa incedebant.
19 Et iam conflixerant cornua, cum quod roboris in hostium acie [1] erat, Poeni veterani Afrique, nondum ad teli coniectum venissent, neque in cornua, ut adiuvarent pugnantes, discurrere auderent, ne aperirent mediam aciem venienti ex adverso hosti.
20 Cornua ancipiti proelio urgebantur: eques levisque armatura ac [2] velites circumductis alis in latera incurrebant; cohortes a fronte urgebant, ut abrumperent cornua a cetera acie. XV. Et cum ab omni parte haudquaquam par pugna erat, tum quod turba [3] Baliarium tironumque Hispanorum Romano Latino-
2 que militi obiecta erat. Et procedente iam die vires etiam [4] deficere Hasdrubalis exercitum coeperant, oppressos matutino tumultu coactosque priusquam cibo corpora firmarent, raptim in aciem

[1] hostium acie *JK* : acie hostium *P*(1)*N*.
[2] ac *Madvig, Emend., Conway* : et *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* *P*(1)*NJK*.
[3] turba *JK Aldus, Froben* : pugna *P*(1)*N*.
[4] die vires etiam $A^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Eds.* : *om.* *P*(1)*N*.

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[1] Here Polybius XI. xxiii has a detailed account of complicated movements executed by the Roman wings in order to outflank the weaker Carthaginian wings before fighting could reach the centre of the lines. Cf. Scullard *op. cit.* 132 ff.; Veith, 522 ff.

[2] It has been held that Livy here mistranslated Polybius, who meant maniples. Everything depends upon the interpretation of τρεῖς σπείρας and a following parenthesis, "this infantry unit is called a cohort (κοόρτις) by the Romans"

before the centres could come together.[1] Thus B.C. 206
extending the wings, with three cohorts [2] of infantry and three troops of cavalry on each wing, and with skirmishers in addition, they led at a rapid pace against the enemy, while the rest followed them obliquely. In the centre was a curve where the Spanish units were more slowly advancing.

By this time the wings were already engaged, while the main strength of the enemy's line, the veteran Carthaginians and Africans, had not yet come within range, and did not dare to dash towards the wings to help the combatants, for fear of exposing the centre to the enemy directly advancing. The wings were being hard pressed by a double attack; cavalry and light-armed and skirmishers with enclosing wings were charging into their flanks, while the cohorts were pressing them in front, endeavouring to cut off the wings from the rest of the battle-line. XV. And not only was the battle in general far from being evenly matched, but especially because the horde of Baliares and Spanish recruits had been made to face Roman and Latin soldiers. Besides, as the day now wore on their strength also began to fail Hasdrubal's soldiers, who had been surprised by an early morning onslaught and compelled to go out into line in haste before they

(XI. xxiii. 1). It remains debatable whether "this unit" refers to the single *σπείρα*, which must then be a maniple, or to the three combined to make a cohort. For *manipulus* the regular word was *σημεία*. Later on *σπείρα* came to be cohort almost invariably. But in Polybius' time one could use either *σημεία* or *σπείρα* in the same meaning, as VI. xxiv. 5; so even in the same sentence, as *l.c.* § 8; III. cxiii. 3; XV. ix. 7. In this battle the larger number, 1800 men, seems absolutely required. Cf. Veith *l.c.*; F. G. Moore, *Classical Weekly*, XXXVII. 238 f.

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exire. Et[1] ad id sedulo diem extraxerat Scipio ut sera pugna esset; nam ab septima demum hora peditum signa cornibus incucurrerunt[2]; ad medias acies aliquanto serius pervenit pugna, ita ut prius aestus a meridiano sole laborque standi sub armis et simul fames sitisque corpora adficerent quam manus cum hoste consererent. Itaque steterunt scutis innixi. Iam[3] super cetera elephanti etiam, tumultuoso genere pugnae equitum velitumque et levis armaturae consternati, e cornibus in mediam aciem sese intulerant. Fessi igitur corporibus animisque rettulere pedem, ordines tamen servantes, haud secus quam si imperio ducis cederet[4] integra acies.[5] Sed cum eo ipso acrius, ubi inclinatam sensere rem, victores se undique inveherent, nec facile impetus sustineri posset, quamquam retinebat obsistebatque cedentibus Hasdrubal, ab tergo esse colles tutumque receptum, si modice se reciperent, clamitans, tamen vincente metu verecundiam, cum proximus quisque hostem caderet,[6] terga extemplo data, atque in fugam sese omnes effuderunt. Ac primo consistere[7] signa in radicibus collium ac revocare in ordines militem coeperant cunctantibus in adversum collem erigere aciem Romanis; deinde, ut inferri inpigre signa viderunt, integrata fuga in castra pavidi compel-

[1] Et N^1x: *om.* $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] incucurrerunt $P(3)N$: incur- *B Aldus*: concur- *Sp²JK Froben* 2.
[3] Iam *Weissenborn*: nam $P(1)NJK$.
[4] cederet *JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: cederent $P(1)N$ *Eds.*
[5] acies $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Conway*: acie *Weissenborn, Eds.*
[6] caderet *Madvig, Luchs, Riemann*: cederet $P(3)A^1N^1JK$ *Weissenborn, Conway.*
[7] consistere $P(1)NJK$ *Weissenborn, Conway*: constituere *Duker, Eds.*

could take food to sustain them. And Scipio had B.C. 206
deliberately dragged out the day, in order that the battle might be belated. For it was not until the seventh hour that the infantry units [1] charged the wings. The battle reached the centre of the lines considerably later, so that the heat of the midday sun and the strain of standing under arms, and at the same time hunger and thirst, weakened their bodies before they engaged the enemy. Accordingly they stood resting on their shields. By this time, in addition to everything else, the elephants also took fright at the skirmishing tactics of cavalry and skirmishers and light-armed and had shifted from the wings into the centre. Weakened therefore in body and spirit the men retreated, keeping their ranks nevertheless, just as if by order of the general the line was giving way intact.

But when the victors, on seeing that the tide of battle had turned, for that reason charged with more spirit from all sides, and it was not easy to withstand their attack, although Hasdrubal tried to hold his men back and confronted them as they gave way, shouting to them again and again that in the rear there were hills and a safe refuge if they retired slowly. Nevertheless, as fear overcame their respect for him and those nearest to the enemy were falling, at once they faced about and all took to flight. And at first the standard-bearers began to halt at the foot of the hills and to call the soldiers back into their ranks, while the Romans hesitated to advance their line up the hill. Then when the enemy saw the standards coming bravely on, they resumed their flight and were

[1] *I.e.* those of xiv. 17, three cohorts on each wing (Veith), or one cohort as the passage has been commonly understood.

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11 luntur. Nec procul vallo Romanus aberat, cepisset-
que tanto impetu castra, nisi [1] ex vehementi sole,
qualis inter graves imbre nubes effulget, tanta vis
aquae deiecta esset [2] ut vix in castra sua receperint
se victores, quosdam etiam religio ceperit [3] ulterius
12 quicquam eo die conandi. Carthaginienses, quam-
quam fessos labore ac volneribus nox imberque ad
13 necessariam quietem vocabat, tamen, quia metus et
periculum cessandi non dabat tempus, prima luce
oppugnaturis hostibus castra, saxis undique circa ex
propinquis vallibus congestis augent vallum, muni-
mento sese, quando in armis parum praesidii foret,
14 defensuri. Sed transitio sociorum fuga ut tutior
mora videretur fecit. Principium defectionis ab
15 Attene regulo Turdetanorum factum est; is cum
magna popularium manu transfugit; inde duo
munita oppida cum praesidiis tradita a praefectis
16 Romano. Et ne latius inclinatis semel ad defectio-
nem animis serperet res, silentio proximae noctis
Hasdrubal castra movet.

XVI. Scipio, ut prima luce qui in stationibus erant
rettulerunt profectos hostes, praemisso equitatu signa
2 ferri iubet; adeoque citato agmine ducti sunt ut, si
via recta vestigia sequentes issent, haud dubie
adsecuturi fuerint; ducibus [4] est creditum brevius
aliud esse iter ad Baetim fluvium, ut transeuntes
3 adgrederentur. Hasdrubal clauso transitu fluminis

[1] nisi *P⁴RA⁴N²* *or* *N⁴JK Aldus, Conway*: ni se *P*(3) *Eds.*

[2] deiecta esset *N⁴JK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: deiecisset *P*(1)*N Eds.*

[3] ceperit *P*(3)*NJ Aldus*: ceperat *Sp Froben* 2: cepit *K*: coeperit *CRB.*

[4] ducibus, *before this AN Aldus have* sed.

driven panic-stricken into camp. Not far from the earthwork were the Romans; and by such momentum they would have captured the camp if, after a blazing sun, such as shines out in the midst of clouds heavy with rain, there had not been so extraordinary a downpour that the victors with difficulty retired to their camp, and had not some been beset by scruples also against any further attempt that day. The Carthaginians, although night and pouring rain invited them to needed rest, being weak from exertion and wounds, nevertheless, because fear and danger gave them no time to be idle when the enemy would attack the camp at daybreak, raised their earthwork by gathering stones from near-by valleys all round, intending to defend themselves by a fortification, since in their arms they would have no sufficient protection. But the desertion of their allies made flight seem safer than delay. Defection began with Attenes, prince of the Turdetani, who deserted with a large force of his tribesmen. Then two fortified towns were handed over with their garrisons to the Roman by their commanders. And for fear the mischief might spread farther, now that men were once disposed to change sides, Hasdrubal moved his camp in the silence of the following night. B.C. 206

XVI. Scipio, when men on outpost duty reported at daylight that the enemy had left, sent his cavalry ahead and ordered the standards to advance. The column also marched at such a pace that, if they had directly followed the enemy's track, they would undoubtedly have overtaken them. They believed the guides that there was another shorter road to the river Baetis, by which they might attack the enemy while crossing over. Hasdrubal, finding the passage

a.u.c. 545

ad Oceanum flectit, et iam inde fugientium modo effusi abibant; itaque[1] ab legionibus Romanis aliquantum intervalli fecit; eques levisque armatura nunc ab tergo nunc ab lateribus occurrendo fatigabat morabaturque; sed[2] cum ad crebros tumultus signa consisterent et nunc equestria nunc cum velitibus auxiliisque peditum proelia consererent, superverunt legiones. Inde non iam pugna sed trucidatio velut pecorum fieri, donec ipse dux fugae auctor in proximos colles cum sex milibus ferme semermium evasit; ceteri caesi captique. Castra tumultuaria raptim Poeni tumulo editissimo communiverunt, atque inde, cum hostis nequiquam subire iniquo ascensu conatus esset,[3] haud difficulter sese tutati sunt. Sed obsidio in loco nudo atque inopi vix in paucos dies tolerabilis erat; itaque transitiones ad hostem fiebant. Postremo dux ipse navibus accitis[4]—nec procul inde aberat mare—nocte relicto exercitu Gades perfugit. Scipio fuga ducis hostium audita decem milia peditum mille equites relinquit Silano ad castrorum obsidionem; ipse cum ceteris copiis septuagensimis castris, protinus causis regulorum civitatiumque cognoscendis, ut praemia ad veram meritorum aestimationem tribui possent, Tarraconem rediit. Post profectionem eius Masi-

[1] itaque $P(1)N$: idque $N^{a}JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] sed $P(3)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: et *C Madvig, Emend.*

[3] conatus esset $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -ti essent $SpJK$ *Froben* 2 (*with* hostes *above*).

[4] accitis *Weissenborn*: acceptis $P^{2}(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: accipitis *P*.

[1] Hasdrubal had intended to cross the Baetis and then retreat to Gades (total distance about 75 miles to the harbour of that city). But now he is obliged to remain on the right bank, thus increasing the distance considerably.

of the river closed, turned aside towards the Ocean,[1] B.C. 206 and henceforward, scattering like fugitives, away they went. Thus he put a considerable distance between himself and the Roman legions. Cavalry and light-armed, dashing upon them now from the rear, now on the flanks, kept wearing them out and delaying them. But when in view of the numerous clashes the standards came to a halt and the men were engaged now with cavalry, now with skirmishers and auxiliary infantry, the legions came up. Thereafter it was no longer a battle but a slaughter as of cattle, until the general, himself now approving their flight, escaped to the nearest hills with some six thousand half-armed men. The rest were slain or captured. The Carthaginians hastily fortified an improvised camp on a very high hill and from it they defended themselves without difficulty, since the enemy had tried in vain to come up the steep slope. But in an exposed situation which furnished nothing a siege was scarcely endurable even for a few days. Accordingly there were repeated desertions to the enemy. Finally the general himself sent for ships [2]—the sea was not far away—and leaving his army by night he escaped to Gades. Scipio, learning of the flight of the enemy's general, left Silanus ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry to besiege the camp. With the rest of the forces he himself returned to Tarraco in seventy days' marches,[3] hearing the cases of chiefs and states as he proceeded, in order to bestow rewards according to the real worth of their services. After his departure Masi-

[2] From Gades; cf. § 13.

[3] The slow progress is explained by what immediately follows.

U.C. 548 nissa cum Silano clam congressus, ut ad nova consilia gentem quoque suam oboedientem haberet, cum
12 paucis popularibus in Africam traiecit, non tam evidenti eo [1] tempore subitae mutationis causa quam documento post id tempus constantissimae ad ultimam senectam fidei ne tum quidem eum sine proba-
13 bili causa fecisse. Mago inde remissis ab Hasdrubale navibus Gades petit; ceteri deserti ab ducibus, pars transitione, pars [2] fuga dissupati per proximas civitates sunt, nulla numero aut viribus manus insignis.
14 Hoc maxime modo ductu atque auspicio P. Scipionis pulsi Hispania Carthaginienses sunt, quarto decimo anno post bellum initum, quinto quam [3] P.
15 Scipio provinciam et exercitum accepit. Haud multo post Silanus debellatum referens Tarraconem ad Scipionem rediit. XVII. L. Scipio cum multis nobilibus captivis nuntius receptae Hispaniae Romam
2 est missus. Et [4] cum ceteri laetitia gloriaque ingenti eam rem volgo ferrent, unus qui gesserat, inexplebilis virtutis veraeque laudis, parvum instar eorum quae spe ac magnitudine animi concepisset
3 receptas Hispanias ducebat. Iam Africam magnamque Carthaginem et in suum decus nomenque velut

[1] eo *NJK Aldus, Froben*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*: illo *Weissenborn.*
[2] pars *om.* *P*(1)*N*.
[3] quam *P*(3)*K*; postquam *ANSp?J Aldus.*
[4] Et *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: sed *Madvig.*

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[1] He lived on until 148 B.C., upwards of 90 years old, and reigned 60 years; App. *Pun.* 106; Pliny *N.H.* VII. 156.

[2] An error corrected by x. 8 and xxxviii. 12, the 14th year of the war being 205 B.C.

[3] Livy had assigned Scipio's arrival in Spain to the year 211 B.C.; XXVI. xix, 11 ff. Consequently he placed the capture of New Carthage in 210 B.C. See Vol. VII. notes on pp. 68, 230, 296; Scullard, 304 ff.

nissa conferred secretly with Silanus, then crossed B.C. 206
over to Africa with a few of his countrymen, in order that in changing his policy he might count upon the obedience of his nation also. The reason for his sudden change was not so clear then as was later the evidence furnished by a loyalty unswerving down to extreme age,[1] that even at that time he had not acted without a reasonable ground. Mago then reached Gades on the ships sent back by Hasdrubal. The rest, abandoned by their generals, were scattered, some by desertion, others by flight, among the neighbouring states; no force remained which was notable for its numbers or its strength.

So much in general for the manner in which under the command and auspices of Publius Scipio the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain in the fourteenth year[2] from the beginning of the war, the fifth[3] after Publius Scipio received his province and army. Not much later Silanus returned to Scipio at Tarraco, reporting the war at an end.[4] XVII. Lucius Scipio with many noble captives was sent to Rome to announce the conquest of Spain. And while everyone else was publishing the fact abroad with great rejoicing and high praise, the one man who had accomplished it was insatiable in his craving for merit and well-earned distinction. He considered the conquest of Spain insignificant compared with all that he had imagined in his high-minded hopes. Already his eye was upon Africa and the greater Carthage and the glory of such a war, as if

[4] Although his readers would here infer that a campaign has now been completed, the historian goes on to include a seemingly impossible range of operations within what remained of the same year, 206 B.C.

4 consummatam eius belli gloriam spectabat. Itaque praemoliendas sibi ratus iam res conciliandosque regum gentiumque animos, Syphacem primum 5 regem statuit temptare. Masaesuliorum is rex erat. Masaesulii, gens adfinis Mauris, in regionem Hispaniae maxime qua sita Nova Carthago est spec- 6 tant. Foedus ea tempestate regi cum Carthaginien- 7 sibus erat; quod haud gravius ei sanctiusque quam volgo barbaris, quibus ex fortuna pendet fides, ratus fore, oratorem ad eum C. Laelium cum donis mittit. 8 Quibus barbarus laetus, et quia res tum prosperae ubique Romanis, Poenis [1] in Italia adversae, in Hispania nullae iam erant, amicitiam se Romanorum accipere annuit: firmandae eius fidem nec dare nec 9 accipere nisi cum ipso coram duce Romano. Ita Laelius in id modo fide ab rege accepta, tutum adventum fore, ad Scipionem redit.

10 Magnum in omnia momentum Syphax adfectanti res Africae erat,[2] opulentissimus eius terrae rex,[3] bello iam expertus ipsos Carthaginienses, finibus etiam regni apte ad Hispaniam, quod freto exiguo 11 dirimuntur, positis. Dignam itaque rem Scipio ratus quae, quoniam aliter non [4] posset, magno periculo peteretur, L. Marcio Tarracone, M. Silano Carthagine Nova, quo pedibus ab Tarracone itineribus mag- 12 nis ierat, ad praesidium Hispaniae relictis, ipse cum

[1] Poenis *BSp²JK Froben* 2: poenis autem *P*(3)*B*ᵃ*N Aldus*.
[2] Africae erat *JK Froben* 2: erat Africae *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[3] rex *Sp²A¹JK Froben* 2: *om. P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[4] aliter non *x Luchs*: non aliter *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben, Conway*.

accumulated to bring him honour and a name. Accordingly, thinking that he must already make preparations and gain the goodwill of kings and tribes, he decided first to sound King Syphax. He was the king of the Masaesulians. A tribe bordering on the Mauri, the Masaesulians directly face the region of Spain in which lies New Carthage. At that time the king had a treaty with the Carthaginians; and Scipio, thinking it would have for Syphax no more weight and sanctity than is usual for barbarians, with whom loyalty depends upon success, sent Gaius Laelius as an envoy to him with gifts. Delighted with these, and since at that time the situation was everywhere favourable for the Romans but for the Carthaginians unfavourable in Italy and now quite hopeless in Spain, the barbarian indicated that he would accept the friendship of the Romans; that for its confirmation he would neither give nor receive a pledge except in the actual presence of the Roman commander. So Laelius, having received from the king a promise to this effect only, that for the visit safety would be assured, returned to Scipio. B.C. 206

A factor of great importance in every respect for a man planning an attack upon Africa was Syphax, the richest king in that land and one who had already gained experience even of the Carthaginians in war, while boundaries of his kingdom were also well situated with reference to Spain in being separated from it by a narrow strait only. Consequently Scipio thought the matter deserved to be pursued even at a great risk, since it was otherwise impossible. Leaving Lucius Marcius at Tarraco and Marcus Silanus at New Carthage—to which he had come by land in long stages from Tarraco—that they might defend Spain,

u.c. 548

C. Laelio duabus quinqueremibus ab Carthagine profectus tranquillo mari plurumum remis, interdum et
13 leni adiuvante [1] vento, in Africam traiecit. Forte ita incidit ut eo ipso tempore Hasdrubal pulsus Hispania, septem triremibus portum invectus, ancoris positis
14 terrae adplicaret naves, cum conspectae duae quinqueremes, haud cuiquam dubio quin hostium essent opprimique a pluribus, priusquam portum intrarent, possent, nihil aliud quam tumultum ac trepidationem simul militum ac nautarum nequiquam armaque et
15 naves expedientium fecerunt. Percussa enim ex alto vela paulo acriori vento prius in portum intulerunt quinqueremes quam Poeni ancoras molirentur;
16 nec ultra tumultum ciere quisquam in regio portu audebat. Ita in terram prior Hasdrubal, mox Scipio et Laelius egressi ad regem pergunt. XVIII. Magnificumque id Syphaci—nec erat aliter—visum, duorum opulentissimorum ea tempestate duces populorum uno die suam pacem amicitiamque petentes venisse.

2 Utrumque in hospitium invitat; et [2] quoniam fors eos sub uno tecto esse atque ad eosdem penates voluisset, contrahere ad [3] conloquium dirimen-
3 darum simultatium causa est conatus, Scipione abnuente aut privatim sibi ullum cum Poeno odium

[1] adiuvante *P*(1)*N Aldus*: iuvante *SpJK Froben* 2.
[2] et *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpJK*.
[3] ad *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds.*: in *SpN*[1](*altern.*)*JK Froben* 2, *Conway*.

he himself sailed with Gaius Laelius and two quin- B.C. 206
queremes from (New) Carthage. Using oars for the most part over a calm sea, while at times a gentle wind lent its help, he crossed over to Africa.[1] It so chanced that at the very same time Hasdrubal, who had been forced out of Spain and had sailed into the harbour with seven triremes and cast anchor, was bringing his ships to the shore when the two quinqueremes were sighted. No one had any doubt that they belonged to the enemy, and that they could be surprised by superior numbers before they entered the harbour. But they caused nothing more than uproar and excitement both among soldiers and sailors, as they made ready their arms and ships all to no purpose. For the sails, catching a slightly stronger wind from the open sea, brought the quinqueremes into the harbour before the Carthaginians could weigh anchor. Nor did anyone dare to make further disturbance in the king's harbour. So first Has drubal and then Scipio and Laelius disembarked and went to the king. XVIII. To Syphax it seemed a splendid thing—as indeed it was—that the generals of the two richest peoples of that time had come on the same day to ask for peace and friendship from him.

He invited both of them to be his guests, and inas much as chance had ordained that they should be under one roof and in the same dwelling, he tried to draw them into a conference to put an end to their quarrels. Scipio indeed stated that neither as a private citizen had he any hatred toward

[1] Probably to Siga, in Mauretania, where Syphax at times resided; Pliny *N.H.* V. 19; Strabo XVII. iii. 9; App. *Hisp.* 29 f.

esse quod conloquendo finiret, aut de re publica quicquam se[1] cum hoste agere iniussu senatus posse. 4 Illud magno opere tendente rege, ne alter hospitum exclusus mensa videretur, ut in animum induceret ad easdem venire epulas, haud abnuit; cenatumque 5 simul apud regem est; eodem[2] etiam lecto Scipio atque Hasdrubal, quia ita cordi erat regi, accubuerunt. 6 Tanta autem inerat comitas Scipioni atque ad omnia naturalis ingenii dexteritas ut non Syphacem modo, barbarum insuetumque moribus Romanis, sed hostem etiam infestissimum facunde adloquendo sibi con- 7 ciliarit.[3] Mirabiliorem[4] sibi eum[5] congresso coram 8 visum prae se ferebat quam bello rebus gestis, nec dubitare quin Syphax regnumque eius iam in Romanorum essent potestate; eam artem illi viro ad con- 9 ciliandos animos esse. Itaque non quo modo Hispaniae amissae sint quaerendum magis Carthaginiensibus esse quam quo modo Africam retineant 10 cogitandum. Non peregrinabundum neque circa amoenas oras vagantem tantum ducem Romanum, relicta provincia novae dicionis, relictis exercitibus, duabus navibus in Africam traiecisse et commisisse sese in hostilem terram, in potestatem[6] regiam, in fidem inexpertam, sed potiundae Africae spem 11 adfectantem. Hoc eum iam pridem volutare in

[1] quicquam se $P(3)M^2$ *or* M^7 *Aldus*: se *before* quicquam *ANJK Froben* 2.

[2] eodem *SpJK Froben* 2, *Conway*: et eodem $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*

[3] conciliarit Sp^2 *Froben* 2, *Luchs, Conway*: -aret $P(3)NJK$ *Aldus, Eds.*

[4] Mirabiliorem *SpJK Conway*: $P(1)N$ *Eds. add* -que.

[5] eum, *after this* $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds. have* virum: *om. SpJK Froben* 2, *Conway.*

the Carthaginian which might be ended by a confer- B.C. 206
ence, nor as regarded the state could he treat with an enemy without an order from the senate. When the king kept insisting that he consent to come to the same feast for fear one of his guests should seem to have been excluded from his table, Scipio did not decline, and they dined together in the king's house. On the same couch even, since the king would have it so, Scipio and Hasdrubal reclined. Moreover, such was the genial manner of Scipio, such his inborn cleverness in meeting every situation, that by his eloquent mode of address he won not Syphax only, the barbarian unacquainted with Roman ways, but his own bitterest enemy as well. Hasdrubal plainly showed that when he met him face to face, Scipio seemed even more marvellous than in his achievements in war, and that he did not doubt Syphax and his kingdom would soon be in the power of the Romans; such skill did the man possess in winning men over.[1] And so, he said, it was not so essential for the Carthaginians to inquire how their Spanish provinces had been lost as to consider how they were still to hold Africa. It was not as a traveller, nor as one who idles along beautiful shores, that so great a Roman general had left a newly subdued province, had left his armies, and with only two ships had crossed over to Africa and entrusted himself to an enemy's land, to a king's power, to a man's untested honour; on the contrary he was cherishing a hope of conquering Africa. It had long

[1] A single sentence remains from Polybius' account of this meeting of the three and their conversation (XI. xxiv[a]. 4), here reflected by Livy.

[6] in potestatem N^s(*but after* regiam)A^sJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.

animo, hoc palam fremere, quod non quemadmodum Hannibal in Italia, sic Scipio in Africa bellum
12 gereret. Scipio, foedere icto cum Syphace, profectus ex Africa dubiisque et plerumque saevis in alto iactatus ventis die quarto Novae Carthaginis portum tenuit.

XIX. Hispaniae sicut a bello Punico quietae erant, ita quasdam civitates propter conscientiam culpae metu magis quam fide quietas esse apparebat, quarum maxume insignes et magnitudine et noxa
2 Iliturgi et Castulo erant. Castulo, cum prosperis rebus socii fuissent, post caesos cum exercitibus Scipiones defecerat[1] ad Poenos; Iliturgitani prodendis qui ex illa clade ad eos perfugerant inter-
3 ficiendisque scelus etiam defectioni addiderant. In eos populos primo adventu, cum dubiae Hispaniae essent, merito magis quam utiliter saevitum foret;
4 tunc iam tranquillis rebus quia tempus expetendae poenae videbatur venisse, accitum ab Tarracone L. Marcium cum tertia parte copiarum ad Castulonem oppugnandum mittit, ipse cum cetero exercitu
5 quintis fere[2] ad Iliturgin castris pervenit. Clausae

[1] defecerat *Sp?JK Froben* 2 : -rant *P*(1)*N*.
[2] fere *Jx* : ferre *P* : ferme P^2(1)*N Aldus*, *Froben* : *om. K*.

[1] The last previous mention of a town of this name was XXVI. xvii. 4. That was about 175 miles in a straight line from New Carthage, and in a quite unthinkable direction for retreating Romans. Amtorgis, where the two brothers separated, cannot be identified (XXV. xxxii. 5, 9). Iliturgi has taken the place here of a town less well known, perhaps that of Pliny's Ilorci (the *rogus Scipionis*, i.e. of Gnaeus, *N.H.* III. 9; Ilurgia in App. *Hisp.* 32, Ilourgeia in Polybius, XI. xxiv. *sub. fin.*, a fragment which seems to belong here, Dindorf). This may be modern Lorca, on a tributary of the Tader, about 40 miles west of Cartagena; so Ed. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* II. 445 f.

been Scipio's constant reflection, his open complaint, B.C. 206
he added, that he was not waging war in Africa, as Hannibal was in Italy. Scipio, after making a treaty with Syphax, set sail from Africa, and tossed in open sea by unsteady winds, mostly violent, he reached the harbour of New Carthage on the fourth day.

XIX. Although the Spanish provinces were having a respite from a Carthaginian war, still it was evident that on account of a guilty conscience certain states were quiet out of fear rather than because of loyalty. Most conspicuous both for size and guilt among these were Iliturgi [1] and Castulo.[2] Although in favourable times its citizens had been allies, Castulo, after the Scipios had been slain with their armies, had revolted to the Carthaginians. The men of Iliturgi, by betraying and slaying those who from that disaster had fled to them for refuge, had added a crime also to their revolt. On Scipio's first coming, when the Spanish provinces were wavering, vengeance upon those states would have been deserved but not politic. Now, however, since in a time of peace the moment for exacting the penalty seemed to have arrived, he summoned Lucius Marcius from Tarraco and sent him with a third of his forces to lay siege to Castulo. He himself with the rest of the army reached Iliturgi in about five stages. The gates had been closed and

and Schulten in *Hermes* LXIII. 288 ff. Or possibly Lorqui on the Tader, 35 miles north-west of Cartagena; so Scullard, 143. Cf. *Cambridge Ancient History* VIII. 90.

[2] Cf. xiii. 4; XXIV. xli. 7. Here App. *l.c.* has Castax, unknown and an improbable form, but accepted by Scullard, 144 and Hallward in C.A.H. *l.c.* Any argument for rejecting Castulo is less cogent than in the case of Iliturgi. We may have our doubts, however, about an advance so far to the west unsupported except by the annalistic tradition. Cf. Kahrstedt in Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager* III. 495 ff.

erant portae omniaque instructa et parata ad oppugnationem arcendam: adeo conscientia quid se meritos
6 scirent pro indicto eis bello fuerat. Hinc et hortari milites Scipio orsus est: ipsos claudendo portas indicasse Hispanos quid ut timerent meriti essent. Itaque multo infestioribus animis cum eis quam cum
7 Carthaginiensibus bellum gerendum esse; quippe cum illis prope sine ira de imperio et gloria certari, ab his perfidiae et crudelitatis et sceleris poenas
8 expetendas esse. Venisse [1] tempus quo et nefandam commilitonum necem et in semet ipsos, si eodem fuga delati forent, instructam fraudem [2] ulciscerentur, et in omne tempus gravi documento sancirent ne quis umquam Romanum civem militemve [3] in ulla fortuna opportunum iniuriae duceret.

9 Ab hac cohortatione ducis incitati scalas electis per manipulos viris dividunt, partitoque exercitu ita ut parti alteri Laelius praeesset legatus, duobus simul
10 locis ancipiti terrore urbem adgrediuntur. Non dux unus aut plures principes oppidanos, sed suus ipsorum ex [4] conscientia culpae metus ad defendendam
11 inpigre urbem hortatur. Et meminerant et admonebant alii alios [5] supplicium ex se, non victoriam peti; ubi quisque mortem oppeteret, id referre, utrum in pugna et in acie, ubi Mars communis et victum saepe

[1] esse. Venisse *Sp²N⁴JK Froben* 2, *Eds.* (*with* evenisse *Aldus*): sevenisse *P*: evenisse $P^2(1)N$ *Conway*: venisse N^1.
[2] fraudem N^4JK *Aldus*, *Froben*: tradem *P*: stragem $P^2(3)N$.
[3] -ve C^2*Aldus*, *Froben*, *Eds.*: vel $P(1)N$: -que N^4JK *Conway*.
[4] ex *Sp²N⁴JK Froben* 2: *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.
[5] alii alios *x Sigonius*, *Madvig*: alios $P(1)N$ *Aldus*, *Froben Eds.*: *om. JK*.

everything disposed and prepared to resist an attack. B.C. 206
So true was it that consciousness of what they knew they had deserved had meant as much for them as a declaration of war. With this point also Scipio opened his speech of encouragement to his soldiers, saying that the Spaniards by closing their gates had themselves shown what they had deserved to fear. Consequently, he said, they must wage war against them with much more animosity than against the Carthaginians. With these it was a contest almost devoid of anger in pursuit of power and glory; from the Iliturgians they must exact the penalty for treachery and cruelty and crime. The time had come for them to avenge the atrocious slaughter of their comrades and the perfidy which would have been brought to bear against themselves if in flight they had reached the same city. It was time also for them by a severe example to ordain that no one should ever account a Roman citizen or soldier in any misfortune as fair game for ill treatment.

Immediately after this exhortation from their general the officers, thoroughly aroused, issued ladders to men picked out of one maniple after another, and dividing the army so that Laelius as lieutenant should command one half, they attacked the city in two places at the same time, causing a double alarm. It was not a single commander or a number of leading men that urged the citizens gallantly to defend the city, but their own fear due to consciousness of guilt. They remembered and reminded one another also that the aim was their punishment, not victory; that when every man perished what mattered most was whether he did so in battle and in the line, where the fortune of the fray,

J.C. 48

12 erigeret et adfligeret victorem, an postmodo, cremata et diruta urbe, ante ora captarum coniugum liberorumque, inter verbera et vincula, omnia foeda atque
13 indigna passi exspirarent. Igitur non militaris modo aetas aut viri tantum, sed feminae puerique super [1] animi corporisque vires adsunt, propugnantibus [2] tela ministrant, saxa in muros munientibus gerunt.
14 Non libertas solum agebatur, quae virorum fortium tantum pectora acuit, sed ultima omnibus [3] supplicia et foeda mors ob oculos erat. Accendebantur animi et certamine laboris ac periculi atque ipso inter se
15 conspectu. Itaque tanto ardore certamen initum est ut domitor ille totius Hispaniae exercitus ab unius oppidi iuventute saepe repulsus a muris haud satis
16 decoro proelio trepidaret.[4] Id ubi vidit Scipio. veritus ne vanis tot [5] conatibus suorum et hostibus [6] cresceret animus et segnior miles fieret, sibimet conandum ac partem periculi capessendam esse ratus, increpita ignavia militum ferri scalas iubet et se ipsum,
17 si ceteri cunctentur, escensurum minatur. Iam subierat haud mediocri periculo moenia, cum clamor undique ab sollicitis vicem imperatoris militibus sublatus, scalaeque multis simul partibus erigi
18 coeptae; et ex altera parte Laelius institit. Tum

[1] super $P(1)NJK$: supra *Aldus*, *Froben*.
[2] propugnantibus *JK Aldus*, *Froben*, *Luchs* (obp- N^{1}). pugnantibus $P(1)N$ *Eds.*, *Conway*.
[3] omnibus *JK Aldus*, *Froben*, *Riemann*, *Conway* : omnium $P(1)N$ *Eds.*
[4] trepidaret $P(1)N$ *Aldus* : -darit *SpK Froben* 2 : -dant *J*.
[5] tot $Sp N^{1} JK$ *Froben* 2 : *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.
[6] suorum et hostibus *om. Spx*.

making no distinctions, often lifted up the defeated and dashed down the victor, or whether later, when their city was in ashes and ruins, there before the faces of their captured wives and children, after enduring every outrage and indignity, they breathed their last under the scourge and in chains. Accordingly not merely those of military age or men alone, but women and children also helped beyond their powers of mind and body, bringing up weapons for the fighting men and carrying stones for the builders up to the wall. The stake was not freedom only, which whets the courage of brave men alone, but all had before their eyes extreme penalties and a hideous death. Bravery was kindled by emulation in toil and danger and by the mere sight of one another. And so the battle was begun with such heat that that famous army, the conqueror of all Spain, was repeatedly beaten back from the walls by the young men of a single town and thrown into disorder in an inglorious battle. When Scipio saw this, he was afraid that, owing to so many vain attempts made by his men, the enemy's spirits might be cheered and his own soldiers lose heart. Thinking that he must himself make the attempt and claim a share in the danger, he berated the soldiers for their cowardice, ordered ladders to be brought up, and threatened that if the rest hesitated he would climb up himself. Already at no small risk [1] he had come close to the walls when from all sides an outcry was made by the soldiers, who were concerned for their commander and began to set up ladders in many places at the same time; and on the other side Laelius pressed the attack. Then the resistance of B.C. 206

[1] App. *Hisp.* 32 has him wounded; Zonaras IX. x. 2.

c.c. 48 victa oppidanorum vis, deiectisque propugnatoribus occupantur muri.

Arx etiam ab ea parte qua [1] inexpugnabilis videbatur inter tumultum capta est. XX. Transfugae Afri, qui tum inter auxilia Romana erant, et oppidanis 2 in ea tuenda unde periculum videbatur versis et Romanis subeuntibus [2] . . . qua adire poterant, conspexerunt editissimam urbis partem, quia [3] rupe praealta tegebatur, neque opere ullo munitam et 3 ab defensoribus vacuam. Levium corporum homines et multa exercitatione pernicium, clavos secum ferreos portantes, qua per inaequaliter eminentia rupis poterant scandunt. Sicubi nimis arduum et leve saxum 4 occurrebat, clavos per modica intervalla figentes cum velut gradus fecissent, primi insequentes [4] extrahentes manu, postremi sublevantes eos qui prae se 5 irent,[5] in summum evadunt. Inde decurrunt cum 6 clamore in urbem iam captam ab Romanis. Tum vero apparuit ab ira et ab odio urbem oppugnatam esse. Nemo capiendi vivos, nemo patentibus ad direptionem omnibus praedae memor est; trucidant inermes iuxta atque armatos, feminas pariter ac viros; usque ad infantium caedem ira crudelis per- 7 venit. Ignem deinde tectis iniciunt ac diruunt quae incendio absumi nequeunt; adeo vestigia quoque

[1] qua $P^{r}M^{1}AN$ *Aldus, Eds.*: quae $P(3)R^{2}SpJK$ *Froben* 2.

[2] subeuntibus, *followed by* s.c. tr. *in* $P(3)N$, *the meaningless abbreviation apparently representing something unintelligible in P's archetype. Aldus supplied* scalis moenia, *Alschefski,* contra.

[3] quia *Sp? Froben* 2, *Luchs, Conway*: quae $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Eds.*

[4] insequentes (*or* -is) $Sp?N^{s}JK$ *Froben* 2: sequentis (*or* -tes) $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*

the townsmen was broken and, once the defenders had been dislodged, the walls were occupied. B.C. 206

The citadel also in the midst of the confusion was captured from the side on which it appeared to be impregnable. XX. African deserters, who were at that time in the Roman auxiliaries, just when the townsmen had turned to the defence of places where the danger was evident, while at the same time the Romans kept coming up . . . by any possible approach, caught sight of a very lofty part of the city lacking any kind of fortifications, lacking defenders as well, because it was protected by a very high cliff. Men of light build and nimble, thanks to much training, they carried iron spikes with them and climbed up wherever they could over the irregular projections of the cliff. Wherever they encountered rock too steep and smooth, by driving in spikes at suitable intervals they made something like steps. Then while the first men with their hands drew up those who followed and the last pushed up those ahead of them, they made their way up to the summit. Thence they dashed down with a shout into the city already captured by the Romans. It was then in truth evident that the city had been attacked out of anger and hatred. No one thought of taking men alive, no one thought of booty, although every place was open for plunder. They slaughtered the unarmed and the armed alike, women as well as men; cruel anger went even so far as to slay infants. Then they threw firebrands into houses and demolished what could not be consumed by the flames. So delighted were they to destroy even the

[5] prae se irent *Sp?N²JK Froben* 2 : praeirent *P*(1)*N Aldus.*

.U.C. 548 urbis exstinguere ac delere memoriam hostium sedis cordi est.

8 Castulonem inde Scipio exercitum ducit, quam urbem non Hispani modo convenae, sed Punici etiam exercitus ex dissipata passim fuga reliquiae tutaban-
9 tur. Sed adventum Scipionis praevenerat fama cladis Iliturgitanorum, terrorque inde[1] ac desperatio
10 invaserat; et in diversis causis cum sibi quisque consultum sine alterius respectu vellet, primo tacita suspicio, deinde aperta discordia secessionem inter
11 Carthaginienses atque Hispanos fecit. His Cerdubelus, propalam deditionis auctor, Himilco Punicis auxiliaribus praeerat; quos urbemque clam fide
12 accepta Cerdubelus Romano prodit. Mitior ea victoria fuit; nec tantundem noxae admissum erat, et aliquantum irae lenierat voluntaria deditio.

XXI. Marcius inde in barbaros, si qui nondum perdomiti erant, sub ius dicionemque redigendos missus. Scipio Carthaginem ad vota solvenda deis munusque gladiatorium, quod mortis causa patris patrui-
2 que paraverat, edendum rediit. Gladiatorum spectaculum fuit non ex eo genere hominum ex quo lanistis comparare mos est, servorum de catasta ac liberorum[2] qui venalem sanguinem habent: voluntaria omnis et
3 gratuita opera pugnantium fuit. Nam alii missi ab regulis sunt ad specimen insitae genti virtutis osten-

[1] inde *Sp?JK Froben* 2: deinde *P*(1)*N Aldus.*

[2] de catasta ac liberorum, *corrected by Ursinus* (*but with* aut) *from* de causa ac liberorum *of SpN*[1] (-torum *J*: -tinorum *K*): ac liberorum *Weissenborn*: *om.P*(1)*N, one line*; *followed by Gronovius, with* quive *for* qui.

traces of the city and to blot out the memory of B.C. 206
their enemies' abode.

Scipio then led his army to Castulo, a city defended not only by Spaniards from other places but also by remnants of the Carthaginian army after a scattering flight in every direction. But Scipio's coming had been preceded by a report of the disaster at Iliturgi, and in consequence alarm and despair had taken possession. Also as their interests were different, since everyone wished to be safeguarded himself without regard to any one else, at first unexpressed suspicion, then open discord produced a separation between Carthaginians and Spaniards. The latter were commanded by Cerdubelus, an open advocate of surrender, the Punic auxiliaries by Himilco. After receiving a secret promise Cerdubelus betrayed garrison and city to the Roman commander. More merciful was this victory. Not so serious a crime had been committed and voluntary surrender had greatly appeased their anger.

XXI. Marcius was thereupon sent to bring under Roman sway and authority any barbarians who had not yet been thoroughly subdued. Scipio returned to (New) Carthage to pay his vows to the gods and to conduct the gladiatorial show which he had prepared in honour of his deceased father and uncle. The exhibition of gladiators was not made up from the class of men which managers are in the habit of pitting against each other, that is, slaves sold on the platform and free men who are ready to sell their lives. In every case the service of the men who fought was voluntary and without compensation. For some were sent by their chieftains to display an example of the courage inbred in their tribe; some declared on their

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4 dendum, alii ipsi professi se pugnaturos in gratiam ducis, alios aemulatio et certamen, ut provocarent
5 provocative[1] haud abnuerent traxit; quidam quas disceptando controversias finire nequierant aut noluerant, pacto[2] inter se ut victorem res sequeretur,
6 ferro decreverunt. Neque obscuri generis homines sed clari inlustresque, Corbis et Orsua, patrueles fratres, de principatu civitatis quam Ibem vocabant
7 ambigentes, ferro se certaturos professi sunt. Corbis maior erat aetate; Orsuae pater princeps proxime fuerat, a fratre maiore post mortem eius principatu
8 accepto. Cum verbis disceptare Scipio vellet ac sedare iras, negatum id ambo dicere cognatis communibus, nec alium deorum hominumve quam Mar-
9 tem se iudicem habituros esse. Robore maior, minor flore aetatis ferox, mortem in certamine quam ut alter alterius imperio subiceretur praeoptantes, cum dirimi ab tanta rabie nequirent, insigne spectaculum exercitui praebuere documentumque quantum cupiditas
10 imperii malum inter mortales esset. Maior usu armorum et astu facile stolidas vires minoris superavit. Huic gladiatorum spectaculo ludi funebres additi pro copia provinciali et castrensi apparatu.

XXII. Res interim nihilo minus ab legatis gerebantur. Marcius superato Baete amni, quem incolae Certim appellant, duas opulentas civitates sine cer-

[1] -ve $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -que Sp^2JK *Froben* 2.
[2] pacto $P(1)NSp^2JK$ *Froben* 2: pacti *x Aldus, Madvig, Riemann.*

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[1] Only here, site unknown, unless it be Ibi, 12 miles north-north-west of Alicante (Castrum Album, XXIV. xli. 3).
[2] Another local name was Perces: Steph. Byz. 156. 9.

own motion that they would fight to please the general; in other cases rivalry and the desire to compete led them to challenge or, if challenged, not to refuse. Some who had been unable or unwilling to end their differences by a legal hearing, after agreeing that the disputed property should fall to the victor, settled the matter with the sword. Men also of no obscure family but conspicuous and distinguished, Corbis and Orsua, being cousins and competing for the post of chief of a city called Ibes,[1] declared that they would contend with the sword. Corbis was the older in years. Orsua's father had lately been chief, having succeeded to an elder brother's rank upon his death. When Scipio desired to settle the question by a hearing and to calm their anger, they both said they had refused that request to their common relatives, and that they were to have as their judge no other god or man than Mars. The older man was confident in his strength, the younger in the bloom of his youth, each preferring death in the combat rather than to be subject to the rule of the other. Since they could not be made to give up such madness, they furnished the army a remarkable spectacle, demonstrating how great an evil among mortals is the ambition to rule. The older man by his skill with arms and by his cunning easily mastered the brute strength of the younger. In addition to this gladiatorial show there were funeral games so far as the resources of the province and camp equipment permitted. B.C. 206

XXII. Meantime operations were carried on no less actively by the lieutenants. Marcius after crossing the river Baetis, which the inhabitants call Certis,[2] accepted the surrender of two rich cities without an

u.c. 2 tamine in deditionem accepit. Astapa urbs erat,[1]
18 Carthaginiensium semper partis; neque id tam dignum ira erat quam quod extra necessitates belli
3 praecipuum in Romanos gerebant odium. Nec urbem aut situ aut munimento tutam habebant quae ferociores iis animos faceret; sed ingenia incolarum latrocinio laeta ut excursiones in finitimum agrum sociorum populi Romani facerent impulerant et vagos milites Romanos lixasque et mercatores exciperent.
4 Magnum etiam comitatum, quia paucis parum tutum fuerat, transgredientem fines positis insidiis circum-
5 ventum iniquo loco interfecerant.[2] Ad hanc urbem oppugnandam cum admotus exercitus esset, oppidani conscientia scelerum, quia nec deditio tuta ad tam infestos videbatur, neque spes moenibus aut armis tuendae salutis erat, facinus in se ac suos foedum ac
6 ferum consciscunt. Locum in foro destinant quo pretiosissima rerum suarum congererent. Super eum cumulum coniuges ac liberos considere cum iussissent, ligna circa exstruunt[3] fascesque virgultorum coni-
7 ciunt. Quinquaginta deinde armatis iuvenibus praecipiunt ut, donec incertus eventus pugnae esset, praesidium eo loco fortunarum suarum corporumque
8 quae cariora fortunis essent servarent; si rem inclinatam viderent atque in eo iam esse ut urbs caperetur, scirent omnes quos euntes in proelium

[1] erat *N*[4]*JK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P*(1)*N*.
[2] interfecerant *Sp*[2] *Froben* 2 : -erunt *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*.
[3] exstruunt *A*[6]*?N*[4] *or N*[2]*JK Eds.* : extrui (*or* exst-) *P*(1)*N*.

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[1] Ostippo in Pliny *N.H.* III. 12 and inscriptions; now Estepa, 70 miles east-south-east of Seville. App. *Hisp.* 33 retells the tale.

engagement. There was the city of Astapa,[1] always B.C. 206
on the side of the Carthaginians; and this did not so much justify anger as that they bore a particular hatred against the Romans over and above the exigencies of war. Nor did they have a city secure either by reason of its situation or fortifications to make them over-confident. But their natural delight in brigandage had impelled the inhabitants to make raids into adjoining territory of allies of the Roman people and to capture stray Roman soldiers and sutlers and merchants. Even a caravan—large because there had been too little safety for small numbers—crossing their territory had been entrapped in an unfavourable spot by an ambuscade and cut to pieces. When the army had been brought up to lay siege to this city, the men of the town, prompted by a guilty conscience, because neither surrender to an enemy so incensed seemed safe nor was there any hope of defending their lives by walls and arms, resolved to carry out against themselves and their families a brutal and barbarous act.[2] A spot in the marketplace was selected where they were to bring together their most valuable possessions. Having ordered their wives and children to sit down upon that heap they piled up wood all around and threw on bundles of brush. They then instructed fifty armed young men to keep guard at that place, so long as the issue of the battle was uncertain, over their treasures and over persons that were dearer than treasures. If they should see that the battle had gone against them and the city was on the point of being captured, they were to know that all those whom they now saw

[2] Cf. XXI. xiv, the similar conduct of the Saguntines, and XXXI. xvii, Abydus; cf. Polybius XVI. xxxi. ff.

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9 cernerent mortem in ipsa pugna obituros; illos se per deos superos inferosque orare ut memores libertatis, quae illo die aut morte honesta aut servitute infami finienda esset, nihil relinquerent in quod
10 saevire iratus hostis posset. Ferrum ignemque in manibus esse; amicae ac fideles potius ea quae peritura forent [1] absumerent manus quam insul-
11 tarent superbo ludibrio hostes. His adhortationibus exsecratio dira adiecta, si quem a proposito spes mollitiave animi flexisset.

Inde concitato agmine patentibus portis ingenti
12 cum tumultu erumpunt. Neque erat ulla satis firma statio opposita, quia nihil minus quam ut [2] egredi obsessi [3] moenibus auderent timeri poterat. Perpaucae equitum turmae levisque armatura repente
13 e castris ad id ipsum emissa occurrit. Acrior impetu atque animis quam compositior ullo ordine [4] pugna fuit. Itaque pulsus eques qui primus se hosti obtulerat terrorem intulit levi armaturae; pugnatumque sub ipso vallo foret, ni robur legionum perexiguo ad instruendum dato tempore aciem direxis-
14 set. Ibi quoque trepidatum parumper circa signa est, cum caeci furore in volnera ac ferrum vecordi audacia ruerent; dein vetus miles, adversus temerarios impetus pertinax, caede [5] primorum insequentes sup-

[1] forent *Jx Froben* 2 : fuerant *K* : essent *P*(1)*N Aldus.*

[2] ut *P*(1)*NJK Eds., Conway* : ne *Madvig, Luchs, M. Müller.*

[3] obsessi *Weissenborn* : posset *P*(3)*N* : hostes *Jac. Gronovius, Johnson* : *om. CA*[1] *or A*[6]*JK Aldus, Froben, Eds., Conway.*

[4] ullo ordine *P*(1)*NK Aldus* : ordine ullo *J Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[5] caede, *following this word P*(1)*N have a long misplaced passage which begins at our chapter* XXXVII. 9 (conscriptis) *and extends to* XXIX. i. 24 (imperio). *The dislocation was noted by later hands and corrected in HJK from Sp* (*see p.* 212, *n.* 3).

marching out to battle would meet death where they were fighting. They implored them, they said, by the gods above and below to remember the freedom which must be brought to an end that day either by an honourable death or an infamous slavery, and leave nothing upon which an angry enemy might vent his fury. Sword and firebrand were in their hands; let friendly and loyal hands destroy all that was doomed to perish, rather than have the enemy offer indignities with insolent mockery. To these exhortations they added a dreadful curse, in case hope or weakness of character should turn any one from their purpose. B.C. 206

Then at the double they burst out of wide-open gates with a great uproar. And no outpost in sufficient strength had been stationed to face them, since nothing less could be feared than that the besieged should venture to sally out from the walls. A very few troops of cavalry and such light-armed infantry as were suddenly sent out of the camp for that very purpose encountered them. The battle was fierce in courageous onslaught rather than regular in any formation. Accordingly the horsemen who had been the first to confront the enemy were beaten back and brought panic to the light-armed. The fighting would also have been directly outside the earthwork had not the heavy legionary infantry drawn up their line of battle in spite of the very short time given them to form. Even there for a short time there was some alarm in the front line, while men blinded by frenzy dashed on to meet wounds and steel with mad recklessness. Then the veteran soldiers, steadfast against rash attacks, by slaying the first men checked those who followed.

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pressit. Conatus paulo post ultro inferre pedem, ut neminem cedere atque obstinatos mori in vestigio quemque suo vidit, patefacta acie, quod ut facere posset multitudo armatorum facile suppeditabat, cornua hostium amplexus, in orbem pugnantes ad unum omnes occidit.

XXIII. Atque haec tamen caedes ab impetu[1] hostium iratorum ac tum maxime dimicantium iure[2] belli in armatos repugnantesque edebatur;[3] foedior alia in urbe trucidatio erat, cum turbam feminarum puerorumque inbellem inermemque[4] cives sui caederent et in succensum rogum semianima pleraque inicerent corpora, rivique sanguinis flammam orientem restinguerent; postremo ipsi, caede miseranda suorum fatigati, cum armis medio incendio se iniecerunt. Iam caedi perpetratae victores Romani supervenerunt. Ac primo conspectu tam foedae rei mirabundi parumper obstupuerunt; dein cum aurum argentumque cumulo rerum aliarum interfulgens[5] aviditate ingenii humani rapere ex igni vellent, correpti alii flamma sunt, alii ambusti adflatu vaporis, cum receptus primis urgente ab tergo ingenti[6] turba non esset. Ita Astapa sine praeda militum ferro ignique absumpta est. Marcius ceteris

[1] caedes ab impetu, *supplied here by M. Müller*: *Weissenborn supplied* vis et impetus *after* dimicantium (*with* edebant); *Madvig*, odium (*with* edebat); *Johnson and Conway*, in morem *after* iratorum (*and with* edebantur). *Something is lacking in P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Froben.*

[2] iure belli in armatos re- *om. P*(1)*N, one line, found in A*[1]*N*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben.*

[3] edebatur *JK*: -bantur $M^1A^1N^1$ *Aldus, Froben*: -bā *P*: -bam *CRMBD*: -bant C^2AN.

[4] -que *P*(1)*N Aldus*: *om. SpJK Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[5] interfulgens N^1(*altern.*) *JK Eds.*: interfluens *P*(1)*N*.

A little later, venturing to take the offensive, when B.C. 206
they saw no one giving way and every man resolutely dying in his tracks, they extended their line, as superior numbers of armed men made it possible for them to do, outflanked the enemy, and as they fought in circular formation slew them to the last man.

XXIII. Such slaughter, however, arose from the attack of a furious enemy, fighting at that moment according to the law of war against armed men resisting. More horrible was another butchery within the city, when their own citizens were slaying an unarmed, unresisting throng of women and children and throwing bodies, very often only half-dead, upon a pyre they had lighted, and streams of blood were putting out the rising flames. Finally the men, exhausted by the pitiful slaying of their own kin, threw themselves and their arms into the midst of the fire. The slaughter was already finished when the victorious Romans arrived. And at the first sight of so terrible a scene they stood for a little while stunned with amazement. Then, when gold and silver glistened in the heap of other objects and with the eagerness which is natural to man they were trying to snatch them from the flames, some caught fire themselves, others were scorched by the hot blast,[1] since those in front had no way of escape, while the mass of men pressed upon them from the rear. Thus was Astapa destroyed by sword and fire without booty for the soldiers. Marcius, having received the

[1] Here Polybius' narrative survives in a single sentence about frantic efforts to recover gold and silver, XI. xxiv. 11.

[6] ab tergo ingenti *Sp?N*[4] *Froben* 2 : ingenti *JK Aldus* : *om. P*(1)*N*.

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eius regionis metu in deditionem acceptis victorem exercitum Carthaginem ad Scipionem reduxit.

6 Per eos ipsos dies perfugae a Gadibus venerunt pollicentes urbem Punicumque praesidium quod in ea urbe esset et imperatorem praesidii cum classe pro-
7 dituros esse.[1] Mago ibi ex fuga substiterat, navibusque in Oceano collectis aliquantum auxiliorum et trans fretum ex Africa [2] ora et ex proximis Hispaniae
8 locis per Hannonem praefectum coegerat. Fide accepta dataque perfugis, et Marcius eo cum expeditis cohortibus et Laelius cum [3] septem triremibus, quinqueremi una est missus, ut terra marique communi consilio rem gererent.

XXIV. Scipio ipse gravi morbo implicitus, graviore tamen fama, cum ad id quisque quod audierat insita hominibus [4] libidine alendi de industria rumores adiceret aliquid, provinciam omnem ac maxime
2 longinqua eius turbavit; apparuitque quantam excitatura molem vera fuisset clades, cum vanus rumor tantas procellas excivisset. Non socii in fide, non
3 exercitus in officio mansit. Mandonius et Indibilis, quibus, quia regnum sibi Hispaniae pulsis inde Carthaginiensibus destinarant animis, nihil pro spe
4 contigerat, concitatis popularibus—Lacetani autem

[1] esse *om. JK Conway.*
[2] ex Africa (africae P^1)$P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: africae *SpJK.*
[3] expeditis . . . cum A^4N^4(*om.* cum)*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[4] hominibus N^4JK *Eds.*: hominum $P(1)N$.

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[1] Cf. Vol. VII. pp. 279, n. 4; 282, n. 1; below, xxv. 11; XXIX. i. 19 and iii. 1 ff.
[2] Probably an error for Laeetani; in the north-east corner

surrender of all the other tribes of that region owing B.C. 206
to their fear, led his victorious army back to Scipio at (New) Carthage.

About the same time came deserters from Gades promising to betray the city and the Punic garrison in that city and the commander of the garrison together with the fleet. Mago after his flight had halted there, and having assembled ships on the Ocean, he had gathered up a considerable force of auxiliaries both from the African coast across the strait and from the nearest places in Spain with the help of Hanno, the prefect. Promises were received from the deserters and given them, and Marcius with cohorts lightly equipped and Laelius also with seven triremes and one quinquereme were sent thither, to carry on the campaign by land and sea with a single plan.

XXIV. Scipio himself fell ill with an alarming malady, but still more alarming as reported, since everyone added something to what he had heard, with the inbred human passion for purposely magnifying rumours. His illness agitated the whole province and especially the distant parts of it. And how serious a situation would have been created if the fatality had been real was evident, since an empty report had stirred up such tempests. Allies did not remain loyal, nor the army mindful of duty. Mandonius and Indibilis,[1] because they had reckoned upon a kingdom of Spain for themselves when the Carthaginians should be expelled from it, and yet nothing to match their hopes had come to them, stirred up their countrymen—and they were Lacetani [2]—called

of Spain around Barcino (Barcelona); xxxiv. 4; XXI. xxiii. 2; XXXIV. xx. 2.

A.U.C. 548 erant—et iuventute Celtiberorum excita agrum Suessetanum Sedetanumque sociorum populi Romani hostiliter depopulati sunt.

5 Civilis alius furor in castris ad Sucronem ortus. Octo ibi milia militum erant, praesidium gentibus
6 quae cis Hiberum incolunt inpositum. Motae autem eorum mentes sunt non tum primum cum de vita imperatoris dubii rumores [1] allati sunt, sed iam ante licentia ex diutino, ut fit, otio conlecta, et non nihil quod in hostico laxius rapto suetis vivere artiores in
7 pace res erant. Ac primo sermones tantum occulti serebantur: si bellum in provincia esset, quid sese inter pacatos facere? si debellatum iam et confecta
8 provincia esset, cur in Italiam non revehi? Flagitatum quoque stipendium procacius quam ex more et modestia militari erat, et ab custodibus probra in circumeuntes vigilias tribunos iacta, et noctu quidam praedatum in agrum circa pacatum ierant; postremo interdiu ac propalam sine commeatu ab signis
9 abibant. Omnia libidine ac licentia militum, nihil instituto ac [2] disciplina militiae aut imperio eorum
10 qui praeerant gerebatur. Forma tamen Romanorum castrorum constabat una ea re [3] quod tribunos, ex

[1] rumores *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] ac *JK Froben* 2: aut $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Conway.*
[3] re *Weissenborn, Eds.*: spe $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway* (*who conjs.* qua *for* quod): specie *Freinsheim.*

[1] Also north of the Ebro and near the coast; xxxi. 7; XXIX. i. 26. So were the Suessetani, enemies in XXV. xxxiv. 6, but now allies, neighbours of the Edetani across the river.

[2] The town of the same name on the river (now the Júcar). Near it Pompey fought against Sertorius; Plutarch *Sert.* 19; *Pomp.* 19; App. *B.C.* I. 110. Livy's source for the narrative of this mutiny was Polybius XI. xxv–xxx. Cf. App. *Hisp.* 34 ff. It remained a mutiny to the end (xxix. 12). The only citizens were (1) Romans in the army, and (2) Italian

out the young men of the Celtiberians and ravaged B.C. 206
the territory of the Suessetani and Sedetani,[1] allies of the Roman people, in warlike fashion.

From citizens sprang a different outbreak in the camp near Sucro.[2] Eight thousand soldiers were there, posted as a garrison for the tribes dwelling on this side of the Ebro. Their disloyalty, however, was not just beginning when unsubstantiated reports of the general's imminent danger reached them, but existed even before, owing to the usual licence resulting from long inaction. It was also to some extent because men accustomed to live unrestrainedly on plunder in an enemy's territory felt the pinch of peace-time. And at first they merely engaged in secret conversations: If there was a war in the province, what were they doing among people already pacified? If the war was over now and the province set in order, why were they not transported back to Italy? They made demands also for their pay with more petulance than accorded with the customary self-control of the soldier; and sentries heaped reproaches on tribunes making the rounds of the guard, and at night some men had gone out for plunder into peaceful country all around. Finally by day and openly without permission they would leave their standards. Everything was being done in accordance with the whim and fancy of the soldiers, nothing according to the traditions and discipline of the service or the orders of superior officers. The outward appearance, however, of a Roman camp was maintained in this alone, that, believing the

allies serving with them (xxxii. 6). There can be no hint of civil war in *civilis furor*, for the theme now to be developed was announced in § 2, *non exercitus*, etc.

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contagione furoris haud expertes seditionis defectionisque rati fore, et iura reddere in principiis sinebant et signum ab eis petebant et in stationes ac
11 vigilias ordine [1] ibant; et ut vim imperii abstulerant, ita speciem dicto parentium ultro ipsi [2] imperantes servabant.
12 Erupit deinde seditio, postquam reprehendere atque inprobare tribunos ea quae fierent et conari obviam ire et propalam abnuere furoris eorum se
13 futuros socios senserunt. Fugatis itaque e principiis ac post paulo e castris tribunis, ad principes seditionis, gregarios milites, C. Albium Calenum et C. Atrium Umbrum, delatum omnium consensu im-
14 perium est. Qui nequaquam tribuniciis contenti ornamentis, insignia etiam summi imperii, fasces securesque, attrectare ausi; neque eis [3] venit in mentem suis tergis suis [4] cervicibus virgas illas securesque imminere quas ad metum aliorum prae-
15 ferrent. Mors Scipionis falso credita obcaecabat animos, sub cuius volgatam mox [5] famam non dubita-
16 bant totam Hispaniam arsuram bello; in eo tumultu et sociis pecunias imperari et diripi propinquas urbes posse; et turbatis rebus, cum omnia omnes auderent, minus insignia fore quae ipsi fecissent. XXV. Cum alios subinde recentes nuntios non mortis modo, sed etiam funeris exspectarent, neque superveniret

[1] ordine *Sp²JK Froben* 2: in ordinem *P*(1)*N Aldus*: in orbem *Madvig*.

[2] ipsi $C^{2}N^{1}$(*altern.*)*JK Aldus, Froben*: si im *P*: si P^{2}(1)(*C²*)*N*: sibi $M^{1}A^{5}$: sibi ipsi *Conway*.

[3] neque eis $N^{1}JK$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway*: nequem *P*(1)*N*: neque $P^{2}M^{1}$*Eds*.

[4] suis *Sp² Froben* 2, *Conway*: suisque *P*(1)*NJK Aldus, Eds*.

[5] mox *P*(1)*N*: iam $N^{1}JK$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway*.

tribunes, infected with their madness, would not fail B.C. 206
to share their mutiny and revolt, they permitted them to hear cases before the headquarters, went to them for the password and did outpost and guard duty in succession. Moreover, though they had robbed their command of power, yet they kept up a show of obedience while actually giving orders themselves.

Then the mutiny broke out after they observed that the tribunes censured and disapproved of what was being done and were endeavouring actively to oppose it, also openly declaring that they would not be partners in their madness. Accordingly, chasing the tribunes out of the space before headquarters and soon after out of the camp, they by common consent bestowed the command upon the leaders of the mutiny, the privates Gaius Albius of Cales and Gaius Atrius, an Umbrian. These men, not at all satisfied with the distinguishing marks of tribunes, ventured to pollute the insignia of the very highest command, the fasces and axes. Nor did it occur to them that those rods and axes, which they caused to be carried before them to frighten others, were hanging over their own backs and their own necks. The unfounded belief in Scipio's death was the cause of their blindness and, once rumour of it should presently be spread abroad, they had no doubt that all Spain would be ablaze with war. In that uprising, they thought, money could be exacted from allies, and also neighbouring cities plundered; and in the confusion, when any man would dare anything, what they had themselves done would be less conspicuous. XXV. While they waited from moment to moment for fresh news, expecting to hear not only of his death but even of his funeral, and yet none came and the groundless

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quisquam, evanesceretque temere ortus rumor, tum
2 primi auctores requiri coepti. Et subtrahente se quoque, ut credidisse potius temere quam finxisse rem talem videri posset, destituti duces iam sua ipsi insignia et pro vana imagine imperii quod gererent veram iustamque mox in se versuram potestatem
3 horrebant. Stupente[1] ita seditione, cum vivere primo, mox etiam valere Scipionem certi auctores adferrent, tribuni militum septem ab ipso Scipione
4 missi supervenerunt.[2] Ad quorum primum adventum exasperati animi; mox ipsis placido sermone permulcentibus notos cum quibus congressi erant,
5 leniti sunt. Circumeuntes enim tentoria primo, deinde in principiis praetorioque, ubi sermones inter se serentium circulos vidissent, adloquebantur percunctantes magis quae causa irae consternationisque
6 subitae foret quam factum accusantes. Volgo stipendium non datum ad diem iactabatur, et, cum eodem tempore quo scelus Iliturgitanorum exstitisset post duorum imperatorum duorumque exercituum stragem sua virtute defensum nomen Romanum ac retenta provincia esset, Iliturgitanos poenam noxae meritam habere, suis recte factis
7 gratiam qui exsolvat non esse. Talia querentes[3] aequa orare, seque ea relaturos ad imperatorem respondebant; laetari quod nihil tristius nec insana-

[1] stupente *P*(1)*Eds.*: stupenti (*with* seditioni) *JK Luchs, Riemann*: -ebant *N*.

[2] ab ipso Scipione missi supervenerunt *Sp?JK Froben* 2, *Luchs, Conway*: qui ab ipso Scipione sunt *P*(3) (*with* sunt missi *AN*, *while* N^4 *adds* supervenere, *and* N^2 *deletes* qui). *Possibly* qui *is evidence for a lost clause.*

[3] querentes, *for this Riemann has* querentibus.

[1] Cf. xix. i. and n.

report was losing hold, then its first sponsors began B.C. 206
to be sought out. And as one after another drew back, that he might be thought to have rashly believed such a thing rather than to have invented it, the deserted leaders were now alarmed at their own insignia and, in place of the empty semblance of command which was theirs, at the real, duly bestowed authority that would presently turn against them. Thus when the mutiny was at a standstill and credible informants brought the news, first that Scipio was alive, and then that he was even well, seven tribunes of the soldiers arrived, being sent by Scipio himself. Upon their arrival there was at first irritation; soon after, as the tribunes themselves by mild words calmed acquaintances whom they had met, the men were less resentful. For going round at first among the tents, then in the headquarters square and before the general's tent, where they saw groups talking together, they would speak to the men, asking them what was the reason for their anger and their sudden mania, instead of finding fault with them for what they had done. A common complaint was that their pay had not been given them on the proper date; also that, whereas at the time when the men of Iliturgi [1] had committed their crime, after the slaughter of the two commanders-in-chief and the two armies, the Roman name had been defended and the province retained by their own courage, yet, while the Iliturgians now had a due punishment for their crime, there was no one to reward their own good deeds. In reply the tribunes said that those who complained of such matters only were making just pleas, and they would report them to the commander-in-chief. They were glad that there was nothing more serious

bilius esset; et P. Scipionem deum benignitate et
rem publicam esse gratiae referendae.
8 Scipionem bellis adsuetum, ad seditionum pro-
cellas rudem, sollicitum habebat res, ne aut exercitus
9 peccando aut ipse puniendo modum excederet. In
praesentia, ut coepisset, leniter agi placuit et missis
circa stipendiarias civitates exactoribus stipendii
10 spem propinquam facere; et [1] edictum subinde pro-
positum ut ad stipendium petendum convenirent
Carthaginem, seu carptim partes [2] seu universi mal-
11 lent. Tranquillam seditionem iam [3] per se langues-
centem repentina quies rebellantium Hispanorum
fecit; redierant enim in fines omisso incepto Mando-
nius et Indibilis, postquam vivere Scipionem allatum
12 est; nec iam erat aut civis aut externus cum quo
13 furorem suum consociarent. Omnia circumspec-
tantes consilia [4] nihil reliqui habebant praeter non [5]
tutissimum a malis consiliis receptum, ut imperatoris
vel iustae irae vel non desperandae clementiae sese
committerent: etiam hostibus eum ignovisse cum
14 quibus ferro dimicasset; suam seditionem sine volnere,
sine sanguine fuisse, nec ipsam atrocem nec atroci
poena dignam,—ut ingenia humana sunt ad suam
15 cuique levandam culpam nimio plus facunda.[6] Illa

[1] facere; et *JK Luchs, Conway*: -eret et N^t: fecere $P(1)N$: facere *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] partes $P(1)N^z$: per partes *Gronovius*: *om. as a gloss Riemann.*

[3] iam N^tJK *Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[4] consilia $P(1)NJK$ *Eds.*: *om. Gronovius, Conway.*

[5] non $P(1)NJK$ *Eds.*; unum *Aldus, Froben, Conway*: enim *Sp.*

nor more incurable; and by favour of the gods B.C. 206
Scipio and the republic, they said, were in a position to show gratitude.

Scipio, who was familiar with wars but unacquainted with the gusts of mutinies, was kept in a state of concern lest either the army should go to excess in wrong-doing or he himself in punishing them. For the present he decided to use gentle measures, as he had begun to do, and to bring the hope of pay nearer by sending collectors round the tributary states. Next an edict was posted up that they should assemble at (New) Carthage to get their pay, whether they preferred to do so as separate units or all together. The mutiny, already of itself on the wane, was quelled by sudden peace on the part of the rebellious Spaniards. For Mandonius and Indibilis had abandoned their project and retired to their borders when they had news that Scipio was alive. Nor was there either a fellow-citizen or foreigner any longer with whom the soldiers might share their madness. On surveying all possible plans they had nothing left except a not altogether safe retreat from criminal designs, namely, to give themselves up either to the commander's well-grounded anger or to his mercy, as not beyond their hopes. He had pardoned even enemies, they said, with whom he had fought with the sword; their mutiny had been free from wounds, free from bloodshed, and neither in itself savage nor meriting a savage punishment. So unduly eloquent is human nature in minimizing one's own guilt.

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[6] facunda $A^{s}?N^{2}$ *or* $N^{s}JK$ *Eds.*: faciunda $P(3)N$: f(o)ecunda *Duker, Madvig* 1863.

u.c. 548 dubitatio erat, singulaene cohortes an universi ad stipendium petendum irent. Inclinavit sententia, quod tutius censebant, universos ire.

XXVI. Per eosdem dies quibus haec illi consul-
2 tabant consilium de iis Carthagini erat, certabaturque sententiis utrum in auctores tantum seditionis—erant autem ii numero haud plus quam quinque et triginta—animadverteretur, an plurium supplicio vindicanda tam foedi exempli defectio magis quam
3 seditio esset. Vicit sententia lenior ut, unde culpa orta esset, ibi poena consisteret; ad multitudinem
4 castigationem satis esse. Consilio dimisso, ut id actum videretur, expeditio adversus Mandonium Indibilemque edicitur exercitui qui Carthagine erat et
5 cibaria dierum aliquot parare iubentur. Tribunis septem qui et antea Sucronem ad leniendam seditionem ierant obviam exercitui missis quina nomina
6 principum seditionis edita sunt, ut eos per idoneos homines benigno voltu ac sermone in hospitium
7 invitatos sopitosque [1] vino vincirent. Haud procul iam Carthagine aberant cum ex obviis auditum postero die omnem exercitum cum M. Silano in Lacetanos proficisci non metu modo [2] omni qui tacitus insidebat animis liberavit eos, sed laetitiam ingentem fecit, quod magis habituri solum imperatorem quam

[1] sopitosque *A¹N¹JK Eds.*: -que (*om.* sopitos) *P*(3)*K*².
[2] modo *A¹N¹JK Aldus, Froben*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*.

The only question was whether to go in separate cohorts to get their pay, or all together. Their decision was that all should go together, which they thought safer. B.C. 206

XXVI. During the days on which they were thus deliberating there was a war-council in regard to them at (New) Carthage, and a conflict of opinions as to whether the leaders only of the mutiny—and they were not more than thirty-five in number—should be punished, or whether punishment of a larger number was required in penalizing, not a mutiny but rather a rebellion which set so terrible an example. The milder opinion prevailed, that punishment should be limited to those with whom the breach of discipline had begun, whereas for the mass a reprimand was enough. After the dismissal of the council, to give the impression that this was the matter discussed, an expedition against Mandonius and Indibilis was announced to the army which was at (New) Carthage, and they were ordered to make ready their rations for several days. The seven tribunes who had already gone to Sucro to repress the mutiny and were now sent to meet the army had each of them the names of five leaders of the mutiny assigned him, to have them invited with kindly countenance and words by suitable men to be their guests, lulled to sleep by wine and then bound. The mutineers were now not far from (New) Carthage when the news, heard from those they met, that on the next day the entire army would set out under Marcus Silanus against the Lacetani, not only relieved them of all fear which remained unexpressed in their minds, but caused great rejoicing that they would have the commander alone, rather than be themselves in his

B.C. 48

8 ipsi futuri in potestate eius essent. Sub occasum solis urbem ingressi sunt exercitumque alterum
9 parantem omnia ad iter viderunt. Excepti sermonibus de industria compositis—laetum opportunumque adventum eorum imperatori esse, quod sub ipsam profectionem alterius exercitus venissent—
10 corpora curant. Ab tribunis sine ullo tumultu auctores seditionis, per idoneos homines perducti in
11 hospitia, comprensi ac vincti sunt. Vigilia quarta impedimenta exercitus cuius[1] simulabatur iter proficisci coepere; sub lucem signa mota, et ad portam retentum agmen custodesque circa omnes portas
12 missi, ne quis urbe egrederetur. Vocati deinde ad contionem qui pridie venerant, ferociter in forum ad tribunal imperatoris, ut ultro territuri succlama-
13 tionibus, concurrunt. Simul et imperator in tribunal escendit[2] et reducti armati a portis[3] inermi contioni
14 se[4] ab tergo circumfuderunt. Tum omnis ferocia concidit et, ut postea fatebantur, nihil aeque eos terruit quam praeter spem robur et colos imperatoris, quem adfectum visuros crediderant, voltusque qualem
15 ne in acie quidem aiebant meminisse. Sedit tacitus paulisper, donec nuntiatum est deductos in forum

[1] cuius $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: cui *Sp? Froben* 2.
[2] escendit *PCR*: as- R^2MBDAN *Aldus*: con- *Sp?JK Froben* 2.
[3] a portis *before* armati *JK*.
[4] contioni se $P(3)$: se contioni $ANJK$ *Aldus, Froben*.

power. At sunset they entered the city and saw the other army making every preparation for the march. Received with studied words of welcome—that their coming was a happy and timely thing for the general, in that they had arrived at the very time the other army was leaving—they took refreshment and rest. The tribunes, without causing any commotion, had the promoters of the mutiny brought by suitable persons to their hospitable quarters, then seized and bound. At the fourth watch the baggage of the army which, it was pretended, was to march away began to take the road. By daybreak the standards were in motion, but at the gate the column was halted and guards were sent round to all the gates, that no one should leave the city. Then the men who had arrived the day before, on being summoned to an assembly, rushed fiercely into the open space [1] and up to the general's platform, intending actually to intimidate him by their interruptions. At the same moment that the general mounted the platform the armed men brought back from the gates surrounded the unarmed assembly from the rear. Then all their fierceness failed them and, as they afterwards admitted, nothing alarmed them so much as the unexpected strength and healthy colour of the general whom they had believed they would see as an invalid, also an expression of his face such as, they said, they never remembered even in battle. He sat in silence for a moment, until the report reached him that the promoters of the mutiny had been B.C. 206

[1] *I.e.* Polybius' *ἀγορά* (VI. xxxi. 1 f.) to the right of the headquarters, not the similar space (also called *forum*) in which stood the *quaestorium*; XLI. ii. 11.

u.c. 48 auctores seditionis et parata omnia esse. XXVII. Tum silentio per praeconem facto ita coepit:

" Numquam mihi defuturam orationem qua exer-
2 citum meum adloquerer credidi, non quo verba umquam potius quam res exercuerim, sed quia prope a pueritia in castris habitus adsueram militaribus in-
3 geniis; apud vos quem ad modum loquar nec consilium nec oratio suppeditat, quos ne quo nomine
4 quidem appellare debeam scio. Cives? qui a patria vestra descistis. An milites? qui imperium auspiciumque abnuistis, sacramenti religionem rupistis. Hostes? Corpora, ora, vestitum, habitum civium adgnosco; facta, dicta, consilia, animos
5 hostium video. Quid enim vos, nisi quod Ilergetes et[1] Lacetani, aut optastis aliud aut sperastis? Et illi tamen Mandonium atque Indibilem, regiae nobilitatis viros, duces furoris secuti sunt; vos auspicium et imperium ad Umbrum Atrium et
6 Calenum Albium detulistis. Negate vos id omnes fecisse aut factum voluisse, milites; paucorum eum furorem atque amentiam esse; libenter credam negantibus; nec enim ea sunt commissa quae, volgata in omnem exercitum, sine piaculis ingentibus expiari possint.[2]

7 " Invitus ea tamquam volnera attingo; sed nisi
8 tacta tractataque sanari non possunt. Equidem pulsis Hispania Carthaginiensibus nullum locum tota

[1] et *JK Aldus, Froben*: aut *P*(1)*N*: ac *Drakenborch conj.*

[2] possint *P*(1)*NJK Eds.*: possent *Riemann.*

[1] The following speech has few direct borrowings from the briefer discourse in Polybius XI. xxviii f., *e.g.*, the comparison

brought into the open space and that everything was ready. XXVII. Then, when the herald had enforced silence, Scipio began as follows:[1] B.C. 206

"Never have I supposed that language with which to address my army would fail me; not that I have ever occupied myself with words rather than deeds, but because, having lived in camps almost from boyhood, I was familiar with the minds of soldiers. But how to speak to *you*—for that both thoughts and language fail me. I do not know even by what name I ought to address you. Citizens? when you have revolted from your country? Or soldiers? when you have rejected the high command and the auspices, have broken the sanctity of your oath? Enemies? I recognize the bodies, faces, clothing, appearance of citizens, but the deeds, the words, the plans, the spirit of enemies. For what else did you either wish or hope for but the same as the Ilergetes and the Lacetani? And yet they followed Mandonius and Indibilis, men of royal rank, as leaders in their madness. You conferred the auspices and high command upon the Umbrian Atrius and the Calenian Albius. Say that not all of you did that, soldiers, or wished it done; that it was the frenzy and folly of a few; I will gladly accept your denial. For the acts committed were such that, if they were shared by the entire army, they cannot be expiated without atonements on a great scale.

"Unwillingly do I handle such misdeeds, as if they were wounds. But unless handled and treated they cannot be healed. As for myself, after the Carthaginians were driven out of Spain I did not believe

of a crowd to the sea, § 11, more fully developed in the Greek peroration, xxix. 9–11.

U.C. provincia,[1] nullos homines credebam esse ubi vita
548 invisa [2] esset mea; sic me non solum adversus socios
9 gesseram, sed etiam adversus hostes. In castris
en meis—quantum opinio [3] fefellit!—fama mortis
meae non accepta solum, sed etiam exspectata est.
10 Non [4] quod ego volgari facinus per omnes velim—
equidem, si totum exercitum meum [5] mortem mihi
optasse crederem, hic statim ante oculos vestros
morerer, nec me vita iuvaret invisa civibus et militibus
11 meis. Sed multitudo omnis sicut natura maris per
se inmobilis est, at [6] venti et aurae cient; ita [7] aut
tranquillum aut procellae in vobis sunt; et causa
atque origo omnis furoris penes auctores est, vos
12 contagione insanistis; qui mihi ne hodie quidem scire
videmini quo amentiae progressi sitis, quid facinoris
in me, quid in patriam parentesque ac liberos vestros,
quid in deos sacramenti testes, quid adversus auspicia
sub quibus militatis,[8] quid adversus morem militiae
disciplinamque maiorum, quid adversus summi
imperii maiestatem ausi sitis.

13 "De me ipso taceo—temere potius quam avide
credideritis, is denique ego sim, cuius imperii taedere
exercitum minime mirandum sit—: patria quid de
vobis meruerat, quam cum Mandonio et Indibili con-
14 sociando consilia prodebatis? Quid populus Ro-
manus, cum imperium ablatum ab tribunis suffragio

[1] nullum . . . provincia *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P*(1)*N*.
[2] invisa *A'N'JK* : *om. P*(1)*N*.
[3] opinio *P*(1)*NJK* : me opinio *Riemann*.
[4] Non *JK Aldus, Froben* : vero *P*(3)*N* : verum *C*[4].
[5] meum *om. P*(1)*N*.
[6] at *suggested (not read) by Conway* : et *P*(3) *Weissenborn* : *om. Gronovius, Conway* : ut *DA'N'JK Aldus, Froben, Alschefski, Madvig* : si et *N* : sed *Crévier*.

there was in the entire province any place, any people, B.C. 206
where my life was hated; so had I borne myself not only towards allies, but also towards enemies. Behold! here in my own camp—how mistaken I was!—a rumour of my death was not only believed but even waited for. Not that I should wish the crime to be shared by all. For my part, if I believed that the whole of my army had desired my death I should die here at once before your eyes, nor would a life hated by my fellow-citizens and my soldiers give me pleasure. But every crowd is in itself motionless, as is the natural state of the sea; rather do winds and breezes ruffle it. So among you there is either calm or sudden storms. And the cause and source of every madness is chargeable to its promoters; your insanity came by contagion. Even today you do not seem to me to know what a pitch of frenzy you have reached, what a crime you have dared to commit against me, against your country and parents and children, against the gods, witnesses of your oath, what a crime as regards the auspices under which you are serving, or the custom of the service and the discipline of your ancestors, or the dignity of the supreme command!

"Of myself I say nothing, granting that you were hasty rather than eager in believing, granting in short that I am a man whose authority irks an army, and no wonder. But the country, what evil had she done you, when you were betraying her by sharing your designs with Mandonius and Indibilis? What harm had the Roman people done you when you took away

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[7] ita *om. SpN*[3]*JK Froben* 2.
[8] militatis *P*(1)*N*: militastis *Sp*?*JK Froben* 2.

u.c. 548 populi creatis ad homines privatos detulistis, cum eo ipso non contenti si pro tribunis illos haberetis, fasces imperatoris vestri ad eos quibus servus cui imperarent numquam fuerat, Romanus exercitus detulistis? 15 In praetorio tetenderunt Albius et Atrius, classicum apud eos cecinit. signum ab iis petitum est, sederunt in tribunali P. Scipionis, lictor apparuit, summoto incesserunt, fasces cum securibus praelati sunt. 16 Lapides pluere et fulmina iaci de caelo et insuetos fetus animalia edere vos portenta esse putatis: hoc est portentum quod nullis hostiis, nullis supplicationibus sine sanguine eorum qui tantum ausi facinus sunt [1] expiari possit.

XXVIII. "Atque ego, quamquam nullum scelus rationem habet, tamen, ut in re nefaria, quae mens, 2 quod consilium vestrum fuerit scire velim. Regium quondam in praesidium missa legio interfectis per scelus principibus civitatis urbem opulentam per 3 decem annos tenuit; propter quod facinus tota legio, milia hominum quattuor, in foro Romae securi per- 4 cussi sunt. Sed illi primum non Atrium Umbrum semilixam, nominis etiam abominandi ducem, sed D. Vibellium tribunum militum secuti sunt, nec cum Pyrrho nec cum Samnitibus aut Lucanis, hostibus 5 populi Romani, se coniunxerunt; vos cum Mandonio

[1] sunt N^1(*altern.*)*JK Aldus*, *Froben* : sint $P(1)N$.

[1] Cf. *Periocha* 12 fin.; Polybius I. vii. 6 ff. This legion was made up of Campanians. As such they were Roman citizens and did not serve as auxiliaries.

[2] Cf. *Periocha* 15. Livy overlooked serious losses the legion must have suffered when the city was captured and in the course of ten years. This may reduce the number executed to about Polybius' figure—more than 300; *l.c.* §§ 11 f.

the command from tribunes elected by vote of the people and conferred it upon private persons, when, not even satisfied with having them as tribunes, you, a Roman army, bestowed the fasces of your commander upon men who had never had a slave to whom they might give orders? In the headquarters were lodged Albius and Atrius; at their tent sounded the trumpet, men came to them for the watchword; they sat on Publius Scipio's tribunal. A lictor attended them; the way was cleared before they proceeded; fasces with their axes were borne before them. Showers of stones and thunderbolts hurled from the sky and animals bringing forth strange offspring you reckon portents; here we have a portent which cannot be expiated by any victims, by any set days of prayer, without the blood of those who have dared so great a crime. B.C. 203

XXVIII. "And although no crime has a reasonable ground, nevertheless I should like to know what was your purpose, what your plan, seeing that we are dealing with a flagrant offence. A legion formerly sent as a garrison to Regium,[1] after foully slaying the leading men of the state, held that wealthy city for ten years. For that crime the entire legion, four thousand men,[2] were beheaded in the Forum at Rome. But in the first place they did not follow the lead of Atrius the Umbrian, half-soldier half-sutler, with an ominous name[3] also, but of Decimus Vibellius, a tribune of the soldiers; neither did they ally themselves with Pyrrhus, nor with the Samnites and Lucanians, enemies of the Roman people. You

[3] *I.e.* from *ater*, 'coal black,' 'unlucky'; cf. the *dies atri* of the calendar.

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et Indibili et [1] consilia communicastis et arma conso-
6 ciaturi fuistis. Illi, sicut Campani Capuam Tuscis
veteribus cultoribus ademptam, Mamertini in Sicilia
Messanam, sic Regium habituri perpetuam sedem
erant, nec populum Romanum nec socios populi Ro-
7 mani ultro lacessituri bello: Sucronemne vos domi-
cilium habituri eratis? Ubi si vos decedens confecta
provincia imperator relinquerem, deum hominumque
fidem implorare debebatis, quod non rediretis [2] ad con-
iuges liberosque vestros.
8 "Sed horum quoque memoriam, sicut patriae
meique, eieceritis ex animis vestris; viam consilii
scelerati sed non ad ultimum dementis exsequi volo.
9 Mene vivo et cetero incolumi exercitu, cum quo ego
die uno Carthaginem cepi, cum quo quattuor imperatores,[3] quattuor exercitus Carthaginiensium fudi,
fugavi. Hispania [4] expuli, vos octo milia hominum,
minoris certe omnes pretii quam Albius et Atrius sunt
quibus vos subiecistis. Hispaniam provinciam populo
10 Romano erepturi eratis? Amolior et amoveo nomen
meum; nihil ultra facile creditam mortem meam a
11 vobis violatus sim: quid? si ego morerer, mecum
exspiratura res publica, mecum casurum imperium
populi Romani erat? Ne istuc Iuppiter optimus
maximus sirit, urbem auspicato deis auctoribus in

[1] et *SpN*^{s}*JK Froben* 2 : *om. P*(1)*N Aldus.*
[2] rediretis $M^{1}A^{6?}N^{2}JK$ *Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : redieritis *P* 1)(-entis *D*)*N Conway.*
[3] quattuor imperatores *om. P*(1)*N.*
[4] Hispania $A^{6}N^{s}JK$ *Luchs, Conway* : *om. P*(1) *Eds.*

[1] It was in fact the Samnites who captured Etruscan Capua; cf. IV. xxxvii. 1. (424 B.C.); Strabo V. iv. 3.

have shared your plans with Mandonius and Indibilis B.C. 206
and were to have been their comrades in arms as well. The legion would have held Regium as its permanent abode, just as the Campanians [1] held Capua, wrested away from its former Etruscan inhabitants, just as the Mamertines held Messana in Sicily; and it would not have gone so far as to attack the Roman people or allies of the Roman people. Was Sucro to have been your domicile? If I had left you there when as general-in-command I was retiring from my province completely subdued, it would have been right for you to implore the help of gods and men because you were not returning to your wives and children.

"But granted that you have banished their memory also from your minds, as you have that of your country and of myself, I wish to follow up the outcome of your plan, a criminal one but not utterly insane. If I lived and the rest of the army was intact with which I captured (New) Carthage in a single day and with which I routed, put to flight, drove out of Spain, four generals,[2] four armies of the Carthaginians, would you —eight thousand men, all of you certainly of less consequence than Albius and Atrius, to whom you submitted yourselves—would you really have intended to wrest the province of Spain from the Roman people? Suppose I take no account whatever of my name—granted that I have not been wronged by you except in your readiness to believe me dead, tell me, if I had been dying would the state have breathed its last with me, would the empire of the Roman people have fallen with me? May Jupiter the best and greatest forbid that the city, founded with due auspices and

[2] Both Hasdrubals, Hanno (ii. 11) and Mago (xvi. 13).

a.u.c. 548 aeternum conditam huic fragili[1] et mortali corpori
12 aequalem esse. Flaminio, Paulo, Graccho,[2] Postumio Albino, M. Marcello, T. Quinctio Crispino, Cn. Fulvio, Scipionibus meis, tot tam praeclaris imperatoribus uno bello absumptis superstes est populus Romanus, eritque mille aliis nunc ferro nunc morbo[3] morientibus: meo unius funere elata esset res
13 publica?[4] Vos ipsi hic in Hispania patre et patruo meo, duobus imperatoribus, interfectis Septimum Marcium ducem vobis adversus exsultantes recenti victoria Poenos delegistis. Et sic loquor tamquam
14 sine duce Hispaniae futurae fuerint: M. Silanus eodem iure, eodem imperio mecum in provinciam missus, L. Scipio frater meus et C. Laelius legati,
15 vindices maiestatis imperii deessent? Utrum exercitus exercitui, an duces ducibus, an dignitas, an causa comparari poterat? Quibus si omnibus superiores essetis, arma contra patriam, contra cives vestros ferretis? Africam Italiae, Carthaginem urbi Romanae imperare velletis? Quam ob noxam patriae? XXIX. Coriolanum quondam damnatio iniusta, miserum et indignum exilium ut iret ad oppugnandam patriam impulit; revocavit tamen a publico parricidio privata

[1] huic fragili $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: fragili huic *JK Froben.*
[2] Flaminio . . . Graccho *Sp?N²JK Froben* 2: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[3] nunc morbo A^6N^2 *or* N^2JK: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[4] esset res publica *SpJK* (*preceded in all three by* populi romani, *which Froben* 2, *Luchs and others retain*) *Conway*: res p. (*or* publica) $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*

[1] Cf. IV. iv. 4; V. vii. 10. For *urbs aeterna* see *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assn.* XXV. (1894), 34 ff.; Franz Christ in *Tübinger Beiträge* XXXI. (1938), 59 ff.

[2] Although Gnaeus Scipio was not legally an *imperator*, having been sent to Spain by Publius, while he himself returned to Italy (XXI. xxxii. 3; xl. 3), it was unnecessary

favour of the gods to endure forever,[1] should live no B.C. 203
longer than this frail, mortal body! Although Flaminius, Paulus, Gracchus, Postumius Albinus, Marcus Marcellus, Titus Quinctius Crispinus, Gnaeus Fulvius, my Scipios—so many generals and so distinguished—have perished in one war, the Roman people survives and will survive, although a thousand others die, now by the sword, now by disease. At *my* funeral—one man's—would the republic have been borne to its tomb? You yourselves here in Spain, after the slaying of my father and uncle, two generals,[2] appointed Septimus Marcius as your commander against the Carthaginians, who were overjoyed by their recent victory. And I am speaking just as if the Spanish provinces would have been without a commander. But would Marcus Silanus, who was sent with me into the province with the same authority, the same command, would my brother Lucius Scipio and Gaius Laelius, my lieutenants, have failed to avenge the dignity of the high command? Could army have been compared with army, or generals with generals? Could rank or cause have been matched? If in all these respects you had been superior, would you have borne arms against your country, against your fellow-citizens? Would you have wished Africa to rule over Italy, Carthage over the city of Rome? For what offence on the part of your country? XXIX. Coriolanus was once impelled by an unjust condemnation, a wretched and undeserved banishment, to set out to besiege his native city. Nevertheless family devotion recalled him from foul treason to the state. In your case what

for the historian to be pedantic. Cf. XXV. xxxii. 1; xxxvii. 9; XXVI. ii. 5.

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2 pietas: vos qui dolor, quae ira incitavit? Stipendiumne diebus paucis imperatore aegro serius numeratum satis digna causa fuit cur patriae indiceretis bellum, cur ad Ilergetes desciscerentis a populo Romano, cur nihil divinarum humanarumve rerum inviolatum vobis esset?

3 "Insanistis profecto, milites, nec maior in corpus meum vis morbi quam in vestras mentes invasit.
4 Horret animus referre quid crediderint homines, quid speraverint, quid optaverint:[1] auferat omnia inrita oblivio, si potest; si non, utcumque silentium tegat.
5 Non negaverim tristem atrocemque vobis visam orationem meam:[2] quanto creditis facta vestra atrociora esse quam dicta mea? Et me ea quae fecistis pati aequum censetis;[3] vos ne dici quidem omnia aequo
6 animo fertis?[4] Sed ne ea quidem ipsa ultra exprobrabuntur. Utinam tam facile vos obliviscamini eorum
7 quam ego obliviscar! Itaque quod ad universos vos attinet, si erroris paenitet, satis superque poenarum habeo. Albius Calenus et Atrius Umber et ceteri nefariae seditionis auctores sanguine luent quod ad-
8 miserunt. Vobis supplicii eorum spectaculum non modo non acerbum, sed laetum etiam, si sana mens rediit, debet esse: de nullis enim quam de vobis infestius aut inimicius[5] consuluerunt."
9 Vix finem dicendi fecerat cum ex praeparato simul omnium rerum terror oculis auribusque est
10 offusus. Exercitus, qui corona contionem circum-

[1] quid optaverint *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpJK*.
[2] meam *P*(1)*N Aldus*: *om. Sp?JKx Froben* 2.
[3] pati aequum censetis *om. P*(1)*N, one line*.
[4] fertis *P*(1)*N*: feretis *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben*.
[5] inimicius *Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: inicius *P*(3): iniquius *CAN*: immitius *JK*.

grievance, what anger spurred you on? Was delay of B.C. 206
a few days in receiving your pay owing to the illness of your general a sufficient reason why you should declare war on your country, why you should revolt from the Roman people to the Ilergetes, why not one thing divine or human should be to you inviolable?

"Insane you surely were, soldiers, and no more critical ailment attacked my body than your minds. I shrink from recalling what men believed, what they hoped, what they desired. Let forgetfulness carry away and cancel everything if possible; if not, let silence somehow cover it all. I would not deny that my speech has seemed to you severe and cruel; how much more cruel do you believe your acts are than my words? And you think I ought patiently to bear what you have done: on your side can you not bear patiently even the telling of the whole story? But even those acts themselves will not be the subject of further reproaches. May you forget them as easily as I shall forget them! Accordingly, so far as the mass of you are concerned, if you repent of your mistake, that is to me a quite sufficient punishment. Albius of Cales and Atrius the Umbrian and the rest of those who brought about a wicked mutiny will atone with their blood for what they have done. To you the spectacle of their punishment, if your minds have returned to health, ought not only to bring no bitterness but even joy. For there are no men whom they have treated in a more hostile and unfriendly spirit than yourselves."

Scarcely had he made an end of speaking when, in accordance with previous orders, their eyes and ears were assailed by terrifying sights and sounds everywhere. The troops who had encircled the as-

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dederat, gladiis ad scuta concrepuit; praeconis audita
11 vox citantis nomina damnatorum in consilio; nudi in medium protrahebantur, et simul omnis apparatus supplicii expromebatur. Deligati ad palum virgisque caesi et securi percussi, adeo torpentibus metu qui aderant ut non modo ferocior vox adversus atrocitatem
12 poenae, sed ne gemitus quidem exaudiretur. Tracti inde de medio omnes,[1] purgatoque loco citati milites nominatim apud tribunos militum in verba P. Scipionis iurarunt, stipendiumque ad nomen singulis persolutum est. Hunc finem exitumque seditio militum coepta apud Sucronem habuit.

XXX. Per idem tempus ad Baetim fluvium Hanno, praefectus Magonis, missus a Gadibus cum parva manu Afrorum, mercede Hispanos sollicitando ad
2 quattuor milia iuvenum armavit. Castris deinde exutus ab L. Marcio, maxima parte militum inter tumultum captorum castrorum, quibusdam etiam in fuga amissis, palatos persequente equite, cum paucis ipse effugit.

3 Dum haec ad Baetim fluvium geruntur, Laelius interim freto in Oceanum evectus ad Carteiam classe accessit. Urbs ea in ora Oceani sita est, ubi primum

[1] omnes $P(1)NJK$: exanimes *Allen*: trunci et inanim^{i} omnes *Johnson conj.* (*after* Polybius XI. xxx. 3).

[1] At the north end of the Bay of Gibraltar, about half-way between the Rock, Calpe, and Algeciras. Livy thinks of the Atlantic as beginning immediately beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and thus including nearly the whole of the Strait

sembly crashed swords against shields. The herald's voice was heard, calling out the names of those condemned in the war-council. They were being dragged out into the centre stripped, and at the same time everything requisite for punishment was being brought out. Bound to a stake they were scourged and beheaded, while the spectators were so paralysed by fear that not only was no fierce protest against the severity of the punishment heard, but not even a groan. Then all the bodies were dragged away from the centre, and after the ground had been cleansed the soldiers, summoned by name, in the presence of the military tribunes, swore allegiance to Publius Scipio; and as each man was called his pay was counted out to him. Such was the end and outcome of the mutiny of the soldiers which began at Sucro. B.C. 206

XXX. About the same time along the Baetis River Hanno, Mago's prefect, who had been sent from Gades with a small force of Africans, enlisting Spaniards for pay, armed about four thousand young men. Then stripped of his camp by Lucius Marcius, while the largest part of his troops were lost in the confusion of its capture, some also lost in the flight, since the cavalry pursued the scattered fugitives, Hanno himself with a small number only escaped.

While these things were going on along the Baetis River, Laelius meantime sailed down the strait into the Ocean and came with his fleet to Carteia.[1] This city is situated on the coast of the Ocean, where

(Fretum Gaditanum). In 171 B.C. Carteia became a Latin colony; XLIII. iii. 3 f. Cf. also Strabo III. i. 7; Mela II. 96.

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4 e faucibus angustis panditur mare. Gades sine certamine per proditionem [1] recipiendi, ultro qui eam rem pollicerentur in castra Romana venientibus, spes, sicut ante dictum est, fuerat. Sed [2] patefacta inmatura proditio est, conprensosque omnes Mago Adherbali praetori Carthaginem devehendos tradit. 5 Adherbal coniuratis in quinqueremem inpositis, praemissaque ea, quia tardior quam triremis erat, ipse cum octo triremibus modico intervallo sequitur. 6 Iam fretum intrabat quinqueremis cum Laelius et ipse in quinqueremi ex [3] portu Carteiae sequentibus septem triremibus evectus in Adherbalem ac triremes [4] invehitur, quinqueremem satis credens deprensam rapido in freto in adversum aestum reciprocari non posse. 7 Poenus in re subita parumper incertus trepidavit [5] utrum quinqueremem sequeretur 8 an in hostes rostra converteret. Ipsa cunctatio facultatem detractandae pugnae ademit; iam enim sub ictu teli erant, et undique instabant hostes. Aestus quoque arbitrium moderandi naves ademerat. Neque erat navali pugna [6] similis, quippe ubi nihil vo- 9 luntarium, nihil artis aut consilii esset. Una natura freti aestusque totius certaminis potens suis, alienis navibus nequiquam remigio in contrarium tendentes invehebat; et [7] fugientem navem videres vertice

[1] per proditionem *Sigonius, Eds.*: per dedit- $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: per dit- *Sp*: proditione *Froben* 2.
[2] Sed *om.* $P(1)N$.
[3] ex $A^{v}JK$: e *Froben* 2: *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.
[4] ac triremes *om.* $P(1)N$.
[5] trepidavit $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: -bat JK.
[6] pugna *Froben*: pugnae $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*.
[7] et $P(1)NJK$ *Eds.*: ut $A^{1}N^{1}K$ *Aldus, Froben, Luchs.*

[1] Cf. above, xxiii. 6.

the sea begins to open out after the narrow entrance. B.C. 206
Of Gades, as has been said above, he had hoped without a battle to gain possession by betrayal,[1] since men actually came into the Roman camp to make such a promise. But the betrayal was prematurely revealed, and Mago arrested all the conspirators and turned them over to Adherbal, the magistrate,[2] to be transported to Carthage. Adherbal placed the conspirators on a quinquereme and after sending it in advance, because it was slower than a trireme, himself followed with eight triremes at no great distance. The quinquereme was already entering the strait when Laelius, also on a quinquereme, sailed out from the harbour of Carteia followed by seven triremes, and steered for Adherbal and his triremes, feeling quite sure that the quinquereme, caught in the swift current of the strait, could not reverse its course in the face of the tide. The Carthaginian in the unexpected situation was troubled for the moment and uncertain whether to follow his quinquereme or to turn his prows towards the enemy. That hesitation in itself deprived him of the power to refuse a battle; for they were already within range and the enemy was pressing them from all sides. The tide also had deprived them of control of their ships. Nor was the fight like a naval battle; for here there was no initiative, no skill or strategy. The nature of the strait and its tide alone controlled the entire engagement, carrying men, vainly struggling to row in the opposite direction, against their own ships or those of the enemy. And one might have seen a fleeing ship swung about by a swirl

[2] *I.e.* one of the two *sufĕtes* and at the same time a general. Cf. xxxvii. 2 (at Gades); XXX. vii. 5.

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retro intortam victoribus inlatam, et sequentem, si in contrarium tractum incidisset maris, fugientis modo
10 sese avertentem. Iam in ipsa pugna haec, cum infesto[1] rostro peteret hostium navem, obliqua ipsa ictum alterius rostri accipiebat; illa, cum transversa obiceretur hosti, repente intorta in proram circumage-
11 batur. Cum inter triremes fortuna regente anceps proelium misceretur, quinqueremis Romana seu pondere tenacior, seu pluribus remorum ordinibus scindentibus vertices cum facilius regeretur, duas triremes suppressit, unius praelata impetu lateris
12 alterius remos detersit; ceterasque quas indepta esset mulcasset, ni cum reliquis quinque navibus Adherbal velis in Africam transmisisset.

XXXI. Laelius victor Carteiam revectus, auditis quae acta Gadibus erant—patefactam proditionem coniuratosque missos Carthaginem, spem ad inritum
2 redactam qua venissent—nuntiis ad L. Marcium missis, nisi si[2] terere frustra tempus sedendo ad Gades vellent, redeundum ad imperatorem esse, adsentiente Marcio paucos post dies ambo Cartha-
3 ginem rediere. Ad quorum discessum non respiravit

[1] infesto *JK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: infesta *P*(1)*N Conway.*
[2] si *om. N*²*J Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] If a quinquereme had but one bank of oars, each oar pulled by five men, as many now incline to believe, it remains unexplained how Livy in comparing a quinquereme in battle with triremes could simply say that the former had more *ordines remorum*, unless he thought that to be the case. In XXIV. xxxiv. 7 *exteriore ordine remorum* includes all the oars on one side of a ship but does not tell us whether in a single bank or in five. Certainly the quinquereme, however rowed, was a more impressive sight from the shore than a trireme even

and borne against the victors, and a pursuing ship, B.C. 206
if it chanced upon an opposite current, turning away as if in flight. In actual combat now one ship, aiming to ram a ship of the enemy with its beak, turning aslant would itself receive the blow of the other's beak. Another ship, exposing its beam to the enemy, would suddenly be swung and turned bow foremost. While between the triremes an indecisive battle controlled by chance was in progress, the Roman quinquereme, whether because she was steadier by reason of her weight or more easily steered as her more numerous banks of oars [1] cleft the whirling waters, sank two triremes and shooting past another swept away the oars on one side. In addition she would have seriously damaged the rest of the ships with which she had closed, had not Adherbal with five remaining ships crossed over to Africa under sail.

XXXI. Laelius as victor sailed back to Carteia, and on hearing of the occurrences at Gades—that the betrayal had been revealed and the conspirators sent to Carthage; that the hope in which they had come to him had been frustrated—he sent messengers to Lucius Marcius, saying that unless they wished to waste time to no purpose in idling before Gades, they must return to the commander-in-chief. As Marcius agreed, they both returned after a few days to (New) Carthage. Upon their departure Mago was not only

to a landlubber; cf. XXIX. xi. 4. For the whole question see A. Köster, *Das antike Seewesen* 143 ff.; and in Kromayer-Veith, *Heerwesen*, etc. 182 f.; 616 f.; W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Military and Naval Developments* 124 ff.; and in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXV. 137 ff., 156, 204 ff.; Starr, C. G., *Class. Philol.* XXXV. 353 ff.; 373.

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modo Mago, cum terra marique ancipiti metu urgeretur, sed etiam audita rebellione Ilergetum 4 spem recuperandae Hispaniae nanctus, nuntios Carthaginem ad senatum mittit qui simul seditionem civilem in castris Romanis, simul defectionem sociorum in maius verbis extollentes hortentur[1] ut auxilia mitterent quibus traditum a patribus imperium Hispaniae repeti posset.

5 Mandonius et Indibilis in fines regressi paulisper, dum quidnam de seditione statueretur scirent, suspensi quieverunt, si civium errori ignosceretur, non 6 diffidentes sibi quoque ignosci posse. Postquam volgata est atrocitas supplicii, suam quoque noxam 7 pari poena aestimatam rati, vocatis rursus ad arma popularibus contractisque quae ante habuerant auxiliis, in Sedetanum agrum, ubi principio defectionis stativa habuerant, cum viginti milibus peditum, duobus milibus[2] equitum et quingentis transcenderunt.

XXXII. Scipio, cum fide solvendi pariter omnibus noxiis innoxiisque stipendii tum voltu ac sermone in omnes placato facile reconciliatis militum animis, 2 priusquam castra ab Carthagine moveret, contione advocata multis verbis in perfidiam rebellantium 3 regulorum invectus, nequaquam eodem animo se ire

[1] hortentur *P*(1)*N Eds.*: hortarentur *M*[1]²*N*[4]*JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs.*
[2] peditum duobus milibus *om. P*(1)*N*.

[1] Cf. xxiv. 4.

relieved, since he was beset by a two-fold source of alarm, by sea and by land, but when he heard of the defection of the Ilergetes he conceived the hope also of recovering Spain. Accordingly he sent messengers to the senate at Carthage, to exaggerate at the same time both the mutiny of citizens in the Roman camp and the rebellion of allies, and to urge them to send auxiliaries, by whose help rule over Spain, which they had inherited from their fathers, could be recovered. B.C. 206

Mandonius and Indibilis returned into their own territory and for a time remained quietly on the alert, until they should know what decision was reached in regard to the mutiny, not without confidence that, if a misunderstanding on the part of Roman citizens should be pardoned, they themselves also might possibly be pardoned. After the harsh punishment came to be generally known, they thought that their guilt likewise was reckoned as deserving the same penalty. Recalling the men of their tribe to arms and assembling their previous auxiliaries, with twenty thousand infantry and two thousand five hundred cavalry they crossed into the land of the Sedetani,[1] where they had maintained a permanent camp at the beginning of the rebellion.

XXXII. Scipio by his conscientiousness in paying all his men, guilty and innocent alike, and more by his countenance and speech showing no resentment against any one, easily won the hearts of his soldiers. Before moving his camp away from (New) Carthage he summoned an assembly. There after inveighing at great length against the treachery of the chiefs in rebellion, he declared that in order to punish their crime he was setting out in a very different spirit

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professus est ad vindicandum id scelus quo civilem
4 errorem nuper sanaverit. Tum se haud secus quam viscera secantem sua cum gemitu et lacrimis triginta hominum capitibus expiasse octo milium seu imprudentiam seu noxam; nunc laeto et erecto animo
5 ad caedem Ilergetum ire. Non enim eos neque natos in eadem terra nec ulla secum societate iunctos esse; eam quae sola fuerit fidei atque amicitiae [1] ipsos
6 per scelus rupisse. In exercitu suo se, praeterquam quod omnes cives aut socios Latinique nominis videat, etiam eo moveri quod nemo fere sit miles qui non aut a patruo suo Cn. Scipione, qui primus Romani nominis in eam provinciam venerit, aut a patre
7 consule aut a se sit ex Italia advectus. Scipionum nomini auspiciisque [2] omnes adsuetos, quos secum in patriam ad meritum triumphum deducere velit, quos consulatum petenti, velut si omnium communis agatur honos, adfuturos speret.
8 Quod ad expeditionem [3] attineat quae instet, immemorem esse rerum suarum gestarum qui id bellum ducat. Magonis hercule sibi, qui extra orbem terrarum in circumfusam Oceano insulam cum paucis perfugerit navibus, maiorem curam esse quam Ilergetum; quippe illic et ducem Carthaginiensem et
9 quantumcumque Punicum praesidium esse, hic latrones latronumque duces, quibus ut ad populandos finitimorum agros tectaque urenda et rapienda

[1] fidei atque amicitiae *P*(1)*N*: -dem atque -tiam *N*[4]*JK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] -que *AN Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(3)*SpJK.*
[3] expeditionem, *after this Sp*?*N*[4]*JK Froben* 2 *add* eam.

[1] Cf. p. 141 and note.

from that in which he recently cured a misunderstanding on the part of citizens. At that time, he said, with sighing and tears, just as though he were cutting into his own vital organs, he had atoned by the lives of thirty men for the folly, or it might be the guilt, of eight thousand. But now with joy and exaltation of spirit he was advancing to the slaughter of the Ilergetes. For they had not been born in the same land, nor were they linked by any alliance with himself. The only bond which once existed, that of loyalty and friendship, they had themselves broken by their crime. As for his own army, he was stirred on seeing all the men in it citizens or allies and Latins, and also because there was hardly a soldier who had not been brought from Italy either by his uncle Gnaeus Scipio, who was the first of the Romans to come into that province, or by his father as consul, or by himself. They were all of them accustomed to the name and auspices of the Scipios, being men whom he would like to bring home to their country for a well-earned triumph, men who he hoped would support his canvass for the consulship, just as if an honour shared by all alike were at stake. B.C. 206

So far as concerned the enterprise now impending, he said, any man who considered it a war was forgetting their own achievements. Mago surely, who fled with a few ships beyond the known world to an island surrounded by the Ocean,[1] was a greater concern to him than the Ilergetes. For there it was a Carthaginian general and also a Punic force however small; here there were brigands and brigand chiefs, who might, to be sure, have considerable strength for ravaging the lands of neighbouring tribes and for burning houses and stealing cattle, but none

U.C. 548 pecora aliqua vis sit, ita in acie ac signis conlatis nullam esse; magis velocitate ad fugam quam armis
10 pugnaturos esse. Itaque non quod ullum inde periculum aut semen maioris belli videat, ideo se, priusquam provincia decedat, opprimendos Ilergetes
11 duxisse, sed primum ne inpunita tam scelerata defectio esset, deinde ne quis in provincia simul virtute tanta et felicitate perdomita relictus hostis dici
12 posset. Proinde deis bene iuvantibus sequerentur, non tam ad bellum gerendum—neque enim cum pari hoste certamen esse—quam ad expetendas ab hominibus scelestis poenas.

XXXIII. Ab hac oratione dimissos ad iter se comparare in diem posterum iubet, profectusque decumis castris pervenit ad Hiberum flumen. Inde superato amni die quarto in conspectu hostium posuit castra.
2 Campus ante montibus circa saeptus erat. In eam vallem Scipio cum pecora, rapta pleraque ex ipsorum [1] hostium agris, propelli ad inritandam feritatem bar-
3 barorum iussisset, velites subsidio misit, a quibus ubi per procursationem commissa pugna esset, Laelium cum equitatu impetum ex occulto facere iubet.
4 Mons opportune prominens equitum insidias texit, nec ulla mora pugnae facta est. Hispani in conspecta procul pecora, velites in Hispanos praeda occupatos
5 incurrere. Primo missilibus territavere; deinde missis levibus telis, quae inritare magis quam decer-

[1] ipsorum *N•JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N*.

at all in battle-line and when standards faced standards. In battle they would rely more upon swiftness in flight than upon arms. Accordingly it was not because he saw any danger from them or the seed of a greater war, that he had thought the Ilergetes must be overpowered before he left his province. It was in the first place in order that so criminal a rebellion might not go unpunished, and then that it might not possibly be said that any enemy had been left in a province which had been thoroughly conquered by such courage combined with such success. Wherefore with the kind aid of the gods let them follow him, not so much to carry on a war—for it was no conflict with a well-matched enemy—as to exact punishment from criminals. B.C. 206

XXXIII. Dismissing them after this speech, he ordered them to make ready for the march on the morrow; and setting out he came in ten stages to the river Hiberus. Then crossing the river, he pitched camp on the fourth day in sight of the enemy. In front was level ground hemmed in on this side and that by mountains. Into that valley Scipio first ordered men to drive cattle—mostly booty from the enemy's own farms—to tempt the barbarians' love of pillage, and then sent light-armed troops to their assistance. When these had begun the battle with a charge, he ordered Laelius to make an attack with cavalry from an ambush. A hill conveniently projecting concealed the ambsucade of cavalry, and the battle began without delay. The Spaniards, catching sight of cattle in the distance, dashed upon them, the light-armed upon the Spaniards busy with their plunder. At first they inspired alarm by their missiles; then abandoning their light weapons, which

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nere pugnam poterant, gladios nudant, et conlato pede res coepta geri est; ancepsque [1] pedestre certamen erat, ni [2] equites supervenissent. Neque ex adverso tantum inlati obvios obtrivere, sed circumvecti etiam quidam per infima clivi ab tergo se, ut plerosque intercluderent, obiecerunt,[3] maiorque caedes fuit quam quantam edere levia per excursiones proelia solent.

7 Ira magis accensa adverso proelio barbaris est quam imminuti animi. Itaque ne perculsi [4] viderentur, prima luce postero die in aciem processere. Non capiebat omnes copias angusta, sicut ante dictum est, valles; duae ferme peditum partes et [5] omnis equitatus in aciem descendit; quod relicum peditum erat obliquo constituerunt [6] colle. Scipio, pro se esse loci angustias ratus, et quod in arto pugna Romano aptior quam Hispano militi futura videbatur, et quod in eum locum detracta hostium acies esset qui non omnem multitudinem eorum caperet, novo etiam consilio adiecit animum; equitem nec se posse circumdare cornibus in tam angusto spatio, et hosti quem cum pedite deduxisset inutilem fore. Itaque imperat Laelio ut per colles quam occultissimo itinere circumducat equites segregetque quantum possit [7] equestrem a pedestri pugnam; ipse omnia signa peditum in hostes vertit; quattuor cohortes in fronte statuit, quia latius pandere aciem non poterat. Moram

[1] pede . . . ancepsque *om.* $P(1)N$, *two lines probably, supplied from* $A^{t}N^{t}JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] ni $P^{1}CJK$ *Froben* 2: nisi $P(3)N$ *Aldus.*
[3] obiecerunt $P(3)M^{1}N$ *Aldus*: -cere JK *Froben* 2.
[4] perculsi $Sp?A^{t?}JK$ *Froben* 2: pulsi $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*
[5] et $A^{z}JK$: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[6] constituerunt $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -stiterunt $M^{3}Sp?JK$ *Froben* 2.
[7] possit $ANJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: posset $P(3)$.

could provoke rather than decide the battle, they B.C. 206
drew their swords and began fighting at close quarters. And the infantry battle would have remained doubtful if the cavalry had not arrived. Not only did they trample down those they met by a frontal attack, but some also rode round along the lowest part of the slope and made an attack in the rear, so that they cut off a good many; and the slaughter was greater than unimportant skirmishes usually cause.

This defeat kindled the anger of the barbarians, instead of diminishing their courage. Consequently, not to appear daunted, they went out into battle-line at daybreak the next day. The valley being narrow, as stated above, had no room for all the forces. About two-thirds of the infantry and all the cavalry came down into line. The remainder of their infantry they stationed on the slope of the hill. Scipio, who thought the limited space was to his advantage, both because a battle at close range seemed likely to be better suited to the Roman than to the Spanish soldier, also because the enemy's line had been enticed down into a position which did not have room for all of their multitude, turned his attention to a further new plan. He could not place his cavalry on the wings, he thought, in so limited a space, and the enemy would have no use of the cavalry they had brought down with their infantry. Therefore he ordered Laelius to lead his cavalry about over the hills, taking the road that was best hidden, and to separate the cavalry battle, so far as he could, from that of the infantry. As for himself, he made all his infantry units face the enemy; four cohorts he placed in the front line, since he was unable to extend his line to a greater length. He did not delay

u.c. 548 pugnandi nullam fecit, ut ipso certamine averteret ab conspectu transeuntium per colles equitum. Neque ante circumductos sensere quam tumultum equestris
14 pugnae ab tergo accepere. Ita duo diversa [1] proelia erant; duae peditum acies, duo equitatus per longitudinem campi, quia misceri ex genere utroque proelium angustiae non patiebantur, pugnabant.
15 Hispanorum cum neque pedes equiti neque eques pediti auxilio esset, pedes fiducia equitis temere commissus campo caederetur, eques circumventus nec peditem a fronte—iam enim stratae pedestres copiae erant—nec ab tergo equitem sustineret, et ipsi, cum diu in orbem sese stantibus equis defendissent, ad unum omnes caesi sunt, nec quisquam peditum equitumve superfuit qui in valle pugna-
16 verunt. Tertia pars, quae in colle ad spectaculum magis tutum quam ad partem pugnae capessendam steterat, et locum et tempus ad fugiendum habuit.
17 Inter eos et reguli ipsi fugerunt, priusquam tota circumveniretur acies inter tumultum elapsi.

XXXIV. Castra eodem die Hispanorum, praeter ceteram praedam, cum tribus ferme milibus hominum
2 capiuntur. Romani sociique ad mille et [2] ducenti eo [3] proelio ceciderunt; volnerata amplius tria milia hominum. Minus cruenta victoria fuisset, si patentiore campo et ad fugam capessendam facili foret pugnatum.

[1] diversa *N**JK *Aldus, Froben* : *om. P*(1)*N*.
[2] et *JK* (*with* ducentos) : *om. P*(1)*N*.
[3] eo, *before this Conway restores* in, *found in C and suggested by the* ducentii *of P*(3)(-ti P^{x}).

beginning the engagement, in order to divert B.C. 206
attention by the battle itself from the sight of the cavalry crossing over the hills; and they were not aware that the horsemen had outflanked them until they heard the din of a cavalry battle in their rear. Thus there were two distinct battles; two infantry lines, two cavalry forces, were fighting down the length of the level ground, since the narrow space did not permit a battle that combined both arms. On the Spanish side neither did infantry aid cavalry nor cavalry infantry; the foot-soldiers, who in reliance upon the cavalry had been rashly posted on the level ground, were cut to pieces; the cavalry, being outflanked, were neither withstanding Roman infantry in front—for their own infantry were already overwhelmed—nor Roman cavalry in the rear. Consequently the horsemen also, after they had formed a circle and with their horses at a standstill had defended themselves for a long time, were all slain to a man; and not one of their foot or horse that fought in the valley survived. Only a third of them, having stood on the hill, to look on in safety rather than to take part in the battle, had both a suitable position and time for flight. Among them the princes also fled, having slipped away in the confusion before the entire line should be surrounded.

XXXIV. The camp of the Spaniards was captured the same day, with about three thousand men in addition to other booty. Of the Romans and allies about twelve hundred fell in that battle; more than three thousand men were wounded. The victory would have been less bloody if the battle had been fought on a more open ground affording an easy escape.

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3 Indibilis abiectis belli consiliis nihil tutius in adflictis rebus experta fide et clementia Scipionis
4 ratus, Mandonium fratrem ad eum mittit; qui advolutus genibus fatalem rabiem temporis eius accusat, cum velut contagione quadam pestifera non Ilergetes modo et Lacetani, sed castra quoque
5 Romana insanierint. Suam quidem et fratris et reliquorum popularium eam condicionem esse ut aut, si ita videatur, reddant spiritum P. Scipioni ab eodem illo acceptum, aut servati bis uni debitam vitam pro
6 eo in perpetuum devoveant. Antea in causa sua fiduciam sibi fuisse nondum experta clementia eius; nunc contra nullam in causa, omnem in misericordia victoris spem positam [1] habere.

7 Mos vetustus erat Romanis, cum quo nec foedere nec aequis legibus iungeretur amicitia, non prius imperio in eum tamquam pacatum uti quam omnia divina humanaque dedidisset, obsides accepti, arma
8 adempta, praesidia urbibus imposita forent. Scipio multis invectus in praesentem Mandonium absentemque Indibilem verbis, illos quidem merito perisse ipsorum maleficio ait, victuros suo atque populi
9 Romani beneficio. Ceterum se neque arma iis adempturum [2] neque obsides imperaturum [3]—quippe ea pignera timentium rebellionem esse; se libera
10 arma relinquere, solutos animos—neque se [4] in

[1] positam $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: repositam *Sp²N¹JK Froben* 2.
[2] se . . . adempturum *om.* $P(1)N$: *supplied by* A^1N^1JK *Aldus, Froben.*
[3] neque . . . imperaturum *om.* $P(1)NJK$ *old Eds.*: *supplied by Weissenborn.*
[4] se $P(1)NJK$ *Eds.*: *rejected by Conway.*

Indibilis, having discarded his plans for war, B.C. 206
thought no refuge safer in his distress than Scipio's honesty and mercy, of which he had had experience, and sent his brother Mandonius to him. Mandonius, clasping Scipio's knees, laid the blame upon the fateful madness of a time in which some pestilent epidemic had frenzied not merely the Ilergetes and Lacetani but also a Roman camp. As for himself, indeed, and his brother and the rest of their countrymen, such was their situation that they should either give back to Publius Scipio, if he approved, the life they had received also from him, or, if spared twice, they should perpetually devote to him the lives they owed to him alone. Formerly, when they had as yet no experience of his mercy, they had confidence in their cause. Now, however, they had no hope, he said, in their cause, but rested it all on the pity of the victor.

The old custom of the Romans in establishing peaceful relations with a people neither on the basis of a treaty nor on equal terms had been this: not to exert its authority over that people, as now pacified, until it had surrendered everything divine and human, until hostages had been received, arms taken away and garrisons posted in its cities. Scipio, however, after inveighing at length against Mandonius, who was present, and the absent Indibilis, said that in consequence of their own misdeeds they had surely deserved to die; that they should live by his kindness and that of the Roman people. But he would not take away their arms nor demand hostages; for those were the pledges for men who feared a rebellion, whereas he was leaving them their arms without restriction, their minds relieved of fear. And if they

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obsides innoxios, sed in ipsos, si defecerint, saeviturum, nec ab inermi, sed ab armato hoste poenas expetiturum. Utramque fortunam[1] expertis permittere sese utrum propitios an iratos habere Ro-
11 manos mallent. Ita dimissus Mandonius pecunia tantummodo imperata ex qua stipendium militi
12 praestari posset. Ipse Marcio in ulteriorem Hispaniam praemisso, Silano Tarraconem remisso[2] paucos moratus dies, dum imperatam pecuniam Ilergetes pernumerarent, cum expeditis Marcium iam adpropinquantem Oceano adsequitur.

XXXV. Incohata res iam ante de Masinissa aliis atque aliis de causis dilata erat, quod Numida cum ipso utique congredi Scipione volebat atque eius dextra fidem sancire; ea tum itineris tam longi ac
2 tam devii causa Scipioni fuit. Masinissa cum Gadibus esset, certior adventare eum a Marcio factus, causando corrumpi equos inclusos in insula penuriamque omnium rerum et facere ceteris et ipsos sentire,
3 ad hoc equitem marcescere desidia, Magonem[3] perpulit ut se traicere in continentem ad depopu-
4 landos proximos Hispaniae agros pateretur. Transgressus tres principes Numidarum praemittit ad

[1] expetiturum. Utramque fortunam *A'N'JK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P*(1)*N*.

[2] Silano . . . remisso $A^{6?}N'JK$: *om. P*(1)*N*.

[3] Magonem *om. P*(1)*NJK* : *supplied by z* (1518) : *Conway would prefer* Poenorum praefectum, *one line*.

[1] Gades, the oldest Phoenician city in the West (possibly 300 years older than Carthage), was built at first on a very small island at the north-west end of a long narrow island tapering away to the south-south-east. In later times the harbour was closed in that direction by the slow action of Atlantic tides, so that the long island became a peninsula. The city,

should revolt his wrath would be directed, not against innocent hostages, but against themselves, and he would exact punishment, not from an unarmed, but from an armed enemy. As they had known both kinds of fortune, he gave them their choice, whether they preferred to find the Romans kindly disposed or angry. Thus Mandonius was dismissed with no other demand than money, that the soldiers might receive their pay. After sending Marcius ahead into Farther Spain and Silanus back to Tarraco, Scipio delayed a few days for the Ilergetes to pay the whole amount demanded, and then with an unencumbered force overtook Marcius as he was now approaching the Ocean. B.C. 206

XXXV. Dealings which had to do with Masinissa, begun even before this time, had been postponed on one pretext or another because the Numidian desired in any case to meet Scipio in person and to ratify the agreement by clasping his hand. That was Scipio's reason at this time for a march so long and so circuitous. Masinissa, being at Gades and informed by Marcius of Scipio's approach, pretended that the horses, being shut up on an island,[1] were deteriorating and not only causing a general scarcity for the rest but also themselves suffering from it. Adding that the horsemen were losing their vigour from inaction, he prevailed upon Mago to permit him to cross over to the mainland in order to lay waste the nearest lands in Spain. After crossing over he sent three prominent Numidians in advance to fix a time and

[1] now Cadiz, is separated from the mainland to the east (at the Trocadero) by a channel three-fourths of a mile wide. Cf. Strabo III. v. 3; Mela III. 46; Pliny *N.H.* IV. 119 f.; Schulten in *Arch. Anzeiger* 1927, pp. 203 ff. (maps).

u.c. 548 tempus locumque conloquio statuendum. Duos pro obsidibus retineri ab Scipione iubet; remisso tertio qui quo iussus erat adduceret Masinissam, cum paucis
5 in conloquium venerunt. Ceperat iam ante Numidam ex fama rerum gestarum admiratio viri, substitueratque animo speciem quoque corporis amplam ac
6 magnificam; ceterum maior praesentis veneratio cepit, et, praeterquam quod suapte natura multa maiestas inerat, adornabat promissa caesaries habitusque corporis non cultus munditiis, sed virilis vere
7 ac militaris, et aetas erat in medio virium robore, quod plenius nitidiusque ex morbo velut renovatus flos iuventae faciebat.
8 Prope attonitus ipso congressu Numida gratias de fratris filio remisso agit. Ex eo tempore adfirmat eam se quaesisse occasionem quam tandem oblatam
9 deum immortalium beneficio non omiserit. Cupere se illi populoque Romano operam navare ita ut nemo unus externus magis enixe adiuverit rem Romanam.
10 Id se, etiamsi iam pridem vellet, minus praestare in Hispania, aliena atque ignota terra,[1] potuisse; in qua autem genitus educatusque in spem paterni regni
11 esset, facile praestaturum. Si quidem eundem Scipionem ducem in Africam Romani mittant, satis
12 sperare perbrevis aevi Carthaginem esse. Laetus eum Scipio vidit audivitque, cum caput rerum in omni hostium equitatu Masinissam fuisse sciret, et

[1] terra, *here P*(1)*N Eds.*: *before* aliena *JK Froben* 2, *Conway*: *in both places* N^1.

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[1] Here a brother's son, while according to XXVII. xix. 9, perhaps from a different source, Massiva would be a sister's son.

place for a conference. He gave instructions that B.C. 206
two were to be kept by Scipio as hostages. When the third had been sent back to conduct Masinissa to the place indicated in the order, they came with a small escort to the conference. The Numidian had already been filled with admiration for the man in consequence of his reported achievements, and had conjured up in mind an ideal figure, tall and stately. But greater still was the reverence that possessed him for the man in his presence; and while Scipio had great natural dignity, long hair added charm, as did a general appearance not due to studied elegance, but truly masculine and soldierly; and his age was exactly at the height of physical strength, amplified and made more dazzling by the youthful bloom which appeared to have been renewed after his illness.

Almost dazed by merely meeting him, the Numidian thanked him for sending home his nephew.[1] From that time on, he said, he had sought the opportunity which he did not let slip when at last it was presented him by the favour of the immortal gods. He was eager to give such services to Scipio and the Roman people that no individual foreigner would have aided the Roman state with more ardour. That aid, although he had long wished to give it, he had been unable to furnish in Spain, a foreign and unknown land. But in the land in which he had been born and brought up in the hope of inheriting his father's kingdom, he would easily furnish it. If indeed the Romans should send Scipio as commander into Africa as well he was quite confident that Carthage would be very short-lived. Scipio was glad to see and hear him, since he knew that in the entire cavalry of the enemy Masinissa had been the soul

a.u.c. 548 ipse iuvenis specimen animi prae se ferret. Fide data acceptaque profectus retro Tarraconem est.
13 Masinissa permissu Romanorum, ne sine causa traiecisse in continentem videretur, populatus proximos agros Gades rediit.

XXXVI. Magoni desperatis in Hispania rebus, in quarum spem seditio primum militaris, deinde defectio Indibilis animos eius sustulerant, paranti traicere in Africam nuntiatum ab Carthagine est iubere senatum ut classem quam Gadibus haberet in
2 Italiam traiceret; conducta ibi Gallorum ac Ligurum quanta maxima posset iuventute coniungeret se[1] Hannibali neu senescere bellum maximo impetu,
3 maiore fortuna coeptum sineret. Ad eam rem et a Carthagine pecunia Magoni advecta est, et ipse quantam potuit a Gaditanis exegit, non aerario modo eorum sed etiam templis spoliatis, et privatim omnibus coactis aurum argentumque in publicum conferre.
4 Cum praeterveheretur Hispaniae oram, haud procul Carthagine Nova expositis in terram militibus proximos depopulatur[2] agros; inde ad urbem classem
5 adpulit. Ibi cum interdiu milites in navibus tenuisset, nocte in litus expositos ad partem eam muri qua capta Carthago ab Romanis fuerat, ducit, nec praesidio satis valido urbem teneri ratus et aliquos

[1] se *om.* $P(1)N$: *supplied by A'JK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] depopulatur $P(3)N$ *Eds.* : -tus *BDJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs.*

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[1] Including the famous temple of Hercules, 12 miles south of the city, on a very small peninsula, now an island (Santipetri). Cf. XXI. xxi. 9; Strabo *l.c. sub fin.*; Mela *l.c.*; Schulten *op. cit.* 1922, pp. 38 ff.; 1927, p. 211.

of everything, and in himself the young man showed B.C. 206
clear evidence of his spirit. After giving and receiving promises Scipio set out on the return to Tarraco. Masinissa by permission of the Romans, that he might not appear to have crossed to the mainland without reason, devastated the nearest lands and returned to Gades.

XXXVI. Just as Mago, who had despaired of success in Spain—a hope to which first the mutiny of the soldiers and then the rebellion of Indibilis had raised his spirits—was preparing to cross over to Africa, word reached him from Carthage that the senate commanded him to take the fleet which he had at Gades over to Italy. There he was ordered to hire the greatest possible number of young Gauls and Ligurians, to join Hannibal and not permit a war that had been begun with the greatest vigour and even greater good fortune to decline now. For that purpose money was brought to Mago from Carthage, and in addition he himself exacted all that he could from the citizens of Gades by plundering not merely their treasury but also the temples,[1] and by compelling all private owners to contribute gold and silver to the public funds.

As he was sailing along the coast of Spain he landed soldiers not far from New Carthage and laid waste the nearest farms; then he brought his fleet up to the city. There after keeping the soldiers on shipboard during the day, he landed them on the shore by night and led them to that part of the wall where (New) Carthage had been stormed by the Romans.[2] For he thought the city was not held by a garrison of sufficient strength, also that with the

[2] Cf. XXVI. xlv. 7 ff.; xlvi. 2.

U.C. 48 oppidanorum ad spem novandi res aliquid moturos.
6 Ceterum nuntii ex agris trepidi simul populationem
agrestiumque fugam et hostium adventum adtule-
7 rant, et visa interdiu classis erat, nec sine causa
electam ante urbem stationem apparebat. Itaque
instructi armatique intra portam ad stagnum ac
8 mare versam continebantur. Ubi effusi hostes, mixta
inter milites navalis turba, ad muros tumultu maiore
quam vi subierunt, patefacta repente porta Romani
9 cum clamore erumpunt, turbatosque hostes et ad pri-
mum incursum coniectumque telorum aversos usque
10 ad litus cum multa caede persequuntur; nec, nisi
naves litori adpulsae trepidos accepissent, super-
11 fuisset fugae aut pugnae quisquam. In ipsis quoque
trepidatum navibus est, dum, ne hostes cum suis
simul inrumperent, trahunt scalas, orasque et
ancoras, ne in moliendo mora esset, praecidunt;
12 multique adnantes navibus, incerto prae tenebris
quid aut peterent aut vitarent, foede interierunt.
13 Postero die cum classis inde retro ad Oceanum, unde
venerat, fugisset, ad octingenti[1] homines caesi inter
murum litusque et ad duo milia armorum inventa.

[1] octingenti $P(1)N$ *Drakenborch, Conway*: -tos A^5*?Eds.*: decc JK.

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[1] Inexact, for the gate at the west end of the city beneath the citadel of Hasdrubal faced neither lagoon nor sea. It merely gave access to a bridge over the canal (outlet of the lagoon) and so by diverging roads to the *stagnum* or to the harbour. See plan in Vol. VII; Scullard, 298 f.

[2] Used in place of gang-planks. Cf. *Bell. Alex.* 20. 4; Theocr. 22. 30.

[3] From stern to shore; XXII. xix. 10; Quint. IV. ii. 41. Bows were headed seaward and held by *ancoralia* (here

prospect of changing sides many of the townspeople B.C. 206
would take an active part. But messengers coming in alarm from the country had brought news at the same time of lands laid waste and farmers fleeing and the enemy approaching. By day the fleet also had been seen, and it was evident that an anchorage before the city had not been chosen without reason. Accordingly the men were kept drawn up under arms inside the gate which faced the lagoon and the sea.[1] When the enemy pouring out of the ships—a mob of sailors mingling with the soldiers—approached the walls with an uproar out of proportion to their power the Romans suddenly opened the gate and burst out with a shout, threw the enemy into confusion, routed them at the first charge and the first volley of their missiles and pursued them down to the shore with great slaughter. And if the ships moored to the shore had not received them in their alarm not a man would have survived the flight and the battle. Even on the ships also there was confusion while, to prevent the enemy from dashing on board along with their own men, they were drawing in the ladders [2] and cutting hawsers [3] and cables, to avoid delay in getting away. And many perished miserably while swimming towards the ships, as in the darkness it was not clear what they should make for and what they should avoid. On the next day, when the fleet had slipped away, returning towards the Ocean from which it had come, about eight hundred bodies and some two thousand weapons were found between the wall and the shore.

ancorae by the same figure of speech as "shores" for "shore cables"). Cf. XXXVII. xxx. 10.

U.C. 548

XXXVII. Mago cum Gades repetisset, exclusus inde, ad Cimbios—haud procul a Gadibus is locus abest—classe adpulsa, mittendis legatis querendoque quod portae sibi socio atque amico clausae forent, 2 purgantibus iis multitudinis concursu factum, infestae ob direpta quaedam ab conscendentibus naves militibus, ad conloquium sufetes eorum, qui summus Poenis est magistratus, cum quaestore elicuit, laceratosque 3 verberibus cruci adfigi iussit. Inde navibus ad Pityusam insulam centum milia ferme a continenti— 4 Poeni tum eam incolebant—traiecit. Itaque classis bona cum pace accepta est, nec commeatus modo benigne praebiti, sed in supplementum classis iuventus armaque data. Quorum fiducia Poenus in Baliares insulas—quinquaginta inde milia absunt—tramisit. 5 Duae sunt Baliares insulae,[1] maior altera atque opulentior armis virisque; et portum habet, ubi commode hibernaturum se—et iam extremum autumni erat— 6 credebat.[2] Ceterum haud secus quam si Romani eam insulam incolerent hostiliter classi occursum est. Fundis ut nunc plurimum, ita tum solo eo telo utebantur, nec quisquam alterius gentis unus tantum ea arte quantum inter alios omnes[3] Baliares excellunt. 7 Itaque tanta vis lapidum creberrimae grandinis modo

[1] insulae $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*: *om.* Sp^2JK *Froben* 2.
[2] credebat $P(1)N$ *Eds.*: censebat Sp^2N^4JK *Froben* 2, *Conway.*
[3] alios omnes $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*: omnes alios JK *Conway*: alias omnes *Gronovius.*

[1] Mentioned here only.
[2] The larger (now Iviza) separated by a narrow strait from a smaller island also called Ebusus. Cf. XXII. xx. 7; Pliny *N.H.* III. 76, 78; Strabo III. v. 1; Mela II. 125; Diodorus Sic. V. 16.

XXXVII. Mago, upon his return to Gades finding himself shut out of the city, put in with his fleet to Cimbii,[1] a place not far from Gades. He sent emissaries and complained because the gates had been closed against him, an ally and friend. The Gaditani tried to excuse themselves, saying it was done by a mob enraged on account of some looting committed by the soldiers as they were embarking. He thereupon enticed their *sufĕtes*—the highest magistrates among the Phoenicians—together with the treasurer to a conference and ordered them to be scourged and crucified. Then he crossed over on his ships to the island of Pityusa,[2] about a hundred miles from the mainland. Carthaginians at that time inhabited the island; consequently the fleet was received on friendly terms, and not only were supplies generously furnished but young men to recruit the fleet, and arms also were given. Relying upon these the Carthaginian crossed over to the Balearic Islands, fifty miles away. B.C. 206

There are two Balearic Islands,[3] one larger and richer in arms and men. It has a harbour also, where Mago—and it was now the end of autumn—believed he could winter comfortably. But an attack was made on the fleet, just as if the inhabitants of the island were Romans. The sling, now their most used weapon, was then their only one, and not a single man in any other tribe so excels in the art of using it as do all the Balearic Islanders in comparison with other peoples. Accordingly such a volley of stones,

[3] Now Mallorca and Menorca, 30 miles apart, the former with its towns, Palma and Pollentia (Pollenzo); Mela II. 124 and the others just cited.

u.c. 548 in propinquantem iam terrae classem effusa est ut intrare portum non ausi averterent in altum naves. 8 In minorem inde Baliarium insulam traiecerunt, fer- 9 tilem agro, viris armis haud aeque validam. Itaque egressi navibus super portum loco munito castra locant; ac sine certamine urbe agroque potiti, duobus milibus auxiliarium inde conscriptis [1] missisque Carthaginem, ad hibernandum naves subduxerunt. 10 Post Magonis ab Oceani ora discessum Gaditani Romanis deduntur.

XXXVIII. Haec in Hispania P. Scipionis ductu auspicioque gesta. Ipse L. Lentulo et L. Manlio Acidino propraetoribus [2] provincia tradita decem 2 navibus Romam rediit, et senatu extra urbem dato in aede Bellonae quas res in Hispania gessisset disseruit, quotiens signis conlatis dimicasset, quot oppida ex hostibus vi cepisset, quas gentes in dicio- 3 nem populi Romani redegisset; adversus quattuor se imperatores, quattuor victores exercitus in Hispaniam isse; neminem Carthaginiensem in iis terris 4 reliquisse. Ob has res gestas magis temptata est triumphi spes quam petita pertinaciter, quia neminem ad eam diem triumphasse qui sine magistratu res 5 gessisset constabat. Senatu misso urbem est in-

[1] conscriptis: *on the misplaced passage in P beginning here cf.* p. 212, n. 3.

[2] propraetoribus C^2 *or* C^3 *Alschefski, Walters*: pro *P*(3): *om.* P^1*? or* P^2*MANJK Eds.*

[1] Both had been praetors (in 211 and 210 B.C. respectively) but were not technically propraetors, having been sent out as private citizens *cum imperio*, thus having the rank and authority of proconsuls. Such was Scipio's own status. Cf. XXIX. xii. 2; xiii. 7; XXXI. xx. 4 (Vol. IX. p. 59 and note).

like the densest hail, was rained upon the fleet now B.C. 206
approaching land that, not venturing to enter the harbour, they headed their ships out to sea. Thereupon they crossed over to the smaller of the Balearic Islands, fertile in its land, not so strong in men and arms. Disembarking, therefore, they pitched camp in a strong position above the harbour. And having gained possession of the city and its territory without a battle they enlisted two thousand auxiliaries from there, sent them to Carthage and beached their ships to spend the winter. After Mago's retirement from the coast of the Ocean Gades surrendered to the Romans.

XXXVIII. Such were the results in Spain under the command and auspices of Publius Scipio. Turning over the province to Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus, the propraetors,[1] Scipio himself returned to Rome with ten ships. And when a session of the senate was granted him in the Temple of Bellona[2] outside the city, he set forth his achievements in Spain; how many times he had fought pitched battles; how many towns he had taken by force from the enemy; what tribes he had subjected to the sway of the Roman people. He had gone to Spain, he said, against four generals-in-command,[3] against four victorious armies; he had left not a Carthaginian in that country. For these achievements he sought the desired triumph but did not make an insistent demand, because it was established that down to that time no one who had commanded without being a magistrate had triumphed. The senate having

[2] Cf. ix. 5 and note.
[3] Cf. xxviii. 9, note.

B.C. 48 gressus, argentique prae se in aerarium tulit quattuordecim[1] milia pondo trecenta quadraginta duo et
6 signati argenti magnum numerum. Comitia inde creandis consulibus habuit L. Veturius Philo, centuriaeque omnes ingenti favore P. Cornelium Scipionem[2] consulem dixerunt; collega additur ei
7 P. Licinius Crassus pontifex maximus. Ceterum comitia maiore quam ulla per id bellum celebrata
8 frequentia proditum memoriae est. Convenerant undique non suffragandi modo, sed etiam spectandi causa P. Scipionis, concurrebantque et domum frequentes et in Capitolium ad immolantem eum, cum centum bubus votis in Hispania Iovi sacrificaret;
9 spondebantque[3] animis, sicut C. Lutatius superius bellum Punicum finisset, ita id quod instaret P. Cor-
10 nelium finiturum, atque uti Hispania omni Poenos expulisset, sic Italia pulsurum esse; Africamque ei, perinde ac debellatum in Italia foret, provinciam de-
11 stinabant. Praetoria inde comitia habita. Creati duo qui tum aediles plebis erant, Sp. Lucretius et Cn. Octavius, et ex privatis Cn.[4] Servilius Caepio et L. Aemilius Papus.

B.C. 49 12 Quarto decimo anno Punici belli P. Cornelius Scipio et P. Licinius Crassus ut consulatum inierunt, nominatae consulibus provinciae sunt, Sicilia Scipioni

[1] quattuordecim N^2x *Conway*: decem quattuor $P(1)N$ *Eds*; *cf.* p. 14, *crit. note* 3; XXVI. xlix. 3; XXIX. ii. 17.
[2] Scipionem, *with the nomen omitted except in JK* (*J omitting* Scipionem), *and so in* § 8; *cf.* xxxix. 9.
[3] spondebantque $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: despon- *Sp²JK Froben* 2.
[4] Octavius . . . Cn. *om.* $P(1)N$: *supplied by* A^cN^cJK *Eds.*

[1] As being a private citizen; cf. Vol. VII. p. 80, n. 1; XXXII. vii. 4.

adjourned, he entered the city on foot,[1] and before B.C. 206
him he caused fourteen thousand three hundred and forty-two pounds of silver to be carried to the treasury, and a great number of silver coins. Then an election for the choice of consuls was conducted by Lucius Veturius Philo, and all the centuries with great enthusiasm named Publius Cornelius Scipio consul. As his colleague he was given Publius Licinius Crassus, the pontifex maximus. The election was thronged, it is further related, by greater numbers than any other during that war. From every side they had come together, not only to vote but also to get a sight of Publius Scipio, and they flocked in large numbers both to his house [2] and to him on the Capitol as he was sacrificing, offering up to Jupiter the hundred oxen he had vowed in Spain. They promised themselves also that, just as Gaius Lutatius had finished the former Punic war, so Publius Cornelius would finish the war that was upon them; and that as he had driven the Carthaginians entirely out of Spain, so he would drive them out of Italy; further assuring themselves that Africa should be his province, just as if the war in Italy were over. Then the election of praetors was held. Two who at that time were plebeian aediles were elected, Spurius Lucretius and Gnaeus Octavius, and from private life Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Lucius Aemilius Papus.

In the fourteenth year of the Punic war, at the B.C. 205
time Publius Cornelius Scipio and Publius Licinius Crassus entered upon their consulship, the consuls' provinces were designated, Sicily for Scipio—

[2] It was south of the Forum, just behind the Tabernae Veteres; XLIV. xvi. 10.

U.C. 549 extra sortem, concedente collega, quia sacrorum cura pontificem maximum in Italia retinebat, Bruttii
13 Crasso. Tum praetoriae provinciae in sortem coniectae. Urbana Cn. Servilio obtigit, Ariminum—ita Galliam appellabant—Sp. Lucretio, Sicilia L. Aemilio, Cn. Octavio Sardinia.
14 Senatus in Capitolio habitus. Ibi referente P. Scipione senatus consultum factum est ut, quos ludos inter seditionem militarem in Hispania vovisset, ex ea pecunia quam ipse in aerarium detulisset faceret.

XXXIX. Tum Saguntinorum legatos in senatum introduxit. Ex eis maximus natu: "Etsi nihil ultra malorum est, patres conscripti, quam quod passi sumus, ut ad ultimum fidem vobis praestaremus, tamen ea vestra merita imperatorumque vestrorum erga nos fuerunt ut nos cladium nostrarum non
2 paeniteat. Bellum propter nos suscepistis, susceptum quartum decimum annum tam pertinaciter geritis ut saepe ad ultimum discrimen et ipsi veneritis
3 et populum Carthaginiensem adduxeritis. Cum in Italia tam atrox bellum et Hannibalem hostem haberetis, consulem cum exercitu in Hispaniam velut ad conligendas[1] reliquias naufragii nostri
4 misistis. P. et Cn. Cornelii, ex quo in provinciam venerunt, nullo tempore destiterunt quae nobis secunda quaeque adversa hostibus nostris essent
5 facere. Iam omnium primum oppidum nobis restituerunt; per omnem Hispaniam cives nostros venum

[1] conligendas (col-) *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds.*: conciliandas *SpN*²(*altern.*)*JK Conway.*

[1] Cf. ix. 1, note.
[2] Cf. Vol. VII. p. 2, note; XXIV. x. 1; XXX. xxvii. 1.

without casting lots, as his colleague gave way B.C. 205
because the charge of religious rites kept a pontifex maximus in Italy—and the land of the Bruttians for Crassus. Then the praetorian assignments were determined by lot. The city praetorship fell to Gnaeus Servilius, Ariminum[1]—so they used to designate Gaul—to Spurius Lucretius, Sicily to Lucius Aemilius, Sardinia to Gnaeus Octavius.

The senate met on the Capitol.[2] There, the question being raised by Publius Scipio, a decree of the senate was passed that the games which he had vowed during the mutiny of the soldiers in Spain should be celebrated by him, drawing upon the money which he had himself brought into the treasury.

XXXIX. Thereupon he presented the ambassadors from Saguntum. The eldest of these spoke as follows: "Although no calamity exists which goes beyond what we have suffered, conscript fathers, in our desire to keep our faith with you to the very end, nevertheless, such have been your services and those of your generals towards us that we do not regret our disasters. You undertook the war on our account; having undertaken it you have carried it on with such persistence through thirteen years that often you yourselves reached the extreme of danger and brought the Carthaginian people often to the same pass. Although in Italy you had so terrible a war and Hannibal as your enemy, you sent a consul with his army into Spain, as if to gather up the flotsam of our shipwreck. Publius Cornelius and Gnaeus Cornelius from the time when they came into the province never ceased doing what was in our favour and against our enemies. First of all they restored our city to us; they sent men all over Spain in search of

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datos dimissis qui conquirerent, ex servitute in
6 libertatem restituerunt. Cum iam prope esset ut optabilem ex miserrima fortunam[1] haberemus, P. et Cn. Cornelii imperatores vestri luctuosius nobis prope[2] quam vobis perierunt.

7 "Tum vero ad hoc retracti ex distantibus locis in sedem antiquam videbamur ut iterum periremus et al-
8 terum excidium patriae videremus—nec ad perniciem nostram Carthaginiensi utique aut duce aut exercitu opus esse; ab Turdulis nos, veterrimis hostibus, qui prioris quoque excidii causa nobis fuerant, exstingui
9 posse—cum ex insperato repente misistis nobis hunc P. Scipionem, quem fortunatissimi omnium Saguntinorum videmur, quia consulem declaratum videmus ac vidisse nos civibus nostris renuntiaturi sumus,
10 spem, opem,[3] salutem nostram; qui cum plurimas hostium vestrorum cepisset in Hispania urbes, ubique ex captorum numero excretos Saguntinos in
11 patriam remisit; postremo Turdetaniam, adeo infestam nobis ut illa gente incolumi stare Saguntum non posset, ita bello adflixit ut non modo nobis, sed[4]— absit verbo invidia—ne posteris quidem timenda
12 nostris esset. Deletam urbem cernimus eorum quorum in gratiam Saguntum deleverat Hannibal;

[1] fortunam A^s *or* A^1N^zJK *Aldus, Froben, Luchs, Conway* : fortuna $P(1)(A?)N$ *Eds.*

[2] prope A^sN^s*(altern.)JK Aldus, Froben* : quoque $P(1)N$.

[3] opem $Sp?JKN^s$ *Froben* 2 : omnem $P(1)N$ (*all with* salutemque, *which* N^s *Aldus have with* opem).

[4] sed *om.* $P(1)NJ$: *supplied by Ussing* (*before* ne *by* A^zKz *Aldus*).

[1] The most that we know about this tribe is that they were neighbours of the Turdetani in Baetica, fully 250 miles from Saguntum, which was in the land of the Edetani. Livy and his source (probably Coelius) ignored the impossible distance

our citizens who had been sold and out of slavery B.C. 205
restored them to freedom. When now we had almost attained an enviable lot after the utmost misery, Publius Cornelius and Gnaeus Cornelius, your generals, brought almost more sorrow to us than to you by their death.

"Then indeed we seemed to ourselves to have been dragged back from distant places to our former abode merely to perish again and to witness a second destruction of our native city. We were thinking also that there was no need whatever of a Carthaginian general or army for our ruin, that we could be wiped out by the Turduli,[1] our oldest enemies, who had been responsible for our former destruction as well, when suddenly and unexpectedly you sent us this Publius Scipio. In seeing him declared consul and in reporting, as we intend, to our citizens that we have seen him, our hope, our help, our safety, so elected we deem ourselves the most fortunate of all the Saguntines. On capturing many cities of your enemies in Spain he everywhere separated Saguntines from the number of captives and sent them back to their native city. Finally, as for Turdetania, which was so hostile to us that Saguntum could not stand if that tribe was preserved, he so crushed it in war that not only we, but even our descendants do not need to fear it—without boasting be it said! We see the ruined city of a people to favour whom Hannibal had destroyed Saguntum. We receive

and made the Turdetani (§ 11), or here the Turduli, responsible. App. *Hisp.* 10 has Τορβολῆται, and if any Greek source had such a reading as Τορδολῆται the confusion might perhaps be accounted for. Cf. XXI. vi. 1; XXIV. xlii. 11; Strabo III. i. 6; ii. 11, 15; iii. 5; E. Meyer, *Kl. Schr.* II. 408. In Polybius' account no tribe is mentioned (III. xiv. f., xvii).

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vectigal ex agro eorum capimus, quod nobis non[1] 13 fructu iucundius est quam ultione. Ob haec, quibus maiora nec sperare nec optare ab dis immortalibus poteramus, gratias actum nos decem legatos 14 Saguntinus senatus populusque ad vos misit, simul gratulatum, quod ita res per hos[2] annos in Hispania atque Italia gessistis ut[3] Hispaniam non Hibero amne tenus, sed qua terrarum ultimas finit[4] Oceanus, domitam armis habeatis, Italiae, nisi quatenus vallum 15 castrorum cingit, nihil reliqueritis Poeno. Iovi optimo maximo, praesidi Capitolinae arcis, non grates tantum ob haec agere iussi sumus, sed donum hoc etiam, si vos permitteretis, coronam auream in 16 Capitolium victoriae ergo ferre. Id uti permittatis quaesumus, utique, si vobis ita videtur,[5] quae nobis imperatores vestri commoda tribuerunt, ea rata atque perpetua auctoritate vestra faciatis.

17 Senatus legatis Saguntinis respondit et dirutum et restitutum Saguntum fidei socialis utrimque 18 servatae documentum omnibus gentibus fore; suos imperatores recte et ordine et ex voluntate senatus fecisse, quod Saguntum restituerint civesque Saguntinos servitio exemerint; quaeque alia eis[6] benigne fecerint, ea senatum ita voluisse fieri; donum permit- 19 tere ut in Capitolio ponerent. Locus inde lautiaque

[1] non, $P(3)N^2$ *Aldus add* tam.

[2] per hos A^zN^s*(altern.)JK Aldus, Froben* : hos $P(1)N$.

[3] ut N^sJK : utin $P(1)$: uti *Alschefski* : *om. N*.

[4] ultimas finit $P(1)N$ *Aldus, also J* (*prefixing* non) : -mus finis *Sp? Froben* 2 : -mus finit *K*.

[5] videtur *SJK Froben* 2. (*On this single leaf of S, beginning* ita videtur, *cf.* p. 168, n. 2) : videretur $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.

[6] eis *Aldus* : his $P(1)N$.

from their territory a revenue which is not more B.C. 205
welcome to us as income than as vengeance. For these things—and we could not hope or pray for greater things from the immortal gods—the senate and people of Saguntum have sent us, ten ambassadors, to you to express our thanks, at the same time to congratulate you because for these years you have so conducted the war in Spain and in Italy that you hold Spain subdued by arms, not merely so far as the river Hiberus, but even where Ocean sets bounds to the most distant lands, and have left the Carthaginian only so much of Italy as the fortification of his camp encircles. To Jupiter greatest and best, defender of the Capitoline citadel, we have been bidden not merely to render thanks for all this but with your permission to carry this gift of a golden wreath also to the Capitol on account of your victory. We beg you to permit this, and if it seems best to you, that you ratify and perpetuate by your authority those advantages which your generals have bestowed upon us."

The senate replied to the Saguntine ambassadors that the destruction and restoration of Saguntum would be to all nations an example of a loyalty which both allies have maintained; that its generals had been entirely right and had complied with the wish of the senate in restoring Saguntum and rescuing the citizens of Saguntum from slavery; and that wherever the generals had treated them with consideration the senate had approved of such action; that they permitted them to deposit their gift on the Capitol. It was then ordered that lodgings and com-

[6] eis *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: aliis *S*.

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legatis praeberi iussa, et muneris ergo in singulos [1] 20 dari ne minus dena milia aeris. Legationes deinde 21 ceterae in senatum introductae [2] auditaeque. Et petentibus Saguntinis ut, quatenus tuto possent, Italiam spectatum irent, duces dati litteraeque per 22 oppida missae ut Hispanos comiter acciperent. Tum de re publica, de exercitibus scribendis, de provinciis relatum.

XL. Cum Africam novam provinciam extra sortem P. Scipioni destinari homines fama ferrent, et ipse nulla iam modica gloria contentus non ad gerendum modo bellum, sed ad finiendum diceret se consulem 2 declaratum esse,[3] neque aliter id [4] fieri posse quam si ipse in Africam exercitum transportasset,[5] et acturum se id per populum aperte ferret, si senatus adversaretur,—id consilium haudquaquam primoribus patrum cum placeret, ceteri [6] per metum aut ambi- 3 tionem mussarent, Q. Fabius Maximus rogatus sententiam: "Scio multis vestrum videri, patres conscripti, rem actam hodierno die agi et frustra habiturum orationem qui tamquam de integra re de Africa 4 provincia sententiam dixerit. Ego autem primum

[1] ergo in singulos *SA²N²JK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*, *a line.*
[2] in senatum introductae *SN²JK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*, *another line.*
[3] esse *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *om.* *SN²JK Conway.*
[4] aliter id *P*(1)*N Aldus*: id aliter *SSpJK.*
[5] transportasset *SSpJ Froben* 2: -taret *P*(1)*NK Aldus.*
[6] ceteri *P*(3)*SJK*: ceterique C^2AN *Aldus, Froben*: et ceteri *Madvig.*

[1] The term *lautia* by its derivation from *lavare* at first meant bathing facilities, but came to include other comforts provided for guests of the state. Cf. XXX. xvii. 14.

forts [1] be provided for the ambassadors, and that to B.C. 205
each of them be presented not less than ten thousand *asses* as a gift.[2] Then the rest of the embassies were introduced into the senate and had their hearing. And upon request of the Saguntines that they might make a tour of Italy so far as they could safely do so, guides were furnished them and letters sent to the different towns, bidding them to receive the Spaniards hospitably. Thereupon the senate took up matters concerning the state, the enrolment of armies, the assignment of posts.[3]

XL. While it was commonly reported that without casting lots Africa was to be assigned to Publius Scipio as a new province, he himself, no longer satisfied with moderate fame, kept saying that he had been named consul not only to carry on the war but also to finish it. This was impossible unless he should himself transport his army to Africa, he said, openly declaring that he would accomplish that result by popular vote if the senate should oppose. This plan being by no means approved by the leading senators, while because of fear or else to curry favour, all the rest failed to speak out, Quintus Fabius Maximus, when asked his opinion, said: "I know that many of you, conscript fathers, hold that we are today debating a closed question, and that whoever expresses an opinion on Africa as a province, just as if it were an open question, will be speaking to no purpose. For myself, however, in the first place I

[2] Cf. XXX. *l.c.*, for a gift in money to ambassadors.

[3] This last had already been done (xxxviii. 12 f.). Popular feeling, however, favoured at least giving Scipio power to cross over from Sicily to Africa if he should deem it best (xlv. 8), or even substituting Africa for Sicily as his assignment.

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illud ignoro, quem ad modum certa iam[1] provincia Africa consulis, viri fortis ac strenui, sit, quam nec senatus censuit in hunc annum provinciam esse
5 nec populus iussit. Deinde, si est, consulem peccare arbitror qui de re transacta simulando se referre senatum ludibrio habet, non senatorem[2] qui de quo
6 consulitur suo loco dicit sententiam. Atque ego certum habeo dissentienti mihi ab ista festinatione in Africam traiciendi duarum rerum subeundam opi-
7 nionem esse: unius, insitae ingenio meo cunctationis, quam metum pigritiamque homines adulescentes sane appellent, dum ne[3] paeniteat adhuc aliorum speciosiora primo aspectu consilia semper visa, mea
8 usu meliora; alterius, obtrectationis atque invidiae adversus crescentem in dies gloriam fortissimi
9 consulis. A qua suspicione si me neque vita acta et mores mei neque dictatura cum quinque consulatibus tantumque gloriae belli domique partae vindicat ut propius fastidium eius sim quam desiderium, aetas saltem liberet.[4] Quae enim mihi aemulatio cum eo
10 esse potest qui ne filio quidem meo aequalis sit? Me dictatorem, cum vigerem adhuc viribus et in cursu maximarum rerum essem, recusantem nemo aut in senatu aut apud[5] populum audivit quo minus insectanti me magistro equitum, quod fando numquam ante auditum erat, imperium mecum aequaretur;

[1] certa iam *P*(1)*N Aldus*: iam certa *SJK Froben* 2.
[2] senatorem, *P*(1)*N Aldus add* modo.
[3] ne *C*[2]*D Gronovius, Eds.*: me *P*(1)*N*: me non *SA*[1]*N*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: me ne *Weissenborn conj., Riemann.*
[4] liberet *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: -rat *SSp Froben* 2.
[5] apud (*or* -ut) *P*(1) *Aldus*: *om. N*: ad *SSpN*[1]*JK Froben* 2.

do not understand how Africa is already definitely B.C. 205
assigned to that brave and energetic man, the consul, since neither has the senate voted nor the people commanded[1] that it be a province for this year. In the second place, if it is his, I think that the consul who mocks the senate by pretending to bring before the house business upon which action has been taken is at fault, not a senator who in his proper order states his opinion on the matter under consideration. And I am quite certain that in opposing such haste to cross over into Africa I must expose myself to two charges, first, of an inborn habit of delay, which young men are free to call fear and lack of spirit, provided there are as yet no regrets that other men's policies have always appeared at first sight more attractive, mine the better in practice. Secondly, they will accuse me of carping criticism and envy towards the daily increasing fame of a very brave consul. From this suspicion if neither my past life and my character nor my dictatorship and five consulships can defend me, together with so much glory won in the field and at home that I tend to be sated rather than to crave it, may my years at least bring exemption. For what rivalry can I have with a man who is not even my son's contemporary? In my dictatorship, although I was still at the height of my powers and in the stream of great events, no one heard me refuse either in the senate or before the people to have the command of my master of the horse, who was inveighing against me, made equal to mine, a thing which never had been heard of before.[2]

[1] The people in such a case could act only on request of the senate; XXX. xxvii. 3; xl. 10. Scipio's threat (§ 2) would first involve action by the senate. [2] Cf. XXII. xxv f.

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11 rebus quam verbis adsequi malui ut qui aliorum[1] iudicio mihi comparatus erat sua mox confessione
12 me sibi praeferret; nedum ego perfunctus honoribus certamina mihi atque aemulationem[2] cum adulescente florentissimo proponam: videlicet ut mihi iam vivendo, non solum rebus gerendis fesso, si huic negata fuerit, Africa provincia decernatur. Cum ea gloria quae parta est vivendum atque moriendum est.
14 Vincere ego prohibui Hannibalem, ut a vobis quorum vigent nunc vires etiam vinci posset.

XLI. "Illud te mihi ignoscere, P. Corneli, aequum erit, si, cum in me ipso numquam pluris famam hominum quam rem publicam fecerim, ne tuam
2 quidem gloriam bono publico praeponam.[3] Quamquam, si aut bellum nullum in Italia aut is hostis esset ex quo victo nihil gloriae quaereretur, qui te in Italia retineret, etsi id bono publico faceret, simul cum bello materiam gloriae tuae isse[4] ereptum videri posset.
3 Cum vero Hannibal hostis incolumi exercitu quartum decimum annum Italiam obsideat, paenitebit te, P. Corneli, gloriae tuae, si hostem eum qui tot funerum, tot cladium nobis causa fuit, tu consul Italia expuleris et, sicut penes C. Lutatium prioris Punici perpetrati belli titulus fuit, ita penes te huius fuerit?
4 Nisi aut Hamilcar Hannibali dux est praeferundus

[1] aliorum *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds.*: aliquorum *SN*[c]*JK Froben* 2, *Conway*.

[2] aemulationem (*or* em-) *CDAN Aldus*: -ne *P*(3): -nes *SA*[1]*JK Froben* 2.

[3] bono publico praeponam (pro- *SN*[c]) *SA*[c]*N*[c]*JK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *om. P*(1)*N, a line* (*P leaving a gap*).

[4] isse *P*(1)*NSz*: ire *A*[c]*JK Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Cf. *Periocha* 19 *fin.*; Polybius I. lix.–lxi for the naval victory off the Aegates Islands, 241 B.C.; XXII. xiv. 13; XXIII. xiii. 4.

By acts rather than words I preferred to gain this result, that one who by the verdict of other men had been made my colleague should presently by his own admission place me above himself. Much less would I, who have filled the high offices, set before me competition and rivalry with a young man in the very flower of his youth, with the intention, of course, of having Africa, if it be denied him, awarded as a province to me, who am now worn out by mere living, not only by cares of state. With such glory as has been already earned must I live and die. I have prevented Hannibal from conquering, in order that you men whose powers are still strong might even conquer him. B.C. 205

XLI. "One thing it will be right, Publius Cornelius, for you to pardon me—inasmuch as in my own case I have never rated what men say more highly than the state—namely, if I do not prefer your glory, either, to the welfare of the state. If, however, there were no war in Italy, or if the enemy were one from whose defeat no glory was to be earned, only then could a man who kept you in Italy, even if he did so with advantage to the state, be thought to have been bent on taking away the war from you and with it your opportunity for fame. But since Hannibal as an enemy with army intact is occupying Italy for the fourteenth year, will *you* be dissatisfied with your fame, Publius Cornelius, if in your consulship you shall have driven out of Italy the enemy who has caused us so many losses, so many disasters, and if you shall have the distinction of finishing the present war, just as Gaius Lutatius had that of ending the former Punic war?[1] Unless Hamilcar is to be rated above Hannibal as a general, or that war above this

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aut illud bellum huic, aut victoria illa maior clariorque quam haec—modo contingat ut te consule vincamus—futura est. Ab Drepanis aut Eryce detraxisse Hamilcarem quam Italia expulisse Poenos atque Hannibalem malis? Ne tu quidem, etsi magis partam [1] quam speratam gloriam amplecteris, Hispania potius quam Italia bello liberata gloriatus fueris. "Nondum is est Hannibal, quem non magis timuisse videatur quam contempsisse qui aliud bellum maluerit. Quin igitur ad hoc accingeris nec per istos circuitus, ut, cum in Africam traieceris, secuturum te illuc Hannibalem speres potius quam recto hinc itinere, ubi Hannibal est, eo bellum intendis,[2] si [3] egregiam istam palmam belli Punici patrati [4] petis? Hoc et natura prius est, tua cum defenderis, aliena ire oppugnatum. Pax ante in Italia quam bellum in Africa sit, et nobis prius decedat timor quam ultro aliis inferatur. Si utrumque tuo ductu auspicioque fieri potest, Hannibale hic victo, illic Carthaginem expugna; si altera utra victoria novis consulibus relinquenda est, prior cum maior clariorque, tum causa etiam insequentis fuerit. Nam nunc quidem, praeterquam quod et in Italia et in Africa duos diversos exercitus alere aerarium non potest, praeter-

[1] partam *SJK*: paratam *P*(1)*N*.

[2] intendis *P*(3)*NSJK*: -dis? (*end of sentence*) *Drakenborch, Conway*: -das *D Crévier, Luchs*: -dens *Madvig* 1863 (*and Emend.*).

[3] si, *added by Halm, Madvig* 1886, *M. Müller, Riemann*: et *by Weissenborn*: *both rejected by Conway.*

[4] patrati *SSp Froben* 2: parati *P*(3)*B*²*N*: peracti *A*¹*JK Aldus.*

[1] Now Monte San Giuliano, 2465 ft. It had a famous temple of Aphrodite, whose cult was presumably of Phoenician origin. Cf. XXI. x. 7; xli. 6 ff.; Polybius I. lv. 7 ff.; Strabo VI. ii.

one, or unless that victory was greater and more famous than this one is to be, if only it be our good fortune to win in your consulship. Would you rather have dragged Hamilcar away from Drepana or down from Eryx[1] than have driven the Carthaginians and Hannibal out of Italy? Although you take more delight in glory already won than in glory hoped for, even you would not boast of having rid Spain of the war rather than Italy. B.C. 205

"Not yet has Hannibal reached such a pass that the man who preferred some other war would not seem to have feared rather than despised him. Therefore gird yourself for this war, and not employing your roundabout method—crossing first to Africa, and then hoping Hannibal will follow you thither—but rather by a direct march from here aim your campaign at the region where Hannibal is, if you seek your glorious palm for bringing the Punic war to an end. This is also the natural order: first to defend your own possessions, then to proceed to attack those of others. First peace in Italy, then be it war in Africa! and let our fear abate before we use fear as an offensive weapon against others. If both can be done under your lead and your auspices, after defeating Hannibal here, storm Carthage over there. If one or the other of these two victories must be left to new consuls, the earlier will prove not only greater and more celebrated but the cause as well of the later victory. For at the present time, not to mention that the treasury cannot support two widely separated armies, in Italy and in Africa, not to mention that no resources

6. Here Hamilcar held out until the Roman naval victory brought the First Punic War to an end. Drepana (Trapani), the seaport, was 4½ miles away.

u.c. 549 quam quod unde classes tueamur, unde commeatibus praebendis[1] sufficiamus nihil reliqui est, quid? periculi[2] tandem quantum adeatur quem fallit? P. Licinius in Italia, P. Scipio bellum in
13 Africa geret. Quid? si—quod omnes dei omen avertant et dicere etiam reformidat animus, sed quae acciderunt accidere possunt—victor Hannibal ire ad urbem perget, tum demum te consulem ex Africa,
14 sicut Q. Fulvium a Capua, arcessemus? Quid quod in Africa quoque Mars communis belli erit? Domus tibi tua, pater patruusque intra triginta dies
15 cum exercitibus caesi documento sint, ubi per aliquot annos maxumis rebus terra marique gerendis amplissimum nomen apud exteras gentes populi Romani
16 vestraeque familiae fecerant.[3] Dies me deficiat, si reges imperatoresque temere in hostium terram transgressos cum maximis cladibus suis exercitu-
17 umque suorum enumerare velim. Athenienses, prudentissima civitas, bello domi relicto, auctore aeque inpigro ac nobili iuvene magna classe in Siciliam tramissa, una pugna navali florentem rem publicam suam in perpetuum adflixerunt.

XLII. "Externa et nimis antiqua repeto. Africa eadem ista et M. Atilius, insigne utriusque fortunae
2 exemplum, nobis documento sint. Ne tibi, P. Corneli, cum ex alto Africam conspexeris, ludus

[1] praebendis, *here SJK Froben* 2, *Luchs*: *after* sufficiamus *P*(1)*N Aldus, most Eds.*

[2] periculi, *here ends the single extant leaf of S* (*cf.* p. 158, n. 5).

[3] fecerant $N^{a}JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: -rint *P*(1)(-im *B*)*N*.

[1] Cf. XXVI. viii–xi. [2] *I.e.* Alcibiades.

remain out of which we may maintain fleets, out of B.C. 205
which we may be able to furnish supplies, pray tell me, who does not see how great is the danger involved? Publius Licinius will carry on the war in Italy, Publius Scipio in Africa. Tell me, if a victorious Hannibal—may all the gods avert the omen! and my mind even shudders to mention it; but what has happened can happen—if he shall advance towards the city, then and not before, are we to summon you as consul out of Africa, as we summoned Quintus Fulvius [1] from Capua? What of it that in Africa also the fortune of war will make no distinctions? Let your own house be a warning, your father and uncle, slain with their armies within thirty days, and that in a land where for some years by very great achievements on land and sea they won a most honourable name among foreign nations for the Roman people and for your family. Time would fail me if I should attempt to enumerate the kings and generals who have rashly invaded the land of their enemies with disastrous defeats for themselves and their armies. The Athenians, although their state had great foresight, leaving a war at home crossed over to Sicily with a great fleet under the leadership of a young man [2] as energetic as he was noble, and in a single naval battle permanently ruined their prosperous state.

XLII. "Foreign examples are these that I am recalling and too ancient. Let that same Africa of yours and Marcus Atilius,[3] a striking example of good fortune and bad, be a lesson to us. Verily, Publius Cornelius, when you sight Africa from the sea your

[3] Regulus; *Periocha* 17 f.; Polybius I. xxv. 7–xxxv.; Diodorus Sic. XXIII. 12. 15. Cf. below XXX. xxx. 23.

et iocus fuisse Hispaniae tuae videbuntur. Quid
3 enim simile? Pacato mari praeter[1] oram Italiae
Galliaeque vectus Emporias in urbem sociorum
classem adpulisti; expositos milites per tutissima
omnia ad socios et amicos populi Romani Tarra-
4 conem duxisti; ab Tarracone deinde iter per praesi-
dia Romana; circa Hiberum exercitus patris patrui-
que tui post amissos imperatores ferociores calamitate
5 ipsa facti, et dux tumultuarius quidem ille L. Marcius
et militari suffragio ad tempus lectus, ceterum, si
nobilitas ac iusti honores adornarent, claris imperatoribus qualibet arte belli par; oppugnata per
summum otium Carthago nullo trium Punicorum
6 exercituum socios defendente; cetera—neque ea
elevo—nullo tamen modo Africo bello comparanda,
ubi non portus ullus classi nostrae apertus, non ager
pacatus, non civitas socia, non rex amicus, non
7 consistendi usquam locus, non[2] procedendi; quacumque circumspexeris, hostilia omnia atque infesta.

"An Syphaci Numidisque credis? Satis sit semel creditum; non semper temeritas est felix, et fraus fidem in parvis sibi praestruit, ut, cum operae pre-
8 tium sit, cum mercede magna fallat. Non hostes patrem patruumque tuum armis prius quam Celtiberi socii fraude circumvenerunt; nec tibi ipsi a Magone

[1] praeter *x Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: per *P*(1)*NJK*.
[2] consistendi usquam locus, non *A*[1]*N*[1]*JK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*.

[1] For this voyage cf. XXVI. xix. 11 ff.
[2] Cf. on xiv. 15.

Spanish provinces will seem to you to have been mere child's play. For what is there that is comparable? Over an unmolested sea you sailed along the coast of Italy and Gaul,[1] and put in with your fleet at Emporiae, a city of our allies. Landing your troops you led them through country everywhere perfectly safe and reached allies and friends of the Roman people at Tarraco. From Tarraco it was then a march from one Roman post to another. Along the Hiberus were the armies of your father and uncle, which after losing their generals had gained more spirit even from disaster. Their commander also was the well-known Lucius Marcius,[2] irregularly appointed, to be sure, being chosen for an emergency by vote of the soldiers, but if nobility and the normal magistracies added their distinction, equal to famous generals in all the arts of war. (New) Carthage was taken without any interference, since none of the three Punic armies came to the defence of their allies. The rest of your campaign—and I do not belittle it—cannot, however, be compared in any way with a war in Africa, where there is no harbour open to our fleet, no subjugated territory, no allied city, no friendly king, no place anywhere to hold your ground, no place to advance, while wherever you look, the country all about you will be hostile and dangerous. B.C. 205

"Can it be that you trust Syphax and the Numidians? Let it suffice to have trusted them once. Not always is rashness successful, and treachery seeks in small matters to ensure trustfulness, so that when it becomes worth while, it may deceive with great profit. The enemy did not overpower your father and uncle by force of arms until the Celtiberian allies had done so by treachery. Nor in your own case was

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et Hasdrubale, hostium ducibus, quantum ab Indibili
9 et Mandonio in fidem acceptis periculi fuit. Numidis tu credere potes, defectionem militum tuorum expertus? Et Syphax et Masinissa se quam Carthaginienses malunt potentis[1] in Africa esse,
10 Carthaginienses quam quemquam alium. Nunc illos aemulatio inter se[2] et omnes causae certaminum acuunt, quia procul externus metus est; ostende Romana arma et exercitum alienigenam; iam[3] velut ad commune restinguendum incendium con-
11 current. Aliter eidem illi Carthaginienses Hispaniam defenderunt, aliter moenia patriae, templa deum, aras et focos defendent, cum euntes in proelium pavida prosequetur coniunx et parvi liberi occursabunt.

12 "Quid porro, si satis confisi Carthaginienses consensu Africae, fide sociorum regum, moenibus suis, cum tuo exercitusque tui praesidio nudatam Italiam viderint, ultro ipsi novum exercitum in Italiam aut
13 ex Africa miserint, aut Magonem, quem a Baliaribus classe transmissa iam praeter oram Ligurum Alpinorum vectari constat, Hannibali se coniungere
14 iusserint? Nempe in eodem terrore erimus in quo nuper fuimus, cum Hasdrubal in Italiam transcendit, quem tu, qui non solum Carthaginem sed omnem Africam exercitu tuo es clausurus, e manibus tuis in
15 Italiam emisisti. Victum a te dices; eo quidem minus

[1] potentis (*or* -es) *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds.*: -tissimos *A*'*JK Froben* 2, *Conway*.
[2] se *P*(1)*N*: sese *A*'*N*'*JK Aldus, Froben*.
[3] iam *A*'*N*'*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N*.

there as much danger from Mago and Hasdrubal, B.C. 205
generals of the enemy, as from Indibilis and Mandonius, who had come under your protection. Can you trust the Numidians after experiencing a mutiny of your own soldiers? Both Syphax and Masinissa prefer that they themselves rather than the Carthaginians should be supreme in Africa, and the Carthaginians rather than anyone else. At present rivalry between them and all possible reasons for contention spur them on because the foreigners whom they fear are far away. Show them Roman arms and a foreign-born army, and now they will rush, as it were, to put out a fire that concerns them all. In one fashion those same Carthaginians have defended Spain; in quite another fashion will they defend the walls of their native city, the temples of the gods, their altars and hearths, when as they go out to battle a frightened wife will escort them and little children will throw themselves in their way.

"Furthermore, what if the Carthaginians, confidently relying upon the united spirit of Africa, the loyalty of the allied kings, and their own walls, shall take the initiative themselves when they have seen Italy stripped of protection from yourself and your army? What if they either send a new army into Italy from Africa, or order Mago—and it is known that he has crossed from the Balearic Islands on his fleet and is already sailing along the coast held by the Alpine Ligurians—to unite with Hannibal? Surely we shall be in the same panic as we were recently when Hasdrubal crossed into Italy—the man whom you, who are about to invest not merely Carthage but all Africa by your army, allowed to slip out of your hands into Italy. He had been defeated by you,

u.c. 519 vellem—et id tua, non rei publicae solum causa—iter datum victo in Italiam esse. Patere nos omnia quae prospera tibi ac populi Romani imperio evenere tuo consilio adsignare, adversa casibus incertis belli
16 et fortunae delegare:[1] quo melior fortiorque es, eo magis talem praesidem sibi patria[2] atque universa Italia retinet. Non potes ne ipse quidem dissimulare, ubi Hannibal sit, ibi caput atque arcem huius belli esse, quippe qui prae te feras eam tibi causam traiciendi in
17 Africam[3] esse ut Hannibalem eo trahas. Sive hic igitur[4] sive illic, cum Hannibale est tibi futura res.

"Utrum tandem ergo firmior eris in Africa solus an hic tuo conlegaeque tui[5] exercitu coniuncto? Ne Claudius quidem et Livius consules tam recenti exemplo quantum id intersit documento sunt?
18 Quid? Hannibalem utrum tandem extremus angulus agri Bruttii, frustra iam diu poscentem ab domo auxilia, an propinqua Carthago et tota socia Africa
19 potentiorem armis virisque faciet? Quod istud consilium est, ibi malle decernere ubi tuae dimidio minores copiae sint, hostium multo maiores, quam ubi duobus exercitibus adversus unum tot proeliis et tam diuturna ac gravi militia fessum pugnandum sit?
20 Quam compar consilium tuum parentis tui consilio sit reputa. Ille consul profectus in Hispaniam, ut

[1] delegare *Gronovius, Eds.* (*cf.* XXI. xlvi. 10): legare $P(1)N$ *Allus, Froben*: relegare SpA^1JK *Conway.*

[2] patria, *after this* A^1N^1JK *Conway have* tua.

[3] traiciendi in Africam A^1N^1JK *Allus, Froben, Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line.*

[4] hic igitur P^1D *Eds.*: igitur $P(3)$: igitur hic $C^1?M^3ANJK$ *Luchs, Conway.*

you will say; all the more do I regret—and this for B.C. 205
your own sake, not merely for that of the state—that a passage into Italy was allowed to the defeated. Permit us to attribute to your strategy all that resulted favourably for you and the empire of the Roman people, to ascribe the unfavourable to the uncertainties of war and to fortune. The better and braver man you are the more do your native city and all Italy keep their hold upon so capable a defender. You are unable even yourself to conceal the fact that where Hannibal is, there is the centre and stronghold of this war, since you declare that your reason for crossing over to Africa is in order to draw Hannibal thither. Therefore, be it here, be it there, you will have Hannibal to deal with.

"Will you, therefore, be stronger, pray, in Africa when alone, or here, uniting your army with that of your colleague? Do not Claudius also and Livius, the consuls, by a very recent instance prove how great a difference that makes? And tell me, pray, will the remote and secluded Bruttian territory make Hannibal stronger in arms and men, when he has long been begging in vain for auxiliaries from home, or rather Carthage near at hand and all Africa her ally? What is that plan of yours, to prefer to decide the issue just where your forces are reduced by one-half, the forces of the enemy greatly increased, rather than where two armies have to fight against one exhausted by so many battles and a service so long and so hard? Reflect how different is your plan from that of your father. He as consul had set out for Spain, but he

[5] tui *CM*[1]*DA*[2]*N*[6] *Aldus, Eds.*: tut *P* (*with obscure correction*) *and R*: tute *MBAN*: *om. Sp*[2]*N*[3]*JK Froben* 2, *Conway.*

U.C. 519 Hannibali ab Alpibus descendenti occurreret, in Italiam ex provincia rediit: tu, cum Hannibal in Italia sit, relinquere Italiam paras, non quia rei publicae id [1] utile, sed quia tibi [2] amplum et gloriosum
21 censes esse, sicut cum provincia et exercitu relicto sine lege, sine senatus consulto duabus navibus populi Romani imperator fortunam publicam et maiestatem imperii, quae tum in tuo capite periclitabantur,
22 commisisti. Ego [3] P. Cornelium rei publicae nobisque, non sibi ipsi privatim creatum consulem existimo, exercitusque ad custodiam urbis atque Italiae scriptos esse, non quos regio more per superbiam consules quo terrarum velint traiciant."

XLIII. Cum oratione ad tempus parata Fabius, tum auctoritate et inveterata [4] prudentiae fama magnam partem senatus et seniores maxime cum [5] movisset, pluresque consilium senis quam animum adulescentis [6]
2 ferocem laudarent, Scipio ita locutus fertur: "Et ipse Q. Fabius principio orationis, patres conscripti, commemoravit in sententia sua posse obtrectationem
3 suspectam esse; cuius ego rei non tam ipse ausim tantum virum insimulare quam ea suspicio, vitio ora-
4 tionis an rei, haud sane purgata est. Sic enim honores suos et famam rerum gestarum extulit verbis

[1] id $P(1)NJK$ *Eds.*: *om. Conway.*

[2] tibi $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*: tibi id A^1N^1JK *Conway.*

[3] Ego, *after this* A^1JK *have* p.c. *or* patres conscripti (*retained by Alschefski, Conway*); *and so after* P. Cornelium *Aldus.*

[4] inveterata *JK Aldus, Froben, most Eds.*: -tae (*or* -te) $P(1)N$.

[5] cum *om.* $P(1)NJK$: *supplied here by Weissenborn, after* fama *by Madvig, after* magnam *by Riemann.*

[6] adulescentis A^6 *Eds.*: -tia M^1(*altern.*)N^1JK *Aldus, Froben, Conway*: -tiae $P(1)N$.

returned to Italy from his province in order to meet B.C. 205
Hannibal as he came down from the Alps.[1] You, although Hannibal is in Italy, are preparing to leave Italy, not because you think it to the advantage of the state, but because you hold it great and glorious for yourself. It was thus that leaving province and army, unauthorized by any law or decree of the senate, you, a commanding general of the Roman people, entrusted to two ships the fortune of the state and majesty of the empire, which were at that time endangered in your person. My opinion is that Publius Cornelius was elected consul for the republic and for us, not for himself and his personal ends, and that armies were enlisted for the defence of the city and Italy, not that consuls in the arrogant manner of tyrants may transport them to whatever lands they choose."

XLIII. When Fabius by a speech adapted to the situation, but especially by his prestige and long-established reputation for foresight, had stirred a large part of the senate and in particular the older members, and while more were praising the wisdom of the veteran than the confident spirit of the young man, Scipio is said to have spoken as follows: "Even Quintus Fabius himself at the beginning of his speech, conscript fathers, stated that in his expression of opinion captious criticism might be suspected. Far as I should be from venturing to bring that charge against so great a man, nevertheless such suspicion has certainly not been cleared away, be it the speech or the subject that is at fault. For he has highly extolled his offices and the fame of his achievements

[1] Cf. XXI. xxxii. 1 ff.

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ad exstinguendum invidiae crimen tamquam mihi ab infimo quoque periculum sit ne mecum aemuletur, et non ab eo qui, quia super ceteros excellat, quo me [1] quoque niti non dissimulo, me sibi aequari nolit. 5 Sic senem se perfunctumque et me infra aetatem fili etiam sui posuit tamquam non longius quam quantum vitae humanae spatium est cupiditas gloriae extendatur maximaque pars eius in memoriam ac 6 posteritatem promineat. Maximo cuique id accidere animo certum habeo ut se non cum praesentibus modo, sed cum omnis aevi claris viris comparent.[2] 7 Equidem haud dissimulo me tuas, Q. Fabi, laudes non adsequi solum velle, sed—bona venia tua dixerim—si 8 possim, etiam exsuperare. Illud nec tibi in me nec mihi in minoribus natu animi sit ut nolimus quemquam nostri similem evadere civem; id enim non eorum modo quibus inviderimus, sed rei publicae et paene omnis generis humani detrimentum sit.[3]

9 " Commemoravit quantum essem periculi aditurus, si in Africam traicerem, ut meam quoque, non solum rei publicae et exercitus vicem videretur 10 sollicitus. Unde haec repente cura de me [4] exorta? Cum pater patruusque meus interfecti, cum duo exercitus eorum prope occidione occisi essent, cum amissae Hispaniae, cum quattuor exercitus Poenorum quattuorque duces omnia metu armisque 11 tenerent, cum quaesitus ad id bellum imperator nemo se ostenderet praeter me, nemo profiteri nomen

[1] quo me A^sN^sJK *Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$ *Alschefski, M. Müller.*
[2] comparent P *Eds.*: -aret P^2 *or* $P^1(3)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[3] sit P^2 *or* $P^1(1)$ *Aldus, Froben, Eds.*; st P: est $SpJK$ *Conway.*
[4] cura de me $P(1)N$: de me cura JK.

in order to refute the charge of envy, just as if it were B.C. 205
from men of the lowest rank that there is danger of rivalry for me, and not rather from one who because he rises above all others—a distinction towards which I do not deny that I also am striving—is unwilling to have me compared with himself. He has represented himself as an old man and one who has played his part, and me as younger even than his son, just as if the desire for glory did not reach farther than the span of human life and project in fullest measure into the memory of posterity. Of the greatest minds it is true, I am sure, that they compare themselves not only with the living but with eminent men in every age. For my part I do not deny, Quintus Fabius, that I wish not only to attain to your fame but also—by your good leave—if possible to surpass it. Let us not have such a spirit—you towards me, I towards younger men—that we should be unwilling to have any fellow-citizen come to be like us. For that would be a loss affecting, not only those whom we have envied, but the state also and almost the entire human race.

"He called to mind how great a danger I should encounter if I were to cross over to Africa, so that he seemed concerned for me also, not merely for the state and the army. Whence has come this sudden solicitude about me? When my father and uncle had been slain, when their two armies had been all but annihilated, when the Spanish provinces had been lost, when four armies of Carthaginians and four generals held the whole country in the grip of fear and arms, when, though sought for, no commanding general presented himself for that war except myself, no one had dared to put forward his name, when the

v.c. ausus esset, cum mihi quattuor et viginti annos nato
12 detulisset imperium populus Romanus, quid ita tum nemo aetatem meam, vim hostium, difficultatem belli, patris patruique recentem cladem commemorabat? Utrum maior aliqua nunc in Africa calamitas accepta
13 est quam tunc in Hispania erat? An maiores nunc sunt exercitus in Africa et duces plures melioresque quam tunc in Hispania fuerunt? An aetas mea tunc
14 maturior bello gerendo fuit quam nunc est? An cum Carthaginiensi hoste in Hispania quam in Africa bellum geri aptius est? Facile est post fusos fugatosque quattuor exercitus Punicos, post tot urbes
15 vi captas aut metu subactas in dicionem, post perdomita omnia usque ad Oceanum, tot regulos, tot saevas gentes, post receptam totam Hispaniam ita ut vestigium belli nullum reliquum sit, elevare meas
16 res gestas, tam hercule quam, si victor ex Africa redierim, ea ipsa elevare quae nunc retinendi mei causa, ut terribilia eadem videantur, verbis extolluntur.
17 "Negat aditum esse in Africam, negat ullos patere portus. M. Atilium captum in Africa commemorat, tamquam M. Atilius primo accessu ad Africam offenderit, neque recordatur illi ipsi tam infelici imperatori patuisse tamen portus Africae, et res egregie [1] primo anno gessisse [2] et, quantum ad Carthaginienses duces adtinet, invictum ad ultimum
18 permansisse. Nihil igitur me isto exemplo terrueris. Si hoc bello, non priore, si nuper et non annis ante

[1] egregie (*or* -iae) *PJK*: -ias P^2(3) *Aldus*: gestas ab eo egregias *AN* (*om.* gessisse).
[2] gessisse P(3)A^1N^1JK *Aldus*: *om.* *AN Gronovius*.

[1] The implied exception was the Spartan (mercenary) general presently to be mentioned.

Roman people had bestowed upon me at the age of B.C. 205
twenty-four years its high command, why in such circumstances did no one at that time call to mind my youth, the might of the enemy, the difficulty of the war, the recent disaster to my father and my uncle? Has some greater catastrophe now befallen us in Africa than had been suffered then in Spain? Or are there now larger armies in Africa and more generals and better than there were then in Spain? Or was my age then riper for the conduct of war than it is now? Or is it more suitable to wage war with a Carthaginian enemy in Spain than in Africa? It is easy to disparage my achievements after the rout and flight of four Punic armies, after the storming of so many cities or their subjugation through fear, after a thorough and complete conquest all the way to the Ocean—so many princes, so many warlike nations—after the recovery of all Spain so that no trace of war remains. It will indeed be just as easy if I return as a victor from Africa to disparage precisely the same things which now, in order to hold me back, are magnified by the speaker to make them appear terrible.

"He denies that we have any access to Africa, he denies that any harbours are open to us. He states that Marcus Atilius was captured in Africa, as if Marcus Atilius met disaster upon his first landing in Africa. Also he does not recall that even that unfortunate general found the harbours of Africa nevertheless open to him and conducted a remarkable campaign in his first year, and so far as Carthaginian generals are concerned,[1] remained undefeated to the end. You shall not frighten me, therefore, by the example you give. If that disaster had been incurred in this war, not in the former war, if recently and not

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quadraginta ista[1] clades accepta foret, qui ego minus in Africam Regulo capto quam Scipionibus
19 occisis in Hispaniam traicerem? Nec felicius Xanthippum Lacedaemonium Carthagini quam me patriae meae sinerem natum esse, cresceretque mihi ex eo ipso fiducia quod possit[2] in hominis unius virtute
20 tantum momenti esse. At etiam Athenienses audiendi sunt, temere in Siciliam omisso domi bello
21 transgressi. Cur ergo, quoniam Graecas fabulas enarrare vacat, non Agathoclem potius Syracusanum regem, cum diu Sicilia Punico bello ureretur, transgressum in hanc eandem Africam avertisse eo bellum unde venerat refers?

XLIV. "Sed quid ultro metum inferre hosti et ab se remoto periculo alium in discrimen adducere quale sit, veteribus externisque exemplis admonere opus
2 est? Maius praesentiusve ullum exemplum esse quam Hannibal potest?[3] Multum interest alienos populari
3 fines an tuos uri et exscindi videas; plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsanti. Ad hoc maior ignotarum rerum est terror; bona malaque hostium
4 ex propinquo ingressus fines aspicias. Non speraverat Hannibal fore ut tot in Italia populi[4] ad se deficerent,

[1] ista *P*(1)*NJK Eds., Johnson*: ista ita *N*[s]*x Conway.*
[2] possit *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben, most Eds.*: posset *JK Madvig, Luchs, Riemann.*
[3] Maius . . . potest *A*[s]*N*[s]*JK Weissenborn, Luchs*: *om. P*(1)*N Madvig.*
[4] populi *Sp?A*[s]*N*[s]*JK Eds.* (*after* deficerent *Riemann*): *om. P*(1)*N.*

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[1] An error for fifty years. In XXIX. xxviii. 5 Livy has *prope quinquaginta* for the actual fifty-two.

forty years ago,[1] why after Regulus' capture should I B.C. 205
hesitate to cross over to Africa any more than to Spain after the Scipios had fallen? I should not admit that the Spartan Xanthippus'[2] birth had been more fortunate for Carthage than mine for my native city; and my confidence would be increased by the mere possibility of such weight in the ability of a single man. But we must hear likewise of the Athenians, how neglecting a war at home they crossed rashly to Sicily. Why then, since you have time to tell Greek tales, do you not prefer to relate how Agathocles,[3] King of Syracuse, after Sicily had long been ablaze with a Punic war, crossed over into this same Africa and diverted the war to the country from which it had come?

XLIV. "But what is the need of calling to mind by old and foreign examples what it means to make fear an offensive weapon against the enemy, and removing danger from yourself to bring another into peril? Can there be any greater and more effective example than Hannibal? A great difference it makes whether you are seeing the land of others ravaged or your own being burned over and devastated. More spirit has an aggressor than a defender. Besides there is greater dread of things unknown; on entering the territory of the enemy you have a near view of their advantages and disadvantages. Hannibal had not hoped that so many states in Italy would come over to his side as did so after the

[2] Cf. Polybius I. xxxii. ff., xxxvi; *Periocha* 18; Diodorus Sic. XXIII. 14 f.

[3] For the career of this tyrant of Syracuse (died 289 B.C.) and his wars with the Carthaginians both in Sicily and Africa v. Diodorus Sic. XX. 3–18 *et passim*; Justin XXII f.

u.c. 519

quot defecerunt [1] post Cannensem cladem: quanto minus quicquam in Africa Carthaginiensibus firmum aut stabile sit,[2] infidis sociis, gravibus ac superbis
5 dominis! Ad hoc nos, etiam deserti ab sociis, viribus nostris, milite Romano stetimus; Carthaginiensi nihil civilis roboris est, mercede paratos milites habent, Afros Numidasque, levissima fidei mutandae
6 ingenia. Hic modo nihil morae sit, una et traiecisse me audietis et ardere bello Africam et molientem hinc Hannibalem [3] et obsideri Carthaginem. Laetiores et frequentiores ex Africa exspectate nuntios
7 quam ex Hispania accipiebatis. Has mihi spes subicit fortuna populi Romani, di foederis ab hoste violati testes, Syphax et Masinissa reges, quorum ego fidei ita innitar ut bene tutus a perfidia sim.
8 "Multa quae nunc ex intervallo non apparent bellum aperiet. Id [4] est viri et ducis, non deesse fortunae praebenti se et oblata casu flectere ad con-
9 silium. Habebo, Q. Fabi, parem quem das Hannibalem; sed illum ego potius traham quam ille me retineat. In sua terra cogam pugnare eum, et Carthago potius praemium victoriae erit quam
10 semiruta Bruttiorum castella. Ne quid interim, dum traicio, dum expono exercitum in Africa, dum castra ad Carthaginem promoveo, res publica hic detrimenti capiat, quod tu, Q. Fabi, cum victor tota

[1] quot defecerunt *K Aldus, Eds.*: defecerunt *Sp*[2]*A*[1]*J Froben* 2, *Conway* (*after* deficerent *with a colon*). *Most MSS. have the verb but once, e.g.* -ficerent $P(3)M^2N$, *for which* -fecerunt P^1 *or* P^2(-fic-)R^2MB.

[2] sit $P(1)NJ$(*altern.*) *Aldus, Eds.*: est JK *Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[3] et molientem hinc Hannibalem $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: *doubted by Luchs* 1889 *and bracketed by M. Müller; variously altered; defended by Johnson, Conway.*

[4] Id $P(1)N$: et id A^1N^1JK *Aldus, Froben.*

disaster at Cannae. How much less is anything in Africa to be strong and steadfast for the Carthaginians, faithless as allies, oppressive and arrogant as masters! Furthermore, even when deserted by our allies, we kept our footing by our own forces, our Roman soldiers. The Carthaginians have no forces of their own citizens. They have mercenaries, Africans and Numidians, very inconstant by nature and ready to change their allegiance. If only there is no delay here, at the same moment you will hear that I have crossed and that Africa is ablaze with war, and Hannibal casting off from here, and Carthage blockaded. Look for more cheering news from Africa and more frequent than you used to receive from Spain. Inspiring these hopes in me are the fortune of the Roman people, the gods who witnessed the treaty violated by the enemy, the kings, Syphax and Masinissa, on whose honour I shall rely—but so as to be well protected against treachery. B.C. 205

"Many things which, owing to distance, are not now evident the war will reveal. It is the part of a man and a general not to prove wanting when fortune presents herself, and to fit what is offered by chance into his plan. I shall have Hannibal as the antagonist you assign me, Quintus Fabius; but I shall draw him after me, not let him hold me back. In his own land will I compel him to fight, and Carthage is to be the reward of victory, not the half-ruined strongholds of the Bruttians. Meantime, while I am crossing over, while landing my army in Africa, while moving my camp up to Carthage, let the republic suffer no harm here. That service you, Quintus Fabius, were able to guarantee while everywhere in Italy the victorious

U.C. 549 11 volitaret Italia Hannibal, potuisti praestare, hoc vide ne contumeliosum sit concusso iam et paene fracto Hannibale negare posse P. Licinium consulem, virum fortissimum, praestare, qui, ne a sacris absit pontifex maximus, ideo in sortem tam longinquae provinciae 12 non venit.[1] Si hercules nihilo maturius hoc quo ego censeo modo perficeretur bellum, tamen ad dignitatem populi Romani famamque apud reges gentesque externas pertinebat, non ad defendendam modo Italiam, sed ad inferenda etiam Africae arma 13 videri nobis animum esse, nec hoc credi volgarique, quod Hannibal ausus sit neminem ducem Romanum audere, et priore Punico bello tum, cum de Sicilia certaretur, totiens Africam ab[2] nostris exercitibusque[3] et classibus oppugnatam, nunc, cum de 14 Italia certetur, Africam pacatam esse. Requiescat aliquando vexata tam diu Italia; uratur evasteturque 15 in vicem Africa. Castra Romana potius Carthaginis portis immineant quam nos iterum vallum hostium ex moenibus nostris videamus. Africa sit reliqui belli sedes; illuc terror fugaque, populatio agrorum, defectio sociorum, ceterae belli clades, quae in nos per quattuordecim annos ingruerunt, vertantur.

16 Quae ad rem publicam pertinent et bellum quod instat et provincias de quibus agitur dixisse satis est; 17 illa longa oratio nec ad vos pertinens sit, si, quemadmodum Q. Fabius meas res gestas in Hispania ele-

[1] venit *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*; veniat *Sp? Froben* 2.
[2] ab *P*(3): a *AN Aldus*: *om. Sp?JK Froben* 2.
[3] -que *om. Sp?ANJK Aldus, Froben.*

Hannibal flitted about. Would it not be insulting, B.C. 205
with Hannibal now shaken and almost broken, to claim that Publius Licinius, the consul—a very brave man who took no part in the allotment of so distant a province, solely that as pontifex maximus he might not be absent from religious ceremonies—cannot do the same? If in truth the war were not completed any more promptly by the method which I propose, it would nevertheless conduce to the dignity of the Roman people and its reputation among kings and foreign nations to let it be seen that we have the spirit not only to defend Italy but also to invade Africa. Likewise not to have it believed and published abroad that what Hannibal has dared no Roman general dares, and that in the former Punic war, at a time when the stake was Sicily, Africa was attacked so many times by our armies and fleets, but that now, when Italy is the stake, Africa is at peace. Let Italy, so long harried, at length have rest; let Africa in turn be burned over and laid waste. Let Roman camps threaten the gates of Carthage; better so than that we should see the enemy's earthworks from our walls for the second time. Let Africa be the theatre of the remainder of the war. In that direction may terror and flight be diverted, the devastation also of farms, the desertion of allies, and the other calamities of war which for fourteen years have assailed us.

"It is enough to have spoken of matters concerning the state and the war now in progress and the provinces which are in question. A long speech it would be and one of no concern to you senators if, after the manner in which Quintus Fabius has disparaged my achievements in Spain, I on my part should be

u.c. 549

vavit, sic ego [1] contra gloriam eius eludere et meam
18 verbis extollere velim. Neutrum faciam, patres conscripti, et, si nulla alia re, modestia certe et temperando linguae adulescens senem vicero. Ita et vixi et gessi res ut tacitus ea opinione quam vestra sponte conceptam animis haberetis facile contentus essem."

XLV. Minus aequis animis auditus est Scipio, quia volgatum erat, si apud senatum non obtinuisset ut provincia Africa sibi decerneretur, ad populum ex-
2 templo laturum. Itaque Q. Fulvius, qui consul quater et censor [2] fuerat, postulavit a consule ut palam in senatu diceret permitteretne patribus ut de provinciis decernerent, staturusque eo esset quod cen-
3 suissent, an ad populum laturus. Cum Scipio respondisset se quod e re publica esset facturum, tum
4 Fulvius: "Non ego ignarus quid responsurus facturusve esses quaesivi, quippe cum prae te feras temptare te [3] magis quam consulere senatum, et ni provinciam tibi quam volueris extemplo decernamus,
5 paratam rogationem habeas. Itaque a vobis, tribuni plebis, postulo" inquit "ut sententiam mihi ideo non dicenti quod, etsi [4] in meam sententiam discedatur,
6 non sit ratum habiturus consul, auxilio sitis." Inde altercatio orta, cum consul negaret aequum esse tribunos intercedere quo minus suo quisque loco

[1] ego $P(1)N$: et ego *JK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] et censor A^2N^2JK *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* $P(1)N$.
[3] te $P(3)$: *om.* $ANJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[4] etsi *Gronovius, Eds.* : est $P(1)N$: si A^6N^2JK *Luchs.*

minded to scoff at his fame and to enlarge upon my own. I will do neither, conscript fathers, and if in no other respect, in modesty at least and in control of my tongue I, who am young, will outstrip the older man. Such have been my life and achievements that, although silent, I am quite content with the opinion which of your own accord you have formed and retain." B.C. 205

XLV. Scipio met with a less favourable hearing because it had been generally reported that, if he should not carry his point in the senate and have Africa decreed him as his province, he would at once bring a bill before the people. And so Quintus Fulvius, who had been consul four times and censor, demanded of the consul that he should frankly state in the senate whether he would permit the senators to make a decree in regard to the provinces and would stand by their vote, or was intending to bring a bill before the people. When Scipio replied that he would act for the best interests of the state, Fulvius said: "I was not unaware, when I asked my question, of the answer you would give or of what you would do, since you make it plain that you are sounding the senate rather than consulting it, and since, unless we at once decree for you the province which you have desired, you have a bill ready. Accordingly, tribunes of the people" he said "I demand of you that you come to my defence if I decline to express an opinion for the reason that, even in case our vote by division should favour a motion of mine, the consul will not consider it valid." Then arose a dispute, the consul maintaining that it was not right for the tribunes to use their veto to excuse a senator from stating his opinion when called upon in his regular

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7 senator[1] rogatus sententiam diceret. Tribuni ita decreverunt: "Si consul senatui de provinciis permittit, stari eo quod senatus censuerit placet, nec de ea re ferri ad populum patiemur; si non permittit, qui de ea re sententiam recusabit dicere auxilio erimus."

8 Consul diem ad conloquendum cum conlega petit; postero die permissum senatui est. Provinciae ita decretae: alteri consuli Sicilia et triginta rostratae naves quas C. Servilius superiore anno habuisset; permissumque ut in Africam, si id e re publica esse
9 censeret, traiceret; alteri Bruttii et bellum cum Hannibale cum eo exercitu, quem[2] ⟨mallet⟩. L. Veturius et Q. Caecilius sortirentur inter se compararentve uter in Bruttiis duabus legionibus quas consul reliquisset
10 rem gereret, imperiumque in annum prorogaretur cui ea provincia evenisset. Et ceteris, praeter consules praetoresque,[3] qui exercitibus provinciisque prae-
11 futuri erant[4] prorogata imperia. Q. Caecilio sorti evenit ut cum consule in Bruttiis adversus Hannibalem bellum gereret.

[1] senator A^6N^1JK *Aldus*, *Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[2] quem $P(1)NJK$: *at least* mallet *must have followed*: mallet ex duobus qui ibi essent *Madvig*: mallet ex duobus quos consules habuissent *Weissenborn*.

[3] praeter . . . praetoresque $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: *probably to be rejected as a gloss with Conway, who suspected another lacuna.*

[4] praefuturi erant *also corrupt, Conway, who would conj.* praefuerant.

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[1] This decree so fortified the opposition that Scipio was unable to risk a vote referring the question to the people.

[2] A small fleet in comparison with the hundred ships assigned to Sicily in 208 B.C.; XXVII. xxii. 9. For an invasion a

order. The tribunes made this decree: "If the consul permits the senate to assign the provinces, we decide that he must stand by the vote of the senate, and we will not allow a bill touching that matter to be brought before the people. If he does not permit, we will come to the defence of a man who refuses to express an opinion on that matter." [1] B.C. 205

The consul begged for one day to confer with his colleague; on the next day he gave the senate his permission. The provinces were assigned by decree as follows: to one of the consuls Sicily and the thirty war-ships [2] which Gaius Servilius had commanded in the previous year; [3] and permission to cross over to Africa was given, if he should consider that to be to the advantage of the state; to the other consul the land of the Bruttians and the war with Hannibal, together with the army which he preferred.[4] Lucius Veturius and Quintus Caecilius were to decide between them by lot or by arrangement which of them was to wage war in the Bruttian land with the two legions which the consul should leave there, and whichever should have that province assigned to him was to have his command continued for one year. And for the rest who were to command armies and provinces—apart from consuls and praetors—their commands were continued. It fell to Quintus Caecilius by lot to wage war together with the consul in the Bruttian land against Hannibal.

much larger navy would seem to be required. Add the 30 new ships presently to be built (§ 21). But actually only 40 war-ships escorted 400 transports in 204 B.C.; XXIX. xxvi. 3.

[3] Cf. x. 16.

[4] *I.e.* of the two in that region; cf. x. 10; xi. 12; xlvi. 2.

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12 Ludi deinde Scipionis magna frequentia et favore spectantium celebrati. Legati Delphos ad donum ex praeda Hasdrubalis portandum missi M. Pomponius Matho et Q. Catius. Tulerunt coronam auream ducentum pondo et simulacra spoliorum ex [1] mille pondo argenti facta.[2]

13 Scipio cum ut dilectum haberet neque impetrasset neque magnopere tetendisset, ut voluntarios 14 ducere sibi milites liceret tenuit et, quia inpensae negaverat rei publicae futuram classem, ut quae ab sociis darentur ad novas fabricandas naves acciperet. Etruriae primum populi pro suis quisque facul- 15 tatibus consulem adiuturos polliciti: Caerites frumentum sociis navalibus commeatumque omnis generis, Populonenses ferrum, Tarquinienses lintea in vela, Volaterrani interamenta [3] navium et frumentum, 16 Arretini tria milia scutorum, galeas totidem, pila gaesa hastas longas, milium quinquaginta summam 17 pari cuiusque generis numero expleturos, secures rutra falces alveolos molas, quantum in quadraginta longas naves opus esset, tritici centum et viginti milia modium, et in viaticum decurionibus remigibusque 18 conlaturos; Perusini Clusini Rusellani abietem in fabricandas naves et frumenti magnum numerum;

[1] ex *SpD Froben* 2: et *P*(3)*NJK Aldus*.
[2] facta *SpDJ Froben* 2: facti *P*(3)*NK Aldus*.
[3] interamenta *P*(3)*NJK*: ferramenta *x*: inceramenta *Gronovius*.

[1] Doubtless in the form of trophies, possibly a pair of them, to flank the golden wreath, presumably to be set up in one of the treasure houses. At XXIII. xi. 3 Apollo had bidden them send a gift when they had preserved their state. So Fabius Pictor, the Roman ambassador, had reported in 216 B.C.

[2] Cf. XXX. xxxix. 2; now Piombino, the nearest port to Elba. Usually Populonia, but Polybius and Strabo use the

Scipio's games were then held with great crowds and great approval on the part of the spectators. As ambassadors Marcus Pomponius Matho and Quintus Catius were sent to Delphi to carry a gift from the spoils of Hasdrubal. They took a golden wreath weighing two hundred pounds and representations of spoils[1] made of a thousand pounds of silver. B.C. 205

Although he had neither gained consent to hold a levy, nor had been especially insistent, Scipio obtained permission to take volunteers and to receive whatever should be given by the allies towards the construction of new ships,—this because he had stated that the fleet would not be an expense to the state. First the Etruscan communities promised that they would aid the consul, each according to its own resources. The men of Caere promised grain for the crews and supplies of every kind, the men of Populonium[2] iron, Tarquinii linen for sails, Volaterrae the interior fittings of ships, also grain. Arretium promised three thousand shields, an equal number of helmets; and that they would furnish a total of fifty thousand javelins, short spears and lances, with an equal proportion of each type; also axes, shovels, sickles, baskets and hand-mills, as many as were needed for forty war-ships; a hundred and twenty thousand pecks of wheat also; and that they would contribute allowances[3] for petty officers and oarsmen. Perusia, Clusium and Rusellae[4] promised fir for shipbuilding and a great quantity of grain. He

neuter (P. at XXXIV. xi. 3; S. at V. ii. 5 f., 8). So also the *Itin. Ant.*

[3] In addition to their pay.

[4] Beyond the Umbro and near Vetulonia; X. iv. 5; xxxvii. 3.

u.c. 549

19 abiete et [1] ex publicis silvis est usus. Umbriae populi et praeter hos Nursini [2] et Reatini et Amiternini Sabinusque omnis ager milites polliciti. Marsi Paeligni Marrucinique multi voluntarii nomina in
20 classem dederunt. Camertes cum aequo foedere cum Romanis essent, cohortem armatam sescentorum
21 hominum miserunt. Triginta navium carinae, viginti quinqueremes, decem quadriremes, cum essent positae, ipse ita institit operi ut die quadragesimo quinto quam ex silvis detracta materia erat naves instructae armataeque in aquam deductae sint.

XLVI. Profectus in Siciliam est triginta navibus longis, voluntariorum septem ferme milibus in naves
2 impositis. Et P. Licinius in Bruttios ad duos exercitus consulares venit. Ex iis eum sibi sumpsit
3 quem L. Veturius consul habuerat; Metello ut, quibus praefuisset legionibus, iis praeesset,[3] facilius cum adsuetis imperio rem gesturum ratus permisit.
4 Et praetores diversi in provincias profecti. Et quia pecunia ad bellum deerat, agri Campani regionem a Fossa Graeca ad mare versam vendere quaestores
5 iussi, indicio quoque permisso qui ager civis Campani fuisset, uti is publicus populi Romani esset; indici praemium constitutum, quantae pecuniae ager

[1] et *conj. Luchs, Walters, adopted by Conway*; *om. P*(1)*NJK Eds.*

[2] Nursini, *SpJK Froben* 2 *add* -que *and om.* et praeter hos *of P*(1)*N Aldus.*

[3] legionibus . . . praeesset *A*[1]*N*[2]*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N.*

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[1] *I.e.* just as if they were allies and hence bound to furnish troops.

[2] Near Cumae and probably dug by that city long before to drain marshy lowlands near the sea; cf. XXII. xvi. 4.

used fir also from forests belonging to the state. B.C. 205
The communities of Umbria and in addition Nursia and Reate and Amiternum and the whole Sabine district promised soldiers. Marsians, Paelignians and Marrucini in large numbers gave in their names as volunteers for the fleet. Camerinum, although it treated with the Romans on an equal footing, sent an armed cohort of six hundred men.[1] After thirty keels had been laid down, twenty quinqueremes and ten quadriremes, Scipio so pushed the work that on the forty-fifth day after the timber had been brought from the forests the ships, rigged and equipped, were launched.

XLVI. He set out for Sicily on thirty war-ships after embarking some seven thousand volunteers. And Publius Licinius came to the two consular armies in the land of the Bruttians. Of these he took the army which Lucius Veturius had commanded as consul. He allowed Metellus to command the same legions which he had previously commanded, for he thought Metellus would more easily carry on the war with men accustomed to his authority. The praetors also set out in different directions to their provinces. And because there was a lack of money for the war the quaestors were ordered to sell a region of Campania extending from the Fossa Graeca[2] to the sea, it being permitted also to give information as to any land which had belonged to a Campanian citizen, so that it might become public land of the Roman people. For the informant one-tenth of the price of the land

Not far away was Liternum, where Scipio Africanus later lived in retirement at his villa, described by Seneca *Ep.* 86, 1–12; cf. Val. Max. II. x. 2; and there was his tomb; Seneca *l.c.*

u.c. 519

6 indicatus esset pars decuma. Et Cn. Servilio praetori urbano negotium datum ut Campani cives, ubi cuique [1] ex senatus consulto liceret habitare, ibi [2] habitarent, animadverteretque in eos qui alibi habitarent.

7 Eadem aestate Mago Hamilcaris filius ex minore Baliarium insula, ubi hibernarat, iuventute lecta in classem imposita, in Italiam triginta ferme rostratis navibus et multis onerariis duodecim milia peditum, 8 duo ferme equitum traiecit, Genuamque nullis praesidiis maritumam oram tutantibus repentino adventu cepit. Inde ad oram Ligurum Alpinorum, si quos ibi 9 motus facere posset, classem appulit. Ingauni—Ligurum ea gens est—bellum ea tempestate gere- 10 bant cum Epanteriis Montanis. Igitur Poenus Savone, oppido Alpino, praeda deposita et decem longis navibus in statione ad praesidium relictis, ceteris Carthaginem missis ad tuendam maritumam 11 oram, quia fama erat Scipionem traiecturum, ipse societate cum Ingaunis, quorum gratiam malebat, composita Montanos instituit oppugnare. Et crescebat exercitus in dies ad famam nominis eius

[1] cuique $P(1)N$ *Aldus* : -cunque $SpN^{s}JK$.
[2] habitare, ibi $P(1)N$ *Aldus* : *om.* $SpJK$ *Froben* 2.

[1] On the Ligurian coast; cf. XXI. xxxii. 5, the first appearance of Genoa in history; XXIX. v. 2. Destroyed by Mago and rebuilt by Spurius Lucretius, XXX. i. 10.

[2] *I.e.* Western; see note on Savo below.

[3] Cf. XXIX. *l.c.* Their town was a seaport, Album Ingaunum or Albingaunum, now Albenga; Strabo IV. vi. 1; Mela II. 72; Tacitus *Hist.* II. 15 *fin.* The Epanterii were above them on the slopes of the coast range (Alpes Maritimae).

reported was established as a reward. And to B.C. 205
Gnaeus Servilius, the city praetor, was assigned the task of seeing to it that Campanian citizens should dwell only where in accordance with a decree of the senate it was permitted them severally to dwell, and of punishing those who were dwelling elsewhere.

In the same summer Mago the son of Hamilcar embarked upon his fleet picked young men from the smaller of the Balearic Islands, where he had wintered, and brought across to Italy on some thirty war-ships and many transports twelve thousand infantry and about two thousand cavalry. Upon his sudden arrival he also captured Genua,[1] since no forces were guarding the sea-coast. Then he put in with his fleet to the coast belonging to the Alpine[2] Ligurians, in the hope of causing some uprising there. The Ingauni,[3] a Ligurian tribe, were at that time carrying on a war with the Epanterii Montani. Accordingly the Carthaginian, depositing his plunder at Savo,[4] a town at the foot of the Alps, and leaving ten war-ships at anchor to protect it, sent the rest to Carthage to defend the sea-coast, because there was a report that Scipio would cross over. Mago himself made an alliance with the Ingauni, whose friendship he preferred, and set about attacking the Montani. And his army was daily increasing because the Gauls

[4] Now Savona, 27 miles west of Genoa. Though a seaport it is an *oppidum Alpinum* as lying at the foot of the Maritime Alps. Eastward of Savona is another coast range; a part of the Apennines. On the dividing line between the two, cf. Strabo *l.c.* and V. i. 3; also Decimus Brutus writing to Cicero, *Ep.* XI. xiii. 2. For Vada Sabat(i)a, now Vado, west of Savo, cf. XXIX. v. 2, note; Strabo *l.c.*; Mela *l.c.*; Pliny *N.H.* III. 48; *Itin. Ant.* 295.

U.C. 549

12 Gallis undique confluentibus. Ea res [1] litteris cognita Sp. Lucreti, ne frustra Hasdrubale cum exercitu deleto biennio ante forent laetati, si par aliud inde bellum, duce tantum mutato, oreretur, curam 13 ingentem accendit [2] patribus. Itaque et M. Livium proconsulem ex Etruria volonum exercitum admovere Ariminum iusserunt, et Cn. Servilio praetori negotium datum ut, si e re publica censeret esse, duas urbanas legiones, imperio cui videretur dato, ex urbe duci iuberet. M. Valerius Laevinus Arretium eas legiones duxit.

14 Eisdem diebus naves onerariae Poenorum ad octoginta circa Sardiniam ab Cn. Octavio, qui provinciae praeerat, captae. Eas Coelius frumento misso ad Hannibalem commeatuque onustas, Valerius praedam Etruscam Ligurumque et [3] Montanorum captivos 15 Carthaginem portantes captas tradit. In Bruttiis nihil ferme anno eo memorabile gestum. Pestilentia incesserat pari clade in Romanos Poenosque, nisi quod Punicum exercitum super morbum etiam fames 16 adfecit. Propter Iunonis Laciniae templum aestatem Hannibal egit, ibique aram condidit dedicavitque cum ingenti rerum ab se gestarum titulo, Punicis Graecisque litteris insculpto.

[1] res *Rhenanus, Eds.* (*after* litteris *Alschefski*): *om.* *P*(1)*NSpJK Aldus, Froben.*

[2] accendit *P*(1)*NSpJK Froben* 2: accendere *x Aldus.*

[3] et *P*(1)*NJK, Aldus, Weissenborn, Conway*: *om. Froben* 2, *Madvig, Luchs, Riemann, Friedersdorff, unwilling to accept as genuine the statement that there were Ligurian captives also, i.e. Ingauni,* § 9.

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[1] Cf. xxxviii. 11, 13; XXX. i. 9 f.

[2] Antias; cf. Vol. VI. p. 492, n. 2; VII. pp. 24, n. 1 and 187. For Coelius cf. VI. p. 183, n. 2; VII. pp. 41, 323.

on hearing his name flocked together from all sides. B.C. 205
This fact, when it was made known to the senators through a letter of Spurius Lucretius,[1] kindled great anxiety among them, for fear they had rejoiced in vain two years before over the destruction of Hasdrubal and his army, if another equally serious war with only a change of commander should break out from that quarter. So they ordered Marcus Livius, the proconsul, to bring his army of slave-volunteers from Etruria to Ariminum. Also they assigned to Gnaeus Servilius, the praetor, if he thought it to the advantage of the state, the duty of appointing at his discretion a commander for the two city legions and ordering them to be brought up from the city. Marcus Valerius Laevinus brought these legions to Arretium.

Just at that time about eighty Carthaginian transports were captured off Sardinia by Gnaeus Octavius, who was in command of that province. Coelius states that they were laden with grain sent to Hannibal and with provisions, Valerius[2] that they were captured while carrying Etruscan booty and captive Ligurians and Montani to Carthage. In the land of the Bruttians virtually nothing notable was done that year. An epidemic, equally disastrous to both, had attacked Romans and Carthaginians, with this difference that in addition to disease hunger also weakened the Carthaginian army. Hannibal spent the summer near the temple of Juno Lacinia,[3] and there he erected an altar and dedicated it together with a great record of his achievements in a Punic and Greek inscription.

[3] Cf. Vol. VI. pp. 115, n., 182 f., notes (especially in reference to the inscription); VII. p. 315. The promontory took its name from *ναός*, temple, and is still Capo Nao (or delle Colonne).

LIBRI XXVIII PERIOCHA

Res in Hispania prospere gestae a Silano Scipionis legato et ab L. Scipione fratre adversus Poenos, a P. Sulpicio proconsule socio Attalo rege Asiae adversus Philippum regem Macedonum pro Aetolis referuntur. Cum M. Livio et Claudio Neroni consulibus triumphus decretus esset, Livius, qui in provincia sua rem gesserat, quadrigis invectus est, Nero, qui in collegae provinciam, ut victoriam eius adiuvaret, venerat, equo secutus est, et in hoc habitu plus gloriae reverentiaeque habuit; nam et plus in bello quam collega fecerat. Ignis in aede Vestae neglegentia virginis quae non custodierat exstinctus est; caesa est flagro. P. Scipio in Hispania cum Poenis debellavit XIIII anno eius belli, quinto post anno quam ierat, praeclusisque in totum possessione provinciae eius hostibus Hispanias recepit; et a Tarracone in Africam ad Syphacem regem Massyliorum transvectus foedus iunxit. Hasdrubal Gisgonis ibi cum eo in eodem lecto cenavit. Munus gladiatorium in honorem patris patruique Carthagine Nova edidit, non ex gladiatoribus, sed ex his qui aut in honorem ducis aut ex provocatione descendebant; in quo reguli fratres de regno ferro contenderunt. Cum Gisia urbs obpugnaretur, oppidani liberos et coniuges rogo exstructo occiderunt et se insuper praecipitaverunt. Ipse Scipio, dum gravi morbo implicitus est, seditionem in parte exercitus motam confirmatus

[1] An error for New Carthage; cf. xvii. 12.
[2] Astapa in the text, xxii. 2; xxiii. 5.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXVIII

Successes gained in Spain against the Carthaginians by Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant, and by his brother Lucius Scipio are narrated, and those gained by Publius Sulpicius as proconsul with Attalus, King of Asia, as ally against Philip, King of the Macedonians, on behalf of the Aetolians. When a triumph was awarded by decree to Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, the consuls, Livius, who had commanded in his own province, drove into the city in a four-horse chariot. Nero, who had entered his colleague's province to aid him to victory, followed on horseback; and in this appearance he earned more fame and respect; for he had done more also than his colleague in the war. The fire in Vesta's temple went out owing to the carelessness of the virgin who had failed to keep watch over it. She was scourged. Publius Scipio brought the war with the Carthaginians in Spain to an end in the fourteenth year of the war, the fifth year after his arrival; and he gained possession of Spain after completely shutting the enemy out from occupation of that province. And from Tarraco [1] he crossed over into Africa, to Syphax, King of the Massylians, and made a treaty with him. Hasdrubal son of Gisgo dined with him there, reclining on the same couch. Scipio gave a gladiatorial show at New Carthage in honour of his father and uncle, not by gladiators but by men who went into the arena either to honour the general or in accepting a challenge. In that show princes who were brothers fought for kingship with the sword. During the siege of the city of Gisia [2] the citizens slew their children and wives upon a pyre which they had built and threw themselves upon it. Scipio himself, when a mutiny broke out in one part of the army while he was

discussit, rebellantesque Hispaniae populos coegit in deditionem venire. Et amicitia facta cum Masinissa rege Numidarum, qui illi auxilium, si in Africam traiecisset, pollicebatur, cum Gaditanis quoque post discessum inde Magonis, cui Carthagine scriptum erat ut in Italiam traiceret, Romam reversus consulque creatus. Africam provinciam petenti contradicente Q. Fabio Maximo Sicilia data est, permissumque ut in Africam traiceret, si id e re publica esse censeret. Mago Hamilcaris filius a minore Baliari insula, ubi hiemaverat, in Italiam traiecit.

seriously ill, upon recovering quelled it and compelled the rebellious peoples in Spain to surrender. And he made friends with Masinissa, King of the Numidians, who promised him assistance if he should cross over to Africa. Having made friends with the men of Gades also after the departure of Mago, who had received written orders from Carthage to cross over to Italy, Scipio returned to Rome and was elected consul. When he begged for Africa as his province, while Quintus Fabius Maximus opposed, Sicily was given to him and he was permitted to cross over to Africa if he thought that for the advantage of the state. Mago son of Hamilcar crossed over to Italy from the smaller of the Balearic Islands, where he had wintered.

BOOK XXIX

LIBER XXIX

U.C. 49

I. Scipio postquam in Siciliam venit, voluntarios
2 milites ordinavit centuriavitque Ex iis trecentos iuvenes, florentes aetate et virium robore insignes,[1] inermes circa se habebat, ignorantes quem ad usum
3 neque centuriati neque armati servarentur. Tum ex totius Siciliae iuniorum numero principes genere et fortuna trecentos equites qui secum in Africam traicerent legit, diemque iis qua equis armisque
4 instructi atque ornati adessent edixit. Gravis ea militia procul domo, terra marique multos labores magna pericula allatura videbatur; neque ipsos modo sed parentes cognatosque eorum ea cura angebat.
5 Ubi dies quae edicta[2] erat advenit, arma equosque ostenderunt. Tum Scipio renuntiari sibi dixit quosdam equites Siculorum tamquam gravem et
6 duram horrere eam militiam; si qui ita animati essent, malle eos sibi iam tum fateri quam postmodo querentes segnes atque inutiles milites rei publicae esse; expromerent quid sentirent; cum bona venia
7 se auditurum. Ubi ex iis unus ausus est dicere se

[1] insignes, inermes *Conway*: insignes (*or* -is), *SpA*[1]*N*[1](*altern.*)*JK Froben* 2: inermis (*or* -es *P*(1)*NH Aldus, Edd.*

[2] edicta *JK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: dicta *P*(1)*NH.*

BOOK XXIX

I. Scipio, now that he had reached Sicily, assigned B.C. 205
his volunteers to their ranks and centuries. Three hundred of them, young men in the bloom of their youth and conspicuous for their physical strength, he kept about him unarmed and ignorant of the purpose for which they were being reserved without being organized in centuries or furnished with arms. Then he chose out of the number of the younger men of all Sicily three hundred horsemen, men of high rank and of wealth, to cross over with him into Africa. He appointed a day also on which they were to present themselves equipped and furnished with horses and arms. Such service far from home seemed to them formidable and likely to bring many hardships and great dangers on land and sea. And concern on this account troubled not merely the men themselves but also their parents and relations. When the day which had been appointed came the men displayed their arms and horses. Then Scipio said reports were coming to him that some of the Sicilian horsemen shrank from that service as formidable and difficult. If any were of that mind he preferred that they should confess it to him at once, rather than complain later and prove spiritless soldiers and useless for the state. Let them declare what was their mind; he would give them a kindly hearing. When one of them ventured to say that

prorsus, si sibi utrum vellet [1] liberum esset, nolle
8 militare, tum Scipio ei: "Quoniam igitur, adulescens, quid sentires non dissimulasti, vicarium tibi expediam cui tu arma equumque et cetera instrumenta militiae tradas et tecum hinc extemplo domum ducas,
9 exerceas, docendum cures equo armisque." Laeto condicionem accipienti unum ex trecentis quos inermes habebat tradit. Ubi hoc modo exauctoratum equitem cum gratia imperatoris ceteri viderunt, se
10 quisque excusare et vicarium accipere. Ita trecentis Siculis Romani equites substituti sine publica inpensa. Docendorum atque exercendorum [2] curam Siculi habuerunt, quai edictum imperatoris erat, ipsum milita-
11 turum qui ita non fecisset. Egregiam hanc alam equitum evasisse ferunt multisque proeliis rem publicam adiuvisse.

12 Legiones inde cum inspiceret, plurimorum stipendiorum ex iis milites delegit, maxime qui sub duce
13 Marcello militaverant, quos cum optima disciplina institutos credebat, tum etiam ab longa Syracusarum obsidione peritissimos esse urbium oppugnandarum; nihil enim parvum, sed Carthaginis iam excidia
14 agitabat animo. Inde exercitum per oppida dispertit; frumentum Siculorum civitatibus imperat, ex Italia

[1] vellet *Sp²JK Froben* 2: velit *P*(1)*NH*.

[2] atque exercendorum *A¹N¹H*(ac)*JK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N, a line, as they omit* multisque proeliis rem publicam *just below (supplied as above)*.

[1] A similar method of raising cavalry inexpensively was used by the Spartan King Agesilāus in order to make war upon the Persian King's satrap Tissaphernes near Ephesus, 395

if he was free to choose whichever he wished he did not wish to serve at all, thereupon Scipio said to him: "Accordingly, since you have not concealed what your mind is, young man, I will furnish a substitute for you, and to him you shall hand over your arms and horse and the other equipment for the service, and forthwith shall take him away with you to your home, train him and see that he is taught horsemanship and the use of arms." As the man gladly accepted the terms Scipio turned over to him one of the three hundred unarmed men that he had. When the others saw the horseman thus discharged with the consent of the commander, every man excused himself and took a substitute. Thus three hundred Sicilians were replaced by Roman horsemen without expense to the state. Of their training and drilling the Sicilians were in charge, because the general's order was that any man who failed to do so should himself serve.[1] They say that this cavalry squadron proved excellent and was of value to the state in many battles. B.C. 205

Then while mustering the legions he chose out of them soldiers who had served for the greatest number of campaigns, especially those who had done so under Marcellus as commander, believing them to have been schooled by the best training and in particular to be most skilled in besieging cities in consequence of the long siege of Syracuse. For he was planning nothing small, but already the destruction of Carthage. Thereupon he distributed his army among the towns, requisitioned grain from the Sicilian cities, spared the grain imported from

B.C.; Xenophon *Hell.* III. iv. 15; *Ages.* I. 24; Plutarch *Ages.* 9.

advecto parcit; veteres naves reficit et cum iis C. Laelium in Africam praedatum mittit; novas Panhormi[1] subducit, quia ex viridi materia raptim factae erant, ut in sicco hibernarent.

15 Praeparatis omnibus ad bellum Syracusas, nondum ex magnis belli motibus satis tranquillas, venit.
16 Graeci res a quibusdam Italici generis eadem vi qua per bellum ceperant retinentibus, concessas sibi ab
17 senatu repetebant. Omnium primum ratus tueri publicam fidem, partim edicto, partim iudiciis etiam in pertinaces ad obtinendam iniuriam redditis suas
18 res Syracusanis restituit. Non ipsis tantum ea res, sed omnibus Siciliae populis grata fuit, eoque enixius ad[2] bellum adiuverunt.

19 Eadem aestate in Hispania coortum ingens bellum conciente Ilergete Indibili, nulla alia de causa quam per admirationem Scipionis contemptu imperatorum
20 aliorum orto. Eum superesse unum ducem Romanis, ceteris ab Hannibale interfectis, rebatur;[3] eo nec in Hispaniam caesis Scipionibus alium quem mitterent habuisse, et postquam in Italia gravius bellum urgueret, adversus Hannibalem eum arcessitum.

[1] Panhormi $P(1)H$: panormi NK : -mis J.
[2] ad *om.* NJK *Froben* 2.
[3] rebatur *Gronovius* : rebantur $PCRM^{1?}A^{1}N^{1}HJK$: *om.* (*as a gloss*) *Duker, Conway.*

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[1] *I.e.* of the previous year at least; cf. XXVIII. xlv. 8, where thirty war-ships are mentioned.

[2] Evidently Laevinus' efforts to remedy abuses had not been altogether successful (XXVI. xl. 1). Syracusans (*Graeci*) had often been unable to recover landed property still occupied and forcibly held by Italians; cf. *ibid.* xxx. 10; xxxii. 6 (the latter implying the senate's promise of compensation).

Italy. He repaired the old ships,[1] and with these sent Gaius Laelius to Africa for plunder. The new ships he beached at Panormus, that they might winter out of the water, since they had been built in haste of green timber. B.C. 205

Every preparation for the war having been made, he came to Syracuse, which was not yet quite peaceful after the great unsettlement due to the war. The Greeks were making their claims to properties granted them by the senate against certain Italians who were holding on with the same use of force with which they had seized the property during the war.[2] Thinking it of the utmost importance to keep a promise given by the state, Scipio restored their property to the Syracusans, partly by an edict, partly also by granting hearings against those who persisted in maintaining an unlawful possession. This act was acceptable not only to the owners themselves but to all the communities of Sicily as well, and all the more energetically did they render assistance for the war.

In the same summer a great war broke out in Spain, instigated by Indibilis[3] of the Ilergetes for no other reason than because contempt for other generals sprang from admiration for Scipio. He thought that Scipio was the one general left to the Romans, the rest having been killed by Hannibal; that consequently after the slaying of the Scipios they had no one else to send to Spain, and had also, once the war grew more serious in Italy, summoned him to face Hannibal; that, besides

[3] Cf. XXVIII. xxiv ff. and note on xxiv. 3. Indibilis was prince of a north-eastern tribe, the Ilergetes; XXVI. xlix. 11; cf. XXVIII. xxvii. 5.

.c. 21 Praeterquam quod nomina tantum ducum in Hispania
9 Romani haberent,[1] exercitum quoque inde veterem deductum; trepida omnia et[2] inconditam turbam
22 tironum esse. Numquam talem occasionem libe-
23 randae Hispaniae fore. Servitum ad eam diem aut Carthaginiensibus aut Romanis, nec in vicem his aut
24 illis, sed interdum utrisque simul. Pulsos ab Romanis Carthaginienses; ab Hispanis, si consentirent, pelli Romanos posse, ut ab omni externo imperio[3] soluta in perpetuum Hispania in patrios rediret mores
25 ritusque. Haec taliaque dicendo non populares modo, sed Ausetanos quoque, vicinam gentem, concitat et alios finitimos sibi atque illis populos.
26 Itaque intra paucos dies triginta milia peditum, quattuor ferme equitum in Sedetanum agrum, quo edictum erat, convenerunt.

II. Romani quoque imperatores L. Lentulus et L. Manlius Acidinus, ne glisceret prima neglegendo
2 bellum, iunctis et ipsi exercitibus per agrum Ausetanum hostico tamquam pacato clementer ductis mili-

[1] haberent *SpHJK Froben* 2: habeant *Weissenborn, Conway*: -bant $P(1)NH^2$ *Aldus*.

[2] et *Sp?A*^{a}*JK Aldus, Froben*: ut $P(1)NH$.

[3] externo imperio $A^{a}JK$ *Froben* 2: imperio externo $P(3)C^{4}NH$ *Aldus*. *For the felia probably misplaced in P's archetype and inserted in* $P(1)N$ *between* imperio *and* externo, *cf. critical n. on* XXVIII. xxii. 14. *The correct order is found in HJK Aldus, Froben. In P the passage covers over* 33 *pp.*

[1] Their territory reached from the Pyrenees south-east to the Mediterranean, Gerunda being their chief town (now Gerona). Cf. XXI. xxiii. 2; lxi. 8 (here and in XXXIX. lvi. 1 they even approach the Ebro; not so in Caesar *B.C.* I. lx. 2);

having merely nominal commanders in Spain, the Romans had taken away the veteran army also. There was nothing but confusion and an untrained mob of recruits. Never would there be such an opportunity for the liberation of Spain. Slaves they had been down to that time, either to Carthaginians or to Romans, and not by turns to the one people or the other but at times to both at once. The Carthaginians had been driven out by the Romans; the Spaniards, if they should agree, were able to drive out the Romans, so that, free from all foreign authority, Spain might return permanently to its ancestral customs and usages. By these and similar utterances he stirred up not only his own countrymen but also the Ausetani,[1] a neighbouring tribe, and other peoples adjoining his territory and theirs. And thus within a few days thirty thousand infantry and about four thousand horse came together in the territory of the Sedetani,[2] in accordance with their instructions. B.C. 205

II. The Roman commanders on their part, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus,[3] for fear the war might grow more serious from neglect of the first hostile acts, likewise united their armies, and leading their soldiers through the Ausetanian territory with restraint on an enemy's soil, as though it

XXVI. xvii. 4 (doubtful reading); XXXIV. xx. 1; below, ii. 5; iii. 3.

[2] Often confused with the Edetani, and north of the Ebro, but we do not know their exact location. Cf. XXVIII. xxiv. 4; xxxi. 7.

[3] Cornelius Lentulus and Manlius had been praetors in 211 and 210 B.C. respectively; XXV. xli. 12; XXVI. xxiii. 1; sent to Spain *cum imperio*; cf. XXVIII. xxxviii. 1; styled proconsuls without having held the consulship; below, xiii. 7.

c.c. 49

tibus ad sedem hostium pervenere et [1] trium milium spatio procul a castris eorum posuerunt castra. 3 Primo per legatos nequiquam temptatum ut discederetur ab armis; dein cum in pabulatores Romanos impetus repente ab equitibus Hispanis factus esset, summisso ab statione Romana equitatu equestre proelium fuit haud sane memorando in 4 partem ullam eventu. Sole oriente postero die armati instructique omnes mille ferme passus procul 5 a castris Romanis aciem ostendere. Medii Ausetani erant; cornua dextrum Ilergetes, laevum ignobiles tenebant Hispani populi; inter cornua et mediam aciem intervalla patentia satis late fecerant [2] qua 6 equitatum, ubi tempus esset, emitterent. Et Romani more suo exercitum cum instruxissent, id modo hostium imitati sunt, ut inter legiones et ipsi 7 patentes equiti relinquerent vias. Ceterum Lentulus ei parti usum equitis fore ratus quae prior in dehiscentem intervallis hostium aciem equites emisisset, 8 Ser. Cornelio tribuno militum imperat equites per patentes in hostium acie vias permittere equos iubeat. 9 Ipse coepta parum prospere pedestri pugna, tantum moratus dum cedenti duodecimae legioni, quae in laevo cornu adversus Ilergetes locata erat, tertiam decumam legionem ex subsidiis in primam aciem fir- 10 mamentum ducit, postquam aequata ibi pugna est, ad L. Manlium inter prima signa hortantem ac sub-

[1] pervenere et M^3A^4 *Weissenborn*: -veneret *PR*: -veniret $R^2(3)$: -venere N^4HJK *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] fecerant *x Gronovius*: fecerunt $P(1)NHJK$.

were friendly, they reached the place where their B.C. 205
enemies had concentrated and pitched camp three miles away from their camp. At first a vain effort was made through envoys to make them abandon fighting. Then when an attack was suddenly made upon Roman foragers by Spanish horse and from a Roman outpost horsemen were sent to the rescue, there was a cavalry battle with no success for either side worth mentioning. At sunrise on the following day, under arms and drawn up, all of them displayed their battle-line at a distance of about a mile from the Roman camp. The Ausetani were in the centre; of the wings the Ilergetes occupied the right, unimportant Spanish tribes the left. Between the wings and the centre they had made spaces broad enough to send the cavalry through when the time came. And the Romans, having drawn up their army in the customary fashion, imitated this feature only of the enemy's line, that they likewise left broad spaces between the legions for the passage of cavalry. But Lentulus thought that whichever side should first send its cavalry out into the enemy's line with its gaping intervals would use its cavalry to advantage. He therefore ordered Servius Cornelius, a tribune of the soldiers, to command his cavalry to give their horses free rein through the broad openings in the battle-line of the enemy. Lentulus himself, after the infantry battle had begun without success, delayed only long enough to bring up the thirteenth legion from the reserves into the front line to support the twelfth legion, which had been placed on the left wing facing the Ilergetes and was giving way. Now that the battle was evenly balanced there, he came up to Lucius Manlius, who

sidia quibus res postulabat locis inducentem venit;
11 indicat tuta ab laevo cornu esse; iam missum ab se
Ser.[1] Cornelium procella equestri hostes circum-
fusurum.
12 Vix haec dicta dederat cum Romani equites in
medios invecti hostes simul pedestres acies turbarunt,
simul equitibus Hispanorum viam immittendi equos
13 clauserunt. Itaque omissa pugna equestri ad pedes
Hispani descenderunt. Romani imperatores ut
turbatos hostium ordines et trepidationem pavorem-
que et fluctuantia viderunt signa, hortantur, orant
milites ut perculsos invadant neu restitui aciem
14 patiantur. Non sustinuissent tam infestum impetum
barbari, ni regulus ipse Indibilis cum equitibus ad
pedes degressis ante prima signa peditum se obiecis-
15 set. Ibi aliquamdiu atrox pugna stetit; tandem,
postquam ii qui circa regem seminecem restantem,
deinde pilo terrae adfixum pugnabant obruti telis
16 occubuerunt, tum fuga passim coepta. Plures caesi,
quia equos conscendendi equitibus spatium non
fuerat, et quia perculsis acriter institerunt Romani;
nec ante abscessum est quam castris quoque exuerunt
17 hostem. Tredecim[2] milia Hispanorum caesa eo die,
mille[3] octingenti ferme capti; Romanorum so-
ciorumque paulo amplius ducenti, maxime in laevo

[1] Ser. *Froben* 2, *Eds.*: *P*(1)*NSpIIJ have* servium *after* Cornelium: *Madvig, Conway om. praenomen.*
[2] tredecim *A*[1]*JK Conway* (*cf.* XXVI. xlix. 3 *and below,* xxxvii. 6): decem tria *P*(1)*NH.*
[3] mille *P*(∞)*A*[1]*JK*: *om. P*[2](1)*NH Aldus, Froben.*

was in the foremost ranks, encouraging the men and bringing up reserves to such positions as the case required. He informed him that all was secured on the left wing; that he had already sent Servius Cornelius to surround the enemy with a whirlwind attack of cavalry. B.C. 205

Scarcely had Lentulus said this when the Roman horse, charging into the midst of the enemy, threw the infantry lines into confusion and at the same time closed for the Spanish cavalry the route by which they might launch their attack. Accordingly the Spaniards gave up the cavalry battle and dismounted. The Roman generals, on seeing the broken ranks of the enemy, and their fright and alarm and the wavering standards, exhorted and implored their soldiers to attack the discouraged enemy and not allow the line to re-form. The barbarians would have failed to withstand so impetuous an attack, had not even their prince, Indibilis, exposed himself with the dismounted cavalry in front of the first units of the infantry. At that point a fierce battle continued for some time. Finally, when those who kept on fighting round the prince, who resisted though half-dead, but was pinned to the ground by a javelin, were overwhelmed by missile weapons and fell, at that moment began a flight pell-mell. Greater numbers were slain because the horsemen had left no room to mount their horses, and because the Romans made a spirited attack upon the terrified. And they did not withdraw until they had routed the enemy out of his camp as well. Thirteen thousand Spaniards were slain that day, about one thousand eight hundred captured. Of the Romans and their allies little more than two

18 cornu, ceciderunt. Pulsi castris Hispani aut qui ex proelio effugerant, sparsi primo per agros, deinde in suas quisque civitates redierunt.

III. Tum a Mandonio evocati in concilium conquestique ibi clades suas increpitis auctoribus belli legatos mittendos ad arma tradenda deditionemque 2 faciendam censuere. Quibus culpam in auctorem belli Indibilem ceterosque principes, quorum plerique in acie cecidissent, conferentibus tradentibusque arma et 3 dedentibus sese responsum est in deditionem ita accipi eos, si Mandonium ceterosque belli concitores tradidissent vivos; si minus, exercitum se in agrum Ilergetum Ausetanorumque et deinceps aliorum 4 populorum inducturos.[1] Haec dicta legatis renuntiataque in concilium. Ibi Mandonius ceterique principes conprehensi et traditi ad supplicium. 5 Hispaniae populis reddita pax; stipendium eius anni duplex et frumentum sex mensum imperatum sagaque et togae exercitui, et obsides ab triginta ferme populis accepti.

6 Ita Hispaniae rebellantis tumultu haud magno motu intra paucos dies concito et compresso, in Afri- 7 cam omnis terror versus. C. Laelius nocte ad Hipponem Regium cum accessisset, luce prima ad populandum agrum sub signis milites sociosque navales[2]

[1] inducturos N^2JK: ducturos $P(1)NH$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] navales (*or* -is) $P(1)NH$ *Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *to this* in auxilium *is added* (*before* navales) *by* N^1 *Conway,* (*after* nav.) by A^2JK.

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[1] Livy or his Roman source must have confused Hippo Diarrhȳtus (Bizerte) with Hippo Regius (near Bône), which was ten days' journey from Carthage (so Procopius *Bell.* IV (*Vand.* II.), iv. 26; Mela I. 33; Pliny *N.H.* V. 22; VI. 212). Laelius would not lay waste land claimed by Masinissa. Cf. p. 334 for the real Hippo Regius.

hundred fell, mainly on the left wing. Those of the Spaniards who were driven out of their camp or had escaped from the battle scattered at first over the country and then returned to their respective communities. B.C. 205

III. Then they were summoned by Mandonius to a council, and there, after lamenting their heavy losses and berating those who were responsible for the war, they voted that envoys should be sent to arrange for a surrender of arms and a capitulation. When the envoys laid the blame upon Indibilis as responsible for the war and upon the rest of their leading men, most of whom, they said, had fallen in the battle, and offered to deliver their arms and surrender, the answer given them was: that their surrender would be accepted only in case they should deliver Mandonius and the other instigators of the war alive. If not, the generals said they would lead their army into the lands of the Ilergetes and Ausetani and the other tribes one after another. Such was the reply given to the legates and reported by them to the council. Thereupon Mandonius and the other leaders were seized and handed over to be punished. For the peoples of Spain peace was restored, a double tribute for that year and grain for six months exacted, also cloaks and togas for the army; and hostages were accepted from about thirty tribes.

Thus a rebellious uprising in Spain was incited and suppressed within a few days with no serious consequences, and alarm was completely shifted to Africa. Gaius Laelius, having reached Hippo Regius [1] by night, led out his soldiers and marines under their standards at daybreak to lay the country

B.C. 8 duxit. Omnibus pacis modo incuriose agentibus
49 magna clades inlata; nuntiique trepidi Carthaginem
terrore ingenti conplevere, classem Romanam
Scipionemque imperatorem—et fama fuerat iam in
9 Siciliam transgressum—advenisse. Nec quot naves
vidissent, nec quanta manus agros popularetur satis
gnari omnia in maius metu augente accipiebant.
Itaque primo terror pavorque, dein[1] maestitia
10 animos incessit: tantum fortunam mutasse ut qui
modo ipsi exercitum ante moenia Romana habuissent
victores stratisque tot hostium exercitibus omnes
Italiae populos aut vi aut voluntate in deditionem
11 accepissent, ii verso Marte Africae populationes et
obsidionem Carthaginis visuri forent, nequaquam pari
12 ad patienda ea robore ac Romani fuissent. Illis
Romanam plebem, illis Latium iuventutem prae-
buisse maiorem semper frequentioremque pro tot
13 caesis exercitibus subolescentem; suam plebem
imbellem in urbe, imbellem in agris esse; mercede
parari auxilia ex Afris, gente ad omnem auram spei
14 mobili atque infida. Iam reges, Syphacem post
conloquium cum Scipione alienatum, Masinissam
aperta defectione infestissimum hostem. Nihil
15 usquam spei, nihil auxilii esse. Nec Magonem ex
Gallia movere tumultus quicquam nec coniungere

[1] dein *P*(1)*NH Aldus* (daein *P*): deinde *JK Froben* 2.

[1] The earlier inhabitants, mostly rustics, many of them mercenary soldiers; cf. XXVIII. xiv. 4, 19; xx. 1, etc.; below, iv. 2.

[2] Cf. XXVIII. xviii.

waste. Since everybody was free from concern, as B.C. 205
if in peace-time, great losses were inflicted. And excited messengers filled Carthage with great alarm, reporting that the Roman fleet and Scipio as commander-in-chief had arrived. In fact it had been previously rumoured that he had already crossed over to Sicily. Lacking exact information also as to how many ships the messengers had seen and how large a force was laying waste the country, they exaggerated every report under the stimulus of fear. Accordingly alarm and panic at first, then dejection came over their spirits. So far, they said, had fortune changed that those who as victors had but lately had their own army before the walls of Rome and, after laying low so many armies of the enemy, had by force or by voluntary action received the surrender of all the peoples of Italy, with the shifting fortune of war were now destined to see the devastation of Africa and a siege of Carthage, when they had no such strength as the Romans had possessed to endure all that. For them, they said, the Roman populace, for them Latium had always furnished a greater and more numerous body of young men growing up in place of so many armies slain. As for their own populace, they were unwarlike in the city, unwarlike in the country. Hireling auxiliaries were being recruited from the Africans,[1] a race shifting with every fickle breath of hope and lacking in loyalty. Of the kings, moreover, Syphax had been alienated after his conference with Scipio,[2] they said, and Masinissa by open defection had shown himself their bitterest enemy. Nowhere was there any hope, nowhere any aid. Mago was neither setting in motion any uprising on the part of Gaul,

u.c. 549 sese Hannibali, et Hannibalem ipsum iam et fama senescere et viribus.

IV. In haec deflenda prolapsos ab recenti nuntio animos rursus terror instans revocavit ad consultandum quonam modo obviam praesentibus periculis 2 iretur. Dilectus raptim in urbe agrisque haberi placet; mittere ad conducenda Afrorum auxilia; munire urbem, frumentum convehere, tela arma parare; instruere naves ac mittere ad Hipponem 3 adversus Romanam classem. Iam haec agentibus nuntius tandem venit Laelium, non Scipionem, copiasque, quantae ad incursiones agrorum satis sint, transvectas; summae [1] belli molem adhuc in 4 Sicilia esse. Ita respiratum, mittique legationes [2] ad Syphacem aliosque regulos firmandae societatis causa coeptae. Ad Philippum quoque missi qui ducenta argenti talenta pollicerentur, ut in Siciliam 5 aut in Italiam traiceret. Missi et ad suos imperatores in Italiam ut omni terrore Scipionem retinerent; 6 ad Magonem non legati modo, sed viginti quinque longae naves, sex milia peditum, octingenti equites, septem elephanti, ad hoc magna pecunia ad conducenda auxilia, quibus fretus propius urbem Romanam exercitum admoveret coniungeretque se Hannibali.

7 Haec Carthagine parabant agitabantque cum [3]

[1] summae *P*: summam P^1 *or* P^2 *Aldus, Froben*: summi *HJK*.

[2] legationes *here HJK*: *after* Syphacem $P(1)N^{\text{a}}$*? Aldus, Froben.*

[3] cum $SpN^{\text{a}}HJK$ *Froben* 2, *Conway*: tum A^{a}; *om.* $P(1)N$ *Eds. beginning a new sentence with* Ad.

nor uniting with Hannibal; and Hannibal himself B.C. 205
by this time was on the decline both in repute and in strength.

IV. Such were the laments into which men had fallen in consequence of the recent news when impending alarm roused them again to deliberate how they should meet the dangers of the moment. It was decided to hold levies speedily in city and country; to send men to hire African auxiliaries; to fortify the city, to bring in grain, to provide arms offensive and defensive, to equip ships and send them to Hippo to face the Roman fleet. While they were already thus employed the news at last came that Laelius, not Scipio, had sailed across and only sufficient forces to raid the farms; that the bulk of the main army was still in Sicily. So there was a breathing spell, and they set about sending embassies to Syphax and other princes, to cement an alliance. To Philip also envoys were sent to promise him two hundred talents of silver, on condition that he should cross over into Sicily or Italy.[1] Men were sent likewise to their own commanders in Italy, that by every sort of alarm they should keep Scipio there. Not only envoys were sent to Mago but twenty-five war-ships, six thousand infantry, eight hundred horsemen, seven elephants, and in addition a large sum of money to hire auxiliaries. Relying upon these resources he was to advance nearer to the city of Rome with his army and unite with Hannibal.

Such were their plans and deliberations at Carthage

[1] Instead of doing so Philip made a treaty with the Romans; below, xii. 14. For a previous effort of the king to form an alliance with Carthage cf. XXIII. xxxiii. f.

u.c. 49 ad Laelium praedas ingentes ex agro inermi ac nudo praesidiis agentem Masinissa, fama Romanae classis 8 excitus, cum equitibus paucis venit. Is segniter rem agi ab Scipione questus, quod non iam exercitum in Africam traiecisset, perculsis Carthaginiensibus, Syphace impedito finitumis bellis; quem certum habere, si spatium ad sua ut velit componenda detur, nihil 9 sincera fide cum Romanis acturum. Hortaretur, stimularet Scipionem ne cessaret; se, quamquam regno pulsus esset, cum haud contemnendis copiis adfuturum peditum equitumque. Nec ipsi Laelio morandum in Africa esse; classem credere profectam a Carthagine, cum qua absente Scipione non satis tutum esset [1] contrahi certamen. V. Ab hoc sermone dimisso Masinissa Laelius postero die naves praeda onustas ab Hippone solvit, revectusque in Siciliam mandata Masinissae Scipioni exposuit.

2 Eisdem ferme diebus naves quae ab Carthagine ad Magonem missae erant inter Albingaunos Ligures 3 Genuamque accesserunt. In iis locis tum forte Mago tenebat classem; qui legatorum auditis verbis iubentium exercitus quam maximos comparare, extemplo Gallorum et Ligurum [2]—namque utriusque gentis 4 ingens ibi multitudo erat—concilium habuit; et

[1] esset N^{1}(*altern.*)*HJK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: esse $P(1)N$ *Eds.*

[2] et Ligurum $A^{1}N^{1}HJK$: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[1] A different account, followed by Livy in xxxiii. 9, placed Masinissa, at the time of Laelius' landing, in the region of the Emporia, far away to the south-east (cf. xxv. 12 and note).

when Masinissa, aroused by the report of a Roman fleet, came with a few horsemen to Laelius,[1] who was carrying off a vast amount of booty from territory that lacked troops and garrisons. Masinissa complained that Scipio was conducting the war without spirit in not having already transported his army to Africa, while the Carthaginians were panic-stricken and Syphax was entangled in wars with neighbours. He was certain, he said, that if Syphax should be given time to settle his affairs to his own satisfaction, there would be no real loyalty in his dealings with the Romans. Laelius should exhort and spur Scipio on to avoid delay. For himself, although he had been driven out of his kingdom, he would assist with no inconsiderable forces of infantry and cavalry. Laelius also must not tarry in Africa. A fleet, he believed, had sailed from Carthage, and with that fleet it was unsafe to engage in the absence of Scipio. V. Directly after this conversation Laelius sent Masinissa away, and on the following day he weighed anchor at Hippo, his ships booty-laden, and sailing back to Sicily delivered Masinissa's messages to Scipio. B.C. 205

About the same time the ships which had been sent to Mago from Carthage came into port between Ligurian Albingaunum and Genua.[2] In that region, as it happened, Mago had his fleet at the time. On hearing the words of the envoys, who urged him to get together the largest possible armies, he at once held a council of Gauls and Ligurians; for great numbers of both nations were present. And he told

[2] For that coast and its ports cf. XXVIII. xlvi. 8 ff. and notes. Here Savo (Savona), or Vada Sabat(i)a (2½ miles farther west), is evidently meant.

.c. missum se ad eos vindicandos in libertatem ait et,
9 ut ipsi cernant, mitti sibi ab domo praesidia; sed
quantis viribus, quanto exercitu id bellum geratur, in
5 eorum potestate esse. Duos exercitus Romanos,
unum in Gallia, alterum in Etruria esse; satis scire
Sp. Lucretium se cum M. Livio iuncturum; multa
milia armanda esse ut duobus ducibus, duobus
6 exercitibus Romanis resistatur. Galli summam ad id
suam voluntatem esse dicere; sed cum una castra
Romana intra fines, altera in finitima terra Etruria
prope in conspectu habeant, si palam fiat auxiliis
adiutum ab sese[1] Poenum, extemplo infestos
utrimque exercitus in agrum suum incursuros.
Ea ab Gallis desideraret quibus occulte adiuvari
7 posset: Liguribus, quod procul agro urbibusque
eorum castra Romana sint, libera consilia esse;
illos armare iuventutem et capessere pro parte
bellum aequum esse. Ligures haud abnuere, tempus
modo duorum mensum petere ad dilectus habendos.
8 Interim Mago milites Gallos, dimissis clam per agros
eorum, mercede conducere; commeatus quoque
omnis generis occulte ad eum a Gallicis populis
9 mittebantur. M. Livius exercitum volonum ex
Etruria in Galliam traducit,[2] iunctusque Lucretio, si
se Mago ex Liguribus propius urbem moveat,
obviam ire parat, si Poenus sub angulo Alpium

[1] ab sese $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: ab (*or* a) se esse A^1N^2HJK.
[2] traducit $P(1)N$ *Aldus*, *Froben*: traiecit N^1HJK.

[1] Cf. XXVIII. ix. 1 and note.
[2] Cf. *ibid.* xlvi. 12 f.; below, xiii. 4.
[3] It was safe to assume that he would follow Hasdrubal's example in making for the Adriatic coast, to enter Italy at Ariminum. The shorter Riviera route was never practicable

them that he had been sent to restore their liberty, B.C. 205
and that forces were being sent to him from home, as they themselves saw; but with what resources, with how large an army that war was to be waged depended upon themselves. There were two Roman armies, he said, one in Gaul,[1] the other in Etruria. He was sure that Spurius Lucretius would unite with Marcus Livius;[2] that many thousands must be armed for resistance to two generals, two Roman armies. The Gauls said that they were entirely willing to do so, but that since they had almost before their eyes one Roman camp within their borders and another in the neighbouring land of Etruria, if it should become known that they had aided the Carthaginian by furnishing auxiliaries, forthwith hostile armies would invade their territory from both directions. From Gauls he should require such support as could be given in secret. Ligurians were free to act, they said, since Roman camps were far from their land and their cities; it was right that *they* should arm their young men and take their proper share in the war. The Ligurians did not refuse, but simply asked for two months' time to hold levies. Meanwhile Mago by sending men secretly through their territory hired Gauls as soldiers. Supplies also of every kind were coming to him in secret from the Gallic nations. Marcus Livius led his army of slave-volunteers over from Etruria into Gaul and, having united with Lucretius, prepared to confront Mago, should he move out of Liguria towards the city;[3] but should the Cartha-

until 109 B.C., when the Via Aurelia was extended to Pisae, Genua, and Vada Sabatia; Strabo V. i. 11; cf. Mommsen *C.I.L.* V. p. 885.

B.C. 249 quietus se contineat, et ipse in eadem regione [1] circa Ariminum Italiae praesidio futurus.

VI. Post reditum ex Africa C. Laeli et Scipione stimulato Masinissae adhortationibus et militibus, praedam ex hostium terra cernentibus tota classe efferri, accensis ad traiciendum quam primum, intervenit maiori minor cogitatio Locros urbem recipiendi, quae sub defectionem Italiae desciverat et ipsa ad
2 Poenos. Spes autem adfectandae eius rei ex minima re adfulsit. Latrociniis [2] magis quam iusto bello in Bruttiis gerebantur res, principio ab Numidis facto et Bruttiis non societate magis Punica quam suopte
3 ingenio congruentibus in eum morem; postremo Romani quoque milites iam [3] contagione quadam rapto gaudentes, quantum per duces licebat, excursiones in
4 hostium agros facere. Ab iis egressi quidam urbe Locrenses circumventi Regiumque abstracti fuerant. In eo captivorum numero fabri quidam fuere, adsueti forte [4] apud Poenos mercede opus in arce Locrorum
5 facere. Hi cogniti ab Locrensium principibus, qui [5] pulsi ab adversa factione, quae Hannibali Locros
6 tradiderat, Regium se contulerant, cum cetera percunctantibus, ut mos est qui diu absunt, quae

[1] regione $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*: statione N^1HJK *Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[2] Latrociniis, *before this* quia Sp^2N^1(*altern.*): quod JK *Aldus, Froben.*

[3] milites iam A^1N^1 *Aldus, Froben*: iam $P(1)N$: milites HJK.

[4] forte *om.* $P(1)N$.

[5] qui $P(3)$ *Aldus*: *om.* AN: qui exsulabant Regii SpA^1N^1HJK *Froben* 2, *of which all but* A^1N^1 *om.* Regium se contulerant ($P(1)N$ *Aldus*).

[1] For the broader meaning of *angulus* = *recessus*, "remote region," cf. XXVIII. xii. 6; xlii. 18.

ginian quietly remain in a distant region[1] at the B.C. 205
foot of the Alps, he too would remain where he was, near Ariminum, for the defence of Italy.

VI. After the return of Gaius Laelius from Africa Scipio was spurred on by Masinissa's encouragement, and the soldiers seeing booty from the land of the enemy being brought ashore from an entire fleet, were likewise fired with a desire to cross over as soon as possible. The greater design, however, was interrupted by a lesser, that of recovering the city of Locri, which in the rebellion of Italy had also gone over to the Carthaginians.[2] Bright hopes of accomplishing that purpose, moreover, arose from a petty circumstance. There was brigandage rather than normal war operations in the country of the Bruttii, where a beginning had been made by the Numidians, and the Bruttians fell in with that practice not more on account of their Punic alliance than of their own nature. Finally the Roman soldiers also from a kind of infection now delighted in plunder, making raids upon the enemy's farms just as far as their commanders permitted. They had overpowered certain Locrians straying from the city and had carried them off to Regium. In the number of these captives were some artisans who, as it happened, were in the habit of plying their trade for hire among the Carthaginians in the citadel of Locri. These men were recognized by leading Locrians who, on being driven out by the opposing party, which had surrendered Locri to Hannibal, had retired to Regium. On being asked the questions usually put by men long absent, the artisans first

[2] As Livy has twice told: in 216 B.C., at XXIII. xxx. 8, and more fully under 215 in XXIV. i.

c. 9 domi agerentur exposuissent, spem fecerunt, si redempti ac remissi forent, arcem se iis tradituros; ibi se habitare, fidemque sibi rerum omnium inter 7 Carthaginienses esse. Itaque, ut qui simul desiderio patriae angerentur, simul cupiditate inimicos ulciscendi arderent, redemptis extemplo iis remissisque, 8 cum ordinem agendae rei composuissent signaque quae procul edita observarent, ipsi ad Scipionem Syracusas profecti, apud quem pars exsulum erat, referentes ibi promissa captivorum cum spem ab 9 effectu haud abhorrentem consuli fecissent, tribuni militum cum iis M. Sergius et P. Matienus missi iussique ab Regio tria milia militum Locros ducere; et Q. Pleminio propraetori scriptum ut rei agendae adesset.

10 Profecti ab Regio, scalas ad editam altitudinem arcis fabricatas portantes, media ferme nocte ex eo loco unde convenerat signum dedere proditoribus 11 arcis; qui parati intentique et ipsi scalas ad id ipsum factas cum demisissent pluribusque simul locis scandentes accepissent, priusquam clamor oreretur, in vigiles Poenorum, ut in nullo tali metu sopitos, 12 impetus est factus. Quorum gemitus primo morientium exauditus, deinde [1] subita consternatio ex somno et tumultus, cum causa ignoraretur, postremo

[1] deinde *J Froben* 2: dein $P^2(3)R^2HK$ *Aldus* (*P having* dubita *for* subita).

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[1] *I.e. legatus pro praetore*, representing Scipio. Cf. viii. 5; xvii. 10.

[2] Cf. XXVIII. v. 17 and note.

told them what was going on at home, and then B.C. 205
inspired the hope that, if ransomed and sent back, they would betray the citadel to them. It was there, they said, that they dwelt and among the Carthaginians were trusted in everything. Accordingly the leading men, being tormented by home-sickness and at the same time fired with a desire for vengeance on their enemies, at once ransomed the artisans and sent them back after agreeing upon a plan of action and signals for the display of which in the distance they should be on the watch. They themselves went to Scipio at Syracuse, with whom were some of the exiles. There they reported the promises of the captives and inspired in the consul a hope which gave good prospect of success. Consequently Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus, tribunes of the soldiers, were sent with them and ordered to take three thousand soldiers from Regium to Locri. And a written order was sent to the propraetor [1] Quintus Pleminius to assist in carrying out the project.

Setting out from Regium, carrying ladders constructed for the height of the citadel as reported, about midnight they set a signal [2] for the betrayers of the citadel from the place agreed upon. These men were ready and alert, and after they on their part also had lowered ladders made for that very purpose and at several different places at the same time had admitted scaling parties, before any outcry could arise came the attack upon the Carthaginian guards, who in the absence of any such fear naturally were asleep. At first it was the groans of the dying indistinctly heard; then sudden terror on awaking, and confused action, since the reason was unknown; finally greater certainty as they awakened

13 certior res aliis excitantibus alios. Iamque ad arma pro se quisque vocabat: hostes in arce esse et caedi vigiles; oppressique forent Romani nequaquam numero pares, ni clamor ab iis qui extra arcem erant sublatus incertum unde accidisset, omnia vana augente
14 nocturno tumultu, fecisset. Itaque velut plena iam [1] hostium arce territi Poeni omisso certamine in alteram arcem—duae sunt haud multum inter se distantes—
15 confugiunt. Oppidani urbem habebant, victoribus praemium in medio positam; ex arcibus duabus
16 proeliis cotidie levibus certabatur. Q. Pleminius Romano, Hamilcar Punico praesidio praeerat. Arcessentes ex propinquis locis subsidia copias
17 augebant; ipse postremo veniebat Hannibal; nec sustinuissent Romani, nisi Locrensium multitudo, exacerbata superbia atque avaritia Poenorum, ad Romanos inclinasset.

VII. Scipioni [2] ut nuntiatum est in maiore discrimine Locris rem verti ipsumque Hannibalem adven-
2 tare, ne praesidio [3] etiam periclitaretur, haud facili inde receptu, et ipse a Messana L. Scipione fratre in praesidio ibi relicto, cum primum aestu fretum inclinatum est. . . .[4] naves mari secundo misit.

[1] iam N^{a}(*altern.*)*HJK Aldus, Froben*: nam *P*: *om.* P^{2}(1)*N*.

[2] Scipioni *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: scipio $A^{r}HJK$ *Sigonius*.

[3] praesidio *P*(1)N^{1}: praesidium $C^{1}M^{1?}A^{1?}JK$ *Aldus, Froben*.

[4] *Here a numeral seems to have been omitted, Weissenborn conj., Conway.*

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[1] *I.e.* the so-called "descending" tide, running south into the Ionian Sea; XXIII. xli. 11; Strabo I. iii. 11. This strait

one another. By this time every man was shouting B.C. 205
his loudest "To arms!" that enemies were on the citadel and guards being cut down. And the Romans, who were by no means equal in numbers, would have been overpowered, had not an outcry raised by the men who were outside the citadel made it uncertain from what quarter the sounds came, while everything they imagined was intensified by the uproar in the dark. Accordingly the Carthaginians, supposing the citadel to be already filled with the enemy, were terrified, gave up fighting and fled to the other citadel; for there are two not far apart. The inhabitants were holding the city, set between combatants as a prize for the victors. From the two citadels came slight engagements every day. Quintus Pleminius commanded the Roman, Hamilcar the Carthaginian garrison. Summoning reinforcements from neighbouring places they kept increasing their numbers. Finally Hannibal himself was on the way, and the Romans would not have held out if the mass of the Locrians, embittered by the arrogance and greed of the Carthaginians, had not taken the side of the Romans.

VII. Scipio, on being informed that the situation at Locri had become more critical and that Hannibal himself was approaching, was afraid to take risks for the garrison as well, since it was not easy to retire from the place. Accordingly he too set out from Messana, after leaving his brother Lucius Scipio there in command of the garrison; and as soon as the strait shifted with the tide, he cast off with . . . ships while the current favoured.[1] And Hannibal

[1] has marked tides—very rare in the Mediterranean. Cf. the Euripus, XXVIII. vi. 10 and note.

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3 Et [1] Hannibal a Buloto amni—haud procul is ab urbe Locris abest—nuntio praemisso ut sui luce prima summa vi proelium cum Romanis ac Locrensibus consererent, dum ipse aversis omnibus in eum tumultum ab tergo urbem incautam adgrederetur, 4 ubi luce coeptam invenit pugnam, ipse nec in arcem se includere, turba locum artum inpediturus, voluit, neque scalas quibus scanderet [2] muros attulerat.[2] 5 Sarcinis in acervum coniectis cum haud procul muris ad terrorem hostium aciem ostendisset, cum equitibus Numidis circumequitat [3] urbem, dum scalae quaeque alia ad oppugnandum opus erant parantur, ad visen- 6 dum qua maxime parte adgrederetur. Progressus ad murum, scorpione icto qui proximus eum forte steterat, territus inde tam periculoso casu receptui canere cum iussisset, castra procul ab ictu teli 7 communit. Classis Romana a Messana Locros aliquot horis die [4] superante accessit; expositi omnes e navibus et ante occasum solis urbem ingressi sunt.

8 Postero die coepta ex arce a Poenis pugna, et Hannibal iam scalis aliisque omnibus ad oppugnationem paratis subibat muros, cum repente in eum nihil minus quam tale quicquam timentem patefacta porta 9 erumpunt Romani. Ad ducentos, improvidos cum invasissent, occidunt; ceteros Hannibal, ut consulem

[1] Et *HJK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P*(1)*N*.

[2] *Both verbs are plural in HJK Froben* 2.

[3] -equitat P^2(3)R^2 : -equitabat *HJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs* : -equitib. at *P*.

[4] die C^2 *Gronovius* : dici *or* diei *P*(1)*N* : multo die *Weissenborn conj., Conway* : multa die A^1HV^1*JK Aldus, Froben.*

sent a messenger from the river Bulotus—it is not far B.C. 205
from the city of Locri—ordering his men to engage in battle with the Romans and Locrians with the utmost violence at daybreak, while, when all eyes were turned in the direction of that conflict, he should himself attack the city unawares from the rear. When he came upon the battle, already begun at daybreak, he did not wish to shut himself in the citadel, where he would have clogged a cramped space by his numbers, and on the other hand he had not brought ladders for scaling city walls. After making a pile of the soldiers' baggage and displaying his line of battle at no great distance from the walls to frighten the enemy, while ladders and other requisites for an assault were being prepared, he rode round the city with his Numidian horsemen, to discover just where to make the attack. He had approached the wall when a man who happened to stand nearest to him was struck by a missile from a scorpion. Frightened away by an occurrence so dangerous, he thereupon ordered the recall to be sounded and fortified a camp beyond the range of missiles. The Roman fleet sailing from Messana reached Locri while several hours of daylight remained. All were landed from the ships and before sunset they entered the city.

On the following day a battle was begun by the Carthaginians from their citadel, and Hannibal, having made ready the ladders and everything else for the assault, was coming close to the walls when suddenly the Romans opened a gate and sallied out against an enemy who feared anything but that. In making this surprise attack they slew about two hundred. As for the rest, Hannibal on

B.C. 49 adesse sensit, in castra recipit,[1] nuntioque misso ad eos qui in arce erant ut sibimet ipsi consulerent, 10 nocte motis castris abiit. Et qui in arce erant, igni iniecto tectis quae tenebant, ut is tumultus hostem moraretur, agmen suorum fugae simili cursu ante noctem adsecuti sunt.

VIII. Scipio ut et arcem relictam ab hostibus et vacua vidit castra, vocatos ad contionem Locrenses 2 graviter ob defectionem incusavit; de auctoribus supplicium sumpsit bonaque eorum alterius factionis principibus ob egregiam fidem adversus Romanos 3 concessit. Publice nec dare nec eripere se quicquam Locrensibus dixit; Romam mitterent legatos; quam senatus aequum censuisset, eam fortunam 4 habituros. Illud satis scire, etsi male de populo Romano meriti essent, in meliore statu sub iratis Romanis futuros quam sub amicis Carthaginiensibus 5 fuerint. Ipse Pleminio legato praesidioque quod arcem ceperat ad tuendam urbem relicto, cum quibus venerat copiis Messanam traiecit.

6 Ita superbe et crudeliter habiti Locrenses ab Carthaginiensibus post defectionem ab Romanis fuerant ut modicas iniurias non aequo modo animo 7 pati sed prope libenti possent; verum enimvero tantum Pleminius Hamilcarem praesidii praefectum, tantum praesidiarii milites Romani Poenos scelere

[1] recipit *P*(1)*N Froben* 2: recepit B^2N^1HJK *Aldus*.

learning that the consul was there withdrew them B.C. 205
to his camp, and sending word to the men in the citadel to shift for themselves, he broke camp in the night and marched away. And the men in the citadel set fire to the houses which they were occupying, that the commotion might delay the enemy, and with a speed that resembled flight overtook their own column before nightfall.

VIII. Scipio, seeing that the citadel had been abandoned by the enemy and the site of the camp deserted, summoned the Locrians to an assembly and stoutly upbraided them for their revolt. He punished those who had prompted it and bestowed their property upon the leaders of the other party in view of their conspicuous loyalty towards the Romans. As regards their state, he said he would neither grant the Locrians anything nor take anything away. They should send envoys to Rome; and whatever lot the senate thought it proper for them to have would be theirs. Even though they had deserved ill of the Roman people, of this he was certain, that they would be in a better position under angry Romans than they were under friendly Carthaginians. Leaving Pleminius, his lieutenant, to defend the city with the force which had captured the citadel, Scipio crossed over to Messana with the troops with which he had come.

With such arrogance and cruelty had the Locrians been treated by the Carthaginians after their revolt from the Romans that they could bear minor wrongs not only calmly but almost willingly. In actual fact, however, so far did Pleminius surpass Hamilcar, commandant of the garrison, so far did the Roman soldiers in the garrison surpass the Carthaginians in

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atque avaritia superaverunt ut non armis, sed vitiis
8 videretur certari. Nihil omnium quae inopi invisas opes potentioris [1] faciunt praetermissum in oppidanos est ab duce aut a militibus; in corpora ipsorum, in liberos, in coniuges infandae contumeliae editae.
9 Nam [2] avaritia ne sacrorum quidem spoliatione abstinuit; nec alia modo templa violata, sed Proserpinae etiam intacti omni aetate [3] thensauri, praeterquam quod a Pyrrho, qui cum magno piaculo sacrilegii
10 sui manubias rettulit, spoliati dicebantur. Ergo sicut ante regiae naves laceratae naufragiis nihil in terram integri praeter sacram pecuniam deae quam
11 asportabant [4] extulerant,[5] tum quoque alio genere cladis eadem illa pecunia omnibus contactis ea violatione templi furorem obiecit atque inter se ducem in ducem, militem in militem rabie hostili vertit.

IX. Summae rei Pleminius praeerat: militum pars sub eo quam ipse ab Regio adduxerat,[6] pars sub tri-
2 bunis erat. Rapto poculo argenteo ex oppidani domo Plemini miles fugiens sequentibus quorum erat, obvius forte Sergio et Matieno tribunis militum fuit;
3 cui cum iussu tribunorum ademptum poculum esset,

[1] potentioris *JK Aldus, Froben*: -ores *P*(1)*NH*.
[2] Nam *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: iam *Sp*²*A*⁶*HJK*.
[3] aetate *P*²(3)*N Aldus, Froben*: ae *P*: aevo (*or* evo) *N*¹*HJK*.
[4] asportabant (*or* -bat) *P*(3)*CA*¹*N*¹? *Aldus*: -averant *Sp*²*HJK Froben* 2.
[5] extulerant (*or* -rat) *P*(3)*NCM*²*A*¹*N*¹?*HJK Aldus*: extulerunt *Sp. Froben* 2.
[6] adduxerat *CA*²*NK Aldus, Froben*: ab- *P*(3)*SpHJ*.

villainy and greed that they seemed to be competing B.C. 205
not in arms but in vices. Of all the things that make the power of the stronger odious to the helpless man not one was overlooked by commander and soldiers in dealing with the townspeople. Unutterable insults were practised upon their own persons, upon wives. It goes without did not refrain from de- And not only were it also the treasure- untouched in every age except that they were said to have been despoiled by Pyrrhus, who met with a signal punishment and restored the plunder gained by his sacrilege.[2] Consequently, just as formerly the king's ships, battered and wrecked, had landed nothing intact but the goddess' sacred money which they were trying to carry away, so on this occasion also, with a different kind of disaster that same money visited insanity upon all who had shared in that desecration of the temple, and mutually turned commander against commander, soldier against soldier, with the frenzy of enemies.

IX. The chief command belonged to Pleminius. Part of the soldiers whom he had brought from Regium were under him, part under the tribunes. Having stolen a silver cup from the house of a citizen, a fleeing soldier of Pleminius was being pursued by the owners when he chanced to meet Sergius and Matienus, tribunes of the soldiers. By order of the tribunes the cup was taken away from the man.

[1] The chief divinity of Locri was Persephone, her famous temple and rich treasury being just outside the walls and to the north-west. Cf. xviii. 3.

[2] Cf. xviii. 4–6 and notes.

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iurgium inde et clamor, pugna postremo orta inter Plemini milites tribunorumque, ut suis quisque opportunus advenerat, multitudine simul ac tumultu crescente. Victi Plemini milites cum ad Pleminium, cruorem ac volnera ostentantes, non sine vociferatione atque indignatione concurrissent, probra in eum ipsum iactata in iurgiis ref
sese proripuit vocatosque
expediri iubet. Dum
enim militumque fide.
tur, repente milites fe
omnibus locis, velut adversus hostes ad arma conclamatum esset, concurrerunt; et cum violata iam virgis corpora tribunorum vidissent, tum vero in multo inpotentiorem subito rabiem accensi, sine respectu non maiestatis modo sed etiam humanitatis, in legatum impetum lictoribus prius indignum in modum mulcatis faciunt. Tum [2] ipsum ab suis interceptum et seclusum hostiliter lacerant et prope exsanguem naso auribusque mutilatis relinquunt.

His Messanam nuntiatis Scipio post paucos dies Locros hexeri [3] advectus cum causam Plemini et tribunorum audisset, Pleminio noxa liberato relictoque in eiusdem loci praesidio, tribunis sontibus iudicatis et in vincla coniectis, ut Romam ad senatum mitte-

[1] fidem *Sp²HJK Froben 2*: *om.* *P*(3): auxilium (*after verb*) *M²?N Aldus.*

[2] Tum *Aldus. Froben*: tunc *P*(1)*NHJK.*

[3] hexeri *SpJ Froben 2*: hexere *Madrig*: hexerce *P*(3)*N?*: *om.* *H Aldus.*

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[1] Pleminius represents Scipio and has *imperium.*

[2] This rare type of vessel had been used in the First Punic War for the flag-ships of Regulus and Manlius; Polybius

Thereupon angry words followed and shouting, B.C. 205
finally a battle between Pleminius' soldiers and those of the tribunes, while numbers and rioting increased in proportion as one side or the other gained a timely arrival. The soldiers of Pleminius were worsted, and when they came running to him displaying bloody wounds, not without angry shouts as they reported insults that had been heaped even upon him in an altercation, he was inflamed with anger, dashed out of his house, summoned the tribunes and ordered them to be stripped and the rods made ready. While time was being taken to strip them—for they resisted and called upon the soldiers to help them—suddenly soldiers, flushed by their recent victory, came running from every quarter, just as if there had been a call to arms against the enemy. And when they caught sight of the tribunes' backs already welted by the rods, upon that they were indeed suddenly fired to a much more uncontrollable madness, and after roughly handling the lictors in shameful fashion, without regard even for humanity, not to say for the dignity of his rank,[1] they assaulted the legatus. Then, having separated and cut him off from his men, they slashed him as if an enemy and, mutilating his nose and ears, left him almost lifeless.

These acts being reported at Messana, Scipio a few days later sailed to Locri on a *hexēris*.[2] Then having heard the case of Pleminius and the tribunes, he discharged Pleminius as innocent and left him in command of the same place, while the tribunes were adjudged guilty and put in chains, to be sent to the

I. xxvi. 11. It was the next grade above the quinquereme. Cf. XXVIII. xxx. 11, note.

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rentur, Messanam atque inde Syracusas rediit.[1] 9 Pleminius impotens irae, neglectam ab Scipione et 10 nimis leviter latam suam iniuriam ratus, nec quemquam aestimare alium eam litem posse nisi qui atrocitatem[2] eius patiendo sensisset, tribunos adtrahi ad se iussit, laceratosque omnibus quae pati corpus ullum potest suppliciis interfecit, nec satiatus 11 vivorum poena insepultos proiecit. Simili crudelitate et in Locrensium principes est usus quos ad conquerendas iniurias ad P. Scipionem profectos audivit; 12 et quae antea per lubidinem atque avaritiam foeda exempla in socios ediderat, tunc ab ira multiplicia edere, infamiae atque invidiae non sibi modo sed etiam imperatori esse.

X. Iam comitiorum adpetebat tempus cum a P. Licinio consule litterae Romam allatae, se exercitumque suum gravi morbo adflictari,[3] nec sisti potuisse, ni eadem vis mali aut gravior etiam in hostes in- 2 gruisset; itaque, quoniam ipse venire ad comitia non posset, si ita patribus videretur, se Q. Caecilium Metellum dictatorem comitiorum causa dicturum. Exer- 3 citum Q. Caecili dimitti e re publica esse; nam[4] neque usum eius ullum in praesentia esse, cum Hannibal iam in hiberna suos receperit, et tanta incesserit in ea castra vis morbi ut, nisi mature dimittantur, nemo

[1] rediit $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: redit *HJK Froben 2*.

[2] posse . . . atrocitatem A^1N^1HJK *Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line*.

[3] adflictari (*or* af-) A^2N^2HJK *Eds.*: adfectari (*or* af-) $P(1)N$.

[4] nam $P(1)NJK$ *Eds.*: *bracketed by Conway*.

senate at Rome; whereupon he returned to Messana B.C. 205
and thence to Syracuse. Pleminius was beside himself with rage, thinking the wrong done to him had been overlooked by Scipio and treated as too trivial; also that no one else was capable of naming a penalty for the offence except a man who had known its barbarity by suffering. Accordingly he ordered the tribunes to be brought before him, and had them mangled by every torture which any human body can endure and then put to death. Not satisfied with a penalty paid by the living either, he threw them out unburied. The like cruelty was used by him against leading men of the Locrians who, he learned, had gone to Publius Scipio to complain of the outrages. Then in anger he multiplied the shameful acts which, prompted previously by lust and greed, he had perpetrated upon the allies, and brought infamy and odium not only upon himself but also upon his general.

X. The time for the elections was already at hand when a letter from Publius Licinius, the consul, reached Rome, reporting that he and his army were suffering from a serious malady, and that they could not have held out if an equally violent or even more serious disease had not been visited upon the enemy. Accordingly, since he was unable to come in person to the elections, he would name Quintus Caecilius Metellus dictator to hold the elections, if the senators approved. It was to the interest of the state, he said, that the army of Quintus Caecilius should be discharged; for at present his army had nothing to do, since Hannibal had already withdrawn his troops into winter quarters; and so violent a malady had befallen Caecilius' camp that, unless the troops were promptly disbanded, not one man, it

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omnium superfuturus videatur. Ea consuli a patribus facienda ut e re publica fideque sua duceret permissa. 4 Civitatem eo tempore repens religio invaserat invento carmine in libris Sibyllinis propter crebrius 5 eo anno de caelo lapidatum inspectis, quandoque hostis alienigena terrae Italiae bellum intulisset, eum pelli Italia vincique posse, si mater Idaea a Pessinunte 6 Romam advecta foret. Id carmen ab decemviris inventum eo magis patres movit, quod et legati qui donum Delphos portaverant referebant et sacrificantibus ipsis Pythio Apollini laeta exta [1] fuisse et responsum oraculo editum maiorem multo victoriam quam cuius ex spoliis dona portarent adesse populo 7 Romano. In eiusdem spei summam conferebant P. Scipionis velut praesagientem animum de fine belli, 8 quod depoposcisset provinciam Africam. Itaque quo maturius fatis ominibus [2] oraculisque portendentis sese [3] victoriae compotes fierent, id cogitare atque agitare,[4] quae ratio transportandae Romam deae esset.

XI. Nullasdum in Asia socias civitates habebat populus Romanus; tamen memores Aesculapium

[1] laeta exta A^1 *Eds.*: omnia laeta exta N^sHJK *Aldus, Froben*: laeta $P(1)N$: omnia laeta *Johnson, Conway.*

[2] ominibus *Rhenanus*: omnibus $P(1)NSpHJK$ *Aldus.*

[3] portendentis sese *Aldus, Froben*: -denti sese $P(1)NHJK$: *om. Sp, three or four lines* (port- *to* trans-).

[4] atque agitare N^sHJK: *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Kybele (Cybele), the Phrygian Mother of the Gods; Preller, *Griechische Mythologie* I[4]. 643 ff.; Roscher, *Lex.* II. i. 1638 ff., 1666 ff.; Catullus 63; Lucretius II. 600 ff.; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 61; Strabo XII. v. 3; Appian *Hann.* 56; Cicero *de Harusp. Resp.* 27 f. Ovid's imaginative account should be compared, *Fasti* IV. 247–348 (see Frazer's notes). Pessinus was near the border of Galatia (towards Phrygia), ca. 80 miles south-west of Ancyra (Ankara). Cf. xi. 7, note.

seemed, would survive. The consul was permitted B.C. 205
by the senate to do whatever he thought consistent with the public interest and his own conscience.

At that time religious scruples had suddenly assailed the citizens because in the Sibylline books, which were consulted on account of the frequent showers of stones that year, an oracle was found that, if ever a foreign foe should invade the land of Italy, he could be driven out of Italy and defeated if the Idaean Mother [1] should be brought from Pessinus to Rome. The discovery of that oracle by the decemvirs impressed the senators all the more because the ambassadors also who had carried a gift to Delphi reported that, when they offered sacrifices themselves to Pythian Apollo, the omens had been favourable, and that likewise from the sanctum there had come a response that a much greater victory was in prospect for the Roman people than that from spoils of which they were bringing gifts. To the facts supporting that same hope the senators added Publius Scipio's state of mind, virtually forecasting the end of the war, in that he demanded Africa as his province. And so, that they might the sooner be in possession of the victory which foreshadowed itself in oracles, forecasts [2] and responses, they planned and discussed what should be the method of transporting the goddess to Rome.

XI. In Asia the Roman people had as yet no allied states. They bore in mind, however, that Aesculapius [3] also had been summoned once upon a

[2] Referring mainly to Scipio's confident anticipation, while "oracles" covers the Sibylline prophecy and "responses" that from Delphi (Gronovius).

[3] Cf. X. xlvii. 7; *Periocha* 11; Strabo *l.c.* (cf. n. 1).

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quoque ex Graecia quondam hauddum ullo foedere
2 sociata valetudinis populi causa arcessitum, tunc
iam cum Attalo rege propter commune adversus
Philippum bellum coeptam amicitiam esse, facturum
3 eum quae posset populi Romani causa, legatos ad
eum decernunt M. Valerium Laevinum, qui bis
consul fuerat ac res in Graecia gesserat, M. Caecilium
Metellum praetorium, Ser. Sulpicium [1] Galbam
aedilicium, duos quaestorios, Cn. Tremelium Flaccum
4 et M. Valerium Faltonem. Iis quinque naves
quinqueremes, ut ex dignitate populi Romani
adirent eas terras ad quas concilianda maiestas
5 nomini Romano esset decernunt. Legati Asiam
petentes protinus Delphos cum escendissent, oracu-
lum adierunt consulentes ad quod negotium domo
missi essent, perficiendi eius quam sibi spem popu-
6 loque Romano portenderet. Responsum esse ferunt
per Attalum regem compotes eius fore quod peterent;
cum Romam deam devexissent, tum curarent ut
eam qui vir optimus Romae esset hospitio exciperet.[2]
7 Pergamum ad regem venerunt. Is legatos comiter
acceptos Pessinuntem in Phrygiam deduxit sacrumque

[1] Metellum . . . Sulpicium *N¹HJK*: *om. P*(1)*N, two lines.*
[2] exciperet *P*(3)*N*: ac- *JK Aldus, Froben*: re- *B.*

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[1] Cf. XXX. xxiii. 5. One list of the consuls gives Laevinus a first consulship in 220 B.C.; Chronogr. an. 354 in *C.I.L.* I. p. 524. He may have been a *suffectus* in 208 B.C. (end of the year, both consuls being dead; XXVII. xxxiii. 7). In Livy a new man when elected in 211 B.C.; XXVI. xxii. 12.

[2] See XXVIII. xxx. 11 and note. Whatever may have been the arrangement of the oars on a quinquereme, it is clear that these larger vessels were meant to impress all who saw them with the *dignitas* of the Roman state.

time from Greece on account of an epidemic, while B.C. 205
there was as yet no treaty of alliance; that at present on account of a joint war against Philip they had already entered into friendly relations with King Attalus. Thinking that he would do what he could for the sake of the Roman people, they decided to send ambassadors to him. These were Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had been twice consul [1] and had held a command in Greece, Marcus Caecilius Metellus, an ex-praetor, Servius Sulpicius Galba, an ex-aedile, and two former quaestors, Gnaeus Tremelius Flaccus and Marcus Valerius Falto. For them they voted five quinqueremes,[2] that in keeping with the dignity of the Roman people they might visit lands where the highest respect for the Roman name was to be won. The ambassadors on the voyage to Asia made their way up to Delphi and consulted the oracle, enquiring what hope of accomplishing the task for which they had been sent from home it foresaw for themselves and the Roman people. The response, they say, was that they should gain what they sought with the help of King Attalus; that after conveying the goddess to Rome they were then to make sure that the best man at Rome should hospitably welcome her. They came to the king at Pergamum. He courteously received the ambassadors and, escorting them to Pessĭnus in Phrygia,[3] presented them with the sacred stone [4]

[3] The region was still held by the Gallic invaders, but the temple was favoured and adorned by the kings at Pergamum. That Attalus and the legati actually went to Pessĭnus, about 240 miles from his capital, is very unlikely.

[4] Probably a meteorite, small enough to be used later as the face of her statue; Arnobius VII. 49; cf. VI. 11; Herodian I. 11, 1; Appian *Hann.* 56. Cp. p. 261, n. 2.

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iis lapidem quam matrem deum esse incolae dicebant
8 tradidit ac deportare Romam iussit. Praemissus [1] ab legatis M. Valerius Falto nuntiavit deam adportari; quaerendum virum optimum in civitate esse qui eam rite hospitio acciperet.

9 Q. Caecilius Metellus dictator ab consule in Bruttiis comitiorum causa dictus exercitusque eius dimissus, magister equitum L. Veturius Philo.
10 Comitia per dictatorem habita.[2] Consules facti M. Cornelius Cethegus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus
11 absens, cum provinciam Graeciam haberet. Praetores inde creati Ti. Claudius Nero, M. Marcius Ralla, L. Scribonius Libo, M. Pomponius Matho. Comitiis perfectis [3] dictator sese magistratu abdicavit.

12 Ludi Romani ter, plebei septiens instaurati. Curules erant aediles Cn. et L. Cornelii Lentuli; Lucius Hispaniam provinciam habebat; absens creatus
13 absens eum honorem gessit. Ti. Claudius Asellus et M. Iunius Pennus plebei aediles fuerunt. Aedem Virtutis eo anno ad portam Capenam M. Marcellus dedicavit septumo decumo anno postquam a patre eius primo consulatu vota in Gallia ad Clastidium
14 fuerat. Et flamen Martialis eo anno est mortuus M. Aemilius Regillus.

XII. Neglectae eo biennio res in Graecia erant. Itaque Philippus Aetolos desertos ab Romanis,[4] cui

[1] Praemissus *P*(3)*C*[4]*JK*(-sis *CH*): remissus *Sp? Rhenanus.*
[2] habita *here HJK Aldus, Froben*: *before* per *P*(1)*N.*
[3] perfectis *HJK Froben* 2: peractis *P*(1)*N Aldus, Conway.*
[4] Romanis *Sp?A*[4]*HJK Froben* 2: romano *P*(1)*N Aldus.*

[1] Cf. Vol. VI. p. 494, note; VII. p. 312 f., notes; Platner-Ashby, *Topogr. Dict.* 258 f. For the younger Marcellus cf. p. 288, n. 1.

[2] No abandonment has been previously mentioned, but neglect for many months would have the same effect.

which the inhabitants said was the Mother of the Gods, and bade them carry it away to Rome. Sent on in advance by the ambassadors, Marcus Valerius Falto brought the news that they were bringing the goddess; they must seek out the best man in the state to receive her with due hospitality. B.C. 205

Quintus Caecilius Metellus was named, by the consul who was in the land of the Bruttians, dictator for the purpose of holding the elections, and Metellus' army was disbanded. Lucius Veturius Philo was named master of the horse. The elections were held by the dictator. Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus were elected consuls, the latter in his absence, since he had Greece as his province. Then Tiberius Claudius Nero, Marcus Marcius Ralla, Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Pomponius Matho were elected praetors. The elections being completed, the dictator abdicated his office.

The Roman Games were repeated for three of the days, the Plebeian Games for seven. The curule aediles were Gnaeus and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus. Lucius was in charge of the province of Spain; being elected in absence he was aedile in absence. Tiberius Claudius Asellus and Marcus Iunius Pennus were plebeian aediles. The Temple of Valour [1] at the Porta Capena was dedicated that year by Marcus Marcellus, in the seventeenth year after it had been vowed at Clastidium in Gaul by his father in his first consulship. And the flamen of Mars, Marcus Aemilius Regillus, died that year.

XII. In Greece the situation had been ignored in the last two years. Consequently when the Aetolians were abandoned by the Romans,[2] the one defence in

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uni fidebant auxilio, quibus voluit condicionibus ad
2 petendam et paciscendam subegit pacem. Quod nisi
omni vi perficere maturasset, bellantem eum cum
Aetolis P. Sempronius proconsul, successor imperii
missus Sulpicio cum decem milibus peditum et mille
equitibus [1] et triginta quinque rostratis navibus, haud
parvum momentum ad opem ferendam sociis, oppres-
3 sisset. Vixdum pace facta nuntius regi venit Romanos
Dyrrachium venisse, Parthinosque et propinquas
gentes alias motas esse ad spem novandi res, Dimal-
4 lumque oppugnari. Eo se averterant Romani ab
Aetolorum quo missi erant [2] auxilio, irati quod sine
auctoritate sua adversus foedus cum rege pacem
5 fecissent. Ea cum audisset Philippus, ne qui motus
maior in finitimis gentibus populisque oreretur,
magnis itineribus [3] Apolloniam contendit, quo
Sempronius se receperat, misso Laetorio legato cum
parte copiarum et quindecim navibus in Aetoliam
ad visendas res pacemque, si posset, turbandam.
6 Philippus agros Apolloniatium vastavit et ad urbem
admotis copiis potestatem pugnae Romano fecit;
7 quem postquam quietum muros tantummodo tueri
vidit, nec satis fidens viribus ut urbem oppugnaret,

[1] decem . . . equitibus A^1N^1HJK: *reduced by om. to* dem militibus *in* P: *little improved in* $P^2(1)N$.

[2] Eo se averterant . . . erant A^1N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben*: eos verterant $P(1)N$, *two lines om.*

[3] populisque . . . itineribus A^1N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(3)$, *another om. of two lines.*

[1] He had been censor (XXVII. xi. 7), and already proconsul in Greece before his consulship; cf. XXVIII. xxxviii. 1, note.

[2] On the Adriatic, location uncertain, but near the Parthini and Dyrrhachium (Durazzo). Cf. XXXIII. xxxiv. 11; XLIII. xxi. 3; Polybius II. xi. 11; III. xviii. 1, 3; VII. ix. 13 (text of a treaty between Hannibal and Philip).

which they trusted, Philip compelled them to sue B.C. 205
for peace and make a treaty on terms of his own choosing. Had he not used every effort to bring that about promptly, he would have been surprised while still making war upon the Aetolians by Publius Sempronius,[1] the proconsul, who with ten thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry and thirty-five warships had been sent as Sulpicius' successor in command and was no small factor in bringing aid to the allies. Scarcely had peace been made when word came to the king that the Romans had arrived at Dyrrachium, and that the Parthini and other neighbouring tribes were aroused to the hope of revolution and that Dimallum [2] was besieged. To that place the Romans had turned aside from helping the Aetolians, to whom they had been sent. They were angry because without Roman consent and contrary to the treaty [3] the Aetolians had made peace with the king. On hearing of this Philip, fearing some greater disturbance might begin among neighbouring tribes and peoples, hastened by forced marches to Apollonia,[4] to which Sempronius had withdrawn after sending Laetorius, his lieutenant, with a part of his troops and fifteen ships into Aetolia to survey the situation and, if possible, to disturb the peace. Philip laid waste the farms of the Apollonians and, moving his troops up to the city, gave the Roman an opportunity to engage. As soon as he saw that they remained inactive, merely defending the walls, Philip, who had not sufficient confidence in his forces to assault the city and was desirous of peace

[3] Cf. XXVI. xxiv. 8–14.
[4] Cf. Vol. VI. p. 303, n. 3; 305, 307; VII. p. 95 *fin.*

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et cum [1] Romanis quoque, sicut cum Aetolis, cupiens pacem, si posset, si minus, indutias facere, nihil ultra inritatis novo certamine odiis in regnum se recepit.

8 Per idem tempus taedio diutini belli Epirotae temptata prius Romanorum voluntate legatos de
9 pace communi ad Philippum misere, satis confidere conventuram eam adfirmantes, si ad conloquium cum
10 P. Sempronio imperatore Romano venisset. Facile impetratum—neque enim ne ipsius quidem regis ab-
11 horrebat animus—ut in Epirum transiret. Phoenice urbs est Epiri; ibi prius conlocutus rex cum Aëropo et Derda et Philippo, Epirotarum praetoribus, postea
12 cum P. Sempronio congreditur. Adfuit conloquio Amynander Athamanum rex et magistratus alii Epirotarum et Acarnanum. Primus Philippus praetor verba fecit et petit simul ab rege et ab imperatore Romano ut finem belli facerent darentque eam
13 Epirotis veniam. P. Sempronius condiciones pacis dixit, ut Parthini et Dimallum et Bargullum et Eugenium Romanorum essent, Atintania, si missis Romam legatis ab senatu impetrasset, ut Macedoniae
14 accederet.[2] In has [3] condiciones cum pax con-

[1] et cum *Sp²A¹HJK Froben 2*: cum *P*(1)*N Aldus*.

[2] Macedoniae accederet *Alschefski*: -niae (*or* -nie) cederet *P*(1)*N*: -nia cederet *A¹N¹* (*altern.*)*H*(-tur)*JK Aldus*: -ni accederent *Froben 2* (-ret *Gronovius*).

[3] has *HJK*: eas *P*(1)*N Eds*.

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[1] In Chaonia (northern Epirus), a few miles from the port of Onchesmos, opposite Corcyra (Corfu); Polybius II. v. 3; Strabo VII. vii. 5.

[2] The Athamanes (in eastern Epirus, close to the Pindus range; Strabo IX. v. 1) had a king, the neighbouring tribes only στρατηγοί. A peacemaker in 208 B.C. (XXVII. xxx. 4), Amynander allowed Philip to pass through his territory, and

with the Romans also, if possible, just as with the Aetolians, but if not, of making an armistice, retired to his own kingdom without provoking any further animosities by a fresh conflict. B.C. 205

About the same time the Epirotes, weary of the protracted war, first sounding the disposition of the Romans, sent ambassadors to Philip in regard to a general peace, asserting their confidence that it would be agreed upon if he should come to a conference with Publius Sempronius, the Roman general. The king was easily prevailed upon to cross over into Epirus, for he himself was not disinclined to peace. Phoenice[1] is a city in Epirus; there the king first conferred with Aëropus and Derdas and Philip, chief magistrates of the Epirotes, and later met Publius Sempronius. Present at the conference were Amynander,[2] King of the Athamanians, and in addition magistrates of the Epirotes and Acarnanians. The first to speak was Philip, the magistrate, begging the king and at the same time the Roman general to make an end of the war and grant that favour to the Epirotes. Publius Sempronius stated as terms of the peace that the Parthini and Dimallum and Bargullum[3] and Eugenium[3] should fall to the Romans; that Atintania[4] should be annexed to Macedonia, if the king, sending ambassadors to Rome, should obtain the senate's consent. Peace being agreed upon on these terms,

thus the Aetolians were obliged to make a separate peace with Macedonia (§ 1).

[3] Small places, unknown; probably near Dimallum.

[4] In north-western Epirus, in the upper valley of the Aōus river; XXVII. xxx. 13. Allied with Rome in the Illyrian War of 219 B.C., but now subject to Philip.

A.U.C. 549 veniret, ab rege foederi adscripti Prusia Bithyniae rex, Achaei, Boeoti, Thessali, Acarnanes, Epirotae, ab Romanis Ilienses, Attalus rex, Pleuratus, Nabis Lacedaemoniorum tyrannus, Elei, Messenii, Athenienses. Haec conscripta consignataque sunt, et in duos menses indutiae factae, donec Romam mitterentur legati, ut populus in has condiciones pacem iuberet: iusseruntque omnes tribus, quia verso in Africam bello omnibus aliis in praesentia levari bellis volebant. P. Sempronius pace facta ad consulatum Romam decessit.

A.U.C. 550 XIII. M. Cornelio P. Sempronio consulibus—quintus decimus is annus belli Punici erat—provinciae Cornelio Etruria cum vetere exercitu, Sempronio Bruttii, ut novas scriberet legiones, decretae. Praetoribus M. Marcio urbana, L. Scribonio Liboni peregrina et eidem Gallia, M. Pomponio Mathoni Sicilia, Ti. Claudio Neroni Sardinia evenit. P.[1] Scipioni cum eo exercitu, cum ea classe quam habebat, prorogatum in annum imperium est; item P. Licinio, ut Bruttios duabus legionibus obtineret, quoad eum in provincia cum imperio morari consuli e re publica visum esset. Et M. Livio et Sp. Lucretio

[1] P. *P(1)A²N*: proconsuli *SpHJK*.

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[1] As progenitors of the Romans. Cf. their statement when Lucius Scipio visited Ilium in 190 B.C.: XXXVII. xxxvii. 1 ff.; cf. XXXVIII. xxxix. 10; Herodian I. 11. 3. Early evidence for the Aeneas legend.

[2] A king of the Thracians; XXVI. xxiv. 9; XXVII. xxx. 13; XXVIII. v. 7.

[3] From 207 to 192 B.C. Successor of Machanidas, who fell in battle three years before this; Polybius XI. xviii. Fre-

Prusias, King of Bithynia, the Achaeans, Boeotians, B.C. 205
Thessalians, Acarnanians and Epirotes were included on the king's side of the treaty; on the side of the Romans, the Ilians,[1] King Attalus, Pleuratus,[2] Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians,[3] also the Eleans, Messenians and Athenians. These provisions were reduced to writing and sealed, and an armistice was made for two months, that meanwhile ambassadors might be sent to Rome, so that the people might order peace to be made on these terms. And all the tribes so ordered, since, now that the war had shifted to Africa, they wished for the present to be relieved of all other wars. Publius Sempronius, after the peace had been made, left his province for Rome to enter upon his consulship.

XIII. In the consulship of Marcus Cornelius and B.C. 204
Publius Sempronius, this being the fifteenth year of the Punic war, the province of Etruria was assigned by decree to Cornelius with the old army, the land of the Bruttii to Sempronius, with orders to enrol new legions. As for the praetors, the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Marcius, that over strangers and also the province of Gaul to Lucius Scribonius Libo, Sicily to Marcus Pomponius Matho, Sardinia to Tiberius Claudius Nero. Publius Scipio's command was continued for one year with the army and the fleet which he then had. The same was done in the case of Publius Licinius, who was to hold the Bruttian territory with two legions so long as the consul should judge it to the public interest for him to remain in the province with a high command. Marcus Livius also and Spurius Lucretius had their com-

quently mentioned by Livy in subsequent books; his death XXXV. xxxv. 19.

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cum binis legionibus quibus adversus Magonem Galliae praesidio fuissent prorogatum imperium est, 5 et Cn. Octavio, ut cum Sardiniam legionemque Ti. Claudio tradidisset, ipse navibus longis quadraginta maritimam oram, quibus finibus senatus censuisset, 6 tutaretur. M. Pomponio praetori in Sicilia Cannensis exercitus, duae legiones decretae; T. Quinctius Tarentum, C. Hostilius Tubulus Capuam pro praetoribus, sicut priore anno, cum vetere uterque 7 praesidio obtinerent. De Hispaniae imperio, quos in eam provinciam duos pro consulibus mitti placeret latum ad populum est. Omnes tribus eosdem L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum pro consulibus, sicut priore anno tenuissent, obtinere eas 8 provincias iusserunt. Consules dilectum habere instituerunt et ad novas scribendas in Bruttios legiones et in ceterorum—ita enim iussi ab senatu erant—exercituum supplementum.

XIV. Quamquam nondum aperte Africa provincia decreta erat, occultantibus id, credo, patribus, ne praesciscerent Carthaginienses, tamen in eam spem erecta civitas erat in Africa eo anno bellatum iri 2 finemque bello Punico adesse. Impleverat ea res

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[1] Frequently mentioned in these books; cf. esp. XXV. v. 10 and the speech following; XXIII. xxxi. 2, 4; XXIV. xviii. 9; XXVI. ii. 14; XXVII. ix. 4; XXVIII. x. 13; below, xxiv. 11 f.

[2] Better known as Flamininus (his cognomen). Elected consul for 198 B.C., though he had not been aedile and in spite of his youth. Cf. XXXI. xlix. 12; XXXII. vii. 8–12. His province as consul was Macedonia (*ibid.* viii. 4). In the next year he vanquished Philip at Cynoscephalae, near Scotussa; XXXIII. vii–x. Cf. Polybius XVIII. xxii ff.; Plutarch's *Flamininus* 7 f.

mands continued, with two legions each to defend Gaul against Mago. So Gnaeus Octavius also, with the order that, after turning over Sardinia and the legion to Tiberius Claudius, his duty should be the defence of the sea-coast with forty war-ships within an area to be defined by the senate. To Marcus Pomponius, the praetor in Sicily, was assigned the army [1] from Cannae, two legions. Titus Quinctius [2] was to have Tarentum, Gaius Hostilius Tubulus to have Capua, both as propraetors, as in the preceding year, with the old garrison in each case. As for the command in Spain, the question what two men it wished to send to that province as proconsuls was brought before the people. The tribes unanimously ordered that the same men, Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus should hold these provinces [3] as proconsuls, as they had done in the preceding year. The consuls began the conduct of a levy both for the enrolment of new legions for the Bruttian territory and to fill the ranks of the other armies; for so they had been ordered by the senate. B.C. 204

XIV. Although Africa had not been openly assigned as a province, while the senators kept the matter dark, I believe, for fear the Carthaginians might know in advance, nevertheless the people were aroused to hope that the war would be waged that year in Africa, and that the end of the Punic war was at hand. That situation had filled men's

[3] Formal organization as Hispania Citerior and Hispania Ulterior did not come until seven years later, 197 B.C., with the dividing line at the Saltus Castulonensis (Sierra Morena); XXXII. xxviii. 11; XXXIII. xxi. 6 f.; xxv. 9; XXXIV. xvii. 1.

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superstitionum [1] animos, pronique et ad nuntianda et
3 ad credenda prodigia erant. Eo plura volgabantur:
duos soles visos, et nocte interluxisse, et facem
Setiae ab ortu solis ad [2] occidentem porrigi visam;
Tarracinae portam, Anagniae et portam et multis
locis murum de caelo tactum; in aede Iunonis Sos-
pitae Lanuvi cum horrendo fragore strepitum editum.
4 Eorum procurandorum causa diem unum supplicatio
fuit, et novendiale sacrum, quod de caelo lapidatum
5 esset, factum. Eo accessit consultatio de matre
Idaea accipienda, quam, praeterquam quod M.
Valerius, unus ex legatis, praegressus [3] actutum in
Italia fore nuntiaverat, recens nuntius aderat
6 Tarracinae iam esse. Haud parvae rei iudicium
senatum tenebat qui vir optimus in civitate esset;
7 veram certe victoriam eius rei sibi quisque mallet
quam ulla imperia honoresve suffragio seu patrum seu
8 plebis delatos. P. Scipionem Cn. filium eius qui in
Hispania ceciderat, adulescentem nondum quaes-
torium, iudicaverunt in tota civitate virum bonorum [4]
9 optimum esse. Id quibus virtutibus inducti ita iudi-

[1] superstitionum $P(3)P^1N$: -nem RN^2J: -ne A^2K *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] ad $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: in *Sp²HJK Froben* 2.

[3] praegressus $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: re- *Sp²HJK Froben* 2.

[4] bonorum *Gronovius, Eds.* (*cf. C.I.L.* I. ii. 9): bonum $P(1)N$ (*genitive?*) *Alschefski*: *om.* N^2HJK *Luterbacher.*

[1] Again an aurora probably, as rare in Italy; cf. XXVIII. xi. 3, Fregellae; XXXII. xxix. 2, Frusino, 197 B.C. An earlier instance, 223 B.C. at Ariminum, Zonaras VIII. xx. 4; more in Iulius Obsequens, *e.g.* 44 and 70 (102 and 42 B.C.), from lost books of Livy. Cf. Cicero *de Div.* I. 97 (Pease).

[2] Meteors were often reported among the prodigies; XXX. ii. 11; XLI. xxi. 13; XLIII. xiii. 3; XLV. xvi. 5; Cicero *de Div.* (Pease) I. 18 and 97; II. 60; *N.D.* II. 14.

minds with superstitious fears and they were inclined both to report and to believe portents. All the greater was the number of them in circulation: that two suns had been seen, and that at night there had been light for a time;[1] and that at Setia a meteor[2] had been seen shooting from east to west; that at Tarracina a city-gate had been struck by lightning, at Anagnia a gate and also the wall at many points; that in the temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium a noise was heard with a dreadful crash. To expiate these there was a single day of prayer, and on account of the shower of stones nine days of rites[3] were observed. In addition they deliberated on the reception of the Idaean Mother,[4] in regard to whom not only had Marcus Valerius, one of the ambassadors, arriving in advance, reported that she would be in Italy very soon, but also there was recent news that she was already at Tarracina. It was no unimportant decision that occupied the senate—the question who was the best man in the state. At any rate every man would have preferred a real victory in that contest to any high commands or magistracies, whether conferred by vote of the senators or of the people. Publius Scipio, son of the Gnaeus who had fallen in Spain, was the young man not yet of an age to be quaestor,[5] whom they judged to be the best of good men among all the citizens. If writers who lived nearest in time to men who B.C. 204

[3] Cf. Vol. VII. p. 90, note.

[4] Cf. p. 244, n. 1; George F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions* I. 556 f.

[5] There was still no law fixing a minimum age—not until 24 years later. Cf. Vol. VI. p. 344, n. 3. In 191 B.C. this Scipio Nasica reached the consulship; XXXV. xxiv. 5; XXXVI. i. 1.

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carint, sicut traditum a proximis memoriae temporum illorum scriptoribus libens posteris traderem,[1] ita meas opiniones coniectando rem vetustate obrutam
10 non interponam. P. Cornelius cum omnibus matronis Ostiam obviam ire deae iussus, isque eam de nave accipere [2] et in terram elatam tradere [3] ferendam [4]
11 matronis. Postquam navis ad ostium amnis Tiberini accessit, sicut erat iussus, in salum nave evectus ab sacerdotibus deam accepit extulitque in terram.
12 Matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, accepere; cui dubia, ut traditur, antea fama clariorem ad posteros tam religioso ministerio pudicitiam fecit.
13 Eae per manus, succedentes deinde aliae aliis, omni obviam effusa civitate, turibulis ante ianuas positis qua praeferebatur atque accenso ture, precantibus [5]
14 ut volens propitiaque urbem Romanam iniret, in aedem Victoriae quae est in Palatio, pertulere deam pridie idus [6] Apriles; isque dies festus fuit. Populus

[1] traderem $P(3)B^2N$ *Aldus*: -diderim SpA^4N^4HJK *Froben* 2.
[2] accipere $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Eds.*: -ret N^2H *Froben* 2, *Conway*.
[3] tradere $P(1)NHJK$ *Aldus, Eds.*: -ret *x Froben* 2, *Conway*.
[4] ferendam C^4M^7? *Froben* 2: referendam A^4N^4HJK *Aldus*: ferenda (-dam MAN) cum $P(3)N$.
[5] precantibus $P(1)NHJK$ *Alschefski*: precantes *Ussing*.
[6] idus $P(1)NHJK$ *Aldus, Froben, most Eds.*: nonas *Pighius, Weissenborn*.[3]

[1] A Phrygian man and woman, Dion. Hal. II. xix. 4 f. Romans were excluded by a decree of the senate, but the

remembered those days had handed down by what B.C. 204
virtues the senate was led to make that judgment, I should indeed gladly hand it on to posterity. But I shall not interject my own opinions, reached by conjecture in a matter buried by the lapse of time. Publius Cornelius was ordered to go to Ostia with all the matrons to meet the goddess, and himself to receive her from the ship, and carrying her to land to turn her over to the matrons to carry. After the ship had reached the mouth of the river Tiber, in compliance with the order he sailed out into open water on a ship, received the goddess from her priests [1] and carried her to land. The foremost matrons in the state, among whom the name of one in particular, that of Claudia Quinta,[2] is conspicuous, received her. Claudia's repute, previously not unquestioned, as tradition reports it, has made her purity the more celebrated among posterity by a service so devout. The matrons passed the goddess from hand to hand in an unbroken succession to each other, while the entire city poured out to meet her. Censers had been placed before the doors along the route of the bearers, and kindling their incense, people prayed that gracious and benignant she might enter the city of Rome. It was to the Temple of Victory, which is on the Palatine, that they carried the goddess on the day before the Ides of April, and that was a holy day. The people thronged to the

restriction was later removed (2nd century A.D.). Cf. XXXVII. ix. 9; XXXVIII. xviii. 9.

[2] Her statue was later placed in the temple of the Magna Mater dedicated in 191 B.C., the consulship of Nasica. Cf. XXXVI. xxxvi. 3 f.; Tacitus *Ann.* IV. 64; Val. Max. I. viii. 11. Between 204 B.C. and 191 the black stone remained in the Temple of Victory, § 14.

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frequens dona deae in Palatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere, Megalesia appellata.

XV. Cum de supplemento legionum quae in provinciis erant ageretur, tempus esse a quibusdam senatoribus subiectum est, quae dubiis in rebus utcumque tolerata essent, ea dempto iam tandem deum benignitate metu non ultra pati. Erectis exspectatione patribus subiecerunt colonias Latinas duodecim quae Q. Fabio et Q. Fulvio consulibus abnuissent milites dare, eas annum iam ferme sextum vacationem militiae quasi honoris et beneficii causa habere, cum interim boni oboedientesque socii pro fide atque obsequio in populum Romanum continuis omnium annorum dilectibus exhausti essent. Sub hanc vocem non memoria magis patribus renovata rei prope iam oblitteratae quam ira irritata [1] est. Itaque nihil prius referre consules passi, decreverunt ut consules magistratus denosque principes Nepete, Sutrio, Ardea, Calibus, Alba, Carsiolis, Sora,[2] Suessa, Setia, Circeis, Narnia, Interamna—hae namque coloniae in ea causa erant—Romam excirent; iis imperarent, quantum quaeque earum coloniarum militum plurumum dedisset populo Romano, ex quo hostes in Italia essent, duplicatum eius summae

[1] quam ira irritata (*or* in-) *A'N'HJK Froben* 2: *om. P*(1)*N, one line.*

[2] Sora *A'N'HJK Aldus, Froben* (*cf.* XXVII. ix. 7): *om. P*(1)*N.*

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[1] Later the festival was shifted to *pridie nonas*, the 4th of April in place of the 12th. Its name came from her Megalesion at Pergamum, the temple from which she was brought to Rome according to Varro *L.L.* VI. 15.

Palatine bearing gifts for the goddess, and there B.C. 204
was a banquet of the gods, and games also, called the Megalesia.[1]

XV. While they were discussing the men needed to recruit the legions in the provinces, certain senators suggested that, since now by favour of the gods fear had at last been removed, it was time for them no longer to tolerate what had been endured as best they could in critical circumstances. As the senate was alert and in suspense, they added that the twelve Latin colonies [2] which had refused to furnish soldiers in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Quintus Fulvius had been exempt from service for now about five years, as though it were an honour and a favour bestowed upon them, whereas in the meantime good and obedient allies, in return for their loyalty and submission to the Roman people, had been exhausted by successive levies every year. These words revived the memory of an affair almost obliterated and correspondingly inflamed the anger of the senators. Accordingly, allowing the consuls to bring up no other question first, they decreed that the consuls should summon to Rome the magistrates [3] and ten leading citizens in each case from Nepete, Sutrium, Ardea, Cales, Alba, Carsioli, Sora, Suessa, Setia, Circeii, Narnia, Interamna, for these were the colonies concerned; that they should order them to furnish double the maximum number of infantry that each of those colonies had ever furnished to the Roman people since the enemy was

[2] Cf. Vol. VII. pp. 242 f. and notes; below, § 5.

[3] *I.e.* the two *duumviri iure dicendo*, two *duumviri aediles*, and two quaestors of each colony. The leading citizens are *decuriones*, members of a local senate.

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numerum peditum daret et equites centenos vicenos;
7 si qua eum numerum equitum explere non posset, pro equite uno tres pedites liceret dare; pedites equitesque quam locupletissimi legerentur mitterenturque ubicumque extra Italiam supplemento opus
8 esset. Si qui ex iis recusarent, retineri eius coloniae magistratus legatosque placere, neque, si postularent,
9 senatum dari priusquam imperata fecissent. Stipendium praeterea iis coloniis in milia aeris asses singulos imperari exigique quotannis, censumque in iis [1] coloniis agi ex formula ab Romanis censoribus
10 data—dari autem placere eandem quam populo Romano—deferrique Romam ab iuratis censoribus coloniarum priusquam magistratu abirent.
11 Ex hoc senatus consulto accitis Romam magistratibus primoribusque earum coloniarum consules cum milites [2] stipendiumque imperassent, alii aliis magis
12 recusare ac reclamare; negare tantum militum effici posse; vix, si simplum ex formula imperetur,
13 enisuros; orare atque obsecrare ut sibi senatum adire ac deprecari liceret; nihil se quare perire merito deberent admisisse; sed si pereundum etiam foret, neque suum delictum neque iram populi Romani ut plus militum darent quam haberent posse

[1] iis *PCR*: his $R^2MBDANH$: *om. JK*.
[2] milites *ANHJK*: -tem $P(3)N$.

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[1] To such a statement of property was prefixed a questionnaire to establish identity of the tax-payer. Cf. Caesar's Lex Iulia municipalis 146 f. (Bruns, *Fontes*[7] p. 109 f.).
[2] Complied with in xxxvii. 7.
[3] A quite different sense of the term *formula* from that in § 9. Explained in Vol. VII. p. 245, note.

in Italy, and also one hundred and twenty horsemen in each case. If any colony should be unable to make up that number of horsemen, it should be permitted to give three foot-soldiers for one horseman. Men having the largest means should be chosen for infantry and cavalry and sent to any place outside of Italy where supplements were needed. If any delegation should refuse, it was decided that the magistrates and envoys of that colony should be detained, and that if they asked for a hearing in the senate, it should be refused until they had done what was required of them. It was further ordered that a tax of one *as* for each thousand be laid upon those colonies and exacted every year, and that a census be taken in those colonies on the basis of a census-list [1] furnished by the Roman censors. They resolved also that it be the same which was given to the Roman people—and that it be sworn to by the censors of the colonies and brought to Rome before they laid down their office.[2] B.C. 204

In accordance with this decree of the senate the consuls summoned the magistrates and leading citizens of those colonies to Rome and required of them soldiers and the tax. Thereupon they outdid each other in refusing and loudly protesting. They said that such a number of soldiers could not be made up; that even if the normal number were required according to the original compact,[3] they could hardly reach it. They begged and implored that they be permitted to go before the senate and make their plea. No such offence, they said, had been committed that they deserved to perish. But even if perish they must, neither their crime nor the anger of the Roman people could enable them to

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14 efficere. Consules obstinati legatos manere Romae iubent, magistratus ire domos [1] ad dilectus habendos: nisi summa militum quae imperata esset Romam
15 adducta, neminem iis senatum daturum. Ita praecisa spe senatum adeundi deprecandique dilectus in iis duodecim coloniis, per longam vacationem numero iuniorum aucto, haud difficulter est perfectus.

XVI. Altera item res prope aeque longo neglecta silentio relata a M. Valerio Laevino est, qui privatis conlatas pecunias se ac M. Claudio consulibus reddi
2 tandem aequum esse dixit; nec mirari quemquam debere in publica obligata fide suam praecipuam curam esse; nam praeterquam quod aliquid proprie ad consulem eius anni quo conlatae pecuniae essent pertineret, etiam se auctorem ita conferendi fuisse inopi
3 aerario nec plebe ad tributum sufficiente. Grata ea patribus admonitio fuit; iussisque referre consulibus decreverunt ut tribus pensionibus ea pecunia solveretur; primam praesentem ii qui tum essent, duas tertii et quinti consules numerarent.

4 Omnes deinde alias curas una occupavit, postquam Locrensium clades, quae ignoratae [2] ad eam

[1] domos *A*[a]*HJK Aldus, Froben* : -mum *P*(1)*N*.
[2] ignoratae (*or* -te) *P*(3) *Eds.* : ignotae (*or* -te) *ANHK Aldus, Froben* : ingnote *J*.

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[1] Cf. XXVI. xxxvi, including Laevinus' speech on that occasion and the generous response (§§ 11 f.). It was in 210 B.C., a year before the refusal of the colonies named in xv. 5.
[2] Cf. XXVI. xxxv. 4 ff., 9.
[3] *I.e.* biennial payments. See Vol. IX. p. 40, note (200 B.C.). Final settlement, however, was not made until 196 B.C.; XXXIII. xlii. 3.
[4] Cf. ix, esp. §§ 11 f.

furnish more soldiers than they had. The consuls, B.C. 204
disinclined to yield, ordered the envoys to remain at Rome, the magistrates to go to their homes in order to conduct levies, adding that unless the number of soldiers demanded of them was first brought to Rome, no one would give them a hearing in the senate. Thus, after their hopes of appearing before the senate and of making their plea had been shattered, a levy was carried out in those twelve colonies without difficulty, since owing to long exemption the number of younger men had increased.

XVI. In like manner another matter which had been passed over in silence for about the same length of time was broached by Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who said it was proper that the sums contributed [1] when he and Marcus Claudius were consuls should at last be repaid to private citizens; and that no one ought to be astonished that a matter in which the credit of the state was involved should especially concern himself. For in addition to the responsibility that in a way belonged peculiarly to a consul of the year in which the moneys had been contributed, he had also been the first to suggest such contribution, since the treasury was empty and the common people unable to pay a tax.[2] This reminder was welcomed by the senators, and bidding the consuls to introduce the measure, they decreed that the money should be paid in three instalments; that the consuls who were then in office should pay the first in ready money, that the consuls of the third and fifth years should pay two instalments.[3]

Thereafter all other concerns yielded place to a single one, when the atrocities suffered by the Locrians [4] but up to that time unknown were spread

u.c. 550 diem fuerant, legatorum adventu volgatae sunt. 5 Nec tam Plemini scelus quam Scipionis in eo aut ambitio aut neglegentia iras hominum inritavit. 6 Decem legati Locrensium, obsiti squalore et sordibus, in comitio sedentibus consulibus velamenta supplicum, ramos oleae, ut Graecis mos est, porgentes [1] ante tribunal cum flebili vociferatione humi pro- 7 cubuerunt. Quaerentibus consulibus Locrenses se dixerunt esse, ea passos a Q. Pleminio legato Romanisque militibus quae pati ne Carthaginienses quidem velit populus Romanus; orare [2] uti sibi patres adeundi deplorandique aerumnas suas potestatem facerent.

XVII. Senatu dato maximus natu ex iis: "Scio, quanti aestimentur nostrae apud vos querellae, patres conscripti, plurimum in eo momenti esse si probe sciatis et quo modo proditi Locri Hannibali sint et quo modo pulso Hannibalis praesidio restituti in di- 2 cionem vestram; quippe si et culpa defectionis procul a publico consilio absit, et reditum in vestram dicionem appareat non voluntate solum, sed ope etiam ac virtute nostra, magis indignemini bonis ac fidelibus sociis tam indignas [3] iniurias ab legato vestro militi- 3 busque fieri. Sed ego causam utriusque defectionis nostrae in aliud tempus differendam arbitror esse 4 duarum rerum gratia; unius ut coram P. Scipione, qui Locros recepit et [4] omnium nobis recte perperamque

[1] porgentes $P(3)$: porrigentes BD(pori-)$ANJK$.
[2] orare N^2HJK *Froben 2*: rogare $P(3)R^1N$ *Aldus*.
[3] tam indignas $P(1)N$: tam atroces $Sp?A^a$(*altern.*)N^a(*altern.*)HJK: tam indignas tam atroces *Johnson, Conway*.
[4] et *Alschefski*: *om.* $P(1)NSpH$: quique A^aJK *Aldus, Froben*.

abroad by the arrival of their envoys. And it was B.C. 204
not so much the crime of Pleminius that provoked men to anger as Scipio's partiality for him or else indifference. The ten envoys of the Locrians, in soiled and neglected clothing and holding out the woollen bands of suppliants and olive branches, as is the custom of the Greeks, towards the consuls seated in the Comitium, fell to the ground before the tribunal as they raised a mournful plaint. In answer to the consuls' question they said that they were Locrians who had suffered from Quintus Pleminius, the legatus, and the Roman soldiers such things as the Roman people would not wish even the Carthaginians to suffer; that they begged the consuls to give them permission to go before the senate and complain of their sufferings.

XVII. A hearing in the senate being granted, the eldest of them said: "I know, conscript fathers, that in determining what weight is to be given to our complaints in your presence very much depends upon your being well informed both as to how Locri was betrayed to Hannibal, and how by driving out Hannibal's garrison it was restored to your authority. For if it prove that no guilt for the revolt attaches to our council of state, and if it be at the same time evident that we returned to your authority not by our consent only but also by our effort and our courage, you will be all the more indignant that good and faithful allies are receiving such outrageous treatment from your legatus and his soldiers. But in my opinion enquiry into our revolts should be put off in both cases to another time for two reasons. The first is in order that the hearing may be in the presence of Publius Scipio, who recovered Locri and

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factorum est testis, agatur;[1] alterius quod, qualescumque sumus, tamen haec quae passi sumus[2] pati non debuimus. Non possumus dissimulare, patres conscripti, nos, cum praesidium Punicum in arce nostra haberemus, multa foeda et indigna et a praefecto praesidii Hamilcare et ab Numidis Afrisque passos esse; sed quid illa sunt, conlata cum iis quae hodie patimur? Cum bona venia, quaeso, audiatis, patres conscripti, id quod invitus eloquar.[3] In discrimine est nunc humanum omne genus, utrum vos an Carthaginienses principes orbis[4] terrarum videat. Si ex iis quae Locrenses aut ab illis passi sumus aut a vestro praesidio nunc cum maxime patimur aestimandum Romanum ac Punicum imperium sit, nemo non illos sibi quam vos dominos praeoptet. Et tamen videte quem ad modum in vos Locrenses animati sint. Cum a Carthaginiensibus iniurias tanto[5] minores acciperemus, ad vestrum imperatorem confugimus; cum a vestro praesidio plus quam hostilia patiamur, nusquam alio quam ad vos querellas detulimus. Aut vos respicietis perditas res nostras, patres conscripti, aut ne ab diis quidem immortalibus quod precemur quicquam superest.

Q. Pleminius legatus missus est cum praesidio ad recipiendos a Carthaginiensibus Locros et cum eodem ibi relictus est praesidio. In hoc legato vestro— dant enim animum ad loquendum libere ultimae

[1] est testis, agatur A^1N^1(*altern.*)*HJK Aldus, Froben*: est testigatur $P(1)N$: teste agatur *Rhenanus* (*om.* et *above*).

[2] tamen haec quae passi sumus A^1N^1(*marg.*)*HJK Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[3] eloquar N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben, Conway*: dicam $P(1)N$ *Eds.*

[4] orbis A^1N^1HJK: *om.* $P(1)N$.

is our witness for every act, the good and the bad. B.C. 204
The second reason is because, whatever our character is, we nevertheless did not deserve to suffer these things that we have suffered. We cannot conceal the truth, conscript fathers, that when we had a Punic garrison in our citadel we suffered many shameful outrages both at the hands of Hamilcar, commandant of the garrison, and from the Numidians and Africans. But what are they in comparison with the things we are suffering today? With kind indulgence, conscript fathers, give ear, I pray, to what I shall reluctantly say. The entire human race is now in suspense as to whether it is to see you, or the Carthaginians, lords of the whole world. If one must judge Roman and Carthaginian rule from what we Locrians either have suffered from them, or are at this very moment suffering from your garrison, no one would fail to prefer them rather than you as his masters. And yet observe how the Locrians are disposed towards you. Although from the Carthaginians we were suffering wrongs so much less serious, we sought refuge with your general. Although from your garrison we are suffering acts worse than those of an enemy, we have brought our complaints nowhere else than to you. Either you will have regard for our ruin, conscript fathers, or else no help remains for us to pray for even from the immortal gods.

"Quintus Pleminius was sent as legatus with a military force to recover Locri from the Carthaginians, and with that same force he was left there. In this legatus of yours—for the depths of misery

[5] tanto B^2A^3HJK : manto $P(1)(C?)N$: multo $C^4M^7N^2$: tam multo A^v.

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miseriae—nec hominis quicquam est, patres conscripti, praeter figuram et speciem neque Romani civis praeter habitum vestitumque[1] et sonum
12 Latinae linguae: pestis ac belua inmanis, quales fretum quondam quo ab Sicilia dividimur ad perniciem
13 navigantium circumsedisse fabulae ferunt. Ac si scelus libidinemque et avaritiam solus ipse exercere in socios vestros satis haberet, unam profundam quidem voraginem tamen patientia nostra explere-
14 mus; nunc omnes centuriones militesque vestros—adeo in promiscuo licentiam atque improbitatem esse
15 voluit—Pleminios fecit; omnes rapiunt, spoliant, verberant, volnerant, occidunt; constuprant matronas, virgines, ingenuos raptos ex conplexu parentium.
16 Cotidie capitur urbs nostra, cotidie diripitur; dies noctesque omnia passim mulierum puerorumque qui rapiuntur atque asportantur ploratibus sonant.
17 Miretur qui sciat,[2] quo modo aut nos ad patiendum sufficiamus, aut illos qui faciunt nondum tantarum iniuriarum satietas ceperit. Neque ego exsequi possum nec vobis operae est audire singula[3] quae
18 passi sumus; communiter omnia amplectar. Nego domum ullam Locris, nego quemquam hominem expertem iniuriae esse; nego ullum genus sceleris, lubidinis, avaritiae superesse quod in ullo qui pati
19 potuerit praetermissum sit. Vix ratio iniri potest

[1] vestitumque *P*(1)(vestitum habitumque *D*)*N Aldus*: *om. SpHJK Froben* 2.

[2] sciat *P*(1)*N Aldus*, *Froben*: nesciat $A^{2}N^{s}HJK$.

[3] singula $CA^{s}N^{s}JK$ *Eds.*, *Conway*: singuli *P*(1)*N Alschefski, most recent Eds.*

embolden me to speak freely—there is nothing of a B.C. 204
human being, conscript fathers, except his form and outward appearance, nothing of a Roman citizen except his bearing and garments and the sound of the Latin language. He is a pest-bringing monster, like those of which myths say that, in order to destroy mariners, they once had their abode on this side and that of the strait by which we are separated from Sicily. And if he were content to be the only man to practise his criminal passion and greed upon your allies, we in our long-suffering should still be filling up a single whirlpool however deep. As it is, he has made every centurion and every soldier of yours a Pleminius; so universal has he wished licence and dishonour to be. They all rob, plunder, beat, wound, slay. They defile matrons, maidens and free-born boys, dragged from the embrace of parents. Every day our city is captured, every day it is plundered. Day and night every part of it re-echoes the wailing of women and children who are being seized and carried off. Knowing that, any one would wonder either how we have the patience to endure, or how those who commit such outrages are not yet sated with them. Neither can I retail them all, nor is it worth your while to hear each thing that we have suffered. In a general statement I shall embrace everything.[1] I tell you there is not a house at Locri, not a man that has not suffered a wrong. I tell you there remains no kind of crime, lust, avarice that has been overlooked in the case of any possible victim. It is all but impossible to decide

[1] Here and in the following statement one finds an obvious reminiscence of Cicero *in Verr.* IV. 1; cf. *ibid.* 57.

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uter casus civitati[1] sit detestabilior, cum hostes bello urbem cepere, an cum exitiabilis tyrannus vi atque armis oppressit. Omnia quae captae urbes patiuntur passi sumus et cum maxime patimur, patres conscripti; omnia quae crudelissimi atque inportunissimi tyranni scelera in oppressos cives edunt Pleminius in nos liberosque nostros et coniuges edidit.

XVIII. " Unum est de quo nominatim et nos queri religio infixa animis cogat et vos audire et exsolvere rem publicam vestram religione, si ita vobis videbitur, velimus, patres conscripti. Vidimus[2] enim cum quanta caerimonia non vestros solum colatis deos, sed etiam externos accipiatis. Fanum est apud nos Proserpinae, de cuius sanctitate templi credo aliquam famam ad vos pervenisse Pyrrhi bello, qui cum ex Sicilia rediens Locros classe praeterveheretur, inter alia foeda quae propter fidem erga vos in civitatem nostram facinora edidit, thensauros quoque Proserpinae intactos ad eam diem spoliavit; atque ita pecunia in naves inposita, ipse terra est profectus. Quid ergo evenit, patres conscripti? Classis postero die foedissima tempestate lacerata, omnesque naves quae sacram pecuniam habuerunt in litora nostra eiectae sunt. Qua tanta clade edoctus tandem deos esse, superbissimus rex pecuniam omnem con-

[1] Civitati *Forchhammer* : -tatis $P(1)NHJK$.
[2] Vidimus $P(1)NHJK$: videmus *Madvig*.

[1] Livy represents the speaker as actually having witnessed the stately ceremonial when the Magna Mater was welcomed; xiv. 5–14.
[2] Cf. viii. 9 f.

which of the two is the more revolting lot for a state B.C. 204
—when the enemy have captured the city in war, or when a death-dealing tyrant has overpowered it by force of arms. All things that captured cities suffer we have suffered and at this very moment are suffering, conscript fathers. All the crimes that the most cruel and despotic tyrants inflict upon their helpless citizens Pleminius has inflicted upon us and our children and our wives.

XVIII. "There is one thing in regard to which conscientious scruples implanted in our minds compel us to complain in particular, and at the same time we would have you, conscript fathers, give us your attention and, if you approve, free your state from impiety. For we have seen with what punctiliousness you worship, not your own gods merely, but even welcome them from abroad.[1] We have in our city a sanctuary of Proserpina, a temple of whose sanctity I believe some report reached you in the war with Pyrrhus.[2] When on his return from Sicily he was passing Locri in his fleet, among other shameful acts which he visited upon our state for its loyalty to you, he despoiled the treasury of Proserpina[3] as well, which had been untouched down to that time. And, that done, he put the money on shipboard, setting out himself by land. What happened, conscript fathers, in consequence? On the following day the fleet was shattered by a terrible storm, and all the ships which had the sacred money on board were cast upon our shores. Having at last learned from this great disaster that the gods do exist, the haughtiest

[3] Appian *Samn.* 12 tells the story of Pyrrhus' sacrilege. Plutarch omits it. Cf. Diodorus Sic. XXVII. iv. 3; Val. Max. I. i. Ext. 1.

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quisitam [1] in thensauros Proserpinae referri iussit. Nec tamen illi umquam postea prosperi quicquam evenit, pulsusque Italia ignobili atque inhonesta morte temere nocte ingressus Argos occubuit. 7 Haec cum audisset legatus vester tribunique militum et mille alia quae non augendae religionis causa, sed praesenti deae numine saepe conperta nobis maiori- 8 busque nostris referebantur, ausi sunt nihilo minus sacrilegas admovere manus intactis illis thensauris et nefanda praeda se ipsos ac domos contaminare suas 9 et milites vestros. Quibus, per vos fidem [2] vestram, patres conscripti, priusquam eorum scelus expietis neque in Italia neque in Africa quicquam rei [3] gesseritis, ne quod piaculi commiserunt non suo solum sanguine sed etiam publica clade luant.

10 " Quamquam ne nunc quidem, patres conscripti, aut in ducibus aut in militibus vestris cessat ira deae. Aliquotiens iam inter se signis conlatis concucurrerunt;[4] dux alterius partis Pleminius, alterius duo tribuni militum erant. Non acrius cum Carthaginiensibus quam inter se ipsi ferro dimicaverunt, 11 praebuissentque occasionem furore suo Locros recipiendi Hannibali, nisi accitus ab nobis Scipio 12 intervenisset. At hercule milites contactos sacrilegio furor agitat; in ducibus ipsis puniendis nullum deae

[1] conquisitam *P*(1)*N Aldus* : in- *SpHJK Froben* 2.

[2] fidem *Gronovius, Madvig* : fidemque *P*(1)*NHJK Weissenborn, Conway.*

[3] eorum scelus . . . rei *A'N'HJK Eds.* : eo *P*(1)*N, om. probably three lines.*

[4] concucurrerunt *PCR Eds.* : concurrerunt *MBDANHJK Conway (thirteen long syllables at end of sentence in a speech!).*

[1] For Pyrrhus' death v. Plutarch, *Pyrrhus* 34; Strabo VIII. vi. 18 (before the walls); Justin XXV. 5.

of kings ordered that all the money should be sought out and restored to the treasure-chambers of Proserpina. And yet never thereafter did he meet with any success, and having been driven out of Italy, he rashly entered Argos by night and died an inconspicuous and inglorious death.[1] Although your legatus and the tribunes had heard all this and a thousand other occurrences which were repeated to them, not merely to increase religious feeling but as facts repeatedly confirmed for us and our ancestors by the evident intervention of the goddess, they nevertheless dared to lay sacrilegious hands upon those treasure-chambers that were not to be touched, and by that unspeakable plunder to bring pollution upon themselves and their homes and upon your soldiers. With such men, conscript fathers, I beg of you for conscience' sake not to undertake any action either in Italy or in Africa until you first atone for their crime, lest for the sacrilege committed they make amends not only by their own blood but also by a disaster to the state. B.C. 204

"Even now, however, the wrath of the goddess is not idle, conscript fathers, as regards either your commanders or your men. Several times already have they clashed with each other in actual battle. Pleminius was in command of the one faction, of the other faction two tribunes of the soldiers. They have fought each other with the sword as fiercely as against the Carthaginians, and by their madness would have given Hannibal a chance to regain Locri, had not Scipio forestalled that in answer to our call for help. True, you may say, the soldiers polluted by sacrilege are indeed frenzied, but the power of the goddess has not been manifest in punishing the

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numen apparuit. Immo ibi praesens maxime fuit.
13 Virgis caesi tribuni ab legato sunt; legatus deinde insidiis tribunorum interceptus, praeterquam quod toto corpore laceratus, naso quoque auribusque
14 decisis exsanguis est relictus; recreatus dein legatus ex volneribus tribunos militum in vincla coniectos, dein verberatos servilibusque [1] omnibus suppliciis cruciatos [2] occidit, mortuos deinde prohibuit sepeliri.
15 Has dea poenas a templi sui spoliatoribus habet, nec ante [3] desinet omnibus eos agitare furiis quam repo-
16 sita sacra pecunia in thensauris fuerit. Maiores quondam nostri gravi Crotoniensium bello, quia extra urbem templum est, transferre in urbem eam pecuniam voluerunt. Noctu audita ex delubro vox est: abstinerent manus; deam sua templa [4] defensuram.
17 Quia movendi inde thensauros religio incussa erat, muro circumdare [5] templum voluerunt. Ad [6] aliquantum iam altitudinis excitata erant moenia cum
18 subito conlapsa ruina sunt. Sed et nunc et tunc [7] et saepe alias dea suam sedem suumque templum aut tutata est aut a violatoribus gravia piacula exegit; nostras iniurias nec potest nec possit alius ulcisci

[1] servilibusque $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben, Eds.* -ibus *Rhenanus, Conway.*

[2] cruciatos JK *Eds.*: -ando *Sp Froben* 2, *Conway*: -andos *Hx*: trucidatos cruciando $P(1)N$ *Aldus.*

[3] nec ante A^1N^1HJK *Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$: non C^4.

[4] templa $P(3)B^1NHJK$ *Eds.*: *bracketed by Madvig, om. Conway.*

[5] circumdare A^1HJK *Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: -dari $P(1)N$ *Conway.*

[6] ad A^1N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[7] et tunc N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$: (tunc) et nunc A^1.

[1] Cf. above, ix. 4 ff.

commanders themselves. On the contrary, it is B.C. 204
there that it was most evident. The tribunes were scourged by the legatus;[1] whereupon the legatus was isolated by a ruse of the tribunes, and besides receiving wounds in every part of his body, he was left half-dead after even his nose and ears had been mutilated. Then when the legatus had recovered from his wounds and the tribunes of the soldiers had been thrown into chains, then, after scourging them and racking them with all the torments applied to slaves, he put them to death, then forbade burial of the dead.

"Such are the penalties the goddess has exacted of those who despoil her temple, nor will she cease to drive them on by every form of madness until the consecrated money has been replaced in her treasury. Our ancestors once in a serious war with the Crotonians[2] desired to bring that money over into the city, since the temple is outside the city. In the night a voice from the sanctuary was heard: let them keep their hands off; the goddess will defend her temples. Since conscientious scruples were raised against moving the treasure away, they planned to surround the temple with a wall of defence. The walls had already been raised to a considerable height when suddenly they fell in ruins. But both at this time and at that, and often on other occasions, the goddess has either defended her abode and her temple, or else has exacted heavy penalties from those who profaned them. To avenge wrongs done to us, however, no one but you, conscript fathers,

[2] For Croton cf. XXIV. iii. 1 ff., and for the disastrous battle at the Sagra river (near Caulonia) v. Strabo VI. i. 10; Justin XX. 3.

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19 quam vos, patres conscripti. Ad vos vestramque fidem supplices confugimus. Nihil nostra interest utrum sub illo legato, sub illo praesidio Locros esse sinatis, an irato Hannibali et Poenis ad supplicium dedatis. Non postulamus ut extemplo nobis, ut de absente, ut indicta causa credatis; veniat, coram 20 ipse audiat, ipse diluat. Si quicquam sceleris quod homo in homines edere potest in nos praetermisit, non recusamus quin et nos omnia eadem iterum, si pati possumus, patiamur, et ille omni divino humanoque liberatur scelere."

XIX. Haec cum ab legatis dicta essent, quaesissetque ab iis Q. Fabius detulissentne eas querellas ad P. Scipionem, responderunt missos legatos esse, sed eum belli apparatu occupatum esse et in Africam aut iam traiecisse aut intra paucos dies traiecturum; 2 et legati gratia quanta esset apud imperatorem expertos esse, cum inter eum et tribunos cognita causa tribunos [1] in vincla coniecerit, legatum aeque sontem aut magis etiam in ea potestate reliquerit.

3 Iussis excedere templo legatis, non Pleminius modo, sed etiam Scipio principum orationibus lacerari. Ante omnes Q. Fabius natum eum [2] ad conrum- 4 pendam disciplinam militarem arguere; sic et in Hispania plus prope per [3] seditionem militum quam

[1] cognita causa tribunos *A'N'HJK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*, *one line.*

[2] eum *P*(1)*N Aldus*: *om.* *Sp²HJK Froben* 2.

[3] prope per *Sp²N'H Froben* 2: proter *PCR*: propter *MBDAN*: prope *JK Aldus.*

[1] As *princeps senatus* he speaks first; cf. XXVII. xi. 12 and below, xxxvii. 1.

[2] The Curia had been inaugurated as a temple, that decrees of the senate might be valid; so Varro in Gellius XIV. vii. 7. Cf. XXVI. xxx. 11; xxxi. 11.

has the power—and may no one else have it! To you and your protection we have come for refuge as suppliants. It makes no difference to us whether you allow Locri to remain under that legatus, under that garrison, or surrender it to angry Hannibal and the Carthaginians for punishment. We do not demand that you at once believe us in regard to an absent defendant, his case unheard. Let him come, let him hear in person, in person let him disprove. If there is any crime which a man can perpetrate upon human beings that he has failed to commit upon us, we do not refuse to endure all the same wrongs again, if that is possible for us, while he is to be acquitted of every crime against gods and men." B.C. 204

XIX. After the envoys had thus spoken and Fabius [1] asked them whether they had carried such complaints to Publius Scipio, they replied that emissaries had been sent, but that he was occupied with preparations for war and had either already crossed over to Africa, or was about to do so within a few days; and they had learned what partiality for his legatus was felt by the general-in-command when, after hearing the charges of Pleminius and those of the tribunes, he put the tribunes in chains and, though the legatus was equally guilty or even more so, left him in that command.

When the envoys had been ordered to retire from the Senate House,[2] not Pleminius only but also Scipio was savagely attacked in the speeches of leading men. First and foremost Quintus Fabius charged that he was by nature adapted to corrupt his soldiers' discipline. Thus even in Spain, he said, almost more soldiers had been lost in a mutiny than

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bello amissum. Externo et regio more et indulgere licentiae militum et saevire in eos. Sententiam deinde aeque trucem orationi adiecit: Pleminium legatum vinctum Romam deportari placere et ex vinculis causam dicere ac, si vera forent quae Locrenses quererentur, in carcere necari bonaque eius publicari; P. Scipionem, quod de provincia decessisset iniussu senatus, revocari, agique cum tribunis plebis ut de imperio eius abrogando ferrent ad populum; Locrensibus coram senatum respondere quas iniurias sibi factas quererentur, eas [1] neque senatum neque populum Romanum [2] factas velle; viros bonos sociosque et amicos eos appellari; liberos,[3] coniuges quaeque alia erepta essent restitui; pecuniam quanta ex thensauris Proserpinae sublata esset conquiri, duplamque pecuniam in thensauros reponi, et sacrum piaculare fieri ita [4] ut prius ad conlegium pontificum referretur, quod sacri thensauri moti, aperti,[5] violati essent, quae piacula, quibus deis, quibus hostiis fieri placeret: milites qui [6] Locris essent omnes in Siciliam transportari; quattuor cohortes sociorum Latini nominis in praesidium Locros adduci.

Perrogari eo die sententiae accensis studiis pro

[1] eas $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus*: *om. Sp?H Froben* 2.
[2] Romanum (*or* r.) B^1 *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)NHJK$.
[3] liberos $A'N'HJK$: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[4] et sacrum . . . ita $P(1)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpHx*.
[5] aperti *Sp(probably)*$A'N'HJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[6] qui $P^2(1)NHJK$: quiqui P.

by war;[1] that after the manner of a foreign tyrant he B.C. 204
gave free rein to the excesses of his soldiers and was also cruel to them. He then appended to his speech an equally ruthless resolution: that it was the will of the senate that Pleminius, the legatus, be brought to Rome bound and plead his cause in chains, and if the complaints of the Locrians should prove true, that he be put to death in the prison and his property confiscated; that Publius Scipio, having left his province without orders of the senate, be recalled, and that the tribunes of the plebs be urged to bring before the people a bill to annul his command; that the senate should make answer to the Locrians face to face that neither the senate nor the Roman people approved of the wrongs which they complained had been inflicted upon them; that they be declared good men and good allies and friends; that their children, their wives and whatever else had been taken away by violence be restored to them; that all the money removed from the treasure-chambers of Proserpina be sought out and twice that amount be restored to her treasury; and that expiatory rites be performed, with the provision that the question be first laid before the college of pontiffs, in view of the removal, opening and profanation of the sacred treasure, what expiations they would order to be made, to what divinities, with what victims; that all the soldiers who were at Locri be transported to Sicily; that four cohorts of Latin allies be brought to Locri as a garrison.

Not all the senators could be asked their opinion on that day owing to the heat of party feeling for

[1] An exaggerated statement, of course, for which *prope* is half-apologetic. Cf. XXVIII. xxvi. 2.

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Scipione et adversus Scipionem [1] non potuere.
11 Praeter Plemini facinus Locrensiumque cladem ipsius etiam imperatoris non Romanus modo sed ne militaris
12 quidem cultus iactabatur: cum pallio crepidisque inambulare in gymnasio; libellis eum palaestraeque operam dare; aeque segniter molliterque [2] cohortem
13 totam Syracusarum amoenitate frui; Carthaginem atque Hannibalem excidisse de memoria; exercitum omnem licentia corruptum, qualis Sucrone in Hispania fuerit, qualis nunc Locris, sociis magis quam hosti metuendum.

XX. Haec quamquam partim vera partim mixta eoque similia veris iactabantur, tamen vicit Q. Metelli sententia, qui de ceteris Maximo adsensus de Scipio-
2 nis causa dissensit: qui enim convenire quem modo civitas iuvenem admodum unum [3] recuperandae Hispaniae delegerit ducem, quem recepta ab hostibus Hispania ad imponendum Punico bello finem creaverit consulem, spe destinaverit Hannibalem ex Italia re-
3 tracturum,[4] Africam subacturum, eum repente, tamquam Q. Pleminium, indicta causa prope damnatum, ex provincia revocari, cum ea quae in se nefarie facta Locrenses quererentur ne praesente quidem Scipione facta dicerent, neque aliud quam patientia

[1] et adversus Scipionem *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpHJK.*
[2] -que $A^{y}JK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*NH Conway* (*bracketing* segniter).
[3] unum *Sp*(*probably*)$A^{x}N^{x}HJK$: *om. P*(1)*N.*
[4] retracturum *Sp*?*HJK Froben* 2: de- *P*(1)*N*, *which have* Africam subacturum *before* Hannibalem.

[1] Plutarch makes Cato, as quaestor to Scipio, complain that the general was extravagant, pampering his troops and giving too much time to palaestra and theatre; *Cat. Mai.* iii. 5 ff. Cf. below, p. 307 and note 2.

Scipio and against Scipio. In addition to the crime of Pleminius and the sufferings of the Locrians, they kept censuring even the personal appearance of the general-in-chief, as not even soldierly, not to say un-Roman; that wearing a Greek mantle and sandals he strolled about in the gymnasium, giving his attention to books in Greek and physical exercise;[1] that with equal indolence and self-indulgence his entire retinue[2] was enjoying the charms of Syracuse; that Carthage and Hannibal had been forgotten; that the entire army, being spoiled by lack of restraint and, like the army formerly at Sucro in Spain, like the troops now at Locri, was more to be feared by allies than by the enemy. B.C. 204

XX. Although some of these taunts were true, some half-true and hence plausible, nevertheless the motion of Quintus Metellus[3] carried the day. In agreement with Maximus on the other points, he disagreed with him so far as concerned Scipio, the man whom the state chose not long before, he said, in spite of his youth as sole general to recover Spain; then, after Spain had been rewon from the enemy, elected him consul to put an end to the Punic war, and counted upon him to draw Hannibal out of Italy and to conquer Africa. How then was it logical for him, as if he were a Quintus Pleminius, suddenly to be all but condemned without a hearing, recalled from his province, although the Locrians said that the criminal acts against them of which they complained had been committed when Scipio was not even present, and nothing else could be charged

[2] This would include such high officers as legati, as well as friends.

[3] Cf. x. 2; xi. 9 f. Consul in 206 B.C.; XXVIII. x. 2, 8.

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aut pudor, quod legato pepercisset, insimulari posset? 4 Sibi placere M. Pomponium praetorem, cui Sicilia provincia sorti evenisset, triduo proximo in provinciam proficisi; consules decem legatos, quos iis videretur, ex senatu legere quos cum praetore mitterent, et duos tribunos plebei atque aedilem; 5 cum eo consilio praetorem cognoscere; si ea quae Locrenses facta quererentur iussu aut voluntate P. Scipionis facta essent, ut eum de provincia decedere 6 iuberent; si P. Scipio iam in Africam traiecisset, tribuni plebis atque aedilis cum duobus legatis, quos maxime idoneos praetor censuisset, in Africam pro- 7 ficiscerentur, tribuni atque aedilis qui reducerent inde Scipionem, legati qui exercitui praeessent donec 8 novus imperator ad eum exercitum venisset; si M. Pomponius et decem legati comperissent neque iussu neque voluntate P. Scipionis ea facta esse, ut ad exercitum Scipio maneret bellumque ut proposuisset 9 gereret. Hoc facto senatus consulto, cum tribunis plebis actum est aut conparent inter se aut sorte legerent[1] qui duo cum praetore ac legatis irent; 10 ad conlegium pontificum relatum[2] de expiandis quae Locris in templo Proserpinae tacta ac violata elataque[3] inde essent.

11 Tribuni plebis cum praetore et decem legatis

[1] inter . . . legerent $A^{s}N^{s}HJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] relatum, $P(3)N$ *add* et (*for which* est M^{2}*?x Alschefski*).
[3] ac violata elataque A^{s}(*om.* ac)$N^{s}HJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: violataque $P(1)N$.

against him than slowness to anger, or else reluct- B.C. 204
ance in sparing his legatus? His proposal, he said, was that Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, to whom Sicily had been allotted as his province, should within three days leave for the province; that the consuls should choose ten legati at their discretion from the senate, to be sent with the praetor, as also two tribunes of the plebs and an aedile;[1] that with these men as assessors the praetor should conduct an examination; if the offences of which the Locrians complained had been committed by the command or with the consent of Publius Scipio, they should order him to retire from his province; if Publius Scipio should have already crossed over into Africa, the tribunes of the plebs and the aedile should go to Africa with two of the legati—those whom the praetor should judge most competent—the tribunes and aedile to bring Scipio away, the legati to be in command of the army until a new general-in-command should reach that army; if Marcus Pomponius and the ten legati should find that the acts had been committed neither by order of Publius Scipio nor with his consent, that Scipio should remain with the army and carry on the war as he had planned. A decree of the senate to this effect having been passed, the tribunes of the plebs were requested either to arrange among themselves or to choose by lot which two of them should go with the praetor and legati. The matter of expiation for all that in the temple of Proserpina at Locri had been touched and profaned and carried away was referred to the college of pontiffs.

The tribunes of the plebs, Marcus Claudius

[1] A plebeian aedile (§ 11), to carry out the orders of the tribunes.

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profecti M. Claudius Marcellus et M. Cincius Alimentus; aedilis plebis datus est quem, si aut in Sicilia praetori dicto audiens non esset Scipio aut iam in Africam traiecisset, prendere tribuni iuberent, ac iure sacrosanctae potestatis reducerent. Prius Locros ire quam Messanam consilium erat.

XXI. Ceterum duplex fama est quod ad Pleminium attinet. Alii, auditis quae Romae acta essent in exilium Neapolim euntem forte in Q. Metellum, unum ex legatis, incidisse et ab eo Regium vi retractum
2 tradunt: alii ab ipso Scipione legatum cum triginta nobilissimis equitum missum qui Q. Pleminium in cate-
3 nas et cum eo seditionis principes conicerent. Ii omnes, seu ante Scipionis seu tum praetoris iussu, traditi in custodiam Reginis sunt.[1]
4 Praetor legatique Locros profecti primam, sicuti mandatum erat, religionis curam habuere: omnem enim sacram pecuniam quaeque apud Pleminium quaeque apud[2] milites erat conquisitam, cum ea quam[3] ipsi secum attulerant, in thensauris reposu-
5 erunt ac piaculare sacrum fecerunt. Tum vocatos ad contionem milites praetor signa extra urbem efferre iubet castraque in campo locat cum gravi edicto, si quis miles aut in urbe restitisset aut secum extulisset

[1] sunt *A'HJK Aldus, Froben*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*.
[2] Pleminium . . . apud *A'N'JK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*.
[3] cum ea quam *A'N'HJK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*.

[1] Cf. xi. 13; XXVII. xxvi. 12; xxvii. 7. Consul in 196 B.C.; censor 189 B.C.; XXXIII. xxiv. 1; XXXVII. lviii. 2.

[2] Almost certainly a brother of Lucius, the historian (frequently mentioned in XXVI–XXVII). As tribune in this year he proposed the Lex Cincia to limit gifts; cf. Cicero *Cat. Mai.* 10. Livy fails to mention the law until XXXIV. iv. 9, in a speech of Cato as consul, 195 B.C.

Marcellus[1] and Marcus Cincius Alimentus[2] de- B.C. 204
parted with the praetor and ten legati. A plebeian aedile was added to their number, and either in case Scipio in Sicily should fail to obey the praetor, or if he should have crossed already into Africa, the tribunes were to order the aedile to arrest him, and by virtue of their inviolable authority they were to bring him back. It was their plan to go to Locri first and then to Messana.

XXI. But so far as Pleminius is concerned we have two reports. Some authorities relate that, on hearing what had been done at Rome, he was on his way into exile at Neapolis when he happened to encounter Quintus Metellus, one of the legati, and that he was forcibly brought back by him to Regium. Others say that Scipio himself sent a legatus with thirty horsemen of the first order, to throw Quintus Pleminius into chains and with him the leaders of the outbreak. All of them, whether by Scipio's order earlier or at this time by that of the praetor, were delivered into the custody of the men of Regium.

The praetor and legati went to Locri and, as they had been instructed, made religion their first concern. For they sought out and restored to the treasure-chambers all the sacred money, both what was in the hands of Pleminius and what was in the possession of the soldiers, together with what they had themselves brought with them; and they performed the rite of expiation. Then the praetor summoned the soldiers to an assembly, ordered their units to march out of the city, and assigned a site in the plain for their camp, with a threatening edict in case any soldier should either remain in the

c.c. 50 quod suum non esset;[1] Locrensibus se permittere ut quod sui[2] quisque cognosset prenderet, si quid non
6 compareret, repeteret.[3] Ante omnia libera corpora placere sine mora Locrensibus restitui; non levi defuncturum poena qui non restituisset.
7 Locrensium deinde contionem habuit atque iis libertatem legesque suas populum Romanum senatumque restituere dixit; si qui Pleminium aliumve
8 quem accusare vellet, Regium se sequeretur; si de P. Scipione publice queri vellent ea quae Locris nefarie in deos hominesque facta essent iussu aut voluntate P. Scipionis facta esse, legatos mitterent
9 Messanam; ibi se cum consilio cogniturum. Locrenses praetori legatisque, senatui[4] ac populo Romano gratias egerunt; se ad Pleminium accusandum
10 ituros; Scipionem, quamquam parum iniuriis civitatis suae doluerit, eum esse virum quem amicum sibi quam inimicum malint esse; pro certo se habere neque iussu neque voluntate P. Scipionis tot tam nefanda commissa, sed aut Pleminio nimium, sibi[5]
11 parum creditum, aut natura insitum quibusdam esse ut magis peccari nolint quam satis animi ad vindicanda peccata habeant.

Et praetori et consilio haud mediocre onus demp-

[1] quod . . . esset A^1N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] sui $P(3)C^1N$: suum $A^{1?}JK$ *Aldus, Froben* (*H after* quisque).
[3] repeteret $Ta^2A^1N^1HJK$ *Eds.* : unde $P(1)N$: repetundum *Gronovius* : unde vellet, repeteret *Madvig*.
[4] senatui, *before this* HJK *Aldus, Froben have* et (*retained by Luchs, Riemann*).
[5] sibi *Forchhammer* : aut sibi $P(1)NHJK$.

city or carry out with him what was not his own. B.C. 204
In this he stated that he gave permission to the Locrians to seize any possession a man should recognize as his; and if anything was not produced he should demand its restitution. Above all, he said, he ruled that free persons should be restored to the Locrians without delay; that a heavy penalty would be paid by the man who did not restore them.

Thereupon he held an assembly of the Locrians and said that the Roman people and senate restored to them their independence and their own laws; that if anyone desired to bring charges against Pleminius or any other man, let him follow him to Regium. As regarded Publius Scipio, should they wish, he said, to make complaint in the name of their state, claiming that such wicked deeds as had been committed at Locri against gods and men had been done by command of Publius Scipio or with his consent, let them send envoys to Messana; there with his assessors he would conduct the inquiry. The Locrians thanked the praetor and his legati, the senate and the Roman people. They would go, they said, to prefer charges against Pleminius. As for Scipio, although he was not sufficiently pained by the wrongs done to their state, he was such a man as they would prefer to have as their friend rather than as an enemy. They had definitely ascertained that the many unspeakable crimes had not been committed either by order or consent of Publius Scipio; but either he had trusted Pleminius too much and themselves too little; or else for some men it was natural to disapprove of misdoing but to lack sufficient spirit to punish the misdeeds.

Both the praetor and his assessors were relieved of

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12 tum erat de Scipione cognoscendi. Pleminium et ad duo et triginta homines cum eo damnaverunt atque
13 in catenis Romam miserunt. Ipsi ad Scipionem profecti sunt, ut ea quoque quae volgata sermonibus erant de cultu ac desidia imperatoris solutaque disciplina militiae comperta oculis referrent [1] Romam.

XXII. Venientibus iis Syracusas Scipio res, non verba ad purgandum sese paravit. Exercitum omnem eo convenire, classem expediri iussit, tamquam dimicandum eo die terra marique cum Car-
2 thaginiensibus esset. Quo die venerunt hospitio comiter acceptis,[2] postero die terrestrem navalemque exercitum, non instructos modo, sed hos decurrentes, classem in portu simulacrum et ipsam edentem navalis
3 pugnae ostendit; tum circa armamentaria et horrea bellique alium apparatum [3] visendum praetor lega-
4 tique ducti. Tantaque admiratio singularum universarumque rerum incussa ut satis crederent aut illo duce atque exercitu vinci Carthaginiensem
5 populum aut alio nullo [4] posse, iuberentque, quod di bene verterent, traicere [5] et spei conceptae quo die illum omnes centuriae priorem consulem dixissent primo quoque tempore compotem populum Romanum

[1] referrent (*or* -erent) *P*(1)*N Aldus*: per- *Sp?HK*: prae- *J*.
[2] acceptis *Ta*²(*apparently*)*P*(1)*N*: -cepti *N*²*?HJK Aldus, Froben*.
[3] horrea bellique alium apparatum *C*²*A*¹*N*¹*HJ Eds.*: *reduced in P*(1)(*A*²) *to* horratum *by om. of some twenty letters* (*one line*): horrea ad belli apparatum *Madvig, Emend. Conway would insert* ad *before* armentaria, *but does not so read. Weissenborn*³ *assumed a lacuna before* aliumque belli *of Aldus, Froben*.
[4] alio nullo *P*(1)*N Aldus*: nullo alio *HJK Froben* 2.
[5] traicere *P*(3)*MHJK Aldus*: -rent *N*: -ret *Rhenanus, Froben* 2.

the burden—no slight one either—of a court of B.C. 204
inquiry concerning Scipio. Pleminius and with him some thirty-two men they found guilty[1] and sent in chains to Rome. They themselves went to Scipio with the further intention to see for themselves what had been common talk in regard to the dress and indolent habits of the general and lax discipline of his soldiers, and to report back to Rome.

XXII. While they were on their way to Syracuse Scipio prepared tangible evidence, not words, in his defence. He ordered the entire army to be concentrated there, and the fleet to be cleared for action, as if on that day he must fight on land and sea with the Carthaginians. On the day of their arrival they were hospitably entertained, and the next day he showed them his land and naval forces, not merely drawn up in line, but the soldiers in manœuvres[2] and the fleet likewise manœuvring in mimicry of a naval battle in the harbour. Then the praetor and the legati were conducted on a tour of inspection of arsenals and magazines and other equipment for war. And so much was their admiration aroused for particular things and for the sum total that they fully believed the Carthaginian people could be defeated either by that general and army or by no other, and bade him with the blessing of the gods to cross over, and at the first possible moment to bring to the Roman people the fulfilment of the hope inspired on the day on which all the centuries

[1] *I.e.* at a preliminary hearing; cf. xxii. 7 ff. The charge would be treason, *perduellio*.

[2] It is a sham battle, as *et ipsam* proves. No parade here; no more than in XXVI. li. 4.

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6 facere;[1] adeoque laetis inde animis profecti sunt, tamquam victoriam, non belli magnificum apparatum nuntiaturi Romam essent.

7 Pleminius quique in eadem causa erant, postquam Romam est ventum, extemplo in carcerem conditi. Ac primo producti ad populum ab tribunis apud praeoccupatos Locrensium clade animos nullum 8 misericordiae locum habuerunt; postea cum saepius producerentur, iam senescente invidia molliebantur irae, et ipsa deformitas Plemini memoriaque absentis 9 Scipionis favorem ad volgum conciliabat. Mortuus tamen prius in vinclis est quam iudicium de eo populi[2] perficeretur.

10 Hunc Pleminium Clodius Licinus in libro tertio rerum Romanarum refert ludis votivis quos Romae Africanus iterum consul faciebat conatum per quosdam, quos pretio corruperat, aliquot locis urbem incendere, ut effringendi[3] carceris fugiendique

[1] facere *MK Gronovius*: faceret *P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben*: -rent A^1N^2?*HJ*.
[2] populi *P*(1)*N Aldus*: *om. Sp*?*HJK Froben* 2.
[3] effringendi *Weissenborn*: re- *Luchs*: fringendi *P*: frangendi P^2(1)*NJK*.

[1] A defendant charged with *perduellio* was brought before a *contio* in the Forum three times, not on successive days. At the close of the third *contio* the tribunes pronounced judgment, repeating their demand for a penalty or changing it in either direction. Then they announced a final hearing 28 days later

had named him consul first. So happy also were they B.C. 204
on leaving the city, it was if they were to carry to Rome the news of a victory, not of a magnificent preparation for war.

Pleminius and those who were involved in the same charge, upon their arrival in Rome, were at once put in the prison. And when first brought before the people by the tribunes, while men's minds were already filled with the sufferings of the Locrians, they found no room left for pity. Later, as they were brought out repeatedly,[1] men's anger was subsiding as animosity now waned, and even Pleminius' disfigurement and the memory of the absent Scipio won them support among the populace. He died, however, in prison before his trial in the assembly of the people could be completed.

Clodius Licinus[2] in the third book of his Roman History relates of this Pleminius that during the votive games which Africanus was conducting at Rome in his second consulship,[3] he made an attempt, with the aid of certain men whom he had bribed, to set fire to the city in a number of places, in order to have a chance to break out of prison and escape;

(*quarta accusatio*). On that date the case would be finally decided by vote of the *comitia tributa* (if a fine was demanded), or of the *centuriata* (if a death penalty). Cf. XXVI. iii. 9 ff. (Vol. VII. pp. 13 ff. and notes p. 12); Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III. 354 ff. Confinement was in the Carcer, § 7; cf. p. 296, n. 1.

[2] A younger contemporary of Livy, consul suffectus in A.D. 4. His history must have begun with the end of the Second Punic War. Cf. Suet. *de Gram.* 20. Rare in Livy is so precise a reference to any authority.

[3] 194 B.C.; XXXIV. xliv. 6 ff., the same story under a different date and with omission of the source.

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haberet occasionem; patefacto dein scelere delegatum [1] in Tullianum ex senatus consulto.

11 De Scipione nusquam nisi in senatu actum, ubi omnes legatique et tribuni, classem,[2] exercitum ducemque verbis extollentes, effecerunt [3] ut senatus censeret primo quoque tempore in Africam traicien-
12 dum Scipionique permitteretur ut ex iis exercitibus qui in Sicilia essent ipse eligeret quos in Africam secum traiceret, quos provinciae relinqueret praesidio.

XXIII. Dum haec apud Romanos geruntur, Carthaginienses quoque, cum speculis per omnia promunturia positis percunctantes paventesque ad singulos
2 nuntios sollicitam hiemem egissent, haud parvum et ipsi tuendae Africae momentum adiecerunt societatem Syphacis regis, cuius maxime fiducia traiec-
3 turum in Africam Romanum crediderant.[4] Erat Hasdrubali Gisgonis filio non hospitium modo cum rege, de quo ante dictum est, cum ex Hispania forte in idem tempus Scipio atque Hasdrubal convenerunt sed mentio quoque incohata adfinitatis, ut rex
4 duceret filiam Hasdrubalis. Ad eam rem consummandam tempusque nuptiis statuendum—iam enim [5]

[1] delegatum $P(1)NJK$(-lig-) *Aldus, Froben*: re- *conj. Conway*: deiectum *Madvig*.
[2] classem, *after this* $P^2(1)N$ *Aldus have* eam (meam P).
[3] effecerunt $A'HJK$: fecerunt $P(1)N$.
[4] crediderant Ta^2H: -runt $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Froben*.
[5] enim Sp^2HJK *Froben* 2: enim et $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.

[1] The older underground chamber beneath the Carcer. Mere mention of it implies that Pleminius was executed there, as is explicitly stated *l.c.* xliv. 8. Cf. xix. 5; Val. Max. I. i. 21.

that then, when his crime was revealed, he was B.C. 204
consigned to the Tullianum [1] in accordance with a decree of the senate.

In regard to Scipio no action was taken anywhere except in the senate, in which both legati and tribunes united in praise of the fleet, army and general. Consequently the senate voted that at the earliest possible moment the crossing to Africa must take place, and that out of the armies then in Sicily Scipio should be permitted to choose for himself what forces he would transport with him to Africa, and what he would leave as a garrison for the province.

XXIII. While these events were in progress among the Romans, the Carthaginians on their part, placing watch-towers on all the promontories, had passed an anxious winter, gathering information and alarmed by each fresh report. And then, as no small factor in the defence of Africa, they added an alliance of their own with King Syphax, in reliance chiefly upon whom the Roman, they had believed, intended to cross over to Africa. Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo had not merely a guest-friendship with the king, of which mention has been made above [2]—when Scipio and Hasdrubal coming from Spain arrived, as it happened, at the same time—but also the first proposal of a marriage tie was made, in which the king was to marry Hasdrubal's daughter. To carry the matter through and to fix a time for the wedding, Hasdrubal went to him; for the maiden was already of marriageable age. On perceiving that he was

[2] The formal bond of a *hospitium* with Hasdrubal was implied in XXVIII. xviii but not exactly mentioned. As for Scipio, cf. below, xxiv. 3.

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nubilis erat virgo—profectus Hasdrubal ut accensum cupiditate—et sunt ante omnes barbaros Numidae effusi in Venerem—sensit, virginem a Carthagine
5 arcessit maturatque nuptias; et inter aliam gratulationem, ut publicum quoque foedus privato adiceretur, societas inter populum Carthaginiensem [1] regemque, data ultro citroque fide eosdem amicos inimicosque habituros, iure iurando adfirmatur.
6 Ceterum Hasdrubal, memor et cum Scipione initae regi societatis et quam vana et mutabilia
7 barbarorum ingenia essent, veritus ne, si traiecisset in Africam Scipio, parvum vinculum eae nuptiae essent, dum accensum recenti amore Numidam habet, perpellit blanditiis quoque puellae adhibitis ut legatos in Siciliam ad Scipionem mittat per quos moneat eum ne prioribus suis promissis fretus in Africam
8 traiciat; se et nuptiis civis Carthaginiensis, filiae Hasdrubalis quem viderit apud se in hospitio, et publico etiam foedere cum populo Carthaginiensi iunctum
9 optare primum ut procul ab Africa, sicut adhuc fecerint, bellum Romani cum Carthaginiensibus gerant, ne sibi interesse certaminibus eorum armaque aut haec aut illa, abnuentem alteram societatem, sequi
10 necesse sit; si non abstineat Africa Scipio et Carthagini exercitum admoveat, sibi necessarium fore et pro terra Africa, in qua et ipse sit genitus, et pro

[1] Carthaginiensem C^1HJK : -sum C : -sium $P(1)N$.

fired with passion—and more than all barbarians B.C. 204
the Numidians are prone to sensuality—he summoned the maiden from Carthage and hastened the wedding. And in the midst of congratulations on other grounds, in order that a public compact might be added to the private, an alliance between the Carthaginian people and the king was cemented by an oath, while a pledge was given by both sides that they would have the same friends and enemies.

Hasdrubal, however, remembered not only the alliance with Scipio into which the king had entered, but also how naturally characterless and fickle are barbarians. He feared that if Scipio should cross over to Africa this marriage would be a slender bond. Consequently while the Numidian, fired by his new-found love, was in his power, with the help also of the young woman's allurements, Hasdrubal prevailed upon him to send ambassadors to Scipio in Sicily, and through these men he was to warn Scipio not to cross over to Africa in reliance upon his previous promises. They were to say that he was linked with the Carthaginian people both by his marriage to a citizen of Carthage, daughter of the Hasdrubal whom Scipio had seen received as a guest in his own house, and by a public treaty as well; that in the first place he wished that the Romans would carry on war with the Carthaginians, as they had done hitherto, far from Africa, making it unnecessary for him to be involved in their conflicts and to follow the arms of this side or that, rejecting alliance with the other side; that if Scipio did not keep away from Africa and moved his army up to Carthage, it would be necessary for him to fight both for the land of Africa, in which he too had

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patria coniugis suae proque parente ac penatibus dimicare.

XXIV. Cum his [1] mandatis ab rege legati ad Scipionem missi Syracusis eum convenerunt. Scipio quamquam magno momento rerum in Africa gerendarum magnaque spe destitutus erat, legatis propere, priusquam res volgaretur, remissis in Africam litteras dat ad regem, quibus etiam atque etiam monet eum ne iura hospitii secum neu cum populo Romano initae societatis neu fas, fidem, dexteras, deos testes atque arbitros conventorum fallat. Ceterum quando neque celari adventus Numidarum poterat—vagati enim in urbe obversatique praetorio erant—et, si sileretur quid petentes venissent, periculum erat ne vera eo ipso quod celarentur sua sponte magis emanarent, timorque in exercitum incederet [2] ne simul cum rege et Carthaginiensibus foret bellandum, avertit a vero falsis praeoccupando mentes hominum, et vocatis ad contionem militibus non ultra esse cunctandum ait; instare ut in Africam quam primum traiciat socios reges. Masinissam prius ipsum [3] ad C. Laelium venisse querentem quod cunctando tempus tereretur; nunc Syphacem mittere legatos idem admirantem, quae tam diuturnae morae

[1] his $CR^3MBDANK$: hiis J : iis PR.

[2] incederet P (*probably* (1)N, *not reported by Conway*): inciderent P^1?M^1HJK *Aldus, Froben* : insideret *Madvig* (*with* in exercitu *from* P).

[3] prius ipsum N^1HJK *Froben* 2 : ipsum prius P(3)N *Aldus*.

[1] Formerly the palace of King Hiero II; Cicero *in Verr.* IV. 118; V. 80.

been born, and for the native city of his wife and for her father and her home. B.C. 204

XXIV. With these instructions ambassadors were sent to Scipio by the king, and they met him at Syracuse. Scipio had lost, to be sure, an important factor for the campaign in Africa and a high hope; nevertheless, sending the messengers back to Africa promptly, before the matter should be widely reported, he gave them a letter to the king. In this he insistently admonished him not to prove false to the claims of a guest-friendship entered into with himself, nor to those of an alliance contracted with the Roman people, nor to divine law, to honour, to the clasped hands, to the gods as witnesses and arbiters of compacts. But the arrival of the Numidians could not be kept secret, for they had roamed about the city and had showed themselves at headquarters;[1] and if the object of their mission was passed over in silence there would be danger that the facts might of themselves transpire, all the more from the very attempt to conceal them, and that the fear of having to fight at the same time with the king and the Carthaginians might overtake the army. For that reason Scipio diverted men's attention from the truth by preoccupation with false statements, and summoning the soldiers to an assembly, he told them that there must be no further delay; that the kings, their allies, were insisting that he cross over to Africa as soon as possible. Masinissa, he said, had previously come in person to Gaius Laelius complaining because they were wasting time in hesitation; and now Syphax was sending ambassadors, stating that he also was at a loss to explain what was the reason for a delay so protracted, and

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sit causa postulantemque [1] ut aut traiciatur tandem in Africam exercitus aut, si mutata consilia sint, certior fiat, ut et ipse [2] sibi ac regno suo possit [3] 7 consulere. Itaque satis iam omnibus instructis apparatisque [4] et re iam non ultra recipiente cunctationem, in animo sibi esse, Lilybaeum classe traducta eodemque omnibus peditum equitumque copiis contractis, quae prima dies cursum navibus daret, deis bene iuvantibus in Africam traicere. 8 Litteras ad M. Pomponium mittit ut, si ei videretur, Lilybaeum veniret, ut communiter consulerent quas potissimum legiones et [5] quantum militum numerum 9 in Africam traiceret. Item circum oram omnem [6] maritimam misit ut naves onerariae comprensae Lilybaeum omnes contraherentur.

10 Quidquid militum naviumque [7] in Sicilia erat cum Lilybaeum convenisset, et nec urbs multitudinem 11 hominum neque portus naves caperet, tantus omnibus ardor erat in Africam traiciendi ut non ad bellum duci viderentur, sed ad certa victoriae praemia. Praecipue qui superabant ex Cannensi exercitu milites illo, non alio duce credebant navata rei publicae opera finire se militiam ignominiosam posse. 12 Et Scipio minime id genus militum aspernabatur, ut

[1] quae . . . postulantem- *om.* $P(1)N$, *two lines supplied from* A^1N^1HJK.

[2] ipse *om.* $P(1)N$.

[3] possit P^1 *and* (*om.* suo)*Sp?HJK Froben* 2 : posset $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.

[4] instructis apparatisque N^1HJK *Aldus*, *Froben*, *Conway* (*with* paratisque *Weissenborn*, *Madvig*) : instructisque $P(1)N$.

[5] et $P(1)N^2$ *or* N^1 *Aldus* : *om. Sp?HJK Froben* 2.

[6] omnem *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus*.

[7] naviumque *om.* $(1)N$: *P has only* quae *deleted.*

demanding either that the army be at last transported to Africa, or, if their plans had been changed, that he be informed, so that he on his part might take measures for himself and his kingdom. Accordingly, since now everything had been duly fitted out and made ready and the situation admitted of no further delay, Scipio said it was his intention to shift his fleet to Lilybaeum and concentrate there all his infantry and cavalry forces, then on the first day that offered a passage to his ships to cross over with the blessing of the gods to Africa. He sent a letter to Marcus Pomponius,[1] requesting him, if he approved, to come to Lilybaeum, so that they might jointly decide which particular legions to transport to Africa and how large a number of men. He likewise sent orders round the entire coastline to have all merchantmen pressed into the service and concentrated at Lilybaeum. B.C. 20

When all the soldiers and ships in Sicily had been brought together at Lilybaeum and the city could not contain the multitude of men nor the harbour the ships, such was the ardour of every man for the passage to Africa that it seemed as though they were being led, not to a war but to assured rewards of victory. Especially the soldiers who were left of the army at Cannae believed that under that general and no other, by active duty for the state they could bring their ignominious service to an end.[2] And Scipio did not in the least scorn soldiers of that kind,

[1] Cf. xx. 4, 8; xiii. 2, 6: XXVIII. xlv. 12 (his mission to Delphi).

[2] Their appeals, such as that in XXV. vi. 2–23 (eight years before), had been of no avail. They saw no service as combat troops in Sicily, not even in the long siege of Syracuse.

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qui neque ad Cannas ignavia eorum cladem acceptam sciret neque ullos aeque veteres milites in exercitu Romano esse expertosque non variis proeliis modo
13 sed urbibus etiam oppugnandis. Quinta et sexta Cannenses erant legiones. Eas se traiecturum in Africam cum dixisset, singulos milites inspexit, relictisque quos non idoneos credebat, in locum eorum subiecit
14 quos secum ex Italia adduxerat, supplevitque ita eas legiones ut singulae sena milia et ducenos pedites, trecenos [1] haberent equites. Sociorum item Latini nominis pedites equitesque de exercitu Cannensi legit.

XXV. Quantum militum in Africam transportatum sit non parvo numero inter auctores discrepat.
2 Alibi decem milia peditum, duo milia et ducentos equites, alibi sedecim milia peditum, mille et sescentos [2] equites, alibi parte plus dimidia rem auctam, quinque et triginta milia peditum equitumque in
3 naves imposita invenio.[3] Quidam non adiecere numerum, inter quos me ipse in re dubia poni malim. Coelius ut abstinet numero, ita ad inmensum multi-
4 tudinis speciem auget: volucres ad terram delapsas clamore militum ait, tantamque [4] multitudinem conscendisse naves ut nemo mortalium aut in Italia aut in Sicilia relinqui videretur.

[1] trecenos *Glareanus*: tricenos $P(1)N$: trecentos P^5: CCC *HJK*.
[2] sescentos (DC) $P(3)N$ *Eds.*: quingenti (*or* -tos) A^1HJK.
[3] invenio *z*: *om.* $P(1)NJK$.
[4] ait, tantamque A^1HJK: aitque tantam $P(3)N$ (*with* atque CAN: ait atque N^2).

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[1] Here Scipio had personal knowledge, having been a tribune of the soldiers at Cannae; XXII. liii. 2; Val. Max. V. vi. 7.

as he knew that the disaster at Cannae had not been incurred by their cowardice,[1] and that there were no soldiers in the Roman army who were such veterans and as highly trained not only in battles of different kinds but also in besieging cities. The fifth and sixth legions were those from Cannae. Having said he would transport these legions to Africa, he inspected the soldiers one by one, and leaving those whom he believed to be unfit, he substituted for them men whom he had brought with him from Italy, and recruited the legions to such an extent that each had six thousand two hundred infantry[2] and three hundred cavalry. In like manner he chose foot-soldiers and horse from the Latin allies out of the army which fought at Cannae. B.C. 204

XXV. As to the number of soldiers transported to Africa the authorities differ by no small figure. In some I find that ten thousand infantry, two thousand two hundred cavalry were embarked; in others sixteen thousand infantry, sixteen hundred cavalry; in others the total is more than doubled—thirty-five thousand infantry and cavalry. Some authorities have not introduced the figures, and it is among these that I should myself prefer to be counted in view of the uncertainty. Coelius, while he gives no figures, nevertheless immensely increases the impression of great numbers.[3] He says that birds fell to the ground owing to the shouts of the soldiers, and that such a multitude boarded the ships that not a human being seemed to be left either in Italy or Sicily.

[2] This is the maximum known for a legion.

[3] Another example of Coelius' rhetorical exaggeration is found in xxvii. 14 f.

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5 Milites ut naves ordine ac sine tumultu conscenderent, ipse eam sibi curam sumpsit; nauticos C. Laelius, qui classis praefectus erat, in navibus,[1] 6 ante conscendere coactos, continuit; commeatus imponendi M. Pomponio praetori cura data: quinque et quadraginta dierum cibaria, e quibus quindecim 7 dierum cocta, imposita. Ut omnes iam in navibus erant, scaphas circummisit ut ex omnibus [2] navibus gubernatoresque et magistri navium et bini milites 8 in forum convenirent ad imperia accipienda. Postquam convenerunt, primum ab iis quaesivit si aquam hominibus iumentisque in totidem dies quot frumen- 9 tum imposuissent. Ubi responderunt [3] aquam dierum quinque et quadraginta in navibus esse, tum edixit militibus ut silentium quieti, nautis sine certamine ad ministeria exsequenda bene oboedientes, praestarent. 10 Cum viginti rostratis se ac L. Scipionem ab dextro cornu, ab laevo totidem rostratas et C. Laelium praefectum classis cum M. Porcio Catone—quaestor 11 is tum erat—onerariis futurum praesidio. Lumina in navibus singula rostratae, bina onerariae haberent; in praetoria nave insigne nocturnum trium luminum

[1] in navibus $P(1)N$: navibus *Sp? Froben* 2: et navibus $N^{a}H$: in naves $A^{a?}JK$ *Aldus*.
[2] omnibus *om.* $P(1)N$.
[3] responderunt $P(3)HJK$: responsum est AN *Aldus, Froben*.

That the soldiers should board the ships in good order and without confusion the general took upon himself. As for the crews, Gaius Laelius, who was admiral of the fleet, ordered them to go on board first, and kept them there. The duty of loading supplies was assigned to Marcus Pomponius, the praetor. Rations for forty-five days—of these cooked rations for fifteen days—were placed on board. When now they had all embarked, Scipio sent ships' boats round with orders that pilots and masters from all the ships and two soldiers from each should assemble before the headquarters to receive commands. When they were assembled he first asked them if they had put on board water for men and beasts for just as many days as they had grain. When they replied that there was water for forty-five days on board, he thereupon gave orders to the soldiers to remain quiet and ensure silence in proper obedience to the seamen and without interference, that these might perform their duties. With twenty war-ships, he said, he and Lucius Scipio [1] on the right wing would protect the transports; on the left wing the same number of war-ships and Gaius Laelius, admiral of the fleet, with Marcus Porcius Cato, who was at that time quaestor; [2] that war-ships should have one lantern for each ship, transports two for each; that on the flagship the designation at night B.C. 204

[1] He had been with his older brother in Spain (XXVIII. iii. 2 ff.; iv. 2 ff.; xvii. 1) and in Sicily (above, vii. 2); consul in 190 B.C. with Laelius; XXXVI. xlv. 9.

[2] His quaestorship in this year is attested by Cicero *Cat. Mai.* 10; *Brutus* 60; not in 205 B.C., as Nepos *Cato* i. 3. Plutarch has him return in protest from Sicily to Rome, iii. 7.

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12 fore. Emporia ut peterent gubernatoribus edixit; fertilissimus ager eoque abundans omnium copia rerum est regio, et inbelles, quod plerumque in uberi agro evenit, barbari sunt, priusque quam ab [1] Carthagine subveniretur opprimi videbantur posse.
13 Iis editis imperiis redire ad naves iussi et postero die deis bene iuvantibus signo dato solvere naves.

XXVI. Multae classes Romanae e Sicilia atque ipso illo portu profectae erant; ceterum non eo bello solum—nec id mirum: praedatum enim tantummodo pleraeque classes ierant—sed ne priore quidem ulla
2 profectio tanti spectaculi fuit: quamquam, si magnitudine classis [2] aestimares, et [3] bini consules cum binis exercitibus ante traiecerant et prope totidem rostratae in illis classibus fuerant quot onerariis Scipio
3 tum traiciebat; nam praeter quadraginta longas naves quadringentis ferme onerariis exercitum travexit.
4 Sed et bellum bello secundum priori [4] ut atrocius

[1] ab *om.* $P(3\ R^2N$.
[2] classis $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: classes Sp^2A^1HJK *Froben* 2.
[3] aestimares, et $Sp(probably)A^1N^2$: extimares et HJK: es- (*or* aes-) timaret sed si $P\ (3)C^4$.
[4] priori $P(1)N$: priore A^1HJK *Conway*.

[1] Trading centres (*emporia*) along the western shore of the Gulf of Gabès (Syrtis Minor) gave this name to an entire region. It extended southward from Leptis Minor (100 miles from Carthage) and Thapsus. Cf. xxxiii. 9; XXXIV. lxii. 3; Polybius III. xxiii. 2; XXXI. xxi; Pliny *N.H.* V. 25. So public an announcement of a distant beachhead forces us to suspect that Scipio really intended to land near Utica, after misleading the enemy. Before the great convoy reached Africa spies could easily bring to Carthage news of the order. Cf. note on xxvii. 9; Gsell, *op. cit.* III. 213; Zielinski in *Riv. di storia antica* III. 74 f.

[2] But remoteness from Carthage would mean a greatly increased distance from Sicily, and on the long passage south-

would be three lanterns. He ordered the pilots to steer for the Emporia.[1] There the soil is very fertile and for that reason the region supplies everything in abundance; and the natives are unwarlike, as is usually the case in a fertile country, and it seemed that they could be overpowered before aid could be sent from Carthage.[2] After he had issued these commands they were ordered to return to their ships and on the following day, with the blessing of the gods, to cast off at the given signal. B.C. 204

XXVI. Many Roman fleets had sailed from Sicily and out of that very harbour. Yet not only during that war was there never a sailing so spectacular—and no wonder, since most of the fleets had sailed out merely to plunder—but there had been nothing similar even in the previous war. And yet if one had based his comparison upon the size of the fleet, more than once [3] before had two consuls with two armies made the passage, and there had been almost as many war-ships in those fleets as now transports with which Scipio was crossing over. For in addition to forty war-ships only, he carried his army across on about four hundred transports. But the second war was made to appear to the Romans more terrible

ward Roman ships would be in constant danger of attack, with few ports in which they might seek even a temporary refuge. The *fertilissimus ager* was little more than a strip—one more reason to believe that no Roman general would seriously propose to launch a campaign against Carthage from such a coast.

[3] Exactly twice: in 256 B.C. L. Manlius Vulso and M. Atilius Regulus (xxviii. 5) with 330 war-ships (Polybius I. xxv. 7; xxix. 1); in 255 B.C. M. Aemilius Paulus and Ser. Fulvius Nobilior with 350, but no army, and shipwrecked on their return; *ibid.* xxxvi. 10 ff.

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Romanis videretur, cum quod in Italia bellabatur, tum ingentes strages tot exercituum simul caesis
5 ducibus effecerant, et Scipio dux partim factis fortibus partim suapte fortuna quadam, ingenti ad incrementa gloriae re,[1] celebratus converterat animos,
6 simul et mens ipsa traiciendi, nulli ante eo bello duci temptata, quod ad Hannibalem[2] detrahendum ex Italia transferendumque et finiendum in Africa
7 bellum se transire volgaverat. Concurrerat ad spectaculum in portum omnis turba non habitantium modo Lilybaei, sed legationum omnium ex Sicilia, quae et ad prosequendum Scipionem officii causa convenerant et praetorem provinciae M. Pomponium
8 secutae fuerant; ad hoc legiones quae in Sicilia relinquebantur ad prosequendos commilitones processerant; nec classis modo prospectantibus e terra, sed terra etiam omnis circa referta turba spectaculo navigantibus erat.

XXVII. Ubi illuxit, Scipio e praetoria nave si-
2 lentio[3] per praeconem facto "Divi divaeque" inquit "qui[4] maria terrasque colitis, vos precor quaesoque uti quae in meo imperio gesta sunt, geruntur, postque gerentur,[5] ea mihi, populo plebique Romanae, sociis nominique Latino qui populi Romani quique meam

[1] re *inserted by Harant, Riemann* (momento *by M. Müller*), *to relieve a desperate situation in which* ingenti *would have to agree with* fortuna. *For* ingenti ad (*all MSS., but corrupt according to Conway*) *there are several unsatisfactory emendations.*

[2] temptata . . . Hannibalem A^1N^1(*marg.*)*HJK Aldus, Froben*: *om.* (*and* de- *also*) $P(1)N$; temptata *probably corrupt, Conway.*

[3] navigantibus erat . . . silentio A^1N^1HJK: *om.* $P(1)N$, *probably three lines,*

[4] qui *om.* $P(3)$.

than the first both by being carried on in Italy and by the immense losses which befell so many armies, with the death of their generals at the same time. Furthermore Scipio, whom men praised as a general partly because of his brave deeds, partly because of a good fortune peculiarly his own—a matter of the greatest importance to his growing celebrity—had commanded attention, as had also the very thought, not hazarded by any previous general in this war, of crossing the sea. For he had spread the report that he was making the passage in order to draw Hannibal out of Italy and, shifting its scene, to bring the war to an end in Africa. To see that sight there had flocked to the harbour a crowd made up, not only of all the inhabitants of Lilybaeum, but of all the delegations from Sicily which had arrived to show their respect as an escort to Scipio, and of those that had followed the praetor of the province, Marcus Pomponius. In addition the legions that were being left behind in Sicily had turned out to escort their fellow-soldiers. And not only was the fleet a spectacle for those who viewed it from the shore, but also the whole densely crowded shore on this side and that was a sight for those who were sailing. B.C. 204

XXVII. When the day dawned Scipio on his flagship, after silence had been secured by a herald, prayed: "Ye gods and goddesses who inhabit seas and lands, I pray and beseech you that whatever under my authority has been done, is being done, and shall henceforth be done, may prosper for me, for the Roman people and the commons, for allies and Latins who by land, by sea, and by rivers follow the

[5] postque gerentur A^4H (-untur) *JK Eds.* : *om.* $P(1)N$.

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sectam, imperium auspiciumque terra mari amnibus-
3 que[1] secuntur, bene verruncent, eaque vos omnia bene iuvetis, bonis auctibus auxitis; salvos incolumesque victis perduellibus victores, spoliis decoratos, praeda onustos[2] triumphantesque mecum domos reduces sistatis; inimicorum hostiumque ulciscendorum copiam
4 faxitis; quaeque populus Carthaginiensis in civitatem nostram facere molitus est, ea ut mihi populoque Romano in civitatem Carthaginiensium exempla edendi facultatem detis."
5 Secundum has preces cruda exta caesa[3] victima, uti mos est, in mare proiecit tubaque signum dedit
6 proficiscendi. Vento secundo vehementi satis profecti[4] celeriter e conspectu terrae ablati sunt; et a meridie nebula occepit[5] ita vix ut concursus navium inter se vitarent; lenior ventus in alto factus.
7 Noctem insequentem eadem caligo obtinuit; sole orto est discussa, et addita vis vento. Iam terram cerne-
8 bant. Haud ita multo post gubernator Scipioni ait non plus quinque milia passuum Africam abesse; Mercuri promunturium se cernere; si iubeat eo
9 dirigi, iam in portu fore omnem classem. Scipio, ut in conspectu terra fuit, precatus deos[6] uti bono rei

[1] amnibusque *P*(1 *except D, which om.*) *NHJK Conway* (*retaining the antique flavour suited to a formal prayer*) : amnibus *rejected by Held, Madvig and most recent Eds.*
[2] praeda onustos *om. SpHJK.*
[3] caesa *JK Aldus, Froben* : cesam (*with* victimam) A^1N^1H : *om. P*(1)*N.*
[4] profecti *P*(1)*NHJK Eds.* : provecti *conj. Weissenborn, Conway.*
[5] occepit *PRSpJK* : occeperat *Aldus* : accepit *C* : ex- *B Eds.* : cepit *MAN.*
[6] deos *om. P*(1)*N.*

lead, authority and auspices of the Roman people B.C. 204
and of myself; and that ye lend your kind aid to all those acts and make them bear good fruit; that when the foe has been vanquished, ye bring the victors home with me safe and sound, adorned with spoils, laden with booty, and in triumph; that ye grant power to punish opponents and enemies; and that ye bestow upon the Roman people and upon me the power to visit upon the state of the Carthaginians the fate that the people of Carthage have endeavoured to visit upon our state."

Immediately after this prayer a victim was slain and Scipio threw the organs raw into the sea, as is customary,[1] and by a trumpet gave the signal to sail. A favouring wind sufficiently strong quickly carried them out of sight of land. And after mid-day they encountered a fog, so that with difficulty could they avoid collisions between the ships. In the open sea the wind was gentler. Through the following night the same fog held; and when the sun was up, it was dispersed and the wind increased in force. Already they were in sight of land. Not very long afterwards the pilot told Scipio that Africa was not more than five miles away; that they sighted the Promontory of Mercury;[2] if he should order him to steer for that, the entire fleet would soon be in port. Scipio, now that the land was visible, after a prayer to the gods that his sight of Africa might be a

[1] For this practice when ships were setting sail with ceremony v. Cicero *N.D.* III. 51 *fin.*; cf. Servius on *Aeneid* V. 238; Macrobius *Sat.* III. ii. 2 ff.

[2] This headland, now Cap Bon (Ras Adar), marks the eastern entrance to the Bay of Tunis. It is 45 miles from Carthage, and is the nearest point to Sicily. Cf. Pliny *N.H.* V. 23 f.; Strabo XVII. iii, 13, 16; Mela I. 34.

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publicae suoque Africam viderit,[1] dare vela et alium
10 infra navibus accessum petere iubet. Vento eodem
ferebantur; ceterum nebula sub idem ferme tempus
quo pridie exorta conspectum terrae ademit, et ventus
11 premente nebula cecidit. Nox deinde incertiora
omnia fecit; itaque ancoras, ne aut inter se con-
currerent naves aut terrae[2] inferrentur, iecere.
12 Ubi inluxit, ventus idem coortus nebula disiecta
aperuit omnia Africae litora. Scipio, quod esset
proximum promunturium percunctatus, cum Pulchri
promunturium id vocari audisset. "Placet omen"
13 inquit; "huc dirigite naves." Eo classis decurrit,
copiaeque omnes in terram expositae sunt.

Prosperam navigationem sine terrore ac tumultu
fuisse permultis Graecis Latinisque auctoribus credidi.
14 Coelius unus,[3] praeterquam quod non mersas fluctibus
naves, ceteros omnes caelestes maritimosque terrores,
postremo abreptam tempestate ab Africa classem ad
insulam Aegimurum inde aegre correctum cursum ex-

[1] viderit $P(1)N$ *Eds.*: videret A^1HJK.

[2] inter se . . . aut terrae N^1HJK(*and* A^1, *om.* aut) interrae $P(3)$, *om.* 25 *letters.*

[3] Coelius (*or* cael-) unus M^3A^1HJK: caecilius (*or* cec- $P(1)N$.

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[1] *I.e.* farther along the coast. Cf. Caesar *B.G.* IV. 36 *fin.* He meant *inside* the Bay (not towards the Emporia), there being no harbour on either side of the Cape. His order to the helmsmen (at Lilybaeum, xxv. 12) to steer for the Emporia was probably a ruse (cf. note there); or it merely named a rendezvous in case the convoy should be scattered. A complete change in his plan for the campaign could not be made suddenly.

[2] *I.e.* of Apollo, translating Polybius' τοῦ Καλοῦ ἀκροτήριον (III. xxii. 5), who in the same passage has τὸ Καλὸν ἀκροτήριον.

blessing to the state and to himself, gave orders to make sail and to seek another landing-place for the ships farther down.[1] They were running before the same wind; but at about the same time as on the preceding day a fog appeared cutting off the sight of land, and under the weight of fog the wind dropped. Then night added to all their uncertainties; so they cast anchor, that the ships might not collide or drift onto the shore. When day dawned the same wind sprang up and by dispelling the fog revealed the whole African coast. Scipio inquired what the nearest promontory was, and upon being told it was called Cape of the Fair God,[2] he said "A welcome omen! steer your ships this way!" There the fleet came into port and all the troops were disembarked.[3] B.C. 204

That the passage was successful and free from alarm and disorder I have accepted on the authority of many Greek and Latin writers. Coelius[4] alone describes all the terrors of weather and waves—everything short of saying that the ships were overwhelmed by the seas. He relates that finally the fleet was swept by the storm away from Africa to the island of Aegimurus,[5] and that from there the proper

(xxiii. 1). Cf. *Apollinis*, XXX. xxiv. 8; Pliny *N.H. l.c.*; Mela I. 34; Ἀπολλώνιον, Dio Cass. (Zonaras) IX. xii. 3 and Strabo XVII. *l.c.* The modern name is Ras Sidi Ali el Mekki.

[3] Inside the Cape, probably near modern Porto Farina, not far from Utica; Appian *Pun.* 13 *fin.*

[4] Cf. xxv. 3. We may, however, suspect a slip of Livy's memory, or an error in verification of a source. See p. 316, n. 1.

[5] North-west of the Prom. Mercurii (Hermaeum) and about 30 miles north-east of Carthage, now el Djamur (also called Zembra); XXX. xxiv. 9, 11 f.; Strabo II. v. 19 *fin.*; VI. ii. 11 *fin.* Pliny has two Aegimoeroe, V. 42.

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15 ponit, et prope obrutis navibus iniussu imperatoris scaphis, haud secus quam naufragos, milites sine armis cum ingenti tumultu in terram evasisse.

XXVIII. Expositis copiis Romani castra in pro- 2 ximis tumulis metantur. Iam non in maritimos modo agros conspectu primum classis, dein tumultu egredientium in terram pavor terrorque pervenerat, sed 3 in ipsas urbes. Neque enim hominum modo turba, mulierum puerorumque agminibus immixta, omnes passim compleverat vias, sed pecora quoque prae se agrestes agebant, ut relinqui subito Africam diceres. 4 Urbibus vero ipsis maiorem quam quem secum attulerant terrorem inferebant; praecipue Carthagini [1] 5 prope ut captae tumultus fuit. Nam post M. Atilium Regulum et L. Manlium [2] consules, annis prope quinquaginta, nullum Romanum exercitum viderant praeter praedatorias classes, quibus escensiones in 6 agros maritimos [3] factae erant, raptisque quae obvia fors fecerat prius recursum semper ad naves quam 7 clamor agrestes conciret fuerat. Eo maior tum fuga pavorque in urbe fuit. Et hercule neque exercitus domi validus neque dux quem opponerent erat. Hasdrubal Gisgonis filius genere, fama, divitiis, regia tum etiam adfinitate longe primus civitatis erat;

[1] Carthagini M^1 or $M^2A^cN^1HJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: -nis $P(1)M^2N$.

[2] Regulum . . . Manlium *om.* $P(1)N$, *supplied from* A^cN^cHJK.

[3] maritimos *om.* $P(1)N$.

[1] This entire statement about storm and wreck is disproved by a fragment (41) of Coelius' Book VI preserved by Nonius *s.v. metari*, p. 199 L. The fragment unquestionably refers to this landing. Cf. H. Peter, *Hist. Rom. Rell.* I. 159; Gsell *op. cit.* 212.

course was regained with difficulty; and that as the ships were all but sinking the soldiers, without waiting for an order from the general, made their way to the shore in small boats, as though they had been shipwrecked, with no arms and in the greatest disorder.[1] B.C. 204

XXVIII. After landing their troops the Romans laid out a camp on the nearest heights. By this time, first from the sight of the fleet, and then from the commotion produced as they were disembarking, apprehension and panic had reached not only the farms near the coast but even into the cities. For it was not merely the massed humanity that, interspersed with columns of women and children, had filled all the roads in every direction, but cattle also driven before them by the farmers, so that one would have said Africa was suddenly being deserted. But even in the cities they inspired greater alarm than that which they had brought with them. Especially at Carthage the uproar was almost like that of a captured city. For since the consulship of Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius, for almost fifty years [2] they had seen no Roman forces except only predatory fleets, by means of which descents had been made on farms near the sea; and seizing whatever chance had put in their way, the men had always raced back to their ships before the outcry should arouse the farmers. All the greater at this time was the flight and alarm in the city. They lacked also, to be sure, both a strong army at home and a general to confront the enemy. Hasdrubal the son of Gisgo was far the foremost man of the state in family, reputation, wealth, and at that time also by reason

[2] In reality just 52 years (256–204 B.C.); cf. xxvi. 2, note.

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8 sed eum ab ipso [1] illo Scipione aliquot proeliis fusum pulsumque in Hispania meminerant, nec magis ducem duci [2] parem quam tumultuarium exercitum
9 suum Romano exercitui esse. Itaque, velut si urbem extemplo adgressurus Scipio foret, ita conclamatum ad arma est, portaeque raptim clausae et armati in muris vigiliaeque et stationes dispositae, ac nocte
10 insequenti vigilatum est. Postero die quingenti [3] equites, speculatum ad mare turbandosque egredientes ex navibus missi, in stationes Romanorum
11 inciderunt. Iam enim [4] Scipio, classe Uticam missa, ipse haud ita multum progressus a mari tumulos proximos ceperat: equites et in stationibus locis idoneis posuerat et per agros miserat praedatum.

XXIX. Hi cum Carthaginiensi equitatu proelium cum commisissent, paucos in ipso certamine, plerosque fugientes persecuti, in quibus praefectum quoque
2 Hannonem, nobilem iuvenem, occiderunt. Scipio non agros modo circa vastavit, sed urbem etiam proximam
3 Afrorum satis opulentam cepit; ubi praeter cetera, quae extemplo in naves onerarias imposita missaque in Siciliam erant, octo milia liberorum servorumque capitum [5] sunt capta.
4 Laetissimus tamen Romanis [6] in principio rerum

[1] ipso *om.* $P(1)N$.
[2] duci A^1N^1HJK: *om.* $P(1)N$: duci credebant *Madvig, Emend.*
[3] quingenti (*i.e.* d) A^1N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* (*after* die) $P(1)N$.
[4] Iam enim A^1HJK *Eds.*: tamenim P: tamen $P^2(1)N$.
[5] capitum $P(1)N$ *Eds.*: *om.* $SpHJK$.
[6] Romanis A^5 *or* $A^{1\gamma}N^1HJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: omnis $P(1)(C?)N$: omnibus *Gronovius.*

[1] Cf. xxxiv. 14 ff., where this engagement may appear to be repeated with the same result for a commander of the same

of his relationship to a king. But they recalled that B.C. 204
in a number of battles in Spain he had been routed
and beaten by the self-same Scipio, and that the one
general was no more a match for the other than was
their own irregular army for the Roman army.
Accordingly they sounded the alarm, as if Scipio
were intending forthwith to attack the city. The
gates were hastily closed also and armed men posted
on the walls, sentries and outposts stationed, while
the following night no one slept. Next day five
hundred horsemen, sent to the coast to reconnoitre
and to break up the disembarkation, encountered
Roman outposts. For already Scipio, after sending
the fleet towards Utica, had himself advanced not
very far from the sea and taken the nearest heights.
He had stationed cavalry on outpost duty in suitable
positions and had sent others to plunder the
countryside.

XXIX. These horsemen, having engaged in battle
with the Carthaginian cavalry, slew a few in the
actual engagement, many more as they pursued
them in flight, among the number Hanno[1] also, the
commander, a young man of rank. Scipio not only
laid waste the farms all around but also captured the
nearest city of the Africans, quite a prosperous place.
There, in addition to the other spoils which had
been at once loaded on transports and sent to Sicily,
eight thousand free persons and slaves were taken
captive.

What brought the greatest joy, however, to the
Romans at the beginning of the campaign was the

[1] ame, a common name, however, at Carthage. But v. p. 343
nd notes.

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gerendarum adventus fuit Masinissae; quem quidam cum ducentis haud amplius equitibus, plerique cum duum milium equitatu tradunt venisse. Ceterum cum longe maximus omnium aetatis suae regum hic fuerit plurimumque rem Romanam iuverit, operae pretium videtur excedere paulum [1] ad enarrandum quam varia fortuna usus sit in amittendo recuperandoque paterno regno.

6 Militanti pro Carthaginiensibus in Hispania pater ei moritur; Galae nomen erat. Regnum ad fratrem regis Oezalcen pergrandem natu—ita mos apud 7 Numidas est—pervenit. Haud multo post Oezalce quoque mortuo maior ex duobus filiis eius Capussa, puero admodum altero, paternum imperium accepit. 8 Ceterum cum magis iure gentis quam auctoritate inter suos aut viribus obtineret regnum, exstitit quidam Mazaetullus nomine, non alienus sanguine [2] regibus, familiae semper inimicae ac de imperio varia fortuna 9 cum iis qui tum obtinebant certantis. Is concitatis popularibus, apud quos invidia regum magnae auctoritatis erat, castris palam positis descendere regem in 10 aciem ac dimicare de regno coegit. In eo proelio Capussa cum multis principum cecidit. Gens Maesuliorum omnis in dicionem imperiumque Mazae- 11 tulli concessit. Regio tamen nomine abstinuit contentusque nomine modico tutoris puerum Lacumazen, qui stirpis regiae supererat, regem appellat. 12 Carthaginiensem nobilem feminam, sororis filiam

[1] paulum $P(1)N$: paululum *HJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] sanguine, N^1 *or* N^2HJK *have* a sanguine.

[1] The long digression (4½ chapters) is probably from a lost portion of Polybius, who had a personal acquaintance with Masinissa; for in his IX. xxv. 4 a conversation with him is reported.

arrival of Masinissa. Some authorities relate that B.C. 204
he came with no more than two hundred horsemen, the majority say with two thousand cavalry. But since he was far the greatest of all the kings of his time and gave the greatest aid to the Roman state, it seems worth while to digress a little to tell how checkered was the fortune he met with in losing and recovering his father's kingdom.[1]

While he was serving on the side of the Carthaginians in Spain his father died; Gala was his name. The kingdom came to the king's brother, Oezalces, a very aged man, such being the custom among the Numidians. Not long after, upon the death of Oezalces also, the elder of his two sons, Capussa, succeeded to his father's throne, the other son being a mere boy. But inasmuch as he held the kingship more by customary law of his people than by prestige among his countrymen or by his might, a man came forward named Mazaetullus, not unconnected by blood with the royal house and member of a family that had always been hostile and had contested the throne with different results against the house which was then in possession. After rousing his countrymen, among whom he had great influence because of the unpopularity of the royal family, and openly pitching his camp, he compelled the king to go out into battle-line and fight for his kingdom. In that battle Capussa fell with many of the leading men. The entire tribe of the Maesulii submitted to the sway and authority of Mazaetullus. Nevertheless he refrained from using the kingly title and, contented with the modest style of guardian, he gave the royal title to the boy Lacumazes, who also belonged to the royal line. He married a noble Carthaginian lady,

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Hannibalis, quae proxime Oezalci regi nupta fuerat, matrimonio sibi iungit spe Carthaginiensium socie-
13 tatis, et cum Syphace hospitium vetustum legatis missis renovat, omnia ea auxilia praeparans adversus Masinissam.

XXX. Et Masinissa, audita morte patrui, dein nece fratris patruelis, ex Hispania in Mauretaniam —Baga ea tempestate rex Maurorum erat—traiecit.
2 Ab eo supplex infimis precibus auxilium itineri, quoniam bello non poterat, quattuor milia Maurorum
3 impetravit. Cum iis,[1] praemisso nuntio ad paternos suosque amicos, cum ad fines regni pervenisset, quingenti ferme Numidae ad eum convenerunt.
4 Igitur Mauris inde, sicut convenerat, retro ad regem remissis, quamquam aliquanto minor spe multitudo nec cum qua tantam rem adgredi satis auderet
5 convenerat,[2] ratus agendo ac moliendo vires quoque ad agendum aliquid conlecturum, proficiscenti ad Syphacem Lacumazae regulo ad Thapsum occurrit.
6 Trepidum agmen cum in urbem refugisset, et[3] urbem Masinissa primo impetu capit et ex regiis alios tradentes se recipit,[4] alios vim parantes occidit; pars maxima cum ipso puero inter tumultum ad

[1] iis *PRM Aldus, Froben* : hiis *J* : his *CR²BDANHK.*

[2] convenerat *Alschefski, Madvig, Eds.* : -venera *P* : -venere $P^2(3)$; -venire *AN* : -veniret (*but after* multitudo) A^1JK; (*after* auderet) *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* N^1H : *Conway considers it an intrusion.*

[3] et *om.* $P(1)N$ *Aldus, as also* et *in next line.*

[4] recipit $P(1)N$: recepit $Sp(apparently)HJK$ *Aldus.*

daughter of Hannibal's sister and lately wedded to B.C. 204
King Oezalces. He did so in the hope of an alliance with the Carthaginians, and with Syphax he renewed a guest-friendship of long standing, sending envoys for the purpose. All these advantages he was preparing against Masinissa.

XXX. And Masinissa having heard of the death of his uncle, and then that his cousin had fallen, crossed over from Spain into Mauretania, Baga being at that time king of the Mauri. From Baga with the most abject entreaties as a suppliant he obtained four thousand Mauri as an escort on his journey, being unable to obtain aid for the war. When with that escort, after first sending word to his father's friends and his own, he had reached the frontier of the kingdom, about five hundred Numidians joined him. Therefore from that point he sent back the Mauri to their king, as it had been agreed, and although the numbers that had joined him were considerably smaller than he had hoped for, and not such that he quite dared to attempt so great a venture with them, he thought that by vigorous action he would also gather up the forces needed for some success. Hence as Lacumazes, the prince, was on his way to Syphax, Masinissa encountered him near Thapsus.[1] When the frightened column had sought refuge in the city, Masinissa not only took the city by the first assault but received the surrender of some of the royal escort and slew others attempting resistance. The majority together with the boy himself in the midst of the commotion made

[1] Unknown; probably a corruption of the name. Not to be confused with the distant city famous for Julius Caesar's victory, on the coast south of Hadrumetum (Sousse).

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Syphacem, quo primum intenderant iter, pervenerunt.
7 Fama huius modicae rei in principio rerum prospere actae convertit ad Masinissam Numidas, adfluebantque undique ex agris vicisque veteres milites Galae et incitabant iuvenem ad reciperandum paternum regnum.
8 Numero militum aliquantum Mazaetullus superabat; nam et ipse eum exercitum quo Capussam vicerat et ex receptis post caedem regis aliquot habebat, et puer Lacumazes ab Syphace auxilia
9 ingentia adduxerat. Quindecim milia peditum Mazaetullo, decem milia equitum erant, quibus cum Masinissa nequaquam tantum peditum equitumve [1] habente acie conflixit. Vicit tamen et veterum militum virtus et prudentia inter Romana et Punica
10 arma exercitati ducis; regulus cum tutore et exigua Masaesuliorum manu in Carthaginiensem agrum perfugit. Ita recuperato regno paterno Masinissa, quia sibi adversus Syphacem [2] haud paulo maiorem restare dimicationem cernebat, optimum ratus cum fratre pa-
11 truele gratiam reconciliare, missis qui et puero spem facerent, si in fidem Masinissae sese permisisset, futurum eum in eodem honore quo apud Galam Oezalces
12 quondam fuisset, et [3] Mazaetullo praeter inpunitatem sua omnia cum fide restitui sponderent, ambo
13 praeoptantes exsilio modicam domi fortunam, omnia,

[1] -ve $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -que *Sp?HJK Froben* 2.
[2] adversus Syphacem $P^2(1)N$ *Aldus*: cum -ce *Sp?HJK Froben* 2.
[3] et, *after this* $P(1)NHJK$ *have* qui; *but* et qui *does not balance* missis qui et *above*: qui *is rejected by most Editors, retained by Conway.*

their way to Syphax, towards whom they had originally directed their march. The report of this modest success at the beginning of the campaign brought the Numidians over to Masinissa, and from farms and villages on all sides old soldiers of Gala flocked to him; and they spurred the young man on to recover the kingdom of his father. B.C. 204

In the number of his soldiers Mazaetullus was considerably superior; for not only did he himself have the army with which he had defeated Capussa, and a number of men whom he had taken over after the slaying of the king, but also the young Lacumazes had brought up very large auxiliary forces from Syphax. Fifteen thousand infantry Mazaetullus had and ten thousand cavalry; and with these he engaged in battle with Masinissa, who was far from having so great a number of infantry or cavalry. Nevertheless victory was won by the courage of the veteran soldiers and the sagacity of a general who had been trained in the war between Roman and Carthaginian armies. The prince with his guardian and a very small band of Masaesulians sought refuge in the territory of Carthage. So, having recovered his father's kingdom, Masinissa, seeing that his remaining conflict against Syphax would be considerably more serious, thought it best to be reconciled with his cousin. Accordingly he sent men to encourage the boy to hope that, if he should put himself in the hands of Masinissa, he would be held in the same honour as Oezalces had formerly been in the house of Gala. To Mazaetullus also they were to pledge, besides impunity, the faithful restoration of all his property. By this means, as they preferred a modest fortune at home to exile, Masinissa won

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ne id fieret, Carthaginiensibus de industria agentibus, ad sese perduxit.

XXXI. Hasdrubal tum forte, cum haec gerebantur, apud Syphacem erat; qui Numidae, haud sane multum ad se pertinere credenti utrum penes Lacumazen an Masinissam regnum Maesuliorum esset, 2 falli eum magnopere ait, si Masinissam eisdem contentum fore quibus patrem Galam aut patruum eius Oezalcen credat: multo maiorem indolem in eo animi ingeniique esse quam in ullo gentis eius um- 3 quam fuisset; saepe eum in Hispania rarae inter homines virtutis specimen dedisse sociis pariter hostibusque. Et Syphacem et Carthaginienses, nisi orientem illum ignem oppressissent, ingenti mox incendio, cum iam nullam opem ferre possent, arsuros; 4 adhuc teneras et fragiles vires eius esse, vixdum coalescens foventis regnum. Instando stimulandoque pervincit [1] ut exercitum ad fines Maesuliorum 5 admoveat atque in agro de quo saepe cum Gala non verbis modo disceptatum, sed etiam armis certatum fuerat, tamquam haud dubie iuris sui, castra locet. Si quis arceat, quod [2] maxime opus sit, acie dimica- 6 turum; sin per metum agro cedatur, in medium regnum [3] eundum. Aut sine certamine concessuros in dicionem eius Maesulios aut nequaquam pares futuros armis.

[1] pervincit $P(1)NH$; -vicit *JK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] quod N^{1} *or* $N^{2}HJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: id quod *x most Eds.*: ut quod $P(1)N$.
[3] regnum $P(1)N$ *Aldus, Eds.*: regni $SpN^{2}JK$ *Froben* 2, *Conway.*

[1] For a previous visit, presumably at Siga (west of Oran), cf. XXVIII. xvii *fin.* and xviii.

them both over, although the Carthaginians purposely did everything to prevent it. B.C. 204

XXXI. Hasdrubal happened to be with Syphax[1] all the time that these events were in progress. And when the Numidian said he believed it was of no great importance to him whether the kingdom of the Maesulians was in the hands of Lacumazes or of Masinissa, Hasdrubal said he was very much mistaken if he believed that Masinissa would be content with what had satisfied his father Gala or his uncle Oezalces; that he had in him a far greater gift of spirit and talent than had ever been found in any man of his tribe; that often in Spain he had given allies and enemies alike evidence of a courage rare among men. He added that unless Syphax and the Carthaginians should put out that incipient flame, they would be consumed later by a mighty conflagration when they could no longer cope with it; that Masinissa's strength was still slight and frail, while he was nursing a kingdom whose wounds had barely begun to heal. By insisting and goading him on Hasdrubal brought him to the point of advancing his army to the frontier of the Maesulians and pitching his camp as though upon soil to which he was unquestionably entitled—land concerning which he had not only argued with Gala repeatedly but had contended also in arms. If anyone should try to drive him away he would fight a regular battle, which would be greatly to his advantage. But if Masinissa in fear should withdraw from that region they must advance into the interior of the kingdom. Either the Maesulians would submit without resistance to the rule of Syphax, or they would be no match for him in arms.

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7 His vocibus incitatus Syphax Masinissae bellum infert, et primo certamine Maesulios fundit fugatque. Masinissa cum paucis equitibus ex acie in montem— 8 Bellum [1] incolae vocant—perfugit. Familiae aliquot cum mapalibus pecoribusque suis—ea pecunia illis est—persecuti [2] sunt regem; cetera Maesuliorum 9 multitudo in dicionem Syphacis concessit. Quem ceperant exsules montem herbidus aquosusque est; et quia pecori bonus alendo erat, hominum quoque carne ac lacte vescentium abunde sufficiebat alimentis. 10 Inde nocturnis primo ac furtivis incursionibus, deinde aperto latrocinio infesta omnia circa esse; maxime uri Carthaginiensis ager, quia et plus praedae quam 11 inter Numidas et latrocinium tutius erat. Iamque adeo licenter eludebant ut ad mare devectam praedam venderent mercatoribus appellentibus naves ad id ipsum, pluresque quam iusto saepe in bello Carthaginienses [3] caderent caperenturque.

12 Deplorabant ea apud Syphacem Carthaginienses infensumque et ipsum ad reliquias belli persequendas instigabant. Sed vix regium videbatur latronem vagum in montibus consectari: XXXII. Bucar ex praefectis regis,[4] vir acer et inpiger, ad id delectus. Ei data quattuor milia peditum, duo equitum;

[1] Bellum $P(1)N$: balbum *HJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] persecuti $P(3)SpHJ$ *Froben* 2: pro- AN *Aldus.*
[3] Carthaginienses $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -sium Sp^2A^aHJK *Froben* 2.
[4] regis $P(1)NH$: regiis JK *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] No Mount Bellus is known.
[2] Thatched huts that were portable, often resembling an overturned ship, as Sallust describes them; *Jug.* xviii. 8.

Aroused by these words Syphax made war upon B.C. 204
Masinissa and in the first engagement routed the Maesulians and put them to flight. Masinissa with a few horsemen fled from the battle-field to a mountain called Bellus by the natives.[1] A considerable number of households followed the king with their portable huts [2] and their flocks, the latter being their only wealth. But the rest, the mass of the Maesulians, submitted to the rule of Syphax. The mountain which the fugitives had occupied is well supplied with grass and water and being suitable for the support of cattle, it was quite capable of sustaining men also who lived on flesh and milk. From it they rendered all the surrounding country unsafe, first by stealthy raids in the night and later by open brigandage. Most of all it was Carthaginian territory that was ravaged, because there was more plunder than among the Numidians, and also brigandage was safer. By this time they played their game so openly as to bring their booty down to the sea and sell it to traders who put in with their vessels for that very purpose; and more Carthaginians fell or were captured than occurred often in regular warfare.

The Carthaginians complained of all this to Syphax and, as he also was enraged, they spurred him on to complete what was left of the war. But it seemed hardly becoming for a king to pursue a nomad bandit in the mountains. XXXII. One of the king's officers, Bucar, a man of spirit and energy, was chosen for the purpose. Four thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry were given to him; and he

Cf. *ibid.* xlvi. 5; Pliny *N.H.* V. 22 (carried on wagons); Vergil *Georg.* III. 340.

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praemiorumque ingentium [1] spe oneratus, si caput Masinissae rettulisset aut vivum—id vero inaestimabile gaudium fore—cepisset. Palatos incurioseque [2] agentes inproviso adortus, pecorum hominumque ingenti multitudine a praesidio armatorum exclusa, Masinissam ipsum cum paucis in verticem montis compellit. Inde prope ut iam [3] debellato, nec praeda modo pecorum hominumque captorum missa ad regem, sed copiis etiam, ut aliquanto maioribus quam pro reliquiis belli, remissis, cum quingentis [4] haud amplius peditibus ducentisque equitibus degressum iugis Masinissam persecutus in valle arta faucibus utrimque obsessis inclusit. Ibi [5] ingens caedes Maesuliorum facta; Masinissa cum quinquaginta haud amplius equitibus per anfractus montis ignotos sequentibus se eripuit. Tenuit tamen vestigia Bucar adeptusque eum patentibus prope Clupeam urbem campis ita circumvenit ut praeter quattuor equites omnes ad unum interfecerit.[6] Cum iis ipsum quoque Masinissam saucium prope e manibus inter tumultum amisit. In conspectu erant fugientes; ala equitum dispersa lato campo, quibusdam, ut occurrerent, per obliqua tendentibus, quinque hostes sequebatur.[7] Amnis ingens fugientes

[1] ingentium *Sp²A¹HJK Froben* 2: -ti˜ *PR²* *or* *R¹*: -ti *CMBDAN Aldus*.

[2] -que *Sp(apparently)C²HJK Aldus*: si *P*(3): se *AN*: -que se *CN²*.

[3] ut iam *HJK Aldus*, *Froben*: iam ut *P*(1)*N*.

[4] quingentis *om.* *P*(1)*N* (*i.e. loss of* d).

[5] Ibi *A¹HJK Froben*: ubi *P*(1)*N*.

[6] interfecerit *Sp²HJK Froben* 2: -ficeret *P*(1)*N Aldus*.

[7] sequebatur *P*(1): -bantur *C²NJK Aldus*: frequentabatur *A¹H*.

was laden with immense rewards in anticipation, if B.C. 204
he should bring back the head of Masinissa, or—
and this would be a joy beyond price—should capture
him alive. While they were scattered and off their
guard Bucar unexpectedly attacked them, and separating the great number of cattle and men from their
armed escort, he drove Masinissa himself with a few
of his men up to the top of the mountain. Then,
just as though the war had been already finished, he
sent not only the booty in cattle and captives to the
king but returned his troops also, as much too many
for the remainder of the war. With not more than
five hundred foot-soldiers and two hundred horsemen
he pursued Masinissa (who had come down from the
heights), and penned him in a gorge with both entrances blocked. There a great slaughter of the
Maesulians took place; but Masinissa with no more
than fifty horsemen following him through the unknown recesses of the mountain made his escape.
Bucar, however, kept on the trail and overtaking
him in an open plain near the city of Clupea [1] so
overwhelmed him that he slew every one of his
horsemen except four. With these men, in the midst
of the uproar he let the wounded Masinissa himself
slip away when almost in his hands. The fugitives
were in sight; a squadron of cavalry, scattering over
the breadth of the plain, while some, in order to head
them off, pushed on obliquely, was pursuing five
enemies. A broad stream [2] was the refuge of the

[1] Unknown, the name perhaps confused with that of the city on Cap Bon (XXVII. xxix. 7), now Kelibia. The place meant here was probably in north-western Tunisia or north-eastern Algeria.

[2] Probably the Bagradas (Medjerda), as streams of size are rare in the region.

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accepit—neque enim cunctanter, ut quos maior metus urgeret, immiserant equos—raptique gurgite[1] in
9 obliquum praelati. Duobus in conspectu hostium in praerapidum gurgitem haustis, ipse perisse creditus ac duo reliqui equites cum eo inter virgulta ulterioris ripae emerserunt.[2] Is finis Bucari sequendi fuit, nec ingredi flumen auso nec habere credenti se iam quem
10 sequeretur. Inde vanus auctor absumpti Masinissae ad regem rediit, missique qui Carthaginem gaudium ingens nuntiarent; totaque Africa fama mortis Masinissae repleta[3] varie animos adfecit.

11 Masinissa in spelunca occulta cum herbis curaret volnus, duorum equitum latrocinio per dies aliquot
12 vixit. Ubi primum ducta cicatrix, patique posse visus[4] iactationem, audacia ingenti pergit ire ad regnum repetendum; atque in ipso itinere haud plus quadraginta[5] equitibus conlectis cum in Maesulios
13 palam iam quis esset ferens venisset, tantum motum cum favore pristino tum gaudio insperato, quod quem perisse crediderant incolumem cernebant, fecit ut intra paucos dies sex milia peditum armatorum,
14 quattuor equitum ad eum convenirent,[6] iamque[7] non in possessione modo paterni regni esset, sed etiam socios Carthaginiensium populos Masaesuliorumque fines—id Syphacis regnum erat—vastaret.

[1] gurgite *P*(3): *adding* et *AN Aldus, Froben*: *adding* atque *H*[1]*JK*.

[2] emerserunt *P*(1)*N Aldus*: tenuerunt (*om.* inter) *Sp*[?]*N*[a]*HJK Froben* 2.

[3] repleta *P*(1)*NHJK Eds.*: perlata *Allen, Luchs*: repens allata *M. Müller*: *om. Crévier, Madvig.*

[4] visus *SpA*[a]*HJK Froben* 2: visa *P*(1)*N*: est visa *Aldus.*

[5] quadraginta (*in numerals*) *P*(1)*N*: XXX *SpHJK.*

[6] convenirent *P*(1)*N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: confluerent *HJK Conway.*

[7] iamque *P*(1)*N Aldus*: atque *SpHJK Froben* 2.

fleeing; for without hesitation, under the pressure of a greater fear, they put their horses into it; and swept by the whirling current, they were borne obliquely past the enemy. When two of them had been drowned in the swiftly whirling waters before the eyes of the enemy, Masinissa himself, whom they believed to have perished, and the two remaining horsemen with him made their way out among the bushes of the farther bank. That was the end of pursuit for Bucar, as he did not dare enter the river and believed he had no one left to pursue. Then he returned to the king, falsely reporting that Masinissa had been drowned; and messengers were sent to bring tidings of great joy to Carthage. And all Africa was filled with the story of Masinissa's death, producing different emotions. B.C. 204

While Masinissa in a hidden cave was nursing his wound with herbs, he lived for some days on booty brought in by the two horsemen. As soon as the wound had closed and it seemed possible for him to endure jolting, with great audacity he set out to reclaim his kingdom. And after picking up not more than forty horsemen as he rode along, he came among the Maesulians, openly announcing now who he was; thereupon he caused a great stir, owing to their old-time favour and especially to their unexpected joy because they saw a man safe and sound whom they had believed to have perished. The results were that within a few days six thousand armed foot-soldiers and four thousand horsemen flocked to him, and that now he was not merely in possession of his father's kingdom but was even laying waste lands of allies of the Carthaginians and those of the Masaesulians, the kingdom, that is, of

A.U.C. 550 Inde inritato ad bellum Syphace, inter Cirtam Hipponemque in iugis opportunorum ad omnia montium consedit.

XXXIII. Maiorem igitur iam rem Syphax ratus quam ut per praefectos ageret, cum filio iuvene—nomen Vermina erat—parte exercitus missa imperat ut circumducto agmine in se intentum hostem ab 2 tergo invadat. Nocte profectus Vermina, qui ex occulto adgressurus erat; Syphax autem interdiu aperto itinere, ut qui signis conlatis acie dimicaturus 3 esset, movit castra. Ubi tempus visum est quo pervenisse iam circummissi videri poterant, et ipse leni clivo ferente ad hostem, cum multitudine fretus tum praeparatis ab tergo insidiis, per adversum 4 montem erectam aciem ducit. Masinissa fiducia maxime loci, quo multo aequiore pugnaturus erat, et ipse dirigit suos. Atrox proelium et diu anceps fuit, loco et virtute militum Masinissam, multitudine 5 quae nimio maior erat Syphacem iuvante. Ea multitudo divisa, cum pars a fronte urgeret, pars ab tergo se circumfudisset, victoriam haud dubiam Syphaci dedit, et ne effugium quidem patebat hinc a fronte, 6 hinc ab tergo inclusis. Itaque ceteri pedites equitesque caesi aut capti;[1] ducentos ferme equites Masinissa circa se conglobatos divisosque turmatim in

[1] aut capti *P*(1)*NJK Aldus*: *om. SpHx Froben* 2.

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[1] This was Syphax' capital; XXX. xii. 3 7 f. Given to Masinissa, *ibid.* xliv. 12. Formidably defended by great cliffs. Later it was the city of Fronto, teacher of Marcus Aurelius. Rebuilt by Constantine, whose name it still bears. Cf. Appian *Pun.* 27; Strabo XVII. iii. 13.

[2] *I.e.* Hippo Regius (Bône), not the Hippo meant on p. 218.

Syphax. Consequently, having provoked Syphax to war, he established himself between Cirta [1] and Hippo [2] on a mountain range that in every way was favourable. B.C. 204

XXXIII. Therefore Syphax, thinking the affair was now too serious to be conducted by his officers, sent a part of the army under his young son, Vermina by name, with orders to lead his column round and attack the rear of the enemy, whose eyes would be upon the king himself. Vermina, who was to make a secret attack, set out by night. But Syphax broke camp and marched by day along an open road, since he intended to engage in battle formation, standards against standards. When the interval seemed to be such that the flanking party might be thought to have reached their objective already, the king on his part, relying both on numbers and on the ambuscade prepared in the rear, led his line up along the face of the mountain over a gentle slope leading in the direction of the enemy. Masinissa also, relying chiefly upon the much more favourable ground on which he was to fight, led his men out into line. The battle was fierce and long indecisive, while position and the courage of his soldiers aided Masinissa and numbers that were far superior favoured Syphax. That great army in its two sections—since the one pressed the enemy hard in front, while the other had accomplished its flanking movement in the rear—gave no uncertain victory to Syphax; and there was not even a way of escape open to men enclosed both in front and in the rear. Accordingly the rest, infantry and cavalry, were slain or captured; but some two hundred horsemen were ordered by Masinissa to mass about him, divide into

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tres partes erumpere iubet, loco praedicto in quem ex
7 dissipata convenirent fuga. Ipse qua intenderat inter
media tela hostium evasit; duae turmae haesere;
altera metu dedita hosti, pertinacior [1] in repugnando
8 telis obruta et confixa est. Verminam prope vestigiis
instantem in alia atque alia flectendo itinera eludens,
taedio et desperatione tandem fessum absistere
sequendo coegit; ipse cum sexaginta equitibus ad
9 minorem Syrtim pervenit. Ibi cum conscientia
egregia saepe repetiti regni paterni inter Punica
Emporia gentemque Garamantum omne tempus
usque [2] ad C. Laeli classisque Romanae adventum in
10 Africam consumpsit. Haec animum inclinant ut
cum modico potius quam cum magno praesidio
equitum ad Scipionem quoque postea venisse
Masinissam credam; quippe illa regnanti [3] multitudo,
haec paucitas exsulis fortunae conveniens est.

XXXIV. Carthaginienses ala equitum cum prae-
fecto amissa, alio [4] equitatu per novum dilectum com-
parato, Hannonem Hamilcaris filium praeficiunt.
2 Hasdrubalem subinde ac Syphacem per litteras
nuntiosque, postremo etiam per legatos arcessunt;

[1] pertinacior *P*(1)*NSp*(*apparently*) *Eds.*: *after this Conway adds* altera (*before it Aldus, Froben*: *after* repugnando *K*).
[2] Garamantum omne tempus usque *A*[1]*N*[1]*HJK Eds.*: *om. P*(1)*N*.
[3] regnanti *P*(3)*JK Aldus, Froben*: -ntis *AN Gronovius*.
[4] alio *P*(1)*N*: alioque *HJK Aldus, Froben*.

[1] Cf. xxv. 12 and notes.
[2] Their land, south of modern Tripolitania, is now Fezzan, reaching back into the Sahara; Herodotus IV. 174, 183; Strabo II. v. 33; XVII. iii. 19, 23; Pliny *N.H.* V. 36; VI. 209; Mela I. 23, 45; Tacitus *Ann.* III. 74.
[3] In agreement with Polybius XXI. xxi. 2.

three troops, and so to break their way through, a B.C. 204
place being assigned in advance at which they should meet after their flight in different directions. He himself escaped in the direction he had chosen through the midst of the enemies' weapons. Two of the squadrons were held fast; one in fear surrendered to the enemy, while the other, offering a more stubborn resistance, was overwhelmed by missiles and slain. Vermina, who was almost at his heels, Masinissa evaded by turning now into this road and now into that, and compelled him at last to abandon pursuit when he was weary and had given up hope. He himself made his way with sixty horsemen to the Lesser Syrtis. There, with the proud consciousness of having repeatedly made claim to his father's kingdom, in the region between the Punic Emporia [1] and the tribe of the Garamantes [2] he spent the whole time until the arrival in Africa of Gaius Laelius and the Roman fleet. These circumstances incline me to believe that Masinissa came to Scipio also later with a small force [3] of cavalry rather than with a large one. For such great numbers are suited to a monarch, while my small figures match the plight of an exile.

XXXIV. The Carthaginians, having lost a squadron of cavalry with its commander [4] and acquired other horse by a fresh levy, placed Hanno the son of Hamilcar [5] in command. Again and again they summoned Hasdrubal and Syphax by letters and messengers, finally even by envoys. They bade

[4] *I.e.* the Hanno named in xxix. 1 without further description than *nobilem iuvenem.*

[5] According to Dio Cassius this Hanno was the son of Hasdrubal son of Gisgo; frag. 57. 65 f. See below, p. 343, n. 2.

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Hasdrubalem opem ferre prope circumsessae patriae iubent; Syphacem orant ut Carthagini, ut [1] universae 3 Africae subveniat. Ad Uticam tum castra Scipio mille ferme passus ab urbe habebat, translata a mari, ubi paucos dies stativa coniuncta classi fuerant. 4 Hanno nequaquam satis valido non modo ad lacessendum hostem, sed ne ad tuendos quidem a populationibus agros equitatu accepto, id omnium primum egit ut per conquisitionem numerum [2] equitum 5 augeret; nec aliarum gentium aspernatus, maxime tamen Numidas—id longe primum equitum in Africa 6 est genus—conducit. Iam ad quattuor milia equitum habebat, cum Salaecam nomine urbem occupavit 7 quindecim ferme milia ab Romanis castris. Quod ubi Scipioni relatum est, "Aestiva sub tectis [3] equitatus!" inquit. "Sint vel plures, dum talem 8 ducem habeant." Eo minus sibi cessandum ratus, quo illi segnius rem agerent, Masinissam cum equitatu praemissum portis obequitare atque hostem ad pugnam elicere iubet; ubi omnis multitudo se effudisset graviorque iam in certamine esset quam ut facile sustineri posset, cederet [4] paulatim; se in 9 tempore pugnae obventurum.[5] Tantum moratus quantum satis temporis praegresso visum ad elicien-

[1] ut $P(1)N$: et N^2HJK *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] egit . . . numerum A^1N^1HJK: erum P: numerum P^1 *or* $P^2(1)N$.
[3] tectis $P(1)N$: tectis agere A^1N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben.*
[4] cederet $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: cedere Sp^2N^1HJK *Froben* 2.
[5] obventurum $P(1)N$: venturum HJK *Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Evidently south-west of Utica and on the same long ridge. Not the same situation as that in xxxv. 7. Cf. Veith, *op. cit.* 579 f.

Hasdrubal bring aid to his native city, now almost B.C. 204
invested; they entreated Syphax to come to the rescue of Carthage, to the rescue of all Africa. Scipio at that time had his camp near Utica, about a mile from the city,[1] having shifted it from the seashore, where for a few days the camp had been established close to the fleet. Hanno, who had received a cavalry force not strong enough even to prevent the devastation of farms, to say nothing of attacking the enemy, made it his very first task to increase the number of his horsemen by recruiting. And though he did not reject men from other tribes, it was nevertheless especially Numidians that he hired, they being easily the foremost type of cavalry in Africa. Already he had about four thousand horsemen when he seized a city named Salaeca,[2] some fifteen miles from the Roman camp. When this was reported to Scipio, he said "Cavalry summering under roofs! Let them be even more numerous, provided they have that kind of a commander!" Thinking that the more spiritless they were the less must he delay, he sent Masinissa forward with cavalry, ordering him to ride up to the gates and draw the enemy out into battle. When the whole multitude should have sallied out and in battle should then prove too powerful for them to withstand easily, he was gradually to retire. He would himself come into the battle at the right moment. After delaying only long enough to give time, as it seemed, for Masinissa, who had preceded him, to draw out the enemy, Scipio followed with the

[2] Mentioned only here and xxxv. 4. Possibly Henchir el Bey, west-south-west of Utica. Appian names a large town called Locha; *Pun.* 15.

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dos hostes, cum Romano equitatu secutus, tegentibus tumulis, qui peropportune [1] circa viae flexus oppositi [2] erant, occultus processit.

10 Masinissa ex composito nunc terrentis, nunc timentis modo aut ipsis obequitabat portis aut cedendo, cum timoris simulatio audaciam hosti
11 faceret, ad insequendum temere eliciebat. Nondum omnes egressi erant, varieque dux fatigabatur alios vino et somno graves arma capere et frenare equos cogendo, aliis, ne sparsi et inconditi sine ordine, sine signis omnibus portis excurrerent, obsistendo.
12 Primo [3] incaute se invehentes Masinissa excipiebat; mox plures simul conferti porta effusi aequaverant certamen: postremo iam omnis equitatus proelio
13 cum adesset, sustineri ultra nequiere. Non tamen effusa fuga Masinissa, sed cedendo sensim impetus eorum excipiebat,[4] donec ad tumulos tegentes
14 Romanum equitatum pertraxit. Inde exorti equites et ipsi integris viribus et recentibus equis Hannoni Afrisque pugnando ac sequendo fessis se circumfudere: et Masinissa flexis subito equis in pugnam
15 rediit. Mille fere [5] qui primi agminis fuerant, quibus [6] haud facilis receptus fuit, cum ipso duce Hannone
16 interclusi atque interfecti sunt; ceteros, ducis praecipue territos caede, effuse fugientes per triginta milia passuum victores secuti ad duo praeterea milia

[1] peropportune, *Sp²H Froben* 2 (*om.* per-).
[2] flexus oppositi *Sp²HJK Froben* 2 (*with* supposite *AN Aldus*): flexu supposite *P*(3).
[3] Primo *P*(1)*NHJK Eds.*: primos *Perizonius, Riemann.*
[4] excipiebat *K Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: ac- *P*(1)*NHJK Alschefski, Conway.*
[5] fere *P*(3)B^2N: ferme *BSp(apparently)HJK Aldus.*
[6] quibus *P*(1)*N Aldus*: ut quibus *SpA¹HJK Froben* 2.

Roman cavalry and advanced unseen under cover of the hills, which were most conveniently placed on both sides of a winding road. B.C. 204

Masinissa according to plan, now as inspirer of terror, now as the terror-stricken, would either ride up to the very gates, or retiring would tempt them to reckless pursuit whenever his pretence of fear added to the enemy's boldness. Not yet had all sallied out, and the commander was exerting himself in various ways, as he compelled some men heavy with wine and sleep to take up their arms and bridle their horses, and stood in the way of others, to prevent their dashing out of all the gates, scattering and unformed, with no order, no standards. At first, as they rashly charged, Masinissa would meet their attack. Later larger numbers, dashing out of a gate in a mass, had made it an even combat. Finally, when all their cavalry was engaged, they could no longer be withstood. Yet Masinissa did not flee in disorder, but retiring gradually would meet their attacks until he drew them to the hills which concealed the Roman cavalry. Thereupon the horsemen dashing out, themselves with undiminished strength and their horses fresh, surrounded Hanno and the Africans, who were exhausted by fighting and pursuit; and Masinissa, suddenly turning his horses about, went into battle again. About a thousand men who had been at the head of the column, finding retreat difficult, were cut off and slain along with Hanno himself, their commander. As for the rest, who were terrified especially by the death of their commander, the victors pursuing them in headlong flight for thirty miles either captured or slew about two thousand more horse-

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17 equitum aut ceperunt aut occiderunt. Inter eos satis constabat non minus ducentos Carthaginiensium equites fuisse, et divitiis quosdam et genere inlustres.

XXXV. Eodem forte quo haec gesta sunt die naves quae praedam in Siciliam vexerant cum commeatu rediere, velut ominatae ad praedam alteram
2 repetendam sese venisse. Duos eodem nomine Carthaginiensium duces duobus equestribus proeliis interfectos non omnes auctores sunt, veriti, credo, ne falleret bis relata eadem res; Coelius quidem et Valerius captum etiam [1] Hannonem tradunt.
3 Scipio praefectos equitesque, prout cuiusque opera fuerat,[2] ante[3] omnes Masinissam insignibus donis
4 donat; et firmo praesidio Salaecae imposito ipse cum cetero exercitu profectus, non agris modo quacumque incedebat populatis, sed urbibus etiam quibusdam
5 vicisque expugnatis, late fuso terrore belli, septimo die quam profectus erat magnam vim hominum et pecoris et omnis generis praedae trahens in castra redit, gravesque[4] iterum hostilibus[5] spoliis naves
6 dimittit. Inde omissis expeditionibus parvis popu-

[1] etiam $P(3)N$ *Aldus*: *om. HJK Froben* 2.
[2] fuerat $P(3)JK$: fuerant *CANSpH*.
[3] ante $P(1)N$ *Eds.*: et ante N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben, Conway.*
[4] in . . . gravesque A^1N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben*: -que $P(3)N$, *om. one line.*
[5] hostilibus $P(3)R^2N$: hostium *HJK Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Livy appears to have followed a lost part of Polybius. Two annalists only are mentioned (next sentence) who accepted but one encounter with cavalry commanded by a Hanno. Cf. Appian *l.c.* 14; Dio Cass. *l.c.* (= Zonaras IX. xii. 4 f.). These tell the story quite differently. Modern historians are divided, some insisting that one of the battles is a doublet, *e.g.* De Sanctis III. 2. 581 f.; *C.A.H.* VIII. 100, n. 2. Not so Gsell, *op. cit.* 216, n. 4; Neumann, *Das Zeitalter*

men. Among these it was well established that B.C. 204
there were not less than two hundred Carthaginian horsemen, some of them distinguished both for wealth and noble blood.

XXXV. On the same day on which these events took place the ships which had carried booty to Sicily happened to return with supplies, as though with a presentiment that they had come for booty a second time. Not all the historians vouch for the slaying of two Carthaginian commanders of the same name in two cavalry battles, fearing, I suppose, unwittingly to tell the same story twice.[1] Coelius and Valerius, to be sure, relate that Hanno too was captured.[2]

Scipio bestowed conspicuous rewards upon the commanders and the horsemen according to the service each had rendered, and above all on Masinissa. And having posted a strong garrison at Salaeca, he set out himself with the rest of the army. Laying waste not merely the farms wherever he went, but storming certain cities also and villages, while the alarm of the war was spread far and wide, on the seventh day after his departure he returned to camp bringing a great number of men and cattle and much booty of every kind; and again he sent away the ships loaded down with spoils of the enemy. Then, giving up small raids and petty pillaging, he applied

der punischen Kriege 522; Karstedt, *Gesch. der Karthager* III. 337 f., 545.

[2] This is the statement of Appian also and Dio Cass. (Zon.), who add (*ll. cc.*) that the prisoner was exchanged for Masinissa's own mother. So much detail seems to establish the historicity of the second engagement reported. As for the first (xxix. 1), something more than identity of a name (especially of a common name) is needed to stamp it as necessarily fictitious.

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lationibusque [1] ad oppugnandam Uticam omnes belli vires convertit, eam deinde, si cepisset, sedem ad
7 cetera exsequenda habiturus. Simul et a classe navales socii, qua ex parte urbs mari adluitur, et [2] terrestris exercitus ab [3] imminente prope ipsis
8 moenibus tumulo est admotus. Tormenta machinasque et advexerat secum, et ex Sicilia missa cum commeatu erant, et nova in armamentario, multis talium operum artificibus de industria inclusis, fiebant.
9 Uticensibus tanta undique mole circumsessis in Carthaginiensi populo, Carthaginiensibus in Hasdrubale ita, si is movisset Syphacem, spes omnis erat; sed desiderio indigentium auxilii tardius cuncta
10 movebantur. Hasdrubal intentissima conquisitione cum ad triginta milia peditum, tria equitum confecisset,[4] non tamen ante adventum Syphacis
11 castra propius hostem movere est ausus. Syphax cum quinquaginta milibus peditum, decem equitum advenit, confestimque motis a Carthagine castris haud procul Utica munitionibusque Romanis consedit.
12 Quorum adventus hoc tamen momenti fecit ut

[1] parvis populationibusque, *P*(3)*N om. all but* -que, *one line.*

[2] et, *before this P*(1)*NHJK have a repeated* simul, *rejected by Madvig, Emend., retained by Conway.*

[3] ab *with abls. SpHJK Froben* 2, *Luchs, Conway*: ad *with accusatives P*(1)*N Aldus, Madvig, Weissenborn*[3].

[4] confecisset *P*(1)*N Aldus*: ef- *SpN*[a]*H*[2]*JK Froben* 2.

[1] At the north-east end of a long ridge. Just beyond there was a small island on which lay the oldest quarter of the city, at least 200 years older than Carthage (cf. Gades, p. 141, n. 1). The Medjerda (Bagradas) has since changed its winding course far to the west, and coming within less than half a mile of the ridge, has brought down alluvial deposits so

all his military resources to the siege of Utica, with B.C. 204
the intention of having that city, if captured, as a base henceforth for all remaining operations. From the fleet marines were brought up to the city on the side where it is washed by the sea,[1] and at the same time land forces on the side where a height almost overhung the very walls. Artillery and engines he had not only brought with him but they had also been sent from Sicily with the supplies, and new ones were being made in an arsenal where many makers of such devices had been interned for the purpose.[2]

For the people of Utica, completely beset by so great a force, all their hope was in the Carthaginian people; for the Carthaginians it was in Hasdrubal, provided he should prevail upon Syphax. But everything was moving more slowly than people in need of help desired. Although Hasdrubal by most intensive recruiting had made up a total of about thirty thousand infantry and three thousand cavalry, it was not before the arrival of Syphax, however, that he dared to move his camp nearer to the enemy. Syphax came with fifty thousand foot-soldiers and ten thousand horsemen, whereupon Hasdrubal, at once moving his camp away from Carthage, established himself not far from Utica and the Roman fortifications. Their arrival had this effect at any

extensive that the ruins of Utica are now about 7 miles from the nearest coast-line. Cf. Caesar *B.C.* II. xxiv. 1, 3; Polybius I. lxxv. 5; XV. ii. 8 (his name for the river is Macaras); Strabo XVII. iii. 13 *fin.*; Pliny *N.H.* V. 24. Appian *Pun.* 75 errs as to the distance from Carthage, which was 27 miles (*Itin. Ant.* 22).

[2] The artisans as captives had become public slaves of the Roman people. Cf. those taken at New Carthage, XXVI. xlvii. 2; Polybius X. xvii. 6, 9.

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Scipio, cum quadraginta ferme dies nequiquam omnia experiens obsedisset Uticam, abscederet inde inrito
13 incepto. Et—iam enim[1] hiems instabat—castra hiberna in promunturio, quod tenui iugo continenti adhaerens in aliquantum maris spatium extenditur,
14 communit. Uno vallo et navalia[2] castra amplectitur; iugo medio legionum castris inpositis, latus[3] ad septentrionem versum subductae naves navalesque socii tenebant, meridianam vallem ad alterum litus
15 devexam equitatus.[4] Haec in Africa usque ad extremum autumni gesta.

XXXVI. Praeter convectum undique ex populatis circa agris frumentum commeatusque ex Sicilia atque Italia advectos, Cn. Octavius propraetor ex Sardinia ab Ti. Claudio praetore, cuius ea provincia erat, in-
2 gentem vim frumenti advexit; horreaque non solum ea[5] quae iam facta erant repleta, sed nova aedificata. Vestimenta exercitui deerant; id mandatum Octavio ut cum praetore ageret, si quid ex ea provincia com-
3 parari ac mitti posset. Ea quoque haud segniter curata res; mille ducentae togae brevi spatio et[6] duodecim milia tunicarum missa.

[1] Et iam (*or* etiam) enim *P*(1)*NHSp?*: iam enim *JK Froben* 2: etenim *Aldus*.

[2] navalia *Sp?HJK Froben* 2, *Eds.*: -lium *P*(1)*N Aldus*: navalia et *Gronovius*, *Madvig*, *Conway*.

[3] latus *P*(1)*NHJK*: litus *Sp? Froben* 2: in litus *Aldus*.

[4] devexam equitatus *Sp?A*^{1}*N*^{1}*HJK Froben* 2: *om. P*(1), *one line*.

[5] ea *om. P*(1)*N*.

[6] et *P*(3)*R*^{2}*N Aldus*, *Eds.*: *om. RHJK Froben* 2, *Conway*.

rate, that Scipio, after besieging Utica for about B.C. 204
forty days to no purpose in spite of all his attempts, retired from the place, having failed in his undertaking. And as winter was now at hand, he fortified a winter camp on a promontory which is connected with the mainland by a narrow ridge, but extends for a considerable distance into the sea.[1] By a single earthwork he enclosed the naval camp as well. The camp of the legions being placed on the middle of the ridge, its northern side was occupied by the beached ships and the men to man them, its southern slope, descending to the other shore, by the cavalry. Such were the events in Africa down to the end of autumn.

XXXVI. Besides the grain brought in on all sides from ravaged farms of the whole region and supplies transported from Sicily and Italy, Gnaeus Octavius, the propraetor, brought a large amount of grain sent from Sardinia by Tiberius Claudius, the praetor in charge of that province. And not only were the granaries filled which had been built already, but also new granaries were built. Clothing was insufficient for the army. Octavius was ordered to obtain from the praetor whatever could be assembled and sent from that province. This charge also was carried out without delay. Twelve hundred togas were sent in a short time and twelve thousand tunics.

[1] Caesar describes the site, still called Castra Corneli(an)a in his time and much later; *B.C.* II. xxiv; cf. Appian *B.C.* II. 44; Pliny *N.H.* V. 29; Ptolemy IV. 3. It was at the north-east end of a long ridge projecting into the sea (a cape Polybius calls it, XIV. vi. 7), and parallel to the ridge on which lay Utica, nearly two miles farther west, with a broad marsh between them. Caesar's text gives half the actual distance.

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4 Aestate ea qua haec in Africa gesta sunt P. Sempronius consul cui Bruttii provincia erat in agro Crotoniensi cum Hannibale in ipso itinere tumultuario proelio conflixit. Agminibus magis quam acie pugnatum est. Romani pulsi, et tumultu verius quam pugna ad mille et ducenti de exercitu consulis interfecti; in castra trepide reditum,[1] neque oppugnare tamen ea hostes ausi. Ceterum silentio proximae noctis profectus inde consul, praemisso nuntio ad P. Licinium proconsulem ut suas legiones admoveret, copias coniunxit. Ita duo duces, duo exercitus ad Hannibalem redierunt; nec mora dimicandi facta[2] est, cum consuli duplicatae vires, Poeno recens victoria animos faceret.[3] In primam aciem suas legiones Sempronius induxit; in subsidiis locatae P. Licinii legiones. Consul principio pugnae aedem Fortunae Primigeniae vovit, si eo die hostes fudisset; composque eius voti fuit. Fusi ac fugati Poeni; supra quattuor milia armatorum caesa, paulo minus trecenti vivi capti et[4] equi quadraginta[5] et undecim militaria signa. Perculsus adverso proelio Hannibal Crotonem exercitum reduxit.[6]

Eodem tempore M. Cornelius consul in altera

[1] trepide reditum $P(1)N$: trepidi (-de N^{1}) rediere $N^{1}HJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] facta $P(1)N$: facta est $N^{1}HJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[3] animos faceret A^{5}*?(altern.)*N^{1}*(altern.)HJK Aldus, Froben, Eds. (with* fecisset *Madvig, Riemann)*: animo esset $P(1)N$.

[4] et $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: *om. SpHJK Froben* 2.

[5] quadraginta *(numeral)* $P(1)N$: quinquaginta $SpA^{1}HJK$.

[6] reduxit $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: ab- $Sp^{2}HJK$ *Froben* 2.

In the summer in which these events occurred in Africa Publius Sempronius, the consul who had the land of the Bruttii as his province, engaged with Hannibal in the territory of Croton in an unorganized battle while actually on the march. They fought in columns rather than in battle-line. The Romans were worsted, and in what was in fact a confused struggle rather than a battle about twelve hundred of the consul's army were slain. There was a panic-stricken retreat to the camp, and yet the enemy did not venture to attack it. But in the silence of the following night the consul set out, and after despatching a messenger to Publius Licinius, the proconsul, urging him to bring up his legions, he united their forces. Thus two generals and two armies once more confronted Hannibal, and there was no delay in engaging, since doubled forces emboldened the consul, as his recent victory did the Carthaginian. Sempronius led his legions into the first line, while Publius Licinius' legions were posted in reserve. At the beginning of the battle the consul vowed a temple to Fortuna Primigenia,[1] if he should rout the enemy that day; and he had his wish. The Carthaginians were routed and put to flight. Over four thousand armed men were slain, a little less than three hundred were captured alive, and forty horses and eleven military standards taken. Discouraged by defeat, Hannibal led his army back to Croton. B.C. 204

At the same time Marcus Cornelius, the consul, in

[1] The temple, dedicated in 194 B.C., stood on the Quirinal inside the Porta Collina; cf. XXXIV. liii. 5 f. The worship of this goddess came from Praeneste (Palestrina). She was so named as Jupiter's first-born daughter.

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parte Italiae non tam armis quam iudiciorum terrore Etruriam continuit, totam ferme ad Magonem ac
11 per eum ad spem novandi res versam. Eas quaestiones ex senatus consulto minime ambitiose habuit; multique nobiles Etrusci qui aut ipsi ierant aut miserant ad Magonem de populorum suorum de-
12 fectione, primo praesentes erant condemnati, postea conscientia sibimet ipsi exsilium consciscentes, cum absentes damnati essent, corporibus subtractis bona tantum quae publicari poterant pigneranda poenae praebebant.

XXXVII. Dum haec consules diversis regionibus agunt, censores interim Romae M. Livius et C. Claudius senatum recitaverunt. Princeps iterum lectus [1] Q. Fabius Maximus; notati septem, nemo tamen qui
2 sella curuli sedisset. Sarta tecta acriter et cum summa fide exegerunt. Viam e foro bovario [2] ad Veneris circa foros publicos et aedem Matris Magnae
3 in Palatio faciendam locaverunt. Vectigal etiam novum ex salaria annona statuerunt. Sextante sal et Romae et per totam Italiam erat. Romae pretio

[1] lectus *Sp?HJK Froben* 2: delectus *C²AN Aldus*: di- *P*(3).

[2] bovario, *after this* *P*(1)*NJK Aldus add an impossible* et, *deleted by Madvig.*

[1] Begun in 206 B.C. under M. Livius Salinator for the punishment of Etruscan and Umbrian disloyalty; p. 43 *med.* Fugitives who escaped execution suffered confiscation of property (§ 12).

[2] Cf. XXVII. xi. 12.

[3] The *nota* of the censors was a mark or stigma affixed (in the revised list of citizens) to the names of such men as had been degraded by the censors, who added the reason in each case. Cf. XXIV. xviii. 2 ff., esp. 9.

[4] *I.e.* Venus Obsequens. Built 295 B.C., near the east end of the Circus Maximus, and on the side toward the Aventine;

the north of Italy held Etruria in check not so much B.C. 204
by arms as by the alarm produced by the trials,[1] while almost the whole land was inclined towards Mago and through him to the hope of a political change. In accordance with a decree of the senate he conducted these cases with no respect of persons. And at first many noble Etruscans who either had gone in person to Mago or had sent others to him reporting on the disloyalty of their communities, had appeared and had been condemned. Later on men who from a guilty conscience went into voluntary exile, on being condemned in absence, eluded bodily punishment, merely exposing their property instead to possible confiscation.[1]

XXXVII. While the consuls were thus employed in opposite regions, the censors Marcus Livius and Gaius Claudius at Rome meanwhile publicly read the list of senators. Quintus Fabius Maximus was chosen *princeps* for the second time.[2] Seven men received their "mark,"[3] but no one who had occupied a curule chair. Repairs to public buildings and their roofs they enforced strictly and with the greatest fidelity. They let the contract for the making of a street leading out of the Cattle Market, on both sides of the spectators' stands, as far as the Temple of Venus,[4] also for the erection of a Temple of the Great Mother[5] on the Palatine. They also established a new revenue from the yearly production of salt. Both at Rome and throughout Italy salt was then sold at one-sixth of an *as*. The censors let

X. xxxi. 9. The stands for spectators were of wood, as the upper tiers of the Circus always continued to be.

[5] For thirteen years longer she was to remain in the Temple of Victory; cf. xiv. 14; XXXVI. xxxvi. 3 f.

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eodem, pluris in foris et conciliabulis et alio alibi
4 pretio praebendum locaverunt. Id vectigal commentum alterum ex censoribus satis credebant, populo iratum, quod iniquo iudicio quondam damnatus esset, et [1] in pretio salis maxime oneratas tribus quarum opera damnatus erat.[2] Inde Salinatori [3] Livio inditum cognomen.

5 Lustrum conditum serius quia per provincias dimiserunt censores, ut civium Romanorum in exercitibus quantus ubique esset referretur numerus.
6 Censa cum iis ducenta quattuordecim [4] milia homi-
7 num. Condidit lustrum C. Claudius Nero. Duodecim deinde coloniarum, quod numquam antea [5] factum erat, deferentibus ipsarum coloniarum censoribus, censum acceperunt, ut quantum numero militum, quantum pecunia valerent in publicis tabulis monu-
8 menta exstarent. Equitum deinde census agi coeptus est; et ambo forte censores equum publicum habebant. Cum ad tribum Polliam ventum est,[6] in qua M.

[1] et *HJK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(1)*N*.
[2] erat, *P*(1)*NHJK Eds. add* credebant (*repeated*): *rejected by Madvig, Conway.*
[3] Salinatori N^2 *or* $N'H^1JK$: -tor *P*(1)*N*.
[4] quattuordecim *Conway* (*cf.* ii. 17): decem quattuor *P*(1)*N Eds.* (*cf. Periocha fin.*): LXV $SpA'N'HJK$.
[5] antea *HJK Froben* 2: ante *P*(1)*N Aldus*.
[6] est *P*(1)*NJK Eds.*: esset *Siesbye, Madvig, Conway*: *om.* *H*.

[1] On these petty localities v. Vol. VI. p. 356, n. 1. In the Lex Iulia municipalis (45 B.C.) they are repeatedly mentioned as the lowest grades of communities, inferior to *municipia*, *coloniae* and *praefecturae*, which are implied here in *alibi*, as we cannot believe that any towns however small escaped the higher price. In Rome alone was the previous "ceiling" continued.

[2] How to reconcile this statement with the status of Livius' own Maecia (§ 13) as one of the rustic tribes and hence bound to

contracts for the sale of salt at the same price at Rome, at a higher price even in market-towns and local centres,[1] and at prices which varied from place to place. This source of revenue was generally believed to have been devised by only one of the censors, who was angry with the people because he had formerly been condemned by an unjust verdict; and that in the price of salt those tribes by whose efforts he had been condemned were most heavily burdened.[2] Hence the cognomen Salinator was bestowed upon Livius. B.C. 204

The ceremony of purification was completed later than usual because the censors had sent men to the various provinces to report the number of Roman citizens in each of the armies. Including these, 214,000 men[3] were listed. Gaius Claudius Nero concluded the rite of purification. Then they received the census lists of the twelve colonies[4] presented by their own censors, as had never been done before. The purpose was that documents, to show what was their strength in the number of soldiers and what in money, might be found in the public records. Then they began to take the census of the knights; and it happened that both of the censors had horses from the state. When they had reached the Pollia tribe, in which stood the name of

pay the higher price is a futile question, since the whole story bears the stamp of fiction. The state owned all salt works, but they were operated by contractors, who with prices raised could now pay more for their concessions. This amounted to putting a tax on salt except in Rome. Cf. Dio Cassius frag. 57. 70.

[3] Compared with 137,108 four years before; Vol. VII. p. 355, n. 3.

[4] Cf. xv. 5 ff., esp. 10.

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Livi nomen erat, et praeco cunctaretur citare ipsur
9 censorem, "Cita" inquit Nero "M. Livium"; et siv
ex residua vetere simultate sive intempestiva iacta
tione severitatis inflatus M. Livium, quia popu
iudicio esset damnatus, equum vendere iussi
10 Item M. Livius, cum ad tribum Arniensem et nome
conlegae ventum est, vendere equum C. Claudiu
iussit duarum rerum causa, unius quod falsu
adversus se testimonium dixisset, alterius quod no
11 sincera fide secum in gratiam redisset. Aeque
foedum certamen inquinandi famam alterius cu
suae famae damno factum est exitu censura
12 Cum in leges iurasset C. Claudius et in aerariu
escendisset, inter nomina eorum quos aerarios reli
13 quebat dedit conlegae nomen. Deinde M. Livius i
aerarium venit et [2] praeter Maeciam tribum, quae s
neque condemnasset neque condemnatum aut consu
lem aut censorem fecisset, populum Romanu
omnem, quattuor et triginta tribus, aerarios reliqui
14 quod et innocentem se condemnassent et condem
natum consulem et censorem fecissent, nequ
infitiari possent aut iudicio semel aut comitiis bis a
15 se peccatum esse: inter [3] quattuor et triginta tribu
et C. Claudium aerarium fore; quod si exemplu

[1] Aeque N^2(*probably*) *Gronovius, Eds.*: neque $P(1)N$ neque ibi $HN^1?$: itaque ibi A^1JK *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] venit et N^1HJK *Aldus, Froben, Luchs*: venit $P(1)$ *Eds., Conway.*

[3] inter *Aldus, Froben*: in HJK: *om.* $P(1)N$.

[1] The horse had been bought out of an allowance (*aes equestre*) from the state, but was not public property; Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* III. 256, n. 3.

[2] In the trial before the popular assembly; cf. Vol. VII p. 347 and note 1.

Marcus Livius, and while the herald was hesitating B.C. 204
to summon the censor himself, Nero said, "Summon Marcus Livius!" And whether as still nursing their ancient quarrel, or priding himself on an ill-timed display of strictness because he had been condemned by a verdict of the people, he ordered Marcus Livius to sell his horse.[1] Likewise Marcus Livius, when they had reached the Arniensis tribe and the name of his colleague, ordered Gaius Claudius to sell his horse for two reasons: one because he had given false testimony[2] against Livius, the other that he had not honestly been reconciled with him. Equally shameful at the close of their censorship was their contest in besmirching each the other's reputation to the detriment of his own. When Gaius Claudius had taken the oath that he had complied with the laws, upon going up into the Treasury and giving the names of those whom he was leaving as mere tax-payers,[3] he gave the name of his colleague. Then Marcus Livius came into the Treasury, and except for the Maecia tribe, which had neither condemned him nor after his condemnation voted for him either for consul or for censor, he left the entire Roman people, thirty-four tribes, as mere tax-payers, alleging that they had both condemned him, an innocent man, and after his condemnation had made him consul and censor, and could not deny that they had erred either once in their verdict or twice in the elections. He said that among the thirty-four tribes Gaius Claudius also would be a mere tax-payer; and that if he had a precedent

[3] Cf. Vol. VI. p. 231. Any action taken by a censor without approval of his colleague was void; Mommsen *op. cit.* II.[3] 358; cf. *e.g.* XLV. xv. 8.

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haberet bis eundem aerarium relinquendi, C. Claudium nominatim se inter aerarios fuisse relic-
16 turum. Pravum certamen notarum inter censores; castigatio inconstantiae populi censoria et [1] gravitate
17 temporum illorum digna. In invidia censores cum essent, crescendi ex iis ratus esse occasionem Cn. Baebius tribunus plebis diem ad populum utrisque [2] dixit. Ea res consensu patrum discussa est, ne postea obnoxia populari aurae censura esset.

XXXVIII. Eadem aestate in Bruttiis Clampetia a consule vi capta, Consentia et Pandosia et ignobiles
2 aliae civitates voluntate in dicionem venerunt. Et cum comitiorum iam adpeteret tempus, Cornelium potius ex Etruria, ubi nihil belli erat, Romam acciri
3 placuit. Is consules Cn. Servilium Caepionem et C.
4 Servilium [3] Geminum creavit. Inde praetoria comitia habita. Creati P. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Quinctilius
5 Varus, P. Aelius Paetus, P. Villius Tappulus; hi duo cum aediles plebis essent, praetores creati sunt. Consul comitiis perfectis ad exercitum in Etruriam redit.

6 Sacerdotes eo anno mortui atque in locum eorum

[1] et $P(1)N$ (*after* gravitate JK): *om. z Aldus, Froben 2.*
[2] utrisque $P(1)N$ *Eds.*: utrique *H Aldus, Froben, Conway* (*before* ad JK).
[3] Caepionem . . . Servilium A^1N^1JK *Eds.*: *om.* $P(1)N$, *one line.*

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[1] Baebius Tamphilus reached the consulship in 182 B.C.; XXXIX. lvi. 4.

[2] Chief town of the Bruttii, modern Cosenza, captured by the Carthaginians in 216 B.C. It returned to the Romans in 213, but had changed sides once more; cf. XXIII. xxx. 5; XXV. i. 2; XXX. xix. 10 (a repetition). Later an important

for twice leaving the same man a mere tax-payer, B.C. 204
he would have left Gaius Claudius among them with express mention of his name. A perverted contest between the censors in regard to their "marks"; but to the fickleness of the people it was a rebuke worthy of a censor and in keeping with the earnestness of those times. Since the censors were unpopular, Gnaeus Baebius, a tribune of the plebs,[1] thinking it an opportunity to advance himself at their expense, named a day for both to appear before the people. That procedure was quashed by unanimity among the senators, lest the censorship should be subject thereafter to the caprice of the populace.

XXXVIII. During the same summer in the land of the Bruttii Clampetia was taken by storm by the consul. Consentia[2] together with Pandosia and other cities of no importance voluntarily submitted to his authority. And since the time for elections was now at hand, it was decided to summon Cornelius to Rome from Etruria, where there was no war. He announced the election of Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Gaius Servilius Geminus as consuls. Then elections for the praetorships were held. Elected were Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Quinctilius Varus, Publius Aelius Paetus, Publius Villius Tappulus, the last two being made praetors while they were plebeian aediles. The consul after the elections were over returned to the army in Etruria.

Priests who died that year and successors appointed

point on the great inland road, Via Popilia, from Capua to Reggio (Regium); *C.I.L.* X. 6950 (= I. ii, ed. 2, 638). Clampetia was on the coast south-west of Consentia.

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suffecti: Ti. Veturius Philo flamen Martialis in locum M. Aemili Regilli, qui priore anno mortuus erat, 7 creatus inauguratusque; in M. Pomponi Mathonis auguris et decemviri locum creati decemvir M. Aurelius Cotta, augur Ti. Sempronius Gracchus admodum adulescens, quod tum perrarum in mandandis 8 sacerdotiis erat. Quadrigae aureae eo anno in Capitolio positae ab aedilibus curulibus C. Livio et M. Servilio Gemino, et ludi Romani biduum instaurati, item per biduum plebei ab aedilibus P. Aelio, P. Villio; et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

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[1] Immediately correcting the opening words of the paragraph. Cf. xi. 14 for Regillus' death in 205 B.C.

[2] Pomponius, probably praetor in 216 B.C., had held two priesthoods concurrently, as did Otacilius in XXVII. vi. 15.

in their places were: Tiberius Veturius Philo, B.C. 204
elected and installed flamen of Mars in place of Marcus Aemilius Regillus, who had died in the preceding year;[1] in succession to Marcus Pomponius Matho, augur and decemvir,[2] were elected Marcus Aurelius Cotta as decemvir, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus as augur, being a mere youth, which was then a very unusual thing in the assignment of priesthoods. A gilded four-horse chariot was set up in that year on the Capitol by the curule aediles Gaius Livius and Marcus Servilius Geminus. And the Roman Games were repeated for two days, as were the Plebeian Games also for two days by the aediles Publius Aelius and Publius Villius; and on account of the festival there was a banquet for Jupiter.

LIBRI XXIX PERIOCHA

Ex Sicilia C. Laelius in Africam a Scipione missus ingentem praedam reportavit et mandata Masinissae Scipioni exposuit querentis quod nondum exercitum in Africam traiecisset. Bellum in Hispania finitum victore Romano quod Indibilis excitaverat; ipse in acie occisus, Mandonius exposcentibus Romanis a suis deditus. Magoni, qui Albingauni in Liguribus erat, ex Africa et militum ampla manus missa et pecuniae quibus auxilia conduceret, praeceptumque ut se Hannibali coniungeret. Scipio a Syracusis in Bruttios traiecit et Locros pulso Punico praesidio fugatoque Hannibale recepit. Pax cum Philippo facta est. Mater Idaea deportata est Romam a Pessinunte oppido Phrygiae, carmine in libris Sibyllinis invento, pelli Italia alienigenam hostem posse, si mater Idaea deportata Romam esset. Tradita est autem Romanis per Attalum regem Asiae. Lapis erat quem matrem deum incolae dicebant. Excepit P. Scipio Nasica Cn. filius eius qui in Hispania perierat, vir optimus a senatu iudicatus, adulescens nondum quaestorius, quoniam ita responsum iubebat ut id numen ab optimo viro exciperetur consecrareturque. Locrenses legatos Romam miserunt qui de inpotentia [1] Plemini legati quererentur qui pecuniam Proserpinae sustulerat et liberos eorum ac coniuges stupraverat. In catenis Romam perductus in carcere est mortuus. Cum falsus rumor de P. Scipione

[1] inpotentia *Froben:* inpudentia *MSS.*

[1] Cf. pp. 283 (xix. 5) and 296, n. 1.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXIX

GAIUS LAELIUS, having been sent by Scipio from Sicily to Africa, brought back immense booty and delivered to Scipio Masinissa's messages, complaining because he had not yet transported his army to Africa. The war which Indibilis had stirred up in Spain was brought to an end with the Roman as victor. He himself was slain in battle; Mandonius was surrendered by his own people to the Romans in response to their demand. To Mago, who was at Albingaunum, among the Ligurians, a large contingent was sent from Africa and also funds with which to hire auxiliaries; and he was ordered to unite with Hannibal. Scipio crossed over from Syracuse into the Bruttian territory and recovered Locri by defeating the Punic garrison and putting Hannibal to flight. Peace was made with Philip. The Idaean Mother was brought to Rome from Pessinus, a town in Phrygia, since in the Sibylline books verses had been found, saying that a foreign enemy could be driven out of Italy if the Idaean Mother should be brought to Rome. And she was delivered to the Romans by Attalus, King of Asia. It was a stone which the natives said was the Mother of the gods. She was received by Publius Scipio Nasica, son of that Gnaeus who had perished in Spain. He was adjudged the best man by the senate, because, although he was a young man who had not yet been quaestor, the oracle commanded that that divinity should be received and consecrated by the best man. The Locrians sent envoys to Rome to complain of the lawless conduct of Pleminius, the legatus, who had carried off the money of Proserpina and had outraged their children and their wives. He was taken in chains to Rome and died in the prison.[1] When an unfounded report

proconsule, qui in Sicilia erat, in urbem perlatus esset, tamquam ibi luxuriaretur, missis ob hoc legatis a senatu qui explorarent an ea vera essent, purgatus infamia Scipio in Africam permissu senatus traiecit. Syphax accepta in matrimonium filia Hasdrubalis Gisgonis amicitiam quam cum Scipione iunxerat renuntiavit. Masinissa rex Massyliorum, dum pro Carthaginiensibus in Hispania militat, amisso patre Gala de regno exciderat. Quo per bellum saepe repetito aliquot proeliis a Syphace rege Numidarum victus in totum privatus est, et cum ducentis equitibus exsul Scipioni se iunxit et cum eo primo statim bello Hannonem Hamilcaris filium cum ampla manu occidit. Scipio adventu Hasdrubalis et Syphacis, qui prope cum centum milibus armatorum venerant, ab obsidione Uticae depulsus hiberna communivit. Sempronius consul in agro Crotoniensi prospere adversus Hannibalem pugnavit. Inter censores M. Livium et Claudium Neronem notabilis discordia fuit. Nam et Claudius Livio collegae equum ademit, quod a populo damnatus actusque in exsilium fuerat, et Livius Claudio, quod falsum in se testimonium dixisset et quod non bona fide secum in gratiam redisset. Idem omnes tribus extra unam aerarias reliquit, quod et innocentem se damnassent et posthac consulem censoremque fecissent. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita CCXIIII.

had been brought to the city in regard to Publius Scipio, the proconsul, who was in Sicily, alleging that he was leading a life of indulgence there, representatives were for this reason sent by the senate to discover whether the charges were true. Being cleared of evil repute Scipio crossed over to Africa by permission of the senate. Syphax, having received in marriage the daughter of Hasdrubal son of Gisgo, renounced the friendship which he had made with Scipio. Masinissa, King of the Massylians, while serving in Spain for the Carthaginians, after losing his father Gala, had been excluded from the kingship. When he repeatedly sought to regain it by war, he was defeated by Syphax, King of the Numidians, in a number of battles and was completely dispossessed. And as an exile with two hundred horsemen he joined Scipio and with him at the very beginning of the campaign he slew Hanno son of Hamilcar, together with his large force. Scipio, on the arrival of Hasdrubal and Syphax, who had come with almost a hundred thousand armed men, was forced to raise the siege of Utica and fortified a winter camp. Sempronius, the consul, fought successfully against Hannibal in the territory of Croton. Between the censors, Marcus Livius and Claudius Nero, there was a memorable quarrel. For Claudius took away his colleague Livius' horse because he had been condemned by the people and driven into exile, and Livius did the same for Claudius because the latter had borne false witness against him and because he had not been sincere in being reconciled with him. Likewise Livius left all the tribes but one mere tax-payers, because they had both condemned him, though innocent, and had later made him consul and censor. The rite of purification was completed by the censors. The number of citizens listed was 214,000.

BOOK XXX

LIBER XXX

a.u.c. 551

I. Cn. Servilius et C. Servilius consules—sextus decimus is annus belli Punici erat—cum de re publica belloque et provinciis ad senatum rettulissent, 2 censuerunt patres ut consules inter se compararent sortirenturve uter Bruttios adversus Hannibalem, uter 3 Etruriam ac Ligures provinciam haberet; cui Bruttii evenissent exercitum a P. Sempronio acciperet; P. Sempronius—ei quoque enim pro consule [1] imperium in annum prorogabatur—P. Licinio suc- 4 cederet. Is Romam reverteretur, bello quoque bonus habitus ad cetera, quibus nemo ea tempestate instructior civis habebatur, congestis omnibus 5 humanis ab natura fortunaque bonis. Nobilis idem ac dives erat; forma viribusque corporis excellebat; facundissimus habebatur seu causa oranda, seu in senatu et apud [2] populum suadendi ac dissuadendi

[1] pro consule *H Luchs, Riemann, Conway*: proconsuli *P*(1)*NVJK Eds.*

[2] et apud *SpHVJK*: et ad *N*[1] *Aldus, Froben*: ad *P*(1)*N*: aut ad *conj. Weissenborn.*

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[1] Omission of cognomina at the beginning of a new book would be striking if their full names had not just been given in XXIX. xxxviii. 3; cf. below, § 8 (cognomina only).

[2] This addition to Etruria as one consul's province (and for the first time) was in view of Mago's activity on the Ligurian coast; cf. § 10; XXIX. v.

BOOK XXX

I. Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Servilius,[1] the consuls, whose year was the sixteenth of the Punic war, having laid before the senate the condition of the state and the war and the assignments, the senators voted that the consuls should arrange between them, or determine by lot, which of them should have as his assignment the land of the Bruttii, confronting Hannibal, and which of them Etruria and Liguria;[2] that the consul to whom the Bruttii should fall was to take over an army from Publius Sempronius; that Publius Sempronius—for he also had his command prolonged for one year as proconsul—should succeed Publius Licinius;[3] that the latter should return to Rome. In war also Licinius was now highly rated, in addition to the other fields in which no citizen was at that time considered more fully equipped, since all the advantages possible to man had been heaped upon him by nature and fortune. Of noble birth he was at the same time wealthy. Conspicuous for a handsome figure and physical strength, he was considered a very eloquent speaker, whether a legal case was to be conducted, or when there was occasion in the senate and before the people B.C. 203

[3] The first Crassus to be called Dives; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 52. Before his consulship in 205 B.C. he had been censor in 210; XXVII. vi. 17.

u.c. 551

6 locus esset; iuris pontificii peritissimus; super haec bellicae quoque laudis consulatus compotem fecerat. Quod in Bruttiis provincia, idem in Etruria ac
7 Liguribus decretum: M. Cornelius novo consuli tradere exercitum iussus; ipse prorogato imperio Galliam provinciam obtineret [1] cum legionibus
8 iis quas L. Scribonius priore anno habuisset. Sortiti deinde provincias: Caepioni Bruttii, Gemino [2]
9 Etruria evenit. Tum praetorum provinciae in sortem coniectae: iuris dictionem urbanam Paetus Aelius, Sardiniam P. Lentulus, Siciliam [3] P. Villius, Ariminum cum duabus legionibus—sub Sp. Lucretio eae fuerant
10 —Quinctilius Varus est sortitus. Et Lucretio prorogatum imperium, ut Genuam oppidum a Magone Poeno dirutum exaedificaret. P. Scipioni non temporis, sed rei gerendae fine, donec debellatum in
11 Africa foret, prorogatum imperium est; decretumque ut supplicatio fieret, quod is in Africam provinciam traiecisset, ut ea res salutaris populo Romano ipsique duci atque exercitui esset.

II. In Siciliam tria milia militum sunt scripta, quia [4] quod roboris ea provincia habuerat in Africam

[1] obtineret *A'N'HVJK Froben 2, Luchs, Luterbacher*: -ere *P*(1)*N Aldus, Eds., Conway.*

[2] Gemino, *before this P*(1)*NHJK Eds. have* Servilio (*om. by V*), *rejected by Madvig, Conway as the nomen of both consuls.*

[3] P. Lentulus, Siciliam *A'N'HVJK*: *om. P*(1)*N, one line.*

[4] quia, *before this P*(1)*NSp*(*prob.*)*HVJK Aldus have* et, *rejected by Gronovius, Madvig, Riemann, Conway*: *retained by those who put a period after* oram, p. 370.

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[1] No important victory of Crassus is known. Elected pontifex maximus in 212 B.C. (XXV. v. 3 f.), he held that office for 29 years down to his death in 183 B.C. His funeral was marked by many gladiatorial combats, games and a public

to persuade or dissuade. In the pontifical law he was B.C. 203
accounted a master; and now, to crown these distinctions, his consulship had brought him military laurels as well.[1] The decision taken in regard to the land of the Bruttii as a province was repeated in the case of Etruria and Liguria. Marcus Cornelius was ordered to turn over his army to the new consul, and himself, with his command continued, to hold Gaul as his assignment, having the legions which Lucius Scribonius had held the year before. Thereupon they drew their assignments by lot, the Bruttian country falling to Caepio, Etruria to Geminus. Lots were then cast for the praetors' assignments. Aelius Paetus[2] drew the city praetorship, Publius Lentulus Sardinia, Publius Villius Sicily, Quinctilius Varus Ariminum with two legions which had been under the command of Spurius Lucretius. Lucretius' command also was continued, that he might build up the town of Genua,[3] destroyed by Mago the Carthaginian. Publius Scipio's command was prolonged, not for a fixed time but to the completion of his task, until the war in Africa should be over. And it was decreed that there should be a season of prayer that his crossing over to Africa as his province might be beneficial to the Roman people and to the commander himself and his army.

II. For Sicily three thousand soldiers were enrolled because all the best troops that province used to have

feast in the Forum; XXXIX. xlvi. 2 ff. Livy's portrait reads like a *laudatio funebris*, and it would seem more in place in Book XXXIX than here. Cf. Cicero *de Orat.* III. 134.

[2] Elected at XXIX. xxxviii. 4; consul in 201 B.C.; below, xl. 5; censor with Scipio Africanus in 199 B.C.; XXXII. vii. 2.

[3] Cf. XXVIII. xlvi. 8 and note.

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transvectum fuerat; et quia,[1] ne qua classis ex Africa traiceret, quadraginta navibus custodiri placuerat Siciliae maritumam oram, tredecim novas naves Villius secum in Siciliam duxit, ceterae in Sicilia veteres refectae. Huic classi M. Pomponius, prioris anni praetor, prorogato imperio praepositus novos milites ex Italia advectos in naves imposuit. Parem navium numerum Cn. Octavio, praetori item prioris anni, cum pari iure imperii ad tuendam Sardiniae oram patres decreverunt: Lentulus praetor duo milia militum dare in naves iussus. Et Italiae ora, quia incertum erat quo missuri classem Carthaginienses forent—videbantur autem quidquid nudatum praesidiis esset petituri—M. Marcio, praetori prioris anni, cum totidem navibus tuenda data est. Tria milia militum in eam [2] classem ex decreto patrum consules scripserunt et duas legiones urbanas ad incerta belli. Hispaniae cum exercitibus imperioque veteribus imperatoribus, L. Lentulo et L. Manlio Acidino, decretae. Viginti omnino legionibus et centum sexaginta navibus longis res Romana eo anno gesta. Praetores in provincias ire iussi. Consulibus imperatum ut,[3] priusquam ab urbe proficiscerentur,

[1] quod roboris . . . et quia *om. SpHV.*
[2] eam *P*(3) *Eds.*: eandem *JK.*
[3] ut *HVJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(1)*N.*

[1] Octavius was really propraetor in 204 B.C., having been praetor in 205; XXVIII. xxxviii. 11, 13; XXIX. xiii. 5.

had been transported to Africa. Furthermore, B.C. 203
because it had been decided to defend the sea-coast of Sicily with forty ships, in order to prevent any fleet from crossing over from Africa, Villius took with him thirteen new ships to Sicily, while the rest in Sicily were old ships repaired. Placed in charge of this fleet, with his command continued, was Marcus Pomponius, praetor in the preceding year, who provided the ships with new soldiers brought from Italy. The same number of ships were by decree of the senate assigned, with the same extension of his command, to Gnaeus Octavius, who likewise had been praetor [1] in the preceding year, in order to defend the coast of Sardinia. Lentulus, the praetor, was ordered to furnish two thousand soldiers for the ships. As for the defence of the coast of Italy, since it was not known to what point the Carthaginians would send their fleet—while they seemed likely to attack any part of it that was left unguarded —that task with the same number of ships was entrusted to Marcus Marcius, praetor in the previous year. Three thousand soldiers were enrolled by the consuls for that fleet in accordance with a decree of the senate, and two city legions for emergency duty. The Spanish provinces were assigned by a decree of the senate to their veteran commanders, Lucius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus with the armies and military authority. The Roman state was administered that year with a total of twenty legions and a hundred and sixty war-ships.[2]

The praetors were ordered to go to their provinces, while the consuls were bidden, before their departure

[2] Including another fleet of 40 ships which sailed with Scipio to Africa; XXIX. xxvi. 3; below, xli. 7.

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ludos magnos facerent quos T. Manlius Torquatus dictator in quintum annum vovisset, si eodem statu
9 res publica staret. Et novas religiones excitabant in animis hominum prodigia ex pluribus locis nuntiata. Aurum in Capitolio corvi non lacerasse tantum
10 rostris crediti sed etiam edisse; mures Antii coronam auream adrosere;[1] circa Capuam omnem agrum locustarum vis ingens, ita ut unde advenissent
11 parum constaret, complevit; eculeus Reate cum quinque pedibus natus; Anagniae sparsi primum
12 ignes in caelo, dein fax ingens arsit; Frusinone arcus solem tenui linea amplexus est, circulum deinde ipsum maior solis orbis extrinsecus inclusit; Arpini terra campestri agro[2] in ingentem sinum consedit;
13 consulum alteri primam hostiam immolanti caput iocineris defuit. Ea prodigia maioribus hostiis procurata; editi a collegio pontificum dei quibus sacrificaretur.

III. His transactis consules praetoresque in provincias profecti. Omnibus tamen, velut eam sortitis, Africae cura erat, seu quia ibi summam rerum belli-

[1] adrosere $P(1)N$ *Aldus* (arr-): -roserunt *HVJ Froben* 2: -rant *K*.

[2] agro $P(3)Sp^2HVJK$ *Froben* 2: in agro AN *Aldus*.

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[1] Torquatus had made the vow 208 B.C., after presiding at the games vowed by Marcus Aemilius, praetor in 217 B.C.; XXVII. xxxiii. 8. They were actually postponed until 202 B.C.; below, xxvii. 11 f. Inclusive reckoning accounts for *quintum*.

[2] For meteors see p. 258, n. 2. Cf. also *Aeneid* II. 694 ff.; Lucretius II. 206 ff.; Pliny *N.H.* II. 96.

[3] Greek ἅλως = *arcus* in Pliny *l.c.* 98 (*corona* also and *circulus*); *corona* in Seneca *N.Q.* I. ii. 1 (*area* also *ibid.* § 3).

from the city, to conduct the great games which Titus Manlius Torquatus [1] as dictator had vowed for the fourth year, if the state should remain as it was before. And new religious fears were aroused in men's minds by portents reported from a number of places. On the Capitol ravens were believed not only to have torn away gilding with their beaks but even to have eaten it. At Antium mice gnawed a golden wreath. The whole region around Capua was covered by an immense number of locusts, while there was no agreement as to whence they had come. At Reate a colt with five feet was foaled. At Anagnia there were at first shooting-stars at intervals and then a great meteor blazed out.[2] At Frusino a halo [3] encircled the sun with its slender circumference, and then the ring itself had a greater circle bright as the sun circumscribed about it. At Arpinum in an open meadow the earth settled into a huge depression. One of the consuls on sacrificing his first victim found the "head" of the liver lacking.[4] These prodigies were expiated by full-grown victims; the gods to whom sacrifices should be offered were announced by the college of the pontiffs. B.C. 203

III. Having completed these tasks the consuls and praetors set out for their provinces. All of them, however, turned their attention to Africa, just as though that had been allotted to them, either because they saw it was there that the main issue and the

[4] In divination the liver, being variable in form, was considered of great importance, particularly a protuberance known as the "head." If the *caput* was large the omen was favourable (XXVII. xxvi. 14), if small or misshapen, unfavourable. Nothing was accounted more ominous than its absence (*ibid.* § 13); cf. Cicero *de Div.* II. 32 *fin.* and Pease's notes; VIII. ix. 1; George F. Moore, *History of Religions* I. 559.

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que verti cernebant seu ut Scipioni gratificarentur, in
2 quem tum omnis versa civitas erat. Itaque non ex Sardinia tantum, sicut ante dictum est, sed ex Sicilia quoque et Hispania vestimenta frumentumque, et arma etiam ex Sicilia [1] et omne genus commeatus eo
3 portabantur. Nec Scipio ullo tempore hiemis belli opera remiserat, quae multa simul undique eum circumstabant: Uticam obsidebat; castra in conspectu
4 Hasdrubalis erant; Carthaginienses deduxerant naves, classem paratam instructamque ad commeatus intercipiendos habebant. Inter haec ne Syphacis quidem reconciliandi curam ex animo miserat,[2] si forte iam satias [3] amoris in uxore ex
5 multa copia eum [4] cepisset. Ab Syphace magis pacis cum Carthaginiensibus condiciones, ut Romani Africa, Poeni Italia excederent, quam, si bellaretur,
6 spes ulla desciturum adferebatur. Haec per nuntios acta magis equidem crediderim—et ita pars maior auctores sunt—quam ipsum Syphacem, ut Antias Valerius prodit, in castra Romana ad conloquium
7 venisse. Primo eas condiciones imperator Romanus vix auribus admisit; postea, ut causa probabilis suis commeandi foret in castra hostium, mollius eadem illa

[1] etiam ex Sicilia *P*(3)*SpHVJ Froben* 2, *Eds.*: *om. ANK Aldus, prob. with good reason.*
[2] miserat *P*(3)$A^{z}N$ *Aldus*: dimiserat *Sp?HVJK Froben* 2.
[3] satias *z Aldus*: satis *P*(1)*NHVJK*: saties A^{5}*?*
[4] eum *HV Aldus, Froben*: *om.* *P*(1)*NJK.*

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[1] Resuming early in the spring (iv. 10) the siege abandoned in the previous autumn; XXIX. xxxv. 12.
[2] *I.e* would denounce his agreement with Carthage and renew previous relations with Scipio.

outcome of the war were centred, or in order to show B.C. 203
Scipio favour, on whom the eyes of all the citizens were then fixed Accordingly not only from Sardinia, as has been said above, but also from Sicily and Spain clothing and grain were being transported thither, and arms as well and supplies of every kind from Sicily. And at no time in the winter had Scipio lessened his military operations, which were many and all around him at the same time. He was besieging Utica;[1] the camp of Hasdrubal could be seen; the Carthaginians had launched their ships; they kept their fleet ready and equipped, in order to intercept supplies. In the midst of all this he had also not forgotten his effort to recover the support of Syphax, in case by that time, after much indulgence, satiety might have overtaken him in his love for his wife. From Syphax came rather terms of peace with the Carthaginians under which the Romans should withdraw from Africa, the Carthaginians from Italy, than any hope that in the event of war he would change sides.[2] That these dealings went on through messengers[3] I am more inclined to believe—and for this a majority of the historians vouch—than that Syphax came in person into the Roman camp for a conference, as Valerius Antias relates. At first the Roman general scarcely listened to such terms. Later, that his men might have a plausible reason for visiting the enemy's camp, he was less firm in rejecting the same offers, and encouraged

[3] Cf. Polybius XIV. i. 6, who also seems to think Scipio began by sending messengers (*i.e.* envoys, below, iv. 2, 4) to Syphax. Others represent Syphax as beginning the negotiations; Zonaras IX. xii. 2; Appian *Pun.* 17, representing him as pretending friendship for both sides.

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abnuere ac spem facere saepius ultro citroque agitantibus rem conventuram.

8 Hibernacula Carthaginiensium,[1] congesta temere ex agris materia exaedificata, lignea ferme tota erant. 9 Numidae praecipue harundine textis storeaque pars maxima tectis passim nullo ordine, quidam, ut sine imperio occupatis locis, extra fossam etiam vallumque 10 habitabant. Haec relata Scipioni spem fecerant castra hostium per occasionem incendendi.

IV. Cum legatis quos mitteret ad Syphacem calonum loco primos ordines spectatae virtutis atque 2 prudentiae servili habitu mittebat, qui, dum in conloquio legati essent, vagi per castra alius alia aditus exitusque omnes, situm formamque et universorum castrorum et partium, qua Poeni, qua Numidae haberent,[2] quantum intervalli inter Hasdrubalis ac regia 3 castra esset, specularentur moremque simul noscerent stationum vigiliarumque, nocte an interdiu opportuniores insidianti[3] essent; et inter crebra conloquia alii atque alii de industria, quo pluribus omnia nota 4 essent, mittebantur. Cum saepius agitata res certiorem spem pacis in dies et Syphaci et Carthaginiensibus per eum faceret, legati Romani vetitos se reverti ad imperatorem aiunt, nisi certum re-

[1] Carthaginiensium *P*(1)*NK Aldus, Froben*: -ibus *SpHVJ*.
[2] haberent *P*(1)*NHVJK Eds.*: tenderent *Gronovius, H. J. Müller*.
[3] insidianti *P*(1)*N*(-ati *D*) *most Eds., Conway*: -antibus *N*[2]*HVJK Aldus, Froben, Luchs*.

[1] Cf. Polybius *l.c.* §§ 6 f.; Zonaras § 8. Not that Roman *hibernacula* were always much less inflammable; XXVII. iii. 3 (outside the walls of Capua); Hirtius *B.G.* VIII. v. 2; *Bell. Hisp.* xvi. 2. No representations of them are known.

the hope that, if they repeatedly discussed the matter B.C. 203
from both sides, agreement would be reached.

The winter quarters of the Carthaginians, being constructed of building material gathered at random from the farms, were almost entirely of wood.[1] In particular the Numidians were dwelling in huts of plaited reeds, most of them under thatched roofs, and scattered without a plan, some of their number even outside the fosse and earthwork—the natural result of seizing upon a site without waiting for orders. This was reported to Scipio and had inspired the hope of setting fire to the camp of the enemy when opportunity should offer.

IV. With the legates whom he kept sending to Syphax he would send some first centurions of attested courage and discretion as servants and garbed as slaves, that while the legates were in conference they might roam about the camp in different directions and take note of all entrances and exits, the situation and plan both of the camp as a whole and of its divisions, where the Carthaginians and where the Numidians had their quarters. They were to discover what was the distance between Hasdrubal's camp and that of the king, also to learn their practice as regards outposts and sentries, whether they were more exposed to an unexpected attack by night or by day. And in the course of numerous conferences other men and again others were purposely sent, that a larger number might acquaint themselves with everything. When repeated discussions were giving Syphax, and through him the Carthaginians, a daily surer hope of peace, the Roman legates announced that they were forbidden to return to their general unless a definite

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5 sponsum detur: proinde, seu ipsi staret iam sententia, . . .[1] seu consulendus Hasdrubal et Carthaginienses essent, consuleret; tempus esse aut pacem componi 6 aut bellum naviter geri. Dum consulitur Hasdrubal ab Syphace, ab[2] Hasdrubale Carthaginienses, et speculatores omnia visendi et Scipio ad conparanda 7 ea[3] quae in rem erant tempus habuit. Et ex mentione ac spe pacis neglegentia, ut fit, apud Poenos Numidamque[4] orta cavendi ne quid hostile 8 interim paterentur. Tandem relatum responsum, quibusdam, quia nimis cupere Romanus pacem videbatur, iniquis per occasionem adiectis, quae peropportune cupienti tollere indutias Scipioni 9 causam praebuere. Ac nuntio regis, cum relaturum se ad consilium dixisset, postero die respondit se uno frustra tendente nulli alii pacem placuisse; renuntiaret igitur nullam aliam spem pacis quam[5] relictis 10 Carthaginiensibus Syphaci cum Romanis esse. Ita tollit indutias, ut libera fide incepta exsequeretur; deductisque navibus—et iam veris principium erat—machinas tormentaque, velut a mari adgressurus 11 Uticam, imponit, et duo milia militum ad capiendum quem antea tenuerat tumulum super Uticam mittit,

[1] *The lacuna may be filled by* promeret sententiam (*Johnson, prob. one line of P's archetype*); *by* eam promeret, *or* promeret *alone* (*Madvig*); *by* pronuntiaret (*Stöcker*, 1833) *or* expromeret (*Riemann*), *a verb being required to balance* consuleret.

[2] Hasdrubal ab (*or* a) Syphace, ab *A⁴HVJK Eds.*: *om. P*(1)*N, a line.*

[3] ea *om. SpHVJK Froben* 2.

[4] Numidamque *PCM*²: -umquae *RMBD*: -asque *ANHVJK Aldus, Froben.*

[5] pacis quam *A⁴N⁴HVJK*: *om. P*(1)*N.*

[1] Cf. Polybius *l.c.* ii. 11.

answer was made to them. Therefore, if his own B.C. 203
decision was already made, ⟨let him declare it⟩;
if on the other hand Hasdrubal and the Carthaginians
had to be conferred with, let him confer with them.
It was time, they said, either to agree upon peace
or to wage war in earnest. While Hasdrubal was
being conferred with by Syphax, and the Carthaginians by Hasdrubal, the spies had time to observe
everything, as had Scipio to get together whatever
was needful. And out of the talk of peace and the
hope of it, as usually happens, there sprang a neglect
on the part of the Carthaginians and the Numidian
to guard against any attack which might be made
upon them in the meantime. At last the answer was
returned, including certain unreasonable terms
adroitly added just because the Roman seemed
extremely desirous of peace. These furnished
Scipio, who was eager to denounce the truce, a very
timely pretext. And after stating to the king's
messenger that he would lay the matter before his
council, on the next day he reported that, while he
alone strove in vain to bring about peace, no one else
had favoured it.[1] The messenger therefore, he said,
should report that Syphax had no other hope of peace
with the Romans except by abandoning the Carthaginians. His purpose in denouncing the truce was
that, being no longer bound by promises, he might
carry out his undertaking. And launching his
ships—it was now the beginning of spring—he
mounted engines of war and artillery upon them, as
though intending to attack Utica from the sea. He
also sent two thousand soldiers to seize the hill he
had previously held,[2] looking down upon Utica, both

[2] See XXIX. xxxv. 7; Polybius §§ 3 f.

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simul ut ab eo quod parabat in alterius rei curam converteret hostium animos, simul ne qua, cum ipse ad Syphacem Hasdrubalemque profectus esset, eruptio ex urbe et impetus in castra sua relicta cum levi praesidio fieret.

V. His praeparatis advocatoque consilio et dicere exploratoribus iussis quae conperta adferrent Masinissaque, cui omnia hostium nota erant, postremo ipse quid pararet in proximam noctem proponit; tribunis edicit ut, ubi praetorio dimisso signa concinuissent, extemplo educerent castris legiones. Ita ut imperaverat signa sub occasum solis efferri sunt coepta. Ad primam ferme vigiliam agmen explicaverunt; media nocte—septem enim milia itineris erant —modico gradu ad castra hostium perventum est. Ibi [1] Scipio partem copiarum Laelio Masinissamque ac Numidas adtribuit et castra Syphacis invadere ignesque conicere iubet. Singulos deinde separatim Laelium ac Masinissam seductos [2] obtestatur ut, quantum nox providentiae adimat, tantum diligentia [3] expleant curaque: se Hasdrubalem Punicaque castra adgressurum; ceterum non ante coepturum quam ignem in regiis castris conspexisset. Neque ea res morata diu est; nam ut primis [4] casis iniectus ignis haesit, extemplo proxima quaeque et deinceps

[1] est. Ibi *P*(1)*N Aldus* : et ibi *HVJK* : *om. Froben* 2.
[2] seductos *HVJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : de- *P*(1)*N*.
[3] diligentia *P*(3)*Sp²HV Froben* 2 : -nti (*with* cura et) *ANJK Aldus*.
[4] primis *Gronovius* : proximis *P*(1)*NHVJK* (*from* proxima *just below*).

[1] Obviously some of the centurions of iv. 1–3 appeared before the *consilium*.

in order to divert the attention of the enemy from his real purpose to anxiety about a different attack, and at the same time that, when he should himself set out to meet Syphax and Hasdrubal, there should be no sally from the city and no attack upon his camp when left with only a small garrison. B.C. 203

V. After these preparations, summoning the council, he ordered the spies [1] to set forth what information they had to report, and Masinissa as well, who knew everything about the enemy. Finally he laid before them his plan for the following night. To the tribunes he gave orders that, when the council had been dismissed and the trumpets had sounded, they should at once lead their legions out of the camp. In accordance with the orders he had given the standards were first set in motion just before sunset; at about the first watch the column was deployed. At midnight—for it was a march of seven miles—proceeding at a moderate speed they reached the enemy's camp. There Scipio assigned to Laelius a part [2] of the forces and Masinissa with his Numidians, and bade them burst into the camp of Syphax and set fire to it. He then led Laelius and Masinissa aside separately and implored each of them to make up by their diligence and alertness for all the foresight of which night deprived them. He was about to attack Hasdrubal, he said, and the Carthaginian camp; but he would not begin until he should see fire in the king's camp. Nor did that delay him long; for as soon as fire was thrown upon the first huts it caught, and then at once laying hold of everything

[2] One-half according to Polybius iv. 2, to which Livy's *partem* is not meant as a correction. The whole passage should be read, being more detailed than in the Latin version.

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continua amplexus[1] totis se passim dissipavit
8 castris. Et trepidatio quidem, quantam[2] necesse
erat in nocturno effuso tam late incendio, orta est;
ceterum fortuitum, non hostilem ac bellicum ignem
rati esse, sine armis ad restinguendum incendium
9 effusi in armatos incidere hostes, maxime Numidas
ab Masinissa notitia regiorum castrorum ad exitus
10 itinerum idoneis locis dispositos. Multos[3] in ipsis
cubilibus semisomnos hausit flamma; multi[4] prae-
cipiti fuga ruentes super alios alii in angustiis porta-
rum obtriti sunt.

VI. Relucentem flammam primo vigiles Cartha-
giniensium, deinde excitati alii nocturno tumultu
cum conspexissent, ab eodem errore credere et ipsi
2 sua sponte incendium ortum; et clamor inter
caedem et volnera sublatus an ex trepidatione
nocturna esset confusis[5] sensum veri adimebat.
3 Igitur pro se quisque inermes, ut quibus nihil hostile
suspectum esset, omnibus portis, qua cuique proxi-
mum erat, ea modo quae restinguendo igni forent
4 portantes, in agmen Romanum ruebant. Quibus
caesis omnibus praeterquam hostili odio, etiam ne
quis nuntius refugeret,[6] extemplo Scipio neglectas ut
5 in tali tumultu portas invadit; ignibusque in proxima
tecta coniectis, effusa flamma primo velut sparsa plu-
ribus locis reluxit, dein per continua serpens uno re-

[1] amplexus, *here R comes to an end.*
[2] quantam A^{γ} *Gronovius*: quanta $P(3)NHVJK$.
[3] Multos $Sp(prob.)A^{a}VJK$ *Aldus*: -tis H: *om.* $P(3)N^{r}$.
[4] multi, *after this* $P(3)A^{a}NHVJK$ *have* in (ex A): *rejected by Alschefski, Madvig, Conway.*
[5] confusis *Rhenanus*: -sus $P(3)NVJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[6] refugeret $HVJK$: ef- $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben.*

that was near, and so on in unbroken succession, it B.C. 203
spread hither and thither through the entire camp. Great was the alarm, to be sure, as was inevitable in a fire so widespread in the night; but they thought the blaze accidental, not due to an enemy and war. Pouring out without arms to extinguish the flames, they encountered armed enemies, particularly Numidians posted in suitable places at the ends of the streets by Masinissa, familiar as he was with the king's camp. Many even in their beds and half-asleep were burned to death; many rushing pell-mell in headlong flight were trodden down in the narrow gateways.

VI. When the light of the fire had been seen, first by sentries of the Carthaginians and then by others whom the uproar in the night aroused, they likewise made the same mistake in believing the fire to be spontaneous. And outcries raised in the midst of slaughter and wounds made men unable to grasp the real situation, being half-inclined to think it due to a disturbance in the night. Accordingly, having no suspicion of any attack, they outdid one another in dashing out of all the gates unarmed, each taking the nearest way, carrying only what would be of use to extinguish the fire, and suddenly encountered the Roman column. When they had all been slain, not only because of an enemy's hatred, but also that no man might escape to tell the tale, Scipio at once burst into the gates, naturally unguarded in such a commotion. And then as firebrands were thrown upon the nearest roofs, the flames pouring out at first seemed to blaze at a number of scattered points; and then creeping along without a break they promptly consumed

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6 pente omnia [1] incendio hausit. Ambusti homines iumentaque foeda primum fuga, dein strage obruebant [2] itinera portarum. Quos non oppresserat ignis ferro absumpti, binaque castra clade [3] una
7 deleta. Duces tamen ambo et ex tot milibus armatorum duo milia peditum et quingenti equites semermes, magna pars saucii adflatique incendio effugerunt.
8 Caesa aut hausta flammis ad [4] quadraginta milia hominum sunt, capta supra quinque milia, multi
9 Carthaginiensium nobiles, undecim senatores; signa militaria centum septuaginta quattuor, equi Numidici supra duo milia septingentos [5]; elephanti sex capti, octo ferro flammaque absumpti. Magna vis armorum capta; ea omnia imperator Volcano sacrata incendit.

VII. Hasdrubal ex fuga cum paucis Afrorum urbem proximam petierat, eoque omnes qui supererant vestigia ducis sequentes se contulerant; metu deinde
2 ne dederetur Scipioni urbe excessit. Mox eodem patentibus portis Romani accepti, nec quicquam hostile, quia voluntate concesserant in dicionem, factum. Duae subinde urbes captae direptaeque. Ea praeda et quae castris incensis ex igne rapta erat militi

[1] serpens uno repente omnia $P(3)NJK$ *Eds.*: *om. SpHV.*
[2] obruebant $P(1)N$ *Aldus*: -erant *SpHJK Froben* 2: obstruebant *Madvig.*
[3] clade $Sp A^{1}N^{1}HVJK$ *Froben* 2: de *P*: die $P^{2}(3)A^{5}N$ *Aldus.*
[4] ad $HVJK$ *Eds.*: *om.* $P(3)N$.
[5] septingentos $A^{1}J$: -genti $A(\text{dec}^{\text{ti}})HK$; *numerals* $P(3)NV$.

[1] The figures are taken from Polybius vi. 3, whose text gives none for the slain. But his editors indicate a lacuna after ch. v, to account for the omission. He was much impressed by the brilliance of Scipio's exploit (*ibid. fin.*). Appian has no fire in Syphax' camp, but gives 30,000 for the slain in Hasdrubal's army; *Pun.* 23.

everything in one conflagration. Men and beasts B.C. 203
of burden that had suffered burns blocked streets leading to the gates, at first by their panic-stricken flight and then by their fallen bodies. Those whom the fire had not overtaken were destroyed by the sword, and two camps were wiped out in a single disaster. Both of the generals, however, made their escape, and out of so many thousand armed men two thousand infantry and five hundred[1] horsemen escaped half-armed, many of the men wounded and scorched by the flames. Slain or burned to death were some forty thousand men, more than five thousand captured, many Carthaginian nobles, eleven senators. Of military standards a hundred and seventy-four were taken, of Numidian horses over two thousand seven hundred. Six elephants were captured, eight destroyed by sword or by fire. A great number of arms were captured, and all of these the general-in-command dedicated to Vulcan and burned.[2]

VII. Hasdrubal after fleeing had made his way with a few men to the nearest city [3] of the Africans; and to it had come all the survivors, following the trail of their general. Then for fear that it might surrender to Scipio he left the city. Soon after the gates were opened and the Romans admitted to the same city. And since they had voluntarily submitted no hostile step was taken. Thereafter two cities were captured and plundered. Their booty and what had been rescued from the flames when the camps

[2] Cf. XXIII. xlvi. 5 (Marcellus at Nola).

[3] Anda according to Appian *op. cit.* 24; not elsewhere mentioned. In Polybius the town appears to have been named in the lacuna before ch. vi.

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3 concessa est. Syphax octo milium ferme inde spatio loco munito [1] consedit; Hasdrubal Carthaginem contendit, ne quid per metum ex recenti clade
4 mollius consuleretur. Quo tantus primo terror est adlatus ut omissa Utica Carthaginem crederent
5 extemplo Scipionem obsessurum.[2] Senatum itaque sufetes, quod velut consulare imperium apud eos
6 erat, vocaverunt. Ibi tribus sententiis certatum [3]; una de pace legatos ad Scipionem decernebat, altera Hannibalem ad tuendam ab exitiabili bello patriam revocabat, tertia Romanae in adversis rebus
7 constantiae erat; reparandum exercitum Syphacemque hortandum ne bello absisteret censebat. Haec sententia, quia Hasdrubal praesens Barcinaeque
8 omnes factionis bellum malebant, vicit. Inde dilectus in urbe agrisque haberi coeptus, et ad Syphacem legati missi, summa ope et ipsum reparantem bellum, cum uxor non iam ut ante blanditiis,
9 satis potentibus ad animum amantis, sed precibus et misericordia valuisset, plena lacrimarum obtestans ne patrem suum patriamque proderet isdemque flammis Carthaginem quibus castra conflagrassent
10 absumi sineret. Spem quoque opportune oblatam adferebant legati: quattuor milia Celtiberorum

[1] munito *SpHVJK Froben* 2 : com- *P*(3)*N Aldus.*

[2] ob- (*or* op-)sessurum *P*(3)*A*[1]*N*[1]*HVJK* : oppressurum *AN Aldus, Froben.*

[3] sententiis certatum *Madvig, Conway* (*M. Müller added* est) : *om. P*(3)*NHVJK, one line* : dictis sententiis *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] The town of Abba in Polybius § 12; vii. 5. Obba, below, § 10, cannot be the same. Cf. p. 389, n. 2; 550 f.

[2] For the two *sufētes* cf. XXVIII. xxxvii. 2; XXXIV. lxi. 15.

were burned was granted to the soldiers. Syphax B.C. 203
established himself in a fortified place [1] at a distance of about eight miles. Hasdrubal hastened to Carthage, that no weak action might be taken in the fear induced by the recent disaster. At first the news brought such alarm to the city that they believed Scipio would leave Utica to itself and forthwith besiege Carthage. The senate was accordingly convened by the *sufĕtes*, whose authority corresponded to that of consuls.[2] There it was a conflict between three proposals: one favoured peace envoys to Scipio; the second was for recalling Hannibal to defend their city from a war which meant destruction; the third showed a Roman steadfastness in adversity. This proposal was that they should repair the losses to the army and urge Syphax not to give up the war.[3] This motion was carried because Hasdrubal in person and all of the Barcine party supported the war. Then they began to conduct a levy in the city and in the country, and emissaries were sent to Syphax, who on his part also was making every effort to renew the war, since his wife had influenced him—no longer, as before, by caresses, effectual enough for the temper of a lover—but by prayers and moving entreaty, imploring him, as her eyes filled with tears, not to betray her father and her city and allow Carthage to be destroyed by the same flames with which the camps had been consumed. Hope also at the right moment was brought by the emissaries in the news that four thousand Celti-

[3] The three proposals are from Polybius vi. 10 ff. Not so the following reference to Hasdrubal and the party of Hannibal. In one version Hasdrubal's loss of an army was to be punished by execution; Appian *Pun.* 24, 36; cf. 38.

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circa urbem nomine Obbam, ab conquisitoribus suis conducta in Hispania, egregiae iuventutis, sibi occurrisse; et Hasdrubalem propediem adfore cum
11 manu haudquaquam contemnenda. Igitur non benigne modo legatis respondit, sed ostendit etiam[1] multitudinem agrestium Numidarum, quibus per eosdem[2] dies arma equosque dedisset, et omnem
12 iuventutem adfirmat ex regno exciturum; scire incendio, non proelio cladem acceptam; eum bello
13 inferiorem esse qui armis vincatur. Haec legatis responsa, et post dies paucos rursus Hasdrubal et Syphax copias iunxerunt. Is omnis exercitus fuit triginta ferme milium[3] armatorum.

VIII. Scipionem, velut iam debellato quod ad Syphacem Carthaginiensesque attineret, Uticae oppugnandae intentum iamque machinas admoventem
2 muris avertit fama redintegrati belli; modicisque praesidiis ad speciem modo obsidionis terra marique relictis ipse cum robore exercitus ire ad hostes
3 pergit. Primo in tumulo quattuor milia ferme distante ab castris regiis consedit; postero die cum equitatu in

[1] etiam *P*(3)*NH*: eam *VJK*.
[2] eosdem *P*(3 *N Aldus*, *Froben*: eos *HVJK*.
[3] milium *HVJ Froben* 2: millium *K*: milia (-ll- *P*)*P*(3)*N Aldus*.

berians, the flower of their youth, had met them near B.C. 203
a city named Obba, having been hired in Spain by their own recruiting-officers; and Hasdrubal, they said, would soon arrive with a force by no means to be despised. In consequence he not only gave a favourable answer to the legates but also showed them a large number of Numidian rustics to whom he had just been furnishing arms and horses, and assured them that he would call out all the young men from his kingdom. He was aware, he said, that the disaster had been due to fire, not to battle; that a war is lost only by the man who is defeated in battle. Such was his answer to the legates, and after a few days Hasdrubal and Syphax again united their forces. The total strength of that army was about thirty thousand armed men.[1]

VIII. Scipio, as though the war was already over so far as concerned Syphax and the Carthaginians, was intent upon the siege of Utica and already bringing up his engines to the walls when news of renewed hostilities turned his attention in another direction. And leaving sufficient land and sea forces merely to keep up the appearance of a blockade, he himself at once advanced with the main body of his army against the enemy.[2] At first he established himself upon a hill about four miles from the king's camp. On the following day with his cavalry he

[1] Polybius' figures, including Numidians and the Celtiberian mercenaries; *l.c.* vii. 9.

[2] This and the next sentence would lead us to suppose the advance to have been for a short distance only. But Livy, condensing Polybius, omits to mention a five-days' march. The battle-field then will be some 80 miles south-west of Utica. Syphax and Hasdrubal had removed to that distance in order to gain time and to receive reinforcements from Numidia.

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Magnos—ita vocant—Campos subiectos ei tumulo degressus, succedendo ad stationes hostium laces-
4 sendoque levibus proeliis diem absumpsit. Et per insequens biduum tumultuosis hinc atque illinc excursionibus in vicem nihil dictu satis dignum fecerunt; quarto die in aciem utrimque descensum
5 est. Romanus principes post [1] hastatorum prima signa, in subsidiis triarios constituit; equitatum Italicum ab dextro cornu, ab laevo Numidas Masinis-
6 samque opposuit. Syphax Hasdrubalque Numidis adversus Italicum equitatum. Carthaginiensibus contra Masinissam locatis Celtiberos in mediam
7 aciem adversus signa legionum accepere. Ita instructi concurrunt. Primo [2] impetu simul utraque cornua, et Numidae et Carthaginienses, pulsi; nam neque [3] Numidae. maxima pars agrestes, Romanum equitatum neque Carthaginienses, et ipse novus miles, Masinissam recenti super cetera victoria
8 terribilem sustinuere. Nudata utrimque cornibus Celtiberum acies stabat, quod nec in fuga salus ulla ostendebatur locis ignotis, neque spes veniae ab Scipione erat, quem bene meritum de se et gente sua

[1] principes post *Victorius, Eds.*: post principes *P*(3)*M*[2]?*NHVJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] Primo *P*(3)*NH Aldus, Froben*: igitur primo *A*[1]*VJK.*
[3] nam neque *A*[1]*VJK Eds.*: namque *P*(3)*NH*: nam *M.*

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[1] La Dakhla, the broad central valley of the Medjerda (Bagradas), the granary of Tunisia. In geological times a broad lake 25 miles long. Spaces so ample make it impossible to identify the field of battle. Ennius in a fragment represents Scipio as addressing the *patria*: she has no reason for fear in view of his victories: *Testes sunt Campi Magni*; Vahlen[3] p. 213; Cicero *de Orat.* III. 167; Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* I. p. 398; cf. Polybius vii. 9; viii. 2; Appian *Pun.*

went down into the so-called Great Plain,[1] at the foot B.C. 203
of that hill, and spent the day in light engagements, advancing against the enemy's outposts and challenging them. And on the next two days by irregular charges, now from one side and now from the other by turns, they accomplished nothing worthy of mention. On the fourth day both went down into battle-line. The Roman placed his *principes* behind the front line maniples, made up of the *hastati*, and as reserves the *triarii*.[2] The Italic cavalry he posted on the right wing, on the left the Numidians and Masinissa. Syphax and Hasdrubal opposed the Numidians to the Italic cavalry, the Carthaginians to Masinissa, and then placed the Celtiberians in the centre of the battle-line facing the maniples [3] of the legions. In this formation they clashed. By the first attack both wings, Numidians and Carthaginians alike, were beaten back at the same time. For neither could the Numidians, most of them rustics, withstand the Roman cavalry, nor could the Carthaginians, who were likewise raw recruits, hold out against Masinissa, a foe to be feared for other reasons and also on account of his recent victory. Stripped of both wings the line of the Celtiberians made a stand because they could see no safety in flight since they did not know the country, and they had no hope of pardon from Scipio since they had come to Africa

68 *fin.*; Veith, *Antike Schlachtfelder* III. 2. 589 ff.; Gsell, *Hist. ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord* III. 229 ff.; Scullard, *Scipio Africanus* 209 ff.

[2] This was the customary formation, as Polybius observes; viii. 5; cf. below, xxxii. 11; XXII. v. 7.

[3] For Polybius' terms for the maniple cf. p. 62, n. 2. In the passage used by Livy here both *σημαία* and *σπεῖρα* occur; viii. 5, 7; cf. XV. ix. 7.

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mercennariis armis in Africam oppugnatum [1] venis-
9 sent. Igitur circumfusis undique hostibus alii super alios cadentes obstinate moriebantur; omnibusque in eos versis aliquantum ad fugam temporis Syphax et Hasdrubal praeceperunt. Fatigatos caede diutius quam pugna victores nox oppressit.

IX. Postero die Scipio Laelium Masinissamque cum omni Romano et Numidico equitatu expeditisque [2] militum ad persequendos Syphacem atque Has-
2 drubalem mittit; ipse cum robore exercitus urbes circa, quae omnes Carthaginiensium dicionis erant,
3 partim spe, partim metu, partim vi subigit. Carthagini erat quidem ingens terror, et circumferentem arma Scipionem omnibus finitimis raptim perdomitis ipsam Carthaginem repente adgressurum credebant.
4 Itaque et muri reficiebantur propugnaculisque armabantur, et pro se quisque quae diutinae obsidionis [3]
5 tolerandae sunt ex agris convehebat.[4] Rara mentio est pacis, frequentior legatorum ad Hannibalem
6 arcessendum mittendorum; pars maxima classem quae ad commeatus excipiendos parata erat mittere iubent ad opprimendam stationem navium ad Uticam incaute agentem; forsitan etiam navalia castra,
7 relicta cum levi praesidio, oppressuros. In hoc

[1] in Africam oppugnatum $P(3)N$ *Aldus*, *Froben*: oppugnatum in Africam $HVJK$.

[2] expeditisque $P(3)N$ *Aldus*; -tissimisque A^1HVJK *Froben* 2.

[3] obsidionis (*or* ops-) $P(3)N$: -oni SpA^1HVJK *Aldus*.

[4] convehebat *Sp Froben* 2 (-bant JK: -bantur HV): convehit $P(3)N$ *Aldus*.

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[1] Hasdrubal fled to Carthage. In the hope of overtaking Syphax the pursuit was mainly to the west; Polybius § 14.

as mercenaries to attack him in spite of his kind B.C. 203
treatment of them and their tribe. Therefore when the enemy had completely encircled them, falling one above another they were resolute in dying. And while all the enemy were intent upon them Syphax and Hasdrubal took advantage of a considerable interval for flight. Nightfall surprised the victors exhausted by a slaughter outlasting the battle.

IX. On the following day Scipio sent Laelius and Masinissa with all the Roman and Numidian cavalry and light-armed soldiers to pursue Syphax and Hasdrubal.[1] He himself with the main body of the army, partly by inspiring hope, partly by arousing fear, partly by the use of force, gained possession of neighbouring cities, all of which were subject to the Carthaginians. At Carthage there was a veritable panic, and they believed that Scipio, whose forces were circling about them, after swiftly vanquishing all their neighbours would suddenly assail Carthage itself. Accordingly they were repairing the walls and providing them with battlements; and men also each for himself brought in from the country what was needed in order to endure a long siege. Seldom was mention made of peace, more frequently they spoke of sending messengers to summon Hannibal. The majority urged that they should take the fleet, which had been made ready to intercept supplies, and send it to surprise the ships at anchor before Utica while off their guard. Perhaps, men said, they would surprise the naval camp[2] as well, which had been left with a small garrison. To this

[2] A part of the Castra Corneli(an)a, as it was later named, on the promontory; XXIX, xxxv. 13 and note.

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consilium maxime inclinant; legatos tamen ad Hannibalem mittendos censent: quippe classi ut felicissime geratur[1] res, parte aliqua levari Uticae
8 obsidionem; Carthaginem ipsam qui tueatur[2] neque imperatorem alium quam Hannibalem neque exerci-
9 tum alium quam Hannibalis superesse. Deductae ergo postero die naves, simul et legati in Italiam profecti; raptimque omnia stimulante fortuna agebantur, et in quo quisque cessasset prodi ab se salutem omnium rebatur.

10 Scipio gravem iam spoliis multarum urbium exercitum trahens, captivis aliaque praeda in vetera castra ad Uticam missis, iam in Carthaginem intentus occu-
11 pat relictum fuga custodum Tyneta. Abest ab Carthagine quindecim milia ferme passuum locus,
12 cum operibus tum suapte natura tutus,[3] et qui et ab Carthagine conspici et praebere ipse prospectum cum ad urbem tum ad circumfusum[4] mare urbi possit.[5] X. Inde, cum maxime vallum Romani iacerent, conspecta classis hostium est Uticam a Carthagine
2 petens. Igitur omisso opere pronuntiatum iter signaque raptim ferri sunt coepta, ne naves in terram et obsidionem versae ac minime navali proelio aptae

[1] geratur *Sp?HVJK Froben* 2 : -rantur *P*(3)*N Aldus.*
[2] tueatur *P*(3)*NK Aldus* : -antur *SpA²N²VJ Froben* 2.
[3] locus . . . tutus *P*(3)*N Aldus, Eds.* : locum . . . tutum *Sp?A¹HJK Froben* 2, *Riemann, Conway* (*with* abest . . . passuum *as parenth.*).
[4] cum (tum *VJK*) ad urbem tum ad circumfusum *A¹N¹VJK* : cumfusum *P*(3)*N, om. one line* : confusum *BD.*
[5] possit *P*(3)*N* : posset *A¹HVJK Aldus, Froben.*

[1] The scene in the Carthaginian senate is repainted after Polybius ix. 6–11.
[2] Cf. note on § 6.

plan they were particularly inclined, but voted to B.C. 203
send messengers to Hannibal.[1] For, they said, even supposing a great victory gained by the fleet, the siege of Utica would indeed be partially relieved; but for the defence of Carthage itself there remained no other general than Hannibal, no other army than that of Hannibal. Consequently ships were launched next day and at the same time the messengers sailed for Italy. There was also haste in all that they did under the goad of misfortune, while every one felt that if he should relax any effort he would be betraying the safety of all.

Scipio, who was slowly leading an army laden now with the spoils of many cities, sent captives and the rest of the spoils to the old camp [2] before Utica, and being now intent upon Carthage, took possession of Tynes,[3] abandoned by a fleeing garrison. The place is about fifteen miles from Carthage and defended by fortifications and particularly by its natural situation. It can also be seen from Carthage, at the same time itself affording a view both towards that city and towards the sea around the city. X. From that point, just as they were throwing up an earthwork, the Romans sighted the enemy's fleet making towards Utica from Carthage. Accordingly work was dropped, marching orders given and the standards hastily set in motion, that the ships, headed towards land and the besieged city, also in no condition for a naval battle, might not be taken by

[3] Tunis, on a narrow tongue of land, nowhere higher than 190 feet, between the Lac de Tunis and the lagoon, now a salt lake. Cf. Strabo XVII. iii. 16. The distance from Carthage agrees with Polybius (120 stades; x. 5), but it is in fact 10 miles.

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3 opprimerentur: qui enim restitissent agili et nautico instrumento aptae et armatae classi naves tormenta machinasque portantes et aut in onerariarum usum versae aut [1] ita adpulsae muris ut pro aggere ac pontibus praebere ascensum [2] possent?

4 Itaque Scipio, postquam eo ventum est, contra quam [3] in navali certamine solet, rostratis quae praesidio aliis esse poterant [4] in postremam aciem receptis
5 prope terram, onerariarum quadruplicem ordinem pro muro adversus hostem opposuit, easque ipsas, ne in tumultu pugnae turbari ordines possent, malis antemnisque de nave in navem traiectis ac validis funibus velut uno inter se vinculo inligatis conprendit, tabulas-
6 que superinstravit,[5] ut pervium in totum navium [6] ordinem esset,[7] et sub ipsis pontibus intervalla fecit, qua procurrere speculatoriae naves in hostem ac tuto re-
7 cipi possent. His raptim pro tempore instructis mille ferme delecti propugnatores onerariis imponuntur; telorum maxime [8] missilium, ut quamvis longo
8 certamini [9] sufficerent, vis ingens congeritur. Ita parati atque intenti hostium adventum opperiebantur.

[1] in onerariarum . . . aut *om. SpHV*: *supplied from P(3)N and (om.* aut*)JK.*

[2] ascensum *SpA'VJK Froben 2, Conway*: ascensus *P(3)NH Eds.*: accessum *Aldus.*

[3] eo . . . quam *om. P(3)N*: *supplied by Sp?A'N'HVJK.*

[4] poterant *P(3)NHVJK Eds.*: potuerant *Madvig, Emend.*: non poterant *conj. Weissenborn.*

[5] superinstravit *P(3)NJK Aldus*: in- *M*: super- *Sp?HV Froben 2.*

[6] in totum navium *SpA'N'VJK Froben 2*: *om. P(3)N*

[7] esset *SpV Froben 2*: faceret *A'J Aldus*: -rent *K*: fecisset *P(3)N.*

[8] maxime *om. P(3)N.*

[9] certamini *K Madvig, Emend.*: -ine *P(3)NHVJK Conway.*

surprise. For how could an easily manœuvred fleet, B.C. 203
properly rigged with ship's gear and armed, have been resisted by ships carrying artillery and engines, and either converted now into transports or lying so close to the walls as to make scaling possible as if from an embankment and drawbridges?

Consequently Scipio, on reaching the place, gave those war-ships [1] which might have defended the others a place in the rear line near the land, contrary to the usual practice in a naval battle. On the other hand he placed four lines of transports as a bulwark against the enemy. To prevent the lines from being broken in the confusion of the battle he also held these transports together by placing masts and yards crosswise from ship to ship and lashing them with stout ropes as if by a single cable. In addition he laid down planks above to make a gangway the whole length of the line of ships; and beneath these bridges he left openings where scouting vessels could dash out against the enemy and return in safety. These preparations having been hastily completed as best the circumstances permitted, about a thousand picked fighting men were placed on board the transports. A vast number of weapons, chiefly missiles, were assembled, that they might be sufficient for a battle no matter how long-continued. Thus equipped and alert they were awaiting the approach of the enemy.

[1] Not mentioned again in the account of the battle. They would be perfectly helpless if the barrier of transports should be broken through. No figures are given here by Polybius, whose text breaks off abruptly after XIV. x. Appian, recording a different attack upon Scipio's naval base, has 100 Carthaginian war-ships against 20 Roman triremes; *Pun.* 24 *fin.*

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Carthaginienses, qui, si maturassent, omnia permixta turba trepidantium primo impetu oppressissent,[1] perculsi terrestribus cladibus atque inde ne[2] mari quidem, ubi ipsi plus poterant, satis fidentes, die segni navigatione absumpto sub occasum solis in portum—Rusucmona Afri vocant—classem adpulere. Postero die sub ortum solis instruxere ab alto naves velut ad iustum proelium navale et tamquam exituris contra Romanis. Cum diu stetissent, postquam nihil moveri ab hostibus viderunt, tum demum onerarias adgrediuntur. Erat res minime certamini navali similis, proxime speciem muros oppugnantium navium. Altitudine aliquantum onerariae superabant; ex rostratis Poeni vana pleraque, utpote supino iactu, tela in locum superiorem mittebant; gravior ac pondere ipso libratior superne ex onerariis ictus erat. Speculatoriae naves ac levia alia[3] navigia, quae sub constratis pontium per intervalla excurrebant, primo ipsae tantum[4] impetu ac magnitudine rostratarum obruebantur; deinde propugnatoribus quoque incommodae erant, quod permixtae cum hostium navibus inhibere saepe tela cogebant metu ne ambiguo ictu suis inciderent. Postremo

[1] oppressissent $P^2(3)N$ *Aldus*: pressissent P: deprehendissent (*or* -prend-) *Sp²N*ᵛ(*alt.*)*HVJK Froben* 2.

[2] ne $A^{6?}$*Alschefski*: ne in N^vJK *Aldus*, *Froben*: in $P\,3\,B^2NV$: *om. BH*.

[3] alia N^vHVJK: ipsa $P(3)N$ *Aldus*, *Froben*: *om. JK*.

[4] ipsae tantum HV: ipso tantum A^cJK *Aldus*, *Froben*: ipsae tanto $P(3)$.

The Carthaginians, whose first attack, had they made it in good time, would have been overpowering when everything was confused by the mass of men dashing about, were discouraged by their disastrous defeats on the land. And having in consequence no sufficient confidence on the sea either, where lay their own superiority, after spending the day in sailing slowly, they put in with their fleet about sunset into a harbour called Rusucmon[1] by the Africans. On the next day about sunrise they drew up their ships in the open sea, as if for a regular naval battle and anticipating that the Romans would come out against them. After keeping their position for a long time and observing no movement on the part of the enemy, then only did they attack the transports. It was not in the least like a naval battle, but had almost the appearance of ships attacking the walls of a city. The transports were considerably higher. From their war-ships the Carthaginians generally hurled their weapons to no purpose against a higher position, since they did so leaning backwards, while a hit from the transports above was heavier and from its mere weight had more force. Scouting vessels and other light craft, which kept dashing out through openings underneath the bridges, were at first themselves sunk by the mere momentum and mass of the war-ships. Later they interfered with the fighting men as well because, as they mingled with the enemy's vessels, they often compelled the soldiers to withhold their missiles for fear in their uncertain aim they might hit their own men. Finally poles with an iron hook B.C. 203

[1] West of the Promontory of Apollo, it was inside the bay but had no real harbour. Its modern successor is Porto Farina.

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asseres ferreo unco praefixi—harpagones vocat[1] miles[2]—ex Punicis navibus inici in Romanas coepti.
17 Quos cum neque ipsos neque catenas quibus suspensi iniciebantur incidere possent, ut quaeque retro inhibita rostrata onerariam haerentem unco traheret,
18 scindi videres vincula quibus aliis[3] innexa erat,
19 seriem etiam[4] simul plurium navium trahi. Hoc maxime modo lacerati primi quidem ordinis[5] pontes, et vix transiliendi in secundum ordinem navium
20 spatium propugnatoribus datum est. Sexaginta[6] ferme onerariae puppibus abstractae Carthaginem sunt. Maior quam pro re laetitia, sed[7] eo gratior quod inter adsiduas clades ac lacrimas unum quan-
21 tumcumque ex insperato gaudium adfulserat, cum eo ut appareret haud procul exitio fuisse Romanam classem, ni cessatum a praefectis suarum navium foret et Scipio in tempore subvenisset.

XI. Per eosdem forte dies cum Laelius et Masi-

[1] vocat *Px Gronovius* : -ant *CMBDANHVJK*.

[2] miles B^2NHV *Gronovius* : mil *PCMDA* : mille *C* : milex *BN* : milites M^7 *Aldus, Froben* ; *om. A'JK*.

[3] aliis *CHVJK Froben 2* : alia aliis *P*(3)*N Aldus*.

[4] etiam *Ussing, Madvig, Luchs* : aliam *P*(3)*NJK Aldus, Froben, Eds., Conway* : alias (*adv.*) *Riemann*.

[5] ⟨primi⟩ quidem ordinis *M. Müller* (*with* ordinis *for MSS.* omnes) : *Riemann* (*retains* omnes) : quidem *P*(3)*NHVJK* (*bracketed by Conway*) : tandem *Madvig*.

[6] Sexaginta *H* : ex (*for* lx) *P* : sex P^2N *Aldus, Froben* : XL (*or in full*) A^1VJK.

[7] sed *P*(3)*NSp*(*app.*)*HVJK Aldus, Eds.* : fuit et *Madvig, Emend. Most Eds. begin a new sentence at* Maior. *Hence Madvig's demand for* fuit. *Riemann would insert* ubi fuit *before* maior. *Others understand* maior laetitia *to be in appos. with the previous statement.*

at the end—grappling-irons [1] the soldiers call them —began to be thrown from the Carthaginian ships upon the Roman. Since the crews were unable either to cut off these poles or the chains by which they were hanging when thrown, whenever a warship was propelled astern, dragging a transport grappled by the hook, one might have seen men breaking up the links by which it had been bound to others, and even several of the vessels being towed away together. Much after this fashion the bridges in the first line were broken down and hardly enough time was given the fighting men to spring across to the second line of ships. About sixty transports [2] were towed away by the stern to Carthage. Rejoicing for that was excessive, but all the more acceptable because, in the midst of uninterrupted defeats and sorrows, one ray of joy however small had unexpectedly beamed upon them. In addition it was clear to them that the Roman fleet had narrowly escaped destruction, and would have been destroyed if the captains [3] of their own ships had not loitered, and if Scipio had not come to its aid in the nick of time. B.C. 203

XI. About the same time, as it happened, after

[1] Exaggerated boathooks. Cf. Vol. VII. p. 149 and note; Caesar *B.G.* VII. lxxxi. 1; *Bell. Hisp.* xvi. 2; Curtius IV. ii. 12; Vegetius II. 25; IV. 44 (in the navy); Zonaras IX. xii. 10.

[2] On the voyage across from Lilybaeum he had 400 transports; XXIX. xxvi. 3. Their number by this time may have been considerably increased.

[3] Cf. XXI. lxi. 4; XXXVI. xliv. 1; *magistri navium* in XXIX. xxv. 7. The admiral was a Hamilcar according to Appian *Pun.* 24. Cf. Laelius as *praefectus classis*, XXVI. xlviii. 7; XXIX. xxv. 10.

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nissa quinto decimo ferme die in Numidiam pervenissent, Maesulii, regnum paternum Masinissae, laeti ut ad regem diu [1] desideratum concessere. 2 Syphax pulsis inde praefectis praesidiisque suis vetere se continebat regno, neutiquam quieturus. 3 Stimulabat [2] aegrum amore uxor socerque, et ita viris equisque abundabat ut subiectae oculis regni per multos florentis annos vires etiam minus barbaro atque inpotenti animo spiritus possent facere. 4 Igitur omnibus qui bello apti erant in unum coactis equos, arma, tela dividit; equites in turmas, pedites in cohortes, sicut quondam ab Romanis centurionibus 5 didicerat, distribuit. Exercitu haud minore quam quem prius habuerat, ceterum omni prope novo 6 atque incondito, ire ad hostes pergit. Et castris in propinquo positis primo pauci equites ex tuto speculantes ab stationibus progredi, dein iaculis summoti recurrere ad suos; inde excursiones in vicem fieri et, cum pulsos indignatio accenderet, 7 plures subire, quod inritamentum certaminum equestrium est, cum aut vincentibus spes aut pulsis ira adgregat suos.

8 Ita tum a paucis proelio accenso omnem utrimque postremo equitatum certaminis studium effudit. Ac dum sincerum [3] equestre proelium erat, multitudo

[1] diu $P(3)NJK$ *Aldus, Froben* : *om. SpHV*.
[2] Stimulabat $P(3)N$ *Aldus* : -bant *SpN'HVJK Froben* 2.
[3] sincerum $P(3)N$(-re AN) : *om. HVJK Aldus, Froben*.

[1] Ten years before; XXIV. xlviii. 11 f.

Laelius and Masinissa had reached Numidia in about B.C. 203
fifteen days, the Maesulians, that is, the kingdom of Masinissa's father, joyfully submitted to his rule, as that of a long-wished-for king. Syphax, when his commanders and garrisons had been driven out, confined himself to his old kingdom with no intention of remaining inactive. Love-sick, he was spurred on by his wife and father-in-law, and he had men and horses in such abundance that, when the forces of a kingdom that had flourished for many years were before his eyes, they could have roused a spirit that was even less barbarous and uncontrollable. Therefore, concentrating all the men fit for war, he assigned them horses, arms and missile weapons. He organized cavalry in troops, infantry in cohorts, in the manner he had formerly[1] learned from Roman centurions. With an army no smaller than that which he had had before, but almost entirely raw and untrained, he at once advanced against the enemy. And after a camp had been pitched not far away, at first a few horsemen rode forth from the outposts, scouting from a safe distance; then being driven away by lances they dashed back to their own men. Next in order came attacks made from both sides and, as men beaten back were inflamed by anger, more and more came to help them—the usual provocation in cavalry engagements, when either hope adds reinforcements to the successful or anger to those who have been repulsed.

So on this occasion, the battle having been begun by a few, all the cavalry of both sides in the end were sent pouring out by their zest for the fray. And so long as it was purely a cavalry battle, the great

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Masaesuliorum, ingentia agmina Syphace emittente, 9 sustineri vix poterat; deinde, ut pedes Romanus repentino per turmas suas[1] viam dantes intercursu stabilem aciem fecit absterruitque effuse invehentem sese hostem, primo barbari segnius permittere 10 equos, dein stare ac prope turbari[2] novo genere pugnae, postremo non peditі solum cedere, sed ne equitem quidem sustinere peditis praesidio audentem. 11 Iam signa quoque legionum adpropinquabant. Tum vero Masaesulii non modo primum impetum, sed ne conspectum quidem signorum atque armorum tulerunt; tantum seu memoria priorum cladium seu praesens terror valuit.

XII. Ibi Syphax, dum obequitat hostium turmis, 2 si pudore, si periculo suo fugam sistere posset, equo graviter icto effusus opprimitur capiturque et vivus, laetum ante omnes Masinissae praebiturus specta- 3 culum, ad Laelium pertrahitur.[3] Caedes[4] in eo proelio minor quam victoria fuit, quia equestri 4 tantummodo proelio certatum fuerat. Non plus quinque milia occisa, minus dimidium eius hominum captum est impetu in castro facto, quo perculsa rege amisso multitudo se contulerat.

[1] suas *CHVJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: suis A^6 *Conway*: suam *P*(3).

[2] prope turbari *K Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: propere turbari A^1(-are *J*): propere turbati *P*(3)*N*: prope torpere turbati *Novák* (*with* stupere *M. Müller*).

[3] pertrahitur *P*(3)*N Aldus*: at- (*or* ad-) *HJK Froben* 2.

[4] Caedes, *etc., this sentence and the following in the MSS. and most eds. follow* Cirta . . vis (§ 3, p. 406): *transferred to this position, as logical order requires, by Madvig, Conway.*

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[1] Cf. XXVIII. xvii. 5; XXIX. xxx. 10; xxxii. 14.

numbers of the Masaesulians,[1] while Syphax was sending out huge columns, could hardly be withstood. Then when Roman infantry[2] by a sudden movement into the openings made for them by troops of their own cavalry had steadied the battle-line and checked the wild charge of the enemy, the barbarians at first gave their horses less rein, then were at a standstill and all but confounded by the strange tactics. Finally they not only gave way before the infantry but did not withstand the cavalry either, who were emboldened by the protection of infantry. And now the units of legionaries[3] also were approaching. Then indeed the Masaesulians failed to sustain not only the first attack but even the sight of the standards and arms. Such was the effect either of remembering former defeats or of their present alarm. B.C. 203

XII. Then Syphax, while riding up to the enemy's troops of cavalry in the hope that by putting his men to shame, by exposing himself, he might be able to stem their flight, was thrown from a horse which had been seriously wounded, was overpowered, captured and brought alive to Laelius, a welcome sight presently to Masinissa above all others. The slaughter in that battle was not in proportion to the scale of the victory, since only a cavalry battle had been fought. Not more than five thousand men were slain; less than half of that number were captured in an attack upon the camp, to which very many men, losing heart with the loss of their king, had retreated.

[2] *I.e.*, only the light-armed (*velites*). The legionaries enter first in § 11.

[3] Doubtless detachments, since in ix. 1 no mention was made of an entire legion.

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5 Cirta caput regni Syphacis erat, eoque se [1] ingens
6 hominum ex fuga [2] contulit vis.[3] Masinissa sibi quidem dicere nihil esse in praesentia pulchrius quam victorem recuperatum tanto post intervallo patrium invisere regnum; sed tam secundis quam adversis
7 rebus non dari spatium ad cessandum. Si se Laelius cum equitatu vinctoque [4] Syphace Cirtam praecedere sinat, trepida omnia metu se oppressurum; Laelium cum peditibus subsequi modicis itineribus posse.
8 Adsentiente Laelio praegressus Cirtam evocari ad conloquium principes Cirtensium iubet. Sed apud ignaros regis casus nec quae acta essent promendo nec minis nec suadendo ante valuit quam rex vinctus
9 in conspectum datus est.[5] Tum ad spectaculum tam foedum comploratio orta, et partim pavore moenia sunt deserta, partim repentino consensu gratiam apud victorem quaerentium patefactae portae.
10 Et Masinissa praesidio circa portas opportunaque moenium dimisso, ne cui fugae pateret exitus, ad regiam occupandam citato vadit equo.
11 Intranti vestibulum in ipso limine Sophoniba,[6] uxor Syphacis, filia Hasdrubalis Poeni, occurrit; et

[1] se *A'HVJK Aldus, Froben* : *om.* *P*(3)*N* : *placed after* hominum *by Conway.*
[2] ex fuga *HVJK Aldus, Froben* : *om.* *P*(3)*N*.
[3] contulit vis *P*(3)*N* : vis contulit *AN* : vis . . . contulerat *A'HVJK Aldus, Froben* : contulerat vis *Conway.*
[4] vinctoque *A*[2] *Gronovius, Eds.* : victoque *P*(3)*NJK*.
[5] est *HVJK Froben* 2 : esset *P*(3)*N Aldus.*
[6] Sophoniba *P*[2](3)*N* : Sophonisba *VJK Aldus, Froben.*

[1] Cf. XXIX. xxxii. 14 and note.
[2] Crossing the open court Masinissa and his men approach the door. Cf. the *vestibulum curiae* below, xxi. 4 and (at Carthage) xxiv. 10.

Cirta[1] was the capital of the kingdom of Syphax, B.C. 203
and to that city came a vast number of men from the rout. Masinissa said that, while for himself nothing was at that moment more attractive than to visit as victor his ancestral kingdom, recovered after so long an interval, nevertheless in success as well as in misfortune no time is allowed for loitering. If Laelius should permit him to go on in advance to Cirta with the cavalry and with Syphax in chains, he would surprise everybody in the excitement due to alarm. Laelius, he said, could follow with the infantry in short marches. With Laelius' assent he went to Cirta in advance and ordered that the leading Cirtensians be called out of the city to a conference. But with men who were unaware of the king's misadventure he accomplished nothing by revealing what had taken place, nor by threats nor by persuasion, until the king was placed before their eyes in chains. Then before a sight so grievous wailing began, and in alarm some deserted the walls, others with the sudden agreement of men who curry favour with the victor threw open the gates. And Masinissa, first sending detachments to all the gates and to favourable points on the walls, that no one might have a way of escape open to him, rode at full speed to take possession of the palace.

As he was entering the forecourt[2] Sophoniba,[3] the wife of Syphax, daughter of Hasdrubal the Carthaginian, met him at the very threshold. And

[3] Probably married to Syphax in 205 B.C. Cf. Polybius i. 4; vii. 6; Diodorus Sic. XXVII. 7; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 51 (enlarging on her cultivation in letters and music); Zonaras IX. xi. 1 f.: xiii. 2 ff.; Appian *Pun.* 27 f.

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cum in medio agmine armatorum Masinissam insignem cum armis tum cetero habitu conspexisset, regem esse, id quod erat, rata, genibus advoluta eius
12 "Omnia quidem ut posses"[1] inquit "in nobis[2] dederunt virtusque et felicitas tua; sed si captivae apud dominum vitae necisque suae vocem supplicem mittere licet, si genua, si victricem attingere dextram,
13 precor quaesoque per maiestatem regiam, in qua paulo ante nos quoque fuimus, per gentis Numidarum nomen, quod tibi cum Syphace commune fuit, per huiusce regiae deos, qui te melioribus ominibus
14 accipiant quam Syphacem hinc miserunt, hanc veniam supplici des ut ipse quodcumque fert[3] animus de captiva tua[4] statuas neque me in cuiusquam Romani
15 superbum et crudele arbitrium venire sinas. Si nihil aliud quam Syphacis uxor fuissem, tamen Numidae atque in eadem mecum Africa geniti quam alienigenae et externi fidem experiri mallem;
16 quid Carthaginiensi ab Romano, quid filiae Hasdrubalis timendum sit vides. Si nulla re alia potes, morte me ut vindices ab Romanorum arbitrio oro
17 obtestorque." Forma erat insignis et florentissima aetas. Itaque cum modo genua modo[5] dextram amplectens in id ne cui Romano traderetur fidem exposceret, propiusque blanditias iam[6] oratio esset
18 quam preces, non in misericordiam modo prolapsus

[1] posses *P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben*: possis *A*[1]*HVJK Conway.*
[2] in nobis (*omitting* inquit) *P*(3)*N*: in nos *A*[1]*N*[1](*alt.*)*HVJK Aldus, Froben.*
[3] fert *P*(3)*B*[2]*N*: feret *HJK Aldus, Froben*: ferret *V*: *om. B.*
[4] tua *N*[1] *or* *N*[2]*HVJK*: *om. P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben.*
[5] modo genua modo *Gronovius*: modo *A*[1]*?*(*alt.*)*N*[1]*HJK Aldus, Froben*: domo *P*(3)*N.*
[6] iam *A*[1]*HVJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(3).

when in the midst of the column of armed men she caught sight of Masinissa, conspicuous both by his arms and the rest of his dress, thinking it was the king, as was the fact, she clasped his knees and said: "All power over us has indeed been given you by the gods and by your courage and good fortune. But if a captive is permitted in the house of the master of her life and death to lift the voice of a suppliant, if she may touch his knees, his victorious right hand, I pray and entreat you by the royal state in which we too have lived a short time ago, by the name of the Numidian race, which you have shared with Syphax, by the gods of this palace here—and may they receive you under better auspices than those under which they sent Syphax away!—I beg you to grant this favour to a suppliant, that, whatever your inclination, you yourself decide in regard to your captive and do not suffer me to be subjected to the haughty and cruel decision of any Roman. If I had been nothing else than the wife of Syphax, still I should have preferred to trust the word of a Numidian and a man born in the same Africa as myself rather than that of a foreigner by birth and nationality. What a Carthaginian woman, what a daughter of Hasdrubal has to fear from a Roman you see. If by no other means you are able to do so, I beg and implore you to save me by death from the decision of Romans." Her beauty was conspicuous and her age at full bloom. Consequently while she was clasping now his knees and now his right hand, begging for his promise not to surrender her to any Roman, and her words were now more nearly those of a charmer than of a suppliant, the heart of the victor was quickly moved not to pity only, but with the amorous sus- B.C. 203

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est animus victoris, sed, ut est genus Numidarum in Venerem praeceps, amore captivae victor captus. Data dextra in id quod petebatur obligandae fidei in
19 regiam concedit. Institit deinde reputare[1] secum ipse quem ad modum promissi fidem praestaret. Quod cum expedire non posset, ab amore temerarium
20 atque impudens mutuatur consilium; nuptias in eum ipsum diem parari repente iubet, ne quid relinqueret integri[2] aut Laelio aut ipsi Scipioni consulendi velut in captivam quae Masinissae iam
21 nupta foret. Factis nuptiis supervenit Laelius, et adeo non dissimulavit improbare se factum ut primo etiam cum Syphace et ceteris captivis detractam eam lecto[3] geniali mittere ad Scipionem conatus sit.
22 Victus deinde precibus Masinissae orantis ut arbitrium utrius regum duorum fortunae accessio Sophoniba esset ad Scipionem reiceret, misso Syphace et captivis ceteras urbes Numidiae quae praesidiis regiis tenebantur adiuvante Masinissa recipit.[4]

XIII. Syphacem in castra adduci cum esset nuntiatum, omnis velut ad spectaculum triumphi multi-
2 tudo effusa est. Praecedebat ipse vinctus; sequebatur grex nobilium Numidarum. Tum quantum quisque plurimum poterat[5] magnitudini Syphacis famaeque[6] gentis victoriam suam augendo addebat:

[1] Institit deinde reputare *A'N'HVJK Eds.*: *P, omitting a line, has only* -re: *confusion in* $P^2(3)N$.
[2] relinqueret integri $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben*: -eret integrum *HVJK*: -eretur integrum *Sp.*
[3] lecto *Madvig*: *om.* $P(3)NHVJK$: thoro *Aldus, Froben.*
[4] recipit $P(3)B^2NSpHJK$ *Froben* 2: recepit *B Aldus.*
[5] poterat $P(3)N$ *Aldus*: posset *SpVJK Froben* 2: posse *H.*
[6] -que *SpA'HVJK Froben* 2: *om.* $P(3)N$.

ceptibility of the Numidian race the victor was B.C. 203
captivated by love of the captive. He gave her his right hand as a pledge for the fulfilment of her request and withdrew into the palace. Then he began by himself to consider how he could guarantee that the promise would be kept. As he was unable to solve that problem he borrowed from love a plan that was reckless and unbecoming. He promptly ordered preparations to be made for a wedding the very same day, in order not to leave any decision open either to Laelius or to Scipio himself in regard to her as a captive when she should be already married to Masinissa. After the wedding Laelius arrived, and so far was he from concealing his disapproval of the act that at first he even attempted to tear her away from the marriage couch and send her to Scipio with Syphax and the rest of the captives. He was then persuaded by the entreaties of Masinissa, who begged him to refer to Scipio the decision which of the two kings was to have Sophoniba share his lot. Whereupon, after sending Syphax and the captives away, he with Masinissa's aid subdued the remaining cities of Numidia which were held by the king's garrisons.

XIII. When it was announced that Syphax was being brought into the camp [1] all the rank and file poured out, as though they were to witness a triumph. First came Syphax himself in chains, followed by a company of noble Numidians. Then all the soldiers in enlarging upon their own victory did their best to magnify Syphax and the fame of his race, saying

[1] Scipio's camp; cf. § 8. Although soldiers only are meant, Livy's comparison is with the populace witnessing a triumph and impressed by a victory over a worthy foe.

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illum esse regem cuius tantum maiestati duo potentissimi in terris tribuerint populi, Romanus Carthaginiensisque, ut Scipio imperator suus ad amicitiam eius petendam, relicta provincia Hispania exercituque, duabus quinqueremibus in Africam navigaverit, Hasdrubal Poenorum imperator non ipse modo ad eum in regnum venerit, sed etiam filiam ei nuptum dederit. Habuisse eum uno tempore in potestate duos imperatores, Poenum Romanumque. Sicut ab dis immortalibus pars utraque hostiis mactandis pacem petisset, ita ab eo utrimque pariter amicitiam petitam. Iam tantas habuisse opes ut Masinissam regno pulsum eo redegerit ut vita eius fama mortis et latebris, ferarum modo in silvis rapto viventis, tegeretur.

His sermonibus circumstantium celebratus rex in praetorium ad Scipionem est perductus. Movit et Scipionem cum [1] fortuna pristina viri praesenti fortunae conlata, tum recordatio hospitii dextraeque datae et foederis publice ac privatim iuncti. Eadem haec et Syphaci animum dederunt in adloquendo victore. Nam cum Scipio quid sibi voluisset quaereret qui non societatem solum abnuisset Romanam, sed ultro bellum intulisset, tum ille peccasse quidem sese atque insanisse fatebatur, sed non tum demum cum arma adversus populum Romanum cepisset; exitum sui furoris eum [2] fuisse, non principium;

[1] cum *P*(3)*NHJ Froben* 2 : tum $A^{\nu}NVK$ *Aldus*.
[2] eum $A^{\alpha}HJK$: cum V : *om. P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben*.

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[1] Cf. XXVIII. xvii. 11 ff.
[2] *Ibid.* xviii. 1 ff.
[3] Cf. XXIX. xxxii. 10 f.

that he was the king to whose majesty the two most powerful peoples in the world, the Roman and the Carthaginian, paid such honour that Scipio, their own general, left his province of Spain and his army and with two quinqueremes sailed to Africa to court his friendship,[1] while Hasdrubal, a general of the Carthaginians, not only came himself to him in his kingdom but also gave him his daughter in marriage. They said that he had at the same time had two generals,[2] a Carthaginian and a Roman, in his power; that just as both sides had sought the favour of the immortal gods by offering sacrifices, so had his friendship been sought at the same time by both sides. Moreover, so great, they said, had been his power that when Masinissa had been driven out of his kingdom, Syphax brought him so low that his life was protected only by the report of his death and by hiding-places where he lived in the forest like wild animals on what they caught.[3] B.C. 203

Honoured by such utterances of the bystanders the king was brought before Scipio at headquarters. Even Scipio was moved by the comparison of the man's former estate with his present condition, but especially by the memory of their guest-friendship and the clasp of hands, and of the compact made for the state and of that made in his own name. The same considerations gave Syphax also spirit in addressing the victor. For when Scipio repeatedly asked him what he had meant by not only rejecting a Roman alliance but also taking the aggressive in war, he would admit that he had indeed done wrong and lost his reason, but not then for the first time when he had taken up arms against the Roman people. That had been the culmination, not the beginning,

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11 tum se insanisse, tum hospitia privata et publica foedera omnia ex animo eiecisse,[1] cum Carthaginiensem matronam domum acceperit. Illis nuptialibus facibus regiam conflagrasse suam; illam furiam pestemque omnibus delenimentis animum suum avertisse atque alienasse, nec conquiesse donec ipsa manibus suis nefaria sibi arma adversus hospitem
13 atque amicum induerit. Perdito tamen atque adflicto sibi hoc in miseriis solatii esse, quod in omnium hominum inimicissimi sibi domum ac penates
14 eandem pestem ac furiam transisse videat. Neque prudentiorem[2] neque constantiorem Masinissam quam Syphacem esse, etiam[3] iuventa incautiorem; certe stultius illum atque intemperantius[4] eam quam se duxisse.

XIV. Haec[5] non hostili modo odio, sed amoris etiam stimulis, amatam[6] apud aemulum cernens, cum dixisset, non mediocri cura Scipionis animum
2 pepulit. Et fidem criminibus raptae[7] prope inter arma nuptiae neque consulto neque exspectato Laelio faciebant tamque praeceps festinatio ut quo die captam hostem[8] vidisset, eodem matrimonio

[1] tum (hospitia) . . . eiecisse *P*(3)*N*: cum . . . eiecisset $A^{6\ell}$ *and* $A^{z}HVJK$, *Eds. before Gronovius.*

[2] Neque prudentiorem *P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben*: *om. SpHVJK.*

[3] etiam *P*(3)*N*: iam ab *SpHV*: etiam ab $A^{a}JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*

[4] illum atque intemperantius *P*(3)$A^{z}N$ *Aldus,* (-atius *with* A^{a}) *Froben*: *om. SpHVJK.*

[5] Haec *P*(3)*NSpJK*: hanc $N^{z}HV$ *Aldus.*

[6] amatam *P*(3)$A^{\nu 1}NSpJK$: armatam A^{ν} *Aldus.*

[7] raptae *P*(3)*N*: facte (*or* -ae) *AVJK Aldus, Froben*: facere *H.*

[8] captam hostem *Gronovius, Eds.*: captum hostem *P*(3)*N Luterbacher* (*cf. his appendix*): captam reginam A^{a}(*alt.*)N^{a}(*alt.*)*HJK early Eds.*

of his madness. The time when he lost his reason, B.C. 203
when he put out of his head all private guest-friendships and public treaties, was when he admitted a noble Carthaginian lady to his house. From those nuptial torches his palace had taken fire; that baneful fury by all her blandishments had unbalanced and unhinged his mind, and she had never rested until with her own hands she had herself put on him guilt-stained arms against a guest-friend and a personal friend. Yet for himself, ruined and crushed, there was this consolation in his misfortunes, to see that the same baneful fury had passed into the house and home of the greatest enemy he had in the world. Masinissa was neither wiser, he said, nor more steadfast than Syphax; he was even more imprudent owing to his youth. Certainly there had been more folly and lack of self-control in Masinissa's marriage to her than in his own.[1]

XIV. By speaking thus, not only out of hatred as an enemy but also under the goad of jealousy, as he saw his beloved in the possession of his rival, he aroused no slight anxiety in the mind of Scipio.[2] The charges against her were substantiated both by the marriage hastily celebrated, almost on the battlefield, without either seeking the advice of Laelius or waiting for his arrival, and by such precipitate haste that on the very day on which he saw her as a captured enemy he took her to wife and performed

[1] This indirect speech is probably based upon a lost passage in Polybius, whose narrative fails us here; for the conclusion of his XIVth book has been lost (beginning after x. 14 above). Cf. Appian *Pun.* 27.

[2] Who had reason to fear that Sophoniba would persuade Masinissa to go over to the Carthaginian side.

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iunctam acciperet et ad penates hostis sui nuptiale
3 sacrum conficeret; et [1] eo foediora haec videbantur Scipioni, quod ipsum in Hispania iuvenem nullius forma pepulerat captivae. Haec secum volutanti Laelius ac Masinissa supervenerunt. Quos cum pariter ambo et benigno voltu excepisset et egregiis
4 laudibus frequenti praetorio celebrasset, abductum in secretum Masinissam sic adloquitur: "Aliqua te, Masinissa, existimo [2] intuentem in me bona et principio in Hispania ad iungendam mecum amicitiam venisse et postea in Africa te ipsum spesque
5 omnes tuas in fidem meam commisisse. Atqui nulla earum virtus est propter quas tibi adpetendus visus sim qua ego aeque ac temperantia et continentia
6 libidinum gloriatus fuerim. Hanc te quoque ad ceteras tuas eximias virtutes, Masinissa, adiecisse velim. Non est, non—mihi crede—tantum ab hostibus armatis aetati nostrae periculi [3] quantum ab
7 circumfusis undique voluptatibus. Qui eas temperantia sua frenavit ac domuit multo maius decus maioremque victoriam sibi peperit quam nos Syphace
8 victo habemus. Quae me absente strenue ac fortiter fecisti libenter et commemoravi et memini; cetera te ipsum tecum reputare quam me dicente erubescere malo. Syphax populi Romani auspiciis victus cap-
9 tusque est. Itaque ipse, coniunx, regnum, ager, oppida, homines qui incolunt, quidquid denique

[1] et *SpHVJK Froben 2*: *om.* *P*(3)*N*.
[2] existimo, *here* *HVJK*: *after* te *P*(3)*N* *Aldus*, *Froben*, *most Eds.*
[3] periculi *Sp*²*A*ˣ*HVJK Froben 2*: -lum *P*(3)*N* *Aldus*.

[1] Cf. XXVI. xlix. 11 ff. and chap. l.

the nuptial rites before the household gods of his foe. Again, all this seemed the more repulsive to Scipio because in Spain, in spite of his youth, he had himself never been smitten by the beauty of any captive.[1] Such thoughts were in his mind when Laelius and Masinissa arrived.[2] Scipio welcomed them both alike with kindly expression and lauded them in distinguished terms before a crowded council, and then leading Masinissa to a place apart thus addressed him: "Some good qualities you saw in me, I suppose, Masinissa, and so came to me first in Spain, to cement a friendship with me, and later in Africa entrusted yourself and all your hopes to my protection. But of those virtues on account of which my friendship might seem to you desirable there is none on which I might have prided myself so much as on self-restraint and continence. This virtue I would have you also, Masinissa, add to your other remarkable excellences. There is no danger—believe me, there is none—so great to our time of life from armed enemies as from pleasures all about us. Whoever has checked and mastered them by his self-control has gained for himself a far greater distinction and a greater victory than is ours by the defeat of Syphax. All that you in my absence have done with energy and courage I was glad to mention and gladly remember. Upon the rest of your acts I prefer to have you reflect inwardly yourself, rather than blush at my recital. Syphax has been defeated and captured under the auspices of the Roman people. In consequence he himself, his wife, his kingdom, territory, towns, the people who inhabit B.C. 203

[2] Some time has elapsed during which Numidian cities were recovered; xii. 22.

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10 Syphacis fuit praeda populi Romani est; et regem coniugemque eius, etiamsi non civis Carthaginiensis esset, etiamsi non patrem eius imperatorem hostium videremus, Romam oporteret mitti, ac senatus populique Romani de ea iudicium atque arbitrium esse quae regem socium nobis alienasse atque in arma
11 egisse[1] praecipitem dicatur. Vince animum; cave[2] deformes multa bona uno vitio et tot meritorum gratiam maiore culpa quam causa culpae est conrumpas."

XV. Masinissae haec audienti non rubor solum suffusus, sed lacrimae etiam obortae; et cum se quidem in potestate futurum imperatoris dixisset orassetque eum ut quantum res sineret fidei suae
2 temere obstrictae consuleret—promisisse enim se in nullius potestatem eam traditurum—ex praetorio in
3 tabernaculum suum confusus concessit. Ibi arbitris remotis cum crebro suspiritu[3] et gemitu, quod[4] facile ab circumstantibus tabernaculum exaudiri
4 posset, aliquantum temporis consumpsisset, ingenti ad postremum edito gemitu fidum e servis vocat,[5] sub cuius custodia regio more ad incerta fortunae venenum erat, et[6] mixtum in poculo ferre ad Sopho-
5 nibam iubet ac simul nuntiare Masinissam libenter

[1] egisse *P*(3)*HVJK*: coegisse $A^{a}N$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] cave *P*(3)*NHVJ Froben* 2: cave ne *K Aldus.*
[3] suspiritu *P*(3)*N*: spiritu $N^{2}H$: suspirio $P^{4}CM^{7}A^{6}JK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[4] quod *P*(3)*Sp?HVJK Froben* 2: quo $A^{a}N$ *Aldus.*
[5] vocat *PCMHV*: vo *BD*: uno accito (*with* fido) $A^{a}NJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: unum vocat *Johnson, Conway.*
[6] et *P*(3): ei $N^{4}?HJK$ *Aldus, Froben*: eum *V*: *om.* $M^{2}?A^{a}N$.

[1] Livy understands her to have been brought to Scipio's camp; so Diodorus Sic. XXVII. 7. Other authorities laid

them, in short whatever has belonged to Syphax, is B.C. 203
booty of the Roman people. And as for the king and his wife, even if she were not a Carthaginian citizen, even if we did not see in her father a high commander of the enemy, they would have to be sent to Rome, and the senate and the Roman people would properly have the right to judge and decide the case of her who is alleged to have estranged from us an allied king and driven him headlong into war. Conquer yourself; do not disfigure many good qualities by one defect and forfeit the favour earned by so many services through a fault out of all proportion to its cause."

XV. On hearing these words not only did Masinissa blush, but tears also came. And after saying that he on his part would be under the orders of the general and imploring him to have such regard as the case permitted for the promise he had rashly given, namely that he would not hand her over to any man's power, he withdrew from headquarters to his own tent a distracted man. There, with no witnesses present, he spent considerable time, with frequent sighs and groans, so that they could easily be heard by those who stood about the tent. Then at last, after one very loud groan, he called the faithful slave in whose keeping was the poison, against the uncertainties of fortune, as usual with kings, and bade him mix it and carry it in a cup to Sophoniba.[1] He also ordered him at the same time to tell her that Masinissa would gladly have fulfilled the most

the scene at Cirta and made Masinissa hurry back from the camp; cf. Appian *Pun.* 28; Zonaras IX. xiii. 2 ff. A pertinent passage in Polybius is lacking.

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primam ei fidem praestaturum fuisse quam vir uxori debuerit: quoniam eius arbitrium qui possint adimant, secundam fidem praestare ne viva in 6 potestatem Romanorum veniat. Memor patris imperatoris patriaeque et duorum regum quibus nupta fuisset, sibi ipsa consuleret.

Hunc nuntium ac simul venenum ferens minister 7 cum ad Sophonibam venisset, "Accipio" inquit "nuptiale munus, neque ingratum, si nihil maius vir uxori praestare potuit. Hoc tamen nuntia, melius me morituram fuisse, si non in funere meo nupsissem." 8 Non locuta est ferocius quam acceptum poculum nullo trepidationis signo dato inpavide hausit.

9 Quod ubi nuntiatum est Scipioni, ne quid aeger animi[1] ferox iuvenis gravius consuleret, accitum 10 eum extemplo nunc solatur, nunc, quod temeritatem temeritate[2] alia luerit tristioremque rem quam 11 necesse fuerit fecerit, leniter castigat. Postero die, ut a praesenti motu averteret animum eius, in tribunal escendit et contionem advocari iussit. Ibi Masinissam, primum regem appellatum eximisque ornatum laudibus, aurea corona, aurea patera, sella curuli et scipione eburneo, toga picta et 12 palmata tunica donat. Addit verbis honorem: neque magnificentius quicquam triumpho apud Romanos neque triumphantibus[3] ampliorem eo

[1] animi $P(3)N$: -mo C^2A^1HVJK *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] temeritate $P(3)A^1NJK$ *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* A^1SpHV.
[3] triumphantibus $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben* : -tis SpA^1HV : -ti JK.

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[1] All of these were worn or used by a general in his triumph except the *patera*, or bowl. Cf. X. vii. 9. Similar gifts to kings in XXVII. iv. 8–10 (Vol. VII. p. 214, n. 2).

important promise which as husband he was bound B.C. 203
to keep for a wife; that since the freedom to do so was taken away by those who had the power, he was keeping the promise next to it in importance, namely, that she should not come into the Romans' power alive. Mindful of her father the general, and of her native city, and of the two kings to whom she had been married, she was to decide for herself.

When the slave bearing this message together with the poison had reached Sophoniba she said, "I receive the wedding gift, and it is not unwelcome if my husband has been able to bestow nothing better upon his wife. But tell him this, that it would have been easier for me to die if I had not married at my funeral." No less high-spirited than her words was her acceptance of the cup, fearlessly drained without a sign of wavering.

As soon as this was reported to Scipio he at once summoned Masinissa, for fear the high-spirited young man in his distress of mind might do something desperate. He offered now consolation, now gentle rebuke because he atoned for one reckless act by another and made the matter more deplorable than was necessary. On the following day, in order to divert Masinissa's thoughts from the emotion of the moment, Scipio mounted the tribune and ordered that an assembly be called. There for the first time he addressed Masinissa as king, bestowing upon him the highest terms of praise, and presented him with a golden wreath, a golden *patera*, a curule chair and ivory sceptre, an embroidered toga and a tunic adorned with palms.[1] He added this tribute: that there was no higher distinction among the Romans than a triumph, and that those who triumphed had

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ornatum [1] esse quo unum [2] omnium externorum
13 dignum Masinissam populus Romanus ducat. Laelium deinde et ipsum conlaudatum aurea corona donat; et alii militares viri, prout a quoque navata
14 opera erat, donati. His honoribus mollitus regis animus erectusque in spem propinquam sublato Syphace omnis Numidiae potiundae.

XVI. Scipio C. Laelio cum Syphace aliisque captivis Romam misso, cum quibus et Masinissae legati profecti sunt, ipse ad Tyneta rursus castra refert et
2 quae munimenta incohaverat permunit. Carthaginienses non brevi solum, sed prope vano gaudio ab satis prospera in praesens oppugnatione classis perfusi, post famam capti Syphacis, in quo plus prope quam in Hasdrubale atque exercitu suo spei repo-
3 suerant, perculsi, iam nullo auctore belli ultra audito oratores ad pacem petendam mittunt triginta seniorum principes; id erat sanctius apud illos consilium maximaque ad ipsum senatum regendum
4 vis. Qui ubi in castra Romana et in praetorium pervenerunt, more adulantium—accepto, credo, ritu ex ea regione ex qua oriundi erant—procubuerunt.
5 Conveniens oratio tam humili adulationi fuit, non culpam purgantium, sed transferentium initium culpae in Hannibalem potentiaeque eius fautores.

[1] ornatum M^1 *or* M^2VJK : -tu $P(3)NH$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[2] unum *K Froben* : uno $P(3)NVJ$ *Aldus* : *om. H.*

[1] For previous fortifications cf. ix. 11.
[2] Cf. below, xxxvi. 9. They formed a separate body, the γερουσία; Polybius I. lxxxvii. 3; X. xviii. 1 (this at New Carthage).

no more magnificent array than that of which B.C. 203
Masinissa alone of all foreigners was accounted worthy by the Roman people. He then warmly praised Laelius also and presented him with a golden wreath. Other officers also and men were rewarded, each according to the service he had performed. By these distinctions the king was appeased and roused to the hope, soon to be fulfilled, that with Syphax removed he would gain possession of all Numidia.

XVI. Scipio, having sent Gaius Laelius with Syphax and other captives to Rome, while with these went Masinissa's legates also, himself moved his camp back again to Tynes and completed the fortifications he had already begun.[1] The Carthaginians, on account of their attack upon the fleet with considerable success for the moment, had been filled with a joy not only short-lived but almost unfounded. But on hearing of the capture of Syphax, on whom they had rested their hopes almost more than on Hasdrubal and their own army, they were discouraged. No longer listening to any advocate of war, they sent their thirty elder statesmen to plead for peace. This was their privy council,[2] and it had great influence even in guiding the senate. When they reached the Roman camp and headquarters they fell to the ground after the custom of courtiers, having derived that ceremony, I suppose, from the region from which they sprang.[3] Such humble obeisance was matched by their discourse, as they did not try to clear themselves of blame, but shifted the original blame to Hannibal and to those who

[3] *I.e.* as being of Phoenician (Tyrian) origin. Cf. XLII. xxiii. 10; Polybius XV. i. 6.

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6 Veniam civitati petebant civium temeritate bis iam [1] eversae, incolumi futurae iterum hostium beneficio;
7 imperium ex victis hostibus populum Romanum, non perniciem petere; paratis oboedienter servire imperaret quae vellet.
8 Scipio et venisse ea spe in Africam se ait, et spem suam prospero belli eventu auctam, victoriam se,
9 non pacem domum reportaturum esse; tamen, cum victoriam prope in manibus habeat, pacem non abnuere, ut omnes gentes sciant populum Romanum
10 et suscipere iuste bella et finire. Leges pacis se has dicere: captivos et perfugas et fugitivos restituant; exercitus ex Italia et Gallia deducant; Hispania abstineant: insulis omnibus quae inter Italiam
11 atque [2] Africam sint,[3] decedant; naves longas praeter viginti [4] omnes tradant, tritici quingenta,
12 hordei trecenta milia modium. Pecuniae summam quantam imperaverit parum convenit; alibi quinque milia talentum,[5] alibi quinque [6] milia pondo argenti, alibi duplex stipendium militibus imperatum invenio.

[1] iam, *after this AN Aldus, Froben have* ante *where P*(3) *have* te.
[2] atque *P*(3)*HVJ* : et *ANK Aldus, Froben.*
[3] sint *P*(3)*HJK* : sunt *AN Aldus, Froben* : essent *V.*
[4] viginti (XX) *P*(3)*NHVJK* : XXX *Sigonius from Eutrop.* III. 21.
[5] alibi . . . talentum *P*(3)*NJ*[1] : *om. DHVJK.*
[6] quinque, *for* V *Weissenborn conj.* D *from Eutrop. l.c.,* 5000 *being too small a sum.*

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[1] Cisalpine Gaul; cf. xviii. 1. Mago was to abandon the Ligurian coast as well; cf. xix. 2, 4, 12; and for his death at sea off Sardinia cf. *ibid.* § 5.
[2] Since the large islands in these waters were already held by the Romans, the Baleares, Pityusae and Malta are probably meant here, possibly Pantelleria and Lampedusa also.

supported his power. They craved pardon for a state now twice overthrown by the rashness of its citizens, to be saved a second time by the favour of its foes. It was power, they said, that the Roman people sought from vanquished enemies, not their destruction. They were ready to be obedient servants; let him give them whatever commands he pleased. B.C. 203

Scipio said he had come to Africa in the hope that he would carry home a victory, not a treaty of peace; that his hope had been also confirmed by a successful issue of the war. Nevertheless, although he had victory almost within his grasp, he was not rejecting a peace, in order that all nations might know that the Roman people acted fairly both in beginning and ending wars. He said that he announced the following terms of peace: that they restore captives and deserters and fugitive slaves; that they withdraw their armies from Italy and Gaul; [1] that they have nothing to do with Spain; that they give up ownership of all the islands lying between Italy and Africa; [2] that they deliver all their war-ships except twenty, and 500,000 pecks of wheat, 300,000 pecks of barley.[3] —As for money, there is no agreement as to the sum which he imposed. In one source I find that 5,000 talents [4] were imposed, in another 5,000 pounds of silver, in another double the pay of his soldiers.—

[3] This would be for the use of the Roman army during an armistice lasting until the treaty of peace was ratified. Double pay for the army (below) would be for the same length of time.

[4] So Polybius XV. viii. 7; 1600 talents, Appian *Pun.* 32. Cf. Dio Cass. frag. 57. 74 (no figures); Zonaras IX. xiii. 8 (do.). These were not the final terms, for which see xxxvii. 1 ff.; Polybius xviii. *fin.*

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13 "His condicionibus" inquit "placeatne pax triduum ad consultandum dabitur. Si placuerit, mecum indutias
14 facite, Romam ad senatum mittite legatos." Ita dimissi Carthaginienses nullas recusandas condiciones pacis cum censuissent, quippe qui moram temporis quaererent, dum Hannibal in Africam traiceret,
15 legatos alios ad Scipionem, ut indutias facerent, alios Romam ad pacem petendam mittunt, ducentes paucos in speciem captivos perfugasque et fugitivos, quo impetrabilior pax esset.

XVII. Multis ante diebus Laelius cum Syphace primoribusque Numidarum captivis Romam venit, quaeque in Africa gesta essent omnia ordine exposuit patribus, ingenti hominum et in praesens laetitia et
2 in futurum spe. Consulti inde patres regem in custodiam Albam mittendum censuerunt, Laelium retinen-
3 dum, donec legati Carthaginienses venirent. Supplicatio in quadriduum decreta est. P. Aelius praetor senatu misso et contione inde advocata cum C.
4 Laelio in rostra escendit. Ibi vero audientes fusos Carthaginiensium exercitus, devictum et captum ingentis nominis regem, Numidiam omnem egregia
5 victoria peragratam, tacitum continere gaudium non poterant quin clamoribus quibusque aliis multitudo
6 solet laetitiam inmodicam significarent. Itaque

[1] They had previously voted to recall him; ix. 7 f.

[2] In Polybius, Scipio's terms had been embodied in a treaty which was duly ratified by the Roman senate and people after Hannibal was out of Italy; XV. i. 3, 9, 11; iv. 8; viii. 9. Livy has the senate summarily rejecting a peace embassy from Carthage; below, xxii. f. This was surely the invention of some Roman annalist. See De Sanctis III. ii. 544.

[3] *I.e.* Alba Fucens; pp. 262, 538. A Roman colony since 304 B.C., it was on the Via Valeria, 47 miles beyond Tibur (Tivoli), 67 from Rome. Cf. Vol. VII. p. 41, note; Appian *Hann.* 39. Here Perseus of Macedon was later interned; XLV. xlii. 4.

"Whether on these terms," said he, "you are dis- B.C. 203
posed to make peace, on that point three days will be given you for deliberation. If that shall be your decision, make an armistice with me, send your embassy to the senate at Rome." Dismissed with these words, the Carthaginians agreed that no peace terms should be rejected, since they were seeking to gain time for Hannibal to cross over to Africa.[1] Accordingly they sent one embassy to Scipio to arrange an armistice and another to Rome to sue for peace,[2] taking with them a few captives and deserters and fugitive slaves for appearance' sake, that they might more readily obtain peace.

XVII. Many days before this, together with Syphax and the leading Numidian captives, Laelius reached Rome and set forth to the senate in order everything that had been done in Africa, in the midst of great rejoicing for the present and high hopes for the future. Thereupon the senate after deliberation voted that the king should be sent to Alba[3] to be interned; that Laelius should be detained until the Carthaginian embassy arrived.[4] A thanksgiving for four days was decreed. Publius Aelius, the praetor, having dismissed the senate, then summoned an assembly and with Gaius Laelius mounted the Rostra. Thereupon, hearing that the Carthaginian armies had been routed, a famous king conquered and captured, all Numidia overrun in a series of extraordinary victories, they were unable to keep their joy to themselves, but expressed their unbounded delight by shouting and such other means as the multitude commonly employs. Accordingly the

[4] This conflicts with xxi. 11.

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praetor extemplo edixit uti aeditui aedes sacras omnes [1] tota urbe aperirent, circumeundi salutandique deos agendique grates per totum diem populo potestas fieret.

7 Postero die legatos Masinissae in senatum introduxit. Gratulati primum senatui sunt quod P. 8 Scipio prospere res in Africa gessisset; deinde gratias egerunt quod Masinissam non appellasset modo regem, sed fecisset restituendo in paternum regnum, in quo post Syphacem sublatum, si ita patribus visum esset, sine metu et certamine esset 9 regnaturus, dein conlaudatum [2] pro contione amplissimis decorasset donis, quibus ne indignus esset et dedisse [3] operam Masinissam et porro daturum 10 esse. Petere ut regium nomen ceteraque Scipionis 11 beneficia et munera senatus decreto confirmaret; et, nisi molestum esset, illud quoque petere Masinissam, ut Numidas captivos qui Romae in custodia essent remitterent; id sibi amplum apud [4] populares futu- 12 rum esse. Ad ea responsum legatis rerum gestarum prospere in Africa communem sibi cum rege gratulationem esse; Scipionem recte atque ordine videri fecisse, quod eum regem appellaverit, et quidquid aliud fecerit [5] quod cordi [6] foret Masinissae, id [7] 13 patres comprobare ac laudare. Munera quoque [8]

[1] omnes *HVJK Aldus, Froben* : *om. P*(3)*N*.

[2] conlaudatum (*or* coll-) *P*(3)*H Aldus, Froben* : quod (cum *AN*) laudatum *A*[*a*]*NVJK*.

[3] donis . . . dedisse *om. P*(3)*N, two lines supplied by A*[*a*]*N*[*a*]*HVJK Aldus, Froben*.

[4] apud *P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben* : ad *HVJK*.

[5] appellaverit . . . fecerit *P*(3)*N Aldus* : -visset . . . -cisset *HVJK Froben* 2.

[6] cordi *P*(3)*N* : honori *A*[*a*]*HVJK Aldus, Froben* 2.

[7] id *C Alschefski, Eds.* : ea C^2M^2 *Aldus, Froben, Luchs* : eis *PMB* : ei *DAN* : eaque *HJK* : et *V*.

praetor at once gave orders that the temple wardens B.C. 203
should open all the shrines throughout the city, and that people should have all day long the opportunity to make the rounds and pay their respects to the gods and return thanks to them.

On the next day he introduced Masinissa's envoys into the senate. They began by congratulating the senate on Publius Scipio's successful campaign in Africa. They then thanked the senators because he had not only saluted Masinissa as king but had made him king in restoring him to his father's kingdom, in which he would reign without fear and without contest since the removal of Syphax, if that should be the mind of the senators; also because, after warmly praising him before an assembly, he had conferred upon him the highest decorations, of which Masinissa had striven and would continue to strive to be not unworthy. He begged the senate, they said, by a decree to confirm the kingly title and the rest of Scipio's favours and gifts; and unless objection was made, another request of Masinissa's was this, that they return the Numidian captives who were interned at Rome. That would bring him great credit, he felt, among his countrymen. The response to these words of the envoys was that the senators reciprocated the king's congratulations on successes in Africa; that Scipio in their opinion had been entirely correct in saluting him as king, and that they approved and commended all else that he had done which gave pleasure to Masinissa. In addition gifts were decreed,

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[8] munera quoque *A*^{v}*?HVJK Conway*: munera *P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben, Eds.*

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quae legati ferrent regi decreverunt, sagula purpurea duo cum fibulis aureis [1] singulis et lato clavo tunicis, equos duo phaleratos, bina equestria arma cum loricis, et tabernacula militaremque supellectilem
14 qualem praeberi consuli mos esset.[2] Haec regi praetor mittere iussus. Legatis in singulos dona ne minus quinum milium, comitibus eorum milium [3] aeris, et vestimenta bina legatis, singula comitibus Numidisque qui ex custodia emissi redderentur regi; ad hoc aedes liberae, loca, lautia legatis decreta.

XVIII. Eadem aestate qua haec decreta Romae et in Africa gesta sunt P. Quinctilius Varus praetor et M. Cornelius proconsul in agro Insubrum Gallorum cum Magone Poeno signis conlatis pugnarunt.
2 Praetoris legiones in prima acie fuerunt; Cornelius suas in subsidiis tenuit, ipse ad prima signa equo advectus; proque duobus cornibus praetor ac proconsul milites ad inferenda in hostes signa summa vi
3 hortabantur. Postquam nihil commovebant, tum Quinctilius Cornelio: "Lentior, ut vides, fit pugna, et

[1] aureis *A'N'HVJK*: *om.* *P*(3)*N*.
[2] esset *P*(3)*JK*: est *ANHV Aldus, Froben.*
[3] milium (*or* -ll-) *P*(3) *Eds.*: milli *AN*: mille *A' Aldus*; milibus (*or* -ll-) *N'HVJK Froben* 2: singulorum milium *Conway.*

[1] Special seats in the Circus and at theatrical performances were reserved for them.
[2] Cf. p. 160, n. 1.
[3] The battle which follows is evidently taken from one of the Roman annalists and can be accepted only with reservations. To reject the whole passage as unhistorical, as has been done, is virtually to claim that Mago could remain on the Ligurian coast for three summers without ever penetrating to the plains

to be carried to the king by the envoys: two purple military cloaks, each with a golden brooch, and tunics having the broad stripe, two horses with their trappings, two sets of arms with cuirasses for a horseman, and tents and field furniture such as were customarily furnished to a consul. These things the praetor was ordered to send to the king. For the envoys gifts were decreed, not less than five thousand *asses* for each of them, for their attendants one thousand each; and two garments apiece for the envoys, one each for their attendants, and for the Numidians who were ordered to be released from internment and restored to the king. In addition dwellings were ordered to be placed at the envoys' disposal, and places of honour,[1] and hospitable entertainment [2] were provided. B.C. 203

XVIII. In the same summer in which these measures were taken at Rome and these operations carried on in Africa, Publius Quinctilius Varus, a praetor, and Marcus Cornelius, the proconsul, fought a pitched battle with Mago the Carthaginian in the territory of the Insubrian Gauls.[3] The praetor's legions were in the first line. Cornelius kept his legions in reserve while he himself rode up to the front. And from in front of the two wings praetor and proconsul kept urging the soldiers to advance their ranks against the enemy with all their strength. When they failed to drive the enemy back, Quinctilius then said to Cornelius: "The battle is slowing down,

of the Po. He may not have advanced so far as Mediolan(i)um (Milan), chief town of the Insubrians (V. xxxiv. 9; XXXIV. xlvi. 1). Cf. *C.A.H.* VIII. 102 f.; De Sanctis 540 f. and note; Neumann 536 f.; but also Ehrenberg in Pauly-Wissowa *s.v.* Mago 503; Kahrstedt 555 f.; G. Hesselbarth, *Untersuchungen z. dritten Dekade d. Livius* 572 f.

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induratur [1] praeter spem resistendo hostium timor, ac
4 ne vertat in audaciam periculum est. Equestrem procellam excitemus oportet, si turbare ac statu movere [2] volumus. Itaque vel tu ad prima signa proelium sustine, ego inducam in pugnam equites; vel ego hic in prima acie rem geram, tu quattuor legionum equites
5 in hostem emitte." Utram vellet praetor muneris partem proconsule accipiente, Quinctilius praetor cum filio, cui Marco praenomen erat, inpigro iuvene, ad equites pergit iussosque escendere in equos repente
6 in hostem emittit. Tumultum equestrem auxit clamor ab legionibus additus, nec stetisset hostium acies, ni Mago ad primum equitum motum paratos
7 elephantos extemplo in proelium induxisset. Ad quorum stridorem odoremque et aspectum territi equi vanum equestre auxilium fecerunt. Et ut . . .[3] permixtus, ubi cuspide uti et comminus gladio posset, roboris maioris Romanus eques erat, ita in ablatum paventibus procul equis melius ex intervallo Numidae
8 iaculabantur. Simul et peditum legio duodecima, magna ex parte caesa, pudore magis quam viribus
9 tenebat locum: nec diutius tenuisset, ni ex subsidiis tertia decuma legio in primam aciem inducta proelium dubium excepisset.[4] Mago quoque [5] ex subsidiis

[1] induratur *x Madvig, Conway*: -atus $P(3)NHVJK$ *Aldus, Froben, Gronovius, Madvig* 1863.

[2] movere P^1M^2HVJK *Aldus, Froben*: -eri $P(3)N$.

[3] *Something has been lost here or reduced to the unintelligible* rem *of* $P(3)N$: *om.* A^1HVJ *Froben* 2, *most Eds. A missing dative is supplied,* turmae *Madvig* 1886, *or* turbae *M. Müller.* J^1K *emend to* in rem (peritus), *Aldus to* in rem (permistis).

[4] excepisset A^vN^1HVJK *Aldus, Froben*; -petisset $P(3)N$.

[5] quoque N^1HVJK: que $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben.*

as you see, and their unexpected resistance is harden- B.C. 203
ing the enemy against fright, and the danger is that fear may turn into daring. We must rouse our cavalry to a sudden charge if we wish to confuse and dislodge them. Accordingly, either do you in the front line keep up the fight, and I will lead the cavalry into the fray. Or I will command here at the front, and you shall send out the horse of four legions into the enemy." As the proconsul was ready to accept whichever part of the task the praetor wished him to take, Quinctilius, the praetor, with his son, an active youth whose praenomen was Marcus, made his way to the cavalry and ordering them to mount suddenly sent them out against the enemy. The confusion wrought by the cavalry was heightened also by the shouting of the legions, and the enemy's line would not have kept its position if Mago at the first movement of the cavalry had not at once led the elephants, which were kept in readiness, into battle. Terrified by their roar and odour and by the sight of them the horses made the assistance of the cavalry useless. And although, so long as they were in the thick of the fight, where they could make use of the lance and, at close quarters, of the sword, the Roman horsemen were the stronger, still when they were carried to a distance by frightened horses, the Numidians were the more successful in hurling javelins from a longer range. Of the infantry also the twelfth legion at the same time was largely cut to pieces and holding its ground more from a sense of honour than by its strength. And it would not have held on long if the thirteenth legion, brought up from the reserves into the front line, had not taken over the indecisive battle. Mago likewise

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10 Gallos integrae legioni opposuit. Quibus haud magno certamine fusis hastati legionis undecimae conglobant se-se atque elephantos iam etiam peditum
11 aciem turbantes invadunt. In quos cum pila confertos coniecissent, nullo ferme frustra emisso, omnes retro in aciem suorum averterunt; quattuor
12 gravati volneribus conruerunt. Tum primum [1] commota hostium acies, simul omnibus equitibus,[2] ut aversos videre elephantos, ad augendum pavorem ac tumultum effusis. Sed donec stetit ante signa Mago, gradum sensim referentes, ordines et [3] tenorem
13 pugnae servabant; postquam femine transfixo cadentem auferrique ex proelio prope exsanguem videre, extemplo in fugam omnes versi. Ad quinque milia hostium eo die caesa et signa militaria duo et
14 viginti capta. Nec Romanis incruenta victoria fuit; duo milia et trecenti de exercitu praetoris, pars multo maxima ex legione duodecima, amissi; inde et tribuni militum duo, M. Cosconius et M. Maevius;
15 tertiae decimae quoque legionis, quae postremo proelio adfuerat. C. Helvius tribunus militum in restituenda pugna cecidit; et duo et viginti ferme equites inlustres,[4] obtriti ab elephantis, cum centurionibus aliquot perierunt. Et longius certamen fuisset, ni volnere ducis concessa victoria esset.

[1] primum *Duker*: prima *P(3)NHVJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] equitibus *Alschefski, Eds.*: peditibus *P(3)NHVJK Leterbacher.*
[3] et *P(3)N*: *om. HVJK Aldus, Froben.*
[4] inlustres, *before the noun in HVJK.*

brought up Gauls from his reserves to face the fresh B.C. 203
legion. After these had been routed with no great effort, the *hastati* of the eleventh legion massed together and attacked the elephants, which by this time were bringing disorder even to the infantry line. When the legionaries had hurled javelins against them in their close order, scarcely one missile being without effect, they drove all the elephants back into their own battle-line. Four of them, hampered by wounds, fell to the ground. Then for the first time the enemy's line was driven back, since all the cavalry, on seeing the elephants in flight, dashed out to increase the panic and confusion. But so long as Mago stood before the standards, his men as they slowly retired kept their ranks and continued to fight. After they saw him falling with his thigh pierced, and then borne almost lifeless from the battlefield, at once they all took to flight. About five thousand of the enemy were slain that day and twenty-two military standards were captured. Nor was it a bloodless victory for the Romans. Two thousand three hundred were lost from the army of the praetor, much the larger part of them from the twelfth legion; from it also two tribunes of the soldiers, Marcus Cosconius and Marcus Maevius. Of the thirteenth legion also, which had taken part in the last phase of the battle, Gaius Helvius, tribune of the soldiers, fell while rallying the men. And about twenty-two knights of the upper class were trampled by the elephants and perished together with a number of centurions. Also the engagement would have lasted even longer, had not victory been conceded because of the general's wound.

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XIX. Mago proximae silentio noctis profectus, quantum pati viae per volnus poterat itineribus ex-
2 tentis, ad mare in Ligures Ingaunos pervenit. Ibi eum legati ab Carthagine paucis ante diebus in sinum Gallicum adpulsis navibus adierunt, iubentes
3 primo quoque tempore in Africam traicere;[1] id et fratrem eius Hannibalem—nam ad eum quoque isse legatos eadem iubentes—facturum: non in eo esse Carthaginiensium res ut Galliam atque Italiam armis
4 obtineant. Mago non imperio modo senatus periculoque patriae motus, sed metuens etiam ne victor hostis moranti instaret, Liguresque ipsi, relinqui Italiam a Poenis cernentes, ad eos quorum mox in
5 potestate futuri essent deficerent, simul sperans leniorem[2] in navigatione quam in via iactationem volneris fore et curationi omnia commodiora, impositis copiis in naves profectus, vixdum superata Sardinia ex volnere moritur. Naves quoque aliquot Poenorum disiectae in alto a classe Romana quae
6 circa Sardiniam erat capiuntur. Haec terra marique in parte Italiae quae[3] iacet ad Alpes gesta.

Consul C. Servilius, nulla memorabili re in provincia Etruria Galliaque—nam eo quoque proces-

[1] traicere *VJK Eds.*: -iecere $A^{a}H$: -eret *P*(3)*N*.
[2] leniorem *P*(3)*N Aldus*: leviorem $A^{2}VJK$ *Froben* 2.
[3] quae $M^{1}B^{2}A^{a}HVJK$ *Aldus, Froben*; qua *P*(3)*N*.

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[1] Presumably he followed a road leading down to Vada Sabat(i)a, which belonged to the Ingauni, as did Savo (Savona). Cf. pp. 197, n. 3 f.; 225, n. 2. The wounded Mago may have been carried on an elephant. Cf. Hannibal in the Arno valley, XXII. ii. 10 f. Nothing is said of any Roman pursuit.

[2] *I.e.* Gulf of Genoa.

[3] No further authority for this statement can be cited. Other sources vary so much that their statements are of no value: that Mago was still in Liguria after Zama (Appian

XIX. Mago set out in the stillness of the following night and, lengthening the day's marches as much as he could endure by reason of his wound, he reached the sea in the country of the Ligurian Ingauni.[1] There envoys from Carthage came to him, having put in a few days before into the Gallic Gulf,[2] bringing him orders to cross over to Africa as soon as possible. His brother Hannibal, they said, would do the same; for to him also envoys had gone bearing the same command; that the Carthaginian state was in no position to hold Gaul and Italy by armed forces. Mago was not only swayed by the command from the senate and the danger of his city, but also feared that if he delayed the victorious enemy might be upon him, and the Ligurians themselves, seeing that the Carthaginians were abandoning Italy, might go over to the side of those in whose power they would presently be. Hoping at the same time that motion would be less painful to his wound on shipboard than on the road and everything more convenient for treatment, he embarked his troops and sailed, but had hardly passed Sardinia when he died of his wound.[3] In addition a considerable number of the Carthaginian ships, being scattered in the open sea, were captured by the Roman fleet which was off Sardinia. Such were the events on land and sea in that part of Italy which borders upon the Alps. B.C. 203

The consul Gaius Servilius, who had accomplished nothing that deserves mention in his province of Etruria and in Gaul—for he had advanced into that

Pun. 49; cf. 59); that after reaching Africa he was sent back to Italy (Zonaras IX. xiii. 10); that *ten* years later he perished either in a shipwreck or by the hands of his slaves (Nepos *Hann.* viii. 1 f.).

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7 serat—gesta, patre C. Servilio et C. Lutatio [1] ex servitute post sextum decimum annum receptis, qui ad
8 vicum Tannetum a Boiis capti fuerant, hinc patre, hinc Catulo [2] lateri circumdatis privato magis quam
9 publico decore insignis Romam rediit. Latum ad populum est ne C. Servilio fraudi esset quod patre, qui sella curuli sedisset, vivo, cum id ignoraret, tribunus plebis atque aedilis plebis fuisset contra quam sanctum legibus erat. Hac rogatione perlata in provinciam rediit.

10 Ad Cn. Servilium consulem, qui in Bruttiis erat, Consentia, Aufugum, Bergae, Baesidiae, Ocriculum, Lymphaeum, Argentanum, Clampetia multique alii ignobiles populi, senescere Punicum bellum cernentes,
11 defecere. Idem consul cum Hannibale in agro Crotoniensi acie conflixit. Obscura eius pugnae fama est. Valerius Antias quinque milia hostium caesa ait; quae tanta res est ut aut impudenter ficta
12 sit aut neglegenter praetermissa. Nihil certe ultra rei in Italia ab Hannibale gestum. Nam ad eum quoque legati ab Carthagine revocantes [3] in Africam,

[1] Lutatio, *Aldus, Froben add* patruo.
[2] Catulo $P(3)N$: patruo $N^{a}HVJK$ *Aldus, Froben.*
[3] revocantes $A^{6}HVJK$: vocantes $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] Son of the victor in 242, he had been consul in 220 B.C.; Zonaras VIII. xx. 10.

[2] They were seized, as Livy himself has it, near Mutina (Modena), but their Gallic captors were unsuccessfully pursued northwestward as far as Tannetum (half-way between Parma and Reggio Emilia). Cf. XXI. xxv. 3, 13; xxvi. 2; XXVII. xxi. 10; Polybius III. xl. 9–13.

[3] He had held the praetorship; Polybius *l.c.* § 9.

country as well—rescued from slavery after fifteen B.C. 203
years his father Gaius Servilius and Gaius Lutatius,[1] who had been captured near the village of Tannetum [2] by the Boii. Upon that he returned to Rome escorted by his father on one side and Catulus on the other, gaining distinction for an act that was personal rather than official. A bill was brought before the people that it should not be a ground for charges against Gaius Servilius that while his father, who had occupied a curule chair,[3] was still alive—a fact of which he was unaware—he had been tribune of the plebs and plebeian aedile, contrary to provisions of the laws.[4] This bill became a law, whereupon he returned to his province.

As for Gnaeus Servilius, the consul, who was in the land of the Bruttii, Consentia,[5] Aufugum, Bergae, Baesidiae, Ocriculum, Lymphaeum, Argentanum, Clampetia and many other unimportant communities, came over to his side, seeing that the Punic war was failing. The same consul engaged in battle with Hannibal in the territory of Croton. The story of that battle is not clear. Valerius Antias [6] says five thousand of the enemy were slain—a victory on such a scale as to have been either shamelessly fabricated or else carelessly passed over. What is certain is that nothing further was accomplished by Hannibal in Italy. For to him also came emissaries from Carthage to recall him to Africa just at the time, it

[4] Cf. Vol. VII. p. 301, n. 1 for one explanation of this restriction placed upon patrician candidates who were under *patria potestas*. The purpose of the consul's return from his province was that his acts as a magistrate might be legalized.

[5] See p. 357, n. 2 (for Clampetia also).

[6] Cf. XXVIII. xlvi. 14 and note; XXIX. xxxv. 2; above, iii. 6; below, xxix, 7; xliii. 12 n.

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iis forte diebus quibus ad Magonem venerunt. XX. Frendens gemensque ac vix lacrimis temperans dicitur legatorum verba audisse. Postquam edita sunt mandata, "Iam non perplexe" inquit, "sed palam revocant qui vetando supplementum et pecuniam mitti iam pridem retrahebant.[1] Vicit ergo Hannibalem non populus Romanus totiens caesus fugatusque, sed senatus Carthaginiensis obtrectatione atque invidia. Neque hac deformitate reditus mei tam P. Scipio exsultabit atque efferet sese quam Hanno, qui domum nostram, quando alia re non potuit, ruina Carthaginis oppressit."

Iam hoc ipsum praesagiens animo praeparaverat ante naves. Itaque inutili militum turba praesidii specie in oppida Bruttii agri quae pauca metu magis quam fide continebantur dimissa, quod roboris in exercitu erat in Africam transvexit, multis Italici generis, quia[2] in Africam secuturos abnuentes concesserant in Iunonis Laciniae delubrum inviolatum ad eam diem, in templo ipso foede interfectis. Raro quemquam alium patriam exsilii causa relinquentem tam[3] maestum abisse ferunt quam Hannibalem hostium terra excedentem. Respexisse saepe Italiae litora, et deos hominesque accusantem

[1] retrahebant *H Aldus, Froben* : trahebant *P*(3)*N* : retrahunt *VJK*.
[2] quia *P*(3)*NHVJK* : qui *Madvig, Emend.*
[3] tam *A*[1]*HVJK* : *om. P*(3)*N*.

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[1] Formerly leader of the opposition party; cf. XXI. iii. 2 ff.; x. 2–xi. 1; XXIII. xii. 6–xiii. 6 (216 B.C.). Still prominent according to Appian *Pun.* 34. At xliv. 5, if not at xlii. 12, another Hasdrubal (Haedus) has taken his place.
[2] Cf. p. 441, n. 3.

chanced, that others came to Mago. XX. Gnashing his teeth and groaning—so they say—and scarcely keeping back the tears he listened to the words of the emissaries. After they had delivered their message he said: "It is no longer obscurely but openly that I am being recalled by men who, in forbidding the sending of reinforcements and money, were long ago trying to drag me back. The conqueror of Hannibal is therefore not the Roman people, so often cut to pieces and put to flight, but the Carthaginian senate by carping and envy. And over this inglorious return of mine it will not be Publius Scipio who wildly exults, so much as Hanno,[1] who, unable to do so by any other means, has ruined our family by the downfall of Carthage." B.C. 203

Already foreboding this very thing he had previously put his ships in readiness. Accordingly, after distributing the mass of useless troops, nominally as garrisons, among the few Bruttian towns that were being held rather by fear than by loyalty, he transported the flower of his army to Africa. Many men of Italic race refusing to follow him to Africa had retired to the shrine of Juno Lacinia,[2] never desecrated until that day, and had been cruelly slain actually within the temple enclosure.[3] They say that rarely has any other man leaving his country to go into exile departed so sorrowfully as Hannibal on withdrawing from the enemy's land; that he repeatedly looked back upon the shores of Italy and, accusing gods and men, called down a curse

[3] The temple itself would have room for no more than a small number fleeing for refuge. Diodorus Sic. XXVII. 9 makes the number 20,000. Cf. Appian *Hann.* 59 (no mention of the temple). The whole story seems to be fictitious.

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8 in se quoque ac suum ipsius caput exsecratum, quod non cruentum ab Cannensi victoria militem Romam duxisset. Scipionem ire ad Carthaginem ausum, qui
9 consul hostem Poenum in Italia non vidisset; se, centum milibus armatorum ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas caesis, circa Casilinum Cumasque et Nolam consenuisse. Haec accusans querensque ex diutina possessione Italiae est detractus.

XXI. Romam per eosdem dies et Magonem et Hannibalem profectos adlatum est. Cuius duplicis
2 gratulationis minuit laetitiam et quod parum duces in retinendis iis, cum id mandatum ab senatu esset, aut
2 animi aut virium habuisse videbantur, et quod solliciti erant, omni belli mole in unum exercitum ducem-
3 que inclinata quo evasura esset res. Per eosdem dies legati Saguntini venerunt conprensos cum pecunia adducentes Carthaginienses qui ad conducenda
4 auxilia in Hispaniam traiecissent. Ducenta et quinquaginta auri, octingenta pondo argenti in
5 vestibulo curiae posuerunt. Hominibus acceptis et in carcerem conditis, auro argentoque reddito gratiae legatis actae, atque insuper munera data ac naves quibus in Hispaniam reverterentur.

6 Mentio deinde ab senioribus [1] facta est segnius homines bona quam mala sentire; transitu in Italiam

[1] senioribus *P*(3)*N Aldus, Froben*: senatoribus N^1(*alt.*) *HVJK*.

[1] Cf. XXII. li. 1–4; XXVI. vii. 3.
[2] Cf. Mago's summary in XXIII. xi. 8 f.

upon himself also and his own head because he had B.C. 203
not led his soldiers blood-stained from the victory of Cannae to Rome.[1] Scipio had dared, he said, to approach Carthage—a man who in his consulship had not seen a Carthaginian enemy in Italy—whereas he himself, after a hundred thousand armed men[2] had been slain at Trasumennus, at Cannae, had grown old round Casilinum and Cumae and Nola. Such were his accusations and laments as he was dragged away from his long occupation of Italy.

XXI. At Rome the news of Mago's departure and that of Hannibal were received about the same time. Rejoicing over this two-fold ground for congratulation was tempered by two circumstances: that men thought the generals had lacked either the spirit or the strength to detain them, although this had been ordered by the senate; and that they were concerned for the outcome, now that the whole burden of the war came down upon one army and one commander. About the same time envoys arrived from Saguntum bringing Carthaginians alleged to have crossed over into Spain to hire auxiliaries, having been seized together with the money. They set down two hundred and fifty pounds of gold and eight hundred pounds of silver in the forecourt[3] of the Senate House. After accepting the captives, remanding them to prison and returning the gold and silver, the senate thanked the envoys; and in addition presents were made to them and ships furnished for their return to Spain.

The older members thereupon observed that men are slower to recognize blessings than evils; that

[3] For *vestibulum curiae* cf. I. xlviii. 1; II. xlviii. 10; xlix. 3; at Carthage, below, xxiv. 10.

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Hannibalis quantum terroris pavorisque esset[1] meminisse. Quas deinde clades, quos luctus in-
7 cidisse! Visa castra hostium e muris urbis; quae vota singulorum universorumque fuisse! Quotiens in conciliis voces manus ad caelum porrigentium[2]
8 auditas, en umquam ille dies futurus esset quo vacuam hostibus Italiam bona pace florentem visuri
9 essent! Dedisse tandem id deos[3] sexto decimo demum anno, nec esse qui deis grates agendas censeat; adeo ne advenientem quidem gratiam homines benigne accipere, nedum ut praeteritae
10 satis memores sint. Conclamatum deinde ex omni parte curiae est uti referret P. Aelius praetor; decretumque ut quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria supplicaretur, victumaeque maiores immolarentur centum viginti.

11 Iam dimisso Laelio legatisque Masinissae cum Carthaginiensium legatos de pace ad senatum venientes Puteolis visos, inde terra venturos adlatum esset, revocari C. Laelium placuit, ut coram eo de
12 pace ageretur. Q. Fulvius Gillo, legatus Scipionis, Carthaginienses Romam adduxit. Quibus vetitis ingredi urbem hospitium in Villa Publica, senatus ad aedem Bellonae datus est.

[1] esset *CM²A Madvig, Conway*: esse *PMBA²N Eds.*: sese *HVJ*.

[2] porrigentium *CMBANHVJK*: porgentium *P*.

[3] tandem id deos *HVJK Froben 2*: id deos tandem *P*(3)*N*.

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[1] On festal couches in temples cf. Vol. VI. p. 208, n. 1; VII. p. 217, n. 3; Book V. xiii. 6 (the first at Rome).

[2] This, taken from a different source, conflicts with xvii. 2.

[3] Temple and Villa Publica were in the Campus Martius, near the Flaminian Circus; X. xix. 17; XXVI. xxi. 1;

upon Hannibal's passage into Italy they remembered B.C. 203
what alarm and panic there had been. Since that time what disasters, what sorrows had befallen them! The enemy's camp had been visible from the walls of the city; what prayers had been said by individuals and by the entire people! How often in their deliberations had men been heard to say, as they lifted their hands to heaven, Would the day ever come when they should see Italy cleared of the enemy and prospering in a blessed peace! At last, they said, but not before the sixteenth year, the gods had granted that prayer; and yet there was no one to propose a vote of thanks to the gods; so true was it that men did not gratefully receive a blessing upon its coming, much less duly remember it when past. Upon that shouts came from every part of the Senate House that Publius Aelius, the praetor, should bring up the question. And it was voted that for five days thanks should be offered at all the *pulvinaria*,[1] also that a hundred and twenty full-grown victims should be sacrificed.

After Laelius and the envoys of Masinissa had been dismissed, word came that the Carthaginian envoys, on their way to the senate to sue for peace, had been seen at Puteoli and would proceed thence by land. Whereupon it was decided that Gaius Laelius should be recalled,[2] in order that the discussion of peace might be in his presence. Quintus Fulvius Gillo, Scipio's lieutenant, conducted the Carthaginians to Rome. Being forbidden to enter the city, they were entertained in the Villa Publica and a hearing in the senate was granted them in the Temple of Bellona.[3]

XXVIII. ix. 5; xxxviii. 2; below, xl. 1; and for the Villa, IV. xxii. 7; XXXIII. xxiv. 5; XXXIV. xliv. 5.

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XXII. Orationem eandem ferme quam apud Scipionem habuerunt, culpam omnem belli a publico
2 consilio in Hannibalem vertentes: eum iniussu senatus non Alpes modo sed Hiberum quoque transgressum, nec Romanis solum sed ante etiam Sagun-
3 tinis privato consilio bellum intulisse; senatui ac populo Carthaginiensi, si quis vere aestimet, foedus
4 ad eam diem inviolatum esse cum Romanis. Itaque nihil aliud sibi mandatum esse uti peterent quam ut in ea pace quae postremo cum C. Lutatio facta esset
5 manere liceret. Cum more tradito [1] patribus potestatem interrogandi, si quis quid vellet, legatos praetor fecisset, senioresque qui foederibus interfuerant alia alii interrogarent, nec meminisse se [2] per aetatem—etenim omnes ferme iuvenes erant—
6 dicerent legati, conclamatum ex omni parte curiae est Punica fraude electos qui veterem pacem repeterent cuius ipsi non meminissent.

XXIII. Emotis deinde curia legatis sententiae interrogari coeptae. M. Livius C. Servilium consulem, qui propior esset, arcessendum, ut coram eo de pace
2 ageretur, censebat; cum de re maiore quam quanta

[1] tradito, *P*(3)*NVJK add* a, *rejected by Eds.*
[2] se *VJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. P*(3)*N.*

[1] As in XXI. xix. 2 f. Livy connects the treaty of 241 B.C., ratified in the consulship of Quintus Lutatius Cerco, logically with the naval victory won by his brother Gaius Lutatius Catulus at the very end of his year of office (242). Polybius does the same, I. lxii. 7. Below, xliv. 1 is more exact. The brothers shared in the organization of this first province; Zonaras VIII. xvii. 7.

XXII. They made substantially the same plea as they had done before Scipio, shifting all blame for the war from public responsibility to Hannibal: that he had crossed not merely the Alps but even the Ebro without orders from the senate, and on his own responsibility had waged war not only on the Romans but before that upon the Saguntines also. The senate and the Carthaginian people, they claimed, had a treaty with the Romans which in any fair judgment was to that day unbroken; consequently they had no other instructions than to beg permission to abide by the last peace-treaty, made with Gaius Lutatius.[1] When the praetor, following traditional practice, had given the senators permission to ask any question of the envoys if any one was so disposed, and older members, who had been present when action was taken on the treaties, were asking various questions, the envoys kept saying that on account of their age they did not remember—nearly all of them being young men. Upon that there were shouts from every part of the house that Punic trickery had led them to choose men who did not themselves remember it, to ask that the old treaty should be revived. B.C. 203

XXIII. Then after the envoys had been ushered out of the house,[2] opinions began to be called for. Marcus Livius[3] moved that Gaius Servilius, the consul, being the nearer, should be summoned, in order that discussion of peace might be in his presence. Since there could be no more important

[2] *I.e.* the temple serving as a curia for this occasion.

[3] Consul in 219 and 207 B.C., and lately censor (204 B.C.). Fabius Maximus, *princeps senatus*, was probably ill, or had already died; xxvi. 7.

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ea [1] esset consultatio incidere non posset, non videri sibi absente consulum altero ambobusve eam rem agi
3 satis ex dignitate populi Romani esse. Q. Metellus, qui triennio ante consul dictatorque fuerat: cum P. Scipio caedendo exercitus, agros populando in eam necessitatem hostes compulisset ut supplices pacem
4 peterent, et nemo omnium verius existumare posset, qua mente ea pax peteretur quam qui [2] ante portas Carthaginis bellum gereret, nullius alterius consilio quam Scipionis accipiendam abnuendamve pacem
5 esse. M. Valerius Laevinus, qui bis consul fuerat, speculatores, non legatos venisse arguebat, iubendosque Italia excedere et custodes cum iis usque ad naves mittendos, Scipionique scribendum ne bellum
6 remitteret. Laelius Fulviusque adiecerunt et Scipionem in eo positam habuisse spem pacis, si Hannibal et Mago ex Italia non [3] revocarentur;
7 ceterum [4] omnia simulaturos Carthaginienses, duces eos exercitusque exspectantes; deinde quamvis recentium foederum et deorum omnium oblitos
8 bellum gesturos. Eo magis in Laevini sententiam discessum. Legati pace infecta ac prope sine responso dimissi.

[1] ea $P(3)N$: *om. VJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] qui *Alschefski, Eds.*: is qui *K Aldus, Froben*: eum qui $P(3)NJ$.
[3] non N^2VJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(3)N$.
[4] ceterum N^2VJK *Aldus, Froben*: *om.* $P(3)N$.

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[1] Cf. p. 246, n. 1.
[2] This conflicts with Polybius' positive statement that the treaty was duly ratified at Rome, and that the three envoys

subject for deliberation than that, it did not seem to B.C. 203
him, he said, that debate on the question in the absence of one or both of the consuls was quite in keeping with the dignity of the Roman people. Quintus Metellus, who had been consul three years before and also dictator, said that, whereas Publius Scipio by slaying their armies and ravaging their lands had reduced the enemy to such straits that as suppliants they were suing for peace, and whereas no man in the world could more correctly judge of the spirit in which they were seeking that peace than he who was conducting a war at the gates of Carthage, peace must be accepted or rejected according to the advice of none other than Scipio. Marcus Valerius Laevinus, who had twice been consul,[1] contended that spies, not envoys, had come to them, and that they should be ordered to depart from Italy, and guards sent with them all the way to their ships, and that a written order should be sent to Scipio not to relax effort in the war. Laelius and Fulvius added that Scipio also had based his hope of peace only upon the supposition that Hannibal and Mago were not to be recalled from Italy. But while waiting for those generals and their armies, they said, the Carthaginians would use every pretence, and then, forgetful of treaties however recent and of all the gods, would carry on the war. Consequently a still larger number voted for Laevinus' motion. The envoys were sent away without securing peace and almost without an answer.[2]

named in xxv. 2 had so notified the Carthaginians; XV. i. 3, 9. Livy's view is repeated in xxx. 28; xxxi. 9; cf. xvi. 15 and note.

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XXIV. Per eos dies Cn. Servilius consul, haud dubius quin pacatae Italiae penes se gloria esset, velut pulsum ab se Hannibalem persequens, in Siciliam, inde in [1] Africam transiturus, traiecit. Quod ubi Romae volgatum est, primo censuerant patres ut praetor scriberet consuli senatum aequum censere in Italiam reverti eum; dein, cum praetor spreturum eum litteras suas diceret, dictator ad id ipsum creatus P. Sulpicius pro iure [maioris imperii] consulem in Italiam revocavit. Reliquum anni cum M. Servilio magistro equitum circumeundis Italiae [2] urbibus quae bello alienatae fuerant noscendisque singularum causis consumpsit.

Per indutiarum tempus ex [3] Sardinia a P. Lentulo praetore centum onerariae naves cum commeatu viginti rostratarum praesidio, et ab hoste et ab tempestatibus mari tuto, in Africam transmiserunt. Cn. Octavio ducentis onerariis, triginta [4] longis navibus ex Sicilia traicienti non eadem fortuna fuit. In conspectum ferme Africae prospero cursu evectum [5] primo destituit ventus, dein versus in Africum turbavit ac passim naves disiecit. Ipse cum rostratis per adversos fluctus ingenti remigum labore enisus Apollinis promunturium tenuit; onerariae pars

[1] inde in *JK Aldus, Froben* : inde et $P(3)N$.
[2] Italiae $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Eds.* : in Italia $A^{2}JK$ *Froben* 2, *Conway* : in italiam *V*.
[3] ex *Madvig, Luchs, Conway* : et ex $P(3)NVJK$.
[4] triginta (XXX) $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben* : XX *VJK*.
[5] evectum $A^{2}VJK$: vectum $P(3)N$ *Aldus, Froben*.

[1] The city praetor Aelius Paetus (i. 9), presiding in the senate. But he lacked authority to give orders to a consul. Hence the resort to a dictator, whose *maius imperium* must be respected by the consul.

XXIV. About that time Gnaeus Servilius, the consul, who had no doubt that to him belonged the glory of giving peace to Italy, as if in pursuit of a Hannibal whom he had driven out himself, crossed over to Sicily, intending to cross from there to Africa. When this was noised abroad at Rome, at first the senators had voted that the praetor [1] should write to the consul that the senate thought it proper for him to return to Italy. Then, as the praetor said that Servilius would disregard his letter, Publius Sulpicius [2] was made dictator for that very purpose; and by virtue of his higher authority he recalled the consul to Italy. The rest of the year he spent with his master of the horse, Marcus Servilius,[3] in making the rounds of such cities in Italy as had been estranged by the war and in hearing their cases one after another. B.C. 203

During the armistice a hundred transports sent from Sardinia by the praetor Publius Lentulus [4] with supplies and convoyed by twenty war-ships crossed to Africa over a sea safe from the enemy and safe from storms. Gnaeus Octavius, crossing over from Sicily with two hundred transports and thirty war-ships, was not so fortunate. When he had almost come in sight of Africa after a favourable passage, the wind at first failed him; then shifting into a southwester, it damaged and scattered the ships far and wide. He himself with the war-ships battled against head seas by great efforts on the part of the oarsmen and reached the Promontory of Apollo.[5] Most of the transports were carried to the island of

[2] Consul in 211 and 200 B.C.

[3] Brother of the consul Gaius Servilius Geminus and himself consul in the following year; xxvi. 1; xxvii. 1.

[4] Cf. i. 9; ii. 4; xxxvi. 2 f.

[5] See p. 315, n. 2.

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maxima ad Aegimurum—insula ea [1] sinum ab alto claudit in quo sita Carthago est, triginta ferme milia ab urbe—, aliae adversus urbem ipsam ad Calidas
10 Aquas delatae sunt. Omnia in conspectu Carthaginis erant. Itaque ex tota urbe in forum concursum est; magistratus senatum vocare; populus in curiae vestibulo fremere ne tanta ex oculis manibusque
11 amitteretur praeda. Cum quidam pacis petitae, alii indutiarum—necdum enim dies exierat—fidem opponerent, permixto [2] paene senatus populique concilio consensum est ut classem [3] quinquaginta navium Hasdrubal Aegimurum traiceret, inde per litora portusque dispersas Romanas naves colligeret.
12 Desertae fuga nautarum primum ab Aegimuro, deinde ab Aquis onerariae Carthaginem puppibus tractae sunt.

XXV. Nondum ab Roma reverterant legati,[4] neque sciebatur quae senatus Romani de bello aut pace
2 sententia esset, necdum indutiarum dies exierat; eo indigniorem iniuriam ratus Scipio ab iis qui petissent pacem et indutias et spem pacis et fidem indutiarum violatam esse, legatos Carthaginem L. Baebium, L. Sergium, L. Fabium extemplo misit.

[1] insula ea $P(3)N?JK$ *Eds.*: insulam ea $A^{1}N^{2}?$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway (with dash before* ea*)*: -lam eam *V*.
[2] permixto, *preceded by* postremo *V Aldus, Froben.*
[3] classem $P(3)N$: classe VJK *Aldus, Froben.*
[4] ab Roma reverterant legati $PCM^{1}B^{2}$: reverterant ab Roma legati AN *Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] Zembra (Djamur); cf. p. 315, n. 5.
[2] Across the bay from Carthage and to the south-east (near Carpis), now Hammam Kourbes. The hot springs are mentioned by Strabo XVII. iii. 16, and the Tabula

Aegimurus [1]—which on the seaward side closes the bay upon which lies Carthage, about thirty miles from the city—the rest of them to Aquae Calidae,[2] opposite the city itself. Everything could be seen from Carthage; and so from all parts of the city people ran to the market-place. The magistrates summoned the senate; the people before the entrance of the Senate House protested against letting go so much booty out of their sight and reach. While some objected, pleading the sanctity of peace negotiations, others that of the armistice—for its term had not yet expired—the meeting of the senate was all but merged with that of the people. It was agreed that Hasdrubal should sail over to Aegimurus with his fleet of fifty ships, and then gather up the Roman ships scattered along the shore and in the harbours. Deserted by the flight of their crews the transports were towed by the stern to Carthage, first from Aegimurus and then from Aquae. B.C. 203

XXV. Not yet had the envoys returned from Rome, nor was it known what had been the decision of the Roman senate in regard to war or peace; [3] not yet had the term of the armistice expired. For that reason Scipio thought it an even more shameful outrage that both the hope of peace and the sanctity of an armistice had been treated with disrespect by men who had sued for peace and an armistice. At once he sent Lucius Baebius, Lucius Sergius and Lucius Fabius as envoys to Carthage.

Peutingeriana. They are still frequented by the people of Tunis.

[3] Cf. xvi. 15 and note; also Appian *Pun.* 34; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 74 f.; Zonaras IX. xiii. 8. All these place ratification of the treaty after Hannibal had left Italy. Cf. Gsell III. 248.

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3 Qui cum multitudinis concursu prope violati essent nec reditum tutiorem futurum cernerent, petierunt a magistratibus quorum auxilio vis prohibita erat ut 4 naves mitterent quae se prosequerentur. Datae triremes duae cum ad Bagradam flumen pervenissent, unde castra Romana conspiciebantur, Carthaginem 5 rediere. Classis Punica ad Uticam stationem habebat. Ex ea tres quadriremes, seu clam misso a Carthagine nuntio ut id fieret, seu Hasdrubale, qui classi praeerat, 6 sine publica fraude auso facinus, quinqueremem Romanam superantem promunturium ex alto repente adgressae sunt. Sed neque rostro ferire celeritate subterlabentem [1] poterant, neque transilire armati ex humilioribus in altiorem navem, et defendebatur 7 egregie, quoad tela suppeditarunt. Quis deficientibus iam nulla alia res eam quam propinquitas terrae multitudoque a castris in litus effusa tueri potuit.[2] 8 Concitatam enim remis quanto maximo impetu poterant in terram cum immisissent, navis tantum iactura facta, incolumes ipsi evaserunt.

9 Ita alio super aliud scelere cum haud dubie indutiae ruptae essent, Laelius Fulviusque ab Roma 10 cum legatis Carthaginiensibus supervenerunt. Qui-

[1] subterlabentem *NVJK Aldus, Froben* : super- *P*(3)*N* : sua prae- *Weissenborn* : sua praeter- *M. Müller.*

[2] potuit *Drakenborch* : potuisset *P*(3)*NVJK Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] Now the Medjerda, principal river of Tunisia, 300 miles long but not navigable. See p. 344, n. 1 for the great changes in its lower course as the bay has silted up. The ancient mouth was half-way between Carthage and Utica.

[2] At the north-east end of the long ridge upon which lay the camp, later called Castra Cornelia. Cf. p. 347, n. 1. Perhaps Livy is wrong in thinking the ship was beached on the less

These narrowly escaped injury at the hands of a mob and foresaw that their return would be no safer. Accordingly they begged the magistrates whose help had prevented violence to send ships to escort them. Two triremes were furnished, and having reached the river Bagradas,[1] from which the Roman camp was visible, they returned to Carthage. The Carthaginian fleet was lying at anchor near Utica. Three quadriremes from that fleet, just as the Roman quinquereme was rounding the promontory,[2] suddenly attacked her from the seaward side, perhaps because a secret order to do so had been sent from Carthage, possibly because Hasdrubal, who was in command of the fleet, made bold to act without complicity on the part of the government. But they were unable to ram her as she eluded them by her speed, and the marines could not spring across from the lower vessels to the higher one. Also she was brilliantly defended so long as their missiles held out. When these failed them there was nothing else which could protect the ship but nearness to the land and the great numbers that poured out to the shore from the camp. For propelled at full speed by the oars, they ran her on the shore with all possible momentum. Consequently the ship only was lost, and the men themselves [3] escaped. B.C. 203

Thus the armistice beyond doubt had been broken by one crime after another when Laelius and Fulvius arrived from Rome with the Carthaginian

favourable west side; Gsell III. 250, n. 1. The Punic fleet was no farther away than Rusucmon (Porto Farina; x. 9); Appian *Pun.* 34.

[3] Primarily the envoys, but also some of the crew; Polybius XV. ii. 15; cf. Appian *l.c. fin.*

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bus Scipio, etsi non indutiarum fides modo a Carthaginiensibus, sed ius etiam gentium in legatis violatum esset, tamen se nihil nec institutis populi Romani nec suis moribus indignum in iis facturum esse cum dixisset, dimissis legatis bellum parabat.

11 Hannibali iam terrae adpropinquanti iussus e nauticis unus [1] escendere in malum, ut specularetur
12 quam tenerent regionem, cum dixisset sepulchrum dirutum proram spectare, abominatus praetervehi iusso gubernatore ad Leptim adpulit classem atque ibi copias exposuit.

XXVI. Haec eo anno in Africa gesta; insequentia excedunt in eum annum quo M. Servilius Geminus,[2] qui tum magister equitum erat, et Ti. Claudius
2 Nero consules facti sunt. Ceterum exitu superioris anni cum legati sociarum urbium ex Graecia questi essent vastatos agros ab regiis praesidiis profectosque in Macedoniam legatos ad res repetendas non
3 admissos ad Philippum regem, simul nuntiassent quattuor milia militum cum Sopatro duce traiecta in Africam dici, ut essent Carthaginiensibus praesidio, et
4 pecuniae aliquantum una missum, legatos ad regem qui haec adversus foedus facta videri patribus nun-

[1] e nauticis unus B^2A^6? *Crévier, Eds.*: e nautis unus N^2VJK *Aldus, Froben*: enuticusunus *P*.

[2] Geminus *om.* $P(3)N$.

[1] In Polybius iv. 9 Scipio was absent, and Baebius, being left in command, carried out orders from the general.

[2] On the east coast of Tunisia; Leptis Minor (or Lepti Minus) to distinguish it from Leptis Magna in Tripolitania. Cf. p. 308, n. 1. It was now probably autumn.

envoys. Scipio informed these men that, although B.C. 203
not only the sanctity of an armistice had been violated by the Carthaginians, but also the law of nations in regard to his envoys, nevertheless he would not in their case do anything unworthy of the established usages of the Roman people or of his own character. Whereupon he dismissed the envoys [1] and made preparations for war.

As Hannibal was already nearing land, one of the sailors was ordered to go aloft, in order to make out what region they were approaching. When he reported that the bow was headed toward a ruined tomb, Hannibal with a prayer to avert such an omen ordered the pilot to sail on, brought his fleet in at Leptis,[2] and there disembarked his troops.

XXVI. Such were the events of that year in Africa. What follows runs over into the year in which Marcus Servilius Geminus, who at that time was master of the horse, and Tiberius Claudius Nero [3] became consuls. But at the end of the previous year envoys from Greece representing allied cities had complained that their territories had been ravaged by the king's forces, and that envoys who had gone into Macedonia to claim damages were not admitted to King Philip's presence. They had at the same time brought word that four thousand soldiers under the command of Sopater were alleged to have crossed over to Africa to defend the Carthaginians, and that a considerable sum of money was said to have been sent with them. Consequently the senate voted to send envoys to the king to report that in the opinion

[3] A first cousin of Gaius, consul in 207 B.C.

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tiarent mittendos censuit senatus. Missi C. Terentius Varro, C. Mamilius, M. Aurelius; iis [1] tres quinqueremes datae.

5 Annus insignis incendio ingenti, quo Clivus Publicius ad solum exustus est, et aquarum magnitudine, sed et [2] annonae vilitate fuit, praeterquam quod pace
6 omnis Italia erat aperta, etiam quod magnam vim frumenti ex Hispania missam M. Valerius Falto et M. Fabius Buteo aediles curules quaternis aeris vicatim populo discripserunt.

7 Eodem anno Q. Fabius Maximus moritur, exactae aetatis, si quidem verum est augurem duos et sexa-
8 ginta [3] annos fuisse, quod quidam auctores sunt. Vir certe fuit dignus tanto cognomine, vel si novum ab eo inciperet. Superavit paternos honores, avitos aequavit. Pluribus victoriis et maioribus proeliis avus insignis Rullus; sed omnia aequare unus hostis
9 Hannibal potest. Cautior tamen quam promptior hic habitus; et sicut dubites utrum ingenio cunctator fuerit an quia ita bello proprie quod tum gerebatur aptum erat, sic nihil certius est quam unum hominem nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait.

[1] iis *P Aldus, Froben* : his *CMBANVK* : hiis *J.*

[2] sed et *AN Aldus* : sed *x Conway* : et *A'VJK Froben* 2 : si*P*(3).

[3] sexaginta (LX) *P*(3)*NJ*[1] : XL *CVK Aldus, Froben* : XX *J.*

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[1] Consul in 216 B.C.; XXII. xxxv. 2; escaped from Cannae, XXII. xlix. 14; lxi. 13 ff. Mamilius Atellus had been praetor, Aurelius Cotta an aedile. Cf. xlii. 2, 5, 10.

[2] See Vol. VII. p. 36, n. 3.

[3] *I.e.* one sesterce. Cf. XXXI. l. 1 (grain even cheaper).

[4] Quintus Fabius Maximus Gurges, three times consul, last in 265 B.C.

[5] Quintus Fabius Maximus Rull(ian)us, five times, last in 295 B.C. Plutarch *Fab.* 1. makes him great-grandfather of Delayer.

of the senators these acts had violated the treaty. B.C. 203
The men sent were Gaius Terentius Varro,[1] Gaius Mamilius, Marcus Aurelius; three quinqueremes were furnished them.

The year was marked by a great conflagration in which the Clivus Publicius [2] was burned to the ground, and by floods, but also by the low price of grain, because not only was all Italy open by reason of peace, but also a great quantity of grain had been sent from Spain; and Marcus Valerius Falto and Marcus Fabius Buteo, the curule aediles, distributed this to the populace by precincts at four *asses* [3] a peck.

In the same year Quintus Fabius Maximus died at a very advanced age, if indeed it is true that he had been an augur for sixty-two years, as some authorities say. He certainly was a man who deserved such a surname, even if it had been first applied to him. He surpassed the number of magistracies held by his father [4] and equalled those of his grandfather.[5] A larger number of victories and greater battles made the fame of his grandfather Rullus; but all of them can be balanced by a single enemy, Hannibal. Nevertheless Fabius has been accounted a man of caution rather than of action. And while one may question whether he was the "Delayer" by nature, or because that was especially suited to the war then in progress, still nothing is more certain than that one man by delaying restored our state,[6] as Ennius says. In his place as

[6] A famous line of the *Annales* (Vahlen[3] v. 370; Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* I. p. 132), so often cited or imitated that it became proverbial; *e.g.* Cicero *Cato Mai.* 10; Virgil *Aen.* VI. 846.

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10 Augur in locum eius inauguratus Q. Fabius Maximus filius; in eiusdem locum pontifex—nam duo sacerdotia habuit—Ser. Sulpicius Galba.

11 Ludi Romani diem unum, plebei ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus M. Sextio Sabino et Cn. Tremelio Flacco. Hi [1] ambo praetores facti et cum iis [2] C.

12 Livius Salinator et C. Aurelius Cotta. Comitia eius anni utrum C. Servilius consul habuerit an, quia eum res in Etruria tenuerint quaestiones ex senatus consulto de coniurationibus principum habentem, dictator ab eo dictus P. Sulpicius incertum ut sit diversi auctores faciunt.

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XXVII. Principio insequentis anni M. Servilius et Ti. Claudius senatu in Capitolium vocato de pro-

2 vinciis rettulerunt. Italiam atque Africam in sortem conici, Africam ambo cupientes, volebant. Ceterum Q. Metello maxime adnitente neque negata neque

3 data [3] est Africa. Consules iussi cum tribunis plebis agere ut, si iis [4] videretur, populum rogarent quem

4 vellent [5] in Africa bellum gerere. Omnes tribus P. Scipionem iusserunt. Nihilo minus consules provin-

[1] Hi *VK H. J. Müller*: hii *A²N²J*: ti *PCBN*: ii *x Aldus, Froben, Eds., Conway.*

[2] iis *P Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: his *CBANVK Conway*: hiis *J.*

[3] negata neque data *PCBVJK Eds.*: data neque negata *AN Aldus, Froben.*

[4] iis *Aldus, Froben*: is *PC*: his *BA*: hiis *N*: eis *A²VJK.*

[5] vellent *P(3)NV Aldus, Eds.*: vellet *V²JK Froben* 2, *Conway.*

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[1] An error for grandson, since the son of the same name (consul 213 B.C.) died before the Cunctator; *Cato Mai.* 12.

[2] Son of the consul of 207 B.C. Cf. XXIX. xxxviii. 8.

[3] Scipio's command had been given him for the duration; i. 10. That, however, would not prevent the assignment of a colleague; cf. § 5 *sub fin.*

augur his son[1] Quintus Fabius Maximus was installed; likewise in his place as pontifex—for he held two priesthoods—Servius Sulpicius Galba. B.C. 203

The Roman Games were repeated for a single day, the entire Plebeian Games three times over by the aediles Marcus Sextius Sabinus and Gnaeus Tremelius Flaccus. Both of them were made praetors, and with them Gaius Livius Salinator[2] and Gaius Aurelius Cotta. As for the elections of that year, conflicting authorities make it uncertain whether Gaius Servilius as consul conducted them or Publius Sulpicius as dictator, appointed by Servilius because business detained him in Etruria, where in accordance with a decree of the senate he was conducting trials for conspiracy among the leading citizens.

XXVII. At the beginning of the following year B.C. 202
Marcus Servilius and Tiberius Claudius summoned the senate to the Capitol and raised the question of the provinces. They wished that lots should be cast for Italy and Africa, both of them being eager to have Africa.[3] But chiefly owing to the efforts of Quintus Metellus[4] Africa was not refused nor yet given them. The consuls were instructed to arrange with the tribunes of the plebs that, with their approval, they should bring before the people the question whom they wished for the conduct of the war in Africa. All the tribes voted for Publius Scipio.[5] In spite of that the consuls cast lots for Africa as a

[4] Cf. xxiii. 3.

[5] This of course settled any controversy as to the term of his command, until contention was renewed a year later. Cf. p. 518, § 12, where the province of one consul for 201 B.C. is defined as command of the fleet, while the other was to have Italy.

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ciam Africam—ita enim senatus decreverat—in sortem coniecerunt. Ti. Claudio Africa evenit, ut quinquaginta navium classem, omnes quinqueremes, in Africam traiceret parique imperio cum P. Scipione imperator[1] esset; M. Servilius Etruriam sortitus. In eadem provincia et C. Servilio prorogatum imperium, si consulem manere[2] ad urbem senatui[3] placuisset. Praetores M. Sextius Galliam est sortitus, ut duas legiones provinciamque traderet ei P. Quinctilius Varus; C. Livius Bruttios cum duabus legionibus quibus P. Sempronius proconsul priore anno[4] praefuerat; Cn. Tremelius Siciliam, ut a P. Villio Tappulo praetore prioris anni provinciam et duas legiones acciperet; Villius pro praetore viginti navibus longis, militibus[5] mille oram Siciliae tutaretur; M. Pomponius viginti navibus reliquis mille et quingentos milites Romam deportaret; C. Aurelio Cottae urbana evenit. Ceteris ita uti quisque obtinebant provincias exercitusque prorogata imperia. Sedecim non amplius eo anno legionibus defensum

[1] imperator *P(3)NJK Aldus, Froben*: *rejected by Crévier, Madvig*: imperatore *V Luchs, H. J. Müller, Johnson.*

[2] manere *P(3)N Aldus*: remorari *N²(alt.)VJK Froben* 2.

[3] senatui *A¹N²VJK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: -tu *Alschefski, Madvig*: -tum *P(3)N.*

[4] priore anno *VJK Froben* 2: prioris anni *P(3)N.*

[5] militibus, *before this A¹VJK add* et, *for which P has* si: *om. by P²(3)N Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] But not to command an army in addition to his fleet; probably not to sail over to Africa except in an emergency. In fact Claudius never reached African waters; xxxix. 3.

province, for so the senate had decreed. Africa fell B.C. 202
to Tiberius Claudius, with the provision that he should take a fleet of fifty ships, all of them quinqueremes, over to Africa, and that he should be commanding general with an authority equal to that of Scipio.[1] Marcus Servilius received Etruria by lot. In the same province Gaius Servilius' command was also continued, in case the senate decided that the consul should remain near the city. Of the praetors Marcus Sextius received Gaul by lot, with the understanding that Publius Quinctilius Varus should turn over to him the two legions with the province; Gaius Livius received the land of the Bruttii with the two legions which Publius Sempronius had commanded in the previous year as proconsul; Gnaeus Tremelius was allotted Sicily, to take over the province from Publius Villius Tappulus, praetor of the previous year, and the two legions. Villius as propraetor was to defend the coast of Sicily with twenty war-ships and a thousand soldiers. Marcus Pomponius with the remaining twenty ships was to transport fifteen hundred soldiers back to Rome. The city praetorship fell to Gaius Aurelius Cotta. For the rest of the praetors[2] their commands were continued just as they then held their several provinces and armies. With no more than sixteen legions[3] the empire was

[2] *I.e.* Lucretius at Genua, in Sardinia Publius Lentulus, in Spain Lucius Lentulus and Manlius Acidinus (these two as proconsuls); cf. i. 9 f.; ii. 7; XXIX. xiii. 7.

[3] Compared with 20 in the previous year; ii. 7. The maximum had been 25 in 212–211 B.C. In the first year of the war (218 B.C.) the number was only 6. The average number in the next three years was 12·7; in following eight years, 22·5 (214–207 B.C.); in the last six years, 17·8 (206–201 B.C.). Cf. De Sanctis' table, p. 633; *C.A.H.* VIII. 104.

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11 imperium est. Et ut placatis dis omnia inciperent agerentque, ludos quos M. Claudio Marcello, T. Quinctio consulibus T. Manlius dictator quasque hostias maiores voverat, si per quinquennium [1] res publica eodem statu fuisset, ut eos ludos consules, priusquam ad bellum proficiscerentur, facerent. 12 Ludi in circo per quadriduum facti hostiaeque quibus votae erant dis caesae.

XXVIII. Inter haec simul spes simul cura in dies crescebat, nec satis certum constare apud animos [2] poterat utrum gaudio dignius [3] esset Hannibalem post sextum decimum annum ex Italia decedentem vacuam possessionem eius reliquisse populo Romano, an magis metuendum quod incolumi exercitu in 2 Africam transisset: locum nimirum, non periculum mutatum; cuius tantae dimicationis vatem, qui nuper decessisset, Q. Fabium haud frustra canere solitum graviorem in sua terra futurum hostem Hannibalem 3 quam in aliena fuisset. Nec Scipioni aut cum Syphace, inconditae barbariae rege, cui Statorius semilixa ducere [4] exercitus solitus sit, aut cum socero eius Hasdrubale, fugacissimo duce, rem futuram aut cum [5] tumultuariis exercitibus ex agrestium semermi turba

[1] quinquennium, *AN Aldus, Froben add* illud.
[2] animos *A¹VJK Froben* 2: -mum *P*(3)*N Aldus.*
[3] dignius *V Froben* 2: dignum *P*(3)*NJK Aldus.*
[4] ducere *PCVJK*: ad- *BAN*: docere *conj. Putsche, Luchs.*
[5] cum *Riemann, Conway*: *om. P*(3)*NVJK.*

[1] Cf. p. 373, n. 1.

defended that year. And that they might begin B.C. 202
everything and carry it on with the favour of the gods, inasmuch as in the consulship of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Titus Quinctius the dictator Titus Manlius had vowed games [1] and full-grown victims if the state should remain for four years as it was before, it was ordered that the consuls should celebrate those games before they set out for the war. The games were celebrated in the Circus for four days, and victims were sacrificed to the gods to whom they had been vowed.

XXVIII. Meanwhile hope and anxiety alike were increasing from day to day, and men could not quite make up their minds whether it was a fit subject for rejoicing that Hannibal, retiring from Italy after sixteen years, had left the Roman people free to take possession [2] of it, and not rather a ground for apprehension that he had crossed over to Africa with his army intact. The place doubtless had been changed, they thought, not the danger. Foretelling that mighty conflict Quintus Fabius, recently deceased, had often predicted, not without reason, that in his own land Hannibal would be a more terrible enemy than in a foreign country. And Scipio would have to deal neither with Syphax, king of a land of untrained barbarians, for whom Statorius,[3] who was little more than a sutler, commonly commanded his armies, nor with the father-in-law of Syphax, Hasdrubal, a general very swift in flight, nor with irregular armies suddenly raised from a half-armed mob of rustics. Rather

[2] *I.e.* to recover that title to Italian soil which Hannibal had in a way acquired by occupying it for more years than were needed to acquire a title by *usucapio*. Cf. XXII. xliv. 6.
[3] Cf. XXIV. xlviii. 9, 11 f.

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4 subito conlectis, sed cum Hannibale, prope nato in praetorio patris, fortissimi ducis, alito atque educato inter arma, puero quondam milite, vixdum iuvene 5 imperatore, qui senex vincendo factus Hispanias, Gallias, Italiam ab Alpibus ad fretum monumentis ingentium rerum complesset. Ducere[1] exercitum aequalem stipendiis suis, duratum omnium rerum patientia quas vix fides fiat homines passos, perfusum miliens cruore Romano, exuvias non militum tantum,[2] 6 sed etiam imperatorum portantem. Multos occursuros Scipioni in acie qui praetores, qui imperatores,[3] qui consules Romanos sua manu[4] occidissent, muralibus vallaribusque insignes coronis, pervagatos 7 capta castra, captas urbes Romanas. Non esse hodie tot fasces magistratibus populi Romani, quot captos ex caede imperatorum prae se ferre posset Hannibal. 8 Has formidines agitando animis ipsi curas et metus augebant, etiam quod, cum adsuessent per aliquot annos bellum ante oculos aliis atque aliis in Italiae partibus lenta spe in nullum propinquum debellandi finem gerere, erexerant omnium animos Scipio et Hannibal, velut ad supremum certamen comparati

[1] Ducere $P(3)NVJK$: duceret *Gronovius* : ducente *Allen*.
[2] tantum $PCBVJK$: modo AN *Aldus*, *Froben*.
[3] qui imperatores $P(3)N$ *Aldus* : *om.* VJK *Froben* 2.
[4] sua manu $P(3)N$ *Aldus*, *Froben* : manu sua VJK.

[1] Cf. XXI. xliii. 15.

[2] Slightly exaggerated, as in xxx. 10, but for the sake of a climax. He was only 45 (*senior* strictly, rather than *senex*); xxxvii. 9; over 45 says Polybius, XV. xix. 3.

[3] For the *corona muralis* cf. Vol. VI. p. 60, n. 2; XXVI. xlviii. 5. The *corona vallaris* (or *castrensis*) represented earthworks of a camp. Cf. X. xlvi. 3; Gellius V. vi. 16 f.

would he have to do with Hannibal, who had been B.C. 202
born, one might almost say, at the headquarters of his father, the bravest of generals, had been reared and brought up in the midst of arms;[1] who even in boyhood was a soldier, in earliest manhood a general; who, ageing[2] as a victor, had filled the Spanish and Gallic lands and Italy from the Alps to the Straits with the evidence of his mighty deeds. He was in command of an army whose campaigns equalled his own in number; was toughened by enduring such hardships as one could scarcely believe human beings had endured; had been spattered with Roman blood a thousand times and carried the spoils, not of soldiers only but also of generals. Many men who would encounter Scipio in battle had with their own hands slain Roman praetors, generals-in-command, consuls; had been decorated with crowns for bravery in scaling city-walls and camp defences;[3] had wandered through captured camps, captured cities of the Romans. All the magistrates of the Roman people did not at that time have so many fasces as Hannibal was able to have borne before him, having captured them from fallen generals.[4]

By brooding over such terrifying thoughts men were adding to their own anxieties and fears, for another reason too: whereas year after year it had been their habit to carry on a war before their eyes in one part and then in another of Italy, with hope deferred and looking to no immediate end of the conflict, all men's interest was now intensified by Scipio and Hannibal, as it were, pitted against each

[4] Coelius pretended to know the exact number of fasces captured by Hannibal, viz. 72; Nonius X. p. 818 L.

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9 duces. Eis quoque quibus erat ingens in Scipione fiducia et victoriae spes, quo magis in propinquam eam imminebant animis, eo curae intentiores erant.[1] 10 Haud dispar habitus animorum Carthaginiensibus erat, quos modo petisse pacem, intuentes Hannibalem ac rerum gestarum eius magnitudinem, paenitebat, 11 modo, cum respicerent bis sese acie victos, Syphacem captum, pulsos se Hispania, pulsos Italia, atque ea omnia unius virtute et consilio Scipionis facta, velut fatalem eum ducem in exitium suum natum horrebant.

XXIX. Iam Hadrumetum pervenerat[2] Hannibal; unde, ad reficiendum ex iactatione maritima militem paucis diebus sumptis, excitus pavidis nuntiis omnia circa Carthaginem obtineri armis adferentium, magnis 2 itineribus Zamam contendit. Zama quinque dierum

[1] erant A^1N^1VJK *and so* (*but with* intentioris) *Aldus, Froben* : *om.* $P(3)N$: volvebant *Weissenborn* (*with* curas) *found in* $P(3)N$: agebant *Madvig, Riemann* (*with* curas).

[2] pervenerat VJK *Aldus, Froben* : venerat $P(3)N$.

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[1] One defeat was obviously that on the Campi Magni; viii. 3–9; the other may be that of Hanno's cavalry in XXIX. xxxiv. 8–17. The surprise attack on two camps (v. 7–vi. 9) made no use of an *acies*.

[2] A Tyrian colony and the most important town in the region, now Sousse, 20 miles north-west of Leptis Minor (Lemta), where Hannibal had landed. But he immediately established his winter camp at Hadrumetum. Polybius cannot have failed to give the time and place of Hannibal's landing in lost chapters from the beginning of Book XV.; for he is in Africa already at iii. 5, if not at i. 10 f. It was now autumn, 203 B.C. He would not have risked a winter passage. Cf. De Sanctis 545 ff., 586 f.; Scullard 326 f.

[3] If we could follow Livy here we should place the final battle within an incredibly short time after Hannibal's landing. That this was the case no one can believe after comparing the

other for the final combat. Even in the case of those B.C. 202
who had great confidence in Scipio and high hope of victory, the more their minds were bent upon immediate victory the more intense were their anxieties. Not unlike were the feelings of the Carthaginians, who at one moment, when they thought of Hannibal and the greatness of his achievements, regretted having sued for peace, at another moment, on reflecting that they had been twice defeated in battle,[1] that Syphax had been captured, that they had been driven out of Spain, driven out of Italy, and all this accomplished by the courage and strategy of Scipio alone, they dreaded him as a predestined commander, born to work their destruction.

XXIX. By this time Hannibal had reached Hadrumetum.[2] From there, after he had spent a few days that his soldiers might recuperate from sea-sickness, he was called away by alarming news brought by men who reported that all the country round Carthage was occupied by armed forces, and he hastened[3] to Zama by forced marches. Zama[4]

passage Livy must have had before him, or tried to recall, as he wrote our sentence. For Polybius' "after a few days" (v. 3) makes no connection with the landing, but merely with the receipt of an urgent message from Carthage. That may have come to him many months—even a year—after disembarkation. Hannibal would be the last to shorten the long preparation indispensable to the making of an army out of his heterogeneous forces.

[4] Probably Zama Regia, ca. 90 m.p. due west of Hadrumetum (Sousse). An old Numidian city, it is now Seba Biar, on the edge of a plain just west of the long dorsal ridge extending from Cap Bon south-west some distance beyond Kasserine and Tebessa. Lying north of Maktar this city was a residence of Jugurtha (Sallust 56–61); strongly fortified by King Juba I.; *Bell. Afr.* 91 f., 97 (Caesar leaves Sallust

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iter ab Carthagine abest. Inde praemissi speculatores cum excepti ab custodibus Romanis deducti ad Scipionem essent, traditos eos tribuno[1] militum, iussosque omisso metu visere omnia, per castra qua 3 vellent circumduci iussit; percunctatusque satin[2] per commodum[3] omnia explorassent, datis qui 4 prosequerentur, retro ad Hannibalem dimisit. Hannibal nihil quidem eorum quae nuntiabantur—nam et Masinissam cum sex milibus peditum, quattuor equitum venisse eo ipso forte die adferebant—, laeto animo audivit,[4] maxime hostis fiducia, quae[5] non de nihilo profecto concepta esset, perculsus.[6] 5 Itaque quamquam et ipse causa belli erat et adventu suo turbaverat et pactas indutias et spem foederum, tamen, si integer quam si victus peteret pacem, aequiora[7] impetrari posse ratus, nuntium ad Scipionem misit, ut conloquendi secum potestatem faceret. 6 Id utrum sua sponte fecerit an publico consilio, 7 neutrum cur adfirmem habeo. Valerius Antias

[1] tribuno *A'VJK* (*cf. Polyb.* XV. v. 5) : -nis *P*(3)*N Alllus, Froben.*

[2] satin *A'JK Alllus, Froben* : satin si *V* : statim *P*(3)*N* : statim si *N'*.

[3] per commodum *P*(3)*NV* : -mode *N'JK Alllus, Froben.*

[4] audivit *VJK Alllus, Froben* : audit *P*(3)*N.*

[5] fiducia, quae *Alllus, Froben, Gronovius, Conway* : -ciaque *P*(3)*NVJK* (*P*(3)*N having* si *before* hostis) : fiducia audaciaque *Weissenborn, Madvig.*

[6] esset, perculsus *Gronovius, Conway* : est perculsus *VJK Alllus, Froben* : percussus est *P*(3)*N Weissenborn, Madvig* : perculsus est *C*[5]*A' Luchs.*

[7] aequiora *P*(3)*N Alllus* : -orem *A'VJK Froben* 2.

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there as proconsul); Vitruvius VIII. iii. 24. Captured by Sextius in 41 B.C. (Dio Cass. XLVIII. xxiii. 4), it long lay desolate (Strabo XVII. iii. 9, 12). Absence of ruins from

is distant five day's marches from Carthage. Scouts B.C. 202
who had been sent in advance from that position were captured and brought before Scipio by their Roman guards. Thereupon he turned them over to a tribune of the soldiers, and bidding them go and see everything without fear, he ordered them to be led about the camp wherever they wished to go; and after questioning them as to whether they had examined everything quite at their leisure, he sent them back to Hannibal, furnishing men to escort them.[1] Hannibal did not indeed hear with joy any of the reports of his scouts, for they reported that Masinissa had also arrived that very day, as it happened, with six thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. But he was particularly dismayed by the enemy's confidence, which surely seemed to be not without foundation. Consequently, although he was himself at once the cause of the war and by his coming the breaker of a truce already arranged and of a prospective treaty as well, nevertheless, thinking that fairer terms could be obtained if he should sue for peace while his army was intact, rather than after defeat, he sent a messenger to Scipio, requesting that he grant the privilege of a conference with him. Whether he did so on his own responsibility or that of the state, I have no means of deciding either this way or that. Valerius Antias[2] relates

the Empire shows that the city was not rebuilt. Polybius plainly indicates that the battle was considerably farther inland than Hannibal's first position at Zama (v. 14; vi. 2). Cf. p. 472, n. 1. For modern works and the controverted questions see Appendix.

[1] The story of the scouts is from Polybius XV. v. 4–7, as also the following figures for Masinissa's forces (§ 12).

[2] Cf. xix. 11.

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primo proelio victum eum ab Scipione, quo duodecim milia armatorum in acie sint [1] caesa, mille et septingenti capti, legatum cum aliis decem legatis tradit in castra ad Scipionem venisse.

8 Ceterum Scipio cum conloquium haud abnuisset, ambo ex composito duces castra protulerunt, ut 9 coire ex propinquo possent. Scipio haud procul Naraggara [2] urbe, cum ad cetera loco opportuno tum quod aquatio intra teli coniectum erat, consedit. 10 Hannibal tumulum a quattuor milibus inde, tutum commodumque alioqui, nisi quod longinquae aquationis erat, cepit. Ibi in medio locus conspectus undique, ne quid insidiarum esset, delectus.

XXX. Summotis pari [3] spatio armatis, cum singulis interpretibus congressi sunt, non suae modo aetatis maximi duces, sed omnis ante se memoriae, omnium 2 gentium cuilibet regum imperatorumve pares. Paulisper alter alterius conspectu, admiratione mutua prope attoniti, conticuere. Tum Hannibal prior: 3 "Si hoc ita fato datum erat, ut qui primus bellum intuli populo Romano quique totiens prope in manibus victoriam habui, is ultro ad pacem petendam venirem, laetor te mihi sorte [4] potissimum datum a quo pete- 4 rem. Tibi quoque inter multa egregia non in ultimis

[1] sint *VJK* : sunt *P*(3)*N*.

[2] Naraggara *P*(3)*N* ; naggara N^1; narcara *VJK* : (Μάργαρον Polybius XV. v. 14).

[3] pari $A^{pr}VJK$ *Aldus, Froben* : par in *P*(3)*N* (*with* spatium *BA*$\bar{N}$).

[4] sorte *P*(3)*N Aldus* : *om. VJK Froben* 2.

[1] Polybius' name for the place is Margaron, occurring nowhere else. It is accordingly altered by his editors to correspond with the better class of Livy MSS.—a bold correction, it must be admitted. The site of Naraggara is thought to be occupied by Sidi Youssef, on the boundary between Tunisia

that he was defeated by Scipio in their first engage- B.C. 202
ment, in which twelve thousand soldiers were slain in battle and seventeen hundred captured; and that as an envoy with ten other envoys Hannibal came to Scipio in his camp.

To resume, once Scipio had assented to the conference, both generals by agreement advanced the position of their camps, so that their meeting might be at a short distance. Scipio established himself not far from the city of Naraggara,[1] in a situation otherwise favourable, but particularly because water was to be had within the range of a javelin. Hannibal occupied a hill four miles away, safe and convenient otherwise, except that one had to go far for water. Half-way between them a spot was chosen which was visible from all sides, that there might be no ambuscades.

XXX. Keeping their armed men at the same distance the generals, each attended by one interpreter, met, being not only the greatest of their own age, but equal to any of the kings or commanders of all nations in all history before their time. For a moment they remained silent, looking at each other and almost dumbfounded by mutual admiration. Then Hannibal was the first to speak: "If it was foreordained by fate that I, who was the first to make war upon the Roman people and who have so often had the victory almost in my grasp, should come forward to sue for peace, I rejoice that destiny has given me you, and no one else, to whom I should bring my suit. For you also, among your many distinctions, it will prove not the least of your honours

and Algeria. It was ca. 52 Roman miles west of Zama Regia. Cf. Appendix, esp. p. 547.

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laudum hoc fuerit, Hannibalem, cui tot de Romanis ducibus victoriam di dedissent, tibi cessisse, teque huic bello, vestris prius [1] quam nostris cladibus insigni, finem imposuisse. Hoc quoque ludibrium casus ediderit fortuna,[2] ut, cum patre tuo consule ceperim arma, cum eodem primum Romano imperatore signa contulerim, ad filium eius inermis ad pacem petendam veniam. Optimum quidem fuerat eam patribus nostris mentem datam ab dis esse ut et vos Italiae et nos Africae imperio contenti essemus; neque enim ne vobis quidem Sicilia ac Sardinia satis digna pretia sunt pro tot classibus, tot exercitibus, tot tam egregiis amissis ducibus. Sed praeterita magis reprehendi possunt quam corrigi. Ita aliena adpetivimus ut de nostris dimicaremus, nec in Italia solum nobis bellum, vobis [3] in Africa esset, sed et vos in portis vestris prope ac moenibus signa armaque hostium vidistis et nos ab Carthagine fremitum castrorum Romanorum exaudimus. Quod igitur nos maxime abominaremur,[4] vos ante omnia optaretis,[5] in meliore vestra fortuna de pace agitur. Agimus ei quorum et maxime interest pacem esse, et qui quodcumque egerimus, ratum civitates nostrae habiturae sunt. Animo tantum nobis opus est non abhorrente a quietis consiliis.

"Quod ad me attinet, iam aetas senem in patriam revertentem, unde puer profectus sum, iam secundae,

[1] prius *VJK Froben* 2 : plus *P*(3)*N Aldus*.

[2] fortuna, *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Froben* 2 *have* fortunae casus ediderit, *for which Aldus reads* fortuna an casus ediderit.

[3] nobis bellum, vobis *Elsperger, recent Eds., Conway* : vobis bellum nobis *A*[1]*NVJ Froben, Eds., Weissenborn* : vobis *PCAN* : nobis *B*.

[4] abominaremur *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK* : -namur *PCBAN*.

[5] optaretis *P*(3)*N* : optare debetis *Madvig, Emend.*

that Hannibal, to whom the gods have given the B.C. 202
victory over so many Roman generals, has submitted to you, and that you have made an end of this war, which was memorable at first for your disasters and then for ours. This also may prove to be Fortune's mocking sport, that having taken up arms when your father was consul, and having fought with him my first battle with a Roman general, I come to his son unarmed to sue for peace. It would indeed have been best if the gods had given our fathers the disposition to be contented, you with rule over Italy and us in turn with ruling Africa.[1] For even for you Sicily and Sardinia have been no adequate compensation for the loss of so many fleets, so many armies, so many remarkable generals. But the past is sooner disapproved than changed for the better. In grasping at what was not ours we fell to fighting for our own; and for us Carthaginians it came to be a war not in Italy alone, nor for you entirely in Africa. On the contrary you have seen the enemy's standards and arms almost at your gates and walls, just as we can hear from Carthage the noise of a Roman camp. Consequently we discuss terms of peace while Fortune is favouring you—a situation most ominous for us, while you could pray for nothing better. We who are treating have the most to gain by peace, and furthermore, whatever terms *we* are to make our states will ratify. We need only a temper not averse to measures calmly considered.

"As for myself, age has at last taught me, returning as an old man to my native city, from

[1] With this thought begins the speech in Polybius vi. 4. What precedes in Livy is his exordium, designed to produce a favourable impression according to rhetorical rule.

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iam adversae res ita erudierunt ut rationem sequi
11 quam fortunam malim; tuam et adulescentiam et perpetuam felicitatem, ferociora utraque quam quietis opus est consiliis, metuo. Non temere incerta casuum reputat quem fortuna numquam decepit.[1]
12 Quod ego fui ad Trasumennum, ad Cannas, id tu hodie es.[2] Vixdum militari aetate imperio accepto omnia audacissime incipientem nusquam[3] fefellit
13 fortuna. Patris et patrui persecutus mortem ex calamitate vestrae domus decus insigne virtutis pietatisque eximiae cepisti; amissas Hispanias reciperasti quattuor inde Punicis exercitibus pulsis;
14 consul creatus, cum[4] ceteris ad tutandam Italiam parum animi esset, transgressus in Africam, duobus hic exercitibus caesis, binis eadem hora captis simul incensisque castris, Syphace potentissimo rege capto, tot urbibus regni eius, tot nostri imperii ereptis, me sextum decimum iam annum haerentem in posses-
15 sione Italiae detraxisti. Potest victoriam malle quam pacem animus. Novi spiritus magnos magis quam utiles; et mihi talis aliquando fortuna adfulsit.
16 Quodsi in secundis rebus bonam quoque mentem darent dei, non ea solum quae evenissent, sed etiam ea quae evenire possent reputaremus. Ut omnium obliviscaris aliorum, satis ego documenti in omnes
17 casus sum, quem, modo castris inter Anienem atque urbem vestram positis signa inferentem ac iam prope

[1] decepit *A'N'VJK Aldus, Froben*: decipit *P*(3)*N*.
[2] es *A'N'VJK Aldus, Froben*: *om.* *P*(3)*N*.
[3] nusquam *P*(3)*N*: nunquam *N'VJK*.
[4] cum, *after this word P is lost to us up to* xxxvii. 3.

[1] Similar is Polybius vii. 1. [2] Cf. XXVI. xix. 9.
[3] In 211 B.C.; three miles from the city; XXVI. x. 3.

which I set out as a boy, success and failure have at last so schooled me that I prefer to follow reason rather than chance. In your case I am apprehensive alike of your youth and of your unbroken success, both of them too refractory for the demands of calmly considered measures. It is not easy for a man whom fortune has never deceived to weigh uncertain chances.[1] What I was at Trasumennus, at Cannae, that you are today. Although you had received a command when hardly of an age to serve,[2] and undertook everything with the greatest boldness, nowhere has fortune deluded you. By avenging the death of your father and uncle you won from the disaster to your family signal honour for courage and extraordinary devotion. You recovered the lost Spanish provinces by driving out of them four Punic armies. Elected consul, while the rest lacked courage to defend Italy, you crossed over to Africa; and by destroying two armies here, by taking and at the same time burning two camps in the same hour, by capturing Syphax, a most powerful king, by seizing so many cities of his kingdom, so many in our domain, you dragged me away when now for sixteen years I had clung to the possession of Italy. It is possible for the heart to prefer victory to a peace. I know those aspirations that soar but are ineffectual; on me too such fortune as yours once shone. But if in prosperity the gods blessed us with sound reason also, we should be reflecting not merely upon what has happened but also upon what can happen. Though you forget everything else, I am a sufficient warning against all that may chance. For it was I that, pitching my camp not long ago[3] between the Anio and your city, was advancing my standards

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scandentem [1] moenia Romana,[2] hic cernas duobus fratribus, fortissimis viris, clarissimis imperatoribus orbatum ante moenia prope obsessae patriae quibus terrui vestram urbem, ea pro mea deprecantem.

18 "Maximae cuique fortunae minime credendum est. In bonis tuis rebus, nostris dubiis, tibi ampla [3] ac speciosa danti est pax, nobis petentibus magis
19 necessaria quam honesta. Melior tutiorque est certa pax quam sperata victoria: haec in tua, illa in deorum manu est. Ne tot annorum felicitatem in unius horae
20 dederis discrimen. Cum tuas vires, tum vim Fortunae Martemque belli communem propone animo. Utrimque ferrum, utrimque [4] corpora humana erunt; nusquam minus quam in bello eventus respondent.
21 Non tantum ad id quod data pace iam habere potes, si proelio vincas,[5] gloriae adieceris, quantum dempseris,[6] si quid adversi eveniat. Simul parta ac sperata decora unius horae fortuna evertere potest.
22 Omnia in pace iungenda tuae potestatis sunt, P. Corneli; tunc ea habenda fortuna erit quam di
23 dederint. Inter pauca felicitatis virtutisque exempla M. Atilius quondam in hac eadem terra fuisset, si [7] victor pacem petentibus dedisset patribus nostris;

[1] ac iam (acie *A¹VJK*) prope scandentem *A¹VJK Froben* 2: *om. CBDAN Aldus.*

[2] Romana *CBDANV*: Romana videras *A¹N¹JK Aldus, Froben* (*with* videris *Conway*).

[3] tibi ampla *A¹N¹VJK Eds.*: iam apta *CBDAN?*

[4] ferrum, utrimque *CA¹*: ferrum *N¹VJK Aldus, Froben*: *om. BDAN.*

[5] vincas *Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: -ces *D Conway*: -cens *CBA*: -cis *A¹N¹VJK*: viceris *x*: vinceris *N.*

[6] dempseris *Madvig, recent Eds.*: ademeris *Aldus, Froben*: *om. CBDANVJK.*

[7] fuisset, si *DVJK Froben* 2: fuisse et si *CB¹*: fuisse fertur qui sic (si *AN*) *AN Aldus.*

and now almost scaling the walls of Rome. But here B.C. 202
bereft of my two brothers, the bravest of men, the most eminent of generals, you see me before the walls of my native city, already almost invested, and I am praying that she may be spared the terrors which I brought to yours.

"The greatest good fortune is always the least to be trusted. In your favourable circumstances, in our uncertain situation, peace, if you grant it, will bring you honour and glory;[1] for us who sue it is necessary rather than honourable. Better and safer is an assured peace than a victory hoped for. The one is in your own power, the other in the hands of the gods. Do not commit the success of so many years to the test of a single hour. Bear in mind not only your own resources but also the might of Fortune and the impartial god of war. On both sides will be the sword, on both sides human bodies. Nowhere less than in war do results match men's hopes. You will not add so much glory, if victorious in battle, to what you can now have by granting peace, as you will lose in case of any reverse.[2] The fortune of a single hour can lay low honours already won, and with them those in prospect. In making peace, Publius Cornelius, you have everything in your own power. In the other case you will have to bear the lot which the gods may give. Among the foremost examples of success and courage would have been Marcus Atilius[3] formerly in this same land, if as victor he had granted the peace which our fathers

[1] Cf. the closing words of Hannibal in Polybius vii. 9.

[2] The thought of Polybius vii. 6.

[3] Regulus had been used as an *exemplum deterrens* in a speech by Fabius in XXVIII. xlii. 1; cf. *ibid.* xliii. 17 in Scipio's reply.

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sed non statuendo felicitati modum nec cohibendo efferentem se fortunam, quanto altius elatus erat, eo foedius conruit.

24 "Est quidem eius qui dat, non qui petit, condiciones dicere pacis; sed forsitan non indigni simus qui
25 nobismet ipsi[1] multam inrogemus. Non recusamus quin omnia propter quae ad bellum itum[2] est vestra sint, Sicilia, Sardinia, Hispania, quidquid insularum toto inter Africam Italiamque continetur mari.
26 Carthaginienses inclusi Africae litoribus vos, quando ita dis placuit, externa etiam terra marique videamus
27 regentes imperio.[3] Haud negaverim propter non nimis sincere petitam aut exspectatam nuper pacem suspectam esse vobis Punicam fidem. Multum per quos petita sit ad fidem tuendae pacis pertinet,
28 Scipio. Vestri quoque, ut audio, patres non nihil etiam ob hoc, quia parum dignitatis in legatione
29 erat, negaverunt pacem: Hannibal peto pacem, qui neque peterem, nisi utilem crederem, et propter ean-
30 dem utilitatem tuebor eam propter quam petii. Et quem ad modum, quia a me bellum coeptum est, ne quem eius paeniteret, quoad ipsi invidere dei, praestiti, ita adnitar ne quem pacis per me partae paeniteat."

XXXI. Adversus haec imperator Romanus in

[1] ipsi *CBD*: ipsis *ANVJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] itum *CBDNVJK*: initum (*om.* ad) *AN Aldus, Froben.*
[3] imperio *Madvig, Eds.*: -ia *CBDANVJK.*

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[1] Sicily had been lost by Carthage in the peace of 241 B.C., Sardinia three years later. Unsuccessful attempts to recover them in the present war, however, justify mention of both here.

requested. But by setting no limit to his success B.C. 20- and not reining in an unruly fortune, the higher he had climbed the more terribly did he fall.

"It belongs, to be sure, to the giver of peace, not to the suitor, to name the terms. But possibly we may not be unworthy to impose a penalty upon ourselves. We do not reject the condition that all the possessions for which we went to war shall be yours—Sicily, Sardinia,[1] Spain, and any islands existing in all the sea between Africa and Italy. Let us Carthaginians, confined by the coasts of Africa, behold you ruling under your authority even foreign countries by land and sea,[2] since that has been the will of the gods. I would not deny that, on account of a lack of sincerity in our recent suit for peace, and because we did not wait for it, Punic honour for you Romans is now tainted with suspicion. For the faithful observance of a peace much depends, Scipio, on the persons by whom the suit is presented. Your senators also have refused the peace,[3] I hear, partly for the reason that the embassy was lacking in dignity. I, Hannibal, am suing for peace, I who should not be so doing if I did not think it an advantageous peace; and I shall uphold it because of the same advantage on account of which I have sued for it. And just as I, having begun the war, therefore made sure—until the gods themselves became envious—that no one should regret it, so will I strive to prevent any man from regretting the peace obtained through me."

XXXI. To these pleas the Roman general replied

[2] Nothing is said of Scipio's other demands in xvi. 10 ff., including a heavy indemnity.

[3] See p. 449 and n. 2.

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hanc fere sententiam respondit: "Non me fallebat, Hannibal, adventus [1] tui spe Carthaginienses et praesentem indutiarum fidem et spem pacis turbasse; 2 neque tu id sane dissimulas, qui de condicionibus superioribus [2] pacis omnia subtrahas praeter ea quae iam 3 pridem in nostra potestate sunt. Ceterum ut [3] tibi curae est sentire cives tuos quanto per te onere leventur, sic mihi laborandum est ne [4] quae tum [5] pepigerunt hodie subtracta ex condicionibus pacis 4 praemia perfidiae habeant. Indigni quibus eadem pateat condicio, etiam ut prosit vobis fraus petitis. Neque patres nostri priores de Sicilia, neque nos de Hispania fecimus bellum; et tunc [6] Mamertinorum sociorum periculum et nunc Sagunti excidium nobis 5 pia ac iusta induerunt arma. Vos lacessisse et tu ipse fateris et dei testes sunt, qui et illius belli exitum secundum ius fasque dederunt et huius dant et dabunt.

6 "Quod ad me attinet, et humanae infirmitatis memini et vim Fortunae reputo et omnia quaecumque 7 agimus subiecta esse mille casibus scio; ceterum, quem ad modum superbe et violenter me faterer facere, si, priusquam in Africam traiecissem, te tua voluntate cedentem Italia et inposito in naves exercitu ipsum venientem ad pacem petendam 8 aspernarer, sic nunc, cum prope manu conserta [7]

[1] adventus *A¹N¹VJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: avere (habere *CDAN*) adventus *CBDAN*: ab adventus *Alschefski*: aura adventus *conj. Madvig.*

[2] superioribus *CBDAN Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: superioris *N¹VJK* ("*perhaps correct*" *Conway*).

[3] ut *CBDVJK*: sicut *AN Aldus, Froben.*

[4] ne *Aldus, Froben*: ne si *CBDANVJK.*

[5] tum *CBDAN*: tunc *N²* or *N¹VJK Aldus, Froben.*

[6] tunc *N¹VJK Froben* 2: tum *CBDAN Aldus.*

[7] conserta *z*: *-tum* (*supine*) *CBDANVJK.*

somewhat to this effect: "I was not unaware, B.C. 202
Hannibal, that the Carthaginians, anticipating your arrival, showed no respect either for present obligations to the armistice or for the peace in prospect; and you surely make no concealment of that fact when you omit from the earlier terms of peace everything except what has long been in our possession.[1] But just as you are concerned to have your citizens appreciate how great is the burden of which they are relieved by you, so I must exert myself that they do not have as the reward of perfidy any relaxation of the terms of peace to which they at that time agreed. Unworthy to have the same terms open to you as before, you Carthaginians are asking to have your dishonesty profit you. Our fathers were not aggressors in making war for Sicily; no more were we for Spain. In the former case the peril of our allies, the Mamertines, as in the latter instance the destruction of Saguntum, armed us with the weapons of duty and justice. That your people were the aggressors you yourself admit, and the gods as well are our witnesses, who gave for that war and are giving and will give for this one an outcome in accordance with justice and the right.

"So far as I am concerned, I am mindful of human weakness, and I reflect upon the might of Fortune and know that everything that we do is exposed to a thousand chances. But, just as I should admit that I were acting with arrogance and violence if, before I had crossed over to Africa, I were to reject you when you were voluntarily withdrawing from Italy and, while your army was already on shipboard, you were coming in person to sue for peace, so now,

[1] Cf. xvi. 10.

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restitantem ac tergiversantem in Africam adtraxerim,[1] nulla sum tibi verecundia obstrictus.
9 Proinde si quid ad ea in quae tum pax conventura videbatur, quasi [2] multa navium cum commeatu per indutias expugnatarum [3] legatorumque violatorum, adicitur, est quod referam ad consilium; sin illa quoque gravia videntur, bellum parate, quoniam pacem pati non potuistis."
10 Ita infecta pace ex conloquio ad suos cum se recepissent, frustra verba iactata [4] renuntiant: armis decernendum esse habendamque eam fortunam quam dei dedissent. XXXII. In castra ut est ventum, pronuntiant ambo arma expedirent milites animosque ad supremum certamen, non in unum diem sed in per-
2 petuum, si felicitas adesset, victores. Roma an Carthago iura gentibus daret ante crastinam noctem scituros; neque enim Africam aut Italiam, sed orbem terrarum victoriae praemium fore; par periculum praemio quibus adversa [5] pugnae fortuna fuisset.
3 Nam neque Romanis effugium ullum patebat in aliena ignotaque terra, et Carthagini, supremo [6] auxilio effuso, adesse videbatur praesens excidium.

[1] adtraxerim (*or* at-) *CBDAN Aldus, Froben*: traduxerim $N^{1}VJK$ *Froben 2*.

[2] quasi A^{5} *conj. Gronovius, Eds.*: quae si *CBA?*: que si *A?N*: quae sit *Alschefski*: que sunt $A^{1}VJK$: si *D*.

[3] expugnatarum *BDAN Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: -gnarum *C*: oppugnatarum (*or* ob-) $A^{1}VJK$ *Riemann*.

[4] iactata *Gronovius, many Eds.*: temptata *x Conway*: praelata *Alschefski*: praecata (prec-) *BD*: p̄cata *CN?*: pcata *A*: pacata $A^{1}N^{1}VJK$ *Aldus, Froben*.

[5] adversa *K J.Perizonius, Eds.*: adversae *CBDANVJ Aldus, Froben*.

[6] -que . . . supremo *om. CBDAN* (*evidently P had om. two lines of the archetype*): *supplied from* $A^{1}N^{1}VJK$.

when I have dragged you to Africa, resisting and shifting ground as we almost came to blows, I am under no obligation to respect you. Therefore, if to the terms upon which peace was formerly about to be made,[1] as it seemed, you are adding some kind of compensation for the ships loaded with supplies that were taken by force during the armistice, and for violence done to my envoys, I have reason to bring it before the council. But if that addition also seems too severe, prepare for war, since you have been unable to endure a peace." B.C. 202

Accordingly without making peace they returned from the conference to their armies, reporting that words had been of no avail; that arms must decide the issue and they must accept whatever lot the gods should give them. XXXII. Arrived at their camps, they both ordered their soldiers to have arms and their spirits in readiness for the final conflict to make them victors, if success attended them, not for one day but forever. Whether Rome or Carthage should give laws to the nations they would know the next day before nightfall. For not Africa, they said, or Italy but the whole world would be the reward of victory [2]—a reward matched by the danger for those whom the fortune of battle should not favour. In fact the Romans had no way of escape open in a foreign and an unknown land,[3] and for Carthage, once it had poured out its last resources, immediate destruction seemed impending.

[1] Cf. xxx. 28.

[2] So Polybius ix. 5 and again x. 2, in a later speech of Scipio to his troops. The suspense of a great historical moment deeply impressed both historians. Cf. §§ 4 f.

[3] This statement added by Livy reflects what Scipio says to his men in Polybius x. 4. Cf. Appian *Pun.* 42 *fin.*

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4 Ad hoc discrimen procedunt postero die duorum opulentissimorum populorum duo longe clarissimi duces, duo fortissimi exercitus, multa ante parta 5 decora aut cumulaturi eo die aut eversuri. Anceps igitur spes et metus miscebant animos; contemplantibusque modo suam modo hostium aciem, cum [1] oculis magis quam ratione pensarent vires, simul laeta, simul tristia obversabantur. Quae ipsis sua sponte non succurrebant, ea duces admonendo atque 6 hortando subiciebant.[2] Poenus sedecim annorum in terra Italia [3] res gestas, tot duces Romanos, tot exercitus occidione occisos et sua cuique decora, ubi ad insignem alicuius pugnae memoria militem 7 venerat, referebat: Scipio Hispanias et recentia in Africa proelia et confessionem hostium, quod neque non petere pacem propter metum neque manere in ea 8 prae insita animis perfidia potuissent. Ad hoc conloquium Hannibalis in secreto habitum ac 9 liberum fingenti qua [4] volt flectit.[5] Ominatur, quibus quondam auspiciis patres eorum ad Aegates pugnaverint insulas, ea illis exeuntibus in aciem portendisse 10 deos. Adesse finem belli ac laboris; in manibus esse praedam Carthaginis, reditum domum in patriam ad

[1] cum *CDANVJK Aldus, Froben, Conway*: cum non *Weissenborn, Madvig, most recent Eds.*: cui *B.*
[2] subiciebant *N*[1]*VJK*: -iciunt *AN Aldus, Froben.*
[3] Italia, *AN have* italiam *with* intra *for* in terra.
[4] qua *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben*: quae *CBDAN.*
[5] flectit, *V Aldus, Froben have* flecti.

[1] Even the month is much debated. Those who place the "battle of Zama" in the spring or early summer are unable to explain such delay in making the peace (spring of 201 B.C.). Against the summer is the heat of a Tunisian sun, both for European troops and African elephants in action. More probable is October. Cf. Appendix, pp. 551–554.

For this decision on the following day[1] two generals B.C. 202
far and away the most distinguished and two of the bravest armies of the two wealthiest nations went forth,[2] on that day either to crown the many distinctions heretofore won, or to bring them to naught. Consequently a wavering between hope and fear confused their spirits; and as they surveyed now their own battle-line, now that of the enemy, while weighing their strength more by the eye than by calculation, the bright side and at the same time the dark was before their minds. What did not occur to the men themselves of their own accord the generals would suggest in admonition and exhortation. The Carthaginian kept recalling to their minds the achievements of sixteen years in the land of Italy, so many Roman generals, so many armies wiped out completely, and brave deeds of individuals, whenever he came to a soldier distinguished in the record of some battle. Scipio would recall the Spanish provinces and recent battles in Africa and the enemy's admission, in that on account of fear they could but sue for peace, and yet had been unable to abide by the peace on account of their ingrained perfidy. Furthermore, as his conference with Hannibal had been in private and could be freely altered, he gave it the direction he desired. He divined that as the Carthaginians went out into battle-line, the gods had given them the same omens as when their fathers fought at the Aegates Islands. The end of the war and hardship was at hand, he said, the spoils of Carthage within reach, and the return home to their native city, to parents, children,

[2] At daybreak; Polybius ix. 2.

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11 parentes, liberos, coniuges penatesque deos. Celsus haec corpore voltuque ita laeto ut vicisse iam crederes dicebat.

Instruit deinde primos hastatos, post eos principes; triariis postremam aciem clausit. XXXIII. Non confertas autem cohortes ante sua quamque signa instruebat, sed manipulos aliquantum inter se distantes, ut esset spatium qua elephanti hostium
2 acti [1] nihil ordines turbarent. Laelium, cuius ante legati, eo anno quaestoris extra sortem ex senatus consulto opera utebatur, cum Italico equitatu ab sinistro cornu, Masinissam Numidasque ab dextro
3 opposuit. Vias patentes inter manipulos antesignanorum velitibus—ea tunc levis armatura erat—complevit, dato praecepto ut ad impetum elephantorum aut post directos [2] refugerent ordines aut in dextram laevamque discursu applicantes se antesignanis [3] viam qua inruerent in ancipitia tela beluis darent.

4 Hannibal ad terrorem primos [4] elephantos—octoginta autem erant, quot nulla umquam in acie
5 ante habuerat—instruxit, deinde auxilia Ligurum

[1] acti *CBDAN*: capti *N*[1](*alt.*): rapti *V*: accepti *JK Aldus, Froben.*

[2] directos *Alschefski, Eds.*: in rectos *CBDANVJK*: rectos *A*[1]*? Aldus, Froben.*

[3] se antesignanis, *for this CBDAN have* signis.

[4] primos *CBD Eds.*: -mum *ANVJK Aldus, Froben.*

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[1] This is confused. Polybius does not mention cohorts, but is merely using both of his terms for maniple in the same sentence, ix. 7; cf. pp. 62 f., n. 2. Novel was the formation with *principes* directly behind *hastati*, instead of behind the normal intervals between front line maniples. This was Scipio's device to reduce losses in the charge of the elephants.

wives and household gods. So erect did he stand B.C. 202
as he spoke these words, and with so happy a look on his face that one would have believed him already the victor.

Thereupon he drew up in the first line the *hastati*, behind them the *principes*, in the rear the *triarii* closing the formation. XXXIII. However, he did not form cohorts[1] in close contact, each in advance of its standards, but rather maniples at a considerable distance from each other, so that there should be an interval where the enemy's elephants might be driven through without breaking up the ranks. Laelius, whom he had previously had in his service as lieutenant, but in the present year as quaestor, assigned not by lot but by decree of the senate,[2] was posted with the Italic cavalry on the left wing, Masinissa and the Numidians on the right. The open passages between the maniples of the front line troops Scipio filled with *velites*,[3] the light-armed of that day, under orders that, upon the charge of the elephants, they should either flee behind the ranks in the line, or else dashing to right and left and closing up to the maniples in the van, should give the beasts an opening through which they might rush among missiles hurled from both sides.

Hannibal in order to create a panic drew up his elephants in front, and there were eighty of them, a number he had never before had in any battle. Next in order he placed the Ligurian and Gallic

[1] Cf. Frontinus *Strat.* II. iii. 16; E. Meyer, *Kleine Schriften* II. 206 f.

[2] A rare procedure. His election is passed over by both of our authorities.

[3] So Polybius §§ 9 f.; Frontinus *l.c.*

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Gallorumque Baliaribus Maurisque admixtis; in secunda acie Carthaginienses Afrosque et Macedonum
6 legionem; modico deinde intervallo relicto subsidiariam aciem Italicorum militum—Bruttii plerique erant, vi ac necessitate plures quam sua voluntate
7 decedentem ex Italia secuti—instruxit. Equitatum et ipse[1] circumdedit cornibus; dextrum Carthaginienses, sinistrum Numidae tenuerunt.
8 Varia adhortatio erat in exercitu inter tot homines, quibus non lingua, non mos, non lex, non arma, non vestitus habitusque, non causa militandi eadem esset.
9 Auxiliaribus et praesens et multiplicata ex praeda merces ostentatur; Galli proprio atque insito in Romanos odio accenduntur; Liguribus campi uberes Italiae deductis ex asperrimis montibus in spem
10 victoriae ostentantur: Mauros Numidasque Masinissae inpotenti futuro[2] dominatu terret; aliis aliae
11 spes ac metus iactantur. Carthaginiensibus moenia patriae, di penates, sepulcra maiorum, liberi cum parentibus coniugesque pavidae, aut excidium servitiumque aut imperium orbis terrarum, nihil aut in metum aut in spem medium, ostentatur.
12 Cum maxime haec imperator apud Carthaginienses, duces suarum gentium inter populares, pleraque per interpretes inter immixtos[3] alienigenis[4] agerent,

[1] ipse *CBDA*^{1}*N* : ipsum *VJK Aldus, Froben* : *om.* N^{5}.
[2] futuro *NV Froben* 2 : -ros *CBDA*^{1}*JK Aldus.*
[3] inter immixtos, *for this JK Aldus, Froben have* intermixtos.
[4] alienigenis *CBDANV Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : -generis *JK* : -genas *Freinsheim, M. Müller.*

[1] Cf. xxvi. 3. Not mentioned by Polybius, but by Frontinus; doubted or rejected by modern historians.
[2] More than a furlong in Polybius xi. 2.
[3] Cf. XXVIII. xii. 3 f. and note.

auxiliaries in combination with Balearic and Maure- B.C. 202
tanian troops; in the second line Carthaginians and Africans and the legion of Macedonians.[1] Then, leaving a moderate interval,[2] he drew up a reserve line of Italic soldiers, most of these Bruttians, more of whom had followed him under compulsion and of necessity than of their own consent as he retired from Italy. As for the cavalry, he also placed them on the wings; the Carthaginians held the right wing, the Numidians the left.

In an army made up of so many men who had no language, no custom, no law, no arms, no clothing and general appearance in common,[3] nor the same reason for serving, exhortation took various forms. To the auxiliaries was offered pay in cash and greatly increased by a share in the booty. The Gauls had their own inbred hatred of the Romans fanned into flame. Ligurians were offered as an incentive to victory the rich plains of Italy, once they were brought down from their rugged mountains. Mauretanians and Numidians were frightened by Hannibal with the prospect of Masinissa's tyrannical rule. To different nations different hopes and fears were displayed. The Carthaginians' attention was called to the walls of their city, to household gods, tombs of ancestors, children and parents and terror-stricken wives, to destruction and servitude on the one hand, on the other to rule over the world, to the absence of any ground between the extremes of fear and hope.

Just as the general was thus speaking among the Carthaginians, and the national leaders among their countrymen, mainly through interpreters, since foreigners were intermingled, trumpets and horns

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13 tubae cornuaque ab Romanis cecinerunt, tantusque clamor ortus ut elephanti in suos, sinistrum maxime cornu, verterentur,[1] Mauros ac Numidas. Addidit facile Masinissa perculsis terrorem nudavitque ab
14 ea parte aciem equestri auxilio. Paucae tamen bestiarum intrepidae [2] in hostem actae inter velitum ordines cum multis suis volneribus ingentem stragem
15 edebant. Resilientes enim ad manipulos velites, cum viam elephantis, ne obtererentur, fecissent, in ancipites ad ictum utrimque coniciebant hastas, nec
16 pila ab [3] antesignanis cessabant, donec undique incidentibus telis exacti ex Romana acie hi quoque in suos dextrum [4] cornu, ipsos Carthaginienses equites, in fugam verterunt. Laelius ut turbatos vidit hostes addidit perculsis terrorem.

XXXIV. Utrimque nudata equite erat Punica acies cum pedes concurrit, nec spe nec viribus iam par. Ad hoc dictu parva sed magna eadem in re gerenda momenta: [5] congruens clamor ab Romanis eoque maior et terribilior, dissonae illis, ut gentium
2 multarum discrepantibus linguis, voces; pugna Romana stabilis et suo et armorum pondere incum-

[1] verterentur *CBDAN*: con- *V* (cor-) *JK Aldus*: verterent *Froben* 2.

[2] intrepidae *CBDAN Froben* 2: trepide *VJK*: intrepide: *Aldus*.

[3] hastas, nec pila ab, *these words and also* an- *of the next were probably omitted by P, as is shown by the same omission in CBDAN*.

[4] suos dextrum *VJK*: suo dextro (*or* -ero) *CBDAN Aldus, Froben*.

[5] magna . . . momenta *CBDANV* (*adding* res *A*[a]*J*): magni . . . momenti res *K Aldus, Froben, Madvig* (*om.* res).

[1] The account of the battle should be compared throughout with that of Polybius XV. xii.–xvi. Cf. Frontinus II. iii.

sounded on the Roman side, and such shouts were raised that the elephants turned against their own men, especially against the left wing, the Mauretanians and Numidians.[1] Masinissa easily increased their panic and stripped that end of the line of its cavalry support. A few of the beasts, however, being fearlessly driven into the enemy, caused great losses among the ranks of the light-armed, though suffering many wounds themselves. For springing back to the maniples the light-armed made way for the elephants, to avoid being trampled down, and then would hurl their lances from both sides against the beasts doubly exposed to missiles. Nor was there any slackening in the javelins of the men in the front lines until these elephants also, driven out of the Roman line and into their own men by missiles showered upon them from all sides, put the right wing, even the Carthaginian cavalry, to flight. Laelius, on seeing the enemy in confusion, increased their panic. B.C. 202

XXXIV. On both sides the Punic battle-line had been stripped of its cavalry when the infantry clashed, now no longer matched either in their hopes or in their strength. In addition there were what seem small things to mention, but at the same time were highly important in the battle: a harmony in the shouting of the Romans, which consequently was greater in volume and more terrifying; on the other side discordant voices, as was natural from many nations with a confusion of tongues; for the Romans a battle of little movement, as they pressed on into the

16; Zonaras IX. xiv. 7 ff. Appian's narrative includes much fiction, with single combats in the epic manner; *Pun.* 45. Cf. Scullard 237 ff.; Veith 645 ff.; Kahrstedt 564 ff.; De Sanctis 552 ff., 604 ff.; *C.A.H.* VIII. 105 ff.

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bentium in hostem, concursatio et velocitas illinc
3 maior quam vis. Igitur primo impetu extemplo
movere loco hostium aciem Romani. Ala deinde et
umbonibus [1] pulsantes, in summotos gradu inlato,
aliquantum spatii velut nullo resistente incessere,
4 urgentibus et novissimis primos ut semel motam
aciem sensere, quod ipsum vim magnam ad pellendum
5 hostem addebat. Apud hostes auxiliares cedentes
secunda acies, Afri et Carthaginienses, adeo non
sustinebant ut contra etiam, ne resistentes pertina-
citer primos [2] caedendo ad se perveniret hostis,
6 pedem referrent. Igitur auxiliares terga dant
repente, et in suos versi partim refugere in secundam
aciem, partim non recipientes caedere, ut et paulo
7 ante non adiuti et tunc exclusi. Et prope duo iam
permixta proelia erant, cum Carthaginienses simul
cum hostibus, simul cum suis cogerentur manus
8 conserere. Non tamen ita perculsos iratosque in
aciem accepere, sed densatis ordinibus in cornua
vacuumque circa campum extra proelium eiecere,[3]
ne pavido [4] fuga volneribusque [5] milite sinceram et
integram aciem miscerent.

[1] umbonibus *A¹VJK Aldus, Froben*: umboni *CBDA*: -one A^6.

[2] primos *A¹VJK Aldus, Froben*: primo *CBDAN*.

[3] eiecere *N¹VJK Aldus, Froben*: eicere *CBDAN*.

[4] pavido *CBD*: -dos *ANVJK Aldus, Froben* (*with* milites *below, as have DANVJK*).

[5] -que *N Aldus, Froben, Madvig, Conway*: *om. CBDA*: *VJK have* et *before noun*.

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[1] Livy here departs from Polybius' statements (xiii. 1), which probably had already suffered a text corruption still remaining in our MSS. and some editions. If the enemy were at once dislodged there would seem to be no need of

enemy by their own weight and that of their arms ; on B.C. 202
the other side repeated charges at high speed but with less power. Consequently by the first attack the Romans at once dislodged the enemy's line. Then beating them back with their shoulders and the bosses of their shields,[1] being now in close contact with men forced from their position, they made considerable progress, as no one offered any resistance, while as soon as they saw that the enemy's line had given way, even the rear line pressed upon the first, a circumstance which of itself gave them great force in repulsing the enemy. Among the enemy so far was their second line, the Africans and Carthaginians, from supporting the auxiliaries as they gave way, that on the contrary they even drew back for fear the enemy, by slaying the men of the first line if these stoutly resisted, should reach themselves. Accordingly the auxiliaries suddenly retreated and facing their own men, some found refuge in the second line, others, having been refused aid shortly before, and also admission now to the ranks, slashed at those who would not make place for them. And by this time there were almost two battles in one, since the Carthaginians were forced to engage with the enemy and at the same time with their own men. Nevertheless even so they did not admit the panic-stricken, angry men into the line, but closing up their ranks, they forced them out upon the wings and into the empty plain on this side and that outside of the battle, in order not to contaminate their own line, still intact and fresh, with soldiers alarmed by the flight and their wounds.

pushing, instead of continuing to use their weapons. Cf. Meyer *l.c.* 408 f.; De Sanctis 607.

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9 Ceterum tanta strages[1] hominum armorumque locum in quo steterant paulo ante auxiliares compleverat ut prope difficilior transitus esset quam per 10 confertos[2] hostes fuerat. Itaque qui primi erant, hastati, per cumulos corporum armorumque et tabem[3] sanguinis, qua quisque poterat, sequentes hostem et signa et ordines confuderunt. Principum quoque signa fluctuari coeperant vagam ante se 11 cernendo aciem. Quod Scipio ubi vidit, receptui propere canere hastatis iussit et sauciis in postremam aciem subductis principes triariosque in cornua inducit, quo tutior firmiorque media hastatorum acies 12 esset. Ita novum de integro proelium ortum est; quippe ad veros hostes perventum erat, et armorum genere et usu militiae et fama rerum gestarum et 13 magnitudine vel spei vel periculi pares. Sed et numero superior Romanus erat et animo, quod iam equites, iam elephantos fuderat, iam prima acie pulsa in secundam pugnabat.

XXXV. In tempore Laelius ac Masinissa pulsos[4] per aliquantum spatii secuti equites, revertentes in aversam hostium aciem incurrere. Is demum equi- 2 tum impetus perculit[5] hostem. Multi circumventi

[1] strages N^2 *or* N^1 *alt.*) *VJK Froben* 2 : strage *CBDAN Aldus.*

[2] confertos *CBD*[1]*VJK Froben* 2 : -tissimos *AN Aldus.*

[3] tabem *Aldus, Eds.* : tabe *C* : tabes *BDAN* : labem A^1JK *Froben* 2 : luem *V.*

[4] pulsos *CBDAN Aldus, Froben* : fusos A^1N^1VJK.

[5] perculit A^1N^1JK *Froben* 2 : pertulit *V* : fudit *CBDAN Aldus.*

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[1] After a pause, while Hannibal also was reforming his lines, in what manner we are not told. For Scipio's reorganization of his front—a notable feat—see Polybius xiv. 3 ff.

[2] *I.e.* the Carthaginians in the second line, together with the Libyan and Macedonian mercenaries; xxxiii. 5. In Polybius

But such heaps of bodies and arms had covered the B.C. 202
place where the auxiliaries had stood shortly before that to make their way across was almost more difficult than it had been through the dense mass of the enemy. Accordingly the men of the front line, the *hastati*, pursuing the enemy wherever they could over heaps of bodies and arms and through pools of blood, broke up both their own maniples and their ranks. The maniples of the *principes* also began to waver, as they saw the unsteady line in front of them. When Scipio saw this he ordered the recall to be sounded at once for the *hastati*, and after withdrawing the wounded to the rear line, he led the *principes* and *triarii* to the wings, in order that the centre, composed of *hastati*, might be safer and steadier. Thus began an entirely new battle.[1] For they had reached the real enemy,[2] their equals in the character of their weapons and their experience in war and the celebrity of their deeds and the greatness whether of their hopes or of their danger. But the Roman was superior both in numbers and in spirit, because he had already routed the cavalry, had already routed the elephants, and was already fighting against the second line, having repulsed the first.

XXXV. At the right moment Laelius and Masinissa, who had pursued the routed cavalry for a considerable distance, returned and dashed into the rear of the enemy's line. That charge of the cavalry finally worsted the enemy. Many were overpowered

xiv. 6 the new battle begins when Hannibal's third line (Italians so far held in reserve) is at last engaged. Of these troops as veterans Polybius had a much higher opinion than Livy and Frontinus *l.c.*; cf. xxxiii. 6 and xxxv. 9 *fin.*

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in acie caesi; multi[1] per patentem circa campum fuga sparsi tenente omnia equitatu passim interie-
3 runt. Carthaginiensium sociorumque caesa eo die supra viginti milia; par ferme numerus captus cum signis militaribus centum triginta duobus,[2] elephantis undecim; victores ad mille et quingenti[3] cecidere.
4 Hannibal cum paucis equitibus inter tumultum elapsus Hadrumetum perfugit, omnia et ante aciem et in proelio,[4] priusquam excederet pugna, expertus,
5 et confessione etiam Scipionis omniumque peritorum militiae illam laudem adeptus, singulari arte aciem eo
6 die instruxisse: elephantos in prima fronte, quorum fortuitus impetus atque intolerabilis vis signa sequi et servare ordines, in quo plurimum spei ponerent,
7 Romanos prohiberent; deinde auxiliares ante Carthaginiensium aciem, ne homines mixti ex[5] conluvione omnium gentium, quos non fides teneret,
8 sed merces, liberum receptum fugae haberent, simul primum ardorem atque impetum[6] hostium excipientes fatigarent ac, si nihil aliud, volneribus suis ferrum

[1] multi *Froben* 2: *om. CBDANVJK Aldus.*

[2] CXXXII *CBDAN*: CXXXIII *Aldus, Froben*: XXXII (*or in full*) *VJK.*

[3] mille et quingenti *C* (cc et d), *cf. Polyb.* XV. xiv. 9: mille et c *V*: x et *BD*: x *B*^{1}*AN*: decem milia *JK Aldus, Froben.*

[4] et ante aciem et in proelio *conj. Duker, Drakenborch, Eds.*: *phrases are reversed in CBDANVJK*: et in proelio et labante acie *Madvig, Emend.*: et ante proelium et in acie *Weidner*: et integro proelio et inclinante acie *M. Müller.*

[5] ex *A*^{1}*N*^{1}*VJK Aldus*: et *CBDAN*: *om. Froben* 2.

[6] atque impetum *CBDAN Aldus*: *om. VJK Froben* 2.

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[1] His base (Sousse), xxix. 1. His ships were there. The distance from Zama is greatly exaggerated by Nepos *Hann.* 6. 3 (300 miles, he says), while Appian *Pun.* 47 makes it even 375. Both claim that he covered the distance in two days

and slain in the battle-line, many were scattered in flight over the open plain all around, and as the cavalry were in complete possession, they perished everywhere. Over twenty thousand of the Carthaginians and their allies were slain on that day. About the same number were captured, together with one hundred and thirty-two military standards and eleven elephants. Of the victors about fifteen hundred fell. B.C. 202

Hannibal, escaping with a few horsemen in the midst of the confusion, fled to Hadrumetum,[1] having tried every expedient both before the battle and during the engagement before he withdrew from the fray. And even by Scipio's admission and that of all the military experts he had achieved this distinction, that he had drawn up his line that day with extraordinary skill: the elephants in the very front, that their haphazard charge and irresistible strength might prevent the Romans from following their standards and keeping their ranks, upon which tactics they based most of their hopes; then the auxiliaries in front of the line of Carthaginians, that men who were brought together from the offscouring of all nations and held not by loyalty but by their pay might have no way of escape open to them; that at the same time, as they met the first fiery attack of the enemy, they might exhaust them, and if they could do no more, might blunt the enemy's swords

and two nights. In reality Zama Regia is about 90 miles due west of Hadrumetum. Naraggara would be ca. 170 Roman miles from that seaport, if the shorter and less rugged southerly route was taken. Every probability, however, favours the supposition that the battle was fought much nearer to Sicca Veneria, and not more than 120 miles from Hadrumetum; cf. p. 547 ff.

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9 hostile[1] hebetarent; tum, ubi omnis spes esset,[2] milites Carthaginienses Afrosque, ut, omnibus rebus aliis pares, eo quod integri cum fessis ac sauciis pugnarent superiores essent; Italicos intervallo quoque diremptos,[3] incertos socii an hostes essent, in postre-
10 mam aciem summotos. Hoc edito velut ultimo virtutis opere, Hannibal cum Hadrumetum refugisset,[4] accitusque inde Carthaginem sexto ac tricesimo post
11 anno quam puer inde profectus erat redisset, fassus in curia est non proelio modo se sed [5] bello victum, nec spem salutis alibi quam in pace impetranda [6] esse.

XXXVI. Scipio confestim a proelio expugnatis hostium castris direptisque cum ingenti praeda ad
2 mare ac naves rediit, nuntio allato P. Lentulum cum quinquaginta rostratis, centum onerariis cum omni
3 genere commeatus ad Uticam accessisse. Admovendum igitur undique terrorem perculsae Carthagini ratus, misso Laelio Romam cum victoriae nuntio, Cn. Octavium terrestri itinere ducere legiones Carthaginem iubet; ipse, ad suam veterem nova Lentuli classe adiuncta, profectus ab Utica portum
4 Carthaginis petit. Haud procul aberat cum velata infulis ramisque oleae Carthaginiensium occurrit navis. Decem legati erant, principes civitatis,

[1] hostile *VJK Froben* 2: hostium *CBDAN Aldus.*

[2] esset *A*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: essent *N*[1]: erat *V*: *om. CBDAN.*

[3] intervallo quoque diremptos *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK, Aldus, Froben, most Eds.*: *transposed to fellow* summotos *Conway*; *to follow* hostes essent *Harant, Riemann*: *om. CBDAN Alschefski, Madvig* 1872.

[4] refugisset *CBDAN Froben* 2: fugisset *VJK*: per- *Aldus.*

[5] se sed *VK Froben* 2: si sed *J*: sese .d. *C*: ×se ×se *B*: (modo s esse *D*: se esse sed (set *N*) *AN Aldus.*

[6] impetranda *CBA*[1]*N*[1]*V Aldus*: -trande *B*[2]*DAN*: -trata *JK Froben* 2.

by their own wounds; next in order the soldiers in whom lay all his hopes, the Carthaginians and Africans, that being equal to the Romans in everything else, they might have the advantage in fighting with strength undiminished against the weary and the wounded; then, removed to the last line and separated by an open space as well, the Italic troops, of whom it was uncertain whether they were allies or enemies. Having produced this as his last masterpiece Hannibal after his flight to Hadrumetum was called away, returning to Carthage in the thirty-sixth year after he had left it as a boy. Thereupon in the Senate House he admitted that he had been defeated not only in a battle but also in the war, and that there was no hope of safety except in successfully suing for peace. B.C. 202

XXXVI. Scipio immediately after the battle stormed and plundered the enemy's camp and with immense booty returned to the sea and his ships, having received word that Publius Lentulus,[1] in command of fifty war-ships and a hundred transports with supplies of every kind, had arrived near Utica. Thinking therefore that he must bring terror to bear from every side against disheartened Carthage, after sending Laelius to Rome with a report of the victory, he ordered Gnaeus Octavius to bring the legions to Carthage by land. He himself went to his old fleet, now enlarged by the new fleet of Lentulus, and then sailed from Utica towards the harbour of Carthage. He was not far away when a Carthaginian ship bedecked with fillets and olive branches met him. There were ten envoys, leading

[1] Cf. ii. 4; xxiv. 5; xxvii. 9. The same passages apply to Octavius, § 3, commanding a fleet.

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auctore Hannibale missi ad petendam pacem. 5 Qui cum ad puppim praetoriae navis accessissent velamenta supplicum porrigentes, orantes implo- 6 rantesque fidem ac misericordiam Scipionis, nullum iis aliud responsum datum quam ut Tynetem venirent; eo se moturum castra. Ipse ad contemplandum Carthaginis situm [1] non tam noscendi in praesentia quam deprimendi [2] hostis causa provectus [3] Uticam, eodem et Octavio revocato, rediit.

7 Inde procedentibus ad Tynetem nuntius allatus Verminam Syphacis filium cum equitibus pluribus quam peditibus venire Carthaginiensibus auxilio. 8 Pars exercitus cum omni equitatu [4] Saturnalibus [5] primis agmen adgressa Numidarum [6] levi certamine fudit. Exitu quoque fugae intercluso ab omni parte circumdatis equitibus quindecim milia hominum caesa, mille et ducenti vivi capti, et equi Numidici mille et quingenti, signa militaria duo et septuaginta; regulus ipse inter tumultum cum paucis effugit. 9 Tum ad Tynetem eodem quo antea [7] loco castra posita, legatique triginta ab Carthagine ad Scipionem venerunt.

[1] situm, *after this Johnson, Conway insert* provectus in portum *as omitted line. Froben emended* ad contemplandum . . . situm *to* ab contemplato . . . situ (-ando *Gronovius*); *Alschefski to* contemplatus . . . situm.

[2] deprimendi (*varied spellings*) *CBDAN*: terrendi A^{1}(*alt.*)*VJK Froben*: deterrendi *x*.

[3] provectus *Alschefski, most Eds.*: *om. all MSS., Conway.*

[4] equitatu, *after this* $A^{1}N^{1}VJK$ *Aldus, Froben, Conway have* missa: *om. CBDAN Eds.*

[5] Saturnalibus *CBDANVJK Eds.*: turmalibus *Aldus, Froben*: maturantibus *Madvig*: *om.* (primis *also*) *Riemann.*

[6] Numidarum *CBDAN Aldus, Eds.*: numidas $A^{1}JK$ *Conway*: *with* in agmine *V Froben* 2.

[7] antea *VJK Aldus, Froben*: ante *CBDAN*.

citizens, sent at the instance of Hannibal to sue for peace. When they approached the stern of the flagship, holding out the symbols of suppliants, begging and beseeching the help and pity of Scipio, no other answer was given them than that they should come to Tynes;[1] that thither he would move his camp. Scipio sailed near in order to view the situation of Carthage, not so much for the purpose of an immediate reconnaissance as to humiliate the enemy, and returned to Utica, recalling Octavius also to the same place. B.C. 202

While proceeding from there to Tynes they received news that Vermina,[2] the son of Syphax, commanding more cavalry than infantry was coming to the help of the Carthaginians. Part of the infantry and all the cavalry attacked the column of the Numidians on the first day[3] of the Saturnalia, and routed it after a slight engagement. As even the way of escape was cut off, with the cavalry surrounding them on all sides, fifteen thousand men were slain, twelve hundred captured alive, fifteen hundred Numidian horses taken and seventy-two military standards. The prince himself in the midst of the confusion escaped with a few men. Then camp was pitched near Tynes on the same site as before, and thirty envoys from Carthage came to Scipio.

[1] Cf. ix. 10; xvi. 1.

[2] Cf. XXIX. xxxiii. 1 f., 8. Still ruling a large part of his father's kingdom; Appian *Pun.* 33.

[3] *I.e.* a.d. XIV Kal. Ian., or 17th December. Uncommon is so exact a date for a minor event. It suggests one of the annalists as a source; hence rejected by those who place the greater battle in spring or summer. Other examples, however, are: XLI. xxii. 1; XLIV. xx. 1; XLV. ii. 3. See Macrobius *Sat.* I. x. 1 ff. Cf. Appendix, p. 552 f.

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Et illi quidem multo miserabilius quam antea, quo magis cogebat fortuna, egerunt; sed aliquanto minore cum misericordia ab recenti memoria perfidiae auditi sunt. In consilio quamquam iusta ira omnes ad delendam stimulabat Carthaginem, tamen cum et quanta res esset et [1] quam longi temporis obsidio tam munitae et tam [2] validae urbis reputarent, et ipsum Scipionem exspectatio successoris venturi ad paratam [3] alterius labore ac periculo finiti belli famam sollicitaret, ad pacem omnium animi versi sunt.

XXXVII. Postero die revocatis legatis et cum multa castigatione perfidiae monitis ut tot cladibus edocti tandem deos et ius iurandum esse crederent, condiciones pacis dictae, ut liberi legibus suis viverent; quas urbes quosque agros quibusque finibus ante bellum tenuissent tenerent, populandique finem eo die Romanus faceret; perfugas fugitivosque et captivos omnes redderent Romanis,[4] et naves rostratas praeter decem triremes traderent elephantosque quos haberent domitos, neque domarent [5] alios;

[1] et *N²VJK Aldus, Froben* : *om. CBDAN.*

[2] tam *A Aldus* : iam *CBDN* : *om. VJK Froben* 2.

[3] paratam *CBDAJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : paratum *NN²V Conway, adding* victoriae fructum, *which he thinks made a line omitted by P and hence by the rest, except that VN⁴?x have* movere fructum.

[4] redderent Romanis *CBDAN Aldus* : *om. VJK Froben* 2.

[5] neque domarent, *here P resumes* (*cf.* xxx. 14 *and* xxxviii. 2.

[1] But the consul (Claudius Nero) who aspired to succeed Scipio never reached Africa. Cf. xxvii. 1 f.; xxxviii ff.; xxxix. 1–3; xliv. 3.

[2] Condensing Polybius xvii. 3. The following peace terms (with minor differences) are taken from his ch. xviii. Cf. above xvi. 10 ff. for terms previously proposed. See Appian

Their pleading was, to be sure, much more piteous B.C. 202
than before, in proportion as misfortune was more compelling; but they were heard with much less pity owing to the memory, still fresh, of their treachery. In the council, although righteous indignation spurred them all to the destruction of Carthage, nevertheless they reflected how serious a matter and how protracted also was the siege of a city so well fortified and so strong. Scipio himself was also troubled as he looked forward to a successor [1] who would come into what had been won by the hardship and danger of another—the glory of finishing the war. Consequently they all were inclined to peace.

XXXVII. On the following day the envoys were recalled and with repeated upbraiding for their treachery [2] were advised that, being taught at last by so many disasters, they should believe that the gods and an oath mean something. Whereupon the peace terms were stated to them: they were to live as free men under their own laws; to hold the cities and territories [3] which they had held before the war, with the same boundaries; and the Roman was on that day to make an end of devastation. They were to deliver all deserters and runaway slaves and captives to the Romans, and to surrender their war-ships except ten triremes, and the trained elephants [4] in their possession, and not to train

Pun. 54; Dio Cass. frag. 57. 82; De Sanctis 616 ff.; Scullard 254 ff.

[3] In Africa, that is, as Livy's source (xviii. 1) takes care to make clear.

[4] The most were sent to Rome, the rest given to Masinissa; Zonaras IX. xiv. 11. Some of them were used by the Romans (first instance) in Macedonia, 200 B.C.; XXXI. xxxvi. 4.

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4 bellum neve in Africa neve extra Africam iniussu populi Romani gererent; Masinissae res redde-
5 rent foedusque cum eo facerent; frumentum stipendiumque auxiliis, donec ab Roma[1] legati redissent, praestarent; decem milia talentum argenti, discripta pensionibus aequis in annos quinquaginta,
6 solverent; obsides centum arbitratu Scipionis darent, ne minores quattuordecim annis neu triginta maiores. Indutias ita se[2] daturum, si per priores indutias naves onerariae captae quaeque fuissent in navibus restituerentur; aliter nec indutias nec spem pacis ullam esse.

7 Has condiciones legati cum domum referre[3] iussi in contione ederent et Gisgo ad dissuadendam pacem processisset audireturque a multitudine inquieta
8 eadem[4] et inbelli, indignatus Hannibal dici ea in tali tempore audirique, arreptum Gisgonem manu sua ex superiore loco detraxit. Quae insueta liberae civitati species cum fremitum populi movisset,
9 perturbatus militaris vir urbana libertate "Novem" inquit "annorum a vobis profectus post sextum et tricesimum annum redii. Militares artes, quas me a puero fortuna nunc privata nunc publica docuit, probe videor scire; urbis ac fori iura, leges, mores
10 vos me oportet doceatis." Excusata inprudentia de

[1] ab Roma A^2N^2VJK: ab romanis $P(3)N$.
[2] se $P.3)NVJK$ *Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *om. Conway.*
[3] referre, *here* VJK *Froben* 2 *have* ferre.
[4] eadem *om.* AN *Aldus.*

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[1] In Polybius xviii. 6 grain for the entire army for three months and pay until a reply from Rome came.
[2] Pliny *N.H.* XXXIII. 51 (16,000 lbs. of silver a year for 50 years).

others; to wage war neither in Africa nor outside of Africa without consent of the Roman people. They were to make restitution to Masinissa and frame a treaty with him; to furnish grain and pay to the auxiliaries [1] until the envoys should return from Rome; to pay ten thousand silver talents,[2] divided into equal payments for fifty years; to give a hundred hostages selected by Scipio, not younger than fourteen nor older than thirty years. He would grant an armistice, he said, provided the transports captured during the previous armistice and whatever was on board the ships should be returned; otherwise there would be no armistice nor any hope of a peace. B.C. 202

Such terms the envoys were bidden to carry home, and as they announced them in the assembly Gisgo[3] came forward to oppose the peace. While the multitude was listening, equally incapable of keeping a peace and of carrying on a war, Hannibal, indignant that such things should be said and heard at so critical a moment, seized Gisgo and with his own hand dragged him down from the platform. When this novelty for a free state called forth protests from the people, the man of arms, confounded by freedom in the city, said "At nine years of age I left you, and after thirty-six years I have returned. With the soldier's arts, in which from boyhood first my own lot, and then a public exigency gave me training, I may pass as well acquainted. In the rights, laws, usages of the city and the marketplace it is you who should train me." Having apologized for his ignorance, he discoursed at length

[3] Unknown. Polybius is here the main source, but he mentions no name; xix. 2 ff.

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pace multis verbis[1] disseruit, quam nec iniqua et
11 necessaria esset. Id omnium maxime difficile erat, quod ex navibus per indutias captis nihil praeter ipsas comparebat naves; nec inquisitio erat facilis,
12 adversantibus paci qui[2] arguerentur. Placuit naves reddi et homines utique inquiri; cetera quae abessent aestimanda Scipioni permitti atque ita pecunia luere
13 Carthaginienses.—Sunt qui Hannibalem ex acie ad mare pervenisse, inde praeparata nave ad regem Antiochum extemplo profectum tradant, postulantique ante omnia Scipioni ut Hannibal sibi traderetur responsum esse Hannibalem in Africa non esse.

XXXVIII. Postquam redierunt ad Scipionem legati, quae publica in navibus fuerant ex publicis descripta rationibus quaestores,[3] quae privata profiteri
2 domini iussi; pro ea summa pecuniae viginti quinque[4] milia pondo argenti praesentia exacta; indutiaeque Carthaginiensibus[5] datae in tres menses.
3 Additum ne per indutiarum tempus alio usquam quam Romam mitterent legatos, et quicumque legati Carthaginem venissent, ne ante dimitterent eos quam Romanum imperatorem qui et quae[6] petentes

[1] de pace multis verbis *A*[1]*N*[1]*(marg.)VJK Eds.*: *om.* *P*(3)*N*, *one line.*

[2] adversantibus paci qui *P*(3)*N* (*om.* qui *DAN*): cum adversantes paci *A*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben*: adversantes paci qui *N*[1]*(alt.)*.

[3] quaestores *P*(3)*NVJK Eds.*: quaestor *Forchhammer.*

[4] XXV *P*(3)*N Eds.*: XV *VJK.*

[5] Carthaginiensibus, *in this word P comes to an end.*

[6] qui et quae *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Eds.*: qui ita *CBDAN.*

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[1] Livy condenses Hannibal's plea for a treaty of peace; Polyb. xix. 5–7.

upon the peace, showing how far from unjust it was B.C. 202
and how inevitable.[1] The most troublesome point of all was that of the ships captured during the armistice nothing was to be seen except the ships themselves, and investigation was not easy since the accused were opponents of the peace. It was decided that the ships should be returned and the men at all costs traced; that appraisal of whatever else was lacking be committed to Scipio, and that thus the Carthaginians should pay the amount in cash.—There are some historians[2] who relate that Hannibal leaving the battle made his way to the sea and then on a ship prepared for him at once sailed to King Antiochus; and that when Scipio demanded above all things that Hannibal be surrendered to him, the answer was that Hannibal was not in Africa.

XXXVIII. After his envoys had returned to Scipio the quaestors were ordered from entries in the public accounts to make a declaration of what public property had been on the ships, and owners were to do the same for private property. In place of that sum total twenty-five thousand pounds of silver were exacted in immediate payment.[3] And an armistice for three months was granted the Carthaginians. In addition they were not to send envoys during the period of the armistice to any other place than to Rome, and in case any envoys should come to Carthage they were not to let them go until they informed the Roman commander who they were and

[2] Unknown. For his escape, 195 B.C., to Tyre, and so to Antiochus at Ephesus cf. XXXIII. xlviii f.

[3] It must have been quite impossible to complete a list of individual claims.

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4 venissent certiorem facerent. Cum legatis Carthaginiensibus Romam missi L. Veturius Philo et M. Marcius Ralla et L. Scipio imperatoris frater.
5 Per eos dies commeatus ex Sicilia Sardiniaque tantam vilitatem annonae effecerunt [1] ut pro vectura frumentum nautis mercator relinqueret.
6 Romae ad nuntium primum rebellionis Carthaginiensium trepidatum fuerat, iussusque erat Ti. Claudius mature classem in Siciliam ducere atque inde in Africam traicere, et alter consul M. Servilius ad urbem morari, donec quo statu res in Africa
7 essent sciretur. Segniter omnia in comparanda deducendaque classe ab Ti. Claudio consule facta erant, quod patres de pace P.[2] Scipionis potius arbitrium esse quibus legibus daretur quam consulis
8 censuerant. Prodigia quoque nuntiata sub ipsam famam [3] rebellionis terrorem [4] adtulerant: Cumis solis orbis minui visus et pluit lapideo imbri, et in Veliterno agro terra ingentibus cavernis consedit,
9 arboresque in profundum haustae; Ariciae forum et circa tabernae, Frusinone murus aliquot locis et porta de caelo tacta; et in Palatio lapidibus pluit. Id prodigium more patrio novemdiali sacro, cetera

[1] effecerunt *VJK Froben 2, Luchs*: fecerunt *CBDAN Aldus, Eds., Conway.*

[2] P. *A¹VJK Luchs*: *om. CBDAN many Eds., Conway.*

[3] famam *CN² Aldus, Froben*: *om. BDAN*: fama (*with* ipsa) *A³VJK.*

[4] terrorem, *before the verb DANV Aldus, Froben, Eds., but after, CBJK Conway.*

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[1] Veturius had been consul in 206 B.C. (XXVIII. x.); Marcius, city praetor in 204 B.C. (XXIX. xiii. 2). Lucius Scipio reached the consulship with Laelius in 190 B.C. (XXXVII. i.).

for what purpose they had come. With the Carthaginian envoys Lucius Veturius Philo and Marcus Marcius Ralla and Lucius Scipio, brother of the general-in-command, were sent to Rome.[1] About that time supplies from Sicily and Sardinia lowered the price of grain so much that the merchant would leave his grain to the mariners to cover the freight. B.C. 202

At Rome upon the first news of the Carthaginians' renewed hostilities there had been alarm, and Tiberius Claudius had been ordered to take his fleet promptly to Sicily and then to cross to Africa, and the other consul, Marcus Servilius, to remain near the city until it should be known what was the state of affairs in Africa. Everything in the assembling and launching of his fleet had been carried on without spirit by Tiberius Claudius, the consul, because the senate had voted that authority over the terms on which peace should be granted belonged to Scipio rather than to the consul.[2] Reports of prodigies also at the very time when there were rumours of fresh hostilities had inspired alarm. At Cumae the sun was partially eclipsed and it rained stones, and in the district of Velitrae[3] the ground settled in huge cavities and trees were swallowed in the depths. At Aricia the forum and shops round it, at Frusino[4] the city wall at a number of places and a gate were struck by lightning; and on the Palatine there was a shower of stones. That portent was atoned for by nine days of rites according to ancestral custom,[5]

[2] Cf. xxiii. 3 f.; xxvii. 1–4.

[3] Now Velletri, just beyond the Alban Hills and 8 miles from Aricia.

[4] Now Frosinone; on the Via Latina, while Aricia lay on the Appia, 16 m.p. from Rome.

[5] Cf. Vol. VII. p. 90, note.

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10 hostiis maioribus expiata. Inter quae etiam aquarum insolita magnitudo in religionem versa; nam ita abundavit Tiberis ut ludi Apollinares circo inundato extra portam Collinam ad aedem Erycinae Veneris
11 parati sint. Ceterum ludorum ipso die subita serenitate orta pompa duci coepta ad portam Collinam revocata deductaque [1] in circum est cum decessisse [2]
12 inde aquam nuntiatum esset; laetitiamque populo et ludis celebritatem addidit sedes sua sollemni spectaculo reddita.

XXXIX. Claudium consulem, profectum tandem ab urbe, inter portus Cosanum Loretanumque atrox vis tempestatis adorta in metum ingentem adduxit.
2 Populonium inde cum pervenisset stetissetque ibi, dum reliquum tempestatis exsaeviret, Ilvam insulam et ab Ilva Corsicam, a Corsica in Sardiniam traiecit. Ibi superantem Insanos montes multo et [3] saevior et infestioribus locis tempestas adorta disiecit classem.
3 Multae quassatae armamentisque spoliatae naves, quaedam fractae. Ita vexata ac lacerata classis Carales tenuit. Ubi dum subductae reficiuntur naves, hiems oppressit circumactumque anni tempus, et nullo prorogante imperium privatus Ti. Claudius
4 classem Romam reduxit. M. Servilius, ne comitiorum

[1] deductaque *A¹VJK Aldus, Froben* : ductaque *CBDAN*.
[2] decessisse *A¹N²VJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : cessisse *CDAN* : re- *Alschefski, Madvig*.
[3] et *CBDA¹VJK Froben* 2 : *om. AN Aldus*.

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[1] On the Via Salaria outside (but near) the Porta Collina. Not built until 181 B.C. Livy uses it here merely as a landmark; XL. xxxiv. 4; Strabo VI. ii. 6.
[2] Mentioned in XXII. xi. 6; cf. XXVII. x. 8. Portus Loretanus is unknown.
[3] Now Piombino; cf. XXVIII. xlv. 15.

the rest by full-grown victims. Meanwhile the unusual height of rivers was also interpreted as a portent. For the Tiber so far overflowed that, as the Circus was flooded, preparations for the Games of Apollo were made outside the Porta Collina, near the Temple of Venus of Eryx.[1] On the very day of the games, however, after a sudden clearing the procession, already on its way to Porta Collina, was recalled and directed into the Circus when word was received that the water had retired from it. Restoration of its normal scene to the customary spectacle also added to the delight of the people and to the throngs who attended the games. B.C. 202

XXXIX. Claudius, the consul, had at last left the city when a very violent storm, which he encountered between the harbour of Cosa[2] and the Portus Loretanus, caused him great alarm. Then after reaching Populonium[3] and lying at anchor there until the rest of the storm should abate, he crossed over to the Island of Elba and from Elba to Corsica, from Corsica to Sardinia. There as he was passing the Raving Mountains, a much more savage storm, descending upon him in a much more dangerous situation, scattered the fleet. Many of the ships were leaking and had lost their rigging, some were wrecked. In this storm-tossed, damaged condition the fleet reached Carales.[4] There, while the beached ships were undergoing repairs, winter overtook him, and as the turn of the year came while no one sought to prolong his command, it was as a private citizen that Tiberius Claudius brought the fleet back to Rome. Marcus Servilius, to avoid being recalled to

[4] Cagliari; several times in XXIII. xl. f.; cf. Vol. VII. p. 226, note.

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causa ad urbem revocaretur, dictatore dicto C. Servilio Gemino, in provinciam est profectus. Dictator magistrum equitum P. Aelium Paetum dixit. Saepe comitia indicta perfici tempestates prohibuerunt; itaque cum pridie idus Martias veteres magistratus abissent,[1] novi suffecti non essent, res publica sine curulibus magistratibus erat.

6 T. Manlius Torquatus pontifex eo anno mortuus; in locum eius suffectus C.[2] Sulpicius Galba. Ab L. Licinio Lucullo et Q. Fulvio aedilibus curulibus ludi 7 Romani ter toti[3] instaurati. Pecuniam ex aerario scribae viatoresque aedilicii clam egessisse per indicem[4] damnati sunt, non sine infamia Luculli 8 aedilis. P. Aelius Tubero et L. Laetorius aediles plebis vitio creati magistratu se abdicaverunt, cum ludos ludorumque causa epulum Iovi fecissent et signa tria[5] ex multaticio argento facta in Capitolio posuissent. Cerialia ludos dictator et magister equitum ex senatus consulto fecerunt.

XL. Legati ex Africa Romani simul Carthaginiensesque cum venissent Romam, senatus ad aedem 2 Bellonae habitus est. Ubi[6] cum L. Veturius Philo pugnatum cum Hannibale esse suprema Carthaginien-

[1] abissent *CBDANJK Aldus, Froben*: -essent N^2V.
[2] C. CA^1JK *Froben* 2: Cn. N^1V: *om. BDAN Aldus.*
[3] ter toti *CBDAN Aldus*: tertio A^1N^2VJK *Froben* 2.
[4] indicem, *after this* z *Aldus, Froben, Eds. add* comperti; *om. by CBDANVJK Alschefski, Conway.*
[5] tria A^6 *Aldus, Froben*: aerea *C*: (signa)ria *BDAN*: militaria A^1JK.
[6] Ubi *CBDAN Aldus, Froben*: ibi *VJK*.

[1] Consul in 203 B.C.; xix. 6 ff.; XXIX. xxxviii. 3.
[2] The stern defender of every ancient custom; cf. especially XXII. lx ff., after Cannae, 19 years after his first consulship; XXIII. xxii. 7; above, ii. 8.

the city to hold the elections, named Gaius Servilius B.C. 202
Geminus [1] dictator and went to his province. The dictator named Publius Aelius Paetus master of the horse. Repeatedly a date for the elections was announced, but storms prevented them from taking place. Consequently, since the old magistrates had left office on the eve of the Ides of March and new men had not been elected in their places, the state had no curule magistrates.

Titus Manlius Torquatus,[2] the pontiff, died that year and Gaius Sulpicius Galba was named in his place. The Roman Games were repeated three times throughout by Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Quintus Fulvius, the curule aediles. For having secretly abstracted money from the Treasury, clerks and messengers of the aediles were condemned on evidence of an informer, not without disgrace for Lucullus as aedile. Publius Aelius Tubero and Lucius Laetorius, owing to a defect in their election as plebeian aediles, abdicated their office after they had conducted the games and in connexion with them a banquet for Jupiter, and had placed on the Capitol three statues of which the cost was met by money paid in fines. The festival of Ceres was under the direction of the dictator and master of the horse by decree of the senate.

XL. Upon the arrival at Rome of the envoys from Africa, the Roman and the Carthaginian at the same time, the senate sat in the Temple of Bellona.[3] There Lucius Veturius Philo [4] to the great joy of the senators set forth how they had fought with Hannibal in a battle that was for the Carthaginians their last,

[3] Cf. xxi. 12 and note.

[4] Cf. xxxviii. 4.

A.U.C. 552 sibus pugna finemque tandem lugubri bello inpositum
3 ingenti laetitia patrum exposuisset, adiecit Verminam etiam Syphacis filium, quae parva bene gestae rei accessio erat, devictum. In contionem inde [1] prodire
4 iussus gaudiumque id populo inpertire. Tum patefacta [2] gratulationi [3] omnia in urbe templa supplicationesque in triduum decretae. Legatis Carthaginiensium et Philippi regis—nam hi [4] quoque venerant—petentibus ut senatus sibi daretur responsum iussu patrum ab dictatore est consules novos iis senatum daturos esse.

5 Comitia inde habita. Creati consules Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Aelius Paetus; praetores M. Iunius Pennus, cui sors urbana evenit, M. Valerius Falto Bruttios, M. Fabius Buteo Sardiniam, P. Aelius
6 Tubero Siciliam est sortitus. De provinciis consulum nihil ante placebat agi quam legati Philippi regis et Carthaginiensium auditi essent; belli finem alterius, alterius principium prospiciebant animis.

A.U.C. 552 7 Cn. Lentulus consul cupiditate flagrabat provinciae Africae, seu bellum foret, facilem [5] victoriam,[6] seu iam finiretur, finiti tanti belli se [7] consule gloriam
8 petens. Negare itaque prius quicquam agi passurum quam sibi provincia [8] Africa decreta esset, concedente

[1] inde *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben* : *om. CBDAN.*

[2] patefacta *C*[7]*B*[1]*A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Froben 2* : paterfacta *CBD* : patuere facta *AN Aldus* (faciendae *Gronovius*).

[3] gratulationi *Gronovius* : -ne *CBDANVJK.*

[4] hi *BANV* : hii *CDA*[1]*J* : ii *K Aldus, Froben.*

[5] facilem *CBDN*[1]*VJK* : facile *AN.*

[6] victoriam *N*[1]*VJK Froben 2* : victoriam fore *CBDAN Aldus.*

[7] se *CBDANVJK Aldus, Froben, Alschefski, Conway* : a se *J. Perizonius, Eds.*

[8] provincia *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK* : -iam *C* : *om. BDAN Aldus, Froben.*

and that at length an end had been made of a war of grievous losses. He then added that Vermina also, the son of Syphax, had been defeated—a small supplement to a victorious campaign. Upon that he was bidden to go out into the assembly and share the joyful news with the people. Then all the temples in the city were opened for the offering of thanks, and three days of thanksgiving were ordered. When the Carthaginian envoys and those of King Philip—for these also had arrived—requested that a hearing in the senate be granted them, by order of the senate the dictator replied that the new consuls would grant them a hearing in the senate.[1] B.C. 202

Thereupon the elections were held. As consuls Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Aelius Paetus were elected, as praetors Marcus Iunius Pennus, to whom fell the city praetorship, Marcus Valerius Falto, to whom the land of the Bruttii, Marcus Fabius Buteo, to whom Sardinia, Publius Aelius Tubero, to whom Sicily was allotted. As for the consuls' provinces, the senators were not disposed to take up the matter until the envoys of King Philip and those of the Carthaginians had been heard. They foresaw the end of one war, the beginning of another.

Gnaeus Lentulus, the consul, was fired with the desire to have Africa as his province, aspiring to an easy victory if the war continued, or if it were already ending, to the glory of having so great a war end in his consulship. Accordingly he declared that he would allow nothing to be taken up before Africa had been assigned him by decree as his province. B.C. 201

[1] An embassy had been sent to Philip the year before; xxvi. 4. Cf. xlii. 1 ff.

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conlega, moderato viro et prudenti, qui gloriae eius certamen cum Scipione, praeterquam quod iniquum
9 esset, etiam inpar futurum cernebat. Q. Minucius Thermus et M'. Acilius Glabrio tribuni plebis rem priore anno[1] nequiquam temptatam ab Ti. Claudio
10 consule Cn. Cornelium temptare aiebant; ex auctoritate patrum latum ad populum esse cuius vellent imperium in Africa esse; omnes quinque et triginta
11 tribus P. Scipioni id imperium decrevisse.[2] Multis contentionibus et in senatu et ad populum acta res postremo eo deducta est ut senatui permitterent.
12 Patres igitur iurati—ita enim convenerat—censuerunt uti consules provincias inter se conpararent sortirenturve uter Italiam, uter classem navium quinquaginta haberet; cui classis obvenisset in Siciliam
13 navigaret; si pax cum Carthaginiensibus componi nequisset, in Africam traiceret; consul mari, Scipio eo-
14 dem quo adhuc iure imperii terra rem gereret; si condiciones convenirent pacis, tribuni plebis populum rogarent utrum consulem an P. Scipionem iuberent pacem dare, et quem, si deportandus exercitus victor
15 ex Africa esset, deportare; si pacem per P. Scipionem dari atque ab eodem exercitum deportari iussissent,
16 ne consul ex Sicilia in Africam traiceret. Alter con-

[1] priore anno $A^{1}N^{1}VJKx$ *Aldus*, *Froben*: anno *C*: *om.* *BDAN*.

[2] decrevisse $CB^{1}?DA^{5}$: -cresse *BANJK*: -cretum N^{s}.

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[1] Cf. xxvii. 2 ff.

He had the consent of his colleague, a moderate man and wise who saw that a contest with Scipio for that glory not only was unfair but also would prove unequal. Quintus Minucius Thermus and Manius Acilius Glabrio, tribunes of the plebs, declared that Gnaeus Cornelius was attempting what had been vainly attempted in the preceding year by Tiberius Claudius, the consul;[1] that by authority of the senators the question whom they wished to have the high command in Africa had been brought before the people; that all thirty-five tribes had awarded that command to Scipio. After many disputes, while the matter was before the senate and the people as well, the decision was ultimately left to the senate. The senators therefore under oath[2]—for such had been the agreement—decided that the consuls should determine their provinces by mutual agreement or by lot, which of them was to have Italy and which the fleet of fifty ships; that he to whom the fleet fell should sail to Sicily, and if peace could not be arranged with the Carthaginians, he should cross over to Africa; that the consul should conduct operations on the sea and Scipio on the land, with the same authority to command as heretofore; that if the peace terms should be agreed upon, the tribunes of the plebs should bring before the people the question whether to order the consul or Publius Scipio to grant peace, and, if the victorious army was to be brought back from Africa, who was to bring it back. If the people should order that peace be granted through Publius Scipio, and that the army should be brought back by him as well, the consul should not cross over from Sicily to Africa. The other B.C. 201

[2] An exceptional practice; XXVI. xxxiii. 14; XLII. xxi. 5.

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sul, cui Italia evenisset, duas legiones a M. Sextio praetore acciperet.

XLI. P. Scipioni cum exercitibus quos haberet in provincia Africa prorogatum imperium. Praetoribus [1] M. Valerio Faltoni duae legiones in Bruttiis quibus C. Livius priore anno praefuerat decretae; P. Aelius [2] duas legiones in Sicilia ab Cn. Tremelio acciperet; legio una M. Fabio in Sardiniam quam P. Lentulus pro praetore habuisset decernitur. M. Servilio prioris anni consuli cum suis duabus item legionibus in Etruria [3] prorogatum imperium est. Quod ad Hispanias attineret, aliquot annos iam ibi [4] L. Cornelium Lentulum et L. Manlium Acidinum esse; uti [5] consules cum tribunis agerent ut,[6] si iis videretur, plebem rogarent cui iuberent in Hispania imperium esse; is ex duobus exercitibus [7] in unam legionem conscriberet Romanos milites et in quindecim cohortes socios Latini nominis, quibus provinciam obtineret; veteres milites L. Cornelius et L. Manlius in Italiam deportarent. Consuli quinquaginta navium classis ex duabus classibus,[8] Cn. Octavi quae in Africa esset,

[1] Praetoribus *BDANV*: -torio *C*: -tori *A*[1]*JK Aldus, Froben.*

[2] Aelius, *after this* praetor (*or* $\overline{\text{pr}}$) *CBDANVJK Aldus, Froben, Eds.*: *rejected by Conway as probably a gloss.*

[3] Etruria, *with this D comes to an end.*

[4] annos iam ibi *CA*[1]*VJK*: iam annos ibi *x Aldus, Froben*: *om. BAN.*

[5] uti *C*: ut *K*: ut hii *A*[1]*N*[1]*V*(hi *J*: ut ii *x Aldus, Froben.*

[6] ut *CBAN*: *after* videretur *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben.*

[7] ex duobus exercitibus *CA*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Eds.*: *om. BA.*

[8] classibus, *here AN desert us, but missing text is supplied by A*[1]*N*[1].

consul, to whom Italy should fall, was to receive two legions from Marcus Sextius, the praetor.[1] B.C. 201

XLI. Publius Scipio's command in his province of Africa was continued with the armies which he already had. Of the praetors Marcus Valerius Falto was assigned in the land of the Bruttians two legions which Gaius Livius had commanded in the preceding year; Publius Aelius was to receive two legions in Sicily from Gnaeus Tremelius; Marcus Fabius was assigned for Sardinia the one legion which Publius Lentulus had held as propraetor. For Marcus Servilius, consul in the previous year, his command in Etruria was continued, likewise with his own two legions. As for the Spanish provinces, they said that for some years already Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Manlius Acidinus had been there;[2] that the consuls should urge the tribunes, if it met with their approval, to bring before the people the question who by their decree should be commander in Spain. Out of the two armies the general was to enrol Roman soldiers in a single legion and Latin allies in fifteen cohorts, in order that with these he might hold the province. As for the veterans, Lucius Cornelius and Lucius Manlius were to bring them back to Italy.[3] The consul[4] was assigned a fleet of fifty ships, made up from two fleets, that of Gnaeus Octavius, which was in African waters, and

[1] Cf. xxvii. 7.

[2] *I.e.* since 206 B.C. (late in the year); XXVIII. xxxviii. 1; XXIX. xiii. 7; above, ii. 7.

[3] Lentulus returned to Rome in 200 B.C., Manlius in 199; XXXI. xx. 1 and XXXII. vii. 4.

[4] Cf. xl. 12 ff.; here also the same absence of a name, since the allotment of provinces was still to be made; see xliii. 1.

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et [1] P. Villi quae Siciliae oram tuebatur, decreta, ut
7 quas vellet naves deligeret. P. Scipio quadraginta [2] naves longas quas habuisset haberet; [3] quibus si Cn. Octavium, sicut praefuisset, praeesse vellet, Octavio pro praetore in eum annum imperium
8 esset; si Laelium praeficeret, Octavius Romam decederet reduceretque naves quibus consuli [4] usus non esset. Et M. Fabio in Sardiniam decem longae naves
9 decretae. Et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere iussi, ut quattuordecim legionibus eo anno, centum navibus longis res publica administraretur.

XLII. Tum de legatis Philippi et Carthaginien-
2 sium actum. Priores Macedonas introduci placuit; quorum varia oratio fuit, partim purgantium quae questi erant missi ad regem ab Roma legati de populatione sociorum, partim ultro accusantium quidem et
3 socios populi Romani, sed multo infestius M. Aurelium, quem ex tribus ad se missis legatis dilectu habito substitisse et se bello lacessisse contra foedus et saepe cum praefectis suis signis conlatis pugnasse,
4 partim [5] postulantium ut Macedones duxque eorum Sopater, qui apud Hannibalem mercede militassent,

[1] et *Cx*: *om. BA'N'VJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] quadraginta (*or numerals*) *BA'N'VJK*: XXX *C*: L *Aldus, Froben.*
[3] haberet, *here CB*: *before* quas habuisset *A'N'VJK Aldus, Froben.*
[4] consuli *z Eds.*: cons̄ *C*: cos *B*: consulibus *A'N'VJK*: proconsuli *Aldus, Froben.*
[5] partim *Froben, Eds.*: *om. CBA'N'VJK Aldus.*

that of Publius Villius, which was defending the coast of Sicily, the consul being free to select such ships as he pleased. Publius Scipio was to have the forty war-ships which he had before,[1] and if he desired that Gnaeus Octavius should command them, as he had done, Octavius was to have military authority as propraetor for that year. If he should name Laelius commander, Octavius was to leave the province for Rome and to bring back such ships as the consul did not need. Ten war-ships also were assigned to Marcus Fabius for Sardinia. And the consuls were ordered to enrol two city legions, so that in that year the state was carried on with fourteen legions [2] and a hundred war-ships. B.C. 201

XLII. Then the senate deliberated concerning the embassies of Philip and the Carthaginians. It was decided that the Macedonians should be brought in first. Their speeches were in different veins, as some of them tried to excuse acts of which envoys who were sent from Rome to the king in regard to the ravaging of allied territory had complained. Others actually turned accuser, attacking allies of the Roman people, to be sure, but Marcus Aurelius with much more violence, alleging that, being one of three envoys [3] sent to them, he had conducted a levy, had remained and made war upon them in violation of the treaty, and had repeatedly engaged in regular battles with their commanders. Still others demanded that the Macedonians and their general, Sopater, who as mercenaries had

[1] For Scipio's original fleet (30 ships) cf. XXVIII. xlv. 21; then 40, XXIX. xxvi. 3. Fifty more from Sardinia (above, xxxvi. 2 f.), now under the command of Octavius.

[2] Including the two in Gaul; xl. 16; xxvii. 7.

[3] Cf. xxvi. 4.

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tum capti[1] in vinclis essent, sibi restituerentur.
5 Adversus ea M. Furius, missus ad id ipsum ab Aurelio ex Macedonia, disseruit Aurelium relictum, ne socii populi Romani fessi populationibus vi atque iniuria ad regem deficerent; finibus sociorum non excessisse;
6 dedisse operam ne impune in agros eorum populatores transcenderent. Sopatrum ex purpuratis et propinquis regis esse; eum cum quattuor milibus Macedonum et pecunia missum nuper in Africam esse
7 Hannibali et Carthaginiensibus auxilio. De his rebus interrogati Macedones cum perplexe responderent, nequaquam ipsi simile[2] responsum tulerunt: bellum quaerere regem et, si pergat, propediem inventurum.
8 Dupliciter ab eo foedus violatum, et quod sociis populi Romani iniurias fecerit ac[3] bello armisque lacessiverit, et quod hostes auxiliis et pecunia iuverit.
9 Et P. Scipionem recte atque ordine fecisse videri et facere, quod eos qui arma contra populum Romanum ferentes capti sint hostium numero in vinclis habeat,
10 et M. Aurelium e re publica facere, gratumque id senatui esse quod socios populi Romani, quando iure foederis non possit,[4] armis tueatur.
11 Cum hoc tam tristi responso dimissis Macedonibus,

[1] tum capti *CB*: capti *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJ*: captique *K Aldus, Froben.*

[2] nequaquam ipsi simile *Novák, most recent Eds.*: nequaquam ipsi mite *Conway*: neq. ipsi mite *C Alschefski* (neque): *om. B (lacuna)*: ipsi ante *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben*: ipsi non anceps *Madvig*: ipsi apertum *Weissenborn.*

[3] ac *CB Eds.*: *om. A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben.*

[4] possit *CB*[1]*K*: posset *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben.*

[1] As being mercenaries, not really belligerents.

[2] No doubt still disputed, so that *ex Macedonia* just above is only an apparent conflict.

served with Hannibal and at the time were captives B.C. 201
in chains, be restored to them.[1] In reply Marcus Furius, who had been sent for the very purpose from Macedonia by Aurelius, maintained that Aurelius had been left behind in order to prevent allies of the Roman people from being exhausted by raids and forced by acts of violence to go over to the king's side; that he had not gone beyond the boundaries[2] of the allies; that he had exerted himself that raiders should not come over into the allies' lands with impunity. He said that Sopater was one of the king's high officials and of his kin; that he had been sent recently to Africa with four thousand Macedonians[3] and money to bring aid to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. Inasmuch as the Macedonians, when questioned in regard to these matters, gave ambiguous answers, they in turn received an answer of a very different sort: that the king was looking for war and if he kept on would soon find it; that he had twice violated the treaty, in that he wronged allies of the Roman people and harried them with war and arms, and in that he aided the enemy by reinforcements and money; that not only had Scipio acted and was now acting in their opinion with perfect propriety in keeping in chains as enemies men who had been captured while bearing arms against the Roman people, but also that Marcus Aurelius was acting in conformity with the interest of the state, and that the senate was grateful that he was defending allies of the Roman people by arms, since he was unable to do so by the obligations of a treaty.

With so stern an answer as this the Macedonians

[3] Cf. xxxiii. 5.

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legati Carthaginienses vocati. Quorum aetatibus dignitatibusque conspectis—nam longe primi civitatis erant—tum pro se quisque dicere vere de
12 pace agi. Insignis tamen inter ceteros Hasdrubal erat —Haedum populares cognomine appellabant—, pacis
13 semper auctor adversusque factioni Barcinae. Eo tum plus illi auctoritatis fuit belli culpam in paucorum
14 cupiditatem ab re publica transferenti. Qui cum varia oratione usus esset, nunc purgando crimina, nunc quaedam fatendo, ne impudenter certa negantibus difficilior[1] venia esset, nunc monendo etiam patres conscriptos ut rebus secundis modeste ac moderate
15 uterentur—si se atque Hannonem audissent Carthaginienses et tempore uti voluissent, daturos fuisse pacis condiciones quas tunc peterent. Raro simul hominibus bonam fortunam bonamque mentem dari;
16 populum Romanum eo invictum esse quod in secundis rebus sapere et consulere meminerit. Et hercule
17 mirandum fuisse, si aliter faceret.[2] Ex insolentia quibus nova bona[3] fortuna sit inpotentes laetitiae insanire; populo Romano usitata ac prope iam obsoleta ex victoria gaudia esse, ac plus paene parcendo
18 victis quam vincendo imperium auxisse. Ceterorum miserabilior oratio fuit, commemorantium[4] ex quantis opibus quo reccidissent Carthaginiensium res:

[1] difficilior *CB Froben* 2 : difficilis A^1N^1VJK *Aldus*.
[2] faceret *CB Aldus* : -rent A^1N^1VJK *Froben*.
[3] bona CBA^6JK *Eds.* : *om.* A^1N^1V(nova *also*).
[4] commemorantium A^1N^1VJK *Eds.* : -ratio *CB*.

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[1] Cf. xliv. 5; Appian *Pun.* 49 *fin.*, 53, but the occasion is different.
[2] See p. 440, n. 1.

were dismissed and the Carthaginian ambassadors summoned. When the senators observed the age and high station of each—for these were the very first of the citizens—thereupon all agreed that they were really treating for peace. Most conspicuous among them, however, was Hasdrubal surnamed Haedus [1] among his people, always a supporter of peace and an opponent of the Barcine party. Hence he had all the more weight then, as he shifted the blame for the war from the state to the greed of the few. His speech was in different keys, now excusing what was charged, now making some admissions, lest pardon should be harder to obtain if they shamelessly denied known facts, and now even admonishing the conscript fathers to make a moderate and restrained use of their good fortune. He said that if the Carthaginians had listened to him and to Hanno [2] and had been minded to take advantage of the right moment, the Romans would have given the terms of peace which they were at that time seeking; that seldom were men given good fortune and good judgment at the same time; that the Roman people was invincible for the reason that in its good fortune it remembered to be wise and to take counsel. And certainly, he said, it would have been wonderful if its practice were different. Men whose good fortune was new because of its strangeness went wild, unable to control their rejoicing; for the Roman people the joys of victory were familiar and now all but threadbare, and they had enlarged their empire almost more by sparing the vanquished than by conquest. The rest of the speakers employed more pathos as they stated from what wealth the Carthaginians' situation had fallen to what depths; that men who B.C. 201

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nihil iis qui modo orbem prope terrarum obtinuerint [1] armis superesse praeter Carthaginis moenia;
19 his inclusos non terra, non mari quicquam sui iuris cernere; urbem quoque ipsam ac penates ita habituros,[2] si non in ea [3] quoque, quo nihil ulterius sit,
20 saevire populus Romanus velit.[4] Cum flecti misericordia patres appareret, senatorum [5] unum infestum perfidiae Carthaginiensium succlamasse ferunt
21 per quos deos foedus icturi essent, cum eos per quos ante ictum esset fefellissent. "Per eosdem" inquit Hasdrubal, "quoniam tam infesti sunt foedera violantibus".

XLIII. Inclinatis omnium ad pacem animis Cn. Lentulus consul, cui classis provincia erat, senatus
2 consulto intercessit. Tum M'. Acilius et Q. Minucius tribuni plebis ad populum tulerunt vellent iuberentne senatum decernere ut cum Carthaginiensibus pax fieret; et quem eam pacem dare, quemque ex
3 Africa exercitum deportare iuberent. De pace 'Uti rogas' [6] omnes tribus iusserunt; pacem dare
4 P. Scipionem, eundem exercitum deportare. Ex hac rogatione senatus decrevit ut P. Scipio ex decem legatorum sententia pacem cum populo Cartha-

[1] obtinuerint *CB*(-runt): -uissent *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben.*
[2] habituros *CBK Aldus, Froben*: -taturos *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJ.*
[3] ea, *CA*[6]*? add* moenia: *Aldus, reads* ea quoque moenia.
[4] velit *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK Aldus, Froben*: vellet *CB.*
[5] senatorum *CBA*[6] *Aldus, Froben*: -rem *A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK.*
[6] rogas *C Sigonius*: rogatae erant *B Froben 2*: -asset *A*[5]: -assent *Aldus*: rogant *C*[5]*?*: *the entire sentence is om. by A*[1]*N*[1]*VJK.*

[1] A relative of Lentulus the consul according to Appian *Pun.* 62.

recently held almost the whole world by their arms had nothing left but the walls of Carthage. Shut up within these walls, they said, they saw nothing on land or sea subject to their rule. Even the city itself and their homes they would hold only in case the Roman people did not choose to vent its animosity upon those possessions also, the last possible step. When it was clear that the senators were inclining to pity, one of their number,[1] outraged by the perfidy of the Carthaginians, is said to have called out to them, asking who were the gods in whose name they were to make the treaty, inasmuch as they had proved false to the gods in whose name the former treaty had been made. "The same" said Hasdrubal, "since they are so hostile to treaty-breakers." B.C. 201

XLIII. When all were now disposed to make peace the consul Gnaeus Lentulus, to whom the fleet had been assigned,[2] vetoed a decree of the senate. Thereupon Manius Acilius and Quintus Minucius, tribunes of the plebs,[3] brought before the people the question whether it was their will and command that the senate should decree that peace be made with the Carthaginians; and whom they should command to grant that peace, and whom to bring the army back from Africa. In regard to the peace all the tribes voted affirmatively: that Publius Scipio should grant the peace, that he also should bring back the army. In accordance with this enactment the senate decreed that Publius Scipio on the advice of ten envoys should make peace with the Carthaginian

[2] Cf. xl. 12 f.; xli. 6. Consuls rarely exercised their right of veto. They could not veto a plebiscite.

[3] Supporting Scipio, as in xl. 9 ff.

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giniensi quibus legibus ei videretur faceret. Gratias deinde patribus egere Carthaginienses et petierunt ut sibi in urbem introire et colloqui cum civibus suis liceret qui capti in publica custodia essent; esse in iis partim propinquos amicosque suos, nobiles homines, partim ad quos mandata a propinquis haberent. Quibus conventis cum rursus peterent ut sibi quos vellent ex iis redimendi potestas fieret, iussi nomina edere; et cum ducenta[1] ferme ederent, senatus consultum factum est ut legati Romani ducentos ex captivis, quos Carthaginienses vellent, ad P. Cornelium[2] in Africam deportarent, nuntiarentque ei ut, si pax convenisset, sine pretio eos Carthaginiensibus redderet. Fetiales cum in Africam ad foedus feriundum ire iuberentur, ipsis postulantibus senatus consultum in haec verba factum est, ut privos[3] lapides silices privasque[4] verbenas secum ferrent, ut, ubi[5] praetor Romanus iis imperaret ut foedus ferirent, illi praetorem sagmina poscerent. Herbae id genus ex arce sumptum fetialibus dari solet.

Ita dimissi ab Roma Carthaginienses cum in Africam venissent ad Scipionem, quibus ante dictum

[1] ducenta *Hertz*: -tos *JK Aldus*: *in numerals CBA¹N¹V Froben* 2.

[2] Cornelium, *to this A¹JK Aldus, Froben add* Scipionem.

[3] privos *A¹J Eds.*: primos $A^{6}N^{1}VJK$ (*alt.*): prius $C^{1?}B$.

[4] privasque *x Aldus, Froben*: -masque *CBA¹N¹JK*: -mas *V*.

[5] ut, ubi *Madvig*: et uti *C*: et, ubi *Riemann*: uti *A¹N¹BV Aldus, Froben*: ubi *JK apparently*.

people upon such terms as he saw fit. The Carthaginians thereupon thanked the senators and begged permission to enter the city and to converse with fellow-citizens who as captives were in prison, saying that among them some were their own relatives and friends, men of rank, and others men for whom they had messages from their relatives. When this was arranged and they made a further request that they might have the opportunity of ransoming such of them as they desired, they were bidden to furnish the names. And when they furnished some two hundred names a decree of the senate was passed that the Roman envoys should carry to Publius Cornelius in Africa two hundred selected by the Carthaginians from the number of the captives, and should report to him that, if the peace should be agreed to, he was to deliver the captives to the Carthaginians without ransom. When orders were being given to the fetial priests[1] to go to Africa in order to make the treaty, at their own request a decree of the senate was passed in these terms: that they should each take one flint knife and one tuft of foliage with them, in order that when the Roman general[2] ordered them to make the treaty they should demand of the general the sacred tufts. It is customary to gather foliage of this kind from the Citadel and give it to the fetials. B.C. 20.

Under these circumstances the Carthaginians were sent away from Rome, and having presented themselves to Scipio in Africa, they made peace upon the

[1] For the fetials and their ceremonial see I. xxiv. 4 ff.; xxxii. 5 ff.; Servius on *Aen.* IX. 52; X. 14; Varro *L.L* V. 86; Festus 424 ff. L.; Polybius III. 25.

[2] Conservative religious usage retained this older meaning of *praetor*.

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11 est legibus pacem fecerunt. Naves longas, elephantos, perfugas, fugitivos, captivorum quattuor milia tradiderunt, inter quos Q. Terentius Culleo senator
12 fuit. Naves provectas in altum incendi iussit. Quingentas fuisse omnis generis quae remis agerentur quidam tradunt; quarum conspectum repente incendium tam lugubre fuisse Poenis quam si [1] ipsa
13 Carthago arderet. De perfugis gravius quam de fugitivis [2] consultum; nominis Latini qui erant securi percussi, Romani in crucem sublati.

XLIV. Annis ante quadraginta pax cum Carthaginiensibus postremo facta erat, Q. Lutatio, A. Man-
2 lio consulibus. Bellum initum annis post tribus et viginti, P. Cornelio, Ti. Sempronio consulibus, finitum est septimo decimo anno, Cn. Cornelio, P. Aelio
3 consulibus.[3] Saepe postea ferunt Scipionem dixisse Ti. Claudi primum cupiditatem, deinde Cn. Corneli fuisse in mora, quo minus id bellum exitio Carthaginis finiret.[4]

[1] si $C^1?C^5BA^sN^sVJK$ *Froben* 2 : si tum *Cx Aldus.*

[2] quam de fugitivis CBA^sN^sVJK *Aldus, Froben, Eds.* : *corrupt according to Koehler, Conway, comparing Val. Max.* II. vii. 12, *who imitated Livy, perhaps from a text already corrupted (since captured slaves could hardly fail to be mentioned here) : follows a lacuna, Weissenborn :* tamquam de fugitivis *coni. Johnson.*

[3] consulibus, *preceded by a cognomen* Paeto (peto) BA^sN^sJV *Froben* 2, *Eds.* : *om. by CK Aldus, Conway.*

[4] finiret CA^sN^sVJ *Froben* 2, *Eds.* : -retur $BN^{s2}K$ *Aldus.*

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[1] With all the traditional formalities, these (and nothing else) being in the hands of the fetials.

[2] He had been captured in Africa. Cf. xlv. 5. In 195 B.C. he returned to Carthage on an embassy; XXXIII. xlvii. 7; again in 171 B.C.; XLII. xxxv. 7.

terms above mentioned.[1] They surrendered war- B.C. 201.
ships, elephants, deserters, runaway slaves, and four thousand captives, among whom was Quintus Terentius Culleo,[2] a senator. The ships Scipio ordered to be put to sea and to be burned. Some historians[3] relate that there were five hundred of them—every type of vessel propelled by oars;[4] and that when the Carthaginians suddenly caught sight of the fire it was as doleful for them as if Carthage itself were in flames. The deserters were more severely treated than the runaway slaves, Latin citizens being beheaded, Romans crucified.

XLIV. Forty years before, in the consulship of Quintus Lutatius[5] and Aulus Manlius, peace had last been made with the Carthaginians. The war which began twenty-three years later, in the consulship of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, was brought to an end in the seventeenth year, the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius and Publius Aelius. Later Scipio often stated, so they say, that first Tiberius Claudius' thirst for fame,[6] and then that of Gnaeus Cornelius had hindered him from ending that war with the destruction of Carthage.[7]

[3] Chiefly Valerius, as we may infer from the large figures. Livy expressly condemns his exaggerations, *e.g.* at XXVI. xlix. 3. Cf. above, xix. 11 and XXXIII. x. 8.

[4] The annalists wished to include not only *rostratae* or *longae* of our extant sources, but also smaller vessels such as pentekontors (cargo vessels with 50 oars) and lesser craft.

[5] Not to be confused with his brother Gaius, victor off the Aegates Islands shortly before. See p. 446 and n. 1.

[6] Cf. xxvii. 4 f.; and for Cornelius Lentulus xl. 7 ff.

[7] Cf. xxxvi. 10. According to Appian *Pun.* 65 Cato in his speech for the Rhodians declared that Scipio wished Carthage to remain as a stimulus to Roman discipline. So Nasica in St. Augustine *C.D.* I. 30.

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4 Carthagini[1] cum prima conlatio pecuniae diutino bello exhaustis difficilis videretur, maestitiaque et fletus in curia esset, ridentem Hannibalem ferunt con-
5 spectum. Cuius cum Hasdrubal Haedus risum increparet in publico fletu, cum ipse lacrimarum causa
6 esset, "Si, quem ad modum oris habitus cernitur oculis," inquit, "sic et animus intus cerni posset,[2] facile vobis appareret non laeti, sed prope amentis malis cordis hunc quem increpatis risum esse; qui tamen nequaquam adeo est intempestivus quam vestrae istae absurdae atque abhorrentes lacrimae sunt.
7 Tunc flesse decuit cum adempta sunt nobis arma, incensae naves, interdictum externis bellis; illo enim volnere concidimus. Nec est cur[3] vos otio[4]
8 vestro consultum ab Romanis credatis. Nulla magna civitas diu[5] quiescere potest; si foris hostem non habet, domi invenit, ut praevalida corpora ab externis causis tuta videntur, sed[6] suis ipsa viribus
9 onerantur. Tantum nimirum ex publicis malis sentimus quantum ad privatas res pertinet, nec in iis quicquam acrius quam pecuniae damnum stimulat.
10 Itaque cum spolia victae Carthagini detrahebantur, cum inermem iam ac nudam destitui inter tot armatas
11 gentes Africae cerneretis,[7] nemo ingemuit; nunc,

[1] Carthagini *BA¹N¹ Eds.*: -ne *C*: -niensibus *A⁶VJK* (-nens-) *Aldus, Froben.*

[2] posset *CBV Froben 2*: potuisset *A¹N¹JK Aldus.*

[3] Nec est cur *Madvig, recent Eds.*: nec est causa cur *Weissenborn*: necesse est ne *CB*: necesse in *B¹?A¹N¹VJK*: nec esse in *Aldus, Froben.*

[4] otio *C Eds.*: odio *BA¹N¹VJK Aldus, Froben.*

[5] diu *Cx Aldus, Froben*: *om. BA¹N¹VJK.*

[6] sed *BA¹N¹VJK Eds.*: *Johnson would delete*: *Conway placed* Sed *at beginning of next sentence, following C, which however om.* suis . . . onerantur.

At Carthage when raising money for the first B.C. 201
payment seemed difficult to men whose resources were drained by the long war, and in the Senate House there was mourning and weeping, they say that Hannibal was seen laughing. When Hasdrubal Haedus [1] upbraided him for laughing while the people wept, he being himself the cause of their tears, he said: "If the mind within us could be seen, just as expression of face is seen by our eyes, it would readily be clear to you that this laughter which you upbraid is not that of a happy spirit but of one almost beside itself through misfortunes. Nevertheless it is by no means so untimely as are those senseless, misplaced tears of yours. The time for us to weep was when our arms were taken from us, our ships burned, foreign wars forbidden; for that wound was fatal to us. And you have no reason to believe that the Romans had regard for your domestic peace. No great state can long be in peace. If it lacks an enemy abroad it finds one at home, just as powerful bodies seem protected against infection from without, but are of themselves weighed down by their very strength. Of course we feel only so much of the public misfortunes as bears upon our private concerns, and in these nothing has so painful a sting as the loss of money. Hence when the spoils were being stripped from vanquished Carthage, although you saw her placed, now unarmed and naked, in the midst of so many armed tribes of Africa, no one moaned,

[1] Cf. xliii. 12.

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[7] cerneretis $BA^{s}N^{s}VJK$: -netis A^{s}: -natis C: -nebatis *Schenkl.*

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quia tributum ex privato conferendum est, tamquam in publico funere comploratis. Quam vereor ne propediem sentiatis levissimo in malo vos hodie lacrimasse." Haec Hannibal apud Carthaginienses.

12 Scipio contione advocata Masinissam ad regnum paternum Cirta oppido et ceteris urbibus agrisque quae ex regno Syphacis in populi Romani potestatem
13 venissent adiectis donavit. Cn. Octavium classem in Siciliam ductam Cn. Cornelio consuli tradere iussit, legatos Carthaginiensium Romam proficisci, ut quae ab se ex decem legatorum sententia acta essent, ea patrum auctoritate populique iussu confirmarentur.

XLV. Pace terra marique parta, exercitu in naves in-
2 posito, in Siciliam Lilybaeum traiecit. Inde magna parte militum navibus [1] missa ipse per [2] laetam pace non minus quam victoria Italiam, effusis non urbibus modo ad habendos honores, sed agrestium etiam turba obsidente vias, Romam pervenit triumphoque omnium
3 clarissimo urbem est invectus. Argenti tulit in aerarium pondo centum viginti tria milia.[3] Militibus

[1] navibus *B*: in navibus *A*[*c*]*N*[*c*]*VJ Aldus, Froben*: in naves *K*.

[2] militum . . . per *om. C*.

[3] centum viginti tria milia (*or in numerals*) *BA*[*c*]*N*[*c*]*VJK Aldus, Froben, Madvig, Conway*: CXXXIII milia *C Luchs, H.J. and M. Müller, Luterbacher*.

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[1] See p. 334, n. 1.

[2] He may have landed at Puteoli. The time is probably the autumn of 201 B.C.

while now because tribute must be raised from private property you are mourners, as it were, at a public funeral. How much I fear you will very soon be aware that today you have wept over a very slight misfortune!" So spoke Hannibal to the Carthaginians. B.C. 201

Scipio summoned an assembly and assigning to him his father's kingdom, presented Masinissa with the city of Cirta[1] in addition and the rest of the cities and lands which, he said, had passed from the kingdom of Syphax into the power of the Roman people. He ordered Gnaeus Octavius to take the fleet to Sicily and turn it over to Gnaeus Cornelius, the consul; also the Carthaginian envoys to go to Rome, in order that all his acts on the advice of his ten legati might be confirmed by the authority of the senate and command of the people.

XLV. When peace had been secured by land and sea, Scipio embarked his army and crossed over to Lilybaeum in Sicily. Then after sending a large part of the army by sea, he himself, making his way through Italy,[2] which was exulting in peace no less than in the victory, while not cities only poured out to do him honour, but crowds of rustics also were blocking the roads, reached Rome and rode into the city in the most distinguished of all triumphs.[3] He brought into the treasury one hundred and twenty-three thousand pounds weight of silver. To

[3] No details are furnished by Polybius either; XVI. xxiii (one exception below, § 5). For picturesque descriptions see Appian *Pun.* 66; Silius Ital. XVII. 625–654, at the very end of the poem. So dramatic an arrangement had not commended itself to Livy as he wrote the final paragraph of his ten books on the Hannibalic War.

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4 ex praeda quadringenos aeris divisit. Morte subtractus spectaculo magis hominum quam triumphantis gloriae Syphax est, Tiburi haud ita multo ante mortuus, quo ab Alba traductus fuerat. Conspecta tamen mors eius fuit, quia publico funere est
5 elatus. Hunc regem in triumpho ductum Polybius, haudquaquam spernendus auctor, tradit. Secutus Scipionem triumphantem est pilleo capiti inposito Q. Terentius Culleo, omnique deinde vita, ut dignum
6 erat, libertatis auctorem coluit. Africani cognomen militaris prius favor an popularis aura celebraverit an, sicuti Felicis Sullae Magnique Pompei patrum memoria, coeptum ab adsentatione familiari sit
7 parum compertum habeo. Primus certe hic imperator nomine victae ab se gentis est nobilitatus; exemplo deinde huius nequaquam victoria pares insignes imaginum titulos claraque cognomina familiarum [1] fecerunt.[2]

[1] familiarum *CA*[1]*? Eds.*: familiae (*or* -ie) *BA*[a1]*?N*[a]*VJK Aldus, Froben.*

[2] fecerunt *C Conway*: -cere *A*[a1]*JK Aldus, Froben*: liquerunt *B Alschefski, Weissenborn*: sunt *V*: ceperunt *Madvig, Emend., most recent Eds.*: asciverunt *Leo, M. Müller*: *om. A*[a]*N*[a].

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[1] Alba Fucens; xvii. 2 and note.

[2] So Val. Max. V. i. 16.

[3] And so (from a different source) Val. Max. VI. ii. 3; Polybius *l.c.* § 6; Tacitus *Ann.* XII. 38; Silius Ital. *l.c.* 629 f. Officially the triumph was over Hannibal, the Poeni and Syphax; XXXVIII. xlvi. 10. Here for the very first time

his soldiers he distributed four hundred *asses* apiece B.C. 201
out of the booty. The death of Syphax withdrew him rather from the eyes of spectators than from the glory of the triumphing general. He had died not long before at Tibur, to which he had been transferred from Alba.[1] Nevertheless his death attracted attention because he was given a state funeral.[2] Polybius, an authority by no means to be despised, relates that this king was led in the triumphal procession.[3] Following Scipio as he triumphed was Quintus Terentius Culleo[4] wearing the liberty cap; and for all the rest of his life, as was fitting, he honoured in Scipio the giver of his freedom. As for the surname Africanus, whether his popularity among the soldiers, or fickle favour of the people first gave it currency I am unable to state, or whether it began with the flattery of his intimates, as did the surname Felix for Sulla and Magnus for Pompey in the time of our fathers. What is certain is that he was the first general to be distinguished by the name of a nation conquered by him. Later, following his example men who were by no means his equals in their victories gained outstanding inscriptions for their masks[5] and glorious surnames for their families.

Livy mentions Polybius. Cf. XXXIII. x. 10 (*non incertum auctorem*), where a statement of his is preferred.

[4] Cf. p. 533 and n. 2.

[5] In wall-cases (*armaria*) usually, each mask provided with its own *titulus*.

LIBRI XXX PERIOCHA

Scipio in Africa Carthaginienses et eundem Syphacem Numidiae regem Hasdrubalemque pluribus proeliis vicit adiuvante Masinissa; bina hostium castra expugnavit, in quibus quadraginta milia hominum ferro ignique consumpta sunt. Syphacem per C. Laelium et Masinissam cepit. Masinissa Sophonibam, uxorem Syphacis, filiam Hasdrubalis, captam statim adamavit et nuptiis factis uxorem habuit. Castigatus a Scipione venenum ei misit, quo illa hausto decessit. Effectumque multis Scipionis victoriis ut Carthaginienses in desperationem acti in auxilium publicae salutis Hannibalem revocarent. Isque anno sexto decimo Italia decedens in Africam traiecit temptavitque per conloquium pacem cum Scipione conponere, et cum de condicionibus pacis non convenisset, acie victus est. Pax Carthaginiensibus petentibus data est. Hannibal Gisgonem pacem dissuadentem manu sua detraxit: excusata deinde temeritate facti ipse pacem suasit. Masinissae regnum restitutum est. Reversus in urbem Scipio amplissimum nobilissimumque egit triumphum, quem Q. Terentius Culleo senator pilleatus secutus est. Scipio Africanus incertum militari prius favore an populari aura ita cognominatus sit; primus certe hic imperator victae a se nomine gentis nobilitatus est. Mago bello quo in agro Insubrium cum Romanis conflixerat volneratus, dum in Africam per legatos revocatus revertitur, ex volnere mortuus est.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXX

Scipio in Africa defeated the Carthaginians and the same Syphax, King of Numidia, and Hasdrubal in a number of battles with the aid of Masinissa. He took by assault two camps of the enemy, in which forty thousand men were wiped out by sword and fire. He captured Syphax by the help of Gaius Laelius and Masinissa. Masinissa, having captured Sophoniba, wife of Syphax and daughter of Hasdrubal, at once fell in love and after marrying her had her to wife. When rebuked by Scipio he sent her poison, and upon drinking it she died. The consequence of Scipio's many victories was that the Carthaginians, driven to despair, recalled Hannibal to the defence of the state. And he, withdrawing from Italy in the sixteenth year, crossed over to Africa and endeavoured by a conference to make peace with Scipio; and as there was no agreement on the peace terms, he was vanquished in battle. The Carthaginians sued for peace and it was granted them. When Gisgo argued against a peace, Hannibal with his own hand dragged him down. Then after apologizing for the rashness of his act, he himself argued in favour of peace. Masinissa's kingdom was restored to him. Returning to the city Scipio celebrated a most splendid and distinguished triumph, followed by Quintus Terentius Culleo, a senator, wearing a liberty cap. Whether Scipio Africanus received that cognomen first from his popularity with the soldiers or from fickle favour of the people is not known. Certainly he was the first commander-in-chief to be distinguished by the name of a nation he had conquered. Mago was wounded in a war in which he had come in conflict with Romans in the land of the Insubrians, and while returning to Africa, having been recalled by envoys, he died of his wound.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

IX

BOOKS XXXI–XXXIV

TRANSLATED BY

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXXI

A.U.C. 553

I. Me quoque iuvat, velut ipse in parte laboris ac periculi fuerim, ad finem belli Punici pervenisse. Nam etsi profiteri ausum perscripturum res omnes Romanas in partibus singulis tanti operis fatigari minime conveniat, tamen, cum in mentem venit tres et sexaginta annos—tot enim sunt a primo Punico ad secundum bellum finitum—aeque multa volumina occupasse mihi quam occupaverint quadringenti octoginta septem [1] anni a condita urbe ad Ap. Claudium consulem, qui primum bellum Carthaginiensibus intulit, iam provideo animo, velut qui proximis [2] litori vadis inducti mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quidquid progredior, in vastiorem me altitudinem ac velut profundum [3] invehi, et crescere

[1] Accepting Weissenborn's correction of the numeral LXXVIII of *B*; Livy's chronology is three years behind the ordinary reckoning by which dates A.U.C. are calculated from 754 B.C.

[2] proximis *ed. Moguntina* 1518 : proximi *B*.

[3] profundum *Ascensius* : profundam *B*.

---

[1] The dates of the events referred to are, respectively, 267 B.C. and 204 B.C., by Livy's reckoning, or, according to

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXXI

I. I ALSO am relieved, just as if I myself had shared B.C. 201
the labour and the peril, that I have come to the end of the Punic War. For while it is not at all fitting that one who has ventured to promise to write the whole history of Rome should grow wearied in dealing with the single portions of so great a task, nevertheless, when I reflect that sixty-three years—the space between the outbreak of the First and the end of the Second Punic War [1]—have filled as many books [2] for me as were required for the four hundred and eighty-seven years from the founding of the city to the consulship of Appius Claudius (who began the first war with the Carthaginians), already I see in my mind's eye that, like men who, attracted by the shallow water near the shore, wade out into the sea, I am being carried on, whatever progress I make, into depths more vast and, as it were, into the abyss, and that the task almost waxes greater

[1] the usual chronology (which is retained in the marginal dates), 264 B.C. and 201 B.C.

[2] Books I–XV contained the narrative of the earlier period; Books XVI–XXX covered the First and Second Punic Wars.

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paene opus, quod prima quaeque perficiendo minui videbatur.

6 Pacem Punicam bellum Macedonicum excepit, periculo haudquaquam comparandum aut virtute
7 ducis aut militum robore, claritate regum antiquorum vetustaque fama gentis et magnitudine imperii, quo multa quondam Europae, maiorem partem Asiae obtinuerant armis, prope nobilius.
8 Ceterum coeptum bellum adversus Philippum decem ferme ante annis triennio prius depositum erat, cum
9 Aetoli et belli et pacis fuissent causa.[1] Vacuos deinde pace Punica iam Romanos et infensos Philippo cum ob infidam adversus Aetolos aliosque regionis

[1] causa *Heinsius*: causai *B*: causae ς.

---

[1] Philip V, king of the Macedonians, was not to be compared with the Carthaginian Hannibal.

[2] Livy thinks especially of Philip II, founder of Macedonian power, and of Alexander the Great, who had conquered an empire greater than that of Carthage.

[3] Philip V had come to the Macedonian throne in 217 B.C. at the age of 17, and had continued the aggressive policy of his regent, Antigonus. As an ally of the Achaean League, the Macedonians had fought a successful war against the Aetolian League (see Introductory Note), and in 216 B.C. concluded an alliance with Hannibal by a treaty of which Polybius (VII. xix) preserves some clauses. Meanwhile Philip was pursuing an ambitious policy towards Athens and other Greek states. By 214 B.C., Rome seems to have recognized that something like a "state of war" existed (XXIV. xl. 1), but in this passage Livy dates the actual hostilities from 211 B.C., when Rome made a treaty with Philip's old enemies, the Aetolians (XXVI. xxiv. 10). Philip's treaty of peace with the Aetolians is dated 205 B.C. by Livy (XXIX. xii. 1), but we may perhaps explain his "three years" on the assumption that it was not ratified until the next year.

which, as I finished each of the earlier portions, B.C. 201
seemed to be growing smaller.

The Punic peace was followed by the Macedonian war, which, although in no wise comparable as regards its danger, or the prowess of the leader,[1] or the strength of the military forces employed, yet, because of the fame of Macedonia's ancient kings[2] and the ancient glory of the nation and the vast extent of its empire, in which it had at one time gained by its arms dominion over large portions of Europe and the greater part of Asia, was almost more celebrated. Now the war with Philip,[3] begun about ten years before this time, had some time before been laid aside for a period of three years, the Aetolians being the cause of the truce as they had been of the beginning of hostilities. Then later the Romans, being at last unoccupied by any war, as a result of the peace with Carthage, and being indignant with Philip both because of the treacherous peace which he had concluded with the Aetolians[4] and the other allies in that region, and because of

Livy's chronology is often confused, as a result of unskilful handling of annalistic sources.

The so-called Second Macedonian War, the account of which begins here, was practically ended by the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C. (XXXIII. vi–x; Polyb. XVIII. xx–xxvii), but lasted diplomatically until 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxii). Thereafter Philip pursued a policy of alternating friendship and hostility towards Rome until his death in 179 B.C.

[4] See the preceding note for the peace of 205 B.C., which might seem due to the treachery of the Aetolians rather than of Philip. Rome was so occupied by the war against Hannibal that the Aetolians had to bear all the burden of keeping up the war against Philip. The failure of the Romans to aid them is frequently mentioned in the diplomatic conferences of the next years.

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10 eiusdem socios pacem, tum ob auxilia cum pecunia nuper in Africam missa Hannibali Poenisque, preces Atheniensium, quos agro pervastato in urbem compulerat, excitaverunt ad renovandum bellum.

II. Sub idem fere tempus et ab Attalo rege et Rhodiis legati venerunt nuntiantes Asiae quoque
2 civitates sollicitari. His legationibus responsum est curae eam rem senatui fore; consultatio de Macedonico bello integra ad consules, qui tunc in pro-
3 vinciis erant, reiecta est. Interim ad Ptolomaeum Aegypti regem legati tres missi, C. Claudius Nero, M. Aemilius Lepidus, P. Sempronius Tuditanus, ut nuntiarent victum Hannibalem Poenosque et gratias
4 agerent regi, quod in rebus dubiis, cum finitimi etiam socii Romanos desererent, in fide mansisset, et peterent ut, si coacti iniuriis bellum adversus Philippum suscepissent, pristinum animum erga populum Romanum conservaret.
5 Eodem fere tempore P. Aelius consul in Gallia, cum audisset a Bois ante suum adventum incursiones
6 in agros sociorum factas, duabus legionibus subitariis tumultus eius causa scriptis additisque ad eas quattuor cohortibus de exercitu suo C. Ampium,[1] prae-

[1] appium, the reading of *B*, is corrected from sect. 7 below.

---

[1] Livy (XXX. xxvi. 3) reports the rumour that troops had been sent to Hannibal, and in XXX. xxxiii. 5 lists Macedonians among his allies. See also XXX. xlii. 4 and XLV. xxii. 6. Polybius does not mention them.

[2] They were Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Aelius Paetus.

[3] Ptolemy Epiphanes, now nine years old and on the throne for the past four years. His father and the regents,

the military assistance and money which he had B.C. 201
recently [1] sent to Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa, were aroused by the prayers of the Athenians, whom Philip had driven into the city by the ravaging of their fields, into renewing the war.

II. At about the same time, ambassadors both from King Attalus of Pergamum and from the Rhodians arrived in Rome and brought word that the cities of Asia also were being stirred up to discontent. To these embassies the senate replied that they would look into the matter, and the whole question of the Macedonian war was referred to the consuls [2] who were then in the provinces. Meanwhile three ambassadors, Gaius Claudius Nero, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus, were sent to King Ptolemy [3] of Egypt, to announce the defeat of Hannibal and the Carthaginians, to thank the king because, in a critical time, when even allies nearer home had revolted, he had remained loyal, and to ask that if the Romans, compelled by their wrongs, should declare war on Philip, he should preserve his ancient attitude toward the Roman people.

At about the same time the consul, Publius Aelius, who was in Gaul, having learned that before his arrival the Boi had been raiding the fields of the allies,[4] enrolled an emergency force of two legions, to deal with this uprising, and adding to them four cohorts from his own army, he ordered Gaius Ampius,

rather than the boy-king himself, were obviously responsible for Egypt's fidelity to Rome.

[4] Many of the tribes of Cisalpine Gaul had joined Hannibal (XXI. xxv. 2, etc.), and the subjugation of the region had begun anew.

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fectum socium, hac tumultuaria manu per Umbriam, qua tribum Sapiniam vocant, agrum Boiorum invadere iussit; ipse eodem aperto itinere per montes
7 duxit. Ampius ingressus hostium fines primo populationes satis prospere ac tuto fecit; delecto deinde ad castrum Mutilum [1] satis idoneo loco ad demetenda frumenta—iam enim maturae erant segetes—profectus neque explorato circa nec stationibus satis
8 firmis, quae armatae inermes atque operi intentos tutarentur, positis improviso impetu Gallorum cum frumentatoribus est circumventus. Inde pavor fuga-
9 que etiam armatos cepit. Ad septem milia hominum palata per segetes sunt caesa, inter quos ipse C. Ampius praefectus; ceteri in castra metu compulsi.
10 Inde sine certo duce consensu militari proxima nocte relicta magna parte rerum suarum ad consulem per
11 saltus prope invios pervenere. Qui, nisi quod populatus est Boiorum finis et cum Ingaunis Liguribus foedus icit, nihil quod esset memorabile aliud in provincia cum gessisset, Romam rediit.

III. Cum primum senatum habuit, universis postulantibus ne quam prius rem quam de Philippo ac sociorum querellis ageret, relatum extemplo est;

[1] Mutilum *edd.*: militum *B*: mutillum ς.

---

[1] A local name for a district south of Ravenna. *Sapinia* is not the name of one of the Roman political divisions known as tribes.

[2] The Ingauni seem to have been a Ligurian tribe living to the south-west of the modern Genoa.

the commander of the allied forces, to take this B.C. 201
improvised force and with it to invade the territory of the Boi, marching by way of Umbria, through the district known as the *tribus Sapinia*.[1] Aelius himself led his forces thither by the open road over the mountains. Ampius, after entering the enemy's country, at first conducted raids with considerable success and without losses; then, choosing, near the fortified town of Mutilum, a camp-site suitable for reaping the crops—for the grain was now ripe—he set out without reconnoitring the neighbourhood or establishing sufficiently strong posts of armed men to protect the unarmed parties who were intent upon the work, and, when the Gauls made an unexpected attack, he and his foragers were surrounded. Thereupon terror and panic laid hold even of those who were under arms. About seven thousand men, scattered through the grain-fields, were killed, among them Gaius Ampius himself, the officer in command; the rest were driven by terror into the camp. Thence, on the next night, there being no one definitely in command, the soldiers by general consent abandoned most of their possessions, and travelling through well-nigh impassable forests rejoined the consul. He, having in his province accomplished nothing worth mentioning, except that he had ravaged the fields of the Boi and had made a treaty with the Ingauni Ligures,[2] returned to Rome.

III. At the first meeting of the senate, when all the members insisted that no business should have precedence over the question of Philip and the allies' complaints, the matter was at once taken up for consideration and a motion passed in a full

A.U.C. 553

2 decrevitque frequens senatus ut P. Aelius consul quem videretur ei cum imperio mitteret, qui classe accepta quam ex Sicilia Cn. Octavius reduceret, in 3 Macedoniam traiceret. M. Valerius Laevinus propraetor missus circa Vibonem duodequadraginta navibus ab Cn. Octavio acceptis in Macedoniam 4 transmisit. Ad quem cum M. Aurelius legatus venisset edocuissetque eum quantos exercitus, quan- 5 tum navium numerum comparasset rex, quem ad modum circa omnes non continentis modo urbes sed etiam insulas partim ipse adeundo, partim per 6 legatos conciret homines ad arma: maiore conatu Romanis id capessendum bellum esse, ne cunctantibus iis auderet Philippus quod Pyrrhus prius ausus ex aliquanto minore regno esset, haec scribere eadem Aurelium consulibus senatuique placuit.

IV. Exitu huius anni cum de agris veterum militum relatum esset, qui ductu atque auspicio P. Scipionis

---

[1] The *imperium* was that aspect of official authority which conferred the right of life and death and the right of exercising military command. At this period ordinary magistrates within the city of Rome could not possess *imperium*, and so their attendants carried the fasces without the axe which symbolized this power.

[2] This fleet had been on guard in Sicilian waters during the war with Hannibal (XXX. xli. 7).

[3] Laevinus had served in Greece for a long time during the recent war (XXIII. xxiv. 4, etc.), but was at this time a private citizen.

[4] Marcus Aurelius Cotta had been sent on an embassy to Philip in 203 B.C. (XXX. xxvi. 4). Macedonian ambassadors at the peace conference in 201 B.C. complained of his conduct, alleging that he had attacked Philip in contravention of the treaty (XXX. xlii. 3).

[5] *Legati* were either commissioners sent out by the senate to conduct diplomatic negotiations, to deliver messages to

session, that Publius Aelius the consul should send B.C. 201
a suitable person of his own selection, vested with military authority,[1] to take over the fleet which Gnaeus Octavius was bringing from Sicily, and then cross over to Macedonia.[2] Marcus Valerius Laevinus[3] was sent with the rank of propraetor, and receiving thirty-eight ships from Gnaeus Octavius in the neighbourhood of Vibo, he took them across to Macedonia. There Marcus Aurelius[4] the commissioner[5] met him and informed him what mighty armies, what a great number of ships the king had assembled, and in what fashion he was rousing men to armed revolt, not only in all the cities of the mainland but in the islands as well, partly by visiting them in person, partly through his agents; and the two agreed that the Romans must undertake the war with greater vigour, lest while they delayed Philip should venture to do what Pyrrhus[6] before him had done, with a considerably less powerful empire, and that Aurelius should forward this information in writing to the consuls and senate.

IV. At the end of this year, when a proposal was made for a distribution of land[7] to the veterans

independent states, to determine the form of government of a new province, etc., or military assistants to commanders in the field. Aurelius belonged to the former class, but had either assumed or been assigned military duties as well.

[6] King Pyrrhus of Epirus had been summoned to aid Tarentum during the war between that city and Rome (281–272 B.C.) and had invaded Italy.

[7] At this time only landowners served in the army, but some of these soldiers had been under arms for sixteen years and had lost all their property. This is, according to Livy, the first such measure to aid veterans, but in the later Republic such distributions were common. See also xlix. 5 below.

A.U.C. 553

in Africa bellum perfecissent, decreverunt patres
2 ut M. Iunius praetor urbanus, si ei videretur, decemviros agro Samniti Apuloque quod eius publicum populi Romani esset, metiendo dividendoque crearet.
3 Creati P. Servilius, Q. Caecilius Metellus, C. et M. Servilii—Geminis ambobus cognomen erat—L. et A. Hostilii Catones, P. Villius Tappulus,[1] M. Fulvius Flaccus, P. Aelius Paetus, T. Quinctius Flamininus.
4 Per eos dies P. Aelio consule comitia habente creati consules P. Sulpicius Galba, C. Aurelius Cotta. Praetores exinde facti Q. Minucius Rufus, L. Furius
5 Purpurio, Q. Fulvius Gillo,[2] C. Sergius Plautus. Ludi Romani scaenici eo anno magnifice apparateque facti ab aedilibus curulibus L. Valerio Flacco et

[1] Tappulus *Gelenius*: t. apuleius *B*.
[2] cilo, the reading of *B*, is corrected from chap. vi, sect. 2 below.

---

[1] Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, who had brought the war to a successful conclusion.
[2] One of the four praetors was at this time assigned by lot as *praetor urbanus*, in charge of judicial administration. He ranked next after the consuls and administered affairs in the city in their absence.
[3] Such boards usually consisted of three members only. This task seemed especially difficult or important.
[4] These districts had revolted to Hannibal, and part of their land was taken from them in punishment.
[5] Apparently a fragmentary quotation from the law itself.
[6] The *ludi Romani*, of great antiquity, and the *ludi plebeii*, dating from the period of the Second Punic War, were celebrated in September and November respectively. In the later Republic each festival lasted two weeks. The object

who had brought to an end the war in Africa under B.C. 201
the leadership and auspices of Publius Scipio,[1] the Fathers voted that Marcus Junius, the praetor of the city,[2] should, if it seemed advisable to him, appoint a board of ten [3] to survey and assign such lands in Samnium and Apulia [4] as were the public property of this the Roman people.[5] The board selected consisted of Publius Servilius, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Gaius and Marcus Servilius (both having the surname Geminus), Lucius and Aulus Hostilius Cato, Publius Villius Tappulus, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, Publius Aelius Paetus, and Titus Quinctius Flamininus.

At this time, the consul Publius Aelius holding the elections, Publius Sulpicius Galba and Gaius Aurelius Cotta were chosen consuls, and later Quintus Minucius Rufus, Lucius Furius Purpurio, Quintus Fulvius Gillo, and Gaius Sergius Plautus were elected praetors. Dramatic performances at the Roman Games [6] in that year were given with splendour and magnificence by the curule aediles,[7] Lucius Valerius

of each was the worship of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and in his especial honour a banquet was held on the thirteenth of the month. Performances were supervised by the curule and plebeian aediles respectively, the cost being paid by the state, though private funds were contributed in addition, and lavish expenditures of this sort were considered necessary for an aspirant to political distinction. As early as the middle of the fourth century B.C., dramatic performances were added to the other spectacles, at least in the *ludi Romani*. Since these were religious ceremonies, admission was free.

[7] The office of plebeian aedile was created with the tribunate in 494 B.C., and that of curule aedile, reserved to patricians, in 366 B.C. By this time both were open to patricians and plebeians alike. The supervision of the games was one of their chief functions.

A.U.C. 553

6 L. Quinctio Flaminino; biduum instauratum est; frumentique vim ingentem, quod ex Africa P. Scipio miserat, quaternis aeris populo cum summa fide et
7 gratia diviserunt. Et plebeii ludi ter toti instaurati ab aedilibus plebi L. Apustio Fullone et Q. Minucio Rufo, qui ex aedilitate praetor creatus erat. Et Iovis epulum fuit ludorum causa.

A.U.C. 554

V. Anno quingentesimo quinquagesimo[1] primo[2] ab urbe condita, P. Sulpicio Galba C. Aurelio consulibus, bellum cum rege Philippo initum est, paucis mensibus post pacem Carthaginiensibus datam.
2 Omnium primum eam rem idibus Martiis, quo die
3 tum consulatus inibatur, P. Sulpicius consul rettulit senatusque decrevit, uti consules maioribus hostiis rem divinam facerent quibus diis ipsis[3] videretur
4 cum precatione ea: "Quod senatus populusque Romanus de re publica deque ineundo novo bello in animo haberet, ea res uti populo Romano sociisque ac nomini Latino bene ac feliciter eveniret;" secundum rem divinam precationemque ut de re publica
5 deque provinciis senatum consulerent. Per eos dies

[1] quinquagesimo *Glareanus*: q̄dragensimo *B.*
[2] primo *edd.*: uno *B.*
[3] diis ipsis *edd.*: ipsis diis *B.*

---

[1] Religious flaws in the performance, unfavourable omens, and similar occurrences might cause the partial or total repetition of the games. The aediles might also desire to gain increased prestige by expenditures on a grand scale, and so find or manufacture causes for their renewal: this may have been the case on this occasion.

[2] See note on "Roman Games" above.

[3] *i.e.* March 15, on which date, after 217 B.C., the new magistrates assumed office. Beginning with 153 B.C., inauguration day was January 1.

Flaccus and Lucius Quinctius Flamininus; the performance of two days was renewed;[1] a huge quantity of grain, sent from Africa by Publius Scipio, they sold to the populace at four *asses* a measure, with the most scrupulous fairness and to the great satisfaction of the people. Also the Plebeian Games, entire, were thrice repeated by the plebeian aediles, Lucius Apustius Fullo and Quintus Minucius Rufus; the latter was chosen praetor at the close of his term as aedile. A banquet to Jupiter[2] was likewise held in connection with the games. B.C. 201

V. In the five hundred and fifty-first year from the founding of the city, in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius Galba and Gaius Aurelius, war was declared against King Philip, a few months after peace had been granted to the Carthaginians. On the Ides[3] of March, the day on which the new magistrates were inaugurated at that period, the consul Publius Sulpicius first of all offered a motion, which the senate passed, that the consuls should perform a sacrifice of full-grown victims to whatever gods should seem best to them, and should at the same time make this prayer: "Whatever the senate and the Roman people shall resolve for the common good and with reference to beginning a new war, may this decision turn out well and happily for the Roman people, the allies, and the Latin name;"[4] that after the sacrifice and prayer they should lay before the senate the question of the public weal and of the provinces. In these days two things B.C. 200

[4] Used collectively for the Latin colonies, privileged self-governing communities, which furnished complete military units to Rome.

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opportune irritandis ad bellum animis et litterae ab M. Aurelio legato et M. Valerio Laevino propraetore
6 adlatae et Atheniensium nova legatio venit, quae regem appropinquare finibus suis nuntiaret, brevique non agros modo sed urbem etiam in dicione eius
7 futuram nisi quid in Romanis auxilii foret. Cum renuntiassent consules rem divinam rite peractam esse et precationi annuisse deos haruspices respondere laetaque exta fuisse et prolationem finium victoriamque et triumphum portendi, tum litterae Valerii Aureliique lectae et legati Atheniensium
8 auditi. Senatus inde consultum factum est, ut sociis gratiae agerentur, quod diu sollicitati ne obsidionis
9 quidem metu fide decessissent; de auxilio mittendo tum responderi placere cum consules provincias sortiti essent atque is consul cui Macedonia provincia evenisset ad populum tulisset, ut Philippo, regi Macedonum, indiceretur bellum.

VI. P. Sulpicio provincia Macedonia sorti evenit, isque rogationem promulgavit, vellent iuberent Philippo regi Macedonibusque qui sub regno eius essent, ob iniurias armaque illata sociis populi Romani bellum indici. Alteri consulum Aurelio Italia pro-

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[1] While the senate at this time practically controlled the government at Rome, the formal act of declaring war required affirmative action by the *comitia centuriata*, the ancient assembly organized along military lines by Servius Tullius. The senate's selection of Macedonia as a consular province, although Rome had no jurisdiction over that territory, indicated clearly its intention to aid the Athenians against Philip, but it lacked the authority to begin the war on its own initiative. The details of the procedure in the assembly are given in the following sections.

occurred opportunely for arousing popular sentiment in favour of the war: the arrival of the dispatches from the commissioner Marcus Aurelius and Marcus Laevinus the propraetor, and the coming of a new embassy from the Athenians, which brought word that the king was approaching their borders and that in a short time not only their farms but Athens itself would be in his power unless there should be some assistance from the Romans. When the consuls had reported that the sacrifices had been duly performed and that the gods had given approval to their prayers, that the soothsayers had given answer that the entrails were propitious and portended an extension of territory, victory, and a triumph, then the letters of Valerius and Aurelius were read and the Athenian embassy given audience. The senate next decreed that the allies should be thanked because, though long harassed, they had not been led even by fear of siege to break their faith; with regard to sending aid, it was the senate's intention to answer their appeal when the consuls had been allotted their provinces and that consul to whom the province of Macedonia had fallen had proposed to the people a declaration of war upon Philip, King of the Macedonians.[1] B.C. 200

VI. Macedonia was assigned by lot to Publius Sulpicius as his province, and he submitted to the popular assembly the question whether they wished and ordered that war be declared upon King Philip and the Macedonians over whom he ruled, on account of the injuries he had inflicted and the war he had made on the allies of the Roman people. To the other consul, Aurelius, the province of Italy

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2 vineia obtigit. Praetores exinde sortiti sunt C. Sergius Plautus [1] urbanam, Q. Fulvius Gillo Siciliam, Q. Minucius Rufus Bruttios, L. Furius Purpurio
3 Galliam. Rogatio de bello Macedonico primis comitiis ab omnibus ferme centuriis antiquata est. Id cum fessi diurnitate et gravitate belli sua sponte homines taedio periculorum laborumque fecerant,
4 tum Q. Baebius tribunus plebis, viam antiquam criminandi patres ingressus, incusaverat bella ex
5 bellis seri, ne pace umquam frui plebs posset. Aegre eam rem passi patres, laceratusque probris in senatu tribunus plebis, et consulem pro se quisque hortari ut de integro comitia rogationi ferendae ediceret
6 castigaretque segnitiam populi atque edoceret quanto damno dedecorique dilatio ea belli futura esset.

VII. Consul in campo Martio comitiis, priusquam

[1] plancus, the reading of *B*, is corrected from chap. iv, sect. 4 above.

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[1] The praetorship had been established in 366 B.C.; a second praetor was added in 242 B.C. (Per. XIX), and two more in 227 B.C. (XXII. xxxv. 5). One of them, the *praetor urbanus* (see note to iv. 1 above), tried cases in which only Roman citizens were involved; a second was frequently assigned to to preside over cases between citizens and aliens (*praetor peregrinus*); the rest were given the less important territorial provinces.

[2] The *comitia centuriata* consisted of units of (theoretically) one hundred men each, each century having one vote.

[3] The tribunate was originally created to provide protection for the plebeians against aristocratic injustice. The tribunes, however, had gradually been converted into agents of the aristocracy, since the senate learned that their power could be used against, as well as for, the commons. Baebius has resumed the original policy of opposition to and obstruction of senatorial measures.

was assigned. Next the praetors[1] received their B.C. 200
assignments, Gaius Sergius Plautus the praetorship of the city, Quintus Fulvius Gillo the governorship of Sicily, while Bruttium fell to Quintus Minucius Rufus and Gaul to Lucius Furius Purpurio. The motion regarding the Macedonian war was defeated at the first meeting of the assembly by the votes of almost all the centuries.[2] This action was taken spontaneously by men who were worn out by a war of long duration and great severity, so weary were they of hardships and perils; furthermore, Quintus Baebius, the tribune of the plebs, pursuing the once-usual course[3] of attacking the Fathers, had taunted them with sowing the seeds of war upon war, that the common people might never enjoy peace. The senate was annoyed at this; the tribune was assailed with abuse in the senate, and each member independently urged the consul to summon the assembly again to consider the motion, to upbraid the people for its supineness, and to make clear what danger and disgrace such postponement of the war would cause.

VII. The consul therefore, at the meeting in the Campus Martius,[4] calling an informal meeting[5]

[4] The *comitia centuriata* had once been practically identical with the army, and since the holding of the *imperium* (cf. the note on iii. 2) was forbidden within the *pomerium*, or religious limits of the city, this assembly met outside those limits, in the plain formed by the swing of the Tiber river to the right.

[5] The *comitia* voted, but did not debate. If there was to be discussion—in any case only those spoke who were invited to do so by the presiding officer—it took place in an informal *contio* held prior to the meeting of the formal *comitia*. The membership and place of meeting of a *contio* were identical with those of the *comitia* which it preceded.

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centurias in suffragium mitteret, contione advocata
2 "ignorare" inquit "mihi videmini, Quirites, non utrum bellum an pacem habeatis vos consuli—neque enim liberum id vobis Philippus permittet, qui terra marique ingens bellum molitur—sed utrum in Macedoniam legiones transportetis an hostes in
3 Italiam accipiatis. Hoc quantum intersit, si numquam alias, Punico proximo certe bello experti estis. Quis enim dubitat, quin, si Saguntinis obsessis fidemque nostram implorantibus impigre tulissemus opem, sicut patres nostri Mamertinis tulerant, totum in Hispaniam aversuri bellum fuerimus, quod cunctando cum summa clade nostra in Italiam
4 accepimus? Ne illud quidem dubium est, quin hunc ipsum Philippum, pactum iam per legatos litterasque cum Hannibale, ut in Italiam traiceret, misso cum classse Laevino qui ultro ei bellum
5 inferret, in Macedonia continuerimus. Et quod tunc fecimus, cum hostem Hannibalem in Italia haberemus, id nunc pulso Italia Hannibale, devictis
6 Carthaginiensibus, cunctamur facere? Patiamur expugnandis Athenis, sicut Sagunto expugnando Hannibalem passi sumus, segnitiam nostram experiri
7 regem: non quinto inde mense, quem ad modum ab Sagunto Hannibal, sed quinto inde die[1] quam ab
8 Corintho solverit naves, in Italiam perveniet. Ne aequaveritis Hannibali Philippum nec Carthaginiensibus Macedonas; Pyrrho certe aequabitis. Aequabitis[2] dico? Quantum vel vir viro vel gens genti

[1] inde die B^2: die inde *B*. [2] Aequabitis *Jacobs*: *om. B*.

[1] These Italian mercenaries in Sicily appealed for aid to Rome against Syracuse and her Carthaginian supporters. The First Punic War was the result of Rome's decision to assist them (Per. XVI; Polyb. I. vii. ff.).

before he put the question to the centuries, spoke B.C. 200
thus: "It seems to me, citizens, that you do not realize that the question before you is not whether you will have peace or war—for Philip will not leave that matter open for your decision, seeing that he is preparing a mighty war on land and sea—but whether you are to send your legions across to Macedonia or meet the enemy in Italy. What a difference that makes, if you never knew before, you found out at least in the recent Punic war. For who doubts that if, when the Saguntines were besieged and were invoking our protection, we had promptly sent aid to them, as our fathers did to the Mamertines,[1] we should have diverted the whole war to Spain, whereas by our delay we admitted it to Italy, with infinite losses to ourselves? Nor is there any doubt in the case of this same Philip, when he had already bargained with Hannibal, through ambassadors and by means of letters, to invade Italy, that when we sent Laevinus with a fleet to begin an offensive campaign against him, we kept him in Macedonia. And that which we did then, when we had Hannibal fighting in Italy, do we hesitate to do now, when Hannibal has been driven out and the Carthaginians conquered? Let us permit the king by the capture of Athens, as we permitted Hannibal by the capture of Saguntum, to see how slow we are to act: not in five months, as when Hannibal came from Saguntum, but in five days after he sets sail from Corinth, Philip will arrive in Italy! You need not compare Philip with Hannibal nor the Macedonians with the Carthaginians; you will compare him at least with Pyrrhus.[2] Compare, did I say? How great is the superiority,

[1] Cf. the notes on i. 6 and iii. 6 above.

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9 praestat! Minima accessio semper Epirus regno Macedoniae fuit et hodie est. Peloponnesum totam in dicione Philippus habet Argosque ipsos, non vetere fama magis quam morte Pyrrhi nobilitatos. 10 Nostra nunc compara. Quanto magis florentem Italiam, quanto magis integras res, salvis ducibus, salvis tot exercitibus quos Punicum postea bellum absumpsit, adgressus Pyrrhus tamen concussit et 11 victor prope ad ipsam urbem Romanam venit! Nec Tarentini modo oraque illa Italiae quam maiorem Graeciam vocant, ut linguam, ut nomen secutos crederes, sed Lucanus et Bruttius et Samnis ab nobis 12 defecerunt. Haec vos, si Philippus in Italiam transmiserit, quietura aut mansura in fide creditis? Manserunt enim Punico postea bello. Numquam isti populi, nisi cum deerit ad quem desciscant, ab 13 nobis non deficient. Si piguisset vos in Africam traicere, hodie in Italia Hannibalem et Carthaginienses hostes haberetis. Macedonia potius quam Italia bellum habeat; hostium urbes agrique ferro 14 atque igni vastentur; experti iam sumus foris nobis quam domi feliciora potentioraque arma esse. Ite in suffragium bene iuvantibus divis et quae patres 15 censuerunt vos iubete. Huius vobis sententiae non consul modo auctor est sed etiam dii immortales, qui mihi sacrificanti precantique ut hoc bellum mihi,

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[1] Epirus, in north-western Greece and adjacent to Macedonia, was the home of Pyrrhus.

[2] The ancient city of Argos is less important, to Sulpicius, for the traditions that gathered around it than for the reason that Pyrrhus met his death in a street-fight there about 272 B.C.

[3] For rhetorical effect Sulpicius magnifies somewhat the importance of Pyrrhus's early victories and neglects to mention the final Roman victory. Pyrrhus did defeat the Romans in

man to man or nation to nation! Epirus[1] has always been and is to-day a mere appendage to the Macedonian empire. Philip has under his control the whole of the Peloponnesus and Argos itself, famed not so much in ancient story as for the death of Pyrrhus.[2] Now compare our situation: How much more prosperous was Italy, how much greater her resources; her leaders alive, so many armies intact, which the Punic war later destroyed. Yet when Pyrrhus attacked he shattered her at a blow and came a conqueror almost to the gates of Rome![3] Not only the Tarentines and that part of the Italian coast which men call 'Greater Greece,' so that one would expect them to have followed the Greek language and name, but the Lucanian, the Bruttian, the Samnite revolted from us. Do you think that these peoples will remain quiet and steadfast if Philip invades Italy? 'Yes,' you say, 'for they did in the later Punic war.' Never will these peoples fail to revolt unless there is no enemy at hand for them to join. If you had been reluctant to invade Africa, you would have Hannibal and the Carthaginians fighting in Italy to-day. Let Macedonia, not Italy, have war; let it be the enemy's farms and cities that are laid waste with fire and sword. We have already learned from experience that our arms are more fortunate and powerful abroad than at home. Go to vote, then, with the blessing of the gods, and ratify what the senate has proposed. It is not the consul alone who supports this opinion before you: the immortal gods themselves favour it, for when I offered sacrifice and prayer that this war should turn out successfully for B.C. 200

several battles and did win the support of the Greek south of Italy.

A.U.C. 554 senatui vobisque, sociis ac nomini Latino, classibus exercitibusque nostris bene ac feliciter eveniret, laeta omnia prosperaque portendere."

VIII. Ab hac oratione in suffragium missi uti 2 rogarent, bellum iusserunt. Supplicatio inde a consulibus in triduum ex senatus consulto indicta est, obsecratique circa omnia pulvinaria dii ut, quod bellum cum Philippo populus iussisset, id bene ac 3 feliciter eveniret, consultique fetiales ab consule Sulpicio, bellum quod indiceretur regi Philippo, utrum ipsi utique nuntiari iuberent, an satis esset in finibus regni quod proximum praesidium esset, eo nuntiari. Fetiales decreverunt, utrum eorum fecisset, 4 recte facturum. Consuli a patribus permissum ut quem videretur ex iis qui extra senatum essent, 5 legatum mitteret ad bellum regi indicendum. Tum de exercitibus[1] consulum praetorumque actum. Consules binas legiones scribere iussi, veteres dimit- 6 tere exercitus. Sulpicio, cui novum ac magni nominis bellum decretum erat, permissum ut de exercitu quem P. Scipio ex Africa deportasset, voluntarios quos posset duceret; invitum ne quem 7 militem veterem ducendi ius esset. Praetoribus L. Furio Purpurioni et Q. Minucio Rufo quina milia socium Latini nominis consules darent, quibus praesidiis alter Galliam alter Bruttios provinciam 8 obtineret. Q. Fulvius Gillo ipse iussus ex eo exercitu

[1] exercitibus *edd.*: exercitu *B.*

[1] At the *lectisternium*, or feast of the gods, the images of the divinities were placed upon gaily-decorated couches (*pulvinaria*) and served with food: cf. XXII. i. 15, etc.

[2] Members of a college of priests whose especial concern was the proper performance of the prescribed formalities involved in a declaration of war or the conclusion of a treaty.

me, the senate and for you, for the allies and the Latin confederacy, and for our fleets and armies, they gave all favourable and propitious signs." B.C. 200

VIII. After this speech they were dismissed to vote and ordered the war. A three-day period of supplication was then declared by the consuls on the authorization of the senate, and the gods were implored at all their seats,[1] that this war which the people had declared upon Philip might succeed and prosper. The fetials[2] were consulted by the consul whether they would direct that the declaration of war against King Philip be delivered to him in person, or whether it was sufficient to announce it at the first fortified post in his territory. The fetials replied that in whichever way he acted he would act correctly. The consul was permitted by the Fathers to send anyone he chose, other than a senator, to declare war upon the king. They then took up the question of armies for the consuls and praetors. The consuls were authorized to enrol two legions each and to discharge the veterans. Sulpicius, to whom had been assigned the command in a new and important war, was allowed to enlist volunteers, as he could, from the army brought back from Africa by Publius Scipio, but was permitted to enrol no veteran against his will.[3] To each of the praetors, Lucius Furius Purpurio and Quintus Minucius Rufus, the consuls were to give five thousand allies of the Latin confederacy, and with these garrisons they were to guard their provinces of Gaul and Bruttium respectively. Quintus Fulvius Gillo likewise was authorized to draft soldiers from

[3] This restriction was apparently disregarded; cf. XXXII. iii. 4.

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quem P. Aelius consul habuisset, ut quisque minime multa stipendia haberet, legere, donec et ipse quinque milia socium ac nominis Latini effecisset: 9 id praesidii Siciliae provinciae esset. M. Valerio Faltoni, qui praetor priore anno Campaniam provinciam habuerat, prorogatum in annum imperium est, 10 uti propraetor in Sardiniam traiceret: is quoque de exercitu qui ibi esset, quinque milia socium nominis Latini, qui eorum minime multa stipendia haberent,[1] 11 legeret. Et consules duas urbanas legiones scribere iussi, quae, si quo res posceret, multis in Italia contactis gentibus Punici belli societate iraque inde tumentibus, mitterentur. Sex legionibus Romanis eo anno usura res publica erat.

IX. In ipso adparatu belli legati a rege Ptolomaeo venerunt, qui nuntiarent Athenienses adversus 2 Philippum petisse ab rege auxilium; ceterum, etsi communes socii sint, tamen nisi ex auctoritate populi Romani neque classem neque exercitum defendendi aut oppugnandi cuiusquam causa regem 3 in Graeciam missurum esse; vel quieturum eum in regno, si populo Romano socios defendere libeat, vel Romanos quiescere, si malint, passurum atque ipsum auxilia quae facile adversus Philippum tueri Athenas 4 possent missurum. Gratiae regi ab senatu actae responsumque tutari socios populo Romano in animo esse; si qua re ad id bellum opus sit, indicaturos regi regnique eius opes scire subsidia firma ac fidelia suae 5 rei publicae esse. Munera deinde legatis in singulos quinum milium aeris ex senatus consulto missa.

[1] haberent *Muretus*: haberet *B*.

the army which Publius Aelius had commanded as consul, choosing those who had been in the ranks for the shortest periods, until he too had made up the number of five thousand of the allies and the Latin confederacy; this force was to garrison the province of Sicily. The command of Marcus Valerius Falto, who, as praetor, had held the province of Campania the year before, was extended for a year, so that, as propraetor, he should cross to Sardinia; he too was to enlist, from the army there, five thousand of the allies and the Latin confederacy, choosing those who had served for the shortest periods. The consuls were authorized to enrol two city legions as well, to be sent wherever need arose, since many tribes of Italy had been affected by the contagion of the Punic war and were in a restless state. Thus Rome proposed to use six legions that year. B.C. 200

IX. In the midst of the preparations for the war, ambassadors arrived from King Ptolemy, to say that the Athenians had asked the king's aid against Philip, but that, although they were allies in common, the king would send no fleet or army to Greece to defend or attack anyone without the authorization of the Roman people; he would either remain quiet at home, if the Romans planned to defend their allies, or permit the Romans to stay at home, if they preferred, and himself send such forces as could easily defend Athens against Philip. The senate thanked the king, saying that it was the intention of the Roman people to defend its allies; if need of anything for this war arose, they would inform the king, knowing that the resources of his kingdom were firm and trustworthy supports of the republic. Gifts of five thousand *asses* each were then presented to the ambassadors by order of the senate.

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Cum dilectum consules haberent pararentque quae ad bellum opus essent, civitas religiosa, in principiis 6 maxime novorum bellorum, supplicationibus habitis iam et obsecratione circa omnia pulvinaria facta, ne quid praetermitteretur quod aliquando factum esset, ludos Iovi donumque vovere consulem, cui provincia 7 Macedonia evenisset, iussit. Moram voto publico Licinius pontifex maximus attulit, qui negavit ex incerta pecunia vovere licere; ex certa voveri debere, quia ea pecunia [1] non posset in bellum usui esse seponique statim deberet nec cum alia pecunia misceri; quod si factum esset, votum rite solvi non posse. 8 Quamquam et res et auctor movebat, tamen ad collegium pontificum referre consul iussus, si posset recte votum incertae pecuniae suscipi. Posse recti- 9 usque etiam esse pontifices decreverunt. Vovit in eadem verba consul praeeunte maximo pontifice quibus antea quinquennalia vota suscipi solita erant, 10 praeterquam quod tanta pecunia quantam [2] tum cum solveretur senatus censuisset, ludos donaque facturum vovit. Octiens ante ludi magni de certa pecunia voti erant; hi primi de incerta.

[1] licere; ex certa voveri *add. Madvig*: ea *add. Bekker*: uouere debere quia pecunia *B (ex ras.)*.
[2] quantam B^2: qua tamen *B*.

[1] The point which Licinius makes becomes clear when we recall the scrupulous exactness with which the Romans satisfied all their obligations to the gods. Licinius is responsible for the precision and propriety of the language used in the vow, and he fears that if the Romans make a vague and indefinite promise the gods will make a vague and indefinite response. Whatever the intention may have been, a vow of this sort inevitably assumes, to the outsider, the aspect of a bargain.

[2] The pontiffs as a body had final jurisdiction as interpreters of the *ius divinum*, or body of ordinances controlling the relations of men to gods.

While the consuls were levying troops and preparing what was needful for the war, the state, ever concerned with religion, especially at the outset of new wars, having held thanksgivings and offered prayers at all the seats of the gods, that nothing might be left undone which had ever been done before, ordered the consul to whom the province of Macedonia had been assigned to vow games and a gift to Jupiter. A delay in the matter of this public vow was caused by Licinius the pontifex maximus, who said that a vow for an indefinite sum was not allowable; that a specific sum[1] should be vowed, because this money could not be used for war, but should be set aside at once and not mixed with other moneys; if this happened, he said, the vow could not be fulfilled in strict conformity to its terms. Although the consul was moved both by the argument and its author, he was nevertheless directed to appeal to the college[2] of priests, to learn whether a vow for an indeterminate sum could properly be undertaken. The pontiffs replied that it was possible and even more correct. The consul, at the dictation of the pontifex maximus, recited his vow in the language formerly used in connection with the quinquennial games,[3] with the exception that he promised games and a gift of an amount to be determined by the senate at the time the vow was paid.[4] The great games had been vowed eight times before for definite sums; this was the first vow for an indefinite amount.[5] B.C. 200

[3] When the *ludi Romani* (cf. the note on iv. 5 above) became annual, special attention was devoted to those occurring every fifth year.

[4] These games were held in 194 B.C.: cf. XXXIV. xliv. 6.

[5] These statements cannot be verified.

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X. Omnium animis in bellum Macedonicum versis repente, nihil minus eo tempore timentibus, Gallici
2 tumultus fama exorta. Insubres Cenomanique et Boi excitis Celinibus Ilvatibusque et ceteris Ligustinis populis Hamilcare Poeno duce, qui in iis locis de Hasdrubalis exercitu substiterat, Placentiam invase-
3 rant; et direpta urbe ac per iram magna ex parte incensa, vix duobus milibus hominum inter incendia ruinasque relictis, traiecto Pado ad Cremonam diripi-
4 endam pergunt. Vicinae urbis audita clades spatium colonis dedit ad claudendas portas praesidiaque per muros disponenda, ut obsiderentur tamen prius quam expugnarentur nuntiosque mitterent ad praetorem
5 Romanum. L. Furius Purpurio tum provinciae praeerat cetero ex senatus consulto exercitu dimisso praeter quinque milia socium ac Latini nominis; cum iis copiis in proxima regione provinciae circa Ariminum substiterat. Is tum senatui scripsit quo
6 in tumultu provincia esset: duarum coloniarum, quae ingentem illam tempestatem Punici belli subterfugissent, alteram captam ac direptam ab hostibus,
7 alteram oppugnari; nec in exercitu suo satis praesidii colonis laborantibus fore, nisi quinque milia socium quadraginta milibus hostium—tot enim in armis esse—trucidanda obicere velit,[1] et tanta sua clade iam inflatos excidio coloniae Romanae augeri hostium animos.

[1] uelit B^2: uenit B.

[1] The Latin colonies of Placentia and Cremona, in the valley of the Po, had been established in 218 B.C. to aid in subjugating and holding Cisalpine Gaul.

X. While the thoughts of all were concentrated B.C. 200
on the Macedonian war and fearful of nothing less at the moment, news came of an uprising in Gaul. The Insubres, the Cenomani, and the Boi had roused the Celines, the Ilvates and the other Ligustini, and these tribes, under the leadership of Hamilcar the Carthaginian, who had remained in that region, a survivor of Hasdrubal's army, had attacked Placentia.[1] After plundering the city and burning most of it in their fury, they had left barely two thousand men alive among the flames and ruins, and then had crossed the Po and gone to destroy Cremona. The news of the disaster to the neighbouring city gave the colonists time to close the gates and man the walls, so that, in spite of these measures, a siege began before the town was assaulted and before they could send messengers to the Roman praetor. Lucius Furius Purpurio was then governor of the province, and had discharged the rest of his army by order of the senate, retaining only five thousand of the allies and the Latin confederacy; with these troops he was encamped in the vicinity of Ariminum, in the part of the province nearest Rome. He thereupon sent a message to the senate, telling in what confusion the province was: one of the two colonies which had escaped the mighty storm of the Punic war had been captured and sacked by the enemy, the other was besieged; his own army would be too weak to assist the colonists in their need, unless the senate wishes to deliver five thousand allies to be butchered by forty thousand enemies—for so many were in arms—and the minds of the enemy, already puffed up by the destruction of a Roman colony, to be further encouraged by the slaughter of so many of his own men.

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XI. His litters recitatis decreverunt ut C. Aurelius consul exercitum, cui in Etruriam ad conveniendum 2 diem edixerat, Arimini eadem die adesse iuberet et aut ipse, si per commodum rei publicae posset, ad opprimendum Gallicum tumultum proficisceretur aut 3 praetori [1] scriberet ut, cum ad eum legiones ex Etruria venissent, missis in vicem earum quinque milibus sociorum, quae interim Etruriae praesidio essent, proficisceretur ipse ad coloniam liberandam 4 obsidione. Legatos item mittendos in Africam censuerunt, eosdem Carthaginem, eosdem in Numi- 5 diam ad Masinissam: Carthaginem, ut nuntiarent civem eorum Hamilcarem relictum in Gallia—haud satis scire ex Hasdrubalis prius an ex Magonis postea 6 exercitu—bellum contra foedus facere, exercitus Gallorum Ligurumque excivisse ad arma contra populum Romanum; eum, si pax placeret, revocandum illis et dedendum populo Romano esse. 7 Simul nuntiare iussi perfugas sibi non omnes redditos esse, ac magnam partem eorum palam Carthagini obversari dici; quos comprehendi conquirique debere ut sibi ex foedere restituantur. Haec ad 8 Carthaginienses mandata. Masinissae gratulari iussi, quod non patrium modo recuperasset regnum,

[1] *B* reads *q. minucio praetori*, but Minucius was in Bruttium.

[1] Masinissa, king of the Massylii, had fought against the Romans in Spain, but had been won over by Africanus and had served effectively in the last campaigns of the war. His dominions were enlarged by the peace treaty (XXX. xliv. 12).

XI. When this news came, the senate voted that B.C. 200
Gaius Aurelius the consul should order that the army, for which he had designated a date on which to assemble in Etruria, should come together the same day at Ariminum, and that either Aurelius himself, if the interests of the state permitted, should set out to suppress the Gallic revolt, or else he should notify the praetor that when the legions from Etruria joined him he should send in their stead five thousand of the allies, to serve as a temporary garrison for Etruria, and that he himself should march to raise the siege of the colony. The senate also voted that ambassadors be sent to Africa on a mission to Carthage and likewise to Masinissa in Numidia.[1] Their message to the Carthaginians was that their fellow-citizen Hamilcar, left in Gaul—it was not certainly known whether he was from Hasdrubal's earlier army or the later expedition of Mago [2]—was making war contrary to the treaty and had raised armies of Gauls and Ligures against the Roman people; if they wanted peace they should recall him and surrender him to the Roman people. At the same time they were ordered to give notice that the Roman deserters had not all been restored to them, but that, according to report, many of them were openly living at Carthage; these were to be sought out and arrested, for return to Rome according to the treaty. Such was their mission to Carthage. As to Masinissa, they were ordered to congratulate him because he had not only recovered his ancestral possessions but had also en-

[1] His friendship with the Scipios and his vigour in extreme old age made him a familiar figure in Latin literature.

[2] The two brothers of Hannibal, Hasdrubal and Mago, had invaded Italy in 207 B.C. and 205 B.C. (XXVII. xxxix. 2 ff.; XXVIII. xlvi. 7 ff.). Cf. x. 2 above.

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sed parte florentissima Syphacis finium adiecta etiam
9 auxisset. Nuntiare praeterea iussi bellum cum rege
Philippo susceptum, quod Carthaginienses auxiliis
10 iuvisset iniuriasque inferendo sociis populi Romani
flagrante bello Italia coegisset classes exercitusque
in Graeciam mitti et distinendo copias causa in primis
fuisset serius in Africam traiciendi; peterentque ut
ad id bellum mitteret auxilia Numidarum equitum.
11 Dona ampla data quae ferrent regi, vasa aurea
12 argenteaque, toga purpurea et palmata tunica cum
eburneo scipione et toga praetexta cum curuli sella;
iussique polliceri, si quid sibi ad firmandum augen-
dumque regnum opus esse indicasset, enixe id
populum Romanum merito eius praestaturum.
13 Verminae quoque, Syphacis filii, legati per eos dies
senatum adierunt excusantes errorem adulescentiam-
que et culpam omnem in fraudem Carthaginiensium
14 avertentes: et Masinissam Romanis ex hoste amicum
factum; Verminam quoque adnisurum ne officiis in
populum Romanum aut a Masinissa aut ab ullo alio
vincatur; petere ut rex sociusque et amicus ab
15 senatu appellaretur. Responsum legatis est, et
patrem eius Syphacem sine causa ex socio et amico
hostem repente populi Romani factum, et eum ipsum
rudimentum adulescentiae bello lacessentem Romanos
16 posuisse. Itaque pacem illi prius petendam ab

[1] Syphax, king of Numidia, had been a Roman ally but had gone over to Carthage and expelled Masinissa from his own kingdom. He died a prisoner in Italy, just before or just after Scipio's triumph (XXX. xlv. 4–5), leaving the remnants of his kingdom to Vermina.

larged them by the addition of the most prosperous B.C. 200
part of the territory of Syphax.[1] They were also to say that war with King Philip had been begun, because he had sent aid to Carthage; because he had, by attacking the allies of the Roman people when Italy was being consumed by the flames of war, compelled the dispatch of fleets and armies to Greece, and, by dividing their forces, had been a chief cause of postponing the invasion of Africa. They were to ask that Masinissa send assistance in the form of Numidian cavalry. Ample gifts—vases of gold and silver, a purple toga, a tunic adorned with palms, an ivory sceptre, a robe of state and a curule chair—were given them to be presented to the king. The ambassadors were directed to promise him that if he pointed out anything he needed to strengthen and enlarge his kingdom, the Roman people would make every effort to secure it for him, in recognition of his services to them. At this time ambassadors to the senate came also from Vermina, the son of Syphax, who sought to make excuses for his mistakes, which were due to his youth, and placing all the blame for them on the bad faith of the Carthaginians: Masinissa, they said, had become a friend to the Roman people after having been their enemy; so Vermina too would strive earnestly not to be outdone by Masinissa or anyone else in services to the Roman people; they asked that he be named king and ally and friend by the senate. The senators replied to the ambassadors that his father Syphax, once an ally and friend, had suddenly and without cause become an enemy of the Roman people; that Vermina himself had spent the beginnings of his youth in harassing the Romans in war. Therefore he should seek peace from the

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populo Romano esse, quam ut rex sociusque et amicus appelletur; nominis eius honorem pro magnis erga se regum meritis dare populum Romanum consuesse.
17 Legatos Romanos in Africa fore, quibus mandaturum senatum ut Verminae pacis dent leges, liberum arbitrium eius populo Romano permittenti;[1] si quid ad eas addi, demi mutarive[2] vellet, rursus ab senatu
18 ei postulandum fore. Legati cum iis mandatis in Africam missi C. Terentius Varro, Sp. Lucretius, Cn. Octavius. Quinqueremes singulis datae.

XII. Litterae deinde in senatu recitatae sunt Q. Minucii praetoris, cui Bruttii provincia erat: pecuniam Locris ex Proserpinae thensauris nocte clam sublatam, nec ad quos pertineat facinus vestigia
2 ulla extare. Indigne passus senatus non cessari ab sacrilegiis, et ne Pleminium quidem, tam clarum recensque noxae simul ac poenae exemplum, homines
3 deterrere. C. Aurelio consuli negotium datum ut ad praetorem in Bruttios scriberet senatui placere, quaestionem de expilatis thensauris eodem exemplo haberi quo M. Pomponius praetor triennio ante
4 habuisset; quae inventa pecunia esset, reponi; si quo minus inventum foret, expleri, ac piacularia, si videretur, sicut ante pontifices censuissent, fieri.
5 Curam expiandae violationis eius templi prodigia

[1] permittenti *Ruben*: permittente *B.*
[2] mutarive *edd.*: mutari *B.*

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[1] Pleminius, while in command of the garrison at Locri in 204 B.C., had plundered this same temple, and had been severely punished. The story of his sacrilege and its penalty was related in XXIX. xviii–xxii incl.

[2] Pomponius, as governor of Sicily, had investigated the charges against Pleminius: cf. the preceding note.

Roman people before asking for recognition as king and ally and friend, the honour of which titles the Roman people usually conferred in return for conspicuous services towards themselves on the part of kings. Roman ambassadors, they said, would soon be in Africa, whom the senate would instruct to offer terms of peace to Vermina, who was to leave full discretion thereon to the Roman people; if he wished anything added to, taken from, or modified in, these terms, he should make a new request to the senate. The ambassadors sent to Africa with these instructions were Gaius Terentius Varro, Spurius Lucretius and Gnaeus Octavius. One quinquereme was assigned to each. B.C. 200

XII. A letter from Quintus Minucius, the praetor in charge of the province of Bruttium, was then read in the senate: money had been stealthily removed at night from the treasure-house of Persephone at Locri, nor were there any clues as to the perpetrators of the crime. The senate was indignant that such sacrileges should continue to be committed, and that even the case of Pleminius,[1] so recent an example of crime and its punishment, did not deter criminals. The consul Gaius Aurelius was directed to communicate to the praetor in Bruttium the senate's desire that the plundering of the treasury should be investigated in the manner adopted by the praetor Marcus Pomponius[2] three years before; that any money discovered be restored; that if there was any shortage, it should be made up, and that, if he saw fit, expiatory sacrifices should be performed as the priests had prescribed in the previous case. The concern to atone for the violation of this temple was increased by the prodigies which were reported in

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etiam sub idem tempus pluribus locis nuntiata accenderunt. In Lucanis caelum arsisse adferebant, Priverni sereno per diem totum rubrum solem fuisse, 6 Lanuvi in [1] templo Sospitae Iunonis nocte strepitum ingentem exortum. Iam animalium obsceni fetus pluribus locis nuntiabantur: in Sabinis incertus infans natus, masculus an femina esset, alter sedecim 7 iam annorum item ambiguo sexu inventus; Frusinone agnus cum suillo capite, Sinuessae porcus cum capite humano natus, in Lucanis in agro publico eculeus cum 8 quinque pedibus. Foeda omnia et deformia errantisque in alienos fetus naturae visa; ante omnia abominati semimares iussique in mare extemplo deportari, sicut proxime C. Claudio M. Livio con- 9 sulibus deportatus similis prodigii fetus erat. Nihilo minus decemviros adire libros de portento eo iusserunt. Decemviri ex libris res divinas easdem quae proxime secundum id prodigium factae essent imperarunt. Carmen praeterea ab ter novenis virginibus cani per urbem iusserunt donumque Iunoni reginae ferri. 10 Ea uti fierent, C. Aurelius consul ex decemvirorum responso curavit. Carmen, sicut patrum memoria Livius, ita tum condidit P. Licinius Tegula.

[1] Lanuvi in *Weissenborn*: lanuuii *B*.

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[1] Consuls in 207 B.C. (XXVII. xxxvii. 6).

[2] A special college of priests entrusted with the guardianship and consultation of the ancient Sibylline Books, which were frequently appealed to for advice under circumstances like these.

[3] The number three has, as often, a ritualistic significance. Juno is propitiated as a goddess concerned with birth.

[4] Livius Andronicus, whose name stands at the head of the chronological list of Latin writers, wrote the earlier hymn referred to here (cf. XXVII. xxxvii. 7, 13, where Livy names

numerous parts of the country at the same time. In B.C. 200
Lucania, flames in the sky were reported; at Privernum, the sun shone red throughout the day in clear weather; at Lanuvium, in the temple of Juno Sospita, a mighty noise was heard during the night. Further, dread forms of animals were reported in several places: among the Sabines, a child of uncertain sex was born, while another was found whose sex, at the age of sixteen, could not be determined. At Frusino there was born a lamb with a pig's head, at Sinuessa a pig with a man's head, on the public land in Lucania, a colt with five feet. All these disgusting and monstrous creatures seemed to be signs that nature was confusing species; but beyond all else the hermaphrodites caused terror, and they were ordered to be carried out to sea, as had been done with a similar monstrosity not long before in the consulship of Gaius Claudius and Marcus Livius.[1] Nevertheless, the decemvirs[2] were ordered to consult the Books regarding the portent. They, as a result of the investigation, ordered the same rites that had been performed when such a prodigy had appeared before. In addition, they directed that a hymn be sung throughout the city by thrice nine maidens, and that an offering be made to Queen Juno.[3] Gaius Aurelius the consul saw to the performance of these rites in accordance with the answer of the decemvirs. The hymn, composed in the memory of our fathers by Livius, was on this occasion written by Publius Licinius Tegula.[4]

the poet and criticizes his style). The Licinius here named may be the same as the Licinius Imbrex who is said by Gellius (XIII. xxiii (xxii). 16) to have been a writer of comedies.

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XIII. Expiatis omnibus religionibus—nam etiam Locris sacrilegium pervestigatum ab Q. Minucio erat, pecuniaque ex bonis noxiorum in thensauros reposita—cum consules in provincias proficisci vellent, 2 privati frequentes, quibus ex pecunia quam M. Valerio M. Claudio consulibus mutuam dederant, tertia pensio debebatur eo anno, adierunt senatum, 3 quia consules, cum ad novum bellum, quod magna classe magnisque exercitibus gerendum esset, vix aerarium sufficeret, negaverant esse unde iis in 4 praesentia solveretur. Senatus querentes eos non sustinuit: si in Punicum bellum pecunia data in Macedonicum quoque bellum uti res publica vellet, aliis ex aliis orientibus bellis, quid aliud quam publicatam pro beneficio tamquam noxia [1] suam pecu- 5 niam fore? Cum et privati aequum postularent, nec tamen solvendo aere alieno res publica esset, 6 quod medium inter aequum et utile erat decreverunt, ut, quoniam magna pars eorum agros volgo venales esse diceret et sibimet emptis opus esse, agri publici qui intra quinquagesimum lapidem esset, copia iis 7 fieret: consules agrum aestimaturos et in iugera asses vectigal testandi causa publicum agrum esse imposi- 8 turos, ut si quis, cum solvere posset populus, pecuniam

[1] noxia *Weissenborn*: noxiam *B.*

[1] These citizens, in 210 B.C. (XXVI. xxxvi. 8), loaned money to the state for the prosecution of the war with Hannibal, although from Livy's account they gave rather than loaned the money. In 204 B.C. (XXIX. xvi. 1) an arrangement was made for repayment in three biennial instalments, the third of which would be due in 200 B.C. Nevertheless, a final payment (perhaps to those who did not accept the arrangement described in sects. 6–9 below) was made in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xlii. 2).

[2] Since the value of the *as* was about two cents, or one penny, and the *iugerum* was about three-fifths of an acre, the

XIII. When all these scruples had been allayed— B.C. 200
for the sacrilege at Locri had been investigated by Quintus Minucius and the money replaced in the treasury out of the property of the guilty—and the consuls were on the point of leaving for their provinces, many private citizens, to whom was due this year the third payment on the loans made in the consulship of Marcus Valerius and Marcus Claudius,[1] appealed to the senate because the consuls had declared that, since the treasury hardly sufficed for the new war, which was to be waged with a great fleet and large armies, there was no money at their command with which to make the payment. The senate could not resist their complaints: If the state wished to use for the Macedonian war, the petitioners argued, the money loaned for the Punic war, since one conflict followed hard upon another, what else would be the result than the confiscation of their property in return for an act of generosity, as if it had been a crime? Since the request of these citizens was reasonable, and since nevertheless the state could not repay the loan, the senate took an action which was midway between justice and expediency, namely, that, since many of the creditors said that there was much land for sale, to purchase which cash was needed, the opportunity should be given them to receive public land lying within the fiftieth milestone; the consuls were to appraise this land and to impose an annual rental of one *as* per *iugerum* [2] by way of attesting that this was public land; consequently, if anyone, when the state should be in funds,

rental was purely nominal and was imposed to prevent the transfer of the title to this land to the individual; this permitted the later optional settlement described below.

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habere quam agrum mallet, restitueret agrum populo.
9 Laeti eam condicionem privati accepere; trientabulumque is ager, quia pro tertia parte pecuniae datus erat, appellatus.

XIV. Tum P. Sulpicius secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata paludatis lictoribus profectus ab urbe
2 Brundisium venit et veteribus militibus voluntariis ex Africano exercitu in legiones discriptis navibusque ex classe Cn. Cornelii electis altero die quam a
3 Brundisio solvit in Macedoniam traiecit. Ibi ei praesto fuere Atheniensium legati orantes ut se obsidione eximeret. Missus extemplo Athenas est C. Claudius Cento cum viginti longis navibus et mille
4 militum. Neque enim ipse rex Athenas obsidebat; eo maxime tempore Abydum oppugnabat, iam cum Rhodiis et Attalo navalibus certaminibus, neutro
5 feliciter proelio, vires expertus; sed animos ei faciebat praeter ferociam insitam foedus ictum cum Antiocho, Syriae rege, divisaeque iam cum eo Aegypti opes, cui morte audita Ptolomaei regis ambo imminebant.

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[1] One might expect *paludatus cum lictoribus*; I have however retained the reading of the MSS.: cf. XLI. x. 5; 7; 13; XLV. xxxix. 11 (in the first of these Gronovius conjectured *paludatus sine lictoribus*), in which the same phrase occurs.

[2] Livy's elliptical *neque enim* suggests that if Philip had been before Athens a larger relief expedition would have been necessary.

[3] Livy here summarizes the activities of Philip during the campaign of 200 B.C. before the arrival of Sulpicius in the late summer or early autumn of that year. He resumes the narrative dealing with Sulpicius in xxii. 4 below.

[4] Philip's attack upon this famous city on the Hellespont was part of the aggressive campaign against the Greek cities on

should prefer money to the land, he could restore the land to the people. The creditors gladly accepted this offer, and the land was called "trientabulum" because it was allotted in discharge of one-third of the debts. B.C. 200

XIV. Thereupon Publius Sulpicius, after the announcement of the vows on the Capitoline, left the city with his lictors in uniform,[1] arrived at Brundisium and there, enrolling in the legions veteran volunteers from the African army and selecting ships from the fleet of Gnaeus Cornelius, he arrived in Macedonia the second day after he set sail from Brundisium. There Athenian ambassadors met him, begging that he release them from siege. He at once sent to Athens Gaius Claudius Cento with twenty warships and a thousand soldiers. For [2] the king [3] himself was not conducting the siege of Athens, but was principally occupied with the attack on Abydus,[4] and was now trying his strength in naval battles with the Rhodians and Attalus, in neither case with conspicuous success; however, his spirits were kept up, partly by his naturally impetuous disposition, partly by a treaty [5] which he had concluded with Antiochus, king of Syria, according to which the wealth of Egypt, which both coveted when they heard of the death of King Ptolemy, was soon to be divided between them.

the islands and in Asia Minor, some of which were free, while others belonged to the Ptolemies, whose empire he had agreed with Antiochus (see below) to dismember. His policy threatened both Pergamum and Rhodes (cf. the Introductory Note) and brought them into the war.

[5] Cf. Polyb. III. ii. 8. The death of Ptolemy Philopator (cf. the note on ii. 3 above) gave Philip and Antiochus their apparent opportunity to expand at the expense of the boy Epiphanes. The treaty was probably made in 203 B.C.

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6 Contraxerant autem sibi cum Philippo bellum Athenienses haudquaquam digna causa, dum ex
7 vetere fortuna nihil praeter animos servant. Acarnanes duo iuvenes per initiorum dies non initiati templum Cereris imprudentes religionis cum cetera
8 turba ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit absurde quaedam percunctantes,[1] deductique ad antistites templi, cum palam esset per errorem ingressos,
9 tamquam ob infandum scelus interfecti sunt. Id tam foede atque hostiliter factum gens Acarnanum ad Philippum detulit impetravitque ab eo ut datis Macedonum auxiliis bellum se inferre Atheniensibus
10 pateretur. Hic exercitus primo terram Atticam ferro ignique depopulatus cum omnis generis praeda in Acarnaniam rediit. Et irritatio quidem animorum ea prima fuit; postea iustum bellum decretis civitatis
11 ultro indicendo factum. Attalus enim rex Rhodiique persecuti cedentem in Macedoniam Philippum cum Aeginam venissent, rex Piraeum renovandae confirmandaeque cum Atheniensibus societatis causa
12 traiecit. Civitas omnis obviam effusa cum coniugibus

[1] percunctantes ς: percontatis B: percontatos B^2.

[1] Livy here summarizes briefly and somewhat inaccurately the events leading up to Roman intervention in the east. In 201 B.C., in consequence of the treaty mentioned in sect. 5 above, Philip had begun operations against the Egyptian possessions in Thrace, northern Asia Minor, and the Cyclades. This brought him into conflict with Pergamum, already allied with Athens, and with Rhodes. At the approach of winter he had withdrawn to Europe, after a campaign somewhat more successful than Livy's account intimates. Athens was not immediately involved in this war, but was embroiled with

Now the Athenians[1] had undertaken the war against Philip for no sufficient reason, since they retained nothing of their ancient greatness except their spirit. Two young men from Acarnania,[2] during the celebration of the mysteries at Eleusis, though not initiated, had entered the temple of Ceres, ignorant that they were committing a sacrilege, and merely following the crowd. Their words easily betrayed them, since they asked foolish questions, and though it was clear that they had come in openly and by mistake they were put to death as if they had committed some heinous crime. The Acarnanians reported this revolting and unfriendly act to Philip, and prevailed upon him to send them Macedonian aid and permit them to attack Athens. This army at first laid waste Attica with fire and sword and returned to Acarnania laden with every kind of booty. This was the original provocation; later regular war was declared and waged by decree of the state after formal notification. Now when King Attalus and the Rhodians had arrived at Aegina in pursuit of Philip, who was retiring to Macedonia, Attalus crossed to Piraeus to renew and confirm his alliance with the Athenians.[3] The whole body of citizens,[4] with their wives and B.C. 200

Philip in the manner described in the following sections. The alignment is then: Philip and the Aetolian League *vs.* Athens, Pergamum, Rhodes, Rome. Antiochus, allied with both Rome and Philip, was not involved directly, nor was Ptolemy, allied with Rome, although Philip's attack on his possessions precipitated the war.

[2] Acarnania, in the north-west, was a part of the Aetolian League.

[3] See, for this alliance, XXIX. xii. 14.

[4] Polybius (XVI. xxv. 5) similarly describes this scene.

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ac liberis, sacerdotes cum insignibus suis intrantem urbem ac di prope ipsi exciti sedibus suis acceperunt.

XV. In contionem extemplo populus vocatus, ut rex quae vellet coram ageret; deinde ex dignitate magis visum scribere eum de quibus videretur, quam praesentem aut referendis suis in civitatem beneficiis erubescere aut significationibus adclamationibusque multitudinis adsentatione immodica pudorem onerantis. In litteris autem, quae missae in contionem recitataeque sunt, commemoratio erat beneficiorum primum in civitatem suorum, deinde rerum quas adversus Philippum gessisset, ad postremum adhortatio capessendi belli, dum se, dum Rhodios, tum quidem dum etiam Romanos haberent: nequiquam postea, si tum cessassent, praetermissam occasionem quaesituros. Rhodii deinde legati auditi sunt; quorum recens erat beneficium, quod naves longas quattuor Atheniensium, captas nuper ab Macedonibus recuperatasque, remiserant. Itaque ingenti consensu bellum adversus Philippum decretum. Honores regi primum Attalo immodici, deinde et Rhodiis habiti. Tum primum mentio inlata de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus

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[1] This is not confirmed by other testimony.

[2] Livy's statement, if properly understood, is correct so far as it goes, but might be misleading unless supplemented by the facts which have been ascertained in recent years from the evidence furnished by the Attic inscriptions. The original ten tribes of Clisthenes were increased to twelve in 307/6 by the creation of Antigonas and Demetrias and to thirteen by the creation of Ptolemais between 229/8 and 222/1 (probably in 224/3 or 226/5). But in the early part of 201/0 Antigonis and Demetrias had been abolished, leaving eleven tribes. This number was therefore increased to twelve when Attalis was added in the latter part of 201/0. I owe

children, poured out to meet him; the priests in their B.C. 200
vestments and the very gods, so to speak, starting up from their thrones, welcomed him as he entered the city.

XV. The citizens were at once summoned to an assembly, that the king might declare publicly what he desired; then it seemed more consonant with his dignity that he should write his message, on whatever matters he pleased, than deliver it in person and be embarrassed by his own recital of his services to the state or by the extravagant applause and eulogies of the crowd, which would overwhelm his modesty with its uncontrolled adulation. The letter which was sent and read to the assembly contained, first, a review of his acts of generosity towards Athens; second, an account of the campaigns he had carried on against Philip, and, lastly, an exhortation to undertake the war against Philip while they had him, the Rhodians, and now particularly the Romans also as allies; in vain, later on, if they now hesitated, would they seek to grasp the opportunity they had let slip. The Rhodian envoys were next heard, whose recent display of good-will had consisted in sending back four Athenian war-vessels which had, not long before, been captured by the Macedonians and recovered.[1] So by a roar of voices war was declared on Philip. Extravagant honours were conferred first upon Attalus and then upon the Rhodians as well. At this time occurs the first mention of the tribe which they called "Attalis," to be added to the ten old tribes.[2] The people of

this exact statement to the kindness of Mr. Sterling Dow, who refers to W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens* and W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Archons of Athens*.

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addenda, et Rhodiorum populus corona aurea virtutis
7 ergo donatus, civitasque Rhodiis data, quem ad modum
8 Rhodii prius Atheniensibus dederant. Secundum haec rex Attalus Aeginam ad classem se recipit; Rhodii Ciam ab Aegina, inde per insulas Rhodum navigarunt omnibus praeter Andrum Parumque et Cythnum, quae praesidiis Macedonum tenebantur,
9 in societatem acceptis. Attalum Aeginae missi in Aetoliam nuntii expectatique inde legati aliquamdiu
10 nihil agentem tenuere. Sed neque illos excire ad arma potuit, gaudentes utcumque composita cum Philippo pace, et ipse Rhodiique, cum, si institissent Philippo, egregium liberatae per se Graeciae titulum
11 habere potuissent, patiendo rursus eum in Hellespontum traicere occupantemque Thraeciae[1] opportuna loca vires colligere bellum aluere gloriamque eius gesti perfectique Romanis concesserunt.

XVI. Philippus magis regio animo est usus; qui
2 cum Attalum Rhodiosque hostes non sustinuisset, ne Romano quidem quod imminebat bello territus Philocle quodam ex praefectis suis cum duobus milibus peditum equitibus ducentis ad populandos
3 Atheniensium agros misso, classe tradita Heraclidi, ut Maroneam peteret, ipse terra eodem cum expeditis

[1] Thraeciae *Weissenborn*: graeciae *B*.

[1] There was an alliance between Pergamum and the Aetolians: cf. XXVII. xxix. 10.

[2] See note on i. 8 above.

[3] At this point Livy begins the narrative of Philip's campaign of 200 B.C. against the possessions of Ptolemy in Thrace

Rhodes, moreover, was presented with a golden crown, B.C. 200
the symbol of valour, and the Athenian citizenship was given the Rhodians, just as they had previously granted the same distinction to the Athenians. After this Attalus rejoined his fleet at Aegina; the Rhodians went back from Aegina to Cia, thence to Rhodes by way of the islands, receiving into their alliance all of them but Andros, Paros and Cythnos, which were held by Macedonian garrisons. Attalus was kept idle for some time in Aegina, by sending messengers to Aetolia[1] and waiting for ambassadors from there. But he could not induce them to declare war, since they felt satisfaction at the composition—however accomplished—of their difficulties with Philip;[2] and Attalus and the Rhodians, although, if they had pressed their campaign against Philip, they might have won the fair fame of having liberated Greece, by permitting him to cross again to the Hellespont and to increase his army by the occupation of strongholds in Thrace, protracted the war and left to the Romans the glory of conducting and finishing it.

XVI. Philip displayed a spirit that more befitted a king.[3] Though he had not withstood Attalus and the Rhodians, he was unterrified even by the threatening war with Rome. Sending Philocles, one of his prefects, with two thousand infantry and two hundred horse to harry the Athenian country, and entrusting a fleet to Heraclides, that he might proceed to Maronea, he himself set out by land to that place with two thousand light-armed infantry

(sects. 3–4) and the Thracian Chersonesus, to the north-west of the Hellespont (sects. 5 ff.). These events precede the arrival of the Romans in Greece (xiv. 2 above).

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duobus milibus peditum equitibus ducentis pergit. 4 Et Maroneam quidem primo impetu expugnavit; Aenum inde cum magno labore obsedit, postremo per proditionem Callimedis, praefecti Ptolomaei, cepit. Deinceps alia castella, Cypsela et Doriscon 5 et Serrheum, occupat. Inde progressus ad Chersonesum Elaeunta et Alopeconnesum tradentibus ipsis recipit; Callipolis quoque et Madytus dedita et 6 castella quaedam ignobilia; Abydeni ne legatis quidem admissis regi portas clauserunt. Ea oppugnatio diu Philippum tenuit, eripique ex obsidione, ni cessatum ab Attalo et Rhodiis foret, potuerunt. 7 Attalus trecentos tantum milites in praesidium, Rhodii quadriremem unam ex classe, cum ad Tenedum 8 staret, miserunt. Eodem postea, cum iam vix sustinerent obsidionem, et ipse Attalus cum traiecisset, spem tantum auxilii ex propinquo ostendit neque terra neque mari adiutis sociis.

XVII. Abydeni primo tormentis per muros dispositis non terra modo adeuntes aditu arcebant, sed navium quoque stationem infestam hosti faciebant; 2 postea, cum et muri pars strata ruinis et ad interiorem raptim oppositum murum cuniculis iam perventum esset, legatos ad regem de condicionibus tradendae 3 urbis miserunt. Paciscebantur autem ut Rhodiam quadriremem cum sociis navalibus Attalique praesidium emitti liceret atque ipsis urbe excedere cum

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[1] See xiv. 4 above and the note.

[2] Livy seems to have borrowed the following account from Polybius (XVI. xxx–xxxiv).

and two hundred cavalry. And Maronea, indeed, B.C. 200
he took at the first assault; Aenus then, after great labour in besieging it, he finally captured through the treachery of Callimedes, the prefect of Ptolemy. Next he occupied other fortresses, Cypsela, Doriscus, and Serrheum. Proceeding thence toward the Chersonesus, he received in voluntary submission Elaeus and Alopeconnesus. Callipolis too and Madytus were surrendered, and some unimportant strongholds. The people of Abydus,[1] not even admitting his ambassadors, closed their gates against the king. This siege delayed Philip a long time, and the people could have been quickly relieved of the siege if Attalus and the Rhodians had not delayed. Attalus sent only three hundred soldiers for the garrison, the Rhodians one quadrireme from the fleet, although it was lying off Tenedos. Later, the city being by that time scarce able to resist the siege, when Attalus in person arrived there, he gave only the hope of aid from near by, but did not help the allies by either land or sea.

XVII. The citizens of Abydus[2] at first, placing their artillery along the walls, not only on land denied approach to the assaulting parties, but rendered the anchorage of the fleet dangerous to the enemy; later, when part of the rampart had been laid in ruins, and, in addition, mines had been driven almost to the inner wall which had been hastily constructed, they sent ambassadors to the king regarding terms of surrender for the city. They proposed, however, that they be allowed to send away the Rhodian quadrireme with the naval allies, and the garrison of Attalus, and that they be permitted to leave the city with one garment each.

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4 singulis vestimentis. Quibus cum Philippus nihil pacati nisi omnia permittentibus respondisset, adeo renuntiata haec legatio ab indignatione simul ac
5 desperatione iram accendit, ut ad Saguntinam rabiem versi matronas omnes in templo Dianae, pueros ingenuos virginesque, infantes etiam cum suis
6 nutricibus in gymnasium includi iuberent, aurum et argentum in forum deferri, vestem pretiosam in naves Rhodiam Cyzicenamque quae in portu erant coici, sacerdotes victimasque adduci et altaria in
7 medio poni. Ibi delecti primum qui, ubi caesam aciem suorum pro diruto muro pugnantem vidissent, extemplo coniuges liberosque interficerent, aurum argentum vestemque quae in navibus esset in mare
8 deicerent, tectis publicis privatisque, quam plurimis
9 locis possent, ignes subicerent; id se facinus perpetraturos praeeuntibus execrabile carmen sacerdotibus iureiurando adacti; tum militaris aetas iurat
10 neminem vivum nisi victorem acie excessurum. Hi memores deorum adeo pertinaciter pugnaverunt ut, cum proelium nox diremptura esset, rex prior,
11 territus rabie eorum, pugna abstiterit. Principes, quibus atrocior pars facinoris delegata erat, cum paucos et confectos vulneribus ac lassitudine superesse proelio cernerent, luce prima sacerdotes cum infulis ad urbem dedendam Philippo mittunt.

XVIII. Ante deditionem ex iis legatis qui Alexandream missi erant, M. Aemilius trium consensu,

[1] Such a formula invoked a curse upon anyone who failed to carry out whatever order had been given.
[2] See ii. 3 above.

When Philip answered them that there would be no peace without their unconditional surrender, the message when reported kindled such passion, arising from anger and despair together, that, imitating the madness of the Saguntines, they ordered all the matrons to be shut up in the temple of Diana, the free-born boys and maidens and even the young babes with their nurses in the gymnasium, the gold and silver to be collected in the market-place and the valuable garments to be placed on the Rhodian and Cyzicene ships which were in the harbour, the priests and victims to be brought and the altars erected for sacrifice. Then they chose certain men who, when they saw their soldiers slaughtered as they fought before the ruined wall, were forthwith to slay their wives and children, throw into the sea all the gold, silver and garments which were in the ships, and set fire to the public and private buildings in every possible place. This crime they bound themselves by oath to commit, while the priests dictated to them the formula of execration.[1] The soldiers then swore that no one would leave the battle-line alive except as victor, and they, mindful of the gods, fought so courageously that, when night was about to end the battle, the king was the first to retire from the field, in fear of their madness. The chiefs, to whom the more cruel part in the crime had been assigned, when they saw only a few surviving the battle, and these exhausted by wounds and weariness, at daybreak sent the priests, wearing their fillets, to surrender the city to Philip. B.C. 200

XVIII. Before the surrender, Marcus Aemilius, the youngest of the three ambassadors[2] who had been sent to Alexandria, hearing of the siege of

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minimus natu, audita obsidione Abydenorum ad Philippum venit. Qui questus Attalo Rhodiisque
2 arma inlata, et quod tum maxime Abydum oppugnaret, cum rex ab Attalo et Rhodiis ultro se bello lacessitum diceret, " num Abydeni quoque " inquit
3 " ultro tibi intulerunt arma? " Insueto vera audire ferocior oratio visa est quam quae habenda apud regem esset. " Aetas " inquit " et forma et super
4 omnia Romanum nomen te ferociorem facit. Ego autem primum velim vos foederum memores servare mecum pacem; sin bello lacessitis, mihi quoque animos [1] facere et regnum et Macedonum nomen
5 haud minus quam Romanum nobile sentietis." Ita dimisso legato Philippus auro argento quaeque coacervata alia erant accepto [2] hominum praedam
6 omnem amisit. Tanta enim rabies multitudinem invasit ut repente, proditos rati, qui pugnantes mortem occubuissent periuriumque alius alii exprobantes et sacerdotibus maxime, qui, quos ad mortem devovissent, eorum deditionem vivorum hosti fecis-
7 sent, repente omnes ad caedem coniugum liberorumque discurrerent seque ipsi per omnes vias leti interficerent. Obstupefactus eo furore rex suppressit impetum militum et triduum se ad moriendum

[1] animos *Madvig*: animo est *B*.

[2] The reading of *B*, *accepto*, is retained, although the inserted clause *quaeque . . . erant* makes the construction harsh.

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[1] See the similar dialogue quoted by Polybius (XVI. xxxiv. 5); Polybius adds that Aemilius was the handsomest man of his time.

[2] According to Justin (XXX. iii. 3–4), the ambassadors carried instructions to Antiochus and Philip to keep their hands off Egypt, and Aemilius was designated to act as a quasi-

Abydus, came to Philip with the consent of his B.C. 200
colleagues. He protested against the attack on Attalus and the Rhodians, and because Philip was at that very moment besieging Abydus, and when the king replied that Attalus and the Rhodians had made an unprovoked attack upon him, Aemilius asked, "Did the people of Abydus also take up arms against you, unprovoked?" This speech seemed to the king, who was unused to hearing the truth, too arrogant for delivery in the royal presence. "Your age," he replied, "your good looks,[1] and, above all, the Roman name, make you too arrogant. I should myself prefer first that you remember the treaties and keep the peace with me; but if you attack me in war, you will find that I too have the resolution to make both the kingdom and the name of Macedonia no less renowned than those of Rome." Thus dismissing the envoy,[2] Philip took possession of all the gold, silver, and other accumulated treasure, but lost all the human booty. For such madness laid hold of the people that all at once, thinking that those who had fallen in the fight had met death from treachery, each reproaching another's perjury, and especially that of the priests, who had delivered alive to the enemy those whom they had consecrated to death, they hastily ran to kill their wives and children and then themselves sought death by every path. The king, astounded by this frenzy, checked the assaults of his soldiers and announced that he would give the

guardian to the young Ptolemy. For the alliance between Egypt and Rome see XXVII. iv. 10. Livy has abridged his account of the embassy's activities, but it should be remembered that the embassy left Rome before the declaration of war upon Philip.

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8 Abydenis dare dixit. Quo spatio plura facinora in se victi ediderunt quam infesti edidissent victores, nec, nisi quem vincula aut alia necessitas mori prohibuit, quisquam vivus in potestatem venit. Philip-
9 pus imposito Abydi praesidio in regnum rediit. Cum velut Sagunti excidium Hannibali, sic Philippo Abydenorum clades ad Romanum bellum animos fecisset, nuntii occurrerunt consulem iam in Epiro esse et Apolloniam terrestres copias, navales Corcyram in hiberna deduxisse.

XIX. Inter haec legatis, qui in Africam missi erant, de Hamilcare, Gallici exercitus duce,[1] responsum a Carthaginiensibus est nihil ultra se facere posse quam ut exilio eum multarent, bona eius publi-
2 carent; perfugas et fugitivos, quos inquirendo vestigare potuerint, reddidisse et de ea re missuros legatos Romam qui senatui satisfacerent. Ducenta milia modium tritici Romam, ducenta ad exercitum
3 in Macedoniam miserunt. Inde in Numidiam ad reges profecti legati. Dona data Masinissae mandataque edita. Equites mille Numidae, cum duo
4 milia daret, accepti. Ipse in naves imponendos curavit et cum ducentis milibus modium tritici,

[1] duce *edd.*: rege *B.*

[1] Livy here abandons Polybius and returns to his usual sources, the works of one or more annalists. Since the military year, which began when conditions permitted active operations, the civil year, which began on March 15, and the calendar year did not coincide, Livy has a good deal of difficulty in adjusting his material to his plan of composition. The events related in chaps. xv–xviii preceded Sulpicius' arrival in the east (xiv.

Abydenians three days in which to die. In this time B.C. 200
the conquered did themselves more violence than they would have suffered from their enraged conquerors, and no living man fell into Philip's hands save those whom chains or some other constraint forbade to die. Philip, leaving a garrison at Abydus, returned to his kingdom. When, as Hannibal's destruction of Saguntum had aroused the Romans to war against him, so now the slaughter of the people of Abydus had roused them against Philip, word came that the Roman consul was already in Epirus and had sent his army to Apollonia and his fleet to Corcyra to winter.[1]

XIX. In the meantime, the ambassadors who had been sent to Africa had been informed by the Carthaginians that, regarding Hamilcar, the leader of the Gallic army, they could do nothing but declare him an outlaw and confiscate his property; as to the deserters and fugitives, they had already sent back all they could find after search, and would send an embassy to Rome to give satisfaction to the senate on that point. They sent two hundred thousand *modii*[2] of wheat to Rome and the same quantity to the army in Macedonia. The embassy then proceeded to Numidia, where they delivered their gifts and messages to Masinissa. When the king offered them two thousand Numidian cavalry, they accepted one thousand. The king himself supervised their embarkation and sent them to Macedonia with two

2 above), and we are now ready for his campaign. But since he reached Greece only in time to go into winter quarters, Livy turns aside to narrate events in Rome in the later months of 200 B.C.

[2] The *modius* was the practical equivalent of the peck, and equalled one-sixth of the Greek *medimnus*.

a.u.c. 554 ducentis hordei in Macedoniam misit. Tertia legatio
5 ad Verminam erat. Is ad primos fines regni legatis
obviam progressus, ut scriberent ipsi quas vellent
6 pacis condiciones permisit: omnem pacem bonam
iustamque fore sibi cum populo Romano. Datae leges
pacis, iussusque ad eam confirmandam mittere legatos
Romam.

XX. Per idem tempus L. Cornelius Lentulus pro
2 consule ex Hispania rediit. Qui cum in senatu res
ab se per multos annos fortiter feliciterque gestas
exposuisset postulassetque ut triumphanti sibi invehi
3 liceret in urbem, res triumpho dignas esse censebat
senatus, sed exemplum a maioribus non accepisse
ut qui neque dictator neque consul neque praetor res
4 gessisset triumpharet: pro consule illum Hispaniam
provinciam, non consulem aut praetorem obtinuisse.
5 Decurrebatur tamen eo, ut ovans urbem iniret,
intercedente Ti. Sempronio Longo tribuno plebis,
qui nihilo magis id more maiorum aut ullo exemplo
6 futurum diceret. Postremo victus consensu patrum
tribunus cessit, et ex senatus consulto L. Lentulus

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[1] Since 206 B.C. (XXVIII. xxxviii. 1).

[2] An anachronism is involved in the use of the word *proconsul* to translate the phrase *pro consule*. After the time of Sulla consuls and praetors served in administrative and judicial capacities in Rome during their terms of office, but without exercising *imperium* (cf. the note on iii. 2 above), and were then sent out as proconsuls and propraetors, with the *imperium*, to govern the territorial provinces. They were thus eligible for triumphs. In the third century, even private citizens, in cases of emergency, could be commissioned to act *pro consule*, *pro praetore*, i.e. as substitutes for magistrates. Not being a regularly elected magistrate, exercising command under

hundred thousand *modii* of wheat and as much B.C. 200
barley. The third errand was to Vermina, who met the ambassadors at the frontier and left it to them to lay down terms of peace satisfactory to Rome, while for his own part he promised to maintain a just and lawful peace with the Roman people. The conditions of peace were imposed, and he was instructed to send an embassy to Rome to ratify them.

XX. At the same time Lucius Cornelius Lentulus the proconsul returned from Spain. When he had given the senate an account of his vigorous and successful administration, extending over many years,[1] and had asked that he be permitted to enter Rome in triumph, the senate decreed that his achievements deserved the honour, but that there was no precedent handed down from antiquity that one who had not been in command as dictator or consul or praetor should celebrate a triumph. He had held the province of Spain as proconsul [2] and not as consul or praetor. Nevertheless, it was proposed that he enter the city in ovation,[3] though the tribune Tiberius Sempronius Longus objected that this would be no more in accordance with ancestral custom or any precedent. Finally, prevailed upon by the general agreement of the senators, the tribune withdrew his veto, and Lucius Cornelius, by authority of the

auspices which he had himself taken, such a person could not be granted a triumph. Scipio had had the same experience in 206 B.C. (XXVIII. xxxviii. 4), although he had cleared Spain of Carthaginian troops.

[3] An ovation was a minor dignity conferred on commanders who were adjudged undeserving of triumphs. The conditions of eligibility were probably identical with those for a triumph, and the tribune's position seems to have been technically correct.

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7 ovans urbem est ingressus. Argenti tulit ex praeda quadraginta tria milia pondo, auri duo milia quadringenta quinquaginta. Militibus ex praeda centenos vicenos asses divisit.

XXI. Iam exercitus consularis ab Arretio Ariminum transductus erat et quinque milia socium Latini
2 nominis ex Gallia in Etruriam transierant. Itaque L. Furius, magnis itineribus ab Arimino adversus Gallos Cremonam etiam tum obsidentes profectus, castra mille quingentorum passuum intervallo ab
3 hoste posuit. Occasio egregie rei gerendae fuit, si protinus de via ad castra oppugnanda duxisset;
4 palati passim vagabantur per agros nullo satis firmo relicto praesidio. Lassitudini militum pepercit,
5 quod raptim ductum agmen erat. Galli clamore suorum ex agris revocati, omissa praeda quae in manibus erat, castra repetivere, et postero die in aciem progressi; nec Romanus moram pugnandi
6 fecit. Sed vix spatium instruendi fuit; eo cursu
7 hostes in proelium venerunt. Dextra ala—in alas divisum socialem exercitum habebat—in prima acie locata est, in subsidiis duae Romanae legiones.
8 M. Furius dextrae alae, legionibus M. Caecilius, equitibus L. Valerius Flaccus—legati omnes erant—praepositi. Praetor secum duos legatos, C. Laetori-
9 um et P. Titinium, habebat, cum quibus circumspicere et obire ad omnes hostium subitos conatus
10 posset. Primo Galli omni multitudine in unum locum

[1] The *ala* was a normal unit of organization among the allied troops. Perhaps because the allies were often posted on the flanks, with the Roman infantry in the centre, such units were sometimes designated "right" and "left." But the meaning here is uncertain.

[2] See the note on iii. 4 above.

senate, was allowed to enter the city in ovation. He B.C. 200
brought home forty-three thousand pounds of silver and two thousand four hundred and fifty pounds of gold from the booty, and presented to each of his soldiers a sum amounting to one hundred and twenty *asses*.

XXI. The consular army had now moved from Arretium to Ariminum, and five thousand allies of the Latin confederacy from Gaul to Etruria. Therefore Lucius Furius proceeded by forced marches from Ariminum against the Gauls who were still besieging Cremona, and bivouacked about a mile and a half from the enemy. There was an excellent chance for a victory if he had attacked their camp immediately after his march; the Gauls had scattered through the neighbourhood without leaving a strong guard on duty. But Furius spared his weary troops because he had made a strenuous march. The Gauls, called back by the shouts of their comrades, dropped the booty which they had in hand and hurried back to their camp. The next day they moved out in battle-array, nor did the Roman refuse the engagement. But the Romans had barely time to form in line, with such speed did the enemy advance to the attack. The right squadron[1]—he had the allied army divided into squadrons—occupied the front line, with two Roman legions in reserve. Commanders were designated: Marcus Furius of the right squadron, Marcus Caecilius of the legions, Lucius Valerius Flaccus of the cavalry—all were lieutenants.[2] The praetor kept with him two lieutenants, Gaius Laetorius and Publius Titinius, by whose aid he planned to watch the whole engagement and meet all sudden attacks of the enemy. At first the Gauls hoped, concentrating the mass of their

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conixi obruere atque obterere sese dextram alam,
11 quae prima erat, sperarunt posse. Ubi id parum procedebat, circuire a cornibus et amplecti hostium aciem, quod multitudine adversus paucos facile
12 videbatur, conati sunt. Id ubi vidit praetor, ut et ipse dilataret aciem, duas legiones ex subsidiis dextra laevaque alae, quae in prima acie pugnabat, circumdat aedemque Diiovi [1] vovit, si eo die hostes fudisset.
13 L. Valerio imperat ut parte una duarum legionum equites, altera sociorum equitatum in cornua hostium
14 emittat nec circuire eos aciem patiatur; simul et ipse, ut extenuatam mediam diductis cornibus aciem Gallorum vidit, signa inferre confertos milites et
15 perrumpere ordines iubet. Et cornua ab equitibus et medii a pedite pulsi. Ac repente, cum in omni parte caede ingenti sternerentur, Galli terga verte-
16 runt fugaque effusa repetunt castra. Fugientes persecutus eques; mox et legiones insecutae in
17 castra impetum fecerunt. Minus sex milia hominum inde effugerunt; caesa aut capta supra quinque et triginta milia cum signis militaribus septuaginta, carpentis Gallicis multa praeda oneratis plus ducentis.
18 Hamilcar, dux Poenus, eo proelio cecidit et tres imperatores nobiles Gallorum. Placentini captivi, ad duo milia liberorum capitum, redditi colonis.

XXII. Magna victoria laetaque Romae fuit.
2 Litteris adlatis supplicatio in triduum decreta est. Romanorum sociorumque ad duo milia eo proelio

[1] Diiovi *Valesius*: deoioui *B*.

[1] Livy (XXXIV. liii. 7) records the dedication of a temple to Jupiter vowed by Furius. The name of the divinity here reported may be corrupt.

[2] Another version of the fate of Hamilcar is related at XXXII. xxx. 12 and XXXIII. xxiii. 5.

force on one place, to be able to overwhelm and B.C. 200
destroy the right squadron which was in the van. When this did not succeed, they tried to outflank and envelop the enemy's line, a plan which seemed easy on account of their great numbers arrayed against a few. When the praetor saw this, that he too might extend his front, he threw in two legions from his reserves on the right and left flanks of the front-line force and vowed a temple to Diiovis if he routed the enemy on that day.[1] He ordered Lucius Valerius to send the cavalry of two legions to one side against the flank of the enemy and to the other the allied cavalry, and not to allow the enemy to envelop his lines. Seeing too that the Gallic centre was weakened by the extension of the line, at the same time he gave his men the order to charge in mass formation and to break through, and the flanks were thrown back by the cavalry, the centre by the infantry. The Gauls, suffering heavy losses in every quarter, suddenly broke and in complete rout fled to their camp. The cavalry pursued them in their flight, and presently the legions too followed and stormed the camp. Less than six thousand Gauls escaped; more than thirty-five thousand were killed or captured, along with seventy standards and more than two hundred Gallic wagons laden with abundant spoils. Hamilcar[2] the Carthaginian general and three noble Gallic commanders fell in the battle. About two thousand of the captives from Placentia were recovered and restored to the colonists.

XXII. This great victory brought joy to Rome, and when the news came a thanksgiving of three days was proclaimed. About two thousand of the Romans and allies perished in that battle, most of them from

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ceciderunt, plurimi dextrae alae, in quam primo
3 impetu vis hostium ingens inlata est. Quamquam per praetorem prope debellatum erat, consul quoque C. Aurelius, perfectis quae Romae agenda fuerant, profectus in Galliam victorem exercitum a praetore accepit.

4 Consul alter cum autumno ferme exacto in pro-
5 vinciam venisset, circa Apolloniam hibernabat. Ab classe quae Corcyrae subducta erat, C. Claudius triremesque Romanae, sicut ante dictum est, Athenas missae cum Piraeum pervenissent, despondentibus
6 iam animos sociis spem ingentem attulerant. Nam et terrestres ab Corintho quae per Megara incursiones in agros fieri solitae erant non fiebant, et praedonum a Chalcide naves, quae non mare solum
7 infestum, sed etiam omnes maritimos agros Atheniensibus fecerant, non modo Sunium superare sed ne extra fretum Euripum committere aperto mari se
8 audebant. Supervenerunt his tres Rhodiae quadriremes, et erant Atticae tres apertae naves, ad tuendos maritimos agros comparatae. Hac classe si urbs agrique Atheniensium defenderentur, satis in praesentia existimanti Claudio esse maioris etiam rei fortuna oblata est.

XXIII. Exules ab Chalcide, regiorum iniuriis pulsi, attulerunt occupari Chalcidem sine certamine
2 ullo posse; nam et Macedonas, quia nullus in propinquo sit hostium metus, vagari passim, et oppidanos,

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[1] We return to Greece and continue the narrative of the end of the year 200 B.C. and the following spring, interrupted at chap. xix; cf. the note on xviii. 9 above.

[2] Chalcis in Euboea, Demetrias in Thessaly, and Corinth in Achaea were the three "fetters" of Greece XXXII. xxxvii.

the right squadron, against which at the first attack B.C. 200
the enemy's main effort had been directed. Although the war had been practically ended by the praetor, the consul Gaius Aurelius, having transacted the necessary business in Rome, also set out for Gaul and took over the victorious army from the praetor.

The other consul,[1] having arrived in his province near the end of autumn, was wintering around Apollonia. From the fleet which was moored at Corcyra, Gaius Claudius and the Roman triremes, as has been related, had been sent to Athens, and when they arrived at Piraeus they had inspired great hopes in the allies who were now in despair. For the customary raids on the fields which were made by land from Corinth by way of Megara were stopped, and the ships of the pirates from Chalcis,[2] which had made both the sea and the farm-lands on the coast dangerous for the Athenians, not only would not venture past Sunium, but did not dare to enter the open sea beyond the strait of Euripus. In addition to these, three Rhodian quadriremes arrived, and there were three Athenian vessels without protecting decks, assembled to defend the lands on the coast. Just as Claudius had made up his mind that it was sufficient for the present if the city and fields of the Athenians could be guarded with this fleet, an opportunity for a greater feat was presented to him.

XXIII. Exiles from Chalcis, driven out by the violence of Philip's garrison, brought the news that Chalcis could be captured without any opposition: for the Macedonians, because there was no fear of an enemy near by, were straggling about the country,

3–4). This campaign and Philip's retaliation well illustrate the vague strategy of both sides in this war.

a.u.c. 554 praesidio Macedonum fretos, custodiam urbis
3 neglegere. His auctoribus profectus, quamquam
Sunium ita mature pervenerat ut inde provehi ad
primas angustias Euboeae posset, ne superato
promuntorio conspiceretur, classem in statione usque
4 ad noctem tenuit; primis tenebris movit et tranquillo
pervectus Chalcidem paulo ante lucem, qua infre-
quentissima urbis sunt, paucis militibus turrim
proximam murumque circa scalis cepit alibi sopitis
5 custodibus, alibi nullo custodiente. Progressi inde
ad frequentia aedificiis loca custodibus interfectis
refractaque porta ceteram multitudinem armatorum
6 acceperunt. Inde in totam urbem discursum est
aucto etiam tumultu quod circa forum ignis tectis
7 iniectus erat. Conflagrarunt et horrea regia et
armamentarium cum ingenti apparatu machinarum
tormentorumque. Caedes inde passim fugientium
8 pariter ac repugnantium fieri coepta est. Nec ullo
iam, qui militaris aetatis esset, non aut caeso aut
fugato, Sopatro etiam Acarnane, praefecto praesidii,
interfecto, praeda omnis primo in forum conlata,
9 deinde in naves imposita. Carcer etiam ab Rhodiis
refractus emissique captivi, quos Philippus tamquam
10 in tutissimam custodiam condiderat. Statuis inde
regis deiectis truncatisque, signo receptui dato
conscenderunt naves et Piraeum, unde profecti
11 erant, redierunt. Quod si tantum militum Romano-
rum fuisset ut et Chalcis teneri et non deseri prae-

and the citizens likewise, trusting in their Macedonian B.C. 200
garrison, were careless in their guarding of the city. Acting on this information, Claudius started out, and although he reached Sunium so early that he could have made the opening of the Euboean straits, he held his fleet at anchor until night-fall, lest he be seen after rounding the promontory; at dusk he moved, and after a calm voyage reached Chalcis a little before daybreak. With a few soldiers using scaling ladders, he captured the nearest tower and the adjoining wall in a thinly-populated section of the city, the sentinels being found in some places asleep, in others absent from their posts. The Romans then advanced to the centre of the city, and killing the guards and breaking down the gates they admitted the rest of their forces. Thence they scattered throughout the town, the confusion being further increased by a fire which broke out in the buildings around the forum. Both the royal granaries and the arsenal were burned, with a great store of munitions and artillery. Indiscriminate slaughter of fugitives and fighting men followed. When there was no longer anyone of military age who had not perished or fled, Sopater the Acarnanian, commander of the garrison, having fallen, all the booty was first collected in the forum and then loaded on the ships. The prison also was broken open by the Rhodians, who released the captives whom Philip had confined there, thinking they would be in safest custody. The king's statues were then thrown down and broken up, and when the recall was sounded the Romans embarked and returned to Piraeus, whence they had set out. But if the Roman force had been large enough, so that they could have held Chalcis without

a.u.c. 554 sidium Athenarum potuisset, magna res principio statim belli, Chalcis et Euripus adempta regi forent; 12 nam ut terra Thermopylarum angustiae Graeciam, ita mari fretum Euripi claudit.

XXIV. Demetriade tum Philippus erat. Quo cum esset nuntiata clades sociae urbis, quamquam serum auxilium perditis rebus [1] erat, tamen, quae 2 proxima auxilio est, ultionem petens, cum expeditis quinque milibus et trecentis equitibus extemplo profectus cursu prope Chalcidem contendit, haudqua- 3 quam dubius opprimi Romanos posse. A qua destitutus spe nec quicquam aliud quam ad deforme spectaculum semirutae ac fumantis sociae urbis cum venisset, paucis vix qui sepelirent bello absumptos relictis, aeque raptim ac venerat transgressus ponte Euripum per Boeotiam Athenas ducit, pari incepto 4 haud disparem eventum ratus responsurum. Et respondisset, ni speculator—hemerodromos vocant Graeci, ingens die uno cursu emetientes spatium—contemplatus regium agmen ex specula quadam, 5 praegressus nocte media Athenas pervenisset. Idem ibi somnus eademque neglegentia erat, quae Chalci- 6 dem dies ante paucos prodiderat. Excitati nuntio trepido et praetor Atheniensium et Dioxippus, praefectus cohortis mercede militantium auxiliorum, convocatis in forum militibus tuba signum ex arce 7 dari iubent, ut hostes adesse omnes scirent. Ita undique ad portas, ad muros discurrunt. Paucas post horas Philippus, aliquanto tamen ante lucem,

[1] perditis rebus *Luchs*: perditis *B*.

[1] Philip hoped to take Athens by surprise as the Romans had taken Chalcis.

[2] Livy frequently applies the Latin term to the commanders of foreign military forces. The usual title in Greece was "strategus."

abandoning the defence of Athens, this event would B.C. 200
have been an auspicious beginning of hostilities: Chalcis and the Euripus would have been lost to the king, for as on the land the pass of Thermopylae is the gateway to Greece, so by sea is the strait of Euripus.

XXIV. Philip was then at Demetrias. When the news of the destruction of Chalcis reached him there, although it was too late to send aid, the city having been lost, nevertheless, seeking revenge, as the next best thing after assistance, he at once set out with five thousand light infantry and three hundred cavalry and made all speed for Chalcis, not doubting that the Romans could be destroyed. Disappointed in this hope, and finding only the ugly spectacle of the friendly town lying half-ruined, with its embers still smoking, and only a few left to bury those who were slain in the battle, he recrossed the strait by the bridge as rapidly as he had come and hurried through Boeotia toward Athens, thinking that a not dissimilar result would follow a similar course of action.[1] And this would have happened, had not a scout—the Greeks call them "all-day runners," and they cover great distances in a day's run—seen the king's army from a watch-tower, set out at midnight and reached Athens before him. There was the same sleep and the same carelessness that had betrayed Chalcis a few days earlier. The Athenian praetor[2] and Dioxippus, who commanded an auxiliary force of mercenaries, aroused by the alarming message, assembling the soldiers in the forum, ordered the trumpet sounded from the citadel, to inform all that the enemy was coming. So there was a rush from all sides to the walls and gates. Some hours later, but still before daybreak, Philip approached the city,

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appropinquans urbi, conspectis luminibus crebris et fremitu hominum trepidantium, ut in tali tumultu, 8 exaudito, sustinuit signa et considere ac conquiescere agmen iussit, vi aperta propalam usurus, quando 9 parum dolus profuerat. Ab Dipylo accessit. Porta ea, velut in ore urbis posita, maior aliquanto patentiorque quam ceterae est, et intra eam extraque latae viae sunt, ut et oppidani derigere aciem a foro ad portam possent, et extra limes mille ferme passus longus, in Academiae gymnasium ferens, pediti 10 equitique hostium liberum spatium praeberet. Eo limite Athenienses cum Attali praesidio et cohorte Dioxippi acie intra portam instructa signa extulerunt. 11 Quod ubi Philippus vidit, habere se hostes in potestate ratus et diu optata caede—neque enim ulli Graecarum civitatium infestior erat—iram expleturum,[1] cohortatus milites ut se intuentes pugnarent 12 scirentque ibi signa, ibi aciem esse debere, ubi rex esset, concitat equum non ira tantum, sed etiam 13 gloria elatus, quod ingenti turba completis etiam ad spectaculum muris conspici se pugnantem egregium 14 ducebat. Aliquantum ante aciem cum equitibus paucis evectus in medios hostes ingentem cum suis 15 ardorem tum pavorem hostibus iniecit. Plurimos

[1] *iram expleturum* seems the easiest correction of *expletum iri* of *B*.

[1] The gate, which, as its name implies, accommodated two-way traffic, lay on the north-west side of the city and was the principal exit towards the west. The gate was double in depth also; cf. *in angustiis* in sect. 15 below, where Philip was caught in the court between the two parts.

Livy's weakness in detailed topography and the aimlessness of the campaign make it difficult to determine Philip's route of approach. The easy route from Boeotia was by way of Eleusis,

and seeing the numerous lights and hearing the B.C. 200
shouts of frightened men, usual in such a crisis, halted and ordered his men to pitch camp and rest, intending to employ open force, since stratagem had failed. He attacked on the side of the Dipylon Gate.[1] This gate, placed, so to speak, at the forefront of the city, was somewhat wider and more extensive than the rest, and inside and outside there were wide avenues, so that the citizens could form their line from the market-place to the gate, and so that the road, about a mile long, outside the city and leading to the gymnasium of the Academy, offered ample space for infantry and cavalry. The Athenians, with the garrison of Attalus and the mercenaries of Dioxippus, formed their array within the gate and marched out by this road. Philip, seeing this, thought that he had the Athenians in his hands and that he was about to sate his rage with long-desired slaughter—for he hated no other Greek city so much as Athens—and urged his soldiers to take him as their example in the fight and to remember that the standards and the battle-line should be where their king was, and put spurs to his horse, inspired by rage and by the hope of glory alike, because he thought that his fighting would be a glorious sight, since the walls were lined with a great crowd, as for a show. Riding with a few companions far in front of the line, and even into the press of the enemy, he inspired both enthusiasm in his own troops and terror in his foes. Pursuing

the Sacred Way, and the pass of Daphne to the Dipylon Gate; the road past the Academy led over the difficult pass of Phyle. The question seems to be avoided by modern historians and the mobility of Philip would have enabled him to come by one road and attack by another.

a.u.c. 554

manu sua comminus eminusque vulneratos compulsosque in portam consecutus et ipse, cum maiorem in angustiis trepidantium edidisset caedem, in temerario incepto tutum tamen receptum habuit,
16 quia qui in turribus portae erant sustinebant tela,
17 ne in permixtos suos conicerent. Intra muros deinde tenentibus milites Atheniensibus Philippus signo receptui dato castra ad Cynosarges—templum Herculis gymnasiumque et lucus erat circumiectus—
18 posuit. Sed et Cynosarges et Lycium et quidquid sancti amoenive circa urbem erat incensum est, dirutaque non tecta solum sed etiam sepulcra, nec divini humanive [1] iuris quicquam prae impotenti ira est servatum.

XXV. Postero die cum primo clausae fuissent portae, deinde subito apertae, quia praesidium Attali ab Aegina Romanique ab Piraeo intraverant urbem, castra ab urbe rettulit rex tria ferme milia
2 passuum. Inde Eleusinem profectus spe improviso templi castellique, quod et imminet et circumdatum est templo, capiendi, cum haudquaquam neglectas custodias animadvertisset et classem a Piraeo subsidio venire, omisso incepto Megara ac protinus Corinthum ducit et, cum Argis Achaeorum concilium esse audisset, inopinantibus Achaeis contioni ipsi
3 supervenit. Consultabant de bello adversus Nabim,

[1] humanive *edd. vett.*: humanique *B.*

[1] This suburb lay to the eastward, at the foot of Mount Lycabettus.

many soldiers whom he had wounded, either at long B.C. 200
range or hand to hand, and driving them inside the gate, when he had done greater damage to the Athenians as they crowded together in the narrow space, yet he escaped safely after his rash venture, since the troops who manned the towers on the walls withheld their weapons, from fear of harming their own men mingled with the enemy. Afterwards when the Athenians held their men within the walls, Philip, giving the signal for a retirement, pitched camp at Cynosarges,[1] where there was a temple to Hercules and a gymnasium with a grove around it. But Cynosarges, the Lyceum, and all the sacred and pleasant sites around the city were burned; the buildings and even the tombs were destroyed, and nothing consecrated to divine or human use escaped his uncontrollable passion.

XXV. Next day, when the gates had been closed and then suddenly thrown open, because troops of Attalus from Aegina and Romans from Piraeus had entered the city, the king moved his camp about three miles from the city. Thence, making for Eleusis, in the hope of capturing, by an unexpected attack, the temple and the citadel which commands and surrounds the temple, when he found that vigilance was not in the least relaxed and that reinforcements were coming from the fleet at Piraeus, he gave up that plan and marched toward Megara and straight on to Corinth, and hearing that the Achaean council[2] was in session at Argos, he suddenly appeared at the meeting itself, to the surprise of the Achaeans. They were deliberating about a

[1] See the Introductory Note.

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tyrannum Lacedaemoniorum, qui tralato imperio a Philopoemene ad Cycliadem, nequaquam parem illi ducem, dilapsa cernens Achaeorum auxilia, redintegraverat bellum agrosque finitimorum vastabat et
4 iam urbibus quoque erat terribilis. Adversus hunc hostem cum, quantum ex quaque civitate militum scriberetur, consultarent, Philippus dempturum se eis curam, quod ad Nabim et Lacedaemonios attineret
5 pollicitus nec tantum agros sociorum populationibus prohibiturum sed terrorem omnem belli in ipsam Laconicam ducto eo extemplo exercitu tralaturum.
6 Haec oratio cum ingenti adsensu hominum acciperetur, "ita tamen aequum est" inquit "me vestra meis armis tutari, ne mea interim nudentur
7 praesidiis. Itaque, si vobis videtur, tantum parate militum quantum ad Oreum et Chalcidem et Corinthum tuenda satis sit, ut meis ab tergo tutis securus bellum Nabidi inferam et Lacedaemoniis."
8 Non fefellit Achaeos quo spectasset tam benigna pollicitatio auxiliumque oblatum adversus Lacedaemonios: id quaeri, ut obsidem Achaeorum iuventutem educeret ex Peloponneso ad inligandam Romano
9 bello gentem. Et id quidem coarguere Cycliadas, praetor Achaeorum, nihil attinere ratus, id modo cum dixisset, non licere legibus Achaeorum de aliis rebus referre quam propter quas convocati essent,

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[1] Nabis had seized authority at Sparta (see the Introductory Note). The war against him conducted by the Romans and their allies is described in XXXIV. xxii. 5 ff.

[2] The Achaean League elected a *strategus* annually, and frequent changes occurred, both in the military efficiency and in the political sympathies of the administration. Philopoemen had been a vigorous and independent magistrate: see

war against Nabis,[1] the tyrant of Sparta, who, B.C. 200
seeing that the military power of the Achaeans had declined with the transfer of command from Philopoemen to Cycliadas,[2] by no means his equal as a general, had renewed the war and was ravaging their territories and was now even threatening their towns. While they were debating how many men should be enlisted from each city for the war against this enemy, Philip promised that, so far as Nabis and the Spartans were concerned, he would free them from that responsibility, and by the immediate despatch of an army would not only prevent Nabis from ravaging the lands of the allies, but would transfer the whole terror of the war into Laconia itself. When this offer was received with great applause, "nevertheless," he said, "it is proper that your possessions be defended by my arms in such a way that meantime mine shall not be deprived of protection. Prepare, then, if it seems wise, a force of soldiers sufficient to hold Oreus and Chalcis and Corinth, that, with my rear protected, I may safely make war upon Nabis and the Spartans." The Achaeans were not deceived as to the real meaning of so generous an offer and promise of aid against the Lacedaemonians: the purpose was to lead the Achaean youth as hostages from the Peloponnesus in order to commit the people to war with Rome. So Cycliadas, praetor of the Achaeans, thinking it not at all to the point to argue about *that*, when he had simply replied that it was not allowable under the laws of the Achaeans to vote upon other subjects than those for which the meeting was called, after

Plutarch's biography of him. Cycliadas was an inferior soldier and was suspected of pro-Macedonian tendencies.

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10 decreto de exercitu parando adversus Nabim facto consilium fortiter ac libere habitum dimisit, inter
11 adsentatores regios ante eam diem habitus. Philippus, magna spe depulsus, voluntariis paucis militibus conscriptis Corinthum atque in Atticam terram rediit.

XXVI. Per eos ipsos dies, quibus Philippus in Achaia fuit, Philocles, praefectus regius, ex Euboea profectus cum duobus milibus Thracum Macedonumque ad depopulandos Atheniensium fines regione Eleusinis saltum Cithaeronis transcendit;
2 inde dimidia parte militum ad praedandum passim per agros dimissa cum parte ipse occultus loco ad
3 insidias opportuno consedit, ut, si ex castello ab Eleusine in praedantes suos impetus fieret, repente
4 hostes effusos ex improviso adoriretur. Non fefellere insidiae. Itaque revocatis qui discurrerant ad praedandum militibus instructisque, ad oppugnandum castellum Eleusinem profectus cum multis inde vulneribus recessit Philippoque se venienti ex Achaia
5 coniunxit. Temptata et ab ipso rege oppugnatio eiusdem castelli est; sed naves Romanae a Piraeo venientes intromissumque praesidium absistere in-
6 cepto coegerunt. Diviso deinde exercitu rex cum parte Philoclem Athenas mittit, cum parte Piraeum pergit ut, dum Philocles subeundo muros et comminanda oppugnatione contineret urbe Athenienses, ipsi Piraeum levi cum praesidio relictum expugnandi
7 facultas esset. Ceterum nihilo ei Piraei quam Eleu-

passing a decree regarding raising an army against Nabis, adjourned the congress that was held fearlessly and spiritedly, although up to that time he had been counted among the king's partisans. Philip, disappointed in this great hope, enlisted a few volunteer soldiers and returned to Corinth and to the land of Attica. B.C. 200

XXVI. During this same period while Philip was in Achaea, his prefect Philocles left Euboea with two thousand Thracians and Macedonians to plunder the territory of the Athenians in the region of Eleusis, and crossed the pass of Cithaeron. Sending half his force to plunder far and wide through the country, he with the rest made camp secretly in a suitable place for an ambuscade, that, if an attack were made by the Eleusinians from the citadel upon his foragers, he might fall upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly as they were dispersed. His ambush did not go undetected. So recalling the troops that had gone forth to forage and forming them for battle, he set out for Eleusis to assault the citadel, but was repulsed from there with many casualties and joined Philip on his return from Achaea. An attack on the same fortress was attempted by the king as well; but Roman ships arriving from the Piraeus and the garrison admitted into the city compelled him to abandon his undertaking. The king then divided his army and sent Philocles to Athens with half of them and himself proceeding to Piraeus, in the hope that while Philocles was keeping the Athenians within the city by approaching the walls and threatening an attack, the opportunity might be offered himself of taking Piraeus, left with a small guard. But, with practically the same defenders, the capture

A.U.C. 584

sinis facilior iisdem fere defendentibus oppugnatio
8 fuit. A Piraeo Athenas repente duxit. Inde eruptione subita peditum equitumque inter angustias semiruti muri, qui bracchiis duobus Piraeum Athenis
9 iungit, repulsus, omissa oppugnatione urbis, diviso cum Philocle rursus exercitu ad agros vastandos profectus, cum priorem populationem sepulcris circa urbem
10 diruendis exercuisset, ne quid inviolatum relinqueret, templa deum, quae pagatim sacrata habebant, dirui
11 atque incendi iussit; et ornata eo genere operum eximie terra Attica et copia domestici marmoris et ingeniis artificum praebuit huic furori materiam.
12 Neque enim diruere modo ipsa templa ac simulacra evertere satis habuit, sed lapides quoque, ne integri
13 cumularent ruinas, frangi iussit. Et postquam non tam ira erat satiata [1] quam irae exercendae materia deerat, agro hostium in Boeotiam excessit nec aliud quicquam dignum memoria in Graecia egit.

XXVII. Consul Sulpicius eo tempore inter Apolloniam ac Dyrrachium ad Apsum flumen habebat castra, quo arcessitum L. Apustium legatum cum parte copiarum ad depopulandos hostium fines
2 mittit. Apustius, extrema Macedoniae populatus,

[1] erat satiata *Siesbye*: satiata *B*.

[1] Themistocles had built a double wall from Athens to the harbour, but this had been partially destroyed during the Peloponnesian War and had not been maintained.

of Piraeus was in no wise easier for him than that B.C. 200
of Eleusis. Suddenly he marched from Piraeus to Athens. Driven thence by a sudden sally of cavalry and infantry in the narrow space between the half-ruined walls [1] which with their two arms join Piraeus and Athens, he gave up the attempt on the city and, again dividing his force with Philocles and setting out to plunder the country districts, while he had devoted his former raid to destroying the tombs around the city, that he might leave nothing inviolate, he ordered the temples of the gods which the Athenians had consecrated in all the demes to be torn down and burned; and the land of Attica, with its wonderful adornment of works of art and its abundance of native marble and the skill of its artists offered material for his rage. For he was not satisfied merely to destroy the temples and statues themselves, but even ordered the separate stones to be broken up, lest they be left whole upon the piles of ruins. And after his wrath, or rather objects on which to expend his wrath, had been exhausted, he retired from the enemy's country to Boeotia, and did nothing else worth mentioning in Greece.

XXVII. The consul Sulpicius [2] was at that time encamped along the Apsus river between Apollonia and Dyrrachium, and summoning to him there his lieutenant Lucius Apustius he sent him with part of the troops to ravage the enemy's country. Apustius, having plundered the frontiers of Macedonia and having captured at the first assault the towns of

[2] The arrival of Sulpicius was recorded in xviii. 9, on which see the note. The events now described may belong to the end of the year 200 B.C. or, more probably, to the following spring.

a.u.c. 554 Corrhago et Gerrunio et Orgesso castellis primo impetu captis ad Antipatream, in faucibus angustis 3 sitam urbem, venit. Ac primo evocatos principes ad colloquium, ut fidei Romanorum se committerent, perlicere est conatus; deinde, ubi magnitudine ac moenibus situque urbis freti dicta aspernabantur, 4 vi atque armis adortus expugnavit puberibusque interfectis, praeda omni militibus concessa diruit 5 muros atque urbem incendit. Hic metus Codrione, satis validum et munitum oppidum, sine certamine 6 ut dederetur Romanis, effecit. Praesidio ibi relicto Cnidus—nomen propter alteram in Asia urbem quam oppidum notius—vi capitur. Revertentem legatum ad consulem cum satis magna praeda Athenagoras quidam, regius praefectus, in transitu fluminis a 7 novissimo agmine adortus postremos turbavit. Ad quorum clamorem et trepidationem cum revectus equo propere legatus signa convertisset et coniectis in medium sarcinis aciem derexisset, non tulere impetum Romanorum militum regii. Multi ex iis 8 occisi, plures capti. Legatus incolumi exercitu reducto ad consulem remittitur inde extemplo ad classem.

XXVIII. Hac satis felici expeditione bello commisso reguli ac principes accolae Macedonum in castra Romana veniunt, Pleuratus Scerdilaedi filius et Amynander Athamanum rex et ex Dardanis Bato 2 Longari filius. Bellum suo nomine Longarus cum Demetrio, Philippi patre, gesserat. Pollicentibus

Corrhagum, Gerronius and Orgessum, arrived at B.C. 200
Antipatrea, a city situated in a narrow pass. There he first summoned the leading men to a conference and tried to induce them to put themselves under Roman protection; then, when they scorned his suggestions, relying on the size and walls and site of the city, he stormed and captured it by force of arms and killing all the men of military age and giving the booty to the soldiers he tore down the walls and burned the city. Fear of a similar fate caused Codrio, a strong and well-fortified town, to be surrendered to the Romans without resistance. Leaving a garrison there, he took by storm Cnidus—a name better known than the town because of the other Cnidus in Asia. As the lieutenant was returning to the consul with a satisfactory amount of booty, Athenagoras, one of the king's prefects, attacked his rear while it was crossing a river and caused some confusion to his rearguard. The lieutenant, hastily riding back when he heard their shouts and uproar, faced the troops about and formed line of battle, placing the baggage in the centre, whereupon the king's soldiers did not withstand the Romans' charge. Many of them were killed and more captured. The lieutenant returned to the consul with his army intact and thence was at once sent back to the fleet.

XXVIII. The war having been begun with this sufficiently successful expedition, the petty kings and princes, neighbours to the Macedonians, came to the Roman camp; Pleuratus, son of Scerdilaedus, and Amynander, king of the Athamanes, and from the Dardani Bato, son of Longarus. Longarus on his own account had waged war with Demetrius, father of Philip. To their proffers of assistance, the consul

A.U.C. 554

auxilia respondit consul Dardanorum et Pleurati opera, cum exercitum in Macedoniam induceret, se
3 usurum; Amynandro Aetolos concitandos ad bellum attribuit. Attali legatis—nam ii quoque per id tempus venerant—mandat ut Aeginae rex, ubi hibernabat, classem Romanam opperiretur, qua adiuncta bello maritimo, sicut ante, Philippum
4 urgeret. Ad Rhodios quoque missi legati ut capesserent partem belli. Nec Philippus segnius—iam enim in Macedoniam pervenerat—adparabat bellum.
5 Filium Persea, puerum admodum, datis ex amicorum numero qui aetatem eius regerent, cum parte copiarum ad obsidendas angustias quae ad Pela-
6 goniam sunt mittit. Sciathum et Peparethum, haud ignobiles urbes, ne classi hostium praedae ac praemio essent, diruit. Ad Aetolos mittit legatos, ne gens inquieta adventu Romanorum fidem mutaret.

XXIX. Concilium Aetolorum stata die, quod Panaetolium vocant, futurum erat. Huic ut occurrerent, et regis legati iter adcelerarunt, et a consule
2 missus L. Furius Purpurio legatus venit; Atheniensium quoque legati ad id concilium occurrerunt. Primi Macedones, cum quibus recentissimum foedus
3 erat, auditi sunt. Qui in[1] nulla nova re nihil se

[1] Qui in *Madvig*: qui *B*.

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[1] The Aetolian League (see the Introductory Note) was in alliance with Philip, but its assistance was sought by both sides: see section 6 below. Its general policy is well presented in xxxii. 5 below.

[2] This council, attended by delegates from all the Aetolian cities, was regularly held in the autumn at Naupactus or Thermum.

replied that he would accept the aid of the Dardani B.C. 200
and Pleuratus when he led the army into Macedonia; to Amynander he assigned the task of winning the Aetolians[1] over for the war. To the ambassadors of Attalus—for they too had arrived at this time—he gave instructions that the king should await the Roman fleet at Aegina, where he was wintering, and uniting with it should continue as before the naval warfare on Philip. Ambassadors were sent to the Rhodians also, that they should take up their share in the war. Nor did Philip—for he had by now reached Macedonia—carry on less vigorously his preparations for the war. He sent his son Perseus, who was still a boy, with guardians from among his friends to guide his youth, with part of the troops to hold the passes which lead to Pelagonia. He destroyed Sciathus and Peparethus, cities not unknown to fame, to prevent their becoming prize and prey to the fleet of the enemy. He sent ambassadors to the Aetolians, lest that restless people should, on the arrival of the Romans, change its allegiance.

XXIX. The council of the Aetolians, which they call Panaetolian,[2] was to be held on the appointed day. To be present at it, both the king's representatives hastened their journey and Lucius Furius Purpurio[3] the lieutenant, arrived, sent by the consul; ambassadors of the Athenians also came to this council. The Macedonians, with whom the latest treaty[4] had been made, were first heard. They said that they had nothing new to say since

[2] If the name is correct, this is probably not the same Purpurio who is mentioned in chap. xxi.

[4] The Macedonian alliance in 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 2) superseded the treaty with Rome of 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxv. 1).

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novi habere quod adferrent dixerunt; quibus enim de causis experta inutili societate Romana pacem cum Philippo fecissent, compositam semel pacem servare
4 eos debere. "An imitari" inquit unus ex legatis "Romanorum licentiam, an levitatem dicam, mavultis? Qui cum legatis vestris Romae responderi ita iussissent, 'Quid ad nos venitis, Aetoli, sine quorum auctoritate pacem cum Philippo fecistis?',
5 iidem nunc ut bellum secum adversus Philippum geratis postulant; et antea propter vos et pro vobis arma sumpta adversus eum simulabant, nunc vos in
6 pace esse cum Philippo prohibent. Messanae ut auxilio essent, primo in Siciliam transcenderunt; iterum, ut Syracusas oppressas ab Carthaginiensibus
7 in libertatem eximerent; et Messanam et Syracusas et totam Siciliam ipsi habent vectigalemque pro-
8 vinciam securibus et fascibus subiecerunt. Scilicet sicut vos Naupacti legibus vestris per magistratus a vobis creatos concilium habetis, socium hostemque libere quem velitis lecturi, pacem ac bellum arbitrio habituri vestro, sic Siculorum civitatibus Syracusas aut Messanam aut Lilybaeum indicitur concilium:
9 praetor Romanus conventus agit; eo imperio evocati conveniunt; excelso in suggestu superba iura reddentem, stipatum lictoribus vident; virgae tergo, secures cervicibus imminent; et quotannis alium
10 atque alium dominum sortiuntur. Nec id mirari debent aut possunt, cum Italiae urbes, Regium,

[1] The aid rendered to Messina brought on the First Punic War, as a result of which part of Sicily became a province, governed by magistrates whose servants carried the rods and axes as symbols of the *imperium*. The implication is that the assistance was merely the beginning of conquest. For Syracuse cf. xxxi. 8 and note.

nothing new had happened; inasmuch as, for the same reasons for which they had made peace with Philip after trying the useless Roman alliance, they should wish to keep a peace once for all established. "Or do you prefer," said one of the ambassadors, "to imitate Roman presumption, or shall I call it fickleness? After ordering that your ambassadors at Rome should receive the answer, 'Why do you come to us, Aetolians, when without our authority you made peace with Philip?', these same Romans now demand that you make war on Philip along with them; as they formerly pretended that they had taken arms against him on your account and for your sakes, now they forbid you to be at peace with Philip. They crossed to Sicily first to assist Messina; the second time, to rescue and restore to liberty Syracuse, besieged by the Carthaginians; now they themselves hold both Messina and Syracuse and all Sicily and they have made it a province, tributary and subject to their rods and axes.[1] No doubt, just as you hold your council at Naupactus, under your own laws, with magistrates elected by yourselves, able to choose freely whomsoever you wish as friend and enemy, able to have peace or war at your own discretion, so a council of the Sicilian cities is called at Syracuse or Messina or Lilybaeum: the Roman praetor presides at the council; the men whom he has summoned by his authority assemble; they see him seated on his lofty platform, rendering haughty justice, with a throng of lictors around him; their rods threaten their backs, the axes their throats; and year by year the lots grant them one master after another. At that they should not marvel, nor can they, when they see the B.C. 200

A.U.C. 554 Tarentum, Capuam, ne finitimas quarum ruinis crevit urbs Roma nominem, eidem subiectas videant
11 imperio. Capua quidem, sepulcrum ac monumentum Campani populi, elato et extorri eiecto ipso populo, superest, urbs trunca, sine senatu, sine plebe, sine magistratibus, prodigium, relicta crudelius
12 habitanda quam si deiecta foret. Furor est si alienigenae homines, plus lingua et moribus et legibus quam maris terrarumque spatio discreti, haec tenuerint, sperare quicquam eodem statu mansurum.
13 Philippi regnum officere aliquid videtur libertati vestrae; qui, cum merito vestro vobis infensus esset, nihil a vobis ultra quam pacem petiit fidemque hodie
14 pacis pactae desiderat. Adsuefacite his terris legiones externas et iugum accipite; sero ac nequiquam, cum dominum Romanum habebitis, socium
15 Philippum quaeretis. Aetolos, Acarnanas, Macedonas, eiusdem linguae homines, leves ad tempus ortae causae diiungunt coniunguntque; cum alienigenis, cum barbaris aeternum omnibus Graecis bellum est eritque; natura enim, quae perpetua est,
16 non mutabilibus in diem causis hostes sunt. Sed unde coepit oratio mea, ibi desinet: hoc eodem loco iidem homines de eiusdem Philippi pace triennio ante decrevistis iisdem improbantibus eam pacem Romanis, qui nunc pactam et compositam turbare volunt. In qua consultatione nihil fortuna mutavit; cur vos mutetis non video."

XXX. Secundum Macedonas ipsis Romanis ita

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[1] Probably the orator minimizes the time for rhetorical effect: the most recent known treaty was that of 205 B.C. (see note to sect. 2).

Italian cities, Rhegium, Tarentum, Capua, subject to B.C. 200
the same rule, not to mention the nearer cities on whose ruins Rome rose to power. Capua indeed, tomb and monument of the Campanian race, survives, its people buried, exiled, driven away, a city despoiled, without senate, without people, without magistrates, a monstrosity, more cruelly left habitable than if it had been destroyed. It is madness to hope that anything will remain in the same condition if foreigners, separated from us more by language, manners and laws than by the space of land and sea, shall gain control. The rule of Philip seems to interfere somewhat with your liberty; but he, though he would justly be angry with you, has asked nothing from you except peace and to-day desires nothing but your loyalty to your pledge of peace. Make foreign armies at home in this land and wear their yoke: too late and all in vain will you call upon Philip to aid you when you have the Roman as master. The Aetolians, the Acarnanians, the Macedonians, men of the same speech, are united or disunited by trivial causes that arise from time to time; with aliens, with barbarians, all Greeks wage and will wage eternal war; for they are enemies by the will of nature, which is eternal, and not from reasons that change from day to day. But my speech shall end just where it began: in this same place you, the same men, decided three years[1] ago on peace with this same Philip, with the disapproval of these same Romans who are now trying to break the peace we pledged and signed. In this situation fortune has made no change; why you should change, I do not see."

XXX. After the Macedonians, with the permission

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concedentibus iubentibusque Athenienses, qui foeda passi iustius in crudelitatem saevitiamque regis
2 invehi poterant, introducti sunt. Deploraverunt vastationem populationemque miserabilem agrorum: neque id se queri, quod hostilia ab hoste passi forent; esse enim quaedam belli iura, quae ut facere, ita
3 pati sit fas: sata exuri, dirui tecta, praedas hominum pecorumque agi misera magis quam indigna patienti
4 esse; verum enim vero id se queri, quod is qui Romanos alienigenas et barbaros vocet adeo omnia simul divina humanaque iura polluerit, ut priore populatione cum infernis deis, secunda cum superis
5 bellum nefarium gesserit. Omnia sepulcra monumentaque diruta esse in finibus suis, omnium nudatos
6 manes, nullius ossa terra tegi. Delubra sibi fuisse, quae quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis vicisque consecrata ne in unam urbem qui-
7 dem contributi maiores sui deserta reliquerint. Circa ea omnia templa Philippum infestos circumtulisse ignes; semusta, truncata simulacra deum inter
8 prostratos iacere postes templorum. Qualem terram Atticam fecerit, exornatam quondam opulentamque, talem eum si liceat Aetoliam Graeciamque omnem
9 facturum. Urbis quoque suae similem deformitatem futuram fuisse, nisi Romani subvenissent. Eodem enim scelere urbem colentes deos praesidemque arcis Minervam petitam, eodem Eleusine Cereris
10 templum, eodem Piraei Iovem Minervamque; sed

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[1] The unification (*συνοικισμός*) of the Attic demes into the city (*ἄστυ*) of Athens was traditionally ascribed to Theseus (Thucydides II. xv. 2) and assigned to the year 1259 B.C.

and indeed at the bidding of the Romans themselves, B.C. 200
the Athenians were brought in, who were able, having suffered dreadfully, to assail with greater reason the savageness and cruelty of the king. They lamented the devastation and miserable ruin of their land: they did not complain because they suffered the treatment of an enemy from an enemy, for there are certain laws of war which are legitimately to be experienced as well as practised: it is sad, rather than unjust to the sufferer, that crops be burned, homes be destroyed, men and animals driven off as booty; but they did, however, complain that he who calls the Romans aliens and barbarians had so polluted human and divine law alike that on his first raid he had waged impious war on the gods of the world below, on his second, with the gods above. All the tombs and monuments in their land had been destroyed, the shades of all the dead left naked, no man's bones left with their covering of earth. They had had shrines, which their ancestors dwelling in the country demes had once consecrated in their little villages and towns and which, even when united in one city,[1] they had not left deserted. About all these temples Philip had built his destroying fires; half-burned, mutilated images of gods lay amid the fallen portals of their shrines. The sort of land he had made of Attica, once so rich in art and treasure, such, if he were permitted, he would make of Aetolia and all Greece. Their city too would have suffered the same despoliation if the Romans had not come to its aid. For in the same criminal fashion the gods that keep the city and Athena, guardian of its citadel, had been attacked, so too the temple of Demeter at Eleusis, so Zeus and Athena at Piraeus; but, repulsed not only

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ab eorum non templis modo sed etiam moenibus vi atque armis repulsum in ea delubra, quae sola religione tuta fuerint, saevisse. Itaque se orare atque obsecrare Aetolos ut miseriti Atheniensium ducibus diis immortalibus, deinde Romanis, qui secundum deos plurimum possent, bellum susciperent.

XXXI. Tum Romanus legatus: "Totam orationis meae formam Macedones primum, deinde Atheni-
2 enses mutarunt. Nam et Macedones, cum ad conquerendas Philippi iniurias in tot socias nobis urbes venissem, ultro accusando Romanos, defensionem ut accusatione potiorem haberem effecerunt,
3 et Athenienses in deos inferos superosque nefanda atque inhumana scelera eius referendo quid mihi aut cuiquam reliquerunt, quod obicere ultra possim?
4 Eadem haec Cianos, Abydenos, Aenios, Maronitas, Thasios, Parios, Samios, Larisenses, Messenios hinc ex Achaia existimate queri, graviora acerbioraque eos quibus nocendi maiorem facultatem habuit.
5 Nam quod ad ea attinet quae nobis obiecit, nisi gloria digna sunt, fateor ea defendi non posse. Regium et Capuam et Syracusas nobis obiecit.
6 Regium Pyrrhi bello legio a nobis Reginis ipsis ut mitteremus orantibus in praesidium missa urbem, ad quam defendendam missa erat, per scelus possedit.
7 Comprobavimus ergo id facinus? An bello persecuti sceleratam legionem, in potestatem nostram re-

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[1] The towns named in this list had all at one time or another suffered at Philip's hands. Furius maintains that Rome's treatment of Capua and other towns was kind and generous in comparison.

from their temples but also from the walls by force of arms, he had spent his wrath on those shrines which were protected by a sense of reverence alone. They therefore begged and besought the Aetolians to pity the Athenians and under the leadership, first of the immortal gods, second of the Romans, who were next to the gods in power, to undertake the war. B.C. 200

XXXI. Then the Roman delegate spoke: "First the Macedonians, then the Athenians, have changed the whole tenor of my argument. For the Macedonians, when I had come to complain of the injuries inflicted by Philip upon so many states allied with us, by taking the lead in accusing the Romans, have caused me to prefer a defence of ourselves to an accusation of them, and when the Athenians have described his cruel and inhuman crimes against the gods above and below, what have they left for me or anyone else with which to reproach him further? Consider that these same complaints are made by the people of Cius,[1] Abydus, Aenus, Maronea, Thasos, Paros, Samos, Larisa, Messene here from Achaea, and that those complaints are of more grievous and cruel treatment wherever he had greater power to do harm. For as to those matters with which he has charged us, unless they merit glory, I confess that they cannot be defended. He has reproached us with Rhegium and Capua and Syracuse. Take Rhegium: in the war with Pyrrhus a legion sent by us when the townspeople of Rhegium themselves begged us to send troops for their protection, criminally seized the city it was sent to guard. Did we, then, approve this crime? Or did we, making war upon the guilty legion and reducing it to submission, when we

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dactam, tergo et cervicibus poenas sociis pendere cum coegissemus, urbem agros suaque omnia cum
8 libertate legibusque Reginis reddidimus? Syracusanis oppressis ab externis tyrannis, quo indignius esset, cum tulissemus opem et fatigati prope per triennium terra marique urbe munitissima oppugnanda essemus, cum iam ipsi Syracusani servire tyrannis quam capi a nobis mallent, captam iisdem
9 armis et liberatam urbem reddidimus. Neque infitias imus Siciliam provinciam nostram esse et civitates, quae in parte Carthaginiensium fuerunt et uno animo cum illis adversus nos bellum gesserunt, stipendiarias nobis ac vectigales esse; quin contra hoc et vos et omnes gentes scire volumus, pro merito
10 cuique erga nos fortunam esse. An Campanorum poenae, de qua ne ipsi quidem queri possunt, nos paeniteat? Hi homines, cum pro iis bellum adversus Samnites per annos prope septuaginta cum magnis
11 nostris cladibus gessissemus, ipsos foedere primum, deinde conubio atque cognationibus, postremo
12 civitate nobis coniunxissemus, tempore nostro adverso primi omnium Italiae populorum, praesidio nostro foede interfecto, ad Hannibalem defecerunt, deinde indignati se obsideri a nobis Hannibalem ad oppug-
13 nandam Romam miserunt. Horum si neque urbs ipsa neque homo quisquam superesset, quis id durius

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[1] After the death of Hieronymus, tyrant of Syracuse, Hippocrates and Epicydes, born in Carthage but descended on their father's side from a Syracusan exile, persuaded the Syracusans to join Carthage. After a three years' siege

had made it pay to the allies the penalty, with scourg- B.C. 200
ings and beheadings, did we restore to the people of Rhegium their city, their lands and all their possessions along with their liberty and laws? When we had given aid to the Syracusans, oppressed by foreign tyrants, a thing which made their fate more pitiable, and when we had been worn out by besieging, for nearly three years, the city strongly fortified by land and sea, since now the Syracusans themselves preferred to be ruled by tyrants to being captured by us, we delivered to them a city taken and liberated by these same arms.[1] We do not deny that Sicily is our province and that the cities which were on the side of Carthage and in agreement with her made war on us are our vassals and tributaries; nay, on the contrary, we wish both you and all nations to know this, that each one's fortune is proportioned to his services to us. Or should we be ashamed of the punishment of the Campanians, of which not even they can complain? These people, when we had warred with the Samnites on their behalf for almost seventy years, with great losses to ourselves, and when after that we had bound them to us, first by treaty, then by intermarriages and personal ties, finally by the gift of citizenship, were the first of all the states of Italy who in our time of stress foully murdered our garrison and went over to Hannibal, and then, enraged because they were besieged by us, sent Hannibal to attack Rome. If neither their city nor any man of them survived, who could say

(214–212 B.C.) the city was taken by Marcellus. The Roman victory meant both the capture (*captam*) by the Romans and the liberation (*liberatam*) of the city from its "foreign tyrants" Hippocrates and Epicydes. See XXIV–XXV, *passim*.

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quam pro merito ipsorum statutum indignari posset? 14 Plures sibimet ipsi conscientia scelerum mortem consciverunt, quam ab nobis supplicio adfecti sunt. 15 Ceteris ita oppidum, ita agros ademimus ut agrum locumque ad habitandum daremus, urbem innoxiam stare incolumem pateremur, ut qui hodie videat eam nullum oppugnatae captaeve ibi vestigium inveniat. Sed quid ego Capuam dico, cum Carthagini victae 16 pacem ac libertatem dederimus? Magis illud est periculum ne nimis facile victis ignoscendo plures ob id ipsum ad experiendam adversus nos fortunam belli 17 incitemus. Haec pro nobis dicta sint,[1] haec adversus Philippum, cuius domestica parricidia et cognatorum amicorumque caedes et libidinem inhumaniorem prope quam crudelitatem vos, quo propiores Mace- 18 doniae estis, melius nostis. Quod ad vos attinet, Aetoli, nos pro vobis bellum suscepimus adversus Philippum, vos sine nobis cum eo pacem fecistis. 19 Et forsitan dicatis bello Punico occupatis nobis coactos metu vos leges pacis ab eo, qui tum plus poterat, accepisse; et nos, cum alia maiora urgerent, 20 depositum a vobis bellum et ipsi omisimus. Nunc et nos deum benignitate Punico perfecto bello totis viribus nostris in Macedoniam incubuimus, et vobis restituendi vos in amicitiam societatemque nostram fortuna oblata est, nisi perire cum Philippo quam vincere cum Romanis mavultis."

XXXII. Haec dicta ab Romano cum essent, in-

[1] sint *Ascensius*: sunt *B*.

that they had been punished more severely than they B.C. 200
themselves deserved? More of them, from consciousness of their guilt, committed suicide than were punished by us. From the rest we did indeed take away their town and their fields, but in such a way that we left them enough land and room to dwell in, and we permitted the city itself to stand safe and uninjured, so that he who sees it to-day finds no sign of its assault and capture. But why do I mention Capua, when we gave peace and liberty to conquered Carthage? This is the greater danger, that by treating the vanquished too generously we may thereby incite more peoples to try the fortune of war against us. Let this be our defence of ourselves and our answer to Philip, whose murders within his family, whose slaughterings of friends and relatives, whose passions, more unnatural almost than his cruelty, you know better than I, as you are nearer neighbours to Macedonia. So far as you are concerned, men of Aetolia, we undertook the war with Philip for you and you made peace with him without us. And perhaps you will argue that when we were busy with the Punic war, you, compelled by fear, received terms of peace from him who was at that time more powerful; and that we, in the press of greater matters, ourselves neglected the war which you abandoned. But now, by the grace of the gods, having finished the Punic war, we have addressed ourselves with all our energy to Macedonia, and to you, accordingly, is offered the opportunity of reinstating yourselves in our alliance and friendship, unless you prefer perishing with Philip to conquering with the Romans."

XXXII. After this had been said by the Roman

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clinatis omnium animis ad Romanos, Damocritus, praetor Aetolorum, pecunia ut fama est ab rege
2 accepta, nihil aut huic aut illi parti adsensus, rem magni discriminis consiliis nullam esse tam inimicam quam celeritatem dixit; celerem enim paenitentiam, sed eandem[1] seram atque inutilem sequi, cum praecipitata raptim consilia neque revocari neque
3 in integrum restitui possint. Deliberationis eius, cuius ipse maturitatem expectandam putaret, tempus ita iam nunc statui posse: cum legibus cautum esset nec de pace belloque nisi in Panaetolico et Pylaico[2]
4 concilio ageretur, decernerent extemplo ut praetor sine fraude, cum de bello et pace agere velit, advocet concilium, et quod tum referatur decernaturque ut perinde ius ratumque sit[3] ac si in Panaetolico aut
5 Pylaico concilio actum esset. Dimissis ita suspensa re legatis egregie consultum genti aiebat: nam utrius partis melior fortuna belli esset, ad eius societatem inclinaturos. Haec in concilio Aetolorum acta.

XXXIII. Philippus impigre terra marique parabat bellum. Navales copias Demetriadem in Thessaliam
2 contrahebat; Attalum Romanamque classem principio veris ab Aegina ratus moturos, navibus mariti-

[1] sed eandem *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : setandem *B*.
[2] Pylaico *Gelenius* : pyraea *B* : pyraeo B^2.
[3] ratumque sit *ed. Mediolanensis* 1505 : ratumque *B*.

[1] This is probably the other stated meeting of the League, but this name is not used elsewhere in this connection. Possibly, as Professor Capps suggests to me, the Pylaic meeting was that of the Amphictyonic Council, now

commissioner, and the opinions of all were turning B.C. 200
toward the Romans, Damocritus, chief of the Aetolians, bribed—so men say—by the king, argued, not agreeing in any way with either side, that nothing was so inconsistent with wisdom in a great crisis as haste; for repentance, swift yet none the less late and unavailing, followed, when hastily-formed plans could not be recalled or annulled. The time for making the decision, the ripe moment for which should, in his judgment, be awaited, could be fixed even now: since it was provided by the laws that questions concerning peace or war should not be debated except at the Panaetolian and Pylaic[1] council, they should at once decree that the praetor should call a council, in good faith, when he wished to discuss the question of peace or war, and that whatever was then proposed and decreed should be valid and legal just as if determined at a Panaetolian or Pylaic session.[2] The ambassadors being thus dismissed with the decision hanging in the balance, he said that this was wise conduct for the League: for whichever side enjoyed the better fortune of war, to an alliance with that side they would turn. Such were the proceedings of the Aetolian council.

XXXIII. Philip was energetically preparing for war on land and sea. He assembled his navy at Demetrias in Thessaly; expecting that Attalus and the Roman fleet would move from Aegina in the

dominated by Aetolia, at Thermopylae; one expects, however, action by an Aetolian and not by an Amphictyonic agency. Cf. XXXIII. XXXV. 8.

[1] Damocritus seems to propose that the council adjourn to meet on call, and that this adjourned meeting be regarded as a continuation of the regular meeting, and that the "laws" of the League be stretched to this extent.

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maeque orae praefecit Heraclidam, quem et ante
3 praefecerat; ipse terrestres copias comparabat, magna se duo auxilia Romanis detraxisse credens, ex una parte Aetolos, ex altera Dardanos, faucibus ad
4 Pelagoniam a filio Perseo interclusis. Ab consule non parabatur sed gerebatur iam bellum. Per Dassaretiorum fines exercitum ducebat, frumentum, quod ex hibernis extulerat, integrum vehens, quod
5 in usum militi satis esset praebentibus agris. Oppida vicique partim voluntate, partim metu se tradebant; quaedam vi expugnata, quaedam deserta in montes propinquos refugientibus barbaris inveniebantur.
6 Ad Lyncum stativa posuit prope flumen Bevum; inde frumentatum circa horrea Dassaretiorum mittebat. Philippus consternata quidem omnia circa pavoremque ingentem hominum cernebat, sed parum gnarus quam partem petisset consul, alam equitum ad explorandum quonam hostes iter intendissent misit.
7 Idem error apud consulem erat; movisse ex hibernis regem sciebat, quam regionem petisset ignorans.
8 Is quoque speculatum miserat equites. Hae duae alae ex diverso, cum diu incertis itineribus vagatae per Dassaretios essent, tandem in unum iter convenerunt. Neutros fefellit, ut fremitus procul hominum equorumque exauditus est, hostes appropinquare. Itaque priusquam in conspectum venirent, equos armaque expedierant; nec mora, ubi

[1] Livy here resumes the narrative interrupted at xxviii. 6 above.

beginning of spring, he placed Heraclides, to whom B.C. 200
he had previously given the same post, in command of the fleet and the coast; he himself collected the land forces, thinking that he had detached from the Romans two powerful allies, the Aetolians on one side, the Dardani on the other, since the passes to Pelagonia were held by his son Perseus. The consul was not preparing, but actually waging, war.[1] He was leading the army through the territory of the Dassaretii, carrying with him untouched the grain he had brought from winter quarters, since the country supplied adequately the needs of the soldiers. The forts and towns surrendered, some voluntarily, others through fear; some were carried by assault, some were found abandoned as the barbarians fled to the neighbouring mountains. He established a base near Lyncus on the river Bevus; from there he sent troops to forage among the granaries of the Dassaretii. Philip, it is true, saw that everything round about was in confusion and that the people were greatly terrified, but not knowing in which direction the consul had marched, he sent a squadron of cavalry to ascertain where the enemy had gone. The consul was equally at a loss; he knew that the king had left his winter quarters, though ignorant of the region to which he had marched. He too sent out cavalry to scout. These two cavalry forces, coming from different directions, after they had wandered long and aimlessly over the roads in the land of the Dassaretii, finally met on the same highway. Neither was unaware, since they heard the sound of men and horses from far off, that the enemy was approaching. So, before they came in sight of one another, they had prepared horses and arms for

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9 primum hostem videre, concurrendi facta est. Forte et numero et virtute, utpote lecti utrimque, haud impares, aequis viribus per aliquot horas pugnarunt. Fatigatio ipsorum equorumque incerta victoria 10 diremit proelium. Macedonum quadraginta equites, Romanorum quinque et triginta ceciderunt. Neque eo magis explorati quicquam, in qua regione castra hostium essent, aut illi ad regem aut hi ad consulem 11 rettulerunt; per transfugas cognitum est, quos levitas ingeniorum ad cognoscendas hostium res in omnibus bellis praebet.

XXXIV. Philippus aliquid et ad caritatem suorum et ut promptius pro eo periculum adirent ratus 2 profecturum se, si equitum qui ceciderant in expeditione sepeliendorum curam habuisset, adferri eos in castra iussit, ut conspiceretur ab omnibus funeris 3 honos. Nihil tam incertum nec tam inaestimabile est quam animi multitudinis. Quod promptiores ad subeundam omnem dimicationem videbatur facturum, 4 id metum pigritiamque incussit; nam qui hastis sagittisque et rara lanceis facta vulnera vidissent, cum Graecis Illyriisque pugnare adsueti, postquam gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora, bracchiis cum humero abscisis, aut tota cervice desecta divisa a corpore capita patentiaque viscera et foeditatem 5 aliam vulnerum viderunt, adversus quae tela quosque viros pugnandum foret, pavidi vulgo cernebant. Ipsum quoque regem terror cepit nondum iusto 6 proelio cum Romanis congressum. Itaque revocato

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[1] The long and heavy sabre, adapted to slashing blows, carried by Roman cavalry: cf. Dion. Hal. VIII. 67. The short infantry weapon, used for both cutting and thrusting, was called *gladius Hispanus* in XXII. xlvi. 5.

battle, nor was there any delay in charging as soon as the enemy came in sight. Not unequal, as it chanced, in either numbers or courage, since both consisted of picked men, they fought on equal terms for some hours. The weariness of men and horses ended the struggle without a decision in favour of either party. Of the Macedonians, forty troopers fell; of the Romans, thirty-five. Nor did either side, the king's or the consul's, have to report any more definite information as to where the enemy's camp lay; but this information was secured through deserters, whom in every war their fickleness causes to furnish information to the enemy. B.C. 200

XXXIV. Philip, thinking that he would do something to secure the affection of his people and increase their readiness to encounter danger on his behalf if he undertook the burial of the cavalrymen who had fallen on the expedition, ordered their bodies brought into camp, that the funeral honour might be seen by all. Nothing is so uncertain or so unpredictable as the mental reaction of a crowd. What he thought would make them more ready to enter any conflict caused, instead, reluctance and fear; for men who had seen the wounds dealt by javelins and arrows and occasionally by lances, since they were used to fighting with the Greeks and Illyrians, when they had seen bodies chopped to pieces by the Spanish sword,[1] arms torn away, shoulders and all, or heads separated from bodies, with the necks completely severed, or vitals laid open, and the other fearful wounds, realized in a general panic with what weapons and what men they had to fight. Fear seized the king as well, who had never met the Romans in ordered combat. So, recalling his son

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filio praesidioque, quod in faucibus Pelagoniae erat, ut iis copiis suas augeret, Pleurato Dardanisque iter
7 in Macedoniam patefecit. Ipse cum viginti milibus peditum, duobus milibus equitum, ducibus transfugis ad hostem profectus paulo plus mille passus a castris Romanis tumulum propinquum Athaco[1] fossa ac
8 valle communivit; ac subiecta cernens Romana castra, admiratus esse dicitur et universam speciem castrorum et discripta suis quaeque partibus cum tendentium ordine tum itinerum intervallis et negasse barbarorum ea castra ulli videri posse.
9 Biduum consul et rex, alter alterius conatus expectantes, continuere suos intra vallum; tertio die Romanus omnes in aciem copias eduxit.

XXXV. Rex[2] tam celerem aleam universi certaminis timens, quadringentos Tralles—Illyriorum id, sicut alio diximus loco, est genus—et Cretenses trecentos, addito his peditibus pari numero equitum, cum duce Athenagora, uno ex purpuratis, ad laces-
2 sendos hostium equites misit. Ab Romanis autem—aberat acies eorum paulo plus quingentos passus—velites et equitum duae ferme alae emissae, ut numero quoque eques pedesque hostem aequarent.
3 Credere regii genus pugnae quo adsueverant fore, ut equites in vicem insequentes refugientesque nunc telis uterentur, nunc terga darent, Illyriorum velocitas ad excursiones et impetus subitos usui

[1] Athaco *edd.*: Achaco (Achaeo) ς: *om. B.*
[2] rex *edd. vett.*: rex non *B*: rex uero ς.

[1] Cf. XXVII. xxxii. 4.

and the guard which was at the passes to Pelagonia, B.C. 200
that he might increase his own strength with these forces, he opened to Pleuratus and the Dardani the road into Macedonia. Using deserters as guides, he himself marched towards the enemy with twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and fortified with a wall and ditch a hill near Athacus, a little more than a mile from the Roman camp, and seeing the Roman camp which lay at his feet, it is said that he admired its whole arrangement and each section allotted its own place, with the rows of tents and also the well-spaced streets between, and that he remarked that no one could believe that that camp belonged to barbarians. For two days the consul and the king remained in camp, each waiting for the other to assume the offensive; on the third day the Roman led out all his forces to the battle-ground.

XXXV. The king, fearing the gamble of a decisive battle at this early moment, sent four hundred Tralles—a people of Illyria, as I have elsewhere[1] said—and three hundred Cretans, adding to the infantry an equal number of cavalry under command of Athenagoras, one of his nobles, to harass the Roman cavalry. The Romans, on the other hand—their battle-line was a little more than half a mile away—sent out skirmishers and about two squadrons of cavalry, that the infantry and cavalry might equal the enemy in number also. The king's forces assumed that the type of fighting would be that to which they were accustomed, that the cavalry, alternately advancing and retreating, would now discharge their weapons and now retire, that the swift movements of the Illyrians would be useful for sallies and sudden

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esset, Cretenses in invehentem se effuse hostem
4 sagittas conicerent. Turbavit hunc ordinem pugnandi non acrior quam pertinacior impetus Roman-
5 orum; nam haud secus quam si tota acie dimicarent, et velites emissis hastis comminus gladiis rem gerebant, et equites, ut semel in hostem evecti sunt, stantibus equis, partim ex ipsis equis, partim desilientes
6 immiscentesque se peditibus pugnabant. Ita nec eques regius equiti par erat, insuetus ad stabilem pugnam, nec pedes concursator et vagus et prope seminudus genere armorum veliti Romano parmam gladiumque habenti pariterque et ad se tuendum et
7 ad hostem petendum armato. Non tulere itaque dimicationem nec alia re quam velocitate tutantes se in castra refugerunt.

XXXVI. Uno deinde intermisso die, cum omnibus copiis equitum levisque armaturae pugnaturus rex esset, nocte caetratos quos peltastas vocant loco opportuno inter bina castra in insidiis abdiderat
2 praeceperatque Athenagorae et equitibus ut, si aperto proelio procederet res, uterentur fortuna, si minus, cedendo sensim ad insidiarum locum hostem
3 pertraherent. Et equitatus quidem cessit, duces caetratae cohortis non satis expectato signo ante tempus excitatis suis occasionem bene gerendae rei amisere. Romanus et aperto proelio victor et tutus a fraude insidiarum in castra sese recepit.

4 Postero die consul omnibus copiis in aciem descendit

[1] The *caetra* was a small, light shield (cf. πέλτη).

charges, and that the Cretans would shower arrows upon the enemy advancing in disorder. The Roman attack, no more vigorous than stubborn, prevented the carrying out of this plan; for just as if they were in regular line of battle, both the skirmishers, after hurling their spears, came to a hand-to-hand combat with their swords, and the cavalry, as soon as they had charged the enemy, stopping their horses either fought from horseback or leaped from their saddles and fought mingled with the footmen. So neither the king's cavalry, unused to a stationary battle, could stand against the Romans, nor his infantry, running to and fro and almost unprotected by armour, against the light-armed Romans, equipped with shield and sword and prepared alike for defence or offence. So they did not sustain the struggle, but relying on nothing else than their swiftness of foot they fled to the camp. B.C. 200

XXXVI. Then, after an interval of a day, when the king was determined to engage with all his cavalry and light infantry, he had concealed his targeteers,[1] those whom they call "peltasts," in ambush in a suitable place between the two camps, and had instructed Athenagoras and the cavalry that if things went well in the open battle they should exploit their advantage, but if not, they should by retiring gradually draw the enemy towards the place of ambush. And the cavalry did in fact retire, but the commanders of the peltasts, not waiting long enough for the signal and disclosing their forces prematurely, lost the opportunity for a victory. The Roman, both successful in the open battle and safe from the ambuscade, returned to camp.

Next day the consul led out all his army in battle-

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ante prima signa locatis elephantis, quo auxilio tum primum Romani, quia captos aliquot bello Punico habebant, usi sunt. Ubi latentem intra vallum hostem vidit, in tumulos quoque ac sub ipsum vallum exprobrans metum successit. Postquam ne tum quidem potestas pugnandi dabatur, quia ex tam propinquis stativis parum tuta frumentatio erat, dispersos milites per agros equitibus extemplo invasuris, octo fere inde milia, intervallo tutiorem frumentationem habiturus, castra ad Ottolobum—id est loco nomen—movit. Cum in propinquo agro frumentarentur Romani, primo rex intra vallum suos tenuit, ut cresceret simul neglegentia [1] cum audacia hosti. Ubi effusos vidit, cum omni equitatu et Cretensium auxiliaribus, quantum equitem velocissimi pedites cursu aequare poterant, citato profectus agmine inter castra Romana et frumentatores constituit signa. Inde copiis divisis partem ad consectandos vagos frumentatores emisit dato signo ne quem vivum relinquerent, cum parte ipse substitit itineraque quibus ad castra recursuri videbantur hostes, obsedit. Iam passim caedes ac fuga erat, necdum quisquam in castra Romana nuntius cladis pervenerat, quia refugientes in regiam stationem incidebant, et plures ab obsidentibus vias quam ab emissis ad caedem interficiebantur. Tandem inter medias

[1] neglegentia *Ussing*: et neglegentia *B*.

[1] The sites described in these chapters cannot be positively identified.

line, placing in front of the ranks his elephants, an auxiliary which the Romans then used for the first time, because they had some which they had taken in the Punic war. When he saw the enemy lurking behind his ramparts, he advanced to the hills and even against the wall itself, taunting him with being afraid. When he could not even then gain the opportunity to fight, since foraging was unsafe because his base was so close to that of the enemy, the cavalry being ready at any moment to attack the soldiers scattered through the fields, he moved his camp about eight miles from there to Ottolobum—so they call the place—that he might provision himself more safely because of the distance.[1] While the Romans were gathering grain in the neighbouring fields, the king at first kept his men within the camp, that carelessness might increase in the enemy along with boldness. When he saw them well scattered, he set out with all his cavalry and the Cretan auxiliaries, in so far as these fast-moving infantrymen could keep up with the cavalry, and marching at full speed set up his standards between the Roman camp and the foragers. Then, dividing his forces, he sent part to pursue the scattered foragers, giving the word to leave no man alive, and himself with the remainder stood and blocked the roads by which the enemy seemed likely to return to camp. Now there was slaughter and flight everywhere, nor had any news of the disaster yet reached the Roman camp, because the fugitives fell in with the king's patrols, and more were killed by the men who blocked the roads than by those who were sent out to destroy them. Finally, however, some of them slipped through the line of enemy B.C. 200

A.U.C. 554 hostium stationes elapsi quidam trepidi tumultum magis quam certum nuntium intulerunt castris.

XXXVII. Consul equitibus iussis, qua quisque posset, opem ferre laborantibus ipse legiones e castris educit et agmine quadrato ad hostem ducit. 2 Dispersi equites per agros quidam aberrarunt decepti clamoribus aliis ex alio existentibus loco, pars obvios 3 habuerunt hostes. Pluribus locis simul pugna coepit. Regia statio atrocissimum proelium edebat; nam et ipsa multitudine equitum peditumque prope iusta acies erat, et Romanorum, quia medium obsederat 4 iter, plurimi in eam inferebantur. Eo quoque superiores Macedones erant, quod et rex ipse hortator aderat, et Cretensium auxiliares multos ex improviso vulnerabant, conferti praeparatique in dispersos et 5 effusos pugnantes. Quod si modum in insequendo habuissent, non in praesentis modo certaminis gloriam sed in summam etiam belli profectum foret; 6 nunc aviditate caedis intemperantius secuti in praegressas cum tribunis militum cohortes Romanas 7 incidere, et fugiens eques, ut primo signa suorum vidit, convertit in effusum hostem equos, versaque momento temporis fortuna pugnae est terga dantibus 8 qui modo secuti erant. Multi comminus congressi, multi fugientes interfecti; nec ferro tantum periere, sed in paludes quidam coniecti profundo limo cum 9 ipsis equis hausti sunt. Rex quoque in periculo fuit; nam ruente saucio equo praeceps ad terram datus,

guards and in their panic brought confused rumours B.C. 200
rather than definite news to the camp.

XXXVII. The consul sent the cavalry to aid the harassed in any way they could, and himself led out the legions from the camp and forming a hollow square marched towards the enemy. Some of the cavalry wandered aimlessly about the country, misled by the shouts that rose from this place and that, others met the enemy face to face. The battle began in several places at once. The royal guard put up the stiffest fight, for by reason of the number of infantry and cavalry it was practically a regular battle and most of the Romans encountered them, since they blocked the central road. In this too the Macedonians had the advantage, because the king himself was there to urge them on, and the Cretan auxiliaries dealt many unexpected wounds, fighting in close array and according to plan against men who were scattered and not in formation. But if they had observed discretion in the pursuit, it would have meant not only success in the present engagement, but final victory in the war as well; as it was, in their greed for slaughter, following too incautiously, they met the Roman cohorts advancing under command of the tribunes, and the fleeing cavalry, as soon as they saw the standards of their friends, faced about and attacked the disordered enemy, and in a moment, the tide of battle turning, the pursuers became the pursued. Many were struck down in hand-to-hand fight, many killed in flight; and they died not by the sword alone, but some of them were swallowed up, horses and all, when they became entangled in the swamps. Even the king was in danger; for, thrown headlong to the ground when

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haud multum afuit quin iacens opprimeretur. Saluti fuit eques, qui raptim ipse desiluit pavidumque regem in equum subiecit; ipse, cum pedes aequare cursu fugientes non posset equites, ab hostibus ad casum regis concitatis confossus perit. Rex circumvectus paludes per vias inviaque[1] trepida fuga in castra tandem, iam desperantibus plerisque incolumem evasurum, pervenit. Ducenti Macedonum equites eo proelio periere, centum ferme capti; octoginta admodum ornati equi spoliis simul armorum relatis abducti.

XXXVIII. Fuere qui hoc die regem temeritatis, consulem segnitiae accusarent: nam et Philippo quiescendum fuisse, cum paucis diebus hostes exhausto circa omni agro ad ultimum inopiae venturos sciret, et consulem, cum equitatum hostium levemque armaturam fudisset ac prope regem ipsum cepisset, protinus ad castra hostium ducere debuisse; nec enim mansuros ita perculsos hostes fuisse, debellarique momento temporis potuisse. Id dictu quam re, ut pleraque, facilius erat. Nam si omnibus peditum quoque copiis congressus rex fuisset, forsitan inter tumultum, cum omnes victi metuque perculsi ex proelio intra vallum, protinus inde supervadentem munimenta victorem hostem fugerent, exui castris potuerit rex; cum vero integrae copiae peditum in castris mansissent, stationes ante portas praesidiaque

[1] per vias inviaque *Drakenborch*: peruias inuiasque *B*.

his wounded horse fell, he narrowly escaped being B.C. 200
trampled to death. A trooper saved him, who quickly leaped down and lifted the terrified king to the back of his own horse; he himself, since on foot he could not equal the speed of the fleeing cavalry, perished, struck down by the cavalry who rushed up at the fall of the king. The king, riding about the marshes over roads and blind paths in full flight, came at length to his camp, when nearly all had given up hope of his safe return. Two hundred of the Macedonian cavalry fell in this battle, and about one hundred were captured; about eighty horses, with their trappings, some spoils of weapons being also recovered among the booty, were driven off.

XXXVIII. There have been some who accused the king of rashness and others the consul of lack of energy on that day: Philip, they said, should have remained quiet, knowing that in a few days the enemy would be reduced to extreme need by the consumption of all the grain in the adjacent country, while the consul, after routing the enemy's cavalry and light infantry and almost capturing the king himself, should have immediately attacked the enemy's camp; for the enemy, dismayed as they were, would not have awaited his onslaught, and the war could have been finished at one stroke. This, as usual, was easier to say than to do. For if the king had made his attack with all his infantry in addition, perhaps in the confusion, when they were all rushing, beaten and panic-stricken, from the battle-field into the camp, if they had at once fled before a conquering foe that was overrunning the defences, the king might have been driven from his camp; but since his entire infantry had remained in camp, with outposts

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disposita essent, quid, nisi ut temeritatem regis,[1] effuse paulo ante secuti perculsos equites, imitaretur, profecisset? Neque enim ne regis quidem primum consilium, quo impetum in frumentatores palatos per agros fecit, reprehendendum foret, si modum prosperae pugnae imposuisset. Eo quoque minus est mirum temptasse eum fortunam, quod fama erat Pleuratum Dardanosque ingentibus copiis profectos domo iam in Macedoniam transcendisse; quibus si undique circumventus copiis foret, sedentem Romanum debellaturum credi poterat. Itaque secundum duas adversas equestres pugnas multo minus tutam moram in iisdem stativis fore Philippus ratus, cum abire inde et fallere abiens hostem vellet, caduceatore sub occasum solis misso ad consulem, qui indutias ad sepeliendos equites peteret, frustratus hostem secunda vigilia multis ignibus per tota castra relictis silenti agmine abit.

XXXIX. Corpus iam curabat consul cum venisse caduceatorem et quid venisset nuntiatum est. Responso tantum dato mane postero die fore copiam conveniendi, id quod quaesitum erat, nox dieique insequentis pars ad praecipiendum iter Philippo data est. Montes, quam viam non ingressurum gravi agmine Romanum sciebat, petit. Consul prima luce caduceatore datis indutiis dimisso haud ita multo post abisse hostem cum sensisset, ignarus qua sequeretur, iisdem stativis frumentando dies aliquot consumpsit. Stuberram deinde petit atque ex

[1] regis *edd.*: *om. B.*

and patrols stationed before the gates, what could B.C. 200
he have accomplished, except to imitate the rashness of the king, who had a little before pursued the scattered and fleeing cavalry? Nor would there be any criticism even of the king's original plan, of attacking the foragers scattered over the fields, had he limited his objective to success in this attack. It is less strange, too, that he tempted fortune in this way, because there was a report that Pleuratus and the Dardani had already left home with great forces and had invaded Macedonia; and if he were surrounded by these encircling forces, it might well be believed that the Roman could end the war by sitting still. So Philip, thinking it far less safe to remain in the same camp after two cavalry defeats, wanting to withdraw from there and to escape detection while so doing, at sunset sent a herald to the consul to ask a truce for burying the cavalrymen, and eluding the enemy stole away silently during the second watch, leaving numerous fires burning throughout the camp.

XXXIX. The consul was engaged in refreshing himself at the time it was announced that the herald had come and why he had come. Replying merely that in the morning there would be opportunity for a conference, he gave Philip what he sought, the chance to retire rapidly during the night and a part of the next day. He made for the mountains, choosing a road which he knew the Roman, with his heavy-armed column, would not take. At daybreak the consul sent the herald away after granting the truce, and when he learned, no long time later, that the enemy had gone, not knowing where to pursue him, he spent some days in the same camp while gathering supplies. Thence he marched to Stuberra and

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Pelagonia frumentum quod in agris erat convexit. Inde ad Pluinnam est progressus, nondum comperto quam regionem hostes petissent. Philippus cum primo ad Bruanium stativa habuisset, profectus inde transversis limitibus terrorem praebuit subitum hosti. Movere itaque ex Pluinna Romani et ad Osphagum flumen posuerunt castra. Rex haud procul inde et ipse vallo super ripam amnis ducto— Erigonum incolae vocant—consedit. Inde satis comperto Eordaeam petituros Romanos, ad occupandas angustias, ne superare hostes artis faucibus inclusum aditum possent, praecessit. Ibi alia vallo, alia fossa, alia lapidum congerie, ut pro muro essent, alia arboribus obiectis, ut aut locus postulabat aut materia suppeditabat, propere[1] permuniit atque, ut ipse rebatur, viam suapte natura difficilem obiectis per omnes transitus operibus inexpugnabilem fecit. Erant pleraque silvestria circa, incommoda phalangi maxime Macedonum, quae nisi ubi praelongis hastis velut vallum ante clipeos obiecit, quod ut fiat libero campo opus est, nullius admodum usus est. Thracas quoque rumpiae, ingentis et ipsae longitudinis, inter obiectos undique ramos impediebant. Cretensium una cohors non inutilis erat; sed ea quoque ipsa, ut, si quis impetum faceret, in patentem vulneri equum equitemque sagittas conicere poterat, ita adversus scuta Romana nec ad traiciendum satis magnam vim habebat, nec aperti quicquam erat quod peterent.

[1] propere *Voss*: opere *B*.

[1] For the formation and battle tactics of the phalanx, and its advantages and disadvantages as compared with the more mobile Roman legion, see Polyb. XVIII. xxviii–xxxii. incl. Livy's account, while less explicit and detailed, is consistent with that of Polybius.

brought there from Pelagonia the grain which was in B.C. 200
the fields. He then marched to Pluinna, still ignorant as to where the enemy had gone. When Philip had established a base near Bruanium, marching from there across country he inspired sudden terror in the enemy. On that account the Romans moved from Pluinna and encamped on the Osphagus river. The king also pitched camp not far away, throwing up a rampart along the bank of a river—the natives call it Erigonus. Then, feeling certain that the Romans would move toward Eordaea, he hurried forward to gain the pass, that the Romans might not force the road, which was closed by the narrow entrance. There he threw up hasty fortifications, using sometimes a rampart, sometimes a ditch, sometimes piles of stones to serve as a wall, sometimes cut-down trees, as the nature of the terrain and the material at hand permitted, and, as he thought, rendered a road which was already naturally difficult impassable by the obstacles which he placed in all the open places. There were many forests in the neighbourhood, a great hindrance to the Macedonian phalanx,[1] which was of absolutely no use except where it could thrust, so to speak, a rampart in front of the shields with its very long spears, and for this purpose they needed open country. The Thracians too were impeded by their lances, which were likewise of great length, among the branches which projected in every direction. Only the Cretan contingent was of much service, but even they, since they could only, if there was an attack, direct their arrows against unprotected horses and riders, so against the Roman shields they lacked the power of penetration, and there were left no unexposed parts at which they could aim.

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13 Itaque id ut vanum teli genus senserunt esse, saxis passim tota valle iacentibus incessebant hostem. Ea maiore cum sonitu quam vulnere ullo pulsatio scu-
14 torum parumper succedentes Romanos tenuit. Deinde, iis quoque spretis, partim testudine facta per adversos vadunt hostes, partim brevi circuitu cum in
15 iugum collis evasissent, trepidos ex praesidiis stationibusque Macedonas deturbant et, ut in locis impeditis difficili fuga, plerosque etiam obtruncant.

XL. Ita angustiae minore certamine quam quod animis proposuerant superatae et in Eordaeam perventum, ubi pervastatis passim agris in Elimiam consul se [1] recepit. Inde impetum in Orestidem facit et oppidum Celetrum est adgressus in paene
2 insula situm; lacus moenia cingit; angustis faucibus unum ex continenti iter est. Primo situ ipso freti
3 clausis portis abnuere imperium; deinde, postquam signa ferri ac testudine succedi ad portam obsessasque fauces agmine hostium viderunt, priusquam experi-
4 rentur certamen metu in deditionem venerunt. Ab Celetro in Dassaretios processit urbemque Pelion vi cepit. Servitia inde cum cetera praeda abduxit et libera capita sine pretio dimisit oppidumque iis
5 reddidit praesidio valido imposito; nam et sita opportune urbs erat ad impetus in Macedoniam
6 faciendos. Ita peragratis hostium agris consul in

[1] consul se *Harant*: se *B*.

[1] An attack formation, in which overlapping shields, held above the heads and at the sides of the soldiers, offered protection to the men inside.

And so, when they perceived that weapons of this kind were ineffective, they harassed the enemy with the stones which lay everywhere through the whole valley. The clash of these against the shields, causing more noise than damage, delayed the advancing Romans for a little while. Then, scorning these also, part of the Romans, forming a *testudo*,[1] advanced in face of the enemy, while others, gaining the saddle by a short detour, dislodged the terrified Macedonians from their strong points and outposts, and even killed some of them, since flight was slow in the difficult country. B.C. 200

XL. So the pass was won with less trouble than had been anticipated, and the consul marched to Eordaea, and after laying waste the country in all directions, proceeded toward Elimia. Then he made an attack on Orestis and assaulted the town of Celetrum, which lay on a peninsula; a lake surrounds its walls; a narrow tongue of land offers the only approach from the mainland. At first the natives, relying on their position, closed the gates and refused the demand to surrender; but when they saw the standards brought forward and the *testudo* advancing towards the gates and the isthmus filled with a throng of hostile troops, in panic they surrendered before they tried the issue of a battle. From Celetrum he proceeded to the land of the Dassaretii and took the city of Pelium by storm. He carried off the slaves from there with the rest of the booty, dismissed the freemen without ransom, and restored the town to them, leaving a strong garrison; for the town was favourably situated as a base for conducting raids into Macedonia. So the consul, having traversed the enemy's country, led his troops back to the peaceful

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loca pacata ad Apolloniam, unde orsus bellum erat, copias reduxit.

7 Philippum averterant Aetoli et Athamanes et Dardani et tot bella repente alia ex aliis locis exorta.
8 Adversus Dardanos, iam recipientes ex Macedonia sese, Athenagoran cum expeditis peditibus ac maiore parte equitatus misit, iussum instare ab tergo abeuntibus et carpendo postremum agmen segniores
9 eos ad movendos domo exercitus efficere. Aetolos Damocritus praetor, qui morae ad decernendum bellum ad Naupactum auctor fuerat, idem proximo concilio ad arma conciverat post famam equestris
10 ad Ottolobum pugnae Dardanorumque et Pleurati cum Illyriis transitum in Macedoniam, ad hoc classis Romanae adventum Oreum et super circumfusas tot Macedoniae gentes maritimam quoque instantem obsidionem.

XLI. Hae causae Damocritum Aetolosque restituerant Romanis; et Amynandro, rege Athamanum,
2 adiuncto profecti Cercinium obsedere. Clauserant portas, incertum vi an voluntate, quia regium habe-
3 bant praesidium. Ceterum intra paucos dies captum est Cercinium atque incensum; qui superfuerunt a magna clade, liberi servique, inter ceteram praedam
4 abducti. Is timor omnes qui circumcolunt Boeben paludem relictis urbibus montes coegit petere.
5 Aetoli inopia praedae inde aversi in Perrhaebiam ire pergunt. Cyretias ibi vi capiunt foedeque diri-

region around Apollonia, whence he had begun the war. B.C. 200

Philip was distracted by the Aetolians, the Athamanes and the Dardani and so many wars breaking out in one place after another. Against the Dardani, who were by this time withdrawing from Macedonia, he sent Athenagoras with the light infantry and the greater part of the cavalry, with orders to press on them from behind as they withdrew, and by nibbling at their rearguard to make them less inclined to move their army from home. Damocritus, the same president who had caused the delay in declaring war at Naupactus, had, at the next council, stirred up the Aetolians to war after they had heard of the cavalry battle at Ottolobum and the invasion of Macedonia by the Dardani and Pleuratus with the Illyrians, and, in addition, of the arrival of the Roman fleet at Oreus and the naval blockade which threatened so many Macedonian cities on the coast.

XLI. These causes had reunited Damocritus and the Aetolians with the Romans; and joining Amynander, the king of the Athamanes, they set out and besieged Cercinium. The inhabitants closed its gates, whether willingly or under compulsion, since they had a royal garrison. But within a few days Cercinium was captured and burned; both the slave and free inhabitants who survived from the great disaster were carried off with the rest of the booty. Fear of the same fate drove all the dwellers around the marsh of Boëbe to leave their homes and flee to the mountains. The Aetolians then turned away and began to march toward Perrhaebia, by reason of the shortage of plunder. They captured and ruthlessly destroyed Cyretiae; they received in

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piunt; qui Maloeam incolunt voluntate in dedi-
6 tionem societatemque accepti. Ex Perrhaebia Gomphos petendi Amynander auctor erat; et imminet Athamania huic urbi, videbaturque ex-
7 pugnari sine magno certamine posse. Aetoli campos Thessaliae opimos ad praedam petiere, sequente quamquam non probante Amynandro, nec effusas populationes Aetolorum nec castra, quo fors tulisset loco, sine ullo discrimine aut cura muniendi posita.
8 Itaque ne temeritas eorum neglegentiaque sibi ac suis etiam cladis alicuius causa esset, cum campestribus locis subicientes eos castra Pharcadoni urbi
9 videret, ipse paulo plus mille passuum inde tumulum
10 suis, quamvis levi munimento tutum, cepit. Cum Aetoli, nisi quod populabantur, vix meminisse viderentur se in agro hostium esse, alii palati semermes vagarentur, alii in castris sine stationibus per somnum vinumque dies noctibus aequarent, Philippus inopi-
11 nantibus advenit. Quem cum adesse refugientes ex agris quidam pavidi nuntiassent, trepidare Damocritus ceterique duces—et erat forte meridianum tempus, quo plerique graves cibo sopiti iacebant—
12 excitare alii alios, iubere arma capere, alios dimittere ad revocandos qui palati per agros praedabantur; tantaque trepidatio fuit ut sine gladiis quidam equi-
13 tum exirent, loricas plerique non induerent. Ita raptim educti, cum universi[1] sescentorum aegre simul equites peditesque numerum explessent,

[1] cum universi *Gelenius*: oum *B*.

voluntary surrender and alliance the people of B.C. 200
Maloea. After Perrhaebia, Amynander made the proposal that they march against Gomphi; Athamania lies close to this town, and it seemed possible to capture it without a great struggle. The Aetolians sought the fields of Thessaly, rich booty for the pillager, with Amynander following, though he did not approve either the haphazard raids of the Aetolians or their habit of pitching camp wherever chance suggested, without any deliberate choice of position or any care as to defence. Therefore, lest their rashness and carelessness cause any disaster to himself and his men, when he saw them encamping in the plains, exposed to attack from the town of Pharcado, he occupied a hill a little more than a mile away, that was safe even though weakly fortified. When the Aetolians, except that they were plundering, seemed scarcely to remember that they were in hostile territory, some wandering about half-armed, some lying around the unguarded camp, spending days and nights alike in sleeping and drinking, Philip fell upon them unawares. When some frightened fugitives from the fields had brought the news that he was approaching, Damocritus and the other commanders were terrified—for it was about the hour of noon, when most of them lay asleep and heavy with food—men were rousing one another, ordering them to arm, sending out messengers to recall the pillagers who were straggling through the fields, and so great was the panic that some of the cavalry went out without swords and most of them without putting on their breastplates. Led out in such haste, when they had been able with difficulty to collect six hundred out of the whole number, infantry and

A.U.C. 584

incidunt in regium equitatum numero, armis animisque praestantem. Itaque primo impetu fusi vix temptato certamine turpi fuga repetunt castra; caesi captique quos equites ab agmine fugientium interclusere.

XLII. Philippus iam suis vallo appropinquantibus receptui cani iussit; fatigatos enim equos virosque non tam proelio quam itineris simul longitudine, simul praepropera celeritate habebat. Itaque turmatim equites, in vicem manipulos levis armaturae aquatum ire et prandere iubet, alios in statione armatos retinet, opperiens agmen peditum tardius ductum propter gravitatem armorum. Quod ubi advenit, et ipsis imperatum ut statutis signis armisque ante se positis raptim cibum caperent binis ternisve summum ex manipulis aquandi causa missis; interim eques cum levi armatura paratus instructusque stetit, si quid hostis moveret. Aetoli—iam enim et quae per agros sparsa multitudo fuerat receperat [1] se in castra—ut defensuri munimenta circa portas vallumque armatos disponunt, dum quietos hostes ipsi feroces ex tuto spectabant. Postquam mota signa Macedonum sunt et succedere ad vallum parati atque instructi coepere, repente omnes relictis stationibus per aversam partem castrorum ad tumulum ad castra Athamanum perfugiunt. Multi in hac quoque tam trepida fuga capti caesique sunt Aetolorum. Philippus, si satis diei superesset, non dubius quin Athamanes quoque exui castris

[1] receperat σ: receperant *B*.

cavalry, they encountered the king's cavalry, B.C. 200
superior in numbers, in equipment and in courage. And so at the first shock, barely essaying a battle, they made for the camp in disgraceful rout; those who were cut off by the cavalry were killed and captured.

XLII. Philip ordered the recall sounded as his men approached the rampart; for men and horses were wearied less by the battle than by the length and especially the excessive speed of the march. So he ordered the cavalry by troops, the companies of light infantry in succession, to go to get water and to take their meal, and kept some on guard under arms, as he awaited the column of infantry which moved more slowly on account of the weight of their equipment. When they arrived, they too were ordered to set up their standards, stack their arms, and take a hasty meal, only two or three from each company at a time being sent for water; meanwhile the cavalry and light infantry stood ready in formation in case the enemy should make any move. The Aetolians—for now even those who had been scattered through the country had returned to camp—stationed armed guards around the gates and wall to defend the fortification, while, themselves in high spirits, they watched from safety their inactive foes. After the Macedonian standards were moved and the soldiers arrayed and formed for battle began to approach the wall, all suddenly left their posts and fled through the rear part of the camp to the hill and the camp of the Athamanes. Many of the Aetolians were killed or captured in their headlong flight. If enough of the day had remained, Philip could without doubt have driven the Athamanes also from their

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potuissent, die per proelium, deinde per direptionem castrorum absumpto sub tumulo in proxima planitie consedit, prima luce insequentis diei hostem adgres-
8 surus. Sed Aetoli eodem pavore quo sua castra reliquerant, nocte proxima dispersi fugerunt. Maximo usui fuit Amynander, quo duce Athamanes itinerum periti summis montibus per calles ignotas sequentibus
9 eos hostibus in Aetoliam perduxerunt. Non ita multos in dispersa fuga error intulit in Macedonum equites, quos prima luce Philippus, ut desertum tumulum videt, ad carpendum hostium agmen misit.

XLIII. Per eos dies et Athenagoras regius praefectus Dardanos recipientes se in fines adeptus
2 postremum agmen turbavit; dein, postquam Dardani conversis signis direxere aciem, aequa pugna iusto proelio erat. Ubi rursus procedere Dardani coepissent, equite et levi armatura regii nullum talis [1] auxilii genus habentes Dardanos oneratosque immobilibus armis vexabant; et loca ipsa adiuvabant.
3 Occisi perpauci sunt, plures vulnerati, captus nemo, quia non excedunt temere ordinibus suis, sed confertim et pugnant et cedunt.
4 Ita damna Romano accepta bello duabus per opportunas expeditiones coercitis gentibus restituerat Philippus incepto forti, non prospero solum eventu. Minuit deinde ei forte oblata res hostium

[1] talis σ: *om. B.*

[1] I have supplied the object of *adiuvabant* in accordance with the apparent sense of the passage.

camp, but having used up the day in fighting and then in plundering the camp, he bivouacked in a nearby plain beneath the hill, intending to attack the enemy at the following dawn. But the Aetolians, still in the grip of the panic in which they had left their own camp, during the ensuing night fled in every direction. Amynander was of the greatest service, under whose leadership the Athamanes who knew the roads led them back to Aetolia over the mountains by paths unknown to the pursuing enemy. Aimless wandering in the disorderly flight threw no large number into the hands of the Macedonian cavalry, whom Philip had sent out to harass the enemy's column when at daybreak he saw the hill deserted. B.C. 200

XLIII. At the same time, moreover, Athenagoras, the king's prefect, overtaking the Dardani as they retired into their own country, threw the rear of the column into confusion; then, after the Dardani had faced about and formed their line, there was a regular battle on equal terms. When the Dardani had begun again to proceed on their march, the king's forces with their cavalry and light infantry harried the Dardani, who had no such auxiliaries, and were burdened with weapons that were hard to handle; the terrain too favoured the Macedonians.[1] A very few were killed, more wounded, none captured, for it is their way not to leave their ranks rashly, but to fight and give ground in close formation.

In this way Philip, by checking two nations with timely attacks, undertaken with boldness not merely successful in the result, had recouped the losses sustained in the Roman war. Then another piece of good fortune diminished the number of his enemies

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5 Aetolorum numerum. Scopas, princeps gentis, ab Alexandrea magno cum pondere auri ab rege Ptolomaeo missus, sex milia peditum et quingentos 6 equites mercede conductos Aegyptum vexit; nec ex iuventute Aetolorum quemquam reliquisset, ni Damocritus nunc belli quod instaret, nunc futurae 7 solitudinis admonens, incertum cura gentis an ut adversaretur Scopae, parum donis cultus, partem iuniorum castigando domi continuisset.

XLIV. Haec ea aestate ab Romanis Philippoque gesta terra;[1] classis a Corcyra eiusdem principio aestatis cum L. Apustio legato profecta Maleo superato circa Scyllaeum agri Hermionici Attalo regi 2 coniuncta est. Tum vero Atheniensium civitas, cui odio in Philippum per metum iam diu moderata erat, 3 id omne in auxilii praesentis spem effudit. Nec umquam ibi desunt linguae promptae ad plebem concitandam; quod genus cum in omnibus liberis civitatibus, tum praecipue Athenis, ubi oratio 4 plurimum pollet, favore multitudinis alitur. Rogationem extemplo tulerunt plebesque scivit, ut Philippi statuae et[2] imagines omnes nominaque earum, item maiorum eius virile ac muliebre secus omnium tollerentur delerenturque diesque festi, sacra, sacerdotes, quae ipsius maiorumque honoris 5 causa instituta essent, omnia profanarentur; loca quoque, in quibus positum aliquid inscriptumve honoris eius causa fuisset, detestabilia esse, neque

[1] terra *Madvig*: erant *B*.
[2] statuae et *Madvig*: statuae *B*.

[1] Scopas had been strategus of the Aetolians in 204 B.C., but after a political reverse had gone to Egypt and entered the service of Ptolemy.

in Aetolia. Scopas,[1] a prominent man among the tribe, sent by King Ptolemy from Alexandria with a great quantity of gold, had transported to Egypt six thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry whom he had hired; nor would he have left a single fighting-man of the Aetolians, if Damocritus, now warning them of the present war, now of the future depopulation of the state, had not by his reproofs kept at home a part of the younger men, though it is uncertain whether his action was due to concern for the state or a desire to thwart Scopas, who had not been generous with gifts to him. B.C. 200

XLIV. Such were the actions of the Romans and Philip on land during that summer; in the beginning of the same summer, the fleet, under the lieutenant Lucius Apustius, leaving Corcyra and rounding Malea joined King Attalus in the neighbourhood of Scyllaeum in the territory of Hermione. Then indeed the Athenian people, whose hatred for Philip had long been restrained by fear, in view of the prospect of aid at hand, gave full vent to their anger. Tongues ready to incite the mob are never lacking in that city; and this conduct is encouraged by popular applause, not only in free states generally, but especially in Athens, where oratory has greatest influence. They immediately proposed and the people passed a motion that all statues of Philip, all representations of him, and their inscriptions, and also those of his ancestors, male and female, should be removed and done away with, that all the feast-days, sacred observances and priesthoods which had been established in honour of him or his ancestors should be abolished; even the places in which any memorials or inscriptions in his honour had been set up should

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in iis quicquam postea poni dedicarique placere eorum quae in loco puro poni dedicarique fas esset;
6 sacerdotes publicos, quotienscumque pro populo Atheniensi sociisque, exercitibus et classibus eorum precarentur, totiens detestari atque exsecrari Philippum, liberos eius regnumque, terrestres navalesque
7 copias, Macedonum genus omne nomenque. Additum decreto, si quis quid postea quod ad notam ignominiamque Philippi pertineret ferret, id omne populum
8 Atheniensem iussurum; si quis contra ignominiam prove honore eius dixisset fecissetve, qui occidisset eum iure caesurum. Postremo inclusum, ut omnia quae adversus Pisistratidas decreta quondam erant
9 eadem in Philippo servarentur. Athenienses quidem litteris verbisque, quibus solis valent, bellum adversus Philippum gerebant.

XLV. Attalus Romanique, cum Piraeum primo ab
2 Hermione petissent, paucos ibi morati dies oneratique aeque immodicis ad honores sociorum atque in iram adversus hostem fuerant, Atheniensium decretis,
3 navigant a Piraeo Andrum. Et cum in portu quem Gaurion vocant constitissent, missis qui temptarent oppidanorum animos, si voluntate tradere urbem
4 quam vim experiri mallent, postquam praesidio regio arcem teneri nec se potestatis suae esse respondebant, expositis copiis apparatuque omni urbium oppugnandarum diversis partibus rex et legatus

[1] Hippias and Hipparchus, tyrants of Athens in the sixth century B.C., and the traditional objects of her hatred.

be accursed, and that it should not be lawful to place B.C. 200
or dedicate in them thereafter anything that could lawfully be placed or dedicated in any unpolluted spot; the public priests, as often as they offered prayers on behalf of the people of Athens and their allies, their armies and fleets, should so often curse and execrate Philip, his children and his kingdom, his military and naval forces, and the whole race and name of the Macedonians. It was added to the decree that if anyone thereafter made any proposal that had to do with bringing disgrace or ignominy on Philip, the Athenian people would adopt it *in toto*; that if anyone said or did anything to lessen his ignominy or increase his honour, any person who slew such an one would be deemed to have slain him lawfully. Finally, it was added that all the decrees which had once been passed against the Pisistratidae [1] should be kept in force in the case of Philip. This was the Athenians' war against Philip, conducted by means of letters and words, which constitute their sole strength.

XLV. Attalus and the Romans, putting in first at Piraeus after leaving Hermione, and tarrying there a few days and being loaded down with decrees as effusive in the praise of the allies as those others in condemnation of the enemy, sailed from Piraeus to Andros. And when they had anchored in the harbour which they call Gaurium, sending ashore agents to test the disposition of the people, whether they preferred to surrender the city voluntarily rather than endure an attack, after the citizens replied that the citadel was held by a garrison of the king and that they were powerless, Attalus and the Roman lieutenant landed troops and all the equip-

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5 Romanus ad urbem subeunt. Plus aliquanto Graecos Romana arma signaque non ante visa animique militum tam prompte succedentium muros terruere; 6 itaque fuga extemplo in arcem facta est, urbe hostes potiti. Et in arce cum biduum loci se magis quam armorum fiducia tenuissent, tertio die pacti ipsi praesidiumque, ut cum singulis vestimentis Delium Boeotiae transveherentur, urbem arcemque tradi- 7 derunt. Ea ab Romanis regi Attalo concessa; praedam ornamentaque urbis ipsi avexerunt. Attalus, ne desertam haberet insulam, et Macedonum fere omnibus et quibusdam Andriorum ut manerent 8 persuasit. Postea et ab Delio, qui ex pacto travecti eo fuerant, promissis regis, cum desiderium quoque patriae facilius ad credendum inclinaret animos, revocati.

9 Ab Andro Cythnum traiecerunt, ibi dies aliquot oppugnanda urbe nequiquam absumpti et, quia vix 10 operae pretium erat, abscessere. Ad Prasias—continentis Atticae is locus est—Issaeorum viginti lembi classi Romanorum adiuncti sunt. Ii missi ad populandos Carystiorum agros; cetera classis Geraestum, nobilem Euboeae portum, dum ab 11 Carysto Issaei redirent, tenuit. Inde omnes velis in altum datis mari medio praeter Scyrum insulam Icum pervenere. Ibi paucos dies saeviente Borea 12 retenti, ubi prima tranquillitas data est, Sciathum traiecere, vastatam urbem direptamque nuper a

[1] Issa was a small island off the Dalmatian coast.

ment for assaulting cities and approached the city B.C. 200
from different directions. The Roman arms and standards, which they had never seen before, and the spirit of the soldiers, so ready to advance to storm the walls, caused no small terror among the Greeks; so they straightway took refuge in the citadel and the enemy possessed the town. And after holding the citadel for two days, trusting to the strength of the place rather than to their arms, on the third day they bargained that they and the garrison be transferred to Delium in Boeotia with one garment each, and surrendered the city and the citadel. The Romans gave these to King Attalus; the booty and the ornaments of the city they took for themselves. Attalus, rather than possess a deserted island, persuaded both nearly all of the Macedonians and some of the Andrians to remain. Later on those who had already crossed under the agreement were brought back from Delium by the king's promises, since longing too for their native land increased their inclination to trust him.

From Andros they proceeded to Cythnos. After spending some days in vain in attacking the city, because it seemed scarcely worth the effort, they departed. At Prasiae—this is a place on the Attic mainland—twenty light-draft vessels of the Issaei [1] joined the Roman fleet. These were sent to ravage the territory of the Carystii, while the rest put into Geraestus, a famous port of Euboea, to wait until the Issaei should return from Carystus. Then all of them, setting sail for the open sea, went past the island of Scyros to Icos. Being delayed there a few days by strong north winds, as soon as calm weather returned, they sailed past Sciathus, a city recently looted and

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13 Philippo. Per agros palati milites frumentum et si qua alia usui esse ad vescendum poterant ad naves rettulere; praedae nec erat quicquam, nec meruerant
14 Graeci cur diriperentur. Inde Cassandream petentes primo ad Mendaeum, maritimum civitatis eius vicum, tenuere. Inde cum superato promuntorio ad ipsa moenia urbis circumagere classem vellent, saeva coorta tempestate prope obruti fluctibus, dispersi, magna ex parte amissis armamentis in terram
15 effugerunt. Omen quoque ea maritima tempestas ad rem terra gerendam fuit. Nam conlectis in unum navibus expositisque copiis adgressi urbem, cum multis vulneribus repulsi—et erat validum ibi regium praesidium—irrito incepto regressi ad Canastraeum Pallenes traiecere. Inde superato Toronae promun-
16 torio navigantes Acanthum petiere. Ibi primo ager vastatus, deinde ipsa vi capta ac direpta. Nec ultra progressi—iam enim et graves praeda naves habebant—retro unde venerant Sciathum et ab Sciatho Euboeam repetunt.

XLVI. Ibi relicta classe decem navibus expeditis sinum Maliacum intravere ad colloquium cum Aetolis
2 de ratione gerendi belli. Pyrrhias Aetolus princeps legationis eius fuit, quae ad communicanda consilia Heracleam cum rege et cum Romano legato venit.
3 Petitum ex foedere ab Attalo est ut mille milites praestaret; tantum enim numerum bellum gerenti-
4 bus adversus Philippum debebat. Id negatum Aetolis, quod illi quoque gravati prius essent ad

destroyed by Philip. The soldiers, wandering around B.C. 200
the country, brought to the ships the grain and whatever food-stuffs they found; of booty there was none, nor had the Greeks done anything to deserve being plundered. Thence, on their way to Cassandrea, they held their course first for Mendaeus, the seaport of that city. Then, when they had rounded the promontory and were trying to bring the fleet up close to the city walls, a violent storm arising and the ships having been almost buried under the waves or scattered, they escaped to the shore with the loss of a great part of their rigging. This storm at sea was an omen of their fortunes on land. For when, after re-assembling the ships and landing the troops, they attacked the city, they were repulsed with considerable loss—there was a strong royal garrison there—and retiring after the failure of their enterprise they steered for Canastraeum in Pallene. Thence sailing around the cape of Torona they made for Acanthus. There they first plundered the country and then captured and sacked the town. They went no farther—for by now the ships were laden with booty—but returned to Sciathos and thence to Euboea by the way they had come.

XLVI. There they left the fleet and with ten light vessels entered the Malian gulf for a conference with the Aetolians regarding the plan of campaign. Pyrrhias the Aetolian was the head of the embassy which came to Heraclea to discuss plans with the king and the Roman lieutenant. Attalus was asked to furnish one thousand soldiers in accordance with the treaty; for he was bound to supply that number for the armies fighting against Philip. This was refused the Aetolians because they had previously

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populandam Macedoniam exire, quo tempore, Philippo circa Pergamum urente sacra profanaque, abstrahere eum inde respectu rerum suarum potuis-
5 sent. Ita Aetoli cum spe magis, Romanis omnia pollicentibus, quam cum auxilio dimissi; Apustius cum Attalo ad classem redit.

6 Inde agitari de Oreo oppugnando coeptum. Valida ea civitas et moenibus et, quia ante fuerat temptata, firmo erat praesidio. Coniunxerant se iis post expugnationem Andri cum praefecto Agesim-
7 broto viginti Rhodiae naves, tectae omnes. Eam classem in stationem ad Zelasium miserunt—Phthiotidis super Demetriadem promuntorium est peropportune obiectum—ut, si quid inde moverent
8 Macedonum naves, in praesidio essent. Heraclides, praefectus regius, classem ibi tenebat, magis per occasionem, si quam neglegentia hostium dedisset,
9 quam aperta vi quicquam ausurus. Oreum diversi Romani et rex Attalus oppugnabant, Romani a maritima arce, regii adversus vallem inter duas iacentem arces, qua et muro intersaepta urbs est.
10 Et ut loca diversa, sic dispari modo etiam oppugnabant: Romanus testudinibus et vineis et ariete admovendo muris, regii ballistis catapultisque et alio omni genere tormentorum tela ingerentes et pondere ingenti saxa; faciebant[1] et cuniculos et quidquid aliud priore oppugnatione expertum pro-
11 fuerat. Ceterum non plures tantum Macedones quam ante tuebantur urbem arcesque, sed etiam

[1] faciebant *Kreyssig*: iaciebant *B*.

objected to marching out to devastate Macedonia, B.C. 200
at the time when they might have compelled Philip, who was burning everything sacred and profane around Pergamum, to withdraw through concern for his own property. So the Aetolians were dismissed with hopes rather than actual assistance, the Romans making lavish promises; Apustius with Attalus returned to the fleet.

The question of an attack on Oreus was next discussed. The city was defended both by walls and, because it had been attacked before, by a strong garrison. After the capture of Andros twenty Rhodian ships, all decked, under command of Agesimbrotus, had joined the fleet. They were left on guard off Zelasium—this promontory in Phthiotis occupied a very strategic position beyond Demetrias —to watch if any movement from there was made by the Macedonian fleet. Heraclides, the king's prefect, was in command of the fleet there, intending to take advantage of any opportunity which was offered by the enemy's negligence rather than to undertake anything by open force. The Romans and King Attalus attacked Oreus from opposite sides, the Romans by way of the maritime citadel, the king's troops up the valley lying between the two citadels, where the city was guarded by a wall as well. And as they occupied different places, so they fought in different ways: the Romans by moving against the walls the mantlets, and sheds and battering-ram, the king's troops hurling missiles and huge stones with balistae, catapults, and every sort of artillery; they dug tunnels too, and whatever else had proved useful in the former siege. But the Macedonians defending the city and citadels were not only more

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praesentioribus animis, et castigationis[1] regis in admissa culpa et simul minarum, simul promissorum in futurum memores. Itaque cum praeter spem tempus ibi traheretur, plusque in obsidione et in operibus quam in oppugnatione celeri spei esset, 12 interim et aliud agi posse ratus legatus, relictis quod satis videbatur ad opera perficienda, traicit in proxima continentis Larisamque—non illam in Thessalia nobilem urbem, sed alteram quam Cremasten 13 vocant—subito adventu praeter arcem cepit. Attalus quoque Pteleon nihil minus quam tale quicquam in alterius oppugnatione urbis timentibus oppressit. 14 Et iam cum opera in effectu erant circa Oreum, tum praesidium quod intus erat labore adsiduo, vigiliis diurnis pariter nocturnisque et vulneribus confectum. 15 Muri quoque pars ariete incusso subruta multis iam locis prociderat; perque apertum ruina iter nocte Romani in arcem quae super portum est perru- 16 perunt.[2] Attalus luce prima signo ex arce dato ab Romanis ipse urbem invasit stratis magna ex parte muris; praesidium oppidanique in arcem alteram perfugere, unde biduo post deditio facta. Urbs regi, captiva corpora Romanis cessere.

XLVII. Iam autumnale aequinoctium instabat; et est sinus Euboicus, quem Coela vocant, suspectus nautis. Itaque ante hiemales motus evadere inde cupientes Piraeum, unde profecti ad bellum erant,

[1] castigationis *J. F. Gronovius*: castigationibus *B.*

[2] *verba* in arcem, *inter* est *et* perruperunt *posita in B, transp. Büttner.*

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[1] Oreus had been taken by Attalus and the Romans in 207 B.C. (XXVIII. vi. 1–6) through the treachery of the Macedonian commander.

numerous than before, but they fought with greater B.C. 200
courage, mindful at once of the king's rebuke for their former error[1] and also of his threats and promises for the future. Accordingly, when more time than was expected was being spent there, and a blockade and siege-works held out more hope than a sudden assault, the lieutenant, thinking that something else should be done in the meantime, leaving what seemed a sufficient force to complete the works, crossed to the nearest part of the mainland, to Larisa —this is not the famous Larisa in Thessaly, but another, which they call Cremaste—and by a surprise attack captured everything but the citadel. Attalus too took Pteleum when the citizens were fearing nothing of the sort, while the siege of the other city was going on. And now not only were the siege-works completed around Oreus, but the garrison which was inside was exhausted by continuous toil, by watchfulness day and night alike, and by wounds. Parts of the wall, moreover, fell in several places under the blows of the battering-ram; and the Romans, entering through the breaches by night penetrated to the citadel which is above the harbour. Attalus at daybreak, when the signal was given by the Romans from the citadel, also assailed the city, large parts of the wall having collapsed; the garrison and the townspeople fled to the other citadel, where they surrendered two days later. The city was given to the king, the prisoners to the Romans.

XLVII. The autumnal equinox was now at hand, and the Euboean gulf, which they call Coela, is dangerous to mariners. So, wanting to get away from there before the winter storms, they returned to Piraeus, whence they had set out on the campaign.

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2 repetunt. Apustius triginta navibus ibi relictis super Maleum navigat Corcyram. Regem statum initiorum Cereris, ut sacris interesset, tenuit; secundum initia et ipse in Asiam se recepit Agesimbroto et Rhodiis
3 domum remissis. Haec ea aestate terra marique adversus Philippum sociosque eius ab consule et legato Romanis adiuvantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis gesta.

4 Consul alter C. Aurelius ad confectum bellum cum in provinciam venisset, haud clam tulit iram adversus
5 praetorem, quod absente se rem gessisset. Misso eo igitur in Etruriam ipse in agrum hostium legiones induxit populandoque cum praeda maiore quam
6 gloria bellum gessit. L. Furius, simul quod in Etruria nihil erat rei quod gereret, simul Gallico triumpho imminens, quem absente consule irato atque invidente facilius impetrari posse ratus,
7 Romam inopinato cum venisset, senatum in aede Bellonae habuit expositisque rebus gestis, ut triumphanti sibi in urbem invehi liceret petit.

XLVIII. Apud magnam partem senatus et magni-
2 tudine rerum gestarum valebat et gratia. Maiores

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[1] See xiv. 7 above and the note.

[2] The narrative continues from xxii. 3 above.

[3] We do not know what effect the senatorial decree reported in xi. 1 above had on the *imperium* of Furius. Normally, he would have become a subordinate of Aurelius, and as such he would have no authority to fight without explicit orders from the consul and would be ineligible for a triumph. This is Aurelius' position. Furius seems to argue that his own *imperium* authorized him to act independently of the consul, and both of these claims are maintained in the debate that follows. The complicated legal question of the military status of Furius with respect to Aurelius is probably insoluble. The whole story of Furius' victory (xxi. 1–xxii. 3 above) and his

Apustius left thirty ships there and sailed past Malea to Corcyra. The king waited for the day of the mysteries of Ceres,[1] that he might take part in the ceremonies; after the celebration he too departed for Asia, having previously sent Agesimbrotus and the Rhodians home. This is the record of the actions of this summer on land and sea performed against Philip and his allies by the Roman consul and lieutenant with the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians. B.C. 200

The other consul, Gaius Aurelius,[2] having arrived in his province and found the campaign finished, made no secret of his anger at the praetor for having fought in his absence.[3] Sending him accordingly to Etruria, he himself led the legions into the enemy's country, and, laying it waste, carried on the war with more booty than glory. Lucius Furius, partly because there was nothing for him to do in Etruria, partly because he was ambitious for a triumph over the Gauls, which he thought he could more easily obtain in the absence of the angry and jealous consul, when he had unexpectedly appeared in Rome, summoned the senate in the temple of Bellona,[4] gave an account of his achievements and asked that he be allowed to enter the city in triumph.

XLVIII. On many of the senators he made a favourable impression, because of the greatness of his achievements and through his personal influence.

triumph (xlvii. 6–xlix. 3 below) is rejected by some scholars as an anticipation of the events related in xxxii. 30, but their reasons seem inadequate.

[4] Magistrates and others possessing the *imperium* were not permitted to cross the *pomerium*, the religious boundary of Rome. The temple of Bellona was outside this limit, and the senate often met there under circumstances like these.

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natu negabant triumphum, et quod alieno exercitu rem gessisset et quod provinciam reliquisset cupiditate rapiendi per occasionem triumphi; id vero eum 3 nullo exemplo fecisse; consulares praecipue expectan- 4 dum fuisse consulem censebant; potuisse enim castris prope urbem positis tutanda colonia ita ut acie non decerneret, in adventum eius rem extrahere;[1] quod praetor non fecisset, senatui faciendum esse 5 ut consulem expectaret; ubi coram disceptantes consulem et praetorem audissent, verius de causa 6 existimaturos esse. Magna pars senatus nihil praeter res gestas, et an in magistratu suisque [2] auspiciis 7 gessisset, censebant spectare senatum debere. Ex duabus coloniis, quae velut claustra ad cohibendos Gallicos tumultus oppositae fuissent, cum una direpta et incensa esset, traiecturum id incendium velut ex continentibus tectis in alteram tam propinquam coloniam esset, quid tandem praetori 8 faciendum fuisse? Nam si sine consule geri nihil oportuerit, aut senatum peccasse, qui exercitum praetori dederit—potuisse enim, sicut non praetoris sed consulis exercitu rem geri voluerit, ita finire senatus consulto [3] ne per praetorem sed per consulem 9 gereretur—aut consulem, qui non, cum exercitum ex Etruria transire in Galliam iussisset, ipse Arimini

[1] extrahere *Hertz*: extraheret *B.*
[2] magistratu suisque *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: magistratus iusquis *B.*
[3] consulto *Duker*: consultum *B.*

[1] Dio (frg. 57. 81) adds that an explanation of his actions was demanded.

The older members were for refusing the triumph, B.C. 200
partly because he had fought with an army legally under another's command, partly because he had left his province as a result of his ardent desire to petition for a triumph when the opportunity offered itself; but this conduct was unprecedented;[1] the senators of consular rank especially urged that he should have waited for the consul; for he might, while defending the colony by locating his camp near the city, without committing himself to a decisive engagement, have delayed matters until the consul's arrival; the senate's proper conduct would be to wait for the consul, as the praetor had not done; when they had heard consul and praetor debating face to face, they would, they said, judge more fairly concerning the issue. A great part of the senate thought that the senators should consider only his record, and whether he had fought during his term of office and under his own auspices. When one of the two colonies which had been established as, so to speak, barriers to restrain Gallic uprisings had been sacked and burned, and the flames were about to leap over to the other, so close at hand, as from one building to another in a continuous row, what, pray, was the praetor to do? For if it was improper to take any action without the consul, either the senate was at fault for entrusting an army to the praetor—for it would have been possible to order by senatorial decree that nothing should be done by the praetor, but only by the consul, if it had been desired that the consul's army and not the praetor's should do the fighting—or else the consul was at fault, who had not joined the army at Ariminum, when he had ordered it to move from Etruria to Gaul,

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occurrerit ut bello interesset, quod sine eo geri fas
10 non esset. Non expectare belli tempora moras et
dilationes imperatorum, et pugnandum esse interdum
11 non quia velis sed quia hostis cogat. Pugnam
ipsam eventumque pugnae spectari debere. Fusos
caesosque hostis, castra capta ac direpta, coloniam
liberatam obsidione, alterius coloniae captivos recu-
peratos restitutosque suis, debellatum uno proelio
12 esse. Non homines tantum ea victoria laetatos, sed
diis quoque immortalibus per triduum supplicationes
habitas, quod bene ac feliciter, non quod male ac
temere, res publica a L. Furio praetore gesta esset.
Data fato etiam quodam Furiae genti Gallica bella.

XLIX. Huius generis orationibus ipsius amico-
rumque victa est praesentis gratia praetoris absentis
consulis maiestas, triumphumque frequentes L.
2 Furio decreverunt. Triumphavit de Gallis in magis-
tratu L. Furius praetor et in aerarium tulit trecenta
viginti milia aeris, argenti centum [1] milia quingentos.
3 Neque captivi ulli ante currum ducti neque spolia
praelata nec milites secuti. Omnia praeter victoriam
penes consulem esse apparebat.
4 Ludi deinde a P. Cornelio Scipione, quos consul in
5 Africa voverat, magno apparatu facti. Et de agris
militum eius decretum ut, quot quisque eorum annos

[1] aeris argenti centum σ : *om.* *B.*

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[1] The dictator Camillus and his son, members of the *gens Furia*, had won fame in fighting the Gauls: cf. V. xlix. 6; VII. xxv. 11; Tacitus, *Ann.* II. lii. 8.

[2] Livy does not specify the denomination of these coins, which were probably *denarii*.

[3] The distribution of land mentioned in iv. 1–2 above probably included only veterans of the Italian armies. Provision is now made for those who had fought in Spain and Africa.

to participate in a war which could not be legally B.C. 200
conducted without him. The emergencies of war, they argued, do not wait for the delays and postponements of commanders, and sometimes you must fight, not because you wish it, but because the enemy compels it. The battle itself and its results should be considered. The enemy had been routed and slaughtered, their camp captured and plundered, the siege of the colony raised, the prisoners from the other colony recovered and restored to their friends, the war finished in a single battle. Not only had men rejoiced at that victory, but also a three-day period of thanksgiving had been decreed to the immortal gods, because Lucius Furius the praetor had conducted affairs, not poorly and rashly, but well and successfully. Finally, Gallic wars were by the will of fate, so to speak, entrusted to the Furii.[1]

XLIX. Through speeches of this kind, delivered by the praetor and his friends, the prestige of the consul, who was absent, was outweighed by the personal influence of the praetor, who was present, and a full session voted a triumph to Lucius Furius. Lucius Furius the praetor triumphed over the Gauls while still in office, and deposited in the treasury three hundred and twenty thousand *asses* of bronze, and one hundred thousand five hundred pieces[2] of silver. There were no captives led before his chariot, no spoils displayed, no soldiers in his train. Everything but the victory was in possession of the consul.

Next the games which had been vowed by Publius Cornelius Scipio during his consulship in Africa were celebrated with great splendour. It was also decreed, regarding lands for his soldiers,[3] that each

A.U.C. 554 in Hispania aut in Africa militasset, in singulos annos bina iugera agri acciperet; eum agrum
6 decemviri adsignarent. Triumviri item creati ad supplendum Venusinis colonorum numerum, quod bello Hannibalis attenuatae vires eius coloniae erant, C. Terentius Varro, T. Quinctius Flamininus, P. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio. Hi colonos Venusiam adscripserunt.

7 Eodem anno C. Cornelius Cethegus, qui proconsul Hispaniam obtinebat, magnum hostium exercitum in agro Sedetano fudit. Quindecim milia Hispanorum eo proelio dicuntur caesa, signa militaria capta octo et septuaginta.

8 C. Aurelius consul, cum ex provincia Romam comitiorum causa venisset, non id quod animis praeceperant questus est, non expectatum se ab
9 senatu, neque disceptandi cum praetore consuli potestatem factam, sed ita triumphum decresse senatum, ut nullius nisi eius qui triumphaturus esset et non [1] eorum qui bello interfuissent, verba audiret.
10 Maiores ideo instituisse ut legati, tribuni, centuriones, milites denique triumpho adessent, ut testes [2] rerum gestarum eius cui tantus honos haberetur, populus
11 Romanus videret. Ecquem ex eo exercitu qui cum Gallis pugnaverit, si non militem, lixam saltem fuisse quem percunctari posset senatus, quid ver praetor
12 vanive adferret? Comitiis deinde diem edixit,

[1] et non *Weissenborn*: et *B*: haud σ.
[2] testes *Madvig*: uirtus (uirtutes) σ: *om. B.*

[1] Probably the commission that made the previous allotment, but Livy may have omitted a motion creating a new decemvirate.

[2] Aurelius' criticism of the procedure of the senate is surprisingly mild, but Furius had already celebrated his triumph.

should receive two *iugera* of land for each year of their service in Spain or Africa; the decemvirate [1] should make the distribution. Also, a commission of three was created to fill up the number of colonists for the people of Venusia, because the strength of that colony had been diminished in the Hannibalic war. The commissioners chosen were Gaius Terentius Varro, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, Publius Cornelius Scipio, the son of Gnaeus, and they enrolled the colonists for Venusia. B.C. 200

In the same year Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, who as proconsul was governing Spain, defeated a large hostile force in the territory of the Sedetani. According to report, fifteen thousand Spaniards were killed in this battle and seventy-eight standards captured.

Gaius Aurelius the consul, when he returned from the province to Rome to hold the elections, did not make the complaint that they had anticipated, that the senate had not waited for him nor given the consul an opportunity to debate with the praetor, but he did protest that they had decreed the triumph in such a way that they had heard the testimony of no one except the man who was to triumph, and not of those who had been present at the battle. Their ancestors had ordained that the lieutenants, tribunes, centurions, and even the common soldiers should attend a triumph, to the end that the Roman people might see the witnesses to the deeds of the man to whom so signal an honour was given. Was there no one from the army which had fought against the Gauls, no camp-follower at least, if there was no soldier, whom the senate could ask how much truth or untruth there was in the praetor's report? [2] He then announced the date of the elections, at which

A.U.C. 584 quibus creati sunt consules L. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Villius Tappulus. Praetores inde facti L. Quinctius Flamininus, L. Valerius Flaccus, L. Villius Tappulus, Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

L. Annona quoque eo anno pervilis fuit; frumenti vim magnam ex Africa advectam aediles curules M. Claudius Marcellus et Sex. Aelius Paetus 2 binis aeris in modios populo diviserunt. Et ludos Romanos magno apparatu fecerunt; diem unum instaurarunt; signa aenea quinque ex multaticio 3 argento in aerario posuerunt. Plebeii ludi ab aedilibus L. Terentio Massiliota et Cn. Baebio Tamphilo, qui praetor designatus erat, ter toti 4 instaurati. Et ludi funebres eo anno per quadriduum in foro mortis causa M. Valeri[1] Laevini a Publio et Marco filiis eius facti et munus gladiatorium datum 5 ab iis; paria quinque et viginti pugnarunt. M. Aurelius Cotta decemvir sacrorum mortuus; in eius locum M'. Acilius Glabrio suffectus.

6 Comitiis aediles curules creati sunt forte ambo qui statim occipere magistratum non possent. Nam C. Cornelius Cethegus absens creatus erat, cum 7 Hispaniam obtineret provinciam; C. Valerius Flaccus, quem praesentem creaverant, quia flamen Dialis erat, iurare in leges non poterat; magistratum plus quinque diebus, nisi qui iurasset in leges, non licebat 8 gerere. Petente Flacco ut legibus solveretur, sena-

[1] M. Valeri *ed. Moguntina* 1518: Valeri *B.*

[1] In that capacity he was not allowed to take any oath (Gellius, X. xv. 4), but Roman ingenuity finds a solution.

Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Villius Tappulus were chosen consuls. Then Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Lucius Villius Tappulus, and Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus were elected praetors. B.C. 200

L. Also, grain was very cheap this year; a great quantity of grain which was brought from Africa was distributed to the people at two *asses* per *modius* by the curule aediles Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Sextus Aelius Paetus. They also celebrated the Roman Games with great magnificence; they repeated one day's performance; they set up in the treasury five bronze statues out of the money collected as fines. The Plebeian Games were thrice repeated entire by the aediles Lucius Terentius Massiliota and Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, who had been chosen praetor. Funeral games lasting four days were exhibited in the forum in commemoration of the death of Marcus Valerius Laevinus, by his sons Publius and Marcus, and a gladiatorial show was given by them; twenty-five pairs of gladiators fought. Marcus Aurelius Cotta, decemvir in charge of sacrifices, died; in his stead Manius Acilius Glabrio was appointed.

It happened that both the curule aediles chosen at the election were men who could not be inaugurated at once. For Gaius Cornelius Cethegus was elected in his absence, since he was engaged in administering the province of Spain; Gaius Valerius Flaccus, who was present when he was elected, could not take the oath to observe the laws because he was the flamen of Jupiter,[1] and no magistrate was allowed to hold office for more than five days unless he had taken that oath. At the request of Flaccus that he

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tus decrevit ut si aedilis, qui pro se iuraret, arbitratu consulum daret, consules, si iis videretur, cum
9 tribunis plebis agerent uti ad plebem ferrent. Datus qui iuraret pro fratre L. Valerius Flaccus, praetor designatus. Tribuni ad plebem tulerunt plebesque
10 scivit ut perinde esset ac si ipse aedilis iurasset. Et de altero aedile scitum plebi est factum; rogantibus tribunis quos duos in Hispaniam cum imperio ad exercitus ire iuberent, ut C. Cornelius aedilis curulis
11 ad magistratum gerendum veniret, et L. Manlius Acidinus decederet de provincia multos post annos, plebes Cn. Cornelio Lentulo et L. Stertinio pro consulibus imperium esse in Hispania iussit.

be exempted from the operation of the law, the B.C. 200
senate decreed that if the aedile could find someone, approved by the consuls, who would take the oath on his behalf, the consuls, if it seemed wise to them, should request the tribunes to bring a resolution before the assembly. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, the praetor-elect, was proposed to take the oath in his brother's place. The tribunes proposed and the people voted, that it should be as if the aedile himself had sworn. Regarding the other aedile, the assembly passed a decree;[1] when the tribunes put the question what two men they would order to go to the armies in Spain, in order that Gaius Cornelius the curule aedile might come to enter upon his office, and that Lucius Manlius Acidinus might be relieved of his province after many years, the assembly ordered Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus[2] and Lucius Stertinius to exercise authority in Spain with the rank of proconsuls.

[1] A *plebiscitum* (here *scitum plebi*) was strictly a vote carried in the plebeian assembly (contrast *lex*), but the term is used, somewhat loosely, for measures adopted by any of the assemblies. The number of such legislative bodies in Rome is debated.

[2] The name is probably an error for Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio (cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 1).

LIBRI XXXI PERIOCHA

Belli adversus Philippum, Macedoniae regem, quod intermissum erat repetiti causae referuntur hae. Tempore initiorum duo iuvenes Acarnanes qui non erant initiati Athenas venerunt et in sacrarium Cereris cum aliis popularibus suis intraverunt. Ob hoc, tamquam summum nefas commisissent, ab Atheniensibus occisi sunt. Acarnanes mortibus suorum commoti ad vindicandos illos auxilia a Philippo petierunt et Athenas oppugnaverunt, Athenienses auxilium a Romanis petierunt post pacem Carthaginiensibus datam paucis mensibus.[1] Cum[2] Atheniensium qui a Philippo obsidebantur legati auxilium a senatu petissent, et id senatus ferendum censuisset, plebe quod tot bellorum continuus labor gravis erat dissentiente, tenuit auctoritas patrum ut sociae civitati ferri opem populus quoque iuberet. Id bellum P. Sulpicio cos. mandatum est, qui exercitu in Macedoniam ducto equestribus proeliis prospere cum Philippo pugnavit. Aboedeni a Philippo obsessi ad exemplum Saguntinorum suos seque occiderunt. L. Furius praetor Gallos Insubras rebellantes et Hamilcarem Poenum bellum in ea parte Italiae molientem acie vicit. Hamilcar eo bello occisus est et milia hominum XXXV. Praeterea expeditiones Philippi regis et Sulpicii cos. expugnationesque urbium ab utroque factas continet. Sulpicius cos. bellum gerebat adiuvantibus rege Attalo et Rhodiis. Triumphavit de Gallis L. Furius praetor.

[1] paucis mensibus *Rossbach*: quadringentesimo anno ab urbe condita *codd. praeter π, qui* ab urbe condita *omittit.*

[2] Cum *Jahn*: coeptum est autem anno quingentesimo quinto. cum *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXI

THE causes of the renewal of the war against King Philip of Macedonia, for some time interrupted, are reported thus: At the time of the mysteries, two young Acarnanians who had not been initiated came to Athens and entered the temple of Ceres with others of their countrymen. For this reason they were killed by the Athenians as if guilty of a monstrous crime. The Acarnanians, incensed by their death, asked help of Philip to avenge them and laid siege to Athens; the Athenians asked aid of the Romans a few months after the grant of peace to the Carthaginians. When the ambassadors of the Athenians who were being besieged by Philip had asked the senate for assistance and the senate thought that it should be granted, the assembly dissenting because the long-continued toil of so many wars was a burden, the authority of the senate prevailed upon the assembly also to vote that aid be sent to the allied state. This war was entrusted to the consul Publius Sulpicius, who, leading his army to Macedonia, fought successfully with Philip in cavalry battles. The people of Abydus, besieged by Philip, slew themselves and their families after the manner of the Saguntines. Lucius Furius the praetor defeated in pitched battle the Insubrian Gauls who were in revolt and Hamilcar the Carthaginian who was stirring up war in that part of Italy. Hamilcar and thirty-five thousand men were killed in that campaign. It contains in addition the raids of King Philip and Sulpicius the consul and the captures of cities by each. The consul Sulpicius conducted the war with the aid of King Attalus and the Rhodians. Lucius Furius the praetor triumphed over the Gauls.

BOOK XXXII

LIBER XXXII

A.U.C. 555

I. Consules praetoresque, cum idibus Martiis magistratum inissent, provincias sortiti sunt. L. Lentulo Italia, P. Villio Macedonia, praetoribus L. Quinctio urbana, Cn. Baebio Ariminum, L. Valerio Sicilia, L. Villio Sardinia evenit. Lentulus consul novas legiones scribere iussus, Villius a P. Sulpicio exercitum accipere; in supplementum eius quantum militum videretur ut scriberet, ipsi permissum. Praetori Baebio legiones quas C. Aurelius consul habuisset ita decretae, ut retineret eas, donec consul novo cum exercitu succederet; in Galliam ubi is venisset, omnes milites exauctorati domum dimitterentur praeter quinque milia socium; iis obtineri circa Ariminum provinciam satis esse. Prorogata imperia [1] praetoribus prioris anni, C.[2] Sergio, ut militibus, qui in Hispania, Sicilia, Sardinia stipendia per multos annos fecissent, agrum adsignandum curaret, Q. Minucio, ut in Bruttiis idem de coniurationibus quaestiones, quas praetor cum fide curaque exercuisset, perficeret et eos, quos sacrilegii compertos in vinculis Romam misisset, Locros mitteret ad suppli-

[1] prorogata imperia *Gronovius*: prorogato imperio *B.*
[2] C. *Bekker*: 1. *B.*

[1] Sergius had been *praetor urbanus* the year before. The legislation authorizing this distribution is not mentioned by Livy.
[2] For this episode see XXXI. xii. 1–4.

BOOK XXXII

I. The consuls and praetors, having entered upon B.C. 199
their offices on the Ides of March, drew lots for the provinces. The result gave Italy to Lucius Lentulus, Macedonia to Publius Villius, while of the praetors, the city jurisdiction fell to Lucius Quinctius, Ariminum to Gnaeus Baebius, Sicily to Lucius Valerius, and Sardinia to Lucius Villius. The consul Lentulus was directed to enlist new legions, Villius to take over the army from Publius Sulpicius; he was allowed, as addition thereto, to enroll whatever number of soldiers he saw fit. The legions which Gaius Aurelius the consul had had were decreed to the praetor Baebius, with the proviso that he should keep them until the consul with the new army should relieve him; when he arrived in Gaul, all the soldiers who had served their terms were to be sent home except five thousand of the allies; this number seemed sufficient to hold the province around Ariminum. The authority of two praetors of the preceding year was extended, that of Gaius Sergius, to permit him to organize the distribution of land to the soldiers who had served for many years in Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia,[1] and that of Quintus Minucius, to enable him to complete the inquiry[2] regarding conspiracies in Bruttium, which he had carried on as praetor with loyalty and energy, to return to Locri for punishment the men he had sent in chains to Rome after they were

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cium, quaeque sublata ex delubro Proserpinae
9 essent, reponenda cum piaculis curaret. Feriae Latinae pontificum decreto instauratae sunt, quod legati ab Ardea questi in senatu erant sibi in monte Albano Latinis carnem, ut adsolet, datam non esse.
10 Ab Suessa nuntiatum est duas portas quodque inter eas muri erat de caelo tactum; et Formiani legati aedem Iovis, item Ostienses aedem Iovis, et Veliterni Apollinis et Sangus aedes, et in Herculis
11 aede capillum enatum; et ex Bruttiis ab Q. Minucio propraetore scriptum eculeum cum quinque pedibus, pullos gallinaceos tres cum ternis pedibus natos esse.
12 A P. Sulpicio proconsule ex Macedonia litterae adlatae, in quibus inter cetera scriptum erat lauream
13 in puppi navis longae enatam. Priorum prodigiorum causa senatus censuerat, ut consules maioribus hostiis,
14 quibus diis videretur, sacrificarent; ob hoc unum prodigium haruspices in senatum vocati, atque ex responso eorum supplicatio populo in diem unum indicta[1] et ad omnia pulvinaria res divinae factae.

II. Carthaginienses eo anno argentum in stipen-
2 dium impositum primum Romam advexerunt. Id quia probum non esse quaestores renuntiaverant,

[1] indicta *Weissenborn*: dicta *B*.

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[1] This ceremonial had been practised by the member-states of the Latin League and later by them and the Romans jointly (see V. xvii. 2, etc.), and was continued after the subjugation to Rome in 338 B.C. White steers were sacrificed to Jupiter Latiaris, and the flesh was divided among the cities that were members of the league.

[2] Sangus (*Semo Sancus*) was a Sabine deity worshipped in Rome also; cf. VIII. xx. 8.

[3] Livy is pardonably vague about this phenomenon, but it was probably the hair on the statue in the temple that began to grow, rather than hair on the walls of the building.

found guilty of sacrilege, and to arrange to replace B.C. 199
the money stolen from the shrine of Persephone, along with the sin-offerings. The Latin Festival was repeated by order of the pontiffs, because delegates from Ardea had made complaint in the senate that the flesh of the animals sacrificed on the Alban Mount had not been given to them, as was the custom.[1]

News came from Suessa that two gates and the adjacent portion of the wall had been struck by lightning; and ambassadors from Formiae reported that the same thing had happened to the temple of Jupiter, from Ostia, to the temple of Jupiter, from Velitrae, to the shrines of Apollo and Sangus;[2] and it was said that the hair had grown in the temple of Hercules;[3] also, Quintus Minucius the propraetor wrote from Bruttium that a five-legged colt had been born, and three chicks each with three feet. Letters were brought from Macedonia, from the proconsul Publius Sulpicius, in which, among other things, it was said that a laurel had grown out of the stern of a war-ship. By reason of the former prodigies, the senate had decreed that the consuls should sacrifice full-grown victims to whatever gods it seemed wise; on account of this last event,[4] the *haruspices* were called into the senate, and on their advice a period of prayer was proclaimed to the people for one day, and sacrifices were performed at all the banquet tables of the gods.

II. The Carthaginians that year brought to Rome the first instalment of the tribute imposed upon them.[5] Because the quaestors reported that it was not

[4] The books of the pontiffs probably furnished no precedent.
[5] An initial payment was reported at XXX. xliv. 4.

A.U.C. 555 experientibusque pars quarta decocta erat, pecunia Romae mutua sumpta intertrimentum argenti ex-
3 pleverunt. Petentibus deinde, ut, si iam videretur senatui, obsides sibi redderentur, centum redditi obsides; de ceteris, si in fide permanerent, spes
4 facta. Petentibus iisdem, qui non reddebantur obsides, ut ab Norba ubi parum commode essent, alio traducerentur, concessum ut Signiam et Feren-
5 tinum transirent. Gaditanis item petentibus remissum, ne praefectus Gades mitteretur adversus id quod iis in fidem populi Romani venientibus cum L.
6 Marcio Septimo convenisset. Et Narniensium legatis querentibus ad numerum sibi colonos non esse et immixtos quosdam non sui generis pro colonis se gerere, earum rerum causa tresviros creare L.
7 Cornelius consul iussus. Creati P. et Sex. Aelii—Paetis fuit ambobus cognomen—et Cn. Cornelius Lentulus. Quod Narniensibus datum, ut colonorum numerus augeretur, id Cosani petentes non impetraverunt.

III. Rebus, quae Romae agendae erant, perfectis

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[1] The quaestors melted up sample coins and the bullion proved to be 25 per cent. short in weight. This was due to the presence of base metal in the coins.

[2] The term *praefectus* was applied sometimes to a resident military governor, sometimes to a minor official sent by a provincial governor to administer affairs in individual communities, sometimes to an official designated to oversee civil and legal administration in a town. In Italy, communities so governed enjoyed only limited privileges. Probably a person of the last class is meant here.

[3] Marcius, a centurion, assumed command of the Roman forces in Spain after the death of the two Scipios (Cicero, *pro Balbo*, 34), and in 206 B.C. concluded a treaty with the people of Gades (XXVIII. xxxvii. 10).

pure silver and since a fourth part of it melted away[1] B.C. 199
while they were testing it, the Carthaginians made up the shortage in the amount of money by borrowing in Rome. At their request that, if the senate was now favourably disposed, their hostages should be returned to them, one hundred hostages were given back; hope for the rest was offered if they remained faithful. When they asked also that the hostages who were not returned should be moved from Norba, where they were not comfortable, to some other place, it was permitted them to go to Signia or Ferentinum. A concession was also made to the people of Gades, who asked that no prefect[2] should be sent to Gades contrary to what had been agreed upon with Lucius Marcius Septimus[3] when they put themselves under the protection of the Roman people. Also, when ambassadors from Narnia complained that the colonists there were not up to the number determined,[4] and that some persons of alien race, mingling with them, were conducting themselves as colonists, by reason of this report the consul Lucius Cornelius was directed to appoint a board of three to investigate. This board consisted of Publius and Sextus Aelius—both surnamed Paetus—and Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus. What had been granted to the people of Narnia, to wit, the increasing of the number of colonists, the people of Cosa asked but did not obtain.

III. The consuls transacted the necessary business

[4] The act establishing each colony determined the number of colonists assigned. The burdens imposed upon a colony were proportioned to the legal, and not to the actual number of colonists.

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2 consules in provincias profecti. P. Villius in Macedoniam cum venisset, atrox seditio militum iam ante irritata nec satis in principio compressa excepit. 3 Duo milia ea militum fuere, quae ex Africa post devictum Hannibalem in Siciliam, inde anno fere post in Macedoniam pro voluntariis transportata erant. Id voluntate factum negabant: ab tribunis recu- 4 santes in naves impositos. Sed utcumque, seu iniuncta seu suscepta foret militia, et eam exhaustam, 5 et finem aliquem militandi fieri aequum esse. Multis annis sese Italiam non vidisse; consenuisse sub armis in Sicilia, Africa, Macedonia; confectos iam se labore opere, exangues tot acceptis vulneribus esse. 6 Consul causam postulandae missionis probabilem, si modeste peteretur, videri dixit; seditionis nec eam 7 nec ullam aliam satis iustam causam esse. Itaque si manere ad signa et dicto parere velint, se de missione eorum ad senatum scripturum; modestia facilius quam pertinacia quod velint impetraturos.

IV. Thaumacos eo tempore Philippus summa vi oppugnabat aggeribus vineisque et iam arietem 2 muris admoturus erat; ceterum incepto absistere eum coegit subitus Aetolorum adventus, qui Archidamo duce inter custodias Macedonum moenia ingressi nec nocte nec die finem ullum erumpendi nunc in stationes nunc in opera Macedonum faciebant.

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[1] The enlistment of volunteers from the African army was authorized at XXXI. viii. 6; their enlistment was mentioned at XXXI. xiv. 2.

[2] Here Livy resumes his account of Philip's campaign after the defeat of the Aetolians (XXXI. xlii. 9) in the autumn of the year 200 B.C.

at Rome and departed for their provinces. Publius B.C. 199
Villius, on his arrival in Macedonia, found a dangerous mutiny in the army, begun some time before and not repressed with sufficient vigour at the outset. There were about two thousand soldiers who had been brought back from Africa to Sicily after the defeat of Hannibal, and about a year later moved to Macedonia as volunteers.[1] They asserted that this had not been done with their consent; they had been put on board by their tribunes in spite of their protests. But whatever the facts were, whether their service was compulsory or voluntary, it was, they said, finished, and it was right that there be some end to their soldiering. For many years they had not seen Italy; they had grown old under arms in Sicily, Africa, Macedonia; they were now worn out by labour and exertion and drained of blood by the many wounds they had received. The consul replied that their demand for discharge seemed to have merit if properly presented; but neither this cause nor any other justified mutiny. Accordingly, if they chose to remain with the standards and obey orders, he would write to the senate regarding their discharge; they would obtain what they wanted more easily by obedience than by resistance.

IV. Philip[2] was at that time besieging Thaumaci with the greatest energy, using terraces and mantlets, and was on the point of using his battering-ram against the walls; but he was compelled to give up his enterprise by the sudden attack of the Aetolians, who, under the command of Archidamus, slipped through the screen of Macedonian patrols into the city, and never, either by night or day, ceased making sallies, now against the Macedonian outposts, now

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3 Et adiuvabat eos natura ipsa loci. Namque Thaumaci a Pylis sinuque Maliaco per Lamiam eunti loco alto siti sunt in ipsis faucibus, imminentes, 4 quam Coelen vocant, Thessaliae; quae transeunti confragosa loca implicatasque flexibus vallium vias, ubi ventum ad hanc urbem est, repente velut maris vasti sic universa panditur planities, ut subiectos 5 campos terminare oculis haud facile queas. Ab eo miraculo Thaumaci appellati.[1] Nec altitudine solum tuta urbs, sed quod saxo undique absciso rupibus 6 imposita est. Hae difficultates et quod haud satis dignum tanti laboris periculique pretium erat, ut 7 absisteret incepto Philippus, effecerunt. Hiems quoque iam instabat, cum inde abscessit et in Macedoniam in hiberna copias reduxit.

V. Ibi ceteri quidem data quanticunque[1] quiete temporis simul animos corporaque remiserant; 2 Philippum, quantum ab adsiduis laboribus itinerum pugnarumque laxaverat animum, tanto magis intentum in universum eventum belli curae angunt, non hostes modo timentem, qui terra marique urgebant, 3 sed nunc sociorum, nunc etiam popularium animos, ne et illi ad spem amicitiae Romanorum deficerent, et Macedonas ipsos cupido novandi res caperet. 4 Itaque et in Achaiam legatos misit, simul qui iusiurandum—ita enim pepigerant, quotannis iuraturos[2] in verba Philippi—exigerent, simul qui redderent

[1] quanticumque *Gronovius*: quantacumque *B*.

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[1] Livy connects the name with the Greek θαῦμα, "a marvel."

[2] Livy says nothing elsewhere about this oath, but it may be mentioned by Polybius (IV. ix. 4), who speaks of a reciprocal pledge, which may have been gradually converted into an admission of Macedonian supremacy.

against their siege-works. The nature of the place, B.C. 199
too, aided them. For Thaumaci lies high above the road as you come from Pylae and the Malian Gulf by way of Lamia, on the very pass, overlooking what they call Hollow Thessaly; the country is rough as you pass through, over roads that wind their way through twisting valleys, and when you reach the city, suddenly the whole plain spreads out before you like an expanse of open sea, so that you can hardly measure with your eyes the fields beneath you. From this marvellous sight is derived the name "Thaumaci."[1] The city is defended both by its lofty site and by the fact that it lies on cliffs with steep descents on all sides. These difficulties, together with the fact that it was scarcely a due reward for so much effort and risk, induced Philip to abandon his design. Winter, too, was now at hand when he retired from there and led his troops into winter quarters in Macedonia.

V. There the rest devoted to relaxation of mind and body alike whatever little quiet time was allowed them; Philip, however great relief of mind he had obtained after the ceaseless labour of marching and fighting, was so much the more concerned and worried about the final outcome of the war, not only fearing the enemy, who was pressing upon him by land and sea, but distrusting the attitude now of his allies, now even of his subjects, fearing both that the former should revolt, in the hope of an alliance with the Romans, and that the Macedonians themselves should be inspired by a desire for revolution. So he sent ambassadors to Achaea, partly to demand the oath[2]—for they had agreed to renew annually their pledges of loyalty to him—and partly to restore

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Achaeis Orchomenon et Heraean et Triphylian Eleis ademptam, Megalopolitis [1] Alipheran, contendentibus numquam eam urbem fuisse ex Triphylia, sed sibi debere restitui, quia una esset ex iis quae ad condendam Megalen polin ex concilio Arcadum contributae forent. Et cum Achaeis quidem per haec societatem firmabat; ad [2] Macedonum animos cum Heracliden amicum maxime invidiae sibi esse cerneret, multis criminibus oneratum in vincla coniecit ingenti popularium gaudio. Bellum si quando umquam ante alias, tum [3] magna cura apparavit exercuitque in armis et Macedonas et mercennarios milites principioque veris cum Athenagora omnia externa auxilia quodque levis armaturae erat in Chaoniam per Epirum ad occupandas quae ad Antigoneam fauces sunt—Stena vocant Graeci—misit. Ipse post paucis diebus graviore secutus agmine, cum situm omnem regionis adspexisset, maxime idoneum ad muniendum locum credidit esse praeter amnem Aoum. Is inter montes, quorum alterum Meropum, alterum Asnaum incolae vocant, angusta valle fluit, iter exiguum super ripam praebens. Asnaum Athenagoram cum levi armatura tenere et communire iubet; ipse in Meropo posuit castra. Qua abscisae rupes erant, statio paucorum armatorum tenebat; qua minus tuta erant alia fossis, alia vallo, alia tur-

[1] Eleis ademptam Megalopolitis *Madvig*: Eleis *B.*
[2] ad *Madvig*: *om. B.*
[3] tum *edd.*: cum *B.*

to the Achaeans Orchomenus and Heraea, and also B.C. 199.
Triphylia which had been taken from the Eleans, and to the Megalopolites Aliphera, since they argued that this city had never belonged to Triphylia, but should be given back to them, since it was one of the towns that had been turned over to form the city of Megalopolis in accordance with the decree of the Arcadian council. And with the Achaeans indeed he did by these measures strengthen the alliance; but with regard to the disposition of the Macedonians, since he realized that his friendship with Heraclides was particularly a source of unpopularity for him, he heaped accusations upon him and threw him into prison, to the great joy of the people. Philip at this time made preparation with great energy, if he had ever done so before, on any occasion, and drilled both his Macedonians and his mercenary troops, and in the beginning of spring sent all his foreign auxiliaries and what light-armed troops he had, under Athenagoras, to Chaonia by way of Epirus, to hold the passes leading to Antigonea—the Greeks call them The Narrows. He himself followed a few days later with the heavier troops, and when he had reconnoitred the whole region, he determined upon a site near the river Aous as the most suitable place for a fortified base of operations. This river, flowing through a defile between ranges, one called by the natives Meropus, the other Asnaus, leaves a narrow road along the bank. He ordered Athenagoras and the light troops to hold and fortify Asnaus; he himself pitched camp on Meropus. Where the cliffs were steep, a guard of a few armed men held them; where they were less defensible, they were protected, some by ditches,

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13 ribus muniebat. Magna tormentorum etiam vis, ut missilibus procul arcerent hostem, idoneis locis disposita est. Tabernaculum regium pro vallo in conspecto maxime tumulo, ut terrorem hostibus suisque spem ex fiducia faceret, positum.

VI. Consul per Charopum Epiroten certior factus, quos saltus cum exercitu insedisset rex, et ipse, cum Corcyrae hibernasset, vere primo in continentem
2 travectus ad hostem ducere pergit. Quinque milia ferme ab regiis castris cum abesset, loco munito relictis legionibus ipse cum expeditis progressus ad
3 speculanda loca postero die consilium habuit, utrum per insessum ab hoste saltum, quamquam labor ingens periculumque proponeretur, transitum temptaret, an eodem itinere, quo priore anno Sulpicius Mace-
4 doniam intraverat, circumduceret copias. Hoc consilium per multos dies agitanti ei nuntius venit T. Quinctium consulem factum sortitumque provinciam Macedoniam maturato itinere iam Corcyram traiecisse.

5 Valerius Antias intrasse saltum Villium tradit, quia recto itinere nequiverit omnibus ab rege insessis, secutum vallem, per quam mediam fertur Aous amnis,
6 ponte raptim facto in ripam, in qua erant castra regia,

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[1] There is no real confusion in Livy's chronology. The source which Livy follows in sects. 1–4 represents Villius, the consul of 199 B.C., as reaching Greece too late to take the field in the autumn of that year (I am drawing this inference from the silence of Livy), as wintering in Corcyra, and as carrying on, in the spring of 198 B.C., before the arrival of his successor, the campaign just described. Then, in sects. 5–7, Livy quotes from Valerius Antias an entirely different story of the spring campaign of 198 B.C. This variant Livy, at least by implication, rejects. He reports, in sect. 4 and again in sect. 8, at the

some by ramparts, some by towers. Numerous B.C. 199
pieces of artillery were also posted in suitable places, to keep the enemy at a distance with their missiles. The royal headquarters he established in plain sight on a hill in front of the rampart, to inspire terror in the enemy and in his own men the hope that springs from confidence.

VI. The consul had learned through Charopus the Epirote what passes the king had occupied with his army, and after wintering in Corcyra he crossed to the mainland at the coming of spring and began to lead his army against the enemy. When he was about five miles from the king's camp, after fortifying the place and leaving behind the legions, he himself went forward to reconnoitre with some light troops, and on the next day held a council, whether he should try to force a passage through the valley which was held by the enemy, although great labour and danger were involved, or should follow the same circuitous route by which Sulpicius had entered Macedonia the previous year. While he was spending many days in discussing this question, word came to him that Titus Quinctius had been elected consul, had obtained from the lots the province of Macedonia, had hastened his journey, and had already arrived at Corcyra.[1]

Valerius Antias writes that Villius, because he could not use the direct road, since the whole country was held by the king, entered the defile, followed the valley through the midst of which the river Aous flows, and, hastily throwing a bridge over the

end of each of the conflicting narratives, the arrival of Quinctius in Greece, although he does not mention the election of Quinctius as consul for 198 B.C. until vii. 12 below.

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transgressum acie conflixisse; fusum fugatumque
7 regem, castris exutum; duodecim milia hostium eo proelio caesa, capta duo milia et ducentos et signa militaria centum triginta duo, equos ducentos triginta; aedem etiam Iovi in eo proelio votam, si res prospere
8 gesta esset. Ceteri Graeci Latinique auctores, quorum quidem ego legi annales, nihil memorabile a Villio actum integrumque bellum insequentem consulem T. Quinctium accepisse tradunt.

VII. Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, consul alter L. Lentulus, qui Romae substiterat, comitia
2 censoribus creandis habuit. Multis claris petentibus viris creati censores P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus
3 et P. Aelius Paetus. Ii magna inter se concordia et senatum sine ullius nota legerunt et portoria venalicium Capuae Puteolisque, item Castrum portorium, quo in loco nunc oppidum est, fruendum locarunt colonosque eo trecentos—is enim numerus finitus ab senatu erat—adscripserunt et sub Tifatis Capuae agrum vendiderunt.

4 Sub idem tempus L. Manlius Acidinus ex Hispania

[1] Livy now records the events in Rome of the year 199 B.C.

[2] The censors could determine also a citizen's classification on the census lists, and so could degrade an individual by placing him in a lower classification. This was accomplished by placing a particular mark (*nota*) opposite his name on the rolls. But in Livy here, this reference is to membership of the Senate only.

[3] Capua was not a port, and *portoria venalicium* can not then refer to customs-duties, but must mean some other form of tax on merchandise, most probably a sales-tax of some kind. The town meant in the next clause cannot be identified, but it has been conjectured that it was a town which grew out of one of Hannibal's semi-permanent camps (Pliny, *N.H.* III. 95). If so, it may have been a harbour, and *portorium* would have its ordinary meaning of a "port-tax." My translation takes it thus, and regards *Castrum* as the

river to the bank on which the king's camp lay, B.C. 199
crossed and engaged the enemy; that he defeated the king and put him to flight and expelled him from his camp; that he killed twelve thousand of the enemy in that battle and captured two thousand two hundred, together with one hundred thirty-two standards and two hundred thirty horses; and that he vowed a temple to Jupiter in this battle, if success attended him. The other Greek and Latin writers, at least those whose annals I have consulted, report that Villius did nothing worthy of remark, but handed over to the next consul, Titus Quinctius, the war in the same state that he had received it.

VII. While this was happening in Macedonia,[1] the other consul, Lucius Lentulus, who had remained at Rome, held the meeting for the election of censors. Although many distinguished men were candidates, Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus and Publius Aelius Paetus were elected censors. They selected the members of the senate in complete harmony with one another and without putting the brand of infamy[2] on any man, let the contract for the collection of the sales-tax at Capua and Puteoli and the port-duties of Castra,[3] where there is now a town, and for this place enrolled three hundred colonists—for this number had been fixed by the senate—and sold the land of Capua at the foot of Mount Tifata.

At this same time Lucius Manlius Acidinus, on

shorter genitive of *Castra*. Possibly we should read *Castrum Portorium* (cf. *Castrum Novum* in XXXVI. iii. 6), but this leaves *fruendum* with no obvious construction. There is corruption in the text of the earlier part of the sentence, and perhaps it extends into this clause; in this case certainty as to the meaning is probably unattainable.

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decedens, prohibitus a P. Porcio Laeca tribuno plebis ne ovans rediret, cum ab senatu impetrasset, privatus urbem ingrediens mille ducenta pondo argenti, triginta pondo ferme auri in aerarium tulit.

5 Eodem anno Cn. Baebius Tamphilus,[1] qui ab C. Aurelio, consule anni prioris, provinciam Galliam acceperat, temere ingressus Gallorum Insubrum fines prope cum toto exercitu est circumventus: supra sex milia et septingentos milites amisit;
6 tanta ex eo bello, quod iam timeri desierat, clades
7 accepta est. Ea res L. Lentulum consulem ab urbe excivit. Qui ut in provinciam venit plenam tumultus, trepido exercitu accepto praetorem multis probris increpitum provincia decedere atque abire Romam
8 iussit. Neque ipse consul memorabile quicquam gessit, comitiorum causa Romam revocatus; quae ipsa per M. Fulvium et M'. Curium tribunos plebis
9 impediebantur, quod T. Quinctium Flamininum consulatum ex quaestura petere non patiebantur:
10 iam aedilitatem praeturamque fastidiri, nec per honorum gradus, documentum sui dantes, nobiles homines tendere ad consulatum, sed transcendendo

[1] Tamphilus *Sigonius*: pamphilus *B*.

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[1] Manlius, like Lentulus (XXXI. xx.), had commanded in Spain after the return of Scipio (XXVIII. xxxviii. 1), and the situations of the two men, with respect to a triumph, were similar. The opposition of Laeca is more successful than that of Sempronius in the other case.

[2] Until the enactment of the *lex Villia annalis* in 180 B.C. (XL. xliv. 1), custom alone controlled the sequence in which the offices were held, though sect. 11 below suggests that there were certain legal conditions of eligibility. However, the later legislation that created the *cursus honorum* merely gave

his return from Spain, was prevented by Publius B.C. 199
Porcius Laeca, tribune of the people, from entering the city in ovation,[1] although the privilege had been granted him by the senate, and, entering the city as a private person, deposited in the treasury twelve hundred pounds of silver and about thirty pounds of gold.

During the same year, Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, who had succeeded Gaius Aurelius, consul of the preceding year, as governor of the province of Gaul, rashly invaded the territory of the Insubrian Gauls and was cut off with almost his entire army; he lost more than six thousand seven hundred men; such a disaster was suffered in a war that no one any longer feared. This event summoned Lucius Lentulus the consul from the city. When he arrived in a province full of terror and had taken over a panic-stricken army, he roundly upbraided the praetor and ordered him to leave the province and return to Rome. Nor did the consul, even, accomplish anything worth recording, being recalled to Rome to hold the elections; the actual meetings were blocked by the plebeian tribunes Marcus Fulvius and Manius Curius, because they would not allow Titus Quinctius Flamininus to stand for the consulship immediately after the quaestorship:[2] the aedileship and praetorship, they said, were already treated with contempt, and the nobles, without passing through the offices in succession, and so giving proof of their worth, were aiming straight at the consulship and, leaping over the intermediate stages, were making the

legal form to the prevailing practice, which was that the offices of quaestor, aedile, praetor, and consul should normally be held in that order.

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11 media summa imis continuare. Res ex campestri certamine in senatum pervenit. Patres censuerunt, qui honorem quem sibi capere per leges liceret peteret, in eo populo creandi quem velit potestatem
12 fieri aequum esse. In auctoritate patrum fuere tribuni. Creati consules Sex. Aelius Paetus et
13 T. Quinctius Flamininus. Inde praetorum comitia habita. Creati L. Cornelius Merula, M. Claudius Marcellus, M. Porcius Cato, C. Helvius,[1] qui aediles plebis fuerant. Ab iis ludi plebeii instaurati; et
14 epulum Iovis fuit ludorum causa. Et ab aedilibus curulibus C. Valerio Flacco, flamine Diali, et C. Cornelio Cethego ludi Romani magno apparatu facti.
15 Ser. et C. Sulpicii[2] Galbae pontifices eo anno mortui sunt; in eorum locum M. Aemilius Lepidus et Cn. Cornelius Scipio pontifices suffecti sunt.

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VIII. Sex. Aelius Paetus T. Quinctius Flamininus magistratu inito senatum in Capitolio cum habuissent, decreverunt patres, ut provincias Macedoniam atque Italiam consules compararent inter se sortirenturve;
2 utri eorum Macedonia evenisset, in supplementum legionum tria milia militum Romanorum scriberet et trecentos equites, item sociorum Latini nominis
3 quinque milia peditum, quingentos equites. Alteri

[1] C. Helvius *Gelenius*: caelus *B*: caelius B^2.
[2] et C. Sulpicii Galbae *Sigonius*: sulpicius et galba *B*.

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[1] The centuriate assembly met in the Campus Martius: hence *campestri*.

[2] The phrase *per leges liceret* may be rather negative in force: "it was not expressly forbidden." No legislation fixing eligibility qualifications is known to us antedating the *lex Villia* (see note to sect. 9 above), and had there been age limits, Flamininus, who was about thirty years of age (XXXIII. xxxiii. 3), would probably have been excluded by them. The

highest distinctions continuous with the lowest. B.C. 199
After being debated in the assembly,[1] the matter was referred to the senate. The Fathers voted that it seemed proper that the right should reside in the people to elect anyone they chose who sought an office it was legally permissible to him to hold.[2] The tribunes yielded to the senate's will. Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus Quinctius Flamininus were chosen consuls. Then the praetorian elections were held. The choice fell on Lucius Cornelius Merula, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Marcus Porcius Cato, and Gaius Helvius, who had been plebeian aediles.[3] By them the Plebeian Games were repeated, and a banquet to Jupiter was held on the occasion of the games. Also, the Roman Games were celebrated with great splendour by the curule aediles Gaius Valerius Flaccus (who was Flamen Dialis) and Gaius Cornelius Cethegus. Servius and Gaius Sulpicius Galba, pontiffs, died that year; in their place Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio were appointed pontiffs.

VIII. When Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus B.C. 198
Quinctius Flamininus had been inaugurated and had convened the senate on the Capitoline, the senate decreed that the consuls should arrange between themselves or cast lots for the provinces of Macedonia and Italy; whichever of them was allotted Macedonia was authorized to enlist, as reinforcement to the legions, three thousand Roman infantry and three hundred cavalry, and besides five thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry of the allies of

phrase then may refer to restrictions such as that which limited the tribunate to plebeians.

[3] The clause refers to Cato and Helvius alone.

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consuli novus omnis exercitus decretus. L. Lentulo, prioris anni consuli, prorogatum imperium, vetitusque aut ipse provincia decedere prius aut veterem deducere exercitum, quam cum legionibus novis consul venisset. Sortiti consules provincias; Aelio Italia, Quinctio Macedonia evenit. Praetores L.[1] Cornelius Merula urbanam, M. Claudius Siciliam, M. Porcius Sardiniam, C. Helvius Galliam est sortitus. Dilectus inde haberi est coeptus; nam praeter consulares exercitus praetoribus[2] quoque iussi scribere milites erant, Marcello in Siciliam quattuor milia peditum socium et Latini nominis et trecentos equites, Catoni in Sardiniam ex eodem genere militum duo milia peditum, ducentos equites, ita ut ii praetores ambo cum in provincias venissent, veteres dimitterent pedites equitesque.

Attali deinde regis legatos in senatum consules introduxerunt. Ii regem classe sua copiisque omnibus terra marique rem Romanam iuvare quaeque imperarent Romani consules, impigre atque oboedienter ad eam diem fecisse cum exposuissent, vereri dixerunt, ne id praestare ei per Antiochum regem ultra non liceret; vacuum namque praesidiis navalibus terrestribusque regnum Attali Antiochum invasisse. Itaque Attalum orare patres conscriptos, si sua classi suaque opera uti ad Macedonicum bellum vellent, mitterent ipsi praesidium ad regnum eius tutandum; si id nollent, ipsum ad sua defendenda cum

[1] L. *edd.*: t. *B.*
[2] praetoribus *Crévier*: praetores *B.*

the Latin confederacy. An entirely new army was B.C. 198
provided for the other consul. The command of Lucius Lentulus, consul of the previous year, was extended, and he was ordered not to leave the province himself or to discharge the veteran troops until the consul arrived with the new legions. The consuls drew lots for the provinces: Italy fell to Aelius, Macedonia to Quinctius. The praetors then drew, Lucius Cornelius Merula receiving the city jurisdiction, Marcus Claudius Sicily, Marcus Porcius Sardinia, Gaius Helvius Gaul. They then began to conduct the levy; for in addition to the consular armies the enlistment of troops for the praetors as well was ordered; for Marcellus, for service in Sicily, four thousand infantry of the allies and the Latin confederacy and three hundred cavalry; for Cato, two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry from the same source for Sardinia, so that these two praetors, on arrival in their provinces, could send home their veteran infantry and cavalry.

The consuls then presented to the senate ambassadors from King Attalus. When they had explained that the king was aiding the Roman cause on land and sea with his fleet and all his forces, and had up to that day zealously and loyally performed whatever the Roman consuls ordered, they said that there was ground for fear that by reason of the activity of King Antiochus he could not guarantee to continue; for Antiochus had invaded the kingdom of Attalus when it was stripped of the protection of its navy and army. Therefore Attalus begged the senators, if they wished to employ his fleet and forces for the Macedonian war, themselves to send forces to defend his kingdom; if they did not, to permit him to return

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12 classe ac reliquis copiis redire paterentur. Senatus legatis ita responderi iussit: quod rex Attalus classe copiisque aliis duces Romanos iuvisset, id gratum
13 senatui esse; auxilia nec ipsos missuros Attalo adversus Antiochum, socium et amicum populi Romani, nec Attali auxilia retenturos ultra, quam
14 regi commodum esset; semper populum Romanum alienis rebus arbitrio alieno usum; et principium et finem in potestatem ipsorum, qui ope sua velint
15 adiutos Romanos, esse; legatos ad Antiochum missuros, qui nuntient Attali naviumque eius et militum opera adversus Philippum communem
16 hostem uti populum Romanum; gratum eum facturum senatui, si regno Attali abstineat belloque absistat; aequum esse socios et amicos populi Romani reges inter se quoque ipsos pacem servare.

IX. Consulem T. Quinctium ita habito dilectu, ut eos fere legeret, qui in Hispania aut Africa meruissent, spectatae virtutis milites, properantem in provinciam prodigia nuntiata atque eorum procuratio Romae
2 tenuerunt. De caelo tacta erant via publica Veis, forum et aedes Iovis Lanuvi, Herculis aedes Ardeae, Capuae murus et turres et aedes, quae alba dicitur;
3 caelum ardere visum erat Arreti; terra Velitris trium iugerum spatio caverna ingenti desederat; Suessae Auruncae nuntiabant agnum cum duobus capitibus natum et Sinuessae porcum cum[1] humano

[1] porcum cum *Duker*: porcum *B*.

to defend his possessions with his fleet and other troops. B.C. 196
The senate ordered this reply given the ambassadors: that the senate appreciated the fact that King Attalus had aided the Roman generals with his fleet and other forces; that they would neither themselves send aid to Attalus against Antiochus, an ally and friend of the Roman people, nor keep Attalus' troops longer than was convenient for the king; that the Roman people had always employed the property of others at the pleasure of those others; that both the beginning and the end of rendering assistance was under the control of those who wished the Roman people to enjoy their aid; that they would send ambassadors to Antiochus to point out that the Roman people was employing the aid of Attalus and his ships and soldiers against the common enemy Philip; that he would oblige the senate by keeping away from the kingdom of Attalus and refraining from war, and that it was proper that kings who were allies and friends of the Roman people should likewise be at peace with one another.

IX. The consul Titus Quinctius, when he had conducted his levy in such a way as to select generally soldiers of tried courage who had served in Spain or Africa, and was hastening his departure for his province, was detained by reports of prodigies and by their expiation. Lightning struck a public highway at Veii, the forum and temple of Jupiter at Lanuvium, the temple of Hercules at Ardea, the wall and towers and the so-called "White Temple" at Capua; flames were seen in the sky at Arretium; the earth subsided in a great cavern three *iugera* in extent at Velitrae; at Suessa Aurunca men said that a two-headed lamb was born, and at Sinuessa

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4 capite. Eorum prodigiorum causa supplicatio unum diem habita, et consules rebus divinis operam dederunt placatisque diis in provincias profecti sunt,
5 Aelius cum Helvio praetore in Galliam; exercitumque ab L. Lentulo acceptum, quem dimittere debebat, praetori tradidit, ipse novis legionibus, quas secum adduxerat, bellum gesturus. Neque memorabilis rei quicquam gessit.[1]
6 T. Quinctius alter consul maturius quam priores soliti erant consules, a Brundisio cum tramisisset, Corcyram tenuit cum octo milibus peditum, equitibus
7 octingentis.[2] Ab Corcyra in proxima Epiri quinqueremi traiecit et in castra Romana magnis itineri-
8 bus contendit. Inde Villio dimisso paucos moratus dies, dum se copiae ab Corcyra adsequerentur, consilium habuit, utrum recto itinere per castra
9 hostium vim facere conaretur, an ne temptata quidem re tanti laboris ac periculi per Dassaretios potius Lyncumque tuto circuitu Macedoniam intraret.
10 Vicissetque ea sententia, ni timuisset, ne, cum a mari longius recessisset, emisso e manibus hoste, si, quod antea fecerat, solitudinibus silvisque se tutari rex voluisset, sine ullo effectu aestas extraheretur.
11 Utcumque esset igitur, illo ipso tam iniquo loco adgredi hostem placuit. Sed magis fieri id placebat, quam, quomodo fieret, satis expediebant.

[1] gessit *Madvig*: gessit et *B*.
[2] octingentis *Glareanus*: d *B*.

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[1] The narrative continues from the arrival of Quinctius (vi. 4 above); see the note.

a pig with a man's head. By reason of these prodigies a day of prayer was proclaimed, and the consuls attended to the sacrifices and, having appeased the gods, departed to their provinces, Aelius with the praetor Helvius to Gaul; and the army which he received from Lucius Lentulus, and which he was under obligation to discharge, he turned over to the praetor, intending himself to conduct the war with the new legions which he had brought with him. Nor did he accomplish anything noteworthy. B.C. 198

When the other consul, Titus Quinctius, had crossed from Brundisium earlier than previous consuls had been wont to leave, he proceeded to Corcyra with eight thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry.[1] From Corcyra he crossed in a quinquereme to the nearest parts of Epirus and hastened rapidly to the Roman camp. There he delayed a few days after sending Villius home, until the troops from Corcyra overtook him, and held a council, whether to attempt to force a passage straight through the enemy's camp or, without even trying so difficult and dangerous a feat, to proceed into Macedonia rather by the safe but longer route through the Dassaretii and by way of Lyncus. And this latter view would have prevailed had there not been the fear that, when he had moved farther from the sea, he would let the enemy slip from his grasp, if, as had happened before, the king preferred to safeguard himself in wildernesses and forests, and the summer would be spent in vain. Whatever might then be the result, it was decided to attack the enemy, even on this very unfavourable terrain. But the council was firmer in its resolution to do this than clear as to how to accomplish it.

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X. Diesque quadraginta sine ullo conatu sedentes in conspectu hostium absumpserant. Inde spes data Philippo est per Epirotarum gentem temp-
2 tandae pacis; habitoque concilio delecti ad eam rem agendam Pausanias praetor et Alexander magister equitum consulem et regem, ubi in artissimas ripas Aous cogitur amnis, in colloquium adduxerunt.
3 Summa postulatorum consulis erat: praesidia ex civitatibus rex deduceret; iis, quorum agros urbesque populatus esset, redderet res quae comparerent;
4 ceterorum aequo arbitrio aestimatio fieret. Philippus aliam aliarum civitatium condicionem esse respondit: quas ipse cepisset, eas liberaturum; quae sibi traditae a maioribus essent, earum here-
5 ditaria ac iusta possessione non excessurum. Si quas quererentur belli clades eae civitates, cum quibus bellatum foret, arbitrio quo vellent populorum,
6 cum quibus pax utrisque fuisset, se usurum. Consul nihil ad id quidem arbitro aut iudice opus esse dicere: cui enim non apparere ab eo, qui prior arma intulisset, iniuriam ortam, nec Philippum ab ullis bello laces-
7 situm priorem vim omnibus fecisse? Inde cum ageretur, quae civitates liberandae essent, Thessalos primos omnium nominavit consul. Ad id vero adeo accensus indignatione est rex, ut exclamaret: "Quid victo
8 gravius imperares, T. Quincti?" atque ita se ex colloquio proripuit; et temperatum aegre est, quin

[1] The exact significance of these titles, as applied to these individuals, is unknown.

X. Thus, sitting in sight of the enemy, they had B.C. 198
wasted forty days without attempting anything. And so Philip was encouraged to try peace proposals through the mediation of the people of Epirus, and, after a council had been called, Pausanias the praetor and Alexander the master of the horse,[1] chosen for the purpose, brought the consul and the king together in a conference at the point where the river Aous is confined within its narrowest course. The substance of the consul's demands was this: The king should withdraw his garrisons from the cities; he should restore what property was recoverable to those whose lands and towns he had ravaged; a valuation should be made of the rest by an impartial board. Philip replied that the status of the several cities was not uniform: those which he had himself captured, he would set free; of those which he had received from his forefathers he would not surrender his hereditary and lawful possession. If these states with which he had fought complained of any losses due to war, he would submit to arbiters chosen by them from nations with which both parties were at peace. The consul responded that for this purpose there was no need of any arbiter or umpire: for to whom was it not evident that he who had been the aggressor in war inflicted the injury, and that Philip, attacked by none, had first waged war on all? Then, when they came to discuss what states were to be set free, the consul named the Thessalians before all the rest. At this the king became so incensed with rage that he exclaimed, "What heavier command, Titus Quinctius, could you lay upon a beaten foe?" and so rushed from the conference; and he was with difficulty restrained from beginning the

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missilibus, quia dirempti medio amni fuerant, pugnam
9 inter se consererent. Postero die per excursiones
ab stationibus primo in planitie satis ad id patenti
10 multa levia commissa proelia sunt; deinde recipientibus se regiis in arta et confragosa loca aviditate accensi certaminis eo quoque Romani penetravere.
11 Pro his ordo et militaris disciplina et genus armorum erat, aptum[1] tegendis corporibus; pro hoste loca et catapultae ballistaeque in omnibus prope rupibus
12 quasi in muro dispositae. Multis hinc atque illinc vulneribus acceptis, cum etiam, ut in proelio iusto, aliquot cecidissent, nox pugnae finem facit.

XI. Cum in hoc statu res esset, pastor quidam
a Charopo, principe Epirotarum, missus deducitur
2 ad consulem. Is se in eo saltu, qui regiis tum teneretur castris, armentum pascere solitum ait omnes montium eorum amfractus callesque nosse.
3 Si secum aliquos consul mittere velit, se non iniquo nec perdifficili aditu super caput hostium eos educ-
4 turum.[2] Haec ubi consul audivit, percunctatum ad Charopum mittit, satisne credendum super tanta re agresti censeret. Charopus renuntiari iubet, ita crederet, ut suae potius omnia quam illius potestatis
5 essent. Cum magis vellet credere quam auderet mixtumque gaudio et metu animum gereret, auctoritate
6 motus Charopi experiri spem oblatam statuit et, ut

[1] aptum *Gelenius*: amplum *B.*
[2] educturum *Gronovius*: deducturum *B.*

battle with missiles, since they were separated by B.C. 198
the intervening river. The next day, in consequence of sallies from the outposts, there were numerous slight skirmishes in the plain, which afforded ample space for them; then, as the royal forces withdrew to the steep and rugged hillsides, the Romans too, carried away by their zest for combat, forced their way to the same places. On their side were the advantages of order and discipline and armour adapted to affording protection to the wearer; on the enemy's, the terrain and the catapults and ballistae ranged on almost all the cliffs as along a wall. When many had been wounded on both sides, and a considerable number had even fallen, as in a regular engagement, night put an end to the fighting.

XI. When matters were in this state, a shepherd, sent by Charopus, a leading man of Epirus, was brought before the consul. He said that he had been accustomed to pasture his flocks in the valley which the king's camp then occupied, and knew all the tracks and paths of those hills. If the consul wished to send some men with him, he would guide them by a road, quite level and not very difficult, to a place commanding the enemy's position. The consul, on hearing this, sent to Charopus to inquire whether he thought the shepherd should be trusted in so important a matter. Charopus ordered the message back to be that he should trust him, but only so far as to keep the control of the situation in his own hands rather than in the shepherd's. Wishing, rather than venturing, to trust him, and with feelings of mingled joy and apprehension, he was persuaded by the assurances of Charopus and determined to use the chance presented to him,

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averteret regem[1] ab suspicione, biduo insequenti lacessere hostem dispositis ab omni parte copiis succedentibusque integris in locum defessorum non
7 destitit. Quattuor milia inde lecta peditum et trecentos equites tribuno militum tradit. Equites quoad loca patiantur ducere iubet; ubi ad invia equiti ventum sit, in planitie aliqua locari equitatum,
8 pedites, qua dux monstraret viam, ire; ubi, ut polliceatur, super caput hostium perventum sit, fumo dare signum nec antea clamorem tollere, quam ab se signo recepto pugnam coeptam arbitrari posset.
9 Nocte itinera fieri iubet—et pernox[2] forte luna erat—interdiu cibi quietisque sumeret tempus. Ducem promissis ingentibus oneratum, si fides extet, vinctum
10 tamen tribuno tradit. His copiis ita dimissis eo intentius Romanus undique instat, capit[3] stationes.

XII. Interim die tertio cum verticem quem petierant Romani cepisse ac tenere se fumo significarent, tum vero trifariam divisis copiis consul valle media cum militum robore succedit, cornua dextra laevaque admovet castris; nec segnius hostes obviam eunt.
2 Et dum aviditate certaminis provecti extra munitiones pugnant, haud paulo superior est Romanus miles et virtute et scientia et genere armorum;

[1] regem *Harant*: rem *B*.
[2] pernox *edd.*: per noctem *B*.
[3] No entirely satisfactory emendation of *capit* of *B* has been proposed.

[1] The corruption in the text makes the meaning uncertain.

and, to prevent the king from suspecting, he did not B.C. 198
cease for two successive days to attack the enemy, posting detachments on all sides and sending fresh troops to relieve the weary. Then he put a tribune in command of four thousand picked infantry and three hundred cavalry. He ordered him to take the cavalry as far as the ground permitted; when the road became impassable for cavalry, he should leave them on some level spot and go with the infantry wherever the guide conducted them; when he reached, as the guide promised, the place above the enemy, the tribune should send up a smoke-signal but raise no shout until, after the answering signal had been received from him, he could judge that the battle had begun. He instructed the tribune to march by night—and the moon happened to be full—and by day to take time for food and rest. The guide, loaded with magnificent promises, if he should keep faith, but nevertheless in chains, he turned over to the tribune. Having thus sent out his troops, the Roman pressed the attack the more vigorously from all sides, selected vantage-grounds.[1]

XII. Meanwhile, on the third day, when the Romans had sent up the smoke-signal that they had reached and were holding the height which they had sought, then in earnest the consul formed his army in three columns and marched with the flower of his troops up the middle of the valley and hurled his right and left wings against the camp; the enemy came to meet him with no less vigour. And while, carried forward by their desire to fight, they were struggling outside the breastworks, the Roman army enjoyed no small advantage in courage and skill and character of weapons; but after the

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3 postquam multis vulneratis interfectisque recepere se regii in loca aut munimento aut natura tuta, verterat periculum in Romanos temere in loca iniqua nec
4 faciles ad receptum angustias progressos. Neque impunita temeritate inde recepissent sese, ni clamor primum ab tergo auditus, dein pugna etiam coepta
5 amentes repentino terrore regios fecisset. Pars in fugam effusi sunt; pars magis quia[1] locus fugae deerat, quam quod animi satis esset ad pugnam, cum substitissent, ab hoste et a fronte et ab tergo
6 urgente circumventi sunt. Deleri totus exercitus
7 potuit, si fugientes persecuti victores essent; sed equitem angustiae locorumque asperitas, peditem
8 armorum gravitas impediit. Rex primo effuse ac sine respectu fugit; dein quinque milium spatium progressus, cum ex iniquitate locorum, id quod erat, suspicatus esset, sequi non posse hostem, substitit in tumulo quodam dimisitque suos per omnia iuga
9 vallesque, qui palatos in unum colligerent. Non plus duobus milibus hominum amissis cetera omnis multitudo, velut signum aliquod secuta, in unum cum convenisset, frequenti agmine petunt Thessaliam.
10 Romani quoad tutum fuit insecuti caedentes spoliantesque caesos, castra regia, etiam sine defensoribus difficili aditu, diripiunt; atque ea nocte in suis castris manserunt.

XIII. Postero die consul per ipsas angustias, quas inter valle se[2] flumen insinuat, hostem sequitur.

[1] magis quia *Muretus*: quia magis *B*.
[2] valle se *Weissenborn*: valles *B*.

king's troops, when many had been wounded and killed, retired to positions strengthened by art or strong by nature, the danger recoiled upon the Romans, who pushed forward impetuously over unfavourable ground and cramped places that hindered easy withdrawal. Nor would they have succeeded in getting away without suffering for their rashness had not first a shout been heard from the rear and then an attack from that side too driven the king's troops mad with sudden panic. Part broke in a rout; others, when they had made a stand, more because they had no place to flee than because they had sufficient will to fight, were cut off by the enemy pressing on from both front and rear. The whole army could have been destroyed if the victors had pursued the routed enemy; but the narrow roads and the rough country hindered the cavalry, the weight of their arms the infantry. At first the king fled headlong and without looking back; then, having travelled five miles, suspecting what proved to be true, that the enemy could not follow on account of the unfavourable ground, he stopped on a certain hill and sent out messengers throughout the ridges and valleys to collect the stragglers in one place. When all the army (except not more than two thousand men who were lost) had come to the same place, as if following some signal, they made for Thessaly in solid column. The Romans followed as far as it was safe, killing and despoiling the slain, and plundered the king's camp, which, even when undefended, was difficult to approach; and spent that night in their own camp. B.C. 198

XIII. The next day the consul followed the enemy along the defile through which the river makes its

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2 Rex primo die ad castra Pyrrhi pervenit; locus quem ita vocant est in Triphylia terrae Molottidis. Inde postero die—ingens iter agmini, sed metus urgebat—
3 in montes Lyncon perrexit. Ipsi Epiri sunt, interiecti Macedoniae Thessaliaeque; latus, quod vergit in Thessaliam, oriens spectat, septentrio a Macedonia obicitur. Vestiti frequentibus silvis sunt; iuga summa campos patentes aquasque perennes habent.
4 Ibi stativis rex per aliquot dies habitis fluctuatus animo est, utrum protinus in regnum se reciperet,
5 an praeverti in Thessaliam posset. Inclinavit sententia ut in Thessaliam agmen demitteret, Triccamque proximis limitibus petit; inde obvias urbes
6 raptim peragravit. Homines quī sequi possent sedibus excibat; oppida incendebat. Rerum suarum quas possent ferendarum secum dominis ius fiebat,
7 cetera militis praeda erat. Nec, quod ab hoste crudelius pati possent, reliqui quicquam fuit, quam
8 quae ab sociis patiebantur. Haec etiam facienti Philippo acerba erant, sed e terra mox futura hostium
9 corpora saltem eripere sociorum volebat. Ita evastata oppida sunt Phacium, Iresiae, Euhydrium, Eretria, Palaepharsalus. Pheras cum peteret, exclusus, quia res egebat mora, si expugnare vellet, nec tempus erat, omisso incepto in Macedoniam transcendit; nam etiam Aetolos adpropinquare fama
10 erat. Qui audito proelio, quod circa amnem Aoum

way down the valley. The king on the first day B.C. 198
reached the camp of Pyrrhus; the place called by this name is in Triphylia and belongs to the territory of Molottis. The next day—an over-long march for an army, but fear drove them on—they reached thence the Lyncus mountains. This range is in Epirus, lying between Macedonia and Thessaly; the side which overlooks Thessaly faces east, the northern, Macedonia. It is clothed with abundant forests; the summits of the ridges offer open fields and ever-flowing springs. There Philip remained in camp for several days, uncertain in mind whether he should straightway return to his kingdom or try to beat the enemy into Thessaly. His decision was to lead the army into Thessaly, and he moved to Tricca by the shortest routes; then he rapidly traversed the towns in his way. He summoned from their homes the men who could follow; the towns he burned. The owners were allowed to carry with them what they could of their possessions; the rest was booty for the army. Nor was there any hardship unexperienced, which an enemy could inflict, greater than what they suffered at the hands of their allies. Such actions were distasteful to Philip even as he did them, but he wished to rescue, from a land that was soon to belong to his enemies, at least the persons of his allies. So Phacium, Iresiae, Euhydrium, Eretria, Palaepharsalus, were destroyed. Excluded from Pherae, when he tried to take it, because it would require time if he tried to capture it, and he had no time, he gave up that undertaking and crossed into Macedonia; for it was rumoured that the Aetolians were close at hand. They, having heard of the battle at

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factum erat, proximis prius evastatis circa Sperchias et Macran quam vocant Comen, transgressi inde in Thessaliam Cymenes et Angeias primo impetu
11 potiti sunt. A Metropoli, dum vastant agros, concursu oppidanorum ad tuenda moenia facto repulsi sunt. Callithera inde adgressi similem impetum
12 oppidanorum pertinacius sustinuerunt; compulsisque intra moenia qui eruperant, contenti ea victoria, quia spes nulla admodum expugnandi erat, abscesserunt. Teuma inde et Celathara vicos expugnant
13 diripiuntque; Acharras per deditionem receperunt.
14 Xyniae simili metu a cultoribus desertae sunt. Hoc sedibus suis extorre agmen in praesidium incidit, quod ad Thaumacum, quo tutior frumentatio esset, ducebatur; incondita inermisque multitudo, mixta et imbelli[1] turba, ab armatis caesa est. Xyniae desertae diripiuntur. Cyphaera inde Aetoli capiunt,
15 opportune Dolopiae imminens castellum. Haec raptim intra paucos dies ab Aetolis gesta. Nec Amynander atque Athamanes post famam prosperae pugnae Romanorum quieverunt.

XIV. Ceterum Amynander, quia suo militi parum fidebat, petito a consule modico praesidio cum Gomphos peteret, oppidum protinus nomine Phaecam situm inter Gomphos faucesque angustas, quae ab
2 Athamania Thessaliam dirimunt, vi cepit. Inde Gomphos adortus est,[2] et per aliquot dies summa vi

[1] et imbelli *M. Müller*: ex imbelli *B.*
[2] est *Weissenborn*: *om. B.*

[1] Probably the place called Thaumaci in chap. iv. above

the Aous river, and having laid waste the country close around Sperchiae and Macra, which they call Come, crossed thence into Thessaly and captured Cymene and Angeia at the first assault. From Metropolis, while they were devastating the farms, they were driven back, the townsmen having collected to defend their walls. When they attacked Callithera they sustained more stubbornly a similar sally of townspeople; and driving back within their own walls the party that had made the sally, they departed, content with this success, because they had no real hope of capturing the town. Next they took and sacked the villages of Teuma and Celathara and received Acharrae in surrender. Xyniae was abandoned by the inhabitants in similar fear. The procession of its citizens, exiles from their homes, fell in with a garrison which was on its way to Thaumacus,[1] that it might forage in greater security; the undisciplined and unarmed mass, mingled too with the unwarlike mob, was slaughtered by the soldiers. The abandoned city of Xyniae was looted. The Aetolians next captured Cyphaera, a fortress favourably situated to threaten Dolopia. Such is the record of the Aetolians' swift campaign of a few days. Nor did Amynander and the Athamanes remain quiet after they heard of the Roman victory. B.C. 198

XIV. But when Amynander, having asked the consul for a small detachment, since he had little confidence in his own men, was moving on Gomphi, he immediately took by storm a town called Phaeca, lying between Gomphi and the narrow pass which separates Athamania and Thessaly. Then he attacked Gomphi, and the inhabitants, after defending the city with all their might for some days, were

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tuentes urbem, cum iam scalas ad moenia erexisset, eo demum[1] metu perpulit ad deditionem. Haec traditio Gomphorum ingentem terrorem Thessalis intulit. Dedidere deinceps sese qui Argenta quique Pherinium et Timarum et Ligynas et Strymonem et Lampsum habent aliaque castella iuxta ignobilia.

Dum Athamanes Aetolique submoto Macedonum metu in aliena victoria suam praedam faciunt, Thessaliaque ab tribus simul exercitibus incerta, quem hostem quemve socium crederet, vastatur, consul faucibus, quas fuga hostium aperuerat, in regionem Epiri transgressus, etsi probe scit cui parti Charopo principe excepto Epirotae favissent, tamen quia ab satisfaciendi quoque cura imperata enixe facere videt, ex praesenti eos potius quam ex praeterito aestimat habitu et ea ipsa facilitate veniae animos eorum in posterum conciliat. Missis deinde nuntiis Corcyram, ut onerariae naves in sinum venirent Ambracium, ipse progressus modicis itineribus quarto die in monte Cercetio posuit castra, eodem Amynandro cum suis auxiliis accito, non tam virium eius egens, quam ut duces in Thessaliam haberet. Ab eodem consilio et plerique Epirotarum voluntarii inter auxilia accepti.

XV. Primam urbem Thessaliae Phaloriam est adgressus. Duo milia Macedonum in praesidio habebat, qui primo summa vi restiterunt, quantum

[1] eo demum *Perizonius* : eodem *B.*

finally reduced to surrender by their fear, when he B.C. 198
had placed his scaling-ladders against the walls. The surrender of Gomphi caused great terror to the Thessalians. In turn the inhabitants of Argenta and Pherinium and Timarum and Ligynae and Strymon and Lampsus and other insignificant forts in the vicinity surrendered.

While the Aetolians and Athamanes, laying aside their fear of Macedonia, were reaping, through plundering, the fruits of another's victory, and Thessaly was being wasted by three armies at once, not knowing which to believe was foe and which ally, the consul marched into the country of Epirus through the pass which had been laid open by the flight of the enemy; although he knew full well which side the Epirotes favoured, with the exception of one leading citizen, Charopus, nevertheless, because he saw them zealously carrying out his orders in their desire to please him, he judged them rather by their present than their past behaviour, and won over, by his readiness to pardon, their support for the future. Then, sending messengers to Corcyra, that the cargo-ships should proceed to the Ambracian gulf, he advanced by easy marches and on the fourth day encamped on Mount Cercetius, summoning there Amynander with his auxiliaries, not so much from need of his assistance as that he might have guides into Thessaly. From the same motive, many volunteers of the Epirotes were enlisted for service with the auxiliaries.

XV. The first city of Thessaly to be attacked was Phaloria. It had a garrison of two thousand Macedonians, which at first resisted with the greatest energy, using every resource for defence which their

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2 arma, quantum moenia tueri poterant. Sed oppugnatio continua, non nocte non die remissa, cum consul in eo verti crederet ceterorum Thessalorum animos, si primi vim Romanam non sustinuissent, vicit per-
3 tinaciam Macedonum. Capta Phaloria legati a Metropoli et a Cierio dedentes urbes venerunt. Venia eisdem petentibus datur; Phaloria incensa
4 ac direpta est. Inde Aeginium petit; quem locum cum vel modico praesidio tutum ac prope inexpugnabilem vidisset, paucis in stationem proximam telis coniectis ad Gomphorum regionem agmen vertit.
5 Degressusque in campos Thessaliae, cum iam omnia exercitui deessent, quia Epirotarum pepercerat agris, explorato ante, utrum Leucadem an sinum Ambracium onerariae tenuissent, frumentatum Am-
6 braciam in vicem cohortes misit; et est iter a Gomphis Ambraciam sicut impeditum ac difficile, ita spatio per-
7 brevi. Intra paucos itaque dies transvectis a mari commeatibus repleta omni rerum copia sunt castra.
8 Inde Atracem est profectus. Decem ferme milia ab Larisa abest; ex Perrhaebia oriundi sunt; sita est
9 urbs super Peneum amnem. Nihil trepidavere Thessali ad primum adventum Romanorum; et Philippus sicut in Thessaliam ipse progredi non audebat, ita intra Tempe stativis positis, ut quisque locus ab hoste temptabatur, praesidia per occasiones summittebat.

XVI. Sub idem fere tempus quo consul adversus

arms and fortifications gave them. But the persistent B.C. 198
siege, relaxed by neither night nor day, since the consul thought that the attitude of the other Thessalians depended on whether the first had held out against the Roman attack, broke down the resistance of the Macedonians. After the capture of Phaloria delegations came from Metropolis and Cierium offering the surrender of these cities. Their request was granted; Phaloria was burned and destroyed. Then he proceeded against Aeginium; seeing that the place was very strong and almost impregnable, with even a small garrison, he hurled a few weapons against the outpost and turned his course towards the region around Gomphi. And descending into the plains of Thessaly, since the army was now in want of everything, because he had spared the farms of the Epirotes, he sent scouts in advance to ascertain whether the supply-ships had headed for Leucas or the Ambracian gulf, and sent the cohorts in relays to Ambracia to provision; and the road from Gomphi to Ambracia, while difficult and hard to travel, is short. And so in a few days, the supplies having been transported from the fleet, the camp was full of an abundance of all things. Thence he marched to Atrax. It is about ten miles from Larisa; its people are sprung from Perrhaebia; the town lies above the river Peneus. At first the Thessalians felt no concern at the coming of the Romans; and as for Philip, while he did not dare himself to move into Thessaly, yet, established in a base camp within Tempe, he sent troops as occasion arose, as each point was threatened by the enemy.

XVI. At about the same time that the consul had first established his camp face to face with

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Philippum primum in Epiri faucibus posuit castra,
2 et L. Quinctius frater consulis, cui classis cura maritimaeque orae imperium mandatum ab senatu erat, cum duabus quinqueremibus Corcyram travectus, postquam profectam inde classem audivit,
3 nihil morandum ratus, cum ad Samen insulam adsecu-
4 tus esset, dimisso Livio, cui successerat, tarde inde ad Maleum trahendis plerumque remulco navibus,
5 quae cum commeatu sequebantur, pervenit. A Maleo, iussis ceteris, quantum maxime possent maturare, sequi, ipse tribus quinqueremibus expeditis Piraeum praecedit accepitque naves relictas ibi ab L. Apustio legato ad praesidium Athenarum.
6 Eodem tempore duae ex Asia classes profectae, una cum Attalo rege—eae quattuor et viginti quinqueremes erant—Rhodia altera viginti navium tectarum;
7 Agesimbrotus praeerat. Hae circa Andrum insulam classes coniunctae Euboeam inde exiguo distantem
8 freto traiecerunt. Carystiorum primum agros vastarunt; deinde, ubi Carystus praesidio a Chalcide raptim misso firma visa est, ad Eretriam accesserunt.
9 Eodem et L. Quinctius cum iis navibus quae Piraei fuerant Attali regis adventu audito venit iussis, ut quaeque ex sua classe venissent naves, Euboeam
10 petere. Eretria summa vi oppugnabatur; nam et trium iunctarum classium naves omnis generis tormenta machinasque ad urbium excidia secum

[1] Livy now describes the naval operations of the same summer. Lucius Quinctius, while junior to Titus in official status, was older.

[2] At XXXI. xlvii. 2 Apustius was in command of the fleet.

Philip in the passes of Epirus, Lucius Quinctius, B.C. 198
the brother of the consul,[1] to whom the senate had entrusted the charge of the fleet and the command of the sea-coast, also crossed to Corcyra with two quinqueremes, and when he found that the fleet was gone from there, thinking he should not delay, when he had overtaken the ships at the island of Same, he sent back Livius;[2] whom he had succeeded, and finally reached Malea, generally towing the ships which were following loaded with supplies. Ordering the rest to follow from Malea with all possible speed, he himself led the way to Piraeus with three light quinqueremes and took over the ships left there by Lucius Apustius the lieutenant to guard Athens. At the same time two fleets sailed from Asia, one under King Attalus—this consisted of twenty-four quinqueremes—and one from Rhodes, comprising twenty decked vessels commanded by Agesimbrotus. These fleets met near the island of Andros and crossed from there to Euboea, separated from Andros by a narrow stretch of water. They first ravaged the lands of the Carystii; then, since Carystus seemed strong, a garrison having been hastily sent from Chalcis, they went on towards Eretria. There Lucius Quinctius also came with the ships from Piraeus, when he heard of the arrival of King Attalus, after leaving orders that as each ship of his own fleet arrived it should proceed to Euboea. Eretria had to endure a vigorous attack; for the ships of the three united fleets carried artillery of all kinds and devices for destroying cities, and the country

[1] The condensed treatment given the preceding year of the war may be responsible for Livy's having failed to mention Livius before (see note on vi. 4 above).

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portabant, et agri adfatim materiae praebebant
11 ad nova molienda opera. Oppidani primo impigre[1] tuebantur moenia, dein fessi vulneratique aliquot, cum et muri partem eversam operibus
12 hostium cernerent, ad deditionem inclinarunt. Sed praesidium erat Macedonum, quos non minus quam Romanos metuebant, et Philocles regius praefectus a Chalcide nuntios mittebat se in tempore adfuturum,
13 si sustinerent obsidionem. Haec mixta metu spes ultra quam vellent aut quam possent trahere eos
14 tempus cogebat; deinde, postquam Philoclen repulsum trepidantemque refugisse Chalciden acceperunt, oratores extemplo ad Attalum veniam fidemque
15 eius petentes miserunt. Dum in spem pacis intenti segnius munera belli obeunt et ea modo parte, qua murus dirutus erat, ceteris neglectis stationes armatas opponunt, Quinctius noctu ab ea parte, quae minime suspecta erat, impetu facto scalis urbem cepit.
16 Oppidanorum omnis multitudo cum coniugibus ac liberis in arcem confugit, deinde in deditionem venit.
17 Pecuniae aurique et argenti haud sane multum fuit; signa, tabulae priscae artis ornamentaque eius generis plura quam pro urbis magnitudine aut opibus ceteris inventa.

XVII. Carystus inde repetita, unde, priusquam e navibus copiae exponerentur, omnis multitudo urbe
2 deserta in arcem confugit. Inde ad fidem ab Romano

[1] impigre *H. J. Müller*: haud impigre *B.*

provided material in abundance for the construction B.C. 198
of new works. The citizens at first defended their wall stoutly, then, worn out and some of them wounded, when they saw part of the wall demolished by the enemy's engines, they bethought them of surrender. But there was a Macedonian garrison, which they feared no less than the Romans, and Philocles, the king's prefect, kept sending messages from Chalcis that he would be with them in due time, if they would withstand the siege. This hope mingled with fear compelled them to hold out beyond their wish or their ability; later on, when they learned that Philocles, now beaten and terrified, had sought refuge in Chalcis, they straightway sent ambassadors to Attalus asking his pardon and protection. While, with their hopes centred on peace, they were less zealous in performing their military duties, and were posting armed guards only at the point where the wall had been thrown down, paying no attention to the rest, Quinctius during the night, attacking with scaling-ladders in a quarter that seemed free from danger, captured the city. The whole multitude of the citizens with their wives and children fled to the citadel and then surrendered. There was no great quantity of money, gold or silver; statues, paintings of ancient workmanship, and adornments of that sort were found there in greater abundance than was to be expected, considering the size of the town or its wealth in other respects.

XVII. The allies then returned to Carystus, all the population of which, before the troops disembarked, left the city and fled to the citadel. Presently they sent ambassadors to seek protection

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petendam oratores mittunt. Oppidanis extemplo vita ac libertas concessa est; Macedonibus treceni nummi in capita statutum pretium est, et ut armis
3 traditis abirent. Hac summa redempti inermes in Boeotiam traiecti. Navales copiae duabus claris urbibus Euboeae intra dies paucos captis circumvectae Sunium, Atticae terrae promunturium, Cenchreas, Corinthiorum emporium, petierunt.
4 Consul interim omnium spe longiorem Atracis [1] atrocioremque oppugnationem habuit, et ea qua
5 minimum credidisset resistebant hostes. Nam omnem laborem in muro crediderat diruendo fore; si aditum armatis in urbem patefecisset, fugam inde caedemque hostium fore, qualis captis urbibus fieri
6 solet; ceterum postquam parte muri arietibus decussa per ipsas ruinas transcenderunt in urbem armati, illud principium velut novi atque integri
7 laboris fuit. Nam Macedones, qui in praesidio erant et multi et delecti, gloriam etiam egregiam rati, si armis potius et virtute quam moenibus urbem tueren-
8 tur, conferti, pluribus introrsus ordinibus acie firmata, cum transcendere ruinas sensissent Romanos, per impeditum ac difficilem ad receptum locum expule-
9 runt. Id consul aegre passus nec eam ignominiam ad unius modo oppugnandae moram urbis sed ad summam universi belli pertinere ratus, quod ex momentis parvarum plerumque rerum penderet,
10 purgato loco, qui strage semiruti muri cumulatus

[1] Atracis *Heusinger*: *om. B.*

[1] The value of the *nummus* or *sestertius* was about four cents, or two pence.

[2] The narrative of the siege of Atrax continues (see xv. 8 above).

from the Roman commander. Life and liberty were B.C. 198
at once granted the citizens; a ransom of three hundred *nummi*[1] per head was fixed for the Macedonians, and they were ordered to give up their arms and depart. Having paid this ransom they were transported to Boeotia unarmed. The fleets, having captured two important cities of Euboea within a few days, sailed around Sunium, the promontory of the land of Attica, and steered toward Cenchreae, the port of the Corinthians.

Meanwhile[2] the consul was finding the siege of Atrax longer and more difficult than anyone had expected, and the enemy resisted in a way that he had not in the least anticipated. For he had believed that the whole task would be to batter down the wall; and that if he had opened a way into the city for the soldiers, the flight and slaughter of the enemy would follow, as usually happens in captured towns; but when a section of the wall was thrown down by the battering-rams and the soldiers had entered the city over the ruins, that was, so to speak, the beginning of new and fresh toil. For the Macedonians who formed the garrison, numerous and picked men, thinking that it would be a most noble exploit to defend the city with arms and valour rather than with walls, in close array, strengthening their formation by increasing the number of ranks within it, when they saw the Romans scaling the ruins, thrust them out over ground that was rough and admitted no easy retreat. The consul was enraged, and thought that this disgrace not merely meant a delay in capturing this one city, but affected the final issue of the war as a whole, which generally turns on the influence of little things; clearing out the place which was heaped

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erat, turrem ingentis altitudinis magnam vim armatorum multiplici tabulato portantem promovit
11 et cohortes in vicem sub signis, quae cuneum Macedonum—phalangem ipsi vocant—si possent, vi
12 perrumperent, emittebat. Sed ad loci angustias, haud late patente intervallo diruti muri, genus
13 armorum pugnaeque hosti aptius erat. Ubi conferti hastas ingentis longitudinis prae se Macedones obiecissent, velut in constructam densitate clipeorum testudinem Romani pilis nequiquam emissis cum
14 strinxissent gladios, neque congredi propius neque praecidere hastas poterant, et, si quam incidissent aut praefregissent, hastile fragmento ipso acuto inter spicula integrarum hastarum velut vallum
15 explebat. Ad hoc et muri pars adhuc integra utraque tuta praestabat latera, nec ex longo spatio aut cedendum aut impetus faciendus erat, quae res
16 turbare ordines solet. Accessit etiam fortuita res ad animos eorum firmandos; nam cum turris per
17 aggerem parum densati soli ageretur, rota una in altiorem orbitam depressa ita turrim inclinavit, ut speciem ruentis hostibus, trepidationem insanam superstantibus armatis praebuerit.

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[1] For the Roman *testudo*, see the note on XXXI. xxxix. 14. Livy seems to mean that the multitude of spears, projecting in front of the phalanx, offered a projection against frontal attack comparable to that afforded by the *testudo*.

To visualize this battle, we must picture the phalanx diminished in frontage sufficiently to fit it into the breach in the wall (this protected it against flank attack), and correspondingly deepened. Since the ranks, from front to rear, carried spears of increasingly greater length, the points presented an almost impenetrable barrier. In the characteristic Roman attack, the soldiers threw their javelins to break up, at least temporarily, the hostile formation, and then closed in in-

up with the debris of the fallen wall, he moved up B.C. 198
a tower of great height, carrying a large number of men in its numerous galleries, and sent out cohorts, one after the other, under their standards, to pierce, if possible, with their attack the wedge-formation of the Macedonians—they themselves call it the phalanx. But in addition to the limits of space, only a little of the wall having been destroyed, the enemy had the advantage in character of weapons and in tactics. When the Macedonians in close order held before them spears of great length, and when the Romans, hurling their javelins to no purpose, had drawn their swords against this sort of *testudo*,[1] closely-fashioned as if with shields, they could neither approach near enough to engage hand to hand nor cut off the ends of the spears, and if they did cut off or break any of them, the spearshaft, the broken part being itself sharp, helped, along with the points of the undamaged pikes, to make a sort of wall. Moreover, the parts of the rampart that still stood protected the two flanks, nor was it possible either to retire or to charge from a distance, a manoeuvre which usually throws the ranks into disorder. An accident, too, served to increase the courage of the enemy; for when the tower was being moved along the terrace of loosely-compacted earth, one of its wheels, slipping into a deep rut, caused the tower to lean so much that it seemed to the enemy about to fall, and caused a panic fear among the soldiers standing upon it.

dividual hand-to-hand combat. The mass of the phalanx, in this situation, was too dense to be affected by the javelins, and the spears projecting in front prevented the Romans from closing in and reaching the enemy with their swords.

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XVIII. Cum parum quicquam succederet, consul minime aequo animo comparationem militum gene-
2 risque armorum[1] fieri patiebatur, simul nec maturam expugnandi spem nec rationem procul a mari et in evastatis belli cladibus locis hibernandi ullam cerne-
3 bat. Itaque relicta obsidione, quia nullus in tota Acarnaniae atque Aetoliae ora portus erat, qui simul et omnes onerarias, quae commeatum exercitui portabant, caperet et tecta ad hibernandum legionibus
4 praeberet, Anticyra in Phocide, in Corinthium versa
5 sinum, ad id opportunissime sita visa, quia nec procul Thessalia hostiumque locis aberat et ex adverso Peloponnesum exiguo maris spatio divisam, ab tergo Aetoliam Acarnaniamque, ab lateribus
6 Locridem ac Boeotiam habebat. Phocidis primo impetu Phanoteam sine certamine cepit. Anticyra haud multum oppugnando morae praebuit. Am-
7 brysus inde Hyampolisque receptae. Daulis, quia in tumulo excelso sita est, nec scalis nec operibus capi
8 poterat. Lacessendo missilibus eos, qui in praesidio erant, cum ad excursiones elicuissent, refugiendo in vicem sequendoque et levibus sine effectu certaminibus eo neglegentiae et contemptus adduxerunt, ut cum refugientibus in portam permixti impetum
9 Romani facerent. Et alia ignobilia castella Phocidis terrore magis quam armis in potestatem venerunt. Elatia clausit portas, nec, nisi vi cogerentur, recepturi moenibus videbantur aut ducem aut exercitum Romanum.

[1] generisque armorum *Baumgarten-Crusius*: generis armorum *B*: generis armorumque ς.

XVIII. As nothing turned out successfully, the consul was most reluctant to permit a comparison of men and weapons to be made, and at the same time he realized that there was no immediate prospect of capturing the town nor any way to winter his troops far from the sea and in a region wasted by the calamities of war. So he raised the siege, and because there was no harbour on the whole coast of Acarnania and Aetolia which could both accommodate the fleet which brought supplies to the army and at the same time provide shelter for wintering the troops, Anticyra in Phocis, facing the Gulf of Corinth, seemed the most suitable place for this purpose, because it was not far from Thessaly and the enemy's country, and it had in front the Peloponnesus, separated by a narrow expanse of sea, and behind it Aetolia and Acarnania and on the sides Locris and Boeotia. He took Phanotea in Phocis at the first assault and without a struggle. Anticyra caused only a little delay to his siege. Ambrysus next and Hyampolis surrendered. Daulis, because it was located on a lofty hill, could not be taken by escalade or siege. By harassing the defenders with darts and tempting them to make sallies, by alternately retiring and pursuing, and by fighting small engagements of no significance, they brought them to such a pitch of carelessness and to such a feeling of contempt that the Romans, mingling with the defenders as they withdrew into the gate, assaulted the town. Other unimportant strongholds of Phocis surrendered, more from fear than by reason of attack. Elatia closed its gates, and seemed disinclined to admit either commander or Roman army, unless it were compelled by violence. B.C. 198

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XIX. Elatiam obsidenti consuli rei maioris spes adfulsit, Achaeorum gentem ab societate regia in Romanam amicitiam avertendi. Cycliadan, principem factionis ad Philippum trahentium res, expulerant; Aristaenus, qui Romanis gentem iungi volebat, praetor erat. Classis Romana cum Attalo et Rhodiis Cenchreis stabat, parabantque communi omnes consilio Corinthum oppugnare. Optimum igitur ratus est, priusquam eam rem adgrederentur, legatos ad gentem Achaeorum mitti pollicentes, si ab rege ad Romanos defecissent, Corinthum contributuros in antiquum gentis concilium. Auctore consule legati a fratre eius L. Quinctio et Attalo et Rhodiis et Atheniensibus ad Achaeos missi. Sicyone datum est iis concilium. Erat autem non admodum simplex habitus inter Achaeos animorum: terrebat Nabis Lacedaemonius, gravis et adsiduus hostis; horrebant Romana arma; Macedonum beneficiis et veteribus et recentibus obligati erant; regem ipsum suspectum habebant pro eius crudelitate perfidiaque, neque ex iis, quae tum ad tempus faceret, aestimantes graviorem post bellum dominum futurum cernebant. Neque solum, quid in senatu quisque civitatis suae aut in communibus conciliis gentis pro sententia dicerent ignorabant, sed ne ipsis quidem secum cogitantibus quid vellent aut quid optarent, satis constabat. Ad homines ita incertos introductis legatis potestas dicendi facta est. Romanus primum legatus L.

[1] See XXXI. xxv. 3 ff., and the Introductory Note.

XIX. While the consul was besieging Elatia, B.C. 198
there came the gleam of hope of a greater achievement, the winning over of the Achaeans from alliance with the king to friendship with the Romans. They had expelled Cycliadas,[1] the leader of the faction inclined to favour Philip; Aristaenus, who wished the state to join the Romans, was the president. The Roman fleet with Attalus and the Rhodians lay at Cenchreae, preparing for a concerted attack on Corinth. He therefore thought it best, before they undertook this task, to send ambassadors to the Achaean people, promising that if they would turn from the king to the Romans, they would reunite Corinth to the ancient council of the people. By the authority of the consul, delegates were sent to the Achaeans by his brother Lucius Quinctius, Attalus, the Rhodians, and the Athenians. An audience was granted them at Sicyon. But the state of mind among the Achaeans was complex. The Spartan Nabis, a dangerous and ever-present enemy, terrified them; the Roman arms were a menace; to the Macedonians they were bound by acts of kindness both old and new; the king himself they looked on with suspicion, for his cruelty and treachery, and, not judging by what he was doing at that time, to suit the occasion, they saw that he would be a harsher master after the war. They not only did not know what opinion each one would express in the senate of his own state or in the common councils of the people, but were not very clear as to what they would want or desire as they considered the matter in their own thoughts. The opportunity was offered the ambassadors to speak to an audience in this state of uncertainty. The Roman delegate,

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Calpurnius, deinde Attali regis legati, post eos
12 Rhodii disseruerunt; Philippi deinde legatis potestas dicendi facta est; postremi Athenienses, ut refellerent Macedonum dicta, auditi sunt. Ii fere atrocissime in regem, quia nulli nec plura nec tam acerba
13 passi erant, invecti sunt. Et illa quidem contio sub occasum solis tot legatorum perpetuis orationibus die absumpto dimissa est.

XX. Postero die advocatur concilium; ubi cum per praeconem, sicut Graecis mos est, suadendi, si quis vellet, potestas a magistratibus facta esset, nec quisquam prodiret, diu silentium aliorum alios
2 intuentium fuit. Neque mirum, si, quibus sua sponte volutantibus res inter se repugnantes obtorpuerant quodam modo animi, eos si orationes quoque insuper turbaverant utrimque, quae difficilia essent, promendo
3 admonendoque per totum diem habitae. Tandem Aristaenus, praetor Achaeorum, ne tacitum concilium dimitteret: "Ubi" inquit "illa certamina animorum, Achaei, sunt, quibus in conviviis et circulis, cum de Philippo et Romanis mentio incidit, vix manibus
4 temperatis? Nunc in concilio ad eam rem unam indicto, cum legatorum utrimque verba audieritis, cum referant magistratus, cum praeco ad suadendum
5 vocet, obmutuistis! Si non cura salutis communis, ne studia quidem, quae in hanc aut in illam partem animos vestros inclinarunt, vocem cuiquam
6 possunt exprimere? Cum praesertim nemo tam

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Lucius Calpurnius, was first heard, then the ambassadors of King Attalus, and after them the Rhodians; next the representatives of Philip were given audience, and finally the Athenians were heard, that they might refute the Macedonian arguments. They assailed the king in quite the fiercest terms, for no others had suffered so much or so grievously. And this meeting was dismissed at sunset, the whole day having been consumed by the set speeches of so many ambassadors. B.C. 198

XX. Next day the council assembled; and when, through the herald, after the Greek custom, the magistrates gave the opportunity to offer a motion, if anyone wished, and no one came forward, there was a long silence as men looked at one another. Nor was it strange, if men whose minds were in a way bewildered by pondering independently the conflicting claims, were rendered still more uncertain by the speeches on both sides, delivered through an entire day, bringing forward and urging arguments that were hard to meet. At length Aristaenus, the praetor of the Achaeans, so as not to dismiss the council without debate, spoke thus: "Where are those rivalries of feeling, Achaeans, which cause you hardly to refrain from blows, when mention is made of Philip and the Romans at your dinners and social gatherings? Now, in a council called for this one purpose, after you have heard the words of representatives of both sides, when the magistrates lay the question before you and the herald asks for motions, you are silent! If there is no concern for the general welfare, can no personal interest even, which has turned your minds this way or that, draw a word from anyone? Especially as there is no one so

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hebes sit, qui ignorare possit dicendi ac suadendi quod quisque aut velit aut optimum putet, nunc occasionem esse, priusquam quicquam decernamus; ubi semel decretum erit, omnibus id, etiam quibus ante displicuerit, pro bono atque utili fore defenden-
7 dum." Haec adhortatio praetoris non modo quemquam unum elicuit ad suadendum, sed ne fremitum quidem aut murmur contionis tantae ex tot populis congregatae movit.

XXI. Tum Aristaenus praetor rursus: "Non magis consilium vobis, principes Achaeorum, deest quam lingua; sed suo quisque periculo in commune consultum non vult. Forsitan ego quoque tacerem, si privatus essem; nunc praetori video aut non dandum concilium legatis fuisse, aut non sine responso
2 eos[1] dimittendos esse; respondere autem nisi ex vestro decreto qui possum? Et quoniam nemo vestrum, qui in hoc concilium advocati estis, pro sententia quicquam dicere vult aut audet, orationes legatorum hesterno die ut[2] pro sententiis dictas
3 percenseamus, perinde ac non postulaverint, quae e re sua essent, sed suaserint quae nobis censerent
4 utilia esse. Romani Rhodiique et Attalus societatem amicitiamque nostram petunt et in bello quod adversus Philippum gerunt se a nobis adiuvari
5 aequum censent. Philippus societatis secum admonet et iuris iurandi et modo postulat ut secum stemus, modo ne intersimus armis, contentum ait se esse.
6 Nulline venit in mentem cur, qui nondum socii sunt, plus petant quam socius? Non fit hoc neque

[1] eos *Madvig*: eos non *B*. [2] ut *Madvig*: *om*. *B*.

dull as not to know that this is the time to speak and to advise what each either desires or thinks best, before we reach any decision; when once a decree has been passed, all, even those who formerly opposed it, must defend it as good and expedient." This exhortation of the praetor not only prompted no one to make a proposal, but provoked no groan or whisper from so large a council, drawn from so many peoples. B.C. 198

XXI. So the praetor Aristaenus spoke again: "You lack counsel, leaders of the Achaeans, no less than the power of speech; but each one refuses to promote the public interest at the cost of peril to himself. Perhaps I too should keep silence if I were a private citizen; now I see that, so far as the praetor is concerned, either the ambassadors should not have been granted an audience or they should not be sent away unanswered; but how can I answer except in accordance with your decree? And since no one of you who have been summoned to this council wishes or dares to say anything in the way of suggestion, let us consider the ambassadors' speeches delivered yesterday as opinions expressed in debate, just as if they had not intended what was to their own interest but recommended what they deemed profitable for us. The Romans, the Rhodians and Attalus ask for our alliance and friendship, and in the war which they are waging with Philip they think it proper that we should assist them. Philip reminds us of our alliance with him and of our oath, and now demands that we take our stand with him, now says that he is satisfied if we refrain from taking up arms. Does it occur to no one why those who are not yet our allies demand more than our ally? This is not, ye Achaeans, the

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modestia Philippi neque impudentia Romanorum,
7 Achaei: fortuna et dat fiduciam postulantibus et demit. Philippi praeter legatum videmus nihil; Romana classis ad Cenchreas stat urbium Euboeae spolia prae se ferens, consulem legionesque eius, exiguo maris spatio diiunctas, Phocidem ac Locridem
8 pervagantes videmus; miramini, cur diffidenter Cleomedon, legatus Philippi, ut pro rege arma
9 caperemus adversus Romanos, modo egerit? Qui, si ex eodem foedere ac iure iurando, cuius nobis religionem iniciebat, rogemus eum, ut nos Philippus et ab Nabide ac Lacedaemoniis et ab Romanis defendat, non modo praesidium, quo tueatur nos, sed ne quid
10 respondeat quidem nobis sit inventurus, non hercule magis quam ipse Philippus priore anno, qui pollicendo se adversus Nabidem bellum gesturum cum temptasset nostram iuventutem hinc in Euboeam extra-
11 here, postquam nos neque decernere id sibi praesidium neque velle illigari Romano bello vidit, oblitus societatis eius quam nunc iactat vastandos populan-
12 dosque Nabidi ac Lacedaemoniis reliquit. Ac mihi quidem minime conveniens inter se oratio Cleomedontis visa est. Elevabat Romanum bellum eventumque eius eundem fore, qui prioris belli quod cum
13 Philippo gesserint, dicebat. Cur igitur nostrum ille auxilium absens petit potius quam praesens nos, socios veteres, simul ab Nabide ac Romanis tueatur? Nos dico? Quid ita passus est Eretriam Carystumque capi? Quid ita tot Thessaliae urbes? Quid ita

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result of Philip's moderation or the Romans' arrogance; fortune both gives and takes away confidence in making demands. We see no sign of Philip except his ambassador; the Roman fleet lies at Cenchreae, displaying the spoils of the cities of Euboea, we see the consul and his legions marching through Phocis and Locris, separated from us by a narrow stretch of water; do you wonder why Cleomedon, Philip's delegate, suggested with such hesitation a while ago that we take up arms in the king's cause against the Romans? If, in accordance with that treaty and oath, respect for which he tried to instil into us, we ask him that Philip protect us both against Nabis and his Lacedaemonians and against the Romans, he will not only find no garrison wherewith to protect us: he will not even find an answer to give us, any more, by Hercules, than Philip did last year; when, by promising that he would conduct the war against Nabis, he had tried to allure our fighting men away to Euboea, after he saw that we would neither vote him that protection nor consent to be involved in the Roman war, forgetful of that alliance about which he now uses such fine words, he left us to Nabis and the Lacedaemonians to plunder and rob. And to me, at least, Cleomedon's speech seemed by no means consistent with itself. He belittled the Roman war, and claimed that the result would be the same as that of the earlier war which they engaged in with Philip. Why then does Philip, remaining away, ask our aid, rather than, being present in person, defend us, his ancient allies, against both Nabis and the Romans? Defend *us*, do I say? Why did he permit Eretria and Carystus to be captured in that way? Why so many B.C. 198

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14 Locridem Phocidemque? Quid ita nunc Elatiam oppugnari patitur? Cur excessit faucibus Epiri claustrisque illis inexpugnabilibus super Aoum amnem relictoque quem insidebat saltu penitus in
15 regnum abiit? Aut[1] vi aut metu aut voluntate. Si sua voluntate tot socios reliquit hostibus diripiendos, qui recusare potest quin et socii sibi consulant? Si metu, nobis quoque ignoscat timentibus; si victus armis cessit, Achaei Romana arma sustinebimus, Cleomedon, quae vos Macedones non sus-
16 tinuistis? An tibi potius credamus Romanos non maioribus copiis nec viribus nunc bellum gerere quam antea gesserint potius quam res ipsas intue-
17 amur? Aetolos tum classe adiuverunt; nec duce consulari nec exercitu bellum gesserunt; sociorum Philippi maritimae tum urbes in terrore ac tumultu erant; mediterranea adeo tuta ab armis Romanis fuerunt ut Philippus Aetolos nequiquam
18 opem Romanorum implorantes depopularetur; nunc autem defuncti bello Punico Romani, quod per sedecim annos velut intra viscera Italiae toleraverunt, non praesidium[2] Aetolis bellantibus miserunt, sed ipsi duces belli arma terra marique simul
19 Macedoniae intulerunt. Tertius iam consul summa vi gerit bellum. Sulpicius in ipsa Macedonia congressus fudit fugavitque regem, partem opulentissi-
20 mam regni eius depopulatus; nunc Quinctius tenen-

[1] aut . . . voluntate *post* amnem *in B locata, transp. Madvig.*
[2] praesidium *edd.*: in praesidium *B.*

[1] In 211 B.C. (XXVI. xxiv. 10) the Romans sent a fleet to the east, but their land forces there were inconsiderable until 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 2). A consular army had as its nucleus, normally, two Roman legions; the forces assigned to inferior commanders were largely or wholly made up of Latin allies.

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towns of Thessaly? Why Locris and Phocis? Why B.C. 198
does he now allow Elatia to be besieged? Why did he leave the passes of Epirus and his impregnable position above the Aous river, abandon the defile which he held and retire far into his own kingdom? It was either under compulsion, or from fear, or by design. If he voluntarily left so many allies to be sacked by the enemy, how can he object if his allies take measures for their own security? If he was afraid, let him excuse also our fear. If he retired because he was beaten in battle, shall we Achaeans, Cleomedon, sustain the Roman attack which you Macedonians did not resist? Or should we take your word for it that the Romans are not employing in the war greater forces and military power than they did before, or should we rather look at the obvious facts? Then they aided the Aetolians with their fleet; they waged war with neither consular commander nor consular army;[1] at that time the maritime cities of Philip's allies were in fear and terror; the inland districts were so safe from Roman arms that Philip pillaged the Aetolians even while they asked in vain for Roman aid; but now the Romans have finished the Punic War, which they endured for sixteen years in, as it were, the very heart of Italy, and they have not sent assistance to the Aetolians, who were carrying on the war, but they themselves, as leaders in the war, have attacked Macedonia by land and sea at once. Now the third consul is here, prosecuting the war with boundless energy. Sulpicius, meeting the king in Macedonia itself, defeated him and put him to flight, and plundered the richest part of his kingdom; now Quinctius has dislodged him from his camp,

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tem claustra Epiri natura loci, munimentis, exercitu[1] fretum castris exuit, fugientem in Thessaliam persecutus praesidia regia sociasque urbes eius prope in conspectu regis ipsius expugnavit.

21 " Ne sint vera, quae Atheniensis modo legatus de crudelitate, avaritia, libidine regis disseruit; nihil ad nos pertineant, quae in terra Attica scelera in 22 superos inferosque deos sunt admissa, multo minus quae Ciani Abydenique, qui procul ab nobis absunt, passi sunt; nostrorum ipsi vulnerum si vultis oblivis- 23 camur, caedes direptionesque bonorum Messenae in media Peloponneso factas, et hospitem Cyparissiae Charitelen contra ius omne ac fas inter epulas prope ipsas occisum, et Aratum patrem filiumque Sicyonios, cum senem infelicem parentem etiam appellare 24 solitus esset, interfectos, filii[2] etiam uxorem libidinis causa in Macedoniam asportatam, cetera stupra 25 virginum matronarumque oblivioni dentur; ne sit[3] cum Philippo res, cuius crudelitatis metu obmutuistis omnes—nam quae alia tacendi advocatis in concilium causa est?—; cum Antigono, mitissimo ac iustissimo rege et de nobis omnibus optime merito, existimemus disceptationem esse: num id postularet 26 facere nos quod fieri[4] non posset? Paene insula est Peloponnesus, angustis Isthmi faucibus continenti

[1] exercitu *edd.*: exercitus *B*.
[2] filii etiam *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: . . . eius *B*: pili (pilis) eius *s*.
[3] sit *Duker*: sint *B*.
[4] fieri *Bekker*: reri *B*: tam (iam, cum) fieri *s*.

[1] This crime seems to be unmentioned elsewhere.
[2] See Plutarch's life of Aratus, 52, 54 and elsewhere, and Polyb. VIII. xiv.
[3] Philip's predecessor on the Macedonian throne; he supported the Achaean against the Aetolian League.

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though he held the passes of Epirus, relying on the nature of the country, on his fortifications and on his army, pursued him as he fled to Thessaly, and captured the royal garrisons and allied towns almost under the king's very eyes. B.C. 198

"Grant that what the Athenians said about the king's cruelty, greed and passion was not true; grant that we are not interested in the crimes against supernal and infernal gods which he committed in the land of Attica, and much less interested in the sufferings of the Ciani and Abydeni, who are far away from us; let us forget, if you will, our own wounds; let us dismiss from memory the murders and robberies committed at Messene, in the centre of the Peloponnesus, the murder of Chariteles,[1] his host at Cyparissia, in the course of a feast, in violation of all human and divine justice; the murder of the two Sicyonians, Aratus the father and the son,[2] though he had been accustomed to call the unhappy old man even by the name of father; the removal of the son's wife to Macedonia to serve his lust; let the other debaucheries of maids and wives be consigned to oblivion; assume that our business is not with Philip, from fear of whose cruelty you have all kept silent (for what other explanation is there of your silence when called to deliberate?); let us consider that our relations are with Antigonus,[3] that most just and merciful king who served so well the cause of all of us: would he demand that we do what is impossible? The Peloponnesus is a peninsula, joined to the mainland by the narrow strip of the Isthmus,[4] exposed and open to attack

[4] The Isthmus of Corinth.

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adhaerens, nulli apertior neque opportunior quam
27 navali bello. Si centum tectae naves et quinquaginta leviores apertae et triginta Issaei lembi maritimam oram vastare et expositas prope in ipsis litoribus urbes coeperint oppugnare, in mediterraneas scilicet nos urbes recipiemus, tamquam non intestino et haerente
28 in ipsis visceribus uramur bello! Cum terra Nabis et Lacedaemonii, mari classis Romana urgebunt, unde regiam societatem et Macedonum praesidia implorem? An ipsi nostris armis ab hoste Romano tutabimur urbes quae oppugnabuntur? Egregie
29 enim Dymas priore bello sumus tutati! Satis exemplorum nobis clades alienae praebent; ne quaeramus quem ad modum ceteris exemplo simus.
30 "Nolite, quia ultro Romani petunt amicitiam, id quod optandum vobis ac summopere petendum erat,
31 fastidire. Metu enim videlicet compulsi et deprensi in aliena terra, quia sub umbra vestri auxilii latere volunt, in societatem vestram confugiunt, ut portibus
32 vestris recipiantur, ut commeatibus utantur! Mare in potestate habent; terras quascumque adeunt extemplo dicionis suae faciunt. Quod rogant, cogere possunt; quia pepercisse vobis volunt,
33 committere vos, cur pereatis, non patiuntur. Nam quod Cleomedon modo tamquam mediam et tutissimam vobis viam consilii, ut quiesceretis abstineretisque armis, ostendebat, ea non media, sed nulla via
34 est. Etenim praeterquam quod aut accipienda aut spernenda vobis Romana societas est, quid aliud quam

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by sea beyond all else. If one hundred decked B.C. 198
vessels and fifty smaller undecked ships and thirty light Issaean boats begin to plunder our coast and lay siege to the cities lying almost on the shore, we shall of course retire to the inland strongholds, as if we were not consumed with internal war, raging in our very hearts! When Nabis and the Spartans press on us by land and the Roman fleet by sea, on what ground should I invoke the king's alliance and Macedonian guards? Or shall we with our own arms defend against the Romans the towns they will besiege? Nobly did we defend Dymae in the former war! The misfortunes of others furnish us examples in abundance; let us not seek how we may be an example to others.

"Do not, because the Romans come of their own accord to seek our friendship, disdain what you ought to have hoped for and particularly desired. Impelled by fear, no doubt, and entrapped in a strange land, because they wish to find shelter under the shadow of your protection, they flee to your alliance, that they may hide in your harbours, and secure supplies! The sea is in their power; they immediately assume control of whatever lands they visit. What they ask, they can compel; because they wish you spared, they do not permit you to do aught for which you should be destroyed. For as to what Cleomedon pointed out to you a while ago, a middle course, as it were, and the safest way to decide, to wit, that you remain neutral and avoid war, that is not a middle course: it is no course at all. For, in addition to the fact that you must either accept or reject the Roman alliance, what other course is open except for us, since we have no sure claim to

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nusquam gratia stabili, velut qui eventum expectaverimus, ut fortunae applicaremus nostra consilia, praeda victoris erimus? Nolite, si quod omnibus votis petendum erat, ultro offertur, fastidire. Non quem ad modum hodie utrumque vobis licet, sic semper liciturum est: nec saepe nec diu eadem occasio erit. Liberare vos a Philippo iam diu magis vultis quam audetis. Sine vestro labore et periculo qui vos in libertatem vindicarent, cum magnis classibus exercitibusque mare traiecerunt. Hos si socios aspernamini, vix mentis sanae estis; sed aut socios aut hostes habeatis oportet."

XXII. Secundum orationem praetoris murmur ortum aliorum cum adsensu, aliorum inclementer adsentientes increpantium; et iam non singuli tantum sed populi universi inter se altercabantur. Tum inter magistratus gentis—damiurgos vocant; decem numero creantur—certamen nihilo segnius quam inter multitudinem esse. Quinque relaturos de societate Romana se aiebant suffragiumque daturos; quinque lege cautum testabantur, ne quid quod adversus Philippi societatem esset aut referre magistratibus aut decernere concilio ius esset. Is quoque dies iurgiis est consumptus.

Supererat unus iusti concilii dies; tertio enim lex iubebat decretum fieri; in quem adeo exarsere studia, ut vix parentes ab liberis temperaverint. Pisias Pellenensis erat; filium damiurgum nomine

[1] Livy appropriately uses the Doric spelling of the word. The number was probably inherited from the time when the League consisted of ten cities.

consideration anywhere, to play the part of men who B.C. 198
have been merely awaiting the event, with the intention of adapting our counsels to the decision of fortune, and eventually become the prey of the conqueror? If what we should all be praying for is voluntarily offered, do not despise the gift. It will not always be open to us, as it is to-day, to make a choice; the same opportunity rarely returns, and it tarries but a little while. For a long time you have wished, but not dared, to free yourselves from Philip. Now men have crossed the sea with mighty fleets and armies, to affirm your claims to liberty without trouble or danger on your part. If you reject them as allies, you are scarcely sane; but as either allies or enemies you must have them."

XXII. After the praetor's speech there arose an outcry, some applauding, some sharply rebuking those who approved; and soon not individuals only but whole communities were involved in the quarrel. Then among the magistrates of the people—they call them *damiurgi*,[1] and the number appointed is ten—an argument began no less violent than that among the mass of the delegates. Five announced that they would put a motion favouring a Roman alliance and call for a vote; five held that it was illegal either for the magistrates to submit or the council to decree anything subversive of the alliance with Philip. This day too was spent in argument.

One day of the legal council remained; for the law ordered the decision to be reached on the third day; on the matter to be decided that day feeling ran so high that parents could scarcely keep their hands off their children. There was present Pisias of Pellene; he had a son, a *damiurgus*, Memnon by

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Memnonem habebat, partis eius quae decretum
6 recitari perrogarique sententias prohibebat. Is diu
obtestatus filium ut consulere Achaeos communi
saluti pateretur neu pertinacia sua gentem uni-
7 versam perditum iret, postquam parum proficiebant
preces,[1] iuratus se eum sua manu interempturum nec
8 pro filio sed pro hoste habiturum minis pervicit, ut
postero die coniungeret iis se qui referebant. Qui
cum plures facti referrent, omnibus fere populis haud
dubie approbantibus relationem ac prae se ferentibus
9 quid decreturi essent, Dymaei ac Megalopolitani
et quidam Argivorum, priusquam decretum fieret,
consurrexerunt ac reliquerunt concilium neque
10 mirante ullo nec improbante. Nam Megalopolitanos
avorum memoria pulsos ab Lacedaemoniis restituerat
in patriam Antigonus, et Dymaeis, captis nuper
direptisque ab exercitu Romano, cum redimi eos,
ubicumque servirent, Philippus iussisset, non liber-
11 tatem modo sed etiam patriam reddiderat; iam
Argivi, praeterquam quod Macedonum reges ab se
oriundos credunt, privatis etiam hospitiis familiarique
12 amicitia plerique illigati Philippo erant. Ob haec
concilio, quod inclinaverat ad Romanam societatem
iubendam, excesserunt, veniaque iis huius secessionis
fuit et magnis et recentibus obligatis beneficiis.

XXIII. Ceteri populi Achaeorum, cum sententias
perrogarentur, societatem cum Attalo[2] ac Rhodiis
2 praesenti decreto confirmarunt; cum Romanis,

[1] preces *edd.*: parum *B.*
[2] Attalo *edd.*: Romanis *B.*

[1] Actually, this had happened in 226 B.C. (Polyb. V. xciii), so that Livy's phrase *avorum memoria* is an exaggeration.

name, of the faction which forbade a motion to be made or a vote taken. Pisias for a long time entreated his son to allow the Achaeans to consult the general welfare and not to destroy the entire race by his obstinacy, but when prayers proved unavailing he swore that he would kill him with his own hand, treating him not as a son but as an enemy, and with these threats he won his point, so that next day he joined the party which proposed a vote. When now the majority favoured that course, and almost all the cities were clearly expressing their approval of the motion and openly declaring what the decision would be, the delegates from Dymae and Megalopolis and some of the Argives, before the motion was passed, arose and left the council, no one expressing either surprise or reproach. For within the memory of their forefathers, the Megalopolitani, defeated by the Spartans, had been restored to their homes by Antigonus,[1] and to the Dymaei, who had recently been captured and plundered by the Romans, Philip had restored both liberty and their homes, having ordered them to be ransomed wherever they were enslaved; many of the Argives, too, besides believing that the kings of Macedon were derived from them, were bound to Philip by personal ties as well and by private friendship. For such reasons they withdrew from a council which had leaned towards ordering an alliance with Rome, and indulgence was granted them for withdrawing, bound as they were by great and recent acts of kindness. B.C. 198

XXIII. The other peoples of the Achaeans, when called on to vote, approved by immediate decree the alliance with Attalus and the Rhodians; the treaty with the Romans, since it could not be ratified except

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quia iniussu populi non poterat rata esse, in id tempus
3 quo Romam mitti legati possent, dilata est; in praesentia tres legatos ad L. Quinctium mitti placuit et exercitum omnem Achaeorum ad Corinthum admoveri captis Cenchreis iam urbem ipsam Quinctio oppugnante.

4 Et hi quidem e regione portae quae fert Sicyonem posuerunt castra; Romani in [1] Cenchreas versam partem urbis, Attalus traducto per Isthmum exercitu ab Lechaeo, alterius maris portu, oppugnabant, primo segnius, sperantes seditionem intus fore inter
5 oppidanos ac regium praesidium. Postquam uno animo omnes, et Macedones tamquam communem patriam tuebantur, et Corinthii ducem praesidii Androsthenen haud secus quam civem et suffragio creatum suo imperio in se uti patiebantur, omnis inde spes oppugnantibus [2] in vi et armis et operibus
6 erat. Undique aggeres haud facili aditu ad moenia
7 admovebantur. Aries ex ea parte quam Romani oppugnabant aliquantum muri diruerat; in quem locum, quia nudatus munimento erat, protegendum armis cum Macedones concurrerent, atrox proelium
8 inter eos ac Romanos ortum est. Ac primo multitudine facile expellebantur Romani; adsumptis deinde Achaeorum Attalique auxiliis aequabant certamen, nec dubium erat, quin Macedonas
9 Graecosque facile loco pulsuri fuerint. Trans-

[1] in *Hertz*: *om. B.*
[2] oppugnantibus *Gronovius*: pugnantibus *B.*

[1] Foreign alliances required the approval of the assembly at Rome.
[2] The port of Corinth on the Saronic Gulf.

by vote of the people,[1] was postponed to the time B.C. 198
when ambassadors could be sent to Rome; for the present, it was voted that three commissioners should be sent to Lucius Quinctius and that all the army of the Achaeans should be moved to Corinth, since Quinctius was now besieging the city itself after his capture of Cenchreae.

They now encamped in the vicinity of the gate which leads to Sicyon; the Romans were operating on the side towards Cenchreae, Attalus, having led his army across the Isthmus, from the direction of Lechaeum, the port on the other sea,[2] conducting the siege at first without much energy, since they hoped for dissension within between the citizens and the royal garrison. When they proved completely harmonious, the Macedonians conducting the defence as if it were of their common fatherland, the Corinthians permitting Androsthenes, the commander of the garrison, to exercise his authority over them as if he were a citizen and their elected general, thenceforth all the hope of the besiegers rested in their own strength, their weapons, and their siege-works. From all sides, though the task was difficult, they moved their mounds towards the walls. On the side where the Romans were attacking the battering-ram had destroyed part of the wall; when the Macedonians rushed to defend this place with their arms, because it was without protection, a desperate battle took place between them and the Romans. And at first the Romans were easily repulsed by superior numbers; then, summoning reinforcements of the Achaeans and the troops of Attalus, they restored equality, and there seemed no doubt that the Macedonians and Greeks would be easily dis-

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fugarum Italicorum magna multitudo erat, pars ex Hannibalis exercitu metu poenae a Romanis Philippum secuta, pars navales socii relictis nuper classibus ad spem honoratioris militiae transgressi; hos desperata salus, si Romani vicissent, ad rabiem magis
10 quam audaciam accendebat. Promunturium est adversus Sicyonem Iunonis, quam vocant Acraeam, in altum excurrens; traiectus inde Corinthum
11 septem fere milium passuum. Eo Philocles, regius et ipse praefectus, mille et quingentos milites per Boeotiam duxit. Praesto fuere ab Corintho lembi qui praesidium id acceptum Lechaeum traicerent.
12 Auctor erat Attalus incensis operibus omittendae extemplo oppugnationis; pertinacius Quinctius[1] in incepto perstabat. Is quoque, ut pro omnibus portis disposita videt praesidia regia nec facile erumpentium impetus sustineri posse, in Attali sententiam concessit.
13 Ita inrito incepto dimissis Achaeis reditum ad naves est. Attalus Piraeum, Romani Corcyram petierunt.

XXIV. Dum haec ab navali exercitu geruntur, consul in Phocide ad Elatiam castris positis primo colloquiis rem per principes Elatensium temptavit; post-
2 quam nihil esse in manu sua et plures validioresque esse regios quam oppidanos respondebatur, tum simul ab omni parte operibus armisque urbem est adgressus.
3 Ariete admoto cum[2] quantum inter duas[3] turres muri erat prorutum cum ingenti fragore ac strepitu

[1] Quinctius *edd.*: cum intus Romanus *B.*
[2] admoto cum *Jacobs*: admotoq. *B.*
[3] duas *Madvig*: *om. B.*

[1] The *navales socii* were freedmen or members of allied Italian cities, employed as rowers on war-ships.
[2] That is, Juno of the Heights.
[3] The narrative interrrupted at xix. 1 is continued.

lodged. There was a great host of Italian deserters, B.C. 198
some from Hannibal's army who had followed Philip from fear of punishment by the Romans, some naval allies who had recently deserted the fleet and come over in the hope of more highly-rewarded service;[1] their hopelessness regarding immunity, if the Romans conquered, inspired them to courage or rather to frenzy. On the side toward Sicyon is a promontory, sacred to the Juno whom they call Acraea,[2] and rising high into the air; thence the distance to Corinth is about seven miles. Thither Philocles, also a prefect of the king, brought fifteen hundred soldiers through Boeotia. Vessels from Corinth were at hand to transport the force thus arriving to Lechaeum. Attalus urged that the works be burned and the siege immediately abandoned; Quinctius persisted more stubbornly in his undertaking. He too, when he saw the royal guards stationed before all the gates, and perceived that their sallies could not be easily resisted, went over to the opinion of Attalus. And so, with their design unaccomplished, after sending the Achaeans home they returned to their ships. Attalus proceeded to Piraeus, the Romans to Corcyra.

XXIV. While this was being done by the navy,[3] the consul in Phocis, having pitched his camp in front of Elatia, tried first to attain his end by conferences, using the principal citizens of Elatia; after he had received the reply that the decision was not for them to make and that the king's garrison was stronger and more numerous than the citizens, he then attacked the city from all sides with arms and engines. When he brought up a battering-ram and a section of wall between two towers fell with a mighty crash and din and left the city

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nudasset urbem, simul et cohors Romana per apertum
4 recenti strage iter invasit, et ex omnibus oppidi partibus relictis suis quisque stationibus in eum qui premebatur impetu hostium locum concurrerunt.
5 Eodem tempore Romani et ruinas muri supervadebant et scalas ad stantia moenia inferebant. Et dum in unam partem oculos animosque hostium certamen averterat, pluribus locis scalis capitur
6 murus, armatique in urbem transcenderunt. Quo tumultu audito territi hostes relicto quem conferti tuebantur loco in arcem omnes, inermi quoque
7 sequente turba, confugerunt. Ita urbe potitur consul. Qua direpta missis in arcem qui vitam regiis, si inermes abire vellent, libertatem Elatensibus pollicerentur, fideque in haec data post dies paucos arcem recipit.

XXV. Ceterum adventu in Achaiam Philoclis, regii praefecti, non Corinthus tantum liberata obsidione, sed Argivorum quoque civitas per quosdam principes Philocli prodita est temptatis prius animis plebis.
2 Mos erat comitiorum die primo velut ominis causa praetores pronuntiare Iovem Apollinemque et Herculem; additum lege[1] erat, ut his Philippus rex
3 adiceretur. Cuius nomen post pactam cum Romanis societatem quia praeco non adiecit, fremitus primo
4 multitudinis ortus, deinde clamor subicientium

[1] lege *edd.* : legi *B.*

open to attack, at the same time a Roman cohort B.C. 198
broke through the gap left by the recent collapse, and also the guards from all parts of the city, each leaving his own post, hurried to the spot which was endangered by the enemy's attack. At the same moment the Romans were both climbing over the ruins of the wall and moving their ladders against the standing ramparts. And while the conflict drew the eyes and thoughts of the enemy in one direction, the wall in several places was taken by escalade and the soldiers climbed over into the city. Hearing their shouts, the terrified enemy left the place they had been defending in force and made for the citadel, the unarmed crowd too following. So the consul took the town. Having sacked it, he sent messengers to the citadel to promise life to the garrison, if they wished to give up their arms and depart, and liberty to the Elatenses, and an agreement having been made to this effect, a few days later he occupied the citadel.

XXV. But the arrival of Philocles, the king's prefect, in Achaea not only raised the siege of Corinth, but brought about the betrayal of the city of Argos to Philocles through the agency of certain chief men, after the sentiments of the commons had first been tested. It was the custom on assembly-days that at the beginning the presiding officers should pronounce, as an auspicious act, the names of Zeus, Apollo, and Heracles; and the custom was extended by a decree that King Philip's name should be joined to these. But because, after the alliance was made with the Romans, the herald did not add his name to the others, a shout first rose from the crowd, then an uproar, as his partisans supplied the name

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Philippi nomen iubentiumque legitimum honorem usurpare, donec cum ingenti adsensu nomen recitatum est. Huius fiducia favoris Philocles arcessitus nocte occupat collem imminentem urbi—Larisam eam arcem vocant—positoque ibi praesidio cum lucis principio signis infestis ad subiectum arci forum vaderet, instructa acies ex adverso occurrit. Praesidium erat Achaeorum, nuper impositum, quingenti fere iuvenes delecti omnium civitatium; Aenesidemus Dymaeus praeerat. Ad hos orator a praefecto regio missus qui excedere urbe iuberet: neque enim pares eos oppidanis solis, qui idem quod Macedones sentirent, nedum adiunctis Macedonibus esse, quos ne Romani quidem ad Corinthum sustinuissent, primo nihil nec ducem nec ipsos movit; post paulo, ut Argivos quoque armatos ex parte altera venientes magno agmine viderunt, certam perniciem cernentes, omnem tamen casum, si pertinacior dux fuisset, videbantur subituri. Aenesidemus, ne flos Achaeorum iuventutis simul cum urbe amitteretur, pactus a Philocle ut abire illis liceret, ipse quo loco steterat armatus cum paucis clientibus non excessit. Missus a Philocle qui quaereret quid sibi vellet. Nihil moto[1] tantummodo, cum proiecto prae se clipeo staret, in praesidio creditae urbis moriturum se armatum respondit. Tum iussu praefecti a Thraecibus coniecta

[1] moto *Madvig*: modo *B*.

of Philip and ordered that the legal honour be paid B.C. 198
him, until with roars of applause his name was read. With the confidence inspired by this show of loyalty, Philocles was summoned and occupied by night a hill overhanging the city—they call this citadel Larisa—and leaving a guard there he marched in embattled array at daybreak towards the market-place which lies at the foot of the citadel, where the battle-line from the other side was drawn up to meet him. This was a force of Achaeans, recently placed there, about five hundred youths chosen from all the cities; Aenesidemus of Dymae was in command. A herald was sent to them by the king's prefect, to order them to leave the city: he reminded them that they were no match for the citizens, who sided with the Macedonians, even by themselves, and still less after their junction with the Macedonians, whose attack at Corinth not even the Romans had withstood; but at first he influenced neither commander nor soldiers; a little later, when they saw the Argives too in arms, coming from the opposite direction in a strong column, and realized that their destruction was certain, they still seemed ready to suffer any fate, if their leader had been more stubborn. Aenesidemus, rather than lose the flower of the Achaean fighting men along with the city, having made a pact with Philocles that the men should be allowed to depart, himself with a few clients refused to leave the spot where he had taken his armed stand. Philocles sent to ask him what he meant. Without moving at all, with his buckler held out in front of him, he replied that he proposed to die under arms, in defence of the city entrusted to him. Then by order of the prefect javelins were thrown by the Thracians and all were

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11 tela interfectique omnes. Et post pactam inter Achaeos ac Romanos societatem duae nobilissimae urbes, Argi et Corinthus, in potestate regis erant.
12 Haec ea aestate ab Romanis in Graecia terra marique gesta.

XXVI. In Gallia nihil sane memorabile ab Sex.
2 Aelio consule gestum. Cum duos exercitus in provincia habuisset, unum retentum, quem dimitti oportebat, cui L. Cornelius proconsul praefuerat—ipse ei C. Helvium praetorem praefecit, alterum
3 quem in provinciam adduxit, totum prope annum Cremonensibus Placentinisque cogendis redire in colonias, unde belli casibus dissipati erant, consumpsit.
4 Quem ad modum Gallia praeter spem quieta eo anno fuit, ita circa urbem servilis prope tumultus
5 est excitatus. Obsides Carthaginiensium Setiae custodiebantur. Cum iis, ut principum liberis,
6 magna vis servorum erat. Augebant eorum numerum, ut ab recenti Africo bello, et ab ipsis Setinis captiva aliquot nationis eius empta ex praeda
7 mancipia. Ea[1] cum coniurationem fecissent, missis ex eo numero, primum qui in Setino agro, deinde circa Norbam et Cerceios servitia sollicitarent, satis iam omnibus praeparatis, ludis qui Setiae prope diem futuri erant spectaculo intentum populum adgredi
8 statuerant; Setia per caedem et repentinum tumultum capta Norbam et Cerceios occupare non potuere

[1] Ea *edd.*: *om. B.*

[1] In his account of events in Greece, Livy has generally followed Polybius. He now gathers up from various sources isolated events of the same period in other parts of the world.
[2] See ix. 5 above.

killed. And after the alliance between the Achaeans and the Romans had been agreed upon, these two most celebrated cities, Argos and Corinth, were in the hands of the king. This is the record of the Romans' campaign in Greece, conducted during that summer on land and sea. B.C. 198

XXVI. In Gaul the consul Sextus Aelius accomplished nothing worth remark.[1] Although he had two armies in the province, one which he had retained in service, though he should have discharged it,[2] of which Lucius Cornelius the proconsul had been in command—he himself now placed Gaius Helvius the praetor in command of it—and one which he had brought into the province, he spent almost the whole year in compelling the people of Cremona and Placentia to return to the colonies whence they had been driven by the mishaps of war.

As Gaul was unexpectedly quiet that year, around Rome, on the other hand, there was almost a slave insurrection. The Carthaginian hostages were confined at Setia. With them, since they were sons of prominent men, was a large number of slaves. Their number was increased, as was natural after the recent African war, by numerous prisoners of war of that nation, bought up out of the booty by the people of Setia themselves. When these slaves had formed a conspiracy and had sent messengers from their company to stir up the slaves, first in the Setine territory, then around Norba and Cerceii, complete preparations having now been made, they had agreed to attack the crowd while occupied with the spectacle at the games which were soon to be held at Setia; the slaves captured Setia in the slaughter and confusion, but failed to take Norba and Cerceii.

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servitia.[1] Huius rei tam foedae indicium Romam ad L. Cornelium Lentulum praetorem urbanum delatum
9 est. Servi duo ante lucem ad eum venerunt atque ordine omnia quae acta futuraque erant, exposuerunt.
10 Quibus domi custodiri iussis, praetor senatu vocato edoctoque quae indices adferrent, proficisci ad eam coniurationem quaerendam atque opprimendam
11 iussus, cum quinque legatis profectus obvios in agris sacramento rogatos arma capere et sequi
12 cogebat. Hoc tumultuario dilectu duobus milibus ferme hominum armatis Setiam omnibus quo pergeret
13 ignaris venit. Ibi raptim principibus coniurationis comprehensis fuga servorum ex oppido facta est. Dimissis deinde per agros, qui vestigarent profugos.[2]
14 Egregia duorum opera servorum indicum et unius liberi fuit. Ei centum milia gravis aeris dari patres iusserunt, servis vicena quina milia aeris et libertatem; pretium eorum ex aerario solutum est
15 dominis. Haud ita multo post ex eiusdem coniurationis reliquiis nuntiatum est servitia Praeneste
16 occupatura. Eo L. Cornelius praetor profectus de quingentis fere hominibus qui in ea noxa erant, supplicium sumpsit. In timore civitas fuit obsides capti-
17 vosque Poenorum ea moliri. Itaque et Romae vigiliae per vicos servatae iussique circumire eas minores magistratus, et triumviri carceris lautumi-

[1] The addition of *non potuere* by the editors seems necessary to give the sense of the passage. *B* reads *occupare servitia.*

[2] Editors add a word like *profugos* as necessary, though the sentence is still incomplete. *B* reads *uestigarent egregia.*

[1] Lentulus is Livy's error for Merula. So also in § 16.

[2] Some such addition as this seems necessary to complete the sentence. It may be assumed that an account of the search and the punishment of the criminals is still missing.

News of this dreadful occurrence was transmitted to Rome, to Lucius Cornelius Lentulus[1] the urban praetor. Two slaves came to him before dawn and related in detail what had happened and what was likely to occur. Ordering them to be kept under guard at his home, the praetor summoned the senate and laid before them what the informants had told him, and on receiving orders to investigate and suppress this conspiracy, set out with five lieutenants, administered the oath to those he met in the fields, and compelled them to take arms and follow him. With this hastily-raised force of about two thousand armed men, he reached Setia before anyone knew where he was going. There, when the ringleaders in the plot had been summarily arrested, there was an exodus of slaves from the town. Cornelius sent troops through the country to pursue the fugitives, and himself returned to Rome.[2] Conspicuous service had been rendered by the two slaves who had given information, and by the one free man. To him the senate ordered given a reward of one hundred thousand *asses*; to the slaves, twenty-five thousand *asses* each, and their freedom; compensation for them from the treasury was paid to their owners. Shortly after this, word was received that the slaves, some of the remnants of the same conspiracy, were about to occupy Praeneste.[3] Lucius Cornelius the praetor went there and executed about five hundred who were implicated in the crime. The state feared that the Carthaginian hostages and prisoners had contrived the plot. So at Rome watchmen patrolled the streets, the minor magistrates were ordered to make B.C. 198.

[3] This town (now Palestrina), about twenty-five miles east of Rome, was strongly situated and therefore frequently a military objective. Catiline planned to seize it in 63 B.C.

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18 arum intentiorem custodiam habere iussi, et circa nomen Latinum a praetore litterae missae, ut et obsides in privato servarentur neque in publicum prodeundi facultas daretur, et captivi ne minus decem pondo compedibus vincti in nulla alia quam in carceris publici custodia essent.

XXVII. Eodem anno legati ab rege Attalo coronam auream ducentum quadraginta sex pondo in Capitolio posuerunt gratiasque senatui egere, quod Antiochus legatorum Romanorum auctoritate motus finibus Attali exercitum deduxisset.

2 Eadem aestate equites ducenti et elephanti[1] decem et tritici modium ducenta milia ab rege Masinissa ad exercitum qui in Graecia erat pervenerunt. Item ex Sicilia Sardiniaque magni commeatus
3 et vestimenta exercitui missa. Siciliam M. Marcellus, Sardiniam M. Porcius Cato obtinebat, sanctus et innocens, asperior tamen in faenore coercendo
4 habitus; fugatique ex insula faeneratores et sumptus, quos in cultum praetorum socii facere soliti erant circumcisi aut sublati.

5 Sex. Aelius consul, ex Gallia comitiorum causa Romam cum redisset, creavit consules C. Cornelium
6 Cethegum et Q. Minucium Rufum. Biduo post

[1] elephanti *edd.*: elephantes *B.*

[1] Stone quarries, probably on the north-east slope of the Capitoline, were used as places of temporary confinement, since imprisonment within Rome was rarely imposed as a punishment by the courts, and perhaps also for prisoners of war. The Mamertine Prison, still to be seen in the same vicinity,

inspections, and the three officials in charge of the quarry-prison[1] to increase their vigilance, and the praetor sent letters around to the Latin confederacy, that the hostages kept should be in private custody, with no opportunity to come out into public places, the prisoners loaded with chains of not less than ten pounds' weight, and guarded only in a public prison.[2] B.C. 198.

XXVII. In the same year ambassadors from King Attalus deposited on the Capitoline a golden crown of a weight of two hundred forty-six pounds, and expressed to the senate his gratitude because Antiochus, influenced by the authority of the Roman ambassadors, had withdrawn his army from the frontiers of Attalus.

During the same summer two hundred cavalry, ten elephants, and two hundred thousand *modii* of grain arrived, sent by King Masinissa to the army which was serving in Greece. Also from Sicily and Sardinia great stores of provisions and clothing for the army were sent. Marcus Marcellus was governing Sicily, Marcus Porcius Cato, Sardinia, a man of integrity and uprightness, but considered overharsh in his restraint of usury; the usurers were expelled from the island, and the expenses which the allies were accustomed to incur for the comfort of the praetors were cut down or abolished.

When Sextus Aelius the consul had returned from Gaul to hold the elections, he announced that Gaius Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Minucius Rufus

may have been a part of the system, at least originally. The *triumviri capitales* had charge of the prison and of executions.

[2] That is, in a place like the *lautumiae* in Rome.

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praetorum comitia habita. Sex praetores illo anno primum creati crescentibus iam provinciis et latius
7 patescente imperio; creati autem hi: L.[1] Manlius Volso, C. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Sergius Silus, M. Helvius, M. Minucius Rufus, L. Atilius—Sempronius et Helvius ex iis aediles plebis erant;
8 curules aediles Q. Minucius Thermus et Ti. Sempronius Longus. Ludi Romani eo anno quater instaurati.

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XXVIII. C. Cornelio et Q. Minucio consulibus omnium primum de provinciis consulum praeto-
2 rumque actum. Prius de praetoribus transacta res, quae transigi sorte poterat. Urbana Sergio, peregrina iurisdictio Minucio obtigit; Sardiniam Atilius, Siciliam Manlius, Hispanias Sempronius citeriorem,
3 Helvius ulteriorem est sortitus. Consulibus Italiam Macedoniamque sortiri parantibus L. Oppius et Q. Fulvius tribuni plebis impedimento erant, quod
4 longinqua provincia Macedonia esset, neque ulla alia res maius bello impedimentum ad eam diem fuisset quam quod vixdum inchoatis rebus in ipso conatu gerendi belli prior consul revocaretur.
5 Quartum iam annum esse ab decreto Macedonico bello. Quaerendo regem et exercitum eius Sul-

[1] *add. edd. vett.*: *om. B.*

[1] In viii. 5 above Livy gives the assignments of the praetors for the current year. The new arrangement provides praetorian governors for the two Spanish provinces, which had since the expulsion of the Carthaginians been governed by pro-magistrates. The omission of Gaul, tacitly included with Italy, enabled the senate to designate a *praetor peregrinus*,

had been chosen. Two days later the praetorian B.C. 196
election was held. This year, for the first time, six praetors were chosen, in consequence of the increase that had taken place in the number of the provinces[1] and the enlargement of the empire; the following were elected: Lucius Manlius Volso, Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, Marcus Sergius Silus, Marcus Helvius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Lucius Atilius (of these, Sempronius and Helvius were plebeian aediles). The curule aediles were Quintus Minucius Thermus and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Roman Games were four times repeated that year.

XXVIII. When Gaius Cornelius and Quintus B.C. 197
Minucius assumed the consulship, the first question to be settled concerned the consular and praetorian provinces. The case of the praetors was first disposed of, since that could be done by lot. The city jurisdiction fell to Sergius, that between citizens and aliens to Minucius; Atilius obtained Sardinia, Manlius Sicily, Sempronius Nearer Spain and Helvius Farther Spain. As the consuls were making ready to draw lots for Italy and Macedonia, the tribunes of the people, Lucius Oppius and Quintus Fulvius, intervened, because, as they said, Macedonia was a distant province, and there had been no greater difficulty up to that time in the conduct of the war than the fact that just when he was undertaking to carry on the war, with the campaign scarce begun, the former consul was recalled. It was already the fourth year since the declaration of war with Macedonia. Sulpicius had spent the greater part of his

[1] who presided over the court trying cases in which Romans and non-Romans were involved.

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picium maiorem partem anni absumpsisse. Villium congredientem cum hoste infecta re revocatum. 6 Quinctium rebus divinis Romae maiorem partem anni retentum ita gessisse tamen res ut, si aut maturius in provinciam venisset, aut hiems magis 7 sera fuisset, potuerit debellare; nunc prope in hiberna profectum ita comparare dici bellum, ut nisi successor impediat, perfecturus aestate proxima 8 videatur. His orationibus pervicerunt ut consules in senatus auctoritate fore dicerent se, si idem tribuni plebis facerent. Permittentibus utrisque liberam consultationem patres consulibus ambobus 9 Italiam provinciam decreverunt, T. Quinctio prorogarunt imperium donec successor ex senatus consulto venisset. Consulibus binae legiones decretae et ut bellum cum Gallis Cisalpinis, qui 10 defecissent a populo Romano, gererent. Quinctio in Macedoniam supplementum decretum, sex milia peditum, trecenti equites, sociorum navalium milia 11 tria. Praeesse eidem cui[1] praeerat classi L. Quinctius Flamininus iussus. Praetoribus in Hispanias octona milia peditum socium ac nominis Latini data et quadringeni equites, ut dimitterent veterem ex Hispaniis militem; et terminare iussi qua ulterior 12 citeriorve provincia servaretur. Macedoniae legatos

[1] cui *Madvig*: qui *B.*

[1] See ix. 1 above and, for a somewhat different interpretation, vi. 4.

[2] Although two proconsuls had usually exercised command in the Spanish peninsula, this is apparently the first time that definite boundary-lines were established. Henceforth two

year in searching for the king and his army. Villius, B.C. 197
while making contact with the enemy, had been recalled before accomplishing anything. Quinctius, though detained for the greater part of the year[1] in Rome by religious observances, had still so managed things that if either he had arrived earlier or winter had been later, he could have finished the war; now, it was said, having retired into winter quarters, he was making such preparations that if no successor interfered he seemed in a fair way to end the war that coming summer. By such arguments they prevailed upon the consuls to say that they would put themselves in the senate's hands if the tribunes of the people would do the same. When both parties agreed to leave full discretion to the senate, the Fathers voted that both consuls should have Italy as province, and prolonged the term of Titus Quinctius until a successor, authorized by decree of the senate, should have arrived. To the consuls two legions each were assigned, and the task of prosecuting the war with the Cisalpine Gauls who had revolted against the Roman people. Reinforcements were voted for Quinctius for service in Macedonia, six thousand infantry, three hundred cavalry, and three thousand naval allies. Lucius Quinctius Flamininus was placed in command of the same fleet of which he already had charge. Each of the praetors sent to Spain received eight thousand infantry of the allies and the Latin confederacy, and four hundred cavalry, with orders to send the veterans home from Spain; they were directed, moreover, to fix the boundaries which should be observed between the nearer and the farther provinces.[2] Additional

[1] distinct Spanish provinces are consciously recognized by the Romans.

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P. Sulpicium et P. Villium, qui consules in ea provincia fuerant, adiecerunt.

XXIX. Priusquam consules praetoresque in provincias proficiscerentur, prodigia procurari placuit, quod aedes Vulcani Summanique Romae, et quod
2 Fregenis murus et porta de caelo tacta erant, et Frusinone inter noctem lux orta, et Aefulae agnus biceps cum quinque pedibus natus, et Formiis duo lupi oppidum ingressi obvios aliquot laniaverant, Romae non in urbem solum sed in Capitolium penetraverat lupus.
3 C. Atinius tribunus plebis tulit ut quinque coloniae in oram maritimam deducerentur, duae ad ostia fluminum Vulturni Liternique, una Puteolos, una
4 ad Castrum Salerni: his Buxentum adiectum, trecenae familiae in singulas colonias iubebantur mitti. Triumviri deducendis iis, qui per triennium magistratum haberent, creati M. Servilius Geminus, Q. Minucius Thermus, Ti. Sempronius Longus.
5 Dilectu rebusque aliis divinis humanisque quae per ipsos agenda erant, perfectis, consules ambo in
6 Galliam profecti, Cornelius recta ad Insubres via, qui tum in armis erant Cenomanis adsumptis; Q. Minucius in laeva Italiae ad inferum mare flexit iter Genuamque exercitu ducto[1] ab Liguribus orsus

[1] ducto *edd.*: educto *B.*

[1] The Via Flaminia.
[2] The left or west coast, looking north from Rome.
[3] The Tuscan Sea, to the west of Italy; contrasted with the *mare superum* or Adriatic.

lieutenants for Macedonia were named, Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who had been consuls in that province. B.C. 197

XXIX. Before the consuls and praetors set out for their provinces, it was decreed that expiation for the prodigies should be made, because at Rome the temples of Vulcan and Summanus and the wall and gate at Fregellae had been struck by lightning, and at Frusino a light had shone during the night, and at Aefula a two-headed lamb with five feet had been born, and at Formiae two wolves had entered the town and injured certain persons they encountered, while at Rome a wolf had not only come into the city but had even climbed to the Capitoline.

Gaius Atinius, tribune of the people, carried a proposal that five colonies should be established on the sea-coast, two at the mouths of the Vulturnus and Liternus rivers, one at Puteoli, one at Castrum Salerni; to these Buxentum was added, and it was ordered that three hundred families be sent to each colony. A commission of three, to hold office for three years, was created to found these colonies, and Marcus Servilius Geminus, Quintus Minucius Thermus, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were chosen as its members.

When the levy had been held and other matters, human and divine, which had to be done by them in person, had been disposed of, the two consuls set out for Gaul, Cornelius by the straight road [1] towards the Insubres, who were in arms, allied with the Cenomani; Quintus Minucius marched up the left [2] side of Italy towards the lower sea,[3] and having conducted his army to Genoa, began the war with the Ligures. The towns

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7 bellum est. Oppida Clastidium et Litubium, utraque Ligurum, et duae gentis eiusdem civitates, Celeiates Cerdiciatesque, sese dediderunt. Et iam omnia cis Padum praeter Gallorum Boios, Ilvates Ligurum
8 sub dicione erant; quindecim oppida, hominum viginti milia esse dicebantur quae se dediderant. Inde in agrum Boiorum legiones duxit.

XXX. Boiorum exercitus haud ita multo ante traiecerat Padum iunxeratque[1] se Insubribus et
2 Cenomanis, quod ita acceperant coniunctis legionibus consules rem gesturos, ut et ipsi collatas in unum
3 vires firmarent. Postquam fama accidit alterum consulem Boiorum urere agros, seditio extemplo orta est; postulare Boi ut laborantibus opem universi
4 ferrent; Insubres negare se sua deserturos. Ita divisae copiae, Boisque in agrum suum tutandum profectis Insubres cum Cenomanis super amnis
5 Mincii ripam consederunt. Infra eum locum duo milia et consul Cornelius eidem flumini castra
6 applicuit. Inde mittendo in vicos Cenomanorum Brixiamque, quod caput gentis erat, ut satis comperit non ex auctoritate seniorum iuventutem in armis esse nec publico consilio Insubrum defectioni Ceno-
7 manos sese adiunxisse, excitis ad se principibus id agere ac moliri coepit ut desciscerent ab Insubribus Cenomani et sublatis signis aut domos redirent aut

[1] iunxeratque *edd.* : iunxerat *B.*

of Clastidium and Litubium, both belonging to the Ligures, and two cantons of the same people, the Celeiates and the Cerdiciates, surrendered. And now all the states on this side of the Po except the Gallic Boi and the Ligurian Ilvates were under his control; there were altogether fifteen towns and twenty thousand men, according to report, that had surrendered. Thence he led his legions into the territory of the Boi. B.C. 197

XXX. The army of the Boi had not long before this crossed the Po and had effected a junction with the Insubres and the Cenomani, because they had heard that the consuls were to carry on the war with their legions united, that they too might consolidate their strength by combining their armies. But when the news got around that one consul was burning the farms of the Boi, dissension at once arose; the Boi demanded that all should go to the relief of their harassed countrymen; the Insubres asserted that they would not desert their own possessions. So the army was divided, the Boi going home to defend their land, the Insubres with the Cenomani encamping along the river Mincius. Two miles farther down stream, the consul Cornelius was also encamped along the same river. Thence, sending messengers to the villages of the Cenomani and to Brescia, which was the capital of the tribe, when he was assured that the young men were in arms without the approval of the elders, and that the Cenomani had joined the revolt of the Insubres without a decision of the state to that effect, he summoned the chiefs to his presence and began to contrive and plan that the Cenomani should desert the Insubres and, taking up their standards, either go home or join

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8 ad Romanos transirent. Et id quidem impetrari nequiit; in id fides data consuli est, ut in acie aut quiescerent aut, si qua etiam occasio fuisset, adiuva-
9 rent Romanos. Haec ita convenisse Insubres ignorabant; suberat tamen quaedam suspicio animis labare fidem sociorum. Itaque cum in aciem eduxissent, neutrum iis cornu committere ausi, ne, si dolo cessissent, rem totam inclinarent, post signa in
10 subsidiis eos locaverunt. Consul principio pugnae vovit aedem Sospitae Iunoni, si eo die hostes fusi fugatique fuissent; a militibus clamor sublatus compotem voti consulem se facturos, et impetus in
11 hostes est factus. Non tulerunt Insubres primum concursum. Quidam et a Cenomanis, terga repente in ipso certamine adgressis, tumultum ancipitem iniectum auctores sunt, caesaque in medio quinque et triginta milia hostium, quinque milia et ducentos
12 vivos captos, in iis Hamilcarem, Poenorum imperatorem, qui belli causa fuisset; signa militaria centum
13 triginta et carpenta supra ducenta. Multa oppida Gallorum,[1] quae Insubrum defectionem secuta erant, dediderunt se Romanis.

XXXI. Minucius consul primo effusis populationibus peragraverat fines Boiorum, deinde, ut relictis

[1] Gallorum *Bekker*: Gallorumque *B*.

[1] In XXXIV. liii. 3 Livy records the dedication of a temple to Juno Matuta, vowed by Cornelius in the Gallic war four years before.

[2] Hamilcar was killed in the battle between Furius and the Gauls (XXXI. xxi. 18); he was also led in the triumph of Cornelius (XXXIII. xxiii. 5). Livy makes no effort to decide

the Romans. And this, indeed, he could not accom- B.C. 197
plish; but a pledge was given the consul to this effect, that in the battle they would either remain quiet or, if occasion offered, even aid the Romans. The Insubres knew nothing of these negotiations; yet they somehow suspected that the fidelity of their allies was weakening. So when they formed the battle-line they did not dare to entrust either flank to them, lest, if they treacherously gave way, they might cause a complete defeat, but placed them behind the standards in support. The consul at the beginning of the battle vowed a temple to Juno Sospita[1] if the enemy should be routed and put to flight that day; the soldiers shouted out that they would bring about the fulfilment of the consul's vow and the attack on the enemy began. The Insubres broke at the first assault. Some say that when the Cenomani also, in the midst of the fighting, assailed them in the rear, there was a double turmoil, that between the two lines thirty-five thousand of the enemy were slain and five thousand two hundred taken alive, among them Hamilcar,[2] the Carthaginian general, who had been the prime mover of the war; and that one hundred and thirty military standards and more than two hundred wagons were captured. Many Gallic towns which had joined the Insubres in revolt gave themselves up to the Romans.

XXXI. The consul Minucius had at first wandered far and wide through the country of the Boi, raiding in every direction, but later, when they had left the

which of these conflicting accounts is correct, though he is aware of the contradictions as well as the resemblances (note the phrase *auctores sunt* in sect. 11). Some scholars believe that Livy and his sources have made two battles out of one.

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Insubribus ad sua tuenda receperant sese, castris se
2 tenuit acie dimicandum cum hoste ratus. Nec Boi detrectassent pugnam, ni fama Insubres victos adlata animos fregisset. Itaque relicto duce castrisque dissipati per vicos, sua quisque ut defenderent,
3 rationem gerendi belli hosti mutarunt. Omissa enim spe per unam dimicationem rei decernendae rursus populari agros et urere tecta vicosque expug-
4 nare coepit. Per eosdem dies Clastidium incensum. Inde in Ligustinos Ilvates, qui soli non parebant,
5 legiones ductae. Ea quoque gens, ut Insubres acie victos, Boios ita, ut temptare spem certaminis non auderent, territos audivit, in dicionem venit.
6 Litterae consulum amborum de rebus in Gallia gestis prospere sub idem tempus Romam adlatae. M. Sergius praetor urbanus in senatu eas, deinde ex auctoritate patrum ad populum recitavit. Supplicatio in quadriduum decreta.

XXXII. Hiems iam eo tempore erat, et, cum T. Quinctius capta Elatia in Phocide ac Locride hiberna
2 disposita haberet, Opunte seditio orta est. Factio una Aetolos, qui propiores[1] erant, altera Romanos
3 accersebat. Aetoli priores venerunt; sed opulentior factio exclusis Aetolis missoque ad imperatorem Romanum nuntio usque in adventum eius tenuit

[1] propiores *edd.*: priores *B.*

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[1] Livy returns to Polybius (XVIII. i.–viii), his authority for the eastern campaign, and the abrupt change of source may explain the harshness of the transitional clause.

[2] See xxiv. 7 above. The events now described belong accordingly to the winter of 198–197 B.C., and so antedate the Gallic campaigns just narrated.

Insubres and returned to defend their possessions, B.C. 197
he remained in camp, thinking that he would fight a regular battle with the enemy. The Boi would not have declined the contest if the news that the Insubres had been defeated had not diminished their ardour. So, leaving their leader and their camp, they scattered through the towns, each to defend his own property, and changed the enemy's plan of operations. For, giving up hope of deciding the war by a single engagement, he began once more to ravage the fields and burn the buildings and storm the towns. During this time Clastidium was burned. Thence he led his legions against the Ligurian Ilvates, who alone were not submissive. This tribe too surrendered when they heard that as the Insubres had been defeated in battle, so the Boi were too terrified to dare to try fortune in the open field. The dispatches of the two consuls, describing their successes in Gaul, reached Rome about the same time. Marcus Sergius the city praetor read them in the senate and, with the senate's authorization, then to the people. A thanksgiving of four days was decreed.

XXXII. By that time it was winter,[1] and while Titus Quinctius, after the capture of Elatia,[2] had his winter quarters distributed through Phocis and Locris, sedition broke out at Opus. One faction called in the Aetolians, who were nearer, the other the Romans. The Aetolians were first to arrive; but the richer faction[3] excluded the Aetolians and, sending a messenger to the Roman commander, held

[3] The Romans consistently supported the wealthier and more conservative parties in the Greek towns.

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4 urbem. Arcem regium tenebat praesidium, neque ut decederent inde, aut Opuntiorum minis aut auctoritate imperatoris Romani perpelli potuerunt. 5 Mora, cur non extemplo oppugnarentur, ea fuit quod caduceator ab rege venerat locum ac tempus 6 petens colloquio. Id gravate regi concessum est, non quin cuperet Quinctius per se partim armis, partim condicionibus confectum videri bellum; 7 necdum enim sciebat utrum successor sibi alter ex novis consulibus mitteretur, an, quod summa vi ut tenderent amicis et propinquis mandaverat, imperium 8 prorogaretur; aptum autem fore colloquium credebat, ut sibi liberum esset vel ad bellum manenti vel 9 ad pacem decedenti rem inclinare. In sinu Maliaco prope Nicaeam litus elegere. Eo rex ab Demetriade cum quinque lembis et una nave rostrata venit. 10 Erant cum eo principes Macedonum et Achaeorum 11 exul, vir insignis, Cycliadas. Cum imperatore Romano rex Amynander erat et Dionysodorus, Attali legatus, et Agesimbrotus, praefectus Rhodiae classis, et Phaeneas, princeps Aetolorum, et Achaei 12 duo, Aristaenus et Xenophon. Inter hos Romanus ad [1] extremum litus progressus, cum rex in proram 13 navis in ancoris stantis processisset, "commodius" inquit, "si in terram egrediaris, ex propinquo dicamus in vicem audiamusque." [2] Cum rex facturum se id negaret, "quem tandem" inquit Quinctius

[1] ad *edd. vett.*: *om. B.*
[2] audiamusque *edd.*: audiemusque *B.*

the city until he came. A royal garrison held the B.C. 197
citadel and could not be induced either by the threats of the people of Opus or by the influence of the Roman commander to withdraw from it. A delay, preventing an immediate attack, occurred because a herald had come from the king requesting a time and place for a conference. This was reluctantly granted to the king, not because Quinctius was not eager to seem to have ended the war himself, partly by arms, partly by diplomacy; for he did not yet know whether a successor to him would be appointed, that is, one of the new consuls, or his own term would be extended, a thing which he had instructed his friends and relatives to strive for with all their might; but on the whole he considered that a conference would be expedient, that he might be free to lean either towards war, if he remained, or towards peace, if he were relieved. They chose a place on the shore of the Malian Gulf near Nicaea. Thither the king came from Demetrias with five light ships and one war-vessel. There were with him nobles of Macedonia and the Achaean exile Cycliadas, a man of distinction. King Amynander was with the Roman general, as well as Dionysodorus, representing Attalus, and Agesimbrotus, the commander of the Rhodian fleet, and Phaeneas, chief of the Aetolians, and two Achaeans, Aristaenus and Xenophon. The Roman, attended by them, went out to the edge of the strand, and when the king had taken his place in the prow of his ship as it lay at anchor Quinctius spoke: "It will be more convenient if you come ashore, that we may be nearer and speak and listen in turn." When the king refused to do this, Quinctius asked, "Whom, pray, do you fear?"

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14 "times?" Ad hoc ille superbo et regio animo: "Neminem equidem timeo praeter deos immortales; non omnium autem credo fidei, quos circa te video, 15 atque omnium minime Aetolis." "Istuc quidem" ait Romanus "par omnibus periculum est, qui cum hoste ad colloquium congrediuntur, si nulla fides 16 sit." "Non tamen" inquit, "T. Quincti, par perfidiae praemium est, si fraude agatur, Philippus et Phaeneas; neque enim aeque difficulter Aetoli praetorem alium ac Macedones regem in meum locum substituant."

XXXIII. Secundum haec silentium fuit, cum Romanus eum aequum censeret priorem dicere qui petisset colloquium, rex eius esse priorem orationem, qui daret pacis leges, non qui acciperet; tum 2 Romanus: simplicem suam orationem esse; ea enim se dicturum, quae ni fiant, nulla sit pacis 3 condicio. Deducenda ex omnibus Graeciae civitatibus regi praesidia esse, captivos et transfugas sociis populi Romani reddendos, restituenda Romanis ea Illyrici loca, quae post pacem in Epiro factam 4 occupasset, Ptolomaeo Aegypti regi reddendas urbes, quas post Philopatoris Ptolomaei mortem occupavisset. Suas populique Romani condiciones has esse: ceterum et socium audiri postulata verum 5 esse. Attali regis legatus naves captivosque quae ad Chium navali proelio capta essent, et Nicephorium Venerisque templum quae spoliasset evastassetque,

[1] After the peace of 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 1), Philip had occupied certain districts on the Illyrian coast which Rome had taken over after the defeat of the Illyrians in 229 B.C. (Per. XX).

[2] A sacred grove outside Pergamum: Strabo, XIII. iv.; Diodorus, XXVIII. 5.

With proud and kingly mien he replied, "None do I fear, save only the immortal gods; but I do not trust the word of all I see around you, and least of all that of the Aetolians." "As to that," replied the Roman, "we all share the danger equally who come to conference with an enemy, if there is no trust." "Nevertheless, Titus Quinctius," said the king, "Philip and Phaeneas are not equal rewards for perfidy, if there should be a breach of faith; for it would not be equally difficult for the Aetolians to find another praetor and the Macedonians another king to take my place." B.C. 197

XXXIII. Silence followed, the Roman believing that the conference should be opened by him who had asked it, the king that he who was proposing terms of peace, and not he who was receiving them, should speak first; then the Roman began: He said that his speech was simple; for he would say only what was essential if there were to be terms of peace. The king must withdraw his garrisons from all the cities of Greece, must give up the captives and fugitives to the allies of the Roman people, must restore to the Romans the parts of Illyricum[1] which he had occupied subsequent to the peace which had been made in Epirus, and must give back to King Ptolemy of Egypt the cities which he had seized since the death of Ptolemy Philopator. These were his conditions and those of the Roman people; but the king must hear besides the demands of the allies. The ambassador of King Attalus demanded that the ships and prisoners which had been taken in the naval battle off Chios be given back, and that the Nicephorium[2] and the temple of Venus which he had despoiled and destroyed should be restored to

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6 pro incorruptis restitui; Rhodii Peraeam—regio est continentis adversus insulam, vetustae eorum dicionis —repetebant postulabantque praesidia deduci ab Iaso et a Bargyliis et Euromensium urbe et in 7 Hellesponto Sesto atque Abydo, et Perinthum Byzantiis in antiqui formulam iuris restitui, et liberari omnia Asiae emporia portusque. Achaei Corinthum 8 et Argos repetebant. Praetor Aetolorum Phaeneas cum eadem fere quae Romani, ut Graecia decederetur, postulasset, redderenturque Aetolis urbes quae 9 quondam iuris ac dicionis eorum fuissent, excepit orationem eius princeps Aetolorum Alexander, vir 10 ut inter Aetolos facundus. Iam dudum se reticere ait, non quo quicquam agi putet eo colloquio, sed ne quem sociorum dicentem interpellet. Nec[1] de pace cum fide Philippum agere nec bella vera virtute 11 umquam gessisse. In colloquiis insidiari et captare; in bello non congredi aequo campo neque signis collatis dimicare, sed refugientem incendere ac diripere urbes et vincentium praemia victum corrum- 12 pere. At non antiquos Macedonum reges,[2] sed acie bellare solitos, urbibus parcere, quantum possent quo 13 opulentius haberent imperium. Nam de quorum possessione dimicetur tollentem nihil sibi praeter 14 bellum relinquere, quod consilium esse? Piures priore anno sociorum urbes in Thessalia evastasse

[1] nec *Bekker*: ne *B*: neque ς.
[2] *post* reges *lacunam susp. edd.*

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[1] Taken at the time of the operations mentioned in XXXI. xiv. 4.

[2] I have completed the apparent sense of the first clause.

their former state; the Rhodians asked for Peraea B.C. 197
—a district on the mainland opposite their island, and under their ancient rule[1]—and demanded that the garrisons be withdrawn from Iasus and Bargyliae and the city of the Euromenses, and on the Hellespont from Sestus and Abydus, and that Perinthus should be given back to the Byzantines and permitted to enjoy its ancient rights, and that all the markets and ports of Asia should be made free. The Achaeans demanded Corinth and Argos. Phaeneas, praetor of the Aetolians, having made practically the same demands as the Romans, that Greece should be evacuated, and also that the cities which had formerly been under the control and sway of the Aetolians should be returned to them, was interrupted in his speech by Alexander, an Aetolian noble, and considered eloquent, as Aetolians go. He said that he had kept silent for a long time, not because he thought that anything was being accomplished at the conference, but to avoid breaking in on the speech of any of the allies. Philip, he said, had never kept peace with good faith or waged war with true courage. In conference he plotted and tried to entrap his opponents; in battle he would not engage in the open field or fight hand to hand, but instead would retreat, burn and rob cities and, though conquered, destroy the prizes of the conquerors. The Macedonian kings of old did not conduct matters thus,[2] but were used to fight in battle array and to spare the cities, so far as they could, that they might have a richer empire. For what sort of wisdom was it to destroy the things for the possession of which you fight, and leave yourself nothing but the fighting? Philip had, during the preceding cam-

A.U.C. 557 Philippum quam omnes qui umquam hostes Thes-
15 saliae fuerint. Ipsis quoque Aetolis eum plura socium
quam hostem ademisse: Lysimachiam pulso praetore
16 et praesidio Aetolorum occupasse eum; Cium, item
suae dicionis urbem, funditus evertisse ac delesse;
eadem fraude habere eum Thebas Phthias, Echinum,
Larisam, Pharsalum.

XXXIV. Motus oratione Alexandri Philippus
navem, ut exaudiretur, propius terram applicuit.
2 Orsum eum dicere, in Aetolos maxime, violenter
Phaeneas interfatus non in verbis rem verti ait; aut
bello vincendum aut melioribus parendum esse.
3 "Apparet id quidem" inquit Philippus "etiam
caeco," iocatus in valetudinem oculorum Phaeneae;
et erat dicacior natura quam regem decet, et ne
4 inter seria quidem risu satis temperans. Indignari
inde coepit, Aetolos tamquam Romanos decedi
Graecia iubere, qui, quibus finibus Graecia sit,
dicere non possent; ipsius enim Aetoliae Agraeos
Apodotosque et Amphilochos, quae permagna eorum
5 pars sit, Graeciam non esse. "An, quod a sociis
eorum non abstinuerim, iustam querellam habent,
cum ipsi pro lege hunc antiquitus morem servent, ut
adversus socios ipsi suos publica tantum auctoritate
dempta iuventutem suam militare sinant, et contra-
riae persaepe acies in utraque parte Aetolica auxilia
6 habeant? Neque ego Cium expugnavi, sed Prusiam

[1] King of Bithynia (XXIX. xii. 14).

paign, wasted more friendly cities in Thessaly than all the enemies Thessaly had ever had. To the Aetolians themselves, too, he had as an ally done more damage than he had as an enemy: he had taken possession of Lysimachia after driving out the magistrate and the Aetolian garrison; he had utterly ruined and destroyed Cios, another city under their control; with the same deceit he held Phthian Thebes, Echinus, Larisa, and Pharsalus. B.C. 197

XXXIV. Philip, angered at Alexander's speech, moved his ship nearer the shore, that he might be heard more clearly. When he had begun to reply, especially to the Aetolians, Phaeneas rudely interrupted him, saying that the decision did not turn on words: Philip must either conquer in battle or obey his betters. "That is clear," retorted Philip, "even to a blind man," making jest of Phaeneas' affliction of the eyes; he was, it must be admitted, more facetious by nature than becomes a king, and not even in serious business did he refrain from jesting. Then he began to complain that the Aetolians, like the Romans, ordered him to retire from Greece, although they could not say within what boundaries Greece lay; for in Aetolia itself, the Agraei, the Apodoti, the Amphilochi, who comprise a great part of the country, were not in Greece. "Or," he asked, "do they have just ground for complaint that I have not kept my hands off their allies, when they themselves have long observed this custom as an established practice, of allowing their own young men to fight against their allies, official sanction being merely withheld, and opposing battle-lines will very often both contain Aetolian auxiliaries? I did not capture Cios, but I aided my ally and friend Prusias[1] who was

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socium et amicum oppugnantem adiuvi; et Lysimachiam ab Thracibus vindicavi sed,[1] quia me necessitas ad hoc bellum a custodia eius avertit, Thraces
7 habent. Et Aetolis haec; Attalo autem Rhodiisque nihil iure debeo; non enim a me, sed ab illis princi-
8 pium belli ortum est; Romanorum autem honoris causa Peraean Rhodiis et naves Attalo cum captivis
9 qui comparebunt restituam. Nam quod ad Nicephorium Venerisque templi restitutionem attinet,
10 quid restitui ea postulantibus respondeam, nisi, quo uno modo silvae lucique caesi restitui possunt, curam impensamque sationis[2] me praestaturum—quoniam haec inter se reges postulare et respondere
11 placet." Extrema eius oratio adversus Achaeos fuit, in qua orsus ab Antigono primum, suis deinde erga gentem eam meritis, recitari decreta eorum iussit omnes divinos humanosque honores complexa atque
12 eis obiecit recens decretum, quo ab se descivissent; invectusque graviter in perfidiam eorum, Argos
13 tamen se iis redditurum dixit; de Corintho cum imperatore Romano deliberaturum esse quaesiturumque ab eo simul, utrum iisne urbibus decedere se aequum censeat, quas ab se ipso captas iure belli habeat, an iis etiam, quas a maioribus suis accepisset.

XXXV. Parantibus Achaeis Aetolisque ad ea respondere, cum prope occasum sol esset, dilato in posterum diem colloquio Philippus in stationem,

[1] sed *Ascensius*: et *B.*
[2] sationis *edd.*: stationis *B.*

besieging it; also, I rescued Lysimachia from the B.C. 197
Thracians, but, because necessity diverted me from guarding it to this war, the Thracians hold it. So much for the Aetolians; but to Attalus and the Rhodians I owe nothing justly; for the beginning of the war was their act, not mine; however, to do honour to the Romans, I shall restore Peraea to the Rhodians and to Attalus the ships and such prisoners as can be found. Now as to the restoration of the Nicephorium and the temple of Venus, what reply can I make to those who demand that they be restored, except that (and in this way alone can woods and groves cut down be restored) I shall take upon myself the responsibility and cost of planting—since this is the sort of thing that kings are pleased to ask and reply to one another." The rest of his speech was directed to the Achaeans, in which he recounted first the services of Antigonus to the people and then his own, bade that their decrees be read, which included all honours, divine and human, and taunted them with their most recent decree, in which they repudiated the alliance with him; and after violently assailing their perfidy, he said that he would nevertheless give back Argos to them; regarding Corinth, he would confer with the Roman commander and ascertain from him at the same time whether he thought it proper that he evacuate those cities which he himself had captured and which he held by right of conquest, or those also which he had inherited from his sires.

XXXV. As the Achaeans and Aetolians were preparing to answer him, since the sun was now near its setting, the council was adjourned until next day, and Philip returned to the base from which he had

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ex qua profectus erat, Romani sociique in castra
2 redierunt. Quinctius postero die ad Nicaeam—is
enim locus placuerat—ad constitutum tempus venit;
Philippus nullus usquam, nec nuntius ab eo per
aliquot horas veniebat, et iam desperantibus ven-
3 turum repente apparuerunt naves. Atque ipse
quidem, cum tam gravia et indigna imperarentur,
inopem consilii diem consumpsisse deliberando
4 aiebat; vulgo credebant de industria rem in serum
tractam, ne tempus dari posset Achaeis Aetolisque
5 ad respondendum, et eam opinionem ipse adfirmavit,
petendo ut summotis aliis, ne tempus altercando
tereretur et aliqui finis rei imponi posset, cum ipso
6 imperatore Romano liceret sibi colloqui. Id primo
non acceptum, ne excludi colloquio viderentur
7 socii, dein, cum haud absisteret petere, ex omnium
consilio Romanus imperator cum Ap. Claudio tri-
buno militum ceteris summotis ad extremum litus
8 processit; rex cum duobus, quos pridie adhibuerat,
in terram est egressus. Ibi cum aliquamdiu secreto
locuti essent, quae acta Philippus ad suos ret-
9 tulerit, minus compertum est; Quinctius haec
rettulit ad socios: Romanis eum cedere tota Illyrici
10 ora, perfugas remittere ac si qui sint captivi; Attalo
naves et cum iis captos navales socios, Rhodiis
regionem quam Peraean vocant reddere, Iaso et
11 Bargyliis non cessurum; Aetolis Pharsalum Lari-
samque reddere, Thebas non reddere; Achaeis

come, the Romans and the allies to the camp. The next day Quinctius arrived at Nicaea—for this was the place agreed upon—at the appointed time; Philip was nowhere in sight and no messenger from him arrived for several hours, and just as they were ready to abandon hope of his coming, suddenly his ships appeared. And Philip said that, since such heavy and unjust demands had been made, being uncertain what to do, he had spent the day in deliberation; it was the general opinion that he had purposely deferred his arrival until late, so as to give the Achaeans and Aetolians no time to reply to him, and he himself confirmed this belief by asking that the others retire, that time might not be wasted in argument and that some end might be set to the affair, and that he be permitted to confer with the Roman commander by himself. At first the request was denied, lest the allies seem to be excluded from the conference, but finally, as he persisted in his plea, with the consent of all, the Roman general with Appius Claudius, tribune of the soldiers, left the rest behind and came out to the water's edge; the king with the two companions whom he had had with him the day before came ashore. After they had talked for some time apart, what account Philip gave his own friends is uncertain; the report of Quinctius to the allies was that Philip ceded to the Romans the whole Illyrian coast, sent back the deserters and whatever prisoners there were; to Attalus he returned the ships and the naval allies captured with them, and to the Rhodians the region which they call Peraea, but he would not give up Iasus or Bargyliae; to the Aetolians he surrendered Pharsalus and Larisa but not Thebes; to the Achaeans he would yield not only Argos but B.C. 197

A.U.C. 557 non Argis modo sed etiam Corintho cessurum.
12 Nulli omnium placere partium, quibus cessurus aut non cessurus esset, destinatio: plus enim amitti in iis quam acquiri, nec umquam, nisi tota deduxisset Graecia[1] praesidia, causas certaminum defore.

XXXVI. Cum haec toto ex concilio certatim omnes vociferarentur, ad Philippum quoque procul stantem
2 vox est perlata. Itaque a Quinctio petit ut rem totam in posterum diem differret: profecto aut persuasurum se aut persuaderi sibi passurum.
3 Litus ad Thronium colloquio destinatur. Eo mature conventum est. Ibi Philippus primum et Quinctium et omnes qui aderant rogare ne spem pacis turbare
4 vellent, postremo petere tempus, quo legatos mittere Romam ad senatum posset: aut iis condicionibus se pacem impetraturum aut quascumque senatus
5 dedisset leges pacis accepturum. Id ceteris haud-quaquam placebat: nec enim aliud quam moram et
6 dilationem ad colligendas vires quaeri; Quinctius verum id futurum fuisse dicere, si aestas et tempus rerum gerendarum esset; nunc hieme instante
7 nihil amitti dato spatio ad legatos mittendos: nam neque sine auctoritate senatus ratum quicquam eorum fore, quae cum rege ipsi pepigissent, et explorari, dum bello necessariam quietem ipsa
8 hiems daret, senatus auctoritatem posse. In hanc sententiam et ceteri sociorum principes concesserunt; indutiisque datis in duos menses, et ipsos mittere singulos legatos ad senatum edocendum, ne fraude

[1] Graecia *edd.*: et Graecia *B.*

Corinth as well. The decision as to the places from B.C. 197
which he would or would not retire pleased no party: for more, they maintained, was lost thereby than gained, nor would causes for strife ever be wanting until he withdrew his garrisons from all Greece.

XXXVI. When shouts to this effect were uttered by the whole council, all speaking at once, their words reached Philip even standing at a distance. Accordingly he asked Quinctius to postpone the whole question until the next day: he would assuredly persuade them or suffer himself to be persuaded. The beach near Thronium was selected for the meeting. Thither all came at an early hour. There Philip first asked both Quinctius and all the others who were present not to entertain views which would disturb the hope of peace, and finally begged for time in which he could send an embassy to the senate at Rome: he would either obtain peace on these terms or submit to whatever conditions of peace the senate imposed. The others did not all like this suggestion: for nothing else, they said, was sought than postponement and delay to collect fresh troops; Quinctius argued that this would have been true had it been summer and the time for active operations; now, with winter at hand, nothing was lost by granting an interval to send ambassadors: for none of the agreements they had made with the king could be ratified except on the authority of the senate, and while winter gave the necessary respite from war the views of the senate could be sought. The other leaders of the allies also agreed with this opinion; and having granted a truce of two months, they too decided to send one ambassador each to advise the senate, lest it be deceived by the

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9 regis caperetur, placuit. Additum indutiarum pacto, ut regia praesidia Phocide ac Locride extemplo
10 deducerentur. Et ipse Quinctius cum sociorum legatis Amynandrum, Athamanum regem, ut speciem legationi adiceret, et Q. Fabium—uxoris Quincti sororis filius erat—et Q. Fulvium et Ap. Claudium misit.

XXXVII. Ut ventum Romam est, prius sociorum legati quam regis auditi sunt. Cetera eorum
2 oratio conviciis regis consumpta est; moverunt eo maxime senatum, demonstrando maris terrarumque
3 regionis eius situm, ut omnibus appareret, si Demetriadem in Thessalia, Chalcidem in Euboea, Corinthum in Achaia rex teneret, non posse liberam
4 Graeciam esse, et ipsum Philippum non contumeliosius quam verius compedes eas Graeciae appellare.
5 Legati deinde regis intromissi; quibus longiorem exorsis orationem brevis interrogatio, cessurusne iis tribus urbibus esset, sermonem incidit, cum mandati sibi de iis nominatim negarent quicquam. Sic infecta pace regii dimissi; Quinctio liberum ar-
6 bitrium pacis ac belli permissum. Cui[1] ut satis apparuit non taedere belli senatum, et ipse victoriae quam pacis avidior neque colloquium postea Philippo dedit neque legationem aliam quam quae omni Graecia decedi nuntiaret, admissurum dixit.

XXXVIII. Philippus, cum acie decernendum videret et undique ad se contrahendas vires, maxime

[1] cui *Crévier*: quod *B*.

king's misrepresentations. A stipulation was added B.C. 197
to the agreement regarding the truce, that the king's garrisons should be immediately withdrawn from Phocis and Locris. And Quinctius himself sent with the ambassadors of the allies Amynander, king of the Athamanians, to add distinction to the embassy, and Quintus Fabius—he was the son of the sister of the wife of Quinctius—and Quintus Fulvius and Appius Claudius.

XXXVII. When they reached Rome, the ambassadors of the allies were heard before those of the king. Much of their speech was devoted to reviling the king; they influenced the senate especially by their description of the geography of the sea and lands in that region, so that it was clear to all that if the king held Demetrias in Thessaly, Chalcis in Euboea, and Corinth in Achaea, Greece could not be free, and that Philip himself, with equal insolence and truth, called them the fetters of Greece. Then the ambassadors of the king were admitted; and when they had begun a lengthy argument, a terse question, whether he would evacuate these three cities, cut short their speech, since they said they had no explicit instructions from him regarding them. So the king's ambassadors were dismissed without obtaining peace; Quinctius was given full discretion regarding peace and war. When it was made clear to him that the senate was not ready to discontinue the war, he, being himself more eager for victory than for peace, thereafter neither granted Philip any conference nor consented to receive any embassy that did not announce a withdrawal from all Greece.

XXXVIII. When Philip saw that the decision must be reached on the battlefield and that he must

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2 de Achaiae urbibus, regionis ab se diversae, et magis tamen de Argis quam de Corintho sollicitus, optimum ratus Nabidi eam Lacedaemoniorum tyranno velut fiduciariam dare, ut victori sibi restitueret, si quid adversi accidisset, ipse haberet, Philocli, qui Corintho Argisque praeerat, scribit, ut tyrannum ipse con-
3 veniret. Philocles, praeterquam quod iam veniebat cum munere, adicit, ad pignus futurae regi cum tyranno amicitiae, filias suas regem Nabidis filiis
4 matrimonio coniungere velle. Tyrannus primo negare aliter urbem eam se accepturum, nisi Argivorum ipsorum decreto accersitus ad auxilium urbis esset,
5 deinde, ut frequenti contione non aspernatos modo sed abominatos etiam nomen tyranni audivit, causam se spoliandi eos nactum ratus tradere ubi vellet urbem
6 Philoclen iussit. Nocte ignaris omnibus acceptus in urbem est tyrannus; prima luce occupata omnia
7 superiora loca portaeque clausae. Paucis principum [1] inter primum tumultum elapsis, eorum absentium direptae fortunae; praesentibus aurum atque argentum ablatum, pecuniae imperatae ingentes.
8 Qui non cunctanter contulere, sine contumelia et laceratione corporum dimissi; quos occulere aut retrahere aliquid suspicio fuit, in servilem modum
9 lacerati atque extorti. Contione inde advocata rogationes [2] promulgavit, unam de tabulis novis,

[1] principum *edd. vett.*: principium *B.*
[2] rogationes *edd.*: rogationem *B.*

collect around himself forces from every quarter, B.C. 197
being especially concerned about the cities of Achaea, a region far away from him, and yet more concerned about Argos than Corinth, it seemed the best plan to commit Argos on deposit, as it were, to Nabis, the tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, with the provision that he would restore it to him if victorious, but that Nabis himself should keep it if misfortune should come, and he wrote to Philocles, who was in charge of Corinth and Argos, that he should have an interview with the tyrant. Philocles, apart from the fact that he was already coming bringing gifts, added as a pledge of future friendship between the king and the tyrant, that the king wished to unite his daughters in marriage with the sons of Nabis. The tyrant at first refused to accept the city on any other terms than an invitation to assist the city, proffered by a decree of the Argives themselves; later, when he heard them mentioning the name of tyrant in a crowded assembly not only with scorn but even with cursing, he, thinking that he had found a cause for despoiling them, bade Philocles deliver the city to him when he pleased. The tyrant was admitted to the city at night, without the knowledge of anyone; when day came all the commanding sites were in his hands and the gates were closed. A few of the leading men got away in the first confusion and their property was plundered in their absence; the gold and silver of those who remained was appropriated and heavy fines imposed upon them. Those who paid promptly were let go without insult or bodily injury; those who were suspected of concealing or holding back assets were punished and tortured like slaves. Then he called an assembly and proposed measures,

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alteram de agro viritim dividendo, duas faces novantibus res ad plebem in optimates accendendam.

XXXIX. Postquam in potestate Argivorum civitas erat, nihil eius memor tyrannus, a quo eam civitatem et in quam condicionem accepisset, legatos Elatiam ad Quinctium et ad[1] Attalum Aeginae hibernantem mittit, qui nuntiarent Argos in potestate sua esse: eo si veniret Quinctius ad colloquium, non diffidere sibi omnia cum eo conventura. Quinctius, ut eo quoque praesidio Philippum nudaret, cum adnuisset se venturum, mittit ad Attalum, ut ab Aegina Sicyonem sibi occurreret, ipse ab Anticyra decem quinqueremibus, quas iis forte ipsis diebus L. Quinctius frater eius adduxerat ex hibernis Corcyrae, Sicyonem tramisit. Iam ibi Attalus erat; qui cum tyranno ad Romanum imperatorem, non Romano ad tyrannum eundum diceret, in sententiam suam Quinctium traduxit, ne in urbem ipsam Argos iret. Haud procul urbe Mycenica vocatur; in eo loco ut congrederentur convenit. Quinctius cum fratre et tribunis militum paucis, Attalus cum regio comitatu, Nicostratus, Achaeorum praetor, cum auxiliaribus paucis venit. Tyrannum ibi cum omnibus copiis opperientem invenerunt. Progressus armatus cum satellitibus armatis est in medium fere

[1] ad *Madvig*: *om. B.*

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[1] *Tabulae novae*, or new contracts between debtors and creditors, which in extreme cases might absolve debtors entirely, provided Roman demagogues and even politicians with popular sympathies with an effective vote-getting argument: the case of Catiline is in point. Distribution of public

one for the cancellation of debts,[1] the other for a B.C. 197
distribution of land to individuals, thus lighting two torches with which revolutionists could inflame the commons against the nobility.

XXXIX. Having the city of Argos in his power, the tyrant, no longer remembering from whom and on what terms he had received the city, sent agents to Quinctius at Elatia and to Attalus, who was wintering at Aegina, to tell them that Argos was in his power: if Quinctius would come there to a conference, he had no doubt that they would come to a complete agreement. Quinctius, with a view to stripping Philip of that source of strength also, having agreed to come, sent word to Attalus to leave Aegina and meet him at Sicyon, and himself crossed from Anticyra[2] to Sicyon with ten quinqueremes which his brother Lucius Quinctius had by chance recently brought there from their winter station at Corcyra. Attalus was already there; saying that the tyrant should come to the Roman general, and not the Roman to the tyrant, he prevailed upon Quinctius not to go to the city of Argos itself. Not far from the city is the place called Mycenica; there they agreed to meet. Quinctius arrived with his brother and a few military tribunes, Attalus with his royal retinue, Nicostratus, praetor of the Achaeans, with a few auxiliaries. They found the tyrant waiting there with his entire army. Wearing his armour and attended by an armed body-guard, he advanced to about the centre

land to individuals was another plank in the popular platform in republican Rome, and Livy's personal opposition to such measures, which were regarded as subversive by conservatives, is clearly apparent in this passage.

[2] In Phocis, on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf.

A.U.C. 557 interiacentis campi; inermis Quinctius cum fratre et duobus tribunis militum, inermi item regi praetor Achaeorum et unus ex purpuratis latus cingebant. 9 Initium sermonis ab excusatione tyranni ortum, quod armatus ipse armatisque saeptus, cum inermes Romanum imperatorem regemque cerneret, in colloquium venisset: neque enim se illos timere dixit; 10 sed exules Argivorum. Inde ubi de condicionibus amicitiae coeptum agi est, Romanus duas postulare res, unam, ut bellum cum Achaeis finiret, alteram, ut adversus Philippum mitteret secum auxilia. Ea se missurum dixit; pro pace cum Achaeis indutiae impetratae, donec bellum cum Philippo finiretur.

XL. De Argis quoque disceptatio ab Attalo rege est mota, cum fraude Philoclis proditam urbem vi ab eo teneri argueret, ille ab ipsis Argivis se defenderet 2 accitum. Contionem rex Argivorum postulabat, ut id sciri posset; nec tyrannus abnuere; sed deductis ex urbe praesidiis liberam contionem non immixtis Lacedaemoniis declaraturam, quid Argivi vellent, praeberi debere dicebat rex; tyrannus 3 negavit deducturum. Haec disceptatio sine exitu 4 fuit. De colloquio discessum sescentis Cretensibus ab tyranno datis Romano indutiisque inter Nicostratum, praetorem Achaeorum, et Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum in quattuor menses factis.

5 Inde Quinctius Corinthum est profectus et ad

of the space between the two parties; Quinctius was B.C. 197
unarmed, as were his brother and two tribunes of the soldiers, while at either side of the king, who was likewise unarmed, stood the Achaean praetor and one of his own courtiers. The conversation began with an apology by the tyrant because he had come armed and hedged about by armed men though he saw the Roman commander and the king unarmed; he feared not them, he said, but the Argive exiles. Then, when they began to discuss the terms of alliance, the Roman made two demands: first, that he put an end to his war with the Achaeans, second, that he send with him auxiliaries against Philip. The auxiliaries he agreed to send; in place of peace with the Achaeans, he obtained an armistice until the war with Philip should be concluded.

XL. With regard to Argos, another dispute was started by King Attalus, who charged Nabis with holding by force a city betrayed by the guile of Philocles, while the other defended himself by pointing to his summons by the Argives themselves. The king demanded an assembly of the Argives, that this assertion might be proved; the tyrant did not refuse this; but the king said that a free assembly, that would show what the Argives wished, should be made possible, the guards having been withdrawn from the city and no Lacedaemonians intermingled; the tyrant refused to withdraw the guard. This discussion came to nought. They left the conference, six hundred Cretans having been furnished to the Roman by the tyrant, and a truce for four months made between Nicostratus, praetor of the Achaeans, and the Spartan tyrant.

Quinctius then set out for Corinth and approached

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portam cum Cretensium cohorte accessit, ut Philocli praefecto urbis appareret tyrannum a Philippo
6 descisse. Philocles et ipse ad imperatorem Romanum in colloquium venit hortantique, ut extemplo transiret urbemque traderet, ita respondit, ut distulisse
7 rem magis quam negasse videretur. A Corintho Quinctius Anticyram traiecit; inde fratrem ad temptandam Acarnanum gentem misit.

8 Attalus ab Argis Sicyonem est profectus. Ibi et civitas novis honoribus veteres regis honores auxit, et rex ad id quod sacrum Apollinis agrum grandi
9 quondam pecunia redemerat iis, tum quoque, ne sine aliqua munificentia praeteriret civitatem sociam atque amicam, decem talenta argenti dono dedit et decem milia medimnum frumenti; atque ita Cenchreas ad naves redit.

10 Et Nabis firmato praesidio Argis Lacedaemonem regressus, cum ipse viros spoliasset, ad feminas
11 spoliandas uxorem Argos remisit. Ea nunc singulas illustres, nunc simul plures genere inter se iunctas accersendo blandiendoque ac minando non aurum modo iis, sed postremo vestem quoque mundumque omnem muliebrem ademit.

the gate with the Cretan contingent, that it might B.C. 197
be clear to Philocles, the prefect of the city, that the tyrant had deserted Philip. Philocles also held a conference with the Roman commander, and to the suggestion that he at once desert and hand over the city, he returned a reply that hinted delay rather than refusal. From Corinth Quinctius crossed to Anticyra; thence he sent his brother to sound the people of the Acarnanes.

Attalus went from Argos to Sicyon. There the city, for its part, added new distinctions to the king's former honours, while he, in addition to the fact that he had once redeemed for them the sacred precinct of Apollo at a high price, at this time also, not to pass by an allied and friendly city without some act of generosity, gave them as a present ten talents of silver and ten thousand *medimni* of grain; and so he returned to his fleet at Cenchreae.

And Nabis, strengthening the garrison at Argos and returning to Sparta, even as he had despoiled the men, sent his wife to rob the women. She invited now prominent individuals, now groups of women related to one another, and partly by flattery, partly by threats, took from them not only their money but finally even their raiment and their whole feminine adornment as well.

LIBRI XXXII PERIOCHA

COMPLURA prodigia ex diversis regionibus nuntiata referuntur, inter quae in Macedonia in puppe longae navis lauream esse natam. T. Quinctius Flamininus cos. adversus Philippum feliciter pugnavit in faucibus Epiri fugatumque coegit in regnum reverti. Ipse Thessaliam, quae est vicina Macedoniae, sociis Aetolis et Athamanibus vexavit, L. Quinctius Flamininus, frater consulis, navali proelio Attalo rege et Rhodiis adiuvantibus Euboeam et maritimam oram. Achaei in amicitiam recepti sunt. Praetorum numerus ampliatus est ut seni crearentur. Coniuratio servorum facta de solvendis Carthaginiensium obsidibus oppressa est, duo milia D necati. Cornelius Cethegus cos. Gallos Insubres proelio fudit. Cum Lacedaemoniis et tyranno eorum Nabide amicitia iuncta est. Praeterea expugnationes urbium in Macedonia referuntur.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXII

MANY prodigies, reported from various quarters, are recorded, among them that the laurel had grown on the stern of a war-ship. Titus Quinctius Flamininus the consul fought successfully against Philip in the passes of Epirus, put him to flight, and forced him to retire to his kingdom. He himself, with the Aetolians and Athamanes as allies, harried Thessaly, which adjoins Macedonia, his brother Lucius Quinctius Flamininus Euboea and the sea-coast, in naval warfare, aided by King Attalus and the Rhodians. The Achaeans were received in friendship. The number of praetors was increased so that six each year were elected. A conspiracy of slaves, started for the purpose of freeing the Carthaginian hostages, was crushed and two thousand five hundred executed. Cornelius Cethegus the consul routed the Insubrian Gauls in battle. A treaty of friendship was struck with the Lacedaemonians and their tyrant Nabis. Besides, the takings of cities in Macedonia are recorded.

BOOK XXXIII

LIBER XXXIII

A.U.C. 557

I. Haec per hiemem gesta; initio autem veris Quinctius Attalo Elatiam excito Boeotorum gentem incertis ad eam diem animis fluctuantem dicionis suae facere cupiens,[1] profectus per Phocidem quinque milia ab Thebis, quod caput est Boeotiae, 2 posuit castra. Inde postero die cum[2] unius signi militibus et Attalo legationibusque quae frequentes undique convenerant pergit ire ad urbem, iussis legionis hastatis—ea duo milia militum erant—sequi 3 se mille passuum intervallo distanti. Ad medium[3] ferme viae Boeotorum praetor Antiphilus obvius fuit; cetera multitudo e muris adventum imperatoris 4 Romani regisque prospeculabatur. Rara arma paucique milites circa eos apparebant; hastatos sequentes procul anfractus viarum vallesque in- 5 teriectae occulebant. Cum iam adpropinquaret urbi[4] velut obviam egredientem turbam salutaret, tardius incedebat; causa erat morae ut hastati 6 consequerentur. Oppidani, ante lictorem turba acta, insecutum confestim agmen armatorum non

[1] facere cupiens *ed.* 1616 : pace recupiens *B.*
[2] die cum *ed.* 1616 : die *B.*
[3] ad medium *ed.* 1616 : ad medio *B.*
[4] urbi *ed.* 1616 : turbae *B.*

BOOK XXXIII

I. THESE events occurred during the winter; but B.C. 197
in the beginning of spring Quinctius summoned Attalus to Elatia, and, wishing to bring under his control the Boeotians, a people whose attitude had thus far been uncertain, he set out through Phocis and encamped five miles from Thebes, which is the capital of Boeotia. Thence the next day, taking the soldiers of one company and Attalus and the numerous embassies which had come in from all directions, he set out to march towards the city, ordering the *hastati*[1] of the legion—they amounted to two thousand men—to follow at the distance of a mile. When they had completed about half the march, Antiphilus, the praetor of the Boeotians, met them; the rest of the people from the wall watched the approach of the Roman commander and the king. Only weapons here and there and a few soldiers were seen around them; the windings of the road and the intervening valleys hid the *hastati* who were following at a distance. When Quinctius was close to the city he decreased his pace, as if to show respect to the approaching throng; the real reason for the delay was to allow the *hastati* time to overtake him. The townspeople, since the crowd was gathered in front of the lictor, did not see the rapidly approach-

[1] The soldiers in the foremost of the three lines (*hastati*, *principes*, *triarii*) in which a legion was normally formed for battle.

a.u.c. 557 ante quam ad hospitium imperatoris ventum est
7 conspexere. Tum velut prodita dolo Antiphili praetoris urbe captaque obstipuerunt omnes; et apparebat nihil liberae consultationis concilio quod in diem posterum indictum erat Boeotis relictum esse.
8 Texerunt dolorem quem et nequiquam et non sine periculo ostendissent.

II. In concilio Attalus primus verba fecit. Orsus a maiorum suorum suisque et communibus in omnem Graeciam et propriis in Boeotorum gentem meritis,
2 senior[1] iam et infirmior quam ut contentionem
3 dicendi sustineret, obmutuit et concidit; et dum regem auferunt perferuntque parte membrorum
4 captum, paulisper contio intermissa est. Aristaenus inde, Achaeorum praetor, eo cum maiore auctoritate auditus quod non alia quam quae Achaeis suaserat
5 Boeotis suadebat. Pauca ab ipso Quinctio adiecta, fidem magis Romanam quam arma aut opes extol-
6 lente verbis. Rogatio inde a Plataeensi Dicaearcho lata recitataque de societate[2] cum Romanis iungenda nullo contra dicere audente omnium Boeotiae civi-
7 tatum suffragiis accipitur iubeturque. Concilio dimisso Quinctius, tantum Thebis moratus quantum
8 Attali repens casus coegit, postquam non vitae praesens periculum vis morbi attulisse sed membrorum debilitatem visa est, relicto eo ad curationem
9 necessariam corporis, Elatiam unde profectus erat

[1] senior *Gronovius*: segnior *B.*
[2] de societate *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: *om. B.*

ing column of armed men until they arrived at the B.C. 197
general's quarters. Then all were dumbfounded, thinking that the city had been betrayed and captured by the treachery of Antiphilus the praetor, and it seemed clear that no opportunity was left the Boeotians for freedom of action in the council which had been called for the next day. They concealed their sorrow, the display of which would have been both fruitless and not without risk.

II. Attalus opened the discussion in the council. He began with the services of his forefathers and himself, in general to all Greeks and especially to the Boeotians, but being now an old man and too feeble to endure the strain of speaking, he fell silent and collapsed, and while he was being carried out and the report brought back that he had partially lost the use of his limbs, the assembly was adjourned for a time. Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, spoke with the greater effect because he gave the Boeotians the same advice he had previously given the Achaeans. Quinctius himself added a few words, in praise of the loyalty of the Romans rather than of their military strength or material resources. A motion was then proposed and read by Dicaearchus of Plataea, about forming an alliance with Rome, and since no one dared to speak against it, it was received and carried by the unanimous consent of the Boeotian cities. The meeting then adjourning, Quinctius, having remained in Thebes only as long as the sudden illness of Attalus demanded, when it appeared that the attack did not for the moment imperil his life, but merely weakened his body, left him there to receive the necessary treatment and returned to Elatia, whence he had come; having brought the

A.U.C. 557 redit, Boeotis quoque, sicut prius Achaeis, ad societatem adscitis et, quoniam tuta ea pacataque ab tergo relinquebantur, omnibus iam cogitationibus in Philippum et quod reliquum belli erat conversis.

III. Philippus quoque primo vere, postquam legati 2 ab Roma nihil pacati rettulerant, dilectum per omnia oppida regni habere instituit in magna inopia iuniorum. Absumpserant enim per multas iam aetates continua 3 bella Macedonas; ipso quoque regnante et navalibus bellis adversus Rhodios Attalumque et terrestribus 4 adversus Romanos ceciderat magnus numerus. Ita et tirones ab sedecim annis milites scribebat, et emeritis quidam stipendiis, quibus modo quicquam 5 reliqui roboris erat ad signa revocabantur. Ita suppleto exercitu secundum vernum aequinoctium omnes copias Dium contraxit ibique stativis positis 6 exercendo cotidie milite hostem opperiebatur. Et Quinctius per eosdem ferme dies ab Elatia profectus praeter Thronium et Scarpheam ad Thermopylas 7 pervenit. Ibi concilium Aetolorum Heracleam indictum tenuit consultantium quantis auxiliis Roma- 8 num ad bellum sequerentur. Cognitis sociorum decretis tertio die ab Heraclea Xynias praegressus in confinio Aenianum Thessalorumque positis castris 9 Aetolica auxilia opperiebatur. Nihil morati Aetoli sunt; Phaenea duce sescenti pedites cum equitibus quadringentis venerunt. Ne dubium esset quid expectasset, confestim Quinctius movit castra.

[1] Dium was near the south-eastern frontier of Macedonia.

Boeotians, as well as the Achaeans before them, B.C. 197
into the confederacy and made the country behind him secure and peaceful, he now turned all his attention towards Philip and what remained of the war.

III. Philip, too, seeing that his ambassadors had brought from Rome no indication of peace, at the beginning of spring decided to conduct a levy through all the towns of his kingdom, since he was in great want of young recruits. For the continuous fighting through several generations had exhausted the Macedonians; during his own reign many had fallen in naval battles with the Rhodians and Attalus and in engagements with the Romans on land. He therefore enlisted recruits from the age of sixteen, and some who had served their allotted time but still possessed some share of strength were recalled to the colours. He thus filled up his ranks, and ordered a muster of all his troops at Dium[1] about the time of the vernal equinox. There he established a base and spent the time of waiting for the enemy in drilling his troops daily. Quinctius also meanwhile had left Elatia and marched to Thermopylae by way of Thronium and Scarphea. There he held the Aetolian council, summoned to meet at Heraclea, to determine with how many troops they should follow the Romans to the war. Having learned the decision of the allies, he advanced in three days from Heraclea to Xyniae, on the frontier of the Aenianes and Thessalians and made camp and waited for the Aetolian auxiliaries. These made haste, and six hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry arrived, commanded by Phaeneas. Quinctius broke camp at once, so as to leave no doubt why he had waited. When he had

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10 Transgresso in Phthioticum agrum quingenti Gortynii Cretensium duce Cydante et trecenti Apolloniatae haud dispari armatu se coniunxere nec ita multo post Amynander cum Athamanum peditum ducentis et mille.

11 Philippus cognita profectione ab Elatia Romanorum, ut cui de summa rerum adesset certamen,
12 adhortandos milites ratus, multa iam saepe memorata de maiorum virtutibus simul de militari laude Macedonum cum disseruisset, ad ea[1] quae tum maxime animos terrebant quibusque erigi[2] ad aliquam spem poterant venit.

IV. Acceptae ad Aoum flumen in angustiis cladi ter a[3] Macedonum phalange ad Atracem vi pulsos
2 Romanos opponebat. Et illic tamen, ubi insessas fauces Epiri non tenuissent, primam culpam fuisse
3 eorum qui neglegenter custodias servassent, secundam in ipso certamine levis armaturae mercenariorumque militum; Macedonum vero phalangem et tunc stetisse et loco aequo iustaque pugna semper
4 mansuram invictam. Decem et sex milia militum haec fuere, robur omne virium eius regni. Ad hoc duo milia caetratorum, quos peltastas[4] appellant, Thracumque et Illyriorum—Tralles est nomen genti
5 —par numerus, bina milia erant, et mixti ex pluribus gentibus mercede conducti auxiliares mille ferme et

[1] ad ea *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: de re *B.*
[2] erigi *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: *om. B.*
[3] ter a *Horrion*: terra *B.*
[4] peltastas *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: peltas *B.*

[1] Both contingents were archers and light-armed.

crossed the border into the Phthiotic country, five hundred Gortynii from Crete under the command of Cydas and three hundred from Apollonia, armed in the same fashion,[1] joined him and a little later Amynander arrived with twelve hundred infantry of the Athamanes. B.C. 197.

Philip learned of the departure of the Romans from Elatia, and since he was in a situation where a contest for supreme power impended, he determined to encourage his troops. After he had repeated many oft-told stories of the brave deeds of their forefathers and also of the martial glory of the Macedonians, he came to the points which at that time were causing them the greatest terror and by which they could be roused to some degree of hopefulness.

IV. Against the defeat sustained in the narrows at the Aous river he set the triple defeat inflicted at Atrax by the Macedonian phalanx upon the Romans. Even there, when they had failed to hold the passes of Epirus which they commanded, the blame rested first on those who had not maintained careful vigilance, next, in the actual battle, on the light infantry and the mercenaries; the Macedonian phalanx, on the other hand, had stood fast even then, and would always stand unconquered when regular battle was joined on level ground. There were sixteen thousand in the phalanx, the flower of the whole kingdom. In addition, there were two thousand with light shields, whom they call peltasts, and an equal number (two thousand each) of Thracians and Illyrians—Tralles is the name of the tribe—and auxiliary mercenaries from different nationalities to the number of about fifteen hundred

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quingenti et duo milia equitum. Cum iis copiis rex hostem opperiebatur. Romanis ferme par numerus erat; equitum copiis tantum quod Aetoli accesserant superabant.[1]

V. Quinctius ad Thebas Phthioticas castra cum movisset, spem nactus per Timonem, principem civitatis, prodi urbem cum paucis equitum levisque armaturae ad muros successit. Ibi adeo frustrata spes est ut non certamen modo cum erumpentibus sed periculum quoque atrox subiret, ni castris exciti repente pedites equitesque in tempore subvenissent. Et postquam nihil conceptae temere spei succedebat, urbis quidem amplius temptandae in praesentia conatu abstitit; ceterum satis gnarus iam in Thessalia regem esse, nondum comperto quam in regionem venisset, milites per agros dimissos vallum caedere et parare iubet. Vallo et Macedones et Graeci usi sunt, sed usum nec ad commoditatem ferendi nec ad ipsius munitionis firmamentum aptaverunt; nam et maiores et magis ramosas arbores caedebant quam quas ferre cum armis miles posset, et cum castra his ante obiectis saepsissent, facilis molitio eorum valli erat. Nam et quia rari stipites magnarum arborum eminebant multique et validi rami praebebant, quod recte manu caperetur, duo aut summum tres iuvenes conixi arborem unam evellebant, qua evulsa portae instar extemplo patebat, nec in promptu erat quod obmolirentur. Romanus leves et bifurcos plerosque

[1] superabant *Horrion*: superabat *B.*

[1] The *vallum*, as here described, was a portable fortification which could be set up around a temporary camp.

and two thousand cavalry. With these forces the king awaited the enemy. The Romans had about the same number; it was only in cavalry strength that they were superior, because of the arrival of the Aetolians. B.C. 197

V. When Quinctius had moved his camp towards Phthiotic Thebes, he conceived the hope that the city would be betrayed to him by Timon, a leader among this people, and approached it with a few cavalry and light infantry. This hope was so wholly belied that there was not only a battle with forees which sallied forth, but there was even grave danger had not infantry and cavalry, hastily summoned from the camp, arrived in time. And after nothing of this rashly-formed hope turned out well, he gave up for the present his design of further attacks upon the town. And, assured that the king was in Thessaly, but not yet certain of the direction of his march, he ordered soldiers sent out into the country to cut timbers and prepare a stockade.[1] Both Macedonians and Greeks employed a stockade, but in a manner ill adapted to ease of transportation or security in defence; for they cut trees of too great size and with too many branches for one soldier to carry, especially with his arms, and when they had walled a camp by planting these in front, the destruction of their rampart was easy. For because the trunks of the great trees were planted far apart and numerous strong branches offered easy holds for the hand, two or at most three young men, if they exerted themselves, would easily pull out a tree, and, this being pulled out, there was at once an opening like a gate, nor was material ready at hand to block it. The Roman cuts light forked trees with

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et trium aut cum plurimum quattuor ramorum vallos caedit, ut et suspensis ab tergo armis ferat plures simul apte miles; et ita densos offigunt implicantque ramos ut neque quis cuiusque palmae stipes neque [1] quae cuiusque stipitis palma sit, pervideri possit; et adeo acuti aliusque per alium immissi rami [2] locum ad inserendam manum non relinquunt, ut neque prehendi quod trahatur neque trahi, cum inter se innexi rami vinculum in vicem praebeant,[3] possit; et si evulsus forte est unus, nec loci multum aperit et alium reponere perfacile est.

VI. Quinctius postero die vallum secum ferente milite, ut paratus omni loco castris ponendis esset, progressus modicum iter sex ferme milia a Pheris cum consedisset, speculatum in qua parte Thessaliae hostis esset quidve pararet misit. Circa Larisam erat rex. Certior iam factus Romanum ab Thebis Pheras movisse, defungi quam primum et ipse certamine cupiens ducere ad hostem pergit et quattuor milia fere a Pheris posuit castra. Inde postero die cum expediti utrimque ad occupandos super urbem tumulos processissent, pari ferme intervallo ab iugo quod capiendum erat, cum inter se conspecti essent, constiterunt, nuntios in castra remissos qui quid sibi, quoniam praeter spem hostis occurrisset, faciendum esset consulerent, quieti opperientes. Et illo quidem die nullo inito certamine in castra revocati sunt; postero die circa eosdem tumulos equestre proelium

[1] quis . . . neque *Crévier*: *om. B.*
[2] rami *Madvig*: radii *B.*
[3] praebeant *ed.* 1616: praebent *B.*

[1] Polybius (XVIII. xviii) gives a very similar description (from which Livy borrows the above passage) and admires greatly the Roman art of war as thus manifested.

three or perhaps four branches, as a general rule, B.C. 197
so that each soldier could comfortably carry several at once, with his arms hanging on his back; and they plant them so close together and interweave the boughs so completely that it is difficult to tell to which branch each trunk is joined or to which trunk each branch belongs; moreover, the branches are so sharp as to leave, interlaced, little space for inserting the hand, so that there is nothing that can be grasped and pulled out, since the interwoven branches bind one another together; and, if one is by chance pulled out, it leaves a small gap and is easily replaced.[1]

VI. Quinctius made a short march the next day, the soldiers carrying the stockade with them, so that he was ready to fortify a camp in any place, and when he had halted about six miles from Pherae, he sent out patrols to find out in what part of Thessaly the king was and what he was doing. The king was near Larisa. Being now informed that the Roman had moved from Thebes to Pherae and desiring, for his part, to end the struggle at once, he began to march towards the enemy and encamped about four miles from Pherae. Thence next day both sides sent out light troops to seize the hills overlooking the town, and these, when they were about equidistant from the ridge which was to be occupied, came to a halt as soon as they espied one another, waiting quietly for the runners whom they had sent back to camp to ask what they were to do, since the enemy had unexpectedly been met. And on that day indeed they were withdrawn to camp without starting a battle; on the next day there was a cavalry engagement around the same hills, in which, mainly through the help of the Aetolians,

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fuit, in quo non minimum Aetolorum opera regii
7 fugati atque in castra compulsi sunt. Magnum utrisque impedimentum ad rem gerendam fuit ager consitus crebris arboribus hortique, ut in suburbanis locis, et coartata itinera maceriis et quibusdam locis
8 interclusa. Itaque pariter ducibus consilium fuit excedendi ea regione, et velut ex praedicto ambo Scotusam petierunt, Philippus spe frumentandi inde, Romanus ut progressus corrumperet hosti frumenta.
9 Per diem totum, quia colles perpetuo iugo intererant,
10 nullo conspecta inter se loco agmina ierunt. Romani ad Eretriam [1] Phthiotici agri, Philippus super amnem
11 Onchestum posuit castra. Ne postero quidem die, cum Philippus ad Melambium quod vocant Scotusaei agri, Quinctius circa Thetideum Pharsaliae terrae posuisset castra, aut hi aut illi ubi hostis esset satis
12 compertum habuerunt.[2] Tertio die primo nimbus effusus, dein caligo noctis simillima Romanos metu insidiarum tenuit.

2 VII. Philippus maturandi itineris causa, post imbrem nubibus in terram demissis nihil deterritus, signa ferri iussit; sed tam densa caligo occaecaverat diem ut neque signiferi viam nec signa milites cernerent, agmen ad incertos clamores vagum velut
3 errore nocturno turbaretur. Supergressi tumulos qui Cynoscephalae vocantur, relicta ibi statione
4 firma peditum equitumque posuerunt castra. Ro-

[1] ad Eretriam *ed.* 1616 : eretriam *B.*
[2] habuerunt *ed.* 1616 *in margine* : hauthabuerunt *B.*

[1] Literally, " Dog's Head " hills. Livy seems to misunderstand the manoeuvres here. The crossing of this ridge would, apparently, have placed Philip and the Romans on the same side, which is inconsistent with what follows. Polybius (XVIII. xx.) seems more accurate when he has Philip send

the king's forces were defeated and driven back to B.C. 197
their camp. Both sides were greatly hindered in the action by the fact that the country was covered with many trees and gardens, as in suburban districts, while the roads were bordered with hedges and in some places entirely closed. Both commanders therefore reached the same decision, to retire from this country, and as if by agreement both marched in the direction of Scotusa, Philip hoping to find food there, the Roman by his advance to destroy the enemy's grain-supply. The two columns marched the whole day, nowhere seeing one another, since there was a continuous range of hills between them. The Romans encamped near Eretria in Phthiotis, Philip on the river Onchestus. Nor did either army know for certain where the enemy was, even the following day, though Philip encamped near Melambium, as they call it, in the country of Scotusa, and the Romans around Thetideum, in the territory of Pharsalia. The third day a heavy rain, followed by a fog dark as night, kept the Romans in camp in fear of an ambuscade.

VII. Philip wished to hurry and so ordered an advance, undeterred by the low-hanging clouds after the rain; but so dense a fog obscured the day that the standard-bearers could not see the road nor the soldiers the standards, and the column, straggling along in obedience to the various cries, was as disorderly as if wandering about at night. They crossed the hills which are called Cynoscephalae[1] and encamped after leaving there a strong guard of infantry and cavalry. Although the Roman had stayed in the

" his reserve back, with instructions to halt upon the summit of the intervening hills."

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manus eisdem ad Thetideum castris cum se tenuisset, exploratum tamen ubi hostis esset, decem turmas equitum et mille pedites misit monitos ut ab insidiis, quas dies obscurus apertis quoque locis tecturus
5 esset, praecaverent. Ubi ventum ad insessos tumulos est, pavore mutuo iniecto velut torpentes quieverunt; dein nuntiis retro in castra ad duces missis, ubi primus terror ab necopinato visu consedit, non diutius
6 certamine abstinuere. Principio a paucis procurrentibus lacessita pugna est, deinde subsidiis tuentium pulsos aucta. In qua cum haudquaquam pares Romani alios super alios nuntios ad ducem mitterent
7 premi sese, quingenti equites et duo milia peditum, maxime Aetolorum, cum duobus tribunis militum
8 propere missa rem inclinatam restituerunt, versaque fortuna Macedones laborantes opem regis per nuntios implorabant. Sed, ut qui nihil minus illo die propter effusam caliginem quam proelium expectasset, magna parte hominum omnis generis pabulatum missa aliquamdiu inops consilii trepi-
9 davit; deinde, postquam nuntii instabant, et iam iuga montium detexerat nebula, et in conspectu erant Macedones in tumulum maxime editum inter alios compulsi loco se magis quam armis tutantes,
10 committendam rerum summam in discrimen utcumque ratus, ne partis indefensae iactura fieret,
11 Athenagoram, ducem mercede militantium, cum

same camp near Thetideum, nevertheless he sent out B.C. 197
ten troops of cavalry and one thousand infantry to discover where the enemy was, with orders to guard against ambushes, which the darkness would hide, even in open country. When they came to the guarded hills, both forces remained passive, as if struck with a mutual fear; then they sent messengers back to the camps to their commanders, as soon as their panic from this unexpected contact had subsided, and did not longer postpone the fight. The battle began at first with skirmishes of a few scouts in advance, then assumed larger proportions as reinforcements came to the aid of the defeated. In this battle, when the Romans were not holding their own, but kept sending message after message to their commander that they were hard pressed, five hundred cavalry and two thousand infantry, mostly Aetolians, under two military tribunes, were speedily sent and restored the unfavourable battle, and as fortune changed the Macedonians, finding themselves in difficulties, begged through messengers for aid from the king. But since he had expected anything but a pitched battle that day, on account of the general darkness from the fog, having sent most of his troops of every sort out to forage, he hesitated for a time, not knowing what to do; then, as messengers kept urging him, and the fog had now uncovered the ridges of the mountains and he could see the Macedonians crowded together on the highest of a number of hills, defending themselves more with the advantage of position than with arms, thinking that he must at any rate stake everything, lest he suffer the loss of some of his men, left unsupported, he sent Athenagoras, commander of the mercenaries,

A.U.C. 557 omnibus praeter Thracas auxiliis et equitatu Mace-
12 donum ac Thessalorum mittit. Eorum adventu depulsi ab iugo Romani non ante restiterunt quam in
13 planiorem vallem perventum est. Ne effusa detruderentur fuga, plurimum in Aetolis equitibus praesidii fuit. Is longe tum optimus eques in Graecia erat; pedite inter finitimos vincebantur.

VIII. Laetior res quam pro successu pugnae nuntiata, cum alii super alios recurrentes ex proelio
2 clamarent fugere pavidos Romanos, invitum et cunctabundum et dicentem temere fieri, non locum sibi placere, non tempus, perpulit ut educeret omnes
3 copias in aciem. Idem et Romanus, magis necessitate quam occasione pugnae inductus, fecit. Dextrum cornu elephantis ante signa instructis in subsidiis reliquit; laevo cum omni levi armatura in hostem
4 vadit, simul admonens cum iisdem Macedonibus pugnaturos quos ad Epiri fauces, montibus fluminibusque saeptos, victa naturali difficultate locorum
5 expulissent acieque expugnassent, cum iis quos P. Sulpicii prius ductu obsidentes in Eordaeam aditum vicissent; fama stetisse non viribus Macedoniae regnum; eam quoque famam tandem evanuisse.
6 Iam perventum ad suos in ima valle stantes erat, qui adventu exercitus imperatorisque pugnam renovant

with all the auxiliaries except the Thracians and with B.C. 197
the Macedonian and Thessalian cavalry. On their arrival the Romans were driven from the ridge and checked their retreat only when they reached more level ground in the valley. The Aetolian cavalry was the greatest safeguard to prevent their utter rout. At that time their cavalry was by far the best in Greece; in infantry they were inferior to their neighbours.

VIII. The news was more encouraging than their success in the battle warranted, since one after another, coming back from the field, shouted out that the Romans were fleeing in terror, and this compelled Philip, though against his will, reluctant, and maintaining that it was a rash undertaking and that he liked neither the place nor the time, to commit his entire force to the action. The Roman also did the same, from necessity rather than to seize an opportunity for fighting. The right wing, with the elephants alined in front of the standards, he held in reserve; with the left and all the light-armed troops he attacked the enemy, reminding them at the same time that they would meet the same Macedonians whom they had driven out and defeated in battle in the passes of Epirus, defended by mountains and rivers, conquering the difficulties of Nature herself, the same Macedonians whom they had previously defeated under the leadership of Publius Sulpicius, when they held the pass to Eordaea; that the Macedonian kingdom rested on reputation and not on strength, and that even this reputation had at last wholly faded away. By this time they had come up to their men stationed in the lowest part of the valley, who, encouraged by the arrival of the army and the general, renewed the

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7 impetuque facto rursus avertunt hostem. Philippus cum caetratis et cornu dextro peditum, robore Macedonici exercitus, quam phalangem vocabant, 8 prope[1] cursu ad hostem vadit; Nicanori, ex purpuratis uni, ut cum reliquis copiis confestim sequatur 9 imperat. Primo, ut in iugum evasit, et iacentibus ibi paucis armis corporibusque hostium proelium eo loco fuisse pulsosque inde Romanos et pugnari prope 10 castra hostium vidit, ingenti gaudio est elatus; mox refugientibus suis et terrore verso paulisper incertus 11 an in castra reciperet copias trepidavit; deinde, ut adpropinquabat hostis, et praeterquam quod caedebantur aversi nec, nisi defenderentur, servari poterant, ne ipsi quidem in tuto iam receptus erat, 12 coactus nondum adsecuta parte suorum periculum summae rerum facere. equites levemque armaturam qui in proelio fuerant dextero in cornu locat,[2] 13 caetratos et[3] Macedonum phalangem hastis positis, quarum longitudo impedimento erat, gladiis rem 14 gerere iubet. Simul ne facile perrumperetur acies, dimidium de fronte demptum introrsus porrectis ordinibus duplicat, ut longa potius quam lata acies esset; simul et densari ordines iussit, ut vir viro, arma armis iungerentur.

[1] prope *Kreyssig*: propere *B.*
[2] locat *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: locatus *B.*
[3] et *Madvig*: *om. B.*

[1] I have given the apparent meaning, although the Latin is so harsh as to suggest the possibility that the text is corrupt.

battle, charged, and again drove back the enemy. B.C. 197
Philip with the peltasts and the right wing of the infantry, the strength of the Macedonian army, which they called the phalanx, advanced on the run to meet the enemy, ordering Nicanor, one of his nobles, to follow at once with the rest of the army. At first as he reached the ridge and saw that the battle was over there, with a few weapons and a few corpses of the enemy lying about, and that the Romans had been driven back from there and that the battle was raging near the enemy's camp, he was filled with excessive joy; presently, as his men were retreating, made uncertain by the reversal of fear, he debated in terror whether he should withdraw his men to their own camp; then, as the enemy came nearer, when his men were being cut down in flight and could not be rescued unless they were reinforced, and not even he had any safe line of retreat, he was compelled, though his whole force had not come up, to try desperate measures. On the right flank he placed the cavalry and the light infantry who had been in the battle; he ordered the peltasts and the Macedonian phalanx to put aside their spears, the length of which was a hindrance, and to engage with swords. At the same time, to prevent the line from being easily broken through, he diminished the front by half and doubled the depth by extending the files backward, so that the formation was deep rather than wide; he also ordered the troops to lessen intervals, so that man stood close to man and arms to arms.[1]

[1] Polybius (XVIII. xxiv) says that they doubled the depth and closed in to the right. A drillmaster may wonder how these movements were executed, though he can hardly question that they were.

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IX. Quinctius iis qui in proelio fuerant inter signa
2 et ordines acceptis tuba dat signum. Raro alias tantus clamor dicitur in principio pugnae exortus; nam forte utraque acies simul conclamavere nec solum qui pugnabant sed subsidia etiam quique tum
3 maxime in proelium veniebant. Dextero cornu rex loci plurimum auxilio, ex iugis altioribus pugnans, vincebat; sinistro tum cum maxime adpropinquante phalangis parte quae novissimi agminis fuerat, sine
4 ullo ordine trepidabatur; media acies, quae propior dextrum cornu erat, stabat spectaculo velut nihil ad
5 se pertinentis pugnae intenta. Phalanx quae venerat agmen magis quam acies aptiorque itineri quam
6 pugnae, vixdum in iugum evaserat. In hos incompositos Quinctius, quamquam pedem referentes in dextro cornu suos cernebat, elephantis prius in hostem actis impetum facit, ratus partem profligatam
7 cetera tracturam. Non dubia res fuit; extemplo terga vertere Macedones, terrore primo bestiarum
8 aversi. Et ceteri quidem hos pulsos sequebantur; unus e tribunis militum ex tempore capto consilio, cum viginti signorum militibus, relicta ea parte suorum quae haud dubie vincebat, brevi circuitu
9 dextrum cornu hostium aversum invadit. Nullam aciem ab tergo adortus non turbasset; ceterum ad communem omnium in tali re trepidationem[1]
10 accessit quod phalanx Macedonum gravis atque

[1] re trepidationem *ed.* 1616 : reparationem *B.*

IX. Quinctius absorbed into his ranks and among the standards the men who had already been engaged and gave the signal with the trumpet. They say that only rarely at any other time has such a shout been raised at the beginning of a battle, for, as it happened, both armies shouted at once, and not only those who were fighting but also the reserves and those who were just then coming up to the line. On the right flank, the king prevailed easily, mainly because of his position, since he was fighting from higher ground; on the left there was panic and confusion, especially since the part of the phalanx which was in the rear was still coming up; the centre, which was nearer the right flank, stood watching the battle there, as if it were a spectacle which did not directly concern them. The phalanx, which had come up in column rather than in line, and in a form more fitted for the march than for battle, had barely reached the saddle. While it was still in disorder, Quinctius, although he saw his men retreating on the right, first sending his elephants against the enemy, attacked, thinking that the defeat of a part would involve the rest. The issue was never in doubt; the Macedonians immediately fled, turning back in terror at the first sight of the beasts. The others too followed them in their flight, and one of the tribunes of the soldiers, forming a plan to fit the emergency, took the soldiers of twenty companies and, leaving the action where his men were clearly victorious and making a short detour, attacked the enemy's right from behind. Any army would have been dismayed by an attack from the rear; but added to the general panic of all in such a crisis was the fact that the heavy and unwieldy Macedonian B.C. 197

A.U.C. 557 immobilis nec circumagere se poterat nec hoc[1] qui a fronte paulo ante pedem referentes tunc ultro 11 territis instabant patiebantur. Ad hoc loco etiam premebantur, quia iugum ex quo pugnaverant dum per proclive pulsos insequuntur tradiderant hosti ad terga sua circumducto. Paulisper in medio caesi, deinde omissis plerique armis capessunt fugam.

X. Philippus cum paucis peditum equitumque primo tumulum altiorem inter ceteros cepit, ut[2] specularetur quae in laeva parte suorum fortuna 2 esset; deinde, postquam fugam effusam animadvertit et omnia circa iuga signis atque armis fulgere, tum 3 et ipse acie excessit. Quinctius cum institisset cedentibus, repente quia erigentes hastas Macedonas conspexerat, quidnam pararent incertus, paulisper 4 novitate rei constituit signa; deinde, ut accepit hunc morem esse Macedonum tradentium sese, 5 parcere victis in animo habebat. Ceterum ab ignaris militibus omissam ab hoste pugnam et quid imperator vellet, impetus in eos est factus et primis caesis 6 ceteri in fugam dissipati sunt. Rex effuso cursu Tempe petit. Ibi ad Gonnos diem unum substitit ad excipiendos si qui proelio superessent. Romani

[1] hoc *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: hos *B.*
[2] ut *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: *om. B.*

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[1] On rough ground, where space for movement was limited, the phalanx was at a serious disadvantage, and its vulnerability was in this case increased by the diminution of the intervals between files (see above). The necessary ground for the change of front to meet the new attack was denied them by the retreat of their own men who had backed up against the front of the phalanx, and the individual members of the

phalanx could not change front, nor did the soldiers who were falling back a little while before from the front upon men who were by now terrified on their own account permit this.[1] They were at a disadvantage too because of their position, since the ridge from which they had been fighting, when they were pursuing the soldiers who had been driven [2] down the hill, had been given up to the enemy which had been led around behind them. For a while they were caught between the two lines and slaughtered, then most of them threw away their arms and took to flight. B.C. 197

X. Philip with a few troopers and infantrymen at first held a hill higher than the rest, so as to watch the fortune of his left flank; later, when he beheld the disorderly flight and saw all the ridges round about filled with the gleam of standards and arms, he too left the field. Quinctius, after pressing hard on the retreating enemy, suddenly, because he saw the Macedonians raising their spears, and not knowing what this meant, halted his troops for a moment because of the strangeness of the action. Then, when he learned that it was the customary gesture of the Macedonians to indicate their surrender, it was in his mind to spare the vanquished. But the soldiers, ignorant that the fighting was over, so far as the enemy was concerned, and not knowing the general's plans, charged, and killing the first put the rest to flight. The king fled at full speed to Tempe. Then he stopped a day at Gonni to collect any who had survived from the battle. The victorious Romans burst into the

right files could not face about because of the cramped space and the character of their weapons.

[2] Cf. vii. 12 above.

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victores in castra hostium spe praedae irrumpunt;[1] ea magna iam ex parte[2] direpta ab Aetolis inveniunt. 7 Caesa eo die octo milia hostium, quinque[3] capta. 8 Ex victoribus septingenti ferme ceciderunt. Si Valerio qui credat omnium rerum immodice numerum augenti, quadraginta milia hostium eo die sunt caesa; capta—ibi modestius mendacium est—quinque milia 9 septingenti, signa militaria ducenta undequinquaginta.[4] Claudius quoque duo et triginta milia hostium caesa scribit, capta quattuor milia et tre- 10 centos. Nos non minimo potissimum numero credidimus sed Polybium secuti sumus, non incertum auctorem cum omnium Romanarum rerum tum praecipue in Graecia gestarum.

XI. Philippus collectis ex fuga qui variis casibus pugnae dissipati vestigia eius secuti fuerant, missisque Larisam ad commentarios regios comburendos, ne in hostium venirent potestatem, in Macedoniam 2 concessit. Quinctius captivis praedaque partim venumdatis, partim militi concessis Larisam est profectus, hauddum satis gnarus quam regionem 3 petisset rex quidve pararet. Caduceator eo regius venit, specie ut indutiae essent donec tollerentur ad sepulturam qui in acie cecidissent, re vera ad peten-

[1] irrumpunt *ed.* 1625 : *om. B.*
[2] iam ex parte *ed.* 1616 *in margine* : iam *B.*
[3] quinque *ed.* 1616 *in margine* : *om. B.*
[4] undequinquaginta *Kreyssig* : XLVmi *B.*

[1] Polybius (XVIII. xxvii) gives the Macedonian losses as they are quoted here. See the notes, *passim*, for Livy's use of Polybius for events in the east as compared with his dependence on Latin annalists for what happened in other parts of the world.

Livy's description of the battle of Cynoscephalae follows

enemy's camp in the hope of loot, but found that it had, for the most part, already been plundered by the Aetolians. On that day eight thousand of the enemy perished, five thousand were captured. Of the victors about seven hundred fell. If we trust Valerius Antias, who is prone to increase numbers without restraint, forty thousand of the enemy were slain that day; the prisoners, he says—here his exaggeration is more moderate—numbered five thousand seven hundred, and two hundred and forty-nine standards were taken. Claudius too gives the figures as thirty-two thousand killed and four thousand three hundred captured. I have given my account, not because the numbers are smallest, but because I have followed Polybius, an authority worthy of credence on all matters of Roman history and especially on occurrences in Greece.[1] B.C. 197

XI. Philip, having collected the straggling fugitives who had followed his trail after the changing fortunes of the battle-field, sent agents to Larisa to burn the royal records, in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the Romans, and retired into Macedonia. Quinctius sold part of the prisoners and booty and gave part to the soldiers, and marched towards Larisa, still uncertain where the king had gone and what he was planning. There the king's herald met him, ostensibly to ask for a truce, that those who had fallen in the battle might be removed for burial, in reality to ask permission to send an embassy.

closely that of Polybius, but was more obviously written by a man who was not a soldier and whose knowledge of the field was derived entirely from what he read and not from what he had seen or experienced.

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dam veniam legatis mittendis. Utrumque ab Romano impetratum. Adiecta etiam illa vox, bono animo esse regem ut iuberet, quae maxime Aetolos offendit iam tumentes querentesque mutatum victoria imperatorem: ante pugnam omnia magna parvaque communicare cum sociis solitum; nunc omnium expertes consiliorum esse, suo ipsum arbitrio cuncta agere, cum Philippo iam gratiae privatae locum quaerere, ut dura atque aspera belli Aetoli exhauserint, pacis gratiam et fructum Romanus in se vertat. Et haud dubie decesserat iis aliquantum honoris; sed cur neglegerentur ignorabant. Donis regis imminere credebant invicti ab ea cupiditate animi virum; sed et suscensebat non immerito Aetolis ob insatiabilem aviditatem praedae et arrogantiam eorum, victoriae gloriam in se rapientium, quae vanitate sua omnium aures offendebat,[1] et Philippo sublato, fractis opibus Macedonici regni Aetolos habendos Graeciae dominos cernebat. Ob eas causas multa sedulo, ut viliores levioresque apud omnes essent et viderentur, faciebat.

XII. Indutiae quindecim dierum datae hosti erant et cum ipso rege constitutum colloquium; cuius priusquam tempus veniret, in consilium advocavit socios; rettulit quas leges pacis placeret

[1] offendebat *ed.* 1616 : offendebatur *B.*

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[1] This sounds like an echo of the complaint of the Roman soldiers when they found that the Aetolians had already plundered Philip's camp, to the effect that they suffered the hardships and the Aetolians received the booty (Polyb. XVIII. xxvii).

[2] The first clause of this sentence must be regarded as Livy's parenthetical explanation of what had happened.

Both requests were granted by the Roman. The consul, moreover, added that the king should take heart, a phrase which gave great offence to the Aetolians, who were already swollen with pride and complaining that victory had changed the general: before the battle he had been wont to discuss with the allies all matters great and small, but now they were excluded from all his deliberations, and he decided everything according to his own personal judgment, since he was trying to win a place of private influence with the king, in order that, although the Aetolians had endured the hardships and toils of the war, the Roman might take to himself the credit for the peace and the profits of victory.[1] And beyond doubt something of their honourable position had been lost; but they did not see why they should be utterly ignored.[2] They believed that the consul—a man of a soul unconquerable by such cupidity—was eager to receive gifts from the king; but he was in fact angry at the Aetolians, and with just cause, for their insatiable desire for booty and their arrogance in claiming the glory of the victory for themselves, while with their boasting they had offended the ears of everyone, and he saw that with Philip out of the way and the power of the Macedonian kingdom broken the Aetolians would be held the masters of Greece. For these reasons he deliberately took many steps to cause them to be and to seem of less moment and importance in the eyes of all men. B.C. 197

XII. A truce of fifteen days had been granted to the enemy and a conference arranged with the king; but before the time for this arrived, he called a council of the allies and referred to them the terms of peace

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2 dici. Amynander, Athamanum rex, paucis sententiam absolvit; ita componendam pacem esse ut Graecia etiam absentibus Romanis satis potens
3 tuendae simul pacis libertatisque esset. Aetolorum asperior oratio fuit, qui pauca praefati recte atque ordine imperatorem Romanum facere quod, quos belli socios habuisset, cum iis communicaret pacis
4 consilia; falli autem eum tota re si aut Romanis pacem aut Graeciae libertatem satis firmam se credat relicturum nisi Philippo aut occiso aut regno pulso; quae utraque proclivia esse si fortuna uti
5 vellet. Ad haec Quinctius negare Aetolos aut moris Romanorum memores aut sibi ipsis convenientem
6 sententiam dixisse. Et illos prioribus omnibus conciliis colloquiisque de condicionibus pacis semper,
7 non ut[1] ad internecionem bellaretur, disseruisse, et Romanos, praeter vetustissimum morem victis parcendi praecipuum clementiae documentum dedisse
8 pace Hannibali et Carthaginiensibus data. Omittere se Carthaginienses; cum Philippo ipso quotiens ventum in colloquium? Nec umquam ut cederet regno actum esse. An quia victus proelio foret
9 inexpiabile bellum factum? Cum armato hoste infestis animis concurri debere; adversus victos mitissimum quemque animum maximum habere.
10 Libertati Graeciae videri graves Macedonum reges;

[1] non ut *Gronovius*: ut *B.*

which they wished to be imposed. Amynander, B.C. 197
king of the Athamanes, spoke briefly: the peace should be so arranged that Greece, even in the absence of the Romans, should be strong enough to maintain at once peace and liberty. The language of the Aetolians was more harsh; they said, after a brief preface, that the Roman commander was acting correctly and in order in discussing the conditions of peace with those whom he had had as his allies in the war; but that he was totally wrong if he thought that he would leave either assured peace to the Romans or liberty to the Greeks unless Philip were either killed or dethroned, either of which was easy if he were willing to follow up his good fortune. In reply, Quinctius asserted that the Aetolians neither remembered Roman policy nor employed arguments consistent with themselves. On the one hand, in all previous conferences and conversations they had always spoken of conditions of peace and not of waging a war of extermination; on the other, the Romans, in addition to observing, from remote antiquity, their custom of sparing conquered peoples, had given striking proof of their mercifulness in the peace granted to Hannibal and the Carthaginians. He would say nothing about the Carthaginians: how many conferences had been held with Philip himself? Never was there any suggestion that he should give up his kingdom. Or, because he had been defeated in battle, did that make war an unpardonable offence? An armed enemy should be met in hostile mood; towards the conquered, the mildest possible attitude was the greatest thing. The Macedonian kings seemed a menace to Greek liberty; if that kingdom and people were removed,

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si regnum gensque tollatur, Thracas, Illyrios, Gallos deinde, gentes feras et indomitas, in Macedoniam 11 se et in Graeciam effusuras. Ne proxima quaeque amoliendo maioribus gravioribusque aditum ad se 12 facerent. Interfanti deinde Phaeneae, praetori Aetolorum, testificantique si elapsus eo tempore Philippus foret mox gravius eum rebellaturum, " desistite tumultuari " inquit " ubi consultandum 13 est. Non iis condicionibus illigabitur rex[1] ut movere bellum possit."

XIII. Hoc dimisso concilio postero die rex ad 2 fauces quae ferunt in Tempe—is datus erat locus colloquio—venit; tertio die datur ei Romanorum ac 3 sociorum frequens concilium. Ibi Philippus perquam prudenter iis sine quibus pax impetrari non poterat sua potius voluntate omissis quam altercando extorqueren- 4 tur, quae priore colloquio aut imperata a Romanis aut postulata ab sociis essent omnia se concedere, de 5 ceteris senatui permissurum dixit. Quamquam vel inimicissimis omnibus praeclusisse vocem videbatur, 6 Phaeneas tamen Aetolus cunctis tacentibus " Quid? Nobis " inquit " Philippe, reddisne tandem Pharsalum et Larisam Cremasten et Echinum et Thebas 7 Phthias? " Cum Philippus nihil morari diceret quo minus reciperent, disceptatio inter imperatorem 8 Romanum et Aetolos orta est de Thebis; nam eas populi Romani iure belli factas esse Quinctius dicebat, quod integris rebus, exercitu ab se admoto, vocati in

[1] rex *Jacobs*: pax *B*.

the Thracians, the Illyrians, and then the Gauls, fierce B.C. 197
and untamed peoples, would pour into Macedonia and into Greece. They should not, by breaking up all the nearest states, open the way to themselves for larger and more powerful tribes. Then, when Phaeneas, the Aetolian praetor, interrupted, reminding him that if Philip escaped this time he would soon cause a greater war, Quinctius replied, "Cease causing disturbance when we should be deliberating. The conditions by which the king will be bound will not be such that he will be able to start a war."

XIII. This council was adjourned, and the next day the king came to the pass which leads to Tempe —this was the place designated for the meeting —and on the third day a full council of the Romans and allies met him. There Philip conducted himself with great discretion, and conceding voluntarily those points without which peace could not be obtained, rather than having them wrung from him after argument, he said that he accepted all the conditions commanded by the Romans or demanded by the allies in the previous conference, and would submit everything else to the judgment of the senate. Although he seemed in this way to have sealed the lips of even his bitterest enemies, nevertheless, when all were silent, Phaeneas the Aetolian asked, "Well, Philip, do you restore to us at last Pharsalus and Larisa Cremaste and Echinus and Phthiotic Thebes?" When Philip replied that there was no reason why they should not receive them, a dispute over Thebes broke out between the Roman commander and the Aetolians; for Quinctius maintained that it belonged to the Roman people by the law of war, because at the beginning of the campaign, when the army had

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amicitiam cum potestas libera desciscendi ab rege esset, regiam societatem Romanae praeposuissent;
9 Phaeneas et pro societate belli, quae ante bellum habuissent, restitui Aetolis aequum censebat et ita
10 in foedere primo cautum esse ut belli praeda rerum quae ferri agique possent Romanos, ager urbesque
11 captae Aetolos sequerentur. "Vos" inquit "ipsi" Quinctius "societatis istius leges rupistis quo tempore
12 relictis nobis cum Philippo pacem fecistis. Quae si maneret, captarum tamen urbium illa lex foret; Thessaliae civitates sua voluntate in dicionem
13 nostram venerunt." Haec cum omnium sociorum adsensu dicta Aetolis non in praesentia[1] modo gravia auditu, sed mox etiam belli causae magna-
14 rumque ex eo cladium iis fuerunt. Cum Philippo ita convenit ut Demetrium filium et quosdam ex amicorum numero obsides et ducenta talenta daret, de ceteris Romam mitteret legatos; ad eam rem
15 quattuor mensum indutiae essent. Si pax non impetrata ab senatu foret, obsides pecuniamque reddi Philippo receptum est. Causa Romano im-

[1] in praesentia *Gronovius*: praesentia *B.*

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[1] The Roman attack on Thebes was described in v. 1–3 above.

[2] Whether these arguments are mere hair-splitting cannot be ascertained. In XXVI. xxiv. 8–13 Livy gives in some detail the contents of the treaty of 211 B.C., but does not cover this point (sect. 11 mentions the classification of booty referred to by Phaeneas). Livy's phrase *foedere primo* suggests a second treaty of which we have no knowledge. In any case, according to the Romans, existing treaties were annulled by the separate peace which the Aetolians had made with Philip.

[3] The ill-feeling thus engendered and increased by the

been moved against the town and they had been invited to become friends to the Romans at a time when they had full power to break off relations with the king, they had preferred the alliance with the king to that with the Romans;[1] Phaeneas thought it right and in accordance with the military alliance, that what had belonged to the Aetolians before the war should be returned to them, and said that it had been provided in the original treaty, regarding booty taken in the war, that movables, which could be carried or driven away, should belong to the Romans, and lands and cities should go to the Aetolians. To this Quinctius replied, "You yourselves broke the rules laid down in that treaty, at the time you deserted us and made peace with Philip. But even if that treaty still held, that clause would pertain to cities that had been captured; the Thessalian cities submitted to us of their own accord."[2] These words were received with applause from all the allies, but to the Aetolians they were unpleasant to hear at the moment, and later on they were the cause of war and, as a result of the war, of great slaughter to the Aetolians.[3] It was agreed with Philip that he should surrender his son Demetrius and certain of his friends as hostages and pay two hundred talents, and send ambassadors to Rome with respect to other matters; for this purpose a truce of four months was granted. If peace was not obtained from the senate, it was agreed that Philip should recover his hostages and money. It is said that nothing influenced the Roman B.C. 197

resentment of the Aetolians at Rome's settlement with Philip led them, in 193 B.C. (XXXV. xii. 1 ff.), to invite Antiochus to invade Europe. They were not finally subjugated until 189 B.C. (XXXVIII. xi. 1 ff.).

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peratori non alia maior fuisse dicitur maturandae pacis quam quod Antiochum bellum transitumque in Europam moliri constabat.

XIV. Eodem tempore atque, ut quidam tradidere, eodem die ad Corinthum Achaei ducem regium
2 Androsthenem iusto proelio fuderunt. Eam urbem pro arce habiturus Philippus adversus Graeciae civitates et principes inde evocatos per speciem colloquendi quantum equitum dare Corinthii ad bellum
3 possent, retinuerat pro obsidibus, et praeter quingentos Macedonas mixtosque ex omni genere auxiliorum
4 octingentos, quot iam ante ibi fuerant,[1] mille Macedonum eo miserat et mille ac ducentos Illyrios Thracasque et Cretenses, qui in utraque parte militabant,
5 octingentos. His additi Boeoti Thessalique et Acarnanes mille, scutati omnes, et septingenti [2] ex [3] ipsorum Corinthiorum iuventute, impleta ut essent sex milia armatorum, fiduciam Androstheni fecerunt acie de-
6 cernendi. Nicostratus, praetor Achaeorum, Sicyone erat cum duobus milibus peditum, centum equitibus, sed imparem se et numero et genere militum cernens
7 moenibus non excedebat. Regiae copiae peditum equitumque vagae Pellenensem et Phliasium et
8 Cleonaeum agrum depopulabantur; postremo exprobrantes metum hosti in fines Sicyoniorum transcendebant; navibus etiam circumvecti omnem oram
9 Achaiae vastabant. Cum id effusius hostes et, ut fit

[1] quot . . . fuerant *Drakenborch*: quod . . . fuerat *B.*
[2] septingenti *Walch*: *om. B.*
[3] ex *Gronovius*: *om. B.*

commander more strongly to secure a speedy peace B.C. 197
than the ascertained fact that Antiochus was planning war and an invasion of Europe.

XIV. At the same time, and, as some have related, on the very same day, the Achaeans routed the king's general Androsthenes in a pitched battle near Corinth. Philip intended to hold this city as a stronghold against the Greek cities, and when he had invited there the leading citizens under pretence of discussing with them the number of cavalry the Corinthians could furnish for the war, he had held them as hostages, and in addition to five hundred Macedonians and eight hundred auxiliaries of various nations, the number that had already been there for some time, he had sent there a thousand Macedonians and twelve hundred Thracians and Illyrians and eight hundred Cretans, for this people fought on both sides. Added to these were one thousand Boeotians, Thessalians and Acarnanians, all provided with shields, and seven hundred of the youth of the Corinthians themselves, filling up his numbers to six thousand armed men, and these gave Androsthenes confidence enough to risk a decisive battle. Nicostratus, the praetor of the Achaeans, was at Sicyon with two thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry, but, seeing himself inferior both in numbers and in the quality of his troops, he would not leave his fortifications. The king's infantry and cavalry were roaming about and ravaging the lands of Pellene, Phlius and Cleonae, and finally crossed into the territory of Sicyon, taunting the enemy with cowardice; likewise they skirted with their ships the whole coast of Achaea and laid it waste. When the enemy was thus engaged in scattered groups and, as often happens in

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ab nimia fiducia, neglegentius etiam facerent, Nicostratus spem nactus necopinantes eos adgrediendi
10 circa finitimas civitates nuntium occultum mittit, quo die et quod ex quaque civitate armati ad Apelaurum—
11 Stymphaliae terrae is locus est—convenirent. Omnibus ad diem edictam paratis profectus inde extemplo per Phliasiorum fines nocte Cleonas insciis omnibus quid
12 pararet pervenit. Erant autem cum eo quinque milia peditum, ex quibus . . .[1] armaturae levis, et trecenti equites. Cum iis copiis, dimissis qui specularentur quam in partem hostes effunderent sese, opperiebatur.

XV. Androsthenes omnium ignarus Corintho profectus ad Nemeam—amnis est Corinthium et Sicyon-
2 ium[2] interfluens agrum—castra locat. Ibi partem dimidiam exercitus, divisam trifariam,[3] et omnes equites discurrere ad depopulandos simul Pellenensem
3 Sicyoniumque agros et Phliasium iubet. Haec tria diversa agmina discessere. Quod ubi Cleonas ad Nicostratum perlatum est, extemplo validam mercennariorum manum praemissam ad occupandum saltum,
4 per quem transitus in Corinthium est agrum, ante signa equitibus ut praegrederentur locatis ipse con-
5 festim agmine duplici sequitur. Parte una mercennarii milites ibant cum levi armatura, altera clipeati;
6 id in illarum[4] gentium exercitibus robur erat. Iam haud procul castris aberant pedites equitesque, et Thracum quidam in vagos palatosque per agros hostes impetum fecerant,[5] cum repens terror castris infertur.

[1] *Numerus deesse videtur.*
[2] et Sicyonium *ed.* 1616: sicyonium *B.*
[3] The text here accepted is that of Madvig. The reading of *B* is: *parte dimidia exercitus dimissa dimidiam trifariam diuisit* (the last word corrected from *dimsit*).
[4] id in illarum *Kreyssig*: dein aliarum *B.*
[5] fecerant *Crévier*: fecerunt *B.*

cases of over-confidence, with a lack of vigilance, B.C. 197
Nicostratus, in the hope of attacking them unexpectedly, sent secret messages to the neighbouring states, naming the day and fixing the numbers from each state to assemble at Apelaurum—this place is in the land of Stymphalia. When all was ready on the appointed day, he at once set out by night through the country of the Phliasii and arrived at Cleonae, no one knowing what he was planning. He had with him five thousand infantry, including . . . light-armed troops, and three hundred cavalry. With these forces, after first sending out scouts to find out in which direction the enemy was moving, he waited.

XV. Androsthenes, in ignorance of all this, had left Corinth and encamped on the Nemea, which is a stream separating the lands of Corinth and Sicyon. There he ordered half of his army, divided into three columns, and all his cavalry to lay waste at the same time the country of Pellene, Sicyon and Phlius. The three separate columns marched out. When this was reported to Nicostratus at Cleonae, he immediately sent out a strong force of mercenaries to close the pass which gives access to Corinthian territory, and posting the cavalry ahead of the infantry to lead the way, himself followed rapidly in two columns. In one marched the mercenaries with the light infantry, in the other the shield-wearers: these constitute the chief strength in the armies of those states. The infantry and cavalry were now not far from the camp,[1] and some of the Thracians had made an attack upon the enemy, foraging and scattered through the fields, when sudden panic gripped the camp. The commander

[1] The camp of Androsthenes, mentioned in sect. 1 above.

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7 Trepidare dux, ut qui hostes nusquam nisi raros[1] in collibus ante Sicyonem non audentes agmen demittere[2] in campos vidisset, ab Cleonis quidem accessuros 8 numquam credidisset. Revocari tuba iubet vagos a castris dilapsos[3]; ipse raptim capere arma iussis militibus infrequenti agmine porta egressus super 9 flumen instruit aciem. Ceterae copiae, vix colligi atque instrui cum potuissent, primum hostium impe- 10 tum non tulerunt; Macedones et maxime omnium frequentes ad signa fuerant et diu ancipitem victoriae 11 spem fecerunt; postremo fuga ceterorum nudati, cum duae iam acies hostium ex diverso, levis armatura ab latere, clipeati caetratique a fronte urgerent, et 12 ipsi re inclinata primo rettulere pedem, deinde impulsi terga vertunt et plerique abiectis armis, nulla spe castrorum tenendorum relicta, Corinthum petierunt. 13 Nicostratus mercennariis militibus ad hos persequendos, equitibus Thracumque auxiliis in populatores agri Sicyonii missis, magnam ibi quoque caedem edidit, 14 maiorem prope quam in proelio ipso. Ex iis quoque qui Pellenen Phliuntaque depopulati erant, incompositi partim omniumque ignari[4] ad castra revertentes in hostium stationes tamquam in suas illati 15 sunt, partim ex discursu id quod erat suspicati ita se in fugam passim sparserunt[5] ut ab ipsis agrestibus 16 errantes circumvenirentur. Ceciderunt eo die mille

[1] raros *Duker*: raro *B.*
[2] demittere *Gronovius*: dimittere *B.*
[3] dilapsos *Horrion*: dilapsus *B.*
[4] incompositi partim omniumque ignari *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: compositi partim omnium signari *B.*
[5] sparserunt *Crévier*: sparserant *B.*

was afraid, inasmuch as he had nowhere seen the B.C. 197
enemy except in small detachments in the hills in front of Sicyon, not daring to march their column down into the plains, and had never believed that they would attack from Cleonae. He gave orders that the foragers should be recalled by a trumpet-blast and, hastily ordering the troops to arm, he marched out of the gate with his depleted column and formed his battle-line above the river. The rest of the force, assembled and formed with difficulty, did not oppose the enemy's initial charge; the Macedonians had rallied in the largest numbers of all to the standards, and for a long time they rendered the prospect of victory uncertain; at last, exposed by the flight of the rest, with two lines of the enemy advancing from different directions, the light infantry from the flank, the heavy infantry and peltasts from the front, as the hope of victory diminished they at first retired slowly, but then, as the pressure increased, they broke, and most of them threw away their arms, abandoning hope of holding the camp, and made for Corinth. Nicostratus sent the mercenaries to follow them and the cavalry and Thracian auxiliaries against the raiders in the territory around Sicyon, and caused great slaughter there also, greater, almost, than in the battle itself. Part of the troops, too, who had ravaged Pellene and Phlius, returning in disorder and ignorant of what had transpired, when near the camp, drifted into the enemy's outguards in the belief that they were their own, while part of them, suspecting from the confusion what the truth was, scattered in flight in every direction, with the result that as they wandered about they were set upon even by the country-people. The losses that day were fifteen hundred killed, three

A.U.C. 557 et quingenti, capti trecenti. Achaia omnis magno liberata metu.

XVI. Priusquam dimicaretur ad Cynoscephalas, L. Quinctius Corcyram excitis Acarnanum principibus, quae sola Graeciae gentium in societate Macedonum manserat, initium quoddam ibi motus fecit. 2 Duae autem maxime causae eos tenuerant in amicitia regis, una fides insita genti, altera metus odiumque 3 Aetolorum. Concilium Leucadem indictum est. Eo neque cuncti convenere Acarnanum populi, nec iis qui convenerant idem placuit; sed duo[1] principes et magistratus pervicerunt ut privatum decretum 4 Romanae societatis fieret. Id omnes qui afuerant aegre passi; et in hoc fremitu gentis a Philippo missi duo principes Acarnanum, Androcles et Echedemus, non ad tollendum modo decretum Romanae societatis 5 valuerunt, sed etiam ut Archelaus et Bianor, principes gentis ambo, quod auctores eius sententiae fuissent, proditionis in concilio damnarentur, et Zeuxidae praetori, quod de ea re rettulisset, imperium abro- 6 garetur. Rem temerariam sed eventu prosperam damnati fecerunt. Suadentibus namque amicis, cederent[2] tempori et Corcyram ad Romanos abirent, 7 statuerunt offerre se multitudini et aut eo ipso lenire 8 iras aut pati quod casus tulisset. Cum se frequenti concilio intulissent, primo murmur ac fremitus admirantium, silentium mox a verecundia simul pristinae dignitatis ac misericordia praesentis fortunae 9 ortum est. Potestate quoque dicendi facta principio

[1] duo *Gronovius*: et *B.*
[2] cederent *ed.* 1616 *in margine*: cederetur *B.*

hundred captured. All Achaea was freed from great terror. B.C. 197

XVI. Before the battle of Cynoscephalae, Lucius Quinctius had summoned to Corcyra the leading men of the Acarnanes, the only people in Greece which had held to the Macedonian alliance, and had made some progress toward a movement there. But two principal causes had kept them loyal to the king; one, their native habit of fidelity, the other, their fear and hatred of the Aetolians. A council was called at Leucas. Not all the cities assembled there, nor did all who came agree; but two persons, leading men and magistrates, brought it to pass that an unofficial decree favouring a Roman alliance was adopted. All those who were not represented resented this bitterly; and in this time of confusion in the state, two prominent Acarnanians, Androcles and Echedemus, sent by Philip, succeeded not only in rescinding the decree for a Roman alliance, but in convicting before the council, on charges of treason, two men, both prominent in public life, Archelaus and Bianor, because they had proposed the decree, and in having Zeuxis the praetor removed from office because he had put the motion. The prisoners adopted a device rash but successful in its result. Though their friends advised them to yield to the situation and take refuge with the Romans at Corcyra, they determined to throw themselves on the mercy of the assembly, and, by so doing, either mollify their wrath or endure what fortune had in store for them. When they entered the crowded assembly, there was first applause and a demonstration of admiration, then silence, due to respect for their former high station and pity for their present state. When they were allowed to speak, they began

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suppliciter, procedente autem oratione, ubi ad crimina diluenda ventum est, cum tanta fiducia quantam
10 innocentia dabat disseruerunt; postremo ultro aliquid etiam queri et castigare iniquitatem simul in se
11 crudelitatemque ausi ita adfecerunt animos, ut omnia quae in eos decreta erant frequentes tollerent neque eo minus redeundum in societatem Philippi abnuendamque Romanorum amicitiam censerent.

XVII. Leucade haec sunt decreta. Id caput Acarnaniae erat, eoque in concilium omnes populi con-
2 veniebant. Itaque cum haec repentina mutatio Corcyram ad legatum Flamininum perlata esset, extemplo cum classe profectus Leucadem ad Heraeum,
3 quod vocant, naves adplicuit. Inde cum omni genere tormentorum machinarumque quibus expugnantur urbes ad muros accessit, ad primum terrorem ratus
4 inclinare animos posse. Postquam pacati nihil ostendebatur, tum vineas turresque erigere et arietem admovere muris coepit.

5 Acarnania universa inter Aetoliam atque Epirum posita solem occidentem et mare Siculum spectat.
6 Leucadia nunc insula est, vadoso freto quod perfossum manu est, ab Acarnania divisa; tum paeninsula erat, occidentis regione artis faucibus cohaerens
7 Acarnaniae; quingentos ferme passus longae eae fauces erant, latae haud amplius centum et viginti. In iis angustiis Leucas posita est, colli applicata verso

[1] Whether or not Leucas was in remote antiquity an island, a peninsula, or a tract of land separated from or joined to the mainland by something resembling a sand-bar or a tidal flat, Livy is here in accord with the usual ancient tradition, which represents it as an island made out of a peninsula by an artificial channel (Strabo I. iii. 18; X. ii. 8; Thucydides III. 81; IV. 8, etc.). The question naturally interlocks with the controversy over the identification of Leucas with the Homeric Ithaca (conveniently summarized by Buerchner in Pauly-

like suppliants, but as their speech progressed and they reached the stage of defending themselves against the charges, they spoke with all the confidence that innocence gave them; finally, daring even to complain somewhat and to rebuke at once the injustice and the harshness of their treatment, they roused such feelings that a majority defeated all the decrees proposed against them but nevertheless voted to abide by the treaty with Philip and reject the friendship of the Romans. B.C. 197

XVII. Such were the decrees at Leucas. This was the capital of Acarnania, and thither all the peoples were wont to come to council. Accordingly, when this sudden change was reported to the lieutenant Flamininus at Corcyra, he at once set out with his fleet to Leucas and anchored in the harbour called Heraeum. He approached the walls with all kinds of artillery and equipment with which cities are assaulted, thinking that their minds would turn towards peace at the first alarm. But when they showed no signs of a peaceful disposition then he began to erect sheds and towers and to move the battering-ram towards the walls.

Acarnania as a whole lies between Aetolia and Epirus, facing the west and the Sicilian sea. Leucadia is now an island, cut off from Acarnania by a shallow channel dug by hand; then it was a peninsula,[1] joined to Acarnania by a narrow neck of land on its western side; this neck of land was about five hundred paces long and not more than one hundred twenty paces wide. In this constricted place lay Leucas,

Wissowa, *s.v.* Leucas, by Jones in the Appendix to Vol. V of his Strabo in this series, and, most recently but very briefly, by Hennig, *Die Geographie des Homerischen Epos*, Neue Wege zur Antike, I. Reihe, Heft 10, Leipzig, 1934, 85–101).

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8 in orientem et Acarnaniam; ima urbis plana sunt, iacentia ad mare quo Leucadia ab Acarnania dividitur. Inde terra marique expugnabilis est; nam et vada sunt stagno similiora quam mari, et campus terrenus 9 omnis operique facilis. Itaque multis simul locis aut subruti aut ariete decussi ruebant muri. Sed quam urbs ipsa opportuna oppugnantibus erat, tam inex- 10 pugnabiles hostium animi. Die ac nocte intenti reficere quassata muri, obstruere quae patefacta ruinis erant, proelia impigre inire et armis magis muros 11 quam se ipsos moenibus tutari; diutiusque spe Romanorum obsidionem eam extraxissent, ni exules quidam Italici generis Leucade habitantes ab arce 12 milites accepissent. Eos tamen ex superiore loco magno cum tumultu decurrentes acie in foro instructa 13 iusto proelio aliquamdiu Leucadii sustinuerunt. Interim et scalis capta multis locis moenia, et per stragem 14 lapidum ac ruinas transcensum in urbem; iamque ipse legatus magno agmine circumvenerat pugnantes. Tum pars in medio caesi, pars armis abiectis dedi- 15 derunt sese victori. Et post dies paucos audito proelio, quo ad Cynoscephalas pugnatum erat, omnes Acarnaniae populi in dicionem legati venerunt.

XVIII. Iisdem diebus, omnia simul inclinante fortuna, Rhodii quoque ad vindicandam a Philippo continentis regionem—Peraeam vocant—possessam 2 maioribus suis, Pausistratum praetorem cum octin-

[1] The acropolis of Leucas was on a hill; the lower town extended eastward from its base.

clinging to a hill facing the east and Acarnania; the lower parts of the town were flat, lying along the sea which separates Leucadia from Acarnania.[1] On that side it is vulnerable by land and sea, for the shallows are more like a pool than a sea and the whole country is flat and favourable for siege-works. So the walls in many places were either undermined or thrown down by the battering-ram. But as the city itself was exposed to attack, just so were the minds of the enemy invincible. By day and night they laboured to rebuild the shattered walls, to close the ways laid open by their fall, to enter battle courageously, and to defend the walls with weapons rather than themselves with walls. They would have prolonged the siege beyond Roman expectations had not certain exiles of the Italian race, living in Leucas, come down from the citadel and admitted the soldiers. The Leucadians, nevertheless, rushing down from the higher ground with loud shouts and drawing up their array in the forum, resisted for a time in pitched battle. Meanwhile the fortifications in many places were taken by escalade, and entrance to the city was gained over piles of stones and fallen buildings, and now the lieutenant himself with a strong force had surrounded the defenders. Part fell in the mellay, some threw down their arms and surrendered to the victor. And a few days later, when news came of the battle which had been fought at Cynoscephalae, all the states of Acarnania submitted to the control of the lieutenant. B.C. 197

XVIII. At the same time, when everything was going one way, the Rhodians also, with a view to reclaiming from Philip the district on the mainland—Peraea is its name—which their forefathers had held, dispatched Pausistratus the praetor with eight

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gentis Achaeis peditibus, mille et octingentis fere armatis, ex vario genere auxiliorum collectis, miserunt; Galli et Pisuetae et Nisuetae et Tamiani et Arei ex Africa et Laudiceni ex Asia erant. Cum iis copiis Pausistratus Tendeba in Stratonicensi agro, locum peropportunum, ignaris regiis qui Therae erant occupavit. In tempore et ad id[1] ipsum excitum auxilium, mille Achaei pedites cum centum equitibus supervenerunt; Theoxenus iis praeerat. Dinocrates, regius praefectus, reciperandi castelli causa primo castra ad ipsa Tendeba movet, inde ad alterum castellum, item Stratonicensis agri—Astragon vocant—omnibus praesidiis[2] quae multifariam[3] dis-iecta erant, devocatis et ab ipsa Stratonicea Thessalorum auxiliaribus ad Alabanda, ubi hostes erant, ducere pergit. Nec Rhodii pugnam detractaverunt. Ita castris in propinquo locatis extemplo in aciem descensum est. Dinocrates quingentos Macedonas dextro cornu, laevo Agrianas locat, in medium accipit contractos ex castellorum—Cares maxime erant—praesidiis, equites cornibus circumdat et Cretensium auxiliares Thracumque. Rhodii Achaeos, lectam peditum manum, habuere, medios mixta ex pluribus gentibus auxilia, equites levisque armaturae quod erat cornibus circumiectum. Eo die steterunt tantum

[1] id *Gelenius*: *om. B.*
[2] praesidiis *Madvig*: ex praesidiis *B.*
[3] multifariam *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: multifaria *B.*

[1] *I.e.*, the inhabitants of Laodicea in Asia; the Galli were from Galatia and the other tribes from Africa.

[2] Both the movements of the opposing forces and their purposes are obscure.

[3] This translation preserves what seems to be the soundest text of the sentence. It is, however, strange that Livy has not given in detail the formation of the Rhodian line, as he

hundred Achaean infantry and about one thousand B.C. 197
eight hundred auxiliaries collected from different states: these were Gauls and Pisuetae and Nisuetae and Tamiani and Arei from Africa and Laudiceni[1] from Asia. With these forces Pausistratus took Tendeba, a city in the territory of Stratonicea and well situated, without the knowledge of the king's forces who were on Thera. There reinforcements, summoned at this time and for this purpose, to wit, one thousand Achaean infantry with one hundred cavalry, met them; Theoxenus was their commander. Dinocrates, the king's prefect, first moved his camp towards Tendeba itself for the purpose of recovering the fortress, then to another fort, also in the country of Stratonicea—they call it Astragon—recalling all the garrisons which had been scattered far and wide and Thessalian auxiliaries from Stratonicea itself, and began to march towards Alabanda, where the enemy lay.[2] The Rhodians did not decline the battle. So, placing their camp near by, they came down to the battle-field. Dinocrates placed five hundred Macedonians on his right flank and the Agrianes on the left; in the centre he posted the troops gathered up from the garrisons of the forts—they were mostly Carians—and he covered the flanks with the cavalry and the Cretan and Thracian auxiliaries. The Rhodians had in the centre the Achaeans, a picked force of infantry, and the auxiliaries, made up of men of different races, and the cavalry and what there was of light infantry placed outside the flanks.[3] On that day both lines merely remained standing

has that of the Macedonian. All conjectures intended to meet this objection are unreasonably bold.

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acies utraque super ripam, qui tenui tum aqua interfluebat, torrentis paucisque telis emissis in castra receperunt sese. Postero die eodem ordine instructi maius aliquanto proelium quam pro numero edidere
13 pugnantium. Neque enim plus terna milia peditum
14 fuere et centeni ferme equites; ceterum non numero tantum nec armorum genere, sed animis quoque paribus et aequa spe pugnarunt. Achaei primo torrente superato in Agrianas impetum fecerunt;
15 deinde tota prope cursu transgressa amnem acies est.
16 Diu anceps pugna stetit. Numero Achaei, mille ipsi, quadringentos loco pepulere; inclinato deinde laevo
17 cornu in dextrum omnes conisi. Macedones, usque dum ordines et veluti stipata phalanx constabat,
18 moveri nequiverunt; postquam laevo latere nudato circumagere hastas in venientem ex transverso hostem conati sunt, turbati extemplo tumultum primo inter se fecerunt, terga deinde vertunt, postremo abiectis
19 armis in praecipitem fugam effunduntur. Bargylias petentes fugerunt; eodem Dinocrates perfugit. Rhodii quantum diei superfuit secuti receperunt sese in castra. Satis constat, si confestim victores Stratoniceam petissent, recipi eam urbem sine certamine
20 potuisse. Praetermissa eius rei occasio est, dum in castellis vicisque recipiendis Peraeae tempus teritur.
21 Interim animi eorum qui Stratoniceam praesidio obtinebant confirmati sunt. Mox et Dinocrates cum

[1] Presumably the Agrianes, though their number has not been given before.

on the banks of the river flowing between them, B.C. 197
which was then a small stream, and after hurling a few missiles retired to their camps. The next day the two armies were similarly formed and a battle began, severer than might be expected from the numbers of the combatants. For there were not more than three thousand infantry and one hundred cavalry on either side, but they fought not only with equal numbers and similar weapons but with the same courage and equal hope as well. The Achaeans at first crossed the river and attacked the Agrianes, and then almost the whole line hastily crossed the stream on the run. The issue was long in doubt. By weight of numbers, the Achaeans, a thousand strong, dislodged the four hundred;[1] then, as the left gave way, the whole effort was directed against the right flank. The Macedonians could not be moved as long as the line held and the phalanx was, so to speak, compact; when, after their left flank was exposed, they tried to change front so as to meet the enemy that was attacking them in flank, they first caused immediate disorder and confusion among themselves, then they began to fall back, and finally threw away their arms and fled at full speed. The fugitives made for Bargyliae, and Dinocrates sought refuge in the same place. The Rhodians followed as long as daylight lasted and then returned to camp. It is quite clear that if the victors had at once marched to Stratonicea, this city could have been recovered without a struggle. The opportunity for this was lost while they consumed time in occupying the forts and towns of Peraea. Meanwhile the courage of those who were holding Stratonicea with the garrison was renewed, and presently Dinocrates

A.U.C. 557 iis quae proelio superfuerant copiis intravit muros.
22 Nequiquam inde obsessa oppugnataque urbs est, nec recipi nisi aliquanto post per Antiochum potuit. Haec in Thessalia, haec in Achaia, haec in Asia per eosdem dies ferme gesta.

XIX. Philippus cum audisset Dardanos transgressos fines ab contemptu concussi tum regni superiora
2 Macedoniae evastare, quamquam toto prope orbe terrarum, undique se suosque exigente fortuna,
3 urgebatur, tamen morte tristius ratus Macedoniae etiam possessione pelli, dilecta raptim per urbes Macedonum habito cum sex milibus peditum et quingentis equitibus circa Stobos Paeoniae improviso
4 hostes oppressit. Magna multitudo hominum in proelio, maior cupidine praedandi palata per agros caesa est. Quibus fuga in expedito fuit, ne temptato
5 quidem casu pugnae in fines suos redierunt. Ea una expeditione, non pro reliquo statu fortunae facta, refectis suorum animis Thessalonicam sese recepit.
6 Non tam in tempore Punicum bellum terminatum erat, ne simul et cum Philippo foret bellandum, quam opportune iam Antiocho ex Syria movente bellum
7 Philippus est superatus; nam praeterquam quod facilius cum singulis quam si in unum ambo simul

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[1] The meaning is quite uncertain. In XXX. 11 below it is said that the Romans gave the city to the Rhodians according to the peace of 196 B.C. It is also possible that the city was included in the settlement in 189 B.C., after the war with Antiochus (XXXVII. vi. 6).

[2] The narrative which was interrupted at Chap. XIV above is resumed.

[3] *I.e.*, the northern frontiers.

[4] Livy now begins to relate the events preliminary to the

entered the walls with the troops that had survived B.C. 19
the battle. In vain was the city then invested and besieged, nor was it recovered until some time later through the aid of Antiochus.[1] Such were the events of this period, which took place during, we may almost say, the same days in Thessaly, Achaea, and Asia.

XIX. When[2] Philip learned that the Dardani had crossed the borders, out of contempt for his stricken kingdom, and were then laying waste the farther[3] frontiers of Macedonia, although he was hard pressed in every quarter of the world, since fortune had turned against him and his people, nevertheless, thinking that to be robbed of the possession of Macedonia was a sadder fate than death, he quickly levied troops in the cities of Macedonia and with six thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry suddenly fell upon the enemy near Stobi in Paeonia. Many men fell in the battle, many more through their lust for booty while roving through the fields. Those to whom flight was possible returned to their country without even risking the hazard of a battle. Philip returned to Thessalonica with the courage of his people renewed by this one expedition, so different in its outcome from his other experiences.

The end of the Punic War,[4] coming in time to free the Romans from the necessity of fighting Philip at the same moment, was no more fortunate than the defeat of Philip when Antiochus was already preparing war from Syria; for, in addition to the fact that war is more easily waged against one at a time than when two have brought their united strength

war with Antiochus. The reference to Spain is incidental, and Spain is neglected until we come to xxi. 6 below.

A.U.C. 557 contulissent vires, bellatum est, Hispania quoque sub idem tempus magno tumultu ad bellum con-
8 surrexit. Antiochus cum priore aestate omnibus quae in Coele Syria sunt civitatibus ex Ptolomaei dicione in suam potestatem redactis in hiberna Antiocheam concessisset, nihilo quietiora ea ipsis aestivis
9 habuit. Omnibus enim regni viribus conixus cum ingentes copias terrestres maritimasque comparasset, principio veris praemissis terra cum exercitu filiis
10 duobus, Ardye ac Mithradate, iussisque Sardibus se opperiri ipse cum classe centum tectarum navium, ad hoc levioribus navigiis cercurisque ac lembis ducentis
11 proficiscitur, simul per omnem oram Ciliciae Lyciaeque et Cariae temptaturus urbes quae in dicione Ptolomaei essent, simul Philippum—necdum enim debellatum erat—exercitu navibusque adiuturus.

XX. Multa egregie Rhodii pro fide erga populum Romanum proque universo nomine Graecorum terra
2 marique ausi sunt, nihil magnificentius quam quod ea tempestate, non territi tanta mole inminentis belli, legatos ad regem miserunt, ne Chelidonias—promunturium Ciliciae est inclutum foedere antiquo Atheniensium cum regibus[1] Persarum—superaret:
3 si eo fine non contineret classem copiasque suas, se obviam ituros, non ab odio ullo, sed ne coniungi eum Philippo paterentur et impedimento esse Romanis

[1] regibus *Goeller*: legibus *B.*

[1] This is the spring of 197 B.C.

[2] In 449 B.C., Cimon made a treaty providing that Persian warships should not pass this promontory (Plutarch, *Cimon* 13).

to bear upon one, in Spain also about the same time B.C. 197
there was a grave uprising and revolt. When Antiochus, during the preceding summer, had transferred all the cities which are situated in Coele Syria from the power of Ptolemy to his own dominion and had retired to Antioch for the winter, this period was as full of activity as the summer had been. For, when he had assembled huge military and naval forces by exerting all the strength of his kingdom, in the beginning of spring[1] he sent his two sons, Ardyes and Mithradates, ahead with the army by land. Ordering them to wait for him at Sardis, he set out in person with one hundred decked ships and besides two hundred lighter vessels, schooners and brigs, with the double purpose of trying to win over the cities which had been under the control of Ptolemy along the whole shore of Cilicia, Lycia, and Caria, and of aiding Philip with his army and navy—for that war had not yet been ended.

XX. Many are the noble ventures which the Rhodians have undertaken on land and sea, to testify to their loyalty to the Roman people and in behalf of the whole race of the Greeks, but they have done nothing more glorious than on this occasion, when, unterrified by the magnitude of the impending war, they sent ambassadors to the king, ordering him not to pass Chelidoniae—a promontory in Cilicia, made famous by the ancient treaty[2] between the Athenians and the Persian kings: if Antiochus did not keep his fleet and army within this limit, they vowed that they would oppose him, not from any ill-will towards him, but to prevent his joining Philip and interfering with the Romans who were undertaking to liberate

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4 liberantibus Graeciam. Coracesium eo tempore Antiochus operibus oppugnabat, Zephyrio et Solis et Aphrodisiade et Coryco et superato Anemurio—promunturium id quoque Ciliciae est—Selinunte recepto. 5 Omnibus his aliisque eius orae castellis aut metu aut voluntate sine certamine in dicionem acceptis, Cora- 6 cesium praeter spem clausis portis tenebat eum. Ibi legati Rhodiorum auditi. Et quamquam ea legatio 7 erat quae accendere regium animum posset, temperavit irae et legatos se Rhodum missurum respondit iisque mandaturum ut renovarent vetusta iura cum ea civitate sua maiorumque suorum et vetarent eos pertimescere adventum regis: nihil aut iis aut sociis 8 eorum noxiae futurum fraudive; nam Romanorum amicitiam se non violaturum, argumento et suam recentem ad eos legationem esse et senatus honorifica 9 in se decreta responsaque. Tum forte legati redierant[1] ab Roma comiter auditi dimissique, ut tempus postulabat, incerto adhuc adversus Philippum eventu belli. 10 Cum haec legati regis in contione Rhodiorum agerent, nuntius venit debellatum ad Cynoscephalas esse. Hoc nuntio accepto Rhodii dempto metu a Philippo omiserunt[2] consilium obviam eundi classe Antiocho; 11 illam alteram curam non omiserunt tuendae libertatis civitatum sociarum Ptolomaei, quibus bellum ab 12 Antiocho imminebat. Nam alias auxiliis iuverunt,

[1] redierant *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: rediebant *B*.
[2] omiserunt *Goeller*: omiserant *B*.

[1] In 198 B.C. (XXXII. viii. 15) the Romans sent an embassy to Antiochus with the request that he keep out of Pergamum, but the war with Philip compelled them to maintain this propitiatory attitude toward him. Antiochus shrewdly uses it to allay the suspicions of the Rhodians.

Greece. Antiochus was at the time besieging B.C. 197
Coracesium, having recovered Zephyrium and Soli and Aphrodisias and Corycus, and Selinus, after rounding Anemurium—this also is a cape in Cilicia. All these and other forts on this coast having surrendered to him without resistance, either from fear or voluntarily, Coracesium unexpectedly closed its gates and delayed him. There the ambassadors of the Rhodians were given audience. And although their message was one to inflame the king's mind, he restrained his anger and answered that he would send ambassadors to Rhodes with instructions to renew the long-standing relations existing between him and his ancestors and that state, and to bid them have no fears of the king's coming: no fraud or mischief was planned either for them or for their allies; for he would not violate the friendship of the Romans, in evidence whereof he cited both his own recent embassy to them and the senate's complimentary decrees and replies to him.[1] At that time, as it happened, his ambassadors had returned from Rome, where they had been heard and dismissed courteously, as the situation demanded, the outcome of the war with Philip being still in doubt. While the ambassadors of the king were relating this before the assembly of the Rhodians, the news came that the war had been ended at Cynoscephalae. Their fear of Philip having been dispelled by the receipt of this news, the Rhodians abandoned their design of going to meet Antiochus with the fleet; their other concern they did not forget, to wit, that of maintaining the liberty of the cities allied with Ptolemy, which were threatened with war by Antiochus. For some they helped with

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alias providendo ac praemonendo conatus hostis causaque libertatis fuerunt Cauniis, Myndiis, Hali-
13 carnassensibus Samiisque. Non operae est persequi ut quaeque acta in his locis sint, cum ad ea quae propria Romani belli sunt vix sufficiam.

XXI. Eodem tempore Attalus rex aeger ab Thebis Pergamum advectus moritur altero et septuagesimo anno, cum quattuor et quadraginta annos regnasset.
2 Huic viro praeter divitias nihil ad spem regni fortuna dederat. Iis simul prudenter, simul magnifice utendo effecit, primum ut sibi, deinde ut aliis, non indignus
3 videretur regno. Victis deinde proelio uno Gallis, quae tum gens recenti adventu terribilior Asiae erat, regium adscivit nomen, cuius magnitudini[1] semper
4 animum aequavit. Summa iustitia suos rexit, unicam
5 fidem sociis praestitit, comis uxori ac liberis[2]— quattuor[3] superstites habuit, mitis ac munificus amicis fuit; regnum adeo stabile ac firmum reliquit, ut ad tertiam stirpem possessio eius descenderit.
6 Cum hic status rerum in Asia Graeciaque et Macedonia esset, vixdum terminato cum Philippo bello, pace certe nondum perpetrata, ingens in Hispania
7 ulteriore coortum est bellum. M. Helvius eam provinciam obtinebat. Is litteris senatum certiorem

[1] magnitudini *Aldus*: magnitudinis *B.*
[2] uxori ac liberis *Jacobs*: uxor ac liberos *B.*
[3] quattuor *Sigonius*: duo *B.*

[1] The line became extinct in 133 B.C., when Pergamum became the property of Rome under the will of the grandson of this Attalus.

[2] The status of Spain had never been officially fixed since the Carthaginians were driven out during the Second Punic War. Until the present year it was normally governed by *privati cum imperio* (see notes on XXXII. xxvii. 6 and xxviii.

reinforcements, some by warnings and information as to the enemy's plans, and they were responsible for preserving the liberty of the people of Caunus, Myndus, Halicarnassus, and Samos. It is hardly worth while to record in detail the events in this part of the world, since I am scarce able to recount those things which belong properly to the Roman war. B.C. 197

XXI. At the same time King Attalus, who had fallen ill at Thebes and then removed from Thebes to Pergamum, died in his seventy-second year, after he had been on the throne for forty-four years. Fortune had bestowed upon this man nothing but wealth to give him hope of royal power. By using this both wisely and splendidly he brought it about that he seemed worthy of the throne, first in his own eyes, then in those of others. Then when in a single battle he had conquered the Gauls, a people the more terrible to Asia by reason of their recent arrival, he assumed the title of king, and thenceforth his greatness of soul always matched the greatness of his distinction. He ruled his subjects with perfect justice, exhibited remarkable fidelity to his allies, was courteous to his wife and sons—four survived him —and kind and generous to his friends; he left a kingdom so strong and well-established that possession of it was handed down to the third generation.[1]

While this was the state of affairs in Asia, Greece, and Macedonia, the war with Philip having been scarcely finished and peace, at any rate, not yet assured, a great war broke out in Farther Spain.[2] Marcus Helvius was now governor of that province. He sent dispatches to the senate that two petty kings,

11 above), and thorough pacification had not been attempted. Wars in Spain fill many pages in the next few books.

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fecit Culcham et Luxinium regulos in armis esse,
8 cum Culcha decem et septem oppida, cum Luxinio
validas urbes Carmonem et Baldonem, in maritima
ora Malacinos Sexetanosque et Baeturiam omnem et
quae nondum animos nudaverant ad finitimorum
9 motus consurrectura.[1] His litteris a M. Sergio prae-
tore, cuius iurisdictio inter cives et peregrinos erat,
recitatis decreverunt patres ut comitiis praetorum
perfectis, cui praetori provincia Hispania obvenisset,
is primo quoque tempore de bello Hispaniae ad
senatum referret.

XXII. Sub idem tempus consules Romam vene-
runt; quibus in aede Bellonae senatum habentibus
postulantibusque triumphum ob res prospere bello
2 gestas C. Atinius Labeo et C. Afranius tribuni
plebis ut separatim de triumpho agerent consules
postularunt: communem se relationem de ea re fieri
non passuros, ne par honos in dispari merito esset.
3 Cum Q. Minucius utrique Italiam provinciam obtigisse
diceret, communi animo consilioque se et collegam res
4 gessisse, et C. Cornelius adiceret Boios adversus se
transgredientes Padum, ut Insubribus Cenomanisque
auxilio essent, depopulante vicos eorum atque agros
5 collega ad sua tuenda aversos esse, tribuni res tantas
bello gessisse C. Cornelium fateri, ut non magis de
triumpho eius quam de honore diis immortalibus

[1] consurrectura *Goeller*: consurrectur *B*.

[1] In XXXII. xxviii. 2 Sergius is *praetor urbanus*, and this assignment is more probable.

[2] *I.e.*, a motion covering both triumphs: cf. *communi animo consilioque* three lines below.

Culcha and Luxinius, were in arms, that seventeen B.C. 197
towns had joined Culcha and the powerful cities of Carmo and Baldo were with Luxinius, and that on the coast, the Malacini and Sexetani and all Baeturia and other states which had not yet disclosed their intentions would soon rise to join the revolt of their neighbours. This letter was read to the senate by Marcus Sergius, the praetor who exercised jurisdiction in cases between citizens and aliens,[1] and the Fathers voted that as soon as the praetorian elections were over the praetor to whom the province of Spain had by then been allotted should at the earliest possible moment refer to the senate the question of the Spanish war.

XXII. At about the same time the consuls returned to Rome; when they summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Bellona and demanded a triumph for their successes in the war, Gaius Atinius Labeo and Gaius Afranius, tribunes of the people, insisted that the consuls offer separate motions regarding the triumph: they would not allow a common[2] motion to be voted on, lest equal honour be bestowed upon unequal merit. Quintus Minucius replied that the province of Italy had fallen to the lot of both consuls and that he and his colleague had acted in accordance with a common policy and plan of campaign, and Gaius Cornelius added that the Boi, who were crossing the Po against him, to aid the Insubres and Cenomani, had been called away to defend their own homes when his colleague laid waste their towns and farms. To this the tribunes rejoined that they agreed that Gaius Cornelius had accomplished in the war results of such magnitude that there was no more question of his triumph than

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6 habendo dubitari possit; non tamen nec illum nec quemquam alium civem tantum gratia atque opibus valuisse ut, cum sibi meritum triumphum impetrasset, collegae eundem honorem immeritum impudenter 7 petenti daret. Q. Minucium in Liguribus levia proelia, vix digna dictu, fecisse, in Gallia magnum 8 numerum militum amisisse; nominabant etiam tribunos militum; T. Iuventium, Cn. Ligurium legionis quartae adversa pugna cum multis aliis viris fortibus, 9 civibus ac sociis, cecidisse. Oppidorum paucorum ac vicorum falsas et in tempus simulatas sine ullo 10 pignore deditiones factas esse. Hae inter consules tribunosque altercationes biduum tenuerunt, victique perseverantia tribunorum consules separatim rettulerunt.

XXIII. C. Cornelio omnium consensu decretus triumphus. Et Placentini Cremonensesque addide- 2 runt favorem consuli, gratias agentes commemorantesque obsidione sese ab eo liberatos, plerique etiam, cum capti[1] apud hostes essent, servitute 3 exemptos. Q. Minucius temptata tantum relatione, cum adversum omnem senatum videret, in monte Albano se triumphaturum et iure imperii consularis 4 et multorum clarorum virorum exemplo dixit. C.[2]

[1] capti *Cobet*: *om. B.* [2] C. *Drakenborch*: Cn. *B.*

[1] The *pignus* is probably a guarantee, in the form of hostages, that the surrender was real.

[2] One may compare with the account given by the tribunes the narrative of Livy (XXXII. xxix. 5–xxxi. 5).

[3] Minucius, having gone thus far, feels compelled to offer a formal motion that he be granted a triumph. Since this was clearly destined to fail, he awarded himself a triumph *in monte Albano*, with which the senate could not interfere. So, in 211 B.C., Marcellus was refused a triumph, for technical reasons, but was granted an ovation and celebrated a triumph

there could be of paying honour to the immortal gods; yet neither he nor any other citizen was so powerful in influence and resources that, when he had obtained a well-earned triumph, he could bestow the same unmerited honour upon a colleague who had the effrontery to demand it. Quintus Minucius, they continued, had fought some unimportant battles in Liguria, hardly worthy of mention, and in Gaul had lost a great number of his men; they even mentioned by name Titus Iuventius and Gnaeus Ligurius, military tribunes of the fourth legion, who had fallen in the defeat along with many other brave men, citizens and allies. The surrender of small towns and villages had taken place, but this was fictitious, manufactured for the occasion, and without guarantees.[1] These debates between the consuls and the tribunes continued for two days, but at last, overcome by the stubbornness of the tribunes, the consuls offered separate motions.[2] B.C. 197

XXIII. Gaius Cornelius was granted a triumph with the consent of all. The people of Placentia and Cremona contributed to the applause given the consul, expressing their gratitude to him and testifying that they had been freed by him from the peril of siege, and many even that they had been rescued from slavery after they had been prisoners in the hands of the enemy. Quintus Minucius, simply offering a motion, when he saw the whole senate opposed to him, declared that he would celebrate his triumph on the Alban Mount, both by virtue of his consular *imperium* and with the precedent of many distinguished men.[3] Gaius Cornelius the

on the Alban Mount (XXVI. xxi. 2–6). See the notes on XXXI. xx. 5 and xlvii. 4 above.

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Cornelius de Insubribus Cenomanisque in magistratu triumphavit. Multa signa militaria tulit, multa
5 Gallica spolia captivis carpentis transvexit, multi nobiles Galli ante currum ducti, inter quos quidam Hamilcarem, ducem Poenorum, fuisse auctores sunt;
6 ceterum magis in se convertit oculos Cremonensium Placentinorumque colonorum turba, pilleatorum cur-
7 rum sequentium. Aeris tulit in triumpho ducenta triginta septem milia quingentos, argenti bigati undeoctoginta milia; septuagenii aeris militibus divisi,
8 duplex centurioni, triplex equiti.[1] Q. Minucius consul de Liguribus Boisque Gallis in monte Albano triumphavit. Is triumphus, ut loco et fama rerum gestarum et quod sumptum non erogatum ex aerario omnes sciebant, inhonoratior fuit, ita signis carpen-
9 tisque et spoliis ferme aequabat. Pecuniae etiam prope par summa fuit; aeris tralata[2] ducenta quinquaginta quattuor milia, argenti bigati quinquaginta tria milia et ducenti; militibus centurionibusque et equitibus idem in singulos datum quod dederat collega.

XXIV. Secundum triumphum consularia comitia habita. Creati consules L. Furius Purpurio et M.
2 Claudius Marcellus. Praetores postero die facti Q. Fabius Buteo, Ti. Sempronius Longus, Q. Minucius

[1] duplex centurioni, triplex equiti *Duker*, cf. XXIV. xlvi. 3: duplex equiti centurionique *B.*
[2] tralata *Bekker*: tralati *B.*

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[1] He was reported killed in XXXI. xxi. 18, but compare XXXII. xxx. 12.
[2] This was a conical cap worn by freedmen to mark their release from slavery and by the colonists here to signalize their rescue from captivity.

consul, while still in office, triumphed over the Insubres and Cenomani. In the procession were displayed many standards, much Gallic spoil was carried in captured carts, many noble Gauls were led before his chariot, and some say that Hamilcar[1] the Carthaginian general was among them; but what especially attracted attention was the throng of colonists of Cremona and Placentia, following his car with caps of liberty[2] upon their heads. He carried in the triumph two hundred and thirty-seven thousand *asses* of bronze, and seventy-nine thousand pieces of coined[3] silver; his gifts to the soldiers were seventy *asses* of bronze each, twice that amount to each centurion and thrice to each cavalryman. Quintus Minucius the consul triumphed over the Ligures and Gallic Boi on the Alban Mount. This triumph was of lesser note because of the place where it was held, the gossip about his exploits, and because all knew that the cost of it was taken, not duly requisitioned, from the treasury, but nevertheless in standards and wagons and spoils it almost equalled the other. The amount of money too was about the same: the money carried amounted to two hundred and fifty-four thousand *asses* of bronze, fifty-three thousand two hundred pieces of coined silver; his donatives to his soldiers were the same as his colleague's. B.C. 197

XXIV. After the triumph the consular elections were held. The choice fell on Lucius Furius Purpurio and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. Next day praetors were elected—Quintus Fabius Buteo, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Quintus Minucius

[3] These coins (*denarii*) were stamped with a two-horse chariot.

A.U.C. 667 Thermus, M'. Acilius Glabrio, L. Apustius Fullo, C. Laelius.

3 Exitu ferme anni litterae a T. Quinctio venerunt se signis collatis cum rege Philippo in Thessalia pugnasse, 4 hostium exercitum fusum fugatumque. Hae litterae prius in senatu a M.[1] Sergio praetore, deinde ex auctoritate patrum in contione sunt recitatae et ob res prospere gestas in dies quinque supplicationes 5 decretae. Brevi post legati et ab T. Quinctio et ab rege Philippo venerunt. Macedones deducti extra urbem in villam publicam, ibique eis locus et lautia 6 praebita et ad aedem Bellonae senatus datus. Ibi haud multa verba facta, cum Macedones quodcumque senatus censuisset id regem facturum esse dicerent. 7 Decem legati more maiorum, quorum ex consilio T. Quinctius imperator leges pacis Philippo daret, decreti, adiectumque ut in eo numero legatorum P. Sulpicius et P. Villius essent, qui consules provinciam Macedoniam obtinuissent.

8 Cosanis eo die postulantibus ut sibi colonorum 9 numerus augeretur, mille adscribi iussi, dum ne quis in eo numero esset qui post P. Cornelium et Ti. Sempronium consules hostis fuisset.

[1] M. *Madvig*: *om. B.*

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[1] A residence in the Campus Martius, set aside for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors and other guests of the state.

[2] A similar request from them in 199 B.C. was denied (XXXII. ii. 7).

Thermus, Manius Acilius Glabrio, Lucius Apustius Fullo, and Gaius Laelius. B.C. 197

About the end of the year a letter arrived from Titus Quinctius, stating that he had met King Philip in pitched battle in Thessaly and that the army of the enemy had been routed and put to flight. This letter was read by Marcus Sergius the praetor, first in the senate, and then, by order of the senate, in the assembly, and by reason of this victory a thanksgiving of five days was decreed. Soon after ambassadors arrived both from Titus Quinctius and from King Philip. The Macedonians were conducted outside the city to the *villa publica*,[1] and were there furnished quarters and hospitality, and were granted an audience before the senate in the temple of Bellona. Their message was brief, to the effect that the king promised to do whatever the senate should have ordered. In the traditional manner, a commission of ten was created, with whose advice Titus Quinctius the commander should determine the conditions of peace for Philip, and a clause was added, providing that Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius, who as consuls had held the province of Macedonia, should be members of the commission.

The people of Cosa[2] at this time requested that the number of their colonists be increased; one thousand were ordered to be enrolled, with the proviso that no one should be included in the number who had been engaged in hostilities against the state since the consulship of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius.[3]

[2] The purpose of this is to exclude the Latins who had revolted during the Second Punic War. Cornelius and Sempronius were consuls in 218 B.C., the first year of that war.

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XXV. Ludi Romani eo anno in circo scaenaque ab aedilibus curulibus P. Cornelio Scipione et Cn. Manlio Volsone et magnificentibus quam alias facti et laetius propter res bello bene gestas spectati, totique ter 2 instaurati. Plebei septiens instaurati; M'. Acilius 3 Glabrio et C. Laelius eos ludos fecerunt; et de argento multaticio tria signa aenea, Cererem Liberumque et Liberam, posuerunt.

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4 L. Furius et M. Claudius Marcellus consulatu inito, cum de provinciis ageretur et Italiam utrique provinciam senatus decerneret, ut Macedoniam cum 5 Italia sortirentur tendebant. Marcellus, provinciae cupidior, pacem simulatam ac fallacem dicendo et rebellaturum si exercitus inde deportatus esset regem, 6 dubios sententiae patres fecerat. Et forsitan obtinuisset consul, ni Q. Marcius Ralla et C. Atinius Labeo tribuni plebis se intercessuros dixissent, ni prius ipsi ad plebem tulissent vellent iuberentne cum rege 7 Philippo pacem esse. Ea rogatio in Capitolio ad plebem lata est; omnes quinque et triginta tribus 8 " uti rogas " iusserunt. Et quo magis pacem ratam esse in Macedonia vulgo laetarentur, tristis ex Hispania 9 adlatus nuntius effecit vulgataeque litterae " C. Sempronium Tuditanum proconsulem in citeriore Hispania

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[1] Theatrical performances had been given as early as 214 B.C. (XXIV. xliii. 7).

[2] The aediles had police powers, including the right to impose fines: cf. xlii. 10 below.

[3] " *Uti rogas* " (" as you propose ") is the regular formula for an affirmative vote.

XXV. The Roman Games were celebrated that year in the circus and theatre [1] by the curule aediles Publius Cornelius Scipio and Gnaeus Manlius Volso. They were celebrated with greater splendour than at any other time, and were also viewed with greater joy because of the successes in war, and were thrice repeated entire. The Plebeian Games were repeated seven times; Manius Acilius Glabrio and Gaius Laelius presided over these games, and out of the money received as fines [2] they erected three bronze statues of Ceres and Liber and Libera. B.C. 197

Lucius Furius and Marcus Claudius Marcellus were duly inaugurated as consuls, and when the question of the provinces was brought up and the senate was for decreeing Italy to both consuls, they urged that they should draw lots for Macedonia along with Italy. Marcellus, who was more anxious for a province, by arguing that the peace was a make-believe and a fiction, and that the king would rebel once the army was withdrawn from there, unsettled the minds of the senators. And the consul might have won his point, had not Quintus Marcius Ralla and Gaius Atinius Labeo, tribunes of the people, announced that they would veto any action if the question was not first referred to the assembly whether they wished and ordered that peace be made with King Philip. This motion was then laid before the people convened on the Capitoline; all the thirty-five tribes voted "aye." [3] And that there might be more general rejoicing that peace in Macedonia had been ratified, serious news had come from Spain, and a letter was read announcing that "Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus had been defeated in battle in Nearer Spain, his army routed and put to B.C. 196

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proelio victum, exercitum eius fusum fugatumque, multos illustres viros in acie cecidisse, Tuditanum cum gravi vulnere relatum ex proelio haud ita multo
10 post expirasse." Consulibus ambobus Italia provincia cum iis legionibus quas superiores consules habuissent, decreta, et ut quattuor legiones novas scriberent, duas urbanas, duas quae quo senatus censuisset mit-
11 terentur; et T. Quinctius Flamininus provinciam[1] eodem exercitu obtinere iussus; imperium ei prorogatum satis iam ante videri esse.

XXVI. Praetores deinde provincias sortiti, L. Apustius Fullo urbanam iurisdictionem, M'. Acilius Glabrio inter cives et peregrinos, Q. Fabius Buteo Hispaniam
2 ulteriorem, Q. Minucius Thermus citeriorem, C. Laelius Siciliam, Ti. Sempronius Longus Sardiniam.
3 Q. Fabio Buteoni et Q. Minucio, quibus Hispaniae provinciae evenerant, consules legiones singulas ex
4 quattuor ab se scriptis quas videretur ut darent decretum est et socium ac Latini nominis quaterna milia peditum, trecenos equites; iique primo quoque
5 tempore in provincias ire iussi. Bellum in Hispania quinto post anno motum est quam simul cum Punico bello fuerat[2] finitum.
6 Priusquam aut[3] hi praetores ad bellum prope novum, quia tum primum suo nomine sine ullo Punico exercitu aut duce ad arma ierant, proficiscerentur, aut ipsi consules ab urbe moverent, procurare ut

[1] provinciam *Crévier*: cum duabus legionibus prouinciam *B.*
[2] fuerat *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B.*
[3] aut *Weissenborn*: et *B.*

[1] In XXXII. xxviii. 9 it is recorded that his *imperium* was extended until the arrival of an authorized successor.

flight, that many distinguished men had fallen on B.C. 196
the field, and that Tuditanus himself had been carried from the battle severely wounded and had died soon after." Italy was then decreed to both the consuls, with the same legions which the previous consuls had had, and it was further ordered that four new legions be recruited, two to guard the city, two to be sent wherever the senate directed; in addition, that Titus Quinctius Flamininus should hold his province with the same legions: it appeared that the previous prorogation of his *imperium* was sufficient.[1]

XXVI. The praetors then drew lots for their provinces: Lucius Apustius Fullo received the city jurisdiction, Manius Acilius Glabrio that between citizens and aliens, Quintus Fabius Buteo Farther Spain, Quintus Minucius Thermus Nearer Spain, Gaius Laelius Sicily, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus Sardinia. A motion was passed that the consuls should transfer to Quintus Fabius Buteo and Quintus Minucius, to whose lots the Spanish provinces had fallen, one each of the four legions enlisted by them, the selection being left to them, and in addition should assign to each four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry of the allies and the Latin confederacy; the praetors were ordered to leave at once for their provinces. The war in Spain had broken out five years after it had been ended along with the Punic War.

Before either these praetors had left for a war which was virtually new, since this was the first time the Spaniards had taken up arms on their own account and without any Carthaginian army or commander, or even the consuls had departed from the city, they were

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7 adsolet prodigia quae nuntiabantur iussi. P. Villius eques Romanus in Sabinos proficiscens fulmine ipse 8 equusque exanimati fuerant; aedes Feroniae in Capenati de caelo tacta erat; ad Monetae duarum hastarum spicula arserant; lupus Esquilina porta ingressus, frequentissima parte urbis cum in forum 9 decurrisset, Tusco vico atque inde Cermalo per portam Capenam prope intactus evaserat. Haec prodigia maioribus hostiis sunt procurata.

XXVII. Iisdem diebus Cn. Cornelius Blasio, qui ante C. Sempronium Tuditanum citeriorem Hispaniam obtinuerat, ovans ex senatus consulto urbem est 2 ingressus. Tulit prae se auri mille et quingenta quindecim pondo,[1] argenti viginta milia, signati de- 3 narium triginta quattuor milia et quingentos. L. Stertinius ex ulteriore Hispania, ne temptata quidem triumphi spe, quinquaginta milia pondo argenti in 4 aerarium intulit et de manubiis duos fornices in foro boario ante Fortunae aedem et matris Matutae, unum in maximo circo fecit et his fornicibus signa aurata 5 inposuit. Haec per hiemem ferme acta.

[1] quindecim pondo *Gronovius*: pondo *B*: pondo quindecim *ed. Moguntina* 1518.

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[1] This town and sanctuary were in the neighbourhood of Veii.

[2] The temple, in which the mint was located, stood on the northern summit of the Capitoline.

[3] The Esquiline Gate was on the eastern side of the city; the Vicus Tuscus led south from the Forum along the Cermalus, the extension of the Palatine towards the Capitoline; the Appian Way left the city by the Porta Capena.

[4] See XXXI. l. 11, where he is called Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus.

[5] Livy does not specify the unit here, but comparison with the next clause suggests that this is silver bullion. The coins

ordered to expiate the prodigies which were reported. B.C. 196
Publius Villius, a Roman knight, while travelling into the Sabine country, was struck by lightning and he and his horse were killed; the temple of Feronia, in the district of Capena,[1] was struck by lightning; near the temple of Juno Moneta [2] the points of two spears burst into flame; a wolf entered through the Esquiline Gate, passed through the most crowded part of the city into the Forum, through the Vicus Tuscus and the Cermalus, and escaped almost unharmed by the Porta Capena.[3] These prodigies were atoned for with full-grown victims.

XXVII. At the same time Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio,[4] who had been the predecessor of Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus in the governorship of Nearer Spain, entered the city in ovation by authorization of the senate. He displayed in the procession fifteen hundred and fifteen pounds of gold, twenty thousand pounds [5] of silver, and thirty-four thousand five hundred *denarii* of coined silver. Lucius Stertinius,[6] returning from Farther Spain, without even putting in a claim to a triumph, deposited in the treasury fifty thousand pounds of silver, and out of the booty erected two arches in the Forum Boarium in front of the temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta,[7] and one in the Circus Maximus, and on these arches he placed gilded statues. These were the events of the winter.

of the following phrase are probably Spanish and comparable in value to the Roman *denarius*.

[6] He had gone to Spain with Blasio (XXXI. l. 11).

[7] These may be the well-known temples called by these names and still standing in this region. The arches were probably formal entrances to the temples.

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Hibernabat eo tempore Elatiae T. Quinctius, a quo cum multa socii peterent, Boeoti petierunt impetraveruntque ut, qui suae gentis militassent apud
6 Philippum, sibi restituerentur. Id a Quinctio facile impetratum, non quia satis dignos eos credebat, sed quia Antiocho rege iam suspecto favor conciliandus
7 nomini Romano apud civitates erat. Restitutis iis confestim apparuit quam nulla inita apud Boeotos gratia esset; nam ad Philippum legatos gratias agentes ei pro redditis hominibus, perinde atque ipsis[1] et non Quinctio et Romanis id datum esset,
8 miserunt et comitiis proximis Boeotarchen ob nullam aliam causam Brachyllem quendam, quam quod praefectus Boeotorum apud regem militantium fuisset,
9 fecerunt praeteritis Zeuxippo et Pisistrato aliisque,
10 qui Romanae societatis auctores fuerant. Id aegre et in praesentia hi passi et in futurum etiam metum ceperunt: cum ad portas prope sedente exercitu Romano ea fierent, quidnam se futurum esse profectis
11 in Italiam Romanis, Philippo ex propinquo socios adiuvante et infesto iis, qui partis adversae fuissent?

XXVIII. Dum Romana arma in propinquo haberent, tollere Brachyllem, principem fautorum regis, statue-
2 runt. Et tempore ad eam rem capto, cum in publico epulatus reverteretur domum temulentus prosequenti-
3 bus mollibus viris, qui ioci causa convivio celebri

[1] ipsis *Weissenborn*: ipsis iis *B*.

[1] If the text is right as it stands here, Livy implies that Quinctius transmitted to Philip, with his approval, the request, and that the Boeotians ignored his intercession on their behalf.

[2] A typical Greek coinage, used as the title of the presiding magistrate of a Greek state.

Titus Quinctius was at this time wintering at Elatia, and when the allies were making many requests of him, the Boeotians asked and were permitted to recover their fellow-countrymen who had served with Philip. Quinctius readily granted this, not because he thought they really deserved it, but because in view of the suspicions entertained about King Antiochus he was anxious to win sympathy for the Roman people among the Greek states. When these had been restored, it at once became clear how little gratitude he had won from the Boeotians; for they sent ambassadors to Philip, thanking him for restoring their countrymen, just as if that boon had been granted to them and not to Quinctius and the Romans,[1] and at the next election they chose as Boeotarch [2] one Brachyllas, for no other reason than that he had commanded the Boeotians who had served with the king, passing over Zeuxippus and Pisistratus and others who had sponsored the alliance with Rome. These men were incensed at this action for the moment and also fearful for the future: since such things happened with the Roman army encamped almost at the gates, what in the world would become of them when the Romans had gone back to Italy, and Philip, from his kingdom near by, was aiding his friends and opposing those who had belonged to the other party? B.C. 196

XXVIII. While they had the Roman army close at hand, they determined to do away with Brachyllas, the principal partisan of the king. They chose for this an occasion when, after a public dinner, he was returning to his home in a drunken state and accompanied by a crowd of effeminate creatures who had been present as entertainers at the crowded dinner.

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interfuerant, ab sex armatis, quorum tres Italici, tres Aetoli erant, circumventus occiditur. Fuga comitum et quiritatio facta et tumultus per totam urbem discurrentium cum luminibus; percussores proxima porta evaserunt. Luce prima contio frequens velut ex ante indicto aut voce praeconis convocata in theatro erat. Palam ab suo comitatu et obscenis illis viris fremebant interfectum, animis autem Zeuxippum auctorem destinabant caedis. In praesentia placuit comprehendi eos qui simul fuissent, quaestionemque ex iis haberi. Qui dum quaeruntur, Zeuxippus[1] constanti animo avertendi ab se criminis causa in contionem progressus errare ait homines, qui tam atrocem caedem pertinere ad illos semiviros crederent, multaque in eam partem probabiliter est argumentatus, quibus fidem apud quosdam fecit numquam, si sibi conscius esset, oblaturum se multitudini mentionemve eius caedis nullo lacessente facturum fuisse; alii non dubitare impudenter[2] obviam crimini eundo suspicionem averti. Torti post paulo insontes, cum scirent ipsi nihil, opinione omnium pro indicio Zeuxippum et Pisistratum nominaverunt nullo adiecto, cur scire quicquam viderentur, argumento. Zeuxippus tamen cum Stratonida quodam nocte perfugit Tanagram, suam magis conscientiam quam indicium hominum nullius rei consciorum metuens; Pisistratus

[1] Zeuxippus *Hertz*: Zeuxippus et *B.*
[2] impudenter *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: inprudenter *B.*

He was set upon by six armed men, of whom three B.C. 196
were Italians and three Aetolians, and killed. His companions scattered; there was a search and the noise of guards with torches hurrying through the whole city; the assassins escaped by the nearest gate. At daybreak there was a full assembly in the theatre, as if at a meeting called in advance or summoned by the voice of a herald. Openly the cry was that he had been killed by his own suite and the degenerates who were with him, but in their thoughts they pointed to Zeuxippus as instigator of the murder. For the time being, it was voted that the men who were with him should be arrested and questioned. While they were being examined, Zeuxippus, with ready courage, in order to divert suspicion from himself, came into the assembly, and declared that those men were mistaken who put the responsibility for so cruel a murder upon those eunuchs, and he put forth many plausible arguments to that effect, and by these he created the assurance in some that, if he had felt any sense of guilt, he would never have exposed himself to the crowd or made any reference to this murder without being called upon to do so; others had no doubt that he was shamelessly trying to avert suspicion by volunteering to meet the charge. A little later the innocent witnesses were tortured, and, knowing nothing themselves, mentioned Zeuxippus and Pisistratus, treating as evidence the general suspicion, but citing no proof to show that they had any knowledge of the affair. Zeuxippus, nevertheless, and a certain Stratonidas fled to Tanagra by night, fearing his own conscience more than the testimony of men who knew nothing about the crime; Pisistratus paid no attention to

A.U.C. 558 spretis indicibus Thebis mansit. Servus erat Zeuxippi, totius internuntius et minister rei, quem indicem Pisistratus timens eo ipso timore[1] ad indicium protraxit. Litteras ad Zeuxippum mittit ut servum
12 conscium tolleret: non tam idoneum ad celandam rem eum videri sibi quam ad agendam fuerit. Has qui tulerat litteras iussus Zeuxippo dare quam primum,
13 quia non statim conveniendi eius copia fuit, illi ipsi servo, quem ex omnibus domino fidissimum credebat, tradit et adicit a Pisistrato de re magno opere perti-
14 nente ad Zeuxippum esse. Conscientia ictus, cum extemplo traditurum eas affirmasset, aperit perlectisque litteris pavidus Thebas refugit et ad magis-
15 tratus indicium defert. Et Zeuxippus quidem fuga servi motus Anthedonem, tutiorem exilio locum ratus, concessit; de Pisistrato aliisque quaestiones tormentis habitae et sumptum supplicium est.

XXIX. Efferavit ea caedes Thebanos Boeotosque omnes ad execrabile odium Romanorum, credentes non sine consilio imperatoris Romani Zeuxippum, principem gentis, id facinus conscisse. Ad rebellan-
2 dum neque vires neque ducem habebant; proximum bello quod erat, in latrocinium versi alios in hospitiis, alios vagos per hiberna milites ad varios commeantes
3 usus excipiebant. Quidam in ipsis itineribus ad notas

[1] timore *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: timore rem *B.*

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[1] The meaning appears to be that Pisistratus, by advising Zeuxippus to do away with the slave, thereby brought about the very thing he was trying to prevent, viz., the giving of testimony by the slave, since the latter, learning the substance of the message, took steps to protect himself. This seems a more natural interpretation of *protraxit* than to translate

the witnesses and remained in Thebes. Zeuxippus B.C. 196
had a slave, the go-between and agent in the whole affair, and fearing him as an informer, Pisistratus, by reason of that very fear, brought him forth to give evidence.[1] He sent word to Zeuxippus advising him to get rid of the slave who was his accomplice: he seemed to him, he said, less skilful in concealing an act than in performing it. The messenger had orders to deliver this letter to Zeuxippus as soon as possible, but being unable to find him at once, he gave it to that very same slave, whom he believed to be most faithful to his master of all the slaves, adding that it came from Pisistratus and contained information of the greatest interest to Zeuxippus. The slave, conscious of guilt, promised to deliver it at once, but opened it and having read it fled in terror to Thebes and laid his testimony before the magistrates. And Zeuxippus, frightened at the flight of his slave, retired to Anthedon, thinking it a safer place of exile; Pisistratus and others were examined under torture and executed.

XXIX. This murder roused the Thebans and all the Boeotians to a frenzy of hatred against the Romans, for they thought that Zeuxippus, a leading man in the state, would not have committed such a crime without the cognizance of the Roman commander. They had neither army nor leader for a rebellion; turning to what was most like war, to brigandage, they cut off some soldiers in the taverns, others as they travelled about on various errands during the winter season. Some on the public highways were lured by decoys into planned

[1] "summoned," "haled into court," or "caused to turn state's evidence."

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latebras ab insidiantibus, pars in deserta per fraudem
4 deversoria deducti opprimebantur; postremo non tantum ab odio sed etiam aviditate praedae ea facinora fiebant, quia negotiandi ferme causa argentum in
5 zonis habentes in commeatibus erant. Cum primo pauci, deinde in dies plures desiderarentur, infamis esse Boeotia omnis coepit, et timidius quam in hostico
6 egredi castris miles. Tum Quinctius legatos ad quaerendum de latrociniis per civitates mittit. Plurimae caedes circa Copaidem paludem inventae; ibi ex limo eruta extractaque ex stagno cadavera saxis aut amphoris, ut pondere traherentur in profundum, adnexa; multa facinora Acraephiae et Coroneae facta
7 inveniebantur. Quinctius primo noxios tradi sibi iussit et pro quingentis militibus—tot enim interempti
8 erant—quingenta talenta Boeotos conferre. Quorum neutrum cum fieret, verbis tantum civitates excusarent nihil publico consilio factum esse, missis Athenas et in Achaiam legatis, qui testarentur socios iusto pioque
9 se bello persecuturum Boeotos, et cum parte copiarum Ap. Claudio Acraephiam ire iusso ipse cum parte Coroneam circumsidit vastatis prius agris qua ab
10 Elatia duo diversa agmina iere. Hac perculsi clade Boeoti, cum omnia terrore ac fuga completa essent, legatos mittunt. Qui cum in castra non admitterentur

ambushes, some were brought by trickery to deserted B.C. 196
inns and killed; finally, such crimes were committed not only from hatred, but also from greed of booty, because the soldiers who were usually travelling on business had money in their purses on their journeys. While at first the losses were small, but then grew larger day by day, all Boeotia began to have a bad name, and the soldiers were more afraid to leave camp than if they were in hostile territory. Then Quinctius sent agents among the cities to inquire into the charges of robbery. Most of the murders, it was found, had been committed around the Copaic swamp; there bodies were dug out of the muck and drawn from the marshes, with stones or jugs fastened to them so that the weight might drag them deeper into the mire; many other crimes were found to have been committed at Acraephia and Coronea. Quinctius at first ordered the criminals to be delivered to him by the Boeotians and a fine paid of five hundred talents for the five hundred soldiers, for so many had been killed. When the cities obeyed neither order, but merely made the verbal excuse that no act had been committed with official sanction, having sent ambassadors to Athens and into Achaea, to call the allies to witness that he was about to wage lawful and rightful war upon the Boeotians, he ordered Appius Claudius to proceed against Acraephia with part of the forces and himself with another detachment invested Coronea, after first devastating the country through which both columns marched from Elatia. The Boeotians, dismayed by this calamity, when the whole region was filled with terror and flight, sent ambassadors. When these were not admitted to the camp, the

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11 Achaei Atheniensesque supervenerunt. Plus auctoritatis Achaei habuerunt deprecantes quia, ni impetrassent pacem Boeotis bellum simul gerere decreverant. 12 Per Achaeos et Boeotis copia adeundi adloquendique Romanum facta est iussisque tradere noxios et multae nomine triginta conferre talenta pax data et ab oppugnatione recessum.

XXX. Paucos post dies decem legati ab Roma venerunt, quorum ex consilio pax data Philippo in 2 has leges est, ut omnes Graecorum civitates, quae in Europa quaeque in Asia essent, libertatem ac suas haberent leges; quae earum sub dicione Philippi fuissent, praesidia ex iis Philippus deduceret vacuasque 3 traderet Romanis ante Isthmiorum tempus; deduceret et[1] ex iis, quae in Asia essent, Euromo Pedasisque et Bargyliis et Iaso et Myrina et Abydo et Thaso 4 et Perintho: eas quoque enim placere liberas esse; de Cianorum libertate Quinctium Prusiae, Bithynorum regi, scribere, quid senatui et decem legatis placuisset; 5 captivos transfugasque reddere Philippum Romanis et naves omnes tectas tradere praeter quinque et regiam unam inhabilis prope magnitudinis, quam 6 sedecim versus remorum agebant; ne plus quinque milia armatorum haberet neve elephantum ullum; bellum extra Macedoniae fines ne iniussu senatus 7 gereret; mille talentum daret populo Romano, dimi-

[1] deduceret et *Kreyssig*: duceret ut *B*.

[1] This is the probable meaning, though the Latin is obscure.

[2] In XXXII. xxxiv. 6 Philip asserts that he aided Prusias to capture this town; Polybius (XV. xxii), on the other hand, says that Philip took it. Livy's accounts are at least consistent with one another.

[3] The last two clauses are omitted by Polybius (XVIII. xliv), and seem not to have been observed.

Achaeans and Athenians arrived. The pleas of the Achaeans had more weight, because, if they did not obtain peace for the Boeotians, they had decided to join the war upon them.[1] Through the Achaeans an opportunity was gained for the Boeotians to visit and address the Roman, and they were ordered to hand over the criminals and pay thirty talents by way of fine, and were granted peace and the discontinuance of the siege. B.C. 196

XXX. A few days later the ten commissioners arrived from Rome, and with their approval peace was granted to Philip on these terms: that all the Greek cities which were in Europe or in Asia should enjoy their liberty and laws; that, whatever cities had been under the sway of Philip, from these Philip should withdraw his garrisons and should hand them over to the Romans, free of his troops, before the time of the Isthmian Games; that he should withdraw also from the following cities in Asia: Euromum and Pedasa and Bargyliae and Iasus and Myrina and Abydus and Thasos and Perinthus (for it was determined that these too should be free); that, regarding the liberation of the Ciani, Quinctius should write to Prusias, king of Bithynia, the decision of the senate and the ten commissioners;[2] that Philip should turn over to the Romans the prisoners and deserters, all his warships except five, and one royal galley of almost unmanageable size, which was propelled by sixteen tiers of oars; that he should have a maximum of five thousand soldiers and no elephants at all; that he should wage no war outside Macedonia without the permission of the senate;[3] that he should pay to the Roman people an indemnity of one thousand talents, half at

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dium praesens, dimidium pensionibus decem annorum.
8 Valerius Antias quaternum milium pondo argenti vectigal in decem annos impositum regi tradit; Claudius in annos triginta quaterna milia pondo et
9 ducena,[1] in praesens[2] viginti milia pondo. Idem nominatim adiectum scribit, ne cum Eumene Attali
10 filio—novus is tum rex erat—bellum gereret. In haec obsides accepti, inter quos Demetrius Philippi filius. Adicit Antias Valerius Attalo absenti Aeginam
11 insulam elephantosque dono datos et Rhodiis Stratoniceam Cariaeque alias urbes quas Philippus tenuisset; Atheniensibus insulas datas Parum, Imbrum, Delum, Scyrum.

XXXI. Omnibus Graeciae civitatibus hanc pacem approbantibus soli Aetoli decretum decem legatorum
2 clam mussantes carpebant; litteras inanes vana specie libertatis adumbratas esse; cur enim alias Romanis tradi urbes nec nominari eas, alias nominari et sine
3 traditione liberas iuberi esse, nisi quod, quae in Asia sint, liberentur, longinquitate ipsa tutiores, quae in Graecia sint, ne nominatae quidem intercipiantur, Corinthus et Chalcis et Oreus cum Eretria et Deme-
4 triade? Nec tota ex vano criminatio erat. Dubitabatur enim de Corintho et Chalcide et Demetriade, quia in senatus consulto, quo missi decem legati ab urbe erant, ceterae Graeciae atque Asiae urbes haud
5 dubie liberabantur, de iis tribus urbibus legati, quod

[1] ducena *Weissenborn*: ducentum *B.*
[2] in praesens *Madvig*: praesens *B.*

[1] The talent is calculated to be the equivalent of eighty Roman pounds, so that the figures here given vary a good deal. Livy's account is that of Polybius (XVIII. xliv).

once and half in ten annual instalments. Valerius B.C. 196
Antias states that a tribute of four thousand pounds of silver annually for ten years was imposed upon the king; Claudius fixes the payments at four thousand two hundred pounds annually for thirty years and twenty thousand pounds immediately.[1] The same writer mentions an explicit provision that he should not wage war with Eumenes, son of Attalus—he was the new king there. Hostages were taken to insure performance, among them Demetrius, the son of Philip. Valerius Antias adds that the island of Aegina and the elephants were presented as a gift to Attalus, who was absent, that the Rhodians were given Stratonicea and other cities in Caria which Philip had held, and the Athenians the islands of Paros, Imbros, Delos, and Scyros.

XXXI. While all the Greek cities approved this settlement, only the Aetolians with secret grumblings criticized the decision of the ten commissioners: mere words had been trimmed up with the empty show of liberty; why were some cities delivered to the Romans without being named, others specified and ordered to be free without such delivery, unless the purpose was that those which were in Asia, being more secure by reason of their remoteness, should be set free, but those which were in Greece, not being named, should become Roman property, to wit, Corinth and Chalcis and Oreus along with Eretria and Demetrias? Their complaint was not altogether groundless. For there was some uncertainty with respect to Corinth and Chalcis and Demetrias, because in the decree of the senate, under which the ten commissioners were sent from Rome, the other cities of Greece and Asia were beyond question set free, but regarding these three

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tempora rei publicae postulassent, id e re publica
6 fideque sua facere ac statuere iussi erant. Antiochus rex erat, quem transgressurum in Europam, cum primum ei vires suae satis placuissent, non dubitabant; ei tam opportunas ad occupandum patere urbes
7 nolebant. Ab Elatia profectus Quinctius Anticyram cum decem legatis, inde Corinthum traiecit. Ibi consilia de libertate Graeciae dies prope totos in
8 concilio decem legatorum agitabantur. Identidem Quinctius liberandam omnem Graeciam, si Aetolorum linguas retundere, si veram caritatem ac maiestatem
9 apud omnes nominis Romani vellent esse, si fidem facere ad liberandam Graeciam non ad transferendum
10 a Philippo ad se imperium sese mare traiecisse. Nihil contra ea de libertate urbium alii dicebant; ceterum ipsis tutius esse manere paulisper sub tutela praesidii Romani quam pro Philippo Antiochum dominum
11 accipere. Postremo ita decretum est: Corinthus redderetur Achaeis, ut in Acrocorintho tamen praesidium esset; Chalcidem ac Demetriadem retineri donec cura de Antiocho decessisset.

XXXII. Isthmiorum statum ludicrum aderat, semper quidem et alias frequens cum propter spectaculi studium insitum genti, quo certamina omnis generis
2 artium viriumque et pernicitatis visuntur, tum quia

cities the commissioners were instructed to take such action as the public interest should have proved to demand, in accordance with the general good and their own sense of honour. There was King Antiochus, who, there was no doubt, would invade Europe as soon as his forces seemed adequate; they did not wish to leave these cities, so favourably located, open to his occupancy. Quinctius with the ten commissioners moved from Elatia to Anticyra and thence to Corinth. There plans for the liberation of Greece were discussed almost every day at meetings of the ten commissioners. Quinctius urged repeatedly that all Greece should be set free, if they wished to stop the muttering of the Aetolians and to create genuine affection and respect for the Roman name among all the Greeks, and if they wished to convince them that they had crossed the sea to liberate Greece and not to transfer dominion from Philip to themselves. The others said nothing opposed to this as regards the freedom of the cities, but they believed it safer for the Greeks themselves to remain for a while under the protection of Roman garrisons than to receive Antiochus as lord in place of Philip. Finally, this decision was reached: Corinth should be given over to the Achaeans, a garrison, however, to be retained in Acrocorinthus; Chalcis and Demetrias should be held until the anxiety about Antiochus should have passed. B.C. 196

XXXII. The appointed time of the Isthmian Games was at hand, a spectacle always, even on other occasions, attended by crowds, on account of the fondness, native to the race, for exhibitions in which there are trials of skill in every variety of art as well as of strength and swiftness of foot; moreover, they came because, on account of the favourable situation of the place, lying

A.U.C 554 propter opportunitatem loci, per duo diversa maria omnium rerum usus ministrantis humano generi, 3 concilium Asiae Graeciaeque is mercatus erat; tum vero non ad solitos modo usus undique convenerant, sed expectatione erecti, qui deinde status futurus Graeciae, quae sua fortuna esset; alii alia non taciti solum opinabantur, sed sermonibus etiam ferebant Romanos facturos; vix cuiquam persuadebatur Graecia 4 omni cessuros. Ad spectaculum consederant, et praeco cum tubicine, ut mos est, in mediam aream, unde sollemni carmine ludicrum indici solet, processit 5 et tuba silentio facto ita pronuntiat: "Senatus Romanus et T. Quinctius imperator Philippo rege Macedonibusque devictis liberos, immunes, suis legibus esse iubet Corinthios, Phocenses, Locrensesque omnes et insulam Euboeam et Magnetas, Thessalos, 6 Perrhaebos, Achaeos Phthiotas." Percensuerat omnes gentes quae sub dicione Philippi regis fuerant. Audita voce praeconis maius gaudium fuit quam quod univer- 7 sum homines acciperent. Vix satis credere se quisque audisse, et alii alios intueri mirabundi velut ad somni vanam speciem; quod ad quemque pertinebat, suarum aurium fidei minimum credentes, proximos interro- 8 gabant. Revocatus praeco, cum unusquisque non audire modo sed videre libertatis suae nuntium averet, 9 iterum pronuntiavit eadem. Tum ab certo iam

between the two opposite seas and furnishing mankind with abundance of all wares, the market was a meeting-place for Asia and Greece. But at this time they had assembled from all quarters not only for the usual purposes, but especially because they were consumed with wonder what thenceforth the state of Greece would be, and what their own condition; they not only had their own silent thoughts, some believing one thing and others another, but discussed openly what the Romans would do; almost no one was convinced that they would withdraw from all Greece. They had taken their seats at the games and the herald with the trumpeter, as is the custom, had come forth into the midst of the arena, where the games are regularly opened with a ritual chant, and proclaiming silence with a trumpet-call, the herald read the decree: "The Roman senate and Titus Quinctius, *imperator*, having conquered King Philip and the Macedonians, declare to be free, independent, and subject to their own laws, the Corinthians, the Phocians, all the Locrians, the island of Euboea, the Magnesians, the Thessalians, the Perrhaebians, and the Phthiotic Achaeans." He had named all the states which had been subject to King Philip. When the herald's voice was heard there was rejoicing greater than men could grasp in its entirety. They could scarce believe that they had heard aright, and they looked at one another marvelling as at the empty vision of a dream; they asked their neighbours what concerned each one, unwilling to trust the evidence of their own ears. The herald was recalled, each one desiring not only to hear but to behold the man who brought the tidings of his freedom, and again the herald read the same decree. Then, when the ground B.C. 196

A.U.C. 566 gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus totiensque repetitus, ut facile appareret nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse. Ludicrum deinde ita raptim peractum est, ut nullius nec animi nec oculi spectaculo intenti essent; adeo unum gaudium praeoccupaverat omnium aliarum sensum voluptatium.

XXXIII. Ludis vero dimissis cursu prope omnes tendere ad imperatorem Romanum, ut ruente turba in unum adire, contingere dextram cupientium, coronas lemniscosque iacientium haud procul periculo fuerit. Sed erat trium ferme et triginta annorum, et cum robur iuventae tum gaudium ex tam insigni gloriae fructu vires suppeditabat. Nec praesens tantummodo effusa est laetitia, sed per multos dies gratis et cogitationibus et sermonibus renovata: esse aliquam in terris gentem quae sua inpensa, suo labore ac periculo bella gerat pro libertate aliorum nec hoc finitimis aut propinquae vicinitatis hominibus aut terris continentibus iunctis praestet, sed maria traiciat, ne quod toto orbe terrarum iniustum imperium sit, ubique ius, fas, lex potentissima sint. Una voce praeconis liberatas omnis Graeciae atque Asiae urbes; hoc spe concipere audacis animi fuisse, ad effectum adducere et virtutis et fortunae ingentis.

XXXIV. Secundum Isthmia Quinctius et decem legati legationes regum gentiumque audivere. Primi omnium regis Antiochi vocati legati sunt. Iis eadem

[1] Valerius Maximus (IV. viii. 5) naïvely says that the loud and prolonged shouting produced air-pockets into which the birds flying above the arena dropped!

for their joy was certain, such a storm of applause began and was so often repeated[1] that it was easily apparent that of all blessings none pleases a throng more than liberty. The contests were then rapidly finished, no man's eyes or thoughts being fixed upon the sight; joy alone had so completely replaced their perception of all other delightful things. B.C. 196

XXXIII. When the games were over, almost everyone rushed towards the Roman commander, so that he was endangered by the crowd that rushed to one place, desiring to draw near him, to touch his hand, and showering garlands and chaplets upon him. But he was only about thirty-three years old, and both the vigour of youth and the joy he felt at so remarkable a reward of fame gave him strength. Nor did the rejoicing spend itself at once, but was renewed for many days in thoughts and expressions of gratitude: there was one people in the world which would fight for others' liberties at its own cost, to its own peril and with its own toil, not limiting its guaranties of freedom to its neighbours, to men of the immediate vicinity, or to countries that lay close at hand, but ready to cross the sea that there might be no unjust empire anywhere and that everywhere justice, right, and law might prevail. By the single voice of a herald, they said, all the cities of Greece and Asia had been set free; to conceive hopes of any such thing as this required a bold mind; to bring it to pass was the proof of immense courage and good fortune as well.

XXXIV. After the Isthmian Games Quinctius and the ten commissioners received the embassies from the kings and states. First of all, the representatives of King Antiochus were summoned. As they made about the same deceptive speech that they had

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fere quae Romae egerant verba sine fide rerum iactan-
3 tibus nihil iam perplexe, ut ante, cum dubiae res incolumi Philippo erant, sed aperte denuntiatum, ut excederet Asiae urbibus, quae Philippi aut Ptolomaei regum fuissent, abstineret liberis civitatibus, neu quam[1] lacesseret armis: et in pace et in libertate
4 esse debere omnes ubique Graecas urbes. Ante omnia denuntiatum ne in Europam aut ipse transiret aut
5 copias traiceret. Dimissis regis legatis conventus civitatum gentiumque est haberi coeptus; eoque maturius peragebatur, quod decreta decem legatorum
6 in civitates[2] nominatim pronuntiabantur. Orestis—Macedonum ea gens est—quod primi ab rege defecissent, suae leges redditae. Magnetes et Perrhaebi et
7 Dolopes liberi quoque pronuntiati. Thessalorum genti praeter libertatem concessam Achaei Phthiotae dati, Thebis Phthioticis et Pharsalo excepta. Aetolos de Pharsalo et Leucade postulantes ut ex foedere sibi
8 restituerentur ad senatum reiecerunt. Phocenses Locrensesque, sicut ante fuerant, adiecta decreti
9 auctoritate iis contribuerunt. Corinthus et Triphylia et Heraea—Peloponnesi et ipsa urbs est—reddita
10 Achaeis. Oreum et Eretriam decem legati Eumeni regi, Attali filio, dabant dissentiente Quinctio; ea una res in arbitrium senatus reiecta est; senatus libertatem his civitatibus dedit Carysto adiecta.

[1] neu quam *Madvig*: ne umquam *B*.
[2] in civitates *Crévier*: ciuitates *B*.

previously made at Rome, no ambiguous answer was B.C. 196
now given, as on the former occasion, when the future was uncertain and Philip was unconquered, but clear warning was given him, to withdraw from the cities in Asia which had belonged to King Philip or King Ptolemy, to keep his hands off the free states and molest none of them in war: all the Greek cities everywhere must enjoy both peace and liberty. Before all, he was warned not to cross to Europe in person nor to send troops there. After the departure of the king's ambassadors, a council of the cities and states began, and its work was accomplished the more speedily because the decisions of the ten commissioners were addressed to the states by name. To the Orestae —that is a tribe of the Macedonians—their own laws were restored, because they had been the first to revolt against the king. The Magnesians, Perrhaebians, and Dolopians were likewise declared free. The Thessalian people, in addition to receiving their liberty, were granted the Phthiotic Achaeans with the exception of Phthiotic Thebes and Pharsalus. The Aetolians demanded that Pharsalus and Leucas should be restored to them in accordance with the treaty, and their petition was referred to the senate. The Phocians and the Locrians were annexed to them, as they had formerly been, the sanction of a decree having been added, Corinth and Triphylia and Heraea—this too is a city in the Peloponnesus—were given back to the Achaeans. Oreus and Eretria the ten commissioners gave to King Eumenes, the son of Attalus, despite the protests of Quinctius; this one question was referred to the decision of the senate; the senate bestowed freedom upon these states, with the addition of Carystus. Lychnidus

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11 Pleurato Lychnidus et Parthini dati; Illyriorum utraque gens sub dicione Philippi fuerant. Amynandrum tenere iusserunt castella quae per belli tempus Philippo capta ademisset.

XXXV. Dimisso conventu decem legati, partiti munia inter se, ad liberandas suae quisque regionis civitates 2 discesserunt, P. Lentulus Bargylias, L. Stertinius Hephaestiam et Thasum et Thraeciae urbes, P. Villius et L. Terentius ad regem Antiochum, Cn. Cornelius 3 ad Philippum. Qui [1] de minoribus rebus editis mandatis percunctatus, si consilium non utile solum sed 4 etiam salutare admittere auribus posset, cum rex gratias quoque se acturum diceret, si quid quod in 5 rem suam esset expromeret, magno opere ei suasit, quoniam pacem impetrasset, ad societatem amici- 6 tiamque petendam mitteret Romam legatos, ne, si quid Antiochus moveret, expectasse et temporum opportunitates captasse ad rebellandum videri posset. 7 Ad Tempe Thessalica Philippus est conventus. Qui cum se missurum extemplo legatos respondisset, 8 Cornelius Thermopylas, ubi frequens Graeciae statis diebus esse solet conventus—Pylaicum [2] appellant— 9 venit; Aetolos praecipue monuit constanter et fideliter 10 in amicitia populi Romani permanerent. Aetolorum principes alii leniter questi sunt quod non idem erga suam gentem Romanorum animus esset post victoriam 11 qui in bello fuisset, alii ferocius incusarunt expro-

[1] qui *Gronovius*: cui *B*.

[2] conventus—Pylaicum *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: Pylai conuentus *B*: conventus, Phylaicum *ed. Moguntina* 1518.

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[1] For the Pylaic Council and its possible identity with the Amphictyonic Council, see XXXI. xxxii, 3 and the note.

and the Parthini were given to Pleuratus; both of B.C. 196
these Illyrian states had been under the control of Philip. They directed Amynander to hold the forts which he had taken from Philip during the period of the war.

XXXV. After the dismissal of the council the ten commissioners, dividing up the tasks among themselves, went their several ways, each to liberate the cities in his own territory. Publius Lentulus went to Bargyliae, Lucius Stertinius to Hephaestia and Thasos and the cities of Thrace, Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius to King Antiochus, Gnaeus Cornelius to Philip. He, after performing the less important tasks assigned him, asked the king whether he was disposed to listen to advice that was both sound and profitable. When the king replied that he would receive it gratefully, if he suggested anything advantageous to him, Cornelius urged him earnestly, now that he had been granted peace, to send ambassadors to Rome to ask for a treaty of alliance and friendship, lest, if Antiochus made any disturbance, he might seem to have dallied and to have watched for an opportunity to revolt. The meeting with Philip took place at Thessalian Tempe. When he had replied that he would at once send ambassadors, Cornelius went to Thermopylae, where a full meeting of the states of Greece is held on stated days—they call this the Pylaic council;[1] the Aetolians especially he advised to abide resolutely and faithfully by the alliance with the Roman people. Some of the Aetolian leaders complained mildly that the attitude of the Romans towards their people was not the same after their victory as it had been during the war, others more loudly reproached and taunted them, saying

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braruntque non modo vinci sine Aetolis Philippum, sed ne transire quidem in Graeciam Romanos potuisse. 12 Adversus ea respondere, ne in altercationem excederet res, cum supersedisset Romanus, omnia eos aequa impetraturos si Romam misissent dixit. Itaque ex auctoritate eius decreti legati sunt. Hunc finem bellum cum Philippo habuit.

XXXVI. Cum haec in Graecia Macedoniaque et Asia gererentur, Etruriam infestam prope coniuratio 2 servorum fecit. Ad quaerendam opprimendamque eam M'. Acilius Glabrio praetor, cui inter cives peregrinosque iurisdictio obtigerat, cum una ex duabus legione urbana est missus, alios . . . ,[1] alios iam[2] congregatos pugnando vicit; ex his multi occisi, multi 3 capti; alios verberatos crucibus adfixit, qui principes coniurationis fuerant, alios dominis restituit.

4 Consules in provincias profecti sunt. Marcellum Boiorum ingressum fines fatigato per diem totum milite via facienda castra in tumulo quodam ponentem Corolamus quidam, regulus Boiorum, cum magna 5 manu adortus ad tria milia hominum occidit; et illustres viri aliquot in illo tumultuario proelio ceciderunt, inter quos praefecti socium T. Sempronius Gracchus et M. Iunius Silanus et tribuni militum de 6 legione secunda M. Ogulnius et P. Claudius. Castra tamen ab Romanis impigre permunita retentaque, cum hostes prospera pugna elati nequiquam oppugnas- 7 sent. Stativis deinde iisdem per dies aliquot sese

[1] *lacunam indic. Madvig.*
[2] alios iam *Madvig*: iam *B.*

[1] This is a guess at the meaning of the lost text.

that Philip could not have been conquered without B.C. 196
the Aetolians, and, more than that, the Romans could not even have crossed to Greece. The Roman, after declining to reply to this, lest the argument degenerate into a quarrel, said that they would obtain full justice if they appealed to Rome. Therefore, on his suggestion, ambassadors were decided upon. This was the end of the war with Philip.

XXXVI. While these events were taking place in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia, a slave insurrection rendered Etruria almost a battle-field. Manius Acilius Glabrio, the praetor exercising jurisdiction in cases between citizens and aliens, was sent with one of the two city legions to investigate and suppress it, and destroyed part of them, cutting them off in detail,[1] part of them by encountering them in a body; many of them were killed and many captured; some, who had been the instigators of the revolt, he scourged and crucified, others he turned over to their masters.

The consuls departed to their provinces. As Marcellus was entering the territory of the Boi, and was pitching camp on a certain hill, his troops being exhausted by building roads all the day, a chieftain of the Boi, Corolamus by name, fell upon him with a large force and killed about three thousand of his men; some distinguished men fell in that surprise attack, among them Titus Sempronius Gracchus and Marcus Iunius Silanus, commanders of allied detachments, and Marcus Ogulnius and Publius Claudius, military tribunes of the second legion. The camp, however, was strongly fortified and stubbornly held by the Romans, when the enemy, elated by their victory, had assaulted it in vain. For some days after that he remained in the same camp, while he was treating the wounded

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tenuit, dum et saucios curaret et a tanto[1] terrore animos militum reficeret. Boi, ut est gens minime ad morae taedium ferendum patiens, in castella sua vicosque passim dilapsi sunt. Marcellus Pado confestim traiecto in agrum Comensem, ubi Insubres Comensibus ad arma excitis castra habebant, legiones ducit. Galli, feroces Boiorum ante dies paucos pugna, in ipso itinere proelium committunt; et primo adeo acriter invaserunt ut antesignanos impulerint. Quod ubi Marcellus animadvertit, veritus ne moti semel pellerentur, cohortem Marsorum cum opposuisset, equitum Latinorum omnes turmas in hostem emisit. Quorum cum primus secundusque impetus rettudisset inferentem se ferociter hostem, confirmata et reliqua acies Romana restitit primo, deinde signa acriter intulit. Nec ultra sustinuere certamen Galli quin terga verterent atque effuse fugerent. In eo proelio supra quadraginta milia hominum caesa Valerius Antias scribit, octoginta[2] septem signa militaria capta et carpenta septingenta triginta duo et aureos torques multos, ex quibus unum magni ponderis Claudius in Capitolio Iovi donum in aede positum scribit. Castra eo die Gallorum expugnata direptaque, et Comum oppidum post dies paucos captum. Castella inde duodetriginta ad consulem defecerunt. Id quoque inter scriptores ambigitur, utrum in Boios prius an Insubres consul exercitum duxerit adversamque prospera pugna oblitteraverit, an victoria ad Comum parta deformata clade in Bois accepta sit.

XXXVII. Sub haec tam varia fortuna gesta L.

[1] a tanto *Gronovius*: tanto *B.*
[2] octoginta *Kreyssig*: octingenta *B.*

and restoring the courage of his men after so serious B.C. 196
an alarm. The Boi—a people intolerant of the tiresomeness of delay—gradually dispersed to their forts and towns. Marcellus quickly crossed the Po and led the legions into the district of Comum, where the Insubres were encamped after calling the Comenses to arms. The Gauls, encouraged by the success of the Boi a few days before, attacked while still in march formation, and their first charge was so vigorous that it drove in the Roman front line. When Marcellus observed this and feared that once broken they would be routed, he threw in a cohort of the Marsi and then sent all the squadrons of the Latin cavalry against the enemy. Their first and second charges dulled the edge of the enemy's spirited attack, and the rest of the Roman line, with renewed courage, first resisted and then charged fiercely. The Gauls did not continue the contest longer, but turned and fled in all directions. Valerius Antias writes that more than forty thousand men perished in that battle, and that eighty-seven standards were taken and seven hundred and thirty-two wagons and many necklaces of gold, one of which, of great weight, Claudius says was deposited in the temple on the Capitoline as a gift to Jupiter. The Gallic camp was captured and plundered that day, and the town of Comum was taken a few days later. After that, twenty-eight strongholds went over to the consul. This question, too, is debated by the writers, whether the consul led his army against the Boi first or the Insubres, and whether the victory wiped out the memory of the defeat or the success gained at Comum was marred by the defeat among the Boi.

XXXVII. During this period of alternating fortunes the other consul Lucius Furius Purpurio

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Furius Purpurio alter consul per tribum Sapiniam in
2 Boios venit. Iam castro Mutilo appropinquabat cum, veritus ne intercluderetur simul a Bois Liguribusque, exercitum eadem via qua adduxerat reduxit et magno circuitu per aperta eoque tuta loca ad collegam per-
3 venit. Inde iunctis exercitibus primum Boiorum agrum usque ad Felsinam oppidum populantes per-
4 agraverunt. Ea urbs ceteraque circa castella et Boi fere omnes praeter iuventutem, quae praedandi causa in armis erat—tunc in devias silvas recesserat—in deditionem venerunt. In Ligures inde traductus
5 exercitus. Boi neglegentius coactum agmen Romanorum, quia ipsi procul abesse viderentur, improviso aggressuros se rati per occultos saltus secuti sunt.
6 Quos non adepti, Pado repente navibus traiecto Laevos Libuosque cum pervastassent, redeuntes inde per Ligurum extremos fines cum agresti praeda in
7 agmen incidunt Romanum. Proelium celerius acriusque commissum quam si tempore locoque ad certamen
8 destinato praeparatis animis concurrissent. Ibi, quantam vim ad stimulandos animos ira haberet, apparuit; nam ita caedis magis quam victoriae avidi pugnarunt Romani, ut vix nuntium cladis hosti relinquerent.
9 Ob has res gestas consulum litteris Romam adlatis supplicatio in triduum decreta est. Brevi post Marcellus consul Romam venit, triumphusque ei magno

[1] See XXXI. ii. 6 and note.

invaded the territory of the Boi by way of the *tribus* B.C. 196
Sapinia.[1] When he was already approaching the fortified town of Mutilum, fearing that he would be cut off by the Boi and Insubres together, he led the army back by the same way he had come, and after a long roundabout march through country that was open, and therefore safe, he joined his colleague. Thenceforth with united forces they penetrated first the Boian territory as far as Felsina, plundering as they went. This city and all the forts in the neighbourhood and all the Boi except the men of military age, who were in arms in the hope of plunder—they had at this time retired into the pathless forests—surrendered. The army was then led against the Ligures. The Boi, with the intention of falling suddenly upon the Roman column, which would not be under strict discipline, since the Boi would be believed to be far away, followed by secret paths. Failing to overtake them, and suddenly crossing the Po in boats, when they had laid waste the country of the Laevi and Libui, and were returning from there loaded with the spoils of the country along the edges of the Ligurian territory, they encountered the Roman column. A battle began, more sudden and furious than if they had clashed with minds prepared to fight at a predetermined time and place. There it was apparent how much stimulus passion can apply to courage; for the Romans fought with so much greater desire for slaughter than for victory that they left the enemy hardly a messenger to tell of the defeat. By reason of these achievements, when the letters of the consuls were received in Rome, the senate decreed a thanksgiving of three days. A little later the consul Marcellus arrived in Rome, and was voted a

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10 consensu patrum est decretus. Triumphavit in magistratu de Insubribus Comensibusque; Boiorum triumphi spem collegae reliquit, quia ipsi proprie adversa pugna
11 in ea gente evenerat, cum collega secunda. Multa spolia hostium captivis carpentis travecta, multa militaria signa; aeris lata trecenta viginti milia, argenti bigati ducenta triginta quattuor milia. In
12 pedites singulos dati octogeni aeris, triplex equiti centurionique.

XXXVIII. Eodem anno Antiochus rex, cum hibernasset Ephesi, omnes Asiae civitates in antiquam
2 imperii formulam redigere est conatus. Et ceteras quidem, aut quia locis planis positae erant aut quia parum moenibus armisque ac iuventuti fidebant,
3 haud difficulter videbat iugum accepturas; Zmyrna et Lampsacus libertatem usurpabant, periculumque erat ne, si concessum iis foret quod intenderent, Zmyrnam in Aeolide Ioniaque, Lampsacum in Helles-
4 ponto aliae[1] urbes sequerentur. Igitur et ipse ab Epheso ad Zmyrnam obsidendam misit et quae Abydi copiae erant praesidio tantum modico relicto duci ad
5 Lampsacum oppugnandam iussit. Nec vi tantum terrebat, sed per legatos leniter adloquendo castigandoque temeritatem ac pertinaciam spem cona-
6 batur facere, brevi quod peterent habituros, sed cum satis et ipsis et omnibus aliis appareret, ab rege

[1] aliae *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : aliquae *B.*

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[1] There is no indication that Furius received a triumph, and this fact has been used to discredit the account of his earlier triumph. See the note to XXXI. xlvii. 4 above.

[2] This spelling is attested by the Livy MSS. and by MSS. in general.

triumph with the complete agreement of the senators. B.C. 196
While still in office he triumphed over the Ligures and Comenses; the hope of a triumph over the Boi he left to his colleague, because he personally had suffered defeat at the hands of that people, but had been victorious when associated with his colleague.[1] Many spoils of the enemy were transported in captured carts, and many standards; three hundred and twenty thousand *asses* of bronze and two hundred and thirty-four thousand pieces of coined silver were carried. Each infantryman was given eighty *asses*, each cavalryman and centurion thrice that sum.

XXXVIII. In the same year King Antiochus, after wintering at Ephesus, tried to coerce all the cities of Asia into acknowledging the sovereignty which he had once exercised over them. And he saw that the others, either because they were situated on level ground, or because they did not trust their walls or their weapons or their fighting men, would readily accept his yoke; Zmyrna [2] and Lampsacus were contending for their independence, and there was danger that if they were allowed what they demanded, other cities in Aeolis and Ionia would follow the example of Zmyrna, those on the Hellespont, of Lampsacus. He therefore sent troops from Ephesus to invest Zmyrna and ordered his troops at Abydus to leave only a small guard there and march to attack Lampsacus. Nor did he seek only to frighten them by this show of force, but also through the mouths of his agents by courteous address and mild reproach for their rashness and stubbornness, to create the hope that they would soon have what they desired, but only when it was clear both to them and to everyone else that their liberty had been granted by the king

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impetratam eos libertatem, non per occasionem raptam
7 habere. Adversus quae respondebatur, nihil neque
mirari neque suscensere Antiochum debere, si spem
libertatis differri non satis aequo animo paterentur.
8 Ipse initio veris navibus ab Epheso profectus Helles-
pontum petit, terrestres copias traici ab Abydo Cher-
9 sonesum iussit. Cum ad Madytum, Chersonesi urbem,
terrestri navalem exercitum iunxisset, quia clauserant
portas, circumdedit moenia armatis; et iam opera
admoventi deditio facta est. Idem metus Sestum
incolentes aliasque Chersonesi urbes in deditionem
10 dedit. Lysimachiam inde omnibus simul navalibus
terrestribusque copiis venit. Quam cum desertam
11 ac stratam prope omnem ruinis invenisset—ceperant
autem direptamque incenderant Thraces paucis ante
annis—cupido eum restituendi nobilem urbem et loco
12 sitam opportuno cepit. Itaque omnia simul est
aggressus et tecta murosque restituere et partim
redimere servientes Lysimachenses, partim fuga sparsos
per Hellespontum Chersonesumque conquirere et
13 contrahere, partim novos colonos spe commodorum
14 proposita adscribere et omni modo frequentare; simul,
ut Thracum summoveretur metus, ipse parte dimidia
terrestrium copiarum ad depopulanda proxima Thraciae
est profectus, partem navalesque omnes socios reliquit
in operibus reficiendae urbis.

XXXIX. Sub hoc tempore et L. Cornelius, missus ab senatu ad dirimenda inter Antiochum Ptolomae-

and not attained through mere grasping at oppor- B.C. 196
tunity. To this they responded that Antiochus should be neither surprised nor angry if they were not inclined to submit with indifference to their hope of liberty being deferred. At the beginning of spring Antiochus himself left Ephesus with his fleet and sailed for the Hellespont and ordered his land forces to be transported from Abydus to Chersonesus. When he had united his army and navy at Madytus, a city in the Chersonesus, since the people had closed their gates, he surrounded the walls with armed men; and the town surrendered as he was on the point of moving forward his engines. Fear of the same fate caused the people of Sestus and other towns of the Chersonesus to yield. Thence he proceeded with all his forces, naval and military alike, to Lysimachia. When he had found it almost entirely abandoned and in ruins (the Thracians had captured, plundered, and burned it a few years before), he was seized by the desire of rebuilding a city so famed and so advantageously situated. Therefore he undertook everything at once; to rebuild the houses and walls, to ransom some of the Lysimachenses who were in slavery, to seek out and bring back some of them who had scattered in flight through the Hellespont and Chersonesus, to attract new colonists by the prospects of advantage held out to them, and to populate the city in every possible manner; at the same time, in order to dispel their fear of the Thracians, he set out in person with half his land forces to devastate the neighbouring parts of Thrace, leaving the rest and all the naval allies engaged in the work of rebuilding the city.

XXXIX. At this time, too, Lucius Cornelius, sent by the senate to arbitrate the difference between the

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2 umque reges certamina, Selymbriae substitit, et decem legatorum P. Lentulus a Bargyliis, P. Villius et L. Terentius ab Thaso Lysimachiam petierunt. Eodem et ab Selymbria L. Cornelius et ex Thracia paucos 3 post diebus Antiochus convenerunt. Primus congressus cum legatis et deinceps invitatio benigna et hospitalis fuit; ut de mandatis statuque praesenti 4 Asiae agi coeptum est, animi exasperati sunt. Romani omnia acta eius, ex quo tempore ab Syria classem solvisset, displicere senatui non dissimulabant restituique et Ptolomaeo omnes civitates quae dicionis 5 eius fuissent aequum censebant; nam quod ad eas civitates attineret quas a Philippo possessas Antiochus per occasionem, averso Philippo in Romanum bellum, 6 intercepisset, id vero ferendum non esse, Romanos per tot annos terra marique tanta pericula ac labores 7 exhausisse, Antiochum belli praemia habere. Sed ut in Asiam adventus eius dissimulari ab Romanis tamquam nihil ad eos pertinens potuerit, quid? Quod iam etiam in Europam omnibus navalibus terrestribusque copiis transierit, quantum a bello aperte Romanis indicto abesse? Illum quidem, etiam si in Italiam traiciat, negaturum; Romanos autem non expectaturos, ut id posset facere.

XL. Adversus ea Antiochus mirari se dixit Romanos tam diligenter inquirere quid regi Antiocho faciendum aut quousque terra marique progrediendum fuerit,

kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, stopped at Selymbria, B.C. 196
and some of the ten commissioners, Publius Lentulus from Bargyliae and Publius Villius and Lucius Terentius from Thasos, came to Lysimachia. Also, Lucius Cornelius from Selymbria and Antiochus from Thrace arrived there a few days later. There was a preliminary meeting with the ambassadors and then a kindly and hospitable reception, but when the debate over their instructions and the present situation in Asia began, there were displays of temper. The Romans did not conceal the fact that his conduct, from the time he set sail from Syria, was displeasing to the senate, and they also deemed it right that all the cities which had belonged to Ptolemy should be restored to him; for, as regards the cities formerly held by Philip, which Antiochus had taken the opportunity to seize while Philip was engaged in the Roman war, they regarded it as surely unendurable that the Romans should have suffered so many toils and dangers for so many years on land and sea and that Antiochus should carry off the prizes of war. But, granting that the Romans pretended to ignore his advance into Asia as an act which did not concern them, what then? What of the fact that he was even then crossing into Europe with all his fleets and armies, and how far did that differ from an open declaration of war on the Romans? He, of course, would deny it, even if he crossed into Italy, but the Romans would not wait for him to have the power to do this.

XL. To this Antiochus replied that he was surprised that the Romans were making such diligent inquiry into what King Antiochus should do or how far he should advance by land or sea, and that they

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2 ipsos non cogitare Asiam nihil ad se pertinere, nec magis illis inquirendum esse quid Antiochus in Asia, quam Antiocho quid in Italia populus Romanus faciat. 3 Quod ad Ptolomaeum attineat, cui ademptas civitates querantur, sibi cum Ptolomaeo et amicitiam esse, et 4 id agere ut brevi etiam adfinitas iungatur. Ne ex[1] Philippi quidem adversa fortuna spolia ulla se petisse aut adversus Romanos in Europam traiecisse; sed qua Lysimachi quondam regnum fuerit, quo victo omnia quae illius fuissent iure belli Seleuci facta sint, 5 existimare suae dicionis esse. Occupatis maioribus suis rerum aliarum cura primo quaedam ex iis Ptolomaeum, inde et Philippum usurpanda aliena[2] posses- 6 sionis causa tenuisse. Chersonesus quidem et proxima Thraciae quae circa Lysimachiam sint quem dubitare quin Lysimachi fuerint? Ad ea recipienda in antiquum ius venisse et Lysimachiam deletam Thracum

[1] ne ex *Bekker*: nec ex *B*.
[2] usurpanda aliena *Madvig*: usurpandae alienae *B*.

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[1] In 193 B.C. (XXXV. xiii. 4) Ptolemy married the daughter of Antiochus: preliminary arrangements for this may have been under way at this time.

It may be noted that just as Antiochus silenced the Rhodian ambassadors by quoting to them the complimentary speeches of Rome (see xx. 8 above), so he now silences the Romans by quoting to them a treaty of which they, apparently, knew nothing before and which weakened their case a good deal. Open covenants would have saved the free-speaking Romans a good deal of embarrassment in the east.

[2] One of Alexander's generals, who had carved out a kingdom for himself in this region. He was defeated by Seleucus, founder of the Seleucid dynasty, to which Antiochus belonged, in 281 B.C. (XXXIV. lviii. 5; Justin XVII. l).

[3] See xxxviii. 1 above.

did not see that Asia was no concern of theirs, and B.C. 196
that they had no more right to ask what Antiochus was doing in Asia than Antiochus had to ask what the Roman people was doing in Italy. So far as Ptolemy was concerned, the loss of whose cities was a subject of complaint, he already had a treaty of friendship with Ptolemy and was taking steps which would soon lead to a tie of relationship as well.[1] He had not even taken advantage of Philip's ill fortune to seize and plunder, nor had he entered Europe to threaten the Romans; but all the country which had once been the kingdom of Lysimachus,[2] and which, on his defeat, had passed with his other possessions into the hands of Seleucus by right of conquest, he considered his own. While his forefathers were busy with the disposition of other matters, possession of some of these towns had been seized, first by Ptolemy,[3] then by Philip,[4] usurping the property-rights of others.[5] Who could doubt that Lysimachus had been lord of the Chersonesus and the neighbouring parts of Thrace which are around Lysimachia? He himself had come only to recover his ancient possessions and to found anew Lysimachia,

[4] See XXXI. xvi. 4. Antiochus had apparently suffered along with Ptolemy from the depredations committed by Philip under the authority of the treaty which he had made with Antiochus to plunder the young Ptolemy (see the Introductory Note).

[5] In XXXV. xvi. the argument turns on the Roman legal doctrine of *possessio* (the unchallenged occupancy of a piece of property for a specified period), which under certain conditions could confer a valid title. Antiochus means that Ptolemy and Philip had violently interrupted his own *possessio* and had thus robbed him of property which he was trying to recover. The propriety of attributing to Antiochus this much acquaintance with Roman law might be questioned.

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impetu de integro condere, ut Seleucus filius eam sedem regni habeat.

XLI. His disceptationibus per dies aliquot habitis rumor sine ullo satis certo auctore allatus de morte Ptolomaei regis, ut nullus exitus imponeretur sermoni- 2 bus effecit. Nam et dissimulabat pars utraque se audisse, et L. Cornelius, cui legatio ad duos reges, Antiochum Ptolomaeumque, mandata erat, spatium modici temporis ad conveniendum Ptolomaeum pete- 3 bat, ut, priusquam moveretur aliquid in nova possessione regni, praeveniret in Aegyptum, et Antiochus suam fore Aegyptum, si tum occupasset, censebat. 4 Itaque dimissis Romanis relictoque Seleuco filio cum 5 terrestribus copiis ad restituendam ut instituerat Lysimachiam, ipse omni classe navigat Ephesum, legatis ad Quinctium missis, qui ad fidem faciendam nihil novaturum regem de societate agerent. Oram Asiae legens pervenit in Lyciam, Patarisque cognito vivere Ptolomaeum navigandi quidem in Aegyptum 6 omissum consilium est; Cyprum nihilo minus petens, cum Chelidoniarum promunturium superasset, paulisper seditione remigum est retentus in Pamphylia 7 circa Eurymedontem amnem. Inde profectum eum ad capita quae vocant Sari fluminis foeda tempestas adorta prope cum omni classe demersit. Multae fractae, multae eiectae naves, multae ita haustae mari 8 ut nemo in terram enaverit. Magna vis hominum ibi interiit, non remigum modo militumque ignotae turbae

destroyed by the attack of the Thracians, that his son Seleucus might make it the capital of his kingdom. B.C. 196

XLI. They had spent some days in such debates when an unauthenticated rumour that King Ptolemy was dead caused no conclusion to be reached by their conversations. For each party pretended not to have heard it, and Lucius Cornelius, to whom had been entrusted the embassy to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, requested an adjournment of a short time, that he might visit Ptolemy, his purpose being that he might arrive in Egypt before any revolution should occur while the throne was changing hands, while Antiochus believed that Egypt would be his if he should have succeeded in gaining possession of it at this time. So he dismissed the Romans, leaving his son Seleucus with the army to rebuild Lysimachia according to plan, and himself sailed for Ephesus with his entire fleet, sending ambassadors to Quinctius to say, with a view to creating confidence, that the king would do nothing to modify their alliance. Skirting the coast of Asia, he came to Lycia, and learning at Patara that Ptolemy was alive, he gave up his design of sailing to Egypt; nevertheless, he set out for Cyprus, and when he had passed the promontory of Chelidoniae, he was delayed for a while in Pamphylia near the mouth of the Eurymedon river by a mutiny among his rowers. When he resumed his voyage and was off the mouth of the river which they call Sarus, a terrific storm almost overwhelmed him and his whole fleet. Many ships were wrecked, many driven ashore, many so swallowed up in the sea that no one escaped to the shore. A large number of men perished, not only rowers and the nameless mass of soldiers, but some of the nobles,

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9 sed etiam insignium regis amicorum. Collectis reliquiis naufragii, cum res non in eo essent ut Cyprum temptaret, minus opulento agmine quam profectus erat, Seleuciam rediit. Ibi subduci navibus iussis—iam enim et hiems instabat—ipse in hiberna Antiochiam concessit. In hoc statu regum erant res.

XLII. Romae eo primum anno tresviri epulones facti C. Licinius Lucullus tribunus plebis, qui legem de creandis iis tulerat, et P. Manlius et P. Porcius Laeca. Iis triumviris item ut pontificibus [1] lege 2 datum est togae praetextae habendae ius. Sed magnum certamen cum omnibus sacerdotibus eo anno fuit quaestoribus urbanis, Q. Fabio Labeoni et L. 3 Aurelio. Pecunia opus erat quod ultimam pensionem pecuniae in bellum collatae persolvi placuerat privatis. 4 Quaestores ab auguribus pontificibusque quod stipendium per bellum non contulissent petebant. Ab sacerdotibus tribuni plebis nequiquam appellati, omniumque annorum per quos non dederant exactum 5 est. Eodem anno duo mortui pontifices, novique in eorum locum suffecti, M. Marcellus consul in locum C. Semproni Tuditani, qui praetor in Hispania deces-

[1] pontificibus *Pighius*: pontifici *B*.

[1] A college of three (later seven) priests, entrusted with the responsibility of conducting the feasts of the gods (see note on XXXI. viii. 2). Election of members now replaces the older method of co-optation, under which each college filled vacancies in its own ranks.

[2] The toga worn by the ordinary citizen was of white or natural-coloured wool. This purple-bordered toga was reserved to boys who had not reached manhood (at which time they put on the ordinary toga) and to civil and religious dignitaries.

[3] These were minor magistrates responsible for the care of public funds.

friends of the king. Collecting the remnants left B.C. 196
from the wreck, and being in no condition to try an expedition to Cyprus, he returned to Seleucia with a train less rich than that with which he had set out. There he ordered the ships to be hauled up on land —for winter was now at hand—and went into winter quarters at Antioch. The affairs of the kings were in this state.

XLII. At Rome, in this year for the first time, the *tresviri epulones*[1] were elected—Gaius Licinius Lucullus, tribune of the people, who had proposed the law for their election, Publius Manlius, and Publius Porcius Laeca. These triumvirs, like the pontiffs, were given the right to wear the *toga praetexta*.[2] But a bitter struggle broke out that year between the whole body of priests and the city quaestors,[3] Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Aurelius. Money was needed because it had been decided to pay to the private lenders the last instalment of the money contributed for the war.[4] The quaestors demanded it of the augurs and pontiffs because they had not paid the taxes during the war. The priests appealed in vain to the tribunes of the people, and the money was collected for the whole period in which it had not been paid.[5] In the same year two pontiffs died and new ones were appointed in their place, the consul Marcus Marcellus to replace Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus, who had fallen while serving as praetor in Spain, and Lucius

[4] See XXXI. xiii. 2–9 and the note.

[5] Exemption from the payment of taxes seems not to have been a prerogative of the priesthoods. Perhaps in the confusion of the war period, they had for a time evaded payment, and had continued to do so after the war closed. At this time collection in full of all back-taxes was made: this seems to be the implication of the words *omnium annorum*.

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serat, et L. Valerius Flaccus in locum M. Corneli
6 Cethegi. Et Q. Fabius Maximus augur mortuus est admodum adulescens, priusquam ullum magistratum caperet; nec eo anno augur in eius locum est suffectus.
7 Comitia inde consularia habita a M. Marcello consule. Creati consules L. Valerius Flaccus et M. Porcius Cato. Praetores inde facti Cn. Manlius Volso, Ap. Claudius Nero, P. Porcius Laeca, C. Fabricius Luscinus, C. Atinius [1] Labeo, P. Manlius.
8 Eo anno aediles curules, M. Fulvius Nobilior et C. Flaminius, tritici deciens centena milia binis aeris populo discripserunt. Id C. Flamini honoris causa ipsius patrisque advexerant Siculi Romam; Flaminius
9 gratiam eius communicaverat cum collega. Ludi Romani et apparati magnifice sunt et ter toti in-
10 staurati. Aediles plebis, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus et C. Scribonius Curio,[2] multos pecuarios ad populi iudicium adduxerunt; tres ex his condemnati sunt; ex eorum multaticia pecunia aedem in insula Fauni
11 fecerunt. Ludi plebei per biduum instaurati, et epulum fuit ludorum causa.

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XLIII. L. Valerius Flaccus et M. Porcius Cato consules idibus Martiis, quo die magistratum inierunt, de provinciis cum ad senatum rettulissent, patres
2 censuerunt, quoniam in Hispania tantum glisceret bellum ut iam consulari et duce et exercitu opus esset, placere consules Hispaniam citeriorem Itali-

[1] Luscinus, C. Atinius Labeo *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: Labeo *B.*
[2] Curio *Drakenborch*: curio maximus *B.*

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[1] They had probably rented public pasture lands but had trespassed on land which they had not leased.
[2] The island in the Tiber was in general sacred to Aesculapius (cf. X. xlvii. 7 for the introduction of this divinity), but other temples were erected there (XXXIV. liii. 7).

Valerius Flaccus in place of Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. B.C. 196
Quintus Fabius Maximus the augur also died while still a young man, before he had held any public office, and this year no augur was chosen in his stead.

Marcus Marcellus the consul presided over the consular elections, and Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato were announced as successful. Then the praetors were chosen, Gnaeus Manlius Volso, Appius Claudius Nero, Publius Porcius Laeca, Gaius Fabricius Luscinus, Gaius Atinius Labeo, and Publius Manlius.

In that year the curule aediles, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Gaius Flaminius, distributed to the people one million measures of grain at two *asses* per measure. The Sicilians had brought this to Rome as a mark of respect to Gaius Flaminius himself and to his father; Flaminius had shared the credit for it with his colleague. The Roman Games were celebrated splendidly and were thrice repeated entire. The plebeian aediles, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Gaius Scribonius Curio, brought many grazers[1] to trial before the people; three of them were convicted, and out of the money paid by them as fines they built a temple to Faunus on the Island.[2] The Plebeian Games were repeated for two days and a banquet held on the occasion of the games.

XLIII. When Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus B.C. 195
Porcius Cato the consuls had, on the Ides of March, on which day they were inaugurated, laid before the senate the question of the provinces, the Fathers voted it as their decision that, since so great a war was raging in Spain that it now needed a consular commander and a consular army, the consuls should either arrange between themselves or cast lots for

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amque provincias aut comparare inter se aut sortiri; utri Hispania provincia evenisset, eum duas legiones et quindecim milia socium Latini nominis et octingentos equites secum portare et naves longas viginti ducere; alter consul duas scriberet legiones; iis Galliam obtineri provinciam satis esse fractis proximo anno Insubrum Boiorumque animis. Cato Hispaniam, Valerius Italiam est sortitus. Praetores deinde provincias sortiti, C. Fabricius Luscinus urbanam, C. Atinius Labeo peregrinam, Cn. Manlius Volso Siciliam, Ap. Claudius Nero Hispaniam ulteriorem, P. Porcius Laeca Pisas, ut ab tergo Liguribus esset; P. Manlius in Hispaniam citeriorem adiutor consuli datus. T. Quinctio suspectis non solum Antiocho et Aetolis, sed iam etiam Nabide, Lacedaemoniorum tyranno, prorogatum in annum imperium est, duas legiones ut haberet. In eas si quid supplementi opus esset, consules scribere et mittere in Macedoniam iussi. Ap. Claudio praeter legionem quam Q. Fabius habuerat, duo milia peditum et[1] ducentos equites novos ut scriberet permissum. Par numerus peditum equitumque novorum et P. Manlio in citeriorem Hispaniam decretus et legio eadem quae fuerat sub Q. Minucio praetore data. Et P. Porcio Laecae ad Etruriam circa Pisas decem milia peditum et quingenti equites ex Gallico exercitu decreti. In Sardinia prorogatum imperium Ti. Sempronio Longo.

[1] peditum et *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : et *B.*

Nearer Spain and Italy as their provinces; that B.C. 195
whichever received Spain as his province should take with him two legions, fifteen thousand of the allies of the Latin confederacy and eight hundred cavalry, and should take with him twenty war-ships; that the other consul should recruit two legions; that the province of Gaul could be adequately defended with these, since the spirits of the Insubres and the Boi had been broken the previous year. Cato received Spain in the drawing and Valerius Italy. Then the praetors received their assignments: Gaius Fabricius Luscinus the city jurisdiction, Gaius Atinius Labeo that between citizens and aliens, Gnaeus Manlius Volso Sicily, Appius Claudius Nero Farther Spain, Publius Porcius Laeca Pisae, that he might be in the rear of the Ligures, and Publius Manlius was assigned to Nearer Spain as assistant to the consul. Since not only Antiochus and the Aetolians were causes of concern, but now, in addition, Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, the authority of Titus Quinctius was extended for a year, with the command of two legions. If any addition to these forces should be needed, the consuls were directed to enlist them and send them to Macedonia. Appius Claudius was permitted to enrol two thousand infantry and two hundred new cavalry in addition to the legion which Quintus Fabius had commanded. An equal number of new infantry and cavalry was authorized for Publius Manlius in Nearer Spain, and he was given the same legion which had served under the praetor Quintus Minucius. Also, to Publius Porcius Laeca were assigned ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry for service in Etruria in the neighbourhood of Pisae. In Sardinia, the command of Tiberius Sempronius Longus was extended.

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XLIV. Provinciis ita distributis consules, priusquam ab urbe proficiscerentur, ver sacrum ex decreto pontificum iussi[1] facere, quod A. Cornelius Mammula praetor voverat de senatus sententia populique iussu Cn. Servilio C. Flaminio consulibus. Annis post uno et viginti factum est quam votum. Per eosdem dies C. Claudius Appi filius Pulcher augur in Q. Fabi Maximi locum, qui priore anno mortuus erat, lectus inauguratusque est. Mirantibus iam vulgo hominibus quod Hispania movisset bellum neglegi, litterae a Q. Minucio adlatae sunt se ad Turdam oppidum cum Budare et Baesadine, imperatoribus Hispanis, signis collatis prospere pugnasse; duodecim milia hostium caesa, Budarem imperatorem captum, ceteros fusos fugatosque. His litteris lectis minus terroris ab Hispanis erat, unde ingens bellum expectatum fuerat; omnes curae, utique post adventum decem legatorum, in Antiochum regem conversae. Hi expositis prius quae cum Philippo acta essent et quibus legibus data pax, non minorem belli molem instare ab Antiocho docuerunt: ingenti classe, egregio terrestri exercitu in Europam eum traiecisse et nisi avertisset vana spes, ex vaniore rumore orta, Aegypti invadendae, mox bello Graeciam arsuram fuisse; neque enim ne Aetolos quidem quieturos, cum ingenio inquietam tum iratam Romanis

[1] iussi *Baumgarten-Crusius*: iussit *B.*

[1] This vow taken in 217 B.C. and its text are found in XXII. ix. 10–x. 6 (the name of the praetor given there is M. Aemilius, instead of A. Cornelius Mammula. Such confusions are too frequent in Livy or in the MSS.). A briefer description of the *ver sacrum* is given also in XXXIV. xliv. 3 below, where reference is made to the repetition of the celebration because of flaws in the performance of 195 B.C. The essence of the rite is the dedication to the gods of all animals born within a designated period in the "spring."

XLIV. When the provinces had been thus assigned, B.C. 196
the consuls, before they left the city, were instructed, in accordance with the decision of the priests, to conduct the ceremony of the "sacred spring" which the praetor Aulus Cornelius Mammula had vowed by decree of the senate and vote of the people, in the consulship of Gnaeus Servilius and Gaius Flaminius. The performance took place twenty-one years after the vow.[1] At this time Gaius Claudius Pulcher, son of Appius, was chosen augur in place of Quintus Fabius Maximus, who had died the year before, and was installed in office.

When everyone wondered why the war which Spain had begun was receiving so little attention, a letter arrived from Quintus Minucius, saying that he had fought successfully in a pitched battle near the town of Turda with Budares and Baesadines, the Spanish commanders; that twelve thousand of the enemy had been killed, Budares their general captured, and the rest routed and put to flight. When this letter was read, less fear was felt with respect to Spain, where a great war had been anticipated; all their anxieties, especially after the return of the ten commissioners, were centred on King Antiochus. These reported what had been done in the matter of Philip and on what terms peace had been granted, and gave warning that a war of no less magnitude was threatened by Antiochus: he had already invaded Europe with a huge fleet and a splendid army, and if an idle hope—sprung from an idler rumour—of invading Egypt, had not diverted his attention, Greece would presently be flaming with war; for not even the Aetolians would remain quiet, a people both naturally restless and ill-disposed towards the Romans. There was,

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8 gentem. Haerere et aliud in visceribus Graeciae ingens malum, Nabim, nunc Lacedaemoniorum, mox, si liceat, universae Graeciae futurum tyrannum, avaritia et crudelitate omnes fama celebratos tyrannos
9 aequantem; cui si Argos velut arcem Peloponneso impositam tenere liceat, deportatis in Italiam Romanis exercitibus nequiquam liberatam a Philippo Graeciam fore, pro rege si nihil aliud longinquo, vicinum tyrannum dominum habituram.

XLV. Haec cum ab tam gravibus auctoribus, qui omnia per se ipsos explorata adferrent, audirentur,
2 maior res, quod ad Antiochum attineret, maturanda magis, quoniam rex quacumque de causa in Syriam
3 concessisset, de tyranno consultatio visa est. Cum diu disceptatum esset, utrum satis iam causae videretur, cur decerneretur bellum, an permitterent T. Quinctio, quod ad Nabim Lacedaemonium attineret, faceret, quod e re publica censeret esse, permiserunt,
4 eam rem esse rati, quae maturata dilatave non ita magni momenti ad summam rem publicam esset;
5 magis id animadvertendum esse, quid Hannibal et Carthaginienses, si cum Antiocho bellum motum foret, acturi essent.
6 Adversae Hannibali factionis homines principibus Romanis, hospitibus[1] quisque suis, identidem scribebant nuntios litterasque ab Hannibale ad Antiochum
7 missas, et ab rege ad eum clam legatos venisse; ut

[1] hospitibus *Jacobs*: hostibus *B*.

they said, another great evil in Greece, clinging to its B.C. 195
vitals, Nabis, now tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, but soon, if it were permitted, to be tyrant of all Greece, the equal in greed and cruelty of all the tyrants known to fame; if he were allowed to hold Argos, which dominates Peloponnesus almost like a citadel, when the Roman armies were withdrawn to Italy, the liberation of Greece from Philip would prove to have been in vain, and in place of a king who was at least far distant, if nothing else could be said for him, they would have as master a tyrant close at hand.

XLV. When they heard words like these from men whose opinion carried such weight, especially on matters which they had investigated personally, the more important question, that which concerned Antiochus, called more for urgent action, but since the king for some reason or other had gone back to Syria, the question of the tyrant was rather one for debate. After it had long been debated whether there seemed sufficient cause for declaring war, or whether the decision should be left to Titus Quinctius, they gave him the responsibility of taking such action, in the case of Nabis the Lacedaemonian, as would be to the advantage of the state, thinking that such action, whether accelerated or retarded, was not of so very great importance to the general interest of the state; it was more to be considered what Hannibal and the Carthaginians would do if war should break out with King Antiochus.

The members of the faction opposed to Hannibal kept writing, each to his own friends among the leaders at Rome, that Hannibal had been sending messengers and letters to Antiochus and receiving from the king his secret agents; that, as some wild

A.U.C. 559 feras quasdam nulla mitescere arte, sic immitem et implacabilem eius viri animum esse; marcescere oti situ queri civitatem et inertia sopiri nec sine armorum
8 sonitu excitari posse. Haec probabilia memoria prioris belli per unum illum non magis gesti quam moti faciebat. Irritaverat etiam recenti facto multorum potentium animos.

XLVI. Iudicum ordo Carthagine ea tempestate dominabatur, eo maxime quod iidem perpetui iudices
2 erant. Res fama vitaque omnium in illorum potestate erat. Qui unum eius ordinis offendisset, omnes adversos habebat, nec accusator apud infensos iudices
3 deerat. Horum in tam impotenti regno—neque enim civiliter nimiis opibus utebantur—praetor factus
4 Hannibal vocari ad se quaestorem iussit. Quaestor id pro nihilo habuit; nam et adversae factionis erat et, quia ex quaestura in iudices, potentissimum ordinem, referebatur, iam pro futuris mox opibus
5 animos gerebat. Enimvero indignum id ratus Hannibal viatorem ad prendendum quaestorem misit subductumque in contionem non ipsum magis quam ordinem iudicum, prae quorum superbia atque opibus nec leges quicquam essent nec magistratus, accusavit.
6 Et ut secundis auribus accipi orationem animadvertit et infimorum quoque libertati gravem esse superbiam
7 eorum, legem extemplo promulgavit pertulitque, ut

[1] It consisted of about one hundred members.

beasts can in no wise be tamed, so this man's temper B.C. 195
was violent and implacable; that he complained that a nation wasted away in a state of peace and could be aroused from its stupor only by the din of arms. The recollection of the recent war, not more waged than caused by this one man, made these accounts seem plausible. He had, moreover, provoked the wrath of the leading citizens of Carthage by his recent conduct.

XLVI. The order of judges[1] at that time was in control in Carthage, principally because the same men were judges for life. The property, reputation, and life of every citizen were in their hands. A man who offended one of the judges made enemies of them all, nor was there any lack of persons to bring accusations before hostile judges. Under their administration, marked by such violence—for they did not use their excessive wealth in the spirit of a free state—Hannibal had been elected praetor and summoned a quaestor to report to him. The quaestor ignored the order; for he belonged to the opposing faction, and since he would be promoted from the quaestorship to the all-powerful order of judges, he already displayed arrogance proportioned to the power he would presently exercise. Hannibal, thinking this conduct highly improper, sent a messenger to arrest the quaestor, and haling him before the assembly, assailed him and not less the order of judges, in comparison with whose pride of place and power the laws were as nought, and the magistrates as well. When he saw that his speech was well received, and that their haughty spirits menaced the liberty of the lowest classes also, he immediately proposed and enacted a law, that judges should be elected for one year

A.U.C. 559 in singulos annos iudices legerentur, neu[1] quis biennium continuum iudex esset. Ceterum quantam eo facto ad plebem inierat gratiam, tantum magnae partis
8 principum offenderat animos. Adiecit et aliud, quo bono publico sibi proprias simultates irritavit. Vectigalia publica partim neglegentia dilabebantur, partim praedae ac divisui et principum quibusdam et magis-
9 tratibus erant, et pecunia quae in stipendium Romanis suo quoque anno penderetur, deerat, tributumque grave privatis imminere videbatur.

XLVII. Hannibal postquam vectigalia quanta terrestria maritimaque essent et in quas res erogarentur animadvertit, et quid eorum ordinarii rei publicae usus consumerent, quantum peculatus averteret,
2 omnibus residuis pecuniis exactis, tributo privatis remisso satis locupletem rem publicam fore ad vectigal praestandum Romanis pronuntiavit in contione et praestitit promissum.

3 Tum vero ii, quos paverat per aliquot annos publicus peculatus, velut bonis ereptis, non furtorum manubiis[2] extortis infensi et irati Romanos in Hannibalem, et
4 ipsos causam odii quaerentes, instigabant. Ita diu repugnante P. Scipione Africano, qui parum ex dignitate populi Romani esse ducebat subscribere
5 odiis accusatorum Hannibalis et factionibus Carthaginiensium inserere publicam auctoritatem nec satis

[1] neu *Duker*: ne *B.*
[2] manubiis *Madvig*: manibus *B.*

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[1] In 191 B.C. (XXXVI. iv. 7), Carthage offered to pay at once all the remaining instalments on her indemnity. It might be inferred that Hannibal's reforms had proved successful.

each, and that no one should be a judge for two con- B.C. 195
secutive terms. But whatever influence he gained in this way with the commons, to the same extent he roused the animosity of a large party among the nobility. Moreover, by another act he served the public interest but roused personal enmities against himself. The public revenues were being partly wasted through carelessness, partly appropriated as their booty and spoils of office by some of the prominent men and magistrates, and money to pay the tribute to the Romans each successive year was lacking, and a heavy assessment seemed to threaten the citizens.[1]

XLVII. When Hannibal had investigated the revenues, how much was collected as taxes on land and as duty at the ports, for what purposes it was spent, how much the ordinary expenses of the state required, and how much embezzlement took from the treasury, he asserted in the assembly that the state would be rich enough, if it collected the revenues not otherwise used and omitted the assessment on individual citizens, to pay its debt to the Romans, and this assertion he was able to make good.

But now the men whom embezzlement from the treasury had maintained for many years, as if they were being robbed of their property instead of being made to give up the profits of their thefts, in passion and anger tried to bring upon Hannibal the wrath of the Romans, who were themselves seeking an excuse for venting their hatred upon him. So, although Publius Scipio Africanus resisted this tendency for a long time, urging that it was undignified for the Roman people to become parties to the animosities of Hannibal's accusers, to lend the support of official prestige to party strife at Carthage, and, not satisfied with having

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habere bello vicisse Hannibalem, nisi velut accusatores calumniam in eum iurarent ac nomen deferrent, 6 tandem pervicerunt ut legati Carthaginem mitterentur, qui ad senatum eorum arguerent Hannibalem 7 cum Antiocho rege consilia belli faciendi inire. Legati tres missi, Cn. Servilius, M. Claudius Marcellus, Q. Terentius Culleo. Qui cum Carthaginem venissent, ex consilio inimicorum Hannibalis quaerentibus 8 causam adventus dici iusserunt, venisse se ad controversias quae cum Masinissa rege Numidarum 9 Carthaginiensibus essent dirimendas. Id creditum vulgo; unum Hannibalem se peti ab Romanis non fallebat et ita pacem Carthaginiensibus datam esse ut inexpiabile bellum adversus se unum maneret. 10 Itaque cedere tempori et fortunae statuit; et praeparatis iam ante omnibus ad fugam, obversatus eo die in foro avertendae suspicionis causa, primis tenebris vestitu forensi ad portam cum duobus comitibus ignaris consilii est egressus.

XLVIII. Cum equi quo in loco iusserat praesto fuissent, nocte Byzacium—ita regionem quandam agri vocant—transgressus, postero die ad mare inter 2 Acyllam et Thapsum ad suam turrem pervenit. Ibi eum parata instructaque remigio excepit navis. Ita Africa Hannibal excessit, saepius patriae quam suum 3 eventum miseratus. Eodem die in Cercinam insulam traiecit. Ubi cum in portu naves aliquot Phoenicum

[1] The legal procedures referred to in technical language are: *subscribere*: to sign one's name as seconding a prosecution brought by another without necessarily participating in the action; *calumniam iurare*: to swear that a prosecutor is acting in good faith; *nomen deferre*: to report the defendant's name to a magistrate as one who should be prosecuted on some charge.

conquered Hannibal in battle, acting, so to speak, as his prosecutors, to assert good faith and bring charges against him,[1] they at length prevailed upon the senate to send an embassy to Carthage which should lay charges before their senate that Hannibal was conspiring with King Antiochus to foment war. Three ambassadors were sent—Gnaeus Servilius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, and Quintus Terentius Culleo. When they arrived in Carthage, on the advice of Hannibal's enemies, they caused the answer to be given to those who asked what their errand was, that they had come to put an end to the disputes which had arisen between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, king of the Numidians. This was generally accepted; but Hannibal did not fail to see that he and he alone was the object of the Romans' attack and that peace had been granted to the Carthaginians with the reservation that with him alone there should be implacable war. So he decided to give way to the emergency and his fate; and having already made all his preparations in advance for his departure, he spent that day in the forum in order to avert suspicion and at dusk, clad in his ordinary dress, he made his way to the gate with two companions who were ignorant of his design. B.C. 195

XLVIII. When he had found the horses ready in the place he had ordered them to be, he crossed by night the territory which they call Byzacium and arrived next day at his castle on the coast between Acylla and Thapsus. There a ship was waiting for him, manned and equipped. Thus Hannibal left Africa, bewailing his country's fate more often than his own. The same day he reached the island of Cercina. Since there were in port many Phoenician

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onerarias cum mercibus invenisset et ad egressum eum e nave concursus salutantium esset factus, percunctantibus legatum se Tyrum missum dici iussit. 4 Veritus tamen ne qua earum navis nocte profecta Thapsum aut Hadrumetum nuntiaret se Cercinae visum, sacrificio apparari iusso magistros navium mercatoresque invitari iussit et vela cum antemnis 5 ex navibus conrogari, ut umbraclum [1]—media aestas 6 forte erat—cenantibus in litore fieret. Quanto res et tempus patiebatur apparatu celebratae eius diei epulae sunt; multoque vino in serum noctis con- 7 vivium productum. Hannibal, cum [2] primum fallendi eos qui in portu erant tempus habuit, navem solvit. 8 Ceteri sopiti cum postero die tandem ex somno pleni crapulae surrexissent, ad id quod serum erat, aliquot horas referendis in naves collocandisque [3] et aptandis armamentis absumpserunt.

9 Carthagine [4] multitudinis adsuetae domum Hannibalis frequentare concursus ad vestibulum aedium 10 est factus. Ut non comparere eum vulgatum est, in forum turba convenit principem civitatis quaerentium; 11 et alii fugam conscisse, id quod erat, alii fraude Romanorum interfectum, idque magis vulgo fremebant, variosque vultus cerneres ut in civitate aliorum alias partes foventium et factionibus discordi; visum deinde Cercinae eum tandem allatum est.

XLIX. Et Romani legati cum in senatu exposuis-

[1] umbraclum *Madvig*: umbraetum *B.*
[2] cum *ed. Leidensis* 1553: quod *B.*
[3] collocandisque *Kreyssig*: collocandis *B.*
[4] Carthagine *Weissenborn*: Carthagine et *B.*

vessels, loaded with merchandise, and crowds of B.C. 195
people came to pay their respects to him as he landed, he bade that the answer be given to their questions that he had been sent on an embassy to Tyre. Fearing nevertheless that one of these ships might leave at night and take the word to Thapsus or Hadrumetum that he had been seen at Cercina, he ordered preparations made for a sacrifice and the ship-captains and merchants invited to dinner and the sails and yards borrowed from their ships to provide a canopy—it chanced to be midsummer—for the diners on the shore. The dinner was given that day with all the pomp the situation and the time permitted, and the feasting was prolonged until late into the night with abundance of wine. As soon as Hannibal found an opportunity to elude the men who were in the harbour, he set sail. The rest were sound asleep, and when they finally woke from slumber the next day, still heavy with wine, too late to accomplish anything, they spent some hours with the rigging, carrying it back to the ships, setting it up, and adjusting it.

At Carthage, the crowd of people which was accustomed to visit Hannibal gathered about the doors of his house. When it was generally known that he could not be found, the crowd rushed to the forum, demanding their foremost citizen; some said that he had escaped, which was the case, others that he had been murdered at the instigation of the Romans, and this aroused the greater resentment; one could see the various looks natural in a state made up of men of opposing parties and torn by factional strife; finally word came that he had been seen at Cercina.

XLIX. The Roman ambassadors stated in the senate that proof had been furnished the Fathers at

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sent compertum patribus Romanis esse, et Philippum regem ante ab Hannibale maxime accensum bellum 2 populo Romano fecisse, et nunc litteras nuntiosque ab eo ad Antiochum et Aetolos missos, consiliaque inita impellendae ad defectionem Carthaginis, nec alio eum quam ad Antiochum regem profectum; haud quieturum eum antequam bellum[1] toto orbe 3 terrarum concisset;[2] id ei non debere impune esse, si satisfacere Carthaginienses populo Romano vellent nihil eorum sua voluntate nec publico consilio factum 4 esse; Carthaginienses responderunt quidquid aequum censuissent Romani, facturos esse.

5 Hannibal prospero cursu Tyrum pervenit exceptusque a conditoribus Carthaginis, ut ab altera patria, vir tam clarus omni genere honorum, paucos moratus dies 6 Antiochiam navigat. Ibi profectum iam regem in Asiam cum audisset filiumque eius sollemne ludorum ad Daphnen celebrantem convenisset, comiter ab eo 7 exceptus nullam moram navigandi fecit. Ephesi regem est consecutus, fluctuantem adhuc animo incertumque de Romano bello; sed haud parvum momentum ad animum eius moliendum adventus 8 Hannibalis fecit. Aetolorum quoque eodem tempore alienati ab societate Romana animi sunt, quorum legatos Pharsalum et Leucadem et quasdam alias civitates ex primo foedere repetentes senatus ad T. Quinctium reiecit.

[1] eum antequam bellum *Kreyssig*: eum quam bellum antequam *B*.

[2] concisset *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: consciisset *B*.

Rome, first, that King Philip had made war upon the Roman people mainly at the instigation of Hannibal, second, that recently letters and messages had been sent by him to Antiochus and the Aetolians, stating that plans had been considered for drawing Carthage into the revolt, and that he had gone nowhere else than to Antiochus; he would never rest, they said, until he had roused the whole world to war; they added that such conduct should not go unpunished if the Carthaginians wished to convince the Roman people that none of these things had been done with their approval or with public sanction. The Carthaginians responded that they would do whatever the Romans should have determined was proper. B.C. 195

Hannibal arrived at Tyre after a prosperous voyage and was received by the founders of Carthage as coming from a second home-land, a man so distinguished by every kind of honour. After a brief stay he sailed to Antioch, and when, on his arrival there, he heard that the king had already gone to Asia, he met his son, who was holding the ritual games at Daphne, and after a courteous reception he set sail without delay. At Ephesus he overtook the king, still wavering in mind and undecided about the war with Rome, but the arrival of Hannibal was no small factor in making up his mind. At that time, too, the Aetolians were inclined to abandon their alliance with Rome, since the ambassadors whom they had sent to recover Pharsalus and Leucas and certain other cities in accordance with the original treaty had been referred by the senate to Titus Quinctius.

LIBRI XXXIII PERIOCHA

T. QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS procos. cum Philippo ad Cynoscephalas in Thessalia acie victo debellavit. L. Quinctius Flamininus, ille frater procos., Acarnanas, Leucade urbe quod caput est Acarnanum expugnata, in deditionem accepit. Pax petenti Philippo Graecia liberata data est. Attalus ab Thebis ob subitam valetudinem Pergamum translatus decessit. C. Sempronius Tuditanus praetor ab Celtiberis cum exercitu caesus est. L. Furius Purpurio et Claudius Marcellus coss. Boios et Insubres Gallos subegerunt. Marcellus triumphavit. Hannibal frustra in Africa bellum molitus et ob hoc Romanis per epistulas ab adversae [1] factionis principibus delatus propter metum Romanorum, qui legatos ad senatum Carthaginiensium de eo miserant, profugus ad Antiochum, Syriae regem, se contulit bellum adversus Romanos parantem.

[1] ab adversae *Jahn* : adversae *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXIII

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMININUS the proconsul ended the war by defeating Philip in battle at Cynoscephalae in Thessaly. Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, the brother of the proconsul, received the surrender of the Acarnanes after capturing Leucas, the capital of the Acarnanes. Peace was granted to Philip, who petitioned for it, and Greece was set free. Attalus, moved from Thebes to Pergamum on account of a sudden illness, died. Gaius Sempronius Tuditanus the praetor with his army was slain by the Celtiberi. Lucius Furius Purpurio and Claudius Marcellus the consuls defeated the Boi and the Insubrian Gauls. Marcellus triumphed. Hannibal, having vainly plotted war in Africa, and for this reason having been betrayed to the Romans through the letters of leading men of the opposing party, on account of his fear of the Romans, who had sent ambassadors to the senate of the Carthaginians, fled and took refuge with Antiochus, king of Syria, who was planning war against the Romans.

BOOK XXXIV

LIBER XXXIV

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I. Inter bellorum magnorum aut vixdum finitorum aut imminentium curas intercessit res parva dictu, sed quae studiis in magnum certamen excesserit. 2 M. Fundanius et L. Valerius tribuni plebi ad plebem 3 tulerunt de Oppia lege abroganda. Tulerat eam C. Oppius tribunus plebis Q. Fabio Ti. Sempronio consulibus, in medio ardore Punici belli, ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu vestimento versicolori uteretur neu iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum 4 publicorum causa veheretur. M. et P. Iunii Bruti tribuni plebis legem Oppiam tuebantur nec eam se abrogari passuros aiebant; ad suadendum dissuadendumque multi nobiles prodibant; Capitolium turba hominum faventium adversantiumque legi 5 complebatur. Matronae nulla nec auctoritate nec verecundia nec imperio virorum contineri limine poterant, omnes vias urbis aditusque in forum obsidebant viros descendentes ad forum orantes ut florente re publica, crescente in dies privata omnium fortuna, matronis quoque pristinum ornatum reddi 6 paterentur. Augebatur haec frequentia mulierum

[1] Sempronius was consul with Fabius (Cunctator) in 215 B.C., and with his son in 213 B.C. The former date for the law is more probable: see vi. 9 and viii. 3 below.

[2] Particularly one trimmed with purple.

BOOK XXXIV

I. Amid the anxieties of great wars, either scarce finished or soon to come, an incident occurred, trivial to relate, but which, by reason of the passions it aroused, developed into a violent contention. Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, tribunes of the people, proposed to the assembly the abrogation of the Oppian law. The tribune Gaius Oppius had carried this law in the heat of the Punic War, in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius,[1] that no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold or wear a parti-coloured[2] garment or ride in a carriage in the City or in a town within a mile thereof, except on the occasion of a religious festival. The tribunes Marcus and Publius Iunius Brutus were supporting the Oppian law, and averred that they would not permit its repeal; many distinguished men came forward to speak for and against it; the Capitoline was filled with crowds of supporters and opponents of the bill. The matrons could not be kept at home by advice or modesty or their husbands' orders, but blocked all the streets and approaches to the Forum, begging the men as they came down to the Forum that, in the prosperous condition of the state, when the private fortunes of all men were daily increasing, they should allow the women too to have their former distinctions restored. The crowd of women B.C. 195

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in dies; nam etiam ex oppidis conciliabulisque[1] 7 conveniebant. Iam et consules praetoresque et alios magistratus adire et rogare audebant; ceterum minime exorabilem alterum utique consulem, M. Porcium Catonem, habebant, qui pro lege quae abrogabatur ita disseruit:

II. "Si in sua quisque nostrum matre familiae, Quirites, ius et maiestatem viri retinere instituisset, minus cum universis feminis negotii haberemus; 2 nunc domi victa libertas nostra impotentia muliebri hic quoque in foro obteritur et calcatur, et quia singulas non continuimus[2] universas horremus. 3 Equidem fabulam et fictam rem ducebam esse, virorum omne genus in aliqua insula coniuratione 4 muliebri ab stirpe sublatum esse; ab nullo genere non summum periculum est, si coetus et concilia et secretas consultationes esse sinas. Atque ego vix statuere apud animum meum possum, utrum peior 5 ipsa res an peiore exemplo agatur; quorum alterum ad nos consules reliquosque magistratus, alterum ad vos, Quirites, magis pertinet. Nam utrum e re publica sit necne id quod ad vos fertur, vestra existi- 6 matio est, qui in suffragium ituri estis; haec consternatio muliebris, sive sua sponte sive auctoribus vobis, M. Fundani et L. Valeri, facta est, haud dubie ad culpam magistratuum pertinens, nescio vobis,

[1] conciliabulisque *ed. Moguntina* 1518: conciliabulis *B.*
[2] continuimus *Hertz*: potuimus *B.*

[1] Cato must refer to the story of Hypsipyle (Herodotus VI. 138; Hyginus, Fabulae 15), who, however, saved her father Thoas, king of Lemnos, when all the other men on the island were murdered by the women.

[2] Cato's point is that it was the duty of the magistrates to suppress the gathering of the women as a disturbance of the peace and that it was the duty of the citizens to defeat the

grew larger day by day; for they were now coming B.C. 195
in from the towns and rural districts. Soon they dared even to approach and appeal to the consuls, the praetors, and the other officials, but one consul, at least, they found adamant, Marcus Porcius Cato, who spoke thus in favour of the law whose repeal was being urged.

II. "If each of us, citizens, had determined to assert his rights and dignity as a husband with respect to his own spouse, we should have less trouble with the sex as a whole; as it is, our liberty, destroyed at home by female violence, even here in the Forum is crushed and trodden underfoot, and because we have not kept them individually under control, we dread them collectively. For my part, I thought it a fairy-tale and a piece of fiction that on a certain island all the men were destroyed, root and branch, by a conspiracy of women;[1] but from no class is there not the greatest danger if you permit them meetings and gatherings and secret consultations. And I can scarcely decide in my own mind whether the act itself or the precedent it sets is worse; the act concerns us consuls and other magistrates; the example, citizens, rather concerns you.[2] For whether the proposal which is laid before you is in the public interest or not is a question for you who are soon to cast your votes; but this female madness, whether it is spontaneous or due to your instigation, Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, but which beyond question brings discredit upon the magistrates—I do not know, I say, whether this madness is more shameful for you, tribunes,

proposal to repeal, lest success at this time embolden the women to interfere with legislation on other occasions.

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7 tribuni, an consulibus magis sit deformis: vobis, si feminas ad concitandas tribunicias seditiones iam adduxistis; nobis, si ut plebis[1] quondam, sic nunc 8 mulierum secessione leges accipiendae sunt. Equidem non sine rubore quodam paulo ante per medium agmen mulierum in forum perveni. Quod nisi me verecundia singularum magis maiestatis et pudoris quam universarum tenuisset, ne compellatae a 9 consule viderentur, dixissem: 'Qui hic mos est in publicum procurrendi et obsidendi vias et viros alienos appellandi? Istud ipsum suos quaeque domi 10 rogare non potuistis? An blandiores in publico quam in privato et alienis quam vestris estis? Quamquam ne domi quidem vos, si sui iuris finibus matronas contineret pudor, quae leges hic rogarentur 11 abrogarenturve, curare decuit.' Maiores nostri nullam, ne privatam quidem rem agere feminas sine tutore auctore voluerunt, in manu esse parentium, fratrum, virorum; nos, si diis placet, iam etiam rem publicam capessere eas patimur et foro quoque et 12 contionibus et comitiis immisceri. Quid enim nunc aliud per vias et compita faciunt quam rogationem tribunorum plebi suadent, quam[2] legem abrogandam 13 censent? Date frenos impotenti naturae et indomito animali et sperate ipsas modum licentiae 14 facturas; nisi vos feceritis, minimum hoc eorum est,

[1] si ut plebis *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : sicut *B* : sicut plebis σ.
[2] quam *Harant*: aliam *B*.

[1] The plebeian secession of 494 B.C.

[2] A woman was never *sui iuris* and was not a person in the legal sense. If she was not under the *potestas* of a father or the *manus* of a husband, a *tutor* was appointed to act for her in legal matters.

[3] See note on XXXI. vii. 2 above.

or for the consuls: for you, if you have brought B.C. 195
these women here to support tribunicial seditions; for us, if we must accept laws given us by a secession of women, as formerly by a secession of plebeians.[1] For myself, I could not conceal my blushes a while ago, when I had to make my way to the Forum through a crowd of women. Had not respect for the dignity and modesty of some individuals among them rather than of the sex as a whole kept me silent, lest they should seem to have been rebuked by a consul, I should have said, 'What sort of practice is this, of running out into the streets and blocking the roads and speaking to other women's husbands? Could you not have made the same requests, each of your own husband, at home? Or are you more attractive outside and to other women's husbands than to your own? And yet, not even at home, if modesty would keep matrons within the limits of their proper rights, did it become you to concern yourselves with the question of what laws should be adopted in this place or repealed.' Our ancestors permitted no woman to conduct even personal business without a guardian to intervene in her behalf;[2] they wished them to be under the control of fathers, brothers, husbands; we (Heaven help us!) allow them now even to interfere in public affairs, yes, and to visit the Forum and our informal and formal sessions.[3] What else are they doing now on the streets and at the corners except urging the bill of the tribunes and voting for the repeal of the law? Give loose rein to their uncontrollable nature and to this untamed creature and expect that they will themselves set bounds to their licence; unless you act, this is the least of the things enjoined

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quae iniquo animo feminae sibi aut moribus aut legibus iniuncta[1] patiuntur. Omnium rerum libertatem, immo licentiam, si vere dicere volumus, desiderant.

III. " Quid enim, si hoc expugnaverint, non temptabunt? Recensete omnia muliebria iura quibus licentiam earum adligaverint maiores vestri per quaeque eas[2] subiecerint viris; quibus omnibus constrictas vix tamen continere potestis. Quid? 2 Si carpere singula et extorquere[3] et exaequari ad extremum viris patiemini, tolerabiles vobis eas fore 3 creditis? Extemplo, simul pares esse coeperint, superiores erunt. At hercule ne quid novum in eas rogetur recusant, non ius sed iniuriam deprecantur, 4 immo, ut quam accepistis iussistis suffragiis vestris legem, quam usu tot annorum et experiendo comprobastis, hanc ut abrogetis, id est, ut unam tollendo 5 legem ceteras infirmetis. Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est; id modo quaeritur si maiori parti et in summam prodest. Si, quod cuique privatim officiet ius, id destruet ac demolietur, quid attinebit universos rogare leges, quas mox abrogare in quos latae sunt 6 possint? Volo tamen audire quid sit, propter quod matronae consternatae procucurrerint in publicum 7 ac vix foro se et contione abstineant. Ut captivi ab Hannibale redimantur parentes, viri, liberi, fratres

[1] iniuncta *Gronovius*: iniunctum *B.*
[2] quaeque eas *Wulsch*: quaeque *B.*
[3] extorquere *ed. Moguntina* 1518: extorqueri *B.*

upon women by custom or law and to which they B.C. 195
submit with a feeling of injustice. It is complete liberty or, rather, if we wish to speak the truth, complete licence that they desire.

III. "If they win in this, what will they not attempt? Review all the laws with which your forefathers restrained their licence and made them subject to their husbands; even with all these bonds you can scarcely control them. What of this? If you suffer them to seize these bonds one by one and wrench themselves free and finally to be placed on a parity with their husbands, do you think that you will be able to endure them? The moment they begin to be your equals, they will be your superiors. But, by Hercules, they object to the passage of any new law against them, they complain not of law but of wrongs done them; what they want, rather, is that you repeal this law which you have approved and ratified and which in the trial and experience of so many years you have found good: in other words, that by abolishing this one law you weaken the force of all the rest. No law is entirely convenient for everyone; this alone is asked, whether it is good for the majority and on the whole. If every law which harms anyone in his private affairs is to be repealed and discarded, what good will it do for all the citizens to pass laws which those at whom they are aimed will at once annul? I should like to know what it is which has caused the panic-stricken matrons to rush out into the streets and barely refrain from entering the Forum and a public meeting. Is it that our captives, their fathers, husbands, sons or brothers, may be ransomed from Hannibal? Such

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earum? Procul abest absitque semper talis fortuna rei publicae; sed tamen, cum fuit, negastis hoc piis 8 precibus earum. At non pietas nec sollicitudo pro suis, sed religio congregavit eas: matrem Idaeam a Pessinunte ex Phrygia venientem accepturae sunt. Quid honestum dictu saltem seditioni praetenditur 9 muliebri? 'Ut auro et purpura fulgamus' inquit 'ut carpentis festis profestisque diebus, velut triumphantes de lege victa et abrogata et captis et ereptis suffragiis vestris per urbem vectemur; ne ullus modus sumptibus, ne luxuriae sit.'

IV. "Saepe me querentem de feminarum, saepe de virorum nec de privatorum modo sed etiam magis- 2 tratuum sumptibus audistis, diversisque duobus vitiis, avaritia et luxuria, civitatem laborare, quae pestes 3 omnia magna imperia everterunt. Haec ego, quo melior laetiorque in dies fortuna rei publicae est imperiumque crescit—et iam in Graeciam Asiamque transcendimus omnibus libidinum illecebris repletas et regias etiam attrectamus gazas—eo plus horreo, ne illae magis res nos ceperint quam nos illas. 4 Infesta, mihi credite, signa ab Syracusis illata sunt huic urbi. Iam nimis multos audio Corinthi et Athenarum ornamenta laudantes mirantesque et

[1] See XXII. lxi. 3, where Livy records the refusal to redeem the Romans captured at Cannae.

[2] The worship of the Magna Mater was imported into Rome in 204 B.C., and the stone which symbolized the goddess was received by the women (XXIX. x. 5; xiv. 10).

[3] Marcellus transferred to Rome works of art captured in Syracuse in 212 B.C. and thereby began a revolution in Roman taste (XXV. xl. 2). The pun on the military meaning of *infesta signa* can be more easily noted than reproduced.

[4] The *ornamenta* brought from Corinth were usually of bronze (hence bronze dishes and small statuary were com-

a calamity to the state is far away, and may it always be; but yet, when it did happen, you refused this to their pious prayers.[1] But it was not affection nor anxiety about their dear ones which had brought them together: it was a religious rite, and they were about to receive the Idaean Mother as she came from Pessinus in Phrygia.[2] What pretext, respectable even to mention, is now given for this insurrection of the women? 'That we may glitter with gold and purple,' says one, 'that we may ride in carriages on holidays and ordinary days, that we may be borne through the city as if in triumph over the conquered and vanquished law and over the votes which we have captured and wrested from you; that there may be no limits to our spending and our luxury.' B.C. 195

IV. "You have often heard me complaining of the extravagance of the women and often of the men, both private citizens and magistrates even, and lamenting that the state is suffering from those two opposing evils, avarice and luxury, which have been the destruction of every great empire. The better and the happier becomes the fortune of our commonwealth day by day and the greater the empire grows—and already we have crossed into Greece and Asia, places filled with all the allurements of vice, and we are handling the treasures of kings—the more I fear that these things will capture us rather than we them. Tokens of danger, believe me, were those statues[3] which were brought to this city from Syracuse. Altogether too many people do I hear praising the baubles[4] of Corinth and Athens and laughing at the fictile

monly called "Corinthia" in Rome) and from Athens painted vases.

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5 antefixa fictilia deorum Romanorum ridentes. Ego hos malo propitios deos et ita spero futuros, si in 6 suis manere sedibus patiemur. Patrum nostrorum memoria per legatum Cineam Pyrrhus non virorum modo sed etiam mulierum animos donis temptavit. Nondum lex Oppia ad coercendam luxuriam muliebrem lata erat; tamen nulla accepit. Quam causam 7 fuisse censetis? Eadem fuit quae maioribus nostris nihil de hac re lege sanciundi; nulla erat luxuria 8 quae coerceretur. Sicut ante morbos necesse est cognitos esse quam remedia eorum, sic cupiditates prius natae sunt quam leges quae iis modum facerent. 9 Quid legem Liciniam excitavit de quingentis iugeribus nisi ingens cupido agros continuandi? Quid legem Cinciam de donis et muneribus nisi quia vectigalis iam et stipendiaria plebs esse senatui coeperat? 10 Itaque minime mirum est nec Oppiam nec aliam ullam tum legem desideratam esse quae modum sumptibus mulierum faceret, cum aurum et purpuram 11 data et oblata ultro non accipiebant. Si nunc cum illis donis Cineas urbem circumiret, stantes in publico 12 invenisset quae acciperent. Atque ego nonnullarum cupiditatium ne causam quidem aut rationem inire possum. Nam ut, quod alii liceat, tibi non licere aliquid fortasse naturalis aut pudoris aut indignationis habeat, sic aequato omnium cultu quid unaquae-

[1] The *antefixa* were ornaments placed on the ends of ridge-poles and on roof-corners of temples. Those used in early Rome were frequently of terra-cotta (*fictilia*), and these seemed old-fashioned to changed tastes.

[2] See *Periocha* XIII.

[3] One clause of the famous law of 367 B.C. limited to five hundred *iugera* the amount of public land that any individual might hold (VI. xxxv. 5).

[4] By this law of 204 B.C. advocates were forbidden to charge

antefixes[1] of our Roman gods. I prefer that these B.C. 195
gods be propitious to us, and I trust that they will be if we allow them to remain in their own dwellings. In the memory of our forefathers Pyrrhus, through his agent Cineas, tried to corrupt with gifts the minds of our men and women as well.[2] Not yet had the Oppian law been passed to curb female extravagance, yet not one woman took his gifts. What do you think was the reason? The same thing which caused our ancestors to pass no law on the subject: there was no extravagance to be restrained. As it is necessary that diseases be known before their cures, so passions are born before the laws which keep them within bounds. What provoked the Licinian law[3] about the five hundred *iugera* except the uncontrolled desire of joining field to field? What brought about the Cincian law[4] except that the plebeians had already begun to be vassals and tributaries to the senate? And so it is not strange that no Oppian or any other law was needed to limit female extravagance at the time when they spurned gifts of gold and purple voluntarily offered to them. If it were to-day that Cineas were going about the city with those presents he would have found women standing in the streets to receive them. And for some desires I can find no reason or explanation. For though it may perhaps cause some natural shame or even anger that what is denied to you is permitted to another, yet, when the dress of all is made alike, what is

fees for their services or to circumvent the law by accepting presents from their clients. Among the possible purposes was the desire to relieve the commons of financial and other obligations to the aristocracy.

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13 que vestrum veretur ne in se conspiciatur? Pessimus quidem pudor est vel parsimoniae vel paupertatis; sed utrumque lex vobis demit, cum id quod
14 habere non licet non habetis. 'Hanc' inquit 'ipsam exaequationem non fero' illa locuples. 'Cur non insignis auro et purpura conspicior? Cur paupertas aliarum sub hac legis specie latet, ut quod habere non possunt habiturae, si liceret, fuisse
15 videantur?' Vultis hoc certamen uxoribus vestris inicere, Quirites, ut divites id habere velint quod nulla alia possit; pauperes, ne ob hoc ipsum con-
16 temnantur, supra vires se extendant? Ne eas[1] simul pudere quod non oportet coeperit, quod oportet non pudebit. Quae de suo poterit, parabit; quae
17 non poterit, virum rogabit. Miserum illum virum, et qui exoratus et qui non exoratus erit, cum quod
18 ipse non dederit datum ab alio videbit. Nunc vulgo alienos viros rogant et, quod maius est, legem et suffragia rogant et a quibusdam impetrant. Adversus te et rem tuam et liberos tuos exorabilis es; simul lex modum sumptibus uxoris tuae facere
19 desierit, tu numquam facies. Nolite eodem loco existimare, Quirites, futuram rem quo fuit antequam lex de hoc ferretur. Et hominem improbum non accusari tutius est quam absolvi, et luxuria non mota

[1] ne eas *Lentz*: ne *B*.

there which any of you fears will not be conspicuous B.C. 195
in herself? The worst kind of shame, I tell you, is that derived from stinginess or poverty; but the law takes from you the chance of either, since you do not have what it is not allowed you to have. 'It is just this equality that I will not put up with,' says yonder rich woman. 'Why do I not stand out conspicuous by reason of gold and purple? Why does the poverty of other women lie concealed under cover of this law, that it may seem that, had it been legal, they would have owned what it is not in their power to own?' Do you wish, citizens, to start a race like this among your wives, so that the rich shall want to own what no other woman can have and the poor, lest they be despised for their poverty, shall spend beyond their means? Once let these women begin to be ashamed of what they should not be ashamed, and they will not be ashamed of what they ought. She who can buy from her own purse will buy; she who cannot will beg her husband. Poor wretch that husband, both he who yields and he who yields not, since what he will not himself give he will see given by another man. Now they publicly address other women's husbands, and, what is more serious, they beg for a law and votes, and from sundry men they get what they ask. In matters affecting yourself, your property, your children, you, Sir, can be importuned; once the law has ceased to set a limit to your wife's expenditures you will never set it yourself. Do not think, citizens, that the situation which existed before the law was passed will ever return. It is safer for a criminal to go unaccused than to be acquitted; and luxury, left undisturbed, would have been more endurable

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tolerabilior esset quam erit nunc, ipsis vinculis, sicut ferae bestiae, irritata,[1] deinde emissa.[2] Ego nullo modo abrogandam legem Oppiam censeo; vos quod faxitis, deos omnes fortunare velim."

V. Post haec tribuni quoque plebi qui se intercessuros professi erant, cum pauca in eandem sententiam adiecissent, tum L. Valerius pro rogatione ab se promulgata ita disseruit: "Si privati tantummodo ad suadendum dissuadendumque id quod ab nobis rogatur processissent, ego quoque, cum satis dictum pro utraque parte existimarem, tacitus 2 suffragia vestra expectassem; nunc cum vir gravissimus, consul M. Porcius, non auctoritate solum, quae tacita satis momenti habuisset, sed oratione etiam longa et accurata insectatus sit rogationem nostram, 3 necesse est paucis respondere. Qui tamen plura verba in castigandis matronis quam in rogatione nostra dissuadenda consumpsit, et quidem ut in dubio poneret, utrum id quod reprenderet matronae 4 sua sponte an nobis auctoribus fecissent. Rem defendam, non nos, in quos iecit magis hoc consul 5 verbo tenus quam ut re insimularet. Coetum et seditionem et interdum secessionem muliebrem appellavit, quod matronae in publico vos rogassent ut legem in se latam per bellum temporibus duris in pace et florenti ac beata re publica abrogaretis. 6 Verba magna quae rei augendae causa conquirantur.

[1] irritata *Gronovius*: irritatae *B.*
[2] emissa *Gronovius*: emissae *B.*

then than it will be now, when it has been, like a wild beast, first rendered angry by its very fetters and then let loose. My opinion is that the Oppian law should on no account be repealed; whatever is your decision, I pray that all the gods may prosper it." B.C. 195

V. After this the tribunes of the people who had declared that they would veto the bill spoke briefly to the same effect, and then Lucius Valerius argued thus for the measure which he had proposed: "If only private citizens had come forward to support or oppose the measure which we have placed before you, I too, since I judged that enough had been said on each side, should have waited in silence for your ballots; now, since that most influential man, the consul Marcus Porcius, has attacked our proposal not only with his authority, which unexpressed would have had enough of weight, but also in a long and carefully-prepared speech, it is necessary to make a brief reply. And yet he used up more words in reproving the matrons than he did in opposing our bill, and, in fact, left it in doubt whether the conduct for which he rebuked the matrons was spontaneous or inspired by us. I propose to defend the measure rather than ourselves, at whom the consul directed his insinuations, more to have something to say than to make a serious charge. This gathering of women he called a sedition and sometimes 'a female secession,' because the matrons, in the streets, had requested you to repeal, in a time of peace and in a rich and prosperous commonwealth, a law that was passed against them in the trying days of a war. I know that there is this and still other vigorous language, which has been sought out to make the argument

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et haec et alia esse scio, et M. Catonem oratorem non solum gravem sed interdum etiam trucem esse
7 scimus omnes, cum ingenio sit mitis. Nam quid tandem novi matronae fecerunt, quod frequentes in causa ad se pertinente in publicum processerunt? Numquam ante hoc tempus in publico apparuerunt?
8 Tuas adversus te Origines revolvam. Accipe quotiens id fecerint, et quidem semper bono publico. Iam a principio, regnante Romulo, cum Capitolio ab Sabinis capto medio in foro signis collatis dimicaretur, nonne intercursu matronarum inter acies duas
9 proelium sedatum est? Quid? Regibus exactis cum Coriolano Marcio duce legiones Volscorum castra ad quintum lapidem posuissent, nonne id agmen, quo obruta haec urbs esset, matronae averterunt? Iam urbe capta a Gallis, quo redempta urbs est? Nempe aurum matronae consensu omnium in publicum
10 contulerunt. Proximo bello, ne antiqua repetam, nonne et, cum pecunia opus fuit, viduarum pecuniae adiuverunt aerarium et, cum dii quoque novi ad opem ferendam dubiis rebus accerserentur, matronae universae ad mare profectae sunt ad matrem Idaeam
11 accipiendam? Dissimiles, inquis, causae sunt. Nec mihi causas aequare propositum est; nihil novi

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[1] The amplification of an argument was a recognized rhetorical device; to an opponent it would easily seem to be an exaggeration.

[2] Valerius quotes or pretends to quote from Cato's own historical work, which treated of early Roman history. The *Origines* had not actually been written at the time of the feminist agitation (Nepos, Cato 3; Quintilian XII. xi. 23, etc.). The scroll form of the ancient book explains the choice of the verb *revolvam*.

sound more convincing;[1] we all know, too, that B.C. 195
Marcus Cato is an orator not only powerful but sometimes even savage, though he is kind of heart. What new thing, pray, have the matrons done in coming out into the streets in crowds in a case that concerned them? Have they never before this moment appeared in public? Let me unroll your own *Origines* against you.[2] Hear how often they have done it and always, indeed, for the general good. Even in the beginning, while Romulus was king, when the Capitoline had been taken by the Sabines and pitched battle was raging in the centre of the Forum, was not the fighting stopped by the rush of the matrons between the two battle-lines?[3] What of this? When, after the expulsion of the kings, the Volscian legions led by Marcius Coriolanus had encamped at the fifth milestone, did not the matrons turn away from us the army which would have destroyed our city?[4] When the City was later captured by the Gauls, how was it ransomed? Why, the matrons by unanimous consent contributed their gold to the public use.[5] In the recent war (not to go to remoter times), did not the widows, when there was a scarcity of money, aid the treasury with their wealth,[6] and when new gods too were brought in to help us in our crisis, did not the matrons in a body go down to the sea to receive the Idaean Mother? These cases, you say, are different. It is not my purpose to prove them similar; it suffices if I prove that this

[2] The story is told in I. ix. 1–xiii. 5.
[4] The story is told in II. xxxv. 6–xl. 10.
[5] This story is told in v. 1–7.
[6] See XXIV. xviii. 14.

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12 factum purgare satis est. Ceterum quod in rebus ad omnes pariter, viros feminas, pertinentibus fecisse eas nemo miratus est, in causa proprie ad ipsas pertinente miramur fecisse? Quid autem fecerunt?
13 Superbas, me dius fidius, aures habemus si, cum domini servorum non fastidiant preces, nos rogari ab honestis feminis indignamur.

VI. "Venio nunc ad id de quo agitur. In quo duplex consulis oratio fuit; nam et legem ullam omnino abrogari est indignatus, et eam praecipue
2 legem quae luxuriae muliebris coercendae causa lata esset. Et illa communis pro legibus visa consularis oratio est, et haec adversus luxuriam severissimis
3 moribus conveniebat; itaque periculum est, nisi quid in utraque re vani sit docuerimus, ne quis error vobis
4 offundatur. Ego enim quem ad modum ex iis legibus, quae non in tempus aliquod sed perpetuae utilitatis causa in aeternum latae sunt, nullam abrogari debere fateor, nisi quam aut usus coarguit aut status aliquis
5 rei publicae inutilem fecit, sic quas tempora aliqua desiderarunt leges, mortales, ut ita dicam, et tem-
6 poribus ipsis mutabiles esse video. Quae in pace lata sunt, plerumque bellum abrogat; quae in bello, pax, ut in navis administratione alia in secunda alia
7 in adversa tempestate usui sunt. Haec cum ita natura distincta sint, ex utro tandem genere ea lex esse videtur, quam abrogamus? Quid? Vetus regia
8 lex, simul cum ipsa urbe nata aut, quod secun-

is nothing new. But what no one wonders that all, B.C. 195
men and women alike, have done in matters that concern them, do we wonder that the women have done in a case peculiarly their own? What now have they done? We have proud ears, upon my word, if, although masters do not scorn to hear the petitions of slaves, we complain that we are appealed to by respectable women.

VI. "I come now to the matter which is under discussion. On this point the consul's argument was twofold: for he protested against the repeal of any law at all, and particularly of that law which was designed to limit feminine luxury. The former argument, a general appeal on behalf of the laws, was becoming to a consul; the latter, against luxury, was consistent with his strict moral code; accordingly, unless I reveal the fallacy in both, there is a danger that some misconception may blind your eyes. For while I acknowledge that, of these laws which have been passed, not for a particular occasion, but as permanent institutions because of their enduring benefit, none should be repealed, unless experience shows it to be useless or some emergency in the state renders it valueless, yet I see that certain laws which crises in the state have demanded are, so to speak, mortal, and subject to change as conditions themselves change. Laws passed in time of peace, war frequently annuls, and peace those passed in times of war, just as in handling a ship some means are useful in fair weather and others in a storm. Since they are so distinguished by nature, to which class, I ask, does the law which we are trying to repeal seem to belong? Well? Is it an ancient regal law, born with the City itself, or, what is next to that, one

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dum est, ab decemviris ad condenda iura creatis in duodecim tabulis scripta, sine qua cum maiores nostri non existimarint decus matronale servari posse, nobis quoque verendum sit ne cum ea pudorem
9 sanctitatemque feminarum abrogemus? Quis igitur nescit novam istam legem esse, Q. Fabio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus viginti ante annis latam? Sine qua cum per tot annos matronae optimis moribus vixerint, quod tandem ne abrogata ea effundantur
10 ad luxuriam periculum est? Nam si ista lex vetus[1] aut ideo lata esset ut finiret libidinem muliebrem, verendum foret ne abrogata incitaret; cur sit autem
11 lata, ipsum indicabit[2] tempus. Hannibal in Italia erat, victor ad Cannas; iam Tarentum, iam Arpos,
12 iam Capuam habebat; ad urbem Romam admoturus exercitum videbatur; defecerant socii; non milites in supplementum, non socios navales ad classem tuendam, non pecuniam in aerario habebamus; servi quibus arma darentur, ita ut pretium pro iis bello
13 perfecto dominis solveretur, emebantur; in eandem diem[3] pecuniae frumentum et cetera quae belli usus postulabant praebenda publicani se conducturos professi erant; servos ad remum numero ex censu
14 constituto cum stipendio nostro dabamus; aurum et argentum omne ab senatoribus eius rei initio orto in publicum conferebamus; viduae et pupilli pecunias suas in aerarium deferebant; cautum erat quo ne plus auri et argenti facti, quo ne plus signati argenti

[1] lex vetus *Meyerhoefer*: lex *B.*
[2] indicabit *Gronovius*: indicauit *B.*
[3] eandem diem *Gelenius*: eadem die *B.*

[1] Tarentum did not surrender to him until 213 or 212 B.C. (XXV. xi. 20).
[2] *I.e.*, after the war; cf. XXIII. xlix. 1–3.

inscribed on the twelve tables by the decemvirs B.C. 195
appointed to codify the law? Is it a law without which our ancestors held that a matron's virtue could not be preserved, and which we too must fear to repeal lest along with it we repeal the modesty and purity of our women? Who is there, then, who does not know that this is a new law, passed twenty years ago, in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius? Since for so many years our matrons lived virtuous lives without it, what danger is there that when it is repealed they will rush into riotous luxury? For if it were an ancient law, or passed for the purpose of holding feminine caprice under restraint, there would be danger that its abrogation would rouse their passion; but the occasion itself will tell you why the law was passed. Hannibal was in Italy, victorious at Cannae; he already held Tarentum,[1] Arpi, Capua; he seemed ready to march on our city of Rome; our allies had deserted us; we had no troops in reserve, no naval allies to maintain the fleet, no money in the treasury; slaves were being purchased for employment as soldiers, on condition that the price should be paid their owners after the war; the contractors agreed to furnish grain and other things demanded by the war on the same settlement-day;[2] we furnished slaves for rowers in proportion to our census-ratings, and ourselves bore the costs;[3] we all, following the example set by the senators, gave our gold and silver for the public use; widows and minors deposited their money in the treasury; we were forbidden to have at home more than a certain quantity of gold or silver plate or

[2] In 214 B.C. (XXIV. xi. 7–9), the senate took the action here described; cf. also XXVI. xxxv. 1–xxxvi. 12.

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15 et aeris domi haberemus: tali tempore in luxuria et ornatu matronae occupatae erant ut ad eam coercendam Oppia lex desiderata sit, cum, quia Cereris sacrificium lugentibus omnibus matronis intermissum erat, senatus finiri luctum triginta diebus iussit? 16 Cui non apparet inopiam et miseriam civitatis, quia [1] omnium privatorum pecuniae in usum publicum vertendae erant, istam legem scripsisse, tam diu mansuram quam diu causa scribendae legis mansisset? 17 Nam si, quae tunc temporis causa aut decrevit senatus aut populus iussit, in perpetuum servari oportet, cur pecunias reddimus privatis? Cur publica 18 praesenti pecunia locamus? Cur servi qui militent non emuntur? Cur privati non damus remiges sicut tunc dedimus?

VII. "Omnes alii ordines, omnes homines mutationem in meliorem statum rei publicae sentient: ad coniuges tantum nostras pacis et tranquillitatis 2 publicae fructus non perveniet? Purpura viri utemur, praetextati in magistratibus, in sacerdotiis; liberi nostri praetextis purpura togis utentur; magistratibus in coloniis municipiisque, hic Romae infimo generi, magistris vicorum, togae praetextae 3 habendae ius permittemus, nec ut vivi solum habeant tantum insigne, sed etiam ut cum eo crementur

[1] quia *Gronovius*: et quia *B.*

[1] This statement is not quite consistent with the proposal of M. Valerius Laevinus in 210 B.C. (XXVI. xxxvi. 5–8). The speaker for rhetorical effect ignores the fact that the sumptuary laws he mentions were passed at different times.

[2] This happened in 216 B.C. (XXII. lvi. 4).

[3] Valerius argues that the Oppian law was merely one of a series of emergency measures by which all elements in the state were affected. To leave this one law in force would

coined silver or bronze;[1] at such a time were the matrons so absorbed in luxury and adornment that the Oppian law was needed to restrain them, when, since the rites of Ceres had to be omitted because all the women were in mourning, the senate limited the period of mourning to thirty days?[2] Who fails to see that the poverty and distress of the state wrote that law, since all private property had to be diverted to public use, and that the law was to remain in force so long as the cause of its enactment lasted?[3] For, if whatever emergency measure was passed by senatorial decree or popular vote should be for ever observed, why do we repay the loans advanced by private citizens? Why do we let contracts calling for cash payment? Why are slaves not bought to serve in the armies? Why do not private citizens furnish rowers as we did then? B.C. 195

VII. "All other orders, all men, will feel the change for the better in the state; shall our wives alone get no enjoyment from national peace and tranquillity? Shall we men wear purple and walk clad in the *toga praetexta*[4] while holding priesthoods and offices? Shall our sons wear togas bordered with purple? Shall officials[5] in the colonies and the municipal towns, and here in Rome, the ward-masters,[6] the lowest official rank, be allowed to wear the *toga praetexta*, and enjoy so great a distinction not only during life, but even after death be burned with

mean continued discrimination against one element, the women, after the other methods had been abandoned.

[4] See the note on XXXIII. xlii. 1.

[5] While not strictly possessed of these privileges, communities of these types freely imitated Roman customs.

[6] These officials had certain duties in connection with the games, and so enjoyed special privileges.

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mortui: feminis dumtaxat purpurae usu[1] interdicemus? Et, cum tibi viro liceat purpura in vestem stragulam uti, matrem familiae tuam purpureum amiculum habere non sines, et equus tuus speciosius instratus erit quam uxor vestita? Sed in purpura, quae teritur absumitur, iniustam[2] quidem, sed aliquam tamen causam tenacitatis video; in auro vero, in quo praeter manupretium[3] nihil intertrimenti fit, quae malignitas est! Praesidium potius in eo est et ad privatos et ad publicos usus, sicut experti estis. Nullam aemulationem inter se singularum, quoniam nulla haberet, esse aiebat. At hercule universis dolor et indignatio est, cum sociorum Latini nominis uxoribus vident ea concessa ornamenta quae sibi adempta sint, cum insignes eas esse auro et purpura, cum illas vehi per urbem, se pedibus sequi, tamquam in illarum civitatibus, non in sua, imperium sit. Virorum hoc animos vulnerare posset; quid muliercularum censetis, quas etiam parva movent? Non magistratus nec sacerdotia nec triumphi nec insignia nec dona aut spolia bellica iis contingere possunt; munditiae et ornatus et cultus, haec feminarum insignia sunt, his gaudent et gloriantur, hunc mundum muliebrem appellarunt maiores nostri. Quid aliud in luctu quam purpuram atque aurum deponunt? Quid cum eluxerunt sumunt? Quid in

[1] usu *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: usui *B.*
[2] iniustam *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: in his iustam *B.*
[3] manupretium *Bekker*: manui pretium *B.*

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[1] So in Petronius (lxxi. 9), Trimalchio wishes himself to be represented on his monument wearing the accumulated distinctions won in his public career.

[2] Cf. vi. 14 and the note above,

[3] To balance Cato's pun on *signa*, Valerius makes one on

it:[1] shall women and women alone be forbidden the B.C. 195
use of purple? And when you, a man, are allowed to have purple on your outer garment, will you not permit your wife to own a purple cloak, and will the trappings of your horse be more splendid than the dress of your wife? In the matter of purple, which is worn out and destroyed, I see some reason—not a good one, it is true—for niggardliness; but in regard to gold, in which there is no loss except the cost of manufacture, what spitefulness does the law show! It is rather a safeguard for use in both private and public emergency, as in fact you have experienced.[2] He said there would be no rivalry among individuals if no one owned anything. But, by Hercules, there is mourning and anger among all when they see the wives of allies of the Latin confederacy permitted the ornaments which are refused to them, when they see them decked out in gold and purple, when they see them riding through the city, and themselves following on foot, as if dominion resided in the Latin towns and not in Rome. A thing like this would hurt the feelings even of men: what do you think is its effect upon weak women, whom even little things disturb? No offices, no priesthoods, no triumphs, no decorations, no gifts, no spoils of war can come to them; elegance of appearance, adornment, apparel —these are the woman's badges of honour; in these they rejoice and take delight; these our ancestors called the woman's world.[3] What else do they lay aside in times of mourning than purple and jewellery? What do they put on when they have finished their time of mourning? What do they add save more

mundus, which signifies both *universe* and *adornment*. See note on sect. 15 below.

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gratulationibus supplicationibusque nisi excellen-
11 tiorem ornatum adiciunt? Scilicet, si legem Oppiam abrogaritis, non vestri arbitrii erit si quid eius vetare volueritis, quod nunc lex vetat; minus filiae, uxores,
12 sorores etiam quibusdam in manu erunt—numquam salvis suis exuitur servitus muliebris; et ipsae libertatem quam viduitas et orbitas facit detestantur.
13 In vestro arbitrio suum ornatum quam in legis malunt esse; et vos in manu et tutela, non in servitio debetis habere eas et malle patres vos aut viros
14 quam dominos dici. Invidiosis nominibus utebatur modo consul seditionem muliebrem et secessionem appellando. Id enim periculum est ne Sacrum montem, sicut quondam irata plebs, aut Aventinum capiant. Patiendum huic infirmitati est, quodcumque
15 vos censueritis. Quo plus potestis, eo moderatius imperio uti debetis."

VIII. Haec cum contra legem proque lege dicta essent, aliquanto maior frequentia mulierum postero
2 die sese in publicum effudit, unoque agmine omnes Brutorum ianuas obsederunt, qui collegarum rogationi intercedebant, nec ante abstiterunt quam
3 remissa intercessio ab tribunis est. Nulla deinde dubitatio fuit quin omnes tribus legem abrogarent. Viginti annis post abrogata est quam lata.

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[1] Under the stricter Roman law, a woman was throughout life under the *potestas* of her father or his representative or the *manus* of her husband. Valerius makes the point that this domestic authority will be resumed in full with the repeal of the law, and that the same restrictions which the law provided can be enforced if desired.

[2] This pair of speeches seems to make an elaborate rhetorical exercise, with careful attention, at least in Cato's speech, to characterization of the speaker. It must be admitted, how-

splendid jewels in times of congratulation and thanks- B.C. 195
giving? Of course, if you repeal the Oppian law, you will have no authority if you wish to forbid any of these things which now the law forbids; daughters, wives, even sisters of some will be less under control —never while their males survive is feminine slavery shaken off; and even they abhor the freedom which loss of husbands and fathers gives.[1] They prefer to have their finery under your control and not the law's; you too should keep them in control and guardianship and not in slavery, and should prefer the name of father or husband to that of master. The consul a while ago used words intended to create prejudice when he spoke of female 'sedition' and 'secession.' For the danger, he tells you, is that they will seize the Sacred Mount or the Aventine, as the angered plebeians once did: in reality their frail nature must endure whatever you decree. The greater the authority you exercise, the greater the self-restraint with which you should use your power."[2]

VIII. When these speeches against and for the bill had been delivered, the next day an even greater crowd of women appeared in public, and all of them in a body beset the doors of the Bruti, who were vetoing their colleagues' proposal, and they did not desist until the threat of veto was withdrawn by the tribunes. After that there was no question that all the tribes would vote to repeal the law. The law was repealed twenty years after it was passed.

ever, that the psychology of Cato is more cleverly presented than his style, for critics find little trace of the real Cato in the speech. None of the fragments of the actual speech of Cato (collected, *e.g.*, in Meyer's *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, s.v.) is to be found in Livy.

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4 M. Porcius consul, postquam abrogata lex Oppia est, extemplo viginti quinque navibus longis, quarum quinque sociorum erant, ad Lunae portum profectus 5 est eodem exercitu convenire iusso et edicto per oram maritimam misso navibus omnis generis contractis ab Luna proficiscens edixit ut ad portum Pyrenaei sequerentur; inde se frequenti classe ad 6 hostes iturum. Praetervecti Ligustinos montes sinumque Gallicum ad diem quam dixerat convenerunt. Inde Rhodam ventum et praesidium 7 Hispanorum quod in castello erat vi deiectum. Ab Rhoda secundo vento Emporias perventum. Ibi copiae omnes praeter socios navales in terram expositae.

IX. Iam tunc Emporiae duo oppida erant muro divisa. Unum Graeci habebant, a Phocaea, unde et 2 Massilienses, oriundi, alterum Hispani; sed Graecum oppidum in mare expositum totum orbem muri minus quadringentos passus patentem habebat, Hispanis retractior a mare trium milium passuum 3 in circuitu murus erat. Tertium genus Romani coloni ab divo Caesare post devictos Pompei liberos adiecti. Nunc in corpus unum confusi omnes Hispanis prius, postremo et Graecis in civitatem 4 Romanam adscitis. Miraretur qui tum cerneret, aperto mare ab altera parte, ab altera Hispanis, tam fera et bellicosa gente, obiectis, quae res eos tutaretur. Disciplina erat custos infirmitatis, quam

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[1] Since one of Pompey's sons fell in the battle of Munda (45 B.C.), the establishment of the colony was probably the work of Caesar (the other son of Pompey survived to contend with Augustus).

Marcus Porcius the consul, as soon as the Oppian law was abrogated, at once set out for the harbour of Luna with twenty-five warships, of which five belonged to the allies, having ordered his army to muster at the same place and sent a proclamation along the coast to collect ships of every kind; as he set out from Luna he issued an order that they should follow him to the port of Pyrenaeus, and thence he would proceed against the enemy with all the fleet. They sailed past the Ligurian mountains and the Gallic gulf and joined him on the day he had set. Thence they sailed to Rhoda and ejected by violence a guard of Spaniards that was in the fortress. From Rhoda with favouring winds they came to Emporiae, and there landed all the forces except the naval allies. B.C. 195

IX. Even at that time Emporiae consisted of two towns separated by a wall. One was inhabited by Greeks from Phocaea, whence came the Massilienses also, the other by the Spaniards; but the Greek town, being entirely open to the sea, had only a small extent of wall, of less than four hundred paces in length, while the Spaniards, who were farther back from the sea, had a wall three miles around. A third class of inhabitants, Roman colonists, was added by the deified Caesar [1] after the final defeat of the sons of Pompey, and at present all are fused into one mass, the Spaniards first, and later the Greeks, having been received into Roman citizenship. One who saw them at that time would wonder what secured the safety of the Greeks, with the open sea on one side and the Spaniards, so fierce and warlike a people, their neighbours on the other. Discipline was their protector against their weakness,

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5 inter validiores optime timor continet. Partem muri versam in agros egregie munitam habebant, una tantum in eam regionem porta imposita, cuius adsiduus custos semper aliquis ex magistratibus
6 erat. Nocte pars tertia civium in muris excubabat; neque moris causa tantum aut legis, sed quanta si hostis ad portas esset et servabant vigilias et circumibant cura. Hispanum neminem in urbem recipiebant; ne ipsi quidem temere urbe excedebant.
8 Ad mare patebat omnibus exitus. Porta ad Hispanorum oppidum versa numquam nisi frequentes, pars tertia fere, cuius proxima nocte vigiliae in muris
9 fuerant, egrediebantur. Causa exeundi haec erat: commercio eorum Hispani, imprudentes maris, gaudebant mercarique et ipsi ea quae externa navibus inveherentur et agrorum exigere fructus volebant. Huius mutui usus desiderium, ut Hispana urbs
10 Graecis pateret, faciebat. Erant etiam eo tutiores quod sub umbra Romanae amicitiae latebant quam sicut minoribus viribus quam Massilienses pari colebant fide. Tum quoque consulem exercitumque
11 comiter ac benigne acceperunt. Paucos ibi moratus dies Cato, dum exploraret ubi et quantae hostium copiae essent, ut ne mora quidem segnis esset, omne
12 id tempus exercendis militibus consumpsit. Id erat

[1] Livy may be thinking of the discipline enforced by circumstances upon cities like Sparta.

which among more vigorous peoples is best maintained when there is cause for fear.[1] The part of the wall which faced the interior they kept strongly fortified, with only a single gate leading in that direction, and at this one of the magistrates was posted as a continuous guard. At night a third of the citizens kept vigil on the walls; they did this not merely as a result of custom or in obedience to the law, but they posted their sentinels and sent out their patrols with all the care they would have used had the enemy been at their gates. No Spaniard was admitted to the city, nor did the Greeks themselves leave the city without good cause. Towards the sea the gates were open to all. Through the gate which led to the Spanish town they never passed except in large bodies, usually the third which had maintained the watch on the walls the night before. The cause of going out of the town was this: the Spaniards, who had no experience with the sea, enjoyed transacting business with them, and wanted both to buy the foreign merchandise which they brought in in their ships and to dispose of the products of their farms. The desire for the benefits of this interchange caused the Spanish city to be open to the Greeks. They were safer, too, for the reason that they were under the shelter of the Roman friendship, which they cultivated with resources inferior to those of the Massilienses but with equal devotion. At this time also they received the consul and his army with courtesy and kindness. Cato delayed there a few days, until he could find out where the forces of the enemy lay and what strength they possessed, and, not to be idle even in that time of waiting, he spent the whole period in drilling his B.C. 195

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forte tempus anni ut frumentum in areis Hispani haberent; itaque redemptoribus vetitis frumentum parare ac Romam dimissis "bellum" inquit "se
13 ipsum alet." Profectus ab Emporiis agros hostium urit vastatque, omnia fuga et terrore complet.

X. Eodem tempore M. Helvio decedenti ex ulteriore Hispania cum praesidio sex milium, dato ab Ap. Claudio praetore, Celtiberi agmine ingenti
2 ad oppidum Iliturgi occurrunt.[1] Viginti milia armatorum fuisse Valerius scribit, duodecim milia ex iis caesa, oppidum Iliturgi receptum et puberes omnes
3 interfectos. Inde ad castra Catonis Helvius pervenit et, quia tuta iam ab hostibus regio erat, praesidio in ulteriorem Hispaniam remisso Romam est profectus et ob rem feliciter gestam ovans urbem est ingressus.
4 Argenti infecti tulit in aerarium decem quattuor milia pondo septingenta triginta duo et signati bigatorum septendecim milia viginti tres et Oscensis argenti centum undeviginti milia quadringentos
5 undequadraginta. Causa triumphi negandi senatui fuit quod alieno auspicio et in aliena provincia pugnasset. Ceterum biennio post redierat, cum provincia successori Q. Minucio tradita annum insequentem retentus ibi longo et gravi fuisset morbo.
6 Itaque duobus modo mensibus ante Helvius ovans

[1] occurrunt ς: accurrunt *B*.

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[1] Helvius had been governor of this province since 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxviii. 2); Claudius succeeded him in 195 B.C.

[2] Silver was produced in the region of Osca. The coins were probably Spanish *denarii* with Iberian inscriptions.

[3] In XXXIII. xxvi. 1 Minucius received the province of Nearer Spain, and so did not succeed Helvius. Probably

troops. It happened to be the time of year when B.C. 195
the Spaniards had the grain on their threshing-floors; he therefore forbade the contractors to purchase any and sent them back to Rome, saying, "This war will support itself." Leaving Emporiae, he burned and laid waste the fields of the enemy and filled everything with flight and terror.

X. At the same time, as Marcus Helvius [1] was retiring from Farther Spain, accompanied by a guard of six thousand men furnished by Appius Claudius the praetor, the Celtiberi with a large force fell upon him near the town of Iliturgi. Valerius writes that there were twenty thousand men there, that twelve thousand of them were killed, the town of Iliturgi taken and all the adults put to death. After that Helvius came to the camp of Cato, and, because this region was now safe from the enemy, sent his guard back to Farther Spain and set out for Rome, and by reason of his victory entered the city in an ovation. He deposited in the treasury fourteen thousand seven hundred and thirty-two pounds of uncoined silver, seventeen thousand and twenty-three *denarii* stamped with the two-horse chariot, and one hundred and nineteen thousand four hundred and forty-nine silver coins of Osca.[2] The reason for the senate's refusal of a triumph was that he had fought under another's auspices and in another's province. But it was not until two years later that he had returned home, though he had turned his province over to his successor Quintus Minucius,[3] having been detained there the following year by a long and serious illness. So he entered Rome in an ovation

Helvius accomplished little in his province and the confusion in the records resulted.

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urbem est ingressus quam successor eius Q. Minucius
7 triumpharet. Hic quoque tulit argenti pondo triginta quattuor milia octingenta et bigatorum septuaginta tria milia et Oscensis argenti ducenta septuaginta octo milia.

XI. In Hispania interim consul haud procul
2 Emporiis castra habebat. Eo legati tres ab Ilergetum regulo Bilistage, in quibus unus filius erat, venerunt querentes castella sua oppugnari nec spem ullam esse resistendi, nisi praesidium Romanus
3 misisset;[1] tria milia militum satis esse, nec hostes, si tanta manus venisset, mansuros. Ad ea consul moveri quidem se vel periculo eorum vel metu dicere;
4 sed sibi nequaquam tantum copiarum esse ut, cum magna vis hostium haud procul absit, et quam mox signis collatis dimicandum sit in dies expectet, dividendo exercitum minuere tuto vires possit.[2]
5 Legati, ubi haec audierunt, flentes ad genua consulis provolvuntur, orant ne se in rebus tam trepidis deserat: quo enim se, repulsos ab Romanis, ituros?
6 Nullos se socios, nihil usquam in terris aliud spei
7 habere. Potuisse se extra id periculum esse, si decedere fide, si coniurare cum ceteris voluissent. Nullis minis, nullis terriculis se motos, sperantes
8 satis opis et auxilii sibi in Romanis esse. Id si nullum sit, si sibi a consule negetur, deos hominesque se testes facere invitos et coactos se, ne eadem quae

[1] praesidium Romanus misisset *Bekker*: praesidium romanus missis et *B*: praesidio romanus miles esset *M*.
[2] possit *Voss*: posset *B M*.

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[1] One of the loyal tribes (XXIX. ii. 5).

only two months before his successor Quintus Minucius celebrated his triumph. He too brought with him thirty-four thousand eight hundred pounds of silver and seventy-three thousand coined *denarii* and two hundred and seventy-eight thousand pieces of Oscan silver. B.C. 195

XI. Meanwhile in Spain the consul was encamped not far from Emporiae. Thither came from Bilistages, chieftain of the Ilergetes,[1] three ambassadors, one of whom was his son, complaining that their strongholds were being besieged and that there was no hope of offering resistance unless the Roman sent aid; three thousand soldiers were sufficient, and if so great a force arrived, the enemy would not await them. To this the consul replied that he was indeed moved both by their danger and their fear; but he had by no means enough troops, since a great number of the enemy was close at hand and he expected every day to have to meet them in pitched battle (he had no idea how soon), to allow him safely to weaken himself by dividing his army. When the ambassadors heard this, they wept and threw themselves at the consul's feet, and begged him not to abandon them in such a crisis: where would they turn, rejected by the Romans? They had no allies, no other hope anywhere in the world. They might have escaped the existing danger if they had been willing to violate their pledges and unite with the rest, but no threats and no prospects of danger had moved them, since they hoped to have a sufficient help and assistance in the Romans. If this were not the case, and they were refused by the consul, they called gods and men to witness that unwilling and under compulsion, to avoid the fate which the

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Saguntini passi sint patiantur, defecturos et cum ceteris potius Hispanis quam solos perituros esse.

XII. Et illo quidem die sic sine responso dimissi. Consulem nocte quae insecuta est anceps cura agitare; 2 nolle deserere socios, nolle minuere exercitum, quod aut moram sibi ad dimicandum aut in dimicando 3 periculum adferre posset. Stat sententia non minuere copias, ne quid interim hostes inferant ignominiae; sociis spem pro re ostentandam censet; 4 saepe vana pro veris, maxime in bello, valuisse, et credentem se aliquid auxilii habere, perinde atque haberet, ipsa fiducia et sperando atque audendo 5 servatum. Postero die legatis respondet,[1] quamquam vereatur ne suas vires aliis eas commodando minuat, tamen se illorum temporis ac periculi magis 6 quam sui rationem habere. Denuntiari militum parti tertiae ex omnibus cohortibus iubet, ut cibum quem in naves imponant mature coquant navesque 7 in diem tertium expediri.[2] Duos ex legatis Bilistagi atque Ilergetibus nuntiare ea iubet; filium reguli comiter habendo et muneribus apud se retinet. 8 Legati non ante profecti quam impositos in naves milites viderunt; id pro haud dubio iam nuntiantes non suos modo sed etiam hostes fama Romani auxilii adventantis impleverunt.

XIII. Consul, ubi satis quod in speciem fuit

[1] respondet *Siesbye*: respondit *B M*.
[2] expediri *Perizonius*: expediri iussit *B*.

Saguntines suffered, they would join the rebellion and perish with the rest of the Spaniards rather than alone. B.C. 195

XII. And on that day they were dismissed thus, unanswered. During the night which followed, a double care distressed the consul: he was unwilling to abandon his allies, unwilling to weaken his army, an action which might either delay his engaging or cause danger in the fight. His decision not to weaken his forces remained unchanged, lest he suffer the disgrace of defeat at the hands of the enemy; he determined to offer to the allies hope instead of actuality: often, and especially in war, appearances have had the effect of realities, and the man who believes that help is at hand acts as if he really had it, and by this very confidence, which inspires both hope and daring, is saved. On the following day he answered the ambassadors that, although he feared that he would diminish his own strength by lending part of it to them, yet he was paying regard to their emergency and peril rather than to himself. He ordered warning to be given to one-third of the soldiers of each cohort to cook food in good season and put it on board ship, and the ships to be made ready for sailing the third day. He directed two of the ambassadors to take this news to Bilistages and the Ilergetes; the chief's son he kept with him, persuading him with kindly treatment and with gifts. The ambassadors did not leave until they saw the soldiers marching on board the ships; reporting this as unquestioned fact, they filled not only their own people but also the enemy with the news of the approaching Roman aid.

XIII. The consul, when enough of a show had

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ostentatum est, revocari ex navibus milites iubet; 2 ipse, cum iam id tempus anni appeteret quo geri res possent, castra hiberna tria milia passuum ab Emporiis posuit. Inde per occasiones nunc hac parte nunc illa, modico praesidio castris relicto praedatum 3 milites in hostium agros ducebat. Nocte ferme proficiscebantur, ut et quam longissime a castris procederent et inopinantes opprimerent. Et exercebat ea res novos milites et hostium magna vis excipiebatur; nec iam egredi extra munimenta 4 castellorum audebant. Ubi satis ad hunc modum[1] et suorum et hostium animos est expertus, convocari tribunos praefectosque et equites omnes et cen- 5 turiones iussit. "Tempus" inquit "quod saepe optastis venit, quo vobis potestas fieret virtutem vestram ostendendi. Adhuc praedonum magis quam bel- 6 lantium militastis more; nunc iusta pugna hostes cum hostibus conferetis manus; non agros inde 7 populari sed urbium opes exhaurire licebit. Patres nostri, cum in Hispania[2] Carthaginiensium et imperatores et[3] exercitus essent, ipsi nullum in ea militem haberent, tamen addi hoc in foedere voluerunt, ut 8 imperii sui Hiberus fluvius esset finis; nunc cum duo praetores, cum consul, cum tres exercitus Romani Hispaniam obtineant, Carthaginiensium decem iam prope annis nemo in his provinciis sit, imperium nobis 9 citra Hiberum amissum est. Hoc armis et virtute

[1] satis ad hunc modum *Duker*: admodum *B*: satis admodum *ed. Moguntina* 1518.
[2] in Hispania *edd. vett.*: Hispania *B*.
[3] et *Gronovius*: ibi et *B*.

[1] Cato economizes time by combining practice-marches with fighting, and increases the distance covered on each raid by beginning his march during the night.

been given to keep up appearances, ordered the B.C. 195
soldiers to disembark; and he himself, since now the time of the year was drawing near when active operations could be carried on, established a winter camp three miles from Emporiae. Thence as occasion offered, now in this direction and now in that, leaving small guards at the camp, he led the soldiers into the enemy's country to seek plunder. They usually set out at night, so as to march as far as possible from the camp and to take the enemy off their guard. By this means[1] he hardened his recruits and captured a great number of the enemy; no longer did they venture to go outside the fortifications of their stations. When he had in this way sufficiently tested the tempers of his own men and the enemy, he called into conference the tribunes and prefects and all the cavalry and centurions. "The time," he said, "which you have often longed for is at hand, when you will have the opportunity of making display of your courage. So far you have fought more like guerillas than like soldiers; now, foe facing foe, you will meet in regular battle. Henceforth you will be able, not to pillage country districts, but to drain the wealth of cities. Our fathers, when the Carthaginians had both generals and armies in Spain, and they themselves had not a single soldier here, still demanded that it be stated in the treaty that the Ebro river should be the boundary of their empire;[2] now, when there are two praetors, a consul, and three Roman armies stationed in Spain, and for nearly ten years no Carthaginian has been in these provinces, our empire on this side of the Ebro has been lost. This it is your task to recover

[2] See the note on XXXI. vii. 3.

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reciperetis oportet et nationem rebellantem magis temere quam constanter bellantem iugum quo se exuit accipere rursus cogatis." In hunc modum maxime adhortatus pronuntiat se nocte ad castra hostium ducturum. Ita ad corpora curanda dimissi.

XIV. Nocte media, cum auspicio operam dedisset, profectus, ut locum quem vellet priusquam hostes sentirent caperet, praeter castra hostium circumducit et prima luce acie instructa sub ipsum vallum tres cohortes mittit. Mirantes barbari ab tergo appa-ruisse Romanum discurrere et ipsi [1] ad arma. Interim consul apud suos " nusquam nisi in virtute spes est, milites," inquit " et ego sedulo ne esset feci. Inter castra nostra et nos medii hostes et ab tergo hostium ager est. Quod pulcherrimum idem tutissimum: in virtute spem positam habere." Sub haec cohortes recipi iubet, ut barbaros simulatione fugae eliceret. Id quod crediderat evenit. Pertimuisse et cedere rati Romanos porta erumpunt et quantum inter castra sua et aciem hostium relictum erat loci armatis complent. Dum trepidant acie instruenda, consul iam paratis ordinatisque omnibus incompositos adgreditur. Equites primos ab utroque cornu in pugnam induxit. Sed in dextro extemplo pulsi cedentesque trepidi etiam pediti terrorem intulere.

[1] et ipsi *Duker*: ipsi *B.*

with your arms and your daring, and to compel this nation, which is rather in rebellion rashly than warring with steadiness of purpose, to accept again the yoke which it has thrown off." After encouraging them in about this fashion, he announced that he would lead them against the enemy's camp that night, and so dismissed them to seek rest. B.C. 195

XIV. At midnight, after taking the auspices in due form, he set out, that he might choose the place he wished before the enemy was aware of his coming, led his troops beyond the camp of the enemy, and at daybreak, drawing up his line of battle, he sent three cohorts close to the very rampart. The barbarians, marvelling that the Romans had appeared in their rear, themselves ran to arms. Meanwhile the consul harangued his troops: "Nowhere, soldiers, is there any hope except in your courage, and I have deliberately acted so that there should be none. Between us and our camp is the enemy, and in the rear is the enemy's country. What is most glorious is also the safest: to place our hopes in valour." After this he ordered the cohorts recalled, to draw the enemy out of their camp by the pretence of flight. What he had anticipated occurred. Thinking that the Romans were retreating in terror, they rushed out of the gate and filled with soldiers all the space that was left between the camp and the enemy's battle-line. While they were in the confusion of forming their array, the consul, who had everything already prepared and in order, fell upon them in their disorder. The cavalry was the first to enter the battle on both flanks, but on the right they were at once repulsed, and retiring in fear they even caused a panic among the infantry. When the

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7 Quod ubi consul vidit, duas cohortes delectas ab dextro latere hostium circumduci iubet et ab tergo se ostendere priusquam concurrerent peditum acies. 8 Is terror obiectus hosti rem metu Romanorum equitum inclinatam aequavit; tamen adeo turbati erant dextrae alae pedites equitesque ut quosdam consul 9 manu ipse reprenderit verteritque in hostem. Ita et quamdiu missilibus pugnatum est, anceps pugna erat, et iam ab dextra parte, unde terror et fuga 10 coeperat, aegre Romanus restabat; ab sinistro cornu et a fronte urgebantur barbari et cohortes a 11 tergo instantes pavidi respiciebant. Ut emissis soliferreis phalaricisque gladios strinxerunt, tum velut redintegrata est pugna. Non caecis ictibus procul ex improviso vulnerabantur, sed pede collato tota in virtute ac viribus spes erat.

XV. Fessos iam suos consul ex secunda acie subsidiariis cohortibus in pugnam inductis accendit. 2 Nova acies facta; integri recentibus telis fatigatos adorti hostes primum acri impetu velut cuneo perculerunt, deinde dissipatos in fugam averterunt; 3 effuso per agros cursu castra repetebantur. Ubi omnia fuga completa vidit Cato, ipse ad secundam legionem, quae in subsidio posita erat, revehitur et signa prae se ferri plenoque gradu ad castra hostium 4 oppugnanda succedere iubet. Si quis extra ordinem

consul observed this, he ordered two picked cohorts B.C. 195
to march around the right flank of the enemy and to show themselves in the rear before the infantry masses clashed. The alarm which thus confronted the enemy equalized the disadvantage caused by the flight of the Roman cavalry; but so greatly had the infantry and cavalry on the right flank been thrown into confusion that the consul himself seized with his hand some of them and turned them around to face the enemy. And so, as long as the fight was being carried on with missiles, the issue was uncertain; on the right, where the panic and flight had begun, the Roman resisted with difficulty, while on the left and in the centre the barbarians were hard pressed and looked back with dread at the cohorts which were coming up in their rear. When they drew their swords after hurling their darts and javelins, then the battle, so to speak, took on new life. For they no longer received unexpected random wounds from a distance, but closing foot to foot put all their hope in courage and in strength.

XV. As his men grew weary, the consul rekindled their spirits by bringing up reserve cohorts from the second line. A new line was established; fresh troops with unused weapons attacked the exhausted enemy and first, with a furious attack in wedge-formation, pushed them back, then scattered them and put them to flight; with headlong speed they made across the fields for camp. When Cato saw everything filled with confusion, he rode back to the second legion, which was in reserve, and ordered it to advance at quickened pace to attack the enemy's camp. If a soldier in too great eagerness got ahead of the rank, he himself rode up between the lines and

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avidius procurrit, et ipse interequitans sparo percutit et tribunos centurionesque castigare iubet. Iam castra oppugnabantur, saxisque et sudibus et omni genere telorum summovebantur a vallo Romani. Ubi recens admota legio est, tum et oppugnantibus animus crevit et infensius hostes pro vallo pugnabant. Consul omnia oculis perlustrat ut, qua minima vi resistatur, ea parte irrumpat. Ad sinistram portam infrequentes videt; eo secundae legionis principes hastatosque inducit. Non sustinuit impetum eorum statio quae portae apposita erat; et ceteri, postquam intra vallum hostem vident, ipsi castris exuti [1] signa armaque abiciunt. Caeduntur in portis, suomet ipsi agmine in arto haerentes. Secundani terga hostium caedunt, ceteri castra diripiunt. Valerius Antias supra quadraginta milia hostium caesa eo die scribit; Cato ipse, haud sane detrectator laudum suarum, multos caesos ait, numerum non adscribit.

XVI. Tria eo die laudabilia fecisse putatur, unum, quod circumducto exercitu procul navibus suis castrisque, ubi spem nusquam nisi [2] in virtute habe-rent, inter medios hostes proelium commisit; alterum, quod cohortes ab tergo hostibus obiecit; tertium, quod secundam legionem ceteris omnibus effusis ad sequendos hostes pleno gradu sub signis compositam instructamque subire ad portam castrorum iussit.

[1] ipsi castris exuti ed. *Moguntina* 1518 : ipsi exsutis *B.*
[2] nusquam nisi *Ussing* : nisi *B.*

struck him with his spear-shaft, and ordered the tribunes and centurions to punish him. By this time the camp was being attacked and the Romans driven back from the rampart with stones and poles and every sort of missile. But when the new legion came up, the vigour of the attackers increased, and the enemy fought with greater desperation in defence of their rampart. The consul scanned everything with his gaze, that he might break through wherever the resistance was weakest. He saw that there were few defenders at the left gate, and there he led the *principes* and *hastati* of the second legion. The guard which was posted at the gate did not resist their onset; and the rest, seeing the enemy within the fortification, having lost their camp, likewise threw away their standards and arms. They were cut to pieces at the gates, where they were held fast in the narrow passages by their own numbers. The soldiers of the second legion attacked them in the rear, the rest plundered the camp. Valerius Antias relates that more than forty thousand of the enemy fell that day; Cato himself, a man not much inclined to be grudging in his own praise, says that many were killed, but does not give a definite number. B.C. 195

XVI. Three praiseworthy acts he is credited with having performed that day; first, that he had led the army around far from his ships and camp and engaged in the midst of the enemy, where his men had no hope except in their own courage; second, that he had thrown the cohorts against the enemy's rear; third, that he had ordered the second legion, when all the rest were disordered by their pursuit of the enemy, to march up to the gate of the camp at quickened pace but in orderly and disciplined formation under their

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3 Nihil deinde a victoria cessatum. Cum receptui signo dato suos [1] spoliis onustos in castra reduxisset, paucis horis noctis ad quietem datis ad praedandum 4 in agros duxit. Effusius, ut sparsis hostibus fuga, praedati sunt. Quae res non minus quam pugna pridie adversa Emporitanos Hispanos accolasque 5 eorum in deditionem compulit. Multi et aliarum civitatium, qui Emporias perfugerant, dediderunt se. Quos omnes appellatos benigne vinoque et cibo 6 curatos domos dimisit. Confestim inde castra movit, et quacumque incedebat agmen legati dedentium 7 civitates suas occurrebant, et cum Tarraconem venit, iam omnis cis Hiberum Hispania perdomita erat, captivique et Romani et socium ac Latini nominis, variis casibus in Hispania oppressi, donum 8 consuli a barbaris reducebantur. Fama deinde vulgatur consulem in Turdetaniam exercitum ducturum et ad devios montanos profectum etiam 9 falso perlatum est. Ad hunc vanum et sine auctore ullo rumorem Bergistanorum civitatis septem castella defecerunt. Eos educto [2] exercitu consul sine 10 memorando proelio in potestatem redegit.[3] Haud ita multo post eidem, regresso Tarraconem consule, priusquam inde quoquam procederet, defecerunt. Iterum subacti; sed non eadem venia victis fuit. Sub corona veniere omnes, ne saepius pacem sollicitarent.

[1] suos ς : suis *B* : milites *M*.
[2] eos educto *Gronovius* : eos deducto *B* : eo deducto *M*.
[3] redegit ς : redegat *B* : redigit *M*.

[1] There were apparently two districts of this name, one near Saguntum, the other, and more important, near the south-western coast and so outside Cato's province. It is evident, however, from xvii. 1 ff. that a co-ordinated campaign against the latter people was planned.

standards. Later on there was no resting idle after B.C. 195
his victory. When, after giving the signal to retire, he had led his men back to camp laden with booty, he gave them a few hours for rest and led them out to plunder. They ravaged more widely, since the enemy was scattered in flight. This had no less influence than the defeat of the previous day in causing the Spaniards of Emporiae and their neighbours to submit. Many citizens of other states as well, who had taken refuge in Emporiae, surrendered. All of these the consul treated kindly, and after refreshing them with wine and food sent them home. He then speedily moved his camp, and wherever the column went ambassadors met him, surrendering their cities, and by the time he reached Tarraco, all Spain on this side of the Ebro had been subdued, while captives, both Romans and Latins of the confederacy, who had been overtaken by various misfortunes in Spain, were brought in and presented to the consul by the barbarians. Then the story was circulated that the consul meant to lead the army into Turdetania,[1] and it was falsely reported to the mountaineers of the outlying districts that he had already set out. On this idle and unauthenticated rumour seven forts of the Bergistani [2] revolted, but the consul led out his army and reduced them to submission without any battle worth mentioning. A little later, when the consul had returned to Tarraco but before he moved from that place, the same peoples revolted and were again subdued, but the same indulgence was not granted to the conquered. They were all sold at auction, in order to prevent their disturbing the peace too frequently.

[2] This people cannot be located.

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XVII. Interim P. Manlius praetor exercitu vetere a Q. Minucio, cui successerat, accepto, adiuncto et Ap. Claudi Neronis ex ulteriore Hispania vetere item 2 exercitu, in Turdetaniam proficiscitur. Omnium Hispanorum maxime imbelles habentur Turdetani; freti tamen multitudine sua obviam ierunt agmini 3 Romano. Eques immissus turbavit extemplo aciem eorum. Pedestre proelium nullius ferme certaminis fuit; milites veteres, periti hostium bellique, haud 4 dubiam pugnam fecerunt. Nec tamen ea pugna debellatum est; decem milia Celtiberum mercede Turduli conducunt alienisque armis parabant bellum. 5 Consul interim rebellione Bergistanorum ictus, ceteras quoque civitates ratus per occasionem idem facturas, arma omnibus cis Hiberum Hispanis adimit. 6 Quam rem adeo aegre passi ut multi mortem sibimet ipsi consciscerent, ferox genus, nullam vitam rati 7 sine armis esse. Quod ubi consuli renuntiatum est, senatores omnium civitatium ad se vocari iussit atque iis " non nostra " inquit " magis quam vestra refert vos non rebellare, si quidem id maiore Hispanorum malo quam exercitus Romani labore semper adhuc 8 factum est. Id ut ne fiat, uno modo arbitror caveri 9 posse, si effectum erit ne possitis rebellare. Volo id quam mollissima via consequi. Vos quoque in ea re consilio me adiuvate. Nullum libentius sequar

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[1] In XXXIII. xliii. 5–8, Livy says that Manlius was sent to Nearer Spain as *adiutor consulis* but had troops, including those formerly under Minucius, under his command. His situation was, then, quite irregular, and his operations outside his superior's province of questionable legality, and there may be some confusion with his subsequent appointment to Farther Spain in 182 B.C. (XL. i. 2).

XVII. Meanwhile Publius Manlius the praetor B.C. 195
had taken over the veteran army from Quintus Minucius whom he had succeeded, and uniting with it the army, also made up of veterans, of Appius Claudius Nero from Farther Spain, set out for Turdetania.[1] The Turdetani were considered the least warlike of all the Spaniards, yet, relying on their numbers, they went out to meet the Roman column. The cavalry, sent against them, at once broke their line, and the infantry engagement was almost no battle at all; the veteran soldiers, well acquainted with the enemy and his manner of fighting, rendered the result certain. Yet the war was not ended by that battle: the Turduli hired ten thousand Celtiberi and prepared to carry on the war with the weapons of strangers. The consul meanwhile, alarmed by the rebellion of the Bergistani, and thinking that other states as well would follow their example if occasion offered, disarmed all the Spaniards on this side of the Ebro. This action they took so hard that many committed suicide, a high-spirited people, who thought that life without arms was not worth living. When this was reported to the consul, he ordered the senators of all the states summoned to his presence and addressed them thus: "It is not more to our interest than to yours that you should not rebel, inasmuch as this has always happened with greater misfortune to the Spaniards than trouble to the Roman army. I think that there is only one way to prevent this—to arrange matters so that you will not be able to rebel. I wish to accomplish this in the gentlest possible manner. Do you, then, aid me with your advice on this matter. I shall follow no counsel more gladly than that which you your-

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10 quam quod vosmet ipsi attuleritis." Tacentibus spatium se ad deliberandum dierum paucorum dare
11 dixit. Cum revocati secundo quoque concilio tacuissent, uno die muris omnium dirutis, ad eos qui nondum parebant profectus, ut in quamque regionem venerat, omnes qui circa incolebant populos in deditionem
12 accepit. Segesticam tantum, gravem atque opulentam civitatem, vineis et pluteis cepit.

XVIII. Eo maiorem habebat difficultatem in subigendis hostibus quam qui primi venerant in Hispaniam, quod ad illos taedio imperii Cartha-
2 giniensium Hispani deficiebant, huic ex usurpata libertate in servitutem velut adserendi erant; et ita mota omnia accepit, ut alii in armis essent, alii obsidione ad defectionem cogerentur nec, nisi in tempore subventum foret, ultra sustentaturi fuerint.
3 Sed in consule ea vis animi atque ingenii fuit ut omnia maxima minimaque per se adiret atque ageret
4 nec cogitaret modo imperaretque, quae in rem essent, sed pleraque ipse per se transigeret nec in quemquam omnium gravius severiusque quam in semet ipsum
5 imperium exerceret, parsimonia et vigiliis et labore cum ultimis militum certaret nec quicquam in exercitu suo praecipui praeter honorem atque imperium haberet.

XIX. Difficilius bellum in Turdetania praetori P. Manlio Celtiberi mercede exciti ab hostibus,

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[1] *In servitutem adserere* is the technical legal phrase for trying to establish in court the fact that one is owner of a slave (III. xliv. 5).

selves shall give me." When they were silent, he B.C. 195
said that he would give them a space of a few days for reflection. When they were recalled, and had kept silent at the second council also, on one day he destroyed the walls of all the towns and proceeded against those who were not yet submissive, and as he passed through region after region, he accepted the surrender of all the neighbouring states. Segestica alone, an important and rich city, he captured with sheds and mantlets.

XVIII. He had the greater difficulty in reducing the enemy than those who had first gone to Spain, because the Spaniards transferred their allegiance to his predecessors through weariness of the authority of the Carthaginians, but in his case the task was, so to speak, to claim them as slaves [1] after they had had a taste of liberty; and everything was in such commotion that some were in arms, some were being compelled by siege to join the uprising, and, unless prompt assistance were sent them, would not be able to hold out longer. But in the consul there was such vigour of mind and character that he attended to and performed all business, great and small, and he not only planned and gave orders for what was advantageous, but himself executed most of them; he exercised sterner and severer discipline over no one in all the army than over himself, and in frugality and vigilance and exertion he vied with the lowest of his soldiers, and except for his rank and his authority he enjoyed no distinction as compared with the rest of the army.

XIX. The Celtiberi who had been hired by the enemy, as has been said before, made the war in Turdetania more difficult for the praetor Publius

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sicut ante dictum est, faciebant. Itaque eo consul
2 accersitus litteris praetoris legiones duxit. Ubi eo venit, castra separatim Celtiberi et Turdetani habebant. Cum Turdetanis extemplo levia proelia incursantes in stationes eorum Romani facere semperque victores ex quamvis temere coepto
3 certamine abire. Ad Celtiberos in colloquium tribunos militum ire consul atque iis trium condicionum
4 electionem ferre iubet, primam, si transire ad Romanos velint et duplex stipendium accipere quam
5 quantum a Turdetanis pepigissent; alteram, si domos abire, publica fide accepta, nihil eam rem noxiae futuram quod hostibus se Romanorum
6 iunxissent; tertiam, si utique bellum placeat, diem locumque constituant ubi secum armis decernant.
7 A Celtiberis dies ad consultandum petita. Concilium immixtis Turdetanis habitum magno cum
8 tumultu; eo minus decerni quicquam potuit. Cum incerta bellum an pax cum Celtiberis essent, commeatus tamen haud secus quam in pace ex agris castellisque hostium Romani portabant, deni saepe munimenta eorum, velut communi pacto commercio,
9 privatis indutiis ingredientes. Consul ubi hostes ad pugnam elicere nequit, primum praedatum sub signis aliquot expeditas cohortes in agrum integrae regionis
10 ducit, deinde audito Saguntiae Celtiberum omnes sarcinas impedimentaque relicta, eo pergit ducere ad oppugnandum. Postquam nulla moventur re,

Manlius. Therefore the consul, summoned by a message from the praetor, led his legions there. When he arrived, the Celtiberi and the Turdetani were in separate camps. With the Turdetani the Romans immediately began to skirmish, attacking their outguards, and they always came off victorious, no matter how rashly they had attacked. The consul ordered some of the military tribunes to go to confer with the Celtiberi and to offer them their choice of three proposals: first, if they wished to come over to the Roman side and receive twice the pay they had agreed to accept from the Turdetani; second, if they wished to go home after receiving a public pledge that the fact of their having joined the enemies of Rome should not cause them any damage; third, if battle was their desire under any conditions, that they should name a time and place for an armed settlement with him. The Celtiberi asked for time to consider the proposals. A council was held, at which the Turdetani crowded in, causing great excitement; for that reason a decision was impossible. Although it was uncertain whether their relation with the Celtiberi was one of war or peace, the Romans, nevertheless, just as if it were a time of peace, were bringing provisions from the farms and strongholds, often going in squads of ten into their fortifications under private truces, as if the right of trade had been officially recognized. When the consul failed to draw the enemy out to battle, he first sent certain light-armed cohorts out to ravage the fields of a region hitherto unattacked, then, hearing that the baggage and equipment of the Celtiberi was all at Saguntia, he proceeded to attack that town. When he found that nothing would B.C. 195

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persoluto stipendio non suis modo sed etiam praetoris militibus relictoque omni exercitu in castris praetoris ipse cum septem cohortibus ad Hiberum est regressus.

XX. Ea tam exigua manu oppida aliquot cepit. Defecere ad eum Sedetani, Ausetani, Suessetani. 2 Lacetanos, deviam et silvestrem gentem, cum insita feritas continebat in armis, tum conscientia, dum consul exercitusque Turdulo bello esset [1] occupatus, 3 depopulatorum subitis incursionibus sociorum. Igitur ad oppidum eorum oppugnandum consul ducit non Romanas modo cohortes sed iuventutem etiam merito 4 infensorum iis sociorum. Oppidum longum, in latitudinem haudquaquam tantundem patens habebant. Quadringentos inde ferme passus constituit 5 signa. Ibi delectarum cohortium stationem relinquens praecepit iis ne se ex eo loco ante moverent quam ipse ad eos venisset; ceteras copias ad ulteriorem partem urbis circumducit. Maximum ex omnibus auxiliis numerum Suessetanae iuventutis habebat; eos ad murum oppugnandum subire iubet. 6 Quorum ubi arma signaque Lacetani cognovere, memores quam saepe in agro eorum impune persultassent, quotiens ipsos signis collatis fudissent fugassentque, patefacta repente porta universi in 7 eos erumpunt. Vix clamorem eorum, nedum impetum, Suessetani tulere. Quod postquam, sicut 8 futurum ratus erat, consul fieri etiam vidit, equo citato subter murum hostium ad cohortes avehitur

[1] esset *Madvig*: est *B M*.

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[1] The troops were usually paid only once during a campaign, usually at the end of the season.

provoke them to battle, he paid[1] not only his own B.C. 195
soldiers but those of the praetor and with seven cohorts (the rest being left in the praetor's camp) returned to the Ebro.

XX. With this small force he captured several towns. The Sedetani, the Ausetani, and the Suessetani came over to him. The Lacetani, a remote and forest-dwelling race, were kept under arms, partly by their native savageness, partly by their consciousness of having pillaged the allies in sudden raids while the consul and the army were engaged in the campaign in Turdetania. Therefore the consul led to the attack upon their citadel not only the Roman cohorts but the young men of the allies, who were justly incensed at them. Their town was long, but was not extensive in breadth in proportion. He halted at a distance of about four hundred paces from it. There he left a guard of chosen cohorts, ordering them not to stir from that place until he came to them in person; the rest of the troops he led to the farther side of the town. The largest contingent among all his auxiliaries was furnished by the young men of the Suessetani; these he ordered to assault the wall. When the Lacetani recognized their arms and standards, and recalled how often they had offered them insults with impunity in their own lands and how often they had routed them and put them to flight in pitched battle, they suddenly threw open the gate and attacked them in a body. The Suessetani scarcely waited for them to raise the shout, much less for them to charge. When the consul saw that this was turning out as he had expected it would, he put spurs to his horse and rode off under the enemy's wall to the

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atque eas arreptas, effusis omnibus ad sequendos
9 Suessetanos, qua silentium ac solitudo erat in urbem inducit priusque omnia cepit quam se reciperent Lacetani. Mox ipsos nihil praeter arma habentes in deditionem accepit.

XXI. Confestim inde victor ad Bergium castrum ducit. Receptaculum id maxime praedonum erat, et inde incursiones in agros pacatos provinciae eius
2 fiebant. Transfugit inde ad consulem princeps Bergistanus et purgare se ac populares coepit: non esse in manu ipsis rem publicam; praedones receptos
3 totum suae potestatis id castrum fecisse. Consul eum domum redire conficta aliqua probabili cur
4 afuisset causa iussit; cum se muros subisse cerneret intentosque praedones ad tuenda moenia esse, tum uti cum suae factionis hominibus meminisset arcem
5 occupare. Id uti praeceperat factum; repente anceps terror hinc muros ascendentibus Romanis, illinc arce capta barbaros circumvasit. Huius potitus loci consul eos qui arcem tenuerant liberos esse cum
6 cognatis suaque habere iussit, Bergistanos ceteros quaestori ut venderet imperavit, de praedonibus
7 supplicium sumpsit. Pacata provincia vectigalia magna instituit ex ferrariis argentariisque quibus
8 tum institutis locupletior in dies provincia fuit. Ob

cohorts, and bringing them into action, since the B.C. 195
enemy had all scattered to pursue the Suessetani, he led them into the city on the side where all was silence and solitude and was in complete control before the Lacetani returned. Having nothing left to them but their arms, they presently surrendered.

XXI. The conqueror then quickly led his troops to the fort of Bergium. This was now primarily a nest of robbers, and from it raids were being made on the pacified districts of this province. A leader of the Bergistani escaped from it to the consul and began to apologize for himself and his fellow-citizens: their own state was not under their control, he said; the robbers, once admitted to the town, had brought it completely under their own dominion. The consul directed him to go back home, having provided himself with a plausible explanation for his absence; when he should see the Romans approaching the walls and the robbers intent on defending the fortifications, he, with the men of his own party, would remember to seize the citadel. This was done according to instructions; suddenly a double terror gripped the barbarians, as on one side the Romans were climbing the walls and on the other the citadel had been taken. The consul took possession of the place and ordered the men who had occupied the citadel and their relatives to be free, and to enjoy possession of their property, and, directing the quaestor to sell the other Bergistani, he put the robbers to death. Having restored order in the province, he arranged for the collection of large revenues from the iron and silver mines, and as a result of the regulations made at that time the wealth of the province increased every day.

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has res gestas in Hispania supplicationem in triduum patres decreverunt.

XXII. Eadem aestate alter consul L. Valerius Flaccus in Gallia cum Boiorum manu propter Litanam
2 silvam signis collatis secundo proelio conflixit. Octo milia Gallorum caesa traduntur; ceteri omisso
3 bello in vicos suos atque agros dilapsi. Consul reliquum aestatis circa Padum Placentiae et Cremonae exercitum habuit restituitque quae in iis oppidis bello diruta fuerant.
4 Cum hic status rerum in Italia Hispaniaque esset, T. Quinctio in Graecia ita hibernis actis ut exceptis Aetolis, quibus nec pro spe victoriae praemia contigerant, nec diu quies placere poterat, universa Graecia simul pacis libertatisque perfruens bonis egregie statu suo gauderet nec magis in bello vir-
5 tutem Romani ducis quam in victoria temperantiam iustitiamque et moderationem miraretur, senatus consultum quo bellum adversus Nabim Lacedae-
6 monium decretum erat adfertur. Quo lecto Quinctius conventum Corinthum omnium sociarum civitatium legationibus in diem certam edicit. Ad quam ubi frequentes undique principes convenerunt, ita uti ne [1] Aetoli quidem abessent, tali oratione est usus:
7 "Bellum adversus Philippum non magis communi animo consilioque Romani et Graeci gesserunt quam

[1] uti ne *Kreyssig*: ut in ea *B*.

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[1] The sources for the foregoing account of the Spanish campaign are the annalists and, probably, Cato himself. To what extent the language and style of the passage have been influenced by Cato's own work has not been determined. With xxii. 4 Polybius becomes Livy's main source.

[2] In XXXIII. xlv. 3 Livy says that the decision was left

By reason of these achievements in Spain the Fathers B.C. 194
decreed a thanksgiving for three days.[1]

XXII. During the same summer the other consul, Lucius Valerius Flaccus, engaged in pitched battle with a force of the Boi near the forest of Litana and defeated them. Eight thousand of the Gauls are said to have fallen; the rest gave up the war and scattered to their villages and fields. For the rest of the summer the consul kept his army at Placentia and Cremona, in the neighbourhood of the Po, and rebuilt the parts of those cities which had been destroyed in the war.

While this was the state of affairs in Italy and Spain, Titus Quinctius had spent the winter in Greece in such a fashion that, with the exception of the Aetolians, who had neither gained rewards of victory in proportion to their hopes nor proved able to be long satisfied with quiet, all Greece, enjoying to the full the blessings of peace and liberty combined, was happy in its condition, and admired the Roman commander's bravery in war no more than his self-control, justice, and moderation after victory, and at this time the decree of the senate which declared war against Nabis the Lacedaemonian was delivered to him.[2] When he had read this decree, Quinctius announced a council, to be held at Corinth on a designated day, and made up of delegations from all the allied states. When the prominent men in great numbers had come from all quarters to this meeting, not even the Aetolians being unrepresented, he addressed them as follows: "The war against Philip was waged by the Romans and Greeks with feelings

in the hands of Quinctius, and the following narrative is based on that assumption.

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8 utrique suas causas belli habuerunt. Nam et Romanorum amicitiam nunc Carthaginienses hostes 9 eorum iuvando, nunc hic sociis nostris oppugnandis violaverat et in vos talis fuit ut nobis, etiam si nostrarum oblivisceremur iniuriarum, vestrae iniuriae satis digna causa belli fuerit. Hodierna consultatio 10 tota ex vobis pendet. Refero enim ad vos utrum Argos, sicut scitis ipsi, ab Nabide occupatos pati 11 velitis sub dicione eius esse, an aequum censeatis nobilissimam vetustissimamque civitatem, in media Graecia sitam, repeti in libertatem et eodem statu quo ceteras urbes Peloponnesi et Graeciae esse. 12 Haec consultatio, ut videtis, tota de re pertinente ad vos est; Romanos nihil contingit, nisi quatenus liberatae Graeciae unius civitatis servitus non plenam 13 nec integram gloriam esse sinit. Ceterum, si vos nec cura eius civitatis nec exemplum nec periculum movet, ne serpat latius contagio eius mali, nos aequi bonique facimus. De hac re vos consulo, staturus eo quod plures censueritis."

XXIII. Post orationem Romani imperatoris per- 2 censeri aliorum sententiae coeptae sunt. Cum legatus Atheniensium quantum poterat gratiis agendis Romanorum in Graeciam merita extulisset, 3 " imploratos [1] adversus Philippum tulisse opem, non rogatos ultro adversus tyrannum Nabim offerre

[1] imploratos *Voss*: imploratos auxilium *B*.

and aims no less common than their several reasons B.C. 195
for entering the war. For he had violated his friendship with the Romans, now by aiding their enemies the Carthaginians, now by attacking our allies in this country, and towards you he conducted himself in such a way that your wrongs, even if we did not remember our own injuries, were a sufficiently good reason why we should take up the quarrel. To-day's decision depends entirely on you. I lay before you the question whether you wish to permit Argos, which, as you know, has been seized by Nabis, to remain under his control, or whether you think it proper that this most famous and ancient city, situated in the heart of Greece, should be restored to liberty and enjoy the same condition as the other cities of the Peloponnesus and Greece. This question, as you see, is one which is altogether your concern; it does not touch the Romans at all, except in so far as the slavery of one city of liberated Greece does not permit their fame to be perfect and complete. But if no concern for that city nor the example thus set nor the danger that the contagion of that evil may spread affects you, that is, so far as we are concerned, well and good. I ask your opinions on this matter, and shall abide by whatever decision the majority of you shall reach."

XXIII. After this speech from the Roman commander, they began to ascertain the views of the others. When the Athenian ambassador had, to the extent of his capacity, and with effusive thanks, extolled the Romans' services to Greece, saying that "when appealed to they had given aid against Philip, and were of their own accord and without an appeal offering assistance against Nabis," and had

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auxilium" indignatusque esset haec tanta merita sermonibus tamen aliquorum carpi futura calumniantium, cum fateri potius praeteritorum gratiam deberent, apparebat incessi Aetolos. Igitur Alexander, princeps gentis, invectus primum in Athenienses, libertatis quondam duces et auctores, adsentationis propriae gratia communem causam prodentes, questus deinde[1] Achaeos, Philippi quondam milites, ad postremum inclinata fortuna eius transfugas, et Corinthum recepisse et id agere ut Argos habeant, Aetolos, primos hostes Philippi, semper socios Romanorum, pactos in foedere suas urbes agrosque fore devicto Philippo, fraudari Echino et Pharsalo, insimulavit fraudis Romanos quod vano titulo libertatis ostentato Chalcidem et Demetriadem praesidiis tenerent, qui Philippo cunctanti deducere inde praesidia obicere semper soliti sint[2] "numquam, donec Demetrias Chalcisque et Corinthus tenerentur, liberam Graeciam fore," postremo quia manendi in Graecia retinendique exercitus Argos et Nabim causam facerent. Deportarent legiones in Italiam; Aetolos polliceri aut condicionibus et voluntate sua Nabim praesidium Argis deducturum aut vi atque armis coacturos in potestate consentientis Graeciae esse.

[1] deinde *Aldus*: deinde est *B*.
[2] sint: sunt *B M*.

[1] See XXXIII. xiii. 7–13 and the notes.

lamented that these services, great as they were, B.C. 198
were nevertheless criticized in the talk of certain persons who threw out dark hints about the future, though they should rather be confessing their gratitude for the past, it was clear that he was attacking the Aetolians. Therefore Alexander, a leading man of that people, assailed first the Athenians, once the leaders and champions of liberty, now the betrayers of the common cause from their desire to win a place for themselves by adulation, then he complained that the Achaeans, the one-time soldiers of Philip, then finally deserters from him as his fortunes declined, had regained Corinth and in addition were trying to obtain Argos, while the Aetolians, foes to Philip from the beginning, allies to the Romans at all times, although they had agreed in the treaty [1] that the cities and fields were to be theirs when Philip was defeated, were being cheated out of Echinus and Pharsalus; he also charged the Romans with deceit, in that, while they held out the empty name of liberty, they were holding with their garrisons Chalcis and Demetrias, despite the fact that they had been wont to object, when Philip hesitated to withdraw his troops from these towns, that "while Demetrias and Chalcis and Corinth were in his hands, Greece would never be free," and finally, in that they were making Argos and Nabis an excuse for remaining in Greece and keeping their army there. Let them, he said, transport their legions to Italy; adding that the Aetolians promised either that Nabis would withdraw his garrison from Argos voluntarily and under terms imposed by them, or that they would compel him by force of arms to yield to the will of united Greece.

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XXIV. Haec vaniloquentia primum Aristaenum, 2 praetorem Achaeorum, excitavit. "Ne istuc" inquit "Iuppiter optimus maximus sirit Iunoque regina, cuius in tutela Argi sunt, ut illa civitas inter tyrannum Lacedaemonium et latrones Aetolos praemium sit posita in eo discrimine ut miserius a vobis recipiatur 3 quam ab illo capta est. Mare interiectum ab istis praedonibus non tuetur nos, T. Quincti; quid si in media Peloponneso arcem sibi fecerint futurum nobis est? Linguam tantum Graecorum habent, sicut 4 speciem hominum; moribus ritibusque efferatioribus quam ulli barbari, immo quam immanes beluae vivunt. Itaque vos rogamus, Romani, ut et ab Nabide Argos reciperetis et ita res Graeciae constituatis ut ab latrocinio quoque Aetolorum satis 5 pacata haec relinquatis." Romanus, cunctis undique increpantibus Aetolos, responsurum se fuisse iis dixit, nisi ita infensos omnes in eos videret ut sedandi 6 potius quam irritandi essent. Contentum itaque opinione ea quae de Romanis Aetolisque esset, referre se dixit quid de Nabidis bello placeret, nisi 7 redderet Achaeis Argos. Cum omnes bellum decressent, auxilia ut pro viribus suis quaeque civitates mitterent est hortatus. Ad Aetolos legatum etiam misit, magis ut nudaret animos, id quod evenit, quam spe impetrari posse.

XXV. Tribunis militum ut exercitum ab Elatia

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[1] Iuno Acraea or Iuno Argiva may be meant; cf. XXXII. xxiii. 10. Iuno Regina was more specifically a Roman divinity, as is Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, but is not out of place on the lips of an Argive who was under the protection of Iuno.

XXIV. This boastful speech first provoked Aristae- B.C. 195
nus, praetor of the Achaeans, to speak: "May Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Queen Juno,[1] under whose protection Argos is, forbid that that city be the prize to be contended for by the Spartan tyrant and the Aetolian robbers, in such a critical moment that its recovery by you would be a greater misery than its possession by him. The sea that lies between does not protect us from those brigands, Titus Quinctius; what will become of us if they establish their citadel in the heart of the Peloponnesus? They have only the tongue of Greeks, as they have only the shape of men; they live under rules and practices more savage than any barbarians, yes, than any wild beasts. Therefore we beg you, Romans, both to recover Argos from Nabis and to establish the affairs of Greece in such a way as to leave us well protected from the brigandage of the Aetolians as well." When men from all sides were uniting in censuring the Aetolians, the Roman said that he would have answered them, did he not see that all men were so enraged at them that they required to be soothed rather than provoked. He said that he was content with the opinions expressed about the Romans and the Aetolians, and therefore put the question what they would do about a war against Nabis if he would not give Argos back to the Achaeans. When a unanimous decree for war had been passed, he urged them that each state should send auxiliaries in proportion to its strength. He even sent an ambassador to the Aetolians, more for the purpose of laying bare their intentions (and in this he succeeded) than from the hope that he could gain their adherence.

XXV. He ordered the tribunes of the soldiers to

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2 arcesserent imperavit. Per eosdem dies et Antiochi legatis de societate agentibus respondit nihil se absentibus decem legatis sententiae habere; Romam
3 eundum ad senatum iis esse. Ipse copias adductas ab Elatia ducere Argos pergit; atque ei circa Cleonas Aristaenus praetor cum decem milibus Achaeorum, equitibus mille occurrit, et haud procul inde iunctis
4 exercitibus posuerunt castra. Postero die in campum Argivorum descenderunt et quattuor ferme milia
5 ab Argis locum castris capiunt. Praefectus praesidii Laconum erat Pythagoras, gener idem tyranni et uxoris eius frater, qui sub adventum Romanorum et utrasque arces—nam duas habent Argi—et loca alia quae aut opportuna aut suspecta erant validis prae-
6 sidiis firmavit; sed inter haec agenda pavorem iniectum adventu Romanorum dissimulare haudquaquam poterat; et ad externum terrorem intestina
7 etiam seditio accessit. Damocles erat Argius, adulescens maioris animi quam consilii, qui primo, iureiurando interposito, de praesidio expellendo cum idoneis conlocutus, dum vires adicere coniurationi
8 studet, incautior fidei aestimator fuit. Conloquentem eum cum suis satelles a praefecto missus cum accerseret, sensit proditum consilium esse hortatusque
9 est [1] coniuratos qui aderant, ut potius quam extorti morerentur, arma secum caperent. Atque ita cum

[1] hortatusque est *Kreyssig*: hortatusque *B*.

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[1] Elatia was the regular winter headquarters of Flamininus; cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 5.

[2] Nabis had married Apega, probably the sister of Pythagoras (XXXII. xl. 10–11; Polyb. XVIII. xvii.; cf. XIII. vii); Pythagoras in turn had married the daughter of Nabis.

summon the army from Elatia.[1] About this time, B.C. 195
too, ambassadors from Antiochus arrived to discuss an alliance, but received the reply that he had nothing to say in the absence of the ten commissioners; it would be necessary for them to go to Rome and apply to the senate. He then proceeded to lead the assembled forces from Elatia towards Argos, and in the vicinity of Cleonae Aristaenus the praetor met him with ten thousand Achaean infantry and one thousand cavalry, and uniting their forces they encamped a short distance away. The next day they marched down into the plain of the Argives and selected for their camp a position about four miles from Argos. The commander of the Spartan garrison was Pythagoras, at once the son-in-law and brother-in-law of the tyrant,[2] and at the approach of the Romans he posted strong guards on both citadels (for Argos has two citadels) and likewise on other places that were favourably situated or open to attack; but while he was taking this action he could not conceal the fear which the coming of the Romans caused, and on top of the danger from outside there was also a mutiny within. There was an Argive named Damocles, a young man of greater spirit than discretion, who, after exchanging oaths, began conferring with suitable persons regarding expelling the garrison, and, in his desire to add strength to his conspiracy, proved to be too careless in his estimation of fidelity. When an agent sent by the prefect summoned him as he was talking to one of his party, he perceived that the plot had been betrayed and urged the conspirators who were with him to join him in armed resistance rather than perish under torture. And so with a few of his friends he rushed

A.U.C. 559 paucis in forum pergit ire clamitans ut qui salvam rem publicam vellent auctorem et ducem se libertatis
10 sequerentur. Haud sane movit quemquam, quia nihil usquam spei propinquae, nedum satis firmi
11 praesidii cernebant. Haec vociferantem eum Lacedaemonii circumventum cum suis interfecerunt.
12 Comprensi deinde quidam et alii. Ex iis occisi plures, pauci in custodiam coniecti; multi [1] proxima nocte funibus per murum demissi ad Romanos perfugerunt.

XXVI. Quinctius adfirmantibus iis, si ad portas
2 exercitus Romanus fuisset, non sine effectu futurum eum motum fuisse et, si propius castra admoverentur, non quieturos Argivos, misit expeditos pedites equitesque, qui circa Cylarabim—gymnasium id est minus
3 trecentos passus ab urbe—cum erumpentibus a porta Lacedaemoniis proelium commiserunt atque eos haud magno certamine compulerunt in urbem. Et castra eo ipso loco ubi pugnatum erat imperator
4 Romanus posuit. Diem inde unum in speculis fuit, si quid novi motus oreretur; postquam oppressam metu civitatem vidit advocat consilium de oppug-
5 nandis Argis. Omnium principum Graeciae praeter Aristaenum eadem sententia erat, cum causa belli non alia esset, inde potissimum ordiendum bellum.[2]
6 Quinctio id nequaquam placebat, et Aristaenum contra omnium consensum disserentem cum haud
7 dubia approbatione audivit; et ipse adiecit, cum pro

[1] multi *Ascensius*: *om. B.*
[2] ordiendum bellum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ordiendi belli *B*: ordiundi bellum *M.*

into the forum, crying out that all who wished the B.C. 195
safety of the state should follow him as the sponsor and leader of freedom. He roused almost no one, since they saw no immediate prospect of success anywhere, and not even any considerable material strength. As he was uttering such appeals, the Lacedaemonians surrounded him and his party and put them to death. Then some of the others were arrested, and most of these were executed, a few imprisoned. During the following night many let themselves down over the wall by means of ropes and took refuge with the Romans.

XXVI. When these men assured him that if the Roman army had been at the gates the uprising would not have been so futile, and that the Argives would not remain quiet if he moved his camp nearer the city, Quinctius sent the light infantry and cavalry, who engaged with a party of Lacedaemonians who rushed out of the gate near Cylarabis—a gymnasium less than three hundred paces from the city—and without great effort drove them back into the town. Then the Roman general placed his camp on the spot where the battle had occurred. He spent the next day watching to see if any new disturbance would arise; when he saw that the state had been overawed he called a council to consider laying siege to Argos. The opinion of all the Greek chieftains except Aristaenus was the same, that since there was no other cause for the war than that city, the war should by preference begin there. Quinctius was by no means of the same opinion, and he listened with unmistakable approval to the argument of Aristaenus, which was opposed to this generally held view; and he even asked what, since the war had

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Argivis adversus tyrannum bellum susceptum sit, quid minus conveniens esse quam omisso hoste Argos
8 oppugnari? Se vero caput belli Lacedaemonem et tyrannum petiturum. Et dimisso consilio frumentatum expeditas cohortes misit. Quod maturi erat circa, demessum et convectum est; viride, ne hostes mox haberent, protritum et corruptum.
9 Castra deinde movit et Parthenio superato monte praeter Tegeam tertio die ad Caryas posuit castra. Ibi priusquam hostium intraret agrum sociorum
10 auxilia expectavit. Venerunt Macedones a Philippo mille et quingenti et Thessalorum equites quadringenti. Nec iam auxilia, quorum adfatim erat, sed commeatus finitimis urbibus imperati morabantur
11 Romanum. Navales quoque magnae copiae conveniebant; iam ab Leucade L. Quinctius quadraginta navibus venerat, iam Rhodiae duodeviginti tectae naves, iam Eumenes rex circa Cycladas insulas erat cum decem tectis navibus, triginta lembis mixtisque aliis minoris formae navigiis.
12 Ipsorum quoque Lacedaemoniorum exules permulti, tyrannorum iniuria pulsi, spe reciperandae patriae in
13 castra Romana convenerunt. Multi autem erant, iam per aliquot aetates, ex quo tyranni tenebant
14 Lacedaemonem, alii ab aliis expulsi. Princeps erat exulum Agesipolis, cuius iure gentis regnum Lacedaemone erat, pulsus infans ab Lycurgo tyranno post

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[1] The next sentence reveals the exaggeration of the statement: Cleomenes was tyrant during the period 235–221 B.C. (Polyb. II. xlvii).

been undertaken for the sake of the Argives and against the tyrant, was less consistent than to let the enemy alone and attack Argos? For his part, he would seek the main objective of the war, Sparta and the tyrant. Accordingly he dismissed the council and sent light cohorts out to forage. The ripe grain was harvested and brought into camp; the unripe was trampled down and destroyed, to prevent the enemy from enjoying it later. Then he moved his camp and crossing Mount Parthenius and passing Tegea he encamped on the third day near Caryae. There, before he entered the enemy's country he waited for the auxiliaries of the allies. Fifteen hundred Macedonians came from Philip and four hundred Thessalian cavalry. It was no longer auxiliaries, of whom there were plenty, that delayed the Roman commander, but the supplies that the neighbouring states had been ordered to contribute. Also, great fleets were assembling: Lucius Quinctius had now arrived from Leucas with forty ships, together with eighteen warships of the Rhodians, and King Eumenes was off the Cyclades islands with ten warships, thirty cruisers and with them other vessels of smaller size. Many exiles of the Lacedaemonians, driven out by the misdeeds of the tyrants, also came to the Roman camp in the hope of being restored to their homes. There were many who had been driven out by one tyrant or another, through the several generations[1] which had elapsed since tyrants first got control of Sparta. The chief of the exiles was Agesipolis, to whom the throne of Lacedaemon belonged by right of birth, who had been exiled in his childhood by the tyrant Lycurgus after the death of Cleomenes, B.C. 195

A.U.C. 559 mortem Cleomenis, qui primus tyrannus Lacedaemone fuit.

XXVII. Cum terra marique tantum belli circumstaret tyrannum, et prope nulla spes esset vere suas hostiumque aestimanti vires, non tamen omisit bellum, sed a Creta mille delectos iuventutis eorum excivit, cum mille iam haberet, et tria milia mercenariorum militum, decem milia popularium cum castellanis agrestibus in armis habuit et fossa valloque urbem communivit; et ne quid intestini motus oreretur, metu et acerbitate poenarum tenebat animos quoniam ut salvum vellent tyrannum sperare non poterat. Cum suspectos quosdam civium haberet, eductis in campum omnibus copiis—Dromon ipsi vocant—positis armis ad contionem vocari iubet Lacedaemonios atque eorum contioni satellites armatos circumdedit; et pauca praefatus, cur sibi omnia timenti caventique ignoscendum in tali tempore foret, et ipsorum referre si quos suspectos status praesens rerum faceret, prohiberi potius ne quid moliri possint quam puniri molientes; itaque quosdam se in custodia habiturum donec ea quae instet tempestas praetereat; hostibus repulsis, a quibus, si modo proditio intestina satis caveatur, minus periculi esse, extemplo eos emissurum; sub

who had been the first to hold the tyranny in Sparta. B.C. 195

XXVII. When so great a war on land and sea was threatening the tyrant, though on a true estimate of his own strength and that of the enemy he could see almost no hope of success, he nevertheless did not neglect his preparations for war, but summoned from Crete a thousand of their chosen youths, in addition to a thousand who were already with him; he had also in his force three thousand mercenaries and ten thousand of his own countrymen along with the rural guards, and he fortified the city with a moat and rampart. To prevent any internal disorder, he held the people in check with terror and severe punishments, since he could not hope that they would wish well to a tyrant. Since he entertained suspicions regarding certain citizens, he led out his entire force into a plain—they call it Dromos —and stacking arms bade the Spartans to be summoned to a meeting and surrounded the gathering with armed guards. Then he made some brief opening remarks, showing why he should be pardoned in such an emergency, when he feared everything and guarded against everything, and that it was to their own interest, if the present state of affairs made him suspect certain citizens, that these persons should be prevented from making any attempt upon him rather than punished for making the attempt; he would accordingly hold certain persons under guard until the storm which was threatening should pass; when the enemy was driven off—and there was less danger from them if only internal treachery could be prevented—he would at once release them; after this he ordered the

A.U.C. 559 haec citari nomina octoginta ferme principum iuventutis iussit atque eos, ut quisque ad nomen responderat, in custodiam tradidit; nocte insequenti 9 omnes interfecti. Ilotarum deinde quidam—hi sunt iam inde antiquitus castellani, agreste genus—transfugere voluisse insimulati per omnes vicos sub verberibus acti necantur. Hoc terrore obstipuerant multitudinis animi ab omni conatu novorum con- 10 siliorum. Intra munitiones copias continebat, nec parem se ratus, si dimicare acie vellet, et urbem relinquere tam suspensis, et incertis omnium animis metuens.

XXVIII. Quinctius satis iam omnibus paratis profectus ab stativis die altero ad Sellasiam super Oenunta fluvium pervenit, quo in loco Antigonus, Macedonum rex, cum Cleomene, Lacedaemoniorum 2 tyranno, signis collatis dimicasse dicebatur. Inde cum audisset descensum difficilis et artae viae esse, brevi per montes circuitu praemissis qui munirent viam, lato satis et patenti limite ad Eurotam amnem, 3 sub ipsis prope fluentem moenibus, pervenit. Ubi castra metantes Romanos Quinctiumque ipsum cum equitibus atque expeditis praegressum auxiliares tyranni adorti in terrorem ac tumultum coniecerunt nihil tale expectantes, quia nemo iis obvius toto itinere 4 fuerat, ac velut pacato agro transierant. Aliquamdiu peditibus equites, equitibus pedites vocanti-

[1] Probably a variant on the more familiar *Helots*.

names of about eighty of the most prominent young men to be read, and each one, as he answered to his name, was turned over to the guards; during the next night he put them all to death. Then some of the Ilotae,[1] a rural people, who had been country-dwellers from remote antiquity, were charged with trying to desert, driven with whips through all the streets, and put to death. By thus inspiring fear he stunned the minds of the crowd and prevented any attempt at revolution. He kept his troops within the walls, thinking himself unequal to the enemy, if he should dare to risk a battle, and fearing to leave the city while all men's minds were in such suspense and uncertainty. B.C. 195

XXVIII. Quinctius had now made adequate preparations and had left his base and on the second day arrived at Sellasia above the Oenus river, at which place it was said that Antigonus, king of the Macedonians, had contended in pitched battle with Cleomenes, the tyrant of the Lacedaemonians. Having learned that the descent was through a difficult and narrow pass, he sent men ahead to build a road over a short bypass over the mountains, and came by a sufficiently wide and open way to the river Eurotas, which flows almost under the very walls of the city. When the Romans were laying out their camp and Quinctius himself with the cavalry and light infantry had gone on ahead, the auxiliary forces of the tyrant attacked and threw them into panic and disorder, since they anticipated no such event, because no enemy had shown himself on their entire march and they had passed through an apparently peaceful country. For a time there was confusion as the cavalry called to the infantry and the infantry

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bus, cum in se cuique minimum fiduciae esset, trepidatum est; tandem signa legionum super- 5 venerunt et, cum primi agminis cohortes inductae in proelium essent, qui modo terrori fuerant, trepi- 6 dantes in urbem compulsi sunt. Romani, cum tantum a muro recessissent ut extra ictum teli essent, acie derecta [1] paulisper steterunt; postquam nemo 7 hostium contra exibat, redierunt in castra. Postero die Quinctius prope flumen praeter urbem sub ipsas Menelai montis radices ducere copias instructas pergit; primae legionariae cohortes ibant, levis 8 armatura et equites agmen cogebant. Nabis intra murum instructos paratosque sub signis habebat mercennarios milites, in quibus omnis fiducia erat, 9 ut ab tergo hostem adgrederetur. Postquam extremum agmen praeteriit, tum ab oppido, eodem quo pridie eruperant, tumultu pluribus simul locis 10 erumpunt. Ap. Claudius agmen cogebat; qui ad id quod futurum erat, ne inopinatum accideret, praeparatis suorum animis signa extemplo convertit 11 totumque in hostem agmen circumegit. Itaque, velut rectae acies concurrissent, iustum aliquamdiu proelium fuit; tandem Nabidis milites in fugam inclinarunt; quae minus infesta ac [2] trepida fuisset, ni Achaei locorum prudentes institissent. Ii et caedem ingentem ediderunt et dispersos passim fuga plerosque armis exuerunt. Quinctius prope Amyclas 12 posuit castra; unde cum perpopulatus omnia cir-

[1] derecta *Bessler*: decreta *B*: erecta *M*.
[2] infesta ac *M. Müller*: ac *M*: *om. B*.

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[1] The word *rectae* (literally "straight") in this context appears to mean the orderly alinement of a force drawn up

to the cavalry, since each lacked confidence in itself; B.C. 195
finally, the standards of the legions came up, and when the leading cohorts of the column were thrown into the fight, those who had a moment before been a cause of terror were driven in panic into the city. The Romans retired so far from the wall that they were beyond spear-range, and forming their line waited for a while; when no enemy came out against them, they retired to the camp. The next day Quinctius began to lead his troops in array along the river and past the city to the foot of Mount Menelaus; at the head marched the legionary cohorts and the light infantry and the cavalry formed the rear-guard. Inside the wall Nabis had formed and made ready his mercenaries, in whom he placed most confidence, to attack the enemy in the rear. When the tail of the column had passed, they burst from the town through several gates at once, with the same fury as the day before. Appius Claudius was bringing up the rear; he had prepared the minds of his men for what was likely to occur, lest it catch them unawares, and he at once faced about and presented a solid front to the enemy. So, just as if organized[1] battle-lines had met, there was a regular battle for a while; at length the soldiers of Nabis turned in flight; and this would have been less hazardous and dangerous if the Achaeans, who knew the ground, had not pressed them hard. They caused great slaughter and disarmed many of them as they scattered in flight in every direction. Quinctius encamped near Amyclae, and from that base he laid waste all the well-populated and pleasant

[1] for battle, and stands in contrast with the column, the formation adopted on the march.

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cumiecta urbi frequentis et amoeni agri loca esset, nullo iam hostium porta excedente castra movit ad fluvium Eurotam. Inde vallem Taygeto subiectam agrosque ad mare pertinentes evastat.

XXIX. Eodem fere tempore L. Quinctius maritimae orae oppida partim voluntate, partim metu 2 aut vi recepit. Certior deinde factus Gytheum oppidum omnium maritimarum rerum Lacedaemoniis receptaculum esse nec procul a mari castra Romana 3 abesse, omnibus id copiis adgredi constituit. Erat eo tempore valida urbs, et multitudine civium inco- 4 larumque et omni bellico apparatu instructa. In tempore Quinctio rem haud facilem adgredienti rex Eumenes et classis Rhodiorum supervenerunt. 5 Ingens multitudo navalium sociorum e tribus contracta classibus intra paucos dies omnia quae ad oppugnationem urbis terra marique munitae facienda 6 opera erant effecit. Iam testudinibus admotis murus subruebatur, iam arietibus quatiebatur. Itaque una crebris ictibus eversa est turris quodque 7 circa muri erat casu eius prostratum; et Romani simul a portu, unde aditus planior erat, ut distenderent ab apertiore loco hostes, simul per pate- 8 factum ruina iter irrumpere conabantur. Nec multum afuit quin qua intenderant penetrarent; sed tardavit impetum eorum spes obiecta dedendae 9 urbis, mox deinde eadem turbata. Dexagoridas

country districts which surrounded the city, and B.C. 195
when no enemy now left the gates he moved his camp to the river Eurotas. Next he devastated the valley that lies below Taygetus and the fields that stretched towards the sea.

XXIX. At about the same time Lucius Quinctius received the surrender of the towns on the coast, some by their own choice, some from fear or as a result of attack. Then, having learned that the town of Gytheum was the Lacedaemonians' storehouse of naval supplies of all kinds and that the Roman camp was not far from the sea, he determined to attack the town with his whole force. It was at that time a strongly fortified place, well supplied with large numbers of citizens and immigrants and with all military equipment. At an opportune moment for Quinctius, who was undertaking a difficult task, King Eumenes and the Rhodian fleet appeared. A huge crowd of naval allies, assembled from the three fleets, within a few days made ready all the engines necessary for the siege of a city strongly fortified by land and sea. Soon mantlets were brought up and the wall was being undermined and shaken by battering-rams. So one tower was overthrown by the repeated blows, and the adjacent wall was ruined by its fall; and the Romans attempted at once to force their way in from the harbour side, whence the approach was more level, to distract the enemy's attention from the more exposed place, and also through the breach made by the falling of the wall. Nor were they far from winning to the place they sought, but their attack was slowed up by the hope held out to them, but soon after found delusive, that the city would capitulate. Dexagoridas and Gorgopas

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et Gorgopas pari imperio praeerant urbi. Dexagoridas miserat ad legatum Romanum traditurum
10 se urbem; et cum ad eam rem tempus et ratio convenisset, a Gorgopa proditor interficitur, intentiusque ab uno urbs defendebatur. Et difficilior facta oppugnatio erat ni T. Quinctius cum quattuor
11 milibus delectorum militum supervenisset. Is cum supercilio haud procul distantis tumuli ab urbe instructam aciem ostendisset, et ex altera parte L. Quinctius ab operibus suis terra marique instaret,
12 tum vero desperatio Gorgopan quoque coegit id
13 consilii quod in altero morte vindicaverat capere, et pactus ut abducere inde milites quos praesidii causa
14 habebat liceret, tradidit Quinctio urbem. Priusquam Gytheum traderetur, Pythagoras, praefectus Argis relictus, tradita custodia urbis Timocrati Pellenensi cum mille mercennariis militibus et duobus milibus Argivorum Lacedaemonem ad Nabim venit.

XXX. Nabis sicut primo adventu Romanae classis et traditione oppidorum maritimae orae conterritus
2 erat, sic parva spe cum acquievisset Gytheo ab suis retento, postquam id quoque traditum Romanis audivit esse et,[1] cum ab terra omnibus circa hostilibus
3 nihil spei esset, a mari quoque toto se interclusum, cedendum fortunae ratus caduceatorem primum in castra misit ad explorandum si paterentur legatos

[1] esse et *Drakenborch*: esse *B*.

were in command of the city, with equal authority. B.C. 195
Dexagoridas had sent word to the Roman lieutenant that he would give up the city, and when the time and method of procedure had been agreed upon, the traitor was slain by Gorgopas and the city was more vigorously defended by him alone. And the continuance of the siege would have been more difficult if Titus Quinctius had not come up with four thousand picked troops. When he had revealed his line of battle, drawn up on the brow of a hill no great distance from the city, and on the other side Lucius Quinctius was pressing the assault from his works on land and sea, then despair compelled Gorgopas too to adopt the plan which he had punished with death in another's case, and bargaining that he should be permitted to lead away the soldiers whom he had had as a garrison, he surrendered the city to Quinctius. Before Gytheum was surrendered, Pythagoras, the prefect who had been left at Argos, turned over the guardianship of the city to Timocrates of Pellene and with a thousand mercenaries and two thousand Argives joined Nabis in Lacedaemon.

XXX. Although Nabis had been greatly alarmed at the approach of the Roman fleet and the surrender of the coast towns, yet he had rested on a slender hope as long as Gytheum was held by his troops; when he learned that it too had been given over to the Romans and that, while on land there was no hope, all the country being in the hands of the enemy, he was entirely cut off from the sea as well, considering that he must yield to fortune, he first sent a herald to the camp to find out whether they would permit ambassadors to be sent to them.

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4 ad se mitti. Qua impetrata re Pythagoras ad imperatorem venit nullis cum aliis mandatis quam ut 5 tyranno colloqui cum imperatore liceret. Consilio advocato cum omnes dandum colloquium censuissent, 6 dies locusque constituitur. In mediae regionis tumulos modicis copiis sequentibus cum venissent, relictis ibi in statione conspecta utrimque cohortibus 7 Nabis cum delectis custodibus corporis, Quinctius cum fratre et Eumene rege et Sosila Rhodio et Aristaeno, Achaeorum praetore, tribunisque militum paucis descendit.

XXXI. Ibi permisso seu [1] dicere prius seu audire mallet, ita coepit tyrannus: "Si ipse per me, T. Quincti vosque qui adestis, causam excogitare cur mihi aut indixissetis bellum aut inferretis possem, 2 tacitus eventum fortunae meae expectassem; nunc imperare animo nequivi [2] quin, priusquam perirem, cur periturus essem scirem. Et hercules, si tales 3 essetis quales esse Carthaginienses fama est, apud quos nihil societatis fides sancti haberet, in me quoque vobis quid faceretis minus pensi esse non mirarer; 4 nunc cum vos intueor, Romanos esse video, qui rerum divinarum foedera, humanarum fidem socialem 5 sanctissimam habeatis; cum me ipse respexi, eum me [3] esse spero, cui et publice, sicut ceteris Lacedaemoniis, vobiscum vetustissimum foedus sit et meo

[1] seu *Duker*: ut seu *B.*
[2] nequivi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: nequeo *B.*
[3] eum me *Siesbye*: eum *B.*

[1] The exactness of this statement cannot be verified. There seems to be no record of an earlier treaty, yet in 205 B.C. (XXIX. xii. 14) Nabis is mentioned as an ally. The negotiations of 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxxix. 10–xl. 4) make no mention of such an alliance.

When this was granted Pythagoras came to the commander with no other message than that the tyrant be granted an interview with the general. When a council was summoned and all agreed that an interview should be granted, a time and place were appointed. They arrived with moderate escorts at some hills in the intervening country, and both parties, leaving their cohorts on guard in plain sight, came down to the meeting-place, Nabis with a picked body-guard, Quinctius with his brother, King Eumenes, Sosilas the Rhodian, Aristaenus, praetor of the Achaeans, and a few military tribunes. B.C. 195

XXXI. When the tyrant had been given the option of speaking first or of listening, he began thus: "If, Titus Quinctius and you others who are present, I had been able to discover for myself any reason why you should have declared or should now be waging war upon me, I should have waited in silence for the decision as to my fate; but as it is, I have been unable to control my curiosity to know, before I perish, why I am to perish. And, by Hercules, if you were such men as the Carthaginians are reputed to be, among whom no sanctity attaches to a pledge of alliance, as regards myself too I should not wonder that you take little thought as to how you are acting; but now, as I look at you, I see that you are Romans, men who hold treaties to be the most sacred of divinely-established institutions, and a pledge to be the most sacred of human ties. When I look at myself, I hope that I see myself as one who, as a member of the state, in common with the other Lacedaemonians, has enjoyed a most ancient treaty [1] with you, and who on his own account and in his own person has recently,

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nomine privatim amicitia ac societas, nuper Philippi
6 bello renovata. At enim ego eam violavi et everti
7 quod Argivorum civitatem teneo. Quo modo hoc tuear? Re an tempore? Res mihi duplicem defensionem praebet; nam et ipsis vocantibus ac tradentibus urbem eam accepi, non occupavi, et accepi cum Philippi partium, non in vestra societate
8 esset. Tempus autem eo me liberat quod, cum iam Argos tenerem, societas mihi vobiscum convenit et ut vobis mitterem ad bellum auxilia, non ut Argis
9 praesidium deducerem, pepigistis. At hercule in ea controversia quae de Argis est, superior sum et aequitate rei, quod non vestram urbem, sed hostium,
10 quod volentem, non vi coactam, accepi, et vestra confessione, quod in condicionibus societatis Argos
11 mihi reliquistis; ceterum nomen tyranni et facta me premunt, quod servos ad libertatem voco, quod in
12 agros inopem plebem deduco. De nomine hoc respondere possum, me, qualiscumque sum, eundem esse qui fui cum tu ipse mecum, T. Quincti, societatem
13 pepigisti. Tum me regem appellari a vobis memini nunc tyrannum vocari video. Itaque, si ego nomen imperii mutassem, mihi meae inconstantiae, cum
14 vos mutetis, vobis vestrae reddenda ratio est. Quod

during the war with Philip, renewed this friendship B.C. 198
and alliance. But, you say, I have violated and overturned it because I hold the city of Argos. How shall I defend myself against this charge? By the aid of the facts or by consideration of the time? The facts give me a double defence: first, when the citizens themselves invited me and turned the city over to me, I accepted it, not seized it; second, I received it when the city belonged to Philip's faction and was not in league with you. The time likewise acquits me of that charge, since the alliance between you and me was arranged at a time when I was already in possession of Argos, and your stipulation was that I should send you assistance for the war, not that I should withdraw my garrison from Argos. But, by Hercules, in the dispute which concerns Argos, I come out the victor both by the justice of my case, because I received a city which belonged not to you but to the enemy, received it by its own act and not through compulsion; and by your own admission, since by the terms of our alliance you left Argos in my hands. But my title of tyrant and my behaviour argue against me, because I summon slaves to the enjoyment of freedom and establish the needy commons upon the soil. As to my title, I can give this reply, that, whatever I am, I was the same when you yourself, Titus Quinctius, made the alliance with me. At that time I recall that you saluted me as king; at this time I see that I am called tyrant. Therefore, if I had changed the title of my office, I should have to explain my inconsistency; since you are changing it, you must give reason for your own. As to the fact that I have

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ad multitudinem servis liberatis auctam et egentibus divisum agrum attinet, possum quidem et in hoc me
15 iure temporis tutari: iam feceram haec, qualiacumque sunt, cum societatem mecum pepigistis et
16 auxilia in bello adversus Philippum accepistis; sed si nunc ea fecissem, non dico ' quid in eo vos laesissem aut vestram amicitiam violassem? ' sed illud, me more
17 atque instituto maiorum fecisse. Nolite ad vestras leges atque instituta exigere ea quae Lacedaemone fiunt. Nihil comparare singula necesse est. Vos a censu equitem, a censu peditem legitis, et paucos excellere opibus, plebem subiectam esse illis vultis;
18 noster legum lator non in paucorum manu rem publicam esse voluit, quem vos senatum appellatis, nec excellere unum aut alterum ordinem in civitate, sed per aequationem fortunae ac[1] dignitatis fore credidit ut multi essent qui arma pro patria ferrent.
19 Pluribus me ipse egisse quam pro patria[2] sermonis brevitate fateor; et breviter peroratum esse potuit, nihil me, postquam vobiscum institui amicitiam, cur eius vos paeniteret commisisse."

XXXII. Ad haec imperator Romanus: " Amicitia
2 et societas nobis nulla tecum, sed cum Pelope, rege Lacedaemoniorum iusto ac legitimo, facta est, cuius ius tyranni quoque, qui postea per vim tenuerunt

[1] ac *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ad *B.*
[2] patria *Madvig*: patrio *B.*

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[1] This was the basis of the constitution of Servius Tullius. The exactness of these statements regarding Roman and Spartan legislation need not be examined for this purpose.

[2] The senators, who generally belonged in the higher census-classes.

[3] Lycurgus.

increased population by freeing slaves and have dis- B.C. 195
tributed land to the poor, I can defend myself against this charge by the plea of the time as I did before: I had already done all this, such as it is, at the time when you arranged the alliance with me and accepted my aid in the war against Philip; but if I had just recently done this, I should not ask, 'What harm have I done you in this way, or how have I broken the treaty?' but merely say that I had acted according to the tradition and custom of our ancestors. Do not weigh what is done in Lacedaemon on the scales of your own laws and institutions. It is unnecessary to make a detailed comparison. You choose your cavalry and your infantry according to their census-ratings,[1] and you desire that a few[2] should excel in wealth and that the commons should be under their control; our law-giver[3] ordained that the state should not be in the hands of the few, whom you call the senate, and that no one order should predominate in the state, but he believed that by equalizing wealth and rank it would come to pass that there would be many to bear arms for the country. I admit that I have spoken at greater length than suits the traditional brevity of our speech;[4] and I might have summed up briefly by stating that since I entered upon my friendship with you, I have done nothing to make you regret it."

XXXII. The Roman commander responded thus: "We have never made any treaty of friendship and alliance with you, but with Pelops, the lawful and legitimate king of the Spartans, whose rights the tyrants, who afterwards exercised violent sway in

[4] The Spartans were traditionally "laconic."

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Lacedaemone imperium, quia nos[1] bella nunc Punica, nunc Gallica, nunc alia ex aliis occupaverant, usurparunt, sicut tu quoque hoc Macedonico bello
3 fecisti. Nam quid minus conveniret quam eos qui pro libertate Graeciae adversus Philippum gereremus bellum cum tyranno instituere amicitiam? Et tyranno qui umquam fuit saevissimo et violentissimo
4 in suos? Nobis vero, etiam si Argos nec cepisses per fraudem nec teneres, liberantibus omnem Graeciam Lacedaemon quoque vindicanda in antiquam libertatem erat atque in leges suas, quarum modo tamquam
5 aemulus Lycurgi mentionem fecisti. An, ut ab Iaso et Bargyliis praesidia Philippi deducantur, curae erit nobis; Argos et Lacedaemonem, duas clarissimas urbes, lumina quondam Graeciae, sub pedibus tuis relinquemus, quae titulum nobis
6 liberatae Graeciae servientes deforment? At enim cum Philippo Argivi senserunt. Remittimus hoc tibi, ne nostram vicem irascaris. Satis compertum habemus duorum aut summum trium in ea re, non
7 civitatis culpam esse, tam hercule quam in te tuoque praesidio accersendo accipiendoque in arcem nihil
8 est[2] publico consilio actum. Thessalos et Phocenses et Locrenses consensu omnium scimus partium Philippi fuisse; tamen cum cetera liberavimus Graecia; quid tandem censes in Argivis, qui insontes
9 publici consilii sint, facturos? Servorum ad libertatem vocatorum et egentibus hominibus agri divisi

[1] nos *H. J. Müller*: eos *B M*. [2] est *Hertz*: siin *B*: sit *ς*.

[1] These statements cannot be verified, and Pelops cannot be positively identified.

[2] Rome's protection of remote towns is mentioned to present a sharp contrast with what follows.

[3] Nabis' indignation at Argos provokes an ironical reply.

Sparta, since we were kept busy by wars, now with B.C. 195
Carthage, now with Gaul, now with one state after another, had usurped, just as you too have done during this recent Macedonian war.[1] What would be less consistent than for a people that was fighting against Philip for the liberation of Greece to make a treaty of friendship with a tyrant? And a treaty with a tyrant the most savage and lawless that ever lived? Even if you had neither taken Argos through fraud nor continued to hold it in the same way, we should be compelled, while we were setting all Greece free, to restore Sparta as well to its ancient liberty and its laws, which you have mentioned as if you were an imitator of Lycurgus. It will be our responsibility that Philip's garrisons are withdrawn from Iasus and Bargyliae;[2] shall we leave Argos and Lacedaemon, two most celebrated cities, once the lights of Greece, under your feet, that their slavery may tarnish our glory as liberators of Greece? But, you say, the Argives were on the side of Philip. We do not at all ask *you* to be indignant with them on our account.[3] We have convincing proof that the blame for this rests on two or at most three men, not on the state, just as, by Hercules, when *you*, Nabis, with *your* garrison were invited and received into the citadel, nothing was done with official sanction. We know that the people of Thessaly and Phocis and Locris joined the party of Philip with the general approval of those peoples; nevertheless, we have set them free along with the rest of Greece; what then do you think we shall do in the case of the Argives, who are innocent of any official decision? You said that we were charging you with inviting slaves to

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crimina tibi obici dicebas, non quidem nec ipsa mediocria; sed quid ista sunt prae iis quae a te tuisque cotidie alia super alia facinora eduntur? 10 Exhibe liberam contionem vel Argis vel Lacedaemone, si audire iuvat vera dominationis impotentis- 11 simae crimina. Ut alia omnia vetustiora omittam, quam caedem Argis Pythagoras iste, gener tuus, paene in oculis meis edidit? Quam tu ipse, cum iam 12 prope in finibus Lacedaemoniorum essem? Age dum, quos in contione comprehensos omnibus audientibus civibus tuis te in custodia habiturum esse pronuntiasti, iube vinctos produci: miseri 13 parentes, quos falso lugent, vivere sciant. At enim, ut iam ita sint haec, quid ad vos, Romani? Hoc tu dicas liberantibus Graeciam? Hoc iis qui, ut liberare possent, mare traiecerunt, terra marique 14 gesserunt bellum? Vos tamen, inquis, vestramque amicitiam ac societatem proprie non violavi. Quotiens vis te id arguam fecisse? Sed nolo pluribus; 15 summam rem complectar. Quibus igitur rebus amicitia violatur? Nempe his maxime duabus, si socios meos pro hostibus habeas, si cum hostibus te 16 coniungas. Utrumque a te factum est; nam et Messenen, uno atque eodem iure foederis quo et Lacedaemonem in amicitiam nostram acceptam, socius ipse sociam nobis urbem vi atque armis

[1] Nabis captured Messene in 201 B.C. (Polyb. XVI. xiii). Both Nabis and Messene were included on the side of Rome in the treaty with Philip in 205 B.C. (xxix. xii. 14).

become free and dividing the land among poor B.C. 195
men, nor are these trivial accusations; but what are they in comparison with the crimes which are every day committed in endless succession by you and your followers? Hold a free assembly in either Argos or Lacedaemon, if you want to hear true accusations against a most lawless despotism. To pass over all other crimes of more distant date, what a slaughter did that Pythagoras, your son-in-law, cause at Argos almost under my eyes? Of what were you yourself guilty, at a time when I was practically on the frontiers of the Spartans? Come, bid those men be led out in chains whom you arrested in the assembly and announced in the hearing of all your fellow-citizens that you would hold in confinement: let their wretched parents see that those whom they are mourning without cause are alive. But, you say, granting now that all this is so, how does this concern you, O Romans? Can you say that to the deliverers of Greece? Can you say that to men who have crossed the sea and waged war on land and sea that they might accomplish this liberation? Yet you say, I have not personally violated your friendship and alliance. In how many instances do you want me to prove that you have done so? I shall not be long, but shall sum up the whole matter. In what ways, then, is friendship violated? Chiefly, no doubt, in these two ways: if you treat my allies as enemies, and if you associate yourself with my enemies. Both of these things you have done; for, in the first place, Messene, a city received into our friendship under one and the same treaty as Sparta, a city that was our ally, you, also our ally, captured by force of arms;[1] in

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17 cepisti et cum Philippo, hoste nostro, non societatem solum sed, si diis placet, adfinitatem etiam per
18 Philoclen, praefectum eius, pepigisti et ut[1] bellum adversus nos gerens mare circa Maleum infestum navibus piraticis fecisti et plures prope cives Romanos
19 quam Philippus cepisti atque occidisti, tutiorque Macedoniae ora quam promunturium Maleae commeatus ad exercitus nostros portantibus navibus
20 fuit. Proinde parce, sis, fidem ac iura societatis iactare et omissa populari oratione tamquam tyrannus et hostis loquere."

XXXIII. Sub haec Aristaenus nunc monere Nabim, nunc etiam orare ut, dum liceret, dum occasio esset,
2 sibi ac fortunis suis consuleret; referre deinde nominatim tyrannos civitatium finitimarum coepit, qui deposito imperio restitutaque libertate suis non tutam modo sed etiam honoratam inter cives senectu-
3 tem egissent. His dictis in vicem auditisque nox prope diremit colloquium. Postero die Nabis Argis se cedere ac deducere praesidium, quando ita Romanis placeret, et captivos et perfugas redditurum
4 dixit; aliud si quid postularent, scriptum ut ederent
5 petiit, ut deliberare cum amicis posset. Ita et tyranno tempus datum ad consultandum est, et Quinctius etiam sociorum etiam principibus adhibitis
6 habuit consilium. Maximae partis sententia erat perseverandum in bello esse et tollendum tyrannum;

[1] et ut *Duker*: et *B.*

the second place, you arranged not only an alliance with Philip, our enemy, but also (Heaven help us!) a personal relationship through the intervention of his prefect Philocles, and, just as if you were making regular war upon us, you rendered the sea around Malea dangerous with your pirate ships, and you captured and killed more Roman citizens, almost, than Philip did, and the coast of Macedonia was safer than the promontory of Malea for the ships that were transporting supplies for our armies. Cease then, if you please, to utter fine-sounding words about loyalty and treaty obligations, and dropping your popular style speak as a tyrant and an enemy." B.C. 195

XXXIII. After this Aristaenus began first to advise Nabis and then to plead with him, while he was in a position to do so and while there was opportunity, to consider his own interests and prospects, and then to recall by name the tyrants of the neighbouring states who had laid down their authority and restored liberty to their subjects and so had passed not only a secure but also an honourable old age among their fellow-citizens. After this interchange of speeches, the approach of night broke up the conference. The next day Nabis agreed to withdraw from Argos and lead away his garrison, since this was the Romans' pleasure, and to give back the prisoners and deserters; if they had further demands, he requested that they deliver them in writing, that he might discuss them with his friends. So an interval was granted the tyrant for his deliberations, and Quinctius also held a council to which he summoned the chiefs of the allies. The opinion of the majority was that they should continue the war and get rid of the tyrant; never

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numquam aliter tutam libertatem Graeciae fore;
7 satius multo fuisse non moveri bellum adversus eum
8 quam omitti motum; et ipsum velut comprobata dominatione firmiorem futurum auctore iniusti imperii adsumpto populo Romano et exemplo multos in aliis civitatibus ad insidiandum libertati civium
9 suorum incitaturum. Ipsius imperatoris animus ad pacem inclinatior erat. Videbat enim compulso intra moenia hoste nihil praeter obsidionem restare, eam
10 autem ancipitem [1] fore et diuturnam; non enim Gytheum, quod ipsum tamen traditum, non expugnatum esset, sed Lacedaemonem, validissimam
11 urbem viris armisque, oppugnaturos. Unam spem fuisse, si qua admoventibus exercitum dissensio inter ipsos ac seditio excitari posset; cum signa portis
12 prope inferri cernerent, neminem se movisse. Adiciebat et cum Antiocho infidam pacem Villium legatum inde redeuntem nuntiare; multo maioribus quam ante terrestribus navalibusque copiis in Europam
13 eum transisse. Si occupasset obsidio Lacedaemonis exercitum, quibus aliis copiis adversus regem tam
14 validum ac potentem bellum gesturos? Haec propalam dicebat; illa tacita suberat cura, ne novus consul Graeciam provinciam sortiretur et inchoata belli victoria successori tradenda esset.

[1] ancipitem *M. Müller*: *om. B.*

under other conditions would the liberty of Greece be assured; it would have been much better not to have begun the war against him than to discontinue it when once begun; and he, having obtained a quasi-approval of his despotism, would be more firmly established for having won the sanction of the Roman people for his unjust rule, and by his example would prompt many in other states to plot against the freedom of their citizens. The mind of the commander himself was more inclined towards peace. For he saw that with the enemy driven inside his fortifications nothing remained but a siege, but the siege would be of uncertain issue and long duration, since they would invest, not Gytheum (and this, besides, had been surrendered, not captured), but Lacedaemon, a city exceedingly powerful in men and arms. There had been, he continued, one real hope, if dissension and insurrection among the Spartans themselves could have been begun while they were bringing up the army; when they saw the standards almost carried into the gates, no one had stirred. He added that Villius, the ambassador, had reported on his return that the peace with Antiochus could not be depended upon, and that he had crossed into Europe with far greater military and naval forces than before. If the siege of Sparta, he asked, kept the army busy, with what other troops would they conduct the war against a king so mighty and powerful? Such was his spoken argument; unexpressed was another anxiety, that a new consul might obtain the province of Greece from the lots, and that he might be compelled to hand over to a successor an incomplete victory in the war. B.C. 195

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XXXIV. Cum adversus tendendo nihil moveret socios, simulando se transire in eorum sententiam omnes in adsensum consilii sui traduxit. "Bene vertat," inquit "obsideamus Lacedaemonem quando ita placet; illud modo ne fallat: cum [1] res tam lenta quam ipsi scitis, oppugnatio urbium sit et obsidentibus prius saepe quam obsessis taedium adferat, iam nunc hoc ita proponere vos animis oportet, hibernandum circa Lacedaemonis moenia esse. Quae mora si laborem tantum ac periculum haberet, ut et animis et corporibus ad sustinenda ea parati essetis hortarer vos; nunc impensa quoque magna eget in opera, in machinationes et tormenta quibus tanta urbs oppugnanda est, in commeatus vobis nobisque in hiemem expediendos. Itaque, ne aut repente trepidetis aut rem inchoatam turpiter destituatis, scribendum ante vestris civitatibus censeo explorandumque quid quaeque animi, quid virium habeat. Auxiliorum satis superque habeo; sed quo plures sumus pluribus rebus egebimus. Nihil iam praeter nudum solum ager hostium habet. Ad hoc hiems accedet ad comportandum ex longinquo difficilis." Haec oratio primum animos omnium ad respicienda sua [2] cuiusque [3] domestica mala convertit, segnitiam, invidiam et obtrectationem domi manentium adversus militantes, libertatem difficilem ad consensum, inopiam publicam, malignitatem conferendi ex privato. Versis itaque subito voluntatibus faceret

[1] cum *Madvig*: ceterum cum *B.*
[2] sua *Ussing*: *om. B.*
[3] cuiusque *H. J. Müller*: cuique *B.*

XXXIV. When by arguing on the other side he B.C. 195
produced no effect among the allies, by pretending to go over to their opinion he brought all into agreement with his plan. "May success attend us," he said, "and let us lay siege to Sparta, since that is your will: but do not be deceived about this: since the siege of cities is a slow business, as you know, which often exhausts the patience of the besiegers sooner than that of the besieged, you ought even now to hold this prospect before your minds, that we must winter around the walls of Lacedaemon. If this delay involved merely toil and danger, I should urge you to prepare both minds and bodies to resist them; but now it demands much money also, for siege-works, for engines and artillery with which we must attack so strong a town, and for the purchase of provisions for you and us against the winter. Therefore, to prevent any sudden fear or a disgraceful abandonment of an unfinished enterprise, I propose that you should write to your states in advance, to ascertain what is the temper and what the strength of each. Of troops to aid me, I have enough and more; but the more numerous we are, the more supplies we shall require. The enemy's country already offers nothing but the naked soil. Besides, winter will soon be here, making it difficult to transport supplies from a distance." This speech at once directed the minds of all to thoughts of the domestic difficulties of each, the sloth, the ill-will, and the jealousy of those who stayed at home towards the soldiers in the field, the liberty that made agreement difficult, the public poverty, the unwillingness to make contributions from private funds. Their inclinations accordingly suffered a sudden change,

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quod e re publica populi Romani sociorumque esse crederet imperatori permiserunt.

XXXV. Inde Quinctius adhibitis legatis tantum 2 tribunisque militum condiciones in quas pax cum tyranno fieret has conscripsit: sex mensium indutiae ut essent Nabidi Romanisque et Eumeni regi et Rhodiis; legatos extemplo mitterent Romam T. Quinctius et Nabis, ut pax ex auctoritate senatus 3 confirmaretur; et qua die scriptae condiciones pacis editae Nabidi forent, ea dies ut indutiarum principium esset, et ut ex ea die intra decimum diem ab Argis ceterisque oppidis quae in Argivorum agro essent praesidia omnia deducerentur vacuaque et libera 4 traderentur Romanis, et ne quod inde mancipium regium publicumve aut privatum educeretur, si qua ante educta forent dominis recte restituerentur; 5 naves quas civitatibus maritimis ademisset redderet neve ipse navem ullam praeter duos lembos, qui non plus quam sedecim remis agerentur, haberet; 6 perfugas et captivos omnibus sociis populi Romani civitatibus redderet et Messeniis omnia quae com- 7 parerent quaeque domini cognossent; exulibus quoque Lacedaemoniis liberos coniuges restitueret, quae earum viros sequi voluissent, invita ne qua 8 exulis comes esset; mercennariorum militum Nabidis,

[1] I.e. Eumenes.

and they granted authority to the commander to do what he considered consistent with the general interest of the Roman people and the allies. B.C. 195

XXXV. Quinctius then summoned only his lieutenants and the tribunes of the soldiers, and wrote down the terms on which peace should be made with the tyrant: that there should be a truce of six months between Nabis and the Romans, King Eumenes, and the Rhodians; that Titus Quinctius and Nabis should at once send ambassadors to Rome, that the peace might be ratified by the authority of the senate; that the day on which the written conditions of peace should be delivered to Nabis should be the beginning of the armistice, and that ten days from that time the garrisons should be withdrawn from Argos and the other towns in Argive territory, and that they be handed over to the Romans, empty and free of troops, and that no slave, whether belonging to the king [1] or to the state or to a private individual, should be removed, and if any had been previously removed they should be duly returned to their owners; that he should give back the ships which he had taken from the cities on the sea, and that he should not have any ship except two small vessels which were propelled by not more than sixteen oars; that he should restore the fugitives and captives to all the cities allied with the Roman people and to the Messenians all the property which could be found and which the owners could identify; that he should likewise return to the Lacedaemonian exiles their children and their wives who were willing to attend their husbands, provided that no wife should against her will follow a husband into exile; that all property should be duly restored

A.U.C. 559 qui aut in civitates suas aut ad Romanos transissent, 9 iis res suae omnes recte redderentur; in Creta insula ne quam urbem haberet; quas habuisset, redderet Romanis; ne quam societatem cum ullo Cretensium aut quoquam alio institueret neu bellum gereret; 10 civitatibus omnibus, quasque ipse [1] restituisset quaeque se suaque in fidem ac dicionem populi Romani tradidissent, omnia praesidia deduceret seque ipse 11 suosque ab iis abstineret; ne quod oppidum neu quod castellum in suo alienove agro conderet; obsides, ea ita futura, daret quinque, quos imperatori Romano placuisset, et filium in iis suum, et talenta centum argenti in praesenti et quinquaginta talenta in singulos annos per annos octo.

XXXVI. Haec conscripta castris propius urbem 2 motis Lacedaemonem mittuntur. Nec sane quicquam eorum satis placebat tyranno, nisi quod praeter spem reducendorum exulum mentio nulla facta erat; maxime autem omnium ea res offendebat, quod et naves et maritimae civitates ademptae erant. 3 Fuerat autem ei magno fructui mare, omnem oram a Maleo [2] praedatoriis navibus infestam habenti; iuventutem praeterea civitatium earum ad supplementum longe optimi generis militum habebat. 4 Has condiciones quamquam ipse in secreto volutaverat cum amicis, vulgo tamen omnes fama fere-

[1] ipse *Bekker*: et ipse *B.*
[2] a Maleo *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: maleo *B.*

to the mercenary soldiers of Nabis who had deserted B.C. 195
either to their own states or to the Romans; that he should retain possession of no town in Crete, and those which he had held he should turn over to the Romans; that he should form no alliance with any people of the Cretans or anyone else, and should wage no war with them; that from all the cities, both those which he had given up and those which had put themselves and their possessions under the protection and control of the Roman people, he should withdraw his garrisons and should keep himself and his troops away from them; that he should found no city or fort on his own or another's territory; that he should give five hostages that these conditions should be observed, such as were satisfactory to the Roman commander, and among them his son, and should pay one hundred talents of silver immediately and fifty talents per year for eight years.

XXXVI. These articles were reduced to writing and delivered to Lacedaemon, the camp having been moved nearer to the town. Nothing in them was really pleasing to the tyrant, except that, contrary to his expectations, no mention was made of any restoration of the exiles; but the most offensive clause was that which deprived him of the ships and the cities on the coast. The sea, indeed, had been of great profit to him, since his pirate boats had attacked the whole coast from the promontory of Malea; besides, he found the soldiers of these cities made by far the best kind of fighting men. Although he had discussed these conditions with his advisers in secret, nevertheless everyone was discussing them in common talk, since it is the nature

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bant, vanis, ut ad ceteram fidem, sic ad secreta tegenda satellitum regiorum ingeniis. Non tam omnia universi quam ea quae ad quemque pertinerent singuli carpebant. Qui exulum coniuges in matrimonio habebant aut ex bonis eorum aliquid possederant, tamquam amissuri, non reddituri, indignabantur. Servis liberatis a tyranno non irrita modo futura libertas, sed multo foedior quam fuisset ante, servitus, redeuntibus in iratorum dominorum potestatem ante oculos obversabatur. Mercennarii milites et pretia militiae casura in pace aegre ferebant et reditum sibi nullum in civitates videbant, infensas non tyrannis magis quam satellitibus eorum.

XXXVII. Haec inter se primo in circulis [1] serentes fremere; deinde subito ad arma discurrerunt. Quo tumultu cum per se satis irritatam multitudinem cerneret tyrannus, contionem advocari iussit. Ubi cum ea quae imperarentur ab Romanis exposuisset et graviora atque indigniora quaedam falso adfinxisset, et ad singula nunc ab universis nunc a partibus contionis acclamaretur, interrogavit quid se respondere ad ea aut quid facere vellet. Prope una voce omnes nihil responderi et bellum geri iusserunt; et pro se quisque, qualia multitudo solet, bonum animum habere et bene sperare iubentes, fortes

[1] in circulis *ed. Moguntina* 1518 : circulos *B.*

of the courtiers of kings to be untrustworthy in all respects, but especially for keeping secrets. People generally did not criticize the terms as a whole so much as individuals found fault with those that concerned themselves. Those who had married the wives of exiles, or had possessed themselves of parts of their property, mourned as if they were to be robbed, and were not to restore the property of others. Before the eyes of the slaves who had been freed by the tyrant was the vision not only of their vainly-gained liberty but of a slavery much more grievous than before, since they were returned to the authority of angered masters. The mercenaries saw with regret that the rewards of service would diminish in peace, and they likewise knew that they could not return to their own states, which were not more opposed to tyrants than to their servants. B.C. 195

XXXVII. At first they made these complaints as they discussed the terms in their own gatherings; then suddenly they ran to arms. When the tyrant perceived that the people had of their own accord become angry enough, he ordered an assembly summoned. When he had explained there the demands made by the Romans, and had falsely represented some of them as more burdensome and unjust than they actually were, and when each point was received with signs of disapproval, now from the whole assembly, now from one part or another, he asked what answer they wanted him to give and what they wished him to do. Almost unanimously they bade him give no answer but to continue the war, and each one individually, as a crowd is wont to do, counselled him to be of good cheer and good hope, reminding him that fortune favoured

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5 fortunam adiuvare aiebant. His vocibus incitatus tyrannus et Antiochum Aetolosque adiuturos pronuntiat, et sibi ad obsidionem sustinendam copiarum
6 adfatim esse. Exciderat pacis mentio ex omnium animis et in stationes non ultra quieturi discurrunt. Paucorum excursio lacessentium et emissa iacula extemplo et [1] Romanis dubitationem quin bellandum
7 esset exemerunt. Levia inde proelia per quadriduum primum sine ullo satis certo eventu commissa;
8 quinto die prope iusta pugna adeo paventes in oppidum Lacedaemonii compulsi sunt, ut quidam milites Romani terga fugientium caedentes per intermissa, ut tunc erant, moenia urbem intrarint.

XXXVIII. Et tunc quidem Quinctius satis eo terrore coercitis excursionibus hostium nihil praeter ipsius oppugnationem urbis superesse ratus, missis qui omnes navales socios a Gytheo accerserent, ipse interim cum tribunis militum ad visendum urbis
2 situm moenia circumvehitur. Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta; tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque obiecerant murum; altiora loca et difficilia aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento obiectis
3 tutabantur. Ubi satis omnia inspexit, corona oppugnandum ratus omnibus copiis—erant autem Romanorum sociorumque, simul peditum equitumque, simul terrestrium ac navalium copiarum, ad quinqua-
4 ginta milia hominum—urbem cinxit. Alii scalas,

[1] et ζ: qui et *B*.

[1] The fortification of Sparta is differently dated by other ancient writers.

the brave. Inspired by such speeches, the tyrant B.C. 195
announced that he would have the support of Antiochus and the Aetolians, and that he had abundant strength to withstand the siege. All thoughts of peace had gone from their minds and they rushed to their posts, unable to remain quiet longer. The sally of a few skirmishers and the weapons which they hurled at once removed from the Romans any doubt that the war would go on. For the first four days there were only minor engagements with no very certain result; on the fifth day, in a regular battle, the Lacedaemonians were driven back into the town in such confusion that some of the Romans, as they were cutting down the fugitives, entered the city through the gaps which at that time existed in the wall.

XXXVIII. And for the time Quinctius, having put a stop to the enemy's raids by reason of the alarm he had given them, and thinking that there was no alternative to the investment of the city, sent messengers to bring up the marines from Gytheum, and himself with the tribunes of the soldiers rode around the walls to reconnoitre the city's position. Sparta had at one time been without a wall; the tyrants had recently constructed a wall in the open and flat places;[1] the higher ground and that difficult to approach was defended by guards of soldiers instead of a fortification. When he had made a sufficiently complete reconnaissance, thinking that he should attack from an encircling line, he stationed around the city his whole force—there were altogether, Romans and allies, foot and horse, soldiers and marines, about fifty thousand men. Some bore ladders, others torches, others

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alii ignem, alii alia, quibus non oppugnarent modo sed etiam terrerent, portabant. Iussi sublato clamore subire undique omnes, ut, qua primum occurrerent quave opem ferrent, ad omnia simul paventes 5 Lacedaemonii ignorarent. Quod roboris in exercitu erat trifariam divisum; parte una a Phoebeo, altera a Dictynneo, tertia ab eo loco quem Heptagonias appellant—omnia autem haec aperta sine muro loca 6 sunt—adgredi iubet. Cum tantus undique terror urbem circumvasisset, primo tyrannus et ad clamores repentinos et ad nuntios trepidos motus, ut quisque maxime laboraret locus, aut ipse occurrebat aut 7 aliquos mittebat; deinde circumfuso undique pavore ita obtorpuit ut nec dicere quod in rem esset nec audire posset nec inops modo consilii sed vix mentis compos esset.

XXXIX. Romanos primo sustinebant in angustiis Lacedaemonii, ternaeque acies tempore uno locis diversis pugnabant; deinde crescente certamine 2 nequaquam erat proelium par. Missilibus enim Lacedaemonii pugnabant, a quibus se et magnitudine scuti perfacile Romanus tuebatur miles, et 3 quod alii vani, alii leves admodum ictus erant. Nam propter angustias loci confertamque turbam non modo ad emittenda cum procursu, quo plurimum concitantur, tela spatium habebant, sed ne ut de 4 gradu quidem libero ac stabili conarentur. Itaque ex adverso missa tela nulla in corporibus, rara in

other things, with which to attack and likewise to cause terror. The main body of his army he formed in three columns: his order was to attack with one on the side of the Phoebeum, with the second at the Dictynneum, with the third in the quarter which they call Heptagoniae —all these were open places without walls. The city being thus encircled on every side with terror, the tyrant at first, actively attending to the sudden shouts and the panic-stricken messages, just as each spot was in greatest straits, either went to meet the enemy in person or despatched assistance; later on, as the confusion increased on all sides, he was so benumbed by terror that he was unable either to order what was appropriate or to hear the reports, and not only lost his power of judgment but was almost bereft of reason. B.C. 195

XXXIX. At first the Lacedaemonians held up the Roman attack in the narrow approaches, and the three lines were fighting in different places at the same time; then, as the fighting grew more severe, the battle was by no means equal. For the Spartans were fighting with long-distance weapons, from which the Roman soldier protected himself with great ease, partly by the size of his shield, partly because some javelins missed their mark and others fell only lightly. For on account of the limited space and the throngs of soldiers, they not only had no room from which to hurl them on the run, which gives them the greatest momentum, but they lacked even room to try to throw them from an unimpeded and solid footing. Consequently, of the weapons hurled from directly opposite none pierced the

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5 scutis haerebant; ab circumstantibus ex superioribus locis vulnerati quidam sunt; mox progressos iam etiam ex tectis non tela modo sed tegulae quoque 6 inopinantes perculerunt. Sublatis deinde supra capita scutis continuatisque ita inter se, ut non modo ad caecos ictus sed ne ad inserendum quidem ex propinquo telum loci quicquam esset, testudine facta 7 subibant. Et primae angustiae paulisper sua hostiumque refertae turba tenuerunt; postquam in patentiorem viam urbis paulatim urgentes hostem processere, non ultra vis eorum atque impetus 8 sustineri poterant. Cum terga vertissent Lacedaemonii et fuga effusa superiora peterent loca, Nabis quidem, ut capta urbe trepidans, quanam ipse 9 evaderet circumspectabat; Pythagoras cum ad cetera animo officioque ducis fungebatur, tum vero unus ne caperetur urbs causa fuit; succendi enim 10 aedificia proxima muro iussit. Quae cum momento temporis arsissent, ut adiuvantibus ignem, qui alias ad exstinguendum opem ferre solent, ruere in 11 Romanos tecta, nec tegularum modo fragmenta sed etiam ambusta tigna ad armatos pervenire et flamma late fundi, fumus terrorem etiam maiorem quam 12 periculum facere. Itaque et qui extra urbem erant Romanorum, tum maxime impetum facientes, re-

bodies, and few even the shields; some of the B.C. 198
Romans were wounded by troops on their flanks who occupied the higher ground; presently, as they advanced, some unexpected wounds were suffered from spears and even tiles hurled from the house-tops. Then they held their shields above their heads and fitted them so closely together that no space was left for random shots or even for the insertion of a javelin from near at hand, and having formed their *testudo* they forced their way forward. The first narrow streets they entered, crowded with their own troops and those of the enemy, delayed them for a while; after they came out into the wider avenues of the city, gradually driving back the enemy, the violence of their assault could not be resisted longer. When the Lacedaemonians had turned to flee, and in headlong flight were seeking the higher ground, Nabis too, trembling as if the city had been taken, looked about him for a way to escape; Pythagoras not only displayed the courage and performed the functions of a commander in other respects, but was, moreover, the sole reason why the city was not captured, for he ordered the buildings nearest the wall to be set on fire. When these had flamed up in an instant, and the men who ordinarily would be accustomed to bring aid to put out the fire were helping it to burn more fiercely, the roofs were collapsing upon the Romans, and not only pieces of tile but half-burned beams were falling upon the soldiers and flames were shooting far out, while the smoke too was creating greater terror than danger. And so those of the Romans who were outside the city and were just at that moment making their most violent attack,

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cessere a muro, et qui iam intraverant, ne incendio ab tergo oriente intercluderentur ab suis, receperunt
13 sese; et Quinctius, postquam quid rei esset vidit, receptui canere iussit. Ita iam capta prope urbe revocati in castra redierunt.

XL. Quinctius plus ex timore hostium quam ex re ipsa spei nactus, per triduum insequens territavit eos, nunc proeliis lacessendo, nunc operibus inter-
2 saepiendo quaedam, ne exitus ad fugam esset. His comminationibus compulsus tyrannus Pythagoram rursus oratorem misit; quem Quinctius primo aspernatus excedere castris iussit, dein suppliciter orantem
3 advolutumque genibus tandem audivit. Prima oratio fuit omnia permittentis arbitrio Romanorum;
4 dein cum ea velut vana et sine effectu nihil proficeret, eo deducta est res ut iis condicionibus quas ex scripto paucis ante diebus editae erant indutiae fierent, pecuniaque et obsides accepti.
5 Dum oppugnatur tyrannus, Argivi, nuntiis aliis super[1] alios adferentibus tantum non iam captam
6 Lacedaemonem esse erecti et ipsi, simul eo quod Pythagoras cum parte validissima praesidii excesserat, contempta paucitate eorum qui in arce erant, duce Archippo quodam praesidium expulerunt;
7 Timocratem Pellenensem, quia clementer prae-

[1] super *P. R. Müller*: prope super *B.*

[1] Livy here uses *orator* in its original sense.

retired from the wall, and likewise those who had already entered, lest they be cut off from their own men by the fire which was rising in their rear, fell back, and Quinctius, when he saw what the situation was, ordered the signal sounded for a retirement. And so, when they had almost captured the city they were recalled and returned to their camp. B.C. 195

XL. Quinctius found more cause for hope in the enemy's panic than in the actual success he had gained, and for three days following kept them in a state of terror, sometimes harrying them with assaults, sometimes blocking open spaces with siege-works, that no way might be left open for escape. Under the pressure of these repeated threats the tyrant again sent Pythagoras to plead for him,[1] but Quinctius at first scornfully ordered him to be expelled from the camp, but later, when he begged like a suppliant and threw himself at his feet, he at length granted him an audience. The beginning of his speech was an offer of complete submission to the decision of the Romans, but when this accomplished nothing, being held to be idle and unavailing, matters were then brought to this point that a truce should be concluded on the basis of the terms which had been delivered in writing a few days before, and the money and hostages were received.

While the tyrant was being besieged, the Argives, when man after man brought the news that Lacedaemon was all but captured, themselves took heart, for the additional reason that Pythagoras had departed with the strongest contingent of the garrison, and making light of the few who were in the citadel, they chose one Archippus as leader and drove out the garrison; as for Timocrates of Pellene,

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fuerat, vivum fide data emiserunt. Huic laetitiae Quinctius supervenit pace data tyranno dimissisque ab Lacedaemone Eumene et Rhodiis et L. Quinctio fratre ad classem.

XLI. Laeta civitas celeberrimum festorum dierum ac nobile ludicrum Nemeorum, die stata propter belli mala praetermissum, in adventum Romani exercitus ducisque indixerunt praefeceruntque ludis 2 ipsum imperatorem. Multa erant quae gaudium cumularent: reducti cives ab Lacedaemone erant, quos nuper Pythagoras quosque ante Nabis abduxe- 3 rat; redierant qui post compertam a Pythagora coniurationem et caede iam coepta effugerant; libertatem ex longo intervallo libertatisque auctores Romanos, quibus causa bellandi cum tyranno ipsi fuissent, cernebant. Testata quoque ipso Nemeorum 4 die voce praeconis libertas est Argivorum. Achaeis quantum restituti Argi in commune Achaiae concilium laetitiae adferebant, tantum serva Lacedaemon relicta et lateri adhaerens tyrannus non 5 sincerum gaudium praebebant; Aetoli vero eam rem omnibus conciliis lacerare: cum Philippo non ante desitum bellari quam omnibus excederet 6 Graeciae urbibus; tyranno relictam Lacedaemonem; regem autem legitimum, qui in Romanis fuerit

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[1] See xxv. 7–12 above.

[2] Argos had come under the control of Philip in 198 B.C. (XXXII. xxv. 11) and Livy exaggerates somewhat, as he frequently does.

because he had ruled them with kindness, they B.C. 195
allowed him to leave alive under a safeguard. In the midst of their rejoicing Quinctius came to them, having granted peace to the tyrant and sent away from Lacedaemon Eumenes and the Rhodians and his brother Lucius Quinctius to the fleet.

XLI. The most popular of the festivals, the famous spectacle of the Nemean Games, which had been omitted at the usual time because of the misfortunes of war, was now, on the arrival of the Roman army and commander, proclaimed by the joyful citizens, who had chosen the general himself to preside at the games. There were many things which added to their joy: those of their countrymen had been brought back from Lacedaemon, who had been taken there by Pythagoras recently and by Nabis earlier; the men had come back who had escaped after the discovery of the conspiracy [1] by Pythagoras and after the executions had begun; they saw liberty recovered after a long interval,[2] and they beheld the authors of that liberty,—the Romans, whose cause for warring with the tyrant they had themselves been. Moreover, the freedom of the Argives was proclaimed by the voice of the herald on the very day of the Nemean Games. As regards the Achaeans, whatever joy the restoration of Argos to the common council of Achaea brought to them was rendered incomplete to the same degree by the fact that Lacedaemon was left enslaved, with the tyrant close at hand; the Aetolians, too, attacked the position of affairs at all their meetings: with Philip, they said, there had been no cessation from war until he had evacuated all the cities of Greece; Sparta was abandoned to the tyrant, and its legal king, though

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castris, ceterosque nobilissimos cives in exilio vic-
7 turos; Nabidis dominationis satellitem factum populum Romanum. Quinctius ab Argis Elatiam, unde ad bellum Spartanum profectus erat, copias reduxit.

8 Sunt qui non ex oppido proficiscentem bellum
9 gessisse tyrannum tradant, sed castris adversus Romana positis castra diuque cunctatum, quia Aetolorum auxilia expectasset, coactum ad extremum acie confligere impetu in pabulatores suos a Romanis
10 facto; eo proelio victum castrisque exutum pacem petisse, cum cecidissent quattuordecim milia militum, capta plus quattuor milia essent.

XLII. Eodem fere tempore et a T. Quinctio de rebus ad Lacedaemonem gestis et a M. Porcio consule ex Hispania litterae adlatae. Utriusque nomine in dies ternos supplicatio ab senatu decreta
2 est. L. Valerius consul, cum post fusos circa Litanam
3 silvam Boios quietam provinciam habuisset, comitiorum causa Romam rediit et creavit consules P. Cornelium Scipionem Africanum iterum et Ti. Sempronium Longum. Horum patres primo anno
4 secundi Punici belli consules fuerant. Praetoria inde comitia habita; creati P. Cornelius Scipio et duo Cn. Cornelii, Merenda et Blasio, et Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus et Sex. Digitius et T. Iuventius Thalna. Comitiis perfectis consul in provinciam rediit.

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[1] These are obviously the Roman annalists, whose variant account Livy prefixes to the narrative of western affairs which follows. His source for the war with Nabis was a portion of Polybius which is now lost.

[2] Cato's thanksgiving has already been reported in xxi. 8 above.

in the Roman camp, and other citizens of the highest station, would live in exile; the Roman army had become the ready agent of Nabis' despotism. From Argos Quinctius led his troops back to Elatia, whence he had set out to the Spartan war. B.C. 195

There are some[1] who say that the tyrant fought the war, not by making sallies from the town, but by placing his camp face to face with the Roman, and that after long delay, because he was waiting for aid from the Aetolians, he was in the end compelled to fight in battle array when the Romans attacked his foragers; defeated in that battle and expelled from his camp, he asked for peace, after fourteen thousand of his men had been killed and more than four thousand captured.

XLII. At about the same time letters arrived both from Titus Quinctius, narrating what had happened before Lacedaemon, and from Marcus Porcius the consul, from Spain. Thanksgivings of three days each were decreed by the senate in the names of both.[2] Lucius Valerius the consul, having enjoyed peace in his province after the defeat of the Boi near the forest of Litana, returned to Rome to hold the elections, and announced the choice of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (for the second time) and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Their fathers had been consuls in the first year of the Second Punic War. Next the praetorian elections were held; the choice fell on Publius Cornelius Scipio, Gnaeus Cornelius Merenda and Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio, Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Sextus Digitius, and Titus Iuventius Thalna. After the elections were over the consul returned to the province.

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5 Novum ius eo anno a Ferentinatibus temptatum, ut Latini qui in coloniam Romanam nomina dedissent
6 cives Romani essent. Puteolos Salernumque et Buxentum adscripti coloni qui nomina dederunt, et cum ob id se pro civibus Romanis ferrent, senatus iudicavit non esse eos cives Romanos.

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XLIII. Principio anni quo P. Scipio Africanus iterum et Ti. Sempronius Longus consules fuerunt,
2 legati Nabidis tyranni Romam venerunt. Iis extra urbem in aede Apollinis senatus datus est. Pax quae cum T. Quinctio convenisset ut rata esset petierunt impetraruntque.
3 De provinciis cum relatum esset, senatus frequens in eam sententiam ibat ut, quoniam in Hispania et Macedonia debellatum foret, consulibus ambobus
4 Italia provincia esset. Scipio satis esse Italiae unum consulem censebat; alteri Macedoniam decernendam esse. Bellum grave ab Antiocho imminere. Iam ipsum sua sponte in Europam transgressum; quid
5 deinde facturum censerent, cum hinc Aetoli, haud dubie hostes, vocarent ad bellum, illinc Hannibal, Romanis cladibus insignis imperator, stimularet?
6 Dum de provinciis consulum disceptatur, praetores
7 sortiti sunt; Cn. Domitio urbana iurisdictio, T.

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[1] These colonies were founded in 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxix. 3).

[2] The Ferentinates had the status of *socii Latini nominis*; the other colonies mentioned consisted of *cives Romani* (xlv. 1 below). The senate's decision establishes the principle that Roman citizenship can not be acquired by Latins by enrolment in Roman colonies, although Roman citizens could acquire Latin status by enrolment in Latin colonies.

This year the people of Ferentinum tried to secure B.C. 195
a new privilege, to wit, that Latins who had registered as applicants for membership in a Roman colony should be Roman citizens. For such of them as had given in their names were enrolled as colonists of Puteoli, Salernum, and Buxentum,[1] and since they had on that account conducted themselves as Roman citizens, the senate gave judgment that they were not Roman citizens.[2]

XLIII. In the beginning of the year in which B.C. 191
Publius Scipio Africanus (for the second time) and Tiberius Sempronius Longus were consuls, the ambassadors of the tyrant Nabis came to Rome. An audience before the senate was granted them outside the City in the temple of Apollo. They requested that the peace which had been agreed upon with Titus Quinctius be ratified, and this was granted to them.

When the question of the provinces was brought up, a full meeting of the senate adopted a proposal that, since the wars in Spain and Macedonia had been finished, both consuls should have Italy as their province. Scipio was of the opinion that one consul sufficed for Italy and that Macedonia should be decreed to the other. His arguments were that a great war was threatened by Antiochus, who had already and without provocation crossed into Europe; what did they think he would do then, with the Aetolians, avowed enemies, on one side calling him to the war, and on the other Hannibal, a general distinguished for his defeats of the Romans, urging him on? While the debate about the consular provinces was in progress, the praetors cast lots; the city jurisdiction fell to Gnaeus Domitius, that

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Iuventio peregrina evenit, P. Cornelio Hispania ulterior, Sex. Digitio citerior, duobus Cn. Corneliis Blasioni Sicilia, Merendae Sardinia. In Macedoniam
8 novum exercitum transportari non placuit, eum qui esset ibi reduci in Italiam a Quinctio ac dimitti; item eum exercitum dimitti qui cum M. Porcio Catone in
9 Hispania esset; consulibus ambobus Italiam provinciam esse, et duas urbanas scribere eos legiones, ut dimissis quos senatus censuisset exercitibus octo omnino Romanae legiones essent.

XLIV. Ver sacrum factum erat priore anno, M.
2 Porcio et L. Valerio consulibus. Id cum P. Licinius pontifex non esse recte factum collegio primum, deinde ex auctoritate collegii patribus renuntiasset, de integro faciendum arbitratu pontificum censuerunt ludosque magnos, qui una voti essent, tanta pecunia
3 quanta adsoleret faciendos; ver sacrum videri pecus quod natum esset inter kal. Martias et pridie kal. Maias P. Cornelio et Ti. Sempronio consulibus.
4 Censorum inde comitia sunt habita. Creati censores Sex. Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus. Principem senatus [1] P. Scipionem consulem, quem et priores censores legerant, legerunt. Tres omnino senatores, neminem curuli honore usum, prae-

[1] senatus *ed. Mediolanensis* 1505 : senatum *B M.*

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[1] See XXXIII. xliv. 2 and the note.

[2] See XXII. x. 7.

[3] The *princeps senatus* was usually chosen from the senators who had held the censorship. He was the first of the senators to be called upon to give his vote.

[4] This fact was not mentioned in XXXII. vii. 2, where the previous censorship was reported. Scipio himself was one of the censors in 199 B.C.

[5] This constituted exclusion from the senate.

between citizens and aliens to Titus Iuventius, B.C. 194
Farther Spain to Publius Cornelius, Nearer Spain to Sextus Digitius, Sicily to Gnaeus Cornelius Blasio and Sardinia to Merenda. It was decided that a new army should not be taken over to Macedonia and that the troops who were there should be brought back by Titus Quinctius and demobilized; likewise the army which was with Marcus Porcius Cato in Spain should be disbanded; that both consuls should have Italy as province and should enrol two city legions, so that after the discharge of those prescribed by the senate there should be in all eight Roman legions.

XLIV. The "sacred spring" had been celebrated in the previous year, during the consulship of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius.[1] Since Publius Licinius the pontiff had announced, first to the college, and then, by the direction of the college, to the senate, that this had not been properly performed, the Fathers voted that it should be celebrated anew under the supervision of the pontiffs, and that the Great Games, which had been vowed at the same time,[2] should be performed with the customary appropriation of the necessary funds; the "sacred spring" was defined as including all the animals born between the Calends of March and the day preceding the Calends of May in the consulship of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius.

The election of censors was then held, and Sextus Aelius Paetus and Gaius Cornelius Cethegus were chosen. As *princeps senatus*[3] they made the consul Publius Scipio their choice, who had been the choice of the previous censors as well.[4] They passed over[5] only three senators, none of whom had held a curule

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5 terierunt. Gratiam quoque ingentem apud eum ordinem pepererunt, quod ludis Romanis aedilibus curulibus imperarunt ut loca senatoria secernerent a populo; nam antea in promiscuo spectabant. Equitibus quoque perpaucis adempti equi, nec in ullum ordinem saevitum. Atrium Libertatis et villa publica ab iisdem refecta amplificataque.

6 Ver sacrum ludique Romani votivi, quos voverat Ser. Sulpicius Galba consul, facti. Cum spectaculo
7 eorum occupati animi hominum essent, Q. Pleminius, qui propter multa in deos hominesque scelera Locris admissa in carcerem coniectus fuerat, comparaverat homines qui pluribus simul locis urbis nocte incendia facerent, ut in consternata nocturno tumultu civitate
8 refringi carcer posset. Ea res indicio consciorum [1] palam facta delataque ad senatum est. Pleminius in inferiorem demissus carcerem est necatusque.

XLV. Coloniae civium Romanorum eo anno deductae sunt Puteolos, Volturnum, Literum, treceni
2 homines in singulas. Item Salernum Buxentumque coloniae civium Romanorum deductae sunt. Deduxere triumviri Ti. Sempronius Longus, qui tum consul erat, M. Servilius, Q. Minucius Thermus.
3 Ager divisus est qui Campanorum fuerat. Sipontum

[1] consciorum ς: consociorum *B*: sociorum *M*.

[1] These buildings were used by the censors.

[2] Livy is probably wrong as to the *praenomen* of Sulpicius, who is probably the consul who, in 200 B.C., vowed games (XXXI. ix. 6–10).

[3] See XXXI. xii. 2 and the note.

[4] This was probably the lower cell of the Mamertine Prison.

[5] See XXXII. xxix. 4.

[6] The apparent meaning is that these colonies were on land which had been taken from the Campanians in punishment for their revolt during the Second Punic War.

office. They won great favour with that order in another way, since at the Roman Games they ordered the curule aediles to separate the senatorial seats from those of the commons; for up to that time the seats from which they watched the games were taken indiscriminately. Very few of the knights were degraded by the taking away of their horses, nor was severity shown towards any rank. The *atrium Libertatis* and the *villa publica*[1] were rebuilt and enlarged by the same censors. B.C. 194

The "sacred spring" was celebrated and the votive Roman Games performed according to the vow made by Servius Sulpicius Galba.[2] While men's minds were intent upon this spectacle, Quintus Pleminius,[3] who, on account of the many crimes against gods and men which he had committed at Locri, had been thrown into prison, had arranged that men should at night set fire to the city in several places, so that in a state panic-stricken by the disturbance at night the prison might be broken open. This was revealed by the testimony of his accomplices and was laid before the senate. Pleminius was transferred to the lower prison[4] and put to death.

XLV. Colonies of Roman citizens were that year founded at Puteoli, Volturnum, Liternum, three hundred to each. Also, colonies of Roman citizens were established at Salernum and Buxentum. The triumvirs who established them were Tiberius Sempronius Longus (one of the consuls of the year), Marcus Servilius and Quintus Minucius Thermus.[5] The land which had belonged to the Campanians was divided among them.[6] Likewise at Sipontum, in

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item in agrum qui Arpinorum fuerat coloniam civium Romanorum alii triumviri, D. Iunius Brutus, M. Baebius Tamphilus, M. Helvius, deduxerunt. Tempsam item et Crotonem coloniae civium Roma-
4 norum deductae. Tempsanus ager de Bruttiis captus erat; Brutti Graecos expulerant; Crotonem Graeci
5 habebant. Triumviri Cn. Octavius, L. Aemilius Paulus, C. Laetorius Crotonem, Tempsam L. Cornelius Merula, Q. * *,[1] C. Salonius deduxerunt.
6 Prodigia quoque alia visa eo anno Romae sunt, alia nuntiata. In foro et comitio et Capitolio
7 sanguinis guttae visae sunt. Et terra aliquotiens pluvit et caput Vulcani arsit. Nuntiatum est Nare amni[2] lac fluxisse, pueros ingenuos Arimini sine oculis ac naso, et in Piceno agro non pedes, non
8 manus habentem natum. Ea prodigia ex pontificum decreto procurata. Et sacrificium novemdiale factum est, quod Hadriani nuntiaverant in agro suo lapidibus pluvisse.

XLVI. In Gallia L. Valerius Flaccus proconsul circa Mediolanium cum Gallis Insubribus et Bois, qui Dorulato duce ad concitandos Insubres Padum transgressi erant, signis collatis depugnavit. Decem
2 milia hostium sunt caesa. Per eos dies collega eius M. Porcius Cato ex Hispania triumphavit. Tulit in eo triumpho argenti infecti viginti quinque milia pondo, bigati centum viginti tria milia, Oscensis quingenta quadraginta, auri pondo mille quadrin-

[1] Merula, Q. * * *Gelenius*: merulaque *B*: merulaque et *M*.

[2] Nare amni *J. Gronovius*: anni *B*, *lacunam indicans*.

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[1] The gender of *quingenta* shows that *milia* must be supplied.

territory which had belonged to the Arpini, a colony B.C. 194
of Roman citizens was founded by other triumvirs, Decimus Iunius Brutus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, and Marcus Helvius. Colonies of Roman citizens were established at Tempsa and Croton. The land of Tempsa had been taken from the Brutti, who in turn had expelled the Greeks; Croton had been held by the Greeks. The triumvirs for Croton were Gnaeus Octavius, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, and Gaius Laetorius; for Tempsa, Lucius Cornelius Merula, Quintus . . ., and Gaius Salonius.

Also, prodigies that year were both seen at Rome and reported from other places. In the Forum and the comitium and on the Capitoline drops of blood were seen, showers of earth fell several times, and the head of Vulcan burst into flames. It was announced that milk had flowed in the river Nar, that free-born children without eyes or noses had been born at Ariminum, and in the Picene country one without feet or hands. These prodigies were expiated by order of the pontiffs, and a nine-day sacrifice was performed because the Hadriani reported that a shower of stones had fallen in their country.

XLVI. In Gaul the proconsul Lucius Valerius Flaccus, in the vicinity of Milan, fought a pitched battle with the Insubrian Gauls and the Boi, who, led by Dorulatus had crossed the Po to rouse the Insubres to arms, and defeated them. Ten thousand of the enemy fell. About the same time his colleague Marcus Porcius Cato triumphed over Spain. He carried in his triumph twenty-five thousand pounds of silver bullion, one hundred and twenty-three thousand silver *denarii*, five hundred and forty thousand [1] silver coins of Osca, and one thousand four hundred pounds

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genta. Militibus ex praeda divisit in singulos ducenos septuagenos aeris, triplex equiti.

Ti. Sempronius consul in provinciam profectus in Boiorum primum agrum legiones duxit. Boiorix tum regulus eorum cum duobus fratribus tota gente concitata ad rebellandum castra locis apertis posuit, ut appareret dimicaturos si hostis fines intrasset. Consul ubi quantae copiae, quanta fiducia esset hosti sensit, nuntium ad collegam mittit ut, si videretur ei, maturaret venire: se tergiversando in adventum eius rem extracturum. Quae causa consuli cunctandi, eadem Gallis, praeterquam quod cunctatio hostium animos faciebat, rei maturandae erat ut, priusquam coniungerentur consulum copiae, rem transigerent. Per biduum tamen nihil aliud quam steterunt parati ad pugnandum, si quis contra egrederetur; tertio subiere ad vallum castraque simul ab omni parte adgressi sunt. Consul arma extemplo capere milites iussit; armatos inde paulisper continuit, ut et stolidam fiduciam hosti augeret et disponeret copias, quibus quaeque portis erumperent. Duae legiones duabus principalibus portis signa efferre iussae. Sed in ipso exitu ita conferti obstitere Galli ut clauderent viam. Diu in angustiis pugnatum est; nec dextris magis gladiisque gerebatur res

of gold. From the booty, he gave to each of his B.C. 194
soldiers two hundred and seventy *asses*, and thrice that amount to each trooper.

Tiberius Sempronius the consul proceeded to his province and first invaded the country of the Boi. Boiorix, their chieftain at the time, with his two brothers, had aroused the whole people to revolt and had placed his camp in open country, so that it was clear that they would fight if the enemy entered their territory. When the consul saw how great was their strength and what confidence filled the enemy, he sent word to his colleague that, if he saw fit, he should make haste to arrive: that he, assuming the defensive, would drag matters out until his arrival. The same motive which the consul had for delay was also for the Gauls (not to mention the fact that the enemy's hesitation gave them courage), a reason for acting quickly so as to finish the campaign before the armies of the consuls were united. For two days, however, they did nothing more than stand ready to engage if anyone came out to meet them; on the third day they advanced towards the rampart and attacked the camp on all sides at once. The consul immediately ordered his men to take up arms; then he kept them under arms for a while, that he might increase the foolish confidence of the enemy and arrange his forces by the gates through which they would severally make their sally. Two legions were ordered to march out by the two main gates. But at the actual opening of the gates the Gauls met them in such close array that they blocked the road. For a long time they fought in these confined spaces; it was a matter not so much of hands and swords as of making

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quam scutis corporibusque ipsis obnixi urgebant,
11 Romani, ut signa foras efferrent, Galli, ut aut in castra ipsi penetrarent aut exire Romanos pro-
12 hiberent. Nec ante in hanc aut illam partem moveri acies potuerunt quam Q. Victorius primi pili centurio et C. Atinius tribunus militum, quartae hic, ille secundae legionis, rem in asperis proeliis saepe temptatam, signa adempta signiferis in hostes
13 iniecerunt. Dum repetunt enixe signum, priores secundani se porta eiecerunt.

XLVII. Iam hi extra vallum pugnabant quarta legione in porta haerente, cum alius tumultus ex
2 aversa parte castrorum est exortus. In portam quaestoriam irruperant Galli resistentesque pertinacius occiderant L. Postumium quaestorem, cui Tympano fuit cognomen, et M. Atinium et P. Sempronium, praefectos socium, et ducentos ferme
3 milites. Capta ab ea parte castra erant, donec cohors extraordinaria, missa a consule ad tuendam quaestoriam portam, et eos qui intra vallum erant partim occidit, partim expulit castris et irrumpentibus
4 obstitit. Eodem fere tempore et quarta legio cum duabus extraordinariis cohortibus porta erupit. Ita simul tria proelia circa castra locis distantibus erant clamoresque dissoni ad incertos suorum eventus a praesenti certamine animos pugnantium avertebant.

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[1] The loss of the standard was the worst disaster that could befall them.

[2] This gate, on the side opposite the enemy, was usually called the *porta decumana*.

[3] With a consular army of two legions there were four cohorts not forming organic parts of the legions and so called *extraordinariae*. The nearest equivalent in our modern terminology seems to be the one I have employed. Two other such cohorts are mentioned in the next sentence.

their way by pushing against one another with shields and bodies, the Romans trying to force a way out for their standards, the Gauls trying either to enter the camp or to prevent the Romans from leaving it. Nor could the lines be moved in either direction until Quintus Victorius, a senior centurion, and Gaius Atinius, tribune of the soldiers, the latter of the fourth, the former of the second legion, resorting to a device often tried in desperate encounters, snatched the standards from the hands of their bearers and threw them into the midst of the enemy.[1] In their eager struggle to get back their standard, the soldiers of the second legion were the first to force their way through the gate. B.C. 194

XLVII. They were now fighting outside the rampart, the fourth legion being still inside the gate, when a new uproar was heard on the opposite side of the camp. The Gauls had broken through the *porta quaestoria*[2] and after stubborn resistance had slain the quaestor Lucius Postumius, whose surname was Tympanus, and Marcus Atinius and Publius Sempronius, commanders of allied detachments, and about two hundred of their men. They had gained possession of the camp in that quarter, until an attached[3] cohort, sent by the consul to defend the *porta quaestoria*, killed some of the Gauls who had entered the camp, drove others outside the rampart, and blocked the entrance against those who were attacking the gate. At almost the same instant the fourth legion with two attached cohorts burst through the gate. So there were three battles at once in different places around the camp, and the confused shouts distracted the minds of the fighters from their own immediate combats to the uncertain fortunes

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5 Usque ad meridiem aequis viribus ac prope pari spe pugnatum est. Labor et aestus mollia et fluida corpora Gallorum et minime patientia sitis cum decedere pugna coegisset, in paucos restantes impetum Romani fecerunt fusosque compulerunt in 6 castra. Signum inde receptui ab consule datum est; ad quod pars maior receperunt sese, pars certaminis studio et spe potiundi castris hostium perstitit ad 7 vallum. Eorum paucitate contempta Galli universi ex castris eruperunt; fusi inde Romani, quae imperio consulis noluerant, suo pavore ac terrore castra repetunt. Ita varia hinc atque illinc, nunc fuga 8 nunc victoria fuit; Gallorum tamen ad undecim milia, Romanorum quinque milia sunt occisa. Galli recepere in intima finium sese; consul Placentiam legiones duxit.

XLVIII. Scipionem alii coniuncto exercitu cum collega per Boiorum Ligurumque agros populantem isse, quoad progredi silvae paludesque passae sint, scribunt, alii nulla memorabili gesta re Romam comitiorum causa redisse.

2 Eodem hoc anno T. Quinctius Elatiae, quo in hiberna reduxerat copias, totum hiemis tempus iure dicundo consumpsit mutandisque iis, quae aut ipsius Philippi aut praefectorum eius licentia in civitatibus facta erant, cum suae factionis hominum vires au-

of their comrades. Until noon the battle went on B.C. 191
with equal strength and with nearly the same hopes. When fatigue and heat had compelled the Gauls, with their soft and feeble bodies and their small capacity for enduring thirst, to retire from the fight, the Romans charged the few that were left and drove them, broken, to their camp. Thereupon the consul ordered the recall sounded; at this the majority turned back, but part, in their eagerness to fight and their hope of capturing the enemy's camp, pushed on to the rampart. The whole mass of Gauls, in disdain of their small number, rushed out from their camp; the Romans in turn were put to flight and returned to their camp in consequence of their own terror and panic, although they had refused to retire at their commander's order. Thus there were varied fortunes on both sides, now defeat and now victory; yet about eleven thousand of the Gauls fell and five thousand of the Romans. The Gauls retired into the interior of their country, while the consul led his legions to Placentia.

XLVIII. Some say that Scipio united his army with that of his colleague and marched through the territory of the Boi and Ligures, plundering as he went, as far as the forests and marshes permitted, others that without accomplishing anything worth recording, he returned to Rome to hold the elections.

In that same year Titus Quinctius at Elatia, where he had put his troops into winter quarters, spent the entire period of the winter in administering justice and in undoing the arrangements in the cities which had been caused by the arbitrary conduct of Philip and his prefects, since by increasing the power of the men of their own faction they diminished the

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3 gendo ius ac libertatem aliorum deprimerent. Veris initio Corinthum conventu edicto venit. Ibi omnium civitatium legationes in contionis modum circumfusas
4 est adlocutus, orsus ab inita primum Romanis amicitia cum Graecorum gente et imperatorum qui ante se
5 in Macedonia fuissent, suisque rebus gestis. Omnia cum approbatione ingenti sunt audita, praeterquam cum ad mentionem Nabidis ventum esset; id minime
6 conveniens liberanti Graeciam videbatur, tyrannum reliquisse non suae solum patriae gravem, sed omnibus circa civitatibus metuendum, haerentem visceribus nobilissimae civitatis.

XLIX. Nec ignarus huius habitus animorum Quinctius, si sine excidio Lacedaemonis fieri potuisset, fatebatur pacis cum tyranno mentionem admitten-
2 dam auribus non fuisse; nunc, cum aliter quam ruina gravissimae[1] civitatis opprimi non posset, satius visum esse tyrannum debilitatum ac totis prope viribus ad nocendum cuiquam ademptis
3 relinqui, quam intermori vehementioribus, quam quae pati posset, remediis civitatem sinere, in ipsa vindicta libertatis perituram. Praeteritorum com-
4 memorationi subiecit, proficisci sibi in Italiam atque
5 omnem exercitum deportare in animo esse; Demetriadis Chalcidisque praesidia intra decimum diem audituros deducta, Acrocorinthum ipsis extemplo videntibus vacuam[2] Achaeis traditurum, ut omnes scirent utrum Romanis an Aetolis mentiri mos esset,

[1] gravissimae ς: grauissima *B*.
[2] vacuam *Ascensius*: uacuum *B*.

privilege and liberty of the rest. In the beginning B.C. 194
of spring he summoned a council and went to Corinth. There he addressed the embassies of all the states, gathered around as for an assembly: he began with the time when the first friendship was instituted between the Romans and the Greek people, and reviewed the achievements of the commanders who had preceded him in Macedonia, and his own. The whole speech was received with great applause, except when mention was made of Nabis; it seemed by no means consistent for the liberator of Greece to have left a tyrant, who was not only a burden to his own country but a source of danger to all the cities in the neighbourhood, clinging to the vitals of a most famous state.

XLIX. Quinctius, being aware of their feelings on this point, confessed that had it been possible without the destruction of Sparta, he would never have listened to any suggestion of peace with the tyrant; as it was, since he could not be crushed without causing the ruin of a most powerful state, it had seemed better that the tyrant be left helpless and almost entirely stripped of weapons with which to harm anyone, than to permit the city to be destroyed by remedies too violent to be endured, and to perish in the very act of recovering its liberty. He added to his account of the past, that it was his intention to leave for Italy and take his entire army with him; within ten days they would hear that Demetrias and Chalcis had been evacuated, and Acrocorinthus, under their own eyes, he would turn over to the Achaeans free from troops, that all might know whether the habit of lying belonged to the Romans or the Aetolians, who in all their talk had

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6 qui male commissam libertatem populo Romano sermonibus distulerint et mutatos pro Macedonibus
7 Romanos dominos. Sed illis nec quid dicerent nec quid facerent, quicquam umquam pensi fuisse; reliquas, civitates monere ut ex factis,[1] non ex dictis, amicos pensent intellegantque quibus credendum et
8 a quibus cavendum sit. Libertate modice utantur; temperatam eam salubrem et singulis et [2] civitatibus esse, nimiam et aliis gravem et ipsis qui habeant
9 praecipitem et effrenatam esse. Concordiae in civitatibus principes et ordines inter se, et in commune omnes civitates consulerent. Adversus consentientes nec regem quemquam satis validum nec tyrannum
10 fore; discordiam et seditionem omnia opportuna insidiantibus facere, cum pars quae domestico certamine inferior sit externo potius se applicet
11 quam civi cedat. Alienis armis partam, externa fide redditam libertatem sua cura custodirent servarentque, ut populus Romanus dignis datam libertatem ac munus suum bene positum sciret.

L. Has velut parentis voces cum audirent, manare omnibus gaudio lacrimae, adeo ut ipsum quoque
2 confunderent dicentem. Paulisper fremitus approbantium dicta fuit monentiumque aliorum alios ut eas voces velut oraculo missas in pectora animosque

[1] ex factis ς : factis *B*.
[2] et *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : *om. B*.

spread abroad the story that the cause of liberty B.C. 194
had been unwisely entrusted to the Roman people, and that the Greeks had only changed masters, the Romans for the Macedonians. But these were men who weighed lightly what they said or did; he counselled the other states to judge their friends by their actions, not their words, and to reflect carefully on whom they should trust and against whom they should be on their guard. They should use their liberty with discretion; controlled, it was salutary to individuals and to states; uncontrolled, it was both a burden to others and a source of impetuous and lawless action to its possessors. He advised the leaders in the states and the other orders to strive for harmony among themselves, and all the cities to take measures for the general good. Against men who acted in unison neither king nor tyrant would be strong enough to do harm; strife and dissension furnished every opportunity to plotters, since the party which was defeated in an internal struggle would rather join hands with a foreigner than yield to a countryman. The liberty which had been gained by the arms of others and restored to them by the good faith of aliens, they should keep and guard by their own efforts, that the Roman people might know that liberty had been given to men who deserved it and that their gift had been well bestowed.

L. When they heard these words, as from a father's lips, tears of joy dropped from every eye, so that they even interrupted him in the midst of his speech. For a while there was the murmur of those who approved his words and of those who urged one another to let that utterance sink into the mind and heart as if it had been spoken by an oracle. Then,

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3 demitterent. Silentio deinde facto petiit ab iis ut cives Romanos, si qui apud eos in servitute essent, conquisitos intra duos menses mitterent ad se in Thessaliam; ne ipsis quidem honestum esse in
4 liberata terra liberatores eius servire. Omnes acclamarunt gratias se inter cetera etiam ob hoc agere, quod admoniti essent ut tam pio, tam neces-
5 sario officio fungerentur. Ingens numerus erat bello Punico captorum, quos Hannibal, cum ab suis non
6 redimerentur, venum dederat. Multitudinis eorum argumentum sit, quod Polybius scribit centum talentis eam rem Achaeis stetisse, cum quingenos denarios pretium in capita, quod redderetur dominis, statuissent. Mille enim ducentos ea ratione Achaia
7 habuit. Adice nunc pro portione, quot verisimile sit Graeciam totam habuisse.

8 Nondum conventus dimissus erat, cum respiciunt praesidium ab Acrocorintho descendens protinus duci
9 ad portam atque abire. Quorum agmen imperator secutus prosequentibus cunctis, servatorem liberatoremque acclamantibus, salutatis dimissisque iis eadem
10 qua venerat via Elatiam rediit. Inde cum omnibus copiis Ap. Claudium legatum dimittit. Per Thessaliam atque Epirum ducere Oricum iubet atque se ibi opperiri; inde namque in animo esse exercitum
11 in Italiam traicere. Et L. Quinctio fratri, legato et praefecto classis, scribit ut onerarias ex omni Graeciae ora eodem contraheret.

LI. Ipse Chalcidem profectus, deductis non a

when they had become silent, he asked them that B.C. 194
any Roman citizens who might be in slavery in their states should be sought out and sent to him in Thessaly; it was unbecoming even for themselves that the liberators should be slaves in the land they had set free. All cried out that they owed him thanks for this too, among other things, because he had reminded them to perform so just and necessary an obligation. There was a great number of them, captives in the Punic War, whom Hannibal had sold when they were not ransomed by their relatives. It is an indication of their number that Polybius writes that this cost the Achaeans one hundred talents, although they had fixed the price per head to be paid to their owners at five hundred *denarii*. On that basis Achaea had one thousand two hundred. Calculate now, in proportion to this, how many there probably were in all Greece.

The meeting had not been dismissed when they saw the garrison coming down from Acrocorinthus, marching towards the gate, and departing. The commander followed their column with all the assembly attending him and proclaiming him their preserver and liberator, and when he had taken leave of them and dismissed them he returned to Elatia over the same route by which he had come. Thence he sent his lieutenant Appius Claudius away with all his troops, with orders to march through Thessaly and Epirus to Oricum and await him there, for it was his intention to transport the army thence to Italy. He also wrote to his brother Lucius Quinctius, his lieutenant and commander of the fleet, to assemble there transports from all the coast of Greece.

LI. He himself went to Chalcis, withdrawing the

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Chalcide solum sed etiam ab Oreo atque Eretria praesidiis, conventum ibi Euboicarum habuit civita-
2 tium admonitosque in quo statu rerum accepisset eos
3 et in quo relinqueret dimisit. Demetriadem inde
4 proficiscitur; deductoque praesidio prosequentibus cunctis, sicut Corinthi et Chalcide, pergit ire in Thessaliam, ubi non liberandae modo civitates erant, sed ex omni colluvione et confusione in aliquam
5 tolerabilem formam redigendae. Nec enim temporum modo vitiis[1] ac violentia et licentia regia turbati erant, sed inquieto etiam ingenio gentis, nec comitia nec conventum nec concilium ullum non per seditionem ac tumultum iam inde a principio ad
6 nostram usque aetatem traducentes. A censu maxime et senatum et iudices legit potentioremque eam partem civitatium fecit cui salva et tranquilla omnia esse magis expediebat.

LII. Ita cum percensuisset Thessaliam, per Epirum
2 Oricum, unde erat traiecturus, venit. Ab Orico copiae omnes Brundisium transportatae. Inde per totam Italiam ad urbem prope triumphantes non minore agmine rerum captarum quam suo prae se
3 acto venerunt. Postquam Romam ventum est, senatus extra urbem Quinctio ad res gestas edisserendas datus est triumphusque meritus ab lubentibus
4 decretus. Triduum triumphavit. Die primo arma,

[1] vitiis *Ascensius*: diuitiis *B*.

garrisons not from Chalcis alone but from Oreus and Eretria also, called a council there of the Euboean states and let them go after reminding them in what condition he had found them and in what he was leaving them. From there he proceeded to Demetrias; and having withdrawn the garrison he departed with all the citizens escorting him, as had happened at Corinth and Chalcis, and continued his journey to Thessaly, where there were the states not only to be set free, but also to be brought into some reasonable condition of order after all the chaos and confusion. For they had been thrown into confusion not only by the faults of the times and the king's lawless and violent behaviour, but also by the restless character of the people, which from the earliest times down to the present day has never conducted a meeting or an assembly or a council without dissension and rioting. He chose the senate and magistrates mainly on the basis of property and strove to make that element in the community more influential which found it advantageous to have everything peaceful and quiet. B.C. 194

LII. When he had thus completed the organization of Thessaly, he marched through Epirus to Oricum, whence he planned to set sail. From Oricum all his troops were conveyed across to Brundisium. Thence they proceeded all the way through Italy to Rome in a virtual triumph, the captured articles forming as long a column as the troops which marched ahead of him. When they arrived in Rome, Quinctius was granted an audience with the senate outside the city for the narration of his achievements, and a well-deserved triumph was voted by the eager senators. The triumph lasted

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tela signaque aerea et marmorea transtulit, plura Philippo adempta quam quae ex civitatibus ceperat; secundo aurum argentumque factum infectumque et signatum. Infecti argenti fuit quadraginta tria milia[1] pondo et ducenta septuaginta, facti vasa multa omnis generis, caelata pleraque, quaedam eximiae artis; et ex aere multa fabrefacta; ad hoc clipea argentea decem. Signati argenti octoginta quattuor milia fuere Atticorum; tetrachma[2] vocant; trium fere denariorum in singulis argenti est pondus. Auri pondo fuit tria milia septingenta quattuordecim et clipeum unum ex auro totum et Philippei nummi aurei quattuordecim milia quingenti quattuordecim. Tertio die coronae aureae, dona civitatium, tralatae centum quattuordecim; et hostiae ductae et ante currum multi nobiles captivi obsidesque, inter quos Demetrius, regis Philippi filius, fuit et Armenes, Nabidis tyranni filius, Lacedaemonius. Ipse deinde Quinctius in urbem est invectus. Secuti currum milites frequentes ut[3] exercitu omni ex provincia deportato. His duceni quinquageni aeris in pedites divisi, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. Praebuerunt speciem triumpho capitibus rasis secuti qui servitute exempti fuerant.

LIII. Exitu anni huius Q. Aelius[4] Tubero tribunus

[1] quadraginta tria milia *Madvig*: *cf.* Plut. Flam. 14: et acto *B.*
[2] tetrachma *Bekker*: detrachiã *B.*
[3] ut *Bekker*: in *B.*
[4] Q. Aelius *Sigonius*: p. aemilius *B.*

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[1] The shaven head was a mark of the slavery from which they had been rescued.

three days. On the first day the procession dis- B.C. 194
played the arms, weapons, and statues of bronze and marble, more of which had been captured from Philip than received from the cities of Greece; and on the second day the gold and silver, wrought, unwrought, and minted. Of unwrought silver he had forty-three thousand two hundred and seventy pounds; of wrought silver there were many vases of all varieties, most of them embossed and some of remarkable workmanship; there were besides many fashioned from bronze, and in addition ten shields of silver. Of minted silver there were eighty-four thousand Attic coins called "tetrachma," and the weight of silver in them is about equivalent to three *denarii* each. There were three thousand seven hundred and fourteen pounds of gold, one shield made completely of gold, and fourteen thousand five hundred and fourteen gold coins with the image of Philip upon them. On the third day one hundred and fourteen golden crowns, gifts from the cities, were carried past; the victims were in the procession, and in front of the chariot there were many noble prisoners and hostages, among whom were Demetrius, the son of King Philip, and the Spartan Armenes, son of the tyrant Nabis. After them Quinctius himself entered the city. Following the chariot were throngs of soldiers, since the whole army had been brought back from the province. Each of these received in the distribution two hundred and fifty *asses* for the infantry, twice that amount for the centurions, and thrice for the cavalry. A striking sight in the procession was furnished by the prisoners who had been released from slavery, following with shaven heads.[1]

LIII. At the end of this year Quintus Aelius

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plebis ex senatus consulto tulit ad plebem plebesque scivit uti duae Latinae coloniae una in Bruttios altera
2 in Thurinum agrum deducerentur. His deducendis triumviri creati, quibus in triennium imperium esset, in Bruttios Q. Naevius, M. Minucius Rufus, M. Furius Crassipes, in Thurinum agrum A. Manlius, Q. Aelius, L. Apustius. Ea bina comitia Cn. Domitius praetor urbanus in Capitolio habuit.
3 Aedes eo anno aliquot dedicatae sunt: una Iunonis Matutae in foro olitorio, vota locataque quadriennio ante a C. Cornelio consule Gallico bello; censor idem
4 dedicavit; altera Fauni; aediles eam biennio ante ex multaticio argento faciendam locarant C. Scribonius et Cn. Domitius, qui praetor urbanus eam
5 dedicavit. Et aedem Fortunae Primigeniae in colle Quirinali dedicavit Q. Marcius Ralla,[1] duumvir ad
6 id ipsum creatus; voverat eam decem annis ante Punico bello P. Sempronius Sophus consul, locaverat
7 idem censor. Et in insula Iovis aedem C. Servilius duumvir dedicavit; vota erat sex annis ante Gallico bello ab L. Furio Purpurione praetore, ab eodem postea consule locata. Haec eo anno acta.

[1] Ralla *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : ahala *B.*

[1] In 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxx. 10) Cornelius vowed a temple to Iuno Sospita. Iuno Matuta seems not to be mentioned elsewhere in classical Latin.

[2] In 204 B.C. (XXIX. xxxvi. 8) P. Sempronius Tuditanus vowed a temple to this Praenestine divinity. Livy's account contains other difficulties, since Tuditanus was censor before he was consul (in 209 B.C.: XXVII. xi. 7), and no P. Sempronius Sophus is known who was consul and censor during this period.

[3] In XXXI. xxi. 12 Furius vows a temple to Diiovis during his praetorship in 200 B.C. In XXXV. xli. 8 Livy says that he vowed one temple to Jupiter while praetor and another while consul, and had both built on the Capitoline.

Tubero, the tribune of the people, on the authority B.C. 194
of the senate, proposed to the people and the assembly voted that two Latin colonies should be founded, one among the Brutti, the other in the country around Thurii. Triumvirs were chosen to establish these colonies, whose authority should continue through three years; for the colony among the Brutti, Quintus Naevius, Marcus Minucius Rufus, and Marcus Furius Crassipes; for the colony in the land of Thurium, Aulus Manlius, Quintus Aelius, and Lucius Apustius. These two elections were conducted by the city praetor Gnaeus Domitius on the Capitoline.

Several temples were dedicated that year: one to Iuno Matuta[1] in the Forum Olitorium, which had been vowed and contracted for four years before in the Gallic war by the consul Gaius Cornelius, who also, while censor, dedicated it; the second to Faunus; two years earlier the contract for its construction out of the money received as fines had been let out by the aediles Gaius Scribonius and Gnaeus Domitius, the latter of whom dedicated it while city praetor. Also, Quintus Marcius Ralla, a duumvir created for this purpose, dedicated a temple to Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal hill; Publius Sempronius Sophus the consul had vowed this temple ten years before, during the Punic war, and as censor he had let the contract.[2] Likewise, on the Island, Gaius Servilius the duumvir dedicated a temple to Jupiter; it had been vowed six years before in the Gallic war by the praetor Lucius Furius Purpurio, and contracted for by the same man as consul.[3] These were the events of that year.[4]

[4] This sentence has been misplaced, either by Livy or by a scribe, since the following chapter deals with the same year.

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LIV. P. Scipio ex provincia Gallia ad consules subrogandos venit. Comitia consulum fuere, quibus creati sunt L. Cornelius Merula et Q. Minucius
2 Thermus. Postero die creati sunt praetores L. Cornelius Scipio, M. Fulvius Nobilior, C. Scribonius, M. Valerius Messala, L. Porcius Licinus et C.
3 Flaminius. Megalesia ludos scaenicos A. Atilius Serranus, L. Scribonius Libo aediles curules primi
4 fecerunt. Horum aedilium ludos Romanos primum senatus a populo secretus spectavit praebuitque sermones, sicut omnis novitas solet, aliis tandem,
5 quod multo ante debuerit, tributum existimantibus amplissimo ordini, aliis demptum ex dignitate populi, quicquid maiestati patrum adiectum esset, interpretantibus et omnia discrimina talia, quibus ordines discernerentur, et concordiae et libertatis aequae
6 minuendae esse. Ad quingentesimum quinquagesimum octavum[1] annum in promiscuo spectatum esse; quid repente factum cur immisceri sibi in cavea
7 patres plebem nollent? Cur dives pauperem consessorem fastidiret? Novam, superbam libidinem, ab nullius ante gentis senatu neque desideratam
8 neque institutam. Postremo ipsum quoque Africanum, quod consul auctor eius rei fuisset, paenituisse ferunt. Adeo nihil motum ex antiquo proba-

[1] quinquagesimum octavum *Glareanus*: octauum *B*.

[1] These games in honour of the Magna Mater (see iii. 8 above and the note) were celebrated in April.

[2] They had been given for some time in connection with other games (XXXI. iv. 5 and the note).

[3] See xliv. 5 above.

[4] In xliv. 5 above Livy states that this proposal was made by the censors; however, Cicero (*de harusp. resp.* 24) and Valerius Maximus (IV. v. 1; in II. iv. 3 he attributes it to Scipio Aemilianus) assert that it originated with Scipio.

LIV. Publius Scipio came back from the province of Gaul to choose the new consuls. The consular elections were held, at which Lucius Cornelius Merula and Quintus Minucius Thermus were returned. On the following day the praetors were elected, Lucius Cornelius Scipio, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Gaius Scribonius, Marcus Valerius Messala, Lucius Porcius Licinus, and Gaius Flaminius. At the Megalesian Games [1] dramatic performances [2] were for the first time introduced by the curule aediles Aulus Atilius Serranus and Lucius Scribonius Libo. At the Roman Games given by these aediles, the senate for the first time looked on segregated from the common people,[3] and this caused gossip, as every novelty usually does, some thinking that this distinction, which should have been granted long before, was at last bestowed upon a most honourable body; others taking the view that whatever was added to the majesty of the senate was subtracted from the dignity of the commons, and that all such discriminations, which tended to draw the orders apart, were dangerous to impartial harmony and freedom. For five hundred and fifty-eight years, they said, people had looked on from seats chosen at random; what had suddenly happened to make the Fathers unwilling to have the plebeians mingle with them in the crowd, or the rich man scorn the poor man as his neighbour at the show? This was a novel and arrogant caprice, never desired nor practised by the senate of any other people. It is reported that in the end even Africanus had repented that in his consulship he had suggested this innovation.[4] So difficult it is to prove the need of any variation from ancient custom; people always prefer to stand by

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A.U.C. 560 bile est; veteribus, nisi quae usus evidenter arguit, stari malunt.

A.U.C. 561 LV. Principio anni quo L. Cornelius Q. Minucius consules fuerunt, terrae motus ita crebri nuntiabantur ut non rei tantum ipsius sed feriarum quoque ob id 2 indictarum homines taederet; nam neque senatus haberi neque res publica administrari poterat sacrificando expiandoque occupatis consulibus. 3 Postremo decemviris adire libros iussis, ex responso 4 eorum supplicatio per triduum fuit. Coronati ad omnia pulvinaria supplicaverunt, edictumque est ut omnes qui ex una familia essent supplicarent pariter. Item ex auctoritate senatus consules edixerunt ne quis, quo die terrae motu nuntiato feriae indictae 5 essent, eo die alium terrae motum nuntiaret. Provincias deinde consules prius tum praetores sortiti. 6 Cornelio Gallia, Minucio Ligures evenerunt; sortiti praetores C. Scribonius urbanam, M. Valerius peregrinam, L. Cornelius Siciliam, L. Porcius Sardiniam, C. Flaminius Hispaniam citeriorem, M. Fulvius Hispaniam ulteriorem.

LVI. Nihil eo anno belli expectantibus consulibus 2 litterae M. Cinci—praefectus is Pisis erat—adlatae, Ligurum viginti milia armatorum coniuratione per omnia conciliabula universae gentis facta Lunensem

the old ways, unless experience convincingly proves B.C. 194
them bad.

LV. In the beginning of this year, the consulship B.C. 193
of Lucius Cornelius and Quintus Minucius, earthquakes were reported with such frequency that people grew tired, not only of the cause itself, but of the ceremonies prescribed on that account; for the senate could not be convened nor public business transacted, since the consuls were busy with sacrifices and rites of expiation. Finally, the decemvirs were directed to consult the Books, and in accordance with their report a three-day period of prayer was ordered. Men with garlands on their heads made supplications at all the couches of the gods, and a decree was published that all who were of one family should offer their prayers collectively. Likewise, on the recommendation of the senate, the consuls proclaimed that on any day on which an earthquake had been reported and rites ordained, no one should report another earthquake. Then the consuls first and afterwards the praetors drew lots for the provinces. Gaul fell to Cornelius, the Ligures to Minucius; the allotment to the praetors gave the city jurisdiction to Gaius Scribonius, that between citizens and aliens to Marcus Valerius, Sicily to Lucius Cornelius, Sardinia to Lucius Porcius, Nearer Spain to Gaius Flaminius, and Farther Spain to Marcus Fulvius.

LVI. Though the consuls expected no war that year, a letter came from Marcus Cincius—he was the prefect at Pisae—announcing that twenty thousand of the Ligures were in arms, had caused a conspiracy to be formed in all the towns of the whole tribe, and had first devastated the fields around Luna and then

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primum agrum depopulatos, Pisanum deinde finem
3 transgressos omnem oram maris peragrasse. Itaque
Minucius consul, cui Ligures provincia evenerat, ex
auctoritate senatus in rostra escendit et edixit ut
4 legiones duae urbanae, quae superiore anno con-
scriptae essent, post diem decimum Arretii adessent;
in earum locum se duas legiones urbanas scripturum.
5 Item sociis et Latino nomini, magistratibus legatisque
eorum, qui milites dare debebant, edixit ut in
6 Capitolio se adirent. Iis quindecim milia peditum
et quingentos equites, pro numero cuiusque iuniorum,
7 discripsit et inde ex Capitolio protinus ire ad portam
et, ut maturaretur res, proficisci ad dilectum iussit.
8 Fulvio Flaminioque terna milia Romanorum peditum,
centeni equites in supplementum et quina milia
socium Latini nominis et duceni equites decreti,
mandatumque praetoribus ut veteres dimitterent
9 milites cum in provinciam venissent. Cum milites
qui in legionibus urbanis erant frequentes tribunos
plebei adissent, uti causas cognoscerent eorum,
quibus aut emerita stipendia aut morbus causae
essent, quo minus militarent, eam rem litterae Ti.
10 Sempronii discusserunt, in quibus scriptum erat
Ligurum decem milia in agrum Placentinum venisse
et eum usque ad ipsa coloniae moenia et Padi ripas
11 cum caedibus et incendiis perpopulatos esse; Boio-
rum quoque gentem ad rebellionem spectare. Ob

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[1] The allies furnished troops by roster, so that not all of them were called on for men at the same time; usually those nearest the seat of war were selected when there was any freedom of choice.

[2] The levy was divided among the several states in proportion to population, and the consul's list gave to each the numbers of infantry and cavalry to be furnished.

had entered the territory of Pisae and overrun the whole sea-coast. Therefore Minucius, the consul to whom the Ligures had been allotted as his province, on the authorization of the senate mounted the rostra and proclaimed that the two city legions which had been enlisted the previous year should assemble at Arretium the tenth day hence; in their place he would enrol two city legions. Also he sent notice to the allies of the Latin confederacy, that is, to their magistrates and ambassadors, who were under the obligation to furnish soldiers,[1] that they should meet him on the Capitoline. For these he made up a list amounting to fifteen thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, in accordance with the quota of young men in each state,[2] and ordered them to go straight from the Capitoline to the gate and, in order to expedite the matter, proceed to hold the levy. Fulvius and Flaminius each received three thousand Roman infantry and one hundred cavalry as reinforcements, with five thousand infantry of the allies and the Latin confederacy and two hundred cavalry, and the praetors were instructed to discharge their veterans on their arrival in the province. When numerous soldiers who were in the city legions had appealed to the tribunes of the people to look into the cases of those who had given completed service or illness as bases for claims of exemption from military service, dispatches from Tiberius Sempronius put an end to their attempt: in these he wrote that ten thousand of the Ligures had entered the territory of Placentia and had laid it waste with slaughter and fire up to the very walls of the colony and the banks of the Po; the nation of the Boi was also considering a rebellion. For these reasons the B.C. 193

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eas res tumultum esse decrevit senatus; tribunos plebei non placere causas militares cognoscere, quo 12 minus ad edictum conveniretur. Adiecerunt etiam ut socii nominis Latini, qui in exercitu P. Cornelii Ti. Sempronii fuissent et dimissi ab iis consulibus essent ut, ad quam diem L. Cornelius consul edixisset et 13 in quem locum edixisset Etruriae, convenirent, et uti L. Cornelius consul in provinciam proficiscens in oppidis agrisque qua iturus esset, si quos ei videretur milites scriberet armaretque et duceret secum dimittendique ei quos eorum quandoque vellet ius esset.

LVII. Postquam consules dilectu habito profecti in provincias sunt, tum T. Quinctius postulavit ut de iis quae cum decem legatis ipse statuisset senatus audiret eaque, si videretur, auctoritate sua con- 2 firmaret; id eos facilius facturos si legatorum verba, qui ex universa Graecia et magna parte Asiae 3 quique ab regibus venissent, audissent. Eae legationes a C. Scribonio praetore urbano in senatum introductae sunt benigneque omnibus responsum. 4 Cum Antiocho quia longior disceptatio erat, decem legatis, quorum pars aut in Asia aut Lysimachiae 5 apud regem fuerant, delegata est. T. Quinctio mandatum ut adhibitis iis legatorum regis verba audiret

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[1] *Tumultus* becomes almost a technical term for uprisings in Gaul; *cf.*, *e.g.*, XXXI. x. 1, 5; xi. 2; xlviii. 7.

senate decreed that a state of civil war[1] existed, and B.C. 193
that it was their pleasure that the tribunes of the people should not investigate the cases of soldiers to prevent their mustering according to the proclamation. They added also that the allies of the Latin confederacy who had been in the army of Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius and had been discharged by those consuls should assemble on the day and at the place in Etruria which the consul Lucius Cornelius had announced in his proclamation, and that the consul Lucius Cornelius, on his way to the province, should enlist, in the towns and rural districts along his route, whatever soldiers he saw fit, should arm them and lead them with him, and that he should have the privilege of discharging whichever of them he desired and at whatever time.

LVII. After the consuls had conducted their levies and departed to their provinces, Titus Quinctius demanded that the senate should listen to an account of the arrangements which he, in concert with the ten commissioners, had made, and should, if it was their pleasure, ratify them by their vote; they would accomplish this more easily if they would hear the words of the ambassadors who had come from all Greece and a great part of Asia and those who had come from the kings. These embassies were introduced to the senate by the city praetor, Gaius Scribonius, and were accorded a courteous reception. Since the discussion with Antiochus was of longer duration, it was referred to the ten commissioners, part of whom had met the king either in Asia or at Lysimachia. Titus Quinctius was instructed to hear, in the company of the commissioners, what the king's ambassadors had to say, and to make such a reply

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responderetque iis, quae ex dignitate atque utilitate
6 populi Romani responderi possent. Menippus et Hegesianax principes regiae legationis erant. Ex iis Menippus ignorare se dixit quidnam perplexi sua legatio haberet, cum simpliciter ad amicitiam
7 petendam iungendamque societatem venissent. Esse autem tria genera foederum, quibus inter se paciscerentur amicitias civitates regesque: unum, cum bello victis dicerentur leges; ubi enim omnia ei qui armis plus posset dedita essent, quae ex iis habere victos quibus multari eos velit, ipsius ius
8 atque arbitrium esse; alterum, cum pares bello aequo foedere in pacem atque amicitiam venirent; tunc enim repeti reddique per conventionem res et, si quarum turbata bello possessio sit, eas aut ex formula iuris antiqui aut ex partis utriusque commodo
9 componi; tertium esse genus cum, qui numquam hostes fuerint, ad amicitiam sociali foedere inter se iungendam coeant; eos neque dicere nec accipere leges;
10 id enim victoris et victi esse. Ex eo genere cum Antiochus esset, mirari se quod Romani aequum censeant leges ei dicere, quas Asiae urbium liberas et immunes, quas stipendiarias esse velint, quas
11 intrare praesidia regia regemque vetent. Cum Philippo enim hoste pacem, non cum Antiocho amico societatis foedus ita sanciendum esse.

to them as was consistent with the dignity and the B.C. 193
interest of the Roman people. Menippus and Hegesianax were the leaders of the king's embassy. On their behalf, Menippus said that he did not see what there was in their embassy that was so difficult, since they had come merely to ask for friendship and conclude an alliance. There were three kinds of treaties, he said, by which states and kings concluded friendships: one, when in time of war terms were imposed upon the conquered; for when everything was surrendered to him who was the more powerful in arms, it is the victor's right and privilege to decide what of the conquered's property he wishes to confiscate; the second, when states that are equally matched in war conclude peace and friendship on terms of equality; under these conditions demands for restitution are made and granted by mutual agreement, and if the ownership of any property has been rendered uncertain by the war, these questions are settled according to the rules of traditional law or the convenience of each party; the third exists when states that have never been at war come together to pledge mutual friendship in a treaty of alliance; neither party gives or accepts conditions; for that happens when a conquering and a conquered party meet. Since Antiochus was in this last class, he wondered on what account the Romans deemed it right to impose terms upon him, prescribing what cities of Asia he was to leave free and independent and what he was to make tributary to him, and what cities they forbade the king's armies and the king to enter. For in that way it was proper to make peace with Philip, an enemy, but not a treaty of alliance with Antiochus, a friend.

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LVIII. Ad ea Quinctius: "Quoniam vobis distincte agere libet et genera iungendarum amicitiarum enumerare, ego quoque duas condiciones ponam, extra quas nullam esse regi nuntietis amicitiae cum 2 populo Romano iungendae, unam, si nos nihil quod ad urbes Asiae attinet curare velit, ut et ipse omni 3 Europa abstineat; alteram, si se ille Asiae finibus non contineat et in Europam transcendat, ut et Romanis ius sit Asiae civitatium amicitias et tueri 4 quas habeant et novas complecti." Enimvero id auditu etiam dicere indignum esse Hegesianax, Thraciae et Chersonesi urbibus arceri Antiochum 5 cum,[1] quae Seleucus, proavus eius, Lysimacho rege bello victo et in acie caeso per summum decus parta reliquerit, pari cum laude eadem ab Thracibus possessa, partim armis receperit Antiochus, partim deserta, sicut ipsam Lysimachiam, et revocatis cultoribus frequentaverit et, quae strata ruinis atque incendiis erant, ingentibus impensis aedificaverit. 6 Quid igitur simile esse ex ea possessione, ita parta, ita recuperata, deduci Antiochum, et Romanos abstinere Asia, quae numquam eorum fuerit? 7 Amicitiam expetere Romanorum Antiochum, sed 8 quae impetrata gloriae sibi non pudori sit. Ad haec Quinctius "quando quidem" inquit "honesta pensamus, sicut aut sola aut prima certe pensari

[1] Antiochum cum *Madvig*: antiochum *B*.

LVIII. Quinctius replied thus: "Since it is your B.C. 193
pleasure to discuss the matter systematically and to enumerate the different ways of establishing friendships, I shall set forth two conditions without which you may report to the king that there is no way to form a friendship with the Roman people: first, that if he wishes us to have no interest in what concerns the cities of Asia, he too must himself keep entirely out of Europe; second, that if he will not keep himself within the limits of Asia, but crosses into Europe, the Romans too shall have the right both to defend the existing friendships with the cities of Asia and to add new treaties of alliance." It was indeed monstrous, replied Hegesianax, even to listen to a proposal that Antiochus should be excluded from the cities of Thrace and Chersonesus, districts which his forefather Seleucus, when he had defeated King Lysimachus in war and slain him in battle, had most honourably gained and bequeathed to his successors, and part of which, when they had been seized by the Thracians, Antiochus had with equal glory recovered in war, part of which, when abandoned, like Lysimachia itself, he had repopulated by recalling the inhabitants, and which, when destroyed by calamities and fires, he had rebuilt at great expense. What kind of analogy was there then between the two cases, that Antiochus should be ousted from this possession, so acquired and so recovered, and that the Romans should keep out of Asia, which has never been theirs? Antiochus is seeking the friendship of the Romans, but a friendship which when obtained will be a source of honour and not a cause for shame. To this Quinctius responded: "Inasmuch as we are weighing the honourable, as it indeed ought to be

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decet principi orbis terrarum populo et tanto regi, 9 utrum tandem videtur honestius, liberas velle omnes, quae ubique sunt, Graeciae urbes, an servas et 10 vectigales facere? Si sibi Antiochus pulchrum esse censet, quas urbes proavus belli iure habuerit, avus 11 paterque numquam usurpaverint pro suis, eas repetere in servitutem, et populus Romanus susceptum patrocinium libertatis Graecorum non de- 12 serere fidei constantiaeque suae ducit esse. Sicut a Philippo Graeciam liberavit, ita et ab Antiocho Asiae urbes quae Graii nominis sint, liberare in 13 animo habet. Neque enim in Aeolidem Ioniamque coloniae in servitutem regiam missae sunt, sed stirpis augendae causa gentisque vetustissimae per orbem terrarum propagandae."

LIX. Cum haesitaret Hegesianax nec infitiari posset honestiorem causam libertatis quam servitutis praetexi titulo, " quin mittimus ambages? " inquit P. Sulpicius, qui maximus natu ex decem legatis erat, 2 " alteram ex duabus condicionibus, quae modo diserte a Quinctio latae sunt, legite aut supersedete 3 de amicitia agere." " Nos vero " inquit Menippus " nec volumus nec possumus pacisci quicquam quo regnum Antiochi minuatur."

4 Postero die Quinctius legationes universas Graeciae Asiaeque cum in senatum introduxisset, ut scirent quali animo populus Romanus, quali Antiochus erga civitates Graeciae essent, postulata et regis et

considered either the only or at least the first object B.C. 193
of concern to the foremost people of the world and to so great a king, which, pray, seems the more honourable, to wish all the cities of Greece which are found everywhere to be free, or to make them slaves and tributaries? If Antiochus believes it noble for him that the cities which his great-grandfather held by the law of war, but which his grandfather and his father never treated as their property, be reduced to slavery, then the Roman people likewise considers it an obligation, imposed by its loyalty and consistency, not to abandon that championship of the liberty of the Greeks which it has taken upon itself. As it liberated Greece from Philip, so it intends to free from Antiochus the cities of Asia which are of the Greek race. For colonies were not sent out to Aeolis and Ionia to become the slaves of a king, but to increase the population and extend the influence of a most ancient people throughout the world."

LIX. At this Hegesianax hesitated, and could not deny that it was more honourable to go out under the banner of liberty than of slavery, and Publius Sulpicius, the eldest of the ten commissioners, said: "Why not stop beating around the bush? Choose one of the two conditions so clearly stated by Quinctius a while ago, or cease to talk of friendship." "But we," replied Menippus, "have neither the desire nor the authority to make any settlement by which the power of Antiochus will be diminished."

The next day, when Quinctius had brought into the senate all the embassies from Greece and Asia, that they might know what was the attitude of the Roman people and what that of Antiochus towards the cities of Greece, he set forth both the king's

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sua exposuit: renuntiarent civitatibus suis populum
5 Romanum, qua virtute quaque fide libertatem eorum
a Philippo vindicaverit, eadem ab Antiocho, nisi
6 decedat Europa,[1] vindicaturum. Tum Menippus
deprecari et Quinctium et patres institit, ne festi-
narent decernere, quo decreto turbaturi orbem
7 terrarum essent; tempus et sibi sumerent et regi ad
cogitandum darent; cogitaturum, cum renuntiatae
condiciones essent, et impetraturum aliquid aut
pacis causa concessurum. Ita integra dilata res est.
8 Legatos mitti ad regem eosdem qui Lysimachiae
apud eum fuerant placuit, P. Sulpicium, P. Villium,
P. Aelium.

LX. Vixdum hi profecti erant cum a Carthagine legati bellum haud dubie parare Antiochum Hannibale ministro attulerunt inieceruntque curam ne
2 simul et Punicum excitaretur bellum. Hannibal
patria profugus pervenerat ad Antiochum, sicut ante
dictum est, et erat apud regem in magno honore,
nulla alia arte nisi quod volutanti diu consilia de
Romano bello nemo aptior super tali re particeps
3 esse sermonis poterat. Sententia eius una atque
eadem semper erat, ut in Italia bellum gereretur;
4 Italiam et commeatus et militem praebituram ex-
terno hosti; si nihil ibi moveatur liceatque populo
Romano viribus et copiis Italiae extra Italiam bellum
gerere, neque regem neque gentem ullam parem

[1] Europa *edd. vett.*: ab europa *BM*.

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[1] According to XXXIII. xxxix. 2 the earlier ambassadors were Lentulus, Villius, Terentius and Cornelius. There may have been another embassy which Livy has not mentioned.

demands and his own: he bade them carry word back to their states that with the same courage and the same fidelity with which the Roman people had won their liberty from Philip, they would win it from Antiochus if he did not retire from Europe. Then Menippus began to beg both Quinctius and the Fathers not to make a hasty decision, as a result of which they would throw the whole world into confusion; let them both take for themselves and grant to the king time to consider; that he would be enabled to do so when the terms had been reported to him, and would either win some concession or else yield for the sake of peace. Accordingly the whole matter was postponed. It was decided to send to the king the same ambassadors who had met him at Lysimachia, namely, Publius Sulpicius, Publius Villius, and Publius Aelius.[1] B.C. 193

LX. They had hardly left the city when the ambassadors from Carthage reported that Antiochus was beyond doubt preparing for war with the aid of Hannibal, and created a feeling of anxiety lest a Punic war also was being provoked. Hannibal, an exile from his country, had taken refuge with Antiochus, as has been said before, and was held in great honour by the king, for no other reason than that there could be no more suitable adviser for one who had long been revolving in his mind plans for an attack on Rome. His opinion was always one and the same, that the war should be waged in Italy; Italy would supply both food and soldiers to a foreign enemy; if no disturbance was created there and the Roman people was permitted to use the man-power and the resources of Italy for a war outside of Italy, neither the king nor any people

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5 Romanis esse. Sibi centum tectas naves et decem milia peditum, mille equites deposcebat; ea se classe primum Africam petiturum; magno opere confidere et Carthaginienses ad rebellandum ab se compelli
6 posse; si illi cunctentur, se aliqua parte Italiae excitaturum Romanis bellum. Regem cum ceteris omnibus transire in Europam debere et in aliqua parte Graeciae copias continere neque traicientem et, quod in speciem famamque belli satis sit, paratum traicere.

LXI. In hanc sententiam cum adduxisset regem, praeparandos sibi ad id popularium animos ratus litteras, ne quo casu interceptae palam facerent conata,
2 scribere non est ausus; Aristonem quendam Tyrium nanctus Ephesi expertusque[1] sollertiam levioribus ministeriis, partim donis, partim spe praemiorum oneratum, quibus etiam ipse rex adnuerat, Car-
3 thaginem cum mandatis mittit. Edit nomina eorum quibus conventis opus esset; instruit etiam secretis notis, per quas haud dubie agnoscerent sua mandata
4 esse. Hunc Aristonem Carthagine obversantem non prius amici quam inimici Hannibalis, qua de causa
5 venisset, cognoverunt. Et primo in circulis con-
6 viviisque celebrata sermonibus res est; deinde in senatu quidam nihil actum esse dicere exilio Hannibalis si absens quoque novas moliri res et sollicitando animos hominum turbare statum civitatis posset;

[1] expertusque *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: exercitusque *B.*

could be a match for the Romans. He asked for B.C. 193
himself a hundred warships, ten thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry; with that fleet he would first visit Africa; he had great hopes that the Carthaginians too could be induced by him to revolt; if they hesitated, he would, in some part of Italy, arouse a war against the Romans. The king should cross to Europe with the rest of his army and hold his forces in some part of Greece, not crossing to Italy, yet prepared to cross, which would be sufficient to produce the impression and start the rumour of war.

LXI. When he had brought the king around to this opinion, and thought that he should prepare the minds of his countrymen for what he was going to do, he did not dare to write a letter lest, if intercepted by any chance, it reveal his designs; he found at Ephesus a Tyrian, Aristo by name, and having tested his resourcefulness on less important errands, he loaded him with gifts and also with the hope of rewards, to which even the king finally gave his assent, and sent him to Carthage with his instructions. He gave him the names of the persons whom he needed to meet, and provided him with secret modes of identification, by means of which they could be assured that the instructions were from him. When this Aristo arrived in Carthage, his reason for coming was discovered as quickly by the enemies of Hannibal as by his friends. And at first the incident was discussed in conversations at social gatherings and at dinners; later, in the senate some said that nothing had been accomplished by the exile of Hannibal if, even when away, he could plot revolution and by stirring up men's minds disturb the security of the state; a

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7 Aristonem quendam, Tyrium advenam, instructum mandatis ab Hannibale et rege Antiocho venisse; certos homines cotidie cum eo secreta colloquia serere; in occulto coqui[1] quod mox in omnium 8 perniciem erupturum esset. Conclamare omnes vocari Aristonem debere et quaeri quid venisset, et nisi expromeret cum legatis Romam mitti; satis pro temeritate unius hominis suppliciorum pensum esse; 9 privatos suo periculo peccaturos; rem publicam non extra noxam modo sed etiam extra famam noxae 10 conservandam esse. Vocatus Aristo purgare sese et firmissimo pugnaculo uti, quod litterarum nihil ad 11 quemquam attulisset; ceterum nec causam adventus satis expediebat et in eo maxime haesitabat, quod cum Barcinae solum factionis hominibus collocutum 12 eum arguebant. Orta inde altercatio est aliis pro speculatore comprehendi iam et custodiri iubentibus, 13 aliis negantibus tumultuandi causam esse; mali rem exempli esse de nihilo hospites corripi; idem Carthaginiensibus et Tyri et in aliis emporiis, quo[2] frequenter commeent,[3] eventurum. Dilata eo die 14 res est. Aristo Punico ingenio inter Poenos usus tabellas conscriptas celeberrimo loco super sedem cotidianam magistratuum prima vespera suspendit, ipse de tertia vigilia navem conscendit et profugit.

[1] coqui *Crévier*: conloqui *B.*
[2] quo ς: quae *B.*
[3] commeent *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: commeant *B.*

[1] The party of Hannibal; its name was derived from the name of the father of Hannibal, Hamilcar Barca (XXI. ii. 4).

certain Aristo, a stranger from Tyre, had come B.C. 193
equipped with instructions from Hannibal and King Antiochus; every day certain individuals had secret conferences with him; schemes were being concocted in secret which would presently break out in the ruin of the entire community. All exclaimed that Aristo ought to be summoned and asked why he had come, and if he gave no good explanation, he should be sent to Rome in charge of ambassadors; they had already suffered enough punishment for the rashness of one man; private citizens might do wrong at their own risk, but the state should be saved not only from doing wrong but also from the reputation of doing wrong. Aristo when summoned defended himself and made use of the strongest argument for his innocence, that he had brought no written communication to anyone; but he did not make entirely clear the reason why he had come, and was most noticeably at a loss when they charged him with having relations only with men of the Barcine faction.[1] A violent debate then began, some arguing that he should be at once arrested as a spy and held under guard, others saying that there was no cause for measures that suggested martial law; it set a bad precedent to arrest strangers with no convincing proof, and the same treatment would be applied to Carthaginians, not only in Tyre but in other markets which they frequently visited. A decision was not reached that day. Aristo, employing Carthaginian artifice against Carthaginians, as soon as it was dusk hung a written tablet over the place where the magistrates daily held their sessions, in the most crowded part of the city, and in the third watch went on board his ship and escaped. The next day,

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15 Postero die cum sufetes ad ius dicendum consedissent, conspectae tabellae demptaeque et lectae. Scriptum erat Aristonem privatim ad neminem, publice ad seniores—ita senatum vocabant—mandata habuisse. 16 Publicato crimine minus intenta de paucis quaestio erat; mitti tamen legatos Romam, qui rem ad consules et senatum deferrent, placuit, simul qui de iniuriis Masinissae quererentur.

LXII. Masinissa postquam et infames Carthaginienses et inter se ipsos discordes sensit,[1] principibus propter colloquia Aristonis senatui, senatu propter 2 indicium eiusdem Aristonis populo suspecto,[2] locum iniuriae esse ratus agrum maritimum eorum et depopulatus est et quasdam urbes vectigales Carthaginiensium sibi coegit stipendium pendere. 3 Emporia vocant eam regionem; ora est minoris Syrtis et agri uberis; una civitas eius Leptis; ea singula in dies talenta vectigal Carthaginiensibus 4 dedit. Hanc tum regionem et totam infestam Masinissa et ex quadam parte dubiae possessionis, 5 sui regni an Carthaginiensium esset, effecerat. Et quia simul ad purganda crimina et questum de se Romam eos ituros comperit, quia et illa onerarent suspicionibus et de iure vectigalium disceptarent, 6 legatos et ipse Romam mittit. Auditi de Tyrio

[1] sensit *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B.*
[2] senatu . . . suspecto *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: senatum . . suspectum *B.*

[1] These officials, two in number, corresponded to the consuls at Rome, though etymologically the word is closer to the older title of praetor. The word *sufetes* seems an attempt to express in Latin characters and sounds the Punic title.

[2] Excavations in this district in recent years have confirmed the general accuracy of Livy's brief description. There is as yet no comprehensive publication.

when the *sufetes*[1] took their seats to administer justice, the tablet was seen, taken down, and read. Its message was that Aristo had come with a private message for no man, but with a public errand to the elders—so they call their senate. The charge having thus been made general, the investigation of a few men was less vigorously pushed; nevertheless, it was voted that an embassy should be sent to Rome to report the whole affair to the consuls and the senate, and at the same time to complain about the injuries inflicted by Masinissa. B.C. 193

LXII. When Masinissa perceived that the good name of the Carthaginians was tarnished and that they were quarrelling among themselves, the nobles being suspected by the senate on account of their conferences with Aristo, the senate by the people on account of the declaration made by the same Aristo, considering that he had an opportunity to injure them, he both ravaged their coast and compelled certain cities which were dependents of the Carthaginians to pay their tribute to him. They call this district Emporia; it is the coast of the lesser Syrtis and a fertile spot; one of its cities is Leptis, and this paid to the Carthaginians a tribute of one talent per day.[2] At this time Masinissa had endangered this whole region, and, with respect to part of it, had raised a question as to its ownership, whether it belonged to his kingdom or to the Carthaginians. And because he saw that they would go to Rome both to clear themselves and to complain of him, he likewise sent ambassadors to Rome for the double purpose of increasing Roman suspicions of them, by their insinuations, and of setting on foot an argument about the tribute-rights. The Cartha-

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advena primum Carthaginienses curam iniecere patribus ne cum Antiocho simul et Poenis bellandum
7 esset. Maxime ea suspicio crimen urgebat quod quem comprensum Romam mitti placuisset nec
8 ipsum nec navem eius custodissent. De agro deinde
9 cum regis legatis disceptari coeptum. Carthaginienses iure finium causam tutabantur, quod intra eos
10 terminos esset quibus P. Scipio victor agrum, qui iuris esset Carthaginiensium, finisset, et confessione regis qui, cum Aphthirem, profugum ex regno suo, cum parte Numidarum vagantem circa Cyrenas persequeretur, precario ab se iter per eum ipsum agrum tamquam haud dubie Carthaginiensium iuris
11 petisset. Numidae et de terminatione Scipionis mentiri eos arguebant et, si quis veram originem iuris exigere vellet, quem proprium agrum Cartha-
12 giniensium in Africa esse? Advenis, quantum secto bovis tergo amplecti loci potuerint, tantum ad urbem communiendam precario datum; quicquid Bursam, sedem suam, excesserint, vi atque iniuria partum
13 habere. Neque eum de quo agitur probare eos posse, non modo semper, ex quo coeperint, sed ne diu quidem possedisse. Per opportunitates nunc

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[1] Livy's statement in XXX. xxxvii. 2 does not suggest that very precise boundaries had been fixed at this time.

[2] See Virgil, *Aeneid*, I. 367–368.

[3] The Bursa (cf. βύρσα, "hide") was the citadel of Carthage and, according to Masinissa, the only territory in Africa to which they had any legitimate claim. It included the land encompassed by the bull's hide.

ginians were first given audience, and with their B.C. 193
account of the Tyrian stranger they rendered the Fathers anxious lest they should have to fight with Antiochus and the Carthaginians at the same time. What most weighed against them was a suspicion due to the fact that they had set no guard over the person or ship of a man whom they had decided to arrest and send to Rome. Then the dispute with the king's envoys about the land began. The Carthaginians maintained their case by their boundary-rights, because the district was within the limits which Publius Scipio, when he conquered them, had set for the land which should be under Carthaginian jurisdiction,[1] and by the king's own admission, who, when he was pursuing Aphthir, a fugitive from his country, who was wandering around Cyrene with a party of Numidians, had requested, as a favour from them, a right of way through this very country as if it had without question belonged to the Carthaginians. The Numidians charged that they were not telling the truth about the limits fixed by Scipio, and asked, if one wanted to determine the real origin of a property-right, what land in Africa was really Carthaginian. Coming there as strangers, they had been granted as a gift, for the purpose of building a city, as much land as they could encompass with the cut-up hide of a bull;[2] to whatever extent they had expanded beyond the limits of the Bursa,[3] their seat, they had land gained by violence and without right. As to the particular tract of land in question, they could not even prove that they had held it for any considerable time, and much less that they had held it continuously from the time they had begun to claim it. As occasion offered, now they and

A.U.C. 561

illos, nunc reges Numidarum usurpasse ius, semperque penes eum possessionem fuisse qui plus armis
14 potuisset. Cuius condicionis res fuerit, priusquam hostes Romanis Carthaginienses, socius atque amicus rex Numidarum esset, eius sinerent esse nec se
15 interponerent quo minus qui posset teneret. Responderi legatis utriusque partis placuit missuros se in Africam qui inter populum Carthaginiensem et
16 regem in re praesenti disceptarent. Missi P. Scipio Africanus et C. Cornelius Cethegus et M. Minucius Rufus audita inspectaque re omnia suspensa[1] neutro
17 inclinatis sententiis reliquere. Id utrum sua sponte fecerint an quia mandatum ita fuerit non tam certum est quam videtur tempori aptum fuisse, integro
18 certamine eos relinqui; nam ni ita esset, unus Scipio, vel notitia rei vel auctoritate, ita de utrisque meritus, finire nutu disceptationem potuisset.

[1] suspensa *Bekker*: ipensa *B*.

now the Numidian kings had claimed the right to it, and possession had always remained with the party that was stronger in arms. They asked that the land should remain in the condition in which it was before the Carthaginians became enemies to the Romans and the king of the Numidians their ally and friend and not to interfere to prevent that person from holding the land who was able to do so. It was decided that the envoys of both states should receive the reply that they would send ambassadors to Africa to judge, on the actual ground, between the Carthaginian people and the king. The ambassadors who were sent were Publius Scipio Africanus, Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, and Marcus Minucius Rufus, and after hearing the testimony and inspecting the place they left the matter undecided, without expressing an opinion in favour of either side. Whether they did this of their own accord or because they had been so instructed is not so certain as that this seemed expedient under the circumstances, that the case be left entirely undecided; if this were not the case, Scipio alone, either from his knowledge of the affair or through his personal influence, since he deserved so well of both sides, could have settled the dispute by a nod. B.C. 193

LIBRI XXXIV PERIOCHA

Lex Oppia, quam C. Oppius trib. pl. bello Punico de finiendis matronarum cultibus tulerat, cum magna contentione abrogata est, cum Porcius Cato auctor fuisset ne ea lex aboleretur. Is in Hispaniam profectus bello quod Emporiis orsus est citeriorem Hispaniam pacavit. T. Quinctius Flamininus bellum adversus Lacedaemonios et tyrannum eorum, Nabidem, prospere gestum data his pace qualem ipse volebat liberatisque Argis, qui sub dicione tyranni erant, finit. Res praeterea in Hispania et adversus Boios et Insubres Gallos feliciter gestae referuntur. Senatus tunc primum secretus a populo ludos spectavit. Id ut fieret Sextus Aelius Paetus et C. Cornelius Cethegus censores intervenerunt cum indignatione plebis. Coloniae plures deductae sunt. M. Porcius Cato ex Hispania triumphavit. T. Quinctius Flamininus, qui Philippum, Macedonum regem, et Nabidem, Lacedaemoniorum tyrannum, vicerat Graeciamque omnem liberaverat, ob hoc [1] triduo triumphavit. Legati Carthaginiensium nuntiaverunt Hannibalem qui ad Antiochum confugerat bellum cum eo moliri. Temptaverat autem Hannibal per Aristonem Tyrium sine litteris Carthaginem missum ad bellandum Poenos concitare.

[1] hoc *Rossbach*: hoc rerum factarum multitudinem *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXIV

THE Oppian law, which Gaius Oppius, tribune of the people, had proposed during the Punic war to limit the expenditures of the women, was repealed after great argument, though the principal speech against the abrogation of the law was made by Porcius Cato. He proceeded to Spain and pacified Nearer Spain in a war which broke out at Emporiae. Titus Quinctius Flamininus ended a successful war against the Lacedaemonians and Nabis their tyrant, granting them such a peace as he himself desired, and liberating Argos, which was under the control of the tyrant. In addition, the successes in Spain and against the Boi and the Insubres are recorded. The senate then for the first time watched the games apart from the commons. That this happened was the result of the action of the censors, Sextus Aelius Paetus and Gaius Cornelius Cethegus, and it was attended with great indignation on the part of the plebeians. Several colonies were founded. Marcus Porcius Cato triumphed over Spain. Titus Quinctius Flamininus, who had defeated Philip, king of the Macedonians, and Nabis, tyrant of the Lacedaemonians, for this reason celebrated a triumph lasting three days. Ambassadors of the Carthaginians announced that Hannibal, who had fled to Antiochus, was plotting war along with him. Hannibal, moreover, had tried, through Aristo, a Tyrian whom he had sent to Carthage without any written communications, to stir up the Carthaginians to make war.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN THIRTEEN VOLUMES

XI

BOOKS XXXVIII—XXXIX

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T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XXXVIII

I. Dum in Asia bellum geritur, ne in Aetolia quidem res quietae fuerant, principio a gente Athamanum orto. Athamania ea tempestate pulso Amynandro sub praefectis [1] Philippi regio tenebatur praesidio, qui superbo atque immodico imperio desiderium Amynandri fecerant. Exulanti tum [2] Amynandro in Aetolia litteris suorum, indicantium statum Athamaniae, spes recuperandi regni facta est. Remissique ab eo nuntiant principibus Argitheam—id enim caput Athamaniae erat—si popularium animos satis perspectos haberet, impetrato ab Aetolis auxilio in Athamaniam se venturum. Non diffidere sibi facile conventurum [3] cum delectis, quod consilium est [4] gentis, et Nicandro praetore. Quos ubi ad omnia

[1] praefectis σ : praefecto *B*.
[2] exulanti tum σ : exulantium *B*.
[3] venturum. non diffidere sibi facile conventurum *M*. *Mueller* : uenturum *BM*σ.
[4] est *Madvig* : esset *B*σ.

---

[1] The events here described belong to the previous year.

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XXXVIII

I. While the war in Asia was in progress, there was B.C. 189
no peace in Aetolia either,[1] the trouble having been begun by the Athamanian people. Athamania at that time, after the expulsion of Amynander,[2] was held by royal garrisons under the prefects of Philip, and they, by their arrogant and lawless administration, had created a longing for Amynander. Amynander, who was then an exile in Aetolia, was inspired by the letters of his partisans, who described to him the state of affairs in Athamania, with the hope of recovering his kingdom. His agents, too, sent with his reply to the chiefs at Argithea—for this is the capital of Athamania—announced that if he perceived clearly enough the sentiments of his countrymen he would obtain the aid of the Aetolians and proceed to Athamania. They said that he had no doubt that he would easily come to an agreement with the chosen persons [3] who comprise the council of the people and with the praetor Nicander. When

[2] Cf. XXXVI. xiv. 9.
[3] The *apocleti* (XXXV. xxxiv. 2, etc.).

paratos esse vidit, certiores suos subinde [1] facit quo
die cum exercitu Athamaniam ingressurus esset.
6 Quattuor primo fuerunt coniurati adversus Mace-
donum praesidium. Hi senos sibi adiutores ad rem
gerendam assumpserunt; [2] dein paucitate parum
freti, quae [3] celandae rei quam agendae aptior erat,
7 parem priori numerum adiecerunt. Ita duo et
quinquaginta facti quadrifariam se diviserunt; pars
una Heracleam, altera Tetraphyliam petit, ubi
custodia regiae pecuniae esse solita [4] erat, tertia
8 Theudoriam, quarta Argitheam. Ita inter omnes
convenit ut primo quieti,[5] velut ad privatam rem
agendam venissent, in foro obversarentur; die certa
multitudinem omnem [6] convocarent ad praesidia
9 Macedonum arcibus expellenda. Ubi ea dies advenit,
et Amynander cum mille Aetolis in finibus erat, ex
composito quattuor simul locis praesidia Macedonum
expulsa, litteraeque in alias urbes passim dimissae
ut vindicarent sese ab impotenti dominatione
Philippi et restituerent in patrium ac legitimum
10 regnum. Undique Macedones expelluntur. Theium [7]
oppidum litteris a Xenone praefecto praesidii inter-
ceptis [8] et arce ab regiis occupata paucos dies obsi-
11 dentibus restitit; deinde id quoque traditum

[1] suos subinde *H. J. Mueller* : subinde *B.*
[2] assumpserunt σ : consumpserunt *B.*
[3] quae σ : quod *B.*
[4] esse solita σ : *om. B.*
[5] primo quieti *edd. vett.* : prima quietem *B.*
[6] omnem σ : omnes *B.*

he learned that they were ready for any event, B.C. 189
he at once informed his friends on what day he would arrive in Athamania at the head of an army. At first there were four who had conspired against the Macedonian garrison. Each of these chose six assistants to aid in carrying out their plan; then, lacking confidence by reason of their small number, which was better suited to concealment than to action, they added a number equal to that which they had first enlisted. Their number having thus become two and fifty, they divided themselves into four sections; one proceeded to Heraclea, one to Tetraphylia, which was the usual storehouse of the royal wealth, the third to Theudoria, the fourth to Argithea. It had been agreed upon among them all that at first they should move about quietly in the market-place as if they were engaged in transacting private business; that on the appointed day they should summon the whole population to drive the Macedonian garrisons from the citadels. When this day came and Amynander with a thousand Aetolians was at the frontiers, according to agreement the Macedonian garrisons were expelled from the four places at once, and a despatch was sent in all directions to the other towns, summoning them to free themselves from the headstrong rule of Philip and to return to their hereditary and lawful sovereign. On all sides the Macedonians were expelled. The town of Theium, since the despatch had been intercepted by Xeno, the prefect of the garrison, and the citadel had been seized by the king's troops, held out for a few days against the besiegers; finally

[7] Theium *edd. vett.*: telum $B\sigma$.
[8] interceptis σ: interseptis *B*.

Amynandro est, et omnis Athamania in potestate erat praeter Athenaeum castellum, finibus Macedoniae subiectum.

II. Philippus audita defectione Athamaniae cum sex milibus armatorum profectus ingenti celeritate Gomphos pervenit. Ibi relicta maiore parte exercitus—neque enim ad tanta itinera sufficerent—cum duobus milibus [1] Athenaeum, quod unum a praesidio suo retentum fuerat, pervenit. Inde proximis temptatis cum facile animadvertisset cetera hostilia esse, Gomphos regressus omnibus copiis simul in Athamaniam redit. Xenonem inde cum mille peditibus praemissum Aethopiam occupare iubet, opportune Argitheae imminentem; quem ubi teneri ab suis locum vidit, ipse circa templum Iovis Acraei posuit castra. Ibi unum diem foeda tempestate retentus, postero die ducere ad Argitheam intendit. Euntibus extemplo apparuere Athamanes in tumulos imminentes viae discurrentes. Ad quorum conspectum constitere prima signa, totoque [2] agmine pavor et trepidatio erat et pro se quisque quidnam futurum esset cogitare, si in valles subiectas rupibus agmen foret demissum. Haec tumultuatio regem cupientem si se sequerentur raptim evadere angustias, revocare primos et eadem qua venerat via referre coegit signa. Athamanes primo ex intervallo quieti sequebantur; postquam Aetoli se coniunxerunt, hos, ut ab tergo agmini instarent, reliquerunt, ipsi ab

[1] milibus $\bar{\text{v}}$: *om. B.*

[2] signa totoque $\bar{\text{v}}$: signatoque *B* : concitatoque *M.*

it also was delivered to Amynander, and all Atha- B.C. 189
mania was in his hands except the fortress of Athenaeum, lying on the borders of Macedonia.

II. Philip, on hearing of the revolt of Athamania, set out with six thousand troops and very quickly arrived at Gomphi. There he left the greater part of his men—for they would not have had strength enough for such hard marching—and with two thousand went on to Athenaeum, which alone had been held by his garrison. Then, when he had quickly learned, by trial of the neighbouring towns, that everything else was unfriendly, he returned to Gomphi and thence, with his whole force united, marched into Athamania. He ordered Xeno to go ahead with a thousand infantry to seize Aethopia, which was favourably situated to threaten Argithea; and when he saw that his men were in possession of the place, he himself encamped near the temple of Jupiter Acraeus. There he was detained for a day by a violent storm, and on the next day began his march toward Argithea. Suddenly as they were advancing the Athamanians appeared, hurrying towards the hills that commanded the road. At the first glimpse of them the advance guard halted and throughout the whole column there was terror and confusion, each for himself considering what would happen if the column were led down into the valleys lying at the foot of the cliffs. This panic compelled the king, who had wished, should his troops follow him, to get through the pass with a rush, to recall the van and retire by the same road by which he had come. The Athamanians at first followed quietly, keeping their distance; after the Aetolians joined them, they left them to harass the column from the

10 lateribus se circumfuderunt, quidam per notas calles breviore via praegressi transitus insedere; tantumque tumultus Macedonibus est iniectum, ut fugae magis effusae quam itineris ordinati modo multis armis
11 virisque relictis flumen traiecerint.[1] Hic finis sequendi fuit. Inde tuto Macedones Gomphos et a
12 Gomphis in Macedoniam redierunt. Athamanes Aetolique Aethopiam ad Xenonem ac mille Mace-
13 donas opprimendos undique concurrerunt. Macedones parum[2] loco freti ab Aethopia in altiorem deruptioremque undique tumulum concessere; quo pluribus ex locis aditu invento expulere eos Atha-
14 manes, dispersosque et per invia atque ignotas rupes iter fugae non expedientis partim ceperunt partim interfecerunt. Multi pavore in derupta praecipitati; perpauci cum Xenone ad regem evaserunt. Postea per indutias sepeliendi caesos potestas facta est.

III. Amynander recuperato[3] regno legatos et Romam ad senatum et ad Scipiones in Asiam, Ephesi post magnum cum Antiocho proelium morantes,
2 misit. Pacem petebat excusabatque sese, quod per Aetolos recuperasset paternum regnum; Philippum incusabat.

[1] traiecerint σ : traiecerunt *B*.
[2] parum σ : *om*. *B*.
[3] recuperato σ : recuperando *B*.

---

[1] Amynander recognizes the necessity of placating Rome even if he does not admit her virtual protectorate over Greece. His own diplomatic status was somewhat uncertain: he had allied himself with the Aetolians and Antiochus (XXXV. xlvii. 8), and for that reason the Romans had consented to Philip's conquest (XXXVI. xiv. 9). It may be assumed that the return of Amynander would automatically restore Atha-

rear and threw themselves upon the flanks, while B.C. 189
some, going ahead over familiar trails by a shorter route, blocked the crossing; and such great confusion was caused among the Macedonians that in the fashion of a disorderly rout rather than a march under discipline, leaving behind many weapons and men, they crossed the river. This was the end of the pursuit. From that point the Macedonians returned safely to Gomphi and from Gomphi to Macedonia. The Athamanians and Aetolians came from all sides to Aethopia to destroy Xeno and his thousand Macedonians. The Macedonians, distrusting the strength of the place, withdrew from Aethopia to a hill higher and steeper on every side; from this the Athamanians dislodged them, finding ways to scale it in several places, and as they scattered over pathless country and unfamiliar cliffs that offered no aid to flight, part were captured and part killed. Many, panic-stricken, plunged over precipices; a very few with Xeno escaped to the king. Later a truce was made to give them an opportunity to bury their dead.

III. Amynander, having recovered his kingdom, sent ambassadors both to the senate in Rome and to the Scipios in Asia, since they were tarrying in Ephesus after the decisive battle with Antiochus. He asked for peace and defended himself for having recovered his ancestral kingdom through the aid of the Aetolians;[1] he laid the blame on Philip.[2]

mania to the status of an Aetolian ally, and that Amynander is trying to escape the dangers of such a position.

[2] These charges must have been based on the character of Philip's government after his conquest (i. 2 above), as no other plausible cause for finding fault with him is apparent.

B.C. 3 Aetoli ex Athamania in Amphilochos profecti
55 sunt et maioris partis voluntate [1] in ius dicionemque
4 totam redegerunt gentem. Amphilochia recepta—
nam fuerat quondam Aetolorum—eadem spe in
Aperantiam transcenderunt: [2] ea quoque magna ex
parte sine certamine in deditionem venit. Dolopes
5 numquam Aetolorum fuerant, Philippi erant. Hi
primo ad arma concurrerunt: ceterum postquam
Amphilochos cum Aetolis esse fugamque ex Athama-
nia Philippi et caedem praesidii eius accepere, et ipsi
6 a Philippo ad Aetolos deficiunt. Quibus circumiectis
gentibus iam undique se a Macedonibus tutos
credentibus esse Aetolis fama adfertur Antiochum in
Asia victum ab Romanis; nec ita multo post legati
ab Roma rediere sine spe pacis Fulviumque consulem
7 nuntiantes cum exercitu iam traiecisse. His territi,[3]
prius ab Rhodo et Athenis legationibus excitis, ut
per auctoritatem earum civitatium suae preces nuper
repudiatae faciliorem aditum ad senatum haberent,
principes gentis ad temptandam spem ultimam
8 Romam miserunt, nihil, ne bellum haberent, prius-
quam paene in conspectu hostis erat, praemeditati.
9 Iam M. Fulvius Apolloniam exercitu traiecto cum

[1] uoluntate σ: uoluntatem *B*.
[2] Aperantiam transcenderunt σ: *om. B*.
[3] territi σ: territis *B*.

[1] Cf. XXXII. xxxiv. 4.

[2] For Philip's recent acquisition of Aperantia and Dolopia, cf. XXXVI. xxxiii. 7. In the latter case it was a re-conquest, since Dolopia had been freed from Macedonian control in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxiv. 6).

[3] The embassy had been expelled from Italy: cf. XXXVII. xlix. 5–7.

[4] The appointment of Fulvius to Aetolia was reported at XXXVII. i. 8.

From Athamania the Aetolians moved against B.C. 189
the Amphilochians, and with the consent of the majority brought the whole tribe under their authority and control. Amphilochia having been recovered [1]—for it had once belonged to the Aetolians—they proceeded with the same hope to Aperantia; this state also surrendered, in large measure without resistance. The Dolopians [2] had never been subjects of the Aetolians, but belonged to Philip. At first they rushed to arms, but after they learned that the Amphilochians were with the Aetolians, that Philip had been driven from Athamania and his garrison destroyed, they too went over from Philip to the Aetolians. Having set up these buffer-states and believing that they were now safe from the Macedonians on all sides, the Aetolians received the news that Antiochus had been defeated in Asia by the Romans; and not long afterwards their envoys returned from Rome with no promise of peace,[3] and brought word that the consul Fulvius with the army had already crossed.[4] Terrified by this information, first summoning embassies from Rhodes and Athens,[5] that through the influence of these states their own prayers, though previously rejected, might obtain easier access to the senate, they sent the leading men of the people to Rome to try the last hope of peace, having given no thought to the avoidance of war until the enemy was almost in sight.

Marcus Fulvius had by now transported his army to Apollonia and was consulting with the chiefs of

[5] These two states were frequently appealed to as peacemakers; for Rhodes, cf. XXVII. xxx. 4; for Athens, cf. XXXVII. vi. 4, where her intervention for Aetolia the preceding year is recorded.

c. 5 Epirotarum principibus consultabat unde bellum inciperet. Epirotis Ambraciam placebat aggredi, quae
10 tum contribuerat se Aetolis: sive ad tuendam eam venirent Aetoli, apertos circa campos ad dimicandum esse; sive detractarent[1] certamen, oppugnationem
11 fore haud difficilem; nam et copiam in propinquo materiae ad aggeres excitandos et cetera opera esse, et Arethontem, navigabilem amnem, opportunum ad comportanda quae usui sint praeter ipsa moenia fluere, et aestatem aptam rei gerendae adesse. His persuaserunt ut per Epirum duceret.

IV. Consuli ad Ambraciam advenienti magni operis oppugnatio visa est. Ambracia tumulo aspero
2 subiecta est; Perranthem incolae vocant. Urbs, qua murus vergit in campos et flumen, occidentem, arx,
3 quae imposita tumulo est, orientem spectat. Amnis Aretho ex Athamania fluens cadit in sinum maris ab nomine propinquae urbis Ambracium appellatum.
4 Praeterquam quod[2] hinc amnis munit, hinc tumuli, muro quoque firmo saepta erat, patente in circuitu
5 paulo amplius quattuor milia passuum. Fulvius bina a campo castra, modico inter se distantia intervallo, unum castellum loco edito contra arcem
6 obiecit; ea omnia vallo atque fossa ita[3] iungere

[1] detractarent $\bar{r}$: detrectarent *B*.
[2] quod $\bar{r}$: *om. B*.
[3] ita *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B*$\bar{r}$.

[1] Livy here seems to think that there were no other Roman forces in Greece at this time, and in this he apparently has the support of Polybius (XXII. ix). However, in XXXVII. ii. 7–8 the propraetor Cornelius was instructed to conduct an army to Aetolia, and in XXXVII. i. 4 the presence of an army there was assumed. Livy has, as often, changed sources without warning. The account of the siege of Ambracia follows Polybius closely.

the Epirotes as to where to begin the campaign.[1] B.C. 189
The advice of the Epirotes was to attack Ambracia, which had at this time joined the Aetolians:[2] if, on the one hand, the Aetolians should come to defend it, there were open plains on which to fight; if, on the other hand, they declined an engagement, the siege would not be difficult; for there was both abundance of material close at hand for building mounds and raising other siege-works, and a navigable river, the Aretho, suitable for the transportation of the necessary supplies, flowed past the very walls, and, moreover, summer was at hand, a season adapted to active operations. By such arguments they induced him to lead the army through Epirus.

IV. When the consul arrived before Ambracia, the siege seemed to him to involve great toil. Ambracia lay at the foot of a rugged hill; the natives call it Perranthes. The city, where the wall turns towards the plains and the river, looks west; the citadel, which is situated on the hill, faces east. The river Aretho, rising in Athamania, empties into the gulf of the sea which is called "the Ambracian" from the name of the neighbouring city. In addition to the fact that the river on one side and the hills on the other defended the city, it was also protected by a strong wall, extending in circumference a little more than four miles. Fulvius established two camps on the side of the plain, separated from one another by a moderate distance, and one redoubt on a high spot facing the citadel; all these he planned so to connect by means of a wall and ditch that no

[2] Ambracia had been the capital of Pyrrhus (cf. v. 2 and ix. 13 below), and had later become a member of the Aetolian League.

parat, ne exitus inclusis ab urbe neve aditus foris ad
auxilia intromittenda esset. Ad famam oppugna-
tionis Ambraciae Stratum iam edicto Nicandri
7 praetoris convenerant [1] Aetoli. Inde primo copiis
omnibus ad prohibendam obsidionem venire in animo
fuerat; dein, postquam urbem iam magna ex parte
operibus saeptam viderunt, Epirotarum trans flumen
loco plano castra posita esse, dividere copias placuit.
8 Cum mille expeditis Eupolemus Ambraciam profectus
per nondum commissa inter se munimenta urbem
9 intravit. Nicandro cum cetera manu primo Epiro-
tarum castra nocte aggredi consilium fuerat haud
facili ab Romanis auxilio, quia flumen intererat;
10 dein, periculosum inceptum ratus, ne qua sentirent
Romani et regressus [2] inde in tuto non esset, deter-
ritus ab hoc consilio ad depopulandam Acarnaniam
iter convertit.

V. Consul iam munimentis quibus saepienda [3]
urbs erat, iam operibus, quae admovere muris
parabat, perfectis quinque simul locis moenia est
2 aggressus. Tria paribus intervallis, faciliore [4] aditu
a campo, adversus Pyrrheum quod vocant admovit,
unum e regione Aesculapii, unum adversus arcem.
3 Arietibus muros quatiebat; asseribus falcatis de-
tergebat pinnas. Oppidanos primo et ad speciem

[1] conuenerant ζ : conuenerunt *B*.
[2] regressus ζ : praegressus *B*.
[3] saepienda ζ : *om*. *B*.
[4] faciliore *edd. vett.* : faciliora $B\zeta$.

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[1] Probably the palace of Pyrrhus : see the last note.
[2] The *falx muralis* of Caesar (*B.G.* III. xiv. 5). This detail, like those which follow, is derived directly from Polybius (XXII. x).

egress from the city might be allowed the besieged B.C. 189
nor ingress from without to a relieving force. At the report of the siege of Ambracia the Aetolians had already assembled at Stratus in response to the edict of the praetor Nicander. It had been their first intention to march from there with their entire force to prevent the siege; then, when they saw that the city was already in large part hemmed in by siege-works, and that the camp of the Epirotes lay on level ground across the river, they decided to divide their forces. Eupolemus with a thousand light-armed troops, setting out for Ambracia, entered the city through the fortifications which had not yet been joined together. It had been the original plan that Nicander, with the rest of the troops, should make a night attack on the camp of the Epirotes, which could not readily be aided by the Romans because the river was between them; later, thinking that there was in the enterprise the danger that the Romans might somehow learn of it and he have no escape to a place of safety, he abandoned that design and turned aside to plunder Acarnania.

V. The consul had by now completed the fortifications by which the town had to be surrounded as well as the siege-engines which he was making ready to move up to the walls, and attacked the ramparts in five places at once. Three of the assaults, equidistant from one another, the approach from the plain being easier, he directed against what they call the "Pyrrheum,"[1] one on the side of the temple of Aesculapius, one against the citadel. He was shaking the walls with battering-rams; he was pulling down the parapets with hooks fixed on poles.[2] The citizens were at first stricken with terror

et ad ictus moenium cum terribili sonitu editos[1]
4 pavor ac trepidatio cepit: deinde, ut praeter spem
stare muros viderunt, collectis rursus animis in arietes
tollenonibus libramenta[2] plumbi aut saxorum stipi-
tesve[3] robustos incutiebant; falces ancoris ferreis
iniectis in interiorem partem muri trahentes asserem
5 praefringebant; ad hoc eruptionibus et[4] nocturnis
in custodias operum et diurnis in stationes ultro
terrorem inferebant.
6 In hoc statu res ad Ambraciam cum essent, iam
Aetoli a populatione Acarnaniae Stratum redierant.[5]
Inde Nicander praetor spem nactus solvendae[6] incepto
forti obsidionis, Nicodamum quendam cum Aetolis
7 quingentis Ambraciam intromittit. Noctem certam
tempusque etiam noctis constituit, quo et illi ab urbe
opera hostium[7] quae adversus Pyrrheum erant
aggrederentur, et ipse ad castra Romana terrorem
faceret, posse ratus ancipiti tumultu et nocte augente
8 pavorem memorabilem rem geri. Et Nicodamus
intempesta nocte, cum alias custodias fefellisset,
per[8] alias impetu constanti perrupisset,[9] superato
brachio in urbem penetrat, animique aliquantum[10]
ad omnia audenda et spei obsessis adiecit et, simul
constituta nox venit, ex composito repente opera
9 est aggressus. Id inceptum conatu quam effectu

[1] editos *edd. vett.*: editus $B\bar{r}$.
[2] libramenta $\bar{r}$: libramento *B*.
[3] stipitesue $\bar{r}$: stipites *B*.
[4] et *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* $B\bar{r}$.
[5] redierant $\bar{r}$: redierunt *B*.
[6] soluendae $\bar{r}$: *om.* *B*.
[7] hostium $\bar{r}$: *om.* *B*.
[8] per $\bar{r}$: et per *B*.
[9] perrupisset *Crévier*: erupisset et *B*: erupisset $\bar{r}$.
[10] aliquantum $\bar{r}$: aliquantulum *B*.

and confusion both at the sight and at the blows which struck the walls with fearful din; then, when they saw the walls still standing, contrary to expectations, they recovered their courage and with the aid of cranes they dropped on the rams masses of lead or stone or stout logs; seizing the wall-hooks with grappling-irons they pulled them inside the walls and broke off the poles; besides, by sallies conducted both by night against the guards of the engines and by day against the outposts they did their part in spreading terror. B.C. 189

While matters before Ambracia were in this state, the Aetolians had now returned to Stratus from the devastation of Acarnania. Then the praetor Nicander, conceiving the hope of raising the siege by a bold stroke, sent a certain Nicodamus with five hundred Aetolians into Ambracia. He appointed a certain night and even an hour of the night when both the troops from the city should attack the enemy's siege-works which faced the Pyrrheum and he himself should cause a panic in the Roman camp, thinking that something memorable could be accomplished by an attack from two directions and with night adding to the terror. And Nicodamus, on a stormy night, after eluding some pickets and forcing his way past others by a resolute attack, crossed one branch of the wall [1] and entered the town, thereby inspiring in the besieged no small degree of courage for any deed of daring and of hope, and as soon as the appointed night arrived, according to the agreement, he suddenly attacked the siege-works. This venture was more serious in its purpose than in

[1] This was probably a low rampart connecting two of the Roman strong points.

gravius fuit, quia nulla ab exteriore parte vis admota est,[1] seu metu deterrito praetore Aetolorum, seu quia potius visum est Amphilochis nuper receptis ferre opem, quos Perseus, Philippi filius, missus ad Dolopiam Amphilochosque recipiendos,[2] summa vi oppugnabat.

VI. Tribus locis, sicut ante dictum est, ad Pyrrheum opera Romana erant, quae omnia simul, sed nec apparatu nec vi simili, Aetoli aggressi sunt: alii cum ardentibus facibus, alii stuppam picemque et malleolos ferentes, tota collucente flammis acie, advenere. Multos primo impetu custodes oppresserunt: dein, postquam clamor tumultusque in castra est perlatus datumque a consule signum, arma capiunt et omnibus portis ad opem ferendam effunduntur. Ferro ignique gesta res; ab duobus irrito incepto, cum temptassent magis quam inissent certamen, Aetoli abscesserunt: atrox pugna[3] in unum inclinaverat locum. Ibi diversis partibus duo duces Eupolemus et Nicodamus pugnantes hortabantur et prope certa fovebant spe iam Nicandrum ex composito adfore et terga hostium invasurum. Haec res aliquamdiu animos pugnantium sustinuit: ceterum, postquam nullum ex composito signum a suis accipiebant et crescere numerum hostium cernebant, destituti[4] segnius instare; postremo re omissa iam vix tuto receptu fugientes in urbem compelluntur,

[1] est σ: *om. B.*
[2] recipiendos σ: *om. B.*
[3] pugna σ: *om. B.*
[4] destituti σ: destitutis *B.*

its result, since no attack was made from outside, B.C. 189
whether because the Aetolian praetor was prevented by fear or because it seemed better to assist the Amphilochians who had just been recovered and whom Perseus, the son of Philip, sent to regain control of Dolopia and the Amphilochians, was attacking with the greatest vigour.

VI. There were Roman works, as has been said before, in three places facing the Pyrrheum, all of which the Aetolians attacked at once, but not with the same equipment or violence: some advanced with flaming torches, others carrying tow and pitch and firebrands, the whole battle-line gleaming with flames. They cut down many of the guards at the first attack; then, when the shouting and the din were heard in the camp and the signal was given by the consul, the Romans seized their arms and from all the gates hastened to the rescue. The battle raged with steel and fire; in two places the Aetolians retired without accomplishing anything, after trying rather than actually beginning an engagement; the severe fighting had concentrated in one place. There in different quarters the two captains Eupolemus and Nicodamus were urging on the fighters and encouraging them with the almost certain hope that Nicander would soon be there according to agreement and would take the enemy in the rear. This assurance kept up for a considerable time the spirits of the fighters; but when they received no signal from their comrades according to the agreement and they perceived that the number of the enemy was increasing, being thus left unsupported, they pressed on less vigorously; finally, abandoning their effort, their retreat being by now scarcely safe, they were driven back into the city

parte operum incensa et pluribus aliquanto, quam ab ipsis [1] ceciderant, interfectis. Quodsi ex composito acta res fuisset, haud dubium erat expugnari una utique parte opera cum magna caede hostium
8 potuisse. Ambracienses quique intus erant Aetoli non ab eius solum noctis incepto recessere, sed in reliquum quoque tempus velut proditi ab suis
9 segniores ad pericula erant. Iam nemo eruptionibus, ut ante, in stationes hostium, sed dispositi per muros et turres ex tuto pugnabant.

VII. Perseus ubi adesse [2] Aetolos audivit, omissa obsidione urbis, quam oppugnabat, depopulatus tantum agros Amphilochia excessit atque in Mace-
2 doniam redit. Et Aetolos inde avocavit populatio maritimae orae. Pleuratus, Illyriorum rex, cum sexaginta lembis Corinthium sinum invectus adiunctis Achaeorum quae Patris erant navibus maritima
3 Aetoliae vastabat.[3] Adversus quos mille Aetoli missi, quacumque se classis circumegerat per litorum am-
4 fractus, brevioribus semitis occurrebant. Et Romani ad Ambraciam pluribus locis quatiendo arietibus muros aliquantum urbis nudaverant, nec tamen
5 penetrare in urbem poterant; nam et pari celeritate novus pro diruto murus obiciebatur, et armati ruinis
6 superstantes instar munimenti erant. Itaque cum

[1] ab ipsis *M. Mueller*: ipsis $B\bar{\sigma}$.
[2] adesse $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B*.
[3] uastabat $\bar{\sigma}$: uastabant *B*.

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[1] This use of *ab ipsis* (which is itself an emendation) is somewhat unusual, but the interpretation here given seems to be required.
[2] Cf. XXXIII. xxxiv. 11.

in flight, after they had burned part of the siege-works and killed a considerably larger number of the enemy than they had themselves lost.[1] But if the plan had been carried out according to the agreement there was no doubt that in one place at least the works could have been taken with heavy loss to the enemy. The Ambraciots and the Aetolians who were inside the city not only gave up their attempt for that night, but for the future too, feeling that they had been deserted by their friends, they were more reluctant to face dangers. Henceforth no one took part in sallies, as before, against the outguards of the enemy, but posting themselves along the walls and towers they fought in safety. B.C. 189

VII. When Perseus learned that the Aetolians were approaching, he abandoned the siege of the city he was investing and, merely plundering the fields, withdrew from Amphilochia and returned to Macedonia. The Aetolians too were called away from there by the devastation of their sea-coast. Pleuratus,[2] the king of the Illyrians, sailed into the Corinthian gulf with sixty cruisers and joining the ships of the Achaeans which were at Patrae was laying waste the coast districts of Aetolia. A thousand Aetolians sent against them, wherever the fleet went, following the indentations of the shore-line, would travel by shorter routes and meet them. Also the Romans before Ambracia, by battering at the walls with rams, had to a great extent laid bare the town, but nevertheless could not force their way into it; for with equal speed a new wall was thrown up to replace what had been destroyed and armed men, standing on the ruins, served as a fortification. Accordingly, since visibly applied force was not

aperta vi parum procederet consuli res, cuniculum occultum vineis ante contecto[1] loco agere instituit;[2] et aliquamdiu, cum[3] dies noctesque in opere essent, non solum sub terra fodientes sed egerentes etiam
7 humum fefellere hostem. Cumulus repente terrae eminens index operis oppidanis fuit, pavidique ne iam subrutis muris facta in urbem via esset, fossam intra murum e regione eius operis quod vineis con-
8 tectum erat ducere instituunt. Cuius ubi ad tantam altitudinem quantae esse solum infimum cuniculi poterat pervenerunt, silentio facto[4] pluribus locis
9 aure admota sonitum fodientium captabant. Quem ubi acceperunt, aperiunt rectam in cuniculum viam, nec fuit magni operis; momento enim ad inane[5] suspenso fulturis[6] ab hostibus muro pervenerunt.
10 Ibi commissis operibus, cum e fossa in cuniculum pateret iter, primo ipsis ferramentis, quibus in opere usi erant, deinde celeriter armati etiam subeuntes occultam sub terra ediderunt pugnam; segnior deinde ea facta est intersaepientibus cuniculum, ubi vellent, nunc ciliciis praetentis nunc foribus raptim obiectis.
11 Nova etiam haud magni operis adversus eos qui in cuniculo erant excogitata res. Dolium a fundo

[1] contecto $\bar{\gamma}$: collecto *B*.
[2] instituit $\bar{\gamma}$: statuit *B*.
[3] cum $\bar{\gamma}$: *om*. *B*.
[4] facto $\bar{\gamma}$: *om*. *B*.
[5] inane $\bar{\gamma}$: inanem *B*.
[6] fulturis *ed*. *Frobeniana* 1535 : furculis *B*$\bar{\gamma}$.

[1] The apparent meaning is that the trench of the defenders ran at right angles to the assumed direction of the tunnel. Polybius (XXII. xi) describes the trench as parallel to the city-wall.

progressing well for the consul, he determined to dig B.C. 189
secretly a tunnel in a place formerly covered by his sheds, and for a considerable period, although the work was in progress day and night, not only the men digging beneath the ground but also those who were carrying out the earth went unnoticed by the enemy. Suddenly a rising mound of earth betrayed the work to the townspeople, and, fearing that the walls had already been undermined and a way opened into the city, they began to dig a ditch inside the wall in the direction of that work which had been covered by the sheds.[1] When they came to a depth as great as the bottom of the tunnel could have, they remained silent, and placing their ears against the walls in several places they caught the sound of the diggers. When they heard this they opened a way straight into the tunnel, nor was this a difficult task; for in a moment they came into the open space where the enemy was supporting the roof on props. The works joining there, as the way was open from the trench to the tunnel, they began to fight, at first with the same tools which they had used in the work, then quickly armed men too came up and engaged in a hidden battle underground; later this fighting became more desultory, since they blocked the tunnel wherever they wished, now with curtains[2] stretched across, now with hastily constructed doors.[3] A new device as well, and one easy of execution, was thought out against the Romans who were in the tunnel. They prepared a cask pierced at the

[2] Literally, garments made of the hair of goats.

[3] Polybius (*l.c.*) says that both sides protected themselves with shields (*θυρέους*), and it has been suggested that Livy confused this word with *θύρας*, "doors."

pertusum, qua[1] fistula modica inseri posset, et ferream fistulam operculumque dolii[2] ferreum, et ipsum pluribus locis perforatum, fecerunt. Hoc tenui pluma completum dolium ore in cuniculum
12 verso posuerunt. Per operculi foramina praelongae hastae, quas sarisas vocant, ad summovendos hostes eminebant. Scintillam levem ignis inditam plumae folle fabrili ad caput fistulae imposito flando accende-
13 runt. Inde non solum magna vis fumi sed acrior etiam foedo quodam odore ex adusta pluma cum totum cuniculum complesset, vix durare quisquam intus poterat.

VIII. Cum in hoc statu ad Ambraciam res esset, legati ab Aetolis Phaeneas et Damoteles cum liberis mandatis decreto gentis ad consulem venerunt. Nam praetor eorum, cum alia parte Ambraciam
2 oppugnari cerneret, alia infestam oram navibus hostium esse, alia Amphilochos Dolopiamque[3] a Macedonibus vastari, nec Aetolos ad tria simul diversa bella occursantes sufficere, convocato concilio Aetoliae principes quid agendum esset consuluit.
3 Omnium eo sententiae decurrerunt, ut pax si posset aequis,[4] si minus tolerandis condicionibus peteretur;
4 Antiochi fiducia bellum susceptum; Antiocho terra marique superato et prope extra orbem terrae ultra

[1] qua $\bar{r}$: quasi *B*. [2] dolii $\bar{r}$: dolium *B*.
[3] Dolopiamque *edd. vett.* : dolophiam *B* : dolopiam $\bar{r}$.
[4] aequis $\bar{r}$: aequius *B*.

[1] Livy for some reason omits certain picturesque details given by Polybius (*l.c.*), but otherwise follows him closely. Smoking out an enemy in mine-warfare was a recognized device (Aeneas Tacticus 37), but we need not consider this an example of the early use of chemicals for military purposes: cf. Lamer's review of Vatter, "Giftgase und Gasschutz" (Stuttgart, 1934), in *Phil. Woch.* 55, 1935, 202–204.

bottom, where a pipe of moderate size could be B.C. 189
inserted, and likewise an iron pipe and an iron lid for the cask, this lid too being perforated in several places. This cask, filled with light feathers, they placed in the entrance facing the tunnel. They fixed in the holes in the lid the very long spears which they call "sarisae," so as to keep the enemy at a distance. A light spark of flame, placed among the feathers, they fanned by blowing with a smith's bellows placed at the mouth of the pipe. Then, since smoke, not merely abundant in quantity, but, even more, unendurable by reason of the vile stench from the burning feathers, had filled the whole tunnel, scarcely anyone was able to remain within it.[1]

VIII. While affairs were in this condition at Ambracia,[2] Phaeneas and Damoteles came to the consul as ambassadors from the Aetolians, with full power to act, by decree of the people. For their praetor, when he saw that on one side Ambracia was undergoing siege, that on another the sea-coast was endangered by the enemy's ships, that on a third the Amphilochians and Dolopia were being plundered by the Macedonians, and that the Aetolians, rushing here and there to three different wars at the same time, could not hold out, called a council and laid before the chiefs of Aetolia the question of what should be done. The opinions of all tended in this direction—that peace should be sought, on fair terms if possible, if not, on endurable terms: they argued that they had begun the war because of their reliance on Antiochus; when Antiochus was beaten on land and sea and driven virtually beyond the bounds of the

[2] The embassy mentioned in XXXVII. xlix (cf. iii. 6 above) is ignored in the following account.

u.c. 565 iuga Tauri exacto quam spem esse sustinendi belli? Phaeneas et Damoteles quod e re[1] Aetolorum, ut in tali casu, fideque sua esse censerent, agerent; quod enim sibi consilium aut cuius rei electionem a fortuna relictam? Cum his mandatis legati missi orare consulem ut parceret urbi, misereretur gentis quondam sociae, nolle dicere iniuriis, miseriis certe coactae insanire; non plus mali meritos Aetolos Antiochi bello quam boni ante, cum adversus Philippum bellatum sit, fecisse; nec tum large gratiam relatam sibi, nec nunc immodice poenam iniungi debere. Ad ea consul respondit magis saepe quam vere umquam[2] Aetolos pacem petere. Imitarentur Antiochum in petenda pace, quem in bellum traxissent; non paucis urbibus eum, de quarum libertate certatum sit, sed omni Asia cis Taurum montem, opimo regno, excessisse.[3] Aetolos nisi inermes de pace agentes non auditurum se; arma illis prius equosque omnes tradendos esse, deinde mille talentum argenti[4] populo Romano dandum, cuius summae dimidium praesens numeretur, si pacem habere vellent. Ad ea adiecturum etiam in foedus esse ut eosdem quos populus Romanus amicos atque hostes habeant.

[1] e re σ: de re *B*. [2] uere umquam σ: *om. B*.
[3] excessisse σ: excepisse *B*. [4] argenti σ: *om. B*.

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[1] It should be noted that this discussion makes no progress towards peace. It was one of the stock grievances of the Aetolians that their services against Philip had been inadequately recognized and rewarded, and this position they still maintain. The final demands of Fulvius are repetitions of those made by Rome in the futile negotiations of 190 B.C. (XXXVII. i. 5), although nothing had been said before about Aetolian disarmament as a condition of peace.

earth, to the other side of the ridges of Taurus, what B.C. 189
hope was there of continuing the war? Phaeneas and Damoteles, they said, should do what they judged consistent with the best interests of the Aetolians, considering the straits they were in, and with their own sense of loyalty; for what plan that they could adopt or what choice of action was left them by fortune? The envoys, sent with these instructions, begged the consul to spare the city and to have compassion on a people, once his ally, now driven to the point of madness, they would not say by their wrongs but at least by their misfortunes: the Aetolians had not deserved to suffer any ill fortune, by reason of the war with Antiochus, outweighing the good service which they had rendered previously when they had fought against Philip; neither had liberal gratitude been shown them then nor should excessive punishment be imposed upon them now. To this the consul replied that the Aetolians ever sought peace frequently rather than sincerely. In their plea for peace they should follow the example of Antiochus, whom they had enticed into the war; he had withdrawn not from a few towns about whose liberty there was a question, but from the whole rich land of Asia on this side of the Taurus mountains. He would not, he said, listen to the Aetolians treating for peace unless they were disarmed; they must first turn over their weapons and all their horses, then pay a thousand talents of silver to the Roman people, of which sum half must be paid at once if they wanted to have peace. He would, besides, add this clause to the treaty—that they should regard as friends and enemies the same persons whom the Romans so regarded.[1]

.c. IX. Adversus quae legati, et quia gravia erant, et
5 quia suorum animos indomitos ac mutabiles noverant, nullo reddito responso domum regressi sunt, ut etiam atque etiam quid agendum esset re integra praetorem
2 et principes consulerent. Clamore et iurgio excepti, quam diu rem traherent, qualemcumque pacem referre iussi, cum redirent Ambraciam, Acarnanum insidiis prope viam positis, cum quibus bellum erat, circumventi Thyrreum custodiendi deducuntur.
3 Haec mora iniecta est paci, cum iam Atheniensium Rhodiorumque legati, qui ad deprecandum pro iis
4 venerant, apud consulem essent. Amynander quoque Athamanum rex fide accepta venerat in castra Romana, magis pro Ambracia urbe, ubi maiorem partem temporis exulaverat, quam pro Aetolis
5 sollicitus. Per hos certior factus consul de casu legatorum adduci eos a Thyrreo iussit; quorum
6 post adventum agi coeptum est de pace. Amynander, quod sui maxime operis erat, impigre agebat,
7 ut Ambracienses compelleret ad deditionem. Ad id [1] cum per colloquia principum succedens murum parum proficeret, postremo consulis permissu [2] ingressus urbem partim consilio partim precibus evicit,
8 ut permitterent se Romanis. Et Aetolos C. Valerius, Laevini filius, qui cum ea gente primum amicitiam pepigerat, consulis frater matre eadem genitus,

[1] Ad id *M. Mueller*: id *B*.
[2] permissu *r*: promissu *B*.

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[1] Cf. XXXI. iii. 3, etc.; for the treaty of 211 B.C., XXVI. xxiv. 8.

IX. To these proposals, both because they were severe and because the ambassadors knew that the tempers of their people were fierce and changeable, they made no reply but returned home, that they might again and again consult the praetor and the chiefs as to what was to be done while they were still uncommitted to a decision. They were received with abusive shouts, being asked how long they would drag things out, and were ordered to bring back any sort of peace whatsoever, but when they were returning to Ambracia they were caught in an ambush set beside the road by the Acarnanians, with whom they were at war, and were taken to Thyrreum for confinement. This caused a delay to the peace, although ambassadors of the Athenians and the Rhodians, who had come to intercede for them, were now with the consul. Amynander also, the king of the Athamanians, had come to the Roman camp under a safeguard, more concerned for the city of Ambracia, where he had spent the greater part of his exile, than for the Aetolians. Being informed by them of the misfortune of the ambassadors, the consul ordered them to be brought from Thyrreum; after their arrival the discussion of peace began. Amynander, since this was his particular mission, laboured earnestly to induce the Ambraciots to surrender. When he met with little success in this, approaching the walls and conferring with the chiefs, finally, by permission of the consul, he entered the city, and partly by advice and partly by entreaty he prevailed upon them to entrust themselves to the Romans. The Aetolians too received notable assistance from Gaius Valerius, the son of Laevinus,[1] who had concluded the first treaty of friendship with that people, Gaius being the brother of the consul and B.C. 189

c.c. 9 egregie adiuvit. Ambracienses prius pacti, ut
55 Aetolorum auxiliares sine fraude emitterent, aperuerunt portas. Dein Aetolis condiciones pacis dictae :[1] quingenta Euboica ut darent talenta, ex quibus ducenta praesentia, trecenta per annos sex pensionibus aequis; captivos perfugasque redderent Ro-
10 manis; urbem ne quam formulae sui iuris facerent, quae post id tempus, quo T. Quinctius traiecisset in Graeciam, aut vi capta ab Romanis esset [2] aut voluntate in amicitiam venisset: Cephallania insula ut
11 extra ius foederis esset. Haec quamquam spe ipsorum alii quanto leviora erant, petentibus Aetolis
12 ut ad concilium referrent, permissum est. Parva disceptatio de urbibus tenuit, quae cum sui iuris aliquando fuissent, avelli velut a corpore suo aegre patiebantur; ad unum omnes tamen accipi pacem
13 iusserunt. Ambracienses coronam auream consuli centum et quinquaginta pondo dederunt. Signa aenea marmoraeque et tabulae pictae, quibus ornatior Ambracia, quia regia ibi Pyrrhi fuerat,[3]

[1] Dein Aetolis condiciones pacis dictae *H. J. Mueller*: dein $B\bar{\sigma}$.
[2] esset $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B*.
[3] fuerat $\bar{\sigma}$: fuerant *B*.

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[1] Her name is unknown. She had apparently married Laevinus after the death of the elder Fulvius, since Polybius (XXII. xii) speaks of Gaius as a young man. Cf. Münzer, *Röm. Adelsparteien* (Stuttgart, 1920), 210.
[2] Cf. XXXVII. xlv. 14 and the note.
[3] This island, like Zacynthos (XXXVI. xxxi–xxxii), now had a strategic value for the Romans, and, since it did not

born of the same mother.[1] The Ambraciots, having B.C. 189
first bargained that the Aetolian auxiliaries should be released in safety, opened their gates. Then terms of peace were given to the Aetolians: they were to pay five hundred Euboean [2] talents, two hundred of these at once and three hundred in equal instalments through six years; they were to restore the prisoners and deserters to the Romans; they were to bring under their jurisdiction no city which since the time when Titus Quinctius had crossed to Greece had either been captured by force by the Romans or had voluntarily entered into friendship with them; the island of Cephallania [3] was to be outside the scope of the treaty.[4] Although these terms were much lighter than they had anticipated, the request of the Aetolians that they should submit them to their council was granted. There was a brief dispute about the cities, since they took it hard that towns which had once been under their control should be torn, as it were, from their body, yet all unanimously agreed that the peace should be accepted. The Ambraciots presented the consul with a golden crown of one hundred and fifty pounds' weight.[5] The bronze and marble statues and the paintings with which Ambracia was more lavishly adorned than the other cities of this region, because the palace of Pyrrhus had been

come under either class of communities just mentioned, is excepted. It had belonged to Aetolia.

[4] These conditions are essentially those given by Polybius (XXII. xiii).

[5] Polybius (*l.c.*) says practically the same thing, although he seems to use *στέφανος* to mean any sort of complimentary present. In XXXIX. v. 14 Livy says that Fulvius displayed in his triumph golden crowns weighing one hundred and twelve pounds.

quam ceterae regionis eius urbes erant, sublata omnia
14 avectaque; nihil praeterea tactum violatumve.

X. Profectus ab Ambracia consul in mediterranea Aetoliae ad Argos Amphilochium—viginti duo milia ab Ambracia abest [1]—castra posuit. Eo tandem legati Aetoli, mirante consule quod morarentur,[2]
2 venerunt. Inde, postquam approbasse pacem concilium Aetolorum accepit, iussis proficisci Romam ad senatum permissoque ut et Rhodii et Athenienses deprecatores irent dato, qui simul cum iis proficisceretur, C. Valerio fratre ipse in Cephallaniam
3 traiecit. Praeoccupatas aures animosque principum Romae criminibus Philippi invenerunt, qui per legatos, per litteras Dolopas Amphilochosque et Athamaniam erepta [3] sibi querens, praesidiaque sua postremo filium etiam Persea ex Amphilochis pulsum, averterat senatum ab audiendis precibus eorum.
4 Rhodii tamen et Athenienses cum silentio auditi sunt. Atheniensis legatus Leon Hicesiae filius
5 eloquentia etiam dicitur movisse; qui vulgata similitudine, mari tranquillo quod ventis concitaretur aequiperando multitudinem Aetolorum, usus, cum in fide Romanae societatis mansissent, insita gentis
6 tranquillitate quiesse eos aiebat; postquam flare ab Asia Thoas et Dicaearchus, ab Europa Menestas et Damocritus coepissent, tum illam tempestatem

[1] abest *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : est *B*^{2}.
[2] morarentur ^{2} : moraretur *B*.
[3] erepta ^{2} : ereptas *B*.

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[1] Fulvius was later severely criticized for his treatment of Ambracia : cf. xliii. 5 below, and his defence in XXXIX. iv. 11–12. Polybius does not mention this, and Livy may

there, were all removed and carried away; nothing B.C. 189
else was touched or harmed.[1]

X. Leaving Ambracia for the interior of Aetolia, the consul encamped near Amphilochian Argos, it being twenty-two miles from Ambracia. There finally the Aetolian ambassadors came while the consul was wondering why they were delaying. Then, when he learned that the council of the Aetolians had approved the peace, having ordered them to go to the senate in Rome and having given permission to both the Rhodians and the Athenians to go with them as intercessors, and appointed his brother Gaius Valerius to accompany them, he himself crossed to Cephallania. The ambassadors found that the ears and minds of the leading men at Rome had already been filled by the allegations of Philip, who, through envoys, through letters, complaining that the Dolopians, the Amphilochians and Athamania had been snatched from him and that his garrisons and finally even his son Perseus had been driven off from the Amphilochians, had made the senate disinclined to hear their petitions. Nevertheless, the Rhodians and the Athenians were listened to in silence. The Athenian ambassador Leon, the son of Hicesias, is said to have created something of an impression by his eloquence; employing the familiar simile of a calm sea which is disturbed by the winds, likening to it the Aetolian populace, he said that as long as they had remained faithful to the Roman alliance they had been quiet with the natural calmness of the race; after Thoas and Dicaearchus began to blow from Asia and Menestas and Damocritus from Europe, then

[1] have inferred it from the later debate as to the triumph of Fulvius.

coortam, quae ad Antiochum eos sicuti in scopulum intulisset.

XI. Diu iactati Aetoli tandem, ut[1] condiciones pacis convenirent, effecerunt. Fuerunt autem hae.[2] "Imperium maiestatemque populi Romani gens Aetolorum conservato sine dolo malo; ne quem exercitum, qui adversus socios amicosque eorum ducetur, per fines suos transire sinito, neve ulla ope iuvato; hostes eosdem habeto quos populus Romanus, armaque in eos ferto, bellumque pariter gerito; perfugas fugitivos captivos reddito Romanis sociisque, praeterquam si qui capti, cum domos redissent, iterum capti sunt, aut si qui eo tempore ex iis capti sunt qui tum hostes erant Romanis, cum intra praesidia Romana Aetoli essent; aliorum qui comparebunt intra dies centum Corcyraeorum magistratibus sine dolo malo tradantur; qui non comparebunt, quando quisque eorum primum inventus erit, reddatur; obsides quad-

[1] ut *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : ut ad $B\bar{r}$.
[2] hae $\bar{r}$: haec *B*.

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[1] Polybius (XXII. xiv) quotes this speech at greater length and with more direct application. However, he credits the speech to Damis, and a philosopher of that name is said to have been at some time a resident of Athens. The corruption in the text of Polybius at this point probably makes it impossible to explain the variation in names between Livy and Polybius.

The mischief-makers named were mainly responsible, according to both Livy and Polybius, for the Aetolian alliance with Antiochus: cf. the Index to Volume X.

[2] The terms here given are in essence those given by Polybius (XXII. xv). The formal beginning appears to be that regularly employed in *foedera non aequa*, *i.e.* treaties between a politically superior and a politically inferior state. It is thus interpreted by Cicero (*Balb.* 35).

that storm had arisen which had dashed them upon Antiochus as upon a rock.[1] B.C. 189

XI. After long agitation the Aetolians finally succeeded in obtaining an agreement on the terms of peace. These were the conditions:[2] "The people of the Aetolians shall uphold the sovereignty and dignity of the Roman people without fraud;[3] they shall permit no army which is being led against the allies and friends of the Romans to cross their borders and shall aid such an army in no way; they shall regard as enemies the same persons whom the Romans so regard, shall take up arms against them and make war upon them in company with the Romans; they shall restore deserters, runaways and captives to the Romans and their allies, except such prisoners as were captured a second time after they had returned to their homes, or such as were captured from those who were enemies to the Romans at that time when the Aetolians were associated with the Roman forces,[4] and any of the others who shall be discovered within one hundred days to the magistrates[5] of the Corcyraeans without fraud; those who shall not be discovered shall be turned over as soon as each of them is found; they shall deliver

[3] *Dolus malus* is technical and legal; its implication is the intent to injure or deceive another.

[4] The second class of exceptions apparently includes citizens of Rome and allied states who were in arms against their native cities during the period of the active Aetolian alliance with Rome in the Second Macedonian War. But neither the meaning nor the purpose of the clause is entirely clear.

[5] Polybius (*l.c.*) says merely τῷ ἄρχοντι, meaning, probably, a Roman prefect in Corcyra. Livy seems to misunderstand, and there seems to be no point in the demand that these persons be handed over to native magistrates in Corcyra.

raginta arbitratu consulis Romanis dato [1] ne minores
7 duodecim annorum neu maiores quadraginta, obses ne
esto praetor, praefectus equitum, scriba publicus, neu
quis qui ante obses fuit apud Romanos; Cephallania
8 extra pacis leges esto." De pecuniae summa quam
penderent pensionibusque eius nihil ex eo, quod cum
consule convenerat, mutatum; pro argento si aurum
dare mallent, darent,[2] convenit, dum pro argenteis
9 decem aureus unus valeret. "Quae urbes, qui agri,
qui homines Aetolorum iuris aliquando fuerunt, qui
eorum T. Quinctio Cn. Domitio consulibus postve
eos consules aut armis subacti aut voluntate in
dicionem populi Romani venerunt, ne quem [3] eorum
Aetoli recepisse velint; Oeniadae cum urbe agrisque [4]
Acarnanum sunto." His legibus foedus ictum cum
Aetolis est.

XII. Eadem non aestate solum, sed etiam iisdem
prope diebus quibus haec a M. Fulvio consule in
Aetolia gesta sunt, consul alter Cn. Manlius in Gallo-
graecia bellum gessit, quod nunc ordiri pergam.
2 Vere primo Ephesum consul venit, acceptisque copiis
ab L. Scipione et exercitu lustrato contionem apud

[1] dato ⊐ : dando *B*.
[2] darent ⊐ : *om*. *B*.
[3] ne quem *ed*. *Frobeniana* 1535 : neque *B*⊐.
[4] recepisse velint; Oeniadae cum urbe agrisque *ed*. *Frobeniana* 1535 : recepissent uel in aetolia x urbes agrosque (*sic*) *B*⊐.

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[1] Polybius (*l.c.*) states the equivalence in terms of *minae*, preserving the ratio of 10 : 1, and adds certain details as to the financial settlement.

[2] Livy and Polybius (*l.c.*) agree on these names, but one or the other name is nevertheless wrong. The colleague of T. Flamininus in the consulship was Sex. Aelius Paetus

to the Romans forty hostages, acceptable to the B.C. 189
consul, none younger than twelve years nor older than forty, provided that no hostage shall be a praetor, a commander of cavalry, a public secretary, or one who has previously been a hostage at Rome; Cephallania shall be excepted from the terms of peace." Regarding the sum of money which they were to pay and the instalments thereof, no change was made in the conditions proposed by the consul; "if in place of silver they propose to pay gold, let them do so," it was agreed, "provided that one gold piece shall be the equivalent of ten pieces of silver.[1] Whatever cities, whatever districts, whatever persons have at any time been under the jurisdiction of the Aetolians and have, in the consulship of Titus Quinctius and Gnaeus Domitius or after that consulship,[2] either been conquered by arms or submitted voluntarily to the control of the Roman people, none of these shall the Aetolians essay to recover; the Oeniadae with their city and lands shall belong to the Acarnanians." On these conditions the treaty with the Aetolians was concluded.

XII. Not merely in the same summer, but even practically during the same days when Marcus Fulvius the consul was thus engaged in Aetolia, the other consul Gnaeus Manlius in Gallograecia waged the war which I shall now proceed to describe. The consul arrived in Ephesus in the beginning of spring, and, having taken over the troops from Lucius Scipio

(XXXII. viii. 1), while Domitius was consul in 192 B.C. with L. Flamininus (XXXV. x. 10). Titus was named in the corresponding section of the consul's proposals (ix. 10 above), but it is possible that the senate made this particular condition easier by changing the date from 198 B.C. to 192 B.C.

c. 3 milites habuit, qua collaudata virtute eorum, quod
cum Antiocho uno proelio debellassent, adhortatus
eos ad[1] novum cum Gallis suscipiendum bellum,
4 qui et auxiliis iuvissent Antiochum et adeo[2] indo-
mita haberent ingenia ut nequiquam Antiochus
emotus[3] ultra iuga Tauri montis esset, nisi frange-
rentur opes Gallorum, de se quoque pauca, nec falsa
5 nec immodica, adiecit. Laeti milites cum frequenti
adsensu consulem audiverunt, partem virium Antio-
chi fuisse Gallos credentes; rege superato nullum
momentum in solis per se Gallorum copiis fore.
6 Eumenen haud in tempore abesse—Romae tum erat
—credere consul, gnarum locorum hominumque, et
7 cuius interesset frangi Gallorum opes. Attalum
igitur fratrem eius accersit a Pergamo, hortatusque
ad capessendum secum bellum pollicentem suam
suorumque operam domum ad comparandum di-
8 mittit. Paucos post dies profecto ab Epheso con-
suli ad Magnesiam occurrit Attalus cum mille pediti-
bus equitibusque quingentis, Athenaeo fratre[4] iusso
cum ceteris copiis subsequi, commendata iis custodia
Pergami quos fratri regnoque fidos[5] credebat.
9 Consul collaudato iuvene cum omnibus copiis ad

[1] ad *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : eum *B* : *om.* σ.
[2] adeo σ : ante *B*.
[3] emotus σ : semotus *B* : amotus *M*.
[4] athenaeo fratre σ : athene fratre eius *B*.
[5] fidos σ : eius fidos *B*.

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[1] By sacrifice to possible hostile spirits; cf. XXXVI. xlii. 2, etc.

[2] The praetorship of Manlius in Sicily (XXXIII. xliii. 5) had been undistinguished, and it is not easy to see the basis for his eulogy of himself. He probably dwelt upon the exploits of earlier Manlii against Gauls, as he does in xvii. 8–9 below.

and purified [1] the army, he delivered a speech to the soldiers in which he gave great praise to their valour because they had ended the war with Antiochus by a single battle, and urged them to undertake a new war with the Gauls, who had not only aided Antiochus with auxiliaries but possessed spirits so untamable that the expulsion of Antiochus beyond the ridges of the Taurus mountains would be in vain unless the power of the Gauls were broken, while as regards himself also he added brief remarks, neither false nor exaggerated.[2] The joyous soldiers listened to the consul with great applause, believing that the Gauls had been only a part of the forces of Antiochus; after the defeat of the king there would be no strength in the Gauls alone and by themselves. The consul believed that Eumenes was away at an unsuitable time—he was then in Rome [3]—as he was familiar with the country and the people and as it was to his interest that the power of the Gauls should be broken.[4] Manlius therefore summoned Eumenes' brother Attalus from Pergamum and urged him to join in the prosecution of the war, and on receiving the promise of the co-operation of himself and his countrymen sent him home to make preparations. A few days later, when the consul left Ephesus for Magnesia, Attalus met him with a thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, having directed his brother Athenaeus to follow with the rest of the army and having entrusted the guardianship of Pergamum to those men whom he deemed loyal to his brother and the throne. The consul, praising the young man, marched with the B.C. 189

[3] Cf. XXXVII. lii. 1.

[4] Pergamum and the Gauls were traditional enemies: xvi. 14 below.

Maeandrum progressus castra posuit, quia [1] vado superari amnis non poterat et contrahendae naves erant ad exercitum traiciendum. Transgressi Maeandrum ad Hieran [2] Comen pervenerunt.

XIII. Fanum ibi augustum Apollinis et oraculum; sortes versibus haud inconditis dare vates dicuntur.[3] Hinc alteris castris ad Harpasum flumen ventum est, quo legati ab Alabandis venerunt, ut castellum, quod ab ipsis nuper descisset, aut auctoritate aut armis [4] cogeret iura antiqua pati. Eodem et Athenaeus, Eumenis et Attali frater, cum Cretense Leuso [5] et Corrago Macedone venit: mille pedites mixtarum gentium et trecentos equites secum adduxerunt. Consul tribuno militum misso cum modica manu castellum [6] vi cepit, captum Alabandensibus reddit.[7] Ipse nihil via degressus ad Antiochiam super Maeandrum amnem posuit castra. Huius amnis fontes Celaenis oriuntur. Celaenae urbs caput quondam Phrygiae fuit; migratum inde haud procul veteribus Celaenis, novaeque urbi Apameae nomen inditum ab Apama sorore Seleuci regis. Et Marsyas amnis, haud procul a Maeandri fontibus oriens, in Maeandrum cadit, famaque ita tenet Celaenis Marsyan cum Apolline tibiarum cantu certasse. Maeander ex arce summa Celaenarum [8]

[1] quia σ : qua *B*.
[2] ad Hieran *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : phileram *M* : ad σ : *om. B*.
[3] dicuntur σ : dicunt *B*.
[4] armis σ : *om. B*.
[5] Leuso *edd. vett.* : lento *B*.
[6] cum mod. ma. cas. σ : cas. cum mod. ma. *B*.
[7] reddit *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : redit *B* : reddidit σ.
[8] celenarum σ : caele atrum *B*.

entire force to the Meander and encamped, because B.C. 189
the river could not be crossed by fording and boats had to be collected to ferry the army across. After crossing the Meander they advanced to Hiera Comê.

XIII. There was at this place a venerable shrine of Apollo and an oracle; the priests, it is said, give the responses in verses not without polish. On the second day's march from here they came to the Harpasus river, where ambassadors from Alabanda came with the request that he would compel, either by authority or by armed force, a stronghold which had recently revolted from them to accept its ancient status. There also came Athenaeus, the brother of Eumenes and Attalus, with Leusus the Cretan and Corragus the Macedonian; they brought with them a thousand infantry of different nationalities and three hundred cavalry. The consul, sending a tribune of the soldiers with a force of moderate size, took the stronghold by storm and having captured it turned it over to the people of Alabanda. He himself, not leaving the direct road, pitched camp at Antiochia on the Meander river. The sources of this river spring from Celaenae. The city of Celaenae was once the capital of Phrygia; thence there was a migration to a place not far from old Celaenae, and to the new town was given the name of Apamea, from Apama, the sister of King Seleucus.[1] The Marsyas river also, rising not far from the sources of the Meander, empties into the Meander, and the story runs thus, that at Celaenae Marsyas contended with Apollo in playing on the pipes.[2] The Meander, rising on top of the citadel of Celaenae and flowing through the centre

[1] Apama was actually the wife, not the sister, of Seleucus.
[2] Cf. the similar statements of Xenophon (*Anab.* I. ii. 7–8).

ortus, media urbe decurrens, per Caras primum deinde Ionas in sinum maris editur qui [1] inter Prienen et
8 Miletum est. Ad Antiochiam in castra consulis Seleucus, Antiochi filius,[2] ex foedere icto cum Scipione
9 ad frumentum exercitui dandum venit. Parva disceptatio de Attali auxiliaribus orta est, quod Romano tantum militi pactum Antiochum ut daretur frumen-
10 tum Seleucus dicebat.[3] Discussa ea quoque est constantia consulis, qui misso tribuno edixit ne Romani milites acciperent priusquam Attali auxilia
11 accepissent. Inde ad Gordiutichos quod vocant processum est. Ex eo loco ad Tabas tertiis castris perventum. In finibus Pisidarum posita urbs est, in ea parte quae vergit ad Pamphylium mare. Integris viribus [4] regionis eius feroces ad bellandum
12 habebat viros. Tum quoque equites in agmen Romanum eruptione facta haud modice [5] primo impetu turbavere: deinde ut apparuit nec numero se [6] nec virtute pares esse, in urbem [7] compulsi veniam
13 erroris petebant, dedere urbem parati. Quinque

[1] editur qui σ: edituri quod *B*.
[2] filius σ: frater *B*.
[3] Seleucus dicebat σ: ut seleucus ducebat *B*.
[4] uiribus σ: urbibus *B*.
[5] modice σ: modico *B*.
[6] se σ: *om*. *B*.
[7] in urbem σ: deinde *B*.

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[1] The provisions of the treaty as given by Livy (XXXVII. xlv: cf. lv) say nothing of any such obligation, nor does Polybius mention it. In xxxvii. 7 below Livy again speaks of grain (and now money) owed under the treaty. It may have been taken for granted that Antiochus owed supplies to the Romans until the treaty was formally ratified.

[2] Many of the place-names in the following sections are doubtful, some by reason of corruptions in the text, some,

of the city, then first through Carian and later B.C. 189
Ionian territory, empties into the gulf of the sea which lies between Prienê and Miletus. At Antiochia, Seleucus, the son of Antiochus, came to the consul's camp to furnish the grain to the army in accordance with the treaty [1] made with Scipio. There was a short argument regarding the auxiliaries of Attalus, since Seleucus maintained that Antiochus had bargained to supply grain to the Roman soldiers only. This too was ended by the firmness of the consul, who sent a tribune with the order that no Roman soldiers should receive any grain until the auxiliaries of Attalus should have had their share. Thence he marched to the place called Gordiutichi.[2] From there they came on the third march to Tabae. The city lies on the borders of the Pisidians, on the side which faces the Pamphylian sea. Since the strength of the region was unimpaired, its men were fierce in warfare. At this time too the cavalry, charging the Roman column, threw it at first into no small degree of confusion; then, when it became evident that they were equal in neither numbers nor courage, when driven back into the town they begged pardon for their mistake and were ready to surrender the city. The consul exacted of them twenty-five talents

probably, because Livy did not understand his sources, while others are not mentioned elsewhere. I have been content in general to repeat the names as they are found in the Latin text I have followed, realizing that beyond question many of them are wrong.

The route of the Romans can be followed more easily on the map than through notes. As one traces their course one wonders whether their dominating motive, in selecting the line of march, was the topography of the country, the desire to come to grips with the Galatians as soon as possible, or the profits which quickly began to come in. (See Map 3.)

et viginti talenta argenti et decem milia medimnum tritici imperata: ita in deditionem accepti.

XIV. Tertio inde die ad Casum amnem perventum; inde profecti Erizam urbem primo impetu ce-
2 perunt. Ad Thabusion castellum imminens flumini Indo ventum est, cui fecerat nomen Indus ab ele-
3 phanto deiectus. Haud procul a Cibyra aberant, nec legatio ulla a Moagete, tyranno civitatis eius, homine ad omnia infido atque importuno, veniebat.
4 Ad temptandum eius animum C. Helvium [1] cum quattuor milibus peditum et quingentis [2] equitibus consul praemittit. Huic agmini iam fines ingredienti legati occurrerunt nuntiantes paratum esse tyran-
5 num [3] imperata facere; orabant ut pacatus fines iniret cohiberetque a populatione agri militem, et in
6 corona aurea quindecim talenta adferebant. Helvius integros [4] a populatione agros servaturum pollicitus
7 ire ad consulem legatos iussit. Quibus eadem referentibus consul "neque Romani" inquit "bonae voluntatis ullum signum erga nos tyranni habemus, et ipsum talem esse inter omnes constat ut de poena eius magis quam de amicitia nobis [5] cogitandum sit."
8 Perturbati hac voce legati nihil aliud [6] petere quam ut coronam acciperet veniendique ad eum tyranno potestatem et copiam loquendi ac purgandi se
9 faceret. Permissu consulis postero die in castra

[1] Helvium *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : muluium *B.*
[2] quingentis σ : .x. *B.*
[3] tyrannum σ : tyranni *B.*
[4] integros σ : *om. B.*
[5] nobis σ : *om. B.*
[6] aliud σ : *om. B.*

[1] Livy generally uses the Latin term *modius* in reference to quantities of grain (XXXI. xix. 2, etc.); here he more appropriately uses the Greek measure. The *medimnus* was the approximate equivalent of six *modii*.

of silver and ten thousand *medimni*[1] of wheat; on these terms they were received in surrender. B.C. 189

XIV. On the third day from there they came to the Casus river; on their departure thence they took the town of Eriza at the first assault. They came next to Thabusium, a fortress overlooking the Indus river, which derived its name from an Indian[2] who fell from his elephant. They were not far from Cibyra, and no embassy was coming from Moagetes, tyrant of that city, a man faithless and hard to deal with in every way. To test his attitude, the consul sent Gaius Helvius ahead with four thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. As this column was crossing the frontier ambassadors met them, bringing word that the tyrant was ready to do their bidding; they begged that he would enter their country peacefully and brought him fifteen talents in the form of a golden crown.[3] Helvius, promising to keep the farms safe from pillage, ordered the ambassadors to go to the consul. When they delivered the same message, the consul said, "We Romans have no indication of the good-will of the tyrant towards us, and it is well known to all that he is such a person that we must think about punishing him rather than cultivating his friendship."[4] Dismayed by this speech, the ambassadors asked nothing else than that he accept the crown and give the tyrant the opportunity to come to him, to speak and to defend himself. With the permission of the consul the tyrant the next day came

[2] Presumably the driver of the elephant: cf. Polybius I. xl; III. xlvi.

[3] Cf. ix. 13 above and the note.

[4] The characterization resembles that of Polybius (XXII. xvii).

tyrannus venit, vestitus comitatusque vix ad privati modice locupletis habitum, et oratio fuit summissa et infracta, extenuantis opes suas urbiumque suae
10 dicionis egestatem querentis. Erant autem sub eo[1] praeter Cibyram Sylleum et ad Limnen quae appellatur. Ex his, ut se suosque spoliaret, quinque et viginti talenta se confecturum, prope ut diffidens pol-
11 licebatur. "Enimvero" inquit consul "ferri iam ludificatio ista non potest. Parum est non erubuisse absentem, cum per legatos frustrareris nos; praesens
12 quoque in eadem perstas impudentia. Quinque et viginti talenta tyrannidem tuam exhaurient? Quingenta ergo talenta nisi triduo numeras, popula-
13 tionem in agris, obsidionem in urbe expecta." Hac denuntiatione conterritus perstare[2] tamen in perti-
14 naci simulatione inopiae. Et paulatim illiberali adiectione nunc per cavillationem, nunc precibus et simulatis lacrimis ad centum talenta est perductus. Adiecta decem milia medimnum frumenti. Haec omnia intra sex dies exacta.

XV. A Cibyra per agros Sindensium exercitus ductus, transgressusque Caularem amnem posuit
2 castra. Postero die et praeter Caralitin paludem agmen ductum; ad Madamprum manserunt. Inde progredientibus ab Lago, proxima urbe, metu
3 incolae fugerunt;[3] vacuum hominibus et refertum rerum omnium copia oppidum diripuerunt. Inde ad Lysis fluminis fontes, postero die ad Cobula-
4 tum amnem progressi. Termessenses eo tempore

[1] sub eo σ : *om. B.*
[2] conterritus perstare σ : perterritus instare *B.*
[3] incolae fugerunt σ : uincula effugerunt *B.*

[1] Polybius (XXII. xviii) calls it Colobatus.

to the camp, clothed and attended in a style inferior B.C. 189
to that of a private person of moderate wealth, and his speech was humble and incoherent, the speech of a man who belittled his own station and lamented the poverty of the cities under his control. Now there were under him, in addition to Cibyra, Sylleum and a city which they call *ad Limnen*. From them, by robbing himself and his subjects, he promised, though hesitatingly, to raise twenty-five talents. "Come, come," replied the consul, "this trifling cannot be endured. It is not enough that you did not blush when, remaining away, you mocked us through your ambassadors; even when here you persist in the same shamelessness. Will five-and-twenty talents drain your tyranny dry? Very well, unless you pay five hundred talents in three days, look forward to the devastation of your lands and the siege of your city." Though terrified by this threat he nevertheless persisted in his stubborn pretence of poverty. And little by little by grudging concessions, now amid much quibbling, now with prayers and feigned tears, he was worked up to the point of paying one hundred talents. Ten thousand *medimni* of grain were added. All this was collected within six days.

XV. From Cibyra the army was led through the territory of the people of Sinda and crossing the Caulares river went into camp. The next day they marched along the marsh of Caralitis; they encamped near Madamprus. As they advanced from there the inhabitants fled in terror from the neighbouring town of Lagum; empty of men and filled with abundance of all things, the town was sacked. Thence they moved to the sources of the Lysis river and next day to the Cobulatus river.[1] Troops from Termessus

c. Isiondensium arcem urbe capta oppugnabant. Inclusi,
cum alia spes auxilii nulla esset, legatos ad consulem
5 orantes opem miserunt: cum coniugibus ac liberis in
arce inclusos se mortem in dies, aut ferro [1] aut fame
patiendam, expectare. Volenti consuli causa in
6 Pamphyliam devertendi [2] oblata est. Adveniens
obsidione Isiondenses exemit; Termesso pacem
dedit quinquaginta talentis argenti acceptis; item
7 Aspendiis ceterisque Pamphyliae populis. Ex Pam-
phylia rediens ad fluvium Taurum primo die, postero
ad Xylinen quam vocant Comen posuit castra. Pro-
fectus inde continentibus itineribus ad Cormasa
8 urbem pervenit. Darsa proxima urbs erat; eam
metu incolarum desertam, plenam omnium rerum
copia invenit. Progredienti praeter paludes legati
9 ab Lysinoe dedentes civitatem venerunt. Inde in
agrum Sagalassenum, uberem fertilemque omni
genere frugum, ventum est. Colunt Pisidae, longe
optimi bello regionis eius. Cum ea res animos fecit [3]
tum agri fecunditas et multitudo hominum et situs
10 inter paucas munitae urbis. Consul, quia nulla
legatio ad finem praesto fuerat, praedatum in agros
misit. Tum demum fracta pertinacia est ut ferri
11 agique res suas viderunt: legatis missis pacti quin-
quaginta talentis et viginti milibus medimnum
12 tritici, viginti hordei, pacem impetraverunt. Pro-
gressus inde ad Rhotrinos fontes ad vicum, quem

[1] ferro ⁊ : *om. B.*
[2] devertendi *Drakenborch* : reuertendi *B*⁊ : diuertendi *M.*
[3] fecit *aut* facit ⁊ : *om. B.*

[1] The sites in this sentence cannot be placed, but Manlius has clearly turned north towards his proper route into Galatia.

were at that time besieging the citadel of the Isiondenses after capturing the town. The besieged, since there was no other hope of relief, sent envoys to the consul asking aid: shut up in the citadel with their wives and children, they were expecting death day by day, to be suffered by either the sword or starvation. Thus the eager consul was offered an occasion to turn aside into Pamphylia. By his arrival he rescued the Isiondenses from siege; on payment of fifty talents of silver he granted peace to Termessus; he did the same for the Aspendians and other peoples of Pamphylia. Returning from Pamphylia, he encamped the first day on the river Taurus, the next at what they call Xylines Comê.[1] Advancing from there by continuous marches he came to the city of Cormasa. Darsa is the nearest town; this he found deserted by the inhabitants through fear, but full of all sorts of supplies. As he marched along the marshes ambassadors came from Lysinoë surrendering their city. Then they entered the country of the Sagalassenes, rich and abounding in all kinds of crops. Pisidians inhabit it, by far the best warriors in this region. This circumstance gave them courage, as well as the fertility of the soil and their large population and the situation of their fortified town in a land where such strongholds were few. Since no embassy met him at the frontier, the consul sent out parties to plunder the fields. Then at last their stubbornness was broken when they saw their property being carried and driven away; sending ambassadors and agreeing to pay fifty talents, twenty thousand *medimni* of wheat and as many of barley, they obtained peace. Then he proceeded to the Rhotrine s›rings nd encamped at a village which they call B.C. 189

c. Acoridos Comen vocant, posuit castra. Eo Seleucus
13 ab Apamea postero die venit. Aegros inde et inutilia impedimenta cum Apameam dimisisset, ducibus itinerum ab Seleuco acceptis profectus eo die in Metropolitanum campum, postero die Dynias Phry-
14 giae processit. Inde Synnada venit, metu omnibus circa oppidis desertis. Quorum praeda [1] iam grave agmen trahens vix quinque milium die toto itinere perfecto ad Beudos, quod vetus appellant, pervenit.
15 Ad Anabura inde, et altero die ad Alandri fontes, tertio ad Abbassium posuit castra. Ibi plures dies stativa habuit, quia perventum erat ad Tolostobogiorum fines.

XVI. Galli, magna hominum vis, seu inopia agri seu praedae spe, nullam gentem, per quam ituri essent, parem armis rati, Brenno duce in Dardanos
2 pervenerunt. Ibi seditio orta est; ad viginti milia hominum cum Lonorio ac Lutario regulis secessione
3 facta a Brenno in Thraeciam iter avertunt. Ubi cum resistentibus pugnando, pacem petentibus stipendium imponendo Byzantium cum pervenissent, aliquamdiu oram Propontidis, vectigales habendo
4 regionis eius urbes, obtinuerunt. Cupido inde eos in Asiam transeundi, audientes ex propinquo quanta

[1] quorum praeda ꝛ : *om. B.*

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[1] Both places and names are uncertain.

[2] The names of the Galatian tribes to which Manlius has now come are quite uncertain. I have given them in the forms used in the text.

The defective condition of the text of Polybius deprives us of the opportunity to test the relation between Polybius and Livy in their accounts of the anabasis of Manlius. A war-diary or other special source may be suspected for both.

[3] Livy here digresses to describe the migration of the Gauls to Asia Minor in 278 B.C.

Acoridos Comê.[1] Thither the next day Seleucus came from Apamea. When he had sent back from there to Apamea the sick and his unserviceable equipment, receiving from Seleucus guides for the march, he came that day into the country of Metropolis and the following day to Dyniae in Phrygia. From there he marched to Synnada, all the towns in the neighbourhood being deserted through fear. Dragging after him a column which was now overloaded with their booty and barely accomplishing a march of five miles in a whole day, he arrived at Beudi, which they call "the Old." Next he reached Anabura and the following day the sources of the Alander, and the third he encamped at Abbassius. There he maintained his camp for many days because he had come to the frontiers of the Tolostobogii.[2] B.C. 189

XVI. The Gauls,[3] a vast horde of men, whether moved by shortage of land or hope of plunder, feeling assured that no people through which they would pass was their match in war, under the leadership of Brennus came into the country of the Dardanians.[4] There strife broke out among them; about twenty thousand men, with Lonorius and Lutarius as their chiefs, seceded from Brennus and turned aside into Thrace. There, when they had penetrated as far as Byzantium, contending against those who resisted and imposing tribute upon those who sought peace, they occupied for a considerable time the coast of the Propontis, holding as tributaries the cities of the district. Then the desire of crossing into Asia seized them, as they heard from their

[4] Livy omits to mention the visit to Greece and the attack on Delphi (xlviii. 2 below; XL. lviii. 3).

.c. ubertas eius terrae esset, cepit; et Lysimachia
5 fraude capta Chersonesoque omni armis possessa ad
5 Hellespontum descenderunt. Ibi vero exiguo divisam [1] freto cernentibus Asiam multo magis animi
ad transeundum accensi; nuntiosque ad Antipatrum
praefectum eius orae de transitu mittebant. Quae
res cum lentius spe ipsorum traheretur, alia rursus
6 nova inter regulos seditio orta est. Lonorius retro
unde venerat cum maiore parte hominum repetit
Byzantium; Lutarius Macedonibus per speciem
legationis ab Antipatro ad speculandum missis duas
tectas naves et tres lembos adimit. Iis alios atque
alios dies noctesque travehendo [2] intra paucos dies
7 omnes copias traicit.[3] Haud ita multo post Lo-
norius adiuvante Nicomede Bithyniae rege a By-
8 zantio transmisit. Coeunt deinde in unum rursus
Galli et auxilia Nicomedi dant adversus Ziboetam,
9 tenentem partem Bithyniae, gerenti bellum. Atque
eorum maxime opera devictus Ziboeta est, Bithy-
niaque omnis in dicionem Nicomedis concessit.
Profecti ex Bithynia in Asiam processerunt. Non
plus ex viginti milibus hominum quam decem armata
10 erant. Tamen tantum terroris omnibus quae cis
Taurum incolunt gentibus iniecerunt, ut quas
adissent quasque non adissent, pariter ultimae
11 propinquis, imperio parerent. Postremo cum tres
essent gentes, Tolostobogii Trocmi Tectosages, in

[1] diuisam $\bar{r}$: diuisis *B*.
[2] noctesque trauehendo $\bar{r}$: noctemque trahendo *B*.
[3] traicit *Weissenborn*: traiecit *B*$\bar{r}$.

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[1] Nicomedes and Ziboetas were brothers, sons of the elder Ziboetas, the first king of Bithynia.

neighbours how rich was this land; and having taken B.C. 189
Lysimachia by treachery and occupied the whole Chersonesus by force of arms they came down to the Hellespont. There, as they saw Asia separated from them by a narrow strait, their souls were even more inflamed with the desire to cross, and they sent messengers to Antipater, the prefect of this coast, regarding the crossing. When this negotiation was dragging out longer than they had expected, another new revolt broke out between the chiefs. Lonorius with the larger part of the men went back to Byzantium whence he had come; Lutarius, when Macedonians were sent by Antipater to spy, under cover of being an embassy, took from them two decked ships and three cruisers. Using these as ferry-boats day after day and night after night, within a few days he transported his entire force. Only a little later Lonorius, with the aid of Nicomedes,[1] king of Bithynia, crossed from Byzantium. Then the Gauls were once more united and aided Nicomedes in the war he was waging against Ziboetas, who held the greater part of Bithynia. And, principally as a result of their assistance, Ziboetas was conquered and all Bithynia acknowledged the sovereignty of Nicomedes. Setting out from Bithynia they made their way into Asia. Of their twenty thousand men, not more than ten thousand were armed. Nevertheless, they inspired such terror in all the peoples who dwell on this side of the Taurus, those whom they approached and those whom they did not approach, that the most distant and the nearest alike obeyed their orders. Finally, since there were three tribes, the Tolostobogii, the Trocmi, and the Tectosages, they split

tres partes, qua cuique populorum suorum vectigalis
12 Asia esset, diviserunt. Trocmis Hellesponti ora
data; Tolostobogii Aeolida atque Ioniam, Tecto-
sages mediterranea Asiae sortiti sunt. Et sti-
13 pendium tota cis Taurum Asia exigebant, sedem
autem ipsi sibi circa Halyn flumen cepere. Tan-
tusque terror eorum nominis erat, multitudine etiam
magna subole aucta, ut Syriae quoque ad postremum
14 reges stipendium dare non abnuerent. Primus
Asiam incolentium abnuit Attalus, pater regis
Eumenis; audacique incepto praeter opinionem
omnium adfuit fortuna, et signis collatis superior
fuit. Non tamen ita infregit animos eorum ut absis-
15 terent imperio; eaedem opes usque[1] ad bellum
Antiochi cum Romanis manserunt. Tum quoque,
pulso Antiocho, magnam spem habuerunt, quia
procul mari incolerent, Romanum exercitum ad se
non[2] perventurum.

XVII. Cum hoc hoste, tam terribili omnibus re-
gionis eius, quia bellum gerendum erat, pro contione
milites in hunc maxime modum adlocutus est consul:
2 " Non me praeterit, milites, omnium quae Asiam
3 colunt gentium Gallos fama belli praestare. Inter
mitissimum genus hominum ferox natio pervagata
bello prope orbem terrarum sedem cepit. Procera

[1] eaedem opes usque σ : aedem ophesusque *B*.
[2] ad se non σ : ad senatum *B*.

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[1] Their territory was called Galatia, comprising parts of Phrygia and Cappadocia.

[2] The Seleucid kingdom was weakened by internal dissension and wars with Egypt, but may not have paid tribute regularly.

[3] Cf. XXXIII. xxi. 3.

up into three divisions, according to the states of Asia which each held as tributaries. To the Trocmi the coast of the Hellespont was assigned; the Tolostobogii received by the lot Aeolis and Ionia, the Tectosages the interior parts of Asia. And they exacted tribute from all Asia on this side of the Taurus, but established their own dwellings along the river Halys.[1] And so great was the terror of their name, their numbers being also enlarged by great natural increase, that in the end even the kings of Syria [2] did not refuse to pay them tribute. Attalus, the father of King Eumenes, was the first of the inhabitants of Asia to refuse, and his bold step, contrary to the expectation of all, was aided by fortune and he worsted the Gauls in pitched battle.[3] Yet he did not cow them so thoroughly that they refrained from exercising their power;[4] their strength remained the same until the war between Antiochus and the Romans. Even then, after the defeat of Antiochus, they entertained great hopes that, since they lived far from the sea, the Roman army would not march against them. B.C. 189

XVII. Since war was to be waged with this enemy, so terrible to all the inhabitants of this region, the consul summoned an assembly and addressed the soldiers in about this fashion: "It does not escape me, soldiers, that of all the peoples who inhabit Asia the Gauls stand first in reputation for war. Among peoples of the most unwarlike sort this fierce tribe, travelling up and down in war, has almost made the world its residence. Tall bodies, long

[4] The displays of power which Livy has in mind were probably raids and demands for tribute. Possibly, however, *imperium* should be understood in a geographical sense.

corpora, promissae et rutilatae comae, vasta scuta,
4 praelongi gladii: ad hoc cantus ineuntium proelium
5 et ululatus et tripudia, et quatientium scuta in patrium quendam modum horrendus armorum crepitus, omnia de industria composita ad terrorem. Sed haec, quibus insolita atque insueta sunt, Graeci et Phryges et Cares timeant: Romanis Gallici tumultus
6 assueti, etiam vanitates notae sunt. Semel primo congressu ad Alliam eos olim fugerunt maiores nostri:[1] ex eo tempore per ducentos iam annos pecorum in modum consternatos caedunt fugantque, et plures prope de Gallis triumphi quam de toto orbe terrarum acti sunt. Iam usu hoc cognitum
7 est: si primum impetum quem, fervido ingenio et caeca ira effundunt, sustinueris, fluunt sudore et lassitudine membra, labant arma: mollia corpora, molles, ubi ira consedit, animos sol pulvis sitis ut
8 ferrum non admoveas prosternunt. Non legionibus legiones eorum solum experti sumus, sed vir unus cum viro congrediendo T. Manlius, M. Valerius quantum Gallicam rabiem vinceret[2] Romana virtus
9 docuerunt. Iam M. Manlius unus agmine scandentes in Capitolium detrusit Gallos. Et illis maioribus nostris cum haud dubiis Gallis, in sua terra genitis,

[1] ad Alliam eos olim fugerunt maiores nostri *Modius*: ad alia olim fugerunt maiores nostros *B*: ad alliam eos olim fuderunt maiores uestri *M*: ad alliam olim fuderunt maiores nostros *F*.

[2] uinceret *F*: *om. B*.

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[1] *Tumultus*, which became almost technical for uprisings in Gaul (XXXI. x. 1, etc.), is here used in a different sense, as a summary of what has just preceded.

reddish hair, huge shields, very long swords; in addition, songs as they go into battle and yells and leapings and the dreadful din of arms as they clash shields according to some ancestral custom—all these are deliberately used to terrify their foes. But let Greeks and Phrygians and Carians fear these things to which they are unused and unaccustomed; to Romans Gallic riotings [1] are familiar and their vain displays too are well known. Once, when we first met them at the Allia,[2] our ancestors long ago fled before them; from that time now for two hundred years, terrified like animals they are slain and routed, and more triumphs, almost, have been celebrated over the Gauls than over all the world. This has now been learned by experience: if you bear up under their first onset, into which they rush with glowing enthusiasm and blind passion, their limbs grow lax with sweat and weariness, their weapons fall from their hands; their soft bodies, their soft souls (when passion subsides) are overcome by sun, dust, thirst, so that they cannot use their arms. Not only when matched legion to legion have we learned this, but when fighting man to man alone. Titus Manlius, Marcus Valerius have shown how far Roman valour surpasses Gallic madness. Then Marcus Manlius alone thrust down the Gauls as they climbed in close array to the Capitoline.[3] And those forefathers of ours had to do with true Gauls, born in their own B.C. 189

[2] The river which was the scene of the defeat which led to the capture of Rome (traditionally dated 390 B.C.); cf. V. xxxvii.–xxxix.

[3] The three Romans named were famous for their exploits against the Gauls. The consul is quite willing to have the fact recalled that two of the three were members of his own *gens*.

res erat: hi iam degeneres sunt, mixti, et Gallo-
10 graeci vere, quod appellantur; sicut in frugibus
pecudibusque non tantum semina ad servandam
indolem valent, quantum terrae proprietas caelique
11 sub quo aluntur mutat.[1] Macedones, qui Alex-
andriam in Aegypto, qui Seleuciam ac Babyloniam,
quique alias sparsas per orbem terrarum colonias
habent, in Syros Parthos Aegyptios degenerarunt;
12 Massilia, inter Gallos sita, traxit aliquantum ab
accolis animorum; Tarentinis quid ex Spartana
13 dura illa et horrida disciplina mansit? Est[2] gene-
rosius, in sua[3] quidquid sede gignitur; insitum
alienae terrae in id quo[4] alitur, natura vertente se,
degenerat.[5] Phrygas igitur Gallicis oneratos armis,
sicut in acie Antiochi cecidistis,[6] victos victores, cae-
14 detis. Magis vereor ne parum inde gloriae, quam
15 ne nimium belli sit. Attalus eos rex saepe fudit
fugavitque. Nolite existimare beluas tantum recens[7]
captas feritatem illam silvestrem primo servare, dein,
cum diu manibus humanis aluntur, mitescere, in
hominum feritate mulcenda non eandem naturam
16 esse. Eosdemne hos[8] creditis esse, qui patres
eorum avique fuerunt? Extorres inopia agrorum
profecti domo per asperrimam Illyrici oram, Paeo-
niam inde et Thraeciam pugnando cum ferocissimis

[1] mutat $\bar{r}$: mutant *B*.
[2] Est *Weissenborn*: *om.* *B*$\bar{r}$.
[3] in sua $\bar{r}$: *om.* *B*.
[4] quo *ed. Parisina* 1513: quod *B*$\bar{r}$.
[5] natura uertente se degenerat $\bar{r}$: natam uertentes *B*.
[6] cecidistis $\bar{r}$: cedetis *B*.
[7] recens *Ascensius*: recentis *B*: recentes $\bar{r}$.
[8] hos $\bar{r}$: hostes *B*.

[1] The characterization given by the Rhodians (XXXVII. liv. 21–22) is quite different and probably more accurate.

land; these now are degenerates, of mixed race, and B.C. 189
really Gallogrecians, as they are named; just as, in the case of plants and animals, the seeds have less power to maintain their natural quality than the character of the soil and climate in which they live has power to change it. The Macedonians who hold Alexandria in Egypt, who hold Seleucia and Babylonia and other colonies scattered throughout the world, have degenerated into Syrians, Parthians, Egyptians; Massilia,[1] situated among the Gauls, has acquired something of the disposition of its neighbours; what have the Tarentines retained of that stern and dreadful Spartan discipline? Whatever grows in its own soil has greater excellence; transplanted to another soil, its nature being modified to suit that in which it grows, it loses its virtue. It is Phrygians,[2] therefore, burdened with the weapons of Gauls, whom, even as you slew them in the battle-line of Antiochus, you will slay, victorious over the vanquished. I am afraid that there will be too little of glory rather than too much of war. King Attalus has often repulsed and routed them. Do not think that it is only beasts which when newly caught first retain that fierceness of their forest life, and then, when long fed by the hands of men, grow tame, but that in moderating the ferocity of men nature does not do the same. Do you believe that these are the same men that their fathers and their grandfathers were? Exiles on account of the poverty of the land, they left home, travelling through the most inhospitable land of Illyricum, then Paeonia and Thrace, fighting with the fiercest tribes, and seized

[2] The Phrygians of Livy's time were proverbially effeminate: cf., *e.g.*, Virgil, *Aen.* IV. 215–216.

17 gentibus emensi, has terras ceperunt. Duratos eos tot malis exasperatosque accepit terra, quae copia omnium rerum saginaret. Uberrimo agro, mitissimo caelo, clementibus accolarum ingeniis omnis illa,
18 cum qua venerant, mansuefacta est feritas. Vobis mehercule, Martiis viris, cavenda ac fugienda quam primum amoenitas est Asiae: tantum hae peregrinae voluptates ad extinguendum vigorem animorum possunt; tantum[1] contagio disciplinae
19 morisque accolarum valet. Hoc tamen feliciter evenit, quod sicut vim adversus vos nequaquam, ita famam apud Graecos parem illi antiquae obtinent,
20 cum qua venerunt, bellique gloriam victores eandem inter socios habebitis, quam si servantes antiquum specimen animorum Gallos vicissetis."

XVIII. Contione dimissa missisque ad Eposognatum legatis, qui unus ex regulis et in Eumenis manserat amicitia[2] et negaverat Antiocho adversus Romanos auxilia, castra movit. Primo die ad Alandrum flumen, postero ad vicum quem vocant
2 Tyscon ventum. Eo legati Oroandensium cum venissent amicitiam petentes, ducenta talenta his sunt imperata, precantibusque[3] ut domum renun-
3 tiarent potestas facta. Ducere inde exercitum consul ad Pliten intendit; deinde ad Alyattos castra posita. Eo missi ad Eposognatum redierunt, et

[1] tantum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : quantum $B\sigma$.
[2] amicitia σ : inamicitia *B*.
[3] precantibusque σ : precantibus *B*.

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[1] Such philosophizing seems hardly consistent with the character of Manlius and doubtfully appropriate to the occasion. Perhaps Livy wishes to prepare the reader for his analysis of Asiatic influence in XXXIX. i. and elsewhere,

these lands. Toughened and hardened by so many misfortunes, they were received by a land which could stuff them with its abundance of all things. In a land most rich, under a sky most kindly, among natives mild in disposition, all that fierceness with which they came has grown gentle. You, by Hercules, being men of Mars, must escape and avoid as soon as possible the pleasantness of Asia: such power have these foreign delights to destroy the vigour of the soul; such influence does contact with the habits and character of the natives exert.[1] Yet this turns out well in this respect—that, while their strength against you is vain, still their reputation among the Greeks is the same as that of old, which they had when they came, and you will win, as victors, the same military glory among our allies as if you had conquered Gauls who had preserved their ancient type of courage." B.C. 189

XVIII. Dismissing the meeting and sending envoys to Eposognatus, who alone of the chiefs had both remained loyal to Eumenes and refused to aid Antiochus against the Romans, he moved his camp. The first day he marched to the Alander river, the second to the village which they call Tyscon. When ambassadors from the people of Oroanda had come there asking friendship, he demanded of them two hundred talents and granted them permission to report this at home. Then the consul proceeded to lead the army towards Plitê; next he encamped at Alyatti. There the messengers sent to Eposognatus returned, accompanied by ambassadors of

[1] especially since he holds Manlius responsible for the enervation of his own soldiers and indirectly of Rome. If Polybius had a corresponding speech it is, unfortunately, lost.

legati reguli orantes ne Tectosagis bellum inferret; ipsum [1] in eam gentem iturum Eposognatum per- 4 suasurumque [2] ut imperata faciant. Data venia regulo, duci inde exercitus per Axylon quam vocant terram coeptus. Ab re nomen habet: non ligni modo quicquam, sed ne spinas quidem aut ullum aliud alimentum fert ignis; fimo bubulo pro lignis 5 utuntur. Ad Cuballum, Gallograeciae castellum, castra habentibus Romanis apparuere cum magno tumultu hostium equites, nec turbarunt tantum Romanas stationes repente invecti [3] sed quosdam 6 etiam occiderunt. Qui tumultus cum in castra perlatus esset, effusus repente omnibus portis equitatus Romanus fudit fugavitque Gallos et aliquot 7 fugientes occidit. Inde consul, ut qui iam ad hostes perventum cerneret, explorato deinde et cum cura coacto agmine procedebat. Et continentibus itineribus cum ad Sangarium flumen venisset, pontem, quia 8 vado nusquam transitus erat, facere instituit. Sangarius ex Adoreo monte per Phrygiam fluens miscetur ad Bithyniam Tymbri fluvio: inde maior iam geminatis aquis per Bithyniam fertur et in Propontidem sese [4] effundit, non tamen tam magnitudine memorabilis, quam piscium accolis ingentem 9 vim praebet. Transgressis ponte perfecto flumen praeter ripam euntibus Galli Matris Magnae [5] a

[1] ipsum $\bar{\sigma}$: et ipsum *B*.
[2] persuasurumque $\bar{\sigma}$: peruasurumque *B*.
[3] inuecti $\bar{\sigma}$: inuectis *B*.
[4] propontidem sese $\bar{\sigma}$: proponti dense se *B*.
[5] magnae $\bar{\sigma}$: *om*. *B*.

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[1] Assuming with Livy that *Axylon* is a Greek word, it means "woodless."

that chief, who asked him not to make war upon the Tectosagi; Eposognatus himself, they said, would go to that tribe and persuade them to do what was ordered. Granting this favour to the chief, he began to lead the army through the district which is called Axylon. It derives its name from the fact: it not only produces no wood at all but not even thorns or any other food for fire; they use cow-dung in place of wood.[1] While the Romans were encamped near Cuballum, a fortress of Galatia, the enemy's cavalry appeared with great uproar, and not only threw the Roman outguards into confusion by their unexpected attack, but even killed some men. When this disorder was reported in the camp, the Roman cavalry, pouring in haste from all the gates, repulsed and routed the Gauls and killed a considerable number in their flight. Thenceforth the consul, since he realized that he had now encountered the enemy, marched with scouts sent in advance and his column carefully formed. And when, marching without interruption, he had reached the Sangarius river, he determined to build a bridge, since there was nowhere a way to cross it by fording. The Sangarius river, flowing from Mount Adoreus through Phrygia, is joined near Bithynia by the river Thymbres; thence, enlarged by the doubling of its waters, it flows through Bithynia and discharges into the Propontis,[2] being, however, not so remarkable for its size as because it furnishes the inhabitants with vast quantities of fish. When they had finished the bridge and crossed the river and were marching along the bank, *Galli* of the Great Mother from Pessinus B.C. 189

[2] The river actually empties into the Euxine sea. It is now the Sakaria.

Pessinunte occurrere cum insignibus suis, vaticinantes fanatico carmine deam Romanis viam belli et
10 victoriam dare imperiumque eius regionis. Accipere se omen cum dixisset consul, castra eo ipso loco
11 posuit. Postero die ad Gordium pervenit. Id haud magnum quidem oppidum est, sed plus quam mediterraneum celebre et frequens emporium.
12 Tria maria pari ferme distantia intervallo habet, ad Hellespontum, ad Sinopen, et alterius orae litora [1] qua Cilices maritimi colunt; multarum magnarumque praeterea gentium fines contingit,[2] quarum commercium in eum maxime locum mutui usus con-
13 traxere. Id tum desertum fuga incolarum oppidum, refertum idem copia rerum omnium invenerunt.
14 Ibi stativa habentibus legati ab Eposognato venerunt nuntiantes profectum eum ad regulos Gallorum
15 nihil aequi impetrasse; ex [3] campestribus vicis agrisque frequentes demigrare et cum [4] coniugibus ac liberis, quae ferre atque agere possint, prae se agentes portantesque Olympum montem petere, ut inde armis locorumque situ sese tueantur.

XIX. Certiora postea Oroandensium legati attulerunt, Tolostobogiorum civitatem Olympum montem [5] cepisse; diversos Tectosagos alium montem,
2 Magaba qui dicatur, petisse; Trocmos coniugibus ac

[1] litora σ : litore *B*. [2] contingit σ : *om*. *B*.
[3] ex σ : *om*. *B*.
[4] cum σ : *om*. *B*.
[5] montem σ : *om*. *B*.

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[1] Cf. XXXVII. ix. 9. The Magna Mater had been brought to Rome from Pessinus (XXIX. xi. 7, etc.). The *Galli* were eunuchs devoted to her service.

met them,[1] wearing their ritual ornaments and B.C. 189
prophesying in their frenzied chants that the goddess was granting to the Romans the way of war and victory and dominion over this region. The consul said that he accepted the omen and encamped on that very spot. Next day he moved to Gordium. This is not indeed a large town, but is a market visited and frequented more than is usually the case with an inland city. It has three seas about equidistant from it, the Hellespont, the sea at Sinope and the shores of the opposite sea where the Cilicians of the coast dwell; besides, it adjoins the borders of several strong states, and their mutual needs concentrated their intercourse at this place especially. At this time the Romans found it deserted by the flight of the inhabitants, but likewise filled with abundance of all things. While he was maintaining a base there, ambassadors from Eposognatus came reporting that his visit to the chiefs of the Gauls had won no fair response; from the villages and farms in the plains they were moving in large numbers, accompanied by their wives and children, driving ahead of them and carrying what they could carry and drive,[2] and were making for the Olympus mountain, that thence they might maintain themselves by arms and by the situation of the place.

XIX. Later the ambassadors from the people of Oroanda brought surer news, that the tribe of the Tolostobogii had occupied the Olympus range; that the Tectosagi, separated from them, had made for another mountain which was called Magaba; that the Trocmi had left their wives and children among

[2] This combination of verbs is usually used of booty being removed by an enemy: so in xv. 10 above.

c. liberis apud Tectosagos depositis armatorum agmine [1]
5 Tolostobogiis statuisse auxilium ferre. Erant autem
tunc trium populorum reguli Ortiago et Combolo-
3 marus et Gaulotus. Iis haec maxime ratio belli
sumendi fuerat, quod cum montes editissimos regionis
eius tenerent, convectis omnibus quae ad usum
quamvis longi temporis sufficerent, taedio se fati-
4 gaturos hostem censebant: nam neque ausuros per
tam ardua atque iniqua loca subire eos et, si cona-
rentur, vel parva manu prohiberi aut deturbari posse,
nec quietos in radicibus montium gelidorum sedentes
5 frigus aut inopiam laturos. Ac cum ipsa altitudo
locorum eos tutaretur, fossam quoque et alia muni-
menta verticibus iis quos insederant circumiecere.
6 Minima apparatus missilium telorum cura fuit,
quod saxa adfatim praebituram asperitatem ipsam
locorum credebant.

XX. Consul quia non comminus pugnam sed
procul locis oppugnandis futuram praeceperat animo,
ingentem vim pilorum, velitarium hastarum, sagitta-
rum glandesque et modicorum qui funda mitti
2 possent lapidum [2] paraverat, instructusque mis-
silium apparatu ad Olympum montem ducit et a
3 quinque ferme milibus castra locat. Postero die
cum quadringentis equitibus et Attalo progressum
eum ad naturam montis situmque Gallicorum cas-
trorum visendum equites hostium, duplex numerus,
effusi [3] e castris, in fugam averterunt; occisi quoque

[1] agmine γ : agmen *B*.
[2] mitti possent lapidum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : lapidum possent *B* : mitti lapidum possent γ.
[3] effusi *Kreyssig* : effusus *B*.

the Tectosagi and with their armed forces on the B.C. 189
march had decided to aid the Tolostobogii. The chiefs of these three tribes at this time were Ortiago and Combolomarus and Gaulotus. They had adopted this plan particularly for conducting the war—that, when they had occupied the highest peaks in the region, conveying everything there which would be sufficient for their use over however long a period, they would wear down the enemy by exhaustion; for, they were convinced, the Romans would neither venture to climb over such steep and difficult ground, and, if they did attempt it, they could be stopped even by a small force or pushed back, nor would they sit quietly at the foot of cold mountains and endure chill and hunger. And, although the very height of the place was a defence, they also threw a ditch and other fortifications around the summits which they had occupied. They took little forethought for a supply of missile weapons, because they believed that the very roughness of the terrain would furnish stones in abundance.

XX. The consul, because he had foreseen, as a result of reflection, that the fighting would not be done hand to hand but by making attacks from a distance, had prepared a vast quantity of javelins, skirmishers' spears, arrows, bullets and stones of moderate size which could be thrown from slings, and equipped with this supply of missiles he led the army towards the Olympus mountain and encamped about five miles away. The next day, taking Attalus and four hundred cavalry, he set out to survey the character of the mountain and the situation of the Gallic camp, but the cavalry of the enemy, in double his number, rushing out of the camp put him to flight; a few

4 pauci fugientium, vulnerati plures. Tertio die cum
omnibus ad loca exploranda profectus, quia nemo
hostium extra munimenta processit, tuto circum-
vectus montem, animadvertit meridiana regione
terrenos et placide acclives ad quendam finem colles
5 esse, a septentrione arduas et rectas prope rupes,
atque omnibus ferme aliis inviis itinera tria esse,
unum medio monte, qua terrena erant, duo difficilia
ab hiberno solis ortu et ab aestivo occasu. Haec
contemplatus eo die sub ipsis radicibus posuit castra;
6 postero, sacrificio facto, cum primis hostiis litasset,
trifariam exercitum divisum ducere ad hostem pergit.
7 Ipse cum maxima parte copiarum, qua aequissimum
aditum praebebat mons, ascendit; L. Manlium
fratrem ab hiberno ortu, quoad loca patiantur et tuto
8 possit, subire iubet; si qua periculosa et praerupta
occurrant, non pugnare cum iniquitate locorum
neque inexsuperabilibus vim adferre, sed obliquo
9 monte ad se declinare et suo agmini coniungi; C.
Helvium cum tertia parte circuire sensim per infima
montis, deinde ab occasu aestivo erigere agmen.
Et Attali auxilia trifariam aequo numero divisit,
10 secum esse ipsum iuvenem iussit. Equitatum cum

[1] Roughly, the south-east and north-west sides.
[2] It was regarded as especially propitious if the entrails of the first animals sacrificed gave favourable omens: cf. XXXVI. i. 3.

were killed in the flight, a larger number wounded. B.C. 189
The third day he proceeded with his entire force to reconnoitre the ground, and, because no one of the enemy came out beyond the fortifications, he rode in safety around the mountain, and observed that on the southern side the hills were covered with earth and sloped gently up to a certain point, that on the north there were steep and almost perpendicular cliffs, and that although almost everything else was impassable there were three roads, one in the centre of the mountain, where it was covered with soil, two difficult, on the side of the winter rising of the sun and of its summer setting.[1] Having inspected them, he encamped that day at the very base; the following day, having offered sacrifice and obtained favourable omens from the first victims,[2] he divided the army into three columns and began the advance against the enemy. He himself, with the largest part of the forces, made the ascent where the mountain offered the most gradual slope; he directed his brother Lucius Manlius to move forward on the side of the winter rising, as far as the terrain permitted and as he could go in safety; if any dangerous and steep places confronted him he was not to contend against the unfavourable character of the ground or struggle with insuperable obstacles, but to turn aside crosswise over the mountain towards the consul and join his column; his orders to Gaius Helvius, commanding the third contingent, were to go slowly around the base of the mountain and then climb up on the side of the summer setting. The auxiliaries of Attalus he also divided into three sections, and ordered the young man himself to attend him. The cavalry with the

elephantis in proxima tumulis planitie reliquit; edictum praefectis ut intenti quid[1] ubique geratur animadvertant opemque ferre quo postulet res possint.

XXI. Galli ab[2] duobus lateribus satis fidentes invia esse, ab ea parte quae in meridiem vergeret, ut armis clauderent viam, quattuor milia fere armatorum ad tumulum imminentem viae minus mille passuum a castris occupandum mittunt,[3] eo se 2 rati veluti castello iter impedituros. Quod ubi Romani viderunt, expediunt sese ad pugnam. Ante signa modico intervallo velites eunt et ab Attalo Cretenses sagittarii et funditores et Tralli et Thraeces; 3 signa peditum, ut per arduum, leni gradu ducuntur, ita prae se habentium scuta ut missilia tantum vita- 4 rent, pede collato non viderentur pugnaturi. Missilibus ex intervallo loci proelium commissum est, primo par, Gallos loco adiuvante, Romanos varietate et copia telorum; procedente certamine nihil iam aequi erat. Scuta longa ceterum ad amplitudinem corporum parum lata, et ea ipsa plana, male[4] 5 tegebant Gallos. Nec tela iam alia habebant

[1] quid σ: quod *B*.
[2] ab σ: et ab *B*.
[3] mittunt σ: mittit *B*.
[4] plana male σ: plana *B*.

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[1] On the return of Manlius to Rome his critics, Furius and Aemilius, savagely assailed him, partly on account of his conduct of this campaign (xlv–xlvi below). A less prejudiced examination of his tactical dispositions, while recognizing that his advance up the mountain in the face of the enemy was contrary to Roman practice and, under normal circumstances, too rash, judges him entitled to considerable praise as a tactician (cf. Pauly-Wissowa, XIV. col. 1219).

elephants he left in the plain close to the hills; his orders to the prefects were to observe alertly what went on in every quarter and to render assistance wherever the situation should demand it.[1] B.C. 189

XXI. The Gauls, being quite confident that their position could not be approached from the two flanks, in order to block with arms the road on the side which faces the south, sent about four thousand armed men to hold a hill overlooking the road and less than a mile from the camp, thinking that from this, as from a redoubt, they would hinder the approach. When the Romans perceived this they prepared for battle. A moderate distance in front of the standards marched the skirmishers[2] and Cretan archers and slingers furnished by Attalus and the Trallianians and Thracians; the standards of the infantry, moving over difficult ground, proceeded at a slow rate, the men holding their shields before them so as only to ward off missiles, whilst they did not seem disposed to fight at close quarters. The discharge of missiles from a distance began the fighting, which at first was even, the Gauls having the advantage of position, the Romans of variety and a plentiful supply of weapons; as the battle continued there was no longer any equality. Their shields, long, but not wide enough for the size of their bodies and, moreover, flat,[3] offered poor protection to the Gauls. They had at this time no other

[2] The *velites* were usually advance parties thrown out by the legions as a screen; in this case they seem to have been independent units under their own commanders, but the grammar of the sentence is not clear.

[3] The Roman shield presented a convex surface to the enemy and so deflected weapons more successfully.

praeter gladios, quorum, cum manum [1] hostis non con-
6 sereret, nullus usus erat. Saxis nec modicis, ut quae
non praeparassent, sed quod cuique temere trepi-
danti ad manum venisset, ut insueti, nec arte [2] nec
7 viribus adiuvantes ictum, utebantur. Sagittis glande
iaculis incauti ab [3] omni parte configebantur [4] nec
quid agerent, ira et pavore occaecatis animis, cerne-
bant et erant deprensi genere pugnae in quod
8 minime apti sunt. Nam quemadmodum comminus,
ubi [5] in vicem pati et inferre vulnera licet, accendit
ira animos eorum, ita ubi ex occulto et procul levibus
telis vulnerantur, nec quo ruant caeco impetu
habent,[6] velut ferae transfixae in suos temere
9 incurrunt. Detegebat [7] vulnera eorum, quod nudi
pugnant, et sunt fusa et candida corpora, ut quae
numquam nisi in pugna nudentur; ita et plus san-
guinis ex multa carne fundebatur et foediores pate-
bant plagae et candor corporum magis sanguine atro
10 maculabatur.[8] Sed non tam patentibus plagis
moventur; interdum insecta cute, ubi latior quam
altior plaga est, etiam gloriosius se pugnare putant;
11 iidem, cum aculeus sagittae aut [9] glandis abditae
introrsus tenui vulnere in speciem urit, et scrutantes
qua evellant [10] telum non sequitur, tum in rabiem et

[1] manum $\bar{r}$: manu *B*. [2] nec arte $\bar{r}$: *om. B*.
[3] ab *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : et ab *B*$\bar{r}$.
[4] configebantur $\bar{r}$: conficiebantur *B*.
[5] ubi $\bar{r}$: sub *B*. [6] habent $\bar{r}$: *om. B*.
[7] detegebat $\bar{r}$: detegebant *B*.
[8] maculabatur $\bar{r}$: maculatur *B*.
[9] aut $\bar{r}$: *om. B*.
[10] qua evellant *Perizonius* : quae uellent *B* : quae uellant $\bar{r}$.

[1] The Gauls were not devotees of the exercise in the open air which tanned the Romans.

weapons than their swords, for which there was no use, since the enemy did not meet them in hand-to-hand conflict. Stones—but not of suitable size, since they had made no preparations in advance, but took each what happened to come to his hand in his hasty search—they did use, but like men untrained in their employment, with neither skill nor strength to add effectiveness to the blow. Arrows, sling-bullets, darts, coming from all sides wounded them unexpectedly, nor did they see what to do, as their minds were blinded by rage and fear, and they were involved in a kind of battle for which they were very ill-adapted. For, as in hand-to-hand fighting, where they can receive and inflict wounds in turn, passion inflames their minds, so when they are struck by light weapons, coming from unseen and distant sources, and when they have no place at which they can charge with blind violence, like wounded animals they rush headlong upon their own friends. The fact that they fight naked makes their wounds conspicuous and their bodies are fleshy and white, as is natural, since they are never uncovered except in battle;[1] so that both more blood flowed from their abundant flesh and the wounds stood out to view more fearfully and the whiteness of their skins was more stained by the black blood. But they are not much disturbed by open wounds; indeed, sometimes they cut away the skin, when the gash is broad rather than deep, and think that thus they gain greater glory in the fight; the same men, when the sting of an arrow or of a bullet that has buried itself in the flesh torments them, having caused a wound small to look at, and, as they search for a way to extract the missile, it does not come out, turning B.C. 189

pudorem tam parvae perimentis[1] versi pestis prosternunt corpora humi, sic[2] tum passim pro-
12 cumbebant; alii[3] ruentes in hostem undique configebantur et, cum comminus venerant, gladiis a
13 velitibus trucidabantur. Hic miles tripedalem parmam habet et in dextera hastas quibus eminus utitur; gladio Hispaniensi est cinctus; quodsi pede collato pugnandum est,[4] translatis in laevam hastis
14 stringit gladium. Pauci iam supererant Gallorum, qui, postquam ab levi armatura superatos se viderunt et instare legionum signa, effusa fuga castra repetunt pavoris et tumultus iam plena, ut ubi feminae pue-
15 rique et alia imbellis turba permixta esset. Romanos victores deserti fuga hostium acceperunt tumuli.

XXII. Sub idem tempus L. Manlius[5] et C. Helvius, cum, quoad viam colles obliqui dederunt, escendissent, postquam ad invia ventum est, flexere iter in
2 partem montis, quae una habebat iter, et sequi consulis agmen[6] modico uterque intervallo velut ex composito coeperunt, quod primo optimum factu
3 fuisset, in id necessitate ipsa compulsi; subsidia enim

[1] perimentis $\bar{r}$: prementis *B*.
[2] humi sic *edd. vett.*: humi sicut $M\bar{r}$.
[3] procumbebant; alii *M. Mueller*: procumbebant alii $B\bar{r}$.
[4] est $\bar{r}$: *om. B*.
[5] l. manlius $\bar{r}$: *om. B*.
[6] agmen *edd. vett.*: agmen l. manlius c. heluius $B\bar{r}$.

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[1] It would be interesting to know the source of this highly realistic and picturesque description of the manners of the Gauls in battle. One thinks of the apparent relish with which the source which Livy followed in XXXI. xxxiv. 4 described the wounds suffered by Philip's cavalry in an engagement with Roman cavalry, and wonders whether the same person is responsible for the originals of the two passages.

[2] According to XXVI. iv. 4 each man carried seven javelins.

to madness and shame at being destroyed by so small a thing, throw their bodies upon the ground. So in this instance they lay prostrate here and there; some, rushing against the enemy, were wounded from every side, and when they had come to close quarters they were slain by the swords of the skirmishers.[1] This type of soldier carries a three-foot shield and, in his right hand, javelins[2] which he uses at long range; he is also equipped with a Spanish sabre;[3] if he is compelled to fight hand to hand, he shifts his javelins to his left hand and draws his sword. By now there were few of the Gauls surviving, and they, when they saw themselves defeated by the light troops and that the legionary standards were drawing near, in headlong flight sought their camp, which was already full of panic and confusion, as the women and children and the rest of the unarmed crowd were gathered there. The victorious Romans took possession of the hills abandoned by the flight of the enemy. B.C. 189

XXII. About the same time Lucius Manlius and Gaius Helvius, when they had marched up as far as the slopes of the hill admitted of progress, after they had reached the impassable places changed their direction towards that part of the mountain which alone offered a road, and began to follow the consul's column, each at a moderate distance as if by agreement, being compelled by necessity itself to do what would from the first have been the best thing to do;[4]

[3] If Livy speaks with technical accuracy, this was the heavy weapon, adapted to cutting, carried by Roman cavalry; the infantry sword, which was short and adapted to both cutting and thrusting, is called *gladius Hispanus*: cf. XXXI. xxxiv. 4 and the note.

[4] The implied criticism is perhaps that of Polybius, whose account of the battle has been lost.

in talibus iniquitatibus locorum maximo saepe usui fuerunt,[1] ut primis forte deturbatis secundi et tegant pulsos et integri pugnam excipiant. Consul, postquam ad tumulos ab levi armatura captos prima signa legionum pervenerunt.[2] respirare et conquiescere paulisper militem iubet; simul strata per tumulos corpora Gallorum ostentat et, cum levis armatura proelium tale ediderit, quid ab legionibus, quid ab iustis armis, quid ab animis fortissimorum militum expectari? Castra illis capienda esse, in quae compulsus ab levi armatura hostis trepidet. Praecedere tamen iubet levem armaturam, quae, cum staret agmen, colligendis per tumulos telis ut missilia sufficerent, haud segne id ipsum tempus consumpserat. Iam castris appropinquabant; et Galli, ne parum se munimenta sua tegerent, armati pro vallo constiterant. Obruti deinde omni genere telorum cum, quo plures atque densiores erant, eo minus vani quicquam intercideret teli,[3] intra vallum momento temporis compelluntur stationibus tantum firmis ad ipsos aditus portarum relictis. In multitudinem compulsam in castra vis ingens missilium telorum coniciebatur, et vulnerari multos clamor permixtus mulierum atque puerorum ploratibus significabat.

[1] fuerunt *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : fuerant *BM*^{2}.
[2] peruenerunt ^{2} : uenerunt *B*.
[3] teli ^{2} : *om. B*.

for reserves have often, on such unfavourable terrains, B.C. 189
been of the greatest service, that when the leading troops have perhaps been thrown into disorder the reserves may both shield the defeated and, being themselves fresh, take up the fight. When the leading standards of the legions came to the hills which had been captured by the light troops, the consul ordered the men to take breath and to rest for a little while; at the same time he called their attention to the corpses of Gauls strewn over the hills and asked them what, when light-armed troops had worked such havoc in the fight, was to be expected of the legions, what of regular weapons, what of soldiers of the stoutest hearts? Their camp, he said, remained to be taken, into which the enemy had been driven in confusion by the light troops. Nevertheless, he ordered the light-armed men to lead the advance, and they, while the column was halted, had spent the time by no means idly, in collecting the weapons over the hills, that the supply of missiles might suffice. Now they were approaching the camp, and the Gauls, lest their fortifications should offer them too little shelter, had taken post under arms in front of the rampart. Then they were overwhelmed by missiles of every kind, and the more numerous and the more crowded together they were, the less did any weapon fall without effect, so that in an instant they were driven back within the rampart, leaving only strong guards at the actual gates of the fortifications. A vast quantity of missile weapons was discharged at the throng which had been driven inside the camp, and the shouts mingled with the wails of women and children showed that many were wounded. Against the troops who had

.c. 9 In eos qui portas stationibus suis clauserant, legionum
5 antesignani pila coniecerunt. Iis vero non vulnerabantur, sed transverberatis scutis plerique inter se conserti haerebant; nec diutius impetum Romanorum sustinuerunt.

XXIII. Patentibus iam portis, priusquam irrumperent victores, fuga e castris Gallorum in omnes partes facta est. Ruunt caeci per vias per invia; nulla praecipitia saxa, nullae rupes obstant;[1] nihil
2 praeter hostem metuunt; itaque plerique praecipites per vastam altitudinem prolapsi aut debilitati exanimantur. Consul captis castris direptione praedaque abstinet militem; sequi pro se quemque et
3 instare et perculsis pavorem addere iubet. Supervenit et alterum cum L. Manlio agmen; nec eos castra intrare sinit; protinus ad persequendos hostes mittit, et ipse paulo post tradita captivorum custodia tribunis militum sequitur, debellatum ratus, si in illo
4 pavore quam plurimi caesi forent aut capti. Egresso consule C. Helvius cum tertio agmine advenit, nec continere suos ab direptione castrorum valuit, praedaque eorum, iniquissima sorte, qui pugnae non interfuerant, facta est.[2] Equites diu ignari et
5 pugnae et victoriae suorum steterunt; deinde et ipsi, quantum equis subire poterant, sparsos fuga Gallos circa radices montis consectati cecidere aut

[1] obstant Σ : *om. B.*
[2] facta est Σ : *om. B.*

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[1] The Gauls stood with shields overlapping, and a spear which struck near the edge might fasten two of them together. Caesar (*B. G.* I. xxv. 3) describes more clearly a similar occurrence.

blocked the gates at which they were posted, the B.C. 189
antesignani of the legions hurled their spears. The men indeed were not injured by them, but their shields in many cases were pierced and fastened together,[1] nor did they longer resist the attack of the Romans.

XXIII. The gates being now open, before the victors could break in, the Gauls began to flee from the camp in all directions. They rushed blindly along the roads and where there were no roads; no steep rocks, no cliffs, held them back; they feared nothing but the enemy; accordingly many were killed, falling headlong or slipping in weariness over tremendous precipices. The consul, having taken the camp, kept his soldiers from spoil and pillage; he ordered them each to follow as best he could, press the pursuit and increase the panic of the fugitives. The second column, under Lucius Manlius, also came up; he did not permit his men to enter the camp, but sent them at once to pursue the enemy, and he himself followed a little later, having entrusted the guarding of the prisoners to the tribunes of the soldiers, being convinced that the war was over if the largest possible number was killed or captured in that rout. When the consul had gone, Gaius Helvius arrived with the third column and was unable to prevent his men from plundering the camp, and the booty, by a most unjust decree of fate, fell into the hands of men who had had no part in the battle. The cavalry, knowing nothing for a long time of either the battle or the victory of their comrades, remained stationary; later they too, with all the speed of which their horses were capable, pursuing the Gauls as they scattered in flight around the

c 6 cepere. Numerus interfectorum haud facile iniri
potuit, quia late per omnes amfractus montium
7 fugaque et caedes fuit, et magna pars rupibus inviis
in profundae altitudinis convalles [1] delapsa est, pars
8 in silvis vepribusque occisa. Claudius, qui bis pug-
natum in Olympo monte scribit, ad quadraginta
milia hominum auctor est caesa, Valerius Antias, qui
magis immodicus in numero augendo esse solet, non
9 plus decem milia. Numerus captivorum haud dubie
milia quadraginta [2] explevit, quia omnis generis
aetatisque turbam secum traxerant demigrantium
10 magis quam in bellum euntium modo. Consul armis
hostium in uno concrematis cumulo ceteram praedam
conferre omnes iussit, et aut vendidit, quod eius in
publicum redigendum erat, aut cum cura ut quam
11 aequissima esset per milites divisit. Laudati quoque
pro contione omnes sunt, donatique pro merito quis-
que, ante omnes Attalus summo ceterorum assensu;
nam singularis eius iuvenis cum virtus et industria
in omnibus laboribus periculisque tum modestia
etiam fuerat.

[1] conualles $\bar{\sigma}$: ualles *B*. [2] quadraginta $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B*.

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[1] Manlius himself (xlvii. 6 below) says that he captured and killed more than forty thousand of the enemy, and Orosius (IV. xx: he credits the victory to the other consul Fulvius) says that forty thousand were killed. Appian, however (*Syr.* xlii). asserts that there were forty thousand prisoners and that the slain could not be counted. Perhaps the official report of Manlius was used by Claudius.

[2] The vividness of the preceding narrative gives rise to a question as to its sources. Valerius Antias and Claudius are quoted, and in the preceding note I suggest that the latter may have used the official report of Manlius. For some reason or other the Galatian campaign attracted an unusual amount of attention: Hannibal is said to have

base of the mountain, killed and captured them. The B.C. 189
number of casualties could not easily be calculated because the flight and slaughter went on far and wide over all the outlying parts of the mountains, and a great number fell from the pathless cliffs into valleys of enormous depth, and some were killed in the forests and thickets. Claudius, who writes that there were two battles on the Olympus mountain, asserts that about forty thousand men were slain;[1] Valerius Antias, who is usually more unrestrained in exaggerating numbers, says that not more than ten thousand fell. The number of prisoners without doubt brought the total up to forty thousand, because they had brought with them their whole population of every class and age, like a people in migration rather than setting out to war. The consul, having burned all the weapons of the enemy in one pile, ordered all his troops to bring in the rest of the booty and either sold that part of the booty which it was his duty to convert to public use or carefully distributed it to the soldiers so as to secure the greatest possible measure of equity. Also before an assembly he praised everyone according to his merits, and Attalus before all, with the complete approval of the rest; for the young man had displayed not only remarkable courage and diligence amid all the toils and dangers, but also modesty of behaviour.[2]

written an account of it (Nepos, *Hann.* xiii. 2), but there is no trace of this. In the note to xv. 5 above I mentioned the generally accepted assumption that Livy had access to a diary of some participant in the campaign: Mommsen once suggested (*Röm. Forsch.* II. 538 ff.) that he was Polybius, but this has not been taken seriously. Whether the sanguinophile source of chap. xxi (see the note to xxi. 12 above) was one of those already mentioned cannot be determined.

XXIV. Supererat bellum integrum cum Tectosagis. Ad eos profectus consul tertiis castris Ancyram, nobilem in illis locis urbem,[1] pervenit, unde
2 hostes paulo plus decem milia aberant. Ubi cum stativa essent, facinus memorabile a captiva factum est. Orgiagontis reguli uxor forma eximia custodiebatur inter plures captivos;[2] cui custodiae cen-
3 turio praeerat et libidinis et avaritiae militaris. Is primo animum temptavit: quem cum abhorrentem a voluntario videret stupro, corpori, quod servum
4 fortuna erat, vim fecit. Deinde ad leniendam indignitatem iniuriae spem reditus ad suos mulieri facit, et ne eam quidem, ut amans, gratuitam. Certo auri pondere pactus, ne quem suorum conscium haberet, ipsi permittit ut quem vellet unum ex captivis
5 nuntium ad suos mitteret. Locum prope flumen constituit, quo duo ne[3] plus necessarii[4] captivae cum auro venirent nocte insequenti ad eam acci-
6 piendam. Forte ipsius mulieris servus inter captivos eiusdem custodiae erat. Hunc nuntium primis
7 tenebris extra stationes centurio educit. Nocte insequenti et duo necessarii mulieris ad constitutum
8 locum et centurio cum captiva venit. Ubi cum aurum ostenderent, quod summam talenti Attici

[1] urbem σ : in urbem *B.*
[2] captiuos σ : *om. B.*
[3] quo duo ne σ : *om., spat. rel., B.*
[4] necessarii σ : necessia *B.*

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[1] This city (modern Angora) was important enough later to have the *Res Gestae* of Augustus (*Monumentum Ancyranum*) set up there.
[2] Polybius and others give her name as Chiomara.

XXIV. There remained an entirely new war with B.C. 189
the Tectosagi. Setting out against them the consul came on the third day of marching to Ancyra, a famous city in that region,[1] from which the enemy was a little more than ten miles distant. While they were established in camp there, a memorable deed was done by a captive woman. The wife[2] of the chieftain Orgiago,[3] a woman of surpassing beauty, was held under guard among a large number of prisoners; the commander of the guard was a centurion, characterized by both the lust and the greed of the soldier. At first he tried her disposition; when he found it shrinking from voluntary fornication, he did violence to her body, which fortune had made a slave. Then, to quiet her indignation at the injury, he held out to the woman the hope of a return to her own people, but not even that, as a lover might have done, did he grant her for nothing. Having stipulated for a definite quantity of gold, to avoid taking one of his own men as an accomplice, he allowed the woman herself to send as a messenger to her people whomsoever of the prisoners she should choose. He designated a spot near the river to which not more than two of the kinsmen of the captive were to come with the money the following night to receive her. It happened that one of the woman's own slaves was among the prisoners under the same guard. This man, as messenger, the centurion at nightfall conducted beyond the line of sentinels. The following night both the two kinsmen of the woman and the centurion with the prisoner came to the appointed place. While they were displaying the money, which was to amount to an Attic

[3] Probably identical with Ortiago of xix. 2 above.

—tanti enim pepigerat—expleret, mulier lingua sua stringerent ferrum et centurionem pensantem aurum occiderent imperavit. Iugulati praecisum caput ipsa involutum veste ferens ad virum Orgiagontem, qui ab Olympo domum refugerat, pervenit; quem priusquam [1] complecteretur, caput centurionis ante pedes eius abiecit, mirantique cuiusnam id caput hominis aut quod id facinus haudquaquam mulieris esset, et iniuriam corporis [2] et ultionem violatae per vim pudicitiae confessa viro est aliaque, ut traditur, sanctitate et gravitate vitae huius matronalis facinoris decus ad ultimum conservavit.

XXV. Ancyram in stativa oratores Tectosagum ad consulem venerunt petentes, ne ante ab Ancyra castra moveret quam collocutus cum suis regibus esset: nullas condiciones pacis iis non bello fore potiores. Tempus [3] in posterum diem constituitur locusque, qui medius maxime inter castra Gallorum et Ancyram est visus. Quo cum consul ad tempus cum praesidio quingentorum equitum venisset nec ullo Gallorum ibi viso regressus in castra esset, oratores idem redeunt, excusantes religione obiecta venire reges non posse; principes gentis, per quos aeque res transigi posset, venturos. Consul se quoque Attalum missurum dixit. Ad hoc colloquium utrimque ventum est. Trecentos equites

[1] priusquam Σ: prius *B*.
[2] et iniuriam corporis Σ: *om. B*. [3] tempus Σ: *om. B*.

[1] Practically the same story is told by Polybius (XXII. xxi), Plutarch (*Mul. Virt.* 43), Valerius Maximus (VI. i. ext. 2) and Florus (I. xxvii. 6). All probably came from the same ultimate source (the diary mentioned above?), although Plutarch quotes as from Polybius an item not now found in Polybius' own version.

talent—for so great had been the sum agreed upon B.C. 189
—the woman in her own language ordered them to draw sword and kill the centurion as he was weighing the money. When they had slit his throat and cut off his head, the woman herself wrapped it in her garment and carried it on her return to her husband Orgiago, who had escaped home from Olympus; before she embraced him she dropped at his feet the head of the centurion, and, when he wondered whose head this was and what this act meant, so unlike that of a woman, she confessed to her husband the violence done to her person and the vengeance exacted for her forcibly violated chastity, and, as the story goes, by the purity and dignity of her life in other respects maintained to the end the glory won by a deed that marked her as a true matron.[1]

XXV. Ambassadors from the Tectosages came to the consul at his base at Ancyra, requesting that he should not move from Ancyra until he had conferred with their chiefs: there were no terms of peace which would not be preferable in their sight to war. The time fixed was for the next day and the place one which seemed approximately half-way between the camp of the Gauls and Ancyra. When the consul had come there at the designated time, attended by a guard of five hundred cavalry, and had returned to his camp without having seen any Gaul there, the same ambassadors returned, apologizing that their chiefs could not come by reason of religious objection; the leading men of the tribe, they said, through whom the business could equally well be transacted, would come. The consul said that he too would send a representative, namely, Attalus. Both parties attended this conference. When

Attalus praesidii causa cum adduxisset, iactatae[1] sunt pacis[2] condiciones; finis rei quia absentibus ducibus imponi non poterat, convenit uti consul regesque eo loco postero die congrederentur. Frustratio Gallorum eo spectabat, primum ut tererent tempus, donec res suas quibus periclitari nolebant cum coniugibus et liberis trans Halyn flumen traicerent, deinde quod ipsi consuli, parum cauto adversus colloquii[3] fraudem, insidiabantur. Mille ad eam rem ex omni numero audaciae expertae delegerunt equites; et successisset fraudi ni pro iure gentium, cuius violandi consilium initum erat, stetisset fortuna. Pabulatores lignatoresque Romani in eam partem in qua colloquium futurum erat ducti sunt,[4] tutius id futurum tribunis ratis, quia consulis praesidium et ipsum pro statione habituri erant hosti oppositum: suam tamen alteram stationem propius castra sescentorum equitum posuerunt. Consul, affirmante Attalo venturos reges et transigi rem posse, profectus e castris, cum eodem quo[5] antea praesidio equitum quinque milia fere processisset nec multum a constituto loco abesset, repente concitatis equis cum impetu hostili videt Gallos venientes. Constituit agmen, et[6] expedire tela animosque equitibus iussis primo constanter initium pugnae

[1] iactatae *J. F. Gronovius*: iactae $B\sigma$: actae *M*.
[2] pacis σ: *om. B*.
[3] colloquii σ: consilii *B*.
[4] ducti sunt σ: *om. B*.
[5] quo σ: quod *B*.
[6] et σ: *om. B*.

Attalus had brought up with him a bodyguard of three hundred cavalry, terms of peace were discussed; since a conclusion to the matter could not be reached in the absence of the principals, it was agreed that the consul and the chiefs should meet in that place the following day. The evasiveness of the Gauls had this purpose: first, that they might waste time until they could transport their property, which they did not wish to jeopardize, together with their wives and children, across the river Halys; second, that they were plotting against the consul himself, who had not been sufficiently on guard against treachery at the conference. For this purpose they chose from their entire number a thousand cavalry of tried boldness; and success would have attended their treachery had not fortune stood on the side of the law of nations which they had planned to violate. The Roman foragers and wood-gatherers were led in the direction in which the conference was to be held, the tribunes thinking that this would be safer, since they would have between them and the enemy the consul's bodyguard, placed as a sort of outpost for them; nevertheless, they posted another outguard of their own, consisting of six hundred cavalry, nearer the camp. The consul, on the assurance of Attalus that the chiefs would come and that the business could be settled, set out from camp with the same guard of cavalry as before, and, when he had gone about five miles and was not far from the appointed place, suddenly he saw the Gauls coming, their horses at full gallop, and with the air of enemies. He halted his column, and, ordering the troopers to prepare arms and, minds for the combat, at first he stoutly received the onset of the attack and did not B.C. 189

excepit [1] nec cessit; dein, cum praegravaret multitudo, cedere sensim nihil confusis turmarum ordinibus
13 coepit; postremo, cum iam plus in mora periculi quam in ordinibus conservandis [2] praesidii esset, omnes passim in fugam effusi sunt. Tum vero instare dissipatis Galli [3] et caedere; magnaque pars oppressa foret ni statio pabulatorum, sescenti equites,
14 occurrissent. Ii procul clamore pavido suorum audito cum tela equosque expedissent, integri pro-
15 fligatam pugnam acceperunt. Itaque versa extemplo fortuna est, versus a victis in victores terror. Et primo impetu fusi Galli sunt, et ex agris concurrebant pabulatores, et undique obvius hostis Gallis erat, ut ne fugam quidem tutam aut facilem haberent, quia recentibus equis Romani fessos sequebantur.
16 Pauci ergo effugerunt; captus est nemo; maior multo pars per fidem violati colloquii [4] poenas morte luerunt. Romani ardentibus ira [5] animis postero die omnibus copiis ad hostem perveniunt.

XXVI. Biduum natura montis per se ipsum exploranda ne quid ignoti esset absumpsit [6] consul; tertio die, cum auspicio operam dedisset, deinde immolasset, in quattuor partes divisas copias educit,
2 duas, ut medio monte duceret, duas ab lateribus, ut
3 adversus cornua Gallorum erigeret. Hostium quod roboris erat, Tectosagi et Trocmi, mediam tenebant

[1] excepit *Perizonius*: cepit *B*: accepit $\bar{\sigma}$.
[2] conseruandis $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B*.
[3] Galli $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B*.
[4] colloquii $\bar{\sigma}$: eloquii *B*.
[5] ira *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. B*$\bar{\sigma}$.
[6] absumpsit $\bar{\sigma}$: assumpsit *B*.

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[1] Cf. xix. 1 above.

give way; then, when the weight of numbers was bearing him down, he began to retire gradually, preserving the formation of his troops; finally, when there was now more danger in delay than protection in maintaining the formation, all scattered in random flight. Then indeed the Gauls began to pursue and kill the scattered cavalry; and a great part of them would have been destroyed had not the outpost of the foragers, the six hundred cavalry, come up to them. When they had heard from afar the terrified shouts of their comrades and had made ready their weapons and horses, they came upon the rout with their force still fresh. So straightway fortune changed and the panic changed sides, from the vanquished to the victors. And at the first attack the Gauls were routed and the foragers flocked in from the fields and foes faced the Gauls from every side, so that they did not find even flight either easy or safe, since the Romans with fresh horses were pursuing the weary. And so few then escaped; no one was taken prisoner; by far the greatest part paid with their lives the penalty for breaking the faith of a conference. The Romans, their hearts on fire with wrath, advanced the next day with their whole strength against the enemy. B.C. 189

XXVI. The consul spent two days in exploring for himself the character of the mountain,[1] that nothing might be unfamiliar to him; on the third day, after giving his attention to the auspices and then offering sacrifice, he divided his army into four columns and led them out, planning to lead two up the central part of the mountain and to send two from the sides to oppose the flanks of the Gauls. The Tectosagi and the Trocmi, who constituted the

aciem, milia hominum quinquaginta; equitatum, quia equorum nullus erat inter inaequales[1] rupes usus, ad pedes deductum, decem milia hominum, ab
4 dextro locaverunt cornu: Ariarathis Cappadoces et Morzi auxiliares in laevo quattuor ferme milium numerum explebant. Consul, sicut in Olympo monte, prima in acie locata levi armatura, telorum omnis generis ut aeque magna vis ad manum esset,
5 curavit. Ubi appropinquarunt,[2] omnia eadem utrimque quae fuerant in priore proelio erant praeter animos et victoribus ab re secunda auctos et hostibus
6 fractos,[3] quia, etsi non ipsi victi erant, suae gentis hominum cladem pro sua ducebant. Itaque a paribus initiis coepta res eundem exitum habuit.
7 Velut nubes levium telorum coniecta obruit aciem Gallorum. Nec aut procurrere quisquam ab ordinibus suis, ne nudarent[4] undique corpus ad ictus, audebant, et stantes quo densiores erant hoc plura, velut destinatum petentibus, vulnera accipiebant.
8 Consul iam per se turbatis si legionum signa ostendisset, versuros extemplo in fugam omnes ratus receptis inter ordines velitibus et alia turba auxiliorum aciem promovit.

XXVII. Galli et memoria Tolostobogiorum cladis territi et inhaerentia corporibus gerentes tela fessique

[1] inaequales σ : aequales *B*.
[2] appropinquarunt σ : appro (*sic, in fine paginae*) *B*.
[3] fractos σ : *om. B*.
[4] nudarent σ : nudaret *B*.

[1] A Paphlagonian prince.

strength of the enemy, held the centre of their line B.C. 189
with fifty thousand men; the cavalry, being dismounted since there was no use for horses on the rough cliffs, and numbering ten thousand men, they placed on their right flank; the Cappadocians of Ariarathes and the auxiliaries of Morzius [1] on the left flank amounted to about four thousand men. The consul, as at the Olympus mountain, placed the light-armed troops in the van and made provision that there might be at hand an equally large supply of every kind of weapon. When they approached, everything was the same on both sides as in the former battle except courage, which was increased in the victors by reason of their success and diminished in the enemy because, while they themselves had not been conquered, they considered as their own the disaster suffered by men of their own race. And so from like beginnings the affair had the same end. The discharge of a veritable cloud of light missiles overwhelmed the line of the Gauls. No one dared to rush forward from their ranks lest he expose his body to wounds from all sides, and, standing fast, the more closely they were crowded together the more wounds they received, the attackers aiming, so to speak, at a target. The consul, thinking that if he disclosed the standards of the legions to an enemy already disorganized on its own account they would all at once turn to flight, received within his ranks the skirmishers and the rest of the throng of auxiliaries and moved forward his battle-line.

XXVII. The Gauls, terrified as they were by the recollection of the defeat of the Tolostobogii, carrying weapons fixed in their bodies and wearied both by

c. 5 et stando et[1] vulneribus ne primum quidem impetum
2 et clamorem Romanorum tulerunt. Fuga ad castra inclinavit; sed pauci intra munimenta sese recepere; pars maior dextra laevaque praelati qua quemque
3 impetus tulit fugerunt.[2] Victores usque ad castra secuti ceciderunt terga; deinde in castris[3] cupiditate
4 praedae haeserunt, nec sequebatur quisquam. In cornibus Galli diutius steterunt quia serius ad eos perventum est; ceterum ne primum quidem[4]
5 coniectum telorum tulerunt. Consul, quia ingressos in castra ab direptione abstrahere non poterat, eos qui in cornibus fuerant protinus ad sequendos hostes
6 misit. Per aliquantum spatium secuti non plus tamen octo milia hominum in fuga—nam pugna nulla fuit—ceciderunt; reliqui flumen Halyn
7 traiecerunt. Romanorum pars magna ea nocte in castris hostium mansit; ceteros in sua castra consul reduxit. Postero die captivos praedamque recensuit, quae tanta fuit quantam[5] avidissima rapiendi gens, cum cis montem Taurum omnia armis per multos
8 annos tenuisset, coacervare potuit. Galli ex dissipata passim fuga in unum locum congregati, magna pars saucii aut[6] inermes, nudati omnibus rebus,
9 oratores de pace ad consulem miserunt. Eos Manlius Ephesum venire iussit; ipse—iam enim medium autumni erat—locis gelidis propinquitate Tauri montis excedere properans victorem exercitum in hiberna maritimae orae reduxit.

[1] et $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B.*
[2] fugerunt $\bar{\gamma}$: fuerunt *B.*
[3] in castris $\bar{\gamma}$: castris *B.*
[4] quidem $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B.*
[5] quantam *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : quanta $B\bar{\gamma}$.
[6] saucii aut *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : saucia ut $B\bar{\gamma}$.

[1] It is improbable that the Taurus mountain could have much effect on the climate of Galatia.

standing and by wounds, did not endure even the B.C. 189
first assault and shout of the Romans. Their flight was directed towards their camp, but few found their way within the ramparts; the majority was carried past to right and left and fled wherever the course of each led. The victors, cutting them down from behind, followed as far as the camp; then they remained in the camp in their greed for plunder, nor did anyone pursue. On the flanks the Gauls stood firm longer because the attack was slower to reach them; but they did not endure even the first volley of weapons. Since the consul was unable to tear away from their plundering the troops who had entered the camp, he at once sent those who had been on the flanks to pursue the enemy. Although they followed for a considerable distance, they did not kill more than eight thousand men in the flight, for there was no battle; the rest crossed the river Halys. A large part of the Romans stayed that night in the camp of the enemy; the consul led the rest back to their own camp. The next day he surveyed the prisoners and booty, which was as great as a people most greedy for plunder could amass after holding under armed control for many years everything on this side of the Taurus mountain. The Gauls, assembling in one place after their scattered and disorderly flight, most of them being wounded or unarmed, stripped of everything, sent ambassadors to the consul concerning peace. Manlius ordered them to come to Ephesus; he himself—for it was now mid-autumn—was in haste to get away from the cold regions in the neighbourhood of the Taurus mountain [1] and led the victorious army back into winter quarters on the sea coast.

B.C. 165

XXVIII. Dum haec in Asia geruntur, in ceteris provinciis tranquillae res fuerunt. Censores Romae T. Quinctius Flamininus et M. Claudius Marcellus
2 senatum legerunt;[1] princeps in senatu tertium lectus P. Scipio Africanus; quattuor soli[2] praeteriti sunt, nemo curuli usus honore. Et in[3] equitatu recensen-
3 do mitis admodum censura fuit. Substructionem super Aequimelium in Capitolio et viam silice sternendam a porta Capena ad Martis locaverunt.
4 Campani ubi censerentur senatum consuluerunt; decretum uti Romae censerentur. Aquae ingentes eo anno fuerunt; Tiberis duodeciens campum Martium planaque urbis inundavit.
5 Ab Cn. Manlio consule bello in Asia cum Gallis perfecto, alter consul M. Fulvius perdomitis Aetolis cum traiecisset in Cephallaniam, circa civitates insulae misit percontatum utrum se dedere Romanis
6 an belli fortunam experiri mallent. Metus ad omnes valuit, ne deditionem recusarent. Obsides inde

[1] legerunt *Modius* : perlegerunt $B\bar{r}$: elegerunt *M*.
[2] soli $\bar{r}$: solis *B*. [3] et in $\bar{r}$: et *B*.

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[1] Livy now enumerates briefly events in Rome during the period occupied by the Aetolian and Galatian campaigns. The narrative thus supplements that of XXXVII. lii–lviii incl.

[2] Cf. XXXIV. xliv. 4 and the note. Scipio had received this distinction in 199 B.C. (when he had been one of the censors) and in 194 B.C.

[3] The censors performed the function of revising the list of *equites* and removing from the list such individuals as the facts as they found them warranted.

[4] Neither the meaning of the word nor the situation of the place is quite certain, although if it was near the *vicus Iugarius*

XXVIII. While this was going on in Asia things were quiet in the other provinces. At Rome [1] the censors Titus Quinctius Flamininus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus chose the senate; as *princeps senatus* [2] Publius Scipio Africanus was chosen for the third time; only four senators were passed over, none of whom had held curule office. In the review of the *equites* [3] also the censorship was quite lenient. Contracts were let for the building of a substructure above the Aequimelium [4] on the Capitoline and for the paving with flint of the road from the Porta Capena to the temple of Mars.[5] The Campanians asked the senate for a decision as to where they should be listed by the censors; it was decreed that they should be listed in Rome.[6] There were great floods that year; the Tiber on twelve occasions overflowed the Campus Martius and the level districts of the city. B.C. 189

The war with the Gauls in Asia having been finished by the consul Gnaeus Manlius, the other consul, Marcus Fulvius, after conquering the Aetolians, crossed to Cephallania [7] and sent agents around the island to inquire of the cities whether they preferred to surrender themselves to the Romans or to try the fortune of war. Fear prevailed upon all of them not to refuse submission. Hostages were then requisi-

the work may have been necessitated by the landslide of 192 B.C. (XXXV. xxi. 6).

[5] This temple lay between a mile and two miles outside the Porta Capena on the Via Appia.

[6] These were probably Campanians who had been driven from their homes during the Second Punic War and had settled in other parts of Italy. They were not, however, citizens of the towns in which they resided, and the censors could not take cognizance of them there.

[7] Cf. ix. 10 above and the note.

imperatos pro viribus inopes populi. . . .[1] vicenos
.c. 5 autem Cranii[2] et Palenses et Samaei dederunt.[3]
7 Insperata pax Cephallaniae adfulserat, cum repente
una civitas, incertum quam ob causam, Samaei
8 desciverunt. Quia opportuno loco urbs posita esset,
timuisse se aiebant ne demigrare cogerentur ab
Romanis. Ceterum ipsine sibi eum finxerint metum
et timore vano quietum excitaverint[4] malum, an
iactata[5] sermonibus res apud Romanos perlata ad
9 eos sit, nihil comperti est, nisi quod datis iam ob-
sidibus repente portas clauserunt et ne suorum
quidem precibus—miserat enim sub muros consul
ad temptandam misericordiam parentium popolari-
10 umque—desistere ab incepto voluerunt.[6] Oppugnari
deinde, postquam nihil pacati respondebatur, coepta
urbs est. Apparatum omnem tormentorum machina-
rumque travectum ab Ambraciae oppugnatione habe-
11 bat, et opera quae facienda erant impigre milites per-
fecerunt. Duobus igitur locis admoti arietes quatie-
bant muros.

XXIX. Nec ab Samaeis quicquam quo aut opera
aut hostis arceri posset[7] praetermissum est. Duabus
2 tamen maxime resistebant rebus, una,[8] interiorem

[1] *probabilem emendationem huius loci mendosi, multis frustra temptatis, non invenerunt viri docti.*
[2] Cranii *Sigonius* : grannoni $B\bar{\sigma}$.
[3] dederunt $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B.*
[4] excitaverint *edd. vett.* : excitauerunt $B\bar{\sigma}$.
[5] iactata $\bar{\sigma}$: iactatos *B.*
[6] uoluerunt $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B.*
[7] posset $\bar{\sigma}$: possit *B.*
[8] una $\bar{\sigma}$: unam *B.*

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[1] The text is hopelessly corrupt, and I have not indicated the lacuna in the translation. It is uncertain whether *pro viribus* goes with *imperatos*, with *inopes*, as I have translated

tioned and supplied by the cities, poor in proportion B.C. 189
to their strength, twenty each by the Cranians, the Palensians and the Sameans.[1] The radiance of unexpected peace had shone upon Cephallania when suddenly one city, the Sameans, it is uncertain for what reason, revolted. Because the city enjoyed a strategic position, they said that they were afraid that they would be compelled by the Romans to move away. But whether they had invented this alarm for themselves and in baseless terror had roused a sleeping evil, or the subject had been discussed by the Romans and reported to them, nothing has been ascertained, except that when they had already given hostages they suddenly closed their gates and not even in response to the prayers of their own people—for the consul had sent some of them to the foot of the walls to stir up pity for their parents and fellow-countrymen—were they willing to abandon their undertaking. Then, when their replies showed no pacific intent, the siege of the city began. He had all the equipment of artillery and siege-engines transferred from the siege of Ambracia, and what works had to be constructed the soldiers zealously undertook. Accordingly, the battering-rams were moved up in two places and the walls attacked.

XXIX. Nor was any measure overlooked by the Sameans by which either the works or the enemy could be interfered with. Nevertheless, their resistance depended mainly upon two things; first, the

it, or with something omitted. Moreover, the fourth city on the island (Thuc. II. xxx. 2; Plin. *N.H.* IV. 54) is not mentioned. Finally, the number of hostages is very large (cf. xi. 6 above), which ill accords with *inopes*, unless the interpretation here given of *pro viribus inopes* is accepted.

c. 5 semper iuxta validum pro diruto novum obstruentes murum, altera, eruptionibus subitis nunc in opera hostium nunc in stationes; et plerumque his proeliis 3 superiores erant. Una ad coercendos inventa, haud magna memoratu, res est. Centum funditores ab 4 Aegio et Patris et Dymis acciti. A pueris ii more quodam [1] gentis saxis globosis, quibus ferme harenae immixtis strata litora sunt, funda mare apertum 5 incessentes exercebantur. Itaque longius [2] certiusque et validiore ictu quam Baliaris funditor eo telo 6 usi sunt. Et est non simplicis habenae, ut Baliarica aliarumque gentium funda, sed triplex scutale, crebris [3] suturis duratum, ne fluxa habena volutetur in iactu glans, sed librata cum sederit, velut nervo missa 7 excutiatur. Coronas modici circuli magno ex intervallo loci adsueti traicere non capita solum hostium vulnerabant, sed quem locum destinassent oris. 8 Hae fundae Samaeos cohibuerunt, ne tam crebro neve [4] tam audacter erumperent, adeo ut precarentur ex muris Achaeos ut [5] parumper abscederent et se cum Romanis stationibus pugnantes quiete spectarent. 9 Quattuor menses obsidionem Same sustinuit. Cum ex paucis cotidie aliqui eorum caderent aut vulnerarentur, et qui supererant fessi et corporibus

[1] quodam σ : quondam *B*.
[2] longius *B* (*ex corr.*) σ : longiore *B*.
[3] scutale crebris σ : scuta lecebris *B*.
[4] neue σ : nec *B*.
[5] ut σ : *om*. *B*.

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[1] The corresponding passage in Polybius is lost, and the source of this description is uncertain. A somewhat similar account is found in XLII. lxv. 10, but it does not seem from either that Livy entirely understood what he was describing.

continuous construction of a strong new wall on the B.C. 189
inside, adjoining the wall that was destroyed; second, their sudden sallies, now against the enemy's siege-works, now against his outguards; and generally in these battles they had the advantage. One device was found to hold them in check, though trivial to mention. A hundred slingers were recruited from Aegium and Patrae and Dymae. These peoples were trained from boyhood, in accordance with a tradition of the race, in hurling with a sling at the open sea the round stones which, mingled with the sand, generally strew the coasts. In consequence they use this weapon at longer range, with greater accuracy and with more powerful effect than the Balearic slinger. Moreover, the sling is not composed of a single strap, like those of the Baleares and other peoples, but the bullet-carrier is triple, strengthened with numerous seams, that the missile may not fly out at random, from the pliancy of the strap at the moment of discharge, but, seated firmly while being whirled, may be shot out as if from a bow-string.[1] Having been trained to shoot through rings of moderate circumference from long distances, they would wound not merely the heads of their enemies but any part of the face at which they might have aimed. These slings prevented the Sameans from making sallies so frequently or so boldly, to such an extent that from the walls they begged the Achaeans[2] to withdraw for a while and in quiet to watch them fighting with the Roman outguards. For four months Same underwent the siege. Since every day some of their small number were killed or wounded and those who remained were wearied

[2] *i.e.* the slingers.

10 et animis essent, Romani nocte per arcem quam Cyneatidem vocant—nam urbs in mare devexa in occidentem vergit—muro superato in forum perve-
11 nerunt. Samaei postquam captam partem urbis ab hostibus senserunt, cum coniugibus ac liberis in maiorem refugerunt arcem. Inde postero die dediti direpta urbe sub corona omnes venierunt.

XXX. Consul compositis rebus Cephallaniae, praesidio Samae imposito, in Peloponnesum iam diu accersentibus Aegiensibus maxime ac Lacedae-
2 moniis traiecit. Aegium a principio Achaici concilii semper conventus gentis indicti sunt, seu dignitati
3 urbis id seu loci opportunitati [1] datum est. Hunc morem Philopoemen eo primum anno labefactare conatus legem parabat ferre, ut in omnibus civitatibus quae Achaici concilii essent in vicem conventus
4 agerentur. Et sub adventum consulis damiurgis civitatium, qui summus est magistratus, Aegium evocantibus Philopoemen—praetor tum erat—Argos
5 conventum edixit. Quo cum appareret omnes ferme conventuros, consul quoque, quamquam Aegiensium favebat causae, Argos venit; ubi cum disceptatio fuisset, et rem inclinatam cerneret, incepto destitit.
6 Lacedaemonii deinde eum in sua certamina averte-

[1] opportunitati $\bar{r}$: opportunitate *B*.

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[1] Cf. XXXII. xxii. 2 and the note.

[2] His fifth term in this office began in the autumn of 189 B.C. Livy habitually uses the Latin word *praetor* for the chief magistrate of foreign states: cf. XXXI. xxiv. 6 and the note.

in both body and mind, the Romans at night, by way B.C. 189
of the citadel which they call Cyneatis—for the city slopes towards the sea and faces west—crossed the wall and entered the market-place. When the Sameans realized that part of the city had been captured by the enemy, they took refuge with their wives and children in the larger citadel. Then the next day the city was plundered and all who had surrendered were sold as slaves.

XXX. The consul, having arranged matters in Cephallania and stationed a garrison at Same, crossed to the Peloponnesus, whither the Aegians especially and the Lacedaemonians had long been summoning him. From the beginning of the Achaean League the meetings of the assembly had all been called for Aegium, whether this was a tribute to the importance of the city or the convenience of the place. This custom Philopoemen, in this year for the first time, was trying to break down, and was preparing to propose a law that the meetings should be held in all the cities which belonged to the Achaean League in rotation. And at the approach of the consul, when the *damiurgi* of the cities (they are the chief magistrates)[1] called the meeting at Aegium, Philopoemen —he was then praetor[2]—summoned it at Argos. When it was clear that almost all would assemble there, the consul, although he favoured the cause of the Aegians, also went to Argos; when the argument had begun there and he saw that the Aegian case was weaker, he gave up his purpose.[3] Then the Lacedaemonians diverted his attention to their own

[3] Fulvius had evidently intended to oppose the proposal of Philopoemen at the meeting.

runt. Sollicitam eam civitatem exules maxime habebant, quorum magna pars in maritimis Laconicae orae castellis, quae omnis adempta erat,[1] habitabant. 7 Id aegre patientes Lacedaemonii, ut aliqua liberum ad mare haberent aditum, si quando Romam aliove quo mitterent legatos, simul ut emporium et receptaculum peregrinis mercibus ad necessarios usus esset, nocte adorti vicum maritimum nomine Lan[2] 8 improviso occupaverunt. Vicani quique ibi exules habitabant primo inopinata re territi sunt; deinde sub lucem congregati levi certamine expulerunt 9 Lacedaemonios.[3] Terror tamen omnem maritimam oram pervasit, legatosque communiter et castella omnia vicique et exules, quibus ibi domicilia erant, ad Achaeos miserunt.

XXXI. Philopoemen praetor, iam inde ab initio exulum causae amicus,[4] et auctor semper Achaeis minuendi opes et auctoritatem Lacedaemoniorum, 2 concilium querentibus dedit, decretumque referente, eo factum est, cum in[5] fidem Achaeorum tutelamque T. Quinctius et Romani Laconicae orae castella

[1] adempta erat *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ademptae erant *B*: adepti erant ⊐.
[2] Lan *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: lamin *B*⊐.
[3] lacedaemonios ⊐: *om. B*.
[4] amicus *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: et amicus *B*⊐.
[5] cum in ⊐: ut in *B*.

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[1] In 195 B.C. Flamininus had concluded a treaty with Nabis, tyrant of Lacedaemon, in which it was provided, among other things, that Nabis should surrender his holdings on the coast (XXXIV. xxxv–xxxvi); the Achaean League had assumed, without explicit authority, so far as the evidence shows, the enforcement of this provision when, in 192 B.C., Nabis had undertaken to obtain an outlet to the sea (XXXV. xxv–xxx). After the assassination of Nabis by the Aetolians

quarrels.[1] The state was kept in anxiety especially by the exiles, a great part of whom lived in the fortresses along the Laconian sea coast, all of which had been taken away from Sparta. The Lacedaemonians, angered at this, in order that somehow they might possess free access to the sea, if ever they sent ambassadors to Rome or elsewhere, and at the same time that they might have a market and a place for the storage of foreign merchandise for necessary purposes, made an unexpected night attack on the coast town of Las and captured it. The townspeople and the exiles who lived there were at first terrified by this unlooked-for event; then, assembling at daybreak, with a slight effort they expelled the Lacedaemonians. Nevertheless, the panic spread to the whole sea coast, and all the forts and villages and the exiles whose residences were there sent a joint embassy to the Achaeans. B.C. 189

XXXI. The praetor Philopoemen, who had from the very beginning championed the cause of the exiles and had always urged the Achaeans to diminish the power and influence of the Lacedaemonians, gave the complainants an audience before the council, and on his motion a decree was passed that, whereas Titus Quinctius and the Romans had put the fortresses and villages of the Laconian coast under the protection and guardianship of the Achaeans, and whereas,

[1] in the same year, Philopoemen had taken Lacedaemon into the Achaean League (XXXV. xxxvii. 2), where its status was somewhat uncertain. Philopoemen's own policy was definitely anti-Laconian, and the unsettled question of the banished Spartan aristocrats was a continual problem (XXXVI. xxxv. 7). Livy now recounts the history of Achaean–Spartan relations from this time to the holding of the council at which Fulvius was present.

et vicos tradidissent et, cum abstinere iis ex foedere Lacedaemonii deberent, Las [1] vicus oppugnatus esset, caedesque ibi facta, qui eius rei auctores adfinesque essent, nisi dederentur Achaeis, violatum videri
3 foedus. Ad exposcendos eos legati extemplo Lacedaemonem missi sunt. Id imperium adeo superbum et indignum Lacedaemoniis visum est [2] ut, si antiqua civitatis fortuna esset, haud dubie arma extemplo
4 capturi fuerint. Maxime autem consternavit eos metus, si semel primis imperiis oboediendo iugum accepissent,[3] ne, id quod iam diu moliretur Philo-
5 poemen, exulibus Lacedaemonem traderet. Furentes igitur ira triginta hominibus ex factione, cum qua consiliorum aliqua societas Philopoemeni atque exulibus erat, interfectis decreverunt renuntiandam societatem Achaeis legatosque extemplo Cephallaniam mittendos, qui consuli M. Fulvio quique Romanis Lacedaemonem dederent orarentque eum,
6 ut veniret in Peloponnesum ad urbem Lacedaemonem in fidem dicionemque populi Romani accipiendam.

XXXII. Id ubi legati ad Achaeos rettulerunt, omnium civitatium quae eius concilii erant consensu bellum Lacedaemoniis indictum est. Ne extemplo
2 gereretur hiems impediit; incursionibus tamen parvis, latrocinii magis quam belli modo, non terra

[1] Las *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: lace B^{2}.
[2] est π: *om. B*.
[3] accepissent π: accepisset *B*.

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[1] The motion as quoted by Livy has the verbal characteristics of the actual decree. The treaty referred to was with the Romans, not the Achaeans, and the moral and legal right of the latter to enforce it is not unquestioned.
[2] This must be the winter of 189–188 B.C. The details of

although under the treaty the Lacedaemonians were under obligations to let them alone, the village of Las had been attacked and men had been killed there, therefore, unless those who had been principals in and accessories to this act should be surrendered to the Achaeans, the treaty should be deemed to have been violated.[1] Messengers were at once sent to Lacedaemon to demand them. This demand seemed to the Lacedaemonians so insolent and unmerited that if the ancient fortune of the state had continued they would without doubt have immediately taken up arms. The principal cause of the terror which struck them was that, if they once accepted the yoke by obedience to these first commands, Philopoemen would turn Lacedaemon over to the exiles, as he had long been planning. Mad with wrath, then, they killed thirty men of the faction with which Philopoemen and the exiles had shared any other plans, and decreed that the alliance with the Achaeans should be broken off and that ambassadors should at once be sent to Cephallania to surrender Lacedaemon to the consul Marcus Fulvius and the Romans and to implore him to come to the Peloponnesus to receive the city of Lacedaemon under the good faith and protection of the Roman people. B.C. 189

XXXII. When the ambassadors reported this to the Achaeans, with the approval of all the cities which were represented at that council, war was declared upon the Lacedaemonians. Winter[2] prevented the immediate prosecution of the war; nevertheless, their territories were devastated by small raids, more like brigandage than war, not

the chronology are obscure, but the siege of Same must have lasted well into the autumn.

tantum sed etiam navibus a mari fines eorum vastati.
3 Hic tumultus consulem Peloponnesum adduxit, iussuque eius Elin concilio indicto Lacedaemonii ad
4 disceptandum acciti. Magna ibi non disceptatio modo sed altercatio fuit, cui consul, cum alia satis ambitiose partem utramque fovendo incerta respondisset, una denuntiatione ut bello abstinerent, donec Romam ad senatum legatos misissent,[1] finem
5 imposuit. Utrimque legatio missa Romam est. Exules quoque Lacedaemoniorum suam causam
6 legationemque Achaeis iniunxerunt. Diophanes et Lycortas, Megalopolitani ambo, principes legationis Achaeorum fuerunt qui, dissidentes in re publica, tum quoque minime inter se convenientes orationes
7 habuerunt. Diophanes senatui disceptationem omnium rerum permittebat: eos optime controversias inter Achaeos ac Lacedaemonios finituros esse;
8 Lycortas ex praeceptis Philopoemenis postulabat ut Achaeis ex foedere ac legibus suis quae decressent agere liceret, libertatemque sibi illibatam, cuius ipsi
9 auctores essent, praestarent. Magnae auctoritatis apud Romanos tum gens Achaeorum erat; novari tamen nihil de Lacedaemoniis placebat. Ceterum responsum ita perplexum fuit ut et Achaei sibi de
10 Lacedaemone permissum acciperent, et Lacedae-

[1] misissent σ: *om. B.*

[1] The senate probably intended that the Lacedaemonians should remain members of the Achaean League and that their surrender to Fulvius should be ignored. It seems a fair inference that the Achaeans were not to interfere, as Philopoemen proposed to do, in local Spartan affairs. But Roman fondness for sententiousness in legislation made this decree unpardonably vague, considering the gravity of the situation, and one is tempted to conclude that the senate did not really grasp the arguments and was not greatly interested.

only on land but also by ships from the sea. This B.C. 189
disturbance brought the consul to the Peloponnesus; and by his order a council was called at Elis and the Lacedaemonians summoned to take part in the debate. Not only a lively debate took place there but also a violent quarrel, to which the consul, although in other respects, favouring both sides in a spirit of conciliation, he had given ambiguous replies, put an end by the one peremptory demand that they should refrain from war until they had sent ambassadors to the senate in Rome. Both sides sent embassies to Rome. The Lacedaemonian exiles also entrusted their case and their representation to the Achaeans. Diophanes and Lycortas, both from Megalopolis, were chiefs of the Achaean delegation, and they, opposed as they were to one another on public questions generally, at this time also delivered speeches quite inconsistent with one another. Diophanes was for entrusting to the senate the adjudication of all questions: they, he said, would best settle the disputes between the Achaeans and the Lacedaemonians; Lycortas, acting on the instructions of Philopoemen, demanded that the Achaeans be permitted to carry out whatever they had decreed in accordance with the treaty and their own laws, and that the Romans should grant them, unabridged, the freedom of which they themselves were the source. The people of the Achaeans at that time had great influence with the Romans; nevertheless, it was decreed that no change should be made in the status of the Lacedaemonians.[1] The reply, however, was so ambiguous that both the Achaeans accepted it as a concession of freedom of action regarding Lacedaemon and the Lacedaemon-

monii non omnia concessa iis interpretarentur. Hac potestate immodice Achaei ac superbe usi sunt. Philopoemeni continuatur magistratus.

XXXIII. Qui veris initio exercitu indicto castra in finibus Lacedaemoniorum posuit, legatos deinde misit ad deposcendos auctores defectionis, et civitatem in pace futuram si id fecisset pollicentes et illos nihil indicta causa passuros. Silentium prae metu ceterorum fuit; quos nominatim depoposcerat, ipsi se ituros professi sunt, fide accepta a legatis vim abfuturam,[1] donec causam dixissent. Ierunt etiam alii illustres viri, et advocati privatis et quia pertinere causam eorum ad rem publicam censebant. Numquam alias exules Lacedaemoniorum Achaei secum adduxerant in fines, quia nihil aeque alienaturum animos civitatis videbatur; tunc exercitus totius prope antesignani exules erant. Hi venientibus Lacedaemoniis ad portam castrorum agmine facto occurrerunt; et primo lacessere iurgiis, deinde, altercatione orta, cum accenderentur irae,[2] ferocissimi exulum impetum in Lacedaemonios fecerunt. Cum illi deos et fidem legatorum testarentur, et legati et praetor summovere turbam et protegere Lacedaemonios vinclaque iam quosdam inicientes arcere.[3]

[1] uim abfuturam $\bar{r}$: futuram (*post spat. rel.*) *B*.
[2] irae $\bar{r}$: ira *B*. [3] arcere *Weissenborn* : arceret *B*$\bar{r}$.

[1] Elections were normally held in the autumn, and Philopoemen may have been chosen for his sixth term before the embassy to Rome.

[2] The introductory relative gives some support to the view that chap. xxxiii should begin with *Hac* or with *Philopoemeni* above. I have retained the division of the Teubner text.

[3] At this time the Achaeans were deliberately trying to provoke the Lacedaemonians to violence.

ians interpreted it as not granting the Achaeans full authority. This power the Achaeans employed unrestrainedly and tyrannically. Philopoemen was re-elected to the chief magistracy.[1] B.C. 189

XXXIII. He[2] at the beginning of spring called out the army and encamped within the borders of the Lacedaemonians, and then sent ambassadors to demand the men responsible for the revolt and to promise that the state should be at peace if they did this and that those men should suffer no injury without the opportunity to plead their cause in court. The rest kept silent from fear; those whom he had demanded by name declared that they would go on receipt from the ambassadors of a guaranty that they should suffer no violence until they had pleaded their cause. Other well-known men also went with them, both to support them as private citizens and because they knew that their case affected the public interest. Under no other circumstances had the Achaeans taken Lacedaemonian exiles with them to the frontiers,[3] because it was obvious that nothing would offend so much the feelings of the state; on this occasion practically the whole of the advance troops of the army consisted of exiles. They formed in a body and met the Lacedaemonians as they came to the gates of the camp; and at first they assailed them with insults and then, as a quarrel broke out and passions were aroused, the most impetuous of the exiles attacked the Lacedaemonians. When they appealed to the gods and the pledges of the ambassadors, both the ambassadors and the praetor were trying to push the mob aside and to protect the Lacedaemonians and to restrain some who were already binding them with chains. The crowd grew as the

B.C. 165 8 Crescebat tumultu concitato turba; et Achaei ad
9 spectaculum primo concurrebant; deinde vociferantibus exulibus quae passi forent et orantibus opem affirmantibusque simul numquam talem occasionem habituros si eam praetermisissent; foedus, quod in Capitolio, quod Olympiae, quod in arce Athenis
10 sacratum fuisset, irritum per illos esse; priusquam alio de integro foedere obligarentur, noxios puniendos esse, accensa his vocibus multitudo ad vocem unius, qui ut ferirent inclamavit, saxa coniecit. Atque ita decem septem, quibus vincula per tumultum iniecta
11 erant, interfecti sunt. Sexaginta tres postero die comprehensi, a quibus praetor vim arcuerat,[1] non quia salvos vellet sed quia perire causa indicta nolebat, obiecti[2] multitudini iratae, cum aversis[3] auribus pauca locuti essent, damnati omnes et traditi sunt ad supplicium.

XXXIV. Hoc metu iniecto Lacedaemoniis imperatum primum uti muros diruerent; deinde ut omnes externi auxiliares, qui mercede apud tyrannos
2 militassent, terra Laconica excederent; tum uti quae servitia tyranni liberassent—ea magna multitudo erat—ante diem certam abirent; qui ibi mansissent, eos prendendi abducendi vendendi Achaeis ius esset;

[1] arcuerat σ : arguerat *B*.
[2] obiecti σ : obiecta *B*.
[3] aversis *edd. vett.* : aduersis $B\sigma$.

[1] Their exact meaning is uncertain.

excitement increased; and first the Achaeans rushed B.C. 189
up to see the sight; then the exiles began bitterly to proclaim what they had suffered and to beg for aid, at the same time asserting that they would never have such an opportunity if they let this one slip; the treaty, they said, which had been ratified with religious sanction on the Capitoline, at Olympia, and on the Acropolis at Athens, had been made void by those men;[1] before they were bound anew by another treaty they urged that the guilty should be punished. Then the multitude, inflamed by these words, at the call of one man, who shouted out that they should strike, began to throw stones. And so seventeen of those who had been put into chains in the excitement were killed.[2] The next day sixty-three were arrested whom the praetor had protected against violence, not because he was concerned for their safety but because he did not wish them to be killed without pleading their cause, becoming the victims of an angry mob, and when they had spoken briefly to hostile ears all were condemned and handed over for execution.

XXXIV. Fear having been thus inspired in the Lacedaemonians, it was first ordered that they should destroy their walls; then, that all the foreign auxiliaries who had served under the tyrants for pay should leave Laconian territory; next, that the slaves whom the tyrants had freed[3]—their number was large—should depart before a designated day; if any of them remained the Achaeans were to have the right to seize, carry off and sell them; then, that

[2] This affair was too ingeniously explained by Lycortas in 184 B.C. (XXXIX. xxxvi. 9–16).

[3] Nabis defended this policy in XXXIV. xxxi. 14–18.

c. 3 Lycurgi leges moresque abrogarent, Achaeorum
5 adsuescerent legibus institutisque: ita unius eos
corporis fore et de omnibus rebus facilius consensuros.
4 Nihil oboedientius fecerunt quam ut muros diruerent,
5 nec aegrius passi sunt quam exules reduci. Decretum
Tegeae in concilio communi Achaeorum de restituen-
6 dis iis factum est; et mentione illata externos auxi-
liares dimissos ac Lacedaemoniis adscriptos—ita
enim vocabant qui ab tyrannis liberati erant—urbe
excessisse et in [1] agros dilapsos,[2] priusquam dimitteretur exercitus, ire praetorem cum expeditis et comprehendere id genus hominum et vendere iure
7 praedae placuit. Multi comprehensi venierunt.
Porticus ex ea pecunia Megalopoli permissu [3]
8 Achaeorum refecta est quam Lacedaemonii diruerant.
Et ager Belbinates, quem iniuria tyranni Lacedaemoniorum possederant, restitutus eidem civitati ex
decreto vetere Achaeorum, quod factum erat Philippo
9 Amyntae filio regnante. Per haec velut enervata
civitas Lacedaemoniorum diu Achaeis obnoxia fuit;
nulla tamen res tanto erat damno quam disciplina

[1] et in *Ussing*: in *B*^{2}.
[2] dilapsos π: dilapsus *B*.
[3] permissu π: persensu *B*.

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[1] The traditional Spartan constitution had been preserved when Sparta was taken into the Achaean League in 192 B.C. (XXXV. xxxvii. 2). The apparent purpose of the Achaeans at this time was to weaken their military power, although their pretext has a fairer sound.

[2] They were supposed to have been built by the tyrants (XXXIV. xxxviii. 2).

they should annul the laws and customs of Lycurgus[1] and adjust themselves to the laws and institutions of the Achaeans: thus, they said, they would all become one body and would agree more readily on all matters. They obeyed no command more willingly than the order to tear down their walls,[2] nor were they more reluctant to accept any than the one which required that the exiles be restored. The decree for their restoration was passed at Tegea in the common council of the Achaeans,[3] and when the report was submitted that the foreign auxiliaries had been discharged and that the newly-registered Lacedaemonians—for so they called the men who had been set free by the tyrants—had left the city and had scattered through the country, they ordered the praetor, before the army was dismissed, to go with the light-armed troops and arrest men of this category and sell them under the law governing booty. Many were arrested and sold. Out of this money, with the permission of the Achaeans, they rebuilt a portico at Megalopolis which the Lacedaemonians had destroyed. Also the *ager Belbinates*,[4] which had been wrongfully seized by the tyrants of the Lacedaemonians, was given back to that state under an old decree of the Achaeans which had been passed while Philip, the son of Amyntas, was on the throne.[5] The Lacedaemonian state, thus, so to speak, emasculated, was long at the mercy of the Achaeans; yet nothing did them so much injury as the subversion of the discipline B.C. 189

[3] Since these men had been banished as a result of party strife, their restoration practically assured the progressive weakening of Lacedaemon by internal political conflict.

[4] Probably the territory of the town of Belemina in Tripolis.

[5] This Philip was the father of Alexander the Great.

Lycurgi, cui per octingentos annos adsuerant, sublata.

XXXV. A concilio, ubi ad consulem inter Achaeos Lacedaemoniosque disceptatum est, M. Fulvius, quia iam in exitu annus erat, comitiorum causa profectus Romam creavit consules M. Valerium Messalam et C. Livium Salinatorem, cum[1] M. Aemilium Lepidum inimicum eo quoque anno petentem deiecisset.[2] Praetores inde creati Q. Marcius Philippus M. Claudius Marcellus C. Stertinius C. Atinius P. Claudius Pulcher L. Manlius Acidinus. Comitiis perfectis consulem M. Fulvium in provinciam et ad exercitum redire placuit, eique et collegae Cn. Manlio imperium in annum prorogatum est. Eo anno in aede Herculis signum[3] dei ipsius ex decemvirorum responso, et seiuges in Capitolio aurati a P.[4] Cornelio positi; consulem dedisse inscriptum est. Et duodecim clipea aurata ab aedilibus curulibus P. Claudio Pulchro et Ser. Sulpicio Galba sunt posita ex pecunia qua frumentarios ob annonam compressam damnarunt; et aedilis plebi Q. Fulvius Flaccus duo

[1] cum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : *om. B*$\bar{r}$.
[2] deiecisset *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : decessisset *B* : decessisse $\bar{r}$.
[3] signum $\bar{r}$: *om. B*.
[4] a P. *Sigonius* : ab cn. *B*$\bar{r}$.

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[1] The numeral cannot be taken too literally, although it is used again in XXXIX. xxxvii. 5 (in the speech of Lycortas).

[2] Livy omits to say how the case was decided. The events described in the preceding chapters (see the note to xxx. 6 above) must all have antedated this meeting, although the chronology is badly confused.

[3] Lepidus had been defeated the preceding year (XXXVII. xlvii. 7).

of Lycurgus to which they had been accustomed for eight hundred years.[1] B.C. 18

XXXV. From the council at which the case of the Achaeans and the Lacedaemonians had been argued before the consul,[2] Marcus Fulvius, since his year was now near its end, set out for Rome to hold the elections and announced the selection as consuls of Marcus Valerius Messala and Gaius Livius Salinator, when he had secured the defeat of his personal foe, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, who was a candidate that year also.[3] Next the praetors were elected; Quintus Marcius Philippus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Gaius Stertinius, Gaius Atinius, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. When the elections were over it was decided that the consul Marcus Fulvius should return to the province and the army, and for him and for his colleague Gnaeus Manlius the *imperium* was prolonged for one year. In that year in the temple of Hercules a statue of the divinity himself was installed in accordance with a decree of the decemvirs, and a six-horse chariot of gold was set up on the Capitoline by Publius Cornelius;[4] the inscription read that "one who had been consul had dedicated it."[5] Also twelve gilded shields were set up by the curule aediles, Publius Claudius Pulcher and Servius Sulpicius Galba, out of the money which they had condemned the grain-dealers to pay for hoarding the grain-supply; likewise the plebeian aedile, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus,

[4] Probably Scipio Nasica.

[5] The use of *consul* in such inscriptions would not mean that the donor was consul at the time of the dedication, but merely that he had held the office. The inscription may have existed in Livy's time.

signa aurata uno reo damnato—nam separatim accusaverant [1]—posuit; collega eius A. Caecilius neminem condemnavit. Ludi Romani ter, plebei quinquiens toti instaurati.

7 M. Valerius Messala inde et C. Livius Salinator consulatum idibus Martiis cum inissent, de re publica deque provinciis et exercitibus senatum
8 consuluerunt. De Aetolia et Asia nihil mutatum est; consulibus alteri Pisae cum Liguribus, alteri
9 Gallia provincia decreta est. Comparare inter se aut sortiri iussi et novos exercitus, binas legiones, scribere et ut sociis [2] Latini nominis quina dena milia peditum imperarent et mille et ducentos equites.
10 Messalae Ligures, Salinatori obtigit Gallia. Praetores inde sortiti sunt: M. Claudio urbana, P. Claudio peregrina iurisdictio evenit; Q. Marcius Siciliam, C. Stertinius Sardiniam, L. Manlius Hispaniam citeriorem, C. Atinius ulteriorem est sortitus.

XXXVI. De exercitibus ita placuit: ex Gallia legiones quae sub C. Laelio fuerant ad M. Tuccium
2 propraetorem in Bruttios traduci, et qui in Sicilia esset dimitti exercitum, et classem quae ibi esset
3 Romam reduceret M. Sempronius propraetor. Hispaniis singulae legiones quae tum in iis provinciis erant decretae,[3] et ut terna milia peditum, ducenos equites ambo praetores in supplementum sociis

[1] accusaverant *ed. Moguntina*: accusati erant *Bσ*: accusauerunt *M*.
[2] sociis *σ*: socii *B*. [3] decretae *σ*: decreta *B*.

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[1] The aediles usually acted in unison.
[2] The meaning must be that each consul was to have six hundred cavalry. The ratio of cavalry to infantry fluctuates so much that emendation of distributive numerals (twelve hundred cavalry for each) is not justified.

after convicting only one defendant—for they had B.C. 18
prosecuted independently[1]—dedicated two gilded statues; his colleague Aulus Caecilius condemned no one. The Roman Games in their entirety were repeated three times, the Plebeian Games five times.

Then, when Marcus Valerius Messala and Gaius B.C. 188
Livius Salinator had been inaugurated as consuls on the Ides of March, they consulted the senate regarding the general policy and regarding the provinces and armies. No change was made respecting Aetolia and Asia; to one consul was assigned Pisa together with the Ligurians, to the other Gaul, as their provinces. They were directed to arrange between them or to cast lots and to enroll new armies of two legions each and to requisition from the allies of the Latin confederacy fifteen thousand infantry for each and twelve hundred cavalry.[2] The lot gave to Messala the Ligurians and to Salinator Gaul. Then the praetors cast lots: Marcus Claudius received the jurisdiction between citizens and Publius Claudius that between citizens and aliens; Quintus Marcius Sicily, Gaius Stertinius Sardinia, Lucius Manlius Nearer Spain and Gaius Atinius Farther Spain.

XXXVI. Regarding the armies, this was the decision: the legions from Gaul, which had been under the command of Gaius Laelius, to be transferred to Marcus Tuccius the propraetor for service among the Brutti, the army which was in Sicily to be brought home, and the fleet which was there to be conducted to Rome by Marcus Sempronius the propraetor. For the Spains the single legions which were then in those provinces were decreed, and the praetors were allowed to enlist as reinforcements from the allies and to transport with them each three thousand

4 imperarent secumque transportarent. Priusquam in provincias novi magistratus proficiscerentur, supplicatio triduum pro collegio decemvirorum imperata fuit in omnibus compitis, quod luce inter horam tertiam ferme et quartam tenebrae obortae fuerant. Et novemdiale sacrificium indictum est, quod in Aventino lapidibus pluvisset.

5 Campani, cum eos ex senatus consulto quod priore anno factum erat censores Romae censeri coegissent—nam antea incertum fuerat[1] ubi censerentur—petierunt ut sibi cives Romanas ducere uxores
6 liceret et, si qui prius duxissent,[2] ut habere eas et nati ante eam diem uti iusti sibi liberi heredesque
7 essent. Utraque res impetrata. De Formianis Fundanisque municipibus et Arpinatibus C. Valerius Tappo tribunus plebis promulgavit ut iis suffragii latio—nam antea sine suffragio habuerant[3] civitatem—
8 esset. Huic rogationi quattuor tribuni plebis,[4] quia non ex auctoritate senatus ferretur, cum intercederent, edocti populi esse, non senatus, ius suffragium quibus velit impertire, destiterunt incepto.

[1] fuerat $\bar{r}$: erat *B*. [2] duxissent $\bar{r}$: dixissent *B*.
[3] habuerant $\bar{r}$: habuerunt *B*. [4] plebis $\bar{r}$: *om*. *B*.

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[1] This eclipse has been dated July 17, 188 B.C. (corrected calendar).

[2] Cf. xxviii. 4 above.

[3] This would grant them, retroactively, *conubium*, a right characteristic of Roman citizenship.

[4] The *municipia* in general enjoyed only the private rights (*commercium* and *conubium*) of Roman citizens: Livy describes their status as *civitas sine suffragio*. This incident illustrates the gradual promotion of the *municipia* to full civic rights.

[5] Measures intended for an assembly were ordinarily, but not necessarily, submitted first to the senate, and those

infantry and two hundred cavalry. Before the new magistrates departed for their provinces a three-day period of prayer was proclaimed in the name of the college of decemvirs at all the street-corner shrines because in the day-time, between about the third and fourth hours, darkness had covered everything.[1] Also a nine-day sacrifice was decreed because (so it was said) there had been a shower of stones on the Aventine. B.C. 188

The Campanians,[2] since, according to the decree which had been passed the year before, the censors compelled them to be assessed at Rome—for previously it had been uncertain where they should be assessed—requested that they should be permitted to take Roman citizens as wives, that any who had already married Roman citizens should be allowed to keep them, and that children born before this day should be legitimate, free, and capable of inheriting from their fathers.[3] Both requests were granted. Respecting the residents in the municipalities[4] of Formiae, Fundi and Arpinum, Gaius Valerius Tappo, tribune of the people, proposed that the right to vote—for previously the citizenship without the right to vote had belonged to them—should be conferred upon them. When four tribunes of the people vetoed this bill, on the ground that it was not proposed with the sanction[5] of the senate, and they were informed that it was the prerogative of the assembly, not the senate, to bestow the franchise upon whomsoever it desired, they gave up the effort. The bill was passed

which the senate favoured received its *auctoritas*. In this instance the assembly seems to assert its legislative independence of the senate, but Livy's habit of abbreviating his accounts of constitutional debates complicates the problem.

9 Rogatio perlata est ut in Aemilia tribu Formiani et Fundani, in[1] Cornelia Arpinates ferrent; atque in his tribubus[2] tum primum ex Valerio plebiscito censi
10 sunt. M. Claudius Marcellus censor sorte[3] superato T. Quinctio lustrum condidit. Censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCLVIII}}$ CCCXVIII. Lustro perfecto consules in provincias profecti sunt.

XXXVII. Hieme ea qua haec Romae gesta sunt, ad Cn. Manlium consulem primum, dein[4] pro consule, hibernantem in Asia, legationes undique ex omnibus civitatibus gentibusque, quae cis Taurum montem
2 incolunt, conveniebant. Et ut clarior nobiliorque victoria Romanis de rege Antiocho fuit quam de Gallis, ita laetior sociis erat de Gallis quam de
3 Antiocho. Tolerabilior regia servitus fuerat quam feritas immanium barbarorum incertusque in dies terror, quo velut tempestas eos populantes inferret.[5]
4 Itaque, ut quibus libertas Antiocho pulso, pax Gallis domitis data esset, non gratulatum modo venerant sed coronas etiam aureas pro suis quaeque facultatibus
5 attulerant. Et ab Antiocho legati et ab ipsis Gallis, ut pacis leges dicerentur, et ab Ariarathe rege Cappadocum venerunt ad veniam petendam luendamque pecunia noxam, quod auxiliis Antiochum iuvisset.[6]

[1] et fundani in σ : *om. B.*
[2] tribubus σ : tribus *B.*
[3] sorte σ : *om. B.*
[4] dein σ : deinde in *B.*
[5] inferret σ : inferet *B.*
[6] iuuisset σ : iuuissent *B.*

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[1] The *Aemilia* and *Cornelia* were two of the local tribes (ultimately thirty-five in number) to which all Roman citizens were assigned.

[2] Cf. XXXV. ix. 2 and the first note.

[3] Cf. XXXV. ix. 2 and the second note, and the *Periocha* of this Book.

with the provision that the people of Formiae and Fundi should vote in the tribe called *Aemilia* and the Arpinates in the *Cornelia*; and in these tribes they were then for the first time registered under the Valerian plebiscite.[1] Marcus Claudius Marcellus the censor, having been victorious over Titus Quinctius at the drawing of lots, closed the *lustrum*.[2] The number of citizens shown by the census was two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and eighteen.[3] The *lustrum* having been closed, the consuls set out for their provinces. B.C. 188

XXXVII. During the winter in which these events occurred in Rome, Gnaeus Manlius, who was wintering in Asia, first as consul, then as proconsul, received embassies from all quarters, from all the cities and tribes which live on this side of the Taurus mountain. And while the Roman victory over King Antiochus had been more glorious and more splendid than that over the Gauls, yet the victory over the Gauls afforded the allies more satisfaction than that over Antiochus. The slavery imposed by the king was more endurable than the ferocity of the rude barbarians and the constant and uncertain fear as to when a storm, so to speak, would bring down upon them the marauding Gauls. Accordingly, since from the overthrow of Antiochus they had received liberty and peace from the defeat of the Gauls, they had not only come to offer congratulations but had brought golden crowns, each in proportion to his ability. Also ambassadors came from Antiochus, and from the Gauls themselves, asking that terms of peace should be stated, and from King Ariarathes of Cappadocia, to ask pardon and to wash away with money his guilt in that he had aided Antiochus with auxiliaries.

6 Huic sescenta talenta argenti sunt imperata; Gallis responsum, cum Eumenes rex venisset, tum daturum iis leges.[1] Civitatium legationes cum benignis responsis, laetiores etiam quam venerant, dimissae. 7 Antiochi legati pecuniam in Pamphyliam frumentumque ex pacto cum L. Scipione foedere iussi advehere; 8 eo se cum exercitu venturum. Principio deinde veris lustrato exercitu profectus die octavo Apameam venit. Ibi triduum stativis habitis, tertiis rursus ab Apamea castris in Pamphyliam, quo pecuniam frumen- 9 tumque regios convehere iusserat, pervenit. Duo milia et quingenta[2] talenta argenti accepta Apameam deportantur; frumentum exercitui dividitur. Inde ad Pergam ducit, quae una in iis locis regio tenebatur 10 praesidio. Appropinquanti praefectus praesidii obvius fuit, triginta dierum tempus petens ut regem 11 Antiochum de urbe tradenda consuleret. Dato tempore ad eam diem praesidio decessum est.[3] A Perga L. Manlio fratre cum quattuor milibus militum Oroanda[4] ad reliquum pecuniae ex eo quod pepigerant exigendum misso, ipse, quia Eumenem regem et decem legatos ab Roma Ephesum audierat venisse, iussis sequi Antiochi legatis Apameam exercitum reduxit.

XXXVIII. Ibi ex decem legatorum sententia foedus in haec verba fere cum Antiocho[5] conscriptum

[1] leges *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: legem *B*ϝ.
[2] Duo milia et quingenta *Rubens*: mille et quinquaginta *B*ϝ.
[3] praesidio decessum est *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: decessit praesidio et *B*ϝ.
[4] oroanda ϝ: *om., spat. rel., B.*
[5] cum antiocho ϝ: *om. B.*

[1] Polybius (XXII. xxvi) says that the commander had received no instructions from Antiochus to evacuate the town.

Six hundred talents of silver were demanded of him; B.C. 18
the Gauls were told that when King Eumenes had arrived he would give them terms. The embassies from the cities were sent away with gracious responses and in an even happier mood than when they had come. The envoys of Antiochus were directed to bring to Pamphylia the money and grain agreed upon in the treaty concluded with Lucius Scipio; the consul and the army would come there. Then at the beginning of spring, having purified the army, he set out and reached Apamea on the eighth day. Having spent three days in camp there, in three more marches from Apamea he arrived in Pamphylia, where he had ordered the king's agents to bring the money and grain. Two thousand five hundred talents of silver were received and conveyed to Apamea; the grain was distributed to the army. Then he led the troops towards Perga, which alone in this district was held by a royal garrison.[1] As he approached the commander of the garrison met him, asking for a truce of thirty days in order that he might consult King Antiochus about surrendering the city. The time having been granted for that period, the garrison withdrew. From Perga he sent his brother Lucius Manlius with four thousand men to Oroanda to collect the balance of the money which they had agreed to pay,[2] and he himself, since he had heard that King Eumenes and the ten commissioners had arrived in Ephesus from Rome, ordered the envoys of Antiochus to follow and led the army back to Apamea.

XXXVIII. There in accordance with the decision of the ten commissioners the treaty with Antiochus

[2] Cf. xviii. 2 above.

2 est: " Amicitia regi Antiocho cum populo Romano his
legibus et condicionibus esto: ne quem exercitum,
qui cum populo Romano sociisve bellum gesturus erit,
rex per fines regni sui eorumve qui sub dicione eius
erunt transire sinito, neu commeatu neu [1] qua alia
3 ope iuvato; idem Romani sociique Antiocho et iis
qui sub imperio eius erunt praestent. Belli gerendi
ius Antiocho ne esto cum illis qui insulas colunt neve
4 in Europam transeundi. Excedito [2] urbibus agris
vicis castellis cis Taurum montem usque ad Halyn [3]
amnem, et a valle [4] Tauri usque ad iuga qua in
5 Lycaoniam vergit. Ne qua praeter [5] arma efferto [6]

[1] neu $\bar{r}$: nec *B*.
[2] excedito $\bar{r}$: expedito *B*.
[3] Halyn *Budaeus*: tanaim *B*, *fortasse rectius*: accaym, accayn, canym, achanim $\bar{r}$: Taurum *Mommsen*; *de loco toto uid. quae Anglice scripsi*.
[4] a ualle $\bar{r}$: ea ualle *B*: ab ea valle *Viereck*, *fortasse rectius*.
[5] praeter *Perizonius*: *om. B*$\bar{r}$.
[6] efferto $\bar{r}$: et ferto *B*.

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[1] In XXXVII. lv–lvi the appointment of this commission was recorded and their functions stated as the adjustment of such details as could be considered only on the ground. There are certain changes in the treaty as stated below and certain discrepancies between it and the text as given by Polybius (XXII. xxvii).

[2] The crucial part of this sentence is lost from the text of Polybius and the MSS. of Livy offer a variety of readings. No combination of emendations has been found which pays due regard to the readings of the Livy MSS. and also gives a definite and easily recognizable boundary. I have therefore translated the text as it is printed in the latest Weissenborn–Mueller revision, although I may have given to *Tauri* a construction differing from theirs. I have chosen this course with full appreciation of the difficulties involved, some of which it seems proper to discuss briefly. The reference to the Halys river seems inappropriate unless it was the intention of the treaty-makers to dispose also of the terri-

was drafted in about this language:[1] "There shall be friendship between King Antiochus and the Roman people on these conditions and terms: the king shall permit no army which shall purpose to wage war with the Roman people or its allies to march through the territories of his kingdom or of his allies, and he shall not aid them with grain or with any other form of assistance; the Romans and their allies shall guarantee the same to Antiochus and to those who are under his control. Antiochus shall have no right to wage war upon those peoples who inhabit the islands nor to cross to Europe. He shall withdraw from the cities, lands, villages and strongholds on this side of the Taurus mountain as far as the Halys river and from the valley as far as the ridges of Taurus where it slopes down into Lycaonia.[2] He shall carry B.C. 188

tories brought to notice by the defeat of the Gauls. But no Tanaïs river is known and a Taurus river must be imaginatively identified. (Livy mentions a river of this name in xv. 7 above, but even if he is correct the position he gives it is wrong.) Furthermore, no natural boundary is provided between the crest of the Taurus range and the Halys river (I presume that this means the portion of the river above the point where it turns north-west near the Cappadocian–Cilician frontier). If a Tanaïs river could be plausibly identified north of the Taurus range, I should be inclined to read . . . *cis Taurum montem usque ad Tanaim amnem, et ab ea valle Tauri usque ad iuga* . . . ("on this side of the Taurus mountain as far as the river Tanaïs and from the valley of this river as far as the crest of Taurus"), although the order in which these geographical points are mentioned seems unnatural. It seems hardly necessary to establish an eastern frontier for Asia. For reviews of recent discussion of these questions see the *Bericht* on Livy by Rau and that on Greek History by Lenschau in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 242, 1934, esp. p. 87, and 244, 1934, esp. pp. 120–121, respectively, and Map 3 in this volume.

c.c. 66

ex iis oppidis agris castellisque quibus excedat; si qua extulit quo quaeque [1] oportebit recte restituito. 6 Ne militem neu quem alium ex regno Eumenis recipito. Si qui earum urbium cives quae regno abscedunt cum rege Antiocho intraque fines regni eius sunt, Apameam omnes ante diem certam re- 7 deunto; qui ex regno Antiochi apud Romanos sociosque sunt. iis ius abeundi manendique esto; servos seu fugitivos seu bello captos, seu quis liber captus aut transfuga erit, reddito Romanis sociisque. 8 Elephantos tradito omnes neque alios parato. Tradito et naves longas armamentaque earum, neu plures quam decem naves tectas neve plures quam . . . naves actuarias,[2] nulla quarum plus quam [3] triginta remis agatur, habeto, neve monerem [4] belli 9 causa quod ipse illaturus erit. Ne navigato citra Calycadnum neu Sarpedonium promunturia, extra quam si qua navis pecuniam [5] in [6] stipendium aut 10 legatos aut obsides portabit. Milites mercede conducendi ex iis gentibus quae sub dicione populi Romani sunt Antiocho regi ius ne esto, ne voluntarios 11 quidem recipiendi. Rhodiorum sociorumve quae

[1] quo quaeque *Perizonius*: quae quoque $B\tau$.

[2] decem naves tectas neve plures quam * naves actuarias *Madvig*: .X. naues $B\tau$: decem naues actuarias *M*.

[3] quam τ: quam in *B*.

[4] monerem *Madvig*: minore ea *B*: minorem ex *M*: minorem ea *et* monerem ea τ.

[5] pecuniam τ: pecunias *B*.

[6] in *Madvig*: *om.* $B\tau$.

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[1] The MSS. of Livy provide for *decem naves actuarias* only. Polybius, however, allows ten decked ships, and it seems necessary then to assume the loss of some words, including a numeral for *actuarias*. For the sake of simplicity,

away nothing but his weapons from these towns, B.C. 18
lands and fortresses from which he is withdrawing; if he has removed anything, he shall duly restore it to the place in which each item belongs. He shall harbour no soldier or other person from the kingdom of Eumenes. If any citizens of those cities which are separating from his kingdom are with King Antiochus and within the borders of his kingdom, they shall all return to Apamea before a designated day; whatever persons from the kingdom of Antiochus are with the Romans or their allies shall have the right to depart or to remain; slaves, whether fugitives or prisoners of war, and whatever freemen there are, whether prisoners of war or deserters, he shall turn over to the Romans and their allies. He shall surrender all his elephants and shall acquire no more. He shall surrender also his warships and their rigging, and he shall have not more than ten decked ships nor more than ten merchant vessels,[1] nor shall any of these be propelled by more than thirty oars, nor shall he have a ship of one bank for a war in which he himself shall be the aggressor. He shall not sail beyond the promontories of Calycadnus and Sarpedon, unless a ship is carrying payments of tribute or ambassadors or hostages. King Antiochus shall not be authorized to hire soldiers from those peoples which are under the control of the Roman people, nor even to accept volunteers therefrom. If the Rhodians or the allies

I have assumed in the translation, though I have not ventured to include it in the text, that this numeral was *decem*: anything is a guess, since Polybius mentions neither the *actuariae* nor the *moneris*. The restriction on *moneres* should apply equally to such *actuariae* as could easily be adapted to military uses, so that there may be more corruption in both Livy and Polybius than has been recognized.

aedes aedificiaque intra fines regni Antiochi sunt,
quo iure ante bellum fuerunt, eo Rhodiorum sociorum-
12 ve sunto; si quae pecuniae debentur, earum exactio
esto; si quid ablatum est, id conquirendi cognoscendi
repetendique item ius esto. Si quas urbes quas tradi
oportet ii tenent, quibus Antiochus dedit, et ex iis
praesidia deducito, utique recte tradantur,[1] curato.
13 Argenti probi talenta Attica duodecim milia dato
intra duodecim annos pensionibus aequis—talentum
ne minus pondo[2] octoginta[3] Romanis ponderibus
pendat—et tritici quingenta quadraginta milia
14 modium. Eumeni regi talenta trecenta quinqua-
ginta intra quinquennium dato, et pro frumento
quod aestimatione fit talenta centum viginti septem.
15 Obsides Romanis viginti dato et triennio mutato, ne
minores octonum denum annorum neu maiores
16 quinum quadragenum. Si qui sociorum populi
Romani ultro bellum inferent[4] Antiocho, vim vi
arcendi ius esto, dum ne quam urbem aut belli iure
17 teneat aut in amicitiam accipiat. Controversias inter
se iure ac iudicio disceptanto,[5] aut, si utrisque place-

[1] tradantur $\bar{\gamma}$: tradatur *B*.
[2] pondo $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B*.
[3] octoginta $\bar{\gamma}$: LLXXX *B*.
[4] inferent $\bar{\gamma}$: inferrent *B*.
[5] disceptanto *J. F. Gronovius* : disceptent $B\bar{\gamma}$.

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[1] These provisions are probably included to protect existing rights of individuals under private law.

[2] The demand of Scipio (XXXVII. xlv. 14) was expressed in the equivalent Euboean currency. One-fifth of the sum had already been paid, and this clause mentions only the instalments still due.

[3] Polybius (XXII. xxvi) gives the figure more exactly as one hundred and twenty-seven talents and twelve hundred

own any houses or buildings within the boundaries of B.C. 188
the kingdom of Antiochus, they shall belong to the Rhodians or the allies on the same basis as before the war; if any moneys are due, the right to collect them shall exist; if anything has been taken away, the right shall likewise exist to search for, identify and recover it.[1] If any cities which should be surrendered are held by persons to whom Antiochus has entrusted them, he shall withdraw his garrisons from them and shall see that they are duly surrendered. He shall pay twelve thousand Attic talents [2] of tested silver within twelve years in equal instalments—with the proviso that the talent shall not weigh less than eighty Roman pounds—and five hundred and forty thousand *modii* of wheat. He shall pay to King Eumenes three hundred and fifty talents within five years, and in commutation for the grain, on his own valuation, one hundred and twenty-seven talents.[3] He shall give the Romans twenty hostages and shall change them triennially, provided that none of them shall be younger than eighteen years nor older than forty-five years. If any of the allies of the Roman people shall without provocation make war upon Antiochus, he shall have the right to oppose force with force, provided that he shall neither hold any city under the law of war nor receive any into friendship. They shall settle disputes between them by law and legal formula,[4] or, if both states shall desire, by war."

and eight *drachmae*, adding that Antiochus had proposed and Eumenes had agreed to accept this sum in full payment. In XXXVII. xlv. 16 Scipio had insisted on the payment of the grain which was due to Attalus, but both parties have now agreed on compensation in cash.

[4] The clause is borrowed from the Roman *ius civile*.

B.C. 18 bit, bello." De Hannibale Poeno et Aetolo Thoante
66 et Mnasilocho [1] Acarnane et Chalcidensibus Eubulida et Philone dedendis in hoc quoque foedere adscriptum est et ut, si quid postea addi demi mutarive placuisset, ut id salvo foedere fieret.

XXXIX. Consul in hoc foedus iuravit; ab rege qui exigerent [2] iusiurandum, profecti Q. Minucius Thermus et L. Manlius, qui tum forte ab Oroandis
2 rediit. Et Q. Fabio Labeoni qui classi praeerat [3] scripsit, ut Patara extemplo proficisceretur, quaeque ibi naves regiae essent concideret cremaretque.
3 Profectus ab Epheso quinquaginta tectas naves aut concidit aut incendit. Telmessum eadem expeditione territis subito adventu classis oppidanis recipit.
4 Ex Lycia protinus, iussis ab Epheso sequi qui ibi relicti erant per insulas in Graeciam traiecit. Athenis paucos moratus dies, dum Piraeum ab Epheso naves venirent, totam inde classem in Italiam reduxit.
5 Cn. Manlius cum inter cetera quae accipienda ab Antiocho erant elephantos quoque accepisset donoque Eumeni omnes dedisset,[4] causas deinde civita-
6 tium, multis inter novas res turbatis, cognovit. Et Ariarathes rex parte dimidia pecuniae imperatae beneficio Eumenis, cui desponderat per eos dies filiam,
7 remissa [5] in amicitiam est acceptus. Civitatium autem

[1] Mnasilocho *Drakenborch*: milunosymacho *B*.
[2] exigerent $\bar{r}$: exigeret *B*.
[3] praeerat $\bar{r}$: praeerant *B*.
[4] dedisset $\bar{r}$: dedisset et *B*.
[5] remissa *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: demissam *B*: dimissa $\bar{r}$.

[1] Polybius names these men in the clause which Livy quotes as sect. 7 above: cf. XXXVII. xlv. 16–17.
[2] Polybius requires the consent of both parties to such amendments.
[3] Cf. XXXVII. lx.

With regard to the surrender of Hannibal the Carthaginian, and Thoas the Aetolian and Mnasilochus the Acarnanian and Eubulidas and Philo the Chalcidians,[1] there was a clause in this treaty too, and another to the effect that whatever in future it should seem desirable to add, take away, or modify, could be so altered without invalidating the treaty.[2] B.C. 188

XXXIX. The consul swore to observe this treaty; to secure the oath from the king, Quintus Minucius Thermus was sent and Lucius Manlius, who chanced at that time to return from Oroanda. He wrote also to Quintus Fabius Labeo, who was in command of the fleet,[3] to proceed at once to Patara and to destroy and burn the ships of the king that were there. Setting out from Ephesus, he either wrecked or burned fifty decked ships. Telmessus, since the townspeople were alarmed at the unexpected appearance of the fleet, was recovered on the same expedition. From Lycia, ordering the ships which had been left at Ephesus to follow from there, Labeo crossed straight to Greece by way of the islands. Delaying a few days at Athens, until the ships from Ephesus should reach Piraeus, he conducted the entire fleet from there to Italy.

When Gnaeus Manlius, among the other things which were to be received from Antiochus, had received the elephants also and had presented them all to Eumenes as a gift, he next investigated the affairs of the cities, since many were in confusion in consequence of the changes. And King Ariarathes, half of the money which had been demanded of him having been remitted through the good offices of Eumenes, to whom he had about this time betrothed his daughter, was received into friendship. The ten

cognitis causis decem legati aliam aliarum fecerunt condicionem. Quae stipendiariae regi Antiocho fuerant et cum populo Romano senserant, iis im-
8 munitatem dederunt: quae partium Antiochi fuerant aut stipendiariae Attali regis, eas omnes vectigal pendere Eumeni iusserunt. Nominatim praeterea Colophoniis, qui in Notio habitant, et Cymaeis et
9 Mylasenis immunitatem concesserunt; Clazomeniis super immunitatem et Drymussam insulam dono dederunt, et Milesiis quem sacrum appellant agrum
10 restituerunt, et Iliensibus Rhoeteum et Gergithum addiderunt, non tam ob recentia ulla merita quam originum memoria. Eadem at Dardanum liberandi
11 causa fuit. Chios quoque et Zmyrnaeos et Erythraeos, pro singulari fide quam eo bello praestiterunt, et agro donarunt et in omni praecipuo honore habuerunt.
12 Phocaeensibus et ager quem ante bellum habuerant redditus, et ut legibus antiquis uterentur permissum.
13 Rhodiis affirmata quae data priore decreto erant; Lycia et Caria datae usque ad Maeandrum amnem
14 praeter Telmessum. Regi Eumeni Chersonesum in Europa et Lysimachiam, castella vicos agrum quibus
15 finibus tenuerat Antiochus, adiecerunt; in Asia Phrygiam utramque—alteram ad Hellespontum, maiorem alteram vocant—et Mysiam, quam Prusia
16 rex ademerat, ei[1] restituerunt, et Lycaoniam et Milyada et Lydiam et nominatim urbes Tralles

[1] ei *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : et *B*.

[1] Cf. XXXVII. xxvi. 5–6.

commissioners, having looked into the situation of the cities, made different dispositions in different cases. Those which had been tributaries to King Antiochus but had sided with the Roman people were granted freedom from taxation; those which had been partisans of Antiochus or tributaries to King Attalus were all ordered to pay tribute to Eumenes. In addition, they granted freedom from taxation expressly to the Colophonians who live in Notium,[1] to the Cymaeans and the Mylasenians; to the Clazomenians, in addition to immunity, they gave the island of Drymussa as a gift, and to the Milesians they restored what they call the "sacred land," and to the people of Ilium they added Rhoeteum and Gergithus, less as a reward for recent services than in recognition of their descent. This was also the reason for liberating Dardanus. The Chians, Zmyrnaeans and Erythraeans, because of the extraordinary loyalty they had displayed in the war, were rewarded with lands and in addition were treated with every mark of honour. To the Phocaeans they both gave back the lands which they had held before the war and permitted them to live under their ancient laws. The Rhodians were confirmed in the possession of what had been given them by the earlier decree; they received Lycia and Caria as far as the Meander river with the exception of Telmessus. Upon King Eumenes they bestowed, in Europe, the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, the strongholds, villages and lands within the boundaries of Antiochus; in Asia, both Phrygias—the one on the Hellespont, the other which they call the Greater; and they gave back to him Mysia, which King Prusias had taken from him, and Lycaonia and Milyas and Lydia and expressly B.C. 188

c. 17 atque Ephesum et Telmessum. De Pamphylia disceptatum inter Eumenem et Antiochi legatos cum esset, quia pars eius citra pars ultra [1] Taurum est, integra res [2] ad senatum reicitur.

XL. His foederibus decretisque datis Manlius cum decem legatis omnique exercitu ad Hellespontum profectus, evocatis eo regulis Gallorum, leges quibus 2 pacem cum Eumene servarent dixit, denuntiavit ut morem [3] vagandi cum armis finirent agrorumque suo- 3 rum terminis se continerent. Contractis deinde ex omni ora navibus et Eumenis etiam classe per [4] Athenaeum fratrem regis ab Elaea adducta copias omnes 4 in Europam traiecit. Inde per Chersonesum modicis [5] itineribus grave praeda omnis generis agmen trahens Lysimachiae stativa habuit, ut quam maxime recentibus et integris iumentis Thraeciam, per 5 quam iter vulgo horrebant, ingrederetur. Quo profectus est ab Lysimachia die ad amnem Melana 6 quem vocant, inde postero die Cypsela pervenit. A

[1] pars ultra σ : par lustrato *B*.
[2] integra res *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : integra *B*σ.
[3] morem σ : mores *B*.
[4] classe per σ : classe iper *B*. [5] modicis σ : *om. B*.

[1] Polybius (XXII. xxix) seems to think that the dispute concerned all Pamphylia, not regarding it, as Livy does, as cut in two by the range. It is evident that not even the commissioners, while on the spot, could tell where the western end of the Taurus chain was situated, and one does not see how the senate could be expected to determine that geographical fact. The incident shows how indistinct was the boundary established by the treaty : cf. the note to xxxviii. 4 above. In XLIV. xiv. 3 Pamphylia seems to be free, but otherwise there is no indication of the senate's decision.

With the chapters which deal with the treaty and with the settlement of Asia XXXVII. xlv. and lv.–lvi. should be read.

the cities of Tralles and Ephesus and Telmessus. B.C. 1
When a dispute over Pamphylia broke out between Eumenes and the ambassadors of Antiochus, because part of it was on this side of Taurus and part on the other,[1] the whole question was referred to the senate.

XL. Having published these treaties and decrees, Manlius with the ten commissioners and all the army set out for the Hellespont, summoning thither the chiefs of the Gauls, and stated the terms on which they should observe peace with Eumenes,[2] and warned them that they should discontinue their habit of wandering about under arms and should keep themselves within the boundaries of their own lands. Then, collecting ships from the whole Chersonese coast, the fleet of Eumenes also being brought up from Elaea by his brother Athenaeus, he ferried all his forces across to Europe.[3] Thence by short stages, leading a column heavily laden with every sort of booty, he established a base at Lysimachia, in order that with his pack-animals as far as possible fresh and in good condition he might enter Thrace, the journey through which was generally feared. On the day of his departure from Lysimachia he reached the river called Melas and on the day after that Cypsela. From Cypsela

[2] The legal jurisdiction of either Manlius or the *legati* is not clear. Rome acquired no territory from the Galatians and recognized no Galatian interest in the treaty with Antiochus. Nevertheless, Rome had a moral responsibility for all Asia and particularly for the kingdom of Eumenes, the nearest neighbour and the traditional enemy of the Galatians.

[3] Appian (*Syr.* 43), who abridges the account of the return journey of Manlius, criticizes severely the decision to return by land rather than by sea, and emphasizes the services rendered to Scipio by Philip (XXXVII. vii. 16).

Cypselis via decem milium fere silvestris angusta confragosa excipiebat, propter cuius difficultatem itineris in duas partes divisus exercitus, et praecedere una iussa, altera, magno intervallo cogere agmen, media impedimenta interposuit: plaustra cum
7 pecunia publica erant pretiosaque alia praeda. Ita cum per saltum iret, Thraecum decem haud amplius milia ex quattuor populis, Astii et Caeni et Maduateni et Coreli, ad ipsas angustias viam circumse-
8 derunt. Opinio erat non sine Philippi Macedonum regis fraude id factum: eum scisse non alia quam per Thraeciam redituros Romanos, et quantam pecu-
9 niam secum portarent. In primo agmine imperator erat, sollicitus propter iniquitatem locorum. Thraeces nihil se moverunt donec armati transirent;
10 postquam primos superasse angustias viderunt, postremos [1] nondum appropinquantes, impedimenta et sarcinas invadunt, caesisque custodibus partim ea quae in plaustris erant diripere, partim sub oneri-
11 bus iumenta abstrahere. Unde postquam clamor primum ad eos, qui iam ingressi saltum sequebantur, deinde etiam ad primum agmen est perlatus, utrimque in medium concurritur, et inordinatum pluribus
12 simul locis proelium conseritur. Thraecas praeda ipsa impeditos oneribus et plerosque, ut ad rapiendum vacuas manus haberent, inermes ad caedem praebet; [2] Romanos iniquitas locorum barbaris per calles notas

[1] postremos σ: supremos *B*.
[2] praebet σ: praebent *B*.

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[1] It was the Thracian plan to let the van go through, block the road so that the van could not get back, and then attack the baggage.

a road awaited him, for about ten miles wooded, B.C. 188
narrow, rough, and by reason of the difficulty of this route he divided the army into two sections, and, having ordered one to go ahead and the other to bring up the rear at a great distance, he placed the baggage between them; there were carts loaded with public money and other valuable booty. As they were marching in this order through the defile, not more than ten thousand Thracians, of four tribes, the Astii and the Caeni and the Maduateni and the Coreli, blocked the road at the narrow point.[1] It was generally believed that this did not happen without treachery on the part of Philip, king of the Macedonians; he knew that the Romans would return by no other route than through Thrace, and he knew how much money they would bring with them. The commander was with the van, being concerned about the unfavourable character of the terrain. The Thracians did not move until the armed troops were past; when they saw that the van was out of the defile and that the rear was not yet at hand, they fell upon the trains and the baggage, and having killed the guards some of them carried off what was in the wagons, others drove off the pack-animals, loads and all. When the uproar reached first those who were following and just entering the defile and then came to the head of the column, there was a rush from both directions towards the centre, and a disorderly battle began in several places at once. The Thracians were exposed to slaughter, hampered as they were by the burden of the booty itself, while many of them were without arms, in order that they might keep their hands free to plunder; the Romans were betrayed by the unfavourable ground, since the barbarians

r.c. occursantibus et latentibus interdum per[1] cavas
66 13 valles prodebat. Ipsa etiam onera plaustraque, ut fors tulit, his aut illis incommode obiecta pugnantibus impedimento sunt. Alibi praedo alibi praedae
14 vindex cadit. Prout locus iniquus aequusve[2] his aut illis, prout animus pugnantium est, prout numerus —alii enim pluribus, quam ipsi erant, alii pauciori-bus occurrerant—varia fortuna pugnae est; multi
15 utrimque cadunt. Iam nox appetebat, cum proelio excedunt Thraeces, non fuga vulnerum aut mortis, sed quia satis praedae habebant.

XLI. Romanorum primum agmen extra saltum circa templum Bendidium castra loco aperto posuit; pars altera ad custodiam impedimentorum medio in
2 saltu, duplici circumdato vallo, mansit. Postero die prius explorato saltu quam moverent primis se con-
3 iungunt. In eo proelio cum et impedimentorum et calonum pars et[3] milites aliquot, cum passim toto prope saltu pugnaretur, cecidissent, plurimum[4] Q. Minucii Thermi morte damni[5] est acceptum,
4 fortis ac strenui viri. Eo die ad Hebrum flumen perventum est. Inde Aeniorum fines praeter Apollinis Zerynthium quem vocant incolae templum
5 superant. Aliae angustiae circa Tempyra excipiunt —hoc loco nomen est—nec minus confragosae quam priores; sed, quia nihil silvestre circa est, ne

[1] per $\bar{r}$: et *B.* [2] aequusue $\bar{r}$: aequusque *B.*
[3] et $\bar{r}$: *om. B.* [4] plurimum $\bar{r}$: *om. B.*
[5] damni *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : amissum $B\bar{r}$.

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[1] Livy does not commit himself with regard to this battle. For the contradictory accounts of it, cf. xlvii. 6–9 with xlix. 7–12 below.

[2] A native divinity identified with Artemis or with Cybele.

charged them over familiar paths and sometimes laid B.C. 188
ambushes for them in low-lying valleys. Even the loads and the wagons, inconveniently placed for one side or the other, as chance determined, hindered the fighters. Here the plunderer fell, there the defender of the plunder. Just as the terrain was unfavourable or favourable for one party or the other, just as the spirits of the fighters varied, just as their numbers—for some met parties larger than their own and others smaller—just so the fortune of the battle changed; many fell on both sides. Night was now at hand when the Thracians retired from the fight, not to avoid wounds or death, but because they had enough of spoils.[1]

XLI. The head of the Roman column encamped outside the defile near the temple of Bendis [2] on open ground; the rest remained within the defile to guard the trains, sheltered by a double rampart. The following day, having reconnoitred the defile before they moved, they joined the van. In this battle there was a loss both of baggage and of camp-followers and a considerable number of soldiers had fallen, since there was fighting everywhere along the whole defile, but the most serious blow received was the death of Quintus Minucius Thermus, a man of courage and energy.[3] That day they reached the Hebrus river. Then they crossed the frontiers of the Aenians near the temple of Apollo, whom the natives call Zerynthius. Another pass confronted them near Tempyra—this is the name of the place—not less rough than the former; but, because there is no wooded country around it, it does not furnish

[3] He had been consul in 193 B.C. and was one of the ten commissioners.

6 latebras quidem ad insidiandum praebent. Huc[1] ad eandem spem praedae Thrausi, gens et ipsa Thraecum, convenere; sed, quia nudae valles procul ut[2] conspicerentur angustias obsidentes efficiebant, minus terroris tumultusque fuit apud Romanos; quippe etsi iniquo loco, proelio tamen iusto, acie 7 aperta, signis collatis dimicandum erat. Conferti subeunt et cum clamore impetu facto primum expulere loco hostes, deinde avertere; fuga inde caedesque suis ipsos impedientibus angustiis fieri 8 coepta est. Romani victores ad vicum Maronitarum—Salen appellant—posuerunt castra.[3] Postero die patenti itinere Priaticus campus eos excepit, triduumque ibi frumentum accipientes manserunt, partem ex agris Maronitarum, conferentibus ipsis, partem ex navibus suis, quae cum 9 omnis generis commeatu sequebantur. Ab stativis 10 diei via Apolloniam fuit. Hinc per Abderitarum agrum Neapolim perventum est. Hoc omne per Graecorum colonias pacatum iter fuit; reliquum inde per medios Thraecas dies noctesque, etsi non infestum, tamen suspectum, donec in Macedoniam 11 pervenerunt. Mitiores Thraecas idem exercitus, cum a Scipione eadem via duceretur, habuerat, nullam ob aliam causam quam quod praedae minus 12 quod peteretur fuerat: quamquam tunc quoque Claudius auctor est ad quindecim milia Thraecum

[1] huc $\bar{r}$: hoc *B.*
[2] ut $\bar{r}$: *om. B.*
[3] posuerunt castra $\bar{r}$: *om. B.*

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[1] The modern Cavalla.
[2] Philip received the credit for this in XXXVII. vii. 16.

even hiding-places for ambuscades. The Thrausi, B.C. 188
these too being Thracians, assembled here with the same hope of plunder; but, since the exposed valleys brought it about that those who blocked the pass could be seen from afar, there was less consternation and confusion among the Romans; indeed, although on uneven ground, there was none the less a pitched battle to be fought, a regular engagement with battle-lines open to view. They moved forward in close array, and charging with a shout they first dislodged the enemy and then broke their line; then flight and slaughter began to take place, since the enemy were entangled in the narrow pass which they had themselves selected. The victorious Romans encamped near a village of the Maroneans—they call it Salê. The next day, marching in open country, the Priatic plain received them, and they spent three days there collecting grain, partly from the fields of the Maroneans, brought in by the people themselves, partly from their own ships, which were following with all manner of supplies. From this station it was a day's march to Apollonia. Thence they came through the country of the Abderites to Neapolis.[1] All this journey was peaceful, amid the colonies of Greeks; the rest from there on, through the midst of the Thracians, while not dangerous, yet required vigilance by day and night until they arrived in Macedonia. The same army, led over the same route by Scipio, had found the Thracians more peacefully inclined, for no other reason than that there was less of booty to be sought;[2] and yet Claudius[3] asserts that even then about fifteen thousand Thracians en-

[3] Perhaps Livy had not read the account of Claudius when he wrote XXXVII. vii. 16 and xxxiii.

praecedenti ad exploranda loca agmen Muttini Numidae occurrisse. Quadringentos equites fuisse 13 Numidas, paucos elephantos; Muttinis filium per medios hostes cum centum quinquaginta [1] delectis equitibus [2] perrupisse; eundem mox, cum iam Muttines in medio elephantis locatis, in cornua equitibus dispositis manum cum hoste conseruisset, 14 terrorem ab tergo praebuisse, atque inde turbatos equestri velut procella hostes ad peditum agmen non 15 accessisse. Cn. Manlius per Macedoniam in Thessaliam exercitum traduxit. Inde per Epirum Apolloniam cum pervenisset, nondum adeo hiberno contempto mari ut traicere auderet, Apolloniae hibernavit.

XLII. Exitu prope anni M. Valerius consul ex Liguribus ad magistratus subrogandos Romam venit nulla memorabili in provincia gesta re, ut ea probabilis morae causa esset quod solito serius ad comitia 2 venisset. Comitia consulibus rogandis fuerunt a. d.[3] XII. Kal. Martias; creati M. Aemilius Lepidus C. 3 Flaminius. Postero die praetores facti Ap. Claudius 4 Pulcher Ser. Sulpicius Galba Q. Terentius Culleo L. Terentius Massiliota Q. Fulvius Flaccus M. 5 Furius Crassipes. Comitiis perfectis [4] quas provincias praetoribus esse placeret retulit ad senatum consul. Decreverunt duas Romae iuris dicendi

[1] quinquaginta $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B.*
[2] equitibus *edd. vett.*: peditibus $B\bar{\gamma}$.
[3] diem $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B.*
[4] perfectis $\bar{\gamma}$: persecutis *B.*

countered Muttines the Numidian who was preceding the column to reconnoitre. He says that there were four hundred Numidian cavalry with a few elephants; that the son of Muttines with a hundred and fifty picked troopers broke through the centre of the enemy; and that a little later, when Muttines, having placed the elephants in the centre and stationed the cavalry on the flanks, had closed with the enemy, this same son had caused panic by an attack in the rear, and that the enemy, thrown into confusion by this cavalry-storm, so to speak, had not reached the column of the infantry. Gnaeus Manlius led the army through Macedonia into Thrace. When he had proceeded from there through Epirus to Apollonia, not yet holding the wintry sea in such light esteem that he dared to cross it, he passed the winter in Apollonia. B.C. 188

XLII. At almost the end of this year the consul Marcus Valerius came from the Ligurians to Rome to hold the elections of magistrates, having done nothing in the province so worthy of note that it could be a plausible reason for delay, to cause him to arrive later than usual for the elections. The election of consuls took place on the twelfth day before the Kalends of March; the successful candidates were Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Gaius Flaminius. The next day the praetors were chosen, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Servius Sulpicius Galba, Quintus Terentius Culleo, Lucius Terentius Massiliota, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Furius Crassipes. Having finished the elections, the consul referred to the senate the question as to which provinces they desired to assign to the praetors. They decreed that two should be stationed in Rome to

c. 6 causa, duas extra Italiam, Siciliam ac Sardiniam, duas
6 in Italia, Tarentum et Galliam; et extemplo, priusquam inirent magistratum, sortiri iussi. Ser. Sulpicius urbanam, Q. Terentius peregrinam est sortitus, L. Terentius Siciliam, Q. Fulvius Sardiniam, Ap. Claudius Tarentum, M. Furius Galliam.

7 Eo anno L. Minucius Myrtilus et L. Manlius, quod legatos Carthaginienses pulsasse dicebantur, iussu M. Claudii praetoris urbani[1] per fetiales traditi sunt legatis et Carthaginem avecti.

c. 7 8 In Liguribus magni belli et gliscentis in dies magis fama erat. Itaque consulibus novis, quo die de provinciis et de re publica retulerunt, senatus
9 utrisque Ligures provinciam decrevit. Huic senatus consulto Lepidus consul intercedebat, indignum esse praedicans consules ambos in valles Ligurum includi,
10 M. Fulvium et Cn. Manlium biennium iam, alterum in Europa, alterum in Asia, velut pro Philippo atque Antiocho substitutos regnare. Si exercitus in his terris esse placeat, consules iis potius quam privatos
11 praeesse oportere. Vagari eos cum belli terrore per nationes, quibus bellum indictum non sit, pacem

[1] urbani ϝ : urbis *B*.

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[1] The whole procedure is irregular, probably because the elections were held less than a month before the inauguration.

[2] Claudius probably acted under instructions from the senate. Valerius Maximus (VI. vi. 3), who cites this incident as an example of *publica fides*, dates it a year later.

[3] Lepidus raises an important constitutional question, not to be easily answered, whether a magistrate could hold his *imperium* indefinitely, *i.e.* until he was relieved. The *imperium* of Fulvius and Manlius had been prorogued for one year (xxxv. 3 above), and this period was now at an end. Another question which he raises is whether a proconsul

administer justice, two outside Italy, in Sicily and Sardinia, and two in Italy, at Tarentum and in Gaul;[1] and they were ordered to cast lots at once, before they were inaugurated. Servius Sulpicius received the civil jurisdiction, Quintus Terentius that between citizens and aliens, Lucius Terentius Sicily, Quintus Fulvius Sardinia, Appius Claudius Tarentum, Marcus Furius Gaul. B.C. 188

In that year Lucius Minucius Myrtilus and Lucius Manlius, because they were said to have beaten Carthaginian ambassadors, by order of Marcus Claudius, the city praetor, were delivered by the fetials to ambassadors and taken to Carthage.[2]

There was the rumour of a great war, growing more dangerous every day, among the Ligurians. So, on the day when the new consuls laid before the senate the question of the provinces and the general policy, the senate decreed to both consuls the Ligurians as their province. To this decree of the senate the consul Lepidus objected, declaring that it was improper that both the consuls should be shut up in the valleys of the Ligurians while Marcus Fulvius and Gnaeus Manlius for two years now, the one in Europe, the other in Asia, were lording it as if they were the successors to Philip and Antiochus. If it were the senate's pleasure that there should be armies in those lands, consuls rather than private citizens[3] should command them. These men were wandering about, carrying the threat of war to nations upon whom no war had been declared, selling peace for a B.C. 187

was technically a *privatus* in the sense that Scipio, for example, was *privatus cum imperio* in Spain. Unfortunately, Lepidus is too much influenced by his feud with Fulvius to be a good witness on either point.

pretio venditantes. Si eas provincias exercitibus obtinere opus esset, sicut M'. Acilio L. Scipio consul, L. Scipioni M. Fulvius et Cn. Manlius successissent
12 consules, ita Fulvio Manlioque C. Livium et M. Valerium consules debuisse succedere. Nunc certe, perfecto Aetolico bello, recepta ab Antiocho Asia, devictis Gallis, aut consules ad exercitus consulares mitti aut reportari legiones inde reddique tandem rei
13 publicae debere. Senatus his auditis in sententia perseveravit ut consulibus ambobus Ligures provincia esset: Manlium Fulviumque decedere de provinciis et exercitus inde deducere [1] ac redire Romam placuit.

XLIII. Inimicitiae inter M. Fulvium et M. Aemilium consulem erant, et super cetera Aemilius serius biennio se consulem factum M. Fulvii opera
2 ducebat. Itaque ad invidiam ei faciendam legatos Ambracienses in senatum subornatos criminibus introduxit, qui sibi, cum in pace essent imperataque prioribus consulibus fecissent et eadem oboedienter
3 praestare M. Fulvio parati essent, bellum illatum questi, agros primum [2] depopulatos, terrorem direp-

[1] de—deducere $\bar{r}$: *om. B.* [2] primum $\bar{r}$: *om. B.*

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[1] Manlius, rather than Fulvius, was guilty of this conduct, and the narrative of the Galatian campaign (xii–xxvii above; see also the notes, *passim*) gives altogether too much support to these charges. They were elaborated by Furius and Aemilius Paulus in chaps. xlv–xlvi below.

[2] Fulvius had presided at the election of his own colleague in the peculiar election for 189 B.C. (XXXVII. xlvii. 7) and at the election for 188 B.C. (xxxv. 1 above), and on both

price.[1] If it was necessary, he continued, to hold B.C. 18
these provinces with troops, just as the consul Lucius Scipio had succeeded Manius Acilius and had in turn been superseded by the consuls Marcus Fulvius and Gnaeus Manlius, so Fulvius and Manlius should have been replaced by the consuls Gaius Livius and Marcus Valerius. Now, at any rate, when the Aetolian war was finished, when Asia was rescued from Antiochus, when the Gauls were conquered, either consuls should be sent to command consular armies or the legions should be recalled from there and at length restored to the state. After hearing this the senate persisted in its decision that both consuls should have the Ligurians as their province; it was voted that Manlius and Fulvius should retire from their provinces and withdraw their armies from them and return to Rome.

XLIII. There was a feud between Marcus Fulvius and the consul Marcus Aemilius, and, in addition to everything else, Aemilius considered that it was due to the efforts of Marcus Fulvius that he himself had reached the consulship two years late.[2] Therefore, with a view to making Fulvius unpopular, he introduced to the senate ambassadors of the Ambraciots, previously coached as to their charges, who were to complain that, while they were at peace and had performed the orders of the previous consuls and were ready to render the same obedience to Marcus Fulvius, war had been declared on them, and first their fields had been laid waste and fear of plunder

occasions Aemilius was defeated. He had then some reason for blaming Fulvius particularly for his failures. However, the interval between his praetorship (191 B.C.) and his consulship was not unusually long for this period.

tionis et caedis urbi iectum, ut eo metu claudere
4 cogerentur portas; obsessos deinde et oppugnatos se
et omnia exempla belli edita [1] in se caedibus incendiis
ruinis direptione urbis, coniuges liberos in servitium
5 abstractos, bona adempta, et, quod se ante omnia
moveat, templa tota urbe spoliata ornamentis; simu-
lacra deum, deos immo ipsos, convulsos ex sedibus suis
ablatos esse; parietes postesque nudatos quos ado-
rent, ad quos precentur et supplicent, Ambraciensi-
6 bus superesse: haec querentes interrogando criminose
ex composito consul ad plura velut non sua sponte
7 dicenda eliciebat. Motis patribus alter consul C.
Flaminius M. Fulvii causam excepit, qui veterem
8 viam et obsoletam ingressos Ambracienses dixit; sic
M. Marcellum ab Syracusanis, sic Q. Fulvium a
Campanis accusatos. Quin eadem opera T. Quinc-
tium a Philippo rege, M'. Acilium et L. Scipionem
ab Antiocho, Cn. Manlium a Gallis, ipsum M.
Fulvium ab Aetolis et Cephallaniae populis accusari
9 paterentur? "Ambraciam oppugnatam et cap-
tam et signa inde ornamentaque ablata et cetera
facta quae captis urbibus soleant, negaturum aut
me pro M. Fulvio aut ipsum M. Fulvium censetis,
10 patres conscripti, qui ob has res gestas [2] triumphum

[1] edita *ed. Parisina* 1513 : habita $B\sigma$.
[2] res gestas σ : gestas res *B*.

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[1] Cf. XXVI. xxx. 12.

and slaughter held before the city, so that they were B.C. 18
compelled by that fear to close their gates; that then they were beleaguered and besieged and that every form of war had been waged against them—slaughter, fires, destruction, plunder of the city; that their wives and children had been carried off into slavery, their property taken from them, and, what disturbed them most of all, the temples throughout the city had been stripped of their ornaments; the images of the gods, or rather the gods themselves, had been torn from their seats and carried away; bare walls and door-posts, they said, had been left to the Ambracians to adore, to pray to, and to supplicate: as they made these complaints the consul, asking leading questions as they had agreed, drew them on, as if against their will, to say even more. When the Fathers were aroused, the other consul, Gaius Flaminius, took up the cause of Marcus Fulvius, saying that the Ambraciots were following an old and long-abandoned path; thus Marcus Marcellus had been accused by the Syracusans, thus Quintus Fulvius by the Campanians.[1] Nay, would they permit similar accusations to be brought against Titus Quinctius by King Philip, against Manius Acilius and Lucius Scipio by Antiochus, against Gnaeus Manlius by the Gauls and even against Marcus Fulvius by the Aetolians and the peoples of Cephallania? "That Ambracia was besieged and captured and that its statues and works of art were removed from there and that other things were done which are usually done when cities are captured, do you think that either I on behalf of Marcus Fulvius or Marcus Fulvius on his own behalf will deny, conscript Fathers, since for these achievements he will

c. 7 a vobis postulaturus sit,[1] Ambraciam captam signaque quae ablata criminantur, et cetera spolia eius urbis ante currum laturus et fixurus in postibus suis? 11 Nihil est quod se ab Aetolis separent; eadem Ambra- 12 ciensium et Aetolorum causa est. Itaque collega meus vel in alia causa inimicitias exerceat vel, si in hac utique [2] mavult, retineat Ambracienses suos in 13 adventum M. Fulvii; ego nec de Ambraciensibus [3] nec de Aetolis decerni quicquam absente M. Fulvio patiar."

XLIV. Cum Aemilius callidam malitiam inimici velut notam omnibus insimularet et tempus eum morando extracturum diceret, ne consule inimico Romam veniret, certamine consulum biduum ab- 2 sumptum [4] est; nec praesente Flaminio decerni quic- 3 quam videbatur posse. Captata occasio est, cum aeger forte Flaminius abesset, et referente Aemilio 4 senatus consultum factum est ut Ambraciensibus suae res omnes redderentur; in libertate essent ac legibus suis uterentur; portoria quae [5] vellent terra marique caperent, dum eorum immunes Romani 5 ac socii nominis Latini essent; signa aliaque ornamenta, quae quererentur ex aedibus sacris sublata esse, de iis, cum M. Fulvius Romam revertisset, placere ad collegium pontificum referri, et quod ii cen- 6 suissent fieri. Neque his contentus consul fuit, sed

[1] postulaturus sit $\bar{\gamma}$: postulet *B*.
[2] utique $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B*.
[3] ambraciensibus $\bar{\gamma}$: ambracienses *B*.
[4] absumptum $\bar{\gamma}$: assumptum *B*.
[5] portoria quae *ed. Parisina* 1513 : portari ea quae $B\bar{\gamma}$.

[1] *i.e.* a representation of the captured city.

claim from you a triumph, the captured Ambracia[1] B.C. 1
and the statues which they accuse him of removing and the other spoils of that city will be carried before his chariot and fixed to his door-posts? There is no respect in which they can separate themselves from the Aetolians; the situation of Ambraciots and Aetolians is identical. Let my colleague, then, either expend his malice in some other case or, if he prefers to do so in this matter especially, let him keep his Ambraciots here until the arrival of Marcus Fulvius; I shall permit no decree to be passed concerning either the Ambraciots or the Aetolians in the absence of Marcus Fulvius."

XLIV. While Aemilius was thus assailing the shrewd hostility of his enemy as if known to all, and was claiming that Fulvius would drag out the time by delaying, that he might not come to Rome while his foe was consul, two days were wasted by the bickering of the consuls; and it seemed that no decree could be passed while Flaminius was present. Aemilius took advantage of an opportunity when Flaminius was kept away by illness, and on his motion the senate passed a decree that the Ambraciots should recover all their property; that they should be free and should enjoy their own laws; that they should collect port duties at their pleasure, by land and sea, provided that the Romans and the allies of the Latin confederacy should be exempt from paying them; that as to the statues and other works of art which they complained had been taken from their sacred shrines, when Marcus Fulvius had returned to Rome, the question concerning them should be referred to the college of pontiffs, and that whatever they should have ordered should be done. The consul was not

postea per infrequentiam adiecit senatus consultum, Ambraciam vi captam esse non videri.

7 Supplicatio inde ex decemvirorum decreto pro valetudine populi per triduum fuit, quia gravis pesti-
8 lentia urbem atque agros vastabat. Latinae inde fuerunt. Quibus religionibus liberati consules et dilectu perfecto—novis enim uterque maluit uti militibus—in provinciam profecti sunt, veteresque omnes dimiserunt.

9 Post consulum profectionem Cn. Manlius proconsul Romam venit; cui cum ab Ser. Sulpicio prae-
10 tore senatus ad aedem Bellonae datus esset, et ipse commemoratis rebus ab se gestis postulasset ut ob eas diis immortalibus honos haberetur sibique tri-
11 umphanti urbem invehi liceret, contradixerunt pars maior decem legatorum qui cum eo fuerant, et ante alios L. Furius Purpurio et L. Aemilius Paulus.

XLV. Legatos sese Cn. Manlio datos pacis cum Antiocho faciendae causa foederisque legum quae cum L. Scipione inchoatae fuissent perficiendarum.
2 Cn. Manlium summa ope tetendisse ut eam pacem turbaret, et Antiochum, si sui potestatem fecisset, insidiis exciperet; sed illum cognita fraude consulis, cum saepe colloquiis petitis captatus esset, non

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[1] This last charge has some substantiation (cf. ix. 9 above), and one wonders why it was not pressed. Cato emphasized it in his attacks on Fulvius (Gellius, V. vi. 25; Meyer, pp. 52–53). If it was true, the action of Fulvius was illegal.

[2] The commissioners could have had relations with Manlius only because he had succeeded to the tasks left unfinished by Scipio. According to xxxvii. 11 above they did not reach Asia until after the Galatian campaign was concluded, and they could have had no military duties as *legati* except on the return, although Manlius speaks of them as eye-witnesses of his victory (xlvii. 4 below).

satisfied with this, but later, in a sparsely attended meeting, added a decree of the senate, to the effect that it did not appear that Ambracia had been captured by force.[1] B.C. 187

Then a three-day period of prayer was proclaimed in accordance with a decree of the decemvirs for the health of the people, because a severe pestilence was wasting the City and the country districts. Next the Latin Festival was held. The consuls, released by these ceremonies and having finished the levy—for each of them preferred to employ new soldiers—departed to the province and discharged all the veterans.

After the departure of the consuls, Gnaeus Manlius the proconsul arrived in Rome; when an audience before the senate in the temple of Bellona had been granted him by the praetor Servius Sulpicius and he, after relating his exploits, had demanded that on account of them honour should be paid to the immortal gods and that he should be permitted to ride into the City in triumph, the majority of the ten commissioners who had been with him opposed it, and, beyond the rest, Lucius Furius Purpurio and Lucius Aemilius Paulus.

XLV. They said that the commissioners had been assigned to Gnaeus Manlius[2] for the purpose of making peace with Antiochus and of putting into final form the terms of the treaty which had been initiated by Lucius Scipio. Gnaeus Manlius, they said, had striven with all his might to break the peace and to take Antiochus by treachery, if the king should have given him any opportunity to do so; but he, being aware of the deceitfulness of the consul, although often approached with requests for conferences, had

congressum modo sed conspectum etiam eius
3 vitasse. Cupientem transire Taurum aegre omnium
legatorum precibus, ne carminibus Sibyllae prae-
dictam superantibus terminos fatales cladem experiri
vellet, retentum admosse tamen exercitum et prope
in ipsis[1] iugis ad divortia aquarum castra posuisse.
4 Cum ibi nullam belli causam inveniret quiescentibus
regiis, circumegisse[2] exercitum ad Gallograecos;
5 cui nationi non ex senatus auctoritate, non populi
iussu[3] bellum illatum. Quod quem umquam de sua
sententia facere[4] ausum? Antiochi Philippi Hanni-
6 balis et Poenorum recentissima bella esse; de omni-
bus his consultum senatum, populum iussisse,[5] per[6]
legatos ante res repetitas, postremo qui bellum indi-
7 cerent, missos. "Quid[7] eorum, Cn. Manli, factum est,
ut istud publicum populi Romani bellum et non tuum
8 privatum latrocinium ducamus? At eo[8] ipso conten-
tus fuisti, recto itinere exercitum duxisti ad eos, quos
9 tibi hostes desumpseras; an per omnes amfractus
viarum, cum ad bivia[9] consisteres ut, quo flexisset

[1] in ipsis *Madvig*: ipsis $B\bar{\sigma}$.
[2] circumegisse $\bar{\sigma}$: circumiecisse *B*.
[3] iussu $\bar{\sigma}$: iussum *B*.
[4] facere $\bar{\sigma}$: *om. B*.
[5] iussisse $\bar{\sigma}$: fuisse *B*.
[6] per *Madvig*: saepe $B\bar{\sigma}$.
[7] quid $\bar{\sigma}$: quod *B*.
[8] at eo *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: adeo $B\bar{\sigma}$.
[9] ad bivia *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: auia *B*: uia $\bar{\sigma}$.

[1] There seems to be no basis for either charge in the preceding narrative of Livy, but this may be due to his selection of sources.

[2] This may explain the rather aimless invasion of Pamphylia mentioned in xv. 5–6 above.

avoided, not merely a meeting with him, but even the B.C. 187
sight of him.[1] Manlius, they said, when he desired to cross the Taurus,[2] had with difficulty been held back by the pleas of all his lieutenants from trying to test the prediction of ruin found in the verses of the Sibyl[3] for those who crossed the fateful boundaries, but, none the less, had moved up the army and encamped near by on the very crest at the parting of the waters. Finding no pretext for war there, the king's forces remaining passive, he led the army around against the Galatians, a people against whom war had not been declared by the authority of the senate or the vote of the assembly.[4] Who, they asked, had ever ventured to do this on his own motion? The most recent wars were those with Antiochus, Philip, Hannibal and the Carthaginians; in all these cases the senate had passed decrees, the assembly had voted, restitution had previously been demanded by ambassadors, finally, delegates had been sent to declare war.[5] "Which of these things was done, Gnaeus Manlius, so that we can consider this a public war of the Roman people and not a private piratical expedition of your own? Were you even content with that and did you lead your army directly against those whom you had picked out to be your enemies? Or, moving by all the roundabout ways, stopping at

[3] There seems to be no other allusion to this prophecy, but there may have been many such oracles in independent circulation and attributed to the Sibyl to increase their authority.

[4] The senate had foreseen the probability of a war with the Gauls (XXXVII. li. 10), but there is no record of a formal declaration of war or of the performance of the ceremonial acts mentioned in sect. 6 below.

[5] The speaker is describing the formal fetial procedure.

c.c. 67 agmen Attalus, Eumenis frater, eo consul mercennarius cum exercitu Romano sequereris, Pisidiae Lycaoniaeque et Phrygiae recessus omnes atque angulos peragrasti, stipem ab tyrannis castellanisque deviis colligens? Quid enim tibi cum Oroandis? Quid cum aliis aeque innoxiis populis?

10 "Bellum autem ipsum, cuius nomine triumphum
11 petis, quo modo gessisti? Loco aequo, tempore tuo pugnasti? Tu vero recte ut diis immortalibus honos habeatur postulas, primum quod pro temeritate imperatoris, nullo gentium iure bellum inferentis, poenas luere exercitum noluerunt; deinde quod beluas, non hostes nobis obiecerunt.

XLVI. "Nolite nomen tantum existimare mixtum[1] esse Gallograecorum: multo ante et corpora
2 et animi mixti ac vitiati sunt. An si illi Galli essent, cum[2] quibus miliens vario eventu in Italia pugnatum est, quantum in imperatore nostro fuit,
3 nuntius illinc[3] redisset?[4] Bis cum iis pugnatum est, bis loco iniquo subiit, in valle inferiore pedibus paene hostium aciem subiecit. Ut non tela ex superiore loco mitterent, sed corpora sua nuda
4 inicerent, obruere nos[5] potuerunt. Quid igitur incidit?[6] Magna fortuna populi Romani est, magnum et terribile nomen. Recenti ruina Hannibalis

[1] mixtum $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B.*
[2] cum $\bar{\gamma}$: *om. B.*
[3] nuntius illinc $\bar{\gamma}$: *om., spat. rel., B.*
[4] redisset $\bar{\gamma}$: credidisset *B.*
[5] nos $\bar{\gamma}$: non *B.*
[6] incidit $\bar{\gamma}$: inci (*sic*) *B, post quod uocabulum subsidio huius codicis omnino caremus.*

every cross-road, that, wherever Attalus, the brother B.C. 187
of Eumenes, turned his course, there you, a money-seeking consul, might follow with a Roman army, did you travel over all the nooks and corners of Pisidia and Lycaonia and Phrygia, exacting tribute from tyrants and commanders of out-of-the-way fortresses? What business did *you* have with the people of Oroanda? What with other equally innocent peoples?

"But the war proper, on account of which you ask a triumph, how did you conduct it? Did you fight on favourable ground, at a time selected by you? Rightly in truth do you demand that honour be paid to the immortal gods, first, because they refused to exact the penalty from the army for the rashness of the commander, who was waging war under no law of nations; second, because they confronted us with dumb animals, not enemies.

XLVI. "Do not think that only the name of the Gallogrecians is a mixture; long since both their bodies and their minds have been mixed and corrupted. Or if they were Gauls, with whom we have fought a thousand times in Italy with varying results, so far as the issue depended on our commander, would even a messenger have come back from there? Twice he engaged in battle with them, twice he attacked over unfavourable ground and placed his battle-line in a valley below the enemy and almost at their feet. Without hurling a weapon from their higher position, and merely flinging their naked bodies down, they could have overwhelmed us. What happened then? Great is the fortune of the Roman people, great and terrible is its name. By the recent overthrow of Hannibal, Philip, Antiochus,

Philippi Antiochi prope attoniti[1] erant. Tantae corporum moles fundis sagittisque in fugam consternatae sunt; gladius in acie cruentatus non est Gallico bello; velut avium examina ad crepitum primum missilium avolavere. At hercule iidem nos—monente fortuna quid, si hostem habuissemus, casurum fuisset—cum redeuntes in latrunculos Thraecas incidissemus, caesi, fugati, exuti impedimentis sumus. Q. Minucius Thermus, in quo haud paulo plus damni factum est quam si Cn. Manlius, cuius temeritate ea clades inciderat, perisset, cum multis viris fortibus cecidit; exercitus spolia regis Antiochi referens trifariam dissipatus, alibi primum, alibi postremum agmen, alibi impedimenta, inter vepres in latebris ferarum noctem unam delituit. Pro his triumphus petitur? Si nihil in Thraecia cladis ignominiaeque foret acceptum, de quibus hostibus triumphum peteres? De iis, ut opinor, quos tibi hostes senatus aut populus Romanus dedisset. Sic huic L. Scipioni, sic illi M'. Acilio de rege Antiocho, sic paulo ante T. Quinctio de rege Philippo, sic P. Africano de Hannibale et Poenis et Syphace triumphus datus. Et minima illa, cum iam senatus censuisset bellum,[2] quaesita tamen sunt, quibus nuntiandum esset: ipsis utique regibus nuntiaretur, an satis esset ad praesidium aliquod nuntiari? Vultis ergo

[1] attoniti $\bar{r}$: attonitae *M*.
[2] bellum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: bella $\bar{r}$.

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[1] The speaker contrasts the scrupulous care devoted to the fetial ritual, even in recent times (cf. XXXVI. iii. 9), with the omission thereof in this instance, since there had been no formal declaration of war.

they were well-nigh thunderstruck. Bodies of such B.C. 187
huge size were thrown into panic by sling-bullets and arrows; no sword was made bloody in combat in the Gallic war; like flocks of birds they flew away at the first whizzing of the missiles. But, by Hercules, we, the same Romans—Fortune reminding us what would have happened if we had had an enemy —when on our return we had fallen in with the Thracian brigands, were slaughtered, put to flight, robbed of our baggage. Quintus Minucius Thermus, in whose death we suffered a far greater loss than if Gnaeus Manlius, through whose rashness this defeat had come about, had fallen, was killed along with many brave men; the army which was bringing back the spoils of King Antiochus, scattered in three sections, the van in one place, the rear in another, the trains in a third, spent one night skulking in the lairs of beasts among the thickets. For such deeds is a triumph sought? If there had been no calamity and disgrace suffered in Thrace, over what foes would you seek a triumph? Over those, I suppose, whom the senate or the Roman people had assigned to you as enemies. This is how triumphs were granted to Lucius Scipio here and Manius Acilius yonder over King Antiochus, to Titus Quinctius not long ago over King Philip, to Publius Africanus over Hannibal and the Carthaginians and Syphax. And even after the senate had already voted for the war, the most unimportant matters none the less were inquired into to determine to whom it should be announced: should the declaration be given in any case to the kings themselves, or was it sufficient that the declaration be delivered at some military post?[1] Do you wish all these formalities to be violated and

haec omnia pollui et confundi, tolli fetialia iura,
12 nullos esse fetiales? Fiat, pace deum dixerim,
iactura religionis: oblivio deorum capiat pectora
vestra; num senatum quoque de bello consuli non
13 placet? Non ad populum ferri velint iubeantne cum
14 Gallis bellum geri? Modo certe consules Graeciam
atque Asiam volebant; tamen perseverantibus
vobis Ligures provinciam decernere dicto audientes
15 fuerunt. Merito ergo a vobis prospere bello gesto
triumphum petent, quibus auctoribus gesserunt."

XLVII. Talis oratio Furii et Aemilii fuit. Manlium in hunc maxime modum respondisse accepi: "Tribuni plebis antea solebant triumphum postu-
2 lantibus adversari, patres conscripti; quibus ego gratiam habeo quod seu mihi seu magnitudini rerum gestarum hoc dederunt, ut non solum silentio comprobarent honorem meum, sed referre etiam si opus
3 esset viderentur parati esse;[1] ex decem legatis, si diis placet, quod consilium dispensandae cohonestandaeque[2] victoriae imperatoribus maiores dederunt
4 nostri, adversarios habeo. L. Furius et L. Aemilius currum triumphalem me conscendere prohibent, coronam insignem capiti detrahunt, quos ego, si tribuni triumphare me prohiberent, testes citaturus
5 fui rerum a me gestarum. Nullius equidem invideo honori, patres conscripti;[3] vos[4] tribunos plebei

[1] esset vid. par. esse *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: esse uid. par. essent F.

[2] cohonestandaeque *edd. vett.*: honestandaeque F.

[3] patres conscripti (p. c.) *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* F.

[4] uos F: post *M*.

[1] Livy may have used a speech by one or the other of the two—there is no way to determine which—as the basis for his version of the dispute.

thrown into confusion, the fetial laws to be done away with and the fetials themselves abolished? Let there be (may I speak without offence to the gods) neglect of religious observances, let forgetfulness of the gods take possession of your hearts—is it your will that the senate should not be consulted about war? Or the motion put to the people whether they 'wish and order' war to be waged with the Gauls? Not long ago the consuls certainly wished for Greece and Asia; yet when you persisted in decreeing them the Ligurians as their province they obeyed. Justly, therefore, when they have waged successful war, will they ask a triumph from you by whose authority they have waged it." B.C. 187

XLVII. Such was the argument of Furius and Aemilius.[1] Manlius, I have heard, replied in about the following manner: "It was formerly the custom, conscript Fathers, that tribunes of the people should oppose candidates for triumphs; in this case I am grateful to them because they have conceded this much, whether to me or to the greatness of my achievements—that they do not merely by their silence approve my distinction but even seem ready to propose it if necessary; it is among the ten commissioners (heaven help us!), a council which our ancestors created for awarding victory and its honours to commanders, that I find my opponents. Lucius Furius and Lucius Aemilius forbid me to mount the triumphal car, they strip the garland of victory from my head, these men whom, if the tribunes were obstructing my triumph, I should have summoned as witnesses to what I have done. For my part, conscript Fathers, I grudge no man his distinction; when the tribunes of the people, brave

nuper, viros fortes ac strenuos, impedientes Q. Fabii Labeonis triumphum auctoritate vestra deterruistis; triumphavit, quem non bellum iniustum
6 gessisse, sed hostem omnino non vidisse inimici iactabant: ego, qui cum centum milibus ferocissimorum hostium signis collatis totiens pugnavi, qui plus quadraginta milia hominum cepi aut occidi, qui bina castra eorum expugnavi, qui citra iuga Tauri omnia pacatiora quam terra Italia est reliqui, non
7 triumpho modo fraudor, sed causam apud vos, patres conscripti, accusantibus meis ipse legatis dico.
8 Duplex eorum, ut animadvertistis, patres conscripti, accusatio fuit: nam nec gerendum mihi fuisse bellum cum Gallis, et gestum temere atque imprudenter dixerunt. 'Non erant Galli hostes, sed tu eos pa-
9 catos imperata facientes violasti.' Non sum postulaturus a vobis, patres conscripti, ut quae communiter de immanitate gentis Gallorum, de infestissimo odio in nomen Romanum scitis, ea de illis quoque qui Asiam incolunt existimetis Gallis;
10 remota universae gentis infamia atque invidia per se ipsos aestimate. Utinam rex Eumenes, utinam Asiae omnes civitates adessent, et illos potius
11 querentes quam me accusantem audiretis. Mittite agedum legatos circa omnes Asiae [1] urbes et quaerite, utra graviori servitute, Antiocho ultra Tauri iuga

[1] omnes Asiae *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: asiam ad omnes ς.

[1] In XXXVII. lx. 6 Livy quoted Valerius Antias as the authority for this triumph and seemed to have no other information about it.

and energetic men, not long ago were opposing the B.C. 187
triumph of Quintus Fabius Labeo,[1] you checked them by your authority; he triumphed, although his enemies circulated the story, not that he had waged an illegal war, but that he had not set eyes on an enemy at all;[2] I who have so often fought with a hundred thousand of the fiercest enemies, who captured or killed more than forty thousand men, who took two of their camps, who left everything on this side of the ridges of Taurus more peaceful than is the land of Italy, am not only cheated out of my triumph but am pleading my case before you, conscript Fathers, with my own lieutenants as my accusers! Their charge, as you have observed, conscript Fathers, is twofold: for they said that I should not have waged war with the Gauls and that the war was conducted rashly and heedlessly. 'The Gauls,' they say, 'were not enemies, but you attacked them while they were peaceful and obedient to our orders.' I shall not ask you, conscript Fathers, to believe about those Gauls also who dwell in Asia what you know in general about the barbarous character of the people of the Gauls and their most deadly hatred of the name of Rome; setting aside the ill repute and ill fame of the race as a whole, judge them by themselves. Would that King Eumenes were here, would that all the cities of Asia were here, and that you could hear them complaining of rather than me accusing the Gauls. Come, send ambassadors around all the cities of Asia and ask them whether they were freed from a more grievous slavery when Antiochus was expelled beyond the

[2] In XL. xxxviii. 9 the consuls of 181 B.C. are said to have been the first to triumph without having done any fighting.

r.c. 12 emoto [1] an Gallis subactis, liberati sint. Quotiens
67 agri eorum vastati sint, quotiens praedae abactae,
referant,[2] cum vix redimendi captivos copia esset,
et mactatas humanas hostias immolatosque liberos
13 suos audirent. Stipendium scitote pependisse socios
vestros Gallis et nunc, liberatos per vos regio imperio,
fuisse pensuros, si a me foret cessatum.

XLVIII. "Quo longius Antiochus emotus esset,
hoc impotentius in Asia Galli dominarentur et,
quidquid est terrarum citra Tauri iuga, Gallorum
2 imperio, non vestro adiecissetis. At enim sunt
haec ita vera; sed [3] etiam Delphos quondam, com-
mune humani generis oraculum, umbilicum orbis
terrarum, Galli spoliaverunt, nec ideo populus
3 Romanus his bellum indixit aut intulit. Equidem
aliquid interesse rebar inter id tempus, quo nondum
in iure ac dicione vestra Graecia atque Asia erat, ad
4 curandum animadvertendumque quid in his terris
fieret, et hoc quo finem imperii Romani Taurum
montem statuistis, quo libertatem, immunitatem
civitatibus datis, quo aliis fines adicitis, alias agro
multatis, aliis [4] vectigal imponitis, regna augetis
minuitis donatis adimitis, curae vestrae censetis
5 esse, ut pacem terra marique habeant. An nisi

[1] emoto *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : moto σ.
[2] referant *edd. vett.* : referam σ.
[3] sed *Madvig* : *om.* σ.
[4] aliis *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : *om.* σ.

[1] Manlius contrasts his own realistic and his opponents' legalistic points of view. He then renders the latter absurd by putting into the mouths of his opponents the argument

ridges of Taurus or when the Gauls were subdued. B.C. 187
Let them tell you how often their fields were devastated, how often plunder was carried away, when they had barely the wealth to ransom their captives and kept hearing of human victims slain and their own children sacrificed. Know that your own allies had been paying tribute to the Gauls and even now, when liberated by you from the king's control, would still have been paying it if I had failed them.

XLVIII. "The farther Antiochus should be removed, the more uncontrollable would be the rule of the Gauls in Asia, and all the lands on this side of the ridges of Taurus you would have added to Gallic territory, not to your own. Grant, if you will, that what my opponents say is true; but even on one occasion,[1] Delphi, the common oracle of the human race, the navel of the world, the Gauls despoiled, and the Romans did not on that account declare or wage a war upon them. For my part, I thought that there was some difference between that time, when Greece and Asia were not yet under your control and sway, as regards your interest and concern in what was happening in those lands, and this time, when you have fixed the Taurus mountain as the boundary of the Roman empire, when you bestow liberty and immunity upon cities, increase the territory of some, deprive others of their lands, impose tribute upon others, enlarge, diminish, give, take away kingdoms, and deem it your responsibility that they shall have peace on land and sea. Or,

that Rome did not even intervene to protect Delphi in 279 B.C. (*sed etiam* introduces a special case illustrating the general line of argument in *ista*). He refutes this imaginary argument by pointing out Rome's new position in the world.

praesidia deduxisset Antiochus, quae quieta in suis arcibus[1] erant, non putaretis liberatam Asiam; si Gallorum exercitus effusi vagarentur, rata dona vestra, quae dedistis, regi Eumeni, rata libertas 6 civitatibus esset? Sed quid ego haec ita argumentor, tamquam non acceperim, sed fecerim hostes Gallos? 7 Te, L. Scipio, appello, cuius ego mihi, succedens in vicem imperii tui, virtutem felicitatemque pariter non frustra ab diis immortalibus precatus sum, te, P. Scipio, qui legati ius, collegae maiestatem et apud fratrem consulem et apud exercitum habuisti, sciatisne in exercitu Antiochi Gallorum legiones 8 fuisse, videritis in acie eos, in cornu utroque—id enim roboris esse videbatur—locatos, pugnaveritis ut cum hostibus iustis, cecideritis, spolia eorum retu- 9 leritis. Atqui cum Antiocho, non cum Gallis bellum et[2] senatus decreverat et populus iusserat. Sed simul, ut opinor, cum his decreverant iusserantque 10 qui intra praesidia eius fuissent; ex quibus praeter Antiochum, cum quo pacem pepigerat Scipio, et cum quo nominatim foedus ut fieret mandaveratis, omnes hostes erant, qui pro Antiocho arma adversus 11 nos tulerunt. In qua causa cum Galli ante omnes

[1] arcibus *ed. Froben.* 1535 : partibus *F*.
[2] et *F* : *om. M*.

[1] Manlius omits, as damaging to his argument, the fact that some, at least, of these Gauls were mercenaries (XXXVII. xviii. 7).

[2] The phrase is curiously used. In XXXVII. xl. 3 the phalanx is called the strongest part of the army, and the meaning here may be simply that the Gauls were more valuable on the flanks than in the centre.

[3] The line of argument, not entirely free from fallacy, is briefly this: Rome had declared war on Antiochus and would have included his allies had she known in advance who they

supposing that Antiochus had not withdrawn his B.C. 187
garrisons, which remained peacefully in their citadels, would you consider that Asia had not been set free; but, on the other hand, should the armies of the Gauls be wandering at will, would these gifts which you have presented to King Eumenes have been assured, would liberty have been assured to the cities? But why do I argue as if I had made the Gauls our enemies, not found them so? I appeal to you, Lucius Scipio (and when I succeeded to your authority I prayed to the immortal gods, and not in vain, for your valour and good fortune), to you, Publius Scipio, who had the rank of lieutenant but the authority of a colleague both with your brother the consul and with the army, to say whether you know that in the army of Antiochus there were legions of Gauls,[1] whether you saw them in the line of battle, stationed on both flanks—for this was their strength, as it seemed[2]—whether you fought with them as with lawful enemies, slew them, and carried off their spoils. But yet, they say, it was with Antiochus and not with the Gauls that both the senate had decreed and the assembly had ordered war. But at the same time, in my judgment, they had decreed and ordered war with those who were within his ranks; of those, with the exception of Antiochus, with whom Scipio had contracted a peace and with whom you had expressly ordered that a treaty be made, all were enemies who bore arms against us in the cause of Antiochus.[3] Although the Gauls

would be; peace had been made with Antiochus but not with the allies, upon whom war had not been formally declared; Manlius, on succeeding Scipio, had inherited any unfinished business and therefore needed no new or specific declaration of war upon such allies.

fuissent et reguli quidam et tyranni, ego tamen et cum aliis, pro dignitate imperii vestri coactis luere peccata sua, pacem pepigi, et Gallorum animos si
12 possent mitigari a feritate insita temptavi et, postquam indomitos atque implacabiles cernebam, tum demum vi atque armis coercendos ratus sum.
13 " Nunc, quoniam suscepti belli purgatum est crimen, gesti reddenda est ratio. In quo confiderem equidem causae meae, etiam si non apud Romanum sed apud Carthaginiensem senatum agerem, ubi in crucem tolli imperatores dicuntur, si prospero eventu,
14 pravo consilio rem gesserunt; sed ego in ea civitate, quae ideo omnibus rebus incipiendis gerendisque deos adhibet, quia nullius [1] calumniae subicit ea quae dii comprobaverunt, et in sollemnibus verbis habet, cum supplicationem aut triumphum de-
15 cernit, 'quod bene ac feliciter rem publicam administrarit,' si nollem, si grave ac superbum existimarem virtute gloriari, si pro [2] felicitate mea exercitusque mei, quod tantam nationem sine ulla
16 militum iactura devicimus, postularem ut diis immortalibus honos haberetur et ipse triumphans in Capitolium ascenderem, unde votis rite nuncupatis

[1] nullius σ : nullus *M*.
[2] si pro *Crévier* : pro σ.

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[1] Livy's narrative does not support this. The statement is broad enough and vague enough to permit Manlius to say that all the persons from whom he collected money came under this category.

[2] It suffices to compare *luendamque pecunia noxam* (xxxvii. 3 above).

before all were in this class and certain chiefs and B.C. 187
tyrants,[1] nevertheless I both negotiated for peace with the others, compelling them, in keeping with the dignity of your empire, to atone for their sins,[2] and tried the sentiments of the Gauls, in the hope that perhaps their native fierceness could be softened, and, after I saw that they were untamed and intractable, then at length I decided that I must restrain them by force of arms.

"Now, since I have answered the charge that I initiated the war, I must render account for its conduct. In this I for my part should trust my own cause even if I were pleading, not before the Roman, but before the Carthaginian senate, where commanders are said to be crucified if they have conducted a campaign with successful result but defective policy;[3] but in this state, which, in initiating and carrying out every action, calls upon the gods, for the reason that it exposes to the criticism of no man those actions which the gods have sanctioned, and which includes among its formal phrases, when it decrees a thanksgiving or a triumph, 'because he has conducted the affairs of the state well and successfully,' if I should be unwilling to speak, if I considered it overbearing and presumptuous to exult in our valour, if in recognition of the good fortune of myself and my army, in that we overthrew so great a nation with no loss of soldiers, I demanded that honour should be paid to the immortal gods and that I myself might in triumph mount to the Capitoline, whence I set out after duly announcing

[3] Cf. Valerius Maximus II. vii. ext. 1. Extant cases seem to illustrate only crucifixion after defeat (*e.g. Per.* XVII).

profectus sum, negaretis hoc mihi cum diis immortalibus?

XLIX. "Iniquo enim loco dimicavi. Dic igitur, quo aequiore potuerim dimicare. Cum hostes montem cepissent, loco se munito tenerent, nempe eundum ad hostes erat, si vincere vellem. Quid? 2 Si urbem eo loco haberent et moenibus se tenerent? Nempe oppugnandi erant. Quid? Ad Thermopylas aequone loco M'. Acilius cum rege Antiocho pug- 3 navit? Quid? Philippum non eodem modo super Aoum[1] amnem iuga tenentem montium T. Quinctius deiecit? Equidem adhuc qualem aut sibi fingant aut vobis videri velint hostem fuisse non invenio. 4 Si degenerem et emollitum amoenitate Asiae, quid periculi vel iniquo loco subeuntibus fuit? Si timendum et feritate animorum et robore corporum, 5 huicine tantae victoriae triumphum negatis? Caeca invidia est, patres conscripti, nec quicquam aliud scit quam detractare virtutes, corrumpere honores 6 ac praemia earum.[2] Mihi quaeso ita ignoscatis, patres conscripti, si longiorem orationem non cupiditas gloriandi de me, sed necessaria criminum 7 defensio fecit. An etiam per Thraciam saltus patentes qui angusti erant et plana ex arduis et culta ex silvestribus facere potui et praestare, necubi notis

[1] super Aoum *edd. vett.*: superatum ϝ.
[2] earum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: eorum ϝ.

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[1] Neither the grammar nor (possibly) the logic of this cumbersome sentence is impeccable, but I have not tried to improve either.

my vows, would you refuse this to me as well as to B.C. 187
the immortal gods?[1]

XLIX. "'Yes,' you say, for I fought on unfavourable ground. Tell me, then, in what more favourable place I could have fought. Since the enemy had occupied the mountain and were keeping themselves within a fortified place, naturally I had to go to the enemy if I wished to defeat them. What if they had had a city in that place and were holding themselves within the walls? Naturally a siege would be necessary. Well, did Manius Acilius at Thermopylae fight with King Antiochus on favourable ground? Well, was not Philip in the same fashion, when he held the crest of the mountains above the Aous, dislodged by Titus Quinctius? For my part, I still do not discover what sort of enemy they are picturing to themselves, or what they want him to seem to you. If he was an enemy degenerate and made effeminate by the pleasant life of Asia, what danger was there if we attacked even over unfavourable ground? If he was an enemy to be feared because of both fierceness of temper and strength of body, why do you refuse a triumph to so great a victory as this? It is blind jealousy, conscript Fathers, and it knows nothing except how to belittle deeds of valour and to spoil the distinctions and rewards they earn. I beg that you will pardon me, conscript Fathers, on this ground, if my speech is made over-long, not by my desire to boast about myself, but by the need to defend myself against their accusations. Again, could I make the passes in Thrace wide when they were narrow, level ground instead of steep, neat groves instead of wild forests, and could I guarantee that there should be no

8 sibi latebris delitescerent latrones Thraces, ne quid carcinarum raperetur, ne quod iumentum ex tanto agmine abstraheretur, ne quis vulneraretur, ne ex vulnere vir fortis ac strenuus Q. Minucius moreretur? 9 In hoc casu, quo[1] infeliciter incidit ut talem civem 10 amitteremus, haerent; quod saltu iniquo, loco alieno cum adortus nos hostis esset, duae simul acies primi et novissimi agminis haerentem ad impedimenta nostra exercitum barbarorum circumvenerunt, quod 11 multa milia illo ipso[2] die, plura multo post dies paucos ceciderunt et ceperunt, hoc, si ipsi tacuerint, vos scituros, cum testis orationis meae totus exercitus 12 sit, non credunt? Si gladium in Asia non strinxissem, si hostem non vidissem, tamen[3] triumphum in Thracia duobus proeliis merueram. Sed iam dictum satis 13 est; quin pro eo, quod pluribus verbis vos quam vellem fatigavi, veniam a vobis petitam impetratamque velim, patres conscripti."

L. Plus crimina eo die quam defensio valuisset, ni altercationem in serum perduxissent. Dimittitur senatus in ea opinione ut negaturus triumphum fuisse

[1] casu quo *ed. Aldina* : casu *et* hoc casu *et* iniquo casu σ.
[2] illo ipso *Weissenborn* : ipso σ.
[3] tamen *Weissenborn* : tamen per σ : tamen proconsul *ed. Frobeniana* 1535.

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[1] Livy said nothing of this vengeance in his account of the battle (xl–xli above), and his whole picture of the episode differs greatly from that of Manlius. It is impossible to judge their relative accuracy.

[2] This pair of speeches, taken with the narrative which covers the ground of both, may furnish a test for the historical accuracy of both the speeches and the narrative. It will be observed that both speeches contain statements of historical facts which are not mentioned in the narrative. Polybius gives us no help, but the account of the return journey given

Thracian brigands lurking in ambushes known to them, that there should be no loss of baggage, that no pack-animal from so long a train should be driven off, that no one should be wounded, that that brave and energetic man Quintus Minucius should not die from his wound? They dwell on this misfortune, because it happened to our sorrow that we lost such a citizen; the fact that, when the enemy attacked us in a defile hard to pass through, on unfavourable ground, the two divisions of our army, the van and the rear, at the same time surrounded the army of the barbarians which was lingering around our trains, that they killed and captured many thousands on that same day and many more a few days later,[1] if they keep silent about all this, do they think that you will not learn of it, since the whole army is here to bear witness to what I say? If I had not drawn sword in Asia, if I had seen no enemy, I should still have earned a triumph in Thrace by these two battles. But enough has already been said; rather, I should wish, conscript Fathers, that pardon be asked and granted for my wearying you with a longer speech than I should have wished to make." [2] B.C. 187

L. The accusations would have had more weight that day than the defence had they not prolonged the debate to a late hour. The senate adjourned, having given the impression that the triumph would

by Appian (*Syr.* 43) is even more hostile than the speech of Furius Aemilius. One is inclined to conclude that the speeches are better rhetoric than history, and that the narrative would have been improved if some items in the speeches (cf. the preceding note) had been critically examined. The tone of the narrative makes it impossible to believe that Livy followed Claudius at this point (cf. xxiii. 8 and the note), but there is no other clue to the source.

videretur. Postero die et cognati amicique Cn. Manlii summis opibus adnisi sunt, et auctoritas seniorum valuit, negantium exemplum proditum memoriae esse, ut imperator, qui devictis perduellibus, confecta provincia exercitum reportasset, sine curru et laurea privatus inhonoratusque urbem iniret. Hic pudor malignitatem vicit, triumphumque frequentes decreverunt.

Oppressit deinde mentionem memoriamque omnem contentionis huius maius et cum maiore et clariore viro certamen ortum. P. Scipioni Africano, ut Valerius Antias auctor est, duo Q. Petillii diem dixerunt. Id prout cuiusque ingenium erat interpretabantur. Alii non tribunos plebis, sed universam civitatem quae id pati posset incusabant: duas maximas orbis terrarum urbes ingratas uno prope tempore in principes inventas, Romam ingratiorem, si quidem victa Carthago victum Hannibalem in exilium expulisset, Roma victrix victorem Africanum expellat. Alii, neminem unum civem tantum eminere [1] debere ut legibus interrogari non possit; nihil tam aequandae libertatis esse quam potentissimum quemque posse dicere causam. Quid autem tuto cuiquam, nedum summam rem publicam, permitti, si ratio non sit reddenda? Qui ius aequum pati non possit, in eum

[1] un. civ. tan. em. *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: un. tan. em. ciu. ?.

[1] A survey of the triumphs awarded during this period shows that the literal accuracy of this statement cannot be maintained, but that to a steadily increasing degree actual achievement was less important than influence with the senate. The senate is ingenious in finding reasons why triumphs should be awarded to its favourites and denied to men in disfavour.

be refused. The next day the relatives and friends B.C. 187
of Manlius exerted all their efforts and the elder senators also prevailed by their influence, saying that no precedent had been handed down in tradition that a commander who, after decisively defeating the enemy and accomplishing the task assigned him as his province, had brought home his army, should enter the City without the car and laurel, a private citizen and without honour.[1] Respect for this tradition prevailed over ill-will and a full session voted the triumph.

Then all talk and thought of this debate were put into the background by a struggle greater and originating with a greater and more famous man. Publius Scipio Africanus, as Valerius Antias asserts, was prosecuted by two men, each named Quintus Petillius. This action each man interpreted according to his own inclinations. Some reproached, not the tribunes of the people, but the whole state, for being able to allow this—the two greatest cities in the world, they said, were at about the same time found ungrateful towards their foremost citizens, but Rome was more ungrateful, because conquered Carthage had driven the conquered Hannibal into exile, while victorious Rome was driving out the victorious Scipio. Others argued that no single citizen should attain such eminence that he could not be questioned under the laws; that nothing was so essential to equally distributed liberty as that every man, however powerful, should plead his cause. What now—not to mention supreme position in the state—could be safely entrusted to any man if no accounting could be asked? Against a man, they said, who cannot brook equitable law, no violence

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10 vim haud iniustam esse. Haec agitata sermonibus, donec dies causae dicendae venit. Nec alius antea quisquam nec ille ipse Scipio consul censorve maiore omnis generis hominum frequentia quam reus illo
11 die in forum est deductus. Iussus dicere causam sine ulla criminum mentione orationem adeo magnificam de rebus ab se gestis est exorsus ut satis constaret neminem umquam neque melius neque
12 verius laudatum esse. Dicebantur enim ab eo eodem[1] animo ingenioque quo[2] gesta erant, et aurium fastidium aberat, quia pro periculo non in gloriam referebantur.

LI. Tribuni vetera luxuriae crimina Syracusanorum hibernorum et Locris Pleminianum tumultum cum ad fidem praesentium criminum retulissent, suspicionibus magis quam argumentis pecuniae captae
2 reum accusarunt: filium captum sine pretio redditum, omnibusque aliis rebus Scipionem, tamquam in eius unius manu pax Romana bellumque esset, ab An-
3 tiocho cultum; dictatorem eum consuli, non legatum in provincia fuisse; nec ad aliam rem eo profectum quam ut. id quod Hispaniae Galliae Siciliae Africae iam pridem persuasum esset, hoc Graeciae Asiaeque et omnibus ad orientem versis regibus gentibusque
4 appareret, unum hominem caput columenque imperii

[1] eo eodem *P. Burman*: eodem F.
[2] quo *P. Burman*: a quo F.

[1] Cf. XXIX. xix. 12, etc.
[2] Cf. XXIX. viii. 6 ff., etc.
[3] The actual charges against Scipio, as well as the specifications which supported them, are variously stated by the sources. Polybius, who should have known, is nowhere explicit as to the trial. In their most serious form, as reported, *e.g.*, by Gellius (IV. xviii. 7), the major charge could easily

is illegal. Such was the current of talk until the day B.C. 187
of the trial came. No other man before him, not even this same Scipio, when consul or censor, was ever escorted to the Forum by a greater crowd of men of every rank than was Scipio that day when he was the defendant. Being bidden to plead his cause, he began so magnificent a speech about his achievements that it was very clear that no man had ever been better eulogized or more truthfully. For he spoke of his deeds in the same temper and spirit in which he performed them, and there was no resentment among his hearers, since he was speaking to ward off peril and not to boast.

LI. When the tribunes revived the old charges of luxury in his winter-quarters at Syracuse [1] and the disturbances caused by Pleminius at Locri,[2] to make their present charges more credible, on the basis of suspicions rather than of evidence they charged him with having accepted bribes:[3] that his captured son had been restored without a ransom and that in all other respects Antiochus had paid court to Scipio as if in his hands alone lay peace and war with Rome; he had been, they alleged, a dictator, not a lieutenant, in relation to the consul in the province; he had gone there for no other reason than that which Spain, Gaul, Sicily and Africa had long since come to believe should be manifest to Greece and Asia and all the kings and tribes that lie towards the east, namely, that one man was the source and stay of

have been treason. One admits that some of Scipio's messages to Antiochus (*e.g.* XXXVII. xxxvii. 8) may easily be interpreted as lending aid and comfort to the enemy, when removed from their contexts. Yet the statements of Livy and the conduct of the trial indicate that the charges were less grave.

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Romani esse, sub umbra Scipionis civitatem dominam orbis terrarum latere, nutum eius pro decretis patrum, pro populi iussis esse. Infamia intactum invidia qua
5 possunt urgent. Orationibus in noctem perductis
6 prodicta dies est. Ubi ea venit, tribuni in Rostris prima luce consederunt: citatus reus magno agmine amicorum clientiumque per mediam contionem ad
7 Rostra subiit silentioque facto "hoc" inquit "die, tribuni plebis vosque, Quirites, cum Hannibale et Carthaginiensibus signis collatis in Africa bene ac
8 feliciter pugnavi. Itaque, cum hodie litibus et iurgiis supersederi aequum sit, ego hinc extemplo in Capitolium ad Iovem optimum maximum Iunonemque et Minervam ceterosque deos qui Capitolio
9 atque arci praesident salutandos ibo, hisque gratias agam, quod mihi et hoc ipso die et saepe alias egregie gerendae rei publicae mentem facultatemque
10 dederunt. Vestrum quoque quibus commodum est, Quirites, ite mecum et orate deos ut mei similes
11 principes habeatis, ita, si ab annis septemdecim ad senectutem semper vos aetatem meam honoribus vestris anteistis, ego vestros honores rebus gerendis
12 praecessi." Ab Rostris in Capitolium ascendit. Simul se universa contio avertit et secuta Scipionem est, adeo ut postremo scribae viatoresque tribunos relinquerent, nec cum iis praeter servilem comitatum

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[1] That is, this was the anniversary of Zama and should be a day of thanksgiving and rejoicing.

[2] Scipio's youth had not prevented his election to offices for which he was technically ineligible, but he reminds the people that he had, before these elections, demonstrated his capacity.

[3] The various literary versions of this speech differ a good deal in form but not in their essential character. The same is true of other incidents of the trial.

Roman power, that under the shadow of Scipio the B.C. 187
City which was the mistress of the world lay sheltered, that his nod was weighty as decrees of the senate and enactments of the assembly. A man untouched by ill repute they loaded with innuendo in every possible way. The speeches having continued until nightfall, the matter was adjourned. When the appointed day came, the tribunes took their seats on the Rostra at dawn; the defendant when summoned came with a great throng of friends and clients through the midst of the meeting to the Rostra, and, when silence ensued, he spoke as follows: "On this day,[1] tribunes of the people, and you, citizens, I fought well and successfully in pitched battle with Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa. Therefore, since it is meet on this day to refrain from trials and quarrels, I shall proceed at once from here to the Capitoline to offer homage to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and Juno and Minerva and the other gods who preside over the Capitoline and the citadel, and I shall give thanks to them because both on this same day and on many other occasions they have given me the purpose and the capacity to render conspicuous service to the state. Let all of you too, citizens, for whom it is convenient, come with me and pray to the gods that you may have leaders like me, but on this condition, that, if from my seventeenth year to my old age you have always gone ahead of my years in bestowing honours upon me,[2] I have anticipated your honours by my deeds."[3] From the Rostra he went up to the Capitoline. At the same time the whole meeting withdrew and followed Scipio, so that finally even the clerks and messengers left the tribunes, nor did anyone remain with them

et praeconem qui reum ex Rostris citabat quisquam
13 esset. Scipio non in Capitolio modo, sed per totam urbem omnia templa deum cum populo Romano
14 circumiit. Celebratior is prope dies favore hominum et aestimatione vera [1] magnitudinis eius fuit quam quo triumphans de Syphace rege et Carthaginiensibus urbem est invectus.

LII. Hic speciosus ultimus dies P. Scipioni illuxit. Post quem cum invidiam et certamina cum tribunis prospiceret, die longiore prodicta [2] in Literninum concessit certo consilio ne ad causam dicendam ades-
2 set. Maior animus et natura erat ac maiori fortunae adsuetus quam ut reus esse sciret et summittere se
3 in humilitatem causam dicentium. Ubi dies venit citarique absens est coeptus, L. Scipio morbum
4 causae esse cur abesset excusabat. Quam excusationem cum tribuni qui diem dixerant non acciperent, et ab eadem superbia non venire ad causam dicendam arguerent qua iudicium et tribunos plebis et con-
5 tionem reliquisset et, quibus ius sententiae de se dicendae et libertatem ademisset, his comitatus, velut captos trahens, triumphum de populo Romano egisset secessionemque eo die in Capitolium a tribunis plebis fecisset: "Habetis ergo temeritatis illius
6 mercedem; quo duce et auctore nos reliquistis, ab

[1] vera *Perizonius*: uerae *F*.
[2] prodicta *J. F. Gronovius*: producta *F*.

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[1] Cf. XXX. xlv. 2–7.

[2] Liternum was a colony, and Scipio's retirement thereto was not, technically, exile. See, however, the *Periocha* of this Book.

[3] That is, at the third and final day of the trial.

except their retinue of slaves and the herald who B.C. 187
from the Rostra summoned the defendant. Scipio visited all the temples of the gods, not only on the Capitoline but through the whole City, with the Roman people in attendance upon him. This day was rendered almost more famous by the general applause of men and by the true estimate of his greatness than that on which he rode into the City in triumph over King Syphax and the Carthaginians.[1]

LII. This was the last day of glory to shine on Publius Scipio. Since in future he foresaw unpopularity and quarrels with the tribunes, obtaining a longer adjournment he retired to his country place at Liternum,[2] with the definite intention of not being present to plead his cause.[3] His soul and character were too lofty, and too much accustomed to a greater fortune, to know how to be a defendant and to come down to the lowly position of men who must plead their cause. When the day arrived and the summons for the absent defendant began to be proclaimed, Lucius Scipio gave illness as the reason for his absence. When the tribunes who had accused him refused to accept this plea and maintained that he had not come to plead his cause because of the same arrogance as that with which he had deserted the trial and the tribunes of the people and the assembly, and with which, attended by those whom he had robbed of their right to express their opinion of him and of their liberty, leading them captive, as it were, he had celebrated a triumph over the Roman people and had brought about a secession that day from the tribunes of the people to the Capitoline: "You have, therefore," they said, "your reward for that rash conduct; under his leadership and

7 eo ipsi relicti estis, et tantum animorum in dies nobis decrescit ut, ad quem ante annos septemdecim [1] exercitum et classem habentem tribunos plebis aedilemque mittere in Siciliam ausi sumus, qui prenderent eum et Romam reducerent, ad eum privatum ex villa sua extrahendum ad causam dicen-
8 dam mittere non audeamus": [2] tribuni plebis appellati ab L. Scipione ita decreverunt: si [3] morbi causa excusaretur, sibi placere accipi eam causam
9 diemque a collegis prodici.[4] Tribunus plebis eo tempore Ti. Sempronius Gracchus erat, cui inimicitiae cum P. Scipione intercedebant. Is, cum vetuisset nomen suum decreto collegarum adscribi, tristioremque omnes sententiam expectarent, ita
10 decrevit: cum L. Scipio excusasset morbum esse causae fratri, satis id sibi videri; se P. Scipionem priusquam Romam redisset accusari non passurum; tum quoque, si se appellet, auxilio ei futurum ne
11 causam dicat: ad id fastigium rebus gestis, honoribus populi Romani P. Scipionem deorum hominumque consensu pervenisse, ut sub Rostris reum stare et

[1] ante annos septendecim *Crévier*: antea ϝ: ante annos quindecim *M*.
[2] audeamus *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: audemus ϝ.
[3] si *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: ut si ϝ.
[4] prodici *Gronovius*: produci ϝ.

[1] Cf. XXIX. xx. 6: this was in connection with the affair of Pleminius.
[2] This appeal was taken to the college of tribunes as a whole against the refusal of the Petillii to accept the plea of illness.

sanction you abandoned us and by him you are yourselves abandoned, and so far has our spirit declined day by day that a man for whom seventeen years ago,[1] when he commanded an army and a fleet, we dared to send tribunes of the people and an aedile, to arrest him and bring him back to Rome—to that man, when a private citizen, we do not dare to send messengers to hale him forth from his country place to plead his cause"; the tribunes of the people, when appealed to[2] by Lucius Scipio, thus decreed: that, if the plea of illness were submitted, it was their pleasure that this plea should be accepted and the case adjourned by their colleagues. One of the tribunes of the people at this time was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus,[3] between whom and Publius Scipio there was a feud. When he had forbidden his name to be signed to the decree of his colleagues, and all men were anticipating a harsher proposal, he thus decreed: that, since Lucius Scipio had given illness as the excuse for his brother, this seemed to him sufficient; that he would not permit Publius Scipio to be prosecuted before he returned to Rome; that even then, if he were appealed to, he would come to Scipio's aid, to save him from pleading his cause:[4] such heights had Publius Scipio reached, as a result of his own deeds and of the honours conferred by the Roman people, with the approbation of gods and men, that to compel him to stand as a defendant before the Rostra and listen to the insults B.C. 187

[3] Cf. XXXVII. vii. 11; he plays an important part in the following chapters.

[4] Gracchus would prevent, by the use of his tribunicial powers, a condemnation in Scipio's absence and, on request, any further prosecution.

praebere aures adolescentium conviciis populo Romano magis deforme quam ipsi sit.

LIII. Adiecit decreto indignationem: "Sub pedibus vestris stabit, tribuni, domitor ille Africae Scipio? Ideo quattuor nobilissimos duces Poenorum in Hispania, quattuor exercitus fudit fugavitque; ideo Syphacem cepit, Hannibalem devicit, Carthaginem vectigalem nobis fecit, Antiochum—recipit[1] enim fratrem consortem huius gloriae L. Scipio—ultra iuga Tauri emovit, ut duobus Petilliis succumberet? Vos de P. Africano palmam peti feretis?[2] Nullisne meritis suis, nullis vestris honoribus umquam[3] in arcem tutam et velut sanctam clari viri pervenient ubi, si non venerabilis, inviolata saltem senectus eorum considat?" Movit et decretum et adiecta oratio non ceteros modo sed ipsos etiam accusatores, et deliberaturos se quid iuris sui et officii esset dixerunt. Senatus deinde concilio plebis dimisso haberi est coeptus. Ibi gratiae ingentes ab universo ordine, praecipue a consularibus senioribusque, Ti. Graccho actae sunt, quod rem publicam privatis simultatibus potiorem habuisset, et Petillii vexati sunt probris, quod splendere aliena invidia voluissent et spolia ex Africani triumpho peterent. Silentium deinde de Africano fuit. Vitam Literni

[1] recipit *Madvig*: recepit Σ.
[2] peti feretis *Madvig*: peteritis *M*: petereris Σ.
[3] umquam *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: cum qua *M*: *om.* Σ.

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[1] In later times at least, if not at this time, the prosecution of some prominent person was a means of self-advertisement much sought after by ambitious young men: the careers of Cicero and Caesar illustrate.

of young men [1] would be a greater disgrace to the B.C. 187
Roman people than to Scipio himself.

LIII. He supplemented his decree with an indignant speech: "Are your feet, tribunes, to trample down Scipio, that conqueror of Africa? Was it for this that he repulsed and routed four of the most noted generals of the Carthaginians in Spain, and four armies? Was it for this that he captured Syphax, overthrew Hannibal, made Carthage tributary to us, drove Antiochus—for Lucius Scipio admits his brother to a share in this glory—beyond the ridges of Taurus, that he should fall a victim to the two Petillii? Will you allow a victory over Publius Africanus to be sought? Shall distinguished men by no services of their own, by no honours of your bestowal, ever reach a safe and, as it were, sacred citadel where their old age, if not respected, at least secure, may find rest?" Both the decree and the supplementary speech touched not only the tribunes but even the prosecutors themselves, and the latter said that they would take counsel as to what their right and duty required. After that, when the assembly of the people had been adjourned, a meeting of the senate began. There boundless gratitude was expressed by the whole order and especially by the senators of consular rank and greater age, because Tiberius Gracchus had shown greater regard for the public interest than for his personal quarrels, and the Petillii were assailed with abuse because they had tried to become conspicuous at the expense of another's unpopularity and were seeking spoils from a triumph over Africanus. Thenceforth there was silence regarding Africanus. He spent his life at Liternum, with no desire to

egit sine desiderio urbis; morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se iussisse ferunt monumentumque ibi aedificari, ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret. Vir memorabilis, bellicis tamen quam pacis artibus memorabilior. Nobilior[1] prima pars vitae quam postrema fuit, quia in iuventa bella adsidue gesta, cum senecta res quoque defloruere, nec praebita est materia ingenio. Quid ad[2] primum consulatum secundus, etiam si censuram adicias? Quid Asiatica legatio, et valetudine adversa inutilis et filii casu deformata et post reditum necessitate aut subeundi iudicii aut simul cum patria deserendi? Punici tamen belli perpetrati, quo nullum neque maius neque[3] periculosius Romani gessere, unus[4] praecipuam gloriam tulit.

LIV. Morte Africani crevere inimicorum animi, quorum princeps fuit M. Porcius Cato, qui vivo quoque eo adlatrare[5] magnitudinem eius solitus erat. Hoc auctore existimantur Petillii et vivo Africano rem ingressi et mortuo rogationem promulgasse. Fuit autem rogatio talis: "Velitis iubeatis, Quirites,[6]

[1] Nobilior *Weissenborn*: *om.* ϝ.
[2] Quid ad *ed. Froben.* 1535: quoad *M*: quoad *et* qui ad ϝ.
[3] neque maius neque *edd. vett.*: neque *aut* maius ϝ.
[4] unus *ed. Froben.* 1535: unam ϝ.
[5] adlatrare *edd. vett.*: lacerare ϝ.
[6] Quirites *Brissonius*: quaeratur ϝ.

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[1] One infers from this and from liv. 1 below that the death of Scipio soon followed, but in XXXIX. lii. 1 his death is said to have occurred in 183 B.C. The same uncertainty prevailed regarding his burial-place and the circumstances of his death, on which Livy declines to express an opinion. He gives, however, in chap. lvi. below, some interesting

return to the City; when dying[1] they say that he B.C. 187
gave orders that he should be buried in that same place in the country and that his tomb should be erected there, that his funeral might not be held in an ungrateful home-land. He was a man to be remembered, although more to be remembered for his achievements in war than for his deeds in peace. The first part of his life was more distinguished than the last, since in his youth he was continually waging wars, while with old age his deeds too faded, nor was any opportunity afforded to display his talent. What was his second consulship compared to the first, even if you add the censorship? What was gained by his lieutenancy in Asia, rendered unprofitable as it was by his illness and disfigured by the misfortune[2] of his son and, after his return, by the necessity of either standing trial or leaving the trial and his country at the same time? Nevertheless, since he brought to an end the Punic War, than which there was waged none greater nor more dangerous by the Romans, he has secured a singular pre-eminence of fame.

LIV. On the death of Africanus the spirits of his adversaries rose, the first of them being Marcus Porcius Cato, who even during his life had been accustomed to snarl at his greatness. It was with his backing, it is thought, that the Petillii initiated the prosecution of Africanus while he lived and after his death introduced a motion. The motion was to this effect: "Do you wish and order,[3] citizens, with

historical criticism which contrasts strangely with his dogmatic statements elsewhere (but note *ferunt* in this section).

[2] Cf. XXXVII. xxxiii. 4–7.

[3] The formula retains the subjunctive even in direct quotation.

quae pecunia capta ablata coacta ab rege Antiocho est quique sub imperio eius fuerunt, quod eius in publicum relatum non est, uti de ea re Ser. Sulpicius praetor urbanus ad senatum referat quem eam rem velit senatus quaerere de iis qui praetores nunc sunt?" Huic rogationi primo Q. et L. Mummii [1] intercedebant, senatum quaerere de pecunia non relata in publicum, ita ut antea semper factum esset, aequum censebant. Petillii nobilitatem et regnum in senatu Scipionum accusabant. L. Furius Purpurio consularis, qui in decem legatis in Asia fuerat, latius rogandum censebat, non quae ab Antiocho modo pecuniae captae forent, sed quae ab aliis regibus gentibusque, Cn. Manlium inimicum incessens. Et L. Scipio, quem magis pro se quam adversus legem dicturum apparebat, dissuasor processit. Is morte P. Africani fratris, viri omnium fortissimi clarissimique, eam exortam rogationem est conquestus;

[1] Mummii *Sigonius*: numini *et al.* *c.*

[1] There was no systematic or effective method of verifying a general's returns of the booty he had collected: one device, of uncertain validity, was seen in the case of Glabrio (XXXVII. lvii. 13–14). The episode of Scipio Nasica (XXXVI. xxxvi. 1–2 and the note) suggests that the senate was either unable to secure accurate information or tolerant of plausible irregularities in the accounts of a general and his quaestor. Yet the fears of Manlius and the investigation which follows of the accounts of the Scipios show that some method existed, although one wonders how the Petillii knew that there were discrepancies in the present instance.

respect to the money which was captured from, B.C. 187
taken from, levied upon King Antiochus and those who were under his rule, and what of this money has not been accounted for to the state,[1] that regarding this matter Servius Sulpicius the city praetor shall refer to the senate the question, whom, of those who are now praetors, the senate wishes to investigate this matter?" This proposal was at first vetoed by Quintus and Lucius Mummius; they deemed it proper that the senate should inquire regarding money which had not been turned in to the treasury in the manner in which it had always been done before.[2] The Petillii kept assailing the influential position and tyrannical power of the Scipios in the senate. Lucius Furius Purpurio, a man of consular rank, who had been one of the ten commissioners in Asia, proposed to extend the field of the investigation to include moneys which had been taken, not only from Antiochus, but from other kings and peoples as well, striking at his enemy Gnaeus Manlius.[3] Lucius Scipio also, who was evidently about to speak for himself rather than against the bill, came forward to oppose it. He complained that only after the death of his brother Publius Africanus, a man conspicuous above all for courage and fame, this proposal had originated; for it was not

[2] The protest is not against the auditing of the accounts but at the method, which, to judge from similar incidents in Roman history, was designed to increase the probability of a conviction. The Romans were generally intuitively distrustful of special procedures invented for particular situations.

[3] It is clear from XXXIX. vi. 4 that Manlius was afraid of such an inquiry, although he could say that missing property had been carried off by the Thracians.

U.C. 567
9 parum enim fuisse non laudari pro Rostris P. Afri-
10 canum post mortem, nisi etiam accusaretur; et Carthaginienses exilio Hannibalis contentos esse, populum Romanum ne morte quidem P. Scipionis exsatiari, nisi et ipsius fama sepulti laceretur et
11 frater insuper, accessio invidiae, mactetur. M. Cato suasit rogationem—exstat et oratio eius de pecunia regis Antiochi—et Mummios tribunos auctoritate
12 deterruit ne adversarentur rogationi. Remittentibus ergo his intercessionem omnes tribus uti rogassent iusserunt.

LV. Ser. Sulpicio deinde referente, quem rogatione Petillia quaerere vellent, Q. Terentium Culleonem
2 patres iusserunt. Ad hunc praetorem, adeo amicum Corneliae familiae ut, qui Romae mortuum elatumque P. Scipionem—est enim ea quoque fama—tradunt, pilleatum, sicut in triumpho ierat, in funere quoque ante lectum isse memoriae prodiderint, et ad Portam Capenam mulsum prosecutis funus dedisse, quod ab eo inter alios captivos in Africa ex
3 hostibus receptus esset, aut adeo inimicum eundem, ut propter insignem simultatem ab ea factione quae adversa Scipionibus erat, delectus sit potissimum ad
4 quaestionem exercendam: ceterum ad hunc nimis

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[1] The habit of pronouncing public *laudationes* over distinguished men was very old (II. xlvii. 11, etc.). It would appear from liii. 8 above that Africanus had not wanted such a eulogy.

[2] The alternative formula "*uti rogas*" is also employed: cf. XXXIII. xxv. 7.

[3] Cf. XXX. xlv. 5. The *pilleus* was the conical cap worn by newly-manumitted slaves.

[4] Cf. lvi. 4 below. The tomb of the Scipios, still to be seen, is close to this gate.

enough that no eulogy had been pronounced before B.C. 187
the Rostra over Publius Africanus after his death [1] without also bringing charges against him; even the Carthaginians had been satisfied with the exile of Hannibal, the Roman people was not content even with the death of Publius Scipio without also tearing to shreds his reputation as he lay in the tomb, and, besides, sacrificing his brother as an additional victim to their jealousy. Marcus Cato supported the bill—and a speech of his on the money of King Antiochus is extant—and by his influence deterred the tribunes, the Mummii, from further opposing the measure. With their veto withdrawn, therefore, all the tribes voted "aye." [2]

LV. Servius Sulpicius then brought up the question of what praetor they wished to have conduct the investigation under the Petillian law, and the Fathers selected Quintus Terentius Culleo. Before this praetor, either so friendly to the Cornelian family that those who say that Publius Scipio died and was buried at Rome—for this too is reported—have put it on record that, wearing the cap of freedom, just as he had marched in the triumphal procession,[3] he walked also before the bier at the funeral, and at the Porta Capena [4] served wine and honey to those who attended the funeral, because he had been rescued from the enemy by Scipio, along with the other prisoners in Africa, or, on the other hand, so hostile that on account of his well-known unfriendliness the faction which was opposed to the Scipios chose him in preference to anyone else to conduct the investigation; at any rate,[5] before this praetor, too well or

[5] Livy becomes so involved in his discussion of the partisanship of Culleo that he has to make a fresh start in his sentence.

aequum aut iniquum praetorem reus extemplo factus
L. Scipio. Simul et delata et recepta nomina lega-
5 torum eius, A. et L. Hostiliorum Catonum, et C.
Furii Aculeonis [1] quaestoris et, ut omnia contacta
societate peculatus viderentur, scribae quoque duo
et accensus. L. Hostilius et scribae et accensus,
priusquam de Scipione iudicium fieret, absoluti sunt,
Scipio et A. Hostilius legatus et C. Furius damnati:
6 quo commodior pax Antiocho daretur, Scipionem sex
milia pondo auri, quadringenta octoginta argenti plus
7 accepisse quam in aerarium retulerit, A. Hostilium
octoginta pondo auri et argenti quadringenta tria,
Furium quaestorem auri pondo centum triginta,
8 argenti ducenta. Has ego summas auri et argenti
relatas apud Antiatem inveni. In L. Scipione malim
equidem librarii mendum quam mendacium scrip-
9 toris esse in summa auri atque argenti; similius
enim veri est argenti quam auri maius pondus fuisse,
et potius quadragiens quam ducentiens quadragiens
10 litem aestimatam, eo magis quod tantae summae

[1] Furii Aculeonis *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: furii culleonis *M*: furiacii leonis *r*.

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[1] They have not been mentioned before as *legati* of Scipio.

[2] They were discharged for lack of evidence by the praetor at the preliminary hearing; there seemed to be a *prima facie* case against the others.

[3] Livy is more charitable than on other occasions towards the vagaries of Antias; it is not quite clear what the annalist said about the fine.

[4] Reckoning one pound of gold as 4,000 sesterces and one pound of silver as 336 sesterces, 6,000 pounds of gold, leaving the silver out of account, would be 24,000,000 sesterces; reversing the figures, 480 pounds of gold (1,920,000 sesterces) plus 6,000 pounds of silver (2,016,000 sesterces) would produce approximately 4,000,000 sesterces to be recovered by the

too ill disposed, Lucius Scipio was immediately B.C. 187
arraigned. At the same time the names of two of his lieutenants, Aulus and Lucius Hostilius Cato,[1] were both brought forward and accepted, and that of his quaestor, Gaius Furius Aculeo, and, that everything might seem infected by a conspiracy for peculation, also those of two clerks and an orderly. Lucius Hostilius and the clerks and the orderly were acquitted[2] before the trial of Scipio took place; Scipio and his lieutenant Aulus Hostilius and Gaius Furius were convicted: the charge was that, in order to secure more favourable terms of peace for Antiochus, Scipio had received six thousand pounds of gold, and four hundred and eighty pounds of silver more than he turned in to the treasury, Aulus Hostilius eighty pounds of gold and four hundred and three of silver, the quaestor Furius one hundred and thirty pounds of gold, two hundred of silver. These amounts of gold and silver I have found recorded in the writings of Antias. In the case of Lucius Scipio, I should myself prefer to see an error of the scribe rather than a falsification of the historian[3] in the amounts of gold and silver; for it is more probable that the greater weight would have been of silver and not of gold and that the fine assessed would have been four million sesterces rather than twenty-four million,[4] the more so because there is a tradition[5] that an accounting for just this

fine. (I have borrowed these calculations from Weissenborn–Müller, from Mommsen and Hultsch.)

[5] This other tradition (Polybius or another annalist) may be the actual source of this criticism of Antias. At any rate, Livy appears at this point to abandon Antias, whom he has followed from l. 5 above, in favour of another authority. He appears also to go back to Antias at chap. lviii. below.

rationem etiam ab ipso P. Scipione requisitam esse
11 in senatu tradunt librumque rationis eius cum Lucium fratrem adferre iussisset, inspectante senatu suis ipsum manibus concerpsisse[1] indignantem
12 quod, cum bis milliens in aerarium intulisset, quad-
13 ragiens ratio ab se posceretur. Ab eadem fiducia animi, cum quaestores pecuniam ex aerario contra legem promere non auderent, poposcisse claves et se aperturum aerarium dixisse, qui ut clauderetur effecisset.

LVI. Multa alia in Scipionis exitu maxime vitae dieque dicta, morte, funere, sepulcro, in diversum trahunt, ut cui famae, quibus scriptis adsentiar non
2 habeam. Non de accusatore convenit: alii M. Naevium, alii Petillios diem dixisse scribunt, non de tempore quo dicta dies sit, non de anno quo mortuus
3 sit, non ubi mortuus aut elatus sit; alii Romae, alii Literni et mortuum et sepultum. Utrobique monumenta ostenduntur et statuae; nam et Literni monumentum monumentoque statua superimposita fuit,

[1] concerpsisse *Sabellicus*: compressisse *F*.

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[1] That is, 4,000,000 sesterces.

[2] This anecdote is told also by Polybius (XXIV. ix; he has also the following story), Gellius (IV. xviii. 7–12), *Auct. De Vir. Ill.* (49. 17), all with small variations. Polybius alone mentions definite sums, substituting 3,000 talents and 15,000 talents for those given by Livy. Under the circumstances it seems useless to try to determine whether Polybius or an annalist, probably Claudius, is Livy's source. The following chapter well illustrates the uncertainty which still exists regarding these events.

[3] No pre-Livian source for this anecdote is known except Polybius; he makes it clear that this episode had nothing to do with the preceding. The impossibility of equating the sums given by Polybius (see the preceding note) with

sum [1] was also demanded in the senate from Publius B.C. 187
Scipio himself, and that, when he had directed his brother Lucius to bring the account-book, he had himself, with his own hands, torn it up, being angry that after he had brought two hundred millions into the treasury he should be asked to account for four millions.[2] With the same self-confidence, they say, when the quaestors did not dare to take money from the treasury [3] contrary to the law, he demanded the keys and said that he would open the treasury who had brought it to pass that it was closed.

LVI. Much else is said, especially about the end of Scipio's life, his trial, his death, his funeral, his tomb, all so contradictory that I find no tradition, no written documents, which I can accept. There is no unanimity as to his accuser: some say that Marcus Naevius [4] accused him, others the Petillii; there is no agreement as to the time when he was prosecuted nor as to the year when he died [5] nor as to where he died or was buried; some say that both death and burial took place at Rome, others at Literum. In both places tombs and statues are shown; for at Literum [6] there is a tomb and a statue placed upon

those of Livy leaves it doubtful still whether Polybius is the source for both anecdotes. The second means, of course, that it was due to Scipio that there was any money to be guarded in the treasury.

[4] Naevius was tribune in 184 B.C. (XXXIX. lii. 4 below).

[5] Livy returns to this question in dealing with the year 183 B.C. (XXXIX. lii.).

[6] Seneca, writing to Lucilius from Scipio's villa at Literum, says . . . *ara quam sepulchrum esse tanti viri suspicor* (*Ep.* LXXXVI. 1). Strabo (p. 243) also mentions the tomb, but there seems to be no other reference to the statue of which Livy speaks.

L.C. 67

4 quam tempestate disiectam nuper vidimus ipsi, et Romae extra Portam Capenam in Scipionum monumento tres statuae sunt, quarum duae P. et L. Scipionum dicuntur esse, tertia poetae Q. Ennii. 5 Nec inter scriptores rerum discrepat solum, sed orationes quoque, si modo ipsorum sunt quae feruntur, 6 P. Scipionis et Ti. Gracchi abhorrent inter se. Index orationis P. Scipionis nomen M. Naevii tribuni plebis habet, ipsa oratio sine nomine est accusatoris; modo 7 nebulonem. modo nugatorem appellat. Ne Gracchi quidem oratio aut Petilliorum accusatorum Africani aut 8 diei dictae Africano ullam mentionem habet. Alia tota serenda fabula est Gracchi orationi conveniens, et illi auctores sequendi sunt qui, cum L. Scipio et accusatus et damnatus sit pecuniae captae ab rege legatum in 9 Etruria fuisse Africanum tradunt; qua post famam de casu fratris adlatam relicta legatione cucurrisse eum Romam et, cum a porta recta ad forum se contulisset, quod in vincula duci fratrem dictum erat, reppulisse a corpore eius viatorem, et tribunis retinentibus magis

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[1] No inscriptions to Publius or Lucius Scipio and no identifiable statue of either has been found in the Scipio tomb. The bust which some suppose to be that of Ennius exists in the Vatican Museum.

[2] Cicero (*Brutus* 77) had few specimens of Scipio's style, but he quotes a punning fragment from a speech against Naevius (*quid hoc Naevio ignavius*: *De Or.* II. 249). But Livy (sect. 6 below) says that Naevius was not mentioned in the speech itself. There is a slight indication that Livy and Gellius (*l.c.*) read the same speech, since Livy says that Scipio called his accuser *nebulonem*, and this word occurs in the direct quotation given by Gellius.

[3] This speech is otherwise unknown.

the tomb, which I myself saw recently, shattered by a storm, and at Rome, outside the Porta Capena, in the tomb of the Scipios, there are three statues, two of which are said to represent Publius and Lucius Scipio, the third the poet Quintus Ennius.[1] Not only is there disagreement among historians, but the speeches also (if indeed those which are in circulation are genuine works of these men) of Publius Scipio[2] and Tiberius Gracchus[3] are inconsistent with one another. The *index*[4] of the speech of Publius Scipio contains the name of Marcus Naevius, tribune of the people: the speech itself lacks the name of the accuser; it calls him now "a ne'er-do-well," now "a no-good." Nor does the speech of Gracchus make any mention at all either of the Petillii as accusers of Africanus or of the prosecution of Africanus. Another entirely different story must be put together, consistent with the oration of Gracchus, and those writers must be followed who say that, when Lucius Scipio was both accused and convicted of receiving money from the king, Africanus was serving on a commission in Etruria;[5] that, leaving this post after receiving the news of his brother's downfall, he hastened to Rome, and when he had gone from the gate straight to the Forum, because it was said that his brother was being put in chains, that he drove the messenger from him, and that when the tribunes tried to stop him he attacked them, with more B.C. 187

[4] The *index* was a tag fastened to the projecting end of the rod on which the roll was wound, containing the title of the work contained in that roll.

[5] Nothing further is known of this commission, although Gellius (VI. (VII.) xix) tells the rest of the story, with greater detail.

T.C. 67

10 pie quam civiliter vim fecisse. Haec enim ipsa Ti. Gracchus queritur dissolutam esse a privato tribuniciam potestatem, et ad postremum, cum auxilium L. Scipioni pollicetur, adicit tolerabilioris exempli esse a tribuno plebis potius quam a privato victam videri et tribuniciam potestatem et rem
11 publicam esse. Sed ita hanc unam impotentem eius iniuriam invidia onerat ut increpando, quod degenerarit [1] tantum a se ipse, cumulatas ei [2] veteres laudes moderationis et temperantiae pro reprehen-
12 sione praesenti reddat: castigatum enim quondam ab eo populum ait, quod eum perpetuum consulem et dictatorem vellet facere; prohibuisse statuas sibi in comitio, in Rostris, in curia, in Capitolio, in cella
13 Iovis poni; prohibuisse ne decerneretur ut imago sua triumphali ornatu e templo Iovis optimi maximi exiret.

LVII. Haec vel in laudatione posita ingentem magnitudinem animi moderantis ad civilem [3] habitum honoribus significarent, quae exprobrando inimicus
2 fatetur. Huic Graccho minorem ex duabus filiis— nam maior P. Cornelio Nasicae haud dubie a patre

[1] degenerarit *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: generauit *et* generauerit $\bar{r}$.

[2] ei *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: et $\bar{r}$.

[3] moderantis ad civilem *Drakenborch*: moderantis uilem *M*: moderandis ad ciuilem $\bar{r}$.

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[1] The presumable situation was this: L. Scipio had been condemned by a tribune to pay a fine; in default of bond he would be imprisoned and could be released only by another tribune; Gracchus finally assumed the responsibility of freeing him after Africanus had committed his assault.

[2] Valerius Maximus (IV. i. 6) tells a similar story, but the occasion of the rebuke is unknown. It seems probable that Livy uses *perpetuus* in the sense of "for a considerable con-

affection for his brother than respect for the laws. B.C. 187
For it is just this conduct that Tiberius Gracchus complains of—that the tribunicial power had been infringed by a private citizen, and at the end, when he promised his official assistance to Lucius Scipio, he added that it seemed to be a more endurable precedent that a tribune of the people rather than a private citizen should have overthrown both the tribunicial power and the state.[1] But this one act of uncontrolled violence on Scipio's part he loaded with reproaches in such a way that, taunting him because he had fallen so far below his own standards, he paid him, as compensation for his criticism of the moment, lasting and accumulated praises for his integrity and self-command; for he said that the people had once been rebuked by Scipio because they wished to make him perpetual[2] consul and dictator; that he forbade statues to himself to be erected in the Comitium, on the Rostra, in the Curia, on the Capitoline, in the cell of Jupiter; that he prevented also a decree that his image in triumphal dress should appear to be coming out of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[3]

LVII. Such statements, even if included in a eulogy, would indicate the unusual greatness of a soul which restricted distinctions to conformity with a democratic constitution, and they were made by an enemy and accompanied by censure. To this Gracchus the younger of Scipio's two daughters—for the elder was betrothed to Publius Cornelius Nasica

tinuous period," contrasting it with *in annum*: cf. XXIV. viii. 7.

[3] Appian (*Iber.* 23) reports that this was done despite the protests of Scipio.

3 collocata erat—nuptam fuisse convenit. Illud parum constat, utrum post mortem patris et desponsa sit et nupserit, an verae illae opiniones sint. Gracchum, cum L. Scipio in vincula duceretur, nec quis-
4 quam collegarum auxilio esset, iurasse sibi inimicitias cum Scipionibus quae fuissent manere, nec se gratiae quaerendae causa quicquam facere, sed, in quem carcerem reges et imperatores hostium ducentem vidisset P. Africanum, in eum se fratrem eius duci
5 non passurum. Senatum eo die forte in Capitolio cenantem consurrexisse et petisse, ut inter epulas
6 Graccho filiam Africanus desponderet. Quibus ita inter [1] publicum sollemne sponsalibus rite factis cum se domum recepisset, Scipionem Aemiliae uxori
7 dixisse filiam se minorem despondisse. Cum illa, muliebriter indignabunda nihil de communi filia secum consultatum, adiecisset non si Ti. Graccho daret expertem consilii debuisse matrem esse,
8 laetum Scipionem tam concordi iudicio ei [2] ipsi desponsam respondisse. Haec de tanto viro quam et opinionibus et monumentis litterarum variarent, proponenda erant.

LVIII. Iudiciis a Q. Terentio praetore perfectis, Hostilius et Furius damnati praedes eodem die quaes-

[1] inter *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : in *F*. [2] ei *Walch* : et *F*.

[1] They were the parents of the famous tribunes.

[2] Probably in connection with some religious festival.

[3] Whether this is anything more than a pleasant story which Livy had picked up somewhere or not, it is probably characteristic of the conduct of the Roman aristocracy at this period.

[4] With this anecdote Livy concludes his parenthetical miscellany and returns to the narrative based on Valerius Antias : cf. the note to lv. 10 above.

and beyond doubt by her father—was married, as all agree.[1] What is not certain is whether she was both betrothed and married after the death of her father, or whether the opinions are true, that Gracchus, when Lucius Scipio was being taken to prison and no one of his colleagues was coming to his assistance, swore that his feud with the Scipios continued as before and that he was doing nothing to curry favour, but that he would not permit the brother of Africanus to be put into that prison into which he had seen Publius Africanus thrusting kings and generals of the enemy. The story goes on that the senate, which chanced to dine that day on the Capitoline,[2] had risen up and begged that during the banquet Africanus should betroth his daughter to Gracchus. When the contract had been duly made at this public ceremony and Scipio had returned home, he told his wife Aemilia that he had arranged a marriage for their younger daughter. When she, being irritated, as a woman would naturally be, that he had not consulted with her about the daughter of both of them, had added that not even if he were promising her to Tiberius Gracchus should the mother have been excluded from the deliberation, Scipio, they say, rejoicing at their harmony of opinion, replied that it was to Gracchus that he had betrothed her.[3] However much at variance are these accounts of so great a man, they have seemed worthy of presentation.[4] B.C. 187

LVIII. When the trials[5] had been completed by Quintus Terentius the praetor, Hostilius and Furius, who were convicted, gave bond the same day to the

[5] Livy seems to be technically correct in his terminology. The *iudicium* was the trial proper, as distinguished from the preliminary hearing: cf. lv. 5 above and the note.

c. 7 2 toribus urbanis dederunt; Scipio cum contenderet omnem quam accepisset pecuniam in aerario esse, nec se quicquam publici habere, in vincula duci est coeptus. 3 P. Scipio Nasica tribunos appellavit orationemque habuit plenam veris decoribus non communiter modo Corneliae gentis, sed proprie familiae suae. 4 Parentes suos et P. Africani ac L. Scipionis, qui in carcerem duceretur, fuisse Cn. et P. Scipiones, 5 clarissimos viros. Eos, cum per aliquot annos in terra Hispania adversus multos Poenorum Hispanorumque et duces et exercitus nominis Romani famam 6 auxissent non bello solum, sed quod Romanae temperantiae fideique specimen illis gentibus dedissent, ad extremum ambo pro republica mortem [1] occu- 7 buisse. Cum illorum gloriam tueri posteris satis esset. P. Africanum tantum paternas superiecisse laudes ut fidem fecerit non sanguine humano sed 8 stirpe divina satum se esse. L. Scipionem, de quo agatur, ut quae in Hispania, quae in Africa, cum legatus fratris esset, gessisset, praetereantur, consulem et ab senatu dignum habitum [2] cui extra sortem Asia provincia et bellum cum Antiocho rege decerneretur, et a fratre cui post duos consulatus censu- 9 ramque et triumphum legatus in Asiam iret. Ibi ne magnitudo et splendor legati laudibus consulis officeret, forte ita incidisse ut, quo die ad Magnesiam

[1] mortem *edd. vett.* : morte $\bar{r}$.
[2] habitum *Weissenborn* : uisum $\bar{r}$.

[1] Execution of judgment on the person of the condemned was permitted when he had or claimed to have no property and did not furnish bond.

City quaestors; when Scipio protested that all the money which he had received was in the treasury and that he had no public property, they proceeded to put him in prison.[1] Publius Scipio Nasica appealed to the tribunes and delivered a speech full of deserved tributes, not only to the Cornelian *gens* as a whole, but specifically to his own family. The fathers, he said, both of himself and of Publius Africanus and the Lucius Scipio who was being imprisoned, were Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, men of the highest distinction. After they had, through many years in the land of Spain, against many generals and armies alike of Carthaginians and Spaniards, increased the fame of the Roman name, not only in war but because they had given those peoples an example of Roman self-control and devotion, both had in the end met death for their fatherland. While it would have been enough, he continued, to maintain for posterity their standard of glory, Publius Africanus had so far surpassed his father's praises that he had given reason to believe that he was born, not of human blood, but of divine stock. Lucius Scipio, whose fate was now in question, not to mention what he had done in Spain, in Africa, while serving as his brother's lieutenant, had, as consul, been deemed by the senate worthy to have decreed to him, without recourse to the lot, the province of Asia and the war with King Antiochus, and had been deemed by his brother worthy to be attended to Asia by that brother as his lieutenant, after he had been twice consul and censor and had celebrated a triumph.[2] There, that the greatness and glory of the lieutenant might not obscure the consul's fame, it happened that, on the day when B.C. 187

[1] Cf. XXXVII. i. 9.

signis collatis L. Scipio Antiochum devicisset, aeger
10 P. Scipio Elaeae dierum aliquot abesset via. Non fuisse minorem eum exercitum quam Hannibalis, cum quo in Africa esset pugnatum; Hannibalem eundem fuisse inter multos alios regios duces, qui imperator Punici belli fuerit. Et bellum quidem ita gestum esse ut ne fortunam quidem quisquam criminari
11 possit: in pace crimen quaeri; eam dici venisse. Hic decem legatos simul argui,[1] quorum ex consilio data
12 pax esset; quamquam exstitissent[2] ex decem legatis, qui Cn. Manlium accusarent, tamen non modo ad criminis fidem, sed ne ad moram quidem triumphi eam accusationem valuisse.

LIX. At hercule in Scipione leges ipsas pacis, ut nimium accommodatas Antiocho, suspectas esse; integrum enim ei regnum relictum; omnia possidere
2 eum victum, quae ante bellum eius fuerint; auri et argenti cum vim magnam habuisset, nihil in publicum
3 relatum, omne in privatum versum; an praeter omnium oculos tantum auri argentique in triumpho L. Scipionis quantum non decem aliis triumphis, si
4 omne in unum conferatur, latum? [1] Nam quid de fini-

[1] argui *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: arguique *et* argui quoque *rec.*
[2] quamquam exstitissent *Drakenborch*: quamquam exstitisse *M*: quam (*aut* quem) exstitisse *rec.*

[1] Cf. XXXVII. xli. 1 and the note.
[2] This is one of the minor mysteries in this affair: Livy's narrative shows that their dealings had been entirely with Manlius, who, as a matter of fact, had far more opportunity to convert tribute and booty to his own use than Scipio had

Lucius Scipio defeated Antiochus in pitched battle B.C. 187
at Magnesia, Publius Scipio was sick at Elaea, some days' journey away. That army, he went on, was no smaller than that of Hannibal, with which they had fought in Africa; that same Hannibal,[1] who had been commander in the Punic War, was there among many other generals of the king. And the war indeed had been so conducted that no one could find fault even with fortune; it was in the peace that ground for accusation was sought; the peace, they said, had been sold. On this point, he maintained, the ten commissioners were likewise accused, by whose advice the peace had been concluded;[2] although some of the ten commissioners had come forward to accuse Gnaeus Manlius, this charge had failed, not only to win belief in his guilt, but even to delay his triumph.

LIX. But, by Hercules, they say in the case of Scipio that the very terms of peace were suspicious, as too favourable to Antiochus; for it was implied that his kingdom had been left undiminished; that after his defeat he possessed everything he had owned before the war; that, although he had had a great quantity of gold and silver, none of it had been turned in to the treasury, all of it converted to private use; but (as to the last charge) had not so much gold and silver been displayed before the eyes of all in the triumph of Lucius Scipio as had not been carried in ten other triumphs if they were combined into one? [3] For what (returning to their first charge) shall I say

had. The following sentence is almost conclusive proof that the Scipios were victims of political animus, regardless of their actual guilt or innocence.

[3] Cf. XXXVII. lix. 2–5.

bus regni dicam? Asiam omnem et proxima Euro-
5 pae tenuisse Antiochum. Ea quanta regio orbis
terrarum sit, a Tauro monte in Aegaeum usque
prominens mare, quot non urbes modo sed gentes
6 amplectatur, omnes scire. Hanc regionem dierum
plus triginta iter in [2] longitudinem, decem inter duo
maria in latitudinem patentem usque ad Tauri
7 montis iuga Antiocho ademptam, expulso in ultimum
angulum orbis terrarum. Quid si gratuita pax esset
plus adimi ei potuisse? Philippo victo Macedoniam,
Nabidi Lacedaemonem relictam, nec Quinctio crimen
quaesitum; non enim habuisse eum Africanum
fratrem; cuius cum [3] gloria prodesse L. Scipioni
8 debuisset, invidiam nocuisse. Tantum auri argen-
tique iudicatum esse in domum L. Scipionis illatum
quantum venditis omnibus bonis redigi non posset.
Ubi [4] ergo esse regium aurum, ubi tot hereditates
9 acceptas? In domo quam sumptus non exhauserint,
exstare debuisse novae fortunae cumulum. At
enim, quod ex bonis redigi non possit, ex corpore et
tergo per vexationem et contumelias L. Scipionis
10 petituros inimicos, ut in carcere inter fures nocturnos
et latrones vir clarissimus includatur et in robore et
tenebris exspiret, deinde nudus ante carcerem
11 proiciatur. Non id Corneliae magis familiae quam
urbi Romanae fore erubescendum.

[1] latum *Crévier*: sit latum σ.
[2] iter in *Weissenborn*: in *M*: *om.* σ.
[3] cuius cum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* σ.
[4] ubi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: id ubi σ.

about the boundaries of the kingdom of Antiochus? B.C. 187
He had held, as we know, all Asia and the adjacent parts of Europe. How great this section of the earth is, extending from the Taurus mountain clear to the Aegean Sea, how many cities and even nations it contains, all men know. This region, extending in length more than thirty days' march and ten in width between the two seas, as far as the crest of the Taurus mountain, had been taken from Antiochus, who had been driven back into the farthest corner of the earth. What more, if the peace involved no loss of territory, could have been taken from him? Macedonia, he reminded them, had been left to Philip after his defeat, Lacedaemon to Nabis, nor had Quinctius been the victim of a trumped-up charge; he, of course, had not had Africanus as a brother; although his fame should have aided Lucius Scipio, his unpopularity had done him harm. Judgment had been given that so much gold and silver had been conveyed into the house of Lucius Scipio as the sale of all his property could not produce. Where, then, he asked, was the royal gold, where all the legacies he had received? In a house which extravagance had not drained, this heap of new wealth should be apparent. But, of course, what cannot be obtained from his property the foes of Lucius Scipio will seek from his body and from his back, by means of persecution and insults, so that this most distinguished man may be shut up in prison among thieves of the night and brigands and may die in the darkness of a cell and then be cast out naked before the prison. And it was not, he concluded, to the Cornelian family so much as to the City of Rome that this would bring the blush of shame.

u.c. 67

LX. Adversus ea Terentius praetor rogationem Petilliam et senatus consultum [1] et iudicium de L. 2 Scipione factum recitavit; se, ni referatur pecunia in publicum, quae iudicata sit, nihil habere quod faciat nisi ut prendi damnatum et in vincula duci iubeat. 3 Tribuni cum in consilium secessissent, paulo post C. Fannius ex sua collegarumque aliorum, praeter Gracchum, sententia pronuntiavit praetori non intercedere 4 tribunos quo minus sua potestate utatur. Ti. Gracchus ita decrevit, quo minus ex bonis L. Scipionis quod iudicatum sit redigatur, se non intercedere 5 praetori; L. Scipionem, qui regem opulentissimum orbis terrarum devicerit, imperium populi Romani 6 propagaverit in ultimos terrarum fines, regem Eumenem, Rhodios, alias tot Asiae urbes devinxerit populi Romani beneficiis, plurimos duces hostium in triumpho ductos carcere incluserit, non passurum inter hostes populi Romani in carcere et vinculis 7 esse, mittique eum se iubere. Tanto adsensu auditum est decretum, adeo dimissum Scipionem laeti homines viderunt ut vix in eadem civitate videretur 8 factum iudicium. In bona deinde L. Scipionis possessum publice quaestores praetor misit. Neque in iis non modo vestigium ullum comparuit pecuniae regiae, sed nequaquam tantum redactum est quantae 9 summae damnatus fuerat. Collata ea pecunia a cognatis amicisque et clientibus est L. Scipioni ut, si

[1] et senatus consultum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ex senatus consulto *r*.

LX. In reply to this the praetor Terentius read the Petillian law and the decree of the senate and the sentence which had been passed on Lucius Scipio; unless the fine which was imposed was paid to the treasury there was nothing which he could do except to order the convicted man to be arrested and taken to prison. When the tribunes had withdrawn for consultation, a little later Gaius Fannius announced that, in accordance with the decision of himself and his colleagues except Gracchus, the tribunes would not interfere with the praetor so as to prevent his exercise of his authority. Tiberius Gracchus thus decreed: that he would not prevent the praetor from collecting, out of the property of Lucius Scipio, the fine that had been imposed; Lucius Scipio himself, who had conquered the richest king in the world, extended the empire of the Roman people to the most distant limits of the earth, bound King Eumenes, the Rhodians, and so many cities of Asia by obligations to the Roman people, had led in his triumph and thrown into prison so many leaders of the enemy, he would not permit to lie in prison and in chains among the enemies of the Roman people, and he ordered him to be released. This decree was listened to with such applause and with such joy did men see Scipio released that it scarcely seemed that the trial had taken place in the same state. Then the praetor sent the quaestors to take possession, on behalf of the state, of the property of Lucius Scipio. Not only was there no trace of the king's wealth discovered, but by no means was there as much property found as would equal the amount of the fine. Such a sum was raised for Lucius Scipio by his relatives and friends and clients that if he had B.C. 187

acciperet eam, locupletior aliquanto esset quam ante calamitatem fuerat. Nihil accepit; quae necessaria ad cultum erant, redempta ei a proximis cognatis sunt; verteratque Scipionum invidia in praetorem et consilium eius et accusatores.

received it he would have been a great deal richer than he had been before his downfall. He accepted none of it; what was necessary for a decent existence was redeemed for him by his nearest relatives; and the ill-will against the Scipios ended by recoiling upon the heads of the praetor and his advisers and the accusers.[1] B.C. 187

[1] It has seemed unwise to attempt any further reconstruction of these scenes in the drama of the Scipios. Livy is unusually conscious of the contradictions and difficulties of the story without being able to solve the problems they create. Excessive space would be required to discuss these problems adequately, and the results would be incommensurate with the effort required.

LIBRI XXXVIII PERIOCHA

M. Fulvius cos. in Epiro Ambracienses obsessos in deditionem accepit, Cephallaniam subegit, Aetolis perdomitis pacem dedit. Cn. Manlius cos., collega eius, Gallograecos, Tolostobogios et Tectosagos et Trocmos,[1] qui Brenno duce in Asiam transierant, cum soli citra Taurum montem non apparerent, vicit. Eorum origo et quo modo[2] ea loca quae tenent occupaverint refertur. Exemplum quoque virtutis et pudicitiae in femina traditur. Quae cum regis Gallograecorum uxor fuisset, capta centurionem qui ei vim intulerat occidit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est. Censa sunt civium capita CCLVIII CCCX.[3] Cum Ariarathe, Cappadociae rege, amicitia iuncta est. Cn. Manlius, contradicentibus X legatis ex quorum consilio foedus cum Antiocho conscripserat, de Gallograecis acta pro se in senatu causa triumphavit. Scipio Africanus die ei dicta, ut quidam tradunt. a Q.[4] Petillio tr. pl., ut quidam, a Naevio, quod praeda ex Antiocho capta aerarium fraudasset, postquam is dies venit, evocatus in rostra: "Hac die" inquit "Quirites, Carthaginem vici," et prosequente populo Capitolium escendit. Inde ne amplius tribuniciis iniuriis vexaretur, in voluntarium exilium Liternum[5] concessit. Incertum ibi an Romae defunctus sit; nam monumentum

[1] *These names, much confused in the MSS., are corrected from the Livy text.*

[2] quo modo *Jahn*: quoniam *N P*.

[3] *The number is left as it is found in the MSS., although it disagrees with that given by Livy in xxxvi.* 10 *above.*

[4] Q. *Sigonius ex vet. lib.*: p. *codd.*

[5] Liternum *edd.*: *om. codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXVIII

THE consul Marcus Fulvius besieged the Ambraciots in Epirus and received their surrender, subdued Cephallania, and granted peace to the conquered Aetolians. Gnaeus Manlius his colleague defeated the Gallogrecians, that is, the Tolostobogii, the Tectosagi and the Trocmi, who had crossed into Asia under the leadership of Brennus, when they alone of the peoples on this side of the Taurus mountain did not offer submission. Their origin and the manner in which they gained control of the districts which they hold are recorded. An example also of virtue and chastity in a woman is reported. She, being the wife of the king of the Gallogrecians, and being a prisoner, slew a centurion who had violated her. The *lustrum* was closed by the censors. The number of citizens rated was two hundred and fifty-eight thousand three hundred and ten. A treaty of friendship was concluded with Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia. Gnaeus Manlius, despite the opposition of the ten commissioners by whose advice he had put into form the treaty with Antiochus, having pleaded his cause in person before the senate, triumphed over the Gallogrecians. Scipio Africanus, having been accused, as some say, by Quintus Petillius the tribune of the people, as others say, by Naevius, on the ground that he had cheated the treasury of booty taken from Antiochus, when the day came and he was summoned to the Rostra, said: "On this day, citizens, I conquered Carthage," and with the people attending him ascended the Capitoline. Then, to avoid being further annoyed by the attacks of the tribunes, he withdrew to Liternum in voluntary exile. It is uncertain whether he died there or in Rome;

eius utrobique fuit. L. Scipio Asiaticus, frater Africani, eodem crimine peculatus accusatus damnatusque cum in vincula et carcerem duceretur, Ti. Sempronius Gracchus tr. pl.. qui antea Scipionibus inimicus fuerat, intercessit et ob id beneficium Africani filiam duxit. Cum quaestores in bona eius publice possidenda missi essent,[1] non modo in his ullum vestigium pecuniae regiae apparuit, sed nequaquam tantum redactum quantae summae erat damnatus. Collatam a cognatis et amicis innumerabilem pecuniam accipere noluit; quae necessaria ei erant ad cultum redempta.

[1] missi essent *J. F. Gronovius*: misissent *codd.*

for there was a tomb to him in each place. Lucius Scipio Asiaticus, the brother of Africanus, was accused and convicted on the same charge of embezzlement, and, when he was being led to chains and prison, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, tribune of the people, who had formerly been an enemy of the Scipios, intervened for him, and in return for that act of kindness was given the daughter of Africanus in marriage. When the quaestors had been sent to take possession, on behalf of the state, of the property of Scipio, not only was there no trace of the king's wealth discovered, but by no means was there as much found as would equal the amount of the fine. A countless amount of money collected by his relatives and friends he refused to accept; what was necessary for a decent existence for him was redeemed.

BOOK XXXIX

LIBER XXXIX

I. Dum haec, si modo hoc anno acta sunt, Romae aguntur, consules ambo in Liguribus gerebant bellum. 2 Is hostis velut natus ad continendam inter magnorum intervalla bellorum Romanis militarem disciplinam erat; nec alia provincia militem magis ad virtutem 3 acuebat. Nam Asia et amoenitate urbium et copia terrestrium maritimarumque rerum et mollitia hostium regiisque opibus ditiores quam fortiores exerci- 4 tus faciebat. Praecipue sub imperio Cn. Manlii solute ac neglegenter habiti sunt. Itaque asperius paulo iter in Thracia et exercitatior hostis magna 5 clade eos castigavit. In Liguribus omnia erant quae militem excitarent, loca montana et aspera, quae et ipsis capere labor erat et ex praeoccupatis deicere 6 hostem; et itinera ardua angusta infesta insidiis; hostis levis et velox et repentinus, qui nullum usquam tempus,[1] nullum locum quietum aut securum esse

[1] nullum usquam tempus *Heraeus*: usquam tempus nullus F.

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[1] The allusion is to the uncertainty as to the date of the trial of the Scipios: cf. XXXVIII. lvi. 2 above.

[2] The assignment of Liguria to the consuls was reported at XXXVIII. xliii. 8 above.

[3] This charge was not made in the speech of Furius Aemilius (XXXVIII. xlv.–xlvi. above), but is brought up again in

BOOK XXXIX

I. While these things were going on at Rome, if indeed they did happen that year,[1] both consuls were waging war against the Ligurians.[2] This enemy was born, as it were, to keep alive the military discipline of the Romans during the intervals between their great wars; nor did any province do more to put an edge to the soldier's courage. For Asia, on account of the pleasantness of its cities and the abundance of its treasures of land and sea and the feebleness of the enemy and the wealth of its kings, made armies richer rather than braver. Especially under the command of Gnaeus Manlius was discipline slackly and indifferently enforced;[3] and so a somewhat more difficult advance in Thrace and a rather more effective enemy had taught them a lesson with great slaughter. Among the Ligurians there was everything to keep an army alert—hilly and rough ground, which was difficult both for the men themselves to occupy and to dislodge the enemy who had already occupied it, and roads difficult, narrow, dangerous by reason of ambuscades; an enemy lightly equipped, mobile and unexpected in his movements, who permitted no time or place whatever to be quiet or B.C. 187

vi. 5 and vii. 3 below. Its presence here, in contrast with its absence from the preceding Book, may indicate a change of source.

sineret: oppugnatio necessaria munitorum castellorum, laboriosa simul periculosaque: inops regio, quae parsimonia astringeret milites, praedae haud
7 multum praeberet. Itaque non lixa sequebatur, non iumentorum longus ordo agmen extendebat. Nihil praeter arma et viros omnem spem in armis
8 habentes erat. Nec deerat umquam cum iis vel materia belli vel causa, quia propter domesticam inopiam vicinos agros incursabant. Nec tamen in discrimen summae rerum pugnabatur.

II. C. Flaminius consul, cum Friniatibus[1] Liguribus in agro eorum pluribus proeliis secundis factis,
2 in deditionem gentem accepit et arma ademit. Ea quia non sincera fide tradebant, cum castigarentur, relictis vicis in montem Auginum profugerunt.
3 Confestim secutus est consul. Ceterum effusi rursus, et pars maxima inermes, per invia et rupes deruptas praecipitantes fugerunt, qua sequi hostis non posset. Ita trans Appenninum abierunt. Qui castris se
4 tenuerant, circumsessi et expugnati sunt. Inde trans Appenninum ductae legiones. Ibi montis quem ceperant altitudine paulisper se tutati mox in deditionem concesserunt. Tum conquisita cum in-
5 tentiore cura arma et omnia adempta. Translatum deinde ad Apuanos Ligures bellum, qui in agrum

[1] cum Friniatibus *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : confirmatis *r*.

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[1] This reflection seems to be fully warranted by Livy's narrative, and raises doubts as to the legitimacy of some of the Ligurian triumphs, which were still notorious in Cicero's day (*Brutus* 255).

[2] The Friniates lived mainly south of the Apennines.

[3] The Apuani lived west of the Apennines. A raid covering

safe; the besieging of fortified points was necessary B.C. 187
and at the same time toilsome and dangerous; the district was poor, which constrained the soldiers to simple living and offered them little plunder. Accordingly, no civilian camp-follower went along, no long train of pack-animals stretched out the column. There was nothing except arms and men who placed all their trust in their arms. Nor was there ever wanting either the occasion or the cause for war with them, because on account of their poverty at home they were constantly raiding their neighbours' lands. And yet the fighting never brought about the final settlement of a campaign.[1]

II. The consul Gaius Flaminius, having fought several successful battles with the Ligurian Friniates [2] on their own soil, received the tribe in surrender and disarmed them. When they were reproved because they did not surrender the arms in good faith, they abandoned their villages and fled to the Auginus mountain. The consul followed in haste. But they scattered again, the largest part being unarmed, and fled at full speed through pathless country and over steep cliffs where the enemy could not pursue. So they departed across the Apennines. Those who remained in camp were surrounded and captured. Thence the legions were led across the Apennines. There the enemy defended themselves for a while by virtue of the height of the mountain which they had occupied, but presently yielded in surrender. At this time the arms were sought out with greater diligence, and all were taken from them. The war was then transferred to the Ligurian Apuani,[3] who

all the country between Pisa and Bologna was an ambitious undertaking.

Pisanum Bononiensemque ita incursaverant ut coli
6 non possent. His quoque perdomitis consul pacem
dedit finitimis. Et quia a bello quieta ut esset pro-
vincia effecerat, ne in otio militem haberet, viam a
7 Bononia perduxit Arretium. M. Aemilius alter con-
sul agros Ligurum vicosque, qui in campis aut vallibus
erant, ipsis montes duos Ballistam [1] Suismontiumque
8 tenentibus, deussit depopulatusque est. Deinde eos
qui in montibus erant adortus primo levibus proeliis
fatigavit, postremo coactos in aciem descendere
iusto proelio devicit, in quo et aedem Dianae vovit.
9 Subactis cis Appenninum omnibus, tum transmontanos
adortus—in his et Friniates [2] Ligures erant, quos non
adierat C. Flaminius—omnes Aemilius subegit arma-
que ademit et de montibus in campos multitudinem
10 deduxit. Pacatis Liguribus exercitum in agrum
Gallicum duxit viamque a Placentia ut Flaminiae
11 committeret Ariminum perduxit. Proelio ultimo,
quo cum Liguribus signis collatis conflixit, aedem
Iunoni reginae vovit. Haec in Liguribus eo anno
gesta.

III. In Gallia M. Furius praetor insontibus Ceno-
manis, in pace speciem belli quaerens, ademerat

[1] Ballistam *edd. vett.* : uallis tamen *et similia* ϝ.
[2] Friniates ϝ : erisinates *M.*

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[1] If, as seems probable, there was already a road from Arezzo to Rome, the new road provided a route to Gaul shorter than the Via Flaminia (built in 220 B.C. by the father of the present consul) and the Via Aemilia (see sect. 10 below), by way of Ariminum.

[2] In XL. lii. 1–3, Aemilius, as censor in 179 B.C., received

had raided the lands of Pisa and Bologna to such effect that they could not be cultivated. Having subdued them too, the consul granted peace to their neighbours. And, because he had brought it to pass that the province was free from war, that he might not leave his army idle, he built a road from Bologna to Arezzo.[1] The other consul, Marcus Aemilius, burned and ravaged the farms and villages of the Ligurians which were in the plains or valleys, the people themselves holding the two mountains Ballista and Suismontium. Then, attacking the men who were on the mountains, he first wore them out with small skirmishes, then forced them to come down to face his battle-line and defeated them in a regular battle, in the course of which he vowed a temple to Diana.[2] Having subdued all the tribes on this side of the Apennines, Aemilius then attacked those beyond the mountains—among whom there were those Ligurian Friniates also whom Gaius Flaminius had not visited—and subdued them all, took away their arms and transferred the population from the hills to the plains. Leaving the Ligurians pacified, he led his army into Gallic territory, and built a road from Placentia to Ariminum, in order to make a junction with the Via Flaminia. In the final encounter in which he engaged the Ligurians in a pitched battle, he vowed a temple to Juno Regina. Such were the events of that year among the Ligurians. B.C. 187

III. In Gaul the praetor Marcus Furius, seeking in peace the appearance of war, had disarmed the

an appropriation for games in connection with the dedication of temples to Diana and Juno Regina (sect. 11 below). Both were near the Circus Flaminius.

U.C. 567

2 arma. Id [1] Cenomani questi Romae apud senatum reiectique ad consulem Aemilium, cui ut cognosceret statueretque senatus permiserat, magno certamine
3 cum praetore habito obtinuerunt causam. Arma reddere Cenomanis, decedere provincia praetor iussus.
4 Legatis deinde sociorum Latini nominis, qui toto undique ex Latio frequentes convenerant, senatus datus est. His querentibus magnam multitudinem civium suorum Romam commigrasse et ibi censos esse,
5 Q. Terentio Culleoni praetori negotium datum est ut eos conquireret, et quem C. Claudio M. Livio [2] censoribus postve eos censores ipsum parentemve eius apud se censum esse probassent socii, ut redire eo
6 cogeret, ubi censi essent. Hac conquisitione duodecim milia Latinorum domos redierunt, iam tum multitudine alienigenarum urbem onerante.

IV. Priusquam consules redirent Romam, M. Ful-
2 vius proconsul ex Aetolia redit; isque ad aedem Apollinis in senatu cum de rebus in Aetolia Cephallaniaque ab se gestis disseruisset, petit a patribus ut,

[1] id *Gelenius* : inde et *M* : inde *aut* in σ.
[2] Liuio σ : iulio *M*.

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[1] The Cenomani had been quiet since their defeat by Cethegus in 197 B.C. (XXXIII. xxiii. 4).

[2] The allied cities and the Latin colonies, whose status was similar, were under obligations to Rome, in accordance with their several treaties and constitutions. The migration of their citizens to Rome increased the burden on those who remained at home; the status of the migrants is uncertain; they seem not to have acquired Roman citizenship and yet to have been assessed by the censors.

Cenomani,[1] who had given no provocation: they in B.C. 187
consequence laid a complaint about this before the senate at Rome, and were referred to the consul Aemilius, whom the senate had authorized to investigate and decide, and after engaging in great contention with the praetor won their case. The praetor was ordered to restore their arms to the Cenomani and to leave the province.

Then ambassadors from the allies of the Latin confederacy, who had assembled from all Latium in great numbers from every side, were granted an audience by the senate. When they complained that a great number of their citizens had migrated to Rome and had been assessed there,[2] Quintus Terentius Culleo the praetor was instructed to search them out, and, on receiving from the allies proof that any person or the father of such person[3] had been assessed among the allies in the censorship of Gaius Claudius and Marcus Livius[4] or after that censorship, to compel such persons to return to the places where they had been registered. As a consequence of this investigation twelve thousand of the Latins returned home, for even at that time a multitude of aliens was burdening the city.

IV. Before the consuls returned to Rome, the proconsul Marcus Fulvius returned from Aetolia; and when the senate, in the temple of Apollo, had heard him describe his exploits in Aetolia and Cephallania, he asked the Fathers, if they deemed it proper, by

[3] Since only heads of families were listed, the omission of this provision would have opened the door to persons who moved to Rome in the lifetimes of their fathers.

[4] They were censors in 204 B.C. The date chosen was probably arbitrary and the result of compromise.

u.c. 567

si [1] aequum censerent, ob rem publicam bene ac feliciter gestam et diis immortalibus honorem haberi
3 iuberent et sibi triumphum decernerent. M. Aburius tribunus plebis si quid de ea re ante M. Aemilii consulis adventum decerneretur intercessurum se
4 ostendit: eum contra dicere velle, proficiscentemque in provinciam ita sibi mandasse ut ea disceptatio integra in adventum suum servaretur. Fulvium temporis iacturam facere: senatum etiam praesente
5 consule [2] quod vellet decreturum. Tum [3] Fulvius: si aut simultas M. Aemilii secum ignota hominibus esset, aut quam is eas inimicitias impotenti ac prope
6 regia ira exerceret, tamen non fuisse ferendum absentem consulem et deorum immortalium honori obstare et meritum debitumque triumphum morari,
7 imperatorem rebus egregie gestis victoremque exercitum cum praeda et captivis ante portas stare, donec consuli ob hoc ipsum moranti redire Romam libitum
8 esset. Verum enimvero cum sint notissimae sibi cum consule inimicitiae, quid ab eo quemquam posse aequi exspectare, qui per infrequentiam furtim sena-
9 tus consultum factum ad aerarium detulerit, Ambraciam non videri vi captam, quae aggere ac vineis oppugnata sit, ubi incensis operibus alia de integro

[1] ut si *Madvig*: ut *F*. [2] pr. con. *F*: con. pr. *M*.
[3] tum *Muretus*: *om. F*.

reason of his successful and fortunate conduct of the B.C. 187
business of the state, both to order that honour should be paid to the immortal gods and to decree a triumph to him. Marcus Aburius, tribune of the people, announced that, if any decree on that subject were passed prior to the arrival of Marcus Aemilius, he would veto it: Aemilius, he said, wished to speak against it, and on his departure to his province had given instructions to him, the tribune, that this whole discussion should be reserved for his return. Fulvius, he said, was suffering the loss of time only: even with the consul present the senate would decree what he wished. Then Fulvius replied: if either the quarrel between him and Marcus Aemilius was unknown to men, or if it was unknown with what uncontrollable and almost tyrannical passion Aemilius carried on the feud, even then it would have been unendurable that the absent consul should both stand in the way of the honour due to the immortal gods and delay an earned and merited triumph, and that a general after a brilliant campaign and a victorious army with its booty and prisoners should stand before the gates until it suited the fancy of a consul (who stayed away for just that reason) to return to Rome. But as a matter of fact, he went on, since his quarrel with the consul was very well known, what justice could be expected from a man who had deposited in the treasury a decree of the senate passed stealthily and in a poorly attended meeting, to the effect that Ambracia did not appear to have been taken by force, although it had been besieged with a mound and sheds, where other works were built anew when the first were burned, where the battle had raged

facta sint, ubi circa muros supra subterque terram
10 per dies quindecim pugnatum, ubi a prima luce, cum
iam transcendisset muros miles, usque ad noctem diu
anceps proelium tenuerit, ubi plus tria milia hostium
11 sint caesa. Iam de deorum immortalium templis
spoliatis in capta urbe qualem calumniam . . .[1] ad
12 pontifices attulerit? Nisi Syracusarum ceterarumque
captarum civitatium ornamentis urbem exornari fas
fuerit, in Ambracia una capta non valuerit belli ius.
13 Se et patres conscriptos orare et ab tribuno petere,
ne se superbissimo inimico ludibrio esse sinant.

V. Undique omnes alii deprecari tribunum, alii
castigare. Ti. Gracchi collegae plurimum oratio
2 movit. Ne suas quidem simultates pro magistratu
exercere boni exempli esse: alienarum vero simulta-
tum tribunum plebis cognitorem fieri turpe et in-
dignum collegii eius potestate et sacratis legibus
3 esse. Suo quemque iudicio et homines odisse aut
diligere et res probare aut improbare debere, non
pendere ex alterius vultu ac nutu nec alieni momentis
animi circumagi, adstipularique irato consuli tribunum
4 plebei; et quid privatim M. Aemilius mandaverit

[1] *lacunam susp. Madvig.*

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[1] I have filled out the suspected lacuna in what seems the simplest way consistent with grammar and sense. Madvig takes the passage to mean that spoils captured by Fulvius would bestow fame upon the pontiffs when they used them in the decoration of temples. The action referred to is the decree reported in XXXVIII. xliv. 5 above.

[2] *Adstipulari* is at least semi-technical, implying giving support to a legal proceeding.

[3] The consul had no right to issue official orders of this sort to the tribune.

around the walls for fifteen days, above and below the ground, where from daylight, after the soldiers had already scaled the walls, until nightfall the battle had been maintained with uncertain issue, and where more than three thousand of the enemy had perished? Then, too, as to the plundering of the temples of the immortal gods in the captured city, what kind of insult was it that he had turned the booty over to the pontiffs?[1] Unless it had been lawful to adorn the City with the trophies of Syracuse and other captured towns, but that in the case of captured Ambracia alone the law of war did not hold good! He begged the conscript Fathers and he requested of the tribune that they should not permit him to be made a laughing-stock by this most insolent personal enemy. B.C. 187

V. Everybody from all sides began to address the tribune, some with entreaties, some with reproaches. The argument of his colleague Tiberius Gracchus impressed him most. He said that it was not a good precedent to follow up even one's own contentions while holding a magistracy; but it was disgraceful for a tribune of the people to take sides in the contentions of others, and unworthy of the authority of that college and of its sacred laws. Each man, he said, in accordance with his own judgment should both hate or love men and approve or disapprove measures, should not depend upon another's expression and nod or be led this way or that under the pressure of another's will, nor should a tribune of the people be a second[2] to an angry consul; he should not remember any commission which Marcus Aemilius had privately[3] entrusted to him, and forget the office of tribune which had been

meminisse, tribunatum sibi a populo Romano mandatum oblivisci, et mandatum pro auxilio ac libertate privatorum, non pro consulari regno. Ne hoc quidem cernere eum, fore ut memoriae ac posteritati mandetur eiusdem collegii alterum et duobus tribunis plebis suas inimicitias remisisse rei publicae, alterum alienas et mandatas exercuisse. His victus castigationibus tribunus cum templo excessisset, referente Ser. Sulpicio praetore triumphus M. Fulvio est decretus. Is cum gratias patribus conscriptis egisset, adiecit ludos magnos se Iovi optimo maximo eo die quo Ambraciam cepisset vovisse: in eam rem sibi centum pondo auri a civitatibus collatum: petere ut ex ea pecunia quam in triumpho latam [1] in aerario positurus esset id aurum secerni iuberent. Senatus pontificum collegium consuli iussit, num omne id aurum in ludos consumi necesse esset. Cum pontifices negassent ad religionem pertinere quanta impensa in ludos fieret, senatus Fulvio quantum impenderet permisit, dum ne summam octoginta milium excederet. Triumphare mense Ianuario statuerat: sed cum audisset consulem M. Aemilium, litteris M. Aburii tribuni plebis acceptis de remissa intercessione, ipsum ad

[1] latam ϝ: delatam *M*.

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[1] The first tribune is, of course, Gracchus himself.

[2] Neither the vow nor the contribution has been mentioned before. The celebration of the games is reported at XXII. 1 below.

[3] The denomination of the coins is omitted. If the allowance was 80,000 sesterces, as is probable, only twenty pounds of gold would be used: 80,000 *denarii* would amount to eighty pounds. In either case, one wonders what became of the balance. The senate's decree probably did not forbid the expenditure of private funds in addition.

entrusted to him by the Roman people, and entrusted B.C. 187
for the purpose of rendering assistance to and protecting the liberty of private citizens, not of bolstering up the consular authority. Aburius, he said, did not even see that the result would be that tradition and posterity would have the story how in the same college one of two tribunes of the people had laid aside his own enmities for the sake of the state, the other had assumed and carried on those of another because they had been entrusted to him.[1] When the tribune, overcome by this criticism, had left the temple, on the motion of Servius Sulpicius the praetor the triumph was voted to Marcus Fulvius. When he had thanked the conscript Fathers, he went on to say that he had vowed the Great Games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the day when he had captured Ambracia, that for this purpose a hundred pounds of gold had been contributed by the cities;[2] he requested that, from this money which he had planned to display in his triumph and then deposit in the treasury, this particular sum should, by their order, be kept separate. The senate ordered the college of pontiffs to be consulted whether it was necessary to spend this entire sum on the games. When the pontiffs had replied that from the point of view of religion it was immaterial how much should be spent on the games, the senate granted permission to Fulvius for whatever amount he should spend, provided that he did not exceed a total of eighty thousand sesterces.[3] He had decided to triumph in the month of January; but when he had heard that the consul Marcus Aemilius, having received a letter from Marcus Aburius about the withdrawal of the veto, was himself coming to Rome

impediendum triumphum Romam venientem aegrum in via substitisse, ne plus in triumpho certaminum quam in bello haberet, praetulit triumphi diem.
13 Triumphavit ante diem decimum Kal. Ianuarias de
14 Aetolis et de Cephallania. Aureae coronae centum duodecim pondo ante currum latae [1] sunt; argenti pondo milia octoginta tria, auri pondo ducenta quad-
15 raginta tria, tetrachma Attica centum octodecim milia, Philippei nummi duodecim milia trecenti [2] viginti duo, signa aenea septingenta octoginta quinque, signa marmorea ducenta triginta, arma tela
16 cetera spolia hostium, magnus numerus, ad hoc catapultae, ballistae, tormenta omnis generis; duces aut Aetoli et Cephallanes aut regii ab Antiocho ibi relicti
17 ad viginti septem. Multos eo die priusquam in urbem inveheretur in circo Flaminio tribunos praefectos equites centuriones, Romanos sociosque, donis militaribus donavit. Militibus ex praeda vicenos quinos [3] denarios divisit, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti.

VI. Iam consularium comitiorum appetebat tempus: quibus quia M. Aemilius, cuius sortis ea cura

[1] latae σ: delatae M.
[2] trecenti *Madvig*: trecenta M: quadringenti σ.
[3] vicenos quinos *ed. Aldina*: uiginti quinque M: quinos vicenos σ.

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[1] It is always uncertain whether *pondo* should be read in such passages, and I have followed in each case what seems to be the most trustworthy reading of the MSS. The additional complication exists in this instance, that Livy has already recorded (XXXVIII. ix. 13 above) the gift of a single crown weighing 150 pounds, but we do not know that this was to be carried in the procession, nor whether the gift for the games should be included. See also the note to the passage just quoted.

to hinder the triumph, but had been detained on the B.C. 187
way by illness, he advanced the date, lest he have more strife in the triumph than in the war. He triumphed the tenth day before the Kalends of January over the Aetolians and over Cephallania. Golden crowns of one hundred and twelve pounds [1] in weight were carried before his car; he displayed also eighty-three thousand pounds of silver, two hundred and forty-three pounds of gold, one hundred and eighteen thousand Attic four-drachma pieces, twelve thousand three hundred and twenty-two coins called "Philippei," [2] bronze statues to the number of seven hundred and eighty-five and two hundred and thirty of marble, weapons, javelins and other spoils taken from the enemy, in great quantities, besides catapults, ballistae and every variety of artillery; there marched also generals, whether Aetolians and Cephallanians or commanders of the king left there by Antiochus, to the number of twenty-seven. On that day, before he rode into the City, in the Circus Flaminius,[3] he presented many tribunes, prefects, cavalrymen and centurions, Romans and allies, with military decorations.[4] To the soldiers, out of the booty, he gave twenty-five *denarii* each, twice that amount to each centurion, and thrice to each cavalryman.

VI. The time for the consular elections was now at hand; for these, since Marcus Aemilius, to whom

[2] Cf. XXXVII. lix. 4 and the note.

[3] This circus was probably the only enclosure of suitable size which lay outside the *pomerium*.

[4] The generosity of Fulvius in this respect was severely criticized by Cato (Gellius V. vi. 24–25, where a fragment of a speech is preserved).

.c. 67 erat. occurrere non potuit, C. Flaminius Romam venit. Ab eo creati [1] consules Sp. Postumius Albinus
2 Q. Marcius Philippus. Praetores inde facti T. Maenius P. Cornelius Sulla C. Calpurnius Piso M. Licinius Lucullus C. Aurelius Scaurus L. Quinctius Crispinus.
3 Extremo anni, magistratibus iam creatis, ante diem tertium nonas Martias Cn. Manlius Volso de Gallis
4 qui Asiam incolunt triumphavit. Serius ei triumphandi causa fuit, ne Q. Terentio Culleone praetore causam lege Petillia diceret et incendio alieni
5 iudicii quo L. Scipio damnatus erat conflagraret, eo infensioribus in se quam in illum iudicibus quod disciplinam militarem severe ab eo conservatam successorem ipsum omni genere licentiae corrupisse
6 fama attulerat. Neque ea sola infamiae erant, quae in provincia procul ab oculis facta narrabantur, sed ea etiam magis quae in militibus eius cotidie aspicie-
7 bantur. Luxuriae enim peregrinae origo ab exercitu Asiatico invecta in urbem est. Ii primum [2] lectos aeratos, vestem stragulam pretiosam, plagulas et alia textilia, et quae tum magnificae supellectilis habebantur, monopodia et abacos Romam advexerunt.

[1] creati σ : decreti *M*.
[2] ii primum *Gelenius* : inde primum σ.

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[1] It may be accidental that so many of the names on this list are relatively unfamiliar: it may also be true that conditions had made the Romans somewhat distrustful of the families that had been exercising political and military leadership and had encouraged them to look elsewhere for talent.

[2] Manlius probably had good reason to fear prosecution, especially before Culleo, who had displayed his inflexibility in the trial of Scipio. Until his triumph Manlius was outside the City and exempt from prosecution by virtue of his proconsulship; in the brief interval between the triumph and

this responsibility had fallen by lot, was unable to B.C. 187
come, Gaius Flaminius came to Rome. He announced the choice of Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus as consuls. Then the praetors were elected, Titus Maenius, Publius Cornelius Sulla, Gaius Calpurnius Piso, Marcus Licinius Lucullus, Gaius Aurelius Scaurus, Lucius Quinctius Crispinus.[1]

At the end of the year, when the new magistrates had already been elected, on the third day before the Nones of March, Gnaeus Manlius Volso triumphed over the Gauls who inhabit Asia. His purpose in delaying so long to celebrate his triumph was to avoid pleading his cause under the Petillian law before the praetor Quintus Terentius Culleo and being himself consumed in the flames of another's trial, in which Lucius Scipio had been condemned,[2] seeing that the jurors were far more hostile to him than to Scipio because it was rumoured that he, when he succeeded Scipio, had ruined the military discipline, strictly maintained by his predecessor, by permitting every kind of licence. Nor was this only a matter of unfavourable report of what was said to have happened in the province, far from their eyes, but still more of what was apparent every day among his soldiers. For the beginnings of foreign luxury were introduced into the City by the army from Asia. They for the first time imported into Rome couches of bronze, valuable robes for coverlets, tapestries and other products of the loom, and what at that time was considered luxurious furniture—tables with one

the Ides (when a new praetor would succeed Culleo) a trial could not be completed. See the notes to XXXVIII. liv. 3; 7; lviii. 12 above.

8 Tunc psaltriae sambucistriaeque et convivalia alia ludorum oblectamenta addita epulis: epulae quoque ipsae et cura et sumptu maiore apparari coeptae. 9 Tum coquus, vilissimum antiquis mancipium et aestimatione et usu, in pretio esse, et quod ministerium fuerat, ars haberi coepta. Vix tamen illa, quae tum conspiciebantur, semina erant futurae luxuriae.

VII. In triumpho tulit Cn. Manlius coronas aureas ducentas duodecim,[1] argenti pondo ducenta viginti milia, auri [2] pondo duo milia centum tria, tetrachmum [3] Atticum centum viginti septem milia, cistophori ducenta quinquaginta, Philippeorum [4] aureorum 2 nummorum sedecim milia trecentos viginti; et arma spoliaque multa Gallica carpentis travecta, duces hostium duo et quinquaginta ducti ante currum. Militibus quadragenos binos denarios divisit, duplex centurioni, triplex in equites, et stipendium duplex 3 dedit;[5] multi omnium ordinum donati militaribus donis currum secuti sunt. Carminaque a militibus ea in imperatorem dicta, ut facile appareret in ducem indulgentem ambitiosumque ea dici, triumphum esse

[1] ducentas duodecim *Lentz*: ducentas duodecim pondo *M*: decem duas σ: CC decem pondo duas *edd. vett.*
[2] auri *Gelenius*: argenti σ.
[3] tetrachmum *Bekker*: tetracinum *et similia* σ.
[4] Philippeorum *edd. vett.*: philipporum σ.
[5] dedit *Madvig*: in pedites dedit σ.

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[1] Pliny (XXXIV. 14) derives from the annalist Piso a similar list of articles of luxury first imported at this time. It does not necessarily follow that Piso was Livy's source also.
[2] He probably includes dancing-girls, buffoons, and the like.

pedestal and sideboards.[1] Then female players of the lute and the harp and other festal delights of entertainments[2] were made adjuncts to banquets; the banquets themselves, moreover, began to be planned with both greater care and greater expense. At that time the cook, to the ancient Romans the most worthless of slaves, both in their judgment of values and in the use they made of him, began to have value, and what had been merely a necessary service came to be regarded as an art. Yet those things which were then looked upon as remarkable were hardly even the germs of the luxury to come. B.C. 187

VII. In his triumph Gnaeus Manlius carried two hundred and twelve golden crowns, two hundred and twenty thousand pounds of silver, two thousand one hundred and three pounds of gold, of Attic four-drachma pieces one hundred and twenty-seven thousand, of *cistophori*[3] two hundred and fifty thousand, of gold *Philippei* sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty; there were also arms and many Gallic spoils transported in carts, and fifty-two leaders of the enemy led before his car. To the soldiers he gave forty-two *denarii* each, twice that amount to each centurion and thrice to each cavalryman, and he gave them also double pay;[4] many of all ranks, presented with military decorations, followed his car. Such songs were sung by the soldiers about their commander that it was easily seen that they were sung about an indulgent leader who sought popularity, and that the triumph was

[3] Cf. XXXVII. xlvi. 3.

[4] The grammar of the sentence is peculiar and there is corruption in the text. I have given what seems to be the most reasonable translation.

4 militari magis favore quam populari celebrem. Sed
ad populi quoque gratiam conciliandam amici Manlii
5 valuerunt: quibus adnitentibus senatus consultum
factum est ut, ex pecunia quae in triumpho translata
esset, stipendium collatum a populo in publicum quod
eius solutum antea non esset solveretur. Vicenos
quinos et semisses in milia aeris quaestores urbani
cum fide et cura solverunt.

6 Per idem tempus tribuni militum duo ex duabus
Hispaniis cum litteris C. Atinii et L.[1] Manlii qui eas
7 provincias obtinebant venerunt. Ex iis litteris cogni-
tum est Celtiberos Lusitanosque in armis esse et soci-
orum agros populari. De ea re consultationem inte-
gram senatus ad novos magistratus reiecit.

8 Ludis Romanis eo anno, quos [2] P. Cornelius Cethe-
gus A. Postumius Albinus faciebant, malus in circo
instabilis in signum Pollentiae procidit atque id
9 deiecit. Ea religione moti patres et diem unum
adiciendum ludorum censuerunt et signa duo pro
10 uno reponenda et novum auratum faciendum. Et
plebeii ludi ab aedilibus C. Sempronio Blaeso et M.
Furio Lusco diem unum instaurati sunt.

[1] L. *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : cn. ϝ.
[2] quos *edd. vett.* : quo ϝ.

[1] This *stipendium* may have been some extraordinary tax, paid in an emergency and regarded as a loan to the treasury, analogous to the contribution mentioned in XXVI. xxxvi. 8 (cf. XXIX. xvi. 1; XXXI. xiii. 2–9; XXXIII. xlii. 2). Nothing further is known of it, and no translation can be more than a guess.

[2] It is not clear whether this is a final payment, a payment on account, or a favourable composition with creditors.

marked more by the applause of the military than B.C. 187
of the civil population. But the friends of Manlius were able to curry favour with the people as well; at their instance a decree of the senate was passed that, with regard to the tax [1] which had been paid by the people into the treasury, whatever portion of this was in arrears should be paid out of the money which had been carried in the triumph. The city quaestors, displaying fidelity and diligence, paid twenty-five and one-half *asses* each per thousand *asses*.[2]

About the same time two tribunes of the soldiers arrived from the two Spains, bringing dispatches from Gaius Atinius and Lucius Manlius, who were holding those provinces.[3] From these letters it was learned that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were in arms and were ravaging the lands of the allies. The decision regarding the whole question was left to the new magistrates by the senate.

At the Roman Games that year, which Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Aulus Postumius Albinus gave, a badly-fixed mast [4] in the Circus fell on the statue of Pollentia and shattered it. The Fathers, disturbed by this omen, voted, first, that one day should be added to the Games, and, second, that two statues should be set up in place of one and the new one gilded. The Plebeian Games too were repeated, to the extent of one day, by the plebeian aediles Gaius Sempronius Blaesus and Marcus Furius Luscus.

[3] Cf. XXXVIII. xxxv. 10 above for their assignment.

[4] Probably this was a permanent mast set up on the *spina*; less probably it was one of the spars which supported the awnings.

VIII. Insequens annus Sp. Postumium Albinum
a.u.c. 568 et Q. Marcium Philippum consules ab exercitu bellorumque et provinciarum cura ad intestinae coniura-
2 tionis vindictam avertit. Praetores provincias sortiti sunt, T. Maenius urbanam, M. Licinius Lucullus inter cives et peregrinos, C. Aurelius Scaurus Sardiniam, P. Cornelius Sulla Siciliam, L. Quinctius Crispinus Hispaniam citeriorem, C. Calpurnius Piso
3 Hispaniam ulteriorem. Consulibus ambobus quaestio de clandestinis coniurationibus decreta est. Graecus ignobilis in Etruriam primum venit nulla cum arte earum, quas multas ad animorum corporumque cultum nobis eruditissima omnium gens invexit, sacri-
4 ficulus et vates; nec is qui aperta religione, propalam et quaestum et disciplinam profitendo, animos errore imbueret, sed occultorum et nocturnorum antistes
5 sacrorum. Initia erant quae primo paucis tradita sunt deinde vulgari coepta sunt per viros mulieresque. Additae voluptates religioni vini et epularum, quo
6 plurium animi illicerentur. Cum vinum animos incendisset,[1] et nox et mixti feminis mares, aetatis tenerae maioribus, discrimen omne pudoris exstinxissent, corruptelae primum omnis generis fieri coeptae, cum ad id quisque, quo natura pronioris libidinis
7 esset, paratam voluptatem haberet. Nec unum genus noxae, stupra promiscua ingenuorum feminarumque erant, sed falsi testes, falsa signa testamen-
8 taque [2] et indicia ex eadem officina exibant: venena

[1] animos incendisset *Madvig*: *om.* F.
[2] testamentaque *Roever*: testimoniaque F.

[1] Rome's treatment of the Christians illustrates her general attitude towards meetings conducted with any degree of concealment.

VIII. The following year diverted the consuls B.C. 186
Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus from the army and the administration of wars and provinces to the suppression of an internal conspiracy. The praetors drew lots for their provinces, Titus Maenius receiving the city jurisdiction, Marcus Licinius Lucullus that between citizens and aliens, Gaius Aurelius Scaurus Sardinia, Publius Cornelius Sulla Sicily, Lucius Quinctius Crispinus Nearer Spain, Gaius Calpurnius Piso Farther Spain. To both consuls the investigation of secret conspiracies was decreed. A nameless Greek came first to Etruria, possessed of none of those many arts which the Greek people, supreme as it is in learning, brought to us in numbers for the cultivation of mind and body, but a dabbler in sacrifices and a fortune-teller; nor was he one who, by frankly disclosing his creed and publicly proclaiming both his profession and his system, filled minds with error, but a priest of secret rites performed by night.[1] There were initiatory rites which at first were imparted to a few, then began to be generally known among men and women. To the religious element in them were added the delights of wine and feasts, that the minds of a larger number might be attracted. When wine had inflamed their minds, and night and the mingling of males with females, youth with age, had destroyed every sentiment of modesty, all varieties of corruption first began to be practised, since each one had at hand the pleasure answering to that to which his nature was more inclined. There was not one form of vice alone, the promiscuous matings of free men and women, but perjured witnesses, forged seals and wills and evidence, all issued from this same

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indidem intestinaeque caedes, ita ut ne corpora quidem interdum ad sepulturam exstarent. Multa dolo, pleraque per vim audebantur. Occulebat vim quod prae ululatibus tympanorumque et cymbalorum strepitu nulla vox quiritantium inter stupra et caedes exaudiri poterat.

IX. Huius mali labes ex Etruria Romam veluti contagione morbi penetravit. Primo urbis magnitudo capacior patientiorque talium malorum ea celavit: tandem indicium hoc maxime modo ad Postu-
2 mium consulem pervenit. P. Aebutius, cuius pater publico equo stipendia fecerat, pupillus relictus, mortuis deinde tutoribus sub tutela Duroniae matris
3 et vitrici T. Sempronii Rutili educatus fuerat. Et mater dedita viro erat et vitricus, quia tutelam ita gesserat ut rationem reddere non posset, aut tolli pupillum aut obnoxium sibi vinculo aliquo fieri cupie-
4 bat. Via una corruptelae Bacchanalia erant. Mater adulescentem [1] appellat: se pro aegro eo vovisse ubi primum convaluisset, Bacchis eum se initiaturam; damnatam voti benignitate deum exsolvere id velle. Decem dierum castimonia opus esse: decimo die cenatum, deinde pure lautum in sacrarium deductu-

[1] adolescentem σ: adulescentulum *M*.

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[1] He was an *eques equo publico*, receiving an annual allowance for the purchase and upkeep of his mounts.

[2] A *tutor* rendered to the court which appointed him an account of his administration of the property, at least when the ward came of age.

[3] A vow, to a Roman, created a quasi-contractual obligation, which was as effective as the sentence of a court: hence *damnatam voti*.

workshop: likewise poisonings and murders of kin- B.C. 186
dred, so that at times not even the bodies were found for burial. Much was ventured by craft, more by violence. This violence was concealed because amid the howlings and the crash of drums and cymbals no cry of the sufferers could be heard as the debauchery and murders proceeded.

IX. The destructive power of this evil spread from Etruria to Rome like the contagion of a pestilence. At first the size of the City, with abundant room and tolerance for such evils, concealed it: at length information came to the consul Postumius in about this manner. Publius Aebutius, whose father had performed his military service with a horse supplied by the state,[1] was left a ward, and later, on the death of his guardians, was brought under the tutelage of his mother Duronia and his stepfather Titus Sempronius Rutilus. His mother was devoted to her husband, and his stepfather, who had so administered his guardianship that he could not render an accounting,[2] desired that the ward should either be done away with or be made dependent upon them by some tie. The one method of corrupting him was through the Bacchanalia. The mother addressed the young man: while he was sick, she said, she had vowed for him that as soon as he had recovered she would initiate him into the Bacchic rites; being compelled, by the kindness of the gods, to pay her vow,[3] she wished to fulfil it. For ten days, she continued, he must practise continence: on the tenth day she would conduct him to the banquet and then, after ritual purification,[4] to the shrine. There was a well-

[4] Paulus Diaconus (p. 248) defines *pure lautum* as *aqua pura lautum*.

5 ram. Scortum nobile libertina Hispala Faecenia, non
digna quaestu cui ancillula adsuerat, etiam postquam
6 manumissa erat, eodem se genere tuebatur. Huic
consuetudo iuxta vicinitatem cum Aebutio fuit,
minime adulescentis aut [1] rei aut famae damnosa:
ultro enim amatus appetitusque erat et maligne
omnia praebentibus suis meretriculae munificentia
7 sustinebatur. Quin eo processerat consuetudine
capta ut post patroni mortem, quia in nullius manu
erat, tutore ab tribunis et praetore petito, cum testa-
mentum faceret, unum Aebutium institueret heredem.

X. Haec amoris pignora cum essent, nec quicquam
secretum alter ab altero haberent, per iocum adules-
cens vetat eam mirari, si per aliquot noctes secu-
2 buisset: religionis se causa ut voto pro valetudine
sua facto liberetur, Bacchis initiari velle. Id ubi
mulier audivit, perturbata "dii meliora!" inquit:
mori et sibi et illi satius esse quam id faceret; et in
caput eorum detestari minas periculaque, qui id
3 suasissent. Admiratus cum verba tum perturbatio-
nem tantam adulescens parcere exsecrationibus iubet:
4 matrem id sibi adsentiente vitrico imperasse. "Vi-

[1] aut *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om. MS.*

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[1] *i.e.*, worthy of something better.

[2] A freedwoman was subject to the *manus* of her patron, who was often her former owner. Faecenia had no patron and no relative who would naturally assume the responsibilities of guardianship, and could therefore petition the praetor and the tribunes jointly for the appointment of a *tutor*, whose approval was necessary to the performance of any legal act, such as making a will.

known courtesan, a freedwoman named Hispala Faecenia, not worthy [1] of the occupation to which, while still a mere slave, she had accustomed herself, and even after she had been manumitted she maintained herself in the same way. Between her and Aebutius, since they were neighbours, an intimacy developed, not at all damaging either to the young man's fortune or to his reputation; for he had been loved and sought out without any effort on his part, and, since his own relatives made provision for all his needs on a very small scale, he was maintained by the generosity of the courtesan. More than that, she had gone so far, under the influence of their intimacy, that, after the death of her patron, since she was under the legal control of no one, having petitioned the tribunes and the praetor for a guardian, when she made her will she had instituted Aebutius as her sole heir.[2] B.C. 186

X. Since there were these bonds of affection between them, and neither had any secrets from the other, the young man jestingly told her not to be surprised if he were away from her for several nights: as a matter of religious duty, he said, to free himself from a vow made for the sake of his health, he intended to be initiated in the Bacchic rites. When the woman heard this she exclaimed in great distress, "The gods forbid!" She said that it would be much better both for him and for her to die rather than do that; and she called down curses and vengeance upon the heads of those persons who had given him this counsel. Wondering both at her language and at her so manifest distress, the young man bade her spare her curses: it was his mother, he said, with the approval of his stepfather, who had ordered it.

tricus ergo " inquit " tuus—matrem enim insimulare forsitan fas non sit—pudicitiam famam spem vitamque tuam perditum ire hoc facto properat." 5 Eo magis mirabundo quaerentique quid rei esset, pacem veniamque precata deorum dearumque, si coacta caritate eius silenda enuntiasset, ancillam se ait dominae comitem id sacrarium intrasse, liberam 6 numquam eo accessisse. Scire corruptelarum omnis generis eam officinam esse: et iam biennio constare 7 neminem initiatum ibi maiorem annis viginti. Ut quisque introductus sit, velut victimam tradi sacerdotibus. Eos deducere in locum, qui circumsonet ululatibus cantuque symphoniae et cymbalorum et tympanorum pulsu, ne vox quiritantis,[1] cum per vim 8 stuprum inferatur, exaudiri possit. Orare inde atque obsecrare ut eam rem quocumque modo discuteret nec se eo praecipitaret, ubi omnia infanda patienda 9 primum, deinde facienda essent. Neque ante dimisit eum quam fidem dedit adulescens ab his sacris se temperaturum.

XI. Postquam domum venit, et mater mentionem intulit, quid eo die, quid deinceps ceteris, quae ad sacra pertinerent, faciendum esset, negat eorum se quicquam facturum nec initiari sibi in animo esse. 2 Aderat sermoni vitricus. Confestim mulier exclamat Hispalae concubitu carere eum decem noctes non

[1] quiritantis *ed. Parisina* 1513 : quaeritantis F.

"Your stepfather, then," she replied, "is making B.C. 186
haste—for perhaps it is not right to accuse your mother—to destroy in this way your virtue, your reputation and your life." As he marvelled the more and asked her what she meant, beseeching gods and goddesses for peace and forgiveness if, compelled by her love for him, she had declared what should be concealed, she told him that while she was a slave she had attended her mistress to that shrine, but that as a free woman she had never visited it. She knew, she said, that it was the factory of all sorts of corruptions; and it was known that for two years now no one had been initiated who had passed the age of twenty years. As each was introduced, he became a sort of victim for the priests. They, she continued, would lead him to a place which would ring with howls and the song of a choir and the beating of cymbals and drums, that the voice of the sufferer, when his virtue was violently attacked, might not be heard. Then she begged and besought him to put an end to this matter in any way he could and not to plunge into a situation where all disgraceful practices would have first to be endured and then performed. Nor would she let him go until the young man gave her his promise that he would have nothing to do with those mysteries.

XI. When he came home and his mother began to tell him what he had to do that day and on the following days in connection with the rites, he informed her that he would do none of them and that it was not his intention to be initiated. His stepfather was present at the interview. Straightway the woman exclaimed that he could not do without his mistress Hispala for ten nights; infected with the

posse; illius excetrae [1] delenimentis et venenis imbutum nec parentis nec vitrici nec deorum verecundiam habere. Iurgantes hinc mater, hinc vitricus
3 cum quattuor eum servis domo exegerunt. Adulescens inde ad Aebutiam se amitam contulit, causamque ei, cur esset a matre eiectus, narravit, deinde ex auctoritate eius postero die ad consulem Postu-
4 mium arbitris remotis rem detulit. Consul post diem tertium redire ad se iussum dimisit; ipse Sulpiciam gravem feminam, socrum suam, percunctatus est,
5 ecquam anum Aebutiam ex Aventino nosset. Cum ea nosse probam et antiqui moris feminam respondisset, opus esse sibi ea conventa dixit: mitteret nun-
6 tium ad eam, ut veniret. Aebutia accita ad Sulpiciam venit et consul paulo post, velut forte intervenisset, sermonem de Aebutio fratris eius filio infert.
7 Lacrimae mulieri obortae et miserari casum adulescentis coepit, qui spoliatus fortunis, a quibus minime oporteret, apud se tunc esset, eiectus a matre, quod probus adulescens—dii propitii essent—obscenis, ut fama esset, sacris initiari nollet.

XII. Satis exploratum de Aebutio ratus consul non vanum auctorem esse, Aebutia dimissa socrum rogat ut Hispalam indidem ex Aventino libertinam, non ignotam viciniae, arcesseret ad sese: eam quoque
2 esse quae [2] percunctari vellet. Ad cuius nuntium

[1] excetrae *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : exterae F.
[2] quae *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : quam F.

[1] The prayer is due to the fear that the compliment might provoke the jealousy of the gods.

enchantments and poisons of that vampire, he had no B.C. 186
respect for his mother or his stepfather or yet the gods. Berating him thus, his mother on one side, his stepfather with four slaves on the other, drove him from the house. The young man thereupon went to his aunt Aebutia and explained to her the reason why his mother had driven him out, and on her recommendation the following day reported the affair to the consul Postumius with no witnesses present. The consul sent him away with instructions to return the third day; he himself asked his mother-in-law Sulpicia, a woman of high character, whether she was acquainted with an elderly woman, Aebutia, from the Aventine. When she replied that she knew that she was a virtuous woman of the old style, he said that he felt the need of an interview with her: Sulpicia should send her a message to come. Aebutia, summoned by Sulpicia, came, and a little later the consul, as if he had come in by chance, brought in an allusion to Aebutius, the son of her brother. Tears flowed from the woman's eyes, and she began to bewail the fate of the young man who was robbed of his estate by those who should least of all have treated him thus, and who was then at her house, driven from home by his mother because the virtuous youth—might the gods be gracious [1]—refused to be initiated into rites which, if reports were to be believed, were full of lewdness.

XII. The consul, thinking that he had learned enough about Aebutius to trust his story, sent Aebutia away and asked his mother-in-law to summon to her Hispala, also from the Aventine, a freedwoman and no stranger in the neighbourhood: he wished to ask her also certain questions. Hispala,

perturbata Hispala, quod ad tam nobilem et gravem feminam ignara causae arcesseretur, postquam lictores in vestibulo turbamque consularem et consulem ipsum conspexit, prope exanimata est. In interiorem partem aedium abductam socru adhibita consul, si vera dicere inducere in animum posset, negat perturbari debere: fidem vel a Sulpicia, tali femina, vel ab se acciperet: expromeret sibi, quae in luco Stimulae [1] Bacchanalibus in sacro nocturno solerent fieri. Hoc ubi audivit, tantus pavor tremorque omnium membrorum mulierem cepit, ut diu hiscere non posset. Tandem confirmata puellam admodum se ancillam initiatam cum domina ait: aliquot annis, ex quo manumissa sit, nihil quid ibi fiat scire. Iam id ipsum consul laudare, quod initiatam se non infitiaretur: sed et cetera eadem fide expromeret. Neganti ultra quicquam scire, non eandem dicere, si coarguatur ab alio, ac per se [2] fatenti veniam aut gratiam fore; eum sibi omnia exposuisse, qui ab illa audisset.

XIII. Mulier haud dubie, id quod erat, Aebutium indicem arcani rata esse, ad pedes Sulpiciae procidit, et eam primo orare coepit, ne mulieris libertinae cum amatore sermonem in rem non seriam modo sed capi-

[1] Stimulae *Gronovius*: simili *et* simulae *et* simul F.
[2] per se *ed. Moguntina*: *om.* F.

[1] Stimula is identified with Semele, the mother of Bacchus. The name is obviously appropriate. The grove was near the Tiber and the Aventine.

alarmed by her message, because without knowing B.C. 186
the reason she was summoned to so important and respected a woman, when she saw the lictors in the vestibule and the consul's retinue and the consul himself, almost swooned. Conducting her into the inner part of the house, with his mother-in-law present, the consul told her that if she could bring herself to tell the truth she had no cause to feel alarmed; she would receive a pledge either from Sulpicia, a woman of such standing, or from himself; she should state to them what rites were usually performed in the nocturnal orgies at the Bacchanalia in the grove of Stimula.[1] When she heard this, such fear and trembling seized the woman in all her limbs that for a long time she could not open her mouth. Being at length restored, she said that when quite young and a slave she had been initiated with her mistress; that for many years after her manumission she had known nothing of what went on there. Then the consul praised her on this ground, that she had not denied that she had been initiated; but she was to tell, under the same pledge, the rest as well. When she insisted that she knew nothing more, he told her that she would not receive the same forgiveness or consideration if she were convicted by the evidence of someone else as if she had confessed of her own accord; the man, he added, who had heard it from her had told him the whole story.

XIII. The woman, thinking without a doubt, as was indeed the fact, that Aebutius had revealed the secret, threw herself at the feet of Sulpicia, and at first began to plead with her not to try to turn the chatter of a freedwoman with her lover into something that was not merely serious but even fatal:

talem etiam verti vellet: se terrendi eius causa, non
3 quod sciret quicquam, ea locutam esse. Hic Postumius accensus ira tum quoque ait eam cum Aebutio se amatore cavillari credere, non in domo gravissimae feminae et cum consule loqui. Et Sulpicia attollere paventem, simul illam [1] adhortari, simul iram generi
4 lenire. Tandem confirmata, multum incusata perfidia Aebutii, qui optime de ipso [2] meritae talem
5 gratiam rettulisset, magnum sibi metum deorum, quorum occulta initia enuntiaret, maiorem multo dixit hominum esse, qui se indicem manibus suis
6 discerpturi essent. Itaque hoc se Sulpiciam, hoc consulem orare, ut se extra Italiam aliquo ablegarent,[3] ubi reliquum vitae degere tuto posset.
7 Bono animo esse iubere eam consul et sibi curae fore
8 dicere ut Romae tuto habitaret. Tum Hispala originem sacrorum expromit. Primo sacrarium id feminarum fuisse, nec quemquam eo virum admitti solitum. Tres in anno statos [4] dies habuisse, quibus interdiu Bacchis initiarentur; sacerdotes in vicem
9 matronas creari solitas. Pacullam Anniam Campanam sacerdotem omnia, tamquam deum monitu, immutasse: nam et viros eam primam filios suos initiasse, Minium et Herennium Cerrinios; et nocturnum sacrum ex diurno, et pro tribus in anno diebus quinos singulis mensibus dies initiorum fecisse.

[1] illam $\bar{r}$: etiam *M*.
[2] de ipso *Madvig*: in eo ipso $\bar{r}$.
[3] ablegarent $\bar{r}$: amandarent *M*.
[4] statos *Gelenius*: statutos $\bar{r}$.

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[1] One thinks of the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

she had spoken thus for the purpose of frightening B.C. 186
him, not because she knew anything. At this point Postumius, inflamed with wrath, said that she believed even then that she was jesting with her lover Aebutius, and not speaking in the house of a most respectable matron and in the presence of a consul. Sulpicia too lifted up the terror-stricken woman, and at the same time encouraged her and mollified the anger of her son-in-law. At length regaining her self-control, and complaining much of the treachery of Aebutius, who had returned such gratitude to one who deserved so well of him, she declared that she feared greatly the wrath of the gods whose hidden mysteries she was to reveal, but far more the wrath of the men who would, if she informed against them, with their own hands tear her limb from limb. Accordingly she begged Sulpicia and the consul that they would banish her somewhere outside Italy, where she could pass the rest of her life in safety. The consul bade her be of good cheer and assured her that it would be his responsibility to see that she could safely live in Rome. Then Hispala set forth the origin of the mysteries. At first, she said, it was a ritual for women,[1] and it was the custom that no man should be admitted to it. There had been three days appointed each year on which they held initiations into the Bacchic rites by day; it was the rule to choose the matrons in turn as priestesses. Paculla Annia, a Campanian, she said, when priestess, had changed all this; for she had been the first to initiate men, her sons, Minius and Herennius Cerrinius; she had held the rites by night and not by day, and instead of a mere three days a year she had established five days of initiation in every month.

10 Ex quo in promiscuo sacra sint et permixti viri feminis, et noctis licentia accesserit, nihil ibi facinoris, nihil flagitii praetermissum. Plura virorum inter sese
11 quam feminarum esse stupra. Si qui minus patientes dedecoris sint et pigriores ad facinus, pro victimis immolari. Nihil nefas ducere, hanc summam inter
12 eos religionem esse. Viros, velut mente capta, cum iactatione fanatica corporis vaticinari; matronas Baccharum habitu crinibus sparsis cum ardentibus facibus decurrere ad Tiberim, demissasque in aquam faces, quia vivum sulpur cum calce insit, integra
13 flamma efferre. Raptos a diis homines dici, quos machinae illigatos ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant: eos esse, qui aut coniurare aut sociari
14 facinoribus aut stuprum pati noluerint. Multitudinem ingentem, alterum iam prope populum esse; in his nobiles quosdam viros feminasque. Biennio proximo institutum esse, ne quis maior viginti annis initiaretur: captari aetates et erroris et stupri patientes.

XIV. Peracto indicio advoluta rursus genibus pre-
2 ces easdem, ut se ablegaret, repetivit. Consul rogat socrum ut aliquam partem aedium vacuam faceret

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[1] The torches probably contained the elements mentioned in the form of a mixture of free sulphur and calcium sulphate, which is still to be found in Italy. A torch of this composition, if burning well, would not be extinguished by a brief or partial immersion in water, so that the Bacchanals could perform the feat mentioned if they were reasonably swift in their movements. Calcium sulphate will not burn; free elementary sulphur burns, and we should probably translate *vivum* as "free" or "elementary" and therefore "burnable." But it is rather remarkable that Livy, who was not a scientist, should have approached scientific fact so closely. I am indebted for this information to Dr. E. Ward Tillotson,

From the time that the rites were performed in common, men mingling with women and the freedom of darkness added, no form of crime, no sort of wrong-doing, was left untried. There were more lustful practices among men with one another than among women. If any of them were disinclined to endure abuse or reluctant to commit crime, they were sacrificed as victims. To consider nothing wrong, she continued, was the highest form of religious devotion among them. Men, as if insane, with fanatical tossings of their bodies, would utter prophecies. Matrons in the dress of Bacchantes, with dishevelled hair and carrying blazing torches, would run down to the Tiber, and plunging their torches in the water (because they contained live sulphur mixed with calcium) would bring them out still burning.[1] Men were alleged to have been carried off by the gods who had been bound to a machine and borne away out of sight to hidden caves: they were those who had refused either to conspire or to join in the crimes or to suffer abuse. Their number, she said, was very great, almost constituting a second state; among them were certain men and women of high rank. Within the last two years it had been ordained that no one beyond the age of twenty years should be initiated: such ages could be involved in error and also were ready to permit abuse. B.C. 186

XIV. Having finished her testimony, again falling at their feet, she repeated the same prayers that they should banish her. The consul asked his mother-in-law to vacate some part of the house into

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quo Hispala immigraret. Cenaculum super aedes datum est, scalis ferentibus in publicum obseratis, 3 aditu in aedes verso. Res omnes Faeceniae extemplo translatae et familia arcessita, et Aebutius migrare ad consulis clientem iussus.

Ita cum indices ambo in potestate essent, rem ad senatum Postumius defert, omnibus ordine expositis, quae delata primo, quae deinde ab se inquisita forent. 4 Patres pavor ingens cepit, cum publico nomine, ne quid [1] eae coniurationes coetusque nocturni fraudis occultae aut periculi importarent, tum privatim suorum cuiusque [2] vicem, ne quis adfinis ei noxae esset. 5 Censuit autem senatus gratias consuli agendas quod eam rem et cum singulari cura et sine ullo tumultu 6 investigasset. Quaestionem deinde de Bacchanalibus sacrisque nocturnis extra ordinem consulibus mandant; indicibus Aebutio ac Faeceniae ne fraudi ea res sit curare et alios indices praemiis invitare 7 iubent; [3] sacerdotes eorum sacrorum, seu viri seu feminae essent, non Romae modo sed per omnia fora et conciliabula conquiri, ut in consulum potestate essent; edici praeterea in urbe Roma et per totam 8 Italiam edicta mitti, ne quis qui Bacchis initiatus esset coisse aut convenisse sacrorum causa velit, neu quid talis rei divinae fecisse. Ante omnia ut quaestio

[1] ne quid *Gelenius*: quid $\bar{r}$.
[2] cuiusque *Doering*: quisque $\bar{r}$.
[3] iubent $\bar{r}$: iubet *M*.

[1] The *cenaculum* was an apartment on an upper floor, with its own stairway to the street. In this house there was also a stairway to the inside of the house.

which Hispala might move. An apartment above B.C. 186
the house [1] was assigned to her, the stairs leading to the street being closed up and an approach to the house arranged. All the household goods of Faecenia were at once moved and her slaves summoned, and Aebutius was directed to move to the house of a client of the consul.

When both witnesses were thus available, Postumius laid the matter before the senate, everything being set forth in detail; first what had been reported, then what he had himself discovered. Great panic seized the Fathers, both on the public account, lest these conspiracies and gatherings by night might produce something of hidden treachery or danger, and privately, each for himself, lest some relative might be involved in the mischief. The senate, moreover, decreed that the consul should be thanked because he had investigated the affair both with great industry and without creating any confusion. Then the investigation of the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies they referred to the consuls, not as a part of their regular duties; they directed the consuls to see to it that the witnesses Aebutius and Faecenia did not suffer harm and to attract other informers by rewards; the priests of these rites, whether men or women, should be sought out, not only at Rome but through all the villages and communities, that they might be at the disposal of the consuls; that it should be proclaimed in addition in the city of Rome and that edicts should be sent through all Italy, that no one who had been initiated in the Bacchic rites should presume to assemble or come together for the purpose of celebrating those rites or to perform any such ritual. Before all, it

de iis habeatur, qui coierint coniuraverintve, quo
9 stuprum flagitiumve inferretur. Haec senatus decrevit. Consules aedilibus curulibus imperarunt ut sacerdotes eius sacri omnes conquirerent, comprehensosque libero conclavi ad quaestionem servarent; aediles plebis viderent [1] ne qua sacra in operto fierent.
10 Triumviris capitalibus mandatum est ut vigilias disponerent per urbem servarentque ne qui nocturni coetus fierent, utque ab incendiis caveretur; adiutores triumviris quinqueviri uls cis [2] Tiberim suae quisque regionis aedificiis praeessent.

XV. Ad haec officia dimissis magistratibus consules in rostra escenderunt, et contione advocata cum sollemne carmen precationis, quod praefari, priusquam populum adloquantur, magistratus solent, peregisset
2 consul, ita coepit. "Nulli umquam contioni, Quirites, tam non [3] solum apta sed etiam necessaria haec sollemnis deorum comprecatio fuit, quae vos admoneret hos esse deos, quos colere venerari precarique
3 maiores vestri instituissent, non illos, qui pravis et externis religionibus captas mentes velut furialibus stimulis ad omne scelus et ad omnem libidinem
4 agerent. Equidem nec quid taceam nec quatenus

[1] viderent *Gronovius*: uidere σ.
[2] uls cis *Heusinger*: uti cis *et similia* σ.
[3] tam non σ: non *M*.

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[1] They were minor magistrates charged with assisting in the maintenance of order.

[2] It is not known whether these two boards of five, one operating on the left bank (*cis*) of the river, the other on the right bank (*uls*), were regular magistrates or posses of civilians, organized in case of emergency. The form of the title, especially the ante-classical *uls* (standing for *ultra* much as *cis* is used for *citra*), suggests an early origin.

was decreed that an inquiry should be conducted regarding those persons who had come together or conspired for the commission of any immorality or crime. Such was the decree of the senate. The consuls ordered the curule aediles to search out all the priests of this cult and to keep them under surveillance, in free custody for the investigation; the plebeian aediles were to see to it that no celebration of the rites should be held in secret. The task was entrusted to the *triumviri capitales*[1] of placing guards through the City, of seeing that no night meetings were held, and of making provision against fire; as assistants to the *triumviri*, the *quinqueviri uls cis Tiberim*[2] were to stand guard each over the buildings of his own district. B.C. 186

XV. When the magistrates had been dispatched to these posts, the consuls mounted the Rostra and called an informal meeting[3] of the people, and, when the consul had finished the regular formula of prayer which magistrates are accustomed to pronounce before they address the people, he thus began: "Never for any assembly, citizens, has this formal prayer to the gods been not only so suitable but even so necessary, a prayer which reminds us that these are the gods whom our forefathers had appointed to be worshipped, to be venerated, to receive our prayers, not those gods who would drive our enthralled minds with vile and alien rites, as by the scourges of the Furies, to every crime and every lust. For my part, I do not discover what I should refrain from telling or how far I should speak out. If you

[3] Cf. XXXI. vii. 1 and the note. This meeting was called simply to hear the news about the conspiracy and the measures taken to suppress it.

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proloquar invenio. Si aliquid ignorabitis, ne locum neglegentiae dem, si omnia nudavero, ne nimium
5 terroris offundam vobis vereor. Quidquid dixero, minus quam pro atrocitate et magnitudine rei dictum scitote esse: ut ad cavendum satis sit, dabitur opera
6 a nobis. Bacchanalia tota iam pridem Italia et nunc per urbem etiam multis locis esse, non fama solum accepisse vos sed crepitibus etiam ululatibusque nocturnis, qui personant tota urbe, certum habeo,
7 ceterum quae ea res sit, ignorare: alios deorum aliquem cultum, alios concessum ludum et lasciviam credere esse, et, qualecumque sit, ad paucos pertinere.
8 Quod ad multitudinem eorum attinet, si dixero multa milia hominum esse, ilico necesse est exterreamini,
9 nisi adiunxero qui qualesque sint. Primum igitur mulierum magna pars est, et is fons mali huiusce fuit; deinde simillimi feminis mares, stuprati et constupratores, fanatici, vigiliis,[1] vino, strepitibus
10 clamoribusque nocturnis attoniti. Nullas adhuc vires coniuratio, ceterum incrementum ingens virium ha-
11 bet, quod in dies plures fiunt. Maiores vestri ne vos quidem, nisi cum aut vexillo in arce posito comitiorum causa exercitus eductus[2] esset, aut plebi concilium tribuni edixissent, aut aliquis ex magistratibus ad contionem vocasset, forte temere coire voluerunt; et ubicumque multitudo esset, ibi et

[1] vigiliis *Crévier*: uigiles *F*.
[2] eductus *Gruter*: edictus *F*.

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[1] For the military character of the *comitia centuriata*, of which the speaker is thinking, cf. XXXI. v. 9 and the note.

[2] In the *concilium plebis*; Livy generally seems not to distinguish between this and the *comitia tributa*, but the problem is too complicated for discussion here.

are left ignorant of anything, I fear that I shall B.C. 186
leave room for carelessness; if I lay bare everything, that I shall scatter abroad an excess of terror. Whatever I shall have said, be sure that my words are less than the dreadfulness and the gravity of the situation: to take sufficient precautions will be our task. As to the Bacchanalia, I am assured that you have learned that they have long been celebrated all over Italy and now even within the City in many places, and that you have learned this not only from rumour but also from their din and cries at night, which echo throughout the City, but I feel sure that you do not know what this thing is: some believe that it is a form of worship of the gods, others that it is an allowable play and pastime, and, whatever it is, that it concerns only a few. As regards their number, if I shall say that there are many thousands of them, it cannot but be that you are terrified, unless I shall at once add to that who and of what sort they are. First, then, a great part of them are women, and they are the source of this mischief; then there are men very like the women, debauched and debauchers, fanatical, with senses dulled by wakefulness, wine, noise and shouts at night. The conspiracy thus far has no strength, but it has an immense source of strength in that they grow more numerous day by day. Your ancestors did not wish that even you should assemble casually and without reason, except when the standard was displayed on the citadel and the army was assembled for an election,[1] or the tribunes had announced a meeting of the plebeians,[2] or some of the magistrates had called you to an informal gathering; and wherever there was a crowd collected they thought that there should also be a

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legitimum rectorem multitudinis censebant esse de-
12 bere. Quales primum nocturnos coetus, deinde pro-
13 miscuos mulierum ac virorum esse creditis? Si quibus aetatibus initientur mares sciatis, non misereat vos eorum solum, sed etiam pudeat. Hoc sacramento initiatos iuvenes milites faciendos censetis,
14 Quirites? His [1] ex obsceno sacrario eductis arma committenda? Hi cooperti stupris suis alienisque pro pudicitia coniugum ac liberorum vestrorum ferro decernent?

XVI. "Minus tamen esset si flagitiis tantum effeminati forent—ipsorum id magna ex parte dedecus erat—a facinoribus manus, mentem a
2 fraudibus abstinuissent: numquam tantum malum in re publica fuit, nec ad plures nec ad plura pertinens. Quidquid his annis libidine, quidquid fraude, quidquid scelere peccatum est, ex illo uno sacrario
3 scitote ortum esse. Necdum [2] omnia in quae coniurarunt edita facinora habent. Adhuc privatis noxiis, quia nondum ad rem publicam [3] opprimendam satis virium est, coniuratio sese impia tenet. Crescit et serpit cotidie malum. Iam maius est quam ut [4] capere id privata fortuna possit: ad summam rem
4 publicam spectat. Nisi praecavetis, Quirites, iam huic diurnae, legitime ab consule vocatae, par nocturna contio esse poterit. Nunc illi vos singuli universos contionantes timent: iam ubi vos dilapsi domos et in rura vestra eritis, illi coierint, consulta-

[1] his *edd. vett.*: iis σ.
[2] necdum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: nec σ.
[3] rem publicam σ: po. romanum (*sic*) *M*.
[4] quam ut *Gelenius*: quam σ.

[1] One thinks of the caustic remarks of Cato on the participation of women in public affairs (XXXIV. ii.–iv. *passim*).

legal leader of the crowd. Of what sort do you B.C. 186
think are, first, gatherings held by night, second, meetings of men and women in common? [1] If you knew at what ages males were initiated, you would feel not only pity for them but also shame. Do you think, citizens, that youths initiated by this oath should be made soldiers? That arms should be entrusted to men mustered from this foul shrine? Will men covered with the signs of their own debauchery and that of others fight to the death on behalf of the chastity of your wives and children?

XVI. "Yet it would be less serious if their wrongdoing had merely made them effeminate—that was in great measure their personal dishonour—and if they had kept their hands from crime and their thoughts from evil designs: never has there been so much evil in the state nor affecting so many people in so many ways. Whatever villainy there has been in recent years due to lust, whatever to fraud, whatever to crime, I tell you, has arisen from this one cult. Not yet have they revealed all the crimes to which they have conspired. Their impious compact still limits itself to private crimes, since as yet it does not have strength enough to crush the state. Daily the evil grows and creeps abroad. It is already too great to be purely a private matter: its objective is the control of the state. Unless you are on guard betimes, citizens, as we hold this meeting in the day-time, summoned by a consul, in accordance with law, so there can be one held at night. Now, as single individuals, they stand in fear of you, gathered here all together in this assembly: presently, when you have scattered to your homes and farms, they will have come together and they will take measures

c. 8 bunt de sua salute simul ac vestra pernicie: tum
5 singulis vobis universi timendi erunt. Optare igitur unusquisque vestrum debet ut bona mens suis omnibus fuerit. Si quem libido, si furor in illum gurgitem abripuit, illorum eum, cum quibus in omne flagitium et facinus coniuravit, non suum iudicet esse.
6 Ne quis etiam errore labatur vestrum, Quirites,[1] non sum securus. Nihil enim in speciem fallacius
7 est quam prava religio. Ubi deorum numen praetenditur sceleribus, subit animum timor, ne fraudibus humanis vindicandis divini iuris aliquid immixtum violemus. Hac vos religione innumerabilia decreta pontificum, senatus consulta, haruspicum denique
8 responsa liberant. Quotiens hoc patrum avorumque aetate negotium est magistratibus datum uti sacra externa fieri vetarent, sacrificulos vatesque foro circo urbe prohiberent, vaticinos[2] libros conquirerent comburerentque, omnem disciplinam sacrificandi
9 praeterquam more Romano abolerent. Iudicabant enim prudentissimi viri omnis divini humanique iuris nihil aeque dissolvendae religionis esse, quam ubi
10 non patrio sed externo ritu sacrificaretur. Haec vobis praedicenda ratus sum, ne qua superstitio agitaret animos vestros, cum demolientes nos Bacchanalia discutientesque nefarios coetus cer-

[1] Quirites *Weissenborn*: quidem *et* quod *F*.
[2] vaticinos *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: uaticinios *M*: etacinios *et al. F*.

for their own safety and at the same time for your destruction: then you, as isolated individuals, will have to fear them as a united body. Therefore each one of you should hope that all your friends have been endowed with sound minds. If lust, if madness has carried off anyone into that whirlpool, let each consider that such a person belongs, not to himself, but to those with whom he has conspired to every wickedness and wrong. I am not free of anxiety lest some even of you, citizens, may go astray through error. Nothing is more deceptive in appearance than a false religion. When the authority of the gods is put forward as a defence for crime, there steals upon the mind a fear lest in punishing human misdeeds we may violate something of divine law which became mixed up with them. From this scruple innumerable edicts of the pontiffs, decrees of the senate, and finally responses of the *haruspices* free you. How often, in the times of our fathers and our grandfathers, has the task been assigned to the magistrates of forbidding the introduction of foreign cults, of excluding dabblers in sacrifices and fortune-tellers from the Forum, the Circus, and the City, of searching out and burning books of prophecies, and of annulling every system of sacrifice except that performed in the Roman way. For men wisest in all divine and human law used to judge that nothing was so potent in destroying religion as where sacrifices were performed, not by native, but by foreign, ritual. I have thought that this warning should be given you, that no religious fear may disturb your minds when you see us suppressing the Bacchanalia and breaking up these nightly meetings. All these things, if the B.C. 186

c. 11 neretis. Omnia diis propitiis volentibusque fa-
8 ciemus;[1] qui quia suum numen sceleribus libidi-
nibusque contaminari indigne ferebant, ex occultis
ea tenebris in lucem extraxerunt, nec patefieri, ut
impunita essent, sed ut vindicarentur et oppri-
12 merentur, voluerunt. Senatus quaestionem extra
ordinem de ea re mihi collegaeque meo mandavit.
Nos quae ipsis nobis agenda sunt impigre exse-
quemur; vigiliarum nocturnarum curam per urbem
13 minoribus magistratibus mandavimus. Vos quoque
aequum est, quae vestra munia sunt, quo quisque
loco positus erit, quod imperabitur, impigre praestare,
et dare operam, ne quid fraude noxiorum periculi aut
tumultus oriatur."

XVII. Recitari deinde senatus consulta iusserunt
indicique praemium proposuerunt si quis quem ad
2 se deduxisset nomenve absentis detulisset. Qui
nominatus profugisset, diem certam se finituros, ad
quam nisi citatus respondisset, absens damnaretur.
Si quis eorum, qui tum extra terram Italiam essent,
nominaretur, ei laxiorem diem daturos, si venire ad
3 causam dicendam vellet. Edixerunt deinde ne quis
quid fugae causa vendidisse neve emisse vellet; ne
quis reciperet celaret ope ulla iuvaret fugientes.
4 Contione dimissa terror magnus urbe tota fuit, nec
moenibus se tantum urbis aut finibus Romanis con-

[1] faciemus *Bauer*: ea faciemus F.

gods are favourable and willing, we shall do; they, B.C. 186
because they were indignant that their own divinity was being polluted by acts of crime and lust, have dragged these matters from darkness into the light, nor have they willed that they should be discovered in order that they might be unpunished, but that they might be coerced and suppressed. The senate has entrusted the investigation of this affair, by extraordinary assignment, to my colleague and myself. We shall zealously carry through what has to be done by ourselves; the responsibility of keeping watch through the City we have entrusted to the minor magistrates. For you too it is proper, whatever duties are assigned you, in whatever place each one is posted, to obey zealously and to see to it that no danger or confusion may arise from the treachery of criminals."

XVII. Then they ordered the decrees of the senate to be read and announced the reward to be paid the informer if anyone had brought any person before them or had reported the name of anyone who was absent. If anyone was named and had escaped, for him they would designate a fixed day, and, if he did not respond when summoned on that day, he would be condemned in his absence. If anyone was named of those who were at that time outside the land of Italy, they would fix a more elastic date if he wished to come to plead his cause. They next proclaimed that no one should venture to sell or buy anything for the purpose of flight; that no one should harbour, conceal, or in any wise aid the fugitives.

When the meeting was dismissed there was great panic in the whole City, nor was this confined only to the walls or the boundaries of Rome; but gradually

tinuit, sed passim per totam Italiam, litteris hospitum de senatus consulto et contione et edicto
5 consulum acceptis, trepidari coeptum est. Multi ea nocte, quae diem insecuta est quo in contione res palam facta est, custodiis circa portas positis fugientes a triumviris comprehensi et reducti sunt: multorum delata nomina. Quidam ex iis viri feminaeque
6 mortem sibi consciverunt. Coniurasse supra septem milia virorum ac mulierum dicebantur. Capita autem coniurationis constabat esse M. et C. Atinios[1] de plebe Romana et Faliscum L. Opicernium et Minium
7 Cerrinium Campanum: ab his omnia facinora et flagitia orta, eos maximos sacerdotes conditoresque eius sacri esse. Data opera, ut primo quoque tempore comprehenderentur. Adducti ad consules fassique de se nullam moram indicio fecerunt.

XVIII. Ceterum tanta fuga ex urbe facta erat ut, quia multis actiones[2] et res peribant, cogerentur praetores T. Maenius et M. Licinius per senatum res in diem tricesimum differre, donec quaestiones a
2 consulibus perficerentur. Eadem solitudo, quia Romae non respondebant nec inveniebantur, quorum nomina delata erant, coegit consules circa fora
3 proficisci ibique quaerere et iudicia exercere. Qui tantum initiati erant et ex carmine sacro, praeeunte verba sacerdote, precationes fecerant, quibus[3]

[1] M. et C. Atinios *Sigonius*: m. et l. catinios *M*: m. catinium *et similia* τ.
[2] multis actiones *Gelenius*: multae santiones τ.
[3] quibus *H. J. Mueller*: in quibus τ.

[1] Cases could not be tried because of the absence of one or both parties to suits. The remedy adopted was the proclamation of a *iustitium* for thirty days: this suspended all ordinary public and private business.

through all Italy, as letters were received from their B.C. 186
friends concerning the decree of the senate, concerning the assembly and the edict of the consuls, the terror began to spread. Many during the night after the day when the revelation was made in the meeting were caught trying to escape and brought back by the guards whom the *triumviri* had posted at the gates: the names of many were reported. Certain of these, men and women, committed suicide. In the conspiracy, it was said, more than seven thousand men and women were involved. But the heads of the conspiracy, it was clear, were Marcus and Gaius Atinius of the Roman *plebs*, and the Faliscan Lucius Opicernius and the Campanian Minius Cerrinius: they were the source of all wickedness and wrongdoing, the story went, and they were the supreme priests and the founders of the cult. It was seen to that at the first opportunity they were arrested. They were brought before the consuls, confessed, and asked for no delay in standing trial.

XVIII. But so numerous were the persons who had fled from the City that, since in many instances legal proceedings and causes were falling through,[1] the praetors Titus Maenius and Marcus Licinius were compelled, through the intervention of the senate, to adjourn court for thirty days, until the investigations should be finished by the consuls. The same depopulation, because at Rome men whose names had been given in did not respond or were not found, compelled the consuls to make the rounds of the villages and there investigate and conduct trials. Those who had merely been initiated and had made their prayers in accordance with the ritual formula,

c. nefanda coniuratio in omne facinus ac libidinem continebatur, nec earum rerum ullam,[1] in quas iureiurando obligati erant, in se aut alios admiserant, 4 eos in vinculis relinquebant; qui stupris aut caedibus violati erant, qui falsis testimoniis, signis adulterinis, subiectione testamentorum, fraudibus aliis con- 5 taminati, eos capitali poena adficiebant. Plures necati quam in vincula coniecti sunt. Magna vis in 6 utraque causa virorum mulierumque fuit. Mulieres damnatas cognatis, aut in quorum manu essent, tradebant, ut ipsi in privato animadverterent in eas: si nemo erat idoneus supplicii exactor, in publico 7 animadvertebatur. Datum deinde consulibus negotium est ut omnia Bacchanalia Romae primum, deinde per totam Italiam diruerent, extra quam si qua ibi 8 vetusta ara aut signum consecratum esset. In reliquum deinde senatus consulto cautum est ne qua Bacchanalia Romae neve in Italia essent. Si quis tale sacrum sollemne et necessarium duceret,[2] nec sine religione et piaculo se id omittere[3] posse, apud praetorem urbanum profiteretur, praetor 9 senatum consuleret. Si ei permissum esset, cum in senatu centum non minus essent, ita id sacrum faceret, dum ne plus quinque sacrificio interessent,

[1] ullam $\bar{\sigma}$: ulla res *M*.
[2] duceret *ed. Parisina* 1513 : duceret et $\bar{\sigma}$.
[3] id omittere *Gelenius* : id dimittere *M* : dimittere $\bar{\sigma}$.

[1] Such punishments were inflicted by virtue of *patria potestas*.
[2] Their antiquity was their guarantee that they antedated

the priest dictating the words, in which the wicked conspiracy to all vice and lust was contained, but had committed none of the acts to which they were bound by the oath against either themselves or others, they left in chains; upon those who had permitted themselves to be defiled by debauchery or murder, who had polluted themselves by false testimony, forged seals, substitution of wills or other frauds, they inflicted capital punishment. More were killed than were thrown into prison. There was a large number of men and women in both classes. Convicted women were turned over to their relatives or to those who had authority over them, that they might be punished in private:[1] if there was no suitable person to exact it, the penalty was inflicted by the state. Then the task was entrusted to the consuls of destroying all forms of Bacchic worship, first at Rome and then throughout Italy, except in cases where an ancient altar or image had been consecrated.[2] For the future it was then provided by decree of the senate that there should be no Bacchanalia in Rome or Italy. If any person considered such worship to be ordained by tradition or to be necessary, and believed that he could not omit it without sin and atonement, he was to make a declaration before the city praetor, and the latter would consult the senate. If permission were granted to him, at a meeting where not fewer than one hundred were in attendance, he should offer the sacrifice, provided that not more than five people should take part in the rite, and that there

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the abuse of the Bacchus worship and were free from its bad features. In any case the Romans were inclined to respect venerable age.

U.C. 568 neu qua pecunia communis neu quis magister sacrorum aut sacerdos esset.

XIX. Aliud deinde huic coniunctum referente Q. Marcio consule senatus consultum factum est, ut de iis quos pro indicibus consules habuissent integra res ad senatum referretur, cum Sp. Postumius 2 quaestionibus perfectis Romam redisset. Minium Cerrinium Campanum Ardeam in vincula mittendum censuerunt, magistratibusque Ardeatium praedicendum ut intentiore eum custodia adservarent, non solum ne effugeret, sed ne mortis consciscendae 3 locum haberet. Sp. Postumius aliquanto post Romam venit: eo referente de P. Aebutii et Hispalae Faeceniae praemio, quod eorum opera indicata 4 Bacchanalia essent, senatus consultum factum est, uti singulis his centena milia aeris quaestores urbani ex aerario darent: utique consul cum tribunis plebis ageret, ut ad plebem primo quoque tempore ferrent, ut P. Aebutio emerita stipendia essent, ne invitus

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[1] The last clauses prevent a definite organization of the cult. The decree, however, legalizes traditional rites in honour of Bacchus and necessary individual acts of worship.

We are fortunate in possessing an inscription (CIL. I. 196), containing, in the form of a letter addressed to the Teurani, a federated state of Bruttium, the substance of the senate's decisions (the celebrated *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*). In general the statements of Livy agree with the inscription, although the evidence of language gives no indication that Livy saw the inscription.

[2] The ultimate fate of Cerrinius is not recorded.

should be no common purse or master of sacrifices or priest.[1] B.C. 186

XIX. Then another decree of the senate, allied to this, was passed on the motion of the consul Quintus Marcius, that the entire question of those whose services as informers the consuls had enjoyed should be referred to the senate when Spurius Postumius should have returned to Rome after completing the investigations. Minius Cerrinius the Campanian they voted should be sent to Ardea for imprisonment, advance notice being given to the magistrates of the Ardeans that they should keep especially close guard over him, not only to prevent his escape but also to allow him no opportunity to commit suicide.[2] Spurius Postumius returned to Rome a considerable time later: on his motion with reference to the rewards for Publius Aebutius and Hispala Faecenia, because it was through their information that the Bacchanalia had been discovered, a decree of the senate was passed that to each of them one hundred thousand *asses*[3] should be paid by the city quaestors out of the treasury; and that the consuls should take up with the tribunes of the people the matter of their presenting to the assembly at the earliest possible moment proposals that Publius Aebutius should be rated as having performed his military service,[4] that he should not serve in the

[3] This was the sum required for assignment to the first census-class.

[4] The proposal to exempt Aebutius from his military obligations is genuine, so far as one can see, but nevertheless odd at this period, when military service was still a recognized part of the citizen's duty. It cannot be determined whether the exemption carried with it immediate eligibility to office, since Aebutius had no political ambitions.

militaret neve censor ei invito[1] equum publicum
5 assignaret; utique Faeceniae Hispalae datio, deminutio, gentis enuptio, tutoris optio item esset, quasi ei vir testamento dedisset; utique ei ingenuo nubere liceret, neu quid ei qui eam duxisset ob id
6 fraudi ignominiaeve esset; utique consules praetoresque, qui nunc essent quive postea futuri essent, curarent ne quid ei mulieri iniuriae fieret, utique tuto esset. Id senatum velle et aequum censere ut
7 ita fieret. Ea omnia lata ad plebem factaque sunt ex senatus consulto; de ceterorum indicum impunitate praemiisque consulibus permissum est.

XX. Et iam[2] Q. Marcius quaestionibus suae regionis perfectis in Ligures provinciam proficisci parabat, tribus milibus peditum Romanorum, centum quinquaginta equitibus, et quinque milibus Latini nominis peditum, ducentis equitibus in supplementum
2 acceptis. Eadem provincia, idem numerus peditum

[1] censor ei invito *Mommsen*: censor licinius *M*: censores σ.
[2] et iam σ: ita *M*.

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[1] The assignment of an *equus publicus* (cf. xlii. 6 and xliv. 1 below and the notes) would make Aebutius liable to service and so cancel the exemption just granted. Service as a volunteer would be performed in the capacity of an *eques equo publico*.

[2] The interests of a *patronus* in the property of his *libertus* were well protected by Roman law. Although the *patronus* of Faecenia was dead his interests survived, descending in this case to his *gens*, and the senate therefore bestows upon her the right to give away or otherwise alienate her property irrespective of gentile rights (*datio* may be synonymous with *alienatio*, the term employed by later jurists). The proposal of some scholars to understand *capitis* with *deminutio*, which would grant her the right to accept inferior civic status, seems to be self-contradictory. But it is not certain that Livy understood what he wrote.

army except by his own act, that the censor should B.C. 186
not assign him a public horse without his consent;[1]
that Hispala Faecenia should have the rights of
bestowing and alienating property,[2] of marriage
outside her *gens*,[3] and choice of a *tutor* just as if
her husband had given it to her by his will;[4] that
she should be permitted to marry a man of free
birth, nor should any fraud or disgrace on this account
attach to a man who should have married her;
that the consuls and praetors who were at this time
in office and those who should follow them should
have a care that no injury should be done to this
woman and that she should be secure. The senate,
they were to say, wished and judged it proper that
this should be done. All these motions were
presented to the assembly and passed in accordance
with the decree of the senate; with respect to the
impunity and rewards of the rest of the informers
discretion was left to the consuls.

XX. And by this time Quintus Marcius, having
completed the investigation in his district, was
preparing to set out against the Ligurians, who com-
posed his province, having received three thousand
Roman infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry
and five thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry
of the allies of the Latin confederacy as reinforce-
ments. The same province and the same numbers

[3] The conditions surrounding *gentis enuptio* are only vaguely known. It is clear, however, that Faecenia is to have the maximum of privilege allowed to women.

[4] A wife *in manu* might be granted this privilege by her husband's will. By the bestowal of these four rights Faecenia acquired a legal status at least not inferior to that of free women generally.

U.C. 568 equitumque et collegae decretus erat. Exercitus acceperunt quos priore anno C. Flaminius et M. 3 Aemilius consules habuerant.[1] Duas praeterea legiones novas ex senatus consulto scribere iussi sunt, et viginti milia peditum sociis et nomini Latino imperarunt et equites octingentos[2] et tria milia 4 peditum Romanorum. ducentos equites. Totum hunc exercitum praeter legiones in supplementum Hispaniensis exercitus duci placebat. Itaque consules, dum ipsi quaestionibus impediebantur, T. 5 Maenium dilectui habendo praefecerunt. Perfectis quaestionibus prior Q. Marcius in Ligures Apuanos 6 est profectus. Dum penitus in abditos saltus, quae latebrae receptaculaque illis semper fuerant, persequitur, in praeoccupatis angustiis loco iniquo est 7 circumventus. Quattuor milia militum amissa, et legionis secundae signa tria, undecim[3] vexilla socium Latini nominis in potestatem hostium venerunt, et arma multa, quae, quia impedimento fugientibus per silvestres semitas erant, passim 8 iactabantur. Prius[4] sequendi Ligures finem quam 9 fugae Romani fecerunt. Consul ubi primum ex hostium agro evasit, ne quantum deminutae copiae forent appareret, in locis pacatis exercitum dimisit. 10 Non tamen obliterare famam rei male gestae potuit:

[1] habuerant *Madvig*: habuerunt $\bar{\gamma}$.
[2] octingentos $\bar{\gamma}$: mille trecentos *M*.
[3] undecim $\bar{\gamma}$: quadraginta *M*, XL *pro* XI *fortasse interpretans*.
[4] prius $\bar{\gamma}$: nec prius *M*.

[1] Unless the last clause of the sentence depends upon *scribere* above, despite the intervening clause, a verb has dropped out, which I have supplied in the translation.
[2] The term *vexilla* is used for variety only: it is more

of infantry and cavalry had been decreed to his colleague as well. They received the armies which Gaius Flaminius and Marcus Aemilius had commanded as consuls the preceding year. Besides, they were directed, under the decree of the senate, to enlist two new legions, and they called upon the allies of the Latin confederacy for twenty thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry, and they enlisted three thousand Roman infantry and two hundred cavalry.[1] All this army, except the legions, it was resolved to send to reinforce the army in Spain. Accordingly the consuls, while they were themselves busy with the investigations, placed Titus Maenius in charge of conducting the levy. When the investigations were completed, Quintus Marcius set out before his colleague against the Ligurian Apuani. While he was following them into a retired glade, which had always been their secret retreat and hiding-place, he was surrounded on unfavourable ground in a narrow pass which had been occupied in advance. Four thousand soldiers were lost and three standards of the second legion and eleven ensigns[2] of the allies of the Latin confederacy fell into the hands of the enemy, as well as many weapons which were thrown away everywhere because they hindered the flight along the paths in the forest. The Ligurians desisted from their pursuit before the Romans stopped their flight. As soon as the consul got free of the enemy's country, that it might not be seen how great was the loss, he disbanded the army in a peaceful region. He could not, however, erase the record of his defeat; for the glade from B.C. 186

regularly used for the guidons of cavalry, while both Roman and allied infantry carried *signa*.

B.C. 186 nam saltus, unde eum Ligures fugaverant, Marcius est appellatus.

XXI. Sub hunc nuntium ex Ligustinis vulgatum litterae ex Hispania mixtam gaudio tristitiam ad- 2 ferentes recitatae sunt.[1] C. Atinius,[2] qui biennio ante praetor in eam provinciam profectus erat, cum Lusitanis in agro Hastensi signis collatis pugnavit: ad sex milia hostium sunt caesa, ceteri fusi et fugati 3 castrisque exuti. Ad oppidum deinde Hastam oppugnandum legiones ducit: id quoque haud multo maiore certamine cepit quam castra; sed dum incautius subit muros, ictus ex vulnere post dies 4 paucos moritur. Litteris de morte propraetoris recitatis senatus censuit mittendum, qui ad Lunae portum C. Calpurnium praetorem consequeretur, nuntiaretque senatum aequum censere ne sine imperio provincia esset maturare eum proficisci. 5 Quarto die qui missus erat Lunam venit: paucis ante 6 diebus Calpurnius profectus erat. Et in citeriore Hispania L. Manlius Acidinus, qui eodem tempore, quo C. Atinius in provinciam ierat,[3] cum Celtiberis 7 acie conflixit. Incerta victoria discessum est, nisi quod Celtiberi castra inde nocte proxima moverunt, Romanis et suos sepeliendi et spolia legendi ex 8 hostibus potestas facta est. Paucos post dies maiore coacto exercitu Celtiberi ad Calagurrim oppidum 9 ultro lacessiverunt proelio Romanos. Nihil traditur,

[1] recitatae sunt $\bar{\gamma}$: uenerunt *M*.
[2] C. Atinius *Sigonius*: c. catinius $\bar{\gamma}$.
[3] provinciam ierat *Gelenius*: prouincia erat $\bar{\gamma}$.

[1] Its position is unknown.

which the Ligurians had driven him was called B.C. 186
"Marcius."[1]

XXI. About the time the news from the Ligustini was published, dispatches from Spain were read, bringing sorrow mingled with joy. Gaius Atinius, who as praetor two years before had set out to that province, had engaged in pitched battle with the Lusitanians in the territory of Hasta: about six thousand of the enemy fell and the rest were repulsed and routed and stripped of their camp. He then led the legions to assault the town of Hasta: this too he took without much more of a fight than the camp; but while he was too carelessly approaching the walls he was hit and a few days later died from his wound. When the letter regarding the death of the propraetor was read, the senate decreed that a messenger should be sent to overtake the praetor Gaius Calpurnius at the harbour of Luna and announce to him that the senate deemed it proper that he should hasten his departure, that the province might not be left without a governor. The messenger who was sent arrived at Luna on the fourth day: Calpurnius had departed a few days before. And in Nearer Spain Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who had gone to the province at the same time as Gaius Atinius, engaged in a battle with the Celtiberians. Both sides withdrew with the result indecisive, except that the Celtiberians moved their camp from there the next night and gave the Romans the opportunity to bury their dead and collect the spoils from the enemy. A few days later, having collected a larger army, the Celtiberians challenged the Romans to battle near the town of Calagurris. It is not explained what cause made

quae causa numero aucto infirmiores eos [1] fecerit. Superati proelio sunt: ad duodecim milia hominum caesa, plus duo capta et castris Romanus potitur. Et nisi successor adventu suo inhibuisset impetum victoris, subacti Celtiberi forent. Novi praetores ambo in hiberna exercitus deduxerunt.

XXII. Per eos dies, quibus haec ex Hispania nuntiata sunt, ludi Taurii per biduum facti religionis causa. Decem deinde dies magno apparatu [2] ludos M. Fulvius, quos voverat Aetolico bello, fecit. Multi artifices ex Graecia venerunt honoris eius causa. Athletarum quoque certamen tum primo Romanis spectaculo fuit, et venatio data leonum et pantherarum, et prope huius saeculi copia ac varietate ludicrum celebratum est. Novemdiale deinde sacrum tenuit, quod in Piceno per triduum lapidibus pluerat, ignesque caelestes multifariam orti adussisse complurium levi adflatu vestimenta maxime dicebantur. Addita et unum diem supplicatio est ex decreto pontificum, quod aedis Opis in Capitolio de caelo tacta erat. Hostiis maioribus consules procurarunt urbemque lustraverunt. Sub idem tempus et ex

[1] infirmiores eos *edd. vett.*: firmiores eos *aut* firmiores eos non *F*.

[2] decem deinde dies magno apparatu *Novák*: decem apparatos deinde *F*.

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[1] These games, instituted under the monarchy, were in honour of the gods of the lower world.

[2] While the expression is vague, it would seem that there was some special reason for celebrating these games at this time.

them weaker after their numbers were increased. B.C. 186
They were defeated in the battle: about twelve thousand men were killed and two thousand captured and the Romans gained possession of the camp. And, if the arrival of his successor had not prevented the victor from exploiting his success, the Celtiberians might have been subdued. Both new praetors led their armies into winter quarters.

XXII. About the time that these reports were brought from Spain, the Taurian Games [1] were performed for two days for religious reasons.[2] Then for ten days, with great magnificence, Marcus Fulvius gave the games which he had vowed during the Aetolian war.[3] Many actors too came from Greece to do him honour. Also a contest of athletes [4] was then for the first time made a spectacle for the Romans and a hunt of lions and panthers was given, and the games, in number and variety, were celebrated in a manner almost like that of the present time.[5] Then a nine-day feast took place because in Picenum through three days there had been showers of stones, and especially because flames shining in the sky in many places were said to have set fire to the garments of many when a light breeze blew upon them. A one-day period of prayer was also added by decree of the pontiffs because the temple of Ops on the Capitoline had been struck by lightning. The consuls atoned for this with full-grown victims and purified the City. About the same time

[3] Cf. v. 7–10 above. If the emendation here adopted is correct, Fulvius probably exceeded his appropriation of 80,000 sesterces there mentioned.

[4] They were probably boxers or wrestlers.

[5] The Greek features of the games were marks of the Greek culture of Fulvius.

Umbria nuntiatum est semimarem duodecim ferme annos natum inventum. Id prodigium abominantes arceri Romano agro necarique quam primum iusserunt.

6 Eodem anno Galli Transalpini transgressi in Venetiam sine populatione aut bello haud procul inde, ubi nunc Aquileia est, locum oppido condendo ceperunt.
7 Legatis Romanis de ea re trans Alpes missis responsum est neque profectos ex auctoritate gentis eos, nec quid in Italia facerent sese scire.
8 L. Scipio ludos eo tempore, quos bello Antiochi vovisse sese dicebat, ex collata ad id pecunia ab regi-
9 bus civitatibusque per dies decem fecit. Legatum eum post damnationem et bona vendita missum in Asiam ad dirimenda inter Antiochum et Eumenem
10 reges certamina Valerius Antias est auctor: tum collatas ei pecunias congregatosque per Asiam artifices, et quorum ludorum post bellum, in quo votos diceret, mentionem non fecisset, de iis post legationem demum in senatu actum.

XXIII. Cum iam in exitu annus esset, Q. Marcius absens magistratu abiturus erat, Sp. Postumius quaestionibus cum summa fide curaque perfectis
2 comitia habuit. Creati consules sunt Ap. Claudius Pulcher M. Sempronius Tuditanus. Postero die

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[1] Cf. the treatment of a similar creature reported at XXXI. xii. 8.

[2] This is the first invasion of Italy over the eastern passes of the Alps. Possibly these invaders were not Gauls, but came from farther east.

[3] Neither the vow nor the embassy is mentioned elsewhere by Livy.

it was reported from Umbria that a hermaphrodite about twelve years old had been discovered. In their fear and awe of this portent they ordered the prodigy to be removed from Roman soil and killed as soon as possible.[1] B.C. 186

In the same year Transalpine Gauls, crossing into Venetia without any devastation or war, took possession of a site for founding a town not far from where Aquileia now stands. Roman ambassadors sent across the Alps to inquire into the matter received the reply that this party had not set out with the authority of the state, nor did they know what they were doing in Italy.[2]

Lucius Scipio at this time celebrated for ten days the games which he said he had vowed during the war with Antiochus, with money contributed for the purpose by the kings and cities. Valerius Antias is the authority for the statement that after his condemnation and the sale of his property he had been sent as an ambassador to Asia to resolve the disputes between the two kings, Antiochus and Eumenes: he adds that at that time the money was contributed to him and artists collected throughout Asia, and that finally, after his embassy, action was taken in the senate about these games, of which he had made no mention after the war in which he said that they had been vowed.[3]

XXIII. When the year was now coming to its end, Quintus Marcius was about to retire from office while absent from Rome and Spurius Postumius, having conducted the investigations with the greatest faithfulness and energy, held the elections. The consuls elected were Appius Claudius Pulcher and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus. Next day the

praetores facti P. Cornelius Cethegus A. Postumius Albinus C. Afranius [1] Stellio C. Atilius Serranus L. Postumius Tempsanus M. Claudius Marcellinus.
3 Extremo anni, quia Sp. Postumius consul renuntiaverat peragrantem se propter quaestiones utrumque litus Italiae desertas colonias Sipontum supero,
4 Buxentum infero mari invenisse, triumviri ad colonos eo scribendos ex senatus consulto ab T.[2] Maenio praetore urbano creati sunt L. Scribonius Libo M. Tuccius Cn. Baebius Tamphilus.

5 Cum Perseo rege et Macedonibus bellum quod imminebat, non unde plerique opinantur, nec ab ipso Perseo causas cepit: inchoata initia a Philippo sunt; et is ipse, si diutius vixisset, id bellum gessisset.
6 Una eum res, cum victo leges imponerentur, maxime angebat, quod qui Macedonum ab se defecerant in bello, in eos ius saeviendi ademptum ei ab senatu
7 erat, cum, quia rem integram Quinctius in condicionibus pacis distulerat, non desperasset impetrari
8 posse. Antiocho rege deinde bello superato ad Thermopylas, divisis partibus, cum per eosdem dies

[1] C. Afranius *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : c. arranius ς.
[2] T. *ed. Moguntina* : l. ς.

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[1] Livy omits to record the inauguration of the new magistrates and the assignment of provinces and armies.

[2] Livy here makes an abrupt transition from Rome to Macedonia. His chronology, however, is uncertain, as is inevitable in a transitional passage designed to sum up the causes of the war with Perseus, who, incidentally, was not yet king. Livy has said little about Greek affairs since he described the Achaean-Lacedaemonian difficulties in XXXVIII. xxx.–xxxiv., where the chronology is also obscure.

[3] The allusion must be to such states as the Orestae (XXXIII. xxxiv. 6), although Livy has mentioned no such prohibition as that of which Philip complained, and, indeed,

praetors were chosen, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, B.C. 186
Aulus Postumius Albinus, Gaius Afranius Stellio, Gaius Atilius Serranus, Lucius Postumius Tempsanus, Marcus Claudius Marcellinus. At the end of the year, because the consul Spurius Postumius had reported that on his journeys in the prosecution of the investigations on both coasts of Italy he had found colonies abandoned, Sipontum on the upper sea, Buxentum on the lower, three commissioners to enroll colonists for them were elected in accordance with a decree of the senate and under the presidency of the praetor Titus Maenius. The commissioners were Lucius Scribonius Libo, Marcus Tuccius, Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus.[1]

The war[2] with King Perseus and the Mace- B.C. 185
donians which was threatening did not arise from the causes which most people assign to it, nor from Perseus himself: the beginnings had been made by Philip; and Philip himself, had he lived longer, would have waged that war. One thing, when terms of peace were dictated to him after his defeat, especially offended him—that the right of punishing those of the Macedonians who had revolted from him during the war had been taken from him by the senate, although, since Quinctius, in their negotiations for peace, had postponed the whole question, he had not despaired of obtaining it.[3] Then, when King Antiochus had been defeated at Thermopylae, the tasks had been divided,[4] and at the same time

has said nothing at all of the treatment of revolted Macedonian cities except in the instance mentioned.

[4] For the phrase, cf. XXXVII. xxi. 8, where, as here, it refers to co-ordinated action of commanders. The joint campaign referred to was described by Livy in XXXVI. xxxv.

consul Acilius Heracleam, Philippus Lamiam oppug-
9 nasset, capta Heraclea quia iussus abscedere a
moenibus Lamiae erat Romanisque oppidum de-
10 ditum est, aegre eam rem tulerat. Permulsit iram
eius consul, quod ad Naupactum ipse festinans, quo
se ex fuga Aetoli contulerant, Philippo permisit
Athamaniae et Amynandro bellum inferret, et [1]
urbes, quas Thessalis Aetoli ademerant, regno ad-
11 iceret. Haud magno certamine et Amynandrum
Athamania expulerat et urbes receperat aliquot.
12 Demetriadem quoque, urbem validam et ad omnia
opportunam, et Magnetum gentem [2] suae dicionis
13 fecit. Inde et in Thracia quasdam urbes, novae
atque insuetae libertatis vitio seditionibus principum
turbatas, partibus, quae domestico certamine vin-
cerentur, adiungendo sese cepit.

XXIV. His sedata in praesentia regis ira in Romanos est. Numquam tamen remisit animum a colligendis in pace viribus, quibus, quandoque data
2 fortuna esset, ad bellum uteretur. Vectigalia regni non fructibus tantum agrorum portoriisque maritimis auxit sed metalla etiam et vetera intermissa recoluit

[1] et *ed. Aldina* : *om.* F.
[2] gentem *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : gentes F.

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[1] The sequence of events here described does not quite agree with that found in Book XXXVI *passim*. The passages agree in general as to the extent of Philip's gains, which had awakened the suspicions of Flamininus (XXXVI. xxxv. 9–10).

[2] The occupation of Aenus and Maronea had taken place after the other events related, and has not been previously mentioned by Livy. These towns had been at various times under Ptolemaic, Macedonian and finally Seleucid rule before they were liberated by the Romans after the defeat of Antiochus (XXXVII. lx. 7).

the consul Acilius had laid siege to Heraclea, Philip B.C. 185
to Lamia; but when Heraclea was taken Philip had felt aggrieved because he had been ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia and the town had been surrendered to the Romans. The consul soothed his wrath, because, when he was himself in haste to move towards Naupactus, whither the Aetolians had gone from their flight, he had permitted Philip to make war on Athamania and Amynander and to add to his kingdom the cities which the Aetolians had taken from the Thessalians. Without great effort he had both driven Amynander from Athamania and recovered a considerable number of towns. Demetrias also, a powerful city, opportunely situated in every respect, and the tribes of the Magnesians he had brought under his control.[1] After that he had also gained certain cities in Thrace, amid the disorder caused by the quarrels of their leading citizens—the fault of new and unwonted liberty—by joining himself to the parties which were being worsted in this internal rivalry.[2]

XXIV. By these means the anger of the king against the Romans was temporarily assuaged. Never, however, did he relax his attention to the assembling in time of peace of strength which, whenever the chance should be given, he could use in time of war.[3] He not only increased the revenues of his kingdom from the farm crops and the harbour duties, but also reopened old mines long

[3] The true story of the alienation of Philip after the reconciliation during the war with Antiochus would be interesting and revealing. We cannot, however, expect to find it in Livy, and the narrative of Polybius is too fragmentary to be very helpful.

B.C. 169

3 et nova multis locis instituit. Ut vero antiquam multitudinem hominum quae belli cladibus amissa erat restitueret, non subolem tantum stirpis parabat cogendis omnibus procreare atque educare liberos,
4 sed Thracum etiam magnam multitudinem in Macedoniam traduxerat, quietusque aliquamdiu a bellis omni cura in augendas regni opes intentus fuerat.
5 Rediere deinde causae, quae de integro iram move-
6 rent in Romanos. Thessalorum et Perrhaeborum querellae de urbibus suis ab eo possessis, et legatorum Eumenis regis de Thraciis oppidis per vim occupatis traductaque in Macedoniam multitudine, ita auditae
7 erant ut eas non neglegi satis appareret. Maxime moverat senatum, quod iam Aeni et Maroneae affectari possessionem audierant;[1] minus Thessalos
8 curabant. Athamanes quoque venerant legati, non partis amissae, non finium iacturam querentes, sed totam Athamaniam sub ius iudiciumque regis
9 venisse; et Maronitarum exsules venerant,[2] pulsi, quia libertatis causam defendissent ab regio praesidio: ii non Maroneam modo sed etiam Aenum in

[1] iam A. et M. affectari p. audierant *Gelenius*: eum a. et m. affectare p. audieret *M*: iam eum et maroniae affectari p. audierant (-at) *r*.

[2] venerant *Crévier*: erant *r*.

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[1] The dangers attending Rome's policy in the east are here manifest. The adversity of one eastern power inevitably meant the prosperity of another, and constant vigilance on Rome's part was necessary to ensure the maintenance of any equilibrium. The fact that there was now no considerable Greek power made the "liberation" of the Greeks more and

disused and began operations on new ones in many B.C. 185
places. But that he might restore the ancient population, which had been lost in the calamities of war, he did not merely look to the natural increase of the people, by requiring all to beget and rear children, but he had transferred a great number of Thracians to Macedonia as well, being for some time free from wars and devoting all his thought to increasing the resources of his kingdom. Then causes recurred which aroused anew his anger against the Romans. The complaints of the Thessalians and the Perrhaebians with regard to their cities which were in his hands and those of the envoys of King Eumenes with regard to his violent occupation of the Thracian towns and the transfer of the population to Macedonia had been so received that it was plainly evident that they would not be ignored.[1] The senate had been especially moved by the fact that they had heard that he now coveted the possession of Aenus and Maronea; they were less concerned about the Thessalians. Athamanian ambassadors had also arrived, complaining, not of the occupation of part of their kingdom or of the loss of territory, but that all Athamania had come under the sovereignty and sway of the king;[2] exiles of the Maroneans had also come, expelled because they had defended the cause of liberty against the king's garrison: they brought the news that not only Maronea but also Aenus was in the

more a farce and prevented the Romans from developing a Greek state which could check Philip in Europe as Eumenes checked Antiochus in Asia.

[2] This embassy must have antedated the recovery of Athamania by Amynander (XXXVIII. i. 1–iii. 2), unless Philip had again expelled him, and of this there is no record.

potestate narrabant esse Philippi. Venerant et a Philippo legati ad purganda ea, qui nihil nisi permissu Romanorum imperatorum factum affirmabant: civitates Thessalorum et Perrhaeborum et Magnetum et cum Amynandro Athamanum gentem in eadem causa qua Aetolos fuisse; Antiocho rege pulso occupatum oppugnandis Aetolicis urbibus consulem ad recipiendas eas civitates Philippum misisse; armis subactos parere. Senatus, ne quid absente rege statueret, legatos ad eas controversias disceptandas misit Q. Caecilium Metellum M. Baebium Tamphilum Ti. Sempronium. Quorum sub adventum [1] ad Thessalica Tempe omnibus iis civitatibus, quibus cum rege disceptatio erat, concilium indictum est.

XXV. Ibi cum Romani legati disceptatorum loco, Thessali Perrhaebique et Athamanes haud dubii accusatores, Philippus ad audienda crimina tamquam reus consedissent, pro ingenio quisque eorum, qui principes legationum erant, et gratia cum Philippo aut odio acerbius leniusve egerunt. In controversiam autem veniebant Philippopolis Tricca Pha-

[1] adventum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: aduentu *r*.

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[1] The various events which inspired these complaints had extended over a considerable period of time, but may have been forced upon Rome's attention simultaneously. One can picture the bewilderment of the senate, forced to listen to contradictory arguments and decide claims on the basis of justice plus diplomatic policy, and being, probably, none too familiar with the Greek language.

[2] The negotiations between the Roman commanders Baebius and Acilius and the king had been conducted in haste, under the pressure of war-time conditions, and had probably never been given definiteness by statement in written form. It is by no means impossible that a liberal interpretation

power of Philip.[1] Ambassadors too from Philip had B.C. 185
come to clear him on these counts, and they asserted that he had done nothing except with the consent of the Roman generals:[2] the cities of the Thessalians and Perrhaebians and Magnesians and the people of the Athamanians, including Amynander, had been in the same situation as the Aetolians; after the defeat of King Antiochus the consul, kept busy with besieging the Aetolian cities, had sent Philip to recover the above-mentioned places; subdued by arms, they now obeyed him. The senate, in order not to reach any decision in the absence of the king, sent as commissioners to settle these disputes Quintus Caecilius Metellus, Marcus Baebius Tamphilus, Tiberius Sempronius.[3] On their arrival at Thessalian Tempe all the states which had matters of dispute with the king were summoned to a council.

XXV. There, when they had taken their places, the Roman commissioners in the position of arbitrators, the Thessalians, Perrhaebians and Athamanians as unquestionably accusers, and Philip to hear the charges almost as a criminal, each one of the men who were chiefs of embassies, in accordance with his own inclinations, whether towards sympathy for Philip or towards hatred, made more harsh or more lenient proposals. But the principal grounds for controversy were Philippopolis, Tricca, Phaloria,

justified Philip in keeping what he had gained and that the Roman problem at this time was how to take away, while avoiding making Philip an enemy, what their generals had so generously and thoughtlessly given.

[3] Metellus is probably the consul of 206 B.C., Baebius the praetor of 192 B.C. who had co-operated with Philip in the early campaigns against Antiochus, Sempronius probably the tribune of 187 B.C.

loria et Eurymenae[1] et cetera circa eas oppida,
4 utrum, Thessalorum iuris cum essent,[2] vi ademptae
possessaeque ab Aetolis forent—nam Philippum
Aetolis ademisse eas[3] constabat—an Aetolica anti-
5 quitus ea oppida fuissent: ita enim Acilium regi
concessisse, si Aetolorum fuissent, et[4] si voluntate,
non si vi atque armis coacti cum Aetolis essent.
6 Eiusdem formulae disceptatio de Perrhaeborum
Magnetumque oppidis fuit: omnium enim iura possi-
7 dendo per occasiones Aetoli miscuerant. Ad haec
quae disceptationis erant, querellae Thessalorum
adiectae, quod ea oppida, si iam redderentur sibi,
8 spoliata ac deserta redditurus esset: nam praeter
belli casibus amissos quingentos principes iuventutis in
Macedoniam abduxisse, et opera eorum in servilibus
abuti ministeriis; et quae reddiderit coactus Thes-
9 salis, inutilia ut redderet curasse. Thebas Phthias

[1] *haec nomina, multimodis in codd. corrupta, corr. Gelenius.*
[2] essent *Madvig*: *om.* F.
[3] Aetolis ademisse eas *Gelenius*: odisse ac dimisisse ea *M*: ademisse eas F.
[4] et *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* F.

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[1] Tricca and Phaloria, as well as Malloea and Ericinium in sect. 16 below, but not Philippopolis and Eurymenae, are on the list of towns recovered from the Athamanians by Baebius and Philip (XXXVI. xiii. 6).

[2] This is inconsistent with the narrative quoted in the preceding note.

[3] The text of this passage seems to be corrupt in so many places that the real meaning remains obscure and uncertain, and no combination of emendations possesses both palaeographical and intrinsic probability. It is clear, however, that the general question involved is the priority of Thessalian and Aetolian claims to these towns. Two details make the answer particularly difficult: first, the uncertainty as to the

Eurymenae [1] and other cities near them, whether, B.C. 185
at a time when they were under Thessalian control, they had been forcibly seized and occupied by the Aetolians—for it was agreed that Philip had taken them from the Aetolians [2]—or whether these towns had been Aetolian in earlier times; for Acilius had given them to the king subject to the condition that they had belonged to the Aetolians and, furthermore, that they had joined with the Aetolians voluntarily, not under compulsion of armed force.[3] Under the same procedure the dispute was conducted as to the cities of the Perrhaebians and Magnesians; for the Aetolians had confused all claims by seizing them as opportunity offered.[4] Besides these questions, which were matters for legal adjudication, there were the complaints of the Thessalians that if these cities should be restored to them he would give them back after they had been despoiled and abandoned; for in addition to those who had been lost in the hardships of war he had taken five hundred of the leaders of the youth away to Macedonia and was misusing their services on tasks fit only for slaves; and what he had restored to the Thessalians, under compulsion, he had taken care to return unusable. Phthian Thebes, they said, had once been

meaning of the word *antiquitus*, since Aetolian expansion seems to have begun only after the Macedonian conquest; second, the fact that the condition said here to have been imposed by Acilius has not been mentioned before. Both text and translation, it must be admitted, are a patch-work.

[4] The incessant shifting of military control rendered impossible any purely legal adjudication of such questions which could be regarded as final. Rome's decisions were certain to offend some party and were likely to offend all parties, even if they were purely impersonal and equitable.

u.c. 559 unum maritimum emporium fuisse quondam Thessalis quaestuosum et frugiferum: ibi navibus onerariis comparatis regem, quae praeter Thebas Demetriadem cursum derigerent, negotiationem maritimam omnem eo[1] avertisse. Iam ne a legatis quidem, qui iure gentium sancti sint, violandis abstinere: insidias positas euntibus ad T. Quinc-
11 tium. Itaque ergo in tantum metum omnes Thessalos coniectos, ut non in civitatibus suis, non in communibus gentis conciliis quisquam hiscere audeat. Procul enim abesse libertatis auctores Romanos: lateri adhaerere gravem dominum, prohibentem uti beneficiis populi Romani. Quid autem, si vox libera
12 non sit, liberum esse? Nunc se fiducia et praesidio legatorum ingemiscere magis quam loqui. Nisi provideant aliquid Romani, quo et Graecis Macedoniam accolentibus metus et audacia Philippo minuatur, nequiquam et illum victum et se liberatos
13 esse. Ut equum tenacem, non parentem frenis
14 asperioribus castigandum esse. Haec acerbe postremi, cum priores leniter permulsissent iram eius
15 petentes ut ignosceret pro libertate loquentibus et ut deposita domini acerbitate adsuesceret socium atque amicum sese praestare, et imitaretur populum Romanum, qui caritate quam metu adiungere sibi
16 socios mallet. Thessalis auditis Perrhaebi Gonno-

[1] eo *edd. vett.*: in eo *F*.

[1] This incident has not been mentioned.

the one maritime market of the Thessalians which B.C. 185
was profitable and productive of revenue: by assembling there cargo-boats which would steer past Thebes to Demetrias, the king had diverted thither all the sea-trade. At last not even ambassadors, who were inviolable under the law of nations, had he refrained from attacking: he had laid an ambush for them while they were on their way to Titus Quinctius.[1] As a result, then, they said, all Thessalians had been thrown into such a panic that no one dared to open his mouth either in his own city or in the common councils of the people. The Romans, the source of their liberty, were far away: close beside them was a threatening master, forbidding them to take advantage of the kindnesses of the Roman people. What, pray, was free if there was no free speech? Even now, with the confidence and under the safeguards of ambassadors, they were lamenting rather than stating their case. Unless the Romans found some device by which both the fear of the Greeks who were neighbours of Macedonia and the aggressiveness of Philip could be diminished, both his defeat and their liberation would be in vain. Like a stubborn horse which would not obey, more cruel reins must be employed to control him. These remarks the last speakers made in bitterness, although previous speakers had gently soothed his wrath, begging that he would pardon their pleas for liberty, that he would lay aside the harshness of a tyrant and train himself to act as an ally and friend, and that he would imitate the Roman people, which preferred to win for itself allies by affection rather than by fear. When the Thessalians had been heard, the Perrhaebians argued

c. condylum, quod Philippus Olympiadem appellaverat, Perrhaebiae fuisse, et ut sibi restitueretur, agebant; et de Malloea et Ericinio eadem postulatio erat.
17 Athamanes libertatem repetebant et castella Athenaeum et Poetneum.

XXVI. Philippus, ut accusatoris potius quam rei speciem haberet, et ipse a querellis orsus Menelaidem in Dolopia, quae regni sui fuisset, Thessalos vi atque armis expugnasse questus est; item Petram in Pieria [1] ab iisdem Thessalis Perrhaebisque captam.
2 Xynias quidem, haud dubie Aetolicum oppidum, sibi contribuisse eos; et Paracheloida, quae sub Athamania esset, nullo iure Thessalorum formulae
3 factam. Nam quae sibi crimina obiciantur de insidiis legatorum et maritimis portubus frequentatis
4 aut desertis, alterum ridiculum [2] esse, se reddere rationem, quos portus mercatores aut nautici petant,
5 alterum mores respuere suos.[3] Tot annos esse per quos numquam cessaverint legati nunc ad imperatores Romanos nunc Romam ad senatum crimina de se deferre: quem umquam verbo violatum esse?
6 Semel euntibus ad Quinctium insidias dici factas: sed quid iis acciderit, non adici. Quaerentium quod falso obiciant, cum veri nihil habeant, ea crimina

[1] Petram in Pieria *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : petram imperiam F.

[2] ridiculum F : deridiculum *M*.

[3] mores respuere suos *Gronovius* : mores pueros uos F.

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[1] This demand is inconsistent with Livy's previous narrative. Poetneum is otherwise unknown. For Athenaeum cf. XXXVIII. i. 11.

that Gonnocondylum, which Philip had named Olympias, belonged to Perrhaebia and should be restored to them; the same demand was also made for Malloea and Ericinium. The Athamanians sought liberty and the forts of Athenaeum and Poetneum.[1] B.C. 185

XXVI. Philip, so as to assume the pose of the accuser rather than the accused, himself began with complaints, alleging that the Thessalians had seized by force of arms Menelaïs in Dolopia, which had belonged to his kingdom; similarly, Petra in Pieria had been taken by the same Thessalians and the Perrhaebians. Xyniae indeed, which was certainly an Aetolian town, they had absorbed into themselves; and Paracheloïs, which was under Athamania, had been made Thessalian under no rule of law. Now as to the charges which they had made against him regarding the ambushing of ambassadors and the frequenting or deserting of maritime harbours, the one, he said, was nonsense, that he should be accountable for what harbours merchants or sailors would seek, the other was inconsistent with his character. It was so many years now that ambassadors had never stopped going now to Roman commanders, now to the senate in Rome, carrying charges against him: who of these, he asked, had ever been harmed even by word? They said that once ambassadors going to Quinctius had been ambushed; but what had happened to them they did not add. These were the allegations of men seeking some false charge to make, since they had nothing true to say.

[1] The discrepancies between these chapters and Livy's account in Book XXXVI suggest that Livy here follows a different source. The real facts become, in consequence, less attainable.

u.c. 7 esse. Insolenter et immodice abuti Thessalos indul-
69 gentia populi Romani, velut ex diutina siti nimis
8 avide meram haurientes libertatem: ita [1] servorum
modo praeter spem repente manumissorum licentiam
vocis et linguae experiri et iactare sese insectatione
9 et conviciis dominorum. Elatus deinde ira adiecit
nondum omnium dierum solem occidisse. Id mina-
citer dictum non Thessali modo in sese, sed etiam
10 Romani acceperunt. Et cum fremitus post eam
vocem ortus et tandem sedatus esset, Perrhaeborum
inde Athamanumque legatis respondit eandem, de
11 quibus illi agant, civitatium causam esse. Con-
sulem Acilium et Romanos sibi dedisse eas, cum
12 hostium essent. Si suum munus qui dedissent
adimere velint, scire cedendum esse: sed meliori
et fideliori amico in gratiam levium et inutilium
13 sociorum iniuriam eos facturos. Nec enim ullius
rei minus diuturnam esse gratiam quam libertatis,
praesertim apud eos, qui male utendo eam corrupturi
14 sint. Causa cognita pronuntiarunt legati placere
deduci praesidia Macedonum ex iis urbibus, et
antiquis Macedoniae terminis regnum finiri. De
iniuriis quas ultro citroque illatas querantur [2] quo
modo inter eas gentes et Macedonas disceptetur,
formulam iuris exsequendi constituendam esse.

[1] ita *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: itaque F.
[2] querantur *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: querebantur F.

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[1] The expression has a proverbial sound; Philip's last day had not come.

[2] What boundaries are meant is uncertain: the treaty of 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxx.) fixed them only vaguely and only on the south. Roman decisions at this period frequently and perhaps deliberately err in the direction of being too sententious and consequently ambiguous.

Arrogantly and excessively did the Thessalians misuse the indulgence of the Roman people, as if after a long thirst they drank too greedily a draught of pure freedom: thus, like slaves suddenly set free contrary to their expectations, they were trying out their freedom of voice and tongue and were making a show of themselves by attacking and insulting their masters. Carried away by anger, he added that the sun of all his days had not yet set.[1] This remark not only the Thessalians took as a threat against them, but the Romans also. And when after this speech a roar of protest began and was finally quieted, he replied next to the Perrhaebians and the Athamanians, that the status of the cities about which they were arguing was the same. He claimed that the consul Acilius and the Romans had given them to him because they were on the side of the enemy. If they who had given them wished to take away their gift, he was aware, he said, that he would have to yield; but they would be doing an injury to a better and more loyal friend to gratify fickle and useless allies. For nothing was gratitude less enduring than for liberty, especially when bestowed upon men who are certain to spoil it by misuse. Having heard the case, the commissioners gave judgment that it was their pleasure that the Macedonian garrisons should be withdrawn from these cities and that the kingdom should be reduced to the ancient boundaries of Macedonia.[2] Regarding the injuries which they complained of as committed by both sides, they would have to determine the rule of procedure to be followed, so as to know in what manner to settle the disputes between these peoples and the Macedonians. B.C. 185

XXVII. Inde graviter offenso rege Thessalonicen ad cognoscendum de Thraciae urbibus proficiscuntur. 2 Ibi legati Eumenis, si liberas esse Aenum et Maroneam velint Romani, nihil sui pudoris esse ultra dicere quam ut admoneant, re, non verbo eos liberos relinquant, nec suum munus intercipi ab alio patian- 3 tur. Sin autem minor cura sit civitatium in Thracia positarum, multo verius esse, quae sub Antiocho fuerint, praemia belli Eumenem quam Philippum 4 habere, vel pro patris Attali meritis bello, quod adversus Philippum ipsum gesserit populus Romanus, vel suis, quod [1] Antiochi bello terra marique laboribus 5 periculisque omnibus interfuerit. Habere eum praeterea decem legatorum in eam rem praeiudicium, qui cum Chersonesum Lysimachiamque dederint, Maroneam quoque atque Aenum profecto dedisse, quae ipsa propinquitate regionis velut appendices 6 maioris muneris essent. Nam Philippum quidem quo aut merito in populum Romanum aut iure imperii, cum tam procul a finibus Macedoniae absint, civitatibus his praesidia imposuisse? Vocari Maronitas iuberent: ab iis certiora omnia de statu civitatium earum scituros.

7 Legati Maronitarum vocati non uno tantum loco urbis praesidium regium esse, sicut in aliis civitatibus,

[1] quod *ed. Moguntina*: quo *r*.

[1] By "another" they, of course, mean Philip. The words have a peculiar sound on the lips of Eumenes, who had profited so much from Rome's victory over Antiochus.

[2] The commissioners who had been sent to Asia to formulate the peace-treaty with Antiochus.

[3] Aenus and Maronea had apparently been in some way overlooked in the final settlement with Antiochus.

[4] Philip's claim to these cities seems weak in comparison with his rights to some of the other districts in dispute.

XXVII. Thence, having given serious offence to the king, they proceeded to Thessalonica to investigate the condition of the cities of Thrace. There ambassadors of Eumenes told them that if the Romans wished Aenus and Maronea to be free, the king's sense of propriety permitted them to say nothing more, except to suggest that they leave them free in fact and not merely in name, and not allow their own work to be a source of gain to another.[1] But if there were less concern for the cities situated in Thrace, it was far more proper that towns which had belonged to Antiochus should fall as prizes of war to Eumenes rather than to Philip, either in consideration of the services of his father Attalus in the war which the Roman people had waged against Philip himself, or of his own services, in that he had taken part, during the war with Antiochus, in all its labours and perils on land and sea. They said that Eumenes had in addition the preliminary opinion of the ten commissioners[2] on the matter, who, since they had given him the Chersonesus and Lysimachia, surely gave him Maronea and Aenus too, which, from their nearness to his country, were mere appendages to the larger gift.[3] In consequence of what service to the Roman people, they asked, or of what right to rule had Philip imposed his garrisons upon these cities when they were so far away from the boundaries of Macedonia?[4] Let the commissioners order the Maroneans to be summoned: from them they would receive all certain information about the condition of these cities. B.C. 185

The agents of the Maroneans, when called in, said that the royal garrison occupied, not merely one place in the city, as in other towns, but several at

dixerunt, sed pluribus simul, et plenam Macedonum
8 Maroneam esse. Itaque dominari adsentatores regios: his solis loqui et in senatu et in contionibus licere; eos omnes honores et capere ipsos et dare
9 aliis. Optimum quemque, quibus libertatis, quibus legum cura sit, aut exsulare pulsos patria aut in-
10 honoratos et deterioribus obnoxios silere. De iure etiam finium pauca adiecerunt: Q. Fabium Labeonem, cum in regione ea fuisset, derexisse[1] finem Philippo veterem viam regiam, quae ad Thraciae Paroreian subeat, nusquam ad mare declinantem: Philippum novam postea deflexisse viam,[2] qua Maronitarum urbes agrosque amplectatur.

XXVIII. Ad ea Philippus longe aliam quam adversus Thessalos Perrhaebosque nuper ingressus disserendi viam "non cum Maronitis" inquit "mihi aut cum Eumene disceptatio est, sed iam vobiscum, Romani, a quibus nihil aequi me impetrare
2 iam diu animadverto. Civitates Macedonum quae a me inter indutias defecerant, reddi mihi aequum censebam, non quia magna accessio ea regni futura

[1] derexisse *H. J. Mueller*: direxisse Γ.

[2] veterem . . . viam *ut hoc loco legitur Gelenius*: ueterem regiam quae thraciae paroreiam sub ea nusquam ad mare ferentem deflexisse uiam Γ.

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[1] The aristocratic party in a Greek city of this period was generally pro-Roman, and the constitutions of Flamininus (cf. XXXIV. li. 6; XXXV. xxxiv. 3 and the note) favoured this element. It is interesting to note that the commissioners feel no necessity of hearing from the opposing (democratic and pro-Macedonian) party in Maronea.

[2] The meaning seems to be that Labeo had established as a boundary between Macedonia and the territory surrendered by Antiochus an old road which perhaps followed the general course of the Roman Via Egnatia. Since the boundary was

once, and that Maronea was full of Macedonians. B.C. 185
As a result, the king's partisans were in control: they alone were permitted to speak in the senate and in the public meetings; they either held themselves or gave to others all offices. All the aristocrats, who felt some concern for liberty and the laws, were either in exile, driven from their homes, or were silent, unhonoured and at the mercy of their inferiors.[1] And as to the boundary rights, they had little new to say: only that Quintus Fabius Labeo, when he had been in that region, had fixed as the boundary for Philip the ancient royal road which leads to Paroreia in Thrace, nowhere approaching the sea: Philip had later laid out a new road which encompassed the cities and lands of the Maroneans.[2]

XXVIII. In reply to this Philip followed a very different line of argument from that recently used against the Thessalians and Perrhaebians: "With the Maroneans or with Eumenes," he said, "I have no debate, but now, Romans, the debate is with you, from whom I have for some time observed that I receive no fair treatment. The cities of the Macedonians which had revolted from me during the truce [3] I deemed it right that I should recover, not because it would be an important addition to my kingdom—for

probably described by a term as vague as "a certain road." Philip had availed himself of the vagueness by relocating the old road or building a new one which put Maronea on his side of the boundary as thus described. But corruption in the text and the lack of any other version of the affair leave the true sense in doubt. It may be added that the authority of Labeo to take such action as is here described (Livy has not mentioned it before) is more than questionable.

[3] Possibly the truce of 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxxvi. 8), but the revolt has not been mentioned before.

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esset—sunt enim et parva oppida et in finibus extremis posita—sed quia multum ad reliquos Mace-
3 donas continendos exemplum pertinebat. Negatum est mihi. Bello Aetolico Lamiam oppugnare iussus a consule M'. Acilio cum diu fatigatus ibi operibus proeliisque essem, transcendentem me iam muros a capta prope urbe revocavit consul et abducere copias
4 inde coegit. Ad huius solacium iniuriae permissum est ut Thessaliae Perrhaebiaeque et Athamanum reciperem quaedam castella magis quam urbes. Ea quoque ipsa vos mihi, Q. Caecili, paucos ante dies
5 ademistis. Pro non dubio paulo ante, si diis placet, legati Eumenis sumebant, quae Antiochi fuerunt Eumenem aequius esse quam me habere. Id ego longe aliter iudico esse. Eumenes enim non, nisi vicissent Romani, sed nisi bellum gessissent, manere in regno suo non potuit. Itaque ille vestrum meri-
6 tum habet, non vos illius. Mei autem regni tantum aberat ut ulla pars in discrimine fuerit ut tria milia talentum et quinquaginta tectas naves et omnes Graeciae civitates, quas antea tenuissem, pollicentem ultro Antiochum in mercedem societatis sim asper-
7 natus; hostemque ei me esse prius etiam quam M'. Acilius exercitum in Graeciam traiceret praetuli. Et cum eo consule belli partem quamcumque mihi
8 delegavit gessi, et insequenti consuli L. Scipioni, cum terra statuisset ducere exercitum ad Hellespontum, non iter tantum per regnum nostrum dedi, sed vias

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[1] Hannibal had urged that every means should be used to win over Philip (XXXVI. vii. 3 ff.), but Livy has said nothing to suggest that actual overtures were made to him by Antiochus.

they are small towns and, moreover, situated on the B.C. 185
farthest frontiers—but because it was a valuable precedent for holding within bounds the other Macedonians. This was refused me. During the Aetolian war, ordered by the consul Manius Acilius to besiege Lamia, after I had been wearied for a long time by the siege and battles and when I was on the point of scaling the walls, I was recalled by him from the city, which was all but taken, and compelled to march my troops away. As a consolation for this injustice it was permitted to me to recover certain fortresses (such they were rather than cities) of Thessaly and Perrhaebia and the Athamanians. Even these, Quintus Caecilius, you took away from me a few days ago. Just now (heaven help us !) the ambassadors of Eumenes assumed it as not to be gainsaid that it was more just for Eumenes than for me to have what had belonged to Antiochus. I judge the matter far differently. Eumenes could not have remained in his kingdom, I do not mean if the Romans had not conquered, but if they had not undertaken the war. And so he has received favours from you, not you from him. So far from true was it that any part of my kingdom was in danger that when Antiochus voluntarily promised me three thousand talents and fifty decked ships and all the cities of Greece which I had held before, as the price of my alliance,[1] I refused ; I preferred to be his enemy even before Manius Acilius brought his army across to Greece. And with that consul I conducted whatever campaign he assigned to me ; and for the following consul, Lucius Scipio, when he had decided to lead his army to the Hellespont by land, I not merely gave him a right of way through our kingdom but also paved roads, built

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9 etiam munivi, pontes feci, commeatus praebui; nec per Macedoniam tantum, sed per Thraciam etiam, ubi inter cetera pax quoque praestanda a barbaris
10 erat. Pro hoc studio meo erga vos, ne dicam merito, utrum adicere vos, Romani, aliquid et amplificare et augere regnum meum munificentia vestra oportebat an, quae haberem aut meo iure aut beneficio vestro
11 eripere, id quod nunc facitis? Macedonum civitates quas regni mei fuisse fatemini non restituuntur. Eumenes tamquam ad Antiochum spoliandum me venit et, si diis placet, decem legatorum decretum calumniae[1] impudentissimae praetendit, quo maxi-
12 me et refelli et coargui potest. Disertissime enim planissimeque in eo scriptum est Chersonesum et Lysimachiam Eumeni dari. Ubi tandem Aenus et Maronea et Thraciae civitates adscriptae sunt? Quod ab illis ne postulare quidem est ausus, id apud
13 vos, tamquam ab illis impetraverit, obtinebit? Quo in numero me apud vos esse velitis, refert. Si tamquam inimicum et hostem insectari propositum est,
14 pergite ut coepistis facere: sin aliquis respectus est mei ut socii atque amici regis, deprecor ne me tanta iniuria dignum iudicetis."

XXIX. Movit aliquantum oratio regis legatos. Itaque medio responso rem suspenderunt: si decem legatorum decreto Eumeni datae civitates eae essent,
2 nihil se mutare; si Philippus bello cepisset eas,

[1] calumniae *Gelenius*: pecuniae calumniae *F*.

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[1] Philip's claims here are supported by Livy's narrative. The commissioners had left his services entirely unrewarded.

[2] The silence of the commissioners receives an interpretation contradicting that of xxvii. 5 above.

bridges, furnished supplies; and this not through B.C. 185
Macedonia alone but also through Thrace, where, along with everything else, I had to maintain peace with the barbarians. For this zeal in your behalf, not to say for these services to you, was it right, Romans, that you should add to and enlarge and increase somewhat my domains by your generosity, or that you should take away what I have, either by my own right or by your kindness, as you are doing now?[1] The cities of the Macedonians, which you admit were part of my dominion, are not restored. Eumenes has come to despoil me as if I were Antiochus, and (heaven help us!) he brings forward, by a most impudent manipulation of the facts, the decree of the ten commissioners, by which more than anything else he can be both refuted and convicted. For it was written therein most explicitly and clearly that the Chersonesus and Lysimachia were given to Eumenes. Where, pray, were Aenus and Maronea and the Thracian cities assigned to him?[2] What he did not even dare to ask of them shall he obtain from you as if he had been granted it by them? It makes a difference in what category you wish me to be with reference to you. If you have determined to harass me as a private and public enemy, continue to act as you have begun; but if some consideration is due me as an allied and friendly king, I beg you not to judge me worthy of such an injury."

XXIX. The speech of the king affected the commissioners profoundly. Therefore they left the question unsettled by an indecisive answer: if by the decree of the ten commissioners these cities had been assigned to Eumenes, they were making no change; if Philip had captured them in war, he should

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praemium victoriae iure belli habiturum: si neutrum eorum foret, cognitionem placere senatui reservari et, ut omnia in integro [1] manerent, praesidia quae in iis urbibus sint deduci.

3 Hae causae maxime animum Philippi alienaverunt ab Romanis, ut non a Perseo filio eius novis causis motum, sed ob has a patre bellum relictum filio videri
4 possit. Romae nulla Macedonici belli suspicio erat. L. Manlius proconsul ex Hispania redierat; cui postulanti ab senatu in aede Bellonae triumphum rerum gestarum magnitudo impetrabilem faciebat;
5 exemplum obstabat quod ita comparatum more maiorum erat ne quis qui exercitum non deportasset triumpharet, nisi perdomitam pacatamque provinciam tradidisset successori. Medius tamen honos Manlio
6 habitus ut ovans urbem iniret. Tulit coronas aureas quinquaginta duas, auri praeterea pondo centum
7 triginta duo, argenti sedecim milia trecenta, et pronuntiavit in senatu decem milia pondo argenti et octoginta auri Q. Fabium quaestorem advehere: id quoque se in aerarium delaturum.

8 Magnus motus servilis eo anno in Apulia fuit. Tarentum provinciam L. Postumius praetor habebat.

[1] integro *Gelenius*: integrum ς.

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[1] From Philip's standpoint this decision does not leave the affair "in its original state," and one is not surprised that it contributed to Philip's feeling that he was being mistreated. The opposite decision would have been equally unfair to the other parties in the case. It is never made clear whether the Maroneans wished to be given to Eumenes.

[2] This is a variation on the form of statement adopted in XXXVIII. i. 3; it is obvious that the senate has discovered

hold them as the prize of victory under the law of B.C. 185
war; if neither of these was true, it was their pleasure that the decision should be reserved for the senate and, in order that everything might remain in its original state, that the garrisons which were in these cities should be withdrawn.[1]

These were the principal causes which had turned the thoughts of Philip away from the Romans, so that the war can appear, not as begun for new reasons by his son Perseus, but as a heritage from the father to the son. At Rome there was no suspicion of a Macedonian war. Lucius Manlius the proconsul had returned from Spain; when he demanded from the senate, meeting in the temple of Bellona, a triumph for his achievements, their importance made the request reasonable; precedent stood in the way, because it had been so arranged by the custom of their forefathers that a general who had not brought back his army should not triumph unless he had handed over to his successor a province thoroughly conquered and pacified.[2] Nevertheless, the intermediate distinction, of entering the City in ovation, was granted to Manlius. He carried in his procession fifty-two golden crowns, in addition to one hundred and thirty-two pounds of gold and sixteen thousand three hundred of silver, and he declared in the senate that his quaestor Quintus Fabius was bringing ten thousand pounds of silver and eighty of gold: this too he would put into the treasury.

There was a serious slave insurrection that year in Apulia. Lucius Postumius the praetor had Tarentum as his province. He conducted a strict investi-

the art of juggling with the conditions to suit its shifting purposes.

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9 Is de pastorum coniuratione, qui vias latrociniis pascuaque publica infesta habuerant, quaestionem severe exercuit. Ad septem milia hominum condemnavit: multi inde fugerunt, de multis sumptum
10 est supplicium. Consules diu retenti ad urbem dilectibus tandem in provincias profecti sunt.

XXX. Eodem anno in Hispania praetores C. Calpurnius et L. Quinctius, cum primo vere ex hibernis copias eductas in Baeturia iunxissent, in Carpetaniam, ubi hostium castra erant, progressi sunt, com-
2 muni animo consilioque parati rem gerere. Haud procul Dipone et Toleto urbibus inter pabulatores pugna orta est, quibus dum utrimque subvenitur a castris, paulatim omnes copiae in aciem eductae sunt.
3 In eo tumultuario certamine et loca sua et genus pugnae pro hoste fuere. Duo exercitus Romani fusi atque in castra compulsi sunt. Non institere per-
4 culsis hostes. Praetores Romani, ne postero die castra oppugnarentur, silentio proximae noctis tacito
5 signo exercitum abduxerunt. Luce prima Hispani acie instructa ad vallum accesserunt, vacuaque praeter spem castra ingressi, quae relicta [1] inter nocturnam trepidationem erant, diripuerunt, regressique in castra sua paucos dies quieti stativis [2]
6 manserunt. Romanorum sociorumque in proelio fugaque ad quinque milia occisa, quorum se spoliis hostes armarunt. Inde ad Tagum flumen profecti
7 sunt. Praetores interim Romani omne id tempus

[1] relicta Γ: derelicta *M*.
[2] quieti statiuis Γ: quietis hi statiuis *M*.

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[1] The order for departure was given not by voice or trumpet but by written message (*per tesseram*).

gation into a conspiracy of shepherds who had endangered the highways and the public pasture-lands by their brigandage. He condemned about seven thousand men: many of them escaped, many were executed. The consuls, long delayed in the City by the levies, at length set out for their provinces. B.C. 185

XXX. The same year the praetors in Spain, Gaius Calpurnius and Lucius Quinctius, when in the beginning of spring they had led their troops out of winter quarters and had united in Baeturia, marched into Carpetania, where the camp of the enemy lay, and prepared to conduct the campaign with a common plan and policy. Not far from the towns of Dipo and Toletum a fight broke out between foraging parties, and as these were reinforced, each from its own camp, gradually all the troops were drawn out into the line. In this sudden engagement both the familiar ground and the nature of the fighting favoured the enemy. The two Roman armies were routed and driven back into camp. The enemy did not keep up their pressure on the defeated foe. The Roman praetors, in order that their camp might not be attacked the next day, in the quiet of the following night with silent signals[1] led the army away. At daybreak the Spaniards approached the rampart in battle-line and entering an empty camp, contrary to expectations, plundered what had been left behind in the confusion of the night, and returning to their own camp remained quietly in their quarters for a few days. About five thousand of the Romans and allies fell in the battle and rout, and with their spoils the enemy armed themselves. Then they moved away to the river Tagus. Meanwhile the Roman praetors spent all their time in collecting

contrahendis ex civitatibus sociis Hispanorum auxiliis
et reficiendis ab terrore adversae pugnae militum
8 animis consumpserunt. Ubi satis placuere vires et
iam miles quoque ad delendam priorem ignominiam
hostem poscebat, duodecim milia passuum ab Tago
9 flumine posuerunt castra. Inde tertia vigilia sublatis
signis quadrato agmine principio lucis ad Tagi ripam
10 pervenerunt. Trans fluvium in colle hostium castra
erant. Extemplo, qua duobus locis vada nudabat
amnis, dextra parte Calpurnius, laeva Quinctius
exercitus traduxerunt quieto hoste, dum miratur
subitum adventum consultatque, qui tumultum
inicere trepidantibus in ipso transitu amnis potuisset.
11 Interim Romani, impedimentis quoque omnibus
traductis contractisque in unum locum, quia iam
moveri videbant hostem nec spatium erat castra
12 communiendi, aciem instruxerunt. In medio locatae[1]
quinta Calpurnii legio et octava Quinctii: id robur
totius exercitus erat. Campum apertum usque
ad hostium castra habebant, liberum a metu in-
sidiarum.

XXXI. Hispani postquam in citeriore ripa duo
Romanorum agmina conspexerunt, ut, priusquam se
iungere atque instruere possent, occuparent eos,
castris repente effusi cursu ad pugnam tendunt.
2 Atrox in principio proelium fuit, et Hispanis recenti
victoria inflatis et insueta ignominia milite Romano
3 accenso. Acerrime media acies, duae fortissimae

[1] locatae *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : locata F.

auxiliaries from the allied towns of the Spaniards and B.C. 185
in restoring the courage of the men after the panic of the defeat. When their strength was sufficient and even the soldiers were now demanding the enemy in order to wipe out the previous disgrace, they encamped twelve miles from the river Tagus. Thence, breaking camp in the third watch, they marched in a hollow square at dawn to the banks of the Tagus. Across the river on a hill was the camp of the enemy. Immediately, where the river revealed fords in two places, Calpurnius on the right, Quinctius on the left, led the army across, the enemy quietly watching while they marvelled at their sudden advance and talked about how they might have caused confusion while the Romans were disorganized in the act of crossing the river. Meanwhile the Romans, having brought over all their trains and massed them in one place, because they saw the enemy already in motion and there was no opportunity to fortify a camp, drew up their line of battle. In the centre were posted the fifth legion of Calpurnius and the eighth of Quinctius: these constituted the strength of the whole army. They had an open plain as far as the camp of the enemy, free from any danger of ambuscade.

XXXI. When the Spaniards saw the two Roman columns on the nearer bank, in order to catch them before they could unite and form their ranks, rushing hastily out of their camp they hastened to the conflict. There was a fierce fight at the outset, the Spaniards on the one side being puffed up by their recent victory, the Roman soldiers on the other incensed by their unaccustomed defeat. The fiercest fight was in the centre of the line, composed of the two bravest

legiones, dimicabant. Quas cum aliter moveri loco non posse hostis cerneret, cuneo institit pugnare; et usque plures confertioresque medios urgebant. 4 Ibi postquam laborare aciem Calpurnius praetor vidit, T. Quinctilium Varum et L. Iuventium Talnam legatos ad singulas legiones adhortandas propere mittit; 5 docere et monere iubet in illis spem omnem vincendi et retinendae Hispaniae esse: si illi loco cedant, neminem eius exercitus non modo Italiam, sed ne Tagi quidem ulteriorem ripam umquam [1] visurum. 6 Ipse cum equitibus duarum legionum paulum circumvectus in cuneum hostium, qui mediam urge- 7 bat aciem, ab latere incurrit. Quinctius cum sociis [2] equitibus alterum hostium latus invadit. Sed longe acrius Calpurniani equites pugnabant, et praetor ante 8 alios: nam et primus hostem percussit et ita se immiscuit mediis ut vix utrius partis esset nosci 9 posset; et equites praetoris eximia virtute et equitum pedites accensi sunt. Pudor movit primos centuriones, qui inter tela hostium praetorem conspexerunt. Itaque urgere signiferos pro se quisque, iubere inferre signa et confestim militem sequi. 10 Renovatur ab omnibus clamor: impetus fit velut ex superiore loco. Haud secus ergo quam torrentis modo fundunt sternuntque perculsos, nec sustineri alii 11 super alios inferentes sese possunt. Fugientes in castra equites persecuti sunt, et permixti turbae

[1] umquam *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: usquam *F*.
[2] sociis *Heusinger*: suis *F*.

legions. When the enemy saw that they could be B.C. 185
dislodged in no other way, they began to attack in wedge formation; and ever more men, more closely massed, were pressing on the centre. After Calpurnius the praetor saw that the line was in distress there, he sent Titus Quinctilius Varus and Lucius Juventius Talna, the lieutenants, at full speed to encourage the single legions; he ordered them to instruct and remind the troops that in them lay all their hopes of victory and of holding Spain: if they retired from that spot, no one in that army would ever see—not to mention Italy—even the farther bank of the Tagus river. He himself with the cavalry of the two legions, making a short detour, took in flank the wedge of the enemy which was pressing on the centre. Quinctius with the allied cavalry attacked the other flank of the enemy. But the cavalry of Calpurnius fought far more furiously, and the praetor beyond the rest: for he was both the first to strike down an enemy and so threw himself into the midst that it could scarcely be told to which side he belonged; and the cavalry were inspired by the remarkable valour of the praetor and in turn inspired the infantry. Shame moved the senior centurions when they saw the praetor amid the weapons of the enemy. And so each for himself urged on the standard-bearers, ordered them to advance and the soldiers to follow at once. The shouting was renewed by all: an attack was launched as if from higher ground. And so they swept forward like a torrent and overwhelmed the panic-stricken enemy, nor as they charged wave after wave could they be resisted. The cavalry pursued the fugitives to the camp, and mingling with the throng of the enemy

hostium intra vallum penetraverunt; ubi ab relictis
in praesidio castrorum proelium instauratum, coacti-
que sunt Romani equites descendere ex equis.
12 Dimicantibus iis legio quinta supervenit: deinde ut
13 quaeque potuerant, copiae adfluebant. Caeduntur
passim Hispani per tota castra; nec plus quam
quattuor milia hominum effugerunt. Inde tria milia
fere qui arma retinuerant montem propinquum
ceperunt: mille semiermes maxime per agros palati
14 sunt. Supra triginta quinque milia hostium fuerant,
ex quibus tam exigua pars pugnae superfuit. Signa
15 capta centum triginta tria.[1] Romani sociique paulo
plus sescenti et provincialium auxiliorum centum
16 quinquaginta ferme ceciderunt. Tribuni militum
quinque amissi et pauci equites Romani cruentae
maxime victoriae speciem fecerunt. In castris
hostium, quia ipsis spatium sua communiendi non
17 fuerat, manserunt. Pro contione postero die laudati
donatique a C. Calpurnio equites phaleris, pronun-
tiavitque eorum maxime opera hostes fusos, castra
18 capta et expugnata esse. Quinctius alter praetor
suos equites catellis ac fibulis [2] donavit. Donati et
centuriones ex utriusque exercitu permulti, maxime
qui mediam aciem tenuerant.[3]

XXXII. Consules dilectibus aliisque quae Romae
agendae erant peractis rebus in Ligures provinciam
2 exercitum duxerunt. Sempronius a Pisis profectus

[1] tria *ed. Moguntina*: duo *F*.
[2] fibulis *ed. Moguntina*: fistulis *F*.
[3] tenuerant *Madvig*: tenuerunt *F*.

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[1] The apparent meaning is that the losses of officers and knights (*i.e.* men of rank) were disproportionately heavy.

made their way inside the rampart; there the battle B.C. 185
was renewed by the troops who had been left to guard the camp, and the Roman cavalry were forced to dismount. While they were fighting thus the fifth legion came up; then, as they could, new forces were joining the battle. Spaniards were being slaughtered everywhere through the whole camp, and not more than four thousand men escaped. About three thousand of them, who had kept their weapons, occupied a mountain near by; a thousand, most of them partially armed, straggled through the fields. There had been more than thirty-five thousand of the enemy, of whom so small a remnant survived the battle. One hundred and thirty-three standards were taken. Of the Romans and allies a few more than six hundred fell, and of the auxiliaries from the province about a hundred and fifty. The loss of five tribunes of the soldiers and of a few Roman knights particularly gave the appearance of a bloody victory.[1] They remained in the camp of the enemy because there had been no opportunity to fortify their own. Before an assembly the next day Gaius Calpurnius praised and decorated the cavalry with trappings for their horses and proclaimed publicly that the enemy had been defeated and his camp taken and captured mainly through their efforts. Quinctius, the other praetor, decorated his cavalry with chains and clasps. Also many centurions from both armies were honoured, especially those who had held the centre of the line.

XXXII. The consuls, having finished the levies and the other business which had to be transacted in Rome, led the army against the Ligurians, who constituted their province. Sempronius, setting out

.c. in Apuanos Ligures, vastando agros urendoque vicos
9 et castella eorum aperuit saltum usque ad Macram
3 fluvium et Lunae portum. Hostes montem, antiquam sedem maiorum suorum, ceperunt; et inde
4 superata locorum iniquitate proelio deiecti sunt. Et Ap. Claudius felicitatem virtutemque collegae in Liguribus Ingaunis aequavit secundis aliquot proeliis. Sex praeterea oppida eorum expugnavit; multa milia hominum in iis cepit; belli auctores tres et quadraginta securi percussit.

5 Iam comitiorum appetebat tempus. Prior tamen Claudius quam Sempronius, cui sors comitia habendi obtigerat, Romam venit, quia P. Claudius frater eius
6 consulatum petebat. Competitores habebat patricios L. Aemilium Q. Fabium Ser. Sulpicium Galbam, veteres candidatos, et ab repulsis eo magis debitum
7 quia primo negatus erat honorem repetentes. Etiam quia plus quam unum ex patriciis creari non licebat,
8 artior petitio quattuor petentibus erat. Plebeii quoque gratiosi homines petebant, L. Porcius Q. Terentius Culleo Cn. Baebius Tamphilus, et hi repulsi in spem impetrandi tandem aliquando honoris
9 dilati. Claudius ex omnibus unus novus [1] candidatus

[1] novus *Gelenius*: nobilis *F*.

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[1] They probably lived south-west of Genoa.

[2] For the psychology cf. XXXV. xxiv. 5.

[3] The dates of the praetorships of the candidates were: Claudius, 188; Aemilius, 191: Fabius, 189; Sulpicius, 187; Porcius, 193; Terentius, 187; Baebius, 199 (all B.C.). These dates give some indication of the possible duration of a political career at this period, and show that there were other

from Pisa against the Ligurian Apuani, devastating B.C. 185
their lands and burning the villages and forts, opened up the pass as far as the river Macra and the harbour of Luna. The enemy retired to a mountain, the ancient seat of their forefathers; even from there, the handicap of unfavourable ground having been overcome, they were dislodged by an attack. Appius Claudius too equalled the good fortune and valour of his colleague among the Ligurian Ingauni[1] in a number of victories. In addition he captured six of their towns; in them he took many thousands of men; forty-three, who had been responsible for the war, he beheaded.

The time for the elections was now approaching. But Claudius arrived in Rome earlier than Sempronius, to whom had fallen by lot the conduct of the elections, because his brother Publius Claudius was seeking the consulship. He had as patrician competitors Lucius Aemilius, Quintus Fabius, Servius Sulpicius Galba, all perennial candidates, who after defeats were again seeking an office which was due them all the more because it had been at first refused.[2] Also, because it was not lawful that more than one from the patricians should be elected, there was a closer race among the four candidates. Influential plebeians also were contending for the office, Lucius Porcius, Quintus Terentius Culleo, Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus,[3] and these too, having suffered defeat, were filled with the hope that some day they would at last[4] win in the election. Claudius was the only new candidate of them all. In the general

hard-fought campaigns than those which Livy singles out for special mention: cf. also XL. xxxvii. 6 below

[4] The combination *tandem aliquando* is highly colloquial.

erat. Opinione hominum haud dubie destinabantur
B.C. 69 10 Q. Fabius Labeo et L. Porcius Licinus.[1] Sed Claudius consul sine lictoribus cum fratre toto foro volitando, clamitantibus adversariis et maiore parte 11 senatus, meminisse eum debere se prius consulem populi Romani quam fratrem P. Claudii esse : quin ille sedens pro tribunali aut arbitrum aut tacitum spectatorem comitiorum se praeberet?—coerceri tamen ab 12 effuso studio nequit. Magnis contentionibus tribunorum quoque plebis, qui aut contra consulem aut pro studio eius pugnabant, comitia aliquotiens turbata, donec pervicit Appius ut deiecto Fabio fratrem trahe- 13 ret. Creatus P. Claudius Pulcher praeter spem suam et ceterorum. Locum suum tenuit L. Porcius Licinus, quia moderatis studiis, non vi[2] Claudiana inter ple- 14 beios certatum est. Praetorum inde comitia sunt habita : C. Decimius Flavus P. Sempronius Longus P. Cornelius Cethegus Q. Naevius Matho C. Sempronius Blaesus A. Terentius Varro praetores facti. 15 Haec eo anno, quo Ap. Claudius M. Sempronius consules fuerunt, domi militiaeque gesta.

B.C. 70 XXXIII. Principio insequentis anni P. Claudius L. Porcius consules, cum Q. Caecilius M. Baebius Ti. Sempronius, qui ad disceptandum inter Philippum et Eumenem reges Thessalorumque civitates 2 missi erant, legationem renuntiassent, regum quoque eorum civitatiumque legatos in senatum introduxe-

[1] Licinus *Sigonius* : licinius ϝ. [2] vi *Gelenius* : ut ϝ.

[1] The *tribunal* was a platform erected in the Campus Martius, from which the presiding magistrate conducted the election.

[2] The direct reference is to the activity of the consul in the election, with more than a hint that such impetuosity was characteristic of the *gens Claudia*.

opinion of men Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius B.C. 185
Porcius Licinus were almost certain of success. But the consul Claudius, without his lictors, flitting with his brother around the whole Forum, though his adversaries and the greater part of the senate kept crying out that he should remember that he was the consul of the Roman people rather than the brother of Publius Claudius (why should he not take his seat on the tribunal[1] and act either as an umpire or else as a silent spectator of the elections?), nevertheless could not be restrained from his zealous canvass. Great contentions among the tribunes of the people, as well, who took part in the fight either against the consul or on his side, disturbed the elections several times, until Appius succeeded in bringing in his brother, Fabius being defeated. Publius Claudius Pulcher was elected contrary to his own expectations and those of others. Lucius Porcius Licinus held his place because among the plebeians the contest was conducted with moderate partisanship, not with Claudian violence.[2] Then the praetorian elections were held: Gaius Decimius Flavus, Publius Sempronius Longus, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus Naevius Matho, Gaius Sempronius Blaesus and Aulus Terentius Varro were chosen praetors. Such were the events, at home and abroad, of the consular year of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

XXXIII. In the beginning of the following year, B.C. 184
when Quintus Caecilius, Marcus Baebius and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been sent to arbitrate between the kings, Philip and Eumenes, and the cities of the Thessalians, had reported on their mission, the consuls Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius also introduced into the senate the ambassadors of these

B.C. 570

runt. Eadem utrimque iterata, quae dicta apud legatos in Graecia erant. Aliam deinde novam legationem patres, cuius princeps Ap. Claudius fuit, in Graeciam et Macedoniam decreverunt ad visendum, redditaene civitates Thessalis et Perrhaebis essent. Iisdem mandatum, ut ab Aeno et Maronea praesidia deducerentur, maritimaque omnis Thraciae ora a Philippo et Macedonibus liberaretur. Peloponnesum quoque adire iussi, unde prior legatio discesserat incertiore statu rerum quam si non venissent: nam super cetera etiam sine responso dimissi, nec datum petentibus erat Achaeorum concilium. De qua re querente graviter Q. Caecilio et simul Lacedaemoniis deplorantibus moenia diruta, abductam plebem in Achaiam et venumdatam, ademptas, quibus ad eam diem civitas stetisset, Lycurgi leges, Achaei maxime concilii negati crimen excusabant recitando legem, quae nisi belli pacisve causa, et cum legati ab senatu cum litteris aut scriptis mandatis venirent, vetaret indici concilium. Ea ne postea excusatio esset, ostendit senatus curae iis esse debere, ut legatis Romanis semper adeundi concilium gentis

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[1] In chaps. xxiv.–xxix. above, Livy said nothing about a visit to the Achaean League by the commission headed by Caecilius. In XXIII. xi. (XXII. xv.), however, Polybius gives the same account as that which Livy gives here.

[2] Cf. XXXVIII. xxxiv; the enslaved commons here are apparently the *adscripti* of that chapter.

kings and of the cities. The same arguments were repeated on both sides that had been used before the commissioners in Greece. Then the Fathers decreed another new commission, of which Appius Claudius was the chief, to go to Greece and Macedonia to see whether the cities had been restored to the Thessalians and Perrhaebians. They were also instructed that the garrisons were to be withdrawn from Aenus and Maronea and that the whole sea coast should be freed from Philip and the Macedonians. They were directed to visit the Peloponnesus also, from which the previous commission [1] had come away leaving the position of things more uncertain than if they had not gone: for in addition to everything else they had even been sent away without an answer, and the Achaean council had not been summoned as they requested. When Quintus Caecilius complained bitterly of this conduct and the Lacedaemonians at the same time lamented that their walls had been destroyed, their common people taken away to Achaia and enslaved, the laws of Lycurgus, on which their state had been based up to that time, annulled,[2] the principal reply of the Achaeans to the charge that a council had been refused was to read the law which forbade the calling of the council except when it was a question of peace or war or when ambassadors arrived from the senate with letters or written instructions.[3] That this excuse might not be given again, the senate made it plain that it was their duty to see that Roman commissioners should always have the opportunity to address the council of the people, B.C. 184

[3] It is nowhere made clear whether this was a law of the council itself (cf. XXXI. xxv. 9) or a part of the treaty between Rome and the League.

potestas fieret, quem ad modum et illis quotiens vellent senatus daretur.

XXXIV. Dimissis iis legationibus, Philippus a suis certior factus cedendum civitatibus deducendaque praesidia esse, infensus omnibus in Maronitas iram
2 effundit. Onomasto, qui praeerat maritimae orae, mandat, ut partis adversae principes interficeret. Ille per Casandrum quendam, unum ex regiis iam diu habitantem Maroneae, nocte Thracibus intro-
3 missis velut in bello capta urbe caedem fecit. Idem [1] apud Romanos legatos querentes tam crudeliter adversus innoxios Maronitas, tam superbe adversus populum Romanum factum ut, quibus libertatem restituendam senatus censuisset, ii pro hostibus trucidarentur, abnuebat quicquam eorum ad se aut
4 quemquam suorum pertinere; seditione inter ipsos dimicatum, cum ad se alii, alii ad Eumenem civitatem
5 traherent: id facile scituros esse; percunctarentur ipsos Maronitas, haud dubius, perculsis omnibus terrore tam recentis caedis, neminem hiscere adversus
6 se ausurum. Negare Appius rem evidentem pro dubia quaerendam. Si ab se culpam removere vellet, Onomastum et Casandrum, per quos acta res diceretur, mitteret Romam, ut eos senatus percunctari
7 posset. Primo adeo perturbavit ea vox regem ut

[1] idem *M. Mueller*: id *F*.

[1] The situation required a delicate adjustment between the sovereignty of the League and the quasi-protectorate of Rome.

just as to them too the senate was open as often as they wished.[1] B.C. 184

XXXIV. When these embassies had been dismissed, Philip was informed by his representatives that he was to retire from the cities and withdraw his garrisons; being angered at everyone, he vented his wrath on the Maroneans. He sent word to Onomastus, who was in command of the sea coast, to kill the leading men of the opposing party. Onomastus, through the agency of a certain Casander, one of the king's supporters who had long been a resident of Maronea, admitting the Thracians by night, caused a slaughter as if the town had been captured in war. When the Roman commissioners complained of such cruel treatment of the unoffending Maroneans and of such arrogant conduct towards the Roman people, that those men whose liberty the senate had declared was to be restored were murdered as if they were enemies, Philip in reply denied that any of this concerned himself or any one of his subjects; there had been fighting as a consequence of internal strife, since some were for transferring the city to him, others to the Romans; this fact they could easily ascertain; let them, he said, question the Maroneans themselves—not doubting that when all were smitten with the terror of so recent a massacre no one would dare to open his mouth against him. Appius replied that so clear a case needed no investigation as if it were not clear. If Philip wished to avert blame from himself he should send Onomastus and Casander, through whom it was said that the plan had been executed, to Rome, in order that the senate might question them. This speech at first so disconcerted the king that he could not control his colour or

.c. non color, non vultus ei constaret; deinde collecto
0 tandem animo Casandrum, qui Maroneae fuisset, si
8 utique vellent, se missurum dixit: ad Onomastum
quidem quid eam rem pertinere, qui non modo Maron-
eae, sed ne in regione quidem propinqua fuisset?
9 Et parcebat magis Onomasto, honoratiori amico, et
eundem indicem haud paulo plus timebat, quia et
ipse sermonem cum eo contulerat et multorum talium
10 ministrum et conscium habebat. Casander quoque,
missis qui per Epirum ad mare prosequerentur eum,
ne qua indicium emanaret, veneno creditur sublatus.

XXXV. Et legati a Philippi colloquio ita digressi
2 sunt, ut prae se ferrent nihil eorum sibi placere, et
Philippus minime, quin rebellandum esset, dubius.
Quia tamen [1] immaturae ad id vires erant, ad moram
interponendam Demetrium minorem filium mittere
Romam simul ad purganda [2] crimina, simul ad de-
3 precandam iram senatus statuit, satis credens ipsum
etiam iuvenem, quod Romae obses specimen indolis
4 regiae dedisset, aliquid momenti facturum. Interim
per speciem auxilii Byzantiis ferendi, re ipsa ad
terrorem regulis Thracum iniciendum profectus,
perculsis iis uno proelio et Amadoco duce capto
in Macedoniam rediit, missis ad accolas Histri fluminis
barbaros, ut in Italiam irrumperent, sollicitandos.

[1] quia tamen *ed. Moguntina* : quia dum quia *et similia* ϝ.
[2] purganda *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : depurganda ϝ.

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[1] Polybius (XXIII. xiv.) says bluntly that he was poisoned.
[2] The earlier career of Demetrius is briefly sketched in the following. A still younger son, Philip (XLII. lii. 5), is consistently ignored in the Books contained in this volume.
[3] The barbarians referred to were probably the Bastarnae (XL. v. 10), who lived along the lower Hister (Danube) river.

expression; then, at length collecting his wits, he B.C. 184
said that he would send Casander, who had been at Maronea, if they really wished it; but how did this affair concern Onomastus, who had not only not been at Maronea but had not even been in any district close to it? And in fact he was both careful to spare Onomastus, as a more valued friend, and was likewise much more afraid of him as an informer, because he himself had exchanged views with him and used him as an agent and accomplice in many such affairs. Casander, moreover, when men were sent to conduct him through Epirus to the sea, was believed to have been done away with by poison, lest in some way his evidence might get out.[1]

XXXV. And the commissioners went away from the conference with Philip in such fashion as to advertise the fact that nothing in his conduct pleased them, and Philip had no doubt at all that he would have to resort to war. Yet, since his strength was still insufficient for that, in order to cause delay, he determined to send his younger son Demetrius [2] to Rome, partly to explain away the charges against him, partly to turn aside the wrath of the senate, being well persuaded that he, even though a young man, because while he was a hostage at Rome he had shown signs of possessing a kingly nature, would have some influence. Meanwhile, setting out under the pretence of bringing aid to the Byzantines, but in reality in order to inspire the chiefs of the Thracians with fear, having defeated them in one battle and captured their leader Amadocus, he returned to Macedonia, sending agents to stir up the barbarians [3] living along the Hister river, to the end that they might invade Italy.

5 Et in Peloponneso adventus legatorum Romanorum, qui ex Macedonia in Achaiam ire iussi erant, exspectabatur; adversus quos ut praeparata consilia
6 haberent, Lycortas praetor concilium indixit. Ibi de Lacedaemoniis actum: ex hostibus eos accusatores factos, et periculum esse ne victi magis timendi forent quam bellantes fuissent. Quippe in bello sociis Romanis Achaeos usos: nunc[1] eosdem Romanos
7 aequiores Lacedaemoniis quam Achaeis esse, ubi Areus etiam et Alcibiades, ambo exsules, suo beneficio restituti, legationem Romam[2] adversus gentem Achaeorum ita de ipsis meritam suscepissent, adeoque infesta oratione usi essent ut pulsi patria non
8 restituti in eam viderentur. Clamor undique ortus, referret[3] nominatim de iis: et cum omnia ira non consilio gererentur, capitis damnati sunt. Paucos post dies Romani legati venerunt. His Clitore in Arcadia datum est concilium.

XXXVI. Priusquam agerent quicquam, terror Achaeis iniectus erat et cogitatio, quam non ex
2 aequo disceptatio futura esset, quod Areum et Alcibiadem capitis ab se concilio proximo damnatos cum legatis videbant; nec hiscere quisquam audebat.
3 Appius ea quae apud senatum questi erant Lacedaemonii displicere senatui ostendit: caedem primum

[1] usos: nunc *edd. vett.*: ausos tunc ⁻.
[2] Romam *ed. Aldina*: romanam ⁻.
[3] referret ⁻: referri *M*.

[1] They had been exiled by Nabis.

In the Peloponnesus also the coming of the Roman B.C. 184
commissioners, who had been ordered to proceed from Macedonia to Achaia, was being awaited; and in order that they might have their arguments prepared in advance with which to confront the Romans, the praetor Lycortas called a council. There the question concerned the Lacedaemonians: from enemies they had turned accusers, and there was danger that in defeat they would prove more to be feared than they had been when at war. In the war, they reflected, the Achaeans had had the Romans as allies: now the same Romans were more favourably disposed towards the Lacedaemonians than towards the Achaeans, in a situation where even Areus and Alcibiades, both exiles,[1] restored through Achaean influence, had undertaken an embassy to Rome against the Achaean people which had deserved so well of them, and had expressed sentiments so hostile that they seemed to have been driven from their country, not restored to it. A cry went up from all sides that the praetor should offer a motion concerning them by name; and since everything was governed by passion, not deliberation, they were condemned to death. A few days later the Roman commissioners arrived. A council was called for them at Clitoris in Arcadia.

XXXVI. Before they did anything, fear struck the Achaeans and the thought came to them on how unequal grounds the argument was likely to be conducted, because they saw Areus and Alcibiades, who had been condemned to death by them at the latest council, with the commissioners; nor did anyone dare to open his mouth. Appius stated that the conduct of which the Lacedaemonians had complained before the senate was displeasing to the senate: first, the

ad Compasium [1] factam eorum, qui a Philopoemene
4 ad causam dicendam evocati venissent; deinde cum
in homines ita saevitum esset ne [2] ulla parte crude-
litas eorum cessaret, muros dirutos urbis nobilissimae
esse, leges vetustissimas abrogatas, inclutamque per
5 gentes disciplinam Lycurgi sublatam. Haec cum
Appius dixisset, Lycortas, et quia praetor et quia
Philopoemenis, auctoris omnium quae Lacedaemone
6 acta fuerant, factionis erat, ita respondit: "Difficilior nobis, Ap. Claudi, apud vos oratio est quam
7 Romae nuper apud senatum fuit. Tunc enim
Lacedaemoniis accusantibus respondendum erat:
nunc a vobis ipsis accusati sumus, apud quos causa
8 est dicenda. Quam iniquitatem condicionis subimus
illa spe, iudicis animo te auditurum esse, posita con-
tentione qua paulo ante egisti. Ego certe, cum ea
quae et hic antea apud Q. Caecilium [3] et postea
Romae questi sunt Lacedaemonii, a te paulo ante
relata sint, non tibi sed illis me apud te respondere
9 credam.[4] Caedem obicitis eorum, qui a Philo-
poemene praetore evocati ad causam dicendam inter-

[1] Compasium *Crévier*: conflictum Σ.
[2] ne *Madvig*: nec *M*: ne in Σ.
[3] Q. Caecilium Σ: p. sulpitium *M*.
[4] credam *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: credebam Σ.

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[1] Cf. XXXVIII. xxxiii. The scene of the episode has not been mentioned before. Rome had apparently given no indication of its attitude towards this affair, except as it might be inferred from their general attitude towards the Achaeans.

[2] He probably means the embassy reported in xxxiii. 7 above, although it is not recorded that Lycortas himself was a member of that embassy, and Livy has not mentioned any

slaughter which took place at Compasium of those B.C. 184
Lacedaemonians who had come in response to the summons of Philopoemen to plead their cause;[1] second, that after they had treated men with such violence, that they might overlook no form of cruelty, they had torn down the walls of a most illustrious city, had repealed their most ancient laws, and had done away with the discipline of Lycurgus, famed as it was throughout the world. When Appius had said this, Lycortas, both because he was praetor and because he belonged to the party of Philopoemen, who was responsible for whatever had been done in Lacedaemon, replied thus: "It is more difficult for us, Appius Claudius, to speak in your presence than it was recently in Rome before the senate.[2] For then our task was to answer the accusations of the Lacedaemonians: now we have been accused by you, before whom we must plead our cause. This disadvantage of situation we accept in the hope that you will listen in the spirit of a judge, laying aside the vehemence of a prosecutor with which you spoke a little while ago. I at any rate, when these complaints which were presented, both here previously before Quintus Caecilius[3] and in Rome later by the Lacedaemonians, were repeated by you a little while ago, shall believe that I am replying, not to you, but to them in your presence. You bring up the murder of those men who were killed when they had been summoned by the praetor Philopoemen to plead their

argument with the Lacedaemonians at that time. Lycortas was also at Rome in 189 B.C. (XXXVIII. xxxii. 5–10).

[3] There must have been unofficial conferences with the commissioners even if no meeting of the council was held: cf. xxxiii. 6 above.

fecti sunt. Hoc ego crimen non modo a vobis, Romani, sed ne apud vos quidem nobis obiciendum fuisse arbitror. Quid ita? Quia in vestro foedere erat ut
10 maritimis urbibus abstinerent Lacedaemonii. Quo tempore armis captis urbes, a quibus abstinere iussi erant, nocturno impetu occupaverunt, si T.[1] Quinctius, si exercitus Romanus, sicut antea, in Peloponneso fuisset, eo nimirum capti et oppressi con-
11 fugissent. Cum vos procul essetis, quo alio nisi ad nos, socios vestros, quos antea Gytheo opem ferentes, quos Lacedaemonem vobiscum simili de causa op-
12 pugnantes viderant, confugerent? Pro vobis igitur iustum piumque bellum suscepimus. Quod cum alii laudent, reprehendere ne Lacedaemonii quidem possint, dii quoque ipsi comprobaverint, qui nobis victoriam dederunt, quonam modo ea quae belli iure acta sunt in disceptationem veniunt? Quorum
13 tamen maxima pars nihil pertinet ad nos. Nostrum est quod evocavimus ad causam dicendam eos, qui ad arma multitudinem exciverant, qui expugnaverant maritima oppida, qui diripuerant, qui caedem princi-
14 pum fecerant. Quod vero illi venientes in castra interfecti sunt, vestrum est, Areu et Alcibiade, qui
15 nunc nos, si diis placet, accusatis, non nostrum. Exules Lacedaemoniorum, quo ex[2] numero hi quoque duo fuerunt, et tunc nobiscum erant, et quod domicilio sibi delegerant maritima oppida, se petitos credentes, in eos, quorum opera patria extorres ne

[1] t. $\bar{r}$: ti. *F*. [2] ex *codd. Modii* : in $\bar{r}$.

[1] Cf. XXXVIII. xxx.–xxxi. and the note to xxx. 6.

cause. This charge, in my opinion, should not only B.C. 184
not have been made against us by you, Romans, but not even by them before you. Why so? Because it was stated in your treaty that the Lacedaemonians should keep their hands off the towns on the coast. At the time when they took up arms and seized, by a night attack, those cities which they had been ordered to let alone, if Titus Quinctius, if a Roman army, as before, had been in the Peloponnesus, the captured and oppressed would doubtless have fled to them.[1] Since you were far away, where else could they flee except to us, whom they had previously seen bringing aid to Gytheum and besieging Lacedaemon in common cause with you? On your behalf, then, we undertook a legal and righteous war. Since others applaud it, since not even the Lacedaemonians can criticize it, and since the very gods themselves, by giving us the victory, have approved it, how can those things which took place under the law of war come into dispute? Yet the greatest part of those things have nothing to do with us. It is our affair that we summoned to plead their cause those who had called the multitude to arms, who had captured the coast towns, who had plundered them, who had caused the murder of the leading men. But as to the fact that they were killed while they were coming to our camp, that is your affair, Areus and Alcibiades—who now (heaven help us!) are accusing us—not ours. The exiles of the Lacedaemonians, to which number even these two belonged, were indeed at that time with us, and because they had chosen as their places of residence the towns on the coast believing that they were being sought out, they made an attack on those men thanks to whose efforts they

.c. in tuto quidem exsilio posse consenescere se indigna-
0 16 bantur, impetum fecerunt. Lacedaemonii igitur Lacedaemonios, non Achaei interfecerunt; nec iure an iniuria caesi sint, argumentari refert.

XXXVII. "At enim illa certe vestra sunt, Achaei, quod leges disciplinamque vetustissimam Lycurgi
2 sustulistis, quod muros diruistis. Quae utraque ab iisdem obici qui possunt, cum muri Lacedaemonis non ab Lycurgo, sed paucos ante annos ad dissolven-
3 dam Lycurgi disciplinam exstructi sint? Tyranni enim nuper eos arcem et munimentum sibi, non civitati paraverunt; et si exsistat hodie ab inferis Lycurgus, gaudeat ruinis eorum, et nunc se patriam
4 et Spartam antiquam agnoscere dicat. Non Philopoemenem exspectare nec Achaeos, sed vos ipsi, Lacedaemonii, vestris manibus amoliri et diruere
5 omnia vestigia tyrannidis debuistis. Vestrae enim illae deformes veluti notae [1] servitutis erant, et cum sine muris per octingentos prope annos liberi, aliquando etiam principes Graeciae fuissetis, muris velut compedibus circumdatis vincti per centum annos
6 servistis. Quod ad leges ademptas attinet, ego antiquas Lacedaemoniis [2] leges tyrannos ademisse

[1] veluti notae *Weissenborn*: notae *F* τ: ueluti cicatrices *M*.
[2] lacedaemoniis τ: lacedaemonis *F*.

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[1] Lycortas overlooks the fact that on the day after the riot 63 Lacedaemonians were put to death after a sort of trial, apparently before the Achaeans (XXXVIII. xxxiii. 11). The responsibility of the exiles can extend, then, only to the 17 who were killed in the rioting.

It may be remarked that the Achaeans show no sympathy for the victims of Nabis on the ground of their aristocratic tendencies, and are interested in them, so far as one can judge, solely because they provided a means of creating internal discord in Lacedaemon.

saw with indignation that they, exiles from home, could not grow old even in a safe place of exile. Lacedaemonians, then, were killed by Lacedaemonians, not by Achaeans; whether they were killed justly or unjustly it is not important to inquire.[1] B.C. 184

XXXVII. "But, you say, those other actions were at any rate your acts, Achaeans—the abolition of the laws and the most ancient discipline of Lycurgus, and the destruction of the walls. But how can both these criticisms be made by the same persons, since the walls of Lacedaemon were not built by Lycurgus, but were constructed a few years ago to overthrow the system of Lycurgus? For the tyrants recently erected them, a citadel and protection for themselves, not for the city; and if Lycurgus should rise from the dead to-day he would rejoice in their destruction and would say that now he recognized his home and the ancient Sparta. You yourselves, Lacedaemonians, should not have waited for Philopoemen and the Achaeans, but should with your own hands have torn down and destroyed all traces of the tyranny. For they were yours—those disfiguring scars of servitude, if I may so call them, and while, without walls, you had been free for eight hundred years and for a considerable period even the first state in Greece, when the walls were thrown around you like shackles you were bound in slavery for a hundred years.[2] As far as the abolition of the laws is concerned, I consider that the tyrants took away their ancient laws from the Lacedaemonians; that we did not

[2] The method of calculation throughout is obscure. For the eight centuries under the laws of Lycurgus, cf. XXXVIII. xxxiv. 9. There is no agreement as to the date of the construction of the walls (XXXIV. xxxviii. 2 and the note).

.c. 0 arbitror; nos non suas iis ademisse, quas non habe-
7 bant, sed nostras leges dedisse; nec male consuluisse civitati, cum concilii nostri eam fecerimus et nobis miscuerimus, ut corpus unum et concilium[1] totius
8 Peloponnesi esset. Tunc, ut opinor, si aliis ipsi legibus viveremus, alias istis iniunxissemus, queri se iniquo iure esse et indignari possent.
9 "Scio ego, Ap. Claudi, hanc orationem qua sum adhuc usus neque sociorum apud socios neque liberae gentis esse, sed vere servorum disceptantium
10 apud dominos. Nam si non vana illa vox praeconis fuit, qua liberos esse omnium primos Achaeos iussistis, si foedus ratum est, si societas et amicitia ex aequo observatur, cur ego, quid Capua capta feceritis Romani, non quaero, vos rationem reposcitis, quid
11 Achaei Lacedaemoniis bello victis fecerimus? Interfecti aliqui sunt, finge, a nobis: quid? Vos senatores
12 Campanos securi non percussistis? At muros[2] diruimus: vos non muros tantum sed urbem agros
13 ademistis. Specie, inquis, aequum est foedus: re apud Achaeos precaria libertas, apud Romanos etiam
14 imperium est. Sentio, Appi, et, si non oportet, non

[1] et concilium $\bar{\sigma}$: ut consilium *F*.
[2] at muros *Drakenborch*: muros $F\bar{\sigma}$.

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[1] The decree of 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxii. 5; Polybius XVIII. xlvi.) named no Peloponnesian state except Corinth, the others being omitted, presumably, because they were already free. The speaker is therefore inexact in his quotation, although *omnium primos* is exact to the extent that Corinth was the first state mentioned in the decree.

[2] The case of Capua was frequently brought up by Greek critics of Rome: cf., *e.g.*, XXXI. xxix. 11.

[3] This must be regarded as a fair statement of the situation, even if the Greeks themselves were mainly to blame. Lycortas appears to mean by the last clause that such liberty as the

take from them what they did not possess, but gave B.C. 184
them our own laws; I believe, too, that the measures we took were not for the disadvantage of the Lacedaemonian state, since we made it part of our League and united it with us, so that there was one body and one council for the whole Peloponnesus. Then and then only, in my judgment, if we ourselves lived under one code and imposed another upon them, would they be able to complain and feel indignant that their status was unfair.

"I know, Appius Claudius, that the speech that I have thus far delivered is neither that of allies in the presence of allies nor that of a free people, but in reality that of slaves arguing before their masters. For if those words of the herald, with which you Romans ordered the Achaeans first of all to be free,[1] were not a mere sham, if the treaty was in fact valid, if the alliance and friendship are being impartially observed, why do I not ask what you Romans did when you took Capua, as you demand an explanation of what we Achaeans did when the Lacedaemonians were conquered in war?[2] Some of them, let us assume, were killed by us: what of it? Did you not behead Campanian senators? But, you say, we tore down their walls: you destroyed, not the walls alone, but the city, the farm lands. The treaty, you say, looks as if it were between equals: in fact, among the Achaeans liberty is a thing bestowed as a favour, among the Romans it amounts even to sovereignty.[3] I know this, Appius, and if I should

Achaeans possess under a treaty that was nominally *aequum* is the gift of the Romans (*precaria*), but that the Romans by virtue of their *imperium* could take away their gift as easily as they could make it. The reply of Claudius confirms this.

indignor: sed oro vos, quantumlibet intersit inter Romanos et Achaeos, modo ne in aequo hostes vestri nostrique apud vos sint ac nos socii, immo ne meliore
15 iure sint. Nam ut in aequo essent nos fecimus, cum leges iis nostras dedimus, cum, ut Achaici [1] concilii essent, effecimus. Parum est victis, quod victoribus satis est; plus postulant hostes quam socii habent.
16 Quae iureiurando, quae monumentis litterarum in lapide insculptis in aeternam memoriam sancta atque sacrata sunt, ea cum periurio nostro tollere parant.
17 Veremur quidem vos, Romani, et si ita vultis, etiam timemus: sed plus et [2] veremur et timemus deos
18 immortales." Cum adsensu maximae partis est auditus, et locutum omnes pro maiestate magistratus censebant, ut facile appareret molliter agendo dig-
19 nitatem suam tenere Romanos non posse. Tum Appius suadere se magnopere Achaeis dixit ut, dum liceret voluntate sua facere, gratiam inirent, ne mox
20 inviti et coacti facerent. Haec vox audita quidem cum omnium gemitu est, sed metum iniecit [3] im-

[1] Achaici *Gronovius*: achaei *F*.
[2] et *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* .
[3] metum iniecit *Gelenius*: metu iniecto .

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[1] A copy of the decree by which Lacedaemon was taken into the League would doubtless be set up in the temple at Aegium.

[2] For the thought cf. sect. 21 below and the note. Lycortas was the father of Polybius, and therefore, even if any corresponding speech in Polybius were preserved, we should find it impossible to judge how much of the version of Livy was genuine. Its sophistry is evident, and it is difficult to see how even a supporter of Philopoemen could have honestly maintained that Lacedaemon had equal rights in the League. But, genuine or imaginary, the speech seems to

not I do not object; but at any rate I beg you, no B.C. 184
matter how great the difference may be between the Romans and the Achaeans, not to permit your enemies and ours to be on an equal footing before you with us, your allies, or rather on a better footing. For we brought it about that they were equal when we gave them our laws, when we made them members of the Achaean League. That is too little for the conquered which is sufficient for the conquerors; enemies demand more than allies possess! Those things which were made sanctified and sacred by oath, by written records [1] carved on stone for eternal preservation, they are trying, by making us perjurers, to destroy. Indeed we respect you, Romans, and, if you wish it so, we even fear you; but still more do we both respect and fear the immortal gods." [2] Lycortas was heard with applause on the part of the majority, and all said that he had spoken in a manner consistent with the dignity of his office, so that it was readily apparent that by a soft answer the Romans could not maintain their position. Then Appius said that he earnestly advised the Achaeans to come to terms while it was still possible to do so of their own free will, lest presently they be forced to take the same action against their will and under compulsion. This speech was received with a general groan, but it made the Achaeans fear to refuse what

picture fairly the actual situation that existed in Greece, and its accuracy suggests that Livy had some evidential basis for his composition. For an excellent and well-documented discussion of this question, see Larsen, "Was Greece Free between 196 and 146 B.C.?" in *Classical Philology* 30, 1935, 193–214. Larsen's findings agree in general with the point of view of this note, although he does not use this speech as evidence.

c.c. 21 perata recusandi. Id modo petierunt ut Romani,
70 quae viderentur, de Lacedaemoniis mutarent nec Achaeos religione obstringerent irrita ea, quae iureiurando sanxissent, faciendi. Damnatio tantum Arei et Alcibiadis, quae nuper facta erat, sublata est.

XXXVIII. Romae principio eius anni, cum de provinciis consulum et praetorum actum est, consulibus Ligures, quia bellum nusquam alibi erat, decreti.
2 Praetores C. Decimius Flavus[1] urbanam, P. Cornelius
3 Cethegus inter cives et peregrinos sortiti sunt, C. Sempronius Blaesus Siciliam, Q. Naevius Matho Sardiniam et ut idem quaereret de veneficiis, A. Terentius Varro Hispaniam citeriorem, P. Sempro-
4 nius Longus Hispaniam ulteriorem. De iis duabus provinciis legati per id fere tempus L. Iuventius Talna
5 et T. Quinctilius Varus venerunt, qui quantum bellum iam profligatum in Hispania esset senatu edocto postularunt simul, ut pro rebus tam prospere gestis diis immortalibus haberetur honos et ut praetoribus
6 exercitum deportare liceret. Supplicatio in biduum decreta est: de legionibus deportandis, cum de consulum praetorumque exercitibus ageretur, rem integ-
7 ram referri iusserunt. Paucos post dies consulibus in Ligures binae legiones, quas Ap. Claudius et M.
8 Sempronius habuerant, decretae sunt. De Hispaniensibus exercitibus magna contentio fuit inter

[1] Decimius Flavus *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: decimus flauius ς.

[1] The Achaeans, recognizing the inevitability of changes, ask that these changes be enforced upon them by Rome, to spare them the humiliation of breaking their oaths by repealing laws which they had sworn to obey.

[2] The praetors were clearly warned by the experience of Acidinus (xxix. 4–5 above and the note), and tried to avoid giving the senate an excuse to refuse their triumphs.

was ordered. They requested only this, that the B.C. 184
Romans should make such changes as seemed proper to them regarding the Lacedaemonians and should not involve the Achaeans in the religious difficulty of making void what they had ratified by oath.[1] Only the vote of condemnation which had recently been passed on Areus and Alcibiades was repealed.

XXXVIII. At Rome, in the beginning of this year, when the question of the provinces for the consuls and praetors came up, the Ligurians were decreed to the consuls, since there was war nowhere else. Of the praetors, Gaius Decimius Flavus received the civil jurisdiction, Publius Cornelius Cethegus that between citizens and aliens, Gaius Sempronius Blaesus Sicily, Quintus Naevius Matho Sardinia and the additional task of investigating cases of poisoning, Aulus Terentius Varro Nearer Spain, Publius Sempronius Longus Farther Spain. From these two provinces at about the same time came the lieutenants, Lucius Juventius Talna and Titus Quinctilius Varus, who, after informing the senate how great a war had now been finished in Spain, asked at the same time that by reason of such victories honour should be paid to the immortal gods and that the praetors should be permitted to bring home their armies.[2] A thanksgiving for two days was decreed: as to bringing back the legions, they ordered that the question should be brought up anew when the matter of troops for the consuls and praetors was discussed. A few days later the consuls were assigned, for service against the Ligurians, two legions each, which had been under the command of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius. With respect to the Spanish armies, great strife arose between the new praetors and the

novos praetores et amicos absentium, Calpurnii
9 Quinctiique. Utraque causa tribunos plebis, utraque consulem habebat. Hi se intercessuros senatus consulto, si deportandos censerent exercitus, denuntiabant: illi, si haec intercessio fieret, nullam rem aliam
10 se decerni passuros. Victa postremo absentium gratia est et senatus consultum factum ut praetores quattuor milia peditum Romanorum scriberent, trecentos equites, et quinque milia peditum sociorum Latini nominis, quingentos equites, quos secum in
11 Hispaniam portarent. Cum ea quattuor milia in legiones discripsissent,[1] quo [2] plus quam quina milia peditum, treceni equites in singulis legionibus esset,[3] dimitterent, eos primum, qui emerita stipendia
12 haberent, deinde ut cuiusque fortissima opera Calpurnius et Quinctius in proelio usi essent.

XXXIX. Hac sedata contentione alia subinde C.
2 Decimii praetoris morte exorta est. Cn. Sicinius et L. Pupius, qui aediles proximo anno fuerant, et C. Valerius flamen Dialis et Q. Fulvius Flaccus—is quia aedilis curulis designatus erat, sine toga candida, sed
3 maxima ex omnibus contentione—petebant; certamenque ei cum flamine [4] erat. Et postquam primo

[1] ea quattuor milia in legiones discripsissent *M. Mueller*: ea legiones quattuor descripsissent *F*.
[2] quo *Madvig*: quod *F*.
[3] esset *ed. Aldina*: essent *F*.
[4] flamine *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: flamine diale *F*.

[1] Since the negative always prevailed in such circumstances, a complete deadlock and suspension of public business were threatened.

[2] Livy has confused the story. If Fulvius was aedile-elect only, there could have been no objection to his wearing the *toga candida* (a curule magistrate wore the *toga praetexta*), and no question of holding two offices at once could have arisen,

friends of the absent, Calpurnius and Quinctius. B.C. 184
Each side had tribunes of the people, each a consul. The one side threatened that they would veto a decree of the senate if they should vote that the armies should be brought home: the others, that if this veto should be used they would permit no other decree to be passed.[1] In the end the influence of the absent praetors proved unavailing, and a decree of the senate was passed that the praetors should enlist four thousand Roman infantry, three hundred cavalry, and of the allies of the Latin confederacy five thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, whom they should take with them to Spain. When they had assigned these four thousand to the legions, in proportion as they numbered more than five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry per legion, they should discharge the surplus; first, those who had completed their terms of service, second, those individuals whose conspicuous services Calpurnius and Quinctius had enjoyed in the battle.

XXXIX. When this strife had calmed down, another straightway arose as a consequence of the death of Gaius Decimius the praetor. Gnaeus Sicinius and Lucius Pupius, who had been aediles the preceding year, and Gaius Valerius the *flamen Dialis* and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus—he, because he was curule aedile elect,[2] did not wear the *toga candida*, but was canvassing more energetically than the rest—were the candidates. The race was between Fulvius and the *flamen*. And when Fulvius

since his partial term as praetor would expire when his term as aedile began (cf. VII. xlii. 2 for the law forbidding two offices at the same time). We must therefore conclude with Mommsen (*St. R.* I. 513, n. 3) that Fulvius was aedile, not aedile-elect.

aequare, mox superare etiam est visus, pars tribunorum plebis negare rationem eius habendam esse, 4 quod duos simul unus magistratus, praesertim curules, neque capere posset nec gerere; pars legibus eum solvi aequum censere, ut quem vellet praetorem 5 creandi populo potestas fieret. L. Porcius consul primo in ea sententia esse ne nomen eius acciperet; 6 deinde, ut ex auctoritate senatus idem faceret, convocatis patribus referre se ad eos dixit, quod nec iure ullo nec exemplo tolerabili liberae civitati aedilis curulis designatus praeturam peteret; sibi, nisi quid aliud iis videretur, in animo esse e lege comitia habere. 7 Patres censuerunt, uti L. Porcius consul cum Q. Fulvio ageret ne impedimento esset quo minus comitia praetoris in locum C. Decimii subrogandi e lege 8 haberentur. Agenti consuli ex senatus consulto respondit Flaccus nihil quod se [1] indignum esset facturum. Medio responso spem ad voluntatem interpretantibus fecerat cessurum patrum auctoritati esse. 9 Comitiis acrius etiam quam ante petebat criminando, extorqueri sibi a consule et senatu populi Romani beneficium, et invidiam fieri geminati honoris, tamquam non appareret, ubi designatus praetor esset,

[1] quod se *edd. vett.* : quidem se quod *F*.

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[1] The presiding magistrate had wide discretion in accepting or rejecting candidacies.

[2] The doctrine here expressed had been most recently invoked for the benefit of Flamininus in 199 B.C. (XXXII. vii. 11).

[3] One expects *renuntiatus* rather than *designatus*, but there is no authority for it in the MSS.

seemed at first to be on equal terms with Valerius B.C. 184
and then even to be passing him, part of the tribunes of the people declared that his candidacy ought not to be accepted [1] because one man could not seek or hold two offices simultaneously, especially curule offices; part thought that he should be exempted from the operation of the laws, so that the people might have the opportunity of electing whomsoever they wished to the praetorship.[2] Lucius Porcius the consul was at first of the opinion that he should not accept his name; then, that he might take this action with the authorization of the senate, calling together the Fathers, he said that he was referring the matter to them because there was neither any law nor any precedent, acceptable in a free state, that a curule aedile elect might seek the praetorship; unless something else seemed best to them, it was his intention to hold the election in accordance with the law. The Fathers voted that the consul Lucius Porcius should appeal to Quintus Fulvius not to stand in the way of the election of a praetor, as a successor to Gaius Decimius, being held in accordance with the law. When the consul made this appeal in accordance with the decree of the senate, Flaccus replied that he would do nothing which was unworthy of himself. By this ambiguous answer he had created, in the minds of men who interpreted it to suit their own desires, the hope that he would yield to the authority of the Fathers. At the election he continued his canvassing even more actively than before, charging that the consul and the senate were wresting from him the gift of the Roman people and were arousing hostility to him by their talk of duplicated offices, as if it were not evident that when he should be elected [3]

10 extemplo aedilitate se abdicaturum. Consul cum et pertinaciam petentis crescere et favorem populi magis magisque in eum inclinari cerneret, dimissis comitiis senatum vocavit. Censuerunt frequentes, quoniam Flaccum auctoritas patrum nihil movisset, 11 ad populum cum Flacco agendum. Contione advocata cum egisset consul, ne tum quidem de sententia motus gratias populo Romano egit, quod tanto studio, quotienscumque declarandae voluntatis potestas 12 facta esset, praetorem se voluisset facere: ea sibi studia civium suorum destituere non esse in animo. Haec vero tam obstinata vox tantum ei favorem accendit ut haud dubius praetor esset, si consul 13 accipere nomen vellet. Ingens certamen tribunis et inter se ipsos et cum consule fuit, donec senatus a 14 consule est habitus decretumque: quoniam praetoris subrogandi comitia ne legibus fierent, pertinacia Q. Flacci et prava studia hominum impedirent, senatum 15 censere satis praetorum esse; P. Cornelius utramque in urbe iurisdictionem haberet, Apollinique ludos faceret.

XL. His comitiis prudentia et virtute senatus sublatis, alia maioris certaminis, quo et maiore de re et 2 inter plures potentioresque viros, sunt exorta. Cen-

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[1] The first appeal had been made privately, although the reply of Flaccus had at once been made known.

[2] Their ardour cooled later, and Flaccus did not become praetor until two years after this (lvi. 5 below).

[3] Cf. the similar contest at the preceding election of 189 B.C. (XXXVII. lvii. 9–lviii. 2).

praetor he would immediately resign the aedileship. B.C. 184
When the consul saw both that the stubbornness of the candidate increased and that the favour of the people was turning more and more to him, he adjourned the assembly and summoned the senate. A full meeting declared that, since the authority of the Fathers had had no influence with Flaccus, the appeal to Flaccus should be made before the assembly.[1] When the consul had called an informal meeting and presented his plea, Flaccus, not even then moved from his position, expressed his gratitude to the Roman people because with such enthusiasm, as often as the opportunity to declare their desires had been granted to them, they had wished to make him praetor: it was not his intention to disappoint these desires of his fellow-citizens. This speech, obstinate though it was, aroused so much enthusiasm for him that he would be praetor beyond a doubt if the consul would accept his candidacy.[2] Then the tribunes had a great argument, both among themselves and with the consul, until the senate was convoked by the consul and passed this decree: that since the stubbornness of Quintus Flaccus and the base desires of men prevented the holding, in accordance with the laws, of the election to fill a vacancy among the praetors, the senate decreed that there were enough praetors; Publius Cornelius should hold both jurisdictions in the City and should preside at the games to Apollo.

XL. When this election had been avoided by the wisdom and courage of the senate, another followed,[3] involving a greater contest, as it was both for a more important prize and participated in by more and more powerful men. The censorship was sought with

suram summa contentione petebant L. Valerius Flaccus P. et L. Scipiones Cn. Manlius Volso L. Furius 3 Purpurio patricii, plebeii autem M. Porcius Cato M. Fulvius Nobilior Ti. et M. Sempronii, Longus et Tuditanus. Sed omnes patricios plebeiosque nobilis- 4 simarum familiarum M. Porcius longe anteibat. In hoc viro tanta vis animi ingeniique fuit ut quocumque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi ipse facturus fuisse videretur. Nulla ars neque privatae neque publicae rei gerendae ei defuit; urbanas rusticasque res pari- 5 ter callebat. Ad summos honores alios scientia iuris, alios eloquentia, alios gloria militaris provexit: huic versatile [1] ingenium sic pariter ad omnia fuit ut natum 6 ad id unum diceres, quodcumque ageret: in bello manu fortissimus multisque insignibus clarus pugnis, idem postquam ad magnos honores pervenit, summus imperator, idem in pace, si ius consuleres, peritissi- 7 mus, si causa oranda esset, eloquentissimus, nec is tantum, cuius lingua vivo eo viguerit,[2] monumentum eloquentiae nullum exstet: vivit immo vigetque 8 eloquentia eius sacrata scriptis omnis generis. Orationes et pro se multae et pro aliis et in alios: nam non solum accusando sed etiam causam dicendo 9 fatigavit inimicos. Simultates nimio plures et

[1] versatile *edd. vett.*: uersabile *F*.
[2] viguerit *edd. vett.*: uiguit *F*.

[1] All the candidates were ex-consuls, as usual. Publius Scipio is Nasica. Lucius Scipio was striving for rehabilitation after his trial, but the outcome of the election suggests that the glory of the Scipios had, at least for the time, departed.
[2] That is, battles in which he took part as a private.

the most intense rivalry by Lucius Valerius Flaccus, B.C. 184
Publius and Lucius Scipio, Gnaeus Manlius Volso and Lucius Furius Purpurio, patricians, as well as by the plebeians Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Tiberius Sempronius Longus and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus.[1] But among all the patricians and plebeians of the most illustrious houses, Marcus Porcius Cato stood out most conspicuously. In this man there was such force of mind and character that in whatever station he had been born it seemed that he would have made his fortune for himself. No art of conducting either private or public business was lacking to him; he was equally skilled in affairs of the city and of the farm. Some men were advanced to the highest offices by knowledge of the law, others by eloquence, others by military reputation: his comprehensive genius was so adapted to everything alike that you would say that whatever he was doing was the one thing for which he was born: in war he was the bravest of fighters and was famous for many remarkable battles,[2] and after he attained to the highest offices, he was likewise a consummate commander; the same man in peace was, if you consider the law, most skilled therein, if there was a case to be pleaded, most eloquent, nor was he merely one whose tongue was potent while he lived but left no record of his eloquence: rather, he lives and flourishes by his eloquence, enshrined in books of every kind. There are many orations, both for himself and for and against others; for he wore down his enemies not only by accusing them but also by pleading his own cause.[3] Feuds in excessive numbers pursued him

[3] Plutarch (*Cato Major*, xv.) says that Cato was put on trial about fifty times.

exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas; nec facile dixeris, utrum magis presserit eum nobilitas, an ille
10 agitaverit nobilitatem. Asperi procul dubio animi et linguae acerbae et immodice liberae fuit, sed invicti a cupiditatibus animi, rigidae innocentiae, con-
11 temptor gratiae, divitiarum. In parsimonia, in patientia laboris periculique [1] ferrei prope corporis animique, quem ne senectus quidem quae solvit
12 omnia fregerit, qui sextum et octogesimum annum agens causam dixerit, ipse pro se oraverit scripseritque, nonagesimo anno Ser. Galbam ad populi adduxerit iudicium.

XLI. Hunc, sicut omni vita, tum petentem premebat nobilitas; coierantque praeter [2] L. Flaccum, qui collega in consulatu fuerat, candidati omnes ad
2 deiciendum honore, non solum ut ipsi potius adipiscerentur, nec quia indignabantur novum hominem censorem videre, sed etiam quod tristem censuram periculosamque multorum famae et ab laeso a
3 plerisque et laedendi cupido exspectabant. Etenim tum quoque minitabundus petebat, refragari sibi, qui

[1] periculique *ed. Parisina* 1513 : periculi *aut* et p. ϝ.
[2] praeter *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : apud praetorem ϝ.

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[1] The play on the verb is so clumsy that it may have been preserved from Livy's source.

[2] According to *Per.* XLIX, L. Scribonius and not Cato prosecuted Galba for his treacherous treatment of the Lusitanians. Cato, however, spoke against him (Cicero *de oratore* I. 227; *Brutus* 89, etc.).

This characterization raises once more the question of a special source dealing with Cato which Livy used (cf. XXXIV. xxi. 8; XXXVI. xxi. 4–6 and the notes). I see no reason—least of all the play on words mentioned in the preceding note—

and he himself pursued them;[1] nor could you easily say whether the nobility worked harder to suppress him or he to irritate the nobility. Without question he had a stern temper, a bitter tongue and one immoderately free, but he had a soul unconquerable by appetites, an unwavering integrity, and a contempt for influence and wealth. In his economy, in his endurance of toil and danger, he was of almost iron-like body and mind, and his mind not even old age, which weakens everything, could break down, since at the age of eighty-six he pleaded a case, spoke and wrote in his own defence, and in his ninetieth year brought Servius Galba to trial before the assembly.[2] B.C. 184

XLI. Against him as a candidate on this occasion the nobility, as throughout his life, used their influence; and all the candidates except Lucius Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, had formed a combination to keep him from the office,[3] not only that they themselves might rather win it nor because they objected to seeing a "new man"[4] chosen censor, but also because they anticipated a stern censorship dangerous to the reputation of many, from a man who had both been injured by many and was eager to do injury. For even then he was canvassing by means of threats, charging that

why this passage and the account of the censorship in the following chapters should not have been derived from the same source. There seems to be nothing in this passage which Cato would not have regarded as a compliment and would not have been willing to say about himself.

[3] Formal *coitiones* were illegal, but informal combinations could not be prevented. The other candidates were all more or less closely allied with the Scipionic party.

[4] Cf. XXXVII. lvii. 2 and the note.

u.c. 570 liberam et fortem censuram timerent, criminando.
4 Et simul L. Valerio suffragabatur: illo uno collega castigare se nova flagitia et priscos revocare mores posse. His accensi homines, adversa nobilitate, non M. Porcium modo censorem fecerunt, sed collegam ei L. Valerium Flaccum adiecerunt.
5 Secundum comitia censorum consules praetoresque in provincias profecti praeter Q. Naevium, quem quattuor non minus menses, priusquam in Sardiniam iret, quaestiones veneficii, quarum magnam partem extra urbem per municipia conciliabulaque habuit, quia ita
6 aptius visum erat, tenuerunt. Si Antiati Valerio credere libet, ad duo milia hominum damnavit. Et L. Postumius praetor, cui Tarentum provincia evenerat, magnas pastorum coniurationes vindicavit, et reliquias Bacchanalium quaestionis cum cura exsecutus
7 est. Multos, qui aut citati non adfuerant aut vades deseruerant, in ea regione Italiae latentes partim noxios iudicavit, partim comprehensos Romam ad senatum misit. In carcerem omnes a P. Cornelio coniecti sunt.

XLII. In Hispania ulteriore fractis proximo bello Lusitanis quietae res fuerunt: in[1] citeriore A. Terentius in Suessetanis oppidum Corbionem vineis et operibus expugnavit, captivos vendidit: quieta
2 deinde hiberna et citerior provincia habuit. Veteres praetores C. Calpurnius Piso et L. Quinctius Romam

[1] fuerunt : in *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : fuerant et in ς.

[1] Cf. xxix. 8–9 above, which seems to be duplicated by this item.

he was being opposed by men who feared a free and B.C. 184
courageous censorship. At the same time he canvassed for Lucius Valerius also: with him alone as his colleague could he chastise the new vices and revive the ancient character. Aroused by such arguments and against the opposition of the nobility, the citizens not only chose Marcus Porcius as censor, but also gave him Lucius Flaccus as his colleague.

After the election of the censors the consuls and praetors departed for their provinces, with the exception of Quintus Naevius, who was detained for not less than four months before he could set out for Sardinia by the investigation of poisonings, a great part of which he conducted outside the City, in the municipalities and rural communities, because this method seemed more convenient. If one wishes to trust Valerius Antias, he condemned about two thousand persons. And Lucius Postumius the praetor, to whom the province of Tarentum had fallen, broke up large conspiracies of shepherds [1] and diligently prosecuted what was left of the Bacchanalian investigation. Many who either had not appeared when summoned or had abandoned their sureties, hiding in that part of Italy, he pronounced guilty in some cases, and in others he arrested them and sent them to the senate in Rome. All were thrown into prison by Publius Cornelius.

XLII. In Farther Spain, the Lusitanians having been broken in the last campaign, things were quiet; in Nearer Spain Aulus Terentius among the Suessetani took the town of Corbio with sheds and siegeworks and sold the captives: after that the nearer province too had a quiet winter. The former praetors Gaius Calpurnius Piso and Lucius Quinctius

redierunt. Utrique magno patrum consensu
3 triumphus est decretus. Prior C. Calpurnius de Lusitanis et Celtiberis triumphavit: coronas aureas tulit octoginta tres et duodecim milia pondo argenti.
4 Paucos post dies L. Quinctius Crispinus ex iisdem Lusitanis et Celtiberis triumphavit: tantundem auri atque argenti in eo triumpho praelatum.
5 Censores M. Porcius et L. Valerius metu mixta expectatione senatum legerunt; septem moverunt senatu, ex quibus unum insignem et nobilitate et honoribus. L. Quinctium Flamininum consularem.
6 Patrum memoria institutum fertur ut censores motis senatu adscriberent notas. Catonis et aliae quidem acerbae orationes exstant in eos quos aut senatorio
7 loco movit aut quibus equos ademit, longe gravissima in L. Quinctium oratio, qua si accusator ante notam, non censor post notam usus esset, retinere L. Quinctium in senatu ne frater quidem T. Quinctius,
8 si tum censor esset, potuisset. Inter cetera obiecit ei Philippum Poenum, carum ac nobile scortum, ab Roma in Galliam provinciam spe ingentium donorum
9 perductum. Eum puerum, per[1] lasciviam cum cavillaretur, exprobrare consuli saepe[2] solitum, quod sub ipsum spectaculum gladiatorium abductus ab

[1] per *ed. Parisina* 1513: *om.* ⊽ (*vid. inf.*).
[2] saepe *Heraeus*: persaepe ⊽ (*vid. sup.*).

[1] Though older than his brother Titus, he had served under him against Philip and had reached the consulship in 192 B.C.

[2] H. Meyer (*Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*) listed twenty-six censorial speeches of Cato (nos. 24–49 incl.), although not all are directed at individuals and the dates of some are uncertain. Other scholars compile different lists, but it is at least clear that Cato's censorship was active and that his decisions were vigorously contested.

[3] This constituted removal from the list of *equites*.

returned to Rome. To each of them a triumph was B.C. 184
decreed by the general consent of the Fathers. First Gaius Calpurnius triumphed over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians: he displayed eighty-three golden crowns and twelve thousand pounds of silver. A few days later Lucius Quinctius Crispinus triumphed over the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians: the same amount of gold and silver was carried in this triumph.

The censors Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius chose the senate amid suspense mingled with fear; they expelled seven from the senate, one of whom was distinguished by both high birth and political success, Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, a man of consular rank.[1] Within the memory of our fathers the custom is said to have arisen that the censors should affix the *nota* to the names of those who are expelled from the senate. But in this case there are speeches of Cato[2] and indeed other bitter orations against those who were either expelled from the senate or whose horses were taken from them,[3] by far the most vehement being that against Lucius Quinctius, and if he had made this speech as an accuser before the branding rather than as censor after the branding, Lucius Quinctius could not have been kept in the senate even by his brother Titus Quinctius, had he been censor at the time. Among other things he reproached him regarding Philippus, a Carthaginian, a notorious degenerate whom he loved and whom he had attracted from Rome to his province of Gaul by the promise of great gifts. This boy, says Cato, in the course of his playful jesting, used frequently to reproach the consul because just on the eve of the gladiatorial games he had been

Roma esset, ut obsequium amatori venditaret.[1]
10 Forte epulantibus iis, cum iam vino incaluissent, nuntiatum in convivio esse nobilem Boium cum liberis transfugam venisse; convenire consulem velle
11 ut ab eo fidem praesens acciperet. Introductum in tabernaculum per interpretem adloqui consulem coepisse. Inter cuius sermonem Quinctius scorto "vis tu," inquit, "quoniam gladiatorium spectaculum reliquisti, iam hunc Gallum morientem videre?"
12 Et cum is vixdum serio adnuisset, ad nutum scorti consulem stricto gladio, qui super caput pendebat, loquenti Gallo caput primum percussisse, deinde, fugienti fidemque populi Romani atque eorum, qui aderant, imploranti latus transfodisse.

XLIII. Valerius Antias, ut qui nec orationem Catonis legisset et fabulae tantum sine auctore editae credidisset, aliud argumentum, simile tamen et
2 libidine et crudelitate[2] peragit. Placentiae famosam mulierem, cuius amore deperiret,[3] in convivium arcessitam scribit. Ibi iactantem sese scorto inter cetera rettulisse quam acriter quaestiones exercuisset et quam multos capitis damnatos in vinculis
3 haberet, quos securi percussurus esset. Tum illam infra eum accubantem negasse umquam vidisse quemquam securi ferientem, et pervelle id videre. Hic indulgentem amatorem unum ex illis miseris[4] attrahi

[1] amatori venditaret *Lipsius* "*ex meo cod.*": amatori iactaret *M*: amator ei uenditaret σ.
[2] libidine et crudelitate σ: libidini et crudelitati *M*.
[3] deperiret σ: deperierat *M*.
[4] illis miseris *Gelenius*: damnatis σ.

[1] This form of the story was followed by Valerius Maximus (II. ix. 3) and possibly by Cicero (*Cato maior* 42).
[2] The phrase is conventional in erotic literature.

carried off from Rome, that he might sell his favours B.C. 184
to his lover. By chance, when they were dining and were by now heated with wine, it was announced in the dining-room that a noble Boian, accompanied by his sons, had come as a deserter; he wished, they said, to meet the consul, that he might obtain a safeguard from him personally. Having been introduced into the tent, Cato continued, he began to address the consul through an interpreter. While he was speaking, Quinctius said to the boy, "Do you wish, since you missed the gladiatorial show, to see now this Gaul dying?" And when he nodded, although not really in earnest, the consul, at the boy's nod, seized the sword that was hanging above his head and first struck the head of the Gaul while he was speaking, and then, as the Gaul was fleeing and calling for the protection of the Roman people and of those who were present, he stabbed him through the side.

XLIII. Valerius Antias, as if he had never read the speech of Cato and had accepted the story as if it were nothing but a story anonymously circulated, gives another version,[1] similar, however, in its lust and cruelty. He writes that at Placentia a notorious woman, with whom Flamininus was desperately in love,[2] had been invited to dinner. There he was boasting to the courtesan, among other things, about his severity in the prosecution of cases and how many persons he had in chains, under sentence of death, whom he intended to behead. Then the woman, reclining below him, said that she had never seen a person beheaded and was very anxious to behold the sight. Hereupon, he says, the generous lover, ordering one of the wretches to be brought to him,

B.C. 4 iussum securi percussisse. Facinus sive eo modo quo
70 censor obiecit, sive, ut Valerius tradit, commissum est, saevum atque atrox: inter pocula atque epulas, ubi libare diis dapes, ubi bene precari mos esset, ad spectaculum scorti procacis, in sinu consulis recubantis, mactatam humanam victimam esse et cruore mensam respersam! In extrema oratione Catonis condicio Quinctio fertur ut si id factum negaret ceteraque, quae obiecisset, sponsione defenderet sese: sin [1] fateretur, ignominiane sua quemquam doliturum censeret, cum ipse vino et venere amens sanguine hominis in convivio lusisset?

XLIV. In equitatu recognoscendo L. Scipioni Asiatico ademptus equus. In censibus quoque accipiendis tristis et aspera in omnes ordines censura fuit. 2 Ornamenta et vestem muliebrem et vehicula, quae pluris quam quindecim milium aeris essent, deciens tanto pluris quam quanti essent [2] in censum referre 3 iuratores iussi; [3] item mancipia minora annis viginti, quae post proximum lustrum decem milibus aeris aut pluris eo venissent, uti ea quoque deciens [4] tanto pluris quam quanti essent aestimarentur, et his rebus

[1] sine *ed. Veneta* 1495: qui *F*.
[2] deciens tanto pluris quam quanti essent *Wesenberg*: *om. F*.
[3] iussi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: iussit *F*.
[4] deciens *Sigonius*: decem *F*.

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[1] Although mentioned also by Plutarch (*Cato* 17), the procedure is obscure. The *sponsio* (a sort of judicial wager) was a recognized feature of legal procedure, but it may be less technically used here. Plutarch represents this challenge as given and accepted before the assembly: this could be true only in case of a conviction and an appeal. Titus seems, in Plutarch, to be a party also.

cut off his head with his sword. This deed, whether B.C. 184
it was performed in the manner for which the censor rebuked him, or as Valerius reports it, was savage and cruel: in the midst of drinking and feasting, where it is the custom to pour libations to the gods and to pray for blessings, as a spectacle for a shameless harlot, reclining in the bosom of a consul, a human victim sacrificed and bespattering the table with his blood! At the end of the speech a challenge of Cato to Quinctius is reported: if he would deny this act and the other things which Cato had charged, he should defend himself by legal methods,[1] but if he confessed it, would he think that anyone would grieve at his disgrace, since he himself, mad with drink and desire, had played with a man's blood at a feast?

XLIV. In reviewing the *equites* Cato deprived Lucius Scipio Asiaticus of his horse. Also in accepting assessments [2] his censorship was stern and harsh towards all ranks. Jewels and women's dresses and vehicles which were worth more than fifteen thousand *asses* he directed the assessors to list at ten times more than their actual value;[3] likewise slaves less than twenty years old, who had been bought since the previous *lustrum* for ten thousand *asses* or more, he directed to be assessed at ten times more than their actual cost, and he ordered that on all these

[2] The citizens appeared in person before the censors and declared their property. The censors could revise or refuse their declarations.

[3] The emendation (see the critical note) seems to be warranted by the appearance of the same words in sect. 3 below, with reference to other articles of luxury. Perhaps these measures are Cato's revenge for his defeat in the debate over the Oppian law (XXXIV. i.–viii.).

4 omnibus terni[1] in milia aeris attribuerentur. Aquam publicam omnem in privatum aedificium aut agrum fluentem ademerunt: et quae in loca publica inaedificata immolitave privati habebant, intra dies triginta
5 demoliti sunt. Opera deinde facienda ex decreta in eam rem pecunia, lacus sternendos lapide, detergendasque,[2] qua opus esset, cloacas, in Aventino et in aliis partibus, qua nondum erant, faciendas
6 locaverunt. Et separatim Flaccus molem ad Neptunias aquas, ut iter populo esset, et viam per For-
7 mianum montem, Cato atria duo, Maenium et Titium, in lautumiis, et quattuor tabernas in publicum emit basilicamque ibi fecit, quae Porcia appellata est. Et vectigalia summis pretiis, ultro tributa infimis loca-
8 verunt. Quas locationes cum senatus precibus et lacrimis victus publicanorum induci et de integro locari iussisset, censores, edicto summotis ab hasta qui ludificati priorem locationem erant, omnia eadem
9 paulum imminutis pretiis locaverunt. Nobilis censura fuit simultatiumque plena, quae M. Porcium, cui acerbitas ea assignabatur, per omnem vitam exercuerunt.

10 Eodem anno coloniae duae, Potentia in Picenum,

[1] terni *edd. vett.*: terna *et* trina *et* tria ς.
[2] detergendasque *Gelenius*: tegendasque (-osque) ς.

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[1] If the ordinary tax rate was one *as* per thousand (XXIV. xv. 9, etc.), this heavier tax on a much higher evaluation must have been, and was probably designed to be, almost confiscatory.

[2] It may be accidental that the number of the verb here shifts to the plural. This particular act prevented the piping into private property of water from the aqueducts.

[3] Their position is unknown.

[4] Cicero (*de lege agraria* I. 7) seems to speak of them as auction-rooms.

articles a tax of three *asses* per thousand should be B.C. 184
imposed.[1] All public water [2] flowing into a private dwelling or lot they shut off; and what private persons had built or erected on public property they tore down on thirty days' notice. Then they let contracts for the public works to be constructed from funds appropriated for that purpose, the paving of fountain basins with stone, the cleaning of sewers wherever that was necessary, and the construction of new sewers on the Aventine and elsewhere where none had yet been built. And Flaccus separately built a dike at the Neptunian waters [3] that the people might have a footpath there, and a road over the hill at Formiae, and Cato built two markets,[4] the *Maenium* and the *Titium*, in the region of the Lautumiae,[5] and bought four shops for the state and erected there the basilica [6] which is called Porcia. The revenues also they farmed at the highest rates and contracted for voluntary services at the lowest. When the senate, moved by the prayers and tears of the *publicani*, had ordered these contracts to be cancelled and new ones made, the censors, removing by edict from the place of auction [7] those bidders who had evaded the original contracts, let all the same contracts at slightly lowered figures. It was a remarkable censorship and full of quarrels, which occupied Marcus Porcius, to whom the severity was attributed, through his whole life.

In the same year two colonies, Potentia in the

[5] Cf. XXXII. xvi. 7 and the note.

[6] This building, used for the law-courts, stood between the comitium and the north end of the Capitoline.

[7] Literally, "from the spear." The *hasta* or spear was a conventional sign set up to indicate a place where bidding was going on.

u.c. 670 Pisaurum in Gallicum agrum, deductae sunt. Sena iugera in singulos data. Diviserunt agrum coloniasque deduxerunt iidem tresviri, Q. Fabius Labeo, et 11 M. et Q. Fulvii, Flaccus et Nobilior. Consules eius anni nec domi nec militiae memorabile quicquam egerunt.

XLV. In insequentem annum crearunt consules M. Claudium Marcellum Q. Fabium Labeonem.

u.c. 671 M. Claudius Q. Fabius idibus Martiis, quo die consulatum inierunt, de provinciis suis praetorumque 2 rettulerunt. Praetores creati erant C. Valerius flamen Dialis, qui et priore anno petierat, et Sp. Postumius Albinus et P. Cornelius Sisenna L. Pupius 3 L. Iulius Cn. Sicinius.[1] Consulibus Ligures cum iisdem exercitibus, quos P. Claudius et L. Porcius 4 habuerant, provincia decreta est. Hispaniae extra sortem prioris anni praetoribus cum suis exercitibus servatae. Praetores ita sortiri iussi uti flamini Diali utique altera iuris dicendi Romae provincia esset: 5 peregrinam est sortitus. Sisennae Cornelio urbana, Sp. Postumio Sicilia, L. Pupio Apulia, L. Iulio Gallia, Cn. Sicinio Sardinia evenit. L. Iulius maturare est

[1] Sicinius *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : sulpitius ϝ.

[1] I have given the names as they stand in the text. It is not impossible that the *praenomina* of the Fulvii have been interchanged.

[2] It seems strange that Livy should have separated the praetorian election from the consular in this fashion, and the use of conjunctions in this sentence is unusual. Yet the MSS. show no signs of dislocation, and the tense of *creati erant* shows that the sentence was meant to be here, unless it was emended by some very early scribe after the dislocation had occurred.

[3] He was not permitted, by virtue of his priesthood, to be away from Rome overnight (V. lii. 13). Livy says nothing

Picene territory, Pisaurum in the Gallic, were B.C. 184
founded. Six *iugera* were given to each colonist. The division of the land and the organization of the colonies were the work of the same commissioners, Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior.[1] The consuls of this year did nothing noteworthy either at home or in the field.

XLV. For the following year they announced the election of Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo as consuls.

Marcus Claudius and Quintus Fabius, on the Ides B.C. 183
of March, the day on which they were inaugurated, brought up the question of provinces for themselves and the praetors. The praetors who had been elected were Gaius Valerius, the *flamen Dialis*, who had been a candidate the preceding year also, and Spurius Postumius Albinus and Publius Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius Pupius, Lucius Julius, Gnaeus Sicinius.[2] To the consuls the Ligurians were decreed as their province, with the same armies which Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius had had. The Spains, excluded from the lot, were reserved for the praetors of the previous year, along with their armies. The praetors were ordered to draw lots with the provision that the province of the *flamen Dialis* should be one of the jurisdictions in Rome : [3] the praetorship which he drew dealt with cases between citizens and aliens. The civil jurisdiction fell to Cornelius Sisenna, Sicily to Spurius Postumius, Apulia to Lucius Pupius, Gaul to Lucius Julius, Sardinia to Gnaeus Sicinius. Lucius Julius was directed to

about the arrangement about his oath, which he had to take by proxy when he held the office of aedile (XXXI. i. 7 and the note).

c. 6 iussus. Galli Transalpini per saltus ignotae antea viae, ut ante dictum est, in Italiam transgressi oppidum in agro, qui nunc est Aquileiensis, aedifica-
7 bant. Id eos ut prohiberet, quod eius sine bello posset, praetori mandatum est. Si armis prohibendi essent, consules certiores faceret: ex his placere alterum adversus Gallos ducere legiones.
8 Extremo prioris anni comitia auguris creandi habita erant in demortui Cn. Cornelii Lentuli locum; creatus erat Sp. Postumius Albinus.

XLVI. Huius principio anni P. Licinius Crassus pontifex maximus mortuus est, in cuius locum M.
2 Sempronius Tuditanus pontifex est cooptatus; pontifex[1] maximus est creatus C. Servilius Geminus. P. Licinii funeris causa visceratio data,[2] et gladiatores centum viginti pugnaverunt, et ludi funebres per
3 triduum facti, post ludos epulum. In quo cum toto foro strata triclinia essent, tempestas cum magnis procellis coorta coegit plerosque tabernacula statuere

[1] est cooptatus; pontifex *Gelenius*: *om.* σ.
[2] visceratio data *Gelenius*: uisceratione data σ.

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[1] Cf. xxii. 6–7 above and the note.

[2] I have chosen the simplest course, by retaining the reading of *M* as the nearest possible approach to the true text now available. The various readings of σ differ as to the proper nouns but agree on *creatus erat*, so that *M*σ all preserve the apparent error of fact that Postumius is said to have been elected, whereas co-optation was the rule until 104 B.C. There is, then, nothing to be gained by piecemeal emendation. The question of dislocation again arises (cf. the note to sect. 2 above), and it can be argued here that the displacement was deliberate, for the sake of continuity with the following sentence, but this emphasis seems disproportion-

hasten his departure. Transalpine Gauls, as has been said before,[1] crossing into Italy by a pass hitherto unknown, were building a city in the territory which now belongs to Aquileia. The praetor was instructed to prevent them from doing this, so far as it was possible for him to do so without war. If they had to be prevented by arms, he was to inform the consuls: it was the senate's desire that one of them should lead the legions against the Gauls. B.C. 183

At the end of the preceding year an election had been held to choose an augur in the place of Gnaeus Cornelius Lentulus, who had died; Spurius Postumius Albinus had been elected.[2]

XLVI. In the beginning of this year Publius Licinius Crassus, the pontifex maximus, died, and in his stead Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus was co-opted as pontiff;[3] Gaius Servilius Geminus was elected[4] pontifex maximus. On the occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius a public distribution of meats took place, and one hundred and twenty gladiators fought and funeral games were given for three days, and after the games a banquet. During this, when the banqueting tables had been arranged through the whole Forum, a storm coming up with great gusts of wind drove most people to set up

ate to the historical or rhetorical importance of the sentence. Again the MSS. show no signs of dislocation and the tense of the verbs must have been changed very early, if at all.

[3] Here the regular method is employed, in contrast with that recorded in the preceding sentence.

[4] One of the pontiffs was elected pontifex maximus in the usual way, by the college of pontiffs, and while Livy may at times confuse *cooptare* and *creare* he discriminates between them here.

.c. 4 in foro: eadem paulo post, cum undique disserenas-
1 set,[1] sublata; defunctosque vulgo ferebant quod inter
fatalia vates cecinissent, necesse esse tabernacula
5 in foro statui. Hac religione levatis altera iniecta,
quod sanguine per biduum pluvisset in area Vulcani;
et per decemviros supplicatio indicta erat eius prodigii
expiandi causa.

6 Priusquam consules in provincias proficiscerentur,
legationes transmarinas in senatum introduxerunt.
Nec umquam ante tantum regionis eius hominum
7 Romae fuerat. Nam ex quo fama per gentes, quae
Macedoniam accolunt, vulgata est crimina queri-
moniasque de Philippo non neglegenter ab Romanis
8 audiri, multis operae pretium fuisse queri, pro se
quaeque civitates gentesque, singuli etiam privatim—
gravis enim accola omnibus erat—Romam aut ad
spem levandae iniuriae aut ad deflendae [2] solacium
9 venerunt. Et ab Eumene rege legatio cum fratre
eius Athenaeo venit ad querendum simul quod non
deducerentur ex Thracia praesidia, simul quod in
Bithyniam Prusiae bellum adversus Eumenem gerenti
auxilia missa forent.

XLVII. Respondendum ad omnia iuveni tum

[1] disserenasset σ: consenerasset M: serenasset *Gelenius*.
[2] deflendae σ: defendendae M.

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[1] Pessimists would naturally expect that the tents of the prophecy would be those of the enemy who was master of the City, but the omen has now been harmlessly fulfilled.

[2] It was near the temple of Concord (lvi. 6; XL. xix. 1 below).

[3] These events should then belong to the winter of 184–183 B.C. or the early spring of the latter year. Polybius (XXIV. i. ff.) puts them after the departure of the consuls, and so some months later in 183 B.C.

[4] Cf. xxxv. 2–3 above. Demetrius was about twenty-five

tents in the Forum: these, a little later, when it B.C. 183
had cleared up all around, were taken down; and the general talk was that the omen had been fulfilled, because the soothsayers had declared that it was among the decrees of the fates that it was destined that tents should be set up in the Forum.[1] When they were freed from this fear another came upon them, because for two days it had rained blood in the precinct of Vulcan;[2] and a period of prayer was proclaimed by the decemvirs as expiation for this prodigy.

Before the consuls[3] set out for their provinces, they introduced the embassies from across the seas to the senate. Never before had there been so many people from this region in Rome. For from the time that the news spread among the tribes that live near Macedonia that charges and complaints against Philip were listened to not inattentively by the Romans, and that many had found it profitable to make complaints, each city and tribe for itself and many individuals privately—for everyone found him a neighbour hard to get along with—came to Rome either in the hope of redressing their wrongs or for the consolation of lamenting them. From King Eumenes also came an embassy, including his brother Athenaeus, to complain both because the garrisons were not withdrawn from the cities in Thrace and because aid had been sent to Prusias in Bithynia, who was waging war against Eumenes.

XLVII. Demetrius,[4] who was then quite a young

years old, and, obviously, not precocious. For a recent study of the career of Demetrius, see Edson, "Perseus and Demetrius," in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 46 (1935), 191–202.

u.c. admodum Demetrio erat. Cum haud facile esset aut
571 ea, quae obicerentur, aut quae adversus ea dicenda
2 erant, memoria complecti—nec enim multa solum, sed etiam pleraque oppido quam parva erant, de controversia finium, de hominibus raptis pecoribusque abactis, de iure aut dicto per libidinem aut non dicto,
3 de rebus per vim aut gratiam iudicatis—nihil horum neque Demetrium docere dilucide nec se satis liquido discere ab eo senatus cum cerneret posse, simul et tirocinio et perturbatione iuvenis moveretur, quaeri iussit ab eo, ecquem de his rebus com-
4 mentarium a patre accepisset. Cum respondisset accepisse se, nihil prius nec potius visum est quam regis ipsius de singulis responsa [1] accipere. Librum extemplo poposcerunt, deinde ut ipse recitaret
5 permiserunt. Erant autem de singulis rebus in breve coactae causae, ut alia fecisse se secundum decreta legatorum diceret, alia non per se stetisse, quo minus faceret, sed per eos ipsos, qui accusarent.
6 Interposuerat et querellas de iniquitate decretorum, et quam non ex aequo disceptatum apud Caecilium foret indigneque sibi nec ullo suo merito insultatum
7 ab omnibus esset. Has notas irritati eius animi collegit senatus: ceterum alia excusanti iuveni, alia recipienti futura ita, ut maxime vellet senatus,

[1] responsa ϝ : responsum *M*.

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[1] For the phrase, cf. XXXVI. xxv. 3 and the note.

man, had to answer all these complaints. Since it B.C. 183
was not easy to remember either all the charges which were made or what was to be said in reply to them—for they were not only numerous but many of them also trivial in the extreme,[1] dealing with boundary disputes, men abducted or animals driven off, justice either administered by caprice or not administered, decisions rendered as a result of violence or influence—when the senate saw that Demetrius could give no intelligent information on any of these points and that they could learn nothing explicit from him, and when they were moved by both the inexperience and the embarrassment of the young man, they ordered that the question be asked of him whether he had received any notes from his father on these matters. When he replied that he had received them, it was resolved that nothing should have preference or precedence over hearing the answers of the king himself to these several charges. They immediately demanded the book and then allowed him to read it. The arguments, however, on single items were given in a brief digest; for example, that he had done some things in accordance with the decrees of commissioners, other things he had been prevented from doing, not through his own fault, but that of the very persons who made the accusations. He had included also complaints about the injustice of the decrees and how unfair had been the discussion before Caecilius, and how he had been trampled upon by everyone unjustifiably and in no wise as he deserved. The senate took these to be indications of his irritation; but when the young man apologized for some things and undertook that in the future

c. 8 responderi placuit nihil patrem eius neque rectius
1 nec magis quod ex voluntate senatus esset fecisse,
quam quod, utcumque ea gesta essent, per Deme-
9 trium filium satisfieri voluisset Romanis. Multa et
dissimulare et oblivisci et pati praeterita senatum
10 posse, et credere etiam Demetrio.[1] Obsidem enim se
animum eius habere, etsi corpus patri reddiderit, et
scire, quantum salva in patrem pietate possit, amicum
11 eum populi Romani esse, honorisque eius causa mis-
suros in Macedoniam legatos, ut si quid minus factum
sit quam debuerit, tum quoque sine piaculo rerum
praetermissarum fiat. Velle etiam sentire Philippum
integra omnia sibi cum populo Romano Demetrii filii
beneficio esse.

XLVIII. Haec, quae augendae amplitudinis eius causa facta erant, extemplo in invidiam, mox etiam in perniciem adulescenti verterunt.

2 Lacedaemonii deinde introducti sunt. Multae et parvae[2] disceptationes iactabantur; sed quae maxime rem continerent, erant utrum restituerentur
3 quos Achaei damnaverant necne; inique an iure occidissent quos occiderant, et[3] utrum manerent in

[1] Demetrio *Madvig*: demetrio credendum esse (esset) ϝ.
[2] paruae ϝ: paruulae *M*.
[3] et *Weissenborn*: uertebatur et *aut* uertebant et ϝ.

[1] This whole episode is based on Polybius, XXIII. (XXIV.) i.–iii. but with a good deal of rearrangement and with the postponement to the next Book of several items. By so doing Livy has improved the rhetorical quality of the passage at the expense of historical accuracy.

[2] Livy has not mentioned the exile of any Lacedaemonians by the Achaeans, but it would be very strange if some had not been banished.

[3] The victims of the massacre at Compasium: cf. xxxvi. 9 above and the note. In sect. 16 of that chapter Lycortas

other things should be done as the senate specifically desired, it was decided to reply that his father had done nothing more correctly or more in accordance with the senate's wishes than that, whatever his own conduct had been, he had wished to be justified in the eyes of the Romans through his son Demetrius. The senate, they said, could close its eyes to much and could forget and let the past be past and continue to trust to Demetrius. For they held his soul hostage, even though his body had been restored to his father, and they knew that, so far as his loyalty to his father would permit, he would be a friend to the Roman people, and for the sake of doing him honour they would send ambassadors to Macedonia, to say that if anything had not been done which should have been done, it might even then be done without any atonement being required for previous omissions. They said that they wished Philip to know that all things were unchanged between him and the Roman people, thanks to his son Demetrius. B.C. 183

XLVIII. These things, which were done in order to enhance his distinction, were immediately turned into a cause of unpopularity and presently even of ruin to the young man.[1]

Then the Lacedaemonians were brought in. Many and trivial subjects of dispute were talked about; but those which contained the real gist of the matter had to do with the question whether the men whom the Achaeans had condemned should be restored or not;[2] whether those who had been killed[3] had been killed justly or unjustly; and

ruled this question out as unimportant, but the Lacedaemonians did not agree. Apparently the Romans did not decide either way, but see sect. 4 below.

Achaico concilio Lacedaemonii an, ut ante fuerat, secretum eius unius in Peloponneso civitatis ius esset. Restitui iudiciaque facta tolli placuit,[1] Lacedaemonem manere in Achaico concilio scribique id decretum et consignari a Lacedaemoniis et Achaeis. Legatus in Macedoniam Q. Marcius est missus, iussus idem in Peloponneso sociorum res aspicere. Nam ibi quoque et ex veteribus discordiis residui motus erant, et Messene desciverat[2] a concilio Achaico. Cuius belli et causas et ordinem si expromere velim, immemor sim propositi, quo statui non ultra attingere externa, nisi qua Romanis cohaererent rebus.

XLIX. Eventus memorabilis est, quod, cum bello superiores essent Achaei, Philopoemen praetor eorum capitur, ad praeoccupandam Coronen, quam hostes petebant, inita valle[3] iniqua cum equitibus paucis oppressus. Ipsum potuisse effugere Thracum Cretensiumque auxilio tradunt: sed pudor relinquendi equites, nobilissimos gentis, ab ipso nuper lectos,[4] tenuit. Quibus dum locum ad evadendas angustias cogendo ipse agmen praebet, sustinens

[1] placuit *ed. Aldina* : placere *et* placet *et* placeret $\bar{r}$.
[2] Messene desciuerat $\bar{r}$: messenii desciuerant *M*, *fortasse rectius*.
[3] inita valle *Heraeus*. XXI. xxxv. 4 *conferens* : in ualle $\bar{r}$.
[4] lectos $\bar{r}$: electos *M*.

[1] Livy has condensed and simplified the account of an affair which, according to Polybius, XXIII. (XXIV.) iv. was far from simple. Neither Livy nor Polybius is clear as to whether the first clause of the decree covered the second question of the Lacedaemonians as well as the first, or what action the Romans took on the Compasium affair.
[2] He makes an exception of the Philopoemen episode.

whether the Lacedaemonians should remain in the Achaean League or, as had been the case before, their state, alone in the Peloponnesus, should have a separate constitution. It was decided that the exiles should be restored and the judgments passed against them reversed, and that Lacedaemon should remain in the Achaean League, and that this decree should be written down and signed by the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans.[1] B.C. 183

Quintus Marcius was sent as a commissioner to Macedonia, and was likewise instructed to look into the affairs of the allies in the Peloponnesus. For there were also both the troubles that were survivals from ancient discords, and Messenê had seceded from the Achaean League. If I should wish to set forth both the causes and the events of this war,[2] I should be unmindful of my purpose, according to which I have determined not to touch further upon foreign affairs except as they are inseparable from Roman history.[3]

XLIX. One event worthy of record occurred: although the Achaeans had the advantage in the war, their praetor Philopoemen was captured, who, in order to get the lead in occupying Coronê, for which the enemy was making, entered a dangerous valley, accompanied by a small guard of cavalry, and was surprised. They say that he himself could have escaped with the aid of the Thracians and Cretans; but the shame, if he should abandon the cavalry, the noblest of the people, and recently chosen by him personally, restrained him. While he was offering them a way of escape from the narrow pass by holding the rear in person, sustaining

[3] Cf. XXXV. xl. 1.

impetus hostium. prolapso equo et suo ipse casu et
onere equi super eum ruentis haud multum afuit, quin
4 exanimaretur, septuaginta annos iam natus et diutino
morbo, ex quo tum primum reficiebatur, viribus
5 admodum attenuatis. Iacentem hostes super-
fusi oppresserunt; cognitumque primum a vere-
cundia memoriaque meritorum haud secus quam
ducem suum attollunt reficiuntque et ex valle devia
in viam portant, vix sibimet ipsi prae necopinato
6 gaudio credentes; pars nuntios Messenen prae-
mittunt debellatum esse, Philopoemenem captum
7 adduci. Primum adeo incredibilis visa res, ut non
pro vano modo sed vix pro sano nuntius audiretur.
Deinde ut super alium alius idem omnes affirmantes
8 veniebant, tandem facta fides; et priusquam appro-
pinquare urbi satis scirent, ad spectaculum omnes
simul liberi ac servi, pueri quoque cum feminis,
effunduntur. Itaque clauserat [1] portam turba, dum
pro se quisque, nisi ipse oculis suis credidisset, vix pro
9 comperta tantam rem habiturus videtur.[2] Aegre
summoventes obvios intrare portam, qui adducebant
Philopoemenem, potuerunt. Aeque [3] conferta turba
10 iter reliquum clauserat; et cum pars maxima exclusa
a spectaculo esset, theatrum repente, quod pro-
pinquum viae erat, compleverunt et ut eo adduceretur in conspectum populi una voce omnes exposce-
11 bant. Magistratus et principes veriti ne quem

[1] clauserat *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: clauserant F.
[2] videtur *Crévier*: uideretur F.
[3] aeque *Walch*: atque F.

the charge of the enemy, his horse fell and he himself B.C. 183
was very near to perishing from the shock to himself and the weight of the horse which came down upon him, being now seventy years old and much weakened in strength as the result of a long illness from which he was then just recovering. The enemy, rushing past, came upon him lying there; recognizing him at once, because of their veneration for him and their recollection of his past services, they raised him up as if he were their own leader, revived him and carried him out of the retired valley to the high-road, scarcely believing their own eyes for this unexpected joy; part of them sent messengers ahead to Messenê to say that the war was over and that they were bringing Philopoemen a prisoner. At first this seemed so incredible that his words were listened to, not merely as vain, but as the words of a messenger who was scarcely sane. Then, as one after another came, all bringing the same tidings, at length they were convinced; and before they knew for certain that he was approaching the city, all alike, free and slave, children along with the women, rushed out. So the crowd had blocked the gate, while each for himself, if he had not seen it with his own eyes, would scarcely accept so great a thing as true. The men who were bringing Philopoemen were hardly able to thrust aside the bystanders and enter the gate. An equally crowded mass had blocked the rest of the way; and when the largest part had been excluded from the spectacle, they suddenly filled the theatre, which adjoined the street, and with one voice all demanded that he should be brought there to be seen by the people. The magistrates and leading citizens, fearing that pity for so great a

motum misericordia praesentis tanti viri faceret, cum alios verecundia pristinae maiestatis collatae [1] praesenti fortunae, alios recordatio ingentium meritorum motura esset, procul in conspectu eum statue-
12 runt, deinde raptim ex oculis hominum abstraxerunt, dicente praetore Dinocrate esse quae pertinentia ad summam belli percunctari eum magistratus vellent. Inde abducto eo in curiam et senatu vocato consultari coeptum.

L. Iam invesperascebat, et non modo cetera, sed ne in proximam quidem noctem ubi satis tuto
2 custodiretur, expediebant. Obstupuerant ad magnitudinem pristinae eius fortunae virtutisque, et neque ipsi domum recipere custodiendum audebant, nec
3 cuiquam uni custodiam eius satis credebant. Admonent deinde quidam esse thesaurum publicum sub terra, saxo quadrato saeptum. Eo vinctus demittitur, et saxum ingens quo operitur machina super-
4 impositum est. Ita loco potius quam homini cuiquam credendam custodiam rati, lucem insequentem
5 exspectaverunt. Postero die multitudo quidem integra, memor pristinorum eius in civitatem meritorum, parcendum ac per eum remedia quaerenda
6 esse praesentium malorum censebant: defectionis [2] auctores, quorum in manu res publica erat, in secreto consultantes omnes ad necem eius consentiebant. Sed utrum maturarent an differrent ambigebatur.
7 Vicit pars avidior poenae, missusque qui venenum

[1] conlatae *Duker*: conlata σ.

[2] defectionis *Gelenius*: sed defectionis *M*: factionis *aut* sed factionis σ.

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[1] It resembled the Tullianum in Rome, in design if not in use.

man, present before their eyes, might cause some B.C. 183
disturbance, since regret at his former greatness compared with his present fortune would move some and recollection of his tremendous services others, placed him in sight but at a distance, and then speedily removed him from the eyes of men, the praetor Dinocrates saying that there were matters pertaining to the final issue of the war on which the magistrates wished to question him. Then, after taking him to the senate-house and calling the council, they began their deliberations.

L. It was now growing dark, and not only were all other things uncertain, but even where they could guard him with sufficient safety even for the ensuing night. They had been awed by the greatness of his former success and courage, and neither did they dare to receive him into their own homes for guarding nor were they satisfied to entrust the guardianship of him to any one man. Then someone reminded them that there was a public treasury underground, walled in by hewn stones.[1] Bound, he was let down into it and a great stone by which it was closed placed by machinery over it. So, thinking that they should trust the place, rather than any man, to keep him safe, they waited for the coming morning. The next day the whole multitude, mindful of his former services to the state, considered that he should be spared and that through him remedies should be sought out for their present troubles: the authors of the revolt, who had the administration in their hands, held a secret consultation, and all were agreed upon his death. But it was not agreed whether they should act at once or delay. The faction that was more insistent on punishment prevailed, and a

L.C. 71 ferret. Accepto poculo nihil aliud locutum ferunt quam quaesisse, si incolumis Lycortas—is alter imperator Achaeorum erat—equitesque evasissent. 8 Postquam dictum est incolumes esse, " bene habet " inquit et poculo impavide exhausto haud ita multo 9 post exspiravit. Non diuturnum mortis eius gaudium auctoribus crudelitatis fuit. Victa namque Messene bello exposcentibus Achaeis dedidit noxios, ossaque reddita Philopoemenis sunt, et sepultus ab universo Achaico est concilio, adeo omnibus humanis congestis 10 honoribus, ut ne divinis quidem abstineretur. Ab scriptoribus rerum Graecis Latinisque tantum huic viro tribuitur ut a quibusdam eorum, velut ad insignem notam huius anni, memoriae mandatum sit tres claros imperatores eo anno decessisse, Philopoe- 11 menem, Hannibalem, P. Scipionem: adeo in aequo eum duarum[1] potentissimarum gentium summis imperatoribus posuerunt.

LI. Ad Prusiam regem legatus T. Quinctius Flamininus venit, quem suspectum Romanis et receptus post fugam Antiochi Hannibal et bellum 2 adversus Eumenem motum faciebat. Ibi seu quia a Flaminino inter cetera obiectum Prusiae erat

[1] duarum *Gelenius*: duobus Γ.

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[1] The *hipparchus* or *praefectus equitum* (XXXV. xxxiv. 9) was second in command.

[2] This revives the question of the date of Scipio's death, to which Livy had found no answer when he wrote the latter chapters of Book XXXVIII, and which he discusses again in chap. lii. below. (It remains a mystery why he did not consolidate this chapter with his earlier discussion.) Antiquity was fond of coincidences, and it was convenient, if only for

man was sent to take him the poison. Receiving the B.C. 183
cup, he asked only if Lycortas—he was the other commander[1] of the Achaeans—was safe and if the cavalry had escaped. When he was assured that they were safe, he said "it is well," and courageously draining the cup perished no long time afterwards. The persons responsible for this act of cruelty had no great time in which to rejoice in his death. For Messenê, being conquered in the war, at the demand of the Achaeans handed over the guilty persons, and the bones of Philopoemen were given back and he was buried by the whole Achaean League, all human distinctions being heaped upon him to such a degree that they did not even refrain from divine honours. Greek and Latin historians pay such tribute to this man that some of them have put it on record, as if it were a conspicuous brand of infamy set against this year, that three famous generals died during this year—Philopoemen, Hannibal, Publius Scipio: on terms of such equality have they placed him with the greatest commanders of the two most powerful nations.[2]

LI. Titus Quinctius Flamininus went as an ambassador to King Prusias, whom the Romans suspected both because he had given shelter to Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus[3] and because he had begun and was carrying on war against Eumenes. There, whether Prusias was reproached by Flamininus on this ground among others, because

mnemonic reasons, to have the three greatest generals associated in death, even if only two were associated in life (Philopoemen had been compared with Flamininus rather than with Scipio: cf. XXXV. xxx. 12–13 and the note).

[3] Cf. XXXVII. xlv. 16 and the note.

hominem omnium, qui viverent, infestissimum populo Romano apud eum esse, qui patriae suae primum, deinde fractis eius opibus Antiocho regi auctor belli adversus populum Romanum fuisset: seu quia ipse Prusias, ut[1] gratificaretur praesenti Flaminino Romanisque, per se necandi aut tradendi eius in potestatem consilium cepit; a primo colloquio Flaminini milites extemplo ad domum Hannibalis custodiendam missi sunt. Semper talem exitum vitae suae Hannibal prospexerat animo et Romanorum inexpiabile[2] odium in se cernens, et fidei regum nihil sane confisus:[3] Prusiae vero levitatem etiam expertus erat: Flaminini quoque adventum sibi velut fatalem horruerat. Ad omnia undique infesta ut iter semper aliquod praeparatum fugae haberet, septem exitus e domo fecerat, et ex iis quosdam occultos, ne custodia saepirentur. Sed grave imperium regum nihil inexploratum, quod vestigari volunt, efficit. Totius circuitum domus ita custodiis complexi sunt, ut nemo inde elabi posset. Hannibal, postquam est nuntiatum[4] milites regios in vestibulo esse, postico, quod devium maxime atque occultissimi exitus erat, fugere conatus, ut id quoque occursu militum obsaeptum sensit et omnia circa clausa custodiis dispositis esse venenum, quod multo ante praeparatum ad tales habebat casus, poposcit. "Liberemus" inquit[5] "diuturna cura populum Romanum, quando

[1] ut *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* Σ.
[2] inexpiabile *ed. Parisina* 1513: inexplicabile Σ.
[3] confisus Σ: fretus *M*.
[4] est nuntiatum *ed. Aldina*: nuntiatum *M*: est enuntiatum Σ.
[5] inquit *edd. vett.*: *om.* Σ.

of all living men the one who was most danger- B.C. 183
ous to the Roman people was at his court, the man who had first urged his own country and then, after its defeat, King Antiochus to war upon the Roman people, or whether Prusias himself, in order to do a favour to Flamininus when he came and to the Romans, formed the plan of killing him or giving him into custody; for whatever reason, immediately after the first conference with Flamininus he sent soldiers to put the house of Hannibal under guard. Hannibal had always foreseen such an end to his life, both from his knowledge of the insatiable hatred of the Romans for him and from his lack of faith in the loyalty of kings: as for Prusias, he had in fact experienced his fickleness;[1] then too the arrival of Flamininus had made him tremble as at the signal for his doom. Having regard to the dangers which were all around him, in order that he might always have some way of escape in readiness, he had made seven exits from his house, and some of these were secret, lest he might be hemmed in by guards. But the dread power of kings leaves nothing unexplored when they want it traced down. They surrounded the whole area about the house with guards, so that no one could escape from it. When the word was brought to him that the king's troops were in the vestibule, Hannibal attempted to escape by a side door which was out of the way and especially adapted to a stealthy departure, and when he found that this too was blocked by guards stationed around it, he called for the poison which he had long kept ready for such emergencies. "Let us," he said, "relieve the Roman people of their long anxiety, since they

[1] The meaning of the allusion is not known.

l.c. 10 mortem senis exspectare longum censent. Nec
71 magnam nec memorabilem ex inermi proditoque
Flamininus victoriam feret. Mores quidem populi
Romani quantum mutaverint, vel hic dies argumento
11 erit. Horum patres Pyrrho regi, hosti armato,
exercitum in Italia habenti ut a veneno caveret
praedixerunt: hi legatum consularem, qui auctor
esset Prusiae per scelus occidendi hospitis, miserunt."
12 Execratus deinde in caput regnumque Prusiae et
hospitales deos violatae ab eo fidei testes invocans,
poculum exhausit. Hic vitae exitus fuit Hannibalis.

LII. Scipionem et Polybius et Rutilius hoc anno mortuum scribunt. Ego neque his neque Valerio adsentior, his, quod censoribus M. Porcio L. Valerio L. Valerium[1] principem senatus ipsum censorem lectum invenio, cum superioribus duobus lustris
2 Africanus fuisset, quo vivo, nisi ut ille senatu moveretur, quam notam nemo memoriae prodidit, alius
3 princeps in locum eius lectus non esset. Antiatem auctorem refellit tribunus plebis M. Naevius, adversus

[1] L. Valerium *Hertz*: *post* ipsum *coll. edd. vett.*: *om.* Σ.

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[1] Nepos (*Hannibal* 13) gives his age at his death as 70, but says that different authorities place his death in 183, 182, and 181 B.C.

[2] Polybius (XXIV. ix.–ix.*a*) and Rutilius (consul 105 B.C., a member of the Scipionic circle, although much younger than the majority, and a writer of memoirs) should have had access to family records and other evidence as to the date. Yet apparently Polybius (*l.c.*; cf. Nepos, *l.c.*), despite what Livy says here, puts the date a year later. Rutilius is nowhere else quoted by Livy.

[3] Antias dated Scipio's death in 187 B.C.: XXXVIII. liii. 8.

[4] The censors of 189 B.C. gave him this rank for the third time (XXXVIII. xxviii. 2 and the note). The choice of

find it tedious to wait for the death of an old man.[1] Neither magnificent nor memorable will be the victory which Flamininus will win over a man unarmed and betrayed. How much the manners of the Roman people have changed, this day in truth will prove. Their fathers sent word to King Pyrrhus, an enemy in arms, commanding an army in Italy, warning him to beware of poison: these Romans have sent an ambassador of consular rank to urge upon Prusias the crime of murdering his guest." Then, cursing the person and the kingdom of Prusias and calling upon the gods of hospitality to bear witness to his breach of faith, he drained the cup. This was the end of the life of Hannibal. B.C. 183

LII. Scipio also, as both Polybius and Rutilius[2] write, died this year. For my part, I agree neither with them nor with Valerius[3]—not with them, because in the censorship of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius I find that the *princeps senatus* chosen was the same Lucius Valerius who was censor, whereas in the two preceding *lustra*[4] Africanus had held this distinction, and while he lived, unless he had been expelled from the senate, a disgrace which no one has recorded, another *princeps* would not have been chosen in his stead.[5] The refutation of Antias as an authority is the tribune of the people Marcus Naevius,

Valerius in 184 B.C. is not mentioned in the running account of the censorship (xliii. 5–xliv. 9 above).

[5] Livy thus concludes that Scipio was dead before the *lectio* by Cato and Flaccus. Their active term as censors extended from March 15, 184 B.C., to about mid-September 183 B.C., and the *lectio* might have been held late in the period. So far as this evidence goes, then, Scipio's death might have occurred as late as the summer of 183 B.C., and Livy's criticism is not necessarily valid.

B.C. 571

4 quem oratio inscripta P. Africani est. Hic Naevius in magistratuum libris est tribunus plebis [1] P. Claudio L. Porcio consulibus, sed iniit tribunatum Ap. Claudio M. Sempronio consulibus ante diem quartum 5 idus Decembres. Inde tres menses ad idus Martias sunt, quibus P. Claudius L. Porcius consulatum 6 inierunt. Ita [2] vixisse in tribunatu Naevii videtur, diesque ei dici ab eo potuisse, decessisse autem ante L. Valerii et M. Porcii censuram.

7 Trium clarissimorum suae cuiusque gentis virorum non tempore magis congruente comparabilis mors videtur esse, quam quod nemo eorum satis dignum 8 splendore vitae exitum habuit. Iam primum omnes

[1] in magistratuum libris est tribunus plebis *Gelenius*: magistratum iniit tribunus plebis σ.

[2] ita *Gelenius*: ita et σ.

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[1] Cf. XXXVIII. lvi. 6 and the note. Livy forgets here his own remark, that the speech itself did not contain the name of Naevius.

[2] Presumably official registers containing the names of the magistrates year by year.

[3] Inauguration day for consuls at this period was March 15; for tribunes, apparently at all times, December 10. Naevius then entered upon his office December 10, 185 B.C. (Ap. Claudius M. Sempronius coss.), and his term was concurrent with that of P. Claudius and Porcius (and of Cato and Flaccus) from March 15 to December 10, 184 B.C. If Naevius was the prosecutor Scipio could not have been tried in 187 B.C. Livy does not observe that his criticism brings under suspicion his entire narrative of the trial, so far as it is based on Antias.

[4] The last sentence seems to be an attempt to reconcile conflicting testimony. Livy has rejected 183 B.C. (Polybius and Rutilius) because he believes that Scipio was dead before the censorship of Cato and Flaccus beginning March 15, 184 B.C. He has rejected 187 B.C. (Antias) because he now

against whom was directed, according to the title,[1] the speech of Publius Africanus. This Naevius, in the books of the magistrates,[2] is named as tribune of the people in the consulship of Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius, but he entered upon the tribunate in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, on the fourth day before the Ides of December. From that time it is three months to the Ides of March, when Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius were inaugurated.[3] Thus it seems that he lived in the tribunate of Naevius and that he might have been accused by him, but died before the censorship of Lucius Valerius and Marcus Porcius.[4] B.C. 183

It seems that the deaths of these three men, each the most famous among his own people, are comparable not so much because of the coincidence of their times, as because no one of them met an end worthy of the brilliance of his life. In the first

believes that Naevius was the prosecutor (term beginning December 10, 185 B.C.). Since Livy thinks that death followed soon after the trial, this reasoning brackets both events as having occurred between December 10, 185 B.C., and March 15, 184 B.C., this being the portion of the term of Naevius which does not overlap that of Cato and Flaccus.

The whole is an interesting specimen of Livy's historical criticism, the more valuable because there are so few parallels. But his readiness to follow one source, almost blindly, in Book XXXVIII, while professing his inability to reconcile it with other sources, his refutation of that same source in this passage, the fallacies in his own argumentation, and his ability to omit important details, do not increase our faith in his critical sense. (Of the two pieces of evidence employed here, he neglected one and rejected the other in Book XXXVIII.) One wonders how much of what he had said in Book XXXVIII. was in his active memory when he wrote Book XXXIX. and why the earlier narrative was allowed to stand after he was convinced that it was wrong.

non in patrio [1] solo mortui nec sepulti sunt. Veneno absumpti Hannibal et Philopoemen; exul Hannibal, proditus ab hospite, captus Philopoemen in carcere et 9 in vinculis exspiravit; Scipio etsi non exul neque damnatus, die tamen dicta, ad quam non adfuerat reus, absens citatus, voluntarium non sibimet ipse solum sed etiam funeri suo exilium indixit.

LIII. Dum ea in Peloponneso, a quibus devertit oratio, geruntur, reditus in Macedoniam Demetrii legatorumque aliter aliorum affecerat animos. 2 Volgus Macedonum, quos belli ab Romanis imminentis metus terruerat, Demetrium ut pacis auctorem cum ingenti favore conspiciebant, simul et spe haud dubia regnum ei post mortem patris 3 destinabant. Nam etsi minor aetate quam Perseus esset, hunc iusta matre familiae, illum paelice ortum esse; illum ut ex vulgato corpore genitum nullam certi patris notam habere, hunc insignem Philippi 4 similitudinem prae se ferre. Ad hoc Romanos Demetrium in paterno solio locaturos, Persei nullam 5 apud eos gratiam esse. Haec vulgo loquebantur. Itaque et Persea cura angebat, ne parum pro se una aetas valeret, cum aliis omnibus rebus frater superior 6 esset; et Philippus ipse, vix sui arbitrii fore, quem heredem regni relinqueret credens, sibi quoque gravi-

[1] in patrio *edd. vett.*: patrio F.

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[1] Cf. xlviii. 6 above.

[2] Plutarch (*Aemilius*, viii.) hints that Perseus was not the son of Philip, and in XL. ix. 2 Perseus himself suggests the same possibility.

place, none of them either died or was buried in his native land. Hannibal and Philopoemen were carried off by poison; Hannibal was an exile, betrayed by his host, Philopoemen, a captive, died in prison and in chains; Scipio, although not an exile or condemned, yet, because he was absent when summoned, on the day he failed to stand trial, pronounced a sentence of voluntary exile not only upon himself but upon his funeral. B.C. 183

LIII. While these events,[1] as a result of which my narrative turned from its course, were occurring in the Peloponnesus, the return of Demetrius and the other ambassadors to Macedonia had made different impressions upon different minds. The mass of the Macedonians, terrified by the fear of the war which threatened from the Romans, looked with very great favour upon Demetrius as the author of peace, and at the same time marked him with assured hope for the throne after the death of his father. For although he was younger in years than Perseus, men recalled that Demetrius was born of a legal wife, the other of a concubine; that the elder, the offspring of a body accessible to all, bore no sure mark of his father,[2] while Demetrius displayed a notable resemblance to Philip. Besides, they said, the Romans would establish Demetrius upon his father's throne, while Perseus would have no influence with them. Such was the general talk. Accordingly Perseus, on the one hand, was anxiously afraid that his age by itself would not carry sufficient weight in his behalf, while his brother had the advantage in all other respects, and on the other, Philip himself, believing that it would hardly be in his power to decide which son he should leave as heir to his

7 orem esse quam vellet minorem filium aiebat. Offen-
debatur interdum concursu Macedonum ad eum, et
8 alteram iam se vivo regiam esse indignabatur. Et
ipse iuvenis haud dubie inflatior redierat, subnisus
erga se iudiciis senatus, concessisque sibi, quae patri
9 negata essent; et omnis mentio Romanorum quantam
dignitatem ei apud ceteros Macedonas, tantam
invidiam non apud fratrem modo sed etiam apud
10 patrem conciliabat, utique postquam legati alii
Romani venerunt, et cogebatur decedere Thracia
praesidiaque deducere et alia aut ex decreto priorum
legatorum aut ex nova constitutione senatus facere.
11 Sed omnia maerens quidem et gemens, eo magis
quod filium frequentiorem prope cum illis quam
secum cernebat, oboedienter tamen adversus Ro-
manos faciebat, ne quam movendi extemplo belli
12 causam praeberet. Avertendos etiam[1] animos a
suspicione talium consiliorum ratus, mediam per[2]
Thraciam exercitum in Odrysas et Dentheletos et
13 Bessos duxit: Philippopolin urbem fuga desertam
oppidanorum, qui in proxima montium iuga cum
familiis receperant sese, cepit, campestresque bar-
baros, depopulatus agros eorum, in deditionem
14 accepit. Relicto inde ad Philippopolin praesidio,

[1] praeberet. avertendos etiam *Gelenius*: praeberet etiam auertendos *M*: praeuertendos etiam *F*.

[2] per *Heraeus*: in *F*.

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[1] Both thought and language closely parallel those of Antiochus in similar circumstances (XXXV. xv. 4).

[2] Livy hints at (xlvii. 3–11 above), and Polybius XXIII. (XXIV.) iii. stresses the harm which the senate did by stimulating the vanity of Demetrius.

[3] Probably Marcius is meant (xlviii. 5 above).

throne, kept saying that his younger son was a B.C. 183
greater burden to him than he wished.[1] He was displeased at times by the throngs of Macedonians who visited his son, and was indignant that while he lived there should be a second court. And there is no doubt that the young man had returned too much puffed up regarding himself,[2] relying somewhat on the judgments of the senate about him, and on the concessions made to him of what had been refused to his father; and whatever importance every reference to the Romans brought to him with the rest of the Macedonians, it brought him also exactly as much ill-will, not only with his brother but even with his father, especially after other[3] Roman commissioners came and Philip was compelled to evacuate Thrace and withdraw his garrisons and do other things in accordance with either the decisions of previous commissioners or the new arrangements of the senate. But, although it was with grief and lamentation, the more because he saw his son more frequently in the company of the commissioners than with himself, he nevertheless obeyed the Romans in everything, in order to give them no reason for immediately declaring war. Thinking also that their thoughts should be diverted from any suspicion of such designs, he led his army through the interior of Thrace against the Odrysae and Dentheleti and Bessi: he took the city of Philippopolis,[4] deserted by the flight of its citizens, who with their families had fled to the nearest mountains, and received in surrender the barbarians of the plain, after plundering their farms. Leaving a garrison in Philippopolis

[4] Probably in the territory of the Odrysae; not the town of the same name mentioned in xxv. 3 above.

quod haud multo post ab Odrysis expulsum est, oppidum in Deuriopo condere instituit—Paeoniae ea regio est—prope Erigonum fluvium, qui ex Illyrico per Pelagoniam[1] fluens in Axium amnem editur, haud procul Stobis, vetere urbe: novam urbem Perseida, ut is filio maiori haberetur honos, appellari iussit.

LIV. Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, consules in provincias profecti. Marcellus nuntium praemisit ad L. Porcium proconsulem ut ad novum Gallorum oppidum legiones admoveret. Advenienti consuli Galli sese dediderunt. Duodecim milia armatorum erant: plerique arma ex agris rapta habebant; ea aegre patientibus iis adempta, quaeque alia aut populantes agros rapuerant aut secum attulerant. De his rebus qui quererentur, legatos Romam miserunt. Introducti in senatum a C. Valerio praetore exposuerunt se superante in Gallia multitudine inopia coactos agri et egestate ad quaerendam sedem Alpes transgressos, quae inculta per solitudines viderent, ibi sine ullius iniuria consedisse. Oppidum quoque aedificare coepisse, quod indicium esset nec agro nec urbi ulli vim adlaturos venisse. Nuper M. Claudium ad se nuntium misisse bellum se cum iis, ni dederentur, gesturum. Se certam, etsi non speciosam pacem quam incerta belli praeoptantes

[1] Pelagoniam *Schaefer*: paeoniam F.

[1] Cf. xxii. 6–7 and xlv. 6–7 above.

(it was expelled a little later by the Odrysae), he B.C. 183
decided to found a city in Deuriopus—this is a district in Paeonia—near the Erigonus river, which flows from Illyricum through Pelagonia and empties into the Axius river not far from the ancient city of Stobi: to the new city he ordered the name of Perseis to be given, so as to show honour to his elder son.

LIV. While this was going on in Macedonia, the consuls departed for their provinces. Marcellus sent a messenger ahead to the proconsul Lucius Porcius, ordering him to move the legions to the new town of the Gauls.[1] On the arrival of the consul the Gauls surrendered. There were twelve thousand armed men: most of them had weapons picked up in the country; these were taken from them, to their great displeasure, and whatever else they had either carried off while ravaging the fields or had brought with them. They sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of this treatment. Introduced to the senate by Gaius Valerius the praetor, they explained that since the population of Gaul was too great, compelled by poverty and the unproductiveness of the soil, they had crossed the Alps in search of a home, and when they found a region which was untilled for lack of settlers, there they established themselves without injuring anyone. They had even, they said, begun to build a town, which was an indication that they had come with no design to harm either farm or city. Recently Marcus Claudius had sent a message to them that he would make war upon them if they did not surrender. Preferring an assured though unattractive peace to the uncertainties of war, they had entrusted them-

dedidisse se prius in fidem quam in potestatem populi
8 Romani. Post paucos dies iussos et urbe et agro
decedere sese tacitos abire, quo terrarum possent, in
animo habuisse. Arma deinde sibi, et postremo
omnia alia, quae ferrent agerentque, adempta.
9 Orare se senatum populumque Romanum, ne in se
innoxios deditos acerbius quam in hostes saevirent.
10 Huic orationi senatus ita responderi iussit, neque
illos recte fecisse, cum in Italiam venerint oppi-
dumque in alieno agro, nullius Romani magistratus,
qui ei provinciae praeesset, permissu aedificare conati
11 sint; neque senatui placere deditos spoliari. Itaque
se cum iis legatos ad consulem missuros, qui si redeant
unde venerint, omnia iis sua reddi iubeant, quique
protinus eant trans Alpes, et denuntient Gallicis po-
12 pulis, multitudinem suam domi contineant: Alpes
prope inexsuperabilem finem in medio esse: non
utique iis melius fore quam qui [1] eas primi pervias
13 fecissent. Legati missi L. Furius Purpurio Q.
Minucius L. Manlius Acidinus. Galli, redditis
omnibus, quae sine cuiusquam iniuria habebant,
Italia excesserunt.

LV. Legatis Romanis Transalpini populi benigne

[1] quam qui *Sigonius*: qui σ.

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[1] Their situation is not unlike that of the Aetolians (XXXVI. xxvii. 8–xxviii. 6 and the notes).

[2] The eastern boundary of Cisalpine Gaul had never been defined, and the Gauls may have innocently supposed that the Romans did not intend to occupy this region. Roman ambitions, however, were now directed to Histria, and a colony at Aquileia was contemplated (lv. 4–6 below).

[3] That is, earlier Gallic invaders who had met defeat on Italian soil.

[4] Furius may have been one of the senators who received the *nota* (xlii. 5–6 above): the fragments of Cato's speeches

selves to the good faith rather than to the power of B.C. 183
the Roman people.[1] When, a few days later, they were ordered to leave the town and the country as well, they had planned to go away in silence, wherever in the world they could. Then, they went on to say, their arms were taken from them, and finally everything else which they were carrying or driving. They begged the senate and the Roman people not to treat innocent persons who had surrendered more harshly than enemies. The senate ordered the reply to be given to this appeal, that neither had they acted properly when they came into Italy and attempted to build a town on others' land, without the permission of any Roman magistrate who was in charge of that province;[2] nor did it please the senate to despoil men who had surrendered. Accordingly, the senate would send with them ambassadors to the consul who would direct him, on condition that they would return whence they had come, to give back all their property, and who would then cross the Alps and warn the Gallic tribes to keep their population at home: the Alps were an almost insuperable boundary between them: in any case they would fare no better than those who had first made them passable.[3] The ambassadors who were sent were Lucius Furius Purpurio,[4] Quintus Minucius, Lucius Manlius Acidinus. The Gauls, having recovered all the property which they acquired without injuring anyone, left Italy.

LV. The Roman ambassadors were graciously answered by the Transalpine peoples. Their elders

against a Furius (the identification is not quite certain) seem to date from his censorship. If this is true, the embassy must have preceded the *lectio senatus*.

c. 1 responderunt. Seniores eorum nimiam lenitatem
2 populi Romani castigarunt, quod eos homines, qui gentis iniussu profecti occupare agrum imperii Romani et in alieno solo aedificare oppidum conati sint, impunitos dimiserint: debuisse gravem temeritatis mercedem
3 statui. Quod vero etiam sua reddiderint, vereri ne tanta indulgentia plures ad talia audenda impellantur.
4 Et exceperunt et [1] prosecuti cum donis legatos sunt.

M. Claudius consul Gallis ex provincia exactis Histricum bellum moliri coepit litteris ad senatum missis, ut sibi in Histriam traducere legiones liceret.
5 Id senatui non placuit.[2] Illud agitabant uti colonia Aquileia deduceretur, nec satis constabat utrum Latinam an civium Romanorum deduci placeret. Postremo Latinam potius coloniam deducendam
6 patres censuerunt. Triumviri creati sunt P. Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius L. Manlius Acidinus.

Eodem anno Mutina et Parma coloniae civium Ro-
7 manorum sunt deductae. Bina milia hominum in agro, qui proxime Boiorum, ante Tuscorum fuerat, octona iugera Parmae, quina Mutinae acceperunt.
8 Deduxerunt triumviri M. Aemilius Lepidus T.
9 Aebutius Parrus [3] L. Quinctius Crispinus. Et Saturnia colonia civium Romanorum in agrum Caletranum est deducta. Deduxerunt triumviri Q.

[1] et Γ: ita *M*.
[2] non placuit *Novák*: placuit Γ.
[3] Parrus (*vel* Parus) *Buecheler*: carus Γ.

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[1] Since the territory of the Veneti had now been tacitly absorbed, the Histrians, living on the peninsula to the south of the modern Trieste, were near neighbours. There seems to be no evidence that they had given the Romans any cause to attack them at this time.

reproved the Roman people for their excessive B.C. 183
lenience, because those men who had set out without the permission of their state and had attempted to occupy land belonging to the Roman empire and to build a town on others' soil had been let go unpunished: they should have been made to pay a heavy toll for their rash action. Moreover, as to the restoration of their property, the elders feared that such generosity might tempt more peoples to try the same venture. The ambassadors were both received and sent on their way with gifts.

Marcus Claudius the consul, having expelled the Gauls from the province, began to scheme for a war with the Histrians,[1] sending letters to the senate for permission to lead the legions into Histria. This did not please the senate. They were discussing the question of establishing a colony at Aquileia, but it was not generally agreed whether it should be a Latin colony or one of Roman citizens. Finally, the Fathers voted that a Latin colony rather should be founded. The three commissioners elected were Publius Scipio Nasica, Gaius Flaminius, Lucius Manlius Acidinus.

In the same year Mutina and Parma, colonies of Roman citizens, were established. Two thousand men in each case were settled on the land that had recently belonged to the Boi [2] and previously to the Etruscans, and the allotments at Parma were eight *iugera* each, at Mutina five. The board of three which founded them consisted of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Titus Aebutius Parrus, Lucius Quinctius Crispinus. Also, a colony of Roman citizens was established at Saturnia in the *ager Caletranus*.[3] The board of three

[2] Cf. XXXVI. xxxix. 3. [3] In Etruria.

u.c. 571 Fabius Labeo C. Afranius Stellio Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. In singulos iugera data dena.[1]

LVI. Eodem anno A. Terentius proconsul haud procul flumine Hibero, in agro Ausetano, et proelia secunda cum Celtiberis fecit, et oppida, quae ibi 2 communierant, aliquot expugnavit. Ulterior[2] Hispania eo anno in pace fuit[3] quia et P. Sempronius proconsul diutino morbo est implicitus, et nullo 3 lacessente peropportune quieverunt Lusitani. Nec in Liguribus memorabile quicquam a Q. Fabio consule gestum.

Ex Histria revocatus M. Marcellus exercitu 4 dimisso Romam comitiorum causa rediit. Creavit consules Cn. Baebium Tamphilum et L. Aemilium Paulum. Cum M. Aemilio Lepido hic aedilis curulis fuerat; a quo consule quintus annus erat, cum is ipse Lepidus post duas repulsas consul factus esset. 5 Praetores inde facti Q. Fulvius Flaccus M. Valerius Laevinus P. Manlius[4] iterum M. Ogulnius Gallus L. Caecilius Denter C. Terentius Istra.

6 Supplicatio extremo anno fuit prodigiorum causa, quod sanguine per biduum pluvisse in area Concordiae satis credebant, nuntiatumque erat haud procul Sicilia insulam, quae non ante fuerat, novam editam

[1] dena *H. J. Mueller* : decem *M* : *om.* ς.
[2] ulterior *Glareanus* : citerior ς.
[3] e.a.i.p.f. *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : i.p.f.e.a. ς.
[4] P. Manlius *ed. Aldina* : p. aemilius ς.

[1] Lepidus was consul in 187 B.C. We are left to conjecture the number of defeats suffered by Paulus. Livy seems to dwell on the failures of Paulus, possibly for the contrast with his later brilliant career in Macedonia.

[2] His first praetorship was in 193 B.C. (XXXIII. xlii. 7). No reason is known for this unusual career.

which founded it consisted of Quintus Fabius Labeo, B.C. 183
Gaius Afranius Stellio, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Ten *iugera* were given to each colonist.

LVI. In the same year the proconsul Aulus Terentius, not far from the river Ebro, in the country of the Ausetani, both fought successful battles with the Celtiberians and captured a number of towns which they had fortified. Farther Spain that year was at peace, partly because Publius Sempronius the proconsul was suffering from a long illness, and with no one to provoke them the Lusitanians very fortunately remained quiet. Nor was anything worth recording done by the consul Quintus Fabius among the Ligurians.

Marcus Marcellus, recalled from Histria, disbanded his army and returned to Rome to hold the elections. He returned as consuls Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus and Lucius Aemilius Paulus. The latter had been curule aedile with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus; this was the fifth year after the consulship of Lepidus, although Lepidus himself became consul after two defeats.[1] Next the praetors were chosen, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Valerius Laevinus, Publius Manlius (for the second time),[2] Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, Lucius Caecilius Denter, Gaius Terentius Istra.

At the end of the year there was a period of prayer by reason of the prodigies, because the Romans were well persuaded that there had been a shower of blood, lasting two days, in the precinct of Concord,[3] and because it was reported that not far from Sicily, a new island which had not been there before had

[3] Cf. also xlvi. 5 above and the note and XL. xix. 2.

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7 e mari esse. Hannibalem hoc anno Antias Valerius decessisse est auctor legatis ad eam rem ad Prusiam missis praeter T. Quinctium Flamininum, cuius in ea re celebre est nomen, L. Scipione Asiatico et P. Scipione Nasica.

risen from the sea. Valerius Antias says that B.C. 183
Hannibal died this year, ambassadors having been sent to Prusias for this purpose, namely, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus and Publius Scipio Nasica,[1] in addition to Titus Quinctius Flamininus, whose name is best known in this connection.

[1] Again Livy appends an afterthought, inconsistent with his previous narrative.

LIBRI XXXIX PERIOCHA

M. Aemilius cos. Liguribus subactis viam Placentia usque Ariminum productam Flaminiae iunxit. Initia luxuriae in urbem introducta ab exercitu Asiatico referuntur. Ligures quicumque citra Appenninum erant subacti sunt. Bacchanalia, sacrum Graecum et nocturnum, omnium scelerum seminarium, cum ad ingentis turbae coniurationem pervenisset,[1] investigatum et multorum poena sublatum est. A censoribus L. Valerio Flacco et M. Porcio Catone,[2] et belli et pacis artibus maximo, motus est senatu L. Quinctius Flamininus. T.[3] frater, eo quod cum[4] Galliam provinciam consul obtineret, rogatus in convivio a Poeno Philippo quem amabat, scorto nobili, Gallum quendam sua manu occiderat sive, ut quidam tradiderunt, unum ex damnatis securi percusserat rogatus a meretrice Placentina cuius amore deperibat. Exstat oratio M. Catonis in eum. Scipio Literni decessit et, tamquam iungente[5] fortuna, circa idem tempus duo funera maximorum virorum, Hannibal a Prusia Bithyniae rege, ad quem victo Antiocho confugerat, cum dederetur Romanis, qui ad exposcendum eum T. Quinctium Flamininum miserant, veneno mortem consciit, Philopoemen quoque, dux Achaeorum, vir

[1] pervenisset *edd.* : peruenisset *codd.*
[2] *nomina corrupta correxerunt edd.*
[3] T. *edd.* : *om. codd.*
[4] cum *add. edd.*
[5] iungente *edd.* : lugente *NP.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XXXIX

THE consul Marcus Aemilius, having subdued the Ligurians, built a road from Placentia to Ariminum to connect with the Via Flaminia. The beginnings of luxurious living are said to have been introduced into the City by the army from Asia. All the Ligurians on this side of the Apennines were subdued. The Bacchanalia, a Greek rite celebrated by night, the breeding-ground of all crimes, since it had developed into a conspiracy of large numbers, were investigated and suppressed by the punishment of many. The censors Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato (the latter the greatest of men in the arts of both war and peace) expelled from the senate Lucius Quinctius Flamininus, the brother of Titus, on the ground that while he was holding the province of Gaul as consul, at the request of a Carthaginian, Philippus, a notorious degenerate whom he loved, he had, at a banquet, killed with his own hand a certain Gaul, or, as some say, that he had beheaded a man under sentence of death at the request of a courtesan of Placentia with whom he was desperately in love. The speech of Marcus Cato against him is extant. Scipio died at Liternum and, as if fortune were bringing them together, two deaths occurred about the same time of very great men—Hannibal, who committed suicide by poison when Prusias, king of Bithynia, with whom he had taken refuge after the defeat of Antiochus, was about to surrender him to the Romans who had sent Titus Quinctius Flamininus to demand him, and also Philopoemen, chieftain of the Achaeans and a very great man, who was poisoned

maximus, a Messeniis occisus veneno cum ab his in bello captus esset. Coloniae Potentia [1] et Pisaurum et Mutina et Parma deductae sunt. Praeterea res adversus Celtiberos prospere gestas et initia causasque belli Macedonici continet. Cuius origo inde fluxit quod Philippus aegre ferebat regnum suum a Romanis imminui et quod cogeretur a Thracibus aliisque locis praesidia deducere.

[1] Potentia *Sigonius* : polentia *codd.*

by the Messenians after they had captured him in war. The colonies of Potentia and Pisaurum and Mutina and Parma were founded. In addition the book contains the victories over the Celtiberians and the beginnings and causes of the Macedonian war. The origin of this was found in Philip's anger that his kingdom was diminished by the Romans and that he was compelled to withdraw his garrisons from Thrace and elsewhere.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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AND

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[v. 12]

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T. LIVI
AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XL

A.U.C. 572

I. Principio insequentis anni consules praetoresque sortiti provincias sunt. Consulibus nulla praeter Ligures quae decerneretur erat. Iurisdictio urbana M. Ogulnio[1] Gallo, inter peregrinos M. Valerio 2 evenit; Hispaniarum Q. Fulvio Flacco citerior, P. Manlio ulterior, L. Caecilio Dentri Sicilia, C. Terentio Istrae Sardinia. Dilectus habere consules 3 iussi. Q. Fabius ex Liguribus scripserat Apuanos ad rebellionem spectare, periculumque esse ne 4 impetum in agrum Pisanum facerent. Et ex Hispaniis citeriorem in armis esse et cum Celtiberis bellari sciebant; in ulteriore, quia diu aeger esset praetor, luxuria et otio solutam disciplinam militarem esse. 5 Ob ea novos exercitus conscribi placuit, quattuor legiones in Ligures, uti singulae quina milia et ducenos pedites trecenos haberent equites, sociorum

[1] M. Ogulnio *edd. vett.*: ogulino *aut* ogolino *r*.

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XL

I. In the beginning of the following year the B.C. 182 consuls and praetors drew lots for their provinces. For the consuls there was no province to be decreed except the Ligurians. The civil jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, that between citizens and aliens to Marcus Valerius, Nearer Spain to Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Farther Spain to Publius Manlius, Sicily to Lucius Caecilius Denter, Sardinia to Gaius Terentius Istra. The consuls were directed to conduct the levies. Quintus Fabius had written from the Ligurian country that the Apuani were meditating rebellion and that there was danger that they would invade the territory of Pisa. As to the Spains also, they knew that the nearer province was in arms and that there was war with the Celtiberians; in the farther province, because the praetor had long been sick, they knew that military discipline had grown slack from easy living and idleness. For these reasons it was determined to enlist new armies, four legions for service against the Ligurians, each to consist of fifty-two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry, and, in addition thereto, fifteen

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iisdem Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum addita et octingenti[1] equites. Hi duo consulares
6 exercitus essent. Scribere praeterea iussi septem milia peditum sociorum ac Latini nominis et quadringentos equites et mittere ad M. Marcellum in Galliam, cui ex consulatu prorogatum imperium erat.
7 In Hispaniam utramque quae ducerentur, quattuor milia peditum civium Romanorum et ducenti equites, et sociorum septem milia peditum cum trecentis
8 equitibus scribi iussa. Et Q. Fabio Labeoni cum exercitu quem habebat in Liguribus prorogatum in annum imperium est.

II. Ver procellosum eo anno fuit. Pridie Parilia,[2] medio ferme die, atrox cum vento tempestas coorta multis sacris profanisque locis stragem fecit, signa
2 aenea in Capitolio deiecit, forem ex aede Lunae quae in Aventino est raptam tulit et in posticis parietibus Cereris templi adfixit, signa alia in circo maximo cum
3 columnis quibus superstabant evertit, fastigia aliquot templorum a culminibus abrupta foede dissipavit. Itaque in prodigium versa ea tempestas, procurarique
4 haruspices iusserunt. Simul procuratum est quod tripedem mulum Reate natum nuntiatum erat, et a Formiis[3] aedem Apollinis Caietae de caelo tactam.

[1] octingenti ς : trecenti *M*.
[2] Parilia *ed. Veneta* 1498 : palilia ς.
[3] *post* Formiis *lacunam susp. Drakenborch, quam neglexi.*

[1] The festival of Pales, a shepherd-divinity, celebrated on April 21, the birthday of Rome.
[2] This temple was near the Circus Maximus.

thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy. These were to be the two consular armies. In addition, they were ordered to enlist seven thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy and to send them to Marcus Marcellus in Gaul, his *imperium* having been prolonged after his consulship. They were also directed to enroll troops which were to be conducted to the two Spains, four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry of Roman citizens and of the allies seven thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. Also the *imperium* of Quintus Fabius Labeo among the Ligurians, along with the army which he had, was extended for a year. B.C. 183

II. The spring was stormy that year. The day before the Parilia,[1] about noon, a heavy storm accompanied by wind came and caused damage to many places sacred and profane, overthrew bronze statues on the Capitoline, tore a door-post from the temple of Luna which is on the Aventine, carried it to the rear walls of the temple of Ceres [2] and fastened it there, blew down other statues in the Circus Maximus, together with the columns on which they rested, and violently tore loose from their tops the roofs of a number of temples and scattered them. Therefore this storm was turned into a prodigy, and the *haruspices* ordered atonement to be made. At the same time atonement was made because news had come from Reate that a mule with three feet had been born and from Formiae [3] that the temple of Apollo at Caieta had been struck by lightning. By

[3] It seems unnecessary to assume a lacuna. The two towns were close together and the actual message may have come from Formiae, which was on the main highway.

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Ob ea prodigia viginti hostiis maioribus sacrificatum est [1] et diem unum supplicatio fuit.

5 Per eos dies ex litteris A. Terentii propraetoris cognitum P. Sempronium in ulteriore provincia, cum plus annum aeger fuisset, mortuum esse. Eo maturius in Hispaniam praetores iussi proficisci.

6 Legationes deinde transmarinae in senatum introductae sunt, primae [2] Eumenis et Pharnacis regum et 7 Rhodiorum querentium de Sinopensium clade. Philippi quoque legati et [3] Achaeorum et Lacedaemoniorum sub idem tempus venerunt. Iis prius Marcio audito, qui ad res Graeciae Macedoniaeque 8 visendas missus erat, responsa data sunt. Asiae regibus ac Rhodiis responsum est legatos ad eas res visendas senatum missurum.

III. De Philippo auxerat curam Marcius: nam ita fecisse eum [4] quae senatui placuissent fatebatur, ut facile appareret non diutius quam necesse esset 2 facturum. Neque obscurum erat rebellaturum, omniaque quae tunc ageret diceretque eo spectare. 3 Iam primum omnem fere multitudinem civium ex maritimis civitatibus cum familiis suis in Emathiam, quae nunc dicitur, quondam appellata Paeonia est,

[1] est *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* ς.
[2] primae *Crévier*: prima ς.
[3] et *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[4] eum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* ς.

---

[1] King of Pontus.

[2] Sinopê had been conquered by Pharnaces and her Rhodian allies had undertaken the embassy in her behalf. Sinopê had not previously been thought of as within the Roman sphere of interest in Asia.

[3] Cf. XXXIX. xlviii. 5.

[4] Polybius (XXIV. x (XXIII. ix)) says more explicitly "that he had indeed done all that was enjoined on him, but with

reason of these prodigies a sacrifice of twenty full- B.C. 183
grown victims was offered and one day of prayer celebrated.

During this period it was learned from dispatches from Aulus Terentius the propraetor that Publius Sempronius had died in the farther province after an illness of more than a year. For this reason the praetors were directed to set out earlier for Spain.

Then embassies from overseas were introduced into the senate, first those of the kings, Eumenes and Pharnaces,[1] and of the Rhodians, who were complaining of the slaughter of the people of Sinopê.[2] Ambassadors from Philip also and from the Achaeans and Lacedaemonians arrived about the same time. After first hearing the report of Marcius, who had been sent to investigate conditions in Greece and Macedonia,[3] answers were given them. The kings of Asia and the Rhodians received the reply that the senate would send commissioners to look into these matters.

III. With regard to Philip, Marcius had increased the senate's concern: for he admitted that Philip had done what it had demanded, but in such a way that it was clearly evident that he would not continue to do so longer than was necessary.[4] Nor was it a secret that he would resort to arms, and that everything that he did and said had this in view. In the first place he moved almost the entire population of citizens, families and all, from the towns along the coast to what is now called Emathia and was formerly Paeonia, and the cities he gave as

great reluctance; and that if he got an opportunity, he would go to all lengths against the Romans" (Shuckburgh's translation).

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4 traduxit, Thracibusque et aliis barbaris urbes tradidit habitandas, fidiora haec genera hominum fore ratus 5 in Romano bello. Ingentem ea res fremitum Macedonia tota fecit, relinquentesque penates suos cum coniugibus ac liberis pauci tacitum dolorem continebant; execrationesque in agminibus proficiscentium 6 in regem vincente odio metum exaudiebantur. His ferox animus omnes homines omnia loca temporaque 7 suspecta habebat. Postremo negare propalam coepit satis tutum sibi quicquam esse, nisi liberos eorum quos interfecisset comprehensos in custodia haberet et tempore alium alio tolleret.

IV. Eam crudelitatem, foedam per se, foediorem 2 unius domus clades fecit. Herodicum principem Thessalorum multis ante annis occiderat; generos quoque eius postea interfecit. In viduitate relictae 3 filiae singulos filios parvos habentes. Theoxena et Archo nomina iis erant mulieribus. Theoxena multis 4 petentibus aspernata nuptias est: Archo Poridi cuidam, longe principi gentis Aenianum, nupsit et apud eum plures enixa partus, parvis admodum 5 relictis omnibus, decessit. Theoxena, ut in suis manibus liberi sororis educarentur, Poridi nupsit; et tamquam omnes ipsa enixa foret, suum [1] sororisque 6 filios [2] in eadem habebat cura. Postquam regis edictum de comprehendendis liberis eorum qui

[1] suum *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[2] filios *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.

[1] Polybius (XXIV. viii a (XXIII. x)) represents him as quoting a verse from the epic poet Stasinus: νήπιος ὃς πατέρα κτείνας υἱοὺς καταλείπει, "A fool is he who, having slain the

homes to Thracians and other barbarians, thinking that these tribes would be more loyal in a Roman war. This act caused tremendous lamentation throughout all Macedonia, and few, as they left their ancestral homes with their wives and children, kept their grief concealed; and from the columns of migrants curses upon the king were heard, hatred getting the better of their fear. The king's temper, made fierce by these things, held all men, all places and occasions in suspicion. Finally he began to say publicly that he could not find any real security unless the children of those whom he had executed were arrested, kept under guard, and killed one by one, as occasion offered.[1] B.C. 182

IV. This cruelty, dreadful in itself, was made more dreadful by the destruction of one household. Herodicus, a leading man among the Thessalians, had been put to death many years before; his sons-in-law also had been killed later. His daughters were left in widowhood, each having one small son. Theoxena and Archo were the names of these women. Theoxena, though she had many suitors, disdained marriage: Archo married a certain Poris, by far the first citizen among the Aeneans,[2] and after bearing several children, all left quite small, she died in his house. Theoxena, in order that the children of her sister might be brought up in her hands, married Poris; and as if she were the mother of them all, she devoted the same care to her own child and her sister's children. After she received the king's proclamation about the

father, leaves the sons behind." Both Polybius and Livy seem to conceive of the fall of Philip in dramatic form and to employ some of the technique of tragedy in their narratives.

[2] He probably came from Aenea, not Aenus.

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interfecti essent accepit, ludibrio futuros non regis modo sed custodum etiam libidini[1] rata ad rem 7 atrocem animum adiecit ausaque est dicere se sua manu potius omnes interfecturam quam in pote- 8 statem Philippi venirent. Poris abominatus mentionem tam foedi facinoris Athenas deportaturum eos ad fidos hospites dixit, comitemque ipsum fugae 9 futurum esse. Proficiscuntur ab Thessalonica Aeneam ad statum[2] sacrificium, quod Aeneae conditori cum magna caerimonia quotannis faciunt. 10 Ibi die per sollemnes epulas consumpto navem praeparatam a Poride sopitis omnibus de tertia vigilia conscendunt tamquam rediturī Thessalonicam;[3] sed 11 traicere in Euboeam erat propositum. Ceterum in adversum ventum nequiquam eos tendentes prope terram lux oppressit, et regii qui praeerant custodiae portus lembum armatum ad retrahendam[4] eam navem miserunt cum gravi edicto ne reverterentur 12 sine ea. Cum iam[5] appropinquabant, Poris quidem ad hortationem remigum nautarumque intentus erat; interdum manus ad caelum tendens deos ut ferrent 13 opem orabat. Ferox interim femina, ad multo ante praecogitatum revoluta facinus, venenum diluit ferrumque promit et posito in conspectu poculo strictisque gladiis " mors " inquit " una vindicta est. 14 Viae ad mortem hae sunt: qua quemque animus fert,

[1] libidini *Sigonius*: libidinis σ.
[2] statum *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: statutum *aut* statuam σ.
[3] Thessalonicam *Gronovius*: in thessalonicam σ.
[4] retrahendam *Perizonius*: pertrahendam $M\sigma$.
[5] cum iam *Gelenius*: quoniam dies *aut* cum dies σ.

arrest of the children of the men who had been put to death, thinking that they would be exposed not only to the mockery of the king but even to the lust of the guards, she turned her thoughts to a deed of horror, and dared to say that she would rather kill them all with her own hand than let them fall into the power of Philip. Poris, hating even the thought of so dreadful a deed, said that he would take them to faithful friends in Athens and would himself be their companion in exile. They set out from Thessalonica to Aenea to an appointed sacrifice which they make [1] every year to Aeneas, their founder, with elaborate ceremony. Having spent a day there in the ritual feasts, when all were asleep, about the third watch they went aboard a ship made ready in advance by Poris, as if to return to Thessalonica; their plan, however, was to cross to Euboea. But strain as they might in vain against an opposing wind, day caught them near the shore, and the king's troops who were in charge of the guarding of the harbour sent an armed brig to bring back that ship, with strict orders not to return without it. When they were now close to shore, Poris was engaged in urging on the rowers and sailors; sometimes stretching out his hands to heaven, he would pray that the gods would send help. Meanwhile the maddened woman, turning to the crime she had long been planning, mixed the poison and displayed the steel, and placing the cup in sight and drawing the swords, she said, "Death is the one way to freedom. These are the ways to death: by whichever your mind prefers, escape the tyranny of B.C. 182

[1] The present account may have been taken over from Polybius, but the festival may still have been celebrated in Livy's time.

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effugite superbiam regiam. Agite, iuvenes mei, primum, qui maiores estis, capite ferrum aut haurite poculum, si segnior mors iuvat." Et hostes aderant et auctor mortis instabat. Alii alio leto absumpti semianimes e nave praecipitantur. Ipsa deinde virum comitem mortis complexa in mare sese deiecit. Nave vacua dominis regii potiti sunt.

V. Huius atrocitas facinoris novam velut flammam regis invidiae adiecit, ut vulgo ipsum liberosque exe-crarentur; quae dirae brevi ab omnibus diis exaudi-tae, ut saeviret ipse in suum sanguinem effecerunt. 2 Perseus enim cum in dies magis cerneret favorem et dignitatem Demetrii fratris apud multitudinem Macedonum crescere et gratiam apud Romanos, sibi spem nullam regni superesse nisi in scelere ratus ad id 3 unum omnes cogitationes intendit. Ceterum cum se ne ad id quidem quod muliebri cogitabat animo satis per se validum crederet, singulos amicorum patris 4 temptare sermonibus perplexis institit. Et primo quidam ex his aspernantium tale quicquam prae-buerunt speciem, quia plus in Demetrio spei pone-5 bant; deinde crescente in dies Philippi odio in Romanos, cui Perseus indulgeret, Demetrius summa ope adversaretur, prospicientes animo exitum incauti a fraude fraterna iuvenis, adiuvandum quod futurum

[1] The episode is not found in Polybius. Livy treats it as almost the turning-point in the tragic action.

[2] The implication seems to be that Perseus was strong enough to plan a murder but not to commit it: if so, he acquired strength later.

the king. Come, my children, first you who are the elder, take the sword or drain the cup, if you like the slower death." From the one side the enemy was approaching, from the other the author of death was urging them. One carried off by one death, another by another, still half-living they were thrown into the sea. Then the woman herself, embracing her husband, the partner in her death, threw herself into the sea. The king's troops captured a ship empty of its masters.[1] B.C. 182

V. The horror of this act added, as it were, a new spark to the resentment against the king, so that people generally were cursing him and his sons; and these curses, heard by all the gods, presently brought it to pass that he himself took violent measures against his own kin. For when Perseus saw that the popularity and honour of his brother Demetrius were, among the Macedonian people, growing every day, as well as his influence with the Romans, thinking that no hope for the throne was left to him except through crime, he turned all his thoughts in that one direction. But since he believed that by himself he was not strong enough even for what he was planning in his effeminate[2] mind, he began to make trial of individuals among his father's friends with ambiguous remarks. And at first some of them gave the appearance of rejecting any such suggestion, since they placed more hope in Demetrius; then, as Philip's hatred for the Romans increased daily, and Perseus nursed it and Demetrius tried with all his might to oppose it, foreseeing the destruction of the young man, off his guard against his brother's trickery, and, thinking that what was bound to happen should be helped along and that the

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erat rati fovendamque spem potentioris, Perseo se
6 adiungunt. Cetera in suum quaeque tempus agenda[1] differunt: in praesentia placet omni ope in Romanos accendi regem impellique ad consilia belli, ad quae
7 iam sua sponte animum inclinasset. Simul ut Demetrius in dies suspectior esset, ex composito sermones ad res[2] Romanorum trahebant. Ibi cum alii mores et instituta eorum, alii res gestas, alii speciem ipsius urbis nondum exornatae neque publicis neque privatis locis, alii singulos[3] principum
8 eluderent, iuvenis incautus et amore nominis Romani et certamine adversus fratrem omnia tuendo suspectum se patri et opportunum criminibus faciebat.
9 Itaque expertem eum pater omnium de rebus Romanis consiliorum habebat: totus in Persea versus cum eo cogitationes eius rei dies ac noctes agitabat.
10 Redierant[4] forte, quos miserat in Bastarnas ad arcessenda auxilia, adduxerantque inde nobiles iuvenes et regii quosdam generis, quorum unus sororem suam in matrimonium Philippi filio pollicebatur; erexeratque consociatio gentis eius animum regis.
11 Tum Perseus " quid ista prosunt? " inquit; " nequaquam tantum in externis auxiliis est praesidii,
12 quantum periculi in fraude[5] domestica. Proditorem

[1] agenda *Gelenius*: *om.* ς.
[2] res *Novák*: spem *Mς*, *pro quo alius vir doctus aliud ex ingenio.*
[3] singulos *Gelenius*: in singulos ς.
[4] redierant *edd. vett.*: redierunt ς.
[5] in fraude *Gronovius*: fraude ς.

aspirations of the stronger should be encouraged, B.C. 182
they allied themselves with Perseus. Everything else they put off until the proper time for action: for the present it was decided to enkindle the king in every way against the Romans and to turn him to thoughts of war, to which he had already spontaneously turned his mind. At the same time, that Demetrius might day by day become more an object of suspicion, they agreed that they would draw the conversation again and again to Roman topics. Then, when some would poke fun at their manners and customs, others at their achievements, others at the appearance of the city itself, which was not yet made beautiful in either its public or its private sections, others at individual leaders, the young man, being off his guard both because of his love for the Roman people [1] and because of his rivalry with his brother, by defending the Romans in everything made himself suspicious in his father's eyes and a fair target for attack. And so his father kept him excluded from all his deliberations about Roman affairs: turning entirely to Perseus he considered with him all the plans for the war by day and night. It happened that the agents had returned whom Philip had sent to the Bastarnae to summon aid [2] and had brought from there noble young men and some of royal birth, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to a son of Philip; alliance with this tribe had cheered the spirits of the king. Then Perseus said: "What good do such things do? There is by no means as much protection in auxiliaries outside as there is danger in treachery at home. I do not want

[1] Cf. XXXIX. xlvii–xlviii. 1 and the note.
[2] Cf. XXXIX. xxxv. 4.

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nolo dicere, certe speculatorem habemus in sinu, cuius [1] ex quo obses Romae fuit, corpus nobis reddi-
13 derunt Romani, animum ipsi habent. Omnium paene Macedonum in eum ora conversa sunt, nec regem se alium habituros aiunt [2] quam quem Romani
14 dedissent." His per se aegra mens senis stimulabatur, et animo magis quam vultu ea crimina accipiebat.

VI. Forte lustrandi exercitus venit [3] tempus, cuius sollemne est tale: caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dexteram, cum extis posterior ad laevam viae
2 ponitur: inter hanc divisam hostiam copiae armatae traducuntur. Praeferuntur primo agmini arma insignia omnium ab ultima origine Macedoniae regum,
3 deinde rex ipse cum liberis sequitur, proxima est regia cohors custodesque corporis, postremum agmen
4 Macedonum cetera multitudo claudit. Latera regis duo filii iuvenes cingebant, Perseus iam tricesimum annum agens, Demetrius quinquennio minor, medio iuventae robore ille, hic flore, fortunati patris matura
5 suboles, si mens sana fuisset. Mos erat lustrationis sacro peracto decurrere exercitum, et divisas bifariam
6 duas acies concurrere ad simulacrum pugnae. Regii iuvenes duces ei ludicro certamini dati; ceterum non imago fuit pugnae, sed tamquam de regno dimi-

[1] speculatorem habemus in sinu, cuius *Gelenius*: speculatorem cuius ς.
[2] habituros aiunt *Gelenius*: rentur habituros esse ς.
[3] venit *edd. vett.*: aduenit ς.

to say a traitor, but we have in our bosom at least a spy, whose body, after he was a hostage at Rome, the Romans gave back to us but keep his soul themselves. The eyes of almost all the Macedonians are turned towards him, and they say that they will have no other king than the one whom the Romans shall have given them." Sick as the old man's mind already was, anyhow, it was by these means roused to passion, and he retained these insinuations in his heart rather than in his looks. B.C. 182

VI. It so happened that the time for purifying the army had come, for which there is a ritual of this sort: the fore part of a dog is cut off and placed on the right side of the road, the hind part, with the entrails, on the left; between the parts of the victim, thus divided, the troops are marched. At the head of the column are carried the arms and standards of all the kings from the earliest beginnings of Macedonia, then the present king, accompanied by his children, follows, next is the royal cohort and the bodyguard, and the rest, the rank and file of the Macedonians brings up the rear. The two youthful sons of the king were riding at his sides, Perseus being now in his thirtieth year, Demetrius five years younger, the former in the full strength of young manhood, the latter in its flower, the mature offspring of a father blessed by fortune, had a sound mind but been his. It was the custom when the ceremony of purification was finished to manoeuvre the army and dividing it into battle-lines to clash in a sham battle. The princes were assigned as commanders for this mock engagement: yet it was not the imitation of a battle, but they came together just as if it were a struggle for the throne, and many

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caretur, ita[1] concurrerunt, multaque vulnera rudibus[2] facta, nec praeter ferrum quicquam defuit ad iustam 7 belli speciem. Pars ea quae sub Demetrio erat longe superior fuit. Id aegre patiente Perseo laetari prudentes amici eius, eamque rem ipsam dicere praebituram causam criminandi iuvenis.

VII. Convivium eo die sodalium qui simul decurrerant uterque habuit, cum vocatus ad cenam ab 2 Demetrio Perseus negasset. Festo die benigna invitatio et hilaritas iuvenalis utrosque in vinum 3 traxit. Commemoratio ibi certaminis ludicri et iocosa dicta in adversarios, ita ut ne ipsis quidem 4 ducibus abstineretur iactabantur. Ad has excipiendas voces speculator ex convivis Persei missus cum incautior obversaretur, exceptus a iuvenibus 5 forte triclinio egressis male mulcatur. Huius rei ignarus Demetrius " quin comisatum " inquit " ad fratrem imus et iram eius, si qua ex certamine residet, simplicitate et hilaritate nostra lenimus? " 6 Omnes ire se conclamarunt praeter eos qui speculatoris ab se pulsati praesentem ultionem metuebant. Cum eos quoque Demetrius traheret, ferrum veste abdiderunt, quo se tutari, si qua vis fieret, possent. 7 Nihil occulti esse in intestina discordia potest. Utraque domus speculatorum et proditorum plena erat. Praecucurrit index ad Persea, ferro succinctos

[1] ita *ed. Aldina* : *om. M*σ.
[2] rudibus *Gronovius* : sudibus *M*σ.

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[1] They were used for drill and for exhibitions.

[2] Livy takes such pains throughout to depict Demetrius as a frank, ingenuous, and even simple youth that one wonders what sources of information he had and what kind of a person Demetrius really was. In Livy's story his sim-

wounds were dealt by the pointless weapons,[1] nor B.C. 182
was anything but iron wanting to make it look like a regular battle. The division which was under Demetrius was far superior. When Perseus was angered at this, his shrewder friends rejoiced and said that this was just the thing that would give grounds for accusing the young man.

VII. Each of the two that day held a banquet for his companions who had taken part in the charge with him, after Perseus had refused when invited to dinner by Demetrius. On the holiday courteous invitations and youthful jollity encouraged both parties to drinking. There reminiscences of the sham battle and jokes at their opponents were bandied about, so that not even the leaders themselves were spared. When a spy, sent from the party of Perseus to catch remarks, was hovering incautiously too close, he was captured and roughly handled by some young men who happened to be leaving the dining room. Demetrius, knowing nothing of this occurrence, said, "Why don't we pursue our revels at my brother's, and by our openness and cheerfulness soothe his anger, if any is left from the battle?"[2] All shouted out to go, except those who feared immediate vengeance for the spy whom they had beaten. When Demetrius was for taking them also with him, they concealed under their cloaks weapons wherewith to defend themselves if an attack should be made. There can be no secrets in internal strife. Each house was full of spies and traitors. An informer went ahead to Perseus, bearing the news that four young men

plicity and lack of perception make him an easy prey to Perseus.

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A.U.C. 573 nuntians cum Demetrio quattuor adulescentes venire. 8 Etsi causa apparebat—nam ab iis pulsatum convivam suum audierat—infamandae rei causa ianuam obserari iubet, et ex parte superiore aedium versisque in viam fenestris comisatores, tamquam ad caedem 9 suam venientes, aditu ianuae arcet. Demetrius per vinum quod excluderetur paulisper vociferatus in convivium redit, totius rei ignarus.

VIII. Postero die Perseus, cum [1] primum conveniendi potestas patris fuit, regiam ingressus perturbato vultu in conspectu partis tacitus procul constitit. 2 Cui cum pater "satin salve?" et quaenam ea maestitia esset interrogaret eum, "de lucro [2] tibi" inquit "vivere me scito. Iam non occultis a fratre petimur insidiis; nocte cum armatis domum ad interficiendum me venit, clausisque foribus parietum 3 praesidio me a furore eius sum tutatus." Cum pavorem mixtum admiratione patri iniecisset, "atqui si aures praebere potes" inquit, "manifestam rem 4 teneas faciam." Enimvero se Philippus dicere auditurum, vocarique extemplo Demetrium iussit; et seniores amicos duos, expertes [3] iuvenalium inter fratres certaminum, infrequentes iam in regia, Lysimachum et Onomastum arcessit quos in consilio 5 haberet. Dum veniunt amici, solus filio procul stante multa secum animo volutans inambulavit. 6 Postquam venisse eos nuntiatum est, secessit in

[1] cum *ed. Parisina* 1513 : quam *aut* quod σ.
[2] lucro *Sigonius* : ludicro σ.
[3] expertes σ : expertos *M*.

armed with swords were coming with Demetrius. B.C. 183
Although their reason was obvious—for he had heard that his companion had been beaten by them—he ordered the door to be bolted in order to make the affair look serious, and from the upper part of the house and the windows that faced the street he kept the revellers, as if they were coming to murder him, from approaching the door. Demetrius, under the influence of wine, after shouting for a while because he was shut out, returned to his banquet, ignorant of the significance of the whole affair.

VIII. The next day Perseus, as soon as he had the opportunity to see his father, entered the palace with a troubled look and stood in sight of his father, but at a distance, without speaking. When his father said " Is it all right with you? " and asked what was the cause of his sadness, he replied, " You may count it as clear gain, I tell you, that I am alive. No longer are we being attacked by my brother with secret plots; he came last night with armed men to my house to kill me, and closing the doors I defended myself against his madness by the walls' protection." When he had inspired in his father fear mixed with wonder, he went on: " But if you can give this your attention, I shall cause you to grasp it clearly." Philip said that he would indeed listen, and immediately ordered Demetrius to be summoned; he also sent for two older men, his friends, who took no part in the youthful rivalries between the brothers and nowadays were rarely at the court, Lysimachus and Onomastus, to serve as his counsellors. While his friends were coming, he walked up and down alone, turning over many things in his mind, while his son stood apart. When it was announced that they had

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partem interiorem cum duobus amicis et totidem custodibus corporis; filiis ut ternos inermes secum
7 introducerent permisit. Ibi cum consedisset, "sedeo" inquit "miserrimus pater iudex inter duos filios, accusatorem parricidii et reum, aut conficti aut admissi[1] criminis labem apud meos inventurus.
8 Iam pridem quidem hanc procellam imminentem timebam, cum vultus inter vos minime fraternos
9 cernerem, cum voces quasdam exaudirem. Sed interdum spes animum subibat deflagrare iras vestras, purgari suspiciones posse. Etiam hostes armis positis foedus icisse, et privatas multorum simultates
10 finitas; subituram vobis aliquando germanitatis memoriam, puerilis quondam simplicitatis consuetudinisque inter vos, meorum denique praeceptorum, quae vereor ne vana surdis auribus cecinerim.
11 Quotiens ego audientibus vobis detestatus exempla discordiarum fraternarum horrendos eventus eorum rettuli, qui se stirpemque suam domos regna funditus
12 evertissent. Meliora quoque exempla parte altera posui: sociabilem consortionem inter binos Lacedaemoniorum reges, salutarem per multa saecula ipsis
13 patriaeque; eandem civitatem, postquam mos sibi cuique rapiendi tyrannidem exortus sit, eversam.
14 Iam hos Eumenem Attalumque fratres, ab tam[2] exiguis rebus prope ut puderet regii nominis, mihi

[1] admissi σ : commissi *M*.
[2] ab tam *Madvig* : a quam σ.

[1] Polybius (XXIV. viii a (XXIII. xi)) quotes a speech of Philip to the general purport of what follows here.

come he retired into the interior part of the palace B.C. 182
with his two friends and as many bodyguards; he permitted his sons to bring in three unarmed men each. When he had taken his seat there, he spoke as follows: "Here I sit, a most wretched father, as judge between my two sons, accuser and accused on a charge of parricide, doomed as I am to discover in my own household the dishonour of either the invention or the commission of a crime. For a long time, indeed, I had been fearing this threatening storm, when I saw your looks at one another, looks in no wise brotherly, and when I heard certain words. But sometimes hope entered my mind that your passions might burn out, that your suspicions might be cleared away. I told myself that even hostile nations had laid down their arms and made treaties and that the private quarrels of many had been ended; I hoped that some day a recollection of your kinship would come to you, of your one-time boyish frankness and mutual intercourse, and finally of my teachings, which I fear that I have recited in vain to unhearing ears. How often [1] in your presence, hating the examples of discord between brothers, I have reviewed the dreadful fates of those men who had utterly destroyed themselves, their houses, their homes, their kingdoms! On the other side also I set better examples: the harmonious compact between the pairs of Lacedaemonian kings, beneficial for many ages to themselves and to the state; the destruction of the same city after the custom had grown up that each should seize the tyranny for himself. Again I pointed out that the brothers Attalus and Eumenes, from beginnings so small that one would almost be ashamed to use the name of

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A.U.C. 572 Antiocho cuilibet regum huius aetatis, nulla re magis quam fraterna unanimitate, regnum aequasse. 15 Ne Romanis quidem exemplis abstinui, quae aut visa aut audita habebam, T. et L. Quinctiorum, qui bellum mecum gesserunt, P. et L. Scipionum, qui Antiochum devicerunt, patris patruique eorum, quorum perpetuam vitae concordiam mors quoque miscuit. 16 Neque vos illorum scelus similisque sceleri eventus deterrere a vecordi discordia potuit, neque horum bona mens, bona fortuna ad sanitatem flectere. 17 Vivo et spirante me hereditatem meam ambo et spe 18 et cupiditate improba crevistis.[1] Eo usque me vivere vultis, donec alterius vestrum superstes haud ambiguum regem alterum mea morte faciam. Nec fratrem nec patrem potestis pati. Nihil cari, nihil sancti est. In omnium vicem regni unius insatiabilis 19 amor successit. Agite, conscelerate aures paternas, decernite criminibus, mox ferro decreturi, dicite palam quicquid aut veri potestis aut libet com- 20 minisci: reseratae aures sunt, quae posthac secretis alterius ab altero criminibus claudentur." Haec furens ira cum dixisset, lacrimae omnibus obortae et diu maestum silentium tenuit.

IX. Tum Perseus: "Aperienda nimirum nocte ianua fuit et armati comisatores accipiendi praebendumque ferro iugulum, quando non creditur nisi

[1] crevistis *Gelenius* "*ex exemp. Mog.*": petitis ς.

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[1] Cf. XXXIII. xxi. 2–3.

king,[1] have made their kingdom equal to me, to B.C. 182
Antiochus, to any king whatever of this age, and for no other reason than brotherly harmony. I did not avoid even Roman examples which I had either seen or heard of, that of Titus and Lucius Quinctius, who carried on the war against me, that of Publius and Lucius Scipio, who overthrew Antiochus, or of their father and uncle, whose enduring companionship in life death also cemented fast. Neither has the guilt of the former cases and the result, which was as horrible as the guilt, been able to deter you from your mad quarrelling nor the good feeling and good fortune which attended the latter to urge you to sanity. While I live and breathe, you, with wicked hopes and wicked desires as well, have both entered into my heritage. You wish me to live only until the time when, by surviving one of you, I shall by my death make the other an unquestioned king. You cannot brook either a brother or a father. Nothing dear, nothing sacred, exists for you. In place of everything else there has come an insatiable desire for one thing—the throne. Come, pollute your father's ears, reach by means of accusations the decision which you will presently reach with the sword, say openly whatever you can that is true or whatever you are pleased to invent: my ears are open which hereafter will be closed to secret charges made by the one against the other." When he had said this in a frenzy of rage, tears were shed by all, and for a long time a gloomy silence prevailed.

IX. Then Perseus spoke: "I should forsooth have opened my doors last night and admitted the armed revellers and offered my throat to their weapons, since a crime is not believed unless it has been committed,

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perpetratum facinus, et eadem[1] petitus insidiis
2 audio quae latro atque insidiator. Non nequiquam
isti unum Demetrium filium te habere, me subditum
3 et paelice genitum appellant. Nam si gradum, si
caritatem filii apud te haberem, non in me querentem
deprehensas insidias, sed in eum qui fecisset saevires,
4 nec adeo vilis tibi vita esset nostra ut nec praeterito
periculo meo movereris neque futuro, si insidiantibus
5 sit[2] impune. Itaque si mori tacitum oportet, tace-
amus, precati tantum deos ut a me coeptum scelus
in me finem habeat, nec per meum latus tu petaris:
6 sin autem, quod circumventis in solitudine natura
ipsa subicit, ut hominum quos numquam viderint
fidem tamen implorent, mihi quoque ferrum in me
strictum cernenti vocem mittere licet,[3] per te
7 patriumque nomen, quod utri nostrum sanctius sit
iam pridem sentis, ita me audias precor, tamquam si
voce et comploratione nocturna excitus mihi quiri-
tanti intervenisses, Demetrium cum armatis nocte
intempesta in vestibulo meo deprehendisses. Quod
tum vociferarer in re praesenti pavidus, hoc nunc
8 postero die queror. Frater, non comisantium in
vicem animis[4] iam diu vivimus inter nos. Regnare
utique vis. Huic spei tuae obstat aetas mea, obstat
gentium ius, obstat vetustus Macedoniae mos, obstat
9 vero etiam patris iudicium. Haec transcendere nisi

[1] et eadem *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : eadem *M* : eiusdem ς.
[2] sit *edd. vett.* : *om.* ς.
[3] licet *Gronovius* : liceat ς.
[4] animis *Madvig* : *om.* ς.

[1] That is, the general practise that the eldest son should inherit the throne. Perseus says nothing at this point of his own illegitimacy.

and I, after being attacked from ambush, hear the B.C. 183
same reproaches as the brigand and the plotter. Not without reason do those people say that you have one son, Demetrius, and that I am illegitimate and born of a concubine. For if I had any standing with you, or any of the affection due a son, you would not be enraged at me for complaining of detected plots, but at him who had contrived them, nor would my life be so cheap in your sight that you would be moved neither by my past nor by my future danger if the plotters go unpunished. And so, if it is right that I should die in silence, let me be silent, praying only to the gods that the crime which began with me may have its end with me, and that the sword may not reach through my body to yours. But if, however, as nature herself suggests when men are set upon in a lonely place, that they shall nevertheless implore the aid of men whom they have never seen, so, if I too, when I see the sword drawn against me, am permitted to cry out, by your life and by the name of father (and you have long since seen by which of us that name is more respected), I beg that you will listen to me as if you, aroused during the night by my cries and laments, had yourself responded to my appeal, and had caught Demetrius and his armed band in the dead of night at my vestibule. My cry at that time, as I trembled at the presence of danger, is now, the next day, my complaint. My brother, we have long lived with one another in no spirit of boon companions. You wish of course to be king. In the way of this ambition of yours stand my age, the rule of nations,[1] the ancient custom of Macedonia, and indeed also the decision of our father. You cannot surmount these obstacles except by

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per meum sanguinem non potes. Omnia moliris et temptas. Adhuc seu cura mea seu fortuna restitit
10 parricidio tuo. Hesterno[1] die in lustratione et decursu et simulacro ludicro pugnae funestum prope proelium fecisti, nec me aliud a morte vindicavit
11 quam quod me ac meos vinci passus sum. Ab hostili proelio, tamquam fraterno lusu,[2] pertrahere me ad cenam voluisti. Credis me, pater, inter inermes convivas cenaturum fuisse, ad quem armati comisatum venerunt? Credis nihil a gladiis nocte periculi mihi futurum fuisse,[3] quem rudibus[4] te inspectante
12 prope occiderunt? Quid hoc noctis, quid inimicus[5] ad iratum, quid cum ferro succinctis iuvenibus venis? Convivam me tibi committere ausus non sum: comisatorem te cum armatis venientem
13 recipiam? Si aperta ianua fuisset, funus meum parares hoc tempore, pater, quo querentem audis. Nihil ego, tamquam accusator, criminose nec dubia
14 argumentis colligendo ago. Quid enim? Negat venisse se cum multitudine ad ianuam meam, an ferro succinctos secum fuisse? Quos nominavero, arcesse. Possunt quidem omnia audere qui hoc ausi
15 sunt: non tamen audebunt negare. Si deprehensos intra limen meum cum ferro ad te deducerem, pro[6] manifesto haberes: fatentes pro deprehensis habe.

[1] hesterno *Drakenborch*: hesterna ς.
[2] lusu *edd. vett.*: iussu ς.
[3] periculum mihi futurum fuisse *Madvig*: periculum fuisse *aut* p. f. mihi ς.
[4] rudibus *Gronovius*: sudibus ς.
[5] inimicus *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ut inimicus ς.
[6] pro *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: rem pro ς.

killing me. You try and attempt everything. Thus B.C. 182
far either my care or my good fortune has thwarted your murderous designs. Yesterday, in the purification and the manoeuvres and the holiday's sham battle, you almost made the fight fatal, nor did anything else save me from death except that I permitted myself and my force to be defeated. From this warlike combat, as though it had been a game between brothers, you tried to entice me to your dinner. Do you think, father, that I should have dined among unarmed guests, when armed men came to my house to conduct their revels? Do you think that I should not have been in danger from swords at night when in the day-time, before your eyes, they had well-nigh killed me with headless spears? Why, Demetrius, do you come late at night, why in hostile mood to an angry man, why accompanied by young men equipped with swords? I did not dare to entrust myself to you as a dinner-guest: should I receive you when you came as a reveller with armed attendants? If my door had been open, father, you would be preparing my funeral at this very moment when you are hearing my complaint. I am not, like a prosecutor, pleading by innuendo nor deducing uncertain consequences from evidence. What now? Does he deny that he came to my door with a crowd or that there were armed men with him? Summon those men whom I shall name. They can indeed dare anything who have dared this: yet they will not dare to deny it. If I should bring them before you, having arrested them with weapons within my threshold, you would consider the case as clear: pray consider them, since they admit their guilt, as men arrested.

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X. "Execrare nunc cupiditatem regni, et furias fraternas concita.[1] Sed ne sint caecae, pater, execrationes tuae, discerne, dispice insidiatorem et 2 petitum insidiis: noxium incesse[2] caput. Qui occisurus fratrem fuit, habeat etiam iratos paternos deos: qui periturus fraterno scelere fuit, perfugium 3 in patris misericordia et iustitia habeat. Quo enim alio confugiam, cui non sollemne lustrale exercitus tui, non decursus militum, non domus, non epulae, non nox ad quietem data naturae beneficio mortalibus 4 tuta est? Si iero ad fratrem invitatus, moriendum est; si recepero intra ianuam comisatum fratrem, 5 moriendum est: nec eundo nec manendo insidias evito. Quo me conferam? Nihil praeter deos, pater, et te colui. Non Romanos habeo ad quos confugiam: perisse expetunt, quia tuis iniuriis doleo, quia tibi ademptas tot urbes, tot gentes, modo Thraciae maritimam oram, indignor. Nec me nec 6 te incolumi Macedoniam suam futuram sperant. Si me scelus fratris, te senectus absumpserit, aut ne ea quidem expectata fuerit, regem regnumque Macedoniae sua futura sciunt. Si quid extra Macedoniam tibi Romani reliquissent, mihi quoque id relictum 7 crederem receptaculum. At in Macedonibus satis praesidii est. Vidisti hesterno die impetum militum in me. Quid illis defuit nisi ferrum? Quod illis defuit interdiu, convivae fratris noctu sumpserunt.

[1] concita *Gelenius*: cogita ς.
[2] incesse *Ruben*: huic esse ς.

X. "Curse now this lust for the throne, and awake B.C. 183
the furies that avenge a brother's death. But, father, lest your curses be blind, sort out and distinguish between the plotter and the intended victim of the plot: let your wrath fall upon the guilty head. Let him who planned to kill his brother find also his father's gods incensed; let him who was to perish by his brother's crime find refuge in the mercy and justice of his father. For whither else am I to flee, for whom the ritual purification of your army, the manoeuvres of the troops, my home, the feast, the night, which nature in her kindness gave as a time of rest for mortals, are not safe? If I go to my brother on his invitation, I must die; if I receive my brother on his revels within my gates, I must die: neither by going nor by staying do I avoid the ambush. Whither shall I turn? To nought have I done reverence, father, save to the gods and you. It is not the Romans to whom I can flee: they wish my death because I grieve at the wrongs which have been done to you, because I am angry that so many cities, so many tribes, and now the coast of Thrace, have been taken from you. While either I or you survive, they have no hope that Macedonia will be theirs. If a brother's crime shall carry me off and old age you, or if they do not even wait for that, they know that the king and kingdom of Macedonia will be theirs. If the Romans had left you anything outside of Macedonia, I should believe that what was left would be a safe hiding-place for me also. But, some one may say, there is sufficient protection in the Macedonians. You saw yesterday the attack of the soldiers upon me. What was lacking to them except steel? What was lacking to them by day my brother's guests

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8 Quid de magna parte principum loquar, qui in Romanis spem omnem dignitatis et fortunae posuerunt et in eo qui omnia apud Romanos potest? Neque hercule istum mihi tantum, fratri maiori, sed prope est ut tibi quoque ipsi, regi et patri, praeferant. 9 Iste enim est cuius beneficio poenam tibi senatus remisit, qui nunc te ab armis Romanis protegit, qui tuam senectutem obligatam et obnoxiam 10 adulescentiae suae esse aequum censet. Pro isto Romani stant, pro isto omnes urbes tuo imperio liberatae, pro isto Macedones qui pace Romana gaudent. Mihi praeter te, pater, quid usquam aut spei aut praesidii est?

XI. "Quo spectare illas litteras ad te nunc missas T. Quinctii credis, quibus et bene te consuluisse rebus tuis ait quod Demetrium Romam miseris, et hortatur ut iterum et cum pluribus legatis et primoribus eum 2 remittas Macedonum? T. Quinctius nunc est auctor omnium rerum isti et magister. Eum sibi te[1] abdicato patre in locum tuum substituit. Illic ante 3 omnia clandestina concocta sunt consilia. Quaeruntur adiutores consiliis, cum te plures et principes Macedonum cum isto mittere iubet. Qui hinc integri et sinceri Romam eunt, Philippum regem se

[1] te *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.

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[1] Demetrius.

[2] Cf. XXXIX. xlvii. 11.

[3] This letter has not been mentioned by Livy but is quoted by Polybius (XXIV. iii (XXIII. iii)), who adds that in private conversation Quinctius captivated the young man by suggesting that the Romans meant to place him on the throne.

took up at night. What shall I say about the great B.C. 183
proportion of our leading men, who have placed in the Romans all hopes of advancement and power, and in him [1] who is all-powerful with the Romans? Nor, by Hercules, is it merely that they prefer him to me, his elder brother, but it is not far from true that they prefer him even to you yourself, king and father though you are. For he it is through whose generosity the senate remitted the penalty to you,[2] who now safeguards you from Roman arms, who deems it right that your old age should be bound and beholden to his youth. For him stand the Romans, for him, all the cities liberated from your authority, for him the Macedonians who rejoice in the Roman peace. For me, father, what hope or support is there anywhere except in you?

XI. "What do you think is the purpose of that letter which has just been sent to you by Titus Quinctius,[3] in which he says first that you took good care of your interests when you sent Demetrius to Rome, and then urges that you send him again, accompanied by a longer train of ambassadors and chieftains of the Macedonians? Titus Quinctius is now his guide and teacher in all matters. You, his father, have been pushed aside, and he has chosen Quinctius to put in your place. There above all have secret plans been devised. It is assistants in carrying out these plans that they are seeking, since he bids you send with him more Macedonians and chiefs of the state. Those who go to Rome from here sound and untainted, believing that they have Philip for

[1] One can hardly suspect Flamininus of deliberate double dealing, but he certainly played into the hands of Perseus: cf. also xxiii. 7 below.

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habere credentes, imbuti illinc et infecti Romanis
4 delenimentis redeunt. Demetrius iis unus omnia
est, eum iam regem vivo patre appellant. Haec si
indignor, audiendum est statim non ab aliis solum sed
5 etiam a te, pater, cupiditatis regni crimen. Ego
vero, si in medio ponitur, non agnosco. Quem enim
suo loco moveo ut ipse in eius locum succedam?
Unus ante me pater est, et ut diu sit deos rogo.
6 Superstes—et ita sim, si merebor, ut ipse me esse
velit[1]—hereditatem regni, si pater tradet, accipiam.
7 Cupit regnum, et quidem scelerate cupit, qui trans-
cendere festinat ordinem aetatis naturae moris
Macedonum iuris gentium. 'Obstat frater maior,
ad quem iure voluntate etiam patris regnum pertinet.
8 Tollatur: non primus regnum fraterna caede petiero.[2]
Pater senex et filio solus orbatus de se magis timebit[3]
quam ut filii necem ulciscatur.[4] Romani laetabuntur,
9 probabunt, defendent factum.' Hae spes incertae,
10 pater, sed non inanes sunt. Ita enim se res habet:
periculum vitae propellere a me potes puniendo eos
qui ad me interficiendum ferrum sumpserunt; si
facinori eorum successerit, mortem meam idem tu
persequi non poteris."

XII. Postquam dicendi finem Perseus fecit,
coniecti eorum qui aderant oculi in Demetrium sunt,
2 velut confestim responsurus esset. Deinde diu

[1] me esse uelit σ: me uult esse *M*.
[2] petiero *Gelenius*: potior σ.
[3] de—timebit *Gelenius*: et magis timebit ne irascatur σ.
[4] ulciscatur *Gelenius*: patiatur σ.

their king, return from there stained and corrupted B.C. 182
by Roman enchantments. Demetrius alone is everything to them, and even now, while his father is alive, they hail him as king. If I am indignant at these things, I must at once listen to the charge, not from others alone, but even from you, father, that I am coveting the throne! But for my part, if this charge is put forward openly, I do not admit its truth. For whom am I removing from his proper place, that I may step into his place? Only my father is before me, and I pray the gods that he may long be there. Should I survive—and may I so behave that he may himself wish me to survive, if I deserve it—I shall receive the inheritance of the kingship if my father will hand it on to me. *He* covets the throne and indeed covets it to the point of crime, since he hastens to leap over precedence in age, in nature, the usage of the Macedonians, the law of nations. 'My elder brother' says Demetrius, 'stands in my way, to whom the kingdom belongs by law and also by our father's wish. Let him be removed: I shall not have been the first to seek a kingdom by murdering a brother. Our father, an old man and lonely, bereaved of his son, will fear too much for himself to avenge the death of his son. The Romans will rejoice, will applaud, will defend my act.' Such hopes, father, are uncertain but not groundless. For such is the situation: you can avert the peril to my life by punishing those who have armed themselves against me; if success attends their crime, you yourself will be unable to avenge my death."

XII. When Perseus had finished speaking, the eyes of all who were present were turned on Demetrius, as if he would instantly reply. Then a long

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fuit silentium, cum perfusum [1] fletu appareret omnibus loqui non posse. Tandem vicit dolorem ipsa necessitas, cum dicere iuberent, atque ita orsus
3 est. "Omnia quae reorum antea fuerant auxilia, pater, praeoccupavit accusator. Simulatis lacrimis in alterius perniciem veras meas lacrimas suspectas
4 tibi fecit. Cum ipse, ex quo ab Roma redii, per occulta cum suis colloquia [2] dies noctesque insidietur, ultro mihi non insidiatoris modo sed latronis manifesti
5 et percussoris speciem induit. Periculo suo te exterret, ut innoxio fratri per eundem te maturet perniciem. Perfugium sibi nusquam gentium esse ait, ut ego ne apud te quidem spei quicquam reliqui
6 habeam. Circumventum solum inopem invidia gratiae externae, quae obest potius quam prodest, onerat. Iam illud quam accusatorie, quod noctis huius crimen miscuit cum cetera insectatione vitae
7 meae, ut et hoc quod iam quale sit scies suspectum alio vitae nostrae tenore faceret, et illam vanam criminationem spei voluntatis consiliorum meorum nocturno hoc ficto et composito argumento fulciret!
8 Simul et illud quaesivit ut repentina et minime praeparata accusatio videretur, quippe ex noctis
9 huius metu et tumultu repentino exorta. Oportuit autem, Perseu, si proditor ego patris regnique eram,

[1] perfusum *edd. vett.*: perfuso *et similia* ζ.
[2] colloquia *ed. Veneta* 1495: colloquens ζ.

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[1] Such lamentations were a standard and effective part of the defence-technique: for a striking case see Cicero *De oratore* I. 228.

silence followed, in which it was clear to all that, B.C. 182
choked with tears, he could not speak. At length his grief was overcome by his real necessity, when they commanded him to speak, and he thus began: "All those devices, father, which used to be of assistance to the accused, my accuser has been beforehand in seizing. With tears forced for the ruin of his opponent he has made my genuine tears suspicious in your sight.[1] Although he himself, ever since I returned from Rome, has been plotting day and night in secret conferences with his friends, he has taken the lead and put upon me the appearance, not merely of a conspirator, but of a professed bandit and murderer. He terrifies you with his own danger, in order that through your help he may hasten the ruin of his innocent brother. He claims that he has no place of refuge anywhere in the world, and so brings it to pass that I have no remnant of hope even in you. Me, encompassed with foes, abandoned, poor, he loads with the reproach of having influence abroad, which is a hindrance rather than a help. Again, see how like an accuser he was in mingling last night's offence with an indictment of my general mode of life, with the result that this incident, whose nature you will soon understand, he made suspicious by the conduct of my life in other respects, and that he bolstered up that mass of innuendo about my hopes, desires, plans, by this invented and fictitious dramatization of last night's affair. At the same time the object that he sought was that his accusation might seem sudden and entirely uncalculated, arising forsooth out of the fear and sudden tumult of last night. But, Perseus, if I was the betrayer of my father and the kingdom, if I had conspired with the

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si cum Romanis, si cum aliis inimicis patris inieram consilia, non expectatam fabulam esse noctis huius,
10 sed proditionis me ante [1] accusatum: si illa, separata hac,[2] vana accusatio erat invidiamque tuam adversus me magis quam crimen meum indicatura, hodie quoque eam aut praetermitti aut in aliud tempus
11 differri, ut per se quaereretur [3] utrum ego [4] tibi an tu mihi, novo quidem et singulari genere odii, insidias
12 fecisses. Ego tamen, quantum in hac subita perturbatione potero, separabo ea quae tu confudisti, et noctis huius insidias aut tuas aut meas detegam.
13 Occidendi sui consilium inisse me videri vult, ut scilicet maiore fratre sublato, cuius iure gentium more Macedonum, tuo etiam, ut ait, iudicio regnum est futurum, ego minor in eius quem occidissem
14 succederem locum. Quid ergo illa sibi vult pars altera orationis, qua Romanos a me cultos ait atque
15 eorum fiducia in spem regni me venisse? Nam si et in Romanis tantum momenti credebam esse ut quem vellent imponerent Macedoniae regem, et meae tantum apud eos gratiae confidebam, quid opus
16 parricidio fuit? An ut cruentum diadema fraterna caede gererem? Ut illis ipsis, apud quos aut vera aut certe simulata probitate partam gratiam habeo,

[1] me ante *Madvig*: meae ante me *M*: me ς.
[2] hac *Weissenborn*: ac $M\varsigma$.
[3] quaereretur *Madvig, ex codd., alius aliud.*
[4] ego ς: ego ipse *M*.

[1] The remarkable feature of Perseus' hatred for Demetrius appears to be its groundlessness, as Demetrius interprets the facts.

Romans and other enemies of my father, you should B.C. 182
not have waited for the drama of last night, but should long before have impeached me for treason: but if, when this recent episode was left out of account, that former accusation was baseless and was likely to prove your ill-will toward me rather than my guilt, you should either have omitted it to-day also or have postponed it to another occasion, so that the question might be investigated independently as to whether I had plotted against you or you against me, employing indeed a new and remarkable form of hatred.[1] I, nevertheless, so far as I shall be able in this unexpected confusion, shall take apart those things which you have made into one and shall reveal last night's plot, whether yours or mine. Perseus wishes it to appear that I had formed a conspiracy to kill him, with the apparent design that after removing my elder brother, to whom the throne was destined to come by the law of nations, by the custom of the Macedonians, and also (so he says) by your decision, I, the younger, might succeed to the place of him whom I had killed. What, then, does that second part of his speech mean, in which he asserts that I have paid court to the Romans and have formed hopes for the throne through reliance on them? For if I thought that the Romans possessed so much influence that they could make whomever they chose king of Macedonia, and if, moreover, I trusted that my influence with them was so strong, what need was there of murder? Was it in order that I might wear a crown besprinkled with a brother's blood? In order that to those very people among whom I have influence, if I have any, gained by an integrity which is either real or at least assumed,

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si quam forte habeo, execrabilis et invisus essem?
17 Nisi T. Quinctium credis, cuius nutu[1] et consiliis me[2] nunc arguis regi, cum et ipse tali pietate vivat cum fratre, mihi fraternae caedis fuisse auctorem.
18 Idem non Romanorum gratiam solum, sed Macedonum iudicia ac paene omnium deorum hominumque consensum collegit, per quae omnia se mihi
19 parem in certamine non futurum crediderit: idem, tamquam aliis[3] omnibus rebus inferior essem, ad sceleris ultimam spem confugisse me insimulat.[4]
20 Vis hanc formulam cognitionis esse ut, uter timuerit ne alter dignior videretur regno is consilium opprimendi fratris iudicetur cepisse?

XIII. "Exsequamur tamen quocumque modo conficti ordinem criminis. Pluribus modis se petitum criminatus est, et omnes insidiarum vias in unum
2 diem contulit. Volui interdiu eum post lustrationem, cum concurrimus, et quidem, si diis placet, lustrationum die occidere; volui, cum ad cenam invitavi, veneno scilicet tollere; volui, cum comisatum gladiis succincti[5] me secuti sunt, ferro inter-
3 ficere. Tempora quidem qualia sint ad parricidium electa vides: lusus, convivii, comisationis. Quid? Dies qualis? Quo lustratus exercitus, quo inter

[1] nutu *Doering*: virtute ς.
[2] me *ed. Parisina* 1513: mea ς.
[3] aliis *Gronovius*: in aliis ς.
[4] insimulat *edd. vett.*: insimulas ς.
[5] succincti *Drakenborch*: accincti *M*: cincti ς.

[1] Perseus, he says, argues inconsistently, first, that my case is so strong that the throne is practically assured to me; second, that my case is so weak that I can attain the throne

I might be the object of execration and hatred? B.C. 182
Unless you think that Titus Quinctius, by whose nod and advice you now accuse me of being ruled, although he himself lives on such terms of devotion with his brother, has counselled me to murder my brother. This same brother of mine has adduced, not only my influence with the Romans, but also the opinions of the Macedonians and the agreement, almost, of all gods and men, and by reason of all these things he believed that he would not be equal to me in a contest: at the same time, as if I were inferior in everything else, he charges that I have fled to the last refuge of crime.[1] Do you wish, Perseus, the rule to be applied to the investigation, that whichever of us fears that the other might seem more worthy of the kingship should be judged to have formed the plan of killing his brother?

XIII. "Let us, however, follow out the details of this charge, in whatever way it was concocted. His charge is that he was attacked in many ways, and he has brought together all these methods of attack into a single day. I wished to slay him by day, after the purification, when we clashed, and more than that (heaven help us!) on the day of purifications; I wished to kill him, I suppose by poison, when I invited him to dinner; I wished, when men armed with swords attended me on my revels, to kill him with the steel. You see, indeed, what sorts of occasions are selected for this murder: times of sport, of feasting, of revelry. Well, what sort of day was it? The day when the army was purified, when

[1] only by killing him. Demetrius is discussing the general charge of treason as distinguished from the specific charge based on the affair of the night before.

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divisam victimam, praelatis omnium, qui umquam fuere, Macedoniae regum armis regiis, duo soli tua tegentes latera,[1] pater, praevecti sumus, et secutum
4 est Macedonum agmen: hoc ego, etiam si quid antea admisissem piaculo dignum, lustratus et expiatus sacro, tum cum maxime in hostiam itineri nostro circumdatam intuens, parricidium venena gladios in comisationem praeparatos volutabam in animo, ut quibus aliis deinde sacris contaminatam
5 omni scelere mentem[2] expiarem? Sed caecus criminandi cupiditate animus, dum omnia suspecta
6 efficere vult, aliud alio confundit. Nam si veneno te inter cenam tollere volui, quid minus aptum fuit quam pertinaci certamine et concursu iratum te efficere, ut merito, sicut fecisti, invitatus ad cenam
7 abnueres? Cum autem iratus negasses, utrum ut placarem te danda opera fuit, ut aliam quaererem
8 occasionem, quoniam semel venenum paraveram, an ab illo consilio velut transiliendum ad aliud fuit, ut ferro te, et quidem eodem die,[3] per speciem comisa-
9 tionis occiderem? Quo deinde modo, si te metu mortis credebam cenam vitasse meam, non ab eodem metu comisationem quoque vitaturum existimabam?

XIV. "Non est res qua erubescam, pater, si die
2 festo inter aequales largiore vino sum usus. Tu

[1] soli tua tegentes latera *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: solito more gentis latera ς.
[2] mentem *ed. Vascosana*: gentem ς.
[3] eodem die *Madvig*: eo die *M*: eo ς.

between the parts of the divided victim, with the B.C. 182
royal arms of all the kings who have ever ruled in Macedonia borne before us, we two alone, riding at your side, father, led the way and the host of the Macedonians followed: on this day, even if I had previously committed some act demanding atonement, was I, purified and with atonement made by the rite, at the very time when I could see the sacrificial victim lying on either side of our line of march, was I, I say, then revolving in my mind murder, poisons, swords made ready for the revels—that I might find in what other rites expiation for a conscience stained with every crime? But a mind blinded by the desire to find grounds for accusation, while it tries to make everything seem suspicious, confuses one thing with another. For, Perseus, if I wished to kill you with poison at the dinner, what was less suitable than by a stubborn contest and clash to make you angry, so that you would justly refuse, as you did, to come when I invited you to dinner? But when you had in your anger refused, which should I have done? Should I have tried every means to appease you, that I might find another opportunity, since I had the poison once made ready? Or should I leap, so to speak, from that plan straight to another, namely, to kill you with a sword, and on that very same day, under the pretence of a revel? Further, on what line of reasoning, if I believed that it was from fear of death that you avoided my dinner, could I think that after that you would not from the same fear avoid my revel also?

XIV. "There is no reason, father, why I should blush if, on a day of feasting with companions of my own age I indulged too lavishly in wine. Even you,

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quoque velim inquiras qua laetitia, quo lusu apud me celebratum hesternum convivium sit, illo etiam—pravo forsitan—gaudio [1] provehente, quod in iuvenali armorum certamine pars nostra non inferior fuerat. 3 Miseria haec et metus crapulam facile excusserunt; quae si non intervenissent, insidiatores nos sopiti 4 iaceremus. Si domum tuam expugnaturus, capta domo dominum interfecturus eram, non temperassem vino in unum diem, non milites meos abstinuissem? 5 Et ne ego me solus nimia simplicitate tuear, ipse quoque minime malus ac suspicax frater 'nihil aliud scio,' inquit 'nihil [2] arguo, nisi quod cum ferro 6 comisatum venerunt.' Si quaeram unde id ipsum scias,[3] necesse erit te fateri [4] aut speculatorum tuorum plenam domum fuisse meam, aut illos ita aperte 7 sumpsisse ferrum ut omnes viderent. Et ne quid ipse aut prius inquisisse aut nunc criminose argumentari videretur, te quaerere ex iis quos nominasset iubebat an ferrum habuissent, ut, tamquam in re dubia, cum id quaesisses, quod ipsi fatentur, pro 8 convictis haberentur. Quin tu illud quaeri iubes, num tui occidendi causa ferrum sumpserint, num me auctore et sciente? Hoc enim videri vis, non illud quod fatentur et palam est. Et [5] sui se tuendi causa 9 sumpsisse dicunt. Recte an perperam fecerint,

[1] gaudio *Gelenius*: odio *M*ς.
[2] nihil *ed. Frobeniana*: neque ς.
[3] scias ς: sciam *M*.
[4] te fateri *Gelenius*: *om.* ς.
[5] ei *Madvig*: et ς.

[1] Demetrius has been perfectly frank in admitting his state the previous evening; Perseus, he says, has outdone even Demetrius in candour by reducing his charges to the quotation that follows, but the complete meaning of *nimia simplicitate* is obscured by the appropriateness of the phrase as a characterization of Demetrius.

brother, I should like to have you ask with what B.C. 182
rejoicing, with what merriment last night's banquet was conducted at my house, heightened, too, by our delight—base, perhaps—in the fact that in the youthful contest of arms our side had not been inferior. My present wretchedness and fear easily shook off my drunken stupor; had it not been for them, we 'plotters' would now be lying asleep. If I had intended to take your house by storm and having taken it to put its owner to death, should I not have refrained from wine for one day and caused my soldiers to abstain? And, that I may not be the only one to defend myself on the basis of too much simplicity,[1] even that brother of mine, utterly innocent and unsuspecting, no doubt, says, 'I know nothing else, I make no charge, except that they came to their revels armed.' If I should ask how you know even that, you must needs confess either that my house was full of your spies or that they took up their weapons so openly that all men saw them. And, father, lest he himself might appear either to have made some previous inquiry or now to be making calumnious charges, he bade you ask of those whom he should name whether they had had weapons, in order that, as if it were a case admitting doubt, when you had asked about a thing they admit, they might be held as convicted. Why do you not, Perseus, bid him to ask these questions also—whether they had armed themselves for the purpose of killing you, whether it was at my suggestion and with my knowledge? For you wish one thing to be supposed, while what they confess and what is manifest is another. They say that they armed themselves in self-defence. Whether they acted rightly or wrongly

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ipsi sui facti rationem reddent: meam causam, quae nihil eo facto contingitur, ne miscueris. Aut explica utrum aperte an clam te aggressuri fuerimus. Si
10 aperte, cur non omnes ferrum habuimus? Cur nemo praeter eos qui tuum[1] speculatorem pulsa-
11 verunt? Si clam, quis ordo consilii fuit? Convivio soluto cum comisator ego discessissem, quattuor substitissent ut sopitum te adgrederentur? Quomodo fefellissent et alieni et mei et maxime suspecti, quia paulo ante in rixa fuerant? Quomodo autem trucidato te ipsi evasuri fuerunt?[2] Quattuor gladiis domus tua capi et expugnari potuit?

XV. "Quin tu omissa ista nocturna fabula ad id,
2 quod doles, quod invidia urit, reverteris? 'Cur usquam regni tui mentio fit, Demetri? Cur dignior patris fortunae successor quibusdam videris quam ego? Cur spem meam, quae, si tu non esses, certa erat,
3 dubiam et sollicitam facis?' Haec sentit Perseus, etsi non dicit; haec istum inimicum, haec accusatorem faciunt; haec domum, haec regnum tuum
4 criminibus et suspicionibus replent. Ego autem, pater, quem admodum nec nunc sperare regnum nec ambigere umquam de eo forsitan debeam, quia minor sum, quia tu me maiori cedere vis, sic illud nec debui facere nec debeo, ut indignus te patre indignus
5 omnibus videar. Id enim vitiis meis, non cedendi

[1] tuum : tum *M*ς.
[2] fuerunt *Bauer* : fuerint ς.

they will themselves give account of their own B.C. 182
actions: do not confuse their case with mine, which has nothing to do with that affair. Or tell us, Perseus, whether we purposed to attack you openly or secretly. If openly, why were not all of us armed? Why was no one armed except those who had beaten your spy? If secretly, what was the plan of campaign? When the banquet was over and I had departed on my revels, would the four have stayed behind to fall upon you in your sleep? How would they have passed unnoticed, being strangers and my friends, and under suspicion especially because a little while before they had been involved in the quarrel? How, again, had they planned to escape after killing you? Could your house have been taken and captured by four swords?

XV. "Why do you not, dropping that fairy-tale of last night, come back to that which irks you and causes you to burn with jealousy? 'Why in the world, Demetrius,' you ask, 'do people ever talk of your becoming king? Why do some regard you as a worthier successor to our father's fortune than I? Why do you cause my hopes, which would be sure if you were not here, to be uncertain and confused?' This is what Perseus thinks, even if he does not say it; these are the thoughts that make him my enemy and my accuser, and that fill your home and your kingdom with charges and suspicions. But I, father, as it may perhaps be my duty neither now to hope for the kingship nor ever to raise the question of it, since I am the younger, since you wish me to make way for the elder, so it neither was nor is my duty to seem unworthy of you my father, unworthy of all men. For this position I should attain by vices, not by

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cui ius fasque[1] est, modestia consequar. Romanos obicis mihi, et ea quae gloriae esse debent in crimen
6 vertis. Ego nec obses Romanis ut traderer nec ut legatus mitterer Romam[2] petii. A te[3] missus ire non recusavi. Utroque tempore ita me gessi ne tibi pudori, ne regno tuo, ne genti Macedonum essem.
7 Itaque mihi cum Romanis, pater, amicitiae causa tu fuisti. Quoad tecum illis pax manebit, mecum quoque gratia erit: si bellum esse coeperit, qui obses, qui legatus pro patre non inutilis fui, idem hostis
8 illis acerrimus ero. Nec hodie ut prosit mihi gratia Romanorum postulo: ne obsit tantum deprecor. Nec in bello coepit nec ad bellum reservatur:[4] pacis pignus fui, ad pacem retinendam legatus missus sum:
9 neutra res mihi nec gloriae nec crimini sit. Ego si quid impie in te, pater, si quid scelerate in fratrem admisi, nullam deprecor poenam: si innocens sum, ne invidia conflagrem,[5] cum crimine non possim,
10 deprecor. Non hodie me primum frater accusat, sed hodie primum aperte, nullo meo[6] in se merito. Si mihi pater suscenseret, te maiorem fratrem pro minore deprecari oportebat, te adulescentiae, te errori veniam impetrare meo. Ubi praesidium esse
11 oportebat, ibi exitium est. E convivio et comisatione prope semisomnus raptus sum ad causam parricidii

[1] cui iusque fasque *edd. vett.*: cuius fasque ς.
[2] mitterer Romam *Gelenius*: romam mitterer ς.
[3] petii; a te *Gelenius*: a te petii ς.
[4] reservatur *ed. Frobeniana*: reseruetur *M*ς.
[5] conflagrem ς: conflarem *M*.
[6] meo *Madvig*: in eo ς.

[1] For the language, cf. XXXIX. vi. 4.

modesty in making way for one to whom it is right B.C. 182
and just that I should yield. You cast the Romans in my face, and things which should be a source of pride you turn into charges against me. I did not ask either that I be given as a hostage to the Romans or sent as an ambassador to Rome. When sent by you, father, I did not refuse to go. On both occasions I so conducted myself as to bring no shame to you, your kingdom, or the Macedonian people. And so, father, you were the cause of my friendship with the Romans. So long as the peace shall endure between you and them, so long will the friendship between me and them endure: if war shall break out, I, who have not been without usefulness as a hostage and an ambassador for my father, shall likewise be their bitterest foe. I do not ask that my friendship with the Romans shall help me to-day: I beg merely that it shall not hinder me. It did not begin in war and is not reserved for war: I was a pledge of peace, I was sent as an envoy to maintain the peace: let neither bring me either praise or blame. If I have done anything unfilial to you, father, or criminal to my brother, I object to no punishment: if I am innocent, I beg that jealousy may not consume me,[1] since guilt cannot. To-day is not the first time my brother has accused me, but to-day for the first time he accuses me openly, with no act of mine to justify him. If my father were angry at me, your duty, as my older brother, would be to intercede for the younger, to win forgiveness for my youth and my mistake. Where there should have been protection there is deadly peril. From the banquet and the revel, still half-asleep, I was hurried away to plead my defence on the charge of murder.

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A.U.C. 572 dicendam. Sine advocatis, sine patronis ipse pro
12 me dicere cogor. Si pro alio dicendum esset, tempus ad meditandum et componendam orationem sumpsissem, cum quid aliud quam ingenii fama periclitarer? Ignarus quid arcessitus essem, te iratum et iubentem dicere causam, fratrem accusantem audivi.
13 Ille diu ante praeparata ac meditata [1] in me oratione est usus: ego id tantum temporis, quo accusatus
14 sum, ad cognoscendum quid ageretur habui. Utrum momento illo horae accusatorem audirem an defensionem meditarer? Attonitus repentino atque inopinato malo, vix quid obiceretur intellegere potui,
15 nedum satis sciam quo modo me tuear. Quid mihi spei esset, nisi patrem iudicem haberem? Apud quem etiam si caritate a fratre maiore [2] vincor,
16 misericoridia certe reus vinci non debeo. Ego enim ut me mihi tibique serves precor; ille ut me in securitatem suam occidas, postulat. Quid eum, cum regnum ei tradideris, facturum credis in me esse, qui iam nunc sanguinem meum sibi indulgeri aequum censet?"

XVI. Dicenti haec lacrimae simul spiritum et vocem intercluserunt. Philippus summotis iis paul-
2 isper collocutus cum amicis pronuntiavit, non verbis

[1] ac *Weissenborn*: *om.* ς.
[2] caritate a fratre maiore *Gelenius*: a fratre maiore *M*: a fratre caritate ς.

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[1] The series of speeches may have had some immediate basis in Polybius. More important, probably, in their influence on them are Livy's rhetorical interest and training, the characterizations previously given the speakers, and the function of the speeches in the dramatic action. The speech of Demetrius presents a peculiarly difficult rhetorical problem,

Without advisors, without counsel, I am compelled B.C. 182
to speak on my own behalf. If I had had to speak for another, I should have taken time to prepare and arrange my speech, and then what else would be at stake except my reputation for ability? While still in ignorance of the reason for my summons, I have listened to you in your anger ordering me to defend myself and my brother bringing charges against me. He employed against me a speech arranged and rehearsed long in advance: I had only the time during which I was accused to find out what was at issue. Should I in that brief space of time have listened to my accuser or planned my defence? Stricken by this sudden and unexpected calamity, I could scarce understand what charges were brought against me, to say nothing of knowing how to defend myself. What hope should I have were my father not the judge? If his love for me is less than for my elder brother, certainly his pity ought not to be less for me on my trial. For my prayer is that you will preserve me for myself and you; his demand is that you kill me for his security. What, father, do you think will become of me when you have turned the kingdom over to him, when even now he thinks it proper that he be gratified by my death?" [1]

XVI. As he spoke thus, tears at once stopped his breath and choked his utterance. Philip, sending them away, after conferring for some time with his

since Livy had the task of composing a plausible speech for a young man just awakened from sleep and not too clever as an extemporaneous speaker under less trying circumstances. Its incoherent structure and desperate efforts to preserve a logical arrangement therefore add realism, if nothing else.

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se nec unius horae disceptatione causam eorum diiudicaturum, sed inquirendo in utriusque vitam ac
3 mores,[1] et dicta factaque in magnis parvisque rebus observando, ut omnibus appareret noctis proximae crimen facile revictum, suspectam nimiam[2] cum Romanis Demetrii gratiam esse. Haec maxime vivo Philippo velut semina iacta sunt Macedonici belli, quod cum Perseo gerendum erat.
4 Consules ambo in Ligures, quae tum una consularis provincia erat, proficiscuntur. Et quia prospere ibi res gesserunt, supplicatio in unum diem decreta est.
5 Ligurum duo milia fere ad extremum finem provinciae Galliae, ubi castra Marcellus habebat, venerunt uti reciperentur orantes. Marcellus opperiri eodem loco
6 Liguribus iussis senatum per litteras consuluit. Senatus rescribere M. Ogulnium praetorem Marcello iussit verius fuisse consules, quorum provincia esset, quam se quid e re publica esset decernere;[3] tum quoque non placere nisi[4] per deditionem Ligures recipi, et receptis arma adimi atque eos ad consules[5] mitti senatum aequum censere.
7 Praetores eodem tempore, P. Manlius in ulteriorem Hispaniam, quam et priore praetura provinciam obti-

[1] ac mores *Duker*: mores ς.
[2] nimiam *edd. vett.*: nimium ς.
[3] quid—decernere *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[4] nisi *Madvig*: si ς.
[5] consules *Glareanus*: consulem ς.

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[1] No reason for this action on the part of the Ligurians is known, nor is it clear what relation to the Romans or to Marcellus they desired to obtain. Marcellus was himself uncertain about both questions, and I have tried to be equally non-committal in the translation.

friends, gave judgment that he would not decide B.C. 182
their case on the basis of words nor the discussion of a single hour, but after inquiring into the life and manners of each and observing their words and actions in matters great and small, so that it was clear to all that the accusation regarding the preceding night had been easily refuted, but that Demetrius was suspected by reason of his excessive popularity with the Romans. Such, in general, were the seeds, so to speak, of the Macedonian war which were sown while Philip was still alive, but the war for the most part was to be waged with Perseus.

Both consuls departed for the Ligurians, this being at the time the only consular province. And because their campaigns were successful there, a thanksgiving for one day was voted. About two thousand Ligurians came to the most remote boundary of the province of Gaul, where Marcellus was encamped, and asked that they be received under his protection.[1] Marcellus, ordering the Ligurians to wait in the same place, consulted the senate by letter. The senate directed Marcus Ogulnius the praetor to reply to Marcellus that it was more correct for the consuls, whose province it was, than for them, to decide what was to the advantage of the state; on this occasion, also, that it was not their pleasure that the Ligurians should be received except in surrender, that the senate deemed it just that, if received, their arms should be taken from them, and that the Ligurians should be sent to the consuls.[2]

At the same time the praetors Publius Manlius and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus arrived in their provinces, the former in Farther Spain, which province he had

[2] Both syntax and meaning are uncertain.

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nuerat, Q. Fulvius Flaccus in citeriorem pervenit, exercitumque ab A.[1] Terentio accepit: nam ulterior
8 morte P. Sempronii proconsulis sine imperio fuerat. Fulvium Flaccum oppidum Hispanum Urbicnam nomine oppugnantem Celtiberi adorti sunt. Dura ibi proelia aliquot facta, multi Romani milites et vulnerati et interfecti sunt. Vicit perseverantia Fulvius, quod nulla vi abstrahi ab obsidione potuit:
9 Celtiberi fessi proeliis variis abscesserunt. Urbs amoto auxilio eorum intra paucos dies capta et direpta est: praedam militibus praetor concessit.
10 Fulvius hoc oppido capto, Manlius exercitu tantum in unum coacto qui dissipatus fuerat, nulla alia memorabili gesta re, exercitus [2] in hiberna deduxe-
11 runt. Haec ea aestate in Hispania gesta. Terentius qui ex ea provincia decesserat ovans urbem iniit. Translatum argenti pondo novem milia trecenta viginti, auri octoginta pondo et duo, coronae aureae sexaginta septem.

XVII. Eodem anno inter populum Carthaginiensem et regem Masinissam in re praesenti
2 disceptatores Romani de agro fuerunt. Ceperat eum ab Carthaginiensibus pater Masinissae Gala; Galam Syphax inde expulerat, postea in gratiam soceri
3 Hasdrubalis Carthaginiensibus dono dederat; Carthaginienses eo anno Masinissa expulerat. Haud

[1] ab A. *Madvig*: a ς.
[2] exercitus ς: exercitum *M*.

---

[1] According to XXXIII. xliii. 5, Manlius was in Nearer Spain as an assistant to the consul. This, however, gave him a sort of roving commission, and he operated in Farther Spain as well (XXXIV. xvii. 1 and the note).

held in his first praetorship also,[1] the latter in Nearer Spain, where he took over the army from Aulus Terentius: for the farther province had been without a governor since the death of Publius Sempronius the proconsul.[2] The Celtiberians attacked Fulvius Flaccus while he was besieging a Spanish town, Urbicna by name. A number of hard battles were fought there, and many Roman soldiers suffered wounds and death. Fulvius prevailed by stubbornness, since by no attack could he be drawn away from the siege: the Celtiberians, worn out by the repeated battles, withdrew. When their aid was lost, the city was within a few days captured and plundered; the praetor bestowed the booty upon the soldiers. Fulvius, after taking this town, retired into winter-quarters, and Manlius did the same, having merely collected into one place the army which had been scattered and having done nothing else worth mentioning. These were the events of this summer in Spain. Terentius, who had retired from that province, entered the City in ovation. In his procession he carried nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds of silver, eighty-two pounds of gold and sixty-seven golden crowns. B.C. 183

XVII. In the same year Roman arbitrators who were on the ground took part in a dispute about land-ownership between the Carthaginian people and King Masinissa.[3] Gala, the father of Masinissa, had taken it from the Carthaginians; Syphax had driven Gala out of it and later, as a favour to his father-in-law Hasdrubal, had presented it as a gift to the Carthaginians; Masinissa had that year expelled the Carthaginians. The case was argued

[1] Cf. ii. 5 above. [2] Cf. XXXIV. lxii. 15.

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minore certamine animorum quam cum ferro et acie
4 dimicarunt res acta apud Romanos. Carthaginienses, quod maiorum suorum fuisset, deinde ab Syphace ad se pervenisset, repetebant. Masinissa paterni regni agrum se et recepisse et habere gentium iure aiebat;
5 et causa et possessione superiorem esse; nihil aliud se in ea disceptatione metuere quam ne pudor Romanorum, dum vereantur ne quid socio atque amico regi adversus communes suos atque illius hostes indulsisse videantur, damno sit. Legati
6 possessionis ius non mutarunt, causam integram[1] Romam ad senatum reiecerunt.

In Liguribus nihil postea gestum. Recesserant primum in devios saltus, deinde dimisso exercitu
7 passim in vicos castellaque sua dilapsi sunt. Consules quoque dimittere exercitum voluerunt, ac de ea re patres consuluerunt. Alterum ex iis dimisso exercitu ad magistratus in annum creandos venire Romam iusserunt, alterum cum legionibus suis Pisis hiemare.
8 Fama erat Gallos Transalpinos iuventutem armare, nec in quam regionem Italiae effusura se multitudo esset sciebatur. Ita inter se consules compararunt ut Cn. Baebius ad comitia iret, quia M. Baebius frater eius consulatum petebat.

[1] integram ς : in integrum *M*.

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[1] The claim of Masinissa must have seemed weak to the commission, which however did not wish to offend him. The ultimate solution to the problem is not known.

[2] The usefulness of a consul under such circumstances had been demonstrated by the Claudii (XXXIX. xxxii. 13).

before the Romans with no less ardour of temper B.C. 182
than when they fought with arms in the line of battle. The Carthaginians were reclaiming it because it had belonged to their forefathers and had then come again to them from Syphax. Masinissa maintained, first that he had recovered land belonging to his father's kingdom and second, that he was holding it under the law of nations; he said that he had the advantage both of a good case and of actual possession; he was afraid of nothing else in the dispute except that a sense of shame on the part of the Romans, as they might be reluctant to give the appearance of having favoured an allied and friendly king as against the common enemy of themselves and him, might do him injury. The commissioners did not change the right of possession, but referred the case without prejudice to the senate.[1]

Among the Ligurians nothing more happened. They had in the beginning retired into out-of-the-way defiles, then disbanded their army and scattered everywhere to their own villages and strongholds. The consuls also wished to discharge their armies and consulted the senate on the matter. The Fathers directed that one of them should disband his army and come to Rome to conduct the election of magistrates for the coming year, and that the other with his legions should winter at Pisa. It was reported that the Transalpine Gauls were arming their young men and it was unknown into what part of Italy the multitude would pour. So the consuls arranged between themselves that Gnaeus Baebius should go to the elections because his brother Marcus Baebius was a candidate for the consulship.[2]

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A.U.C. 572 XVIII. Comitia consulibus rogandis fuere: creati P. Cornelius Lentulus M. Baebius Tamphilus. 2 Praetores inde facti duo Q. Fabii, Maximus et Buteo, Ti.[1] Claudius Nero Q. Petilius Spurinus M. Pinarius Rusca[2] L. Duronius.

A.U.C. 573 3 His inito magistratu provinciae its sorte evenerunt: Ligures consulibus, praetoribus Q. Petilio urbana, Q. Fabio Maximo peregrina, Q. Fabio Buteoni Gallia, Ti.[1] Claudio Neroni Sicilia, M. Pinario 4 Sardinia, L. Duronio Apulia; et Histri adiecti, quod Tarentini Brundisinique nuntiabant maritimos agros infestos transmarinarum navium latrociniis esse. Eadem Massilienses de Ligurum navibus quere- 5 bantur. Exercitus inde decreti, quattuor legiones consulibus, quae[3] quina milia ducenos Romanos pedites, trecenos haberent equites, et quindecim milia socium ac Latini nominis, octingenti[4] equites. 6 In Hispaniis prorogatum veteribus praetoribus imperium est cum exercitibus quos haberent, et in supplementum decreta tria milia civium Romanorum, ducenti equites, et socium Latini nominis sex milia 7 peditum, trecenti equites. Nec rei navalis cura

[1] Ti. *Sigonius*: t. ς.
[2] Rusca *Wex*: pusca ς.
[3] quae *Gelenius*: *om.* ς.
[4] octingenti *Drakenborch*: octingentos ς.

[1] The Fasti give the *cognomen* as Cethegus.

[2] From xxvi. 2 below it appears that Buteo was in Histria, and from xlii. 1 below that Duronius was in Illyricum later. Livy may be mistaken, or this clause may be misplaced. Cf. Zippel, *Die roemische Herrschaft in Illyrium bis auf Augustus* (Leipzig, 1877), 81.

[3] As usual at the end of a war, the Romans had neglected the fleet after the defeat of Antiochus, and the ships had been docked. In the light of the information received, provision

XVIII. The election of consuls took place: the successful candidates were Publius Cornelius Lentulus[1] and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus. Next the praetors were chosen, two named Quintus Fabius, Maximus and Buteo, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Quintus Petilius Spurinus, Marcus Pinarius Rusca, Lucius Duronius. B.C. 182

When they had been inaugurated, the provinces were thus assigned in the drawing: the Ligurians to the consuls, to the praetors: the civil jurisdiction to Quintus Petilius, that between citizens and aliens to Quintus Fabius Maximus, Gaul to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Sicily to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sardinia to Marcus Pinarius, Apulia to Lucius Duronius; the Histrians[2] were also added because the news had come from Tarentum and Brundisium that the lands along the coasts were endangered by piracy on the part of the ships from across the sea. The Massilians made the same complaint about the ships of the Ligurians. Then the armies were decreed—four legions for the consuls, each to consist of fifty-two hundred Roman infantry, and three hundred cavalry, and fifteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy. In the Spains the *imperium* of the old praetors was extended, with the armies which they had, and they decreed as reinforcements three thousand Roman citizens and two hundred cavalry and of the allies of the Latin confederacy six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. Nor was care for the fleet omitted.[3] B.C. 181

is now made for launching and manning them. While during the recent wars the fleets had been commanded by *legati* or by praetors, *duumviri navales*, magistrates chosen only for special occasions, are now named.

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omissa. Duumviros in eam rem consules creare iussi, per quos naves viginti deductae navalibus sociis civibus Romanis qui servitutem servissent complerentur, ingenui tantum ut iis praeessent. 8 Inter duumviros ita divisa tuenda denis navibus maritima ora, ut promunturium iis Minervae velut cardo in medio esset; alter inde[1] dextram partem usque ad Massiliam, laevam alter usque ad Barium tueretur.

XIX. Prodigia multa foeda et Romae eo anno visa 2 et nuntiata peregre. In area Vulcani et Concordiae sanguine pluvit; et pontifices hastas motas nuntiavere, et Lanuvini[2] simulacrum Iunonis Sospitae 3 lacrimasse. Pestilentia in agris forisque et conciliabulis et in urbe tanta erat ut Libitina funeribus[3] 4 vix sufficeret. His prodigiis cladibusque anxii patres decreverunt ut et consules quibus diis videretur hostiis maioribus sacrificarent, et decemviri libros 5 adirent. Eorum decreto supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria Romae in diem unum indicta est. Isdem auctoribus et senatus censuit et consules edixerunt

[1] inde *Weissenborn*: in ς.
[2] Lanuvini *Luterbacher*: lanuuiis *et similia* ς.
[3] funeribus *H. J. Mueller*: *om.* ς.

---

[1] Roman citizens were not ordinarily assigned to duty at sea.
[2] Probably the cape of Sorrento, near Naples.
[3] Literally, the pivot or hinge (on which a door would swing), but, in surveying, a limiting boundary or reference point.
[4] The modern Bari, on the Adriatic.
[5] Cf. XXXIX. xlvi. 5; lvi. 6.

The consuls were directed to secure the election of a board of two for this purpose, by whom twenty ships, launched from the yards, would be manned by Roman citizens who had been slaves, serving as marines,[1] employing free-born citizens only as commanders. The defence of the coast was divided between the duumvirs, ten ships being assigned to each, in such a way that the promontory of Minerva[2] was, so to speak, the joint[3] between them; thence one should defend the right sector as far as Massilia, the other the left as far as Barium.[4] B.C. 181

XIX. Many dreadful prodigies were both observed in Rome that year and reported from elsewhere. In the precinct of Vulcan and Concord[5] there was a shower of blood; and the pontiffs announced that the spears[6] had been shaken, and the people of Lanuvium sent word that the image of Juno Sospita had shed tears. The pestilence was so severe in the country and in the villages and rural communities and in the City that Libitina[7] could scarce take care of so many funerals. Being disturbed by these prodigies and deaths, the Fathers decreed, both that the consuls should sacrifice full-grown victims to whatever gods it seemed proper, and that the decemvirs should consult the Books.[8] According to their decree one day of prayer was proclaimed at all the banquet-tables of the gods[9] in Rome. On their suggestion also there was both a decree of the senate and an edict of the consuls that for three days

[6] They were probably the *hastae Martiae* at Rome (Gellius IV. vi. 1–2). There were similar spears at Praeneste (XXIV. x. 10).

[7] The goddess of funerals.

[8] The Sibylline Books (XXXI. xii. 9 and the note).

[9] Cf. XXXI. viii. 2 and the note.

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ut per totam Italiam triduum supplicatio et feriae
6 essent. Pestilentiae tanta vis erat ut, cum propter defectionem Corsorum bellumque ab Iliensibus concitatum in Sardinia octo milia peditum ex sociis Latini nominis placuisset scribi et trecentos equites, quos M. Pinarius praetor secum in Sardiniam traic-
7 eret, tantum hominum demortuum esse, tantum ubique aegrorum consules renuntiaverint ut is numerus
8 effici militum non potuerit. Quod deerat militum, sumere a Cn. Baebio proconsule, qui Pisis hibernabat, iussus praetor atque inde in Sardiniam traicere.

9 L. Duronio praetori, cui provincia Apulia evenerat, adiecta de Bacchanalibus quaestio est, cuius residua quaedam velut semina ex prioribus malis iam priore
10 anno apparuerant; sed magis inchoatae apud L.[1] Pupium praetorem quaestiones erant quam ad exitum ullum [2] perductae. Id persecare novum praetorem, ne serperet iterum latius, patres iusserunt. Et
11 legem [3] de ambitu consules ex auctoritate senatus ad populum tulerunt.

XX. Legationes deinde in senatum introduxerunt, regum primas [4] Eumenis et Ariarathis Cappadocis et Pharnacis Pontici. Nec ultra quicquam eis responsum est quam missuros qui de controversiis eorum

[1] L. *ed. Aldina* : t. *aut* ti. σ.
[2] ullum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535 : ullae σ.
[3] legem σ : leges *M*.
[4] primas σ : prima *M*.

---

[1] Cf. XXXIX. xli. 6.

[2] The last law to control bribery had been passed in 358 B.C. (VII. xv. 12). No special reason for a new law at this time is known, unless it was the vigorous campaign reported in XXXIX. xxxii. It is not certain whether one law or two passed at this time, and the only clause recorded fixes as the

throughout Italy there should be a supplication and festival. The violence of the plague was so great that when, on account of a rising of the Corsicans and a revolt begun by the Ilienses in Sardinia, it was decided to enlist eight thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry among the allies of the Latin confederacy, whom Lucius Pinarius the praetor should take with him to Sardinia, the consuls reported that so many deaths had occurred among the men and so great was the number of sick that this number of troops could not be raised. The shortage in the number of troops the praetor was directed to make up from the army of Gnaeus Baebius the proconsul, who was wintering at Pisa, and thence to cross to Sardinia. B.C. 181

To Lucius Duronius, the praetor to whom the province of Apulia had been allotted, has also been assigned an investigation to the Bacchanalia, from which some seeds, as it were, left over from the earlier troubles, had already begun to show themselves in the previous year; but the inquiries had been begun before the praetor Lucius Pupius rather than brought to any conclusion.[1] The Fathers ordered the new praetor to extirpate the trouble, to prevent it from again secretly spreading furthur. Also the consuls, with the authority of the senate, brought before the people a law on bribery.[2]

XX. Then they introduced the embassies into the senate, first those of the kings, Eumenes, and Ariarathes of Cappadocia, and Pharnaces of Pontus. No further reply was given to them than that the senate would send men to investigate their differences and give

penalty disqualification for holding office for a period of ten years (*Scholia Bobiensia*, p. 361).

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2 cognoscerent statuerentque. Lacedaemoniorum deinde exulum et Achaeorum legati introducti sunt, et spes data exulibus est scripturum senatum Achaeis ut restituerentur. Achaei de Messene recepta compositisque ibi rebus cum adsensu patrum
3 exposuerunt. Et a Philippo rege Macedonum duo legati venerunt, Philocles et Apelles, nulla super re, quae petenda ab senatu esset, speculatum magis inquisitumque missi de iis, quorum Perseus Demetrium insimulasset sermonum cum Romanis, maxime cum T. Quinctio, adversus fratrem de regno habi-
4 torum. Hos tamquam medios nec in alterius favorem inclinatos miserat rex: erant autem et hi Persei fraudis in fratrem ministri et participes.
5 Demetrius omnium praeterquam fraterno scelere, quod nuper eruperat, ignarus primo neque magnam neque nullam spem habebat patrem sibi placari posse; minus deinde in dies patris animo fidebat,
6 cum obsideri aures a fratre cerneret. Itaque circumspiciens dicta factaque sua, ne cuius [1] suspiciones augeret, maxime ab omni mentione et contagione Romanorum abstinebat, ut neque scribi sibi vellet, quia hoc praecipue criminum genere exasperari patris animum sentiebat.

XXI. Philippus, simul ne otio miles deterior fieret, simul avertendae suspicionis causa quicquam a se

[1] ne cuius *edd. vett.*: nec (ne) huius ς.

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[1] After the settlement effected in 183 B.C. (XXXIX. xlviii. 2–4) there had apparently been additional banishments of anti-Achaean elements in Lacedaemon.

[2] The apparent meaning is that Demetrius was unaware that his brother's intrigues had continued after their hearing before Philip.

judgment. Then the representatives of the Lace- B.C. 181
daemonian exiles and of the Achaeans were brought in, and hope was held out to the exiles that the senate would write to the Achaeans directing that they be restored.[1] The Achaeans explained to the satisfaction of the Fathers regarding the recovery of Messene and the solution of the problems there. Philip, king of the Macedonians, also sent two envoys, Philocles and Apelles, with no particular request to make of the senate, but rather to collect information and make inquiry about those conversations which Perseus had accused Demetrius of holding with the Romans and specifically with Titus Quinctius about the kingship which were prejudicial to the interests of his brother. These envoys the king had sent as neutral and not predisposed to favour either disputant: but as matters turned out they also were servants and helpers of Perseus in his treachery toward his brother.

Demetrius, at first ignorant of everything, except what had been revealed by his brother's wickedness, had no great hope but was not altogether without hope that his father could be appeased;[2] he trusted less every day to his father's intentions, since he perceived that his father's attention was engrossed by his brother. And so, reflecting carefully on everything he said or did, lest he increase the suspicions of anyone, he refrained particularly from all reference to or contact with the Romans, to such a degree that he did not even want them to write to him, because he knew that his father's mind was especially irritated by charges of this kind.

XXI. Philip, in order partly to prevent his troops from growing slack through idleness, partly to avert

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agitari de Romano bello, Stobos Paeoniae exercitu
2 indicto in Maedicam [1] ducere pergit. Cupido eum ceperat in verticem [2] Haemi montis ascendendi, quia volgatae opinioni crediderat Ponticum simul et Hadriaticum mare et Histrum amnem et Alpes conspici posse: subiecta oculis ea haud parvi sibi momenti futura ad cogitationem Romani belli.
3 Percunctatus regionis peritos de ascensu Haemi, cum satis inter omnes constaret viam exercitui nullam
4 esse, paucis et expeditis per difficillimum aditum, ut sermone familiari minorem filium permulceret, quem statuerat non ducere secum, primum quaerit ab eo, cum tanta difficultas itineris proponatur, utrum
5 perseverandum sit in incepto an abstinendum. Si pergat tamen ire, non posse oblivisci se in talibus rebus Antigoni, qui saeva tempestate iactatus, cum [3] in eadem nave secum suos omnes habuisset, praecepisse liberis diceretur ut et ipsi meminissent et ita posteris proderent, ne quis cum tota gente simul in
6 rebus dubiis periclitari auderet. Memorem ergo se praecepti eius duos simul filios non commissurum in aleam eius qui proponeretur casus; et quoniam maiorem filium secum duceret, minorem ad subsidia [4] spei et custodiam regni remissurum in Macedoniam
7 esse. Non fallebat Demetrium ablegari se ne adesset

[1] Maedicam *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : macedoniam ς.
[2] verticem *ed. Parisina* 1513 : uertice ς.
[3] cum *edd. vett.* : *om. aut post* naue *coll.* ς.
[4] subsidia ς : subsidium *M*.

[1] Perhaps the general of Alexander the Great; if so, a remote ancestor of Philip.

suspicion that he was thinking at all about a war with Rome, summoned his army to Stobi in Paeonia and began to lead it into Maedica. The desire had seized him of climbing to the top of the Haemus mountains, because he had accepted the common opinion that from there could be seen all at once the Pontic and Adriatic seas, the Hister river and the Alps. To have these spread out before his eyes would have, he thought, no small weight in determining his strategy in a war with Rome. Having questioned men who knew the country about the ascent of the Haemus, since it was generally agreed by all that there was no way for an army, but that with a few light troops it could be climbed by a very difficult road, wishing to console his younger son by an intimate talk (he had decided not to take him with him), he first asked him whether, since the difficulty of the journey was so great, he should persist in the plan or abandon it. If after all he should decide to go, he could not forget, in such a situation, Antigonus,[1] who, when tossed about by a dreadful storm, at a time when he had all his family in the same ship with him, was said to have given his children the warning, which they should both remember for themselves and pass on to their children, that no man should venture to endanger himself and his whole house at once in a doubtful situation. Therefore, he said, remembering that precept, he would not expose both his sons at once to the chance of disaster which confronted them; and since he was taking his older son with him, he intended to send the younger back to Macedonia to furnish some support to his hopes and for the future to guard the kingdom. Demetrius did not fail to B.C. 181

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consilio, cum in conspectu locorum consultarent, quae proxime itinera ad mare Hadriaticum atque Italiam
8 ducerent, quaeque ratio belli esset futura. Sed non solum parendum patri [1] sed etiam adsentiendum erat,
9 ne invitum parere suspicionem faceret. Ut tamen iter ei tutum in Macedoniam esset, Didas ex praetoribus regiis [2] unus, qui Paeoniae praeerat, iussus
10 est prosequi eum cum modico praesidio. Hunc quoque Perseus, sicut plerosque patris amicorum, ex quo haud cuiquam dubium esse coeperat, ad quem regis animo ita inclinato hereditas regni pertineret,
11 inter coniuratos in fratris perniciem habuit. In praesentia dat ei mandata ut per omne obsequium insinuaret se in quam maxime familiarem usum, ut elicere omnia arcana specularique abditos eius sensus posset. Ita digreditur Demetrius cum infestioribus quam si solus iret praesidiis.

XXII. Philippus Maedicam primum, deinde solitudines interiacentes Maedicae atque Haemo transgressus septimis demum castris ad radices montis pervenit. Ibi unum moratus diem ad deligendos quos duceret secum, tertio die iter est ingressus.
2 Modicus primo labor in imis collibus fuit. Quantum in altitudinem egrediebantur, magis magisque silvestria et pleraque invia loca excipiebant: perve-
3 nere deinde in tam opacum iter ut prae densitate

[1] patri *Weissenborn*: patri tutum ς.
[2] regiis *ed. Aldina*: regis ς.

---

[1] The usual title used by Livy, though especially in military expressions, is *praefectus*. The term *praetor* is of course good Roman usage for a provincial governor.

[2] The day of arrival (the seventh of the march) and the day of rest are the first and second days.

perceive that he was being banished, in order that B.C. 181
he might not be present at the council when the decision would be reached, in sight of the theatre of operations, what routes would lead most directly to the Adriatic sea and to Italy, and what would be the general strategy of the war. But he had not merely to obey his father but to agree with him, lest he should beget suspicion that he was obeying unwillingly. Nevertheless, in order that he might have a safe journey into Macedonia, Didas, one of the king's generals,[1] who was in charge of Paeonia, was ordered to escort him with a moderately large guard. Didas too, like most of the friends of the king, from the time when it began to be clear to everyone to whom, since the king's mind inclined that way, the inheritance of the kingdom would fall, Perseus had associated with the conspiracy for his brother's ruin. For the present, he instructed Didas to make for himself, by every form of attention, a place among the intimates of Demetrius, that he might be able to get from him all his secrets and to spy upon his inmost thoughts. Thus Demetrius departed, accompanied by guards whose presence was more dangerous than if he had been travelling alone.

XXII. Philip, crossing Maedica first and then the waste lands lying between Maedica and the Haemus, on the seventh march at last came to the foot of the mountain. There he delayed for a day to choose the men whom he should take with him and on the third[2] day began his journey. At first there was moderate exertion in the foothills. The farther up they went, they found more and more ground that was wooded and often impassable: at last they came to a trail so shaded that by reason of the thickness

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arborum immissorumque aliorum in alios ramorum
4 perspici caelum vix posset. Ut vero iugis appropinquabant, quod rarum in altis[1] locis est,[2] adeo omnia contecta nebula erant,[3] ut haud secus quam nocturno itinere impedirentur. Tertio demum die
5 ad verticem perventum. Nihil volgatae opinioni degressi inde detraxerunt, magis credo, ne vanitas itineris ludibrio esset, quam quod diversa inter se maria montesque et amnes ex uno loco conspici
6 potuerint. Vexati omnes, et ante alios rex ipse, quo
7 gravior aetate erat, difficultate viae est. Duabus aris ibi Iovi et Soli sacratis cum immolasset, qua triduo ascenderat, biduo est degressus, frigora nocturna maxime metuens, quae caniculae ortu similia brumalibus
8 erant. Multis per eos dies difficultatibus conflictatus nihilo laetiora in castris invenit, ubi summa penuria erat, ut in regione quam ab omni parte solitudines
9 clauderent. Itaque unum tantum moratus diem quietis eorum causa quos habuerat secum, itinere
10 inde simili fugae in Dentheletos transcurrit. Socii erant, sed propter inopiam haud secus quam hostium
11 fines Macedones populati sunt: rapiendo enim

[1] altis *Madvig*: aliis ς.
[2] est *Madvig*: esset ς.
[3] erant *Weissenborn*: *om.* ς.

---

[1] The exact situation of this summit (now part of the Great Balkan) cannot be determined, but since it was in Western Thrace or Eastern Macedonia the idea that the Adriatic could be seen from there is absurd. Mela (II. ii. 17), however, says that both seas are visible, and Strabo (VII. v. 1) quotes Polybius to the same effect, but adds that he was mistaken, since the distance was great and there were many intervening objects to obstruct the view.

[2] This star rose about mid-July (Pliny *H. N.* II. 123).

of the trees and the branches interlaced with one another it was barely possible to see the sky. But when they drew near the crest everything was so covered with fog, which is rare in high places, that they were retarded just as if they were marching by night. At last on the third day they came to the summit.[1] When they descended they did nothing to detract from the common opinion, rather, I suppose, to prevent the futility of the journey from becoming a subject of jest than because the different seas and mountains and rivers could be seen from one place. All were in distress and most of all the king himself, because he was more heavily burdened by age, as a result of the difficulty of the way. When he had sacrificed at the two altars dedicated there to Jupiter and the Sun, he made in two days the descent which had required three for the ascent, fearing most the nightly colds, which, at the time of the rising of the dog-star,[2] were like those of winter.[3] After struggling with many hardships during those days, he found things no easier in camp, where the need was very great, as was to be expected in a country surrounded by deserts on all sides. And so, delaying only one day, in order to rest the men whom he had taken with him, he hurried, in a march that resembled a flight, into the country of the Dentheleti. They were allies, but on account of their need the Macedonians pillaged them just as if theirs were hostile territory: in their plundering B.C. 181

[3] Conceiving of the career of Philip in tragic form again, one may regard this episode as the climax of Philip's folly thus far, or perhaps as a comic interlude to relieve the tragedy. It should be noted that it begins and ends with intimations of the approaching doom of Demetrius.

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passim villas [1] primum, dein quosdam etiam vicos evastarunt, non sine magno pudore regis, cum sociorum voces nequiquam deos sociales nomenque
12 suum implorantes audiret. Frumento inde sublato in Maedicam regressus, urbem quam Petram appel-
13 lant oppugnare est adortus. Ipse a campestri aditu castra posuit, Perseum filium cum modica manu circummisit, ut a superioribus locis urbem aggre-
14 deretur. Oppidani, cum terror undique instaret, obsidibus datis in praesentia dediderunt sese: iidem, postquam exercitus recessit, obliti obsidum relicta urbe in loca munita et montes refugerunt.
15 Philippus omni genere laboris sine ullo effectu fatigatis militibus et fraude Didae praetoris auctis in filium suspicionibus in Macedoniam rediit.

XXIII. Missus hic comes, ut ante dictum est, cum simplicitatem iuvenis incauti et suis haud immerito suscensentis assentando indignandoque et ipse vicem eius captaret, in omnia ultro suam offerens operam,
2 fide data arcana eius elicuit. Fugam ad Romanos Demetrius meditabatur; cui consilio adiutor deum beneficio oblatus videbatur Paeoniae praetor, per cuius provinciam spem ceperat elabi tuto posse.
3 Hoc consilium extemplo et fratri proditur et auctore
4 eo indicatur patri. Litterae primum ad obsidentem

[1] uillas σ : per uillas *M*.

[1] Paeonia extended as far west as Illyricum.

they first laid waste the farm-houses far and wide, B.C. 181
then even certain villages, not without great shame on the king's part, when he heard the voices of his allies calling in vain upon the gods who protect alliances and upon his own name. Carrying off the grain from there and returning to Maedica, he began to attack a city which they call Petra. He himself encamped on the approach from the plain and sent his son Perseus around with a force of moderate size to attack the city from the higher ground. The citizens, since danger threatened them from every quarter, gave hostages and surrendered for the time being: but none the less, after the army retired, forgetting the hostages they abandoned the city and fled to the fortified places and the mountains.

Philip, having wearied his troops with every sort of toil without having attained any result, and with his suspicions of his son increased because of the deceit of Didas, the general, returned to Macedonia.

XXIII. Didas, as has been said before, had been sent as escort to Demetrius, and when he had entrapped the ingenuous young man, who was off his guard and not unjustly angry at his relatives, by flattering him and expressing indignation at his lot, volunteering his assistance in every respect, under pledge of loyalty Didas extracted all his secrets. Demetrius was planning flight to the Romans; and it looked as if, by the grace of the gods, an assistant in this plan had been provided in the person of the governor of Paeonia, through whose province he had come to hope that he could safely escape.[1] This plan was at once both revealed to his brother and reported to his father on his brother's authority. At first a letter was brought to

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Petram adlatae sunt. Inde Herodorus—princeps hic amicorum Demetrii erat—in custodiam est coniectus et Demetrius dissimulanter adservari 5 iussus. Haec super cetera tristem adventum in Macedoniam regi fecerunt. Movebant eum et praesentia crimina: expectandos tamen, quos ad 6 exploranda omnia Romam miserat censebat. His anxius curis cum aliquot menses egisset, tandem legati, iam ante praemeditati in Macedonia quae ab 7 Roma renuntiarent, venerunt; qui super cetera scelera falsas etiam litteras, signo adulterino T. 8 Quinctii signatas, reddiderunt regi. Deprecatio in litteris erat si quid adulescens cupiditate regni prolapsus secum egisset: nihil eum adversus suorum quemquam facturum neque eum se esse[1] qui ullius 9 impii consilii auctor futurus videri possit. Hae litterae fidem Persei criminibus fecerunt. Itaque Herodorus extemplo diu excruciatus sine indicio rei ullius in tormentis moritur.

XXIV. Demetrium iterum ad patrem accusavit Perseus.[2] Fuga per Paeoniam praeparata argue-

[1] se esse *Madvig*: sese σ.
[2] Perseus *Gelenius*: *om.* σ.

---

[1] Cf. xi. 1 above and the note.

[2] The interpretation is not entirely certain, and the text, although in general it has the support of the MSS., may not be sound: the pronouns especially are curiously employed. The letter purports to be from Quinctius to Philip, and its *deprecatio* is designed quite as much to acquit Quinctius of any share in any plot as to warn Philip that a plot exists; the conditional clause *si . . . egisset* is a virtual admission that Demetrius had consulted with Quinctius about the matter. Yet one would expect that the conspirators would treat it as a letter from Quinctius to Demetrius which they had inter-

him while he was besieging Petra. As a result B.C. 181
Herodorus—he was the foremost of the friends of Demetrius—was placed under arrest and orders were issued that Demetrius was to be unobtrusively watched. These things, added to everything else, saddened the king's return to Macedonia. He was indeed moved by these new charges; yet he thought that he ought to wait for the envoys whom he had sent to Rome to find out everything. When he had passed some months in this anxiety and trouble, at length the ambassadors, who had long before, while still in Macedonia, planned what report they would bring back from Rome, arrived; they, in addition to making other serious charges, delivered to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit signet of Titus Quinctius.[1] There was in the letter a warning against wrong inferences in case the young man, carried away by his desire for the throne, should have held any conversation with himself: Demetrius would do nothing to injure any of his relatives, nor was Quinctius himself one who could seem to sponsor any unfilial scheme.[2] This letter furnished confirmation to the charges of Perseus. As a result Herodorus was at once tortured for a long time without betraying anything and died on the rack.

XXIV. Demetrius was again accused by Perseus before his father. The intended flight through Paeonia was one charge, and the bribery of certain

cepted: the use of the pronouns seems to make this impossible, and the content of the letter is inconsistent with that interpretation. If this were true, one could conclude only that Demetrius had discussed the situation with Quinctius and that the latter had urged the former against taking active measures to secure the throne and especially against involving Quinctius in the plot.

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batur [1] et corrupti quidam ut comites itineris essent;
2 maxime falsae litterae T. Quinctii urgebant. Nihil tamen palam gravius pronuntiatum de eo est, ut dolo potius interficeretur, nec id cura ipsius, sed ne
3 poena eius consilia adversus Romanos nudaret. Ab Thessalonice Demetriadem ipsi cum iter esset, Astraeum Paeoniae Demetrium mittit cum eodem comite Dida, Perseum Amphipolin ad obsides
4 Thracum accipiendos. Digredienti ab se Didae
5 mandata dedisse dicitur de filio occidendo. Sacrificium ab Dida seu institutum seu simulatum est, ad quod celebrandum invitatus Demetrius ab Astraeo Heracleam venit. In ea cena dicitur
6 venenum datum. Poculo epoto extemplo sensit, et mox coortis doloribus, relicto convivio cum in cubiculum recepisset sese, crudelitatem patris conquerens, parricidium fratris ac Didae scelus incusans
7 torquebatur. Intromissi deinde Thyrsis quidam Stuberraeus et Beroeaeus [2] Alexander iniectis tape-
8 tibus in caput faucesque spiritum intercluserunt. Ita innoxius adulescens, cum in eo ne simplici quidem genere mortis contenti inimici fuissent, interficitur.

XXV. Dum haec in Macedonia geruntur, L. Aemilius Paulus,[3] prorogato ex consulatu imperio, principio veris in Ligures Ingaunos exercitum [4] introduxit.

[1] arguebatur *Gelenius*: arguebant ς.
[2] Beroeaeus *Sigonius*: bereus *et similia* ς.
[3] Paulus *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[4] exercitum *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.

[1] A sacrifice was usually accompanied by a feast.

persons to be his companions on the journey; the B.C. 181
forged letter of Titus Quinctius weighed especially heavily against him. Nevertheless no severe sentence was openly pronounced upon him, in order that he might rather be killed through guile, and this not out of any consideration for him personally, but in order that his punishment might not expose the plans against the Romans. When Philip himself had a journey to make from Thessalonica to Demetrias, he sent Demetrius, accompanied by the same Didas, to Astraeum in Paeonia and Perseus to Amphipolis to receive the Thracian hostages. Instructions regarding the murder of his son are said to have been given by him to Didas as they separated. Didas either held or pretended to hold a sacrifice, and being invited to its celebration Demetrius came from Astraeum to Heraclea, and it was during this dinner that it is said that the poison was administered.[1] Having drained the cup he immediately perceived it, and presently, when his sufferings began and he had retired to his bedroom from the dining-room, complaining of the cruelty of his father and inveighing against the murderous designs of his brother and the crime of Didas, he was being tortured by his agony. Then a certain Thyrsis from Stuberra and Alexander from Beroea were admitted, and putting coverlets over his head and mouth they smothered him. Thus the innocent youth perished, his enemies being not even contented with a single kind of death for him.

XXV. While this was going on in Macedonia, Lucius Aemilius Paulus, whose *imperium* had been prolonged after his consulship, in the beginning of spring led the army against the Ligurian Ingauni.

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2 Ubi primum in hostium finibus castra posuit, legati ad eum per speciem pacis petendae speculatum venerunt. 3 Neganti Paulo nisi cum deditis pacisci se pacem, non tam id recusabant quam tempore aiebant opus esse, 4 ut generi agresti hominum persuaderetur. Ad hoc decem dierum indutiae cum darentur,[1] petierunt deinde ne trans montes proximos castris pabulatum lignatumque milites irent: culta ea loca suorum 5 finium esse. Id ubi impetravere, post eos ipsos montes unde averterant hostem, exercitu omni coacto, repente multitudine ingenti castra Romanorum oppugnare simul omnibus portis aggressi sunt. 6 Summa vi totum diem oppugnarunt, ita ut ne efferendi quidem signa Romanis spatium nec ad explicandam 7 aciem locus esset. Conferti in portis obstando magis quam pugnando castra tutabantur. Sub occasum solis cum recessissent hostes, duos equites ad Cn.[2] Baebium proconsulem[3] cum litteris Pisas mittit, ut obsesso per indutias sibi quam primum subsidio 8 veniret. Baebius exercitum M. Pinario praetori eunti in Sardiniam tradiderat: ceterum et senatum litteris certiorem fecit[4] obsideri a Liguribus L. 9 Aemilium, et M. Claudio Marcello, cuius proxima inde provincia erat, scripsit ut si videretur ei exercitum e Gallia traduceret in Ligures et L. Aemilium

[1] dec. di. ind. cum darentur σ : quum darentur induciae *M*.
[2] Cn. *Glareanus* : *m*. σ.
[3] proconsulem *Sigonius* : consulem σ.
[4] fecit σ : facit *M*.

As soon as he had encamped in the enemy's country, B.C. 181
ambassadors came to him to spy, although under the guise of seeking peace. When Paulus said that he did not negotiate for peace except with people who had surrendered, they did not so much refuse to negotiate as say that they needed time to persuade a rude agricultural tribe. When a truce for ten days was granted for this purpose, they then asked that the soldiers should not cross the mountains nearest the camp in quest of forage and wood: these, they said, were the cultivated parts of their territory. When they obtained this, they massed their whole army under cover of those very mountains from which they had kept the enemy, and suddenly with a vast host advanced to attack the Roman camp at all the gates at once. They continued the attack all day with the greatest violence, so that the Romans did not even have the opportunity to carry forth their standards nor any room to develop their line of battle. Having been packed in the gates, they defended the camp more by blocking the entrances than by fighting. When the enemy had retired at sunset, the consul sent two troopers to Gnaeus Baebius the proconsul at Pisa, with dispatches to the effect that he had been besieged during a truce and that Baebius should come to his aid as soon as possible. Baebius had turned his army over to Marcus Pinarius the praetor, who was going to Sardinia: but he informed the senate by letter that Lucius Aemilius was besieged by the Ligurians, and he wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province was nearest to them, that if it seemed wise to him he should march his army from Gaul against the Ligurians and rescue Lucius Aemilius from siege. All these relief

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10 liberaret obsidione. Haec sera futura auxilia erant. Ligures ad castra postero die redeunt. Aemilius cum et venturos scisset et educere in aciem potuisset, intra vallum suos tenuit, ut extraheret rem in id tempus, quo Baebius cum exercitu venire a Pisis posset.

XXVI. Romae magnam trepidationem litterae
2 Baebii fecerunt, eo maiorem quod paucos post dies Marcellus, tradito exercitu Fabio Romam cum venisset, spem ademit eum qui in Gallia esset exercitum in Ligures posse traduci, quia bellum cum Histris esset prohibentibus coloniam Aquileiam
3 deduci: eo profectum Fabium, neque inde regredi
4 bello inchoato posse. Una, et ea ipsa tardior quam tempus postulabat, subsidii spes erat, si consules maturassent in provinciam ire. Id ut facerent, pro
5 se quisque patrum vociferari. Consules nisi confecto dilectu negare se ituros,[1] nec suam segnitiem sed vim morbi in causa esse quo serius perficeretur.
6 Non tamen potuerunt sustinere consensum senatus, quin paludati exirent et militibus quos conscriptos haberent, diem edicerent quo Pisas convenirent. Permissum ut qua irent protinus subitarios milites
7 scriberent ducerentque secum. Et praetoribus Q. Petilio et Q. Fabio imperatum est ut Petilius duas legiones civium Romanorum tumultuarias scriberet

[1] se ituros *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: esse ituros *M*: ituros se σ.

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[1] Cf. XXXI. xiv. 1 and the note.

[2] Fabius Maximus, the *praetor peregrinus*; the Fabius of sect. 2 above is Fabius Buteo.

[3] These legions resemble the usual *urbanae*, reserve legions (XXXV. ii. 3 and the note), and are so called in xxviii. 9 below.

measures were destined to be late. The Ligurians B.C. 181
returned the next day to the camp. Although Aemilius had known that they would come and could have drawn his forces out into battle-line, he held his men within the rampart, so as to drag things out until Baebius and his army could arrive from Pisa.

XXVI. At Rome the letter of Baebius caused great consternation, the greater because a few days later, when Marcellus reached Rome after turning his army over to Fabius, he took away the hope that the army which was in Gaul could be marched against the Ligurians, because the war was on with the Histrians, who were interfering with the establishment of the colony at Aquileia: Fabius, he said, had already set out for Histria and could not return now that the war had begun. There was only one hope of assistance, and that requiring more time than the critical situation permitted—the possibility that the consuls should make haste to go to their province. Each of the Fathers on his own account cried out that they should do so. The consuls refused to go unless the levy were complete, saying that it was due not to their sloth but to the violence of the epidemic that the levy was slow in being finished. Nevertheless they could not resist the general sentiment of the senate, and therefore set out in uniform[1] and proclaimed to the soldiers whom they now had levied the day on which they were to muster at Pisa. Authority was granted them to enlist at once and take with them emergency troops wherever they went. Orders were also issued to the praetors Quintus Petilius and Quintus Fabius[2] that Petilius should enroll two emergency[3] legions of Roman citizens

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et omnes minores quinquaginta annis sacramento rogaret, Fabio, ut sociis Latini nominis quindecim milia peditum, octingentos equites imperaret. 8 Duumviri navales creati C. Matienus et C. Lucretius, navesque iis ornatae sunt, Matienoque, cuius [1] ad Gallicum sinum provincia erat, imperatum est ut classem primo quoque tempore duceret in Ligurum oram, si quo usui esse L. Aemilio atque exercitui eius posset.

XXVII. Aemilius, postquam nihil usquam auxilii ostendebatur, interceptos credens equites, non ultra 2 differendum ratus quin per se fortunam temptaret, priusquam hostes venirent, qui segnius socordiusque oppugnabant, ad quattuor portas exercitum instruxit ut signo dato simul ex omnibus partibus eruptionem 3 facerent. Quattuor extraordinariis cohortibus duas adiunxit praeposito M. Valerio legato, erumpere 4 praetoria porta [2] iussit. Ad dexteram principalem hastatos legionis primae instruxit; principes ex eadem legione in subsidiis posuit: M. Servilius et 5 L. Sulpicius [3] tribuni militum his praepositi.[4] Tertia legio adversus sinistram principalem portam instructa 6 est. Id tantum mutatum: principes primi et hastati

[1] Matienoque cuius *Gelenius*: cuiusque ς.
[2] praetoria porta *Klenze*: extraordinarios (-iis) a porta ς.
[3] M. Servilius et L. Sulpicius *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: m. seruilium et l. sulpicium ς.
[4] praepositi *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: praepositis ς.

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[1] Additional cohorts, not forming part of the legionary organization: cf. XXXIV. xlvii, 3 and the note.
[2] They probably belonged to the *sinistra ala*: cf. sect. 7 below and the note and XXXI. xxi. 7 and the note.
[3] The rectangular camp was divided into four approximately equal sections by streets parallel to the sides and termin-

and should administer the oath to all under the age of fifty years, and to Fabius to call upon the allies of the Latin confederacy for fifteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. They elected as *duumviri navales* Gaius Matienus and Gaius Lucretius and ships were equipped for them, and Matienus, whose district was along the Gallic gulf, was directed to conduct his fleet at the earliest possible moment to the coast of the Ligurians, to see if he could assist Lucius Aemilius and his army in any way. B.C. 181

XXVII. Aemilius, when no sign of relief was in sight anywhere, assuming that his troopers had been captured, decided that he should not wait longer before making trial of fortune for himself, and before the arrival of the enemy, who were conducting the siege rather slowly and half-heartedly, he formed his army at the four gates, so that when the signal was given they might sally forth in all directions at once. To the four attached[1] cohorts he added two[2] under the command of Marcus Valerius the lieutenant, and ordered them to attack from the *porta praetoria*.[3] At the *dextra principalis* he placed the *hastati*[4] of the first legion; the *principes* of the same legion he posted in reserve. Marcus Servilius and Lucius Sulpicius, tribunes of the soldiers, were in command. The third legion was similarly disposed at the *sinistra principalis*. This one change was made: the *principes* were placed in the front line and the *hastati* in re-

ating in gates. The gate facing the enemy was the *praetoria*, the one opposite it the *quaestoria* or *decumana*, on the remaining sides were the *dextra* and *sinistra principalis*, right and left from the standpoint of a person facing the enemy.

[4] The *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii* were respectively the first, second and third lines of a legion in battle-formation.

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A.U.C. 573 in subsidiis locati; Sex. Iulius Caesar et L. Aurelius[1] Cotta tribuni militum huic legioni praepositi sunt. 7 Q. Fulvius Flaccus legatus cum dextera ala ad quaestoriam portam positus; duae cohortes et triarii duarum legionum in praesidio castrorum manere 8 iussi. Omnes portas contionabundus ipse imperator circumiit, et quibuscumque irritamentis poterat iras 9 militum acuebat, nunc fraudem hostium incusans, qui pace petita, indutiis datis, per ipsum indutiarum tempus contra ius gentium ad castra oppugnanda ve- 10 nissent: nunc quantus pudor esset edocens ab Liguribus, latronibus verius quam hostibus iustis, Roma- 11 num exercitum obsideri. "Quo ore quisquam vestrum, si hinc alieno praesidio, non vestra virtute evaseritis, occurret, non dico eis militibus, qui Hannibalem, qui Philippum, qui Antiochum, maxi- 12 mos aetatis nostrae reges ducesque, vicerunt, sed iis qui hos ipsos Ligures aliquotiens pecorum modo fugientes per saltus invios consectati ceciderunt? 13 Quod[2] Hispani, quod[2] Galli, quod[2] Macedones Poenive non audeant, Ligustinus hostis vallum Romanum subit, obsidet ultro et oppugnat, quem scrutantes ante devios saltus abditum et latentem 14 vix inveniebamus." Ad haec consentiens reddebatur militum clamor, nullam militum culpam esse, quibus 15 nemo ad erumpendum signum dedisset, daret

[1] Aurelius *ed. Frobeniana* 1531 : ualerius ς.
[2] quod (*ter*) *edd. vett.* : quid (*ter*) ς.

[1] This Flaccus was probably the cousin of the Flaccus who was in Spain (i. 2 above). He was praetor in 187 B.C. (XXXVIII. xlii. 4) and replaced his step-father as consul in 180 B.C. (XXXVII. 6 below).

serve; Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Aurelius B.C. 181
Cotta, tribunes of the soldiers, commanded this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus[1] his lieutenant was posted with the right squadron at the *porta quaestoria*; two cohorts[2] and the *triarii* of the two legions were ordered to guard the camp. The commander in person made the round of the gates to harangue the troops, and with whatever taunts he could find he worked the soldiers up to fighting pitch, now blaming the deceit of the enemy who, after seeking peace and being granted a truce, had come to besiege the camp while the truce was actually in effect, contrary to the law of nations, now showing how shameful it was for a Roman army to be besieged by Ligurians, brigands rather than regular soldiers. "With what face will any of you," he went on, "if you escape from here under the protection of anyone else and not by your own valour, meet, I shall not say those soldiers who conquered Hannibal, Philip, Antiochus, the greatest kings and commanders of our time, but those by whom these same Ligurians have so often, as they fled like sheep through pathless glades, been pursued and slaughtered? A thing that Spaniards, Gauls, Macedonians or Carthaginians did not dare to do a Ligurian enemy now does—advances against a Roman rampart, of their own accord besets and besieges it: an enemy whom, before this, we could scarcely discover, as they lurked and skulked, while we searched hidden defiles." The answer to this was a general shout from the troops, that the soldiers were not to blame since no one had given them the order to sally forth: let him

[2] They must also have belonged to the *sinistra ala*, but six of its cohorts are not accounted for here.

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signum: intellecturum eosdem qui antea fuerint et Romanis et Ligures esse.

XXVIII. Bina cis montes castra Ligurum erant. 2 Ex iis primis diebus sole orto pariter omnes compositi et instructi procedebant; tum nisi exsatiati cibo vinoque arma non capiebant, dispersi inordinati exibant, ut quibus prope [1] certum esset hostes extra 3 vallum non elaturos signa. Adversus ita incompositos eos venientes clamore pariter omnium qui in castris erant, calonum quoque et lixarum sublato 4 simul omnibus portis Romani eruperunt. Liguribus adeo improvisa res fuit ut perinde ac si insidiis circum- 5 venti forent trepidarent. Exiguum temporis aliqua forma pugnae fuit: fuga deinde effusa et fugientium [2] passim caedes erat, equitibus dato signo ut conscenderent equos nec effugere quemquam sinerent. In castra omnes trepida fuga compulsi sunt, deinde 6 ipsis exuti castris. Supra quindecim milia Ligurum eo die occisa, capti duo milia et trecenti.[3] Triduo post Ligurum Ingaunorum nomen omne obsidibus 7 datis in dicionem venit. Gubernatores nautaeque conquisiti, qui in praedatoriis [4] fuissent navibus, atque omnes in custodiam coniecti. Et a C. Matieno duumviro naves eius generis in Ligustina ora triginta duae 8 captae sunt. Haec qui nuntiarent litterasque ad senatum ferrent, L. Aurelius Cotta C. Sulpicius Gallus

[1] prope *Muretus*: pro se ζ.
[2] et fugientium *edd. vett.*: effugientium ζ.
[3] trecenti *Madvig*: trecenti tres *M*: quingenti ζ.
[4] in praedatoriis *Crévier*: praedatores ζ.

give the signal and he would soon learn that both Romans and Ligurians were the same as they had been before. B.C. 181

XXVIII. The Ligurians had two camps on this side of the mountains. Formerly, all alike used to come forth from them at sunrise, formed and arrayed for battle; but later on they did not take up arms until they had their fill of food and wine, and then they went out scattered and disorganized, like men who were practically certain that the enemy would not bring out their standards before the rampart. Against an enemy advancing in such disorder, a shout being raised at one time by all who were in the camp, attendants and sutlers alike, the Roman soldiers burst from all the gates at once. The attack was so complete a surprise to the Ligurians that they were as frightened as if they had fallen into an ambush. For a brief period there was something resembling a battle: then there was headlong flight and the slaughter of fugitives all around, the signal having been given to the cavalry that they should mount their horses and permit no one to escape. All were driven in terrified rout into the camps and then stripped of their camps as well. More than fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed that day and two thousand three hundred captured. Three days later the whole people of the Ligurian Ingauni gave hostages and surrendered. The pilots and sailors who had been on their pirate ships were sought out and all put in confinement. And Gaius Matienus the duumvir captured thirty-two ships of this kind on the Ligurian coast. To take this news and carry dispatches to the senate, Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Gaius Sulpicius Gallus were sent to Rome,

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a.u.c. 573 Romam missi, simulque peterent ut L. Aemilio confecta provincia decedere et deducere secum milites liceret atque dimittere. Utrumque permissum ab senatu et supplicatio ad omnia pulvinaria per triduum decreta, iussique praetores Petilius urbanas dimittere legiones, Fabius sociis atque nomini Latino remittere dilectum; et ut praetor urbanus consulibus scriberet senatum aequum censere subitarios milites, tumultus causa conscriptos, primo quoque tempore dimitti.

XXIX. Colonia Graviscae [1] eo anno deducta est in agrum Etruscum, de Tarquiniensibus quondam captum. Quina iugera agri data; tresviri deduxerunt C. Calpurnius Piso P. Claudius Pulcher C. Terentius Istra. Siccitate et inopia frugum insignis annus fuit. Sex menses numquam pluvisse memoriae [2] proditum.

Eodem anno in agro L. Petilii scribae sub Ianiculo, dum cultores agri altius moliuntur terram, duae lapideae arcae, octonos ferme pedes longae, quaternos latae, inventae sunt, operculis plumbo devinctis. Litteris Latinis Graecisque utraque arca inscripta [3] erat, in altera Numam Pompilium Pomponis filium, regem Romanorum, sepultum esse, in altera libros Numae Pompilii inesse. Eas arcas cum ex amicorum sententia dominus aperuisset, quae titulum sepulti

[1] Graviscae *ed. Parisina* 1510: crauis *aut* grauis ς.
[2] memoriae *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: memoria ς.
[3] inscripta *edd. vett.*: scripta ς.

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[1] Cf. XXXVIII. l. 3. Paulus is beginning a campaign for a triumph.

with instructions also to ask that Lucius Aemilius, B.C. 181
having accomplished the task assigned him as his province, should be permitted to leave it and to bring his soldiers back with him and discharge them.[1] Both requests were granted by the senate, and a three-day period of thanksgiving was decreed at all the banquet-tables of the gods, and the praetor Petilius was instructed to discharge the reserve legions, the praetor Fabius to discontinue the levy among the allies of the Latin confederacy; and it was ordered that the *praetor urbanus* should write to the consuls that the senate deemed it proper that they should discharge the temporary troops, which had been drafted because of the emergency, at the earliest possible moment.

XXIX. A colony at Gravisca was founded this year in Etruscan territory, which had once been taken from the people of Tarquinii. Five *iugera* of land were given each colonist; the board of three who founded it consisted of Gaius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, Gaius Terentius Istra. Drought and crop failures made the year remarkable. For six months, as the story goes, it did not rain at all.

The same year, on the land of Lucius Petilius, a public clerk, at the foot of the Janiculan, while husbandmen were digging up the ground to a greater depth than usual, two stone chests were found, each about eight feet long and four broad, with the lids fastened with lead. Each chest had an inscription, in Latin and Greek letters: one to the effect that Numa Pompilius, the son of Pompo, king of the Romans, was buried there, the other, that the books of Numa Pompilius were inside. When, on the advice of his friends, the owner had opened the chests, the

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regis habuerat, inanis inventa, sine vestigio ullo corporis humani aut ullius rei, per tabem tot annorum 6 omnibus absumptis. In altera duo fasces candelis involuti septenos habuere libros, non integros modo 7 sed recentissima specie. Septem Latini de iure pontificum erant, septem Graeci de disciplina sapi- 8 entiae quae illius aetatis esse potuit. Adicit Antias Valerius Pythagoricos fuisse, volgatae opinioni, qua creditur Pythagorae auditorem fuisse Numam, 9 mendacio probabili accommodata fide.[1] primo ab amicis qui in re praesenti fuerunt libri lecti; mox pluribus legentibus cum volgarentur, Q. Petilius praetor urbanus studiosus legendi libros eos a L. Pe- 10 tilio sumpsit: et erat familiaris usus, quod scribam 11 quaestor Q. Petilius in decuriam legerat. Lectis rerum summis cum animadvertisset pleraque dissol-

[1] accommodata fide *Gelenius*: accommodat fidem ς.

[1] Numa was regarded as the source of the pontificial law.

[2] The obvious meaning is that the system expounded was simple and practical rather than theoretical and academic; but see the next sentence.

[3] Livy himself did not believe this (I. xviii. 4).

[4] Several other accounts of this episode have been preserved indirectly and incompletely: those of Cassius Hemina, Piso and Antias in Pliny (*H. N.* XIII. 84–87), and of Varro in Augustine (*De civitate dei* VII. xxxiv). It is reported also by Valerius Maximus (I. i. 12), whose account is based on Livy, and by Plutarch (*Numa* 22), who quotes Antias as his source. These accounts differ as to the number of books found: Piso says seven, Antias twelve, while Hemina (the numeral III sometimes given is a conjecture, rejected by Jan-Mayhoff and by Peter) and Varro do not mention the number. This offers a faint suggestion that Livy followed Piso here, although he agrees rather with Antias as to the contents of the book. Unfortunately Pliny does not relate the whole episode, so that a thorough-going comparison of Livy with the older writers is impossible.

one which carried the inscription about the buried king was found empty, with no trace of a human body or anything else, everything having been destroyed by the wasting action of so many years. In the other were two bundles, tied with waxed rope, containing seven books each, not merely whole, but looking absolutely fresh. The seven Latin books dealt with pontifical law,[1] the seven Greek with a system of philosophy which might have been current at that time.[2] Valerius Antias adds that they were Pythagorean, confirmation of the common belief, which says that Numa was a pupil of Pythagoras,[3] being arranged by a plausible invention.[4] The books were at first read by the friends who were present; soon, after others had read them and they were becoming generally known, Quintus Petilius, the *praetor urbanus*, desiring to read the books, borrowed them from Lucius Petilius; and there was an acquaintance between them because Quintus Petilius when quaestor had chosen the other as a clerk on his staff.[5] When, on reading the important contents, he had observed that much of it was subversive of religion,[6] B.C. 181

[5] The *scribae publici* comprised a distinct class of more or less permanent civil servants who did the clerical work in the administrative offices. This sentence may mean rather that Q. Petilius had secured for L. Petilius his appointment as a *scriba publicus* and therewith his assignment to a *decuria*, which was the unit of organization of the *scribae* as a class.

[6] This characterization seems to be inconsistent with the accepted and the rejected accounts of them in sects. 7–8 above. The Bacchanalian affair had made the Romans unusually sensitive about the preservation of the native religion the hold of which on the people was manifestly weakening. Curiously, however, the pontiffs were not consulted, and only a lay opinion as to the nature of these books was sought.

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vendarum religionum esse, L. Petilio dixit sese libros eos in ignem coniecturum esse; priusquam id faceret, se ei permittere uti si quod seu ius seu auxilium se habere ad eos libros repetendos existimaret, exper-
12 iretur: id [1] integra sua gratia eum facturum. Scriba tribunos plebis adit, ab tribunis ad senatum res est reiecta. Praetor se [2] iusiurandum dare paratum esse aiebat, libros eos legi servarique non oportere.
13 Senatus censuit satis habendum quod praetor iusiurandum polliceretur; libros primo quoque tempore in comitio cremandos esse; pretium pro libris quantum Q. Petilio praetori maiorique parti tribunorum plebis videretur, domino solvendum esse. Id scriba non
14 accepit. Libri in comitio igne a victimariis facto [3] in conspectu populi cremati sunt.

XXX. Magnum bellum ea aestate coortum in Hispania citeriore. Ad quinque et triginta milia hominum, quantum numquam ferme antea, Celtiberi
2 comparaverant. Q. Fulvius Flaccus eam obtinebat provinciam. Is quia armare iuventutem Celtiberos audierat, et ipse quanta poterat a sociis auxilia contraxerat, sed nequaquam numero militum hostem
3 aequabat. Principio veris exercitum in Carpetaniam

[1] id *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[2] se *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: ei *aut* eis *aut* eius ς.
[3] igne a victimariis facto *Gelenius*: ignea uictima his facta ς.

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[1] In other words, the praetor would countenance an appeal for the *auxilium* of the tribunes if the scribe considered that he was suffering the confiscation of legally-held property.

[2] Valerius Maximus says that the Latin books were spared. Livy and all the other authorities seem to think that both Latin and Greek books were burned.

he told Lucius Petilius that he intended to throw B.C. 181
those books into the fire; before he did this he gave the scribe permission to try to see if he thought that he had any legal right or possibility of assistance,[1] if he preferred, to recover those books: he himself would take no offence at such action. The scribe went to the tribunes of the people and by them the case was referred to the senate. The praetor said that he was prepared to give his oath that the books ought not to be read or preserved. The senate voted that it seemed sufficient that the praetor promised the oath; that the books should be burned as soon as possible in the *comitium*; that compensation for the books, whatever seemed proper to Quintus Petilius the praetor and the majority of the tribunes of the people, should be paid to their owner. This the scribe did not accept. The books[2] were burned in the *comitium* in sight of the people, the fire having been supplied by the *victimarii*.[3]

XXX. A great war broke out that summer in Nearer Spain.[4] The Celtiberians had mobilized about thirty-five thousand men, a greater number, almost, than ever before. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was governor of this province. Because he had heard that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, he too had brought in from the allies as many auxiliaries as possible, but by no means equalled the enemy in number of men. In the beginning of spring he led

[3] In later times the *victimarii* assisted priests and magistrates at sacrifices; it is not known whether they functioned thus in the time under discussion. Their participation here, whatever their official status was, makes the destruction of the books appear as a formal act of sacrifice.

[4] The narrative broken off at xvi. 11 above is resumed.

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duxit et castra locavit ad oppidum Aeburam, modico praesidio in urbe posito. Paucis post diebus Celtiberi
4 milia duo fere inde sub colle posuerunt castra. Quos ubi adesse praetor Romanus sensit, M. Fulvium fratrem cum duabus turmis sociorum equitum ad castra hostium speculatum misit, quam proxime succedere ad vallum iussum[1] ut viseret quanta essent;
5 pugna abstineret reciperetque sese, si hostium equitatum exeuntem vidisset. Ita ut praeceptum erat fecit. Per dies aliquot nihil ultra motum quam ut hae duae turmae ostenderentur, deinde subducerentur, ubi equitatus hostium castris procucurrisset.
6 Postremo Celtiberi, simul omnibus copiis peditum equitumque castris egressi, acie derecta medio fere
7 spatio inter bina castra constiterunt. Campus erat planus omnis et aptus pugnae. Ibi stetere Hispani hostes expectantes. Romanus suos intra vallum continuit. Per quadriduum continuum et illi eodem
8 loco aciem instructam tenuerunt et ab[2] Romanis nihil motum. Inde quievere in castris Celtiberi, quia pugnae copia non fiebat: equites tantum in stationem egrediebantur, ut parati essent si quid ab hoste
9 moveretur. Pone castra utrique pabulatum et lignatum ibant, neutri alteros impedientes.

XXXI. Praetor Romanus ubi satis tot dierum quiete credidit spem factam hosti nihil se priorem

[1] quam . . . iussum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* ς.
[2] et ab *Madvig*: ab ς.

the army into Carpetania and fixed his camp near the B.C. 181
town of Aebura, leaving a small garrison in the town. A few days later the Celtiberians encamped about two miles away, at the foot of a hill. When the Roman praetor became aware of their arrival, he sent his brother Marcus Fulvius with two troops of allied cavalry to reconnoitre toward the camp of the enemy, with orders to approach as closely as possible to the rampart so as to ascertain how large the camp was; he was to avoid a battle and to withdraw if he saw the hostile cavalry coming out. He acted just as he was ordered. For several days there was no movement beyond the fact that these two troops showed themselves and were then withdrawn when the enemy's cavalry had rushed out of the camp. Finally the Celtiberians, leaving the camp with their entire force of infantry and cavalry, took their position in a straight line about half-way across the plain which was between the two camps. The plain was entirely flat and suitable for fighting. There the Spaniards stood waiting for the enemy. The Roman kept his men within the rampart. For four days in succession they on their side held their line in formation on the same ground; the Romans, on their side, made no move. Then the Celtiberians rested in camp, because they had no opportunity to fight: only the cavalry rode out to the outguards, so as to be ready if any move should be made by the enemy. Both armies went to the rear of their camps for forage and wood, neither interfering with the other.

XXXI. The Roman praetor, when he was well assured that the inaction of so many days had created in the enemy the expectation that the Romans

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moturum, L. Acilium cum ala sinistra et sex milibus provincialium auxiliorum circumire montem iubet
2 qui ab tergo hostibus erat; inde ubi clamorem audisset, decurrere ad castra eorum. Nocte profecti
3 sunt ne possent conspici. Flaccus luce prima C. Scribonium praefectum socium ad vallum hostium cum equitibus extraordinariis sinistrae alae mittit;
4 quos ubi et propius accedere et plures quam soliti erant, Celtiberi conspexerunt, omnis equitatus effunditur castris, simul et peditibus signum ad exeundum
5 datur. Scribonius, uti praeceptum erat, ubi primum fremitum equestrem [1] audivit, avertit equos et castra
6 repetit. Eo effusius sequi hostes. Primo equites, mox et peditum acies aderat, haud dubia spe castra eo die se expugnaturos.[2] Quingentos passus non plus
7 a vallo aberant. Itaque Flaccus ubi satis abstractos [3] eos a praesidio castrorum suorum ratus est, intra vallum exercitu instructo tribus partibus simul erumpit, clamore non tantum ad ardorem pugnae excitandum [4] sublato, sed etiam ut qui in montibus
8 erant exaudirent. Nec morati sunt quin decurrerent, sicut imperatum erat, ad castra; ubi quinque milium armatorum non amplius relictum erat prae-
9 sidium. Quos cum et paucitas sua et multitudo hostium et improvisa res terruisset, prope sine certamine capiuntur castra. Captis,[5] quae pars

[1] equestrem *Gronovius*: equestrium ς.
[2] expugnaturos *Gronovius*: oppugnaturos ς.
[3] abstractos *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[4] pugnae excitandum *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: excitandum pugnae ς.
[5] captis *Madvig*: castris ς.

would not take the initiative, ordered Lucius Acilius B.C. 181
with the left squadron and six thousand auxiliaries from the province to march around the hill which was in the rear of the enemy; thence, when he should have heard the shout, he was to rush down on the camp. They set out at night that they might not be seen. At daybreak Flaccus sent Gaius Scribonius, a commander of allies, with the attached cavalry of the left squadron, up to the rampart of the enemy; when the Celtiberians saw both that they came nearer and that they were more numerous than usual, all their cavalry poured out of the camp, and at the same time the signal was given to the infantry also to march out. Scribonius, as he had been ordered, as soon as he heard the first din of the cavalry, turned his horses and retired to the camp. The more headlong was the pursuit of the enemy. At first the cavalry and soon after the line of the infantry was at hand, possessed by the assured hope that they would capture the camp that day. They were not more than five hundred paces from the rampart. And so Flaccus, when he saw that they had been drawn far enough away from the protection of their camp, having formed his army inside the rampart, sallied out in three columns at once, raising a shout not only to increase their own ardour for fighting, but also that the detachment which was in the mountains might hear it. Nor did they delay to rush down upon the camp as they had been ordered; not more than five thousand men had been left there as a guard. Since their own small number and the great number of the enemy and the unexpectedness of the attack had thrown them into a panic, the camp was taken almost without a struggle. When it was captured,

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A.U.C. 573 maxime a[1] pugnantibus conspici poterat, iniecit Acilius ignem.

XXXII. Postremi Celtiberorum qui in acie erant, primi flammam conspexere, deinde per totam aciem vulgatum est castra amissa esse et tum cum maxime ardere.[2] Unde illis terror, inde Romanis animus 2 crevit. Iam clamor suorum vincentium accidebat,[3] 3 iam ardentia hostium castra apparebant. Celtiberi parumper incertis animis fluctuati sunt: ceterum postquam receptus pulsis nullus erat nec usquam nisi in certamine spes, pertinacius de integro capes- 4 sunt pugnam. Acie media urgebantur acriter a quinta legione: adversus laevum cornu, in quo sui generis provincialia auxilia instruxisse Romanos cernebant, cum maiore fiducia intulerunt signa. 5 Iam prope erat ut sinistrum cornu pelleretur Romanis, ni septima legio successisset. Simul ab oppido Aebura qui in praesidio relicti erant, in medio ardore 6 pugnae advenerunt, et Acilius ab tergo erat. Diu in medio caesi Celtiberi: qui supererant in omnes passim partes capessunt fugam. Equites bipartito in eos emissi magnam caedem edidere. Ad viginti tria milia hostium eo die[4] occisa, capta quattuor milia septingenti[5] cum equis plus[6] quingentis et 7 signa militaria octoginta octo. Magna victoria non tamen incruenta fuit: Romani milites de duabus legionibus paulo plus ducenti, socium Latini nominis

[1] a *edd. vett.*: *om.* ς.
[2] ardere *Gelenius*: arderent ς.
[3] accidebat *Gelenius*: accendebat ς.
[4] eo die ς: *om. M.*
[5] septingenti ς: ducenti *M.*
[6] equis plus ς: equitibus *M.*

Acilius ordered fire to be set to it in the place which could be best seen by the fighters. B.C. 181

XXXII. The rear ranks of the Celtiberians who were in the line of battle were the first to see the flames, and then the word spread through the whole line that the camp was lost and was at that very moment in flames. What inspired terror in them increased the courage of the Romans. Now the shouts of their victorious comrades were falling upon their ears, now the blazing camp of the enemy was in sight. The Celtiberians for a while wavered in uncertainty of mind: but since there was no retreat if they were defeated nor any hope anywhere except in battle, they renewed the contest with greater stubbornness. In the centre of the line they were hard pressed by the fifth legion; against the left flank, on which they saw that the Romans had posted the provincial auxiliaries of their own race, they advanced with greater confidence. And now the Roman left was almost being driven back, and would have been had not the seventh legion come to its assistance. At the same time those who had been left on guard in the town of Aebura came up in the very heat of the fight, and Acilius from the rear was drawing near. For a long time the Celtiberians were cut down between them; those who survived sought flight in every direction. The cavalry, sent out in two columns to pursue them, caused great slaughter. About twenty-three thousand of the enemy were killed that day, four thousand seven hundred captured, with more than five hundred horses and eighty-eight military standards. The victory was great but yet not bloodless: of Roman soldiers of the two legions, a little more than two hundred,

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octingenti triginta, externorum auxiliarium ferme duo
8 milia et quadringenti ceciderunt. Praetor in castra victorem exercitum reduxit, Acilius manere in captis ab se castris iussus. Postero die spolia de hostibus lecta, et pro contione donati quorum virtus insignis fuerat.

XXXIII. Sauciis deinde in oppidum Aeburam devectis per Carpetaniam ad Contrebiam ductae
2 legiones. Ea urbs circumsessa cum a Celtiberis auxilia arcessisset, morantibus iis, non quia ipsi cunctati sunt, sed quia profectos domo inexplicabiles continuis imbribus viae et inflati amnes tenebant, desperato auxilio suorum in deditionem venit.
3 Flaccus quoque tempestatibus foedis coactus exer-
4 citum omnem in urbem introduxit. Celtiberi, qui profecti erant a domo deditionis ignari, cum tandem superatis, ubi primum imbres remiserunt, amnibus Contrebiam venissent, postquam nulla castra extra moenia viderunt, aut in alteram partem translata rati aut recessisse hostes, per neglegentiam effusi ad
5 oppidum accesserunt. In eos duabus portis Romani eruptionem fecerunt et incompositos adorti fuderunt.
6 Quae res ad resistendum eos et ad capessendam pugnam impediit, quod non uno agmine nec ad signa frequentes veniebant, eadem magnae parti ad fugam
7 saluti fuit : sparsi enim toto passim campo se diffu-

of the allies of the Latin confederacy, eight hundred B.C. 181
and thirty, of the auxiliaries from the province, about twenty-four hundred fell. The praetor led the victorious army back into camp, ordering Acilius to remain in the camp of the enemy. On the following day the spoils of the enemy were collected and before an assembly those whose valour had been conspicuous were rewarded.

XXXIII. Having transported the wounded to the town of Aebura, he led the legions through Carpetania toward Contrebia. When this town, on being besieged, had asked aid from the Celtiberians and they were slow in coming, not because they dawdled, but because after they had left home they were held up by roads made impassable by continuous rains and by swollen rivers, despairing of assistance from its friends, it surrendered. Flaccus, too, having been driven to do so by dire storms, led his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who had set out from home in ignorance of the surrender, when they had at last arrived at Contrebia after crossing the rivers as soon as the rains ceased, seeing no camp outside the walls and concluding that the enemy had either gone around to the other side or retired, carelessly approached the town in scattered bodies. The Romans made a sally against them from two gates and attacking them while they were in disorder put them to flight. The circumstance which hampered their resisting and standing up to the fight, namely, that they were not advancing in one column or with large numbers grouped in formation around the standards, was itself the cause of safety for the majority in the flight: for scattered as they were anyhow over the whole plain, they broke up into groups

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derunt, nec usquam [1] confertos eos hostis circumvenit. Tamen ad duodecim milia sunt caesa, capta plus quinque milia hominum, equi quadringenti, signa militaria
8 sexaginta duo. Qui palati [2] e fuga domum se recipiebant, alterum agmen venientium Celtiberorum deditionem Contrebiae et suam cladem narrando averterunt. Extemplo in vicos castellaque sua
9 omnes dilapsi. Flaccus a Contrebia profectus per Celtiberiam populabundus ducit legiones multa castella expugnando, donec maxima pars Celtiberorum in deditionem venit.

XXXIV. Haec in citeriore Hispania eo anno gesta. In ulteriore Manlius [3] praetor secunda aliquot proelia cum Lusitanis fecit.
2 Aquileia colonia Latina eodem anno in agrum [4] Gallorum est deducta. Tria milia peditum quinquagena iugera, centuriones [5] centena, centena
3 quadragena equites acceperunt. Tresviri deduxerunt P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica C. Flaminius L. Manlius
4 Acidinus. Aedes duae eo anno dedicatae sunt, una Veneris Erycinae ad portam Collinam: dedicavit L. Porcius L. F. Licinus duumvir, vota erat a consule L. Porcio Ligustino bello, altera in foro holitorio

[1] usquam ς: unquam *M*.
[2] qui palati *ed. Frobeniana* 1535: quidam latini qui ς.
[3] manlius ς: m. manlius *M*. [4] agrum *Doering*: agro ς.
[5] centuriones *Gelenius*: centurionibus ς.

[1] Usually centurions are not considered separately, and the ratio of the allotments differs: cf. XXXV. ix. 8 etc. The colony is populous and the allotments large because of its strategic position and the danger from Gauls and Histrians.
[2] For their appointment see XXXIX. lv. 6.
[3] Cf. XXX. xxxviii. 10. The vow has not been mentioned, but the senior Porcius was in Liguria in 184 B.C. (XXXIX. xxxviii. 1).

and fled, and nowhere did the enemy surround a compact mass. Nevertheless about twelve thousand were killed, more than five thousand men captured, with four hundred horses and sixty-two military standards. Those who came straggling home after their rout, by describing the surrender of Contrebia and their own disaster, prevented the departure of another force of Celtiberians who were coming. All immediately dispersed to their villages and strongholds. Flaccus, setting out from Contrebia on a raid, led the legions through Celtiberia, capturing many forts, until the greatest part of the Celtiberians had surrendered. B.C. 181

XXXIV. These were the events of this year in Nearer Spain. In the farther province the praetor Manlius won several victories over the Lusitanians.

The Latin colony of Aquileia was founded the same year in the territory of the Gauls. Three thousand infantry received fifty *iugera* each, centurions one hundred, cavalry one hundred and forty.[1] The commissioners who founded the colony were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Gaius Flaminius, Lucius Manlius Acidinus.[2] Two temples were dedicated that year, the first to Venus Erycina,[3] near the Porta Collina; Lucius Porcius Licinus, the son of Lucius, as duumvir dedicated it, and it had been vowed by Lucius Porcius the consul in the Ligurian war; the second to Pietas[4] in the Forum Olitorium. This

[4] Livy does not mention the romantic story told by Festus (p. 209), that the temple occupied the site of the house of a woman *quae patrem suum* (*i.e.*, of the Glabrio who vowed the temple) *inclusum carcere mammis suis clam aluerit*; Valerius Maximus (V. iv. 7) and Pliny (*H. N.* VII. 121) differ slightly.

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5 Pietatis. Eam aedem dedicavit M'. Acilius Glabrio duumvir; statuamque auratam, quae prima omnium in Italia statua aurata est, patris Glabrionis posuit. 6 Is erat qui ipse eam aedem [1] voverat, quo die cum rege Antiocho ad Thermopylas depugnasset, locaveratque idem ex senatus consulto.

7 Per eosdem dies quibus aedes hae dedicatae sunt, L. Aemilius Paulus proconsul ex Liguribus Ingaunis 8 triumphavit. Transtulit coronas aureas quinque [2] et viginti, nec praeterea quicquam auri argentique in eo triumpho latum. Captivi multi principes Ligurum ante currum ducti. Aeris trecenos militibus divisit. 9 Auxerunt eius triumphi famam legati Ligurum pacem perpetuam orantes: ita in animum induxisse Ligurum gentem, nulla umquam arma nisi imperata 10 a populo Romano sumere. Responsum a Q. Fabio praetore est Liguribus iussu senatus orationem eam non novam Liguribus esse: mens vero ut nova et orationi conveniens esset, ipsorum id plurimum 11 referre. Ad consules irent, et quae ab iis imperata essent facerent. Nulli alii quam consulibus senatum crediturum esse sincera fide in pace Ligures esse. 12 Pax in Liguribus fuit. In Corsica pugnatum cum Corsis: ad duo milia eorum M. Pinarius praetor in acie occidit. Qua clade compulsi obsides dederunt

[1] aedem σ: *om. M.* [2] quinque σ: mille *M.*

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[1] Valerius Maximus (II. v. 1) says that it was an equestrian statue.

[2] Neither vow nor contract has been mentioned before.

temple was dedicated by Manius Acilius Glabrio B.C. 181
as duumvir: a gilded statue, which was the first of all gilded statues in Italy, he set up there to his father Glabrio.[1] It was the latter who had vowed this temple on the day he had fought decisively with King Antiochus at Thermopylae, and he had also let the contract under the authority of the senate.[2]

About the same time that these temples were dedicated, Lucius Aemilius Paulus the proconsul triumphed over the Ligurian Ingauni. He carried in his triumph twenty-five golden crowns, but no other gold or silver was displayed. Many chiefs of the Ligurians as prisoners walked before his car. His donatives to his troops amounted to three hundred *asses* each.[3] The glamour of the triumph was increased by the arrival of envoys from the Ligurians who asked for perpetual peace; the Ligurian people, they said, had made up their minds never to take up arms except at the command of the Roman people. Quintus Fabius the praetor, by order of the senate, answered the Ligurians to the effect that this declaration on the part of the Ligurians was nothing new; but it was of the greatest importance to themselves that they should acquire a new disposition, consistent with their words. They should go to the consuls and do whatever was ordered by them. The senate, he said, would believe a statement from no one except the consuls that the Ligurians were at peace in genuine good faith. There was peace among the Ligurians. In Corsica there was a battle with the Corsicans: the praetor Marcus Pinarius killed about two thousand of them in pitched battle. Under the compulsion of this disaster, they

[3] The money apparently came out of the treasury.

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13 et cerae centum milia pondo. Inde in Sardiniam exercitus ductus, et cum Iliensibus, gente ne nunc quidem omni parte pacata, secunda proelia facta. 14 Carthaginiensibus eodem anno centum obsides redditi, pacemque iis [1] populus Romanus non ab se tantum sed ab rege etiam Masinissa praestitit, qui cum praesidio armato agrum qui in controversia erat obtinebat.

XXXV. Otiosam provinciam consules habuerunt. M. Baebius comitiorum causa Romam revocatus consules creavit A. Postumium Albinum Luscum et C. 2 Calpurnium Pisonem. Praetores exinde facti Ti. Sempronius Gracchus L. Postumius Albinus P. Cornelius Mammula,[2] Ti.[3] Minucius Molliculus A. Hostilius Mancinus C. Maenius. Ii omnes magistratum idibus Martiis inierunt.

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3 Principio eius anni quo A. Postumius Albinus et C. Calpurnius Piso consules fuerunt, ab A. Postumio consule in senatum introducti, qui ex Hispania citeriore venerant a Q. Fulvio [4] Flacco, L. Minucius legatus et duo tribuni militum, T. Maenius et L. 4 Terentius Massiliota. Hi cum duo secunda proelia, deditionem [5] Celtiberiae, confectam provinciam nuntiassent, nec stipendio quod mitti soleret nec frumento

[1] iis *Gronovius*: cum iis ς.
[2] Mammula *Pighius*: mamercus ς.
[3] Ti. *Sigonius* "*ex vet. lib.*": t ς.
[4] Fulvio *ed. Mediolanensis* 1480: *om.* ς.
[5] deditionem ς: in deditionem *M*.

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[1] Cf. XLII. vii. 2. Diodorus (V. xiii. 4) speaks of wax as an important part of the wealth of the island.

[2] Diodorus (V. xv. 6) says that they retained their freedom μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, "up to our own times."

[3] According to XXX. xxxvii. 6 they gave only one hundred hostages and in XXXII. ii. 3 the return of that number is recorded.

gave hostages and a hundred thousand pounds of B.C. 181
wax.[1] Thence Pinarius crossed to Sardinia and fought successfully with the Ilienses, a tribe not even to-day entirely pacified.[2] One hundred hostages the same year were returned to the Carthaginians,[3] and the Roman people kept the peace for them with regard to not only to themselves but also to King Masinissa, who was holding with an armed guard the land which was in dispute.[4]

XXXV. The consuls had a quiet province. Marcus Baebius, who had been recalled to Rome to hold the elections, announced the choice as consuls of Aulus Postumius Albinus Luscus and Gaius Calpurnius Piso. Next the praetors were elected, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula, Tiberius Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, Gaius Maenius. All these magistrates were inaugurated on the Ides of March.

In the beginning of this year, the consular year of B.C. 180
Aulus Postumius Albinus and Gaius Calpurnius Piso, the consul Aulus Postumius presented to the senate Lucius Minucius, a lieutenant, and two tribunes of the soldiers, Titus Maenius and Lucius Terentius Massiliota, who had come from Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in Nearer Spain. When they had reported the two victories, the submission of Celtiberia, and the accomplishment of the task assigned as his province,[5] and had added that there was no

[4] Cf. xvii. 6 above.

[5] With each occurrence of the phrase in this connection, we approach more closely the point where we must translate simply "the subjugation of the province" in the territorial sense: cf. sect. 13 below.

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portato ad exercitum in eum annum opus esse, petierunt ab senatu primum, ut ob res prospere gestas diis immortalibus honos haberetur, deinde ut Q.[1] Fulvio decedenti de provincia deportare inde exercitum, cuius forti opera et ipse et multi ante eum praetores usi essent, liceret. Quod fieri, praeterquam quod ita deberet, etiam prope necessarium esse:[2] ita enim obstinatos esse milites ut non ultra retineri posse in provincia viderentur, iniussuque abituri inde essent si non dimitterentur, aut in perniciosam, si quis impense retineret, seditionem exarsuri. Consulibus ambobus provinciam Ligures esse senatus iussit. Praetores inde sortiti sunt: A. Hostilio urbana, Ti. Minucio peregrina obvenit, P. Cornelio Sicilia, C. Maenio Sardinia. Hispanias sortiti L. Postumius ulteriorem, Ti. Sempronius citeriorem. Is quia successurus Q. Fulvio erat, ne vetere exercitu provincia spoliaretur, "quaero" inquit "de te, L. Minuci, cum confectam provinciam nunties, existimesne Celtiberos perpetuo in fide mansuros, ita ut sine exercitu ea provincia obtineri possit. Si neque de fide barbarorum quicquam recipere aut firmare nobis potes et habendum illic utique[3] exercitum censes, utrum tandem auctor senatui sis supplementum in Hispaniam mittendi, ut ii modo quibus emerita stipendia sint milites di-

[1] Q. *edd. vett.*: c. σ.
[2] esse *Gronovius*: esset σ.
[3] utique *ed. Frobeniana* 1531: ut illum σ.

need of the pay which was customarily sent or of the B.C. 180
transportation of grain for the army for that year, they asked the senate, first, that honour should be paid to the immortal gods by reason of these successes and, second, that Quintus Fulvius, on his retirement from the province, should be authorized to bring away the army whose valiant services both he and many praetors before him had enjoyed. In addition to the fact that this was right, it was, they said, even almost necessary that this be done: for the soldiers were so set upon it that it seemed impossible to keep them in the province any longer, and it was probable that they would leave there without orders, if they were not discharged, or, if anyone tried to retain them too strictly, that they would flare up in a dangerous mutiny. The senate decreed to both consuls the Ligurians as their province. Then the praetors cast lots: Aulus Hostilius received the civil jurisdiction, Tiberius Minucius that between citizens and aliens, Publius Cornelius Sicily, Gaius Maenius Sardinia. Lucius Postumius drew the lot for Farther Spain and Tiberius Sempronius for Nearer Spain. Since he was to succeed Quintus Fulvius, in order that his province might not be deprived of the veteran army, " I ask of you, Lucius Minucius," he said, " since you report that the province is subjugated, whether you think that the Celtiberians will keep forever their pledge of loyalty, so that this province can be held without an army. If you can neither undertake nor assert anything to us about the loyalty of the barbarians, and think that under any conditions we must keep an army there, I ask whether you urge the senate to send replacements to Spain, so that only those troops who have completed their terms of service may be

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12 mittantur, veteribus militibus tirones immisceantur, an deductis de provincia veteribus legionibus novas conscribendi et mittendi, cum contemptum tirocinium etiam mitiores barbaros excitare ad rebellandum 13 possit? Dictu quam re facilius est[1] provinciam ingenio ferocem, rebellatricem confecisse. Paucae civitates, ut quidem ego audio, quas vicina maxime hiberna premebant, in ius dicionemque venerunt; 14 ulteriores in armis sunt. Quae cum ita sint, ego iam hinc praedico, patres conscripti, me exercitu eo qui nunc est rem publicam administraturum: si deducat secum Flaccus legiones, loca pacata me ad hibernacula lecturum neque novum militem ferocissimo hosti obiecturum."

XXXVI. Legatus ad ea quae interrogatus erat respondit neque se neque quemquam alium divinare posse quid in animo Celtiberi haberent aut porro 2 habituri essent. Itaque negare non posse quin rectius sit etiam ad pacatos barbaros, nondum satis 3 adsuetos imperio, exercitum mitti. Novo autem an vetere exercitu opus sit, eius esse dicere qui scire possit[2] qua fide Celtiberi in pace mansuri sint, simul et qui illud[3] exploratum habeat quieturos milites, si 4 diutius in provincia retineantur. Si ex eo quod aut inter se loquantur aut succlamationibus apud contionantem imperatorem significent, quid sentiant, coniectandum sit, palam vociferatos esse aut impera-

[1] est *Madvig*: sit σ.
[2] qui scire possit *Gelenius*: quo possit σ.
[3] illud *Gelenius*: illis σ.

discharged and the recruits mingled with the veteran soldiers, or to withdraw the veteran legions from the province and enroll and send over new legions, although an army of recruits, being looked down upon by the enemy, can rouse to rebellion barbarians even more fully tamed than these? It is easier to talk about than to accomplish—this subjugation of a province fierce by nature and rebellious. A few cities, as at least I hear, which the neighbourhood of the winter-quarters kept most completely under control, have come under our rule and sway; the more remote are in arms. Since this is so, conscript Fathers, I declare to you here and now that I shall administer my office with the army that is now there; if Flaccus brings back with him his legions, I shall lead the troops into winter-quarters in pacified districts and shall expose no raw troops to a most warlike enemy." B.C. 180

XXXVI. To the question that had been put to him the lieutenant replied that neither he nor anyone else could predict what the Celtiberians had or would have in mind. Therefore he could not deny that it was entirely proper that an army should be sent to barbarians who, even though pacified, were not yet well accustomed to authority. But whether it was necessary to employ a new or an old army was for him to say who could know how loyally the Celtiberians would abide by the peace and who at the same time could assure himself that the soldiers would remain quiet if they were held longer in the province. If inferences could be drawn as to their views either from what they said to one another or from their exclamations while the commander was addressing them, he said that they had openly proclaimed that they would either keep the com-

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torem in provincia retenturos aut cum eo in Italiam
5 venturos esse. Disceptationem inter praetorem legatumque consulum relatio interrupit, qui suas ornari provincias priusquam de praetoris exercitu
6 ageretur aequum censebant. Novus omnis exercitus consulibus est decretus, binae legiones Romanae cum suo equitatu, et socium Latini nominis quantus semper numerus, quindecim milia peditum, octin-
7 genti equites. Cum hoc exercitu Apuanis Liguribus ut bellum inferrent, mandatum est. P. Cornelio et M. Baebio prorogatum imperium iussique provincias obtinere donec consules venissent; tum imperatum ut dimisso quem haberent exercitu reverterentur
8 Romam. De Ti. Sempronii deinde exercitu actum est. Novam legionem ei quinque milium et ducentorum peditum cum equitibus quadringentis consules scribere iussi, et mille praeterea peditum Roman-
9 orum, quinquaginta equites, et sociis nominis Latini imperare septem milia peditum, trecentos equites.
10 Cum hoc exercitu placuit ire in Hispaniam citeriorem Ti. Sempronium.[1] Q. Fulvio permissum ut, qui milites ante Sp. Postumium Q. Marcium consules cives Romani sociive in Hispaniam transportati essent, et praeterea supplemento adducto, quo amplius in[2] duabus legionibus quam decem milia et quadringenti pedites, sescenti equites essent, et so-

[1] Ti. Sempronium *hic coll. ed. Frobeniana* 1535, *post* exercitu ς.
[2] in *Pighius*: *om.* ς.

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[1] The technical term for the equipment and supply of a military force.
[2] This number of Latins was normally provided for each consul.

mander in the province or go to Italy with him. B.C. 180
This colloquy between the praetor and the lieutenant was interrupted by a motion by the consuls, who judged it proper that their provinces should be provided for[1] before the question of an army for a praetor was raised. An entire new army was decreed to the consuls, two Roman legions for each, with the appropriate cavalry, and of the allies of the Latin confederacy, as great a number as always, fifteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry.[2] With this army they were directed to make war upon the Ligurian Apuani. The *imperium* of Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius was prolonged, and they were ordered to hold the province until the arrival of the consuls; then it was directed that they discharge the armies which they had and return to Rome. Then the question of an army for Tiberius Sempronius was taken up. The consuls were directed to enlist for him a new legion of fifty-two hundred infantry and four hundred[3] cavalry and in addition a thousand Roman infantry and fifty cavalry, and to levy upon the allies of the Latin confederacy for seven thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. With this army it was the senate's pleasure that Tiberius Sempronius should go to Nearer Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius that those, whether Roman citizens or allies, who had been taken to Spain before the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius,[4] and, moreover, when the new drafts were added, in consequence of which addition there were in the two legions more than ten thousand four hundred infantry and six hundred cavalry and of the allies

[3] The cavalry contingent is unusually large.
[4] They were consuls in 186 B.C. (XXXIX. viii. 1).

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11 cium Latini nominis duodecim milia, sescenti[1] equites quorum forti opera duobus adversus Celtiberos proeliis usus Q. Fulvius esset, eos si videretur secum
12 deportaret. Et supplicationes decretae quod is prospere rem publicam gessisset. Et ceteri praetores
13 in provincias missi. Q. Fabio Buteoni prorogatum in Gallia[2] imperium est. Octo legiones praeter exercitum veterem qui in Liguribus in spe propinqua missionis erat eo anno esse placuit. Et is ipse
14 exercitus aegre explebatur propter pestilentiam quae tertium iam annum urbem Romanam atque Italiam vastabat.

XXXVII. Praetor Ti. Minucius et haud ita multo post consul C. Calpurnius moritur, multique alii omnium ordinum illustres viri. Postremo prodigii
2 loco ea clades haberi coepta est. C. Servilius pontifex maximus piacula irae deum conquirere iussus decemviri libros inspicere, consul Apollini Aesculapio Saluti dona vovere et dare signa inaurata; quae
3 vovit deditque. Decemviri supplicationem in biduum valetudinis causa in urbe et per omnia fora conciliabulaque edixerunt;[3] maiores duodecim annis omnes

[1] sescenti ς : mille centum *M.*
[2] Gallia *edd. vett.* : galliam ς.
[3] *hic desinunt* ς *edd. vett.*: *vid. quaeso Praefationem. Hinc inde sigillis Mog.* (*editio Moguntina*); *Frob.* 31, 35 (*editiones Frobenianae* 1531, 1535) *utar.*

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[1] The sentence is awkward but the general purport is clear. When the old army and the new had been merged, and troops that had been in Spain at least since 187 B.C. had been segregated, any surplus beyond the figures given for the several contingents might be discharged also, priority being given to those who had been decorated or cited in the campaign.

The mutiny here threatened was avoided (xl. 14 below). One may suspect that to win popularity with his troops

of the Latin confederacy more than twelve thou- B.C. 180
sand infantry and six hundred cavalry, and specifically those whose valiant services Quintus Fulvius had enjoyed in the two battles with the Celtiberians, that all these,[1] if he saw fit, he should bring back with him. Thanksgivings were also decreed because he had conducted the business of the state successfully. The other praetors too were sent to their provinces. The *imperium* of Quintus Fabius Buteo in Gaul was prolonged. It was decided that there should be only eight legions that year in addition to the veteran army which was among the Ligurians in the hope of an early discharge. And even this army was with difficulty raised on account of the pestilence which was now for the third year devastating the city of Rome and Italy.[2]

XXXVII. The praetor Tiberius Minucius died and not much later the consul Gaius Calpurnius, and many other distinguished men of all ranks. Finally the disaster came to be regarded as a portent. Gaius Servilius the pontifex maximus was directed to inquire into the manner of averting the wrath of the gods and the decemvirs to look into the Books; the consul was ordered to vow gifts and to give gilded statues to Apollo, Aesculapius and Salus;[3] these he vowed and gave. The decemvirs proclaimed a two-day period of prayer for health, not only in the City but in all the rural settlements and communities; all people above the age of twelve, wearing garlands

Flaccus had encouraged the threats of his troops and had tried to bluff the senate with the prospect of a mutiny.

[2] Cf. xix. 3 above.

[3] The combination of Salus with two Greek gods indicates that the Roman Salus is not meant but the Greek Hygieia; the order then probably came from the Sibylline Books.

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coronati et lauream in manu tenentes supplicaverunt. 4 Fraudis quoque humanae insinuaverat suspicio animis; et veneficii quaestio ex senatus consulto, quod in urbe propiusve urbem decem milibus passuum esset commissum, C. Claudio praetori, qui in locum Ti. Minucii erat suffectus, ultra decimum lapidem per fora conciliabulaque C. Maenio, priusquam in Sardiniam provinciam traiceret, decreta. Suspecta consulis 5 erat mors maxime. Necatus a Quarta Hostilia 6 uxore dicebatur. Ut quidem filius eius Q. Fulvius Flaccus in locum vitrici consul est declaratus, aliquanto magis infamis mors Pisonis coepit esse; et testes existebant qui post declaratos consules Albinum et Pisonem, quibus comitiis Flaccus tulerat repulsam, et exprobratum ei a matre[1] dicerent quod iam ei tertium negatus consulatus petenti esset, et adiecisse,[2] pararet se ad petendum: intra duos menses effec- 7 turam ut consul fieret. Inter multa alia testimonia ad causam pertinentia haec quoque vox, nimis vero eventu comprobata, valuit cur Hostilia damnaretur. 8 Veris principio huius, dum consules novos dilectus Romae tenet, mors deinde alterius et creandi comitia 9 consulis in locum eius omnia tardiora fecerunt, interim P. Cornelius et M. Baebius, qui in consulatu nihil memorabile gesserant, in Apuanos Ligures exercitum induxerunt.

[1] exprobatum ei a matre *Frob.* 31: exprobatam etiam hac re *Mog.*

[2] adiecisse *Frob.* 31: adiecisset *Mog.*

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[1] The Flaccus of xxvii. 7 above, not his cousin, who was still in Spain.

[2] The dates of the defeats are not recorded, but he was praetor in 187 B.C. Hostilia (or Livy) does not say how she proposed to insure his success the next time.

and carrying laurel branches in their hands, made B.C. 180
the supplication. Moreover, the suspicion that human guilt was to blame had entered men's minds; and the investigation of the poisonings which had taken place in the City or nearer to it than ten miles was, by decree of the senate, entrusted to the praetor Gaius Claudius, who had been chosen to succeed Tiberius Minuicius, and beyond the tenth milestone throughout the rural settlements and communities, to Gaius Maenius before he departed for Sardinia. The death of the consul was especially suspicious. He was said to have been killed by his wife Quarta Hostilia. When indeed her son Quintus Fulvius Flaccus [1] was proclaimed consul in place of his step-father, the death of Piso began to cause many more ugly rumours; and witnesses came forth who said that after Albinus and Piso had been declared consuls at an election in which Flaccus had suffered defeat, Flaccus had been upbraided by his mother because this was now the third time [2] that his candidacy for the consulship had been refused; let him, she had added, prepare to apply again: within two months she would bring it to pass that he should become consul. Among much other testimony bearing on the case, this one speech, being all too well confirmed by the actual result, availed to bring about the conviction of Hostilia.

In the beginning of this spring, while the levy was detaining the new consuls in Rome and then the death of one and the election to choose a new consul in his place had caused delay in all business of state, in the interval Publius Cornelius and Marcus Baebius, who had in their consulship done nothing worth recording, led the army against the Ligurian Apuani.

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XXXVIII. Ligures, qui ante adventum in provinciam consulum non expectassent bellum, improviso oppressi [1] ad duodecim milia hominum dedidernt se. Eos consulto per litteras prius senatu deducere ex montibus in agros campestres procul ab domo, ne reditus spes esset, Cornelius et Baebius statuerunt, nullum alium [2] ante finem rati fore Ligustini belli. Ager publicus populi Romani erat in Samnitibus, qui Taurasinorum fuerat. Eo cum [3] traducere Ligures Apuanos vellent, edixerunt, Ligures Apuani de montibus descenderent [4] cum liberis coniugibusque, sua omnia secum portarent. Ligures saepe per legatos deprecati, ne penates, sedem in qua geniti essent, sepulcra maiorum cogerentur relinquere arma obsides pollicebantur. Postquam nihil impetrabant neque vires ad bellandum erant, edicto paruerunt. Traducti sunt publico sumptu ad quadraginta milia liberorum capitum cum feminis puerisque. Argenti data centum et quinquaginta milia, unde in novas sedes [5] comparent quae opus essent. Agro dividendo dandoque iidem qui traduxerant, Cornelius et Baebius praepositi. Postulantibus tamen ipsis quinqueviri ab senatu dati, quorum ex consilio agerent. Transacta

[1] oppressi *Frob.* 35 : oppressi sunt *Mog.*
[2] alium *add. Madvig.*
[3] fuerat. eo cum *Weissenborn* : *om. Mog.*
[4] Apuani de montibus descenderent *Muretus* : ab Anido montibus descendere *Mog.*
[5] sedes *Crévier* : aedes *Mog.*

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[1] The denomination (sesterces and not *asses*) is inferred mainly from *argenti.*

XXXVIII. The Ligurians, who had not anticipated B.C. 180
a war before the arrival of the consuls in the province, were taken off their guard and surrendered, to the number of about twelve thousand men. First consulting the senate by letter, Cornelius and Baebius determined to move them down from the mountains to lands on the plains, far from home, that there might be no hope of return, thinking that there would be no end to the Ligurian war until this was done. There was public land belonging to the Roman people among the Samnites, which had belonged to the Taurasini. Since they wished to transfer the Ligurian Apuani there, they issued an edict that the Ligurian Apuani should come down from the mountains, bringing their wives and children, and should transport all their property with them. The Ligurians made frequent entreaties through ambassadors that they might not be compelled to leave their household gods, the land in which they had been born, the tombs of their ancestors, and also promised arms and hostages. When they met with no success and lacked the strength to fight, they obeyed the edict. There were transferred at public expense about forty thousand freemen with their women and children. One hundred and fifty thousand sesterces[1] of silver were appropriated, with which they could buy what was necessary for their new homes. For the apportionment of the land and the division of the money, the same Cornelius and Baebius who had made the transfer were appointed.[2] Nevertheless, at their request, a commission of five was named, on whose advice they might act. When, after completing

[1] Pliny (*H.N.* III. 105) says that these Ligurians were called *Corneliani et Baebiani.*

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re cum veterem exercitum Romam deduxissent,
9 triumphus ab senatu est decretus. Hi omnium primi nullo bello gesto triumpharunt. Tantum hostiae ductae [1] ante currum, quia nec quod [2] ferretur neque quod duceretur captum neque quod militibus daretur quicquam in triumphis eorum fuerat.

XXXIX. Eodem anno in Hispania Fulvius Flaccus proconsul, quia successor in provinciam tardius veniebat, educto exercitu ex hibernis ulteriorem Celtiberiae agrum, unde ad deditionem non venerant,
2 institit vastare. Qua re irritavit magis quam conterruit animos barbarorum; et clam comparatis copiis saltum Manlianum, per quem transiturum exercitum
3 Romanum satis sciebant, obsederunt. In Hispaniam ulteriorem eunti L. Postumio Albino collegae Gracchus mandaverat ut Q. Fulvium certiorem faceret
4 Tarraconem exercitum adduceret: ibi dimittere [3] veteranos supplementaque distribuere et ordinare omnem exercitum sese velle. Dies quoque, et ea propinqua, edita Flacco est qua successor esset
5 venturus. Haec nova adlata res, omissis [4] quae agere instituerat, Flaccum raptim deducere exercitum ex Celtiberia cum coegisset, barbari causae ignari, suam defectionem et clam comparata arma sensisse eum et pertimuisse rati, eo ferocius saltum insederunt.
6 Ubi eum saltum prima luce agmen Romanum intravit, repente ex duabus partibus simul exorti hostes

[1] hostiae ductae *Madvig*: hostes ducti *Mog.*
[2] quod (*ter*) *Pighius*: quid (*ter*) *Mog.*
[3] dimittere *Gronovius*: dimitti *Mog.*
[4] omissis *Frob.* 31: omissisque *Mog.*

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[1] Cf. XXXVII. lx. 6; XXXVIII. xlvii. 5 and the notes.
[2] That is, no booty, prisoners, animals, or money.

this task, they had brought back the veteran army, B.C. 180
a triumph was voted by the senate. They were the first of all to triumph without waging a war.[1] Only the victims were led before the car, since there had been nothing in their triumphs which could be carried, could be led, or could be given to the soldiers.[2]

XXXIX. The same year, in Spain, Fulvius Flaccus the proconsul,[3] because his successor was slow in arriving in the province, led the army out of winter-quarters and began to devastate the remoter regions of Celtiberia whence the inhabitants had not come to surrender. By this act he stirred up rather than terrified the spirits of the barbarians; and secretly massing their forces they blocked the Manlian[4] pass, through which they well knew that the Roman army would march. Gracchus had entrusted to his colleague Lucius Postumius Albinus, who was going to Farther Spain, a message for Quintus Fulvius, instructing him to conduct the army to Tarraco; there he planned to discharge the veterans and assign the replacements and organize the entire army. Also the day, and that quite near, was announced to Flaccus, on which his successor would arrive. The arrival of this news compelled Flaccus, abandoning the plan which he had begun to follow, hastily to lead the army out of Celtiberia, and the barbarians, ignorant of the reason and thinking that he had heard of their revolt and their secret mobilization and was frightened away, on that account occupied the pass more eagerly. When the Roman column at daybreak entered the pass the enemy, suddenly showing

[3] Not the consul of the year; the proper title would be propraetor.

[4] Neither its position nor the reason for its name is known.

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7 Romanos invaserunt. Quod ubi vidit Flaccus, primos tumultus in agmine per centuriones stare omnes, suo
8 quemque loco, et arma expedire iubendo sedavit, et sarcinis iumentisque in unum locum coactis copias omnes partim ipse partim per legatos tribunosque militum, ut tempus, ut locus postulabat, sine ulla
9 trepidatione instruxit, cum bis deditis rem esse [1] admonens, scelus et perfidiam illis, non virtutem nec animum accessisse, reditum ignobilem [2] in patriam clarum ac memorabilem eos sibi fecisse: cruentos ex recenti caede hostium gladios et manantia sanguine spolia Romam ad triumphum delaturos. Plura dici tempus non patiebatur: invehebant se hostes, et in
10 partibus extremis iam pugnabatur. Deinde acies concurrerunt.

XL. Atrox ubique proelium, sed varia fortuna erat. Egregie legiones, nec segnius duae alae pugnabant; externa auxilia ab simili armatura, meliore aliquantum militum genere urgebantur, nec locum
2 tueri poterant. Celtiberi ubi ordinata acie et signis collatis se non esse pares legionibus senserunt, cuneo
3 impressionem fecerunt, quo tantum valent genere pugnae, ut quamcumque partem [3] perculere impetu suo, sustineri nequeant. Tunc quoque turbatae
4 legiones sunt, prope interrupta acies. Quam trepi-

[1] bis deditis rem esse *Frob.* 35 : vim deditis remisisse *Mog.*
[2] ignobilem *Frob.* 31 : nobilem *Mog.*
[3] quamcumque partem *H. J. Mueller* : quacumque parte *Mog.*

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[1] If the text is right it must mean that the soldiers had one final chance to distinguish themselves. It will be noted that Fulvius still speaks of the army's return to Rome, although he knew something of the plan of Gracchus.

[2] That is, the Latin allies : cf. XXXI. xxi. 7 and the note.

themselves on two sides, attacked the Romans. B.C. 180
When Flaccus saw this he quelled the first excitement in the column by issuing through the centurions orders that all should halt, each in his own place, and should make ready their arms, and having collected the trains and the pack-animals in one place, partly by himself, partly through the lieutenants and tribunes of the soldiers, he formed all the forces in line of battle as the time and the place demanded, without any confusion, reminding them that they had to deal with men who had twice surrendered, that an access of villainy and treachery, not of courage and stoutness of heart, had come to them, and that they furnished the Romans an opportunity to make an ignoble [1] return home glorious and memorable: for they would carry to Rome for the triumph swords bloody with fresh slaughter of the enemy and spoils dripping with gore. The time did not permit him to say more: the enemy was charging and on the extreme flanks the battle was already in progress. Then the battle-lines clashed.

XL. There was a fierce fight on every side, but the results varied. The legions fought nobly and not less effectively the two squadrons; [2] the auxiliaries from the province were hard pressed by men armed in the same way but consisting of a much better class of soldiers, and could not hold their ground. When the Celtiberians saw that with battle-lines arrayed and in pitched battle they were not a match for the legions, they made a thrust with the wedge, in which manner of fighting they are so powerful that against whatever troops they drive their charge they cannot be checked. Then even the legions were thrown into disorder and the line was almost broken. When

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dationem ubi Flaccus conspexit, equo advehitur ad legionarios equites, et " ni quid [1] auxilii in vobis est, actum iam de hoc exercitu erit." Cum undique acclamassent quin ederet quid fieri vellet: [2] non
5 segniter imperium exsecuturos, " duplicate turmas " inquit, " duarum legionum equites, et permittite equos in cuneum hostium, quo nostros urgent. Id cum maiore vi [3] facietis, si effrenatos in eos equos
6 immittitis; quod saepe Romanos equites cum magna
7 laude fecisse sua memoriae proditum est." Dicto paruerunt detractisque frenis bis ultro citroque cum magna strage hostium, infractis omnibus hastis,
8 transcurrerunt. Dissipato cuneo, in quo omnis spes fuerat, Celtiberi trepidare et prope omissa pugna
9 locum fugae circumspicere. Et alarii equites postquam Romanorum equitum tam memorabile facinus videre, et ipsi virtute eorum accensi sine ullius imperio in perturbatos iam hostes equos immittunt.
10 Tunc vero Celtiberi omnes in fugam effunduntur et imperator Romanus aversos hostes contemplatus aedem Fortunae Equestri Iovique optimo maximo
11 ludos vovit. Caeduntur Celtiberi per totum saltum dissipati fuga. Decem et septem milia hostium caesa eo die traduntur, vivi capti plus tria milia

[1] ni quid *Perizonius*: ecquid *Mog.*
[2] vellet *Madvig*: velit *Mog.*
[3] vi *Faber*: vi equorum *Mog.*

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[1] The phrase *duplicate turmas* seems not to occur elsewhere and one can only guess at the precise meaning. Its intention was to increase the striking force of the cavalry charge by making the formation more compact, perhaps by diminishing the intervals between files. The strength of the units could not be increased.

Flaccus saw this disorganization, he rode on his horse B.C. 180
to the legionary cavalry and shouted, "Unless there is some hope of aid in you, now all will be over with this army." When from all sides a shout was raised asking him why he did not say what he wanted done, and they would execute his orders without delay, "double the squadrons," [1] he said, "you cavalry of the two legions, and turn your horses loose against the wedge of the enemy, with which they are forcing back our men. You will do this with the greater weight if you will give your horses loose rein against them; and this the records say that Roman cavalry have often done and won great glory for themselves." [2] They obeyed his order and, dropping their reins, twice, from this side and from that, drove through, causing great slaughter to the enemy and breaking every one of their spears. The wedge having been scattered, in which all their hope had rested, the Celtiberians were in panic, and almost giving up the fight were looking for a place for flight. And when the cavalry of the allies saw that the Roman cavalry had performed so memorable an exploit, they too, inspired by the valour of the others, without waiting for an order let their horses loose upon the broken enemy. Then indeed all the Celtiberians were turned to flight, and the Roman commander, seeing the backs of the enemy, vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris [3] and games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. The Celtiberians were slaughtered as they scattered in flight through the whole defile. Seventeen thousand of the enemy are reported to have been killed that day, more than

[2] There seems to be no support for this assertion.
[3] Cf. xliv. 9 below and the note.

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septingenti,[1] cum signis militaribus septuaginta
12 septem,[2] equis prope sescentis. In suis[3] castris eo die victor exercitus mansit. Victoria non sine
13 iactura militum fuit: quadringenti septuaginta duo milites Romani, socium ac Latini nominis mille decem et novem, cum[4] his tria milia militum auxiliariorum perierunt. Ita victor exercitus renovata
14 priore gloria Tarraconem est perductus. Venienti Fulvio Ti. Sempronius praetor, qui biduo ante venerat, obviam processit gratulatusque est quod rem publicam egregie gessisset. Cum summa concordia quos dimitterent quosque retinerent milites
15 composuerunt. Inde Fulvius exauctoratis[5] militibus in naves impositis Romam est profectus, Sempronius in Celtiberiam legiones duxit.

XLI. Consules ambo in Ligures exercitus induxer-
2 unt diversis partibus. Postumius prima et[6] tertia legione Ballistam Letumque[7] montes obsedit, et premendo praesidiis angustos saltus eorum commeatus interclusit, inopiaque omnium rerum eos
3 perdomuit. Fulvius secunda et[8] quarta legione adortus a Pisis Apuanos Ligures, qui eorum circa Macram fluvium incolebant, in deditionem acceptos, ad septem milia hominum, in naves impositos[9] praeter oram Etrusci maris Neapolim transmisit.
4 Inde in Samnium traducti, agerque iis inter populares

[1] septingenti *Heraeus*: mille ducenti *Mog.*
[2] c. sig. m. sep. sep. *Madvig*: sep. sep. c. sig. m. *Mog.*
[3] sescentis. in suis *Heraeus*: mille centum. in illis *Mog.*
[4] cum *Frob.* 31: in *Mog.*
[5] exauctoratis *Frob.* 31: ex authoritate *Mog.*
[6] prima et *Frob.* 31: primo *Mog.*
[7] Ballistam Letumque *Zingerle*: vallis verum tum tanquam *Mog.*
[8] secunda et *Frob.* 31: secundo *Mog.*

three thousand seven hundred taken alive, and there B.C. 180
were captured seventy-seven military standards and about six hundred horses. The victorious army remained that day in its own camp. The victory was not without loss of soldiers: four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers fell, of the allies of the Latin confederacy one thousand and nineteen, and in addition three thousand of the auxiliary troops. So the victorious army, having won once more its former glory, was conducted to Tarraco. Tiberius Sempronius the praetor, who had arrived two days earlier, went out to meet Fulvius on his arrival and congratulated him on his conspicuous success in defence of the state. In perfect harmony they arranged which soldiers they should discharge and which they should hold in service. Then Fulvius embarked the discharged troops on ships and set out for Rome and Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

XLI. The two consuls led their armies against the Ligurians from different directions. Postumius, with the first and third legions, attacked the mountains of Ballista and Letum, and by blocking with guards their narrow passes cut the enemy off from supplies and subdued them because of their complete lack of everything. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, attacking from the side of Pisa the Ligurian Apuani (those of that people who lived along the Macra river), after receiving the surrender of about seven thousand men, loaded them on boats and sent them along the shore of the Tuscan sea to Naples. Thence they were transferred to Samnium and given

[9] impositos *Frob.* 35 : imposita *Mog.*

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5 datus est. Montanorum Ligurum ab A. Postumio vineae caesae frumentaque deusta, donec cladibus omnibus belli coacti in deditionem venerunt armaque
6 tradiderunt. Navibus inde Postumius ad visendam oram Ingaunorum Intemeliorumque Ligurum pro-
7 cessit. Priusquam hi consules venirent ad exercitum
8 qui Pisas indictus [1] erat, praeerat [2] A. Postumius. Frater Q. Fulvii M. Fulvius Nobilior—secundae legionis Fulvius tribunus militum is erat—mensibus suis dimisit legionem, iureiurando adactis centurionibus aes in aerarium ad quaestores esse delaturos.

[1] indictus *Sigonius*: ductus *Mog.*
[2] praeerat *Madvig*: praeerant *Mog.*

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[1] The text and the meaning are alike uncertain. By *hi consules* one would infer that A. Postumius and Q. Fulvius were meant, but just below A. Postumius is named as the commander of troops at Pisa which belonged to the army of Q. Fulvius. Possibly *hi consules venirent* should have been singular, referring to Fulvius, and the meaning is that Postumius preceded Fulvius to the province and assumed command temporarily of both consular armies. It is also possible that the name A. Postumius in this sentence is an error, or that another man of the name is meant, whom Livy fails to distinguish from the consul. If it is the consul, he took emergency action, notified the proper commander (Fulvius) of the troops concerned, and then proposed the exile of Nobilior.

[2] The brother of either Q. Fulvius Flaccus—the consul of 180 B.C. or the consul of 179 B.C., who was at this time still in Spain or on the way back—should have had the *cognomen* Flaccus, unless he had been adopted by some Fulvius Nobilior, and of such an adoption there is no record. There is moreover no Q. Fulvius Nobilior known to have lived at this time. One naturally assumes from Livy's language here that *Q. Fulvii* refers to the consul of 180 B.C., but no brother Marcus is mentioned elsewhere. The consul of 179 B.C. had a brother Marcus (xxx. 4 above), but it is not likely that after serving in some unspecified capacity under his brother in Spain in

land among their countrymen. Aulus Postumius B.C. 180
destroyed the vineyards and burned the crops of the Ligurians of the mountains until, compelled by the disasters of war, they submitted and gave up their weapons. Then Postumius proceeded by boat to explore the coast of the Ligurian Ingauni and Intemelii. Before these consuls [1] came to the army which was mobilized at Pisa, Aulus Postumius was in command. The brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior [2]—this Fulvius was tribune of the soldiers of the second legion—during his months [3] dismissed the legion, binding the centurions by an oath that they would turn the money in to the quaestors for the treasury.[4] When this was announced

181 B.C. he should have served as military tribune under his cousin in 180 B.C. in Italy. The consul of 179 B.C., during his censorship in 174 B.C., expelled from the senate his own brother, and Valerius Maximus (II. vii. 5, repeated by Frontinus, *Strat.* IV. i. 31) asserts that the degradation was due to the discharge of a legion of which he was military tribune. The brother is called simply Fulvius, with no *praenomen*. Livy (XLI. xxvii. 2) and Velleius (I. x. 6) likewise refer to the expulsion, the former calling the brother L. Fulvius and the latter Cn. Fulvius; neither gives any explanation of the censor's action. The evidence therefore is so contradictory as to produce hopeless confusion. All one can say is that at this time Livy apparently thought that the tribune was the brother of the consul under whom he served. In this connection, I believe that it has not been pointed out that the other censor of 174 B.C. was the other consul of 180 B.C., who, in sect. 10 below, procured the banishment of Nobilior. Perhaps he was actually more responsible than his colleague for the degradation. The *cognomen* Nobilior remains unexplained on any hypothesis.

[3] The six tribunes in each legion rotated in the command of the entire legion.

[4] This must be the portion of the pay which had not yet been distributed to the troops: cf. sect. 11 below.

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9 Hoc ubi Placentiam—nam eo forte erat profectus—Aulo[1] nuntiatum est, cum equitibus expeditis secutus dimissos, quos eorum potuit adsequi, reduxit[2] castigatos Pisas; de ceteris consulem certiorem fecit. 10 Eo referente senatus consultum factum est ut M.[3] Fulvius in Hispaniam relegaretur ultra Novam Carthaginem; litteraeque ei datae sunt a consule ad P. Manlium in Hispaniam ulteriorem deferendae; 11 milites iussi ad signa redire. Ignominiae causa[4] uti semestre stipendium in eum annum esset ei legioni decretum: qui miles ad exercitum non redisset eum ipsum bonaque eius vendere consul iussus.

XLII. Eodem anno L. Duronius, qui praetor anno superiore fuerat,[5] ex Illyrico cum decem navibus Brundisium rediit. Inde in portu relictis navibus cum venisset Romam, inter exponendas res quas ibi gessisset, haud dubie in regem Illyriorum Gentium 2 latrocinii omnis maritimi causam avertit: ex regno eius omnes naves esse, quae superi maris oram depopulatae essent; de his rebus se[6] legatos misisse, 3 nec conveniendi regis potestatem factam. Venerant Romam legati a Gentio, qui, quo tempore Romani conveniendi regis causa venissent, aegrum forte eum

[1] Aulo *Sigonius*: Fulvio *Mog.*
[2] reduxit *Gronovius*: deduxit *Mog.*
[3] senatus consultum factum est ut M. *Frob.* 31: factum est ut cos. *Mog.*
[4] ignominiae causa *Madvig*: causa ignominiae *Mog.*
[5] fuerat *Madvig*: *om. Mog.*
[6] se *Frob.* 35. *om. Mog.*

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[1] This is one of the earliest examples of *relegatio.*
[2] The punishment of the soldiers seems relatively too severe, since in general they followed the instructions of presumably

to Aulus at Placentia—for he had happened to go there—following with the light cavalry the men who had been released, he punished and brought back to Pisa those of them whom he could overtake; as to the rest, he notified the consul. On his motion the senate passed a decree that Marcus Fulvius should be banished to Spain beyond New Carthage;[1] and a letter was given to him by the consul for delivery to Publius Manlius in Farther Spain; the soldiers were ordered to return to the standards. As a mark of disgrace it was voted that the legion should receive only six months' pay for that year: the consul was directed to sell the person and property of any soldier who had not returned to the army.[2] B.C. 180

XLII. The same year Lucius Duronius, who had been praetor the year before, returned from Illyricum to Brundisium with ten ships. Thence, leaving the ships in port, he went to Rome, and in the course of his narrative of what he had done there he pointed in no uncertain manner at Gentius, king of the Illyrians,[3] as the cause of all the brigandage by sea: from his kingdom, he said, came all the ships which had ravaged the coast of the upper sea; he had sent ambassadors about these matters, but there had been no opportunity to meet the king. Envoys had come to Rome from Gentius, who said that at the time the Romans had come to interview the king he had

competent authority. The action of Nobilior, so far as one can judge, was entirely irregular, even if it was not technically illegal: probably no one had ever considered such an offence as possible and had prescribed no penalty. But the text of the entire chapter is so uncertain that one cannot feel sure that the episode is clearly and correctly interpreted.

[3] Polybius (XXXII. xviii) calls him more exactly king of the Dalmatians.

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4 in ultimis partibus fussie regni dicerent: petere Gentium ab senatu ne crederent confictis criminibus in se quae inimici detulissent. Ad ea Duronius adiecit multis civibus Romanis [1] et sociis Latini nominis iniurias factas in regno eius, et cives Romanos 5 dici Corcyrae retineri. Eos omnes Romam adduci placuit,[2] C. Claudium praetorem cognoscere, neque ante Gentio regi legatisve eius responsum reddi.

6 Inter multos alios quos pestilentia eius anni absumpsit, sacerdotes quoque aliquot mortui sunt. L. Valerius Flaccus pontifex mortuus est: in eius 7 locum suffectus est Q. Fabius Labeo. P.[3] Manlius, qui nuper ex ulteriore Hispania redierat, triumvir epulo: Q. Fulvius M. F. in locum eius triumvir 8 cooptatus, tum praetextatus erat. De rege sacrificulo [4] sufficiendo in locum Cn. Cornelii Dolabellae contentio inter C. Servilium pontificem maximum fuit et L. Cornelium Dolabellam duumvirum navalem, quem ut inauguraret pontifex magistratu sese 9 abdicare iubebat. Recusantique id facere ob eam rem multa duumviro dicta a pontifice, deque ea cum

[1] quae inimici detulissent. ad ea Duronius adiecit multis civibus Romanis *Frob.* 35: quintius ad ea dedisset Duronius multis civibus adiecit Romanis *Mog.*
[2] placuit *Frob.* 35: placere *Mog.*
[3] P. *ed. Aldina*: C. *Mog.*
[4] sacrificulo *Drakenborch*: sacrifico *Mog.*

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[1] The Illyrian city of Corcyra (Κόρκυρα) seems to be meant, not the island (Κέρκυρα).
[2] This college had charge of sacrificial feasts.

happened to be ill in the farthest part of the kingdom: B.C. 180
Gentius asked the senate not to believe the spurious charges which his enemies had made against him. Duronius added to this a statement that many Roman citizens and allies of the Latin confederacy had suffered injury in his kingdom, and that Roman citizens were said to be detained at Corcyra.[1] It was decided that all these should be brought to Rome, that the praetor Gaius Claudius should investigate, and that until this was done a reply should not be given to King Gentius or his ambassadors.

Among many others whom the pestilence of that year carried off a number of priests also died. Lucius Valerius Flaccus the pontiff died: also Quintus Fabius Labeo was chosen in his place. Publius Manlius, who had only recently returned from Farther Spain, the *triumvir epulo*,[2] died, and in his stead Quintus Fulvius the son of Marcus, who still wore the dress of boyhood,[3] was coöpted *triumvir*. In the matter of choosing a *rex sacrificulus* [4] to replace Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella, there was a dispute between Gaius Servilius the *pontifex maximus* and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella[5] the *duumvir navalis*, whom the *pontifex* ordered to resign his office that he might install him in the priesthood.[6] When he refused to do this, the *pontifex* assessed a fine against the *duumvir* and about this act there was

[3] This Fulvius, who was not old enough to assume the dress of manhood (*toga virilis*), may have been the son of the M. Fulvius of XXX. 4 above.

[4] The title indicates that he performed some of the religious duties originally belonging to the king.

[5] Dolabella was not one of the duumvirs named in XXVI. 8 above, and a later election Livy may have omitted to mention.

[6] This priesthood was incompatible with public office and with military duties.

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10 provocasset certatum ad populum. Cum plures iam tribus intro vocatae dicto esse audientem pontifici duumvirum iuberent, multamque remitti, si magistratu se abdicasset, vitium[1] de caelo quod comitia turbaret, intervenit. Religio inde fuit pontificibus
11 inaugurandi Dolabellae. P. Cloelium Siculum inaugurarunt, qui secundo loco nominatus[2] erat. Exitu anni et C. Servilius Geminus pontifex maximus decessit: idem decemvir sacrorum fuit. Pontifex in locum eius a collegio cooptatus est Q. Fulvius
12 Flaccus: creatus[3] inde[4] pontifex maximus M.[5] Aemilius Lepidus, cum multi clari viri petissent; et decemvir sacrorum Q. Marcius Philippus in eiusdem
13 locum est cooptatus. Et augur Sp. Postumius Albinus decessit: in locum eius P. Scipionem, filium Africani, augures cooptarunt.

Cumanis eo anno petentibus permissum ut publice Latine loquerentur et praeconibus Latine vendendi ius esset.

XLIII. Pisanis agrum pollicentibus quo Latina colonia deduceretur, gratiae ab senatu actae;

[1] vitium *Sigonius*: ultimum *Mog.*
[2] nominatus *Rubino*: inauguratus *Mog.*
[3] creatus *Madvig*: *om. Mog.*
[4] inde *Weissenborn*: in *M*: ante *Mog.*
[5] M. *Madvig*: *om. M Mog.*

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[1] Cf. XXXVII. li. 1–6 and the notes.

[2] An unfavourable omen—usually thunder or lightning—always caused the adjournment of an assembly. This assembly had met as a final court of appeal.

[3] The colleges of pontiffs conducted a sort of preferential ballot. The *pontifex maximus* then selected the nominee, normally the one who had the largest number of votes. If he proved ineligible, as in this instance, the second was chosen, and so on.

a contest before the assembly after he had appealed.[1] B.C. 180
When several tribes had already been called in to vote, were now ordering the *duumvir* to be obedient to the *pontifex* and the fine to be remitted if he should have resigned his magistracy, an unfavourable sign[2] from heaven intervened and adjourned the assembly. Therefore the priests felt a scruple against inaugurating Dolabella. They installed as priest Publius Cloelius Siculus, who had been second on the list of nominees for the office.[3] At the end of the year the *pontifex maximus* Gaius Servilius Geminus also died; he had also been a decemvir in charge of sacrifices. As a pontiff in his place the college coöpted Quintus Fulvius Flaccus;[4] then Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was elected *pontifex maximus*, although many distinguished men were candidates;[5] and as decemvir in charge of sacrifices, in place of the same Servilius, Quintus Marcius Philippus was coöpted. Also the augur Spurius Postumius Albinus died; to replace him the augurs coöpted Publius Scipio the son of Africanus.

The Cumaeans that year asked and were granted the privilege of using the Latin language officially, and the auctioneers that of conducting their sales in Latin.[6]

XLIII. When the people of Pisa offered land to which a Latin colony should be led, they received the thanks of the senate; for this purpose Quintus

[4] Probably, though not certainly, the Flaccus who had just returned from Spain.

[5] Only members of the college of pontiffs were eligible to election as *pontifex maximus*.

[6] The Cumaeans were *cives sine suffragio*, and such communities were, it seems, allowed to use Latin officially only by special action. Their native language had become Oscan.

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triumviri creati ad eam rem Q. Fabius Buteo M. et P. Popilii[1] Laenates. A C. Maenio praetore, cui provincia Sardinia cum evenisset, additum erat ut quaereret de veneficiis longius ab urbe decem milibus passuum, litterae adlatae, se iam tria milia hominum damnasse, et crescere sibi quaestionem indiciis: aut eam sibi esse deserendam[2] aut provinciam dimittendam.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus ex Hispania rediit Romam cum magna fama gestarum rerum; qui cum extra urbem triumphi causa esset, consul est creatus cum L. Manlio Acidino, et post paucos dies cum militibus quos secum deduxerat triumphans urbem est invectus. Tulit in triumpho coronas aureas centum viginti quattuor: praeterea auri pondo triginta unum, argenti infecti . . .[3] et signati Oscensis nummum centum septuaginta tria milia ducentos. Militibus de praeda quinquagenos denarios dedit, duplex centurionibus, triplex equiti, tantundem sociis Latini nominis, et stipendium omnibus duplex.

XLIV. Eo anno rogatio primum lata est ab L. Villio[4] tribuno plebis, quot annos nati quemque

[1] Popilii *Frob.* 31 : Porcii *Mog.*
[2] deserendam *Sigonius* : defendendam *Mog.*
[3] argenti infecti * * *Madvig* : *om. Mog.*
[4] Villio *Sigonius* : Iulio *Mog.*

[1] Fulvius and Manlius were brothers (Fasti; Velleius II. viii. 2). This election, followed by that of M. Fulvius Nobilior as censor (xlv. 6 below), marks the elimax of the political ascendancy of the Fulvii.

[2] It is not difficult to supply *argenti infecti*, but the insertion of an indication of quantity would be purely a guess.

Fabius Buteo and Marcus and Publius Popilius Laenas were elected members of a board of three. From the praetor Gaius Maenius, to whom, although the province of Sardinia had fallen to his lot, had been assigned the additional task of investigating cases of poisoning beyond ten miles from the City, a letter was received which said that he had already condemned three thousand persons, and that the investigation was assuming larger proportions by reason of the evidence received: he said that he would be compelled either to discontinue the investigation or give up his province. B.C. 180

Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned from Spain to Rome, having earned great acclaim by his exploits; while he was waiting outside the City for the sake of a triumph, he was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus,[1] and a few days later rode into the City in triumph, accompanied by the soldiers whom he had brought back with him. He displayed in his triumph one hundred and twenty-four golden crowns and in addition thirty-one pounds of gold, of unwrought silver . . .[2] of minted coins of Osca[3] one hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred. To each of the infantry he gave out of the booty fifty *denarii*, twice that sum to the centurions and thrice to each of the cavalry, and the same amounts to the allies of the Latin confederacy,[4] and to all double pay.

XLIV. In that year for the first time a motion was proposed by Lucius Villius, tribune of the people, fixing the ages at which each magistracy might be

[3] Cf. XXXIV. x. 4 and the note.

[4] One might infer that the Latins did not usually receive the bonus.

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magistratum peterent caperentque. Inde cognomen
2 familiae inditum ut Annales appellarentur. Praetores quattuor post multos annos lege Baebia creati, quae [1] alternis quaternos iubebat creari. Hi facti
3 Cn. Cornelius Scipio C. Valerius Laevinus Q. et P. Mucii Q.[2] F. Scaevolae.

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Q. Fulvio et L. Manlio consulibus eadem provincia quae superioribus, pari numero copiae peditum
4 equitum, civium sociorum decretae. In Hispaniis duabus Ti. Sempronio et L. Postumio cum iisdem
5 exercitibus quos haberent prorogatum imperium est; et in supplementum consules scribere iussi ad tria milia peditum Romanorum, trecentos equites, quinque milia sociorum Latini nominis et quadrin-
6 gentos equites. P. Mucius Scaevola urbanam sortitus provinciam est et ut idem quaereret de veneficiis in urbe et propius urbem decem milia passuum, Cn.
7 Cornelius Scipio peregrinam, Q. Mucius Scaevola Siciliam, C. Valerius Laevinus Sardiniam.
8 Q. Fulvius consul priusquam ullam rem publicam ageret, liberare et se et rem publicam religione votis

[1] quae *ed. Vascosana*: qui *M Mog.*
[2] Q. *Sigonius*: *om. Mog.*

[1] Livy's account of this important legislation is disappointingly brief. It seems that custom had in the past established a sequence of offices and had regulated the intervals which should separate them. Yet such important questions as re-elections and tenure of two offices simultaneously had required legislative enactment in the past. Such principles as that the people should have the privilege of electing its favourites regardless of technicalities (XXXII. vii. 8–11; XXXIX. xxxix and the notes) had caused great confusion. The *lex Villia* established minimum ages for the several magistracies, thus fixing a definite sequence of offices (which developed gradually into the *cursus honorum*), and provided that two-year intervals should separate successive offices.

sought and held.[1] From this fact a *cognomen* was given B.C. 180
to his family, so that its members were called *Annales*.
After many years[2] four praetors were chosen under
the Baebian law, which provided that four should be
chosen in alternate years.[3] The praetors so elected
were Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, Gaius Valerius Lae-
vinus and Quintus and Publius Mucius Scaevola,
the sons of Quintus.

To Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius the consuls B.C. 179
the same province which their predecessors had held
was decreed, with the same numbers of troops, infantry
and cavalry, citizens and allies. In the two Spains the
imperium of Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postum-
ius was prolonged, and they were to keep the same
armies which they had; and as replacements the
consuls were ordered to enroll three thousand Roman
infantry, three hundred cavalry, five thousand in-
fantry and four hundred cavalry of the allies of the
Latin confederacy. Publius Mucius Scaevola re-
ceived by lot the civil jurisdiction and also the duty
of enquiring into cases of poisoning in the city and
within a distance of ten miles from the city, Gnaeus
Cornelius Scipio that between citizens and aliens,
Quintus Mucius Scaevola Sicily, Gaius Valerius
Laevinus Sardinia.

Quintus Fulvius the consul said that before he
brought up any matter of public business he wished
to free himself and the state of an obligation to the

[2] In XXXII. xxvii. 6 Livy reports the election of six praetors for 197 B.C., and that this was the first instance of the election of six.

[3] The date and actual content of the Baebian law are unknown. It was not strictly observed and may have been soon repealed.

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9 solvendis dixit velle. Vovisse, quo die postremum cum Celtiberis pugnasset, ludos Iovi optimo maximo et aedem Equestri Fortunae sese facturum: in eam
10 rem sibi pecuniam collatam esse ab Hispanis. Ludi decreti et ut duumviri ad aedem locandam crearentur. De pecunia finitur ne maior ludorum causa [1] consumeretur quam quanta Fulvio Nobiliori post Aetoli-
11 cum bellum ludos facienti [2] decreta esset; neve quid ad eos ludos arcesseret cogeret acciperet faceret adversus id senatus consultum quod L. Aemilio Cn.
12 Baebio consulibus de ludis factum esset. Decreverat id senatus propter effus- sumptus factos in ludos Ti. Sempronii aedilis, qui graves non modo Italiae ac sociis Latini nominis, sed etiam provinciis externis fuerant.

XLV. Hiems eo anno nive saeva et [3] omni tempestatum genere fuit: arbores quae obnoxiae frigoribus sunt, deusserat cunctas; et eadem ali-
2 quanto quam alias longior fuit. Itaque Latinas nox [4] subito coorta et intolerabilis tempestas in monte turbavit, instauratae que sunt ex decreto pontificum.
3 Eadem tempestas et in Capitolio aliquot signa prostravit [5] fulminibusque complura loca deformavit, aedem Iovis Tarracinae, aedem Albam [6] Capuae

[1] ludorum causa *Madvig*: causa ludorum *Mog.*
[2] facienti *Frob.* 35: faciendi *Mog.*
[3] nive saeva et *Frob.* 35: nive et saeva *Mog.*
[4] nox *Crévier*: mox *Mog.*
[5] prostravit *nescio quis apud Drakenborch*: constravit *Mog.*
[6] Albam *Frob.* 31: alue *Mog.*

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[1] The contribution has not been mentioned; for the vow cf. xl. 10 above. The temple was in the neighbourhood of the *circus Flaminius* (Vitruvius III. iii. 2; Obsequens 16 (75)).

gods by fulfilling his vows. He had vowed, he said, on B.C. 179
the day when he had last fought with the Celtiberians, to give games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus and a temple to Fortuna Equestris: for this purpose money had been collected for him by the Spaniards.[1] It was decreed that the games should be held and that two commissioners should be chosen to contract for the temple. As to the cost, the limit was set that a greater sum might not be spent for the games than the amount that had been decreed to Fulvius Nobilior[2] when he gave his games after the Aetolian war, and it was voted too that he should not invite, compel or accept contributions for these or do anything contrary to that decree of the senate which had been passed regarding games in the consulship of Lucius Aemilius and Gnaeus Baebius.[3] The senate had passed this decree because of the lavish expenditures made on games by Tiberius Sempronius the aedile, which had been a burden, not only on Italy and the allies of the Latin confederacy, but on outside provinces as well.[4]

XLV. The winter that year was cruel on account of snow and every kind of storm: it had completely blasted the trees which are affected by cold; and it lasted much longer than in other years. And so a darkness which came on suddenly and a violent tempest broke up the Latin festival on the mountain,[5] and the festival was repeated by decree of the pontiffs. The same storm also overthrew a number of statues on the Capitoline and disfigured many places with strokes of lightning—the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, the

[1] Cf. XXXIX. v. 7–10 and the notes.
[2] The decree has not been mentioned.
[3] Livy has not referred to these games before.
[4] The Alban mountain: XXXII. i. 9 and the note.

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portamque Romanam; muri pinnae aliquot loci
4 decussae erant. Haec inter prodigia nuntiatum et ab
5 Reate tripedem natum mulum. Ob ea decemviri iussi adire libros edidere, quibus diis et quot hostiis sacrificaretur, et ut[1] supplicatio diem unum esset.
6 Ludi deinde votivi Q. Fulvii consulis per dies decem magno apparatu facti.

Censorum inde comitia habita: creati M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus et M. Fulvius Nobilior,
7 qui ex Aetolis triumphaverat. Inter hos viros nobiles inimicitiae erant, saepe multis et in senatu et ad po-
8 pulum atrocibus celebratae certaminibus. Comitiis confectis, ut traditum[2] antiquitus est, censores in Campo ad aram Martis sellis curulibus consederunt; quo repente principes senatorum cum agmine venerunt civitatis, inter quos Q. Caecilius Metellus verba fecit:

XLVI. "Non obliti sumus, censores, vos paulo ante ab universo populo Romano moribus nostris praepositos esse, et nos a vobis et admoneri et regi, non
2 vos a nobis debere. Indicandum tamen est quid omnes bonos in vobis aut offendat aut certe mutatum
3 malint.[3] Singulos cum intuemur, M. Aemili, M. Fulvi, neminem hodie in civitate habemus quem, si

[1] et ut *Madvig*: et fulminibus complura loca deformata aedem Iovis ut *Mog.*

[2] confectis ut traditum *Frob.* 31: confecti sunt traditus *Mog.*

[3] malint *Frob.* 31: malit *Mog.*

---

[1] Cf. XXXII. ix. 2.

[2] The same portent was reported from Reate in ii. 4 above; the present passage may be a doublet.

[3] Probably the consul of 206 B.C., and so a man of great age and dignity.

"White Temple"[1] and the Porta Romana at Capua, B.C. 179
where the parapets of the wall were thrown down in many places. Along with the other prodigies it was reported from Reate that a mule with three feet had been born.[2] On account of them the decemvirs, when ordered to consult the Books, issued a proclamation stating to which gods and with how many victims sacrifice should be offered, and directing that supplication should be offered for one day. Then the games which had been vowed by the consul Quintus Fulvius were held through ten days with great splendour.

Next the election of censors was held: the successful candidates were Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, the *pontifex maximus*, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Aetolians. Between these distinguished men there was a feud, exhibited on many occasions, both in the senate and before the assembly, by numerous bitter quarrels. When the election was over the censors, as the custom was from olden times, took their seats on curule chairs by the altar of Mars in the Campus; thither suddenly came the chiefs of the senators, accompanied by a throng of citizens, and one of them, Quintus Caecilius Metellus,[3] spoke thus:

XLVI. "We have not forgotten, censors, that a little while ago you were placed, by the entire Roman people, in control of our manners, and that we should be both admonished and governed by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out what it is in you two that offends all good men or at least what they would prefer to see modified. When we look at you singly, Marcus Aemilius and Marcus Fulvius, we find no one in the state to-day whom,

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revocemur in suffragium, velimus vobis praelatum
4 esse. Ambo cum simul aspicimus, non possumus
non[1] vereri, ne male comparati sitis, nec tantum rei
publicae prosit, quod omnibus nobis egregie placetis,
5 quam quod alter alteri displicetis, noceat. Inimi-
citias per annos multos vobis ipsis graves et atroces
geritis, quae periculum est ne ex hac die nobis et
6 rei publicae quam vobis graviores fiant. De quibus
causis hoc timeamus, multa succurrunt, quae dicer-
entur,[2] nisi forte implacabiles furores[3] implicaverint
7 animos vestros. Has ut hodie, ut in isto templo
finiatis simultates, quaesumus vos universi, et quos
coniunxit suffragiis suis populus Romanus, hos etiam
reconciliatione gratiae coniungi a nobis sinatis;
8 uno animo uno consilio legatis[4] senatum, equites
recenseatis, agatis censum, lustrum condatis; quod
in omnibus fere precationibus nuncupabitis[5]
9 " verbis ' ut ea res mihi collegaeque meo bene et
feliciter eveniat,' id ita ut vere, ut ex animo velitis
evenire, efficiatisque ut quod deos precati eritis,
10 id vos velle etiam homines credamus. T. Tatius et
Romulus, in cuius urbis medio foro acie hostes con-
11 currerant, ibi concordes regnarunt. Non modo simul-
tates sed bella quoque finiuntur: ex infestis hostibus
plerumque socii fideles, interdum etiam cives fiunt.

[1] non *Frob.* 31 : *om. Mog.*
[2] *post* dicerentur *lacunam susp. Heraeus.*
[3] furores *Madvig* : fueritis *Mog.*
[4] legatis *Frob.* 35 : eligatis *Mog.*
[5] nuncupabitis *Frob.* 35 : nuncupatis his *Mog.*

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[1] I have tried to give a meaning to this passage, although corruption no doubt still remains. If there is a lacuna after

if we should be recalled to vote, we should wish to B.C. 179
have preferred to you. When we look at both of you together, we cannot but fear that you may prove to have been badly mated and that less good may come to the state because you are so eminently pleasing to all of us than harm because each of you displeases the other. For many years you have been keeping alive a feud, a serious and dreadful thing for you yourselves, and there is danger that from this day it may become more harmful to us and to the state than to you. As to the reasons why we fear this, many occur to me which might be mentioned were it not that passions perhaps not to be appeased beset your minds.[1] We one and all beg you to-day that in this consecrated spot you will end this quarrel, and that you will permit those men whom the Roman people by their votes has associated together, to be associated by us in this restoration of good feeling also; that with one mind and one policy you may choose the senate, review the *equites*, hold the census and close the *lustrum*; that what you will say in almost every prayer you make, 'that this may turn out well and successfully for me and for my colleague in office,' you will truly and with all your hearts desire to be fulfilled, and that you will so act that we men may believe that you also desire that for which you have prayed to the gods. Titus Tatius and Romulus, in whose city they had clashed as enemies in battle in the middle of the Forum, reigned there in harmony. Not merely feuds but even wars draw to an end; many times from bitter foes men become faithful allies, sometimes even fellow

dicerentur, an additional clause like "and which you would yourselves recognize" should be inserted at that point.

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Albani diruta Alba Romam traducti sunt, Latini
12 Sabini in civitatem accepti. Volgatum illud, quia verum erat, in proverbium venit, amicitias immortales,
13 mortales [1] inimicitias debere esse." Fremitus ortus cum assensu, deinde universorum voces idem petentium confusae in unum orationem interpellarunt.
14 Inde Aemilius questus cum alia, tum bis [2] a M. Fulvio se certo consulatu deiectum: Fulvius contra queri se ab eo semper lacessitum et in probrum suum sponsionem factam. Tamen ambo significare, si alter vellet, se in potestate tot principum civitatis
15 futuros. Omnibus instantibus [3] qui aderant dexteras [4] fidemque dedere remittere vere ac finire odium. Deinde collaudantibus cunctis deducti sunt in Capitolium. Et cura [5] super tali re principum et facilitas censorum egregie comprobata ab senatu et
16 laudata est. Censoribus deinde postulantibus ut pecuniae summa sibi, qua in opera publica uterentur attribueretur,[6] vectigal annuum decretum est.

XLVII. Eodem anno in Hispania L. Postumius et

[1] mortales *Drakenborch*: *om. Mog.*
[2] alia tum bis *Frob.* 31: allatum vis *Mog.*
[3] instantibus *Frob.* 31: stantibus *Mog.*
[4] dexteras *Frob.* 31: dederant dexteras *Mog.*
[5] cura *ed. Basiliensis* 1555: cum *Mog.*
[6] attribueretur *Frob.* 31: *om. Mog.*

---

[1] The *sponsio* was a sort of wager at law, each of the parties agreeing that the loser in the contest should pay a stated sum to the winner. The incident here referred to has not been mentioned before, unless it was part of the episode narrated in XXXIX. iv.

[2] Livy has not mentioned a corresponding sum before. The censors of 169 B.C. received the revenue for half a year (XLIV. xvi. 9). There is no translation of the expression

citizens. The Albans when Alba was destroyed were B.C. 179
transferred to Rome, the Latins and the Sabines were received into citizenship. There was a common saying which had passed into a proverb because it was true, that our friendships should be immortal, but mortal our enmities." A roar of applause burst out, and then the speech was broken off by the voices of the whole crowd, demanding the same thing and merging into one sound. Then Aemilius complained both of other things and particularly because he had twice been kept by Marcus Fulvius from the consulship which was assured him; Fulvius on his side complained that he had always been harassed by Aemilius and that the *sponsio* had been proposed to his shame.[1] Nevertheless each stated that if the other was willing he was ready to put himself in the hands of all the leading men of the state. At the instance of all who were present, they sincerely exchanged hand-clasps and pledges, forgave one another, and ended their feud. After that, followed by the applause of all, they were escorted to the Capitoline. Both the interest of the leaders in such a situation and the readiness of the censors to yield were notably approved and lauded by the senate. Then, on the demand of the censors that the sum of money which they were to use on public works be assigned them, one year's revenue was decreed to them.[2]

XLVII. The same year the propraetors in Spain,

into definite figures until 62 B.C. (Plutarch, *Pompey*, 45), when one year's revenue amounted to 50,000,000 *denarii*. Frank (*Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore, 1933, I. 152–153) estimates the revenue in 179 B.C. as perhaps one-tenth of that sum. He further calculates that the *Basilica Aemilia* (li. 5 below) would have cost 12,000 *denarii*, so that a good deal could be done with 5,000,000 *denarii*.

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Ti. Sempronius propraetores comparaverunt ita inter se, ut in Vaccaeos per Lusitaniam iret Albinus, in Celtiberiam inde reverteretur; Gracchus, si maius ibi [1] bellum esset, in ultima Celtiberiae penetra-
2 ret. . . .[2] Mundam urbem primum vi cepit, nocte ex improviso aggressus. Acceptis deinde [3] obsidibus praesidioque imposito castella oppugnare, agros [4] urere, donec ad praevalidam aliam urbem—Certimam
3 appellant Celtiberi—pervenit. Ubi cum iam opera admoveret, veniunt legati ex oppido, quorum sermo antiquae simplicitatis fuit, non dissimulantium bella-
4 turos, si vires essent. Petierunt enim, ut sibi in castra Celtiberorum ire liceret ad auxilia accienda: [5] si non impetrassent, tum separatim ab [6] illis se consulturos. Permittente Graccho ierunt et post paucis diebus alios decem legatos secum adduxerunt.
5 Meridianum tempus erat. Nihil prius petierunt a praetore quam ut bibere sibi iuberet dari. Epotis primis poculis iterum poposcerunt, magno risu circumstantium in tam rudibus et moris omnis
6 ignaris ingeniis. Tum maximus natu ex iis " missi sumus " inquit " a gente nostra qui sciscitaremur
7 qua tandem re fretus arma nobis inferres." Ad hanc percunctationem Gracchus exercitu se egregio fidentem venisse respondit; quem si ipsi visere velint, quo certiora ad suos referant, potestatem se eis

[1] Gracchus si maius ibi *Gronovius*: si Gracchus maius sibi *Mog.*

[2] *lacunam indicavit Madvig.*

[3] *verba* urbem . . . deinde, *perverso ordine in Mog. scripta transp. Frob.* 35.

[4] agros *Frob.* 35: deinde agros *Mog.*

[5] accienda *Faber*: accipienda *Mog.*

[6] ab *Madvig*: eos ab *Mog.*

[1] It is not certain that a lacuna exists.

Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Sempronius, arranged B.C. 179
between them that Albinus should proceed through Lusitania against the Vaccaei and then return to Celtiberia; that Gracchus, if there were a greater war there, should make his way into the furthermost part of Celtiberia. . . .[1] He first took by storm the city of Munda, attacking it unexpectedly by night. Then, accepting hostages and leaving a garrison, he captured fortresses and burned the countryside until he came to another very powerful town which the Celtiberians call Certima. There, just as he was moving up his siege-engines, ambassadors came from the town, whose speech had the ring of old-fashioned frankness, and they did not disguise the fact that they would fight to the end if they had the strength. For they asked that they might be permitted to go to the camp of the Celtiberians to summon aid; if they did not obtain it then they would consult by themselves and apart from the Celtiberians. When Gracchus granted this they departed and a few days later brought with them ten other ambassadors. It was the hour of noon. They asked nothing from the praetor at first, except that he should order that they be given something to drink. Having quaffed the first cups they asked for a second drink, to the accompaniment of great laughter on the part of the bystanders at such uncultured natures, ignorant of all etiquette. Then the eldest of them said: "We have been sent by our people to ascertain on what in the world it is that you rely in attacking us." To this question Gracchus replied that he came relying on an excellent army; if they wished to see it, in order to make a more trustworthy report to their people, he would give them the opportunity. He ordered the tribunes of

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8 facturum esse. Tribunisque militum imperat ut ornari omnes copias peditum equitumque et decurrere iubeant[1] armatas. Ab hoc spectaculo legati dimissi[2] deterruerunt suos ab auxilio circumsessae
9 urbi ferendo. Oppidani cum ignes nocte e[3] turribus nequiquam, quod signum convenerat, sustulissent, destituti ab unica spe auxilii in deditionem venerunt.
10 Nummum quater et viciens ab iis est exactum, quadraginta nobilissimi equites, nec obsidum nomine—nam militare iussi sunt—, et tamen re ipsa ut pignus fidei essent.

XLVIII. Inde iam duxit ad Alcen urbem ubi castra Celtiberorum erant, a quibus venerant nuper legati.
2 Eos cum per aliquot dies, armaturam levem immittendo[4] in stationes, lacessisset parvis proeliis, in dies maiora certamina serebat, ut omnes extra munitiones
3 eliceret. Ubi quod petebat satis[5] sensit effectum, auxiliorum praefectis imperat ut contracto certamine, tamquam multitudine superarentur, repente tergis datis ad castra effuse fugerent; ipse intra vallum ad
4 omnes portas instruxit copias. Haud multum temporis intercessit, cum ex composito refugientium suorum agmen, post effuse sequentes barbaros
5 conspexit. Instructam ad hoc ipsum intra vallum habebat aciem. Itaque tantum moratus ut suos refugere in castra libero introitu sineret, clamore

[1] tribunisque . . . iubeant *Frob.* 35: tribunoque . . . iubeat *Mog.*
[2] dimissi *Duker*: missi *Mog.*
[3] nocte e *Duker*: nocte *Mog.*
[4] immittendo *Frob.* 35: mittendo *Mog.*
[5] satis *Novák*: is *Mog.*

the soldiers to command all the forces of infantry and cavalry to equip themselves and to march in review under arms. After this spectacle the ambassadors were sent away and discouraged their people from sending aid to the besieged city. The townspeople, after vainly building fires on their towers at night, which had been the signal agreed upon, finding themselves destitute of their one hope of assistance, surrendered. Twenty-four thousand *nummi* were demanded of them, and forty of their noblest knights, not expressly as hostages—for they were ordered to do military duty[1]—yet in the very nature of the situation as a guarantee of loyalty. B.C. 179

XLVIII. From there he next led his troops to the town of Alce, where the camp of the Celtiberians lay from which the ambassadors had recently come. When he had harried them with skirmishes for some time, sending his light troops against their outposts, he was daily engaging in battle on a larger scale, that he might draw them all outside their defences. When he saw that what he was seeking had been sufficiently achieved, he ordered the commanders of the auxiliaries that, letting the conflict flag as if they were overcome by superior numbers, they should suddenly turn their backs and flee headlong to the camp; he himself formed his troops inside the rampart at all the gates. No long time passed when, as agreed, he saw the column of his own fugitives and behind them, pursuing in loose order, the barbarians. He had formed his line within the rampart for just this purpose. And so, waiting only long enough to allow his troops to escape into the camp through an

[1] The money was not tribute, since the forty *equites* were not hostages, and the status of the city is peculiar.

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sublato simul omnibus portis erupit. Non sustinuere
6 impetum necopinatum hostes. Qui ad castra oppugnanda venerant, ne sua quidem tueri potuerunt: nam extemplo fusi fugati, mox intra vallum paventes
7 compulsi, postremo exuuntur castris. Eo die novem milia hostium caesa; capti vivi trecenti viginti, equi centum duodecim, signa militaria triginta septem. De exercitu Romano centum novem ceciderunt.

XLIX. Ab hoc proelio Gracchus duxit ad depopulandam[1] Celtiberiam legiones. Et cum ferret passim cuncta atque ageret, populique alii voluntate alii metu iugum acciperent, centum tria oppida intra paucos dies in deditionem accepit, praeda potitus
2 ingenti est. Convertit inde agmen retro unde venerat ad Alcen, atque eam urbem oppugnare
3 institit. Oppidani primum impetum hostium sustinuerunt; deinde cum iam non armis modo sed etiam operibus oppugnarentur, diffisi praesidio urbis
4 in arcem universi concesserunt: postremo et inde praemissis oratoribus in dicionem[2] se suaque omnia Romanis permiserunt. Magna inde praeda facta est. Multi captivi nobiles in potestatem venerunt,
5 inter quos et Thurri filii duo et filia. Regulus hic earum gentium erat, longe potentissimus omnium Hispanorum. Audita suorum clade, missis qui fidem venienti in castra ad Gracchum peterent,
6 venit. Et primum quaesivit ab eo liceretne sibi[3]

[1] depopulandam *Gronovius*: depopulandum *Mog.*
[2] dicionem *Frob.* 35: deditionem *Mog.*
[3] liceretne sibi *Glareanus*: ne sibi liceret *Mog.*

[1] Polybius (XXVI. iv) puts the number at 300, causing Posidonius (in Strabo, III. iv. 14) to remark mockingly τοὺς πύργους καλοῦντα πόλεις.

open entrance, raising a shout he burst out from all the gates at once. The enemy did not withstand the unexpected attack. Those who had come to capture the camp could not even defend their own: for at once they were repulsed and routed, presently driven in terror within the rampart, and finally stripped of their camp. That day nine thousand of the enemy were killed; three hundred and twenty were taken alive, and a hundred and twelve horses and thirty-seven military standards were captured. Of the Roman army one hundred and nine fell. B.C. 179

XLIX. After this battle Gracchus led the legions to ravage Celtiberia. And while he was carrying and driving off everything everywhere and the tribes were submitting to the yoke, some voluntarily and others in fear, he received the surrender of a hundred and three[1] towns within a few days and gained an immense amount of booty. Then he turned the column back toward Alce whence he had come, and began to invest that town. The citizens sustained the first assault of the enemy; then, when they were now being attacked, not by arms alone, but also by siege-works, despairing of protecting the town they all retired to the citadel; finally even from there they sent ambassadors out to plead for them and entrusted themselves and all their possessions to the dominion of the Romans. Much booty was taken there. Many noble prisoners came into Roman hands, among them two sons and a daughter of Thurrus. He was the chieftain of these tribes and by far the most powerful man of all the Spaniards. After he had heard of the loss of his people he sent to ask for a safeguard if he came to the camp to see Gracchus, and then came. And first he asked whether it was permitted to him

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ac suis vivere. Cum praetor victurum respondisset, quaesivit iterum si cum Romanis militare liceret. 7 Id quoque Graccho permittente, "sequar" inquit "vos adversus veteres socios meos, quoniam illos arma pro me piguit suscipere."[1] Secutus est inde Romanos, fortique ac fideli opera multis locis rem Romanam adiuvit.

L. Ergavica inde, nobilis et potens civitas, aliorum circa populorum cladibus territa portas aperuit Ro- 2 manis. Eam deditionem oppidorum haud cum fide factam quidam auctores sunt: e qua regione abduxisset legiones, extemplo inde rebellatum, magnoque eum[2] postea proelio ad montem Chaunum cum Celtiberis a prima luce ad sextam horam diei signis 3 collatis pugnasse, multos utrimque cecidisse; nec aliud magnopere cur vicisse crederes fecisse[3] Romanos, nisi quod[4] postero die lacessierint[5] proelio 4 manentes intra vallum, spolia[6] per totum diem legisse;[7] tertio die proelio maiore iterum pugnatum et tum demum haud dubie victos Celtiberos castraque 5 eorum capta et direpta esse. Viginti duo milia hostium eo die esse caesa, plus trecentos captos, parem fere equorum numerum, et signa militaria septuaginta duo. Inde debellatum[8] veramque pacem, non fluxa ut ante fide Celtiberos fecisse.[9]

[1] arma pro me piguit suscipere *Heraeus*: ad me propiunt suspicere *Mog.*

[2] eum *Frob.* 35: *om. Mog.*

[3] cur vicisse crederes fecisse *Madvig*: berbice crederes fuisse *Mog.*

[4] quod *Gronovius*: qui *Mog.*

[5] lacessierint *Gronovius*: arcessierint *Mog.*

[6] spolia, *ante* intra *in Mog. positum, transp. Gronovius.*

[7] legisse *Frob.* 31: legisset *Mog.*

[8] debellatum *Frob.* 31: bellatum *Mog.*

and his children to live. When the praetor had replied that he should live, he next asked whether it was permitted to serve with the Romans. When Gracchus granted this too, "I shall follow you, then," he said, "against my old allies, since they have disdained to take up arms for me." Thenceforth he followed the Romans, and with courageous and constant help aided the Roman cause in many places. B.C. 179

L. Ergavica next, a renowned and powerful city, having been terrified by the fall of other peoples around them, opened its gates to the Romans. Some writers say that these surrenders of towns were not made in good faith: that there was immediate rebellion in every region from which Gracchus had withdrawn his legions, and that later, in a great battle in the Chaunus mountains, he fought with the Celtiberians from daybreak to the sixth hour of the day in pitched battle with heavy losses on both sides; that the Romans gave no conspicuous indication which would lead one to believe that they were victorious except that the next day they harried the enemy, who remained within the rampart; that all through that day they collected spoils; that on the third day another and greater battle was fought and this time at length the Celtiberians were undoubtedly beaten and their camp taken and plundered. Twenty-two thousand of the enemy, these writers report, were killed that day and more than three hundred captured, together with an equal number of horses and seventy-two military standards. From that time, they say, the war was over and the Celtiberians kept true peace, not with wavering loyalty

[9] fecisse *Sigonius*: fuisse *Mog.*

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6 Eadem aestate et L. Postumium in Hispania ulteriore bis cum Vaccaeis egregie pugnasse scribunt: ad triginta et quinque milia hostium occidisse et castra
7 expugnasse.[1] Propius vero est serius in provinciam pervenisse quam ut ea aestate potuerit res gerere.

LI. Censores fideli concordia senatum legerunt.[2] Princeps lectus est ipse censor M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus: tres eiecti de senatu; retinuit
2 quosdam Lepidus a collega praeteritos. Opera ex pecunia attributa divisaque inter se haec fecerunt.[3] Lepidus molem ad Tarracinam, ingratum opus, quod praedia habebat ibi privatamque publicae rei impen-
3 sam inseruerat;[4] theatrum et proscaenium ad Apollinis, aedem Iovis in Capitolio, columnasque circa poliendas albo locavit; et ab his columnis, quae incommode opposita videbantur, signa amovit clipeaque de columnis et signa militaria adfixa omnis
4 generis dempsit. M. Fulvius plura et maioris

[1] expugnasse Gronovius: oppugnasse *Mog.*
[2] legerunt *Frob.* 31: elegerunt *Mog.*
[3] fecerunt *Madvig*: confecerunt *Mog.*
[4] inseruerat *Doujat*: insuerat *Mog.*

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[1] Livy says nothing on his own authority about the campaigns of Postumius, and gives no reasons for his doubt of the accuracy of the accounts which he has just quoted. In his zeal to refute them he overlooks the fact that this was the second summer of Postumius in Spain, and that even in the first summer he had arrived there earlier than Gracchus (xxxix. 3 above).

[2] His predecessor Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who had died the preceding year (xlii. 6 above), had also been censor.

[3] *i.e.*, the colleague had been in favour of rejecting these men also, as indicated by his not having included them in the "approved" list. The agreement of the censors was necessary for expulsion.

as before. They write that in the same summer B.C. 179
Lucius Postumius also, in Farther Spain, twice fought successfully with the Vaccaei; that he had slain about thirty-five thousand of the enemy and taken their camp. It is nearer the truth to say that he came to the province too late to have been able to accomplish anything that summer.[1]

LI. The censors chose the senate faithfully and harmoniously. The *princeps senatus* selected was Marcus Aemilius Lepidus himself, a censor and the *pontifix maximus*;[2] three were expelled from the senate; Lepidus retained some who had been passed over by his colleague.[3] Public works, out of the money assigned and divided between them, they carried out as follows. Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, a work which brought him censure because he owned property there and had included with expenditures chargeable to the state some private expenses; he contracted for a theatre and proscenium-building[4] at the temple of Apollo, and for the cleaning and whitening of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline and of the columns around it; and from these columns he removed the statues which seemed to be so placed as to obstruct the view, and he took down the shields from the columns and the military standards of every sort which were affixed to them. Marcus Fulvius contracted for

[4] By *theatrum* Livy means the auditorium (*cavea*), a common meaning of the Greek *θέατρον*. Perhaps the theatre was used only for the Apollo cult; if it was an actual theatre, it was the earliest of permanent character in Rome, although that distinction is usually given to the theatre of Pompey, erected more than a century later. This theatre may have been torn down by later censors, but the fact is not recorded.

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locavit usus: portum et pilas pontis in Tiberi, quibus pilis fornices post aliquot annos P. Scipio Africanus et L. Mummius censores locaverunt imponendos; 5 basilicam post argentarias novas et forum piscatorium circumdatis tabernis quas vendidit in privatum; 6 et [1] porticum extra portam Trigeminam, et aliam post navalia et ad fanum Herculis et post Spei ad 7 Tiberim et ad [2] aedem Apollinis Medici. Habuere et in promiscuo praeterea [3] pecuniam: ex ea communiter locarunt aquam adducendam fornicesque faciendos. Impedimento operi fuit M. Licinius Crassus, qui per fundum suum duci non est passus. 8 Portoria quoque et vectigalia iidem multa instituerunt. Complura sacella publicaque loca,[4] occupata a privatis, publica sacraque ut essent paterentque [5] 9 populo curarunt. Mutarunt suffragia regionatimque generibus hominum causisque et quaestibus tribus discripserunt.[6]

[1] et *Ussing*: et forum et *Mog.*
[2] et ad *Dreller*: *om. Mog.*
[3] praeterea *Sigonius*: praetores *Mog.*
[4] loca *Madvig*: sua *Mog.*
[5] essent paterentque *Pighius*: paterent essentque *Mog.*
[6] discripserunt *Buecheler*: descripserunt *Mog.*

[1] It was probably near the bridge.

[2] The bridge is the *pons Aemilius*, finished by Scipio Aemilianus and Mummius in their censorship in 142 B.C. The single arch still standing in the river may belong to it.

[3] On the north side of the Forum. Originally called *basilica Fulvia* or *Aemilia et Fulvia*, its restorations by later Aemilii have caused it to be known as *basilica Aemilia*. For the earlier *basilica Porcia* cf. XXXIX. xliv. 7 and the note.

[4] It lay to the north of the basilica and was probably identical with the *macellum* of XXVII. xi. 16.

[5] If *et forum* should be read before *et porticum*, it may refer to the *forum Pistorum* below the Aventine, but information as to this is scanty.

additional works and of greater utility: a harbour[1] B.C. 179
and the piles for a bridge over the Tiber, the piles on which many years later Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius in their censorship contracted for the construction of arches,[2] a basilica behind the new shops of the silver-smiths[3] and a fish-market[4] with shops about it which he sold for private use; also a portico[5] outside the Porta Trigemina, and another behind the dock-yards, and near the shrine of Hercules, and behind the temple of Spes on the Tiber, and near the shrine of Apollo Medicus.[6] They had, besides, money in common: from this they let contracts in the names of both for the construction of an aqueduct and the erection of arches. This undertaking was blocked by Marcus Licinius Crassus, who would not permit the aqueduct to run across his property.[7] The same censors established many port-dues and taxes.[8] Many shrines and public places, occupied by private persons, they caused to be public and sacred and open to the people. They changed the method of voting and constituted the tribes according to districts and to the classes and situations and occupations of the members.[9]

[6] The temples of Spes and Apollo were probably in the region of the *forum Olitorium*, that of Hercules in the *forum Boarium*. The portico system then seems to connect the two districts where Fulvius was most active, that near the upper end of the island and that below the Aventine.

[7] Condemnation of private property for such purposes was not authorized. Nothing more seems to be known about this project, and it may have fallen through by reason of the opposition of Crassus.

[8] Particularly on public lands which were in private hands.

[9] Unfortunately, Livy is not explicit as to this reorganization, and we cannot go beyond speculation.

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LII. Et alter ex censoribus M. Aemilius petiit ab senatu ut sibi dedicationis causa [1] templorum reginae Iunonis et Dianae, quae bello Ligustino ante annis 2 octo vovisset, pecunia ad ludos decerneretur. Viginti 3 milia aeris decreverunt. Dedicavit eas aedes, utramque in circo Flaminio, ludosque scaenicos triduum post dedicationem templi Iunonis, biduum post Dianae, 4 et singulos dies fecit in circo. Idem dedicavit aedem Larum [2] permarinum in Campo. Voverat eam annis undecim [3] ante L. Aemilius Regillus navali 5 proelio adversus praefectos regis Antiochi. Supra valvas templi tabula cum titulo hoc fixa est: " Duello magno dirimendo, regibus subigendis,[4] patrandae pacis causa [5] haec pugna exeunti L. Aemilio M. Aemilii filio. . . .[6] Auspicio imperio felicitate ductu- 6 que eius inter Ephesum Samum Chiumque, inspectante eopse [7] Antiocho, exercitu omni, equitatu elephantisque, classis regis Antiochi antehac invicta [8] fusa contusa fugataque est, ibique eo die naves longae cum omnibus sociis captae quadraginta [9] duae. Ea pugna pugnata rex Antiochus regnumque.

[1] causa *Madvig*: *om. Mog.*
[2] Larum *Heraeus*: larium *Mog.*
[3] undecim *Sigonius*: quadraginta *Mog.*
[4] dirimendo regibus subigendis *Caesius Bassus, De re metr.* 8 (VI. 265 K): regibus dirimendo caput subigendis *Mog.*
[5] causa *H. J. Mueller*: *om. Mog.*
[6] *lacunam indicavit Madvig*: *vid. quae Anglice scripsi.*
[7] eopse *Ritschl*: cos. ipso *Mog.*
[8] invicta *Weissenborn*: sic victa *Mog.*
[9] quadraginta *Glareanus*: sexaginta *Mog.*

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[1] Cf. XXXIX. ii. 8; 11 and the note.
[2] They had been more generous to Fulvius in 187 B.C. (XXXIX. v. 10).

LII. Moreover, one of the censors, Marcus B.C 179
Aemilius, asked the senate that money should be assigned to him for the games in connection with the dedication of the temples which he had vowed to Queen Juno and Diana eight years before in the Ligurian war.[1] They voted twenty thousand *asses*.[2] He dedicated these temples, both in the *circus Flaminius*, and gave scenic games for three days after the dedication of the temple to Juno, two days in the case of Diana, and games in the circus for one day for each. He also dedicated a temple to the Lares of the Sea in the Campus.[3] Lucius Aemilius Regillus had vowed this eleven years before during the naval battle against the prefects of King Antiochus.[4] Above the doors of the temple a tablet was fixed bearing this inscription: "For finishing a great war, for subduing kings, this battle, fought for the purpose of winning peace, (gave victory) to Lucius Aemilius, the son of Marcus Aemilius, as he left the field.[5] Under his auspices and command, with his good fortune and generalship, in the area bounded by Ephesus, Samos and Chios, under the eyes of Antiochus himself, of all his army, his cavalry and his elephants, the fleet of King Antiochus, hitherto undefeated, was routed, shattered and put to flight, and there on that day forty-two ships[6] were taken with all their crews. As a result of the finishing of this battle King Antiochus was defeated and his naval empire (over-

[3] These divinities extended to mariners the protection offered to home-dwellers by the Lares of the household.

[4] The vow was not mentioned in XXXVII. xxix–xxx.

[5] I have tried merely to give a possible meaning to a defective sentence.

[6] Cf. XXXVII. xxx. 7 and the note.

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. . . [1] Eius rei ergo aedem Laribus permarinis
7 vovit." Eodem exemplo tabula in aede Iovis in Capitolio supra valvas fixa est.

LIII. Biduo, quo senatum legerunt censores, Q. Fulvius consul profectus in Ligures, per invios montes Ballistae [2] saltus cum exercitu transgressus,
2 signis collatis cum hoste pugnavit: neque tantum acie vicit sed castra quoque eodem die cepit. Tria milia ducenti hostium omnisque ea regio Ligurum in
3 deditionem venit. Consul deditos in campestres agros deduxit, praesidiaque montibus imposuit. Celeriter et ex provincia litterae Romam venerunt: supplicationes ob eas res gestas in triduum decretae
4 sunt; praetores quadraginta hostiis maioribus per supplicationes rem divinam fecerunt. Ab altero consule L. Manlio nihil memoria dignum in Liguribus
5 est gestum. Galli Transalpini, tria milia hominum, in [3] Italiam transgressi, neminem bello lacessentes agrum a consulibus et senatu petebant ut pacati sub
6 imperio populi Romani essent. Eos senatus excedere Italia iussit et consulem Q. Fulvium quaerere et animadvertere in eos qui principes et auctores transcendendi Alpes fuissent.

LIV. Eodem anno Philippus rex Macedonum, senio et maerore consumptus post mortem filii,
2 decessit. Demetriade hibernabat, cum desiderio

[1] *lacunam indicavit Madvig.*
[2] Ballistae *Heraeus*: vallesque *Mog.*
[3] in *Frob.* 31: *om. Mog.*

[1] Again I have tried merely to give a plausible conclusion to an incomplete sentence.

[2] The form *fixa est* in sect. 5 leaves it uncertain whether Livy himself saw this inscription, especially since it recurs in sect. 7, and it is not likely that the Capitoline copy survived the fires.

thrown).[1] By reason of this victory he vowed a B.C. 179
temple to the Lares of the Sea."[2] A tablet to the same effect was set up in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline above the doors.

LIII. Two days after the censors chose the senate, Quintus Fulvius the consul set out against the Ligurians, making his way with his army across the pathless mountains and crossing the pass of Ballista, and fought a pitched battle with the enemy; he not only conquered them on the field but captured their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy and all this region of the Ligurians surrendered. The consul transferred the surrendered to lands in the plains[3] and set garrisons over the mountains. Quickly, too, dispatches from the province came to Rome; a thanksgiving for three days was decreed because of these successes, and the praetors sacrificed forty full-grown victims in the course of the thanksgiving. The other consul, Lucius Manlius, did nothing worth recording among the Ligurians. The transalpine Gauls, three thousand in number, crossing into Italy and harrying no one in war, asked land from the consuls and the senate, that they might live in peace under the rule of the Roman people. The senate ordered them to leave Italy, and instructed the consul Quintus Fulvius to search out and punish the leaders and proposers of the plan to cross the Alps.

LIV. The same year[4] Philip, king of the Macedonians, died, broken down by age and grief at the death of his son. He was wintering at Demetrias,

[3] That is, in their own territory.

[4] The narrative of affairs in the east is resumed after having been broken off at xxiv. 8 above.

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anxius filii, tum paenitentia crudelitatis suae. 3 Stimulabat[1] animum et alter filius haud dubie et sua et aliorum opinione rex, conversique in eum omnium oculi, et destituta senectus aliis exspectantibus suam 4 mortem, aliis ne exspectantibus quidem. Quo magis angebatur, et[2] cum eo Antigonus Echecratis filius, nomen patrui Antigoni ferens, qui tutor Philippi fuerat, regiae vir maiestatis, nobili etiam pugna adversus Cleomenem Lacedaemonium clarus. 5 Tutorem eum Graeci, ut cognomine a ceteris regibus 6 distinguerent, appellarunt. Huius fratris filius Antigonus ex honoratis Philippi amicis unus incorruptus permanserat, eique ea fides nequaquam amicum 7 Persea inimicissimum fecerat. Is prospiciens animo quanto cum periculo suo hereditas regni ventura[3] esset ad Persea, ut primum labare animum regis 8 et ingemiscere interdum filii desiderio sensit, nunc praebendo aures, nunc lacessendo etiam mentionem rei temere actae, saepe querenti querens et ipse aderat. Et cum multa, ut[4] adsolet, veritas praeberet[5] vestigia sui, omni ope adiuvabat, quo maturius 9 omnia emanarent. Suspecti ut[6] ministri facinoris Apelles maxime et Philocles erant, qui Romam legati

[1] stimulabat *Florebellus*: quae stimulabat *Mog.*
[2] et *Frob.* 35: *om. Mog.*
[3] regni ventura *Frob.* 35: ventura regni *Mog.*
[4] ut *Weissenborn*: *om. Mog.*
[5] praeberet *Weissenborn*: praebere *Mog.*
[6] ut *Bekker*: et *Mog.*

[1] Diodorus (XXIX. xxv) says of him: τῇ δὲ λύπῃ ἀδιορθώτως κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

[2] Cf. XXXIV. xxviii. 1.

[3] Livy's *Tutor* does not really correspond to the Greek Δώσων; "always promising," which according to Plutarch *Coriolanus* 11 was given in mockery. (One is tempted to read

distressed both by longing for his son and by repentance[1] of his own cruelty. His mind was further disturbed, firstly by his other son, who was already and beyond doubt the king, both in his own opinion and that of others, the eyes of all being turned upon him, secondly, by the loneliness of his own old age, since some were waiting for his death and others not even waiting for it. All this caused him the more distress, as it did to Antigonus the son of Echecrates, who bore the name of his uncle Antigonus, the guardian of Philip, a man of regal dignity, and renowned also for the famous battle against Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian.[2] The surname "the guardian"[3] was given him by the Greeks to distinguish him from the other of that name. The younger Antigonus, the son of his brother Echecrates, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured, alone remained uncorrupted, and this loyalty to Philip had made Perseus, under no circumstances a friend, a most deadly foe. Foreseeing in his mind with how great danger to himself the inheritance of the kingdom would fall to Perseus, as soon as he saw that the mind of the king was wavering and that he sometimes grieved at the loss of his son Demetrius, now by listening to him, now by even provoking him to talk of that rash act, with laments of his own he echoed the laments of Philip. And while the truth, as usually happens, was offering many foretokens of itself, he aided with all his might in bringing everything to light with greater speed. Suspicion had fallen particularly upon Apelles and Philocles as the instigators of the crime, since they had been the ambassadors to Rome and had brought B.C. 179

Daturum, which would correspond, for *Tutorem*—E. H. Warmington.)

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fuerant litterasque exitiales Demetrio sub nomine Flaminini attulerant.

LV. Falsas esse et a scriba vitiatas signumque adulterinum vulgo in regia fremebant. Ceterum cum suspecta magis quam manifesta esset res, forte Xychus obvius fit Antigono, comprehensusque ab eo in regiam est perductus. Relicto eo custodibus Antigonus ad Philippum processit. "Multis" inquit "sermonibus intellexisse videor magno te aestimaturum, si scire vera omnia possis de filiis tuis, uter ab utro petitus fraude et insidiis esset. Homo unus omnium, qui nodum huius erroris exsolvere possit, in potestate tua est Xychus. Forte oblatum [1] perductumque in regiam vocari iube." Regi adductus primo ita negare inconstanter ut parvo metu admoto [2] paratum indicem esse appareret. Conspectum tortoris verberumque non sustinuit, ordinemque omnem facinoris legatorum ministeriique sui exposuit. Extemplo missi qui legatos comprehenderent, Philoclem qui praesens erat oppresserunt: Apelles missus ad Chaeream quendam persequendum [3] indicio Xychi audito in Italiam traiecit. De Philocle nihil certi vulgatum est: alii primo audaciter negantem,[4] postquam in conspectum adductus sit Xychus, non ultra tetendisse, alii tormenta etiam infitiantem pessum affirmant.[5] Philippo redintegratus est

[1] oblatum *Faber*: vocatum *Mog.*
[2] admoto *Frob.* 31: amoto *Mog.*
[3] quendam persequendum *Frob.* 31: persequendum quendam *Mog.*
[4] negantem *Frob.* 31: negant *Mog.*
[5] affirmant *Frob.* 31: affirmabant *Mog.*

[1] Livy speaks as if the name of Xychus were familiar although he has not mentioned him before. He probably follows Polybius closely but omits a cross-reference.

the letter, fatal to Demetrius, which bore the name of Flamininus. B.C. 179

LV. That the letter was a forgery, the falsification of a scribe, and the seal a counterfeit, was the muttering of all the palace. But while the facts were suspected rather than established by proof, Xychus [1] by chance encountered Antigonus and was arrested by him and taken to the palace. Leaving him in the care of guards, Antigonus went to Philip and addressed him thus: "I seem to have understood from many conversations that you will value it highly if you can learn the whole truth about your sons, which of the two was attacked by the other with treachery and ambush. There is one man in all the world who can untie the knot of this uncertainty, and this man, Xychus, is in your hands. Since he happened to come in my way and has been by me brought to the palace, order him to be summoned." When Xychus was brought before the king, he at first denied everything so irresolutely that it was clear that he would be a ready witness under the stimulus of a little terror. He did not endure even the sight of the torturer and the lash, but set forth the whole sequence of events in the crime of the ambassadors and his own service in connection with it. At once men were sent out to arrest the ambassadors, and Philocles, who was at hand, was seized: Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a certain Chaereas, hearing of the testimony of Xychus, crossed to Italy. With regard to Philocles there is no certain information: some say that after boldly denying his guilt at first, when he was confronted with Xychus he did not hold out longer, others assert that he even suffered torture while still making denial. Philip's grief was

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luctus geminatusque; et infelicitatem suam in liberis graviorem quod alter superesset[1] censebat.

LVI. Perseus certior factus omnia[2] detecta esse, potentior quidem erat quam ut fugam necessariam 2 duceret: tantum ut procul abesset curabat, interim velut ab incendio flagrantis irae, dum Philippus viveret, se defensurus. Is[3] spe potiundi ad poenam corporis eius amissa, quod reliquum erat, id studere ne super impunitatem etiam praemio sceleris frueretur. 3 Antigonum[4] igitur appellat, cui et palam facti parricidii gratia obnoxius erat, et nequaquam[5] pudendum aut paenitendum eum regem Macedonibus propter recentem patrui Antigoni gloriam fore 4 censebat. "Quando in eam fortunam veni," inquit[5] "Antigone, ut orbitas mihi, quam alii detestantur parentes, optabilis esse debeat, regnum, quod a patruo tuo forti non solum fideli tutela eius custoditum et auctum etiam accepi, id tibi tradere in 5 animo est. Te unum habeo quem dignum regno iudicem. Se neminem haberem, perire et exstingui id mallem quam Perseo scelestae fraudis praemium esse. 6 Demetrium excitatum ab inferis restitutumque credam mihi, si te, qui morti innocentis, qui meo infelici errori unus illacrimasti, in locum eius 7 substitutum relinquam." Ab hoc sermone omni

[1] superesset *Sigonius*: perisset *Mog.*
[2] Perseus certior factus omnia *Frob.* 35: o. P. c. f. *Mog.*
[3] is *Weissenborn*: *om. Mog.*
[4] Antigonum *Frob.* 31: Antiochus eum *Mog.*
[5] nequaquam *Weissenborn*: neque *Mog.*

renewed and doubled; and he believed that his unhappiness in his children was the greater because the second remained. B.C. 179

LVI. When Perseus was informed that everything had been discovered he was indeed too strong to consider that flight was necessary: he arranged only to remain far away, being prepared to defend himself against the flames of burning anger while Philip lived. Philip, although disappointed in the hope of seizing his person for punishment, turned his attention to the course which was still open to him—of seeing to it that Perseus might not, in addition to impunity, also enjoy the profit of his crime. He therefore summoned Antigonus, to whom he was indebted in return for his having exposed the murder, and who, he believed, would be a king about whom the Macedonians need by no means be ashamed or abashed, on account of the recent fame of his uncle Antigonus. "Since I have come to such a state, Antigonus," he said, "that the bereavement which other parents try to avert cannot but seem to be a blessing, the kingdom which I received from your uncle, held in safe-keeping and even made still greater by his courageous and not merely loyal guardianship, it is in my mind to bequeath to you. I have you alone whom I judge to be worthy of the throne. If I had no one, I should prefer to have it perish and be destroyed to seeing it become for Perseus the reward of his criminal treachery. I shall believe that Demetrius is raised from the dead and restored to me if I shall leave you, who alone have wept at the death of an innocent man and for my unfortunate mistake, as a substitute for him." After saying this he did not cease to distinguish him

A.U.C 575 genere honoris producere eum non destitit. Cum in Thracia Perseus abesset, circumire Macedoniae urbes principibusque Antigonum commendare; et si vita longior suppetisset, haud dubium fuit quin eum in
8 possessione regni relicturus fuerit. Ab Demetriade profectus Thessalonicae plurimum temporis moratus fuerat. Inde cum Amphipolim venisset gravi morbo
9 est implicitus. Sed animo tamen aegrum magis fuisse quam corpore constat; curisque et vigiliis, cum identidem species et umbrae insontis interempti filii agitarent, extinctum esse cum diris execration-
10 ibus [1] alterius. Tamen admoveri potuisset Antigonus si aut adfuisset aut [2] statim palam facta esset mors
11 regis. Medicus Calligenes qui curationi praeerat, non expectata morte regis, a primis desperationis notis nuntios per dispositos equos,[3] ita ut convenerat misit ad Perseum, et mortem regis in adventum eius omnes qui extra regiam erant, celavit.

LVII. Oppressit igitur necopinantes ignarosque omnes Perseus et regnum scelere partum invasit.
2 Peropportuna mors Philippi fuit ad dilationem et ad vires bello subtrahendas.[4] Nam post paucis diebus gens Bastarnarum, diu sollicitata, ab suis sedibus

[1] agitarent extinctum esse cum diris execrationibus *Gronovius*: c. d. a. ext. es. exe. *Mog.*
[2] adfuisset aut *Perizonius*: haud *Mog.*
[3] equos *Sigonius*: *om. Mog.*
[4] subtrahendas *Madvig*: contrahendas *Mog.*

[1] Livy is probably thinking of such episodes in tragedy as the curse of Oedipus (Aeschylus, *Septem*, etc.).

[2] The meaning is uncertain. One naturally expects this to mean the war with Rome, since Livy has been so insistent that Philip would himself have begun the war had he lived a little longer, and no one would infer from Livy's narrative that the war did not actually break out until 171 B.C. The

with every mark of honour. While Perseus was absent in Thrace, Philip canvassed the cities of Macedonia and recommended Antigonus to the chiefs; and if longer life had been his lot there is no question that he would have left Antigonus in possession of the throne. Setting out from Demetrias, he had been delayed for a very long time at Thessalonica. When he had come from there to Amphipolis he was seized with a severe illness. But it is evident that his sickness was one of the mind rather than of the body; and that anxiety and loss of sleep, while again and again the shade and ghost of the innocent son whom he had killed pursued him, brought about his death while calling down dreadful curses upon his other son.[1] Nevertheless Antigonus could possibly have been advanced to the throne if he had been present or even if the death of the king had been made public at once. The physician Calligenes, who was in charge of his treatment, not anticipating the death of the king, at the first signs that the case was hopeless sent messengers to Perseus, as he had arranged to do, on relays of horses, and until his arrival concealed the death of the king from all who were outside the palace. B.C. 179

LVII. Thus Perseus caught everyone unprepared and ignorant, and grasped the sceptre which he had won by crime.

The death of Philip came at a fortunate time for delaying and for diverting strength from the war.[2] For a few days later the tribe of the Bastarnae,[3] after long solicitation, left their homes and with a great

episode of the Bastarnae (note particularly the introductory *nam*) which follows seems an insufficient cause for so long a delay, and one is tempted to think that Livy was so conscious of the tragic quality of the action that he, like the tragic poet, could ignore the passage of time.

[3] Cf. v. 10 above.

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magna peditum equitumque manu Histrum traiecit.
3 Inde praegressi qui nuntiarent regi, Antigonus et Cotto: Cotto [1] nobilis erat Bastarna, Antigonus [2] e regiis unus, saepe [3] cum ipso Cottone legatus ad concitandos Bastarnas missus. Haud procul Amphipoli fama inde [4] certi nuntii occurrerunt mortuum esse regem. Quae res omnem ordinem consilii turbavit.
4 Compositum autem sic fuerat transitum per Thraciam tutum et commeatus Bastarnis ut Philippus praestaret.[5] Id ut facere posset regionum principes donis coluerat, fide sua obligata pacato agmine transituros
5 Bastarnas. Dardanorum gentem delere propositum erat inque eorum agro sedes dare [6] Bastarnis.
6 Duplex inde erat commodum futurum, si et Dardani, gens semper infestissima Macedoniae temporibusque iniquis regum imminens, tolleretur, et Bastarnae relictis in Dardania coniugibus liberisque ad populan-
7 dam Italiam possent mitti. Per Scordiscos iter esse ad mare Hadriaticum Italiamque; alia via traduci exercitum non posse. Facile Bastarnis Scordiscos iter

[1] Cotto *Weissenborn*: *om. Mog.*
[2] Antigonus *Madvig*: ea res Antigonus *Mog.*
[3] saepe *Heraeus*: saepe Iunius *Mog.*
[4] inde certi *Drakenborch*: incerti *Mog.*
[5] praestaret *Frob.* 35: daret *Mog.*
[6] sedes dare *Frob.* 31: se fundare *Mog.*

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[1] Not the Antigonus whom Philip had planned to make his heir.

[2] It is perhaps easiest to visualize the geographical background by the use of modern place-names, so far as possible. The Bastarnae lived in what is now Bessarabia, on the Euxine north of the Danube delta. Philip planned to march them through northern Bulgaria, thence perhaps by the Morava valley to the Danube and west by the Danube and Save

number of infantry and cavalry crossed the Hister. B.C. 179
Thence Antigonus[1] and Cotto came on in advance to bring the word to the king: Cotto was a nobleman among the Bastarnae, Antigonus one of Philip's courtiers who had often been sent with Cotto himself to stir up the Bastarnae. When they were not far from Amphipolis, first the rumour and then the authenticated tidings of the death of the king reached them. This event wholly upset the ordered plan of Philip. But it had been so arranged that Philip was to guarantee to the Bastarnae a safe passage through Thrace and also supplies. In order that he might be able to accomplish this, he had cultivated the chiefs of these districts with gifts, pledging his word that the Bastarnae would cross their territories peaceably. It had been his intention to destroy the race of the Dardanians and to give the Bastarnae homes on their lands. From this policy there was a double advantage if, in the first place, the Dardanians, a people always most hostile to Macedonia and watchful for occasions unfavourable to the kings, should be destroyed, and, secondly, if the Bastarnae, leaving their wives and children in Dardania, could be sent to plunder Italy. There was a road, he knew, through the country of the Scordisci to the Adriatic sea and Italy; an army could not be led by any other way.[2] The Scordisci

valleys to the country of the Scordisci, west of Belgrade. From there the Save valley with its continuations leads to Fiume, near the head of the Adriatic. The Dardani, among whom homes for them were to be found, lived in or to the east of the Morava valley. From the standpoint of the Bastarnae, a route following the Danube and Save would have been shorter, but then they would have had no contact with Philip. Some sound geographical knowledge, then, underlies Philip's grandiose plan.

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daturos: nec enim aut lingua aut moribus [1] abhorrere; et ipsos adiuncturos se, cum ad praedam opulentissimae gentis ire vidissent. Inde in omnem
8 eventum consilia accommodabantur: [2] sive caesi ab Romanis forent Bastarnae, Dardanos tamen sublatos praedamque ex reliquiis Bastarnarum et possessionem
9 liberam Dardaniae solacio fore; sive prospere rem [3] gessissent, Romanis aversis [4] in Bastanarum bellum recuperaturum se in Graecia quae amisisset. Haec Philippi consilia fuerant.

LVIII. Primum ingressi sunt pacato agmine. Digressu [5] deinde Cottonis et Antigoni et haud multo post fama mortis Philippi neque Thraces commercio faciles erant, neque [6] Bastarnae empto contenti [7] esse poterant aut in agmine contineri ne decederent
2 via. Inde iniuriae ultro citroque fieri, quarum in dies incremento bellum exarsit. Postremo Thraces cum vim ac multitudinem sustinere hostium non possent, relictis campestribus vicis in montem ingentis altitudinis—Donucam vocant—concesserunt. Quo cum
3 subire [8] Bastarnae vellent, quali tempestate Gallos spoliantes Delphos fama est peremptos esse, talis tum Bastarnas nequiquam ad iuga montium appropin-

[1] moribus *Duker*: moribus aequales *Mog.*
[2] accommodabantur *Sigonius*: commodabantur *Mog.*
[3] rem *Gronovius*: *om. Mog.*
[4] aversis *Frob.* 31: reversis *Mog.*
[5] primum ingressi sunt pacato agmine. digressu *Madvig*: digressi sunt pacato agro *Mog.*
[6] neque *Frob.* 31: *om. Mog.*
[7] empto contenti *Frob.* 31: evito contentio *Mog.*
[8] cum subire *Weissenborn*: ubi ire *Mog.*

[1] The Bastarnae were Germanic, the Scordisci Gallic, but either Philip or Livy may have been misinformed on that point.

would readily give a passage to the Bastarnae: for B.C. 179
they were not very different in either language or manners;[1] and they themselves would join forces with them when they saw the Bastarnae going to plunder a most wealthy people. From that point his plans were adapted to any issue: if the Bastarnae were cut to pieces by the Romans, yet the removal of the Dardani and the booty from the remnants of the Bastarnae and the unhindered occupancy of Dardania would be his consolation; if on the other hand success attended their venture, while the attention of the Romans was distracted to the war with the Bastarnae Philip would recover his lost possessions in Greece.[2] This was the plan of Philip.

LVIII. At first the Bastarnae marched with their column peacefully inclined. Then, after the departure of Cotto and Antigonus and, not much later, after the receipt of the news of the death of Philip, neither were the Thracians easy to negotiate with nor could the Bastarnae be satisfied with what they could buy nor could they be kept in column without leaving the line of march. In consequence injuries were inflicted on both sides, and as these increased day by day war flared up. Finally, when the Thracians were unable to withstand the strength and numbers of the enemy, leaving the villages in the plains they fell back to a mountain of great height—they call it Donuca. When the Bastarnae tried to climb it, they were caught, as they attempted in vain to scale the heights of the mountains, by such a storm as that which, as the story goes, destroyed the Gauls as

[2] Philip then stood to gain heavily in any case, with nothing but the trifling investment necessary to purchase the right of way through Thrace.

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4 quantes oppressit. Neque enim imbre tantum effuso, dein creberrima grandine obruti sunt cum ingenti fragore caeli tonitribusque et fulguribus praestrin-
5 gentibus aciem oculorum, sed fulmina etiam sic undique micabant ut peti viderentur corpora, nec solum milites sed etiam principes icti caderent.
6 Itaque cum praecipiti fuga per rupes praealtas improvidi sternerentur ruerentque, instabant quidem perculsis Thraces, sed ipsi deos auctores fugae esse
7 caelumque in se ruere aiebant. Dissipati procella cum [1] tamquam ex naufragio plerique [2] semermes in castra, unde profecti erant, redissent, consultari quid agerent coeptum. Inde orta dissensio, aliis redeundum aliis penetrandum in Dardaniam censen-
8 tibus; triginta ferme milia hominum Clondico duce quo [3] profecti erant pervenerunt, cetera multitudo retro qua venerat Apolloniam Mesembriamque [4] repetit. Perseus potitus regno interfici Antigonum iussit; et dum firmaret res, legatos Romam ad amicitiam paternam renovandam petendumque ut rex ab senatu appellaretur misit. Haec eo anno in Macedonia gesta.

LIX. Alter consulum Q. Fulvius ex Liguribus triumphavit; quem triumphum magis gratiae quam rerum gestarum magnitudini datum constabat.
2 Armorum hostilium magnam vim transtulit, nullam

[1] procella cum *Frob.* 31 : procellarum *Mog.*
[2] plerique *Frob.* 31 : proeliique se *Mog.*
[3] quo *Madvig* : *om. Mog.*
[4] Mesembriamque *Heraeus* : meridianam *Mog.*

[1] Cf. Justin XXIV. viii. 9–10.
[2] Cf. Arrian, *Anab.* I. iv. 8; ἔφασαν (οἱ Κέλτοι) δεδιέναι μήποτε ὁ οὐρανὸς αὐτοῖς ἐμπέσοι.
[3] These cities were on the Thracian coast of the Euxine.
[4] The Antigonus whom Philip had chosen as his successor.

they pillaged Delphi.[1] For not merely were they B.C. 179
assailed with a deluge of rain and then masses of hail, along with tremendous crashes in the sky and thunders and lightning-flashes blinding their eyes, but also the bolts flashed all about them so that they seemed to be aiming at human beings, and not only the common soldiers but even the chieftains fell stricken on the ground. So when in headlong flight in their blindness they were rushing about and falling over lofty cliffs, the Thracians too came upon them in their panic, but they themselves said that the gods were the causes of their flight and that the skies were falling upon them.[2] Scattered by the tempest, as if after a shipwreck, when many of them, half-armed, had returned to the camp whence they had set out, they began to consider what they should do. Then a disagreement arose, some thinking that they should return home, others that they should make their way into Dardania; about thirty thousand men, under the command of Clondicus, arrived at the place for which they had set out, the rest of the population returned to Apollonia and Mesembria[3] by the way they had come. Perseus, having gained the throne, ordered Antigonus[4] to be put to death; and until he could strengthen his position he sent ambassadors to Rome to renew his father's friendship and to ask that he be called king by the senate. Such were the events of the year in Macedonia.

LIX. One of the consuls, Quintus Fulvius, triumphed over the Ligurians; this triumph was clearly due to influence rather than to the greatness of his achievements.[5] He carried in the triumph a great quantity of arms taken from the enemy,

[5] Cf. the note to xliii. 4 above.

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pecuniam admodum. Divisit tamen in singulos milites trecenos aeris, duplex centurionibus, triplex
3 equiti. Nihil in eo triumpho magis insigne fuit quam quod forte evenit, ut eodem die triumpharet
4 quo priore anno ex praetura triumphaverat. Secundum triumphum comitia edixit, quibus creati consules
5 sunt M. Iunius Brutus A. Manlius[1] Volso. Praetorum inde tribus creatis comitia tempestas diremit. Postero die reliqui tres facti, ante diem quartum idus Martias, M. Titinius Curvus[2] Ti. Claudius Nero
6 T. Fonteius Capito. Ludi Romani instaurati ab aedilibus curulibus Cn. Servilio Caepione Ap. Claudio
7 Centone propter prodigia, quae evenerant. Terra movit; in fanis[3] publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita quae in lectis erant averterunt se,
8 lanxque[4] cum integumentis quae Iovi apposita[5] fuit, decidit de mensa. Oleas quoque praegustasse mures in prodigium versum est. Ad ea expianda nihil ultra quam ut ludi instaurarentur actum est.

[1] A. Manlius *Frob.* 31 : A. Attilius *Mog.*
[2] Curvus *Frob.* 35 : *om. Mog.*
[3] fanis *Duker* : foris *Mog.*
[4] lanxque *Cuper* : lanaque *Mog.*
[5] apposita *Sigonius* : opposita *Mog.*

but practically no money. Still he distributed to the B.C. 179
soldiers three hundred *asses* each to the infantry, twice that sum to the centurions and thrice to the cavalry. Nothing in the triumph was more noteworthy than that it happened to occur on the same day on which, in the previous year, he had triumphed after his praetorship. After the triumph he announced the elections, at which Marcus Junius Brutus and Aulus Manlius Volso were chosen consuls. The election of praetors, after three had been chosen, was broken up by a storm.[1] The following day, this being the fourth day before the Ides of March, the other three were elected, Marcus Titinius Curvus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, Titus Fonteius Capito. The *ludi Romani* were repeated by the curule aediles, Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Appius Claudius Cento, by reason of the prodigies which had occurred. The earth shook; in the shrines of the gods, when the *lectisternium* was being held, the heads of the gods who were on the couches turned away, and the platter with its lids which had been set before Jupiter fell from the table. It was also interpreted as a portent that the mice tasted the olives.[2] To make atonement for them, nothing else was done than to repeat the Games.

[1] Livy omits to mention the first three praetors (under the *lex Baebia* this was the year for six praetors). The names of T. Aebutius and another M. Titinius can be recovered from XLI. vi. 5 and ix. 3 respectively. The sixth may have been P. Aelius Ligur.

[2] Cf. XXVII. xxiii. 2.

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LIBRI XL PERIOCHA

Cum Philippus liberos eorum quos in vinculis habebat nobilium hominum conquiri ad mortem iussisset, Theoxena, verita pro liberis suis admodum pueris regis libidinem, prolatis in medium gladiis et poculo in quo venenum erat, suasit his ut imminens ludibrium morte effugerent, et cum persuasisset et ipsa se interemit. Certamina inter filios Philippi, Macedoniae regis, Persen et Demetrium, referuntur; et ut fraude fratris sui Demetrius fictis criminibus, inter quae [1] accusatione parricidii et affectati regni,[2] primum petitus, ad ultimum, quoniam populi R. amicus erat, veneno necatus est, regnumque Macedoniae mortuo Philippo ad Persen venit. Item res in Liguribus et Hispania contra Celtiberos feliciter gestas continet. Colonia Aquileia deducta est. Libri Numae Pompili in agro L. Petili scribae sub Ianiculo a [3] cultoribus agri arca lapidea clusi inventi sunt et Graeci et Latini. In quibus cum pleraque [4] dissolvendarum religionum praetor ad quem delati erant legisset, iuravit senatui contra rem p. esse ut legerentur servarenturque. Ex S.C. in comitio exusti sunt. Philippus aegritudine animi confectus, quod Demetrium filium falsis [5] Persei, alterius filii, in eum delationibus impulsus veneno sustulisset, et de poena Persei cogitavit voluitque Antigonum potius amicum suum successorem regni sui relinquere, sed in hac cogitatione morte raptus est. Perseus regnum excepit.

[1] inter que P^2 : inter quem P : inter **** quem N : interiit qui N^2.
[2] affectati regni *Frobenius* : affectatione NP.
[3] a *edd.* : *om.* NP.
[4] pleraque *Jahn* : plura quae *codd.*
[5] falsis *edd.* : falsi *codd.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XL

WHEN Philip ordered that the children of the noblemen whom he had in prison should be sought out to be put to death, Theoxena, fearing for her children, who were still young, the lust of the king, placing before them swords and a cup which contained poison, advised them to escape by death the outrage which now threatened them, and when she had persuaded them she also slew herself. The rivalries between Perseus and Demetrius, the sons of Philip, king of Macedonia, are related; and how, by the treachery of his brother and on false charges, among them a charge of parricide and of an attempt to seize the throne, Demetrius was first accused and finally, since he was friendly to the Roman people, put to death by poison, and the kingdom of Macedonia, on the death of Philip, went to Perseus. The book also contains the events among the Ligurians and the victories over the Celtiberians in Spain. The colony of Aquileia was founded. The books of Numa Pompilius, locked up in a stone chest, written in both Greek and Latin, were found by the husbandmen on the property of Lucius Petilius, a public clerk, at the foot of the Janiculan. Since in them there were many things subversive of religion, the praetor to whom they had been turned over, after reading them, gave his oath to the senate that it was against the public interest that they should be read and preserved. Under a decree of the senate they were burned in the *comitium*. Philip, overcome by grief of mind, because he had killed by poison his son Demetrius, in consequence of false information laid against him by his other son Perseus, both planned for the punishment of Perseus and wished to leave his friend Antigonus preferably as the successor to the throne, but in the midst of this planning was carried off by death. Perseus received the kingdom.

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BOOK XLI

BOOK XLI

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LIBER XLI

A.U.C. 576

I. . . .[1] a patre in pace habitam armasse eoque iuventuti praedandi cupidae pergratus esse dicebatur. Consilium de Histrico bello cum haberet consul, alii gerendum extemplo, antequam contrahere copias hostes possent, alii consulendum prius senatum censebant. Vicit sententia quae diem non profere-
2 bat. Profectus ab Aquileia consul castra ad lacum Timavi posuit; imminet mari is lacus. Eodem decem navibus C. Furius duumvir navalis venit.
3 Adversus Illyriorum classem creati duumviri navales erant, qui tuendae[2] viginti navibus maris superi

[1] *initium codicis deest.*
[2] tuendae *Muretus*: tuendam *Fr.*

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[1] The loss of the first two quaternions of V, the only manuscript containing these books (the second, which contained the text from i. 1 to *edic.* in ix. 10 was lost between 1531 and 1669, see the Preface), has deprived us of the beginning of Book XLI. Comparison with the *Periocha* shows that a relatively large number of topics was treated in the lost chapters. The details which I add in the translation have been derived from Florus I. xxvi. (II. x.); I have added only enough to give the sentence a possible grammatical construction.

[2] For earlier dealings with the Histrians, cf. XXXIX. lv. 4; XL. xxvi. 3.

BOOK XLI

I. . . . Aepulo[1] was said to have armed a people which had been kept in peace by his father and thus to have won great favour with the youth, who were desirous of plundering. When a council regarding a war with the Histrians[2] was held by the consul,[3] some argued that it should be begun at once, before the enemy should be able to draw his forces together, others that the senate should first be consulted.[4] That opinion prevailed which proposed no delay. The consul, setting out from Aquileia, encamped near the lake of Timavus; this lake lies close to the sea. Gaius Furius,[5] the *duumvir navalis*, came to the same place with a fleet of ten ships. To oppose the fleet of the Illyrians *duumviri navales* had been elected, who, with twenty ships to protect the coast of the upper[6] B.C. 178

[3] A. Manlius Volso (XL. lix. 4); his appointment to Gaul has not been mentioned, but was probably reported in a lost chapter.

[4] There is no record of a declaration of war against the Histrians, except as one may be implied in XL. xxvi. 3. Florus (*l.c.*) says that they had earlier assisted the Aetolians. Technically Manlius should have consulted the senate before proceeding against them, since their territory lay outside his province: cf. vii. 7 below.

[5] His choice in this capacity has not been mentioned before.

[6] The Adriatic.

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orae[1] Anconam velut cardinem haberent; inde L. Cornelius dextra litora usque ad Tarentum, C. 4 Furius laeva usque ad Aquileiam tueretur. Eae naves ad proximum portum in Histriae fines cum onerariis et magno commeatu missae, secutusque cum legionibus consul quinque ferme milia a mari 5 posuit castra. In portu emporium brevi perfrequens factum omniaque hinc in castra supportabantur. Et, quo id tutius fieret, stationes ab 6 omnibus castrorum partibus circumdatae sunt: in Histriam versum[2] praesidium stativum, repentina cohors Placentina opposita; inter mare et castra et ut idem aquatoribus ad fluvium esset praesidium, M. Aebutius tribunus militum secundae legionis 7 duos manipulos militum ducere[3] iussus est; T. et C. Aelii tribuni militum legionem tertiam, quae pabulatores et lignatores tueretur, via quae Aquile- 8 iam fert duxerant. Ab eadem regione mille ferme passuum castra erant Gallorum: Catmelus regulus praeerat[4] tribus haud amplius milibus armatorum.

II. Histri, ut primum ad lacum Timavi castra Romana sunt[5] mota, ipsi post collem occulto loco 2 consederunt, et inde obliquis itineribus agmen sequebantur, in omnem occasionem intenti; nec quicquam eos quae terra marique agerentur fallebat.

[1] superi orae *Muretus*: superiore *Fr.*
[2] Histriam (Istriam) versum *J. F. Gronovius*: Histriamque suum *Fr.*
[3] ducere *Weissenborn*: adiicere *Fr.*
[4] regulus praeerat *Madvig*: pro regulo erat *Fr.*
[5] Romana sunt *Novák*: sunt romana *Fr.*

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[1] Cf. XL. xvii. 8 and the note.
[2] Cf. XL. xlii. 8.

sea, were to make Ancona the hinge or pivot,[1] so B.C. 178
to speak; thence Lucius Cornelius[2] was to defend the coast to the right as far as Tarentum, Gaius Furius the coast to the left as far as Aquileia. These ships were sent to the nearest harbour in Histrian territory with transports and a large quantity of supplies, and the consul, following with the legions, encamped about five miles from the sea. In a short time a market, visited by throngs, was established at the harbor, and from there everything was transported to the camp. And in order that this might be done in greater safety, outposts were established on all sides of the camp: facing Histria there was a permanent post, and an emergency cohort from Placentia stationed there; to a position between the sea and the camp, with the additional mission of protecting water-carriers at the river, Marcus Aebutius, military tribune of the second legion, was ordered to bring two maniples of his troops; Titus and Gaius Aelius, tribunes of the soldiers, had led the third legion, which was to guard the parties searching for forage and wood, on the road which leads to Aquileia. In the same area, about a mile distant, was the camp of the Gauls:[3] their chief, Catmelus, was in command of not more than three thousand armed men.

II. The Histrians, as soon as the Romans had moved their camp to the lake of Timavus, themselves took up a hidden position in a spot behind a hill, and thence over byways followed the line of march, prepared for any opportunity; nor did anything that took place on land or sea escape their observation.

[3] Gallic auxiliaries of the Romans: cf. v. 9 below.

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3 Postquam stationes invalidas esse pro castris, forum[1] turba inermi[2] frequens inter castra et mare mercantium sine ullo terrestri aut maritimo munimento viderunt, duo simul praesidia, Placentinae cohortis et manipulorum secundae legionis, aggrediuntur. 4 Nebula matutina texerat inceptum; qua dilabente ad primum teporem solis, perlucens iam aliquid, incerta tamen ut solet lux speciem omnium multiplicem intuenti reddens, tum quoque frustrata Romanos, multo maiorem iis quam erat hostium 5 aciem ostendit. Qua territi utriusque stationis milites ingenti tumultu cum in castra confugissent, haud paulo ibi plus quam quod secum ipsi attulerant, 6 terroris fecerunt. Nam neque dicere quid fugissent nec percunctantibus reddere responsum poterant; et clamor in portis, ut ubi nulla esset statio quae sustineret impetum, audiebatur; et concursatio in obscuro incidentium aliorum in alios incertum 7 fecerat an hostis intra vallum esset. Una vox audiebatur ad mare vocantium; id forte temere ab uno exclamatum totis passim personabat castris. 8 Itaque primo, velut iussi id facere, pauci, armati alii,[3] maior pars inermes, ad mare decurrunt, dein plures, postremo prope omnes, et ipse consul, cum frustra revocare fugientes conatus nec imperio nec auctoritate nec precibus ad extremum valuisset.

[1] forum *Scaliger*: eorum *Fr.*
[2] inermi *J. F. Gronovius*: inermis *Fr.*
[3] alii *add. Weissenborn.*

When they saw that the outposts in front of the camp were weak, and that the market, filled with an unarmed throng trafficking between the camp and the sea, was provided with no protection on land or on water, they at the same time attacked the two outguards, the cohort from Placentia and the maniples of the second legion. A morning fog had concealed their enterprise; and as this cleared away before the first warmth of the sun, the light now penetrating it to some extent, but as yet, as is usual, not clear and furnishing the beholder a magnified impression of everything, at this time also deceived the Romans and revealed to them a battle-line of the enemy far stronger than it really was. When the soldiers from both outposts, terrified by this sight, had fled to the camp with mighty uproar they caused far more panic there than they had brought with them. For they could neither explain from what they had fled nor answer any persons who questioned them; and some shouting at the gates was heard, showing that no guards were there to withstand an assault; and the rushing about in the dark, as one man collided with another, had made it uncertain whether or not the enemy was inside the rampart. One voice was heard, that of men calling them to the sea; this cry, perhaps raised without design by a single man, rang everywhere through the whole camp. And so a few at first, as if they had been ordered to do this, some armed, the majority unarmed, rushed down to the sea, then larger numbers, finally almost all of them, and even the consul, when, trying in vain to recall the fugitives, he had failed at the end to accomplish anything by orders or authority or entreaties. One man alone remained, Marcus B.C. 178

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9 Unus remansit M. Licinius Strabo, tribunus militum tertiae legionis, cum tribus signis ab legione sua relictus. Hunc in vacua castra impetu facto Histri, cum alius armatus iis nemo obviam isset, in praetorio instruentem atque adhortantem suos oppresserunt. 10 Proelium atrocius quam pro paucitate resistentium fuit, nec ante finitum est quam tribunus militum quique circa eum constiterant interfecti sunt. 11 Praetorio deiecto direptisque,[1] quae ibi fuerunt, ad quaestorium, forum quintanamque hostes pervenerunt. 12 Ibi cum omnium rerum paratam expositamque copiam et stratos lectos in quaestorio invenissent, 13 regulus accubans epulari coepit. Mox idem ceteri omnes, armorum hostiumque obliti, faciunt; et ut quibus insuetus liberalior victus esset avidius vino ciboque corpora onerant.

III. Nequaquam eadem est tum rei forma apud Romanos; terra mari trepidatur; nautici tabernacula detendunt commeatumque in litore expositum in 2 naves rapiunt; milites in scaphas et mare territi ruunt; nautae metu ne compleantur navigia, alii turbae obsistunt, alii ab litore naves in altum expel- 3 lunt. Inde certamen, mox etiam pugna cum vulneribus et caede in vicem militum nautarumque oritur, donec iussu consulis procul a terra classis

[1] direptisque *Drakenborch*: direptis *Fr.*

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[1] This street lay in the south-west quadrant of the camp. Along it were booths for the sale of stores.

[2] I.e., for a banquet. Discipline in the camp was not very strict.

Licinius Strabo, military tribune of the third legion, B.C. 178
having along with three companies been left behind by his legion. The Histrians, bursting into the empty camp, when no other armed man had met them, bore down upon him at the headquarters as he was forming his men and encouraging them. A battle began, fiercer than one would expect considering the small number of defenders, and did not stop until the tribune of the soldiers and the men who had made a stand with him had fallen. The enemy, tearing down the general's tent and plundering whatever was there, moved on to the quaestor's quarters, the market, and the *via quintana*.[1] When they had found there abundance of everything ready and laid out, and in the quaestor's quarters couches spread,[2] the chief reclined and began to dine. Presently all the others, forgetting their arms and the enemy, did the same; and since the rather rich fare was strange to them, they greedily loaded their bodies with wine and food.

III. The state of affairs among the Romans was not at all the same at this moment; on land, on sea there was confusion; the sailors were striking their tents and were hurrying off to the ships the provisions set out on the shore; the terrified soldiers were rushing to the small boats and into the sea; some of the sailors, in the fear that the ships would be overcrowded, were blocking the onrush of the crowd while others were pushing out the ships from the shore into deep water. Then there was a struggle and soon even a battle, marked by the wounding and slaying of soldiers and sailors in turn, until the fleet was removed far from the land by order of the consul, who next began to segregate the armed

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4 submota est. Secernere inde inermes ab armatis coepit. Vix mille ducenti ex tanta multitudine qui arma haberent, perpauci equites, qui equos secum eduxissent, inventi sunt; cetera deformis turba velut lixarum calonumque, praeda vere futura, si 5 belli hostes meminissent. Tunc demum nuntius missus [1] ad tertiam legionem revocandam et Gallorum praesidium; et simul ex omnibus locis ad castra recipienda demendamque ignominiam rediri coeptum 6 est. Tribuni militum tertiae legionis pabulum lignaque proicere iubent, centurionibus imperant ut graviores aetate milites binos in ea iumenta ex quibus onera deiecta erant imponant; equites ut singulos e iuvenibus pedites secum in equos tollant: 7 egregiam gloriam legionis fore si castra metu secundanorum amissa sua virtute recipiant. Et recipi facile esse si in praeda occupati barbari subito 8 opprimantur; sicut ceperint, posse capi. Summa militum alacritate adhortatio audita est. Ferunt citati signa, nec signiferos armati morantur. Priores tamen consul copiaeque quae a mari reducebantur 9 ad vallum accesserunt. L. Atius, tribunus primus 10 secundae legionis, non hortabatur modo milites sed docebat etiam, si victores Histri, quibus armis cepissent castra, iisdem capta retinere in animō

[1] missus *add. Weissenborn.*

[1] Cf. *supra* ch. i. 7, the *pabulatores* and *lignatores*.

men from the unarmed. There were barely B.C. 178
twelve hundred out of so great a crowd who had their weapons, and a very few cavalry were found who had brought their horses away with them; the rest were a motley crowd like servants and sutlers, surely destined to be booty if the enemy had bethought himself of the war. Then finally a messenger was sent to recall the third legion and the Gallic contingent, and at the same time from all sides there began the movement back to recover the camp and to wipe out the disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered foraging parties [1] to abandon the forage and wood they had collected, directed the centurions to mount two of the older soldiers on each pack-animal whose load had been removed, and the cavalry to take one each of the younger infantrymen with them on their horses: they told them that the legion would win a fair report if by their valour they should recover the camp which had been lost through the panic of the men of the second legion. The recovery of the camp would be easy, they said, if the barbarians could be suddenly surprised while engaged with the booty; just as they had taken it, so it could be taken from them. This exhortation was listened to with great enthusiasm on the part of the soldiers. They advanced the standards at full speed, nor did the troops lag behind the standard-bearers. Nevertheless the consul and the troops who were being brought back from the sea reached the rampart ahead of them. Lucius Atius, the senior tribune of the second legion, not only urged on the men but also showed them that if the victorious Histrians intended to hold the captured camp with the same arms

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haberent, primum exutum castris hostem ad mare persecuturos fuisse, deinde stationes certe pro vallo habituros: vino somnoque veri simile esse mersos iacere.

IV. Sub haec A. Baeculonium, signiferum suum, notae fortitudinis virum, inferre signum iussit. 2 Ille, si se [1] sequerentur quo celerius fieret facturum dixit; conisusque cum trans vallum signum traie- 3 cisset, primus omnium portam intravit. Et parte alia T. et C. Aelii, tribuni militum tertiae legionis, cum equitatu adveniunt. Confestim et quos binos oneraria in iumenta imposuerant secuti, et consul 4 cum toto agmine. At Histrorum pauci qui modice vino usi erant,[2] memores fuerant fugae, aliis somno mors continuata est; integraque sua omnia Romani, praeterquam quod vini cibique absumptum erat, 5 receperunt. Aegri quoque milites, qui in castris relicti fuerant, postquam intra vallum suos senserunt, 6 armis arreptis caedem ingentem fecerunt. Ante omnes insignis opera fuit C. Popili equitis; Sabello cognomen erat. Is pede saucio relictus longe 7 plurimos hostium occidit. Ad octo milia Histrorum

[1] se *Novák*: unum se *Fr.*
[2] vino usi erant *Heerwagen*: uinosi erant *Fr.*

[1] If *suum* is correct, it would imply that either the legion had a standard, as well as each of its maniples, or that the commander had a personal flag; neither of these is known to have been true in the second century, and Livy may have been thinking of the later legion, which did have its own standard.

with which they had captured it, they would first B.C. 178
have pursued to the sea the enemy, driven from his camp, and then at least have posted guards in front of the rampart; it was very probable that they were lying sunk in wine and sleep.

IV. Thereupon he directed his guidon-bearer,[1] Aulus Baeculonius, a man of tried courage, to carry forward the standard. He replied that if they would follow him he would cause it to happen the more quickly; and when with a great effort he had hurled the standard over the rampart, he was the first of all to enter the gate.[2] And on another side Titus and Gaius Aelius, military tribunes of the third legion, were coming up with the cavalry. Straightway also came the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the pack-animals, and the consul with the main body. But a few of the Histrians, who had indulged only moderately in the wine, bethought them of flight, for the rest, death was a prolongation of sleep; and the Romans recovered their possessions in their entirety, except for the wine and food that had been consumed. Even the sick troops, who had been left inside the camp, when they learned that their comrades were within the rampart, seized their arms and wrought great slaughter. Conspicuous beyond the rest was the performance of a trooper, Gaius Popilius; his cognomen was Sabellus. He, though wounded in the foot and left behind, killed by far the largest number of the enemy. About eight thousand of the Histrians were slain, none

[2] This picturesque feat, only resorted to in extreme emergencies (e.g. XXXIV. xlvi. 12) seems unnecessary if the Histrians were not defending the rampart (iii. 10 above). Livy has perhaps confused or misunderstood sources.

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sunt caesa, captus nemo, quia ira et indignatio immemores praedae fecit. Rex tamen Histrorum temulentus ex convivio, raptim a suis in equum 8 impositus, fugit. Ex victoribus ducenti triginta septem milites perierunt, plures in matutina fuga quam in recipiendis castris.

V. Forte ita evenit ut Cn. et L. Gavillii Novelli, Aquileienses, cum commeatu venientes, ignari 2 prope in capta castra ab Histris inciderent. Ii cum Aquileiam relictis impedimentis refugissent, omnia terrore ac tumultu non Aquileiae modo, sed Romae quoque post paucos dies impleverunt; 3 quo non capta tantum castra ab hostibus nec fuga, quae vera erant,[1] sed perditas res deletumque 4 exercitum omnem allatum est. Itaque, quod in tumultu fieri solet, dilectus extra ordinem non in urbe tantum, sed tota Italia indicti. Duae legiones civium Romanorum conscriptae, et decem milia peditum cum equitibus quingentis sociis nominis 5 Latini imperata. M. Iunius consul transire in Galliam et ab civitatibus provinciae eius quantum quaeque 6 posset militum exigere iussus. Simul decretum ut Ti.[2] Claudius praetor militibus legionis quartae et socium Latini nominis quinque milibus, equitibus[3] ducentis quinquaginta, Pisas ut convenirent ediceret, eamque provinciam dum consul inde abesset tutare-

[1] erant *J. F. Gronovius*: erat *Fr.*
[2] Ti. *Sigonius*: T. *Fr.*
[3] equitibus *J. F. Gronovius*: equitum *Fr.*

[1] *praetor peregrinus* (XL. lix. 5, cf. XL. xxvi. 7).

captured, for rage and passion made the Romans B.C. 178
heedless of booty. Nevertheless the chieftain of the Histrians, drunk as he was from the banquet, was hastily placed on a horse by his companions and escaped. Of the victors two hundred and thirty-seven fell, more in the flight in the morning than in the retaking of the camp.

V. It so happened by chance that Gnaeus and Lucius Gavillius Novellus, from Aquileia, coming with provisions and not knowing what had happened, almost stumbled upon the camp which had been taken by the Histrians. When they, leaving their belongings, had fled to Aquileia, they filled everything with consternation and confusion, not only at Aquileia, but also, a few days later, at Rome; where the report was brought not merely that the camp had been captured by the enemy and that the Romans had fled (as was the case), but also that all was lost and the whole army destroyed. And so, as is usually done in times of panic, extraordinary levies were proclaimed not in the City alone but throughout Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were enlisted and ten thousand infantry with five hundred cavalry were levied upon the allies of the Latin confederacy. Marcus Junius the consul was directed to cross into Gaul and to demand from the states of that province as many soldiers as each could furnish. At the same time it was decreed that Tiberius Claudius the praetor[1] should issue an edict to the soldiers of the fourth legion and to five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse of the allies of the Latin confederacy that they should assemble at Pisa, and that Claudius should defend that province during the consul's absence; and also

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7 tur; M. Titinius praetor legionem primam, parem numerum sociorum peditum equitumque, Ariminum
8 convenire iuberet. Nero paludatus Pisas in provinciam est profectus; Titinius C. Cassio tribuno militum Ariminum qui praeesset legioni misso
9 dilectum Romae habuit. M. Iunius consul ex Liguribus in provinciam Galliam transgressus, auxiliis protinus per civitates Galliae militibusque
10 coloniis [1] imperatis, Aquileiam pervenit. Ibi certior factus exercitum incolumem esse, scriptis litteris Romam, ne tumultuarentur, ipse remissis auxiliis quae Gallis imperaverat, ad collegam est profectus.
11 Romae magna ex necopinato laetitia fuit: dilectus omissus est, exauctorati, qui sacramento dixerant, et exercitus qui Arimini pestilentia adfectus erat
12 domum dimissus. Histri magnis copiis cum castra haud procul consulis castris haberent, postquam alterum consulem cum exercitu novo advenisse audierunt, passim in civitates dilapsi sunt. Consules Aquileiam in hiberna legiones reduxerunt.

VI. Sedato tandem Histrico tumultu senatus consultum factum est ut consules inter se comparent uter eorum ad comitia habenda Romam rediret.
2 Cum absentem Manlium tribuni plebis A.[2] Licinius Nerva et C. Papirius Turdus in contionibus lacerarent rogationemque promulgarent, ne Manlius post idus Martias—prorogatae namque consulibus iam

[1] coloniis *Doujat*: colonis *Fr.*
[2] A. *add. Sigonius.*

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[1] *praetor urbanus* (*supra* vi. 4).
[2] The first and fourth legions would normally have been in Liguria with the other consul. Livy may however mean the first of the two legions just authorized.

that Marcus Titinius the praetor[1] should order the B.C. 178
first legion[2] and an equal number of infantry and cavalry of the allies to assemble at Rimini. Nero in uniform set out for his province at Pisa; Titinius first sent Gaius Cassius, a tribune of the soldiers, to Rimini as commander of the legion and then conducted the levy at Rome. Marcus Junius the consul, having gone over from the Ligurians into the province of Gaul, and having immediately levied upon the Gallic states for auxiliaries and upon the colonies for regular troops, arrived at Aquileia. There he was informed that the army was safe, and sending despatches to Rome in order to allay their fears, he himself sent home the auxiliaries which he had levied on the Gauls and set out to join his colleague. At Rome there was great and unexpected joy; the levy was stopped, the soldiers who had taken the military oath were discharged, and the army, which had been suffering from a plague at Rimini, was sent home. Although the Histrians had a strong force in camp not far from the consul's camp, when they learned that the other consul with a new army had arrived they dispersed to their various states. The consuls led the legions into winter-quarters at Aquileia.

VI. The alarm in Histria having finally subsided, the senate passed a decree that the consuls should arrange between themselves which should come to Rome to hold the elections. When the tribunes of the people, Aulus Licinius Nerva and Gaius Papirius Turdus, were tearing the absent consul Manlius to pieces in their assemblies and proposing a bill that Manlius should not hold his command after the Ides of March—for the provincial commands of the

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in annum provinciae erant—imperium retineret, 3 uti causam extemplo dicere, cum abisset magistratu, posset, huic rogationi Q. Aelius collega intercessit magnisque contentionibus obtinuit ne perferretur. 4 Per eos dies Ti. Sempronius Gracchus et L. Postumius Albinus ex Hispania Romam cum revertissent, senatus iis a M. Titinio praetore datus in aede Bellonae ad disserendas res quas gessissent postulandosque honores meritos et[1] ut diis immortalibus haberetur honos. 5 Eodem tempore et in Sardinia magnum tumultum esse litteris T. Aebuti praetoris cognitum est, quas 6 filius eius ad senatum attulerat. Ilienses adiunctis Balarorum auxiliis pacatam provinciam invaserant, nec eis invalido exercitu et magna parte pestilentia 7 absumpto resisti poterat. Eadem et Sardorum legati nuntiabant orantes, ut urbibus saltem—iam enim agros deploratos esse—opem senatus ferret. Haec legatio totumque quod ad Sardiniam pertinebat ad novos magistratus reiectum est. 8 Aeque miserabilis legatio Lyciorum, qui crudelita-

[1] et *add. J. F. Gronovius.*

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[1] The charge against Manlius (vii. 7 below) was that he had left his province of Gaul without permission to undertake the Histrian campaign (cf. i. 1 above). The prorogation of the *imperium* before the elections was irregular and apparently designed to thwart the tribunes' plan of prosecuting Manlius.

[2] For their appointment to the Spanish province cf. XL. xlvii. 1.

[3] Cf. XL. xxxiv. 13 and the note.

[4] A mountain tribe of Sardinia.

[5] Concerning this embassy cf. Polybius XXV. iv. L.C.L. Vol. V, pp. 475 f., especially the finding of the Roman

consuls had already been prolonged for a year— B.C. 178
that he might be able to plead his cause immediately upon his retirement from office, this measure was vetoed by their colleague Quintus Aelius, who after violent arguments prevailed to prevent its passing.[1]

At about this time, when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus[2] had returned to Rome from Spain, an audience before the senate was granted to them by the praetor Marcus Titinius, to be held in the temple of Bellona so that they might present an account of their achievements, claim the distinctions they deserved and ask that honour should be paid to the immortal gods.

At the same time there was great confusion in Sardinia also, as was learned from dispatches from Titus Aebutius the praetor which had been brought to the senate by his son. The Ilienses,[3] reinforced by auxiliaries of the Balari,[4] had attacked the province while it was at peace, and could not be resisted since the army was weak and had lost a large number of its members as a result of a pestilence. Ambassadors of the Sardinians also brought the same news and begged that the senate should send aid to the towns at least—for the fields had already been abandoned in despair. This embassy and the whole question about what was to be done concerning Sardinia was postponed to the new administration.

An equally pitiful embassy from the Lycians arrived,[5] who complained of the cruelty of the

commissioners, sec. 5 : " they found that the Lycians had not been handed over to Rhodes as a gift, but rather to be treated like friends and allies."

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tem Rhodiorum, quibus ab L. Cornelio Scipione attri-
9 buti erant, querebantur: fuisse se[1] sub dicione Antiochi; eam regiam servitutem collatam cum praesenti statu praeclaram libertatem visam. Non publice[2] tantum se premi imperio, sed singulos
10 iustum pati servitium. Coniuges[3] liberosque vexari; in corpus in tergum saeviri; famam, quod indignum sit, maculari dehonestarique; et palam res odiosas fieri iuris etiam usurpandi causa, ne pro dubio habeant, nihil inter se et argento parata mancipia
11 interesse. Motus his senatus litteras Lyciis ad Rhodios dedit, nec Lycios Rhodiis nec ullos alii cuiquam[4] qui nati liberi sint in servitutem dari
12 placere; Lycios ita sub Rhodiorum simul imperio et tutela esse ut in dicione populi Romani civitates sociae sint.

VII. Triumphi deinde ex Hispania duo continui
2 acti. Prior Sempronius Gracchus de Celtiberis sociisque eorum, postero die L. Postumius de Lusitanis aliisque eiusdem regionis Hispanis triumphavit. Quadraginta milia pondo argenti Gracchus[5] trans-

[1] se *add. Drakenborch.*
[2] publice *Duker*: publico *Fr.*
[3] coniuges *Hartel*: iustos coniuges *Fr.*
[4] alii cuiquam *Heraldus*: alicuiquam *Fr.*
[5] Gracchus *Madvig*: Ti. Gracchus *Fr.*

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[1] The assignment of the Lycians to Rhodes was not the work of Scipio but of the commission, acting under orders from the senate, which concluded the treaty with Antiochus only after Scipio had left the province (XXXVII. lv.; XXXVIII. xxxix. 13).

[2] With *argento parata* cf. Euripides' *Alcestis* 675: Λυδὸν ἢ Φρύγα . . ἀργυρώνητον σέθεν. Polybius (XXVI. vii) gives a similar but less emotional account of the treatment of the Lycians.

Rhodians, under whose control they had been placed by Lucius Cornelius Scipio.[1] They said that they had been under the dominion of Antiochus; this slavery to the King, when compared with their present situation, seemed glorious liberty. They were not merely as a state oppressed by their government, but private citizens were suffering downright bondage. Their wives and children, they said, were abused; cruelty was wreaked upon their bodies and their backs; their reputations—a shameful procedure—were stained and dishonoured; and openly hateful acts were done merely for the sake of displaying an abuse of power, in order to leave no doubt that there was no distinction between themselves and slaves bought with money.[2] The senate, moved by this appeal, entrusted the Lycians with a letter for the Rhodians, stating that it was not their pleasure that the Lycians should be enslaved by the Rhodians nor any people who had been born in freedom by any other people; the Lycians had been placed under the administrative control and at the same time the protection of the Rhodians on the same conditions as the allied states enjoyed under the guardianship of the Roman people. B.C. 178

VII. Then two triumphs over Spain were celebrated in succession. The first was that of Sempronius Gracchus, who triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies, and the next day Lucius Postumius triumphed over the Lusitanians and other Spaniards in the same district.[3] Gracchus carried in procession forty thousand pounds of silver,

[3] For the campaigns of Gracchus and Albinus, cf. XL. xlvii ff. There was, according to the *Periocha*, a further account in the lost portion of this Book.

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3 tulit, viginti milia Albinus. Militibus denarios quinos vicenos, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti ambo diviserunt; sociis tantumdem quantum Romanis.

4 Per eosdem forte dies M. Iunius consul ex Histria
5 comitiorum causa Romam venit. Eum cum in senatu fatigassent interrogationibus tribuni plebis Papirius et Licinius de iis quae in Histria essent acta in
6 contionem quoque produxerunt. Ad quae cum consul se dies non plus undecim in ea provincia fuisse responderet, quae se absente acta essent, se
7 quoque, ut illos, fama comperta habere, exsequebantur deinde quaerentes, quid ita non potius A. Manlius Romam venisset, ut rationem redderet populo Romano, cur ex Gallia provincia quam
8 sortitus esset in Histriam transisset? Quando id bellum senatus decrevisset, quando id bellum populus Romanus iussisset? At hercule privato quidem consilio bellum susceptum esse, sed gestum prudenter
9 fortiterque. Immo, utrum susceptum sit nequius an inconsultius gestum dici non posse. Stationes duas necopinantes ab Histris oppressas, castra Romana capta, quod peditum, quod equitum in castris fuerit
10 caesum;[1] ceteros inermes fusosque, ante omnes consulem ipsum, ad mare ac naves fugisse. Privatum rationem redditurum earum rerum esse quoniam consul noluisset.

[1] caesum *add. Crévier.*

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[1] Cf. XL. xliii. 7 and the note.

[2] The criticism of Manlius is similar to that directed against his brother after the Galatian campaign of 189 B.C. (especially XXXVIII. xlv.–xlvi).

Albinus twenty thousand. Both distributed as donatives twenty-five *denarii* each to the infantry, twice that sum to centurions, and thrice to the cavalry; the allies shared on the same terms with the Romans.[1] B.C. 178

About this time it chanced that the consul Marcus Junius came from Histria to Rome in order to hold the elections. When the tribunes of the people, Papirius and Licinius, had worn him out in the senate with questions as to what had happened in Histria, they finally haled him before an assembly. When the consul said in reply that he had spent not more than eleven days in that province, and that what had happened in his absence he, like the tribunes, knew only from report, they continued to pursue the matter, inquiring why in the world Aulus Manlius rather than himself had not come to Rome, in order to render an account to the Roman people of the reason why he had gone from the province of Gaul, which he had obtained from the lot, over into Histria? When, they asked, had the senate decreed that war? When had the Roman people ordered that war? But, by Hercules, he will say that although the war was undertaken on his own initiative, it was conducted wisely and courageously.[2] On the contrary, they said, it was impossible to say whether it was undertaken more improperly or prosecuted more imprudently. Two outposts were surprised by the Histrians, a Roman camp captured, and all the infantry and cavalry in the camp slaughtered, the rest, unarmed and routed, the consul himself leading the way, had fled to the sea and the ships! As a private citizen Manlius would give account of his actions, since he had refused to do this as a consul.

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VIII. Comitia deinde habita. Consules creati C. Claudius Pulcher Ti. Sempronius Gracchus. Et postero die praetores facti P. Aelius Tubero iterum C. Quinctius Flamininus C. Numisius L. Mummius
2 Cn. Cornelius Scipio C. Valerius Laevinus. Tuberoni urbana iurisdictio, Quinctio peregrina evenit, Numisio Sicilia, Mummio Sardinia; sed ea propter belli
3 magnitudinem provincia consularis facta.[1] Scipio et Laevinus Galliam in duas divisam provincias sortiti sunt.

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4 Idibus Martiis, quo die Sempronius Claudiusque consulatum inierunt, mentio tantum de provinciis Sardinia Histriaque et utriusque hostibus fuit qui in
5 his provinciis bellum concivissent. Postero die legati Sardorum, qui ad novos magistratus dilati erant, et[2] L. Minucius Thermus, qui legatus Manli consulis in Histria fuerat, in senatum venit. Ab his edoctus est senatus quantum belli eae provinciae haberent.
6 Moverunt senatum et legationes socium nominis Latini, quae et censores et priores consules fati-
7 gaverant,[3] tandem in senatum introductae. Summa querellarum erat, cives suos Romae censos plerosque Romam commigrasse; quod si permittatur, perpaucis lustris futurum, ut deserta oppida, deserti

[1] *post* facta, Gracchus eam sortitur, Histriam Claudius *exhibet Fr.*; *quae uerba secl. Drakenborch*; cf. ix. 8.
[2] et *add. Clericus.*
[3] fatigaverant *J. F. Gronovius*: fatigauerunt *Fr.*

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[1] There was a praetor of this name in 201 B.C. (XXX. xl. 5).
[2] The separate mention of the Samnites and the Paelignians in sect. 8 below indicates that this refers only to the allies in Latium, not in Italy as a whole; cf. *ex Latio* in XXXIX. iii. 4.
[3] For an attempt in 189 B.C. to correct the same situation, cf. XXXIX. iii. 4–6.

VIII. The consular elections were then held. B.C. 178
The consuls chosen were Gaius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The next day the praetors were elected, Publius Aelius Tubero (for the second time),[1] Gaius Quinctius Flamininus, Gaius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, Gaius Valerius Laevinus. The jurisdiction between citizens fell to Tubero, that between citizens and aliens to Quinctius, Sicily to Numisius, Sardinia to Mummius; but this, by reason of the seriousness of the war, was made a consular province. Scipio and Laevinus received from the lot Gaul, divided into two provinces.

On the Ides of March, when Sempronius and B.C. 177
Claudius were inaugurated consuls, a mere mention was made of the provinces of Sardinia and Histria and the enemies in both who had stirred up war in those provinces. On the next day the ambassadors of the Sardinians, whose hearing had been postponed to the administration of the new consuls, were heard, and Lucius Minucius Thermus, who had been a lieutenant of the consul Manlius in Histria, came into the senate. By them the senate was informed to what extent these provinces were engaged in war.

The senate was greatly impressed also by the embassies from the allies of the Latin confederacy,[2] who had wearied both censors and former consuls, and were at length given audience before the senate. The substance of their complaints was that large numbers of their citizens had been rated at Rome and had moved to Rome;[3] but if this were allowed it would come to pass in a very few decades that there would be deserted towns and deserted farms

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8 agri nullum militem dare possint.[1] Fregellas quoque milia quattuor familiarum transisse ab se Samnites Paelignique querebantur, neque eo minus aut hos 9 aut illos in dilectu militum dare. Genera autem fraudis duo mutandae viritim civitatis inducta erant. Lex sociis [2] nominis Latini, qui stirpem ex sese domi relinquerent, dabat ut cives Romani fierent. Ea lege male utendo alii sociis, alii populo Romano 10 iniuriam faciebant. Nam et ne stirpem domi relinquerent, liberos suos quibusquibus Romanis in eam condicionem ut manu mitterentur mancipio dabant, libertinique cives essent; et quibus stirps [3] deesset quam relinquerent, ut cives Romani fierent, adopta-

[1] possint *Madvig*: possent *Fr.*
[2] sociis *Drakenborch*: sociis ac *Fr.*
[3] stirps *Weissenborn*: stirpes *Fr.*

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[1] Fregellae was a Latin colony. It seems that as residents of Latium moved to Rome, so allies from other parts of Italy migrated to towns with larger privileges, without affecting the quota of troops required from their old homes.

[2] The use of pronouns is peculiar and the text may be corrupt. One would expect a complaint that the quota of Fregellae had not been raised to correspond to its increased population.

[3] The meaning is uncertain. Perhaps this ordinance was part of the original compact which governed the relations of Rome and the Latin League. From the fact that there is no reference to it in XXXIX. iii, it might be argued that the law had been passed since 189 B.C.

[4] The phrase *stirpem ex sese* has reference to natural, not adopted sons; the provision is an insurance against a decrease in the number of families in a community.

[5] The procedure is difficult to follow, especially in the light of the preceding sentence. This much is clear, that the father

which would be unable to furnish a single soldier. B.C. 177
Similarly the Samnites and Paelignians complained that four thousand families had moved from their territories to Fregellae,[1] nor did either [2] community furnish fewer soldiers on that account when the levy was made. Moreover, two kinds of fraud had been practised to secure individual transfers of citizenship. The law [3] granted to any persons among the allies of the Latin confederacy, who should leave [4] in their home towns offspring of their loins, the privilege of becoming Roman citizens. By the abuse of this law some were injuring the allies, some the Roman people. For in the first place, in order to evade the requirement that they should leave offspring at home, they would give their sons to any Romans whatsoever in slavery, on the condition that they should be manumitted and thus become citizens of freedman condition; [5] in the second place, those who had no offspring to leave behind, in order to become Roman citizens adopted children.[6] Later, disdain-

who aspired to become a Roman citizen satisfied the requirement mentioned above by leaving a son behind him; next he transferred that son collusively to some Roman by the legal process of *mancipium*; after the father had acquired the Roman citizenship, presumably, the Roman who had purchased the son set him free, whereby the son also became a *civis*, though a *libertinus*, by reason of his temporary slavery. This method injured the *socii*, by depriving them of a family.

[6] Teis passage has been emended in many ways: I have preferred the text of Voigt, mainly on account of its brevity, since the general purport of all is the same (for other suggestions see the apparatus of Giarratano). One may assume that the phrase *stirpem ex sese* was found legally ambiguous, and was stretched to include adoptive children. This method injured the Romans, since the law had been evaded, even if not actually violated.

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11 bant.[1] Postea his quoque imaginibus iuris spretis, promiscue sine lege, sine stirpe in civitatem Romanam
12 per migrationem et censum transibant.[2] Haec ne postea fierent petebant legati, et ut redire in civitates iuberent socios; deinde ut lege caverent ne quis quem civitatis mutandae causa suum faceret neve alienaret; et si quis ita civis Romanus factus esset, civis ne esset.[3] Haec impetrata ab senatu.

IX. Provinciae deinde, quae in bello erant, Sar-
2 dinia atque Histria consulibus[4] decretae. In Sardiniam duae legiones scribi iussae, quina milia in singulas et duceni pedites, treceni equites, et duodecim milia peditum sociorum ac Latini nominis et sescenti equites et decem quinqueremes naves, si
3 deducere ex navalibus vellet. Tantumdem peditum equitumque in Histriam, quantum in Sardiniam, decretum. Et legionem unam cum equitibus trecentis, et quinque milia peditum sociorum et ducentos quinquaginta mittere equites in Hispaniam consules
4 ad M. Titinium iussi. Priusquam consules pro-
5 vincias sortirentur, prodigia nuntiata sunt: lapidem in agro Crustumino in lucum[5] Martis de caelo cecidisse; puerum trunci corporis in agro Romano natum et quadrupedem anguem visum; et Capuae

[1] fierent, adoptabant *Voigt*: fiebant *Fr.*: *lacunam indicavit Crévier, quam alii alio modo suppleverunt.*
[2] transibant *Curio*: transiebant *Fr.*
[3] esset civis ne esset *Doujat*: esset *Fr.*
[4] consulibus *add. Perizonius.*
[5] lucum *Cluver*: lacum *Fr.*

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[1] This clause forbids both the adoption and the mancipatory sale of a son to avoid the older law.

ing even these pretences of obedience to law, just as they pleased, with no regard to the statute or to the requirement of offspring, they would transfer to the Roman citizenship by migration and recognition in the census. In order that these things might not occur in future, the ambassadors requested first, that the senate should direct allies to return to their cities; second, that a law should be passed providing that no one should acquire a son or dispose of one for the purpose of changing his citizenship;[1] third, that if anyone should thus become a Roman citizen, he should not be a Roman citizen. These petitions were granted by the senate. B.C. 177

IX. Next the provinces which were at war, Sardinia and Histria, were decreed to the consuls. For Sardinia two legions were ordered to be raised, each of fifty-two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry; also twelve thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry from the allies of the Latin confederacy, and ten ships of five banks of oars, in case the consul should wish to launch any from the docks. The same number of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Histria as for Sardinia. Also, the consuls were directed to send one legion with three hundred cavalry and five thousand allied infantry and two hundred and fifty cavalry[2] to Marcus Titinius[3] in Spain. Before the consuls drew lots for their provinces, the prodigies were reported: a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars in the territory of Crustumerium; a boy whose body was without limbs was born near Rome and a four-legged snake was seen; and at

[1] I.e. of the allies, the three hundred being Roman.

[2] There were two praetors of this name: only three praetors are listed for the year 178 B.C. in XL. lix. 5.

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multa in foro aedificia de caelo tacta; et Puteolis
6 duas naves fulminis ictu concrematas esse. Inter haec quae nuntiabantur, lupus etiam Romae interdiu agitatus, cum Collina porta intrasset, per Esquilinam
7 magno consectantium tumultu evasit. Eorum prodigiorum causa consules maiores hostias immolarunt, et diem unum circa omnia pulvinaria supplicatio fuit.
8 Sacrificiis rite perfectis provincias sortiti sunt; Claudio Histria, Sempronio Sardinia obvenit.
9 Legem dein de sociis C. Claudius tulit ex [1] senatus consulto et edixit, qui socii [2] nominis Latini, ipsi maioresve eorum, M. Claudio T. Quinctio censoribus postve ea apud socios nominis Latini censi essent, ut omnes in suam quisque civitatem ante kal. Novem-
10 bres redirent. Quaestio qui ita non redissent L.
11 Mummio praetori decreta est. Ad legem et edictum [3] consulis senatus consultum adiectum est ut dictator, consul, interrex, censor, praetor, qui nunc esset quive postea futurus esset,[4] apud eorum quem qui [5] manu mitteretur, in libertatem vindicaretur, ut ius iurandum daret, qui eum manu mitteret, civi-

[1] ex *add. J. F. Gronovius.*
[2] socii *Schmidt*: socii ac *Fr.*
[3] *a syllaba TVM incipit* V.
[4] quive postea futurus esset *add. Weissenborn.*
[5] qui *add. Crévier.*

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[1] They were censors in 189 B.C. (XXXVII. lviii. 2).
[2] In viii. 2 above Mummius was allotted Sardinia, but this province had later been transferred to Gracchus.
[3] The offices of dictator and interrex were rarely used at this period but were included for completeness, since they might be revived in future.
[4] The two clauses together constitute both the requirements for granting freedom to a slave and the methods to be followed.

Capua also many buildings in the forum were struck by lightning; and at Puteoli two ships were burned by lightning bolts. In the midst of the announcement of these occurrences, a wolf was pursued even in Rome by day, after entering by the Porta Collina, and escaped by the Porta Esquilina amid great uproar on the part of the pursuers. By reason of these portents the consuls sacrificed full-grown victims, and for one day a supplication was held at all the banquet-tables of the gods. The sacrifices having been duly completed, the consuls drew for their provinces; Histria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. B.C. 177

Then Gaius Claudius, with the authorization of the senate, proposed a law concerning the allies, and issued a proclamation to the effect that all allies of the Latin confederacy, in the event that they themselves or their ancestors had been registered among the allies of the Latin confederacy in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quinctius or thereafter,[1] should all return, each to his own state, before the Kalends of November. The investigation of those who should not have returned in this fashion was decreed to Lucius Mummius the praetor.[2] To this law and proclamation of the consul a decree of the senate was added, that a dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or praetor, who was at the time in office or should henceforth be in office,[3] before any one of whom a slave was brought for manumission and for the assertion of his claim to freedom,[4] should require that an oath be given[5] that the person who was manumitting the slave was

[5] The syntax is obscure, but the sense requires that the oath be given by the *manumissor*.

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tatis mutandae causa manu non mittere; in quo id[1] non iuraret,[2] eum manu mittendum non censuerunt. 12 Haec in posterum cauta iussique edicto C. Claudi consulis. . . [3] Mummio decreta est.

X. Dum haec Romae geruntur, M. Iunius et A. Manlius, qui priore anno consules fuerant, cum[4] Aquileiae hibernassent, principio veris[5] in finis 2 Histrorum exercitum introduxerunt; ubi cum effuse popularentur, dolor magis et indignatio diripi res suas cernentes Histros, quam certa spes, satis sibi 3 virium adversus duos exercitus esse,[6] excivit. Concursu ex omnibus populis iuventutis facto repentinus et tumultuarius exercitus acrius primo impetu quam 4 perseverantius pugnavit. Ad quattuor milia eorum in acie caesa; ceteri omisso bello in civitates passim diffugerunt. Inde legatos primum ad pacem petendam in castra Romana, deinde obsides imperatos 5 miserunt. Haec cum Romae cognita litteris proconsulum essent, C. Claudius consul veritus ne forte eae res provinciam et[7] exercitum sibi adimerent,

[1] in quo id *Heerwagen*: inqvid V (*ex corr., ut vid.*).
[2] iuraret *Fr.*: ivrare V.
[3] *lacunam indicavit Madvig.*
[4] cum *Fr.*: qvi V.
[5] veris *Fr.*: veri V.
[6] esse *add. Madvig.*
[7] eae res provinciam et *Vahlen*: ea r. p. V.

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[1] This decree prevents the first method of evasion described in viii. 10 above.

[2] Madvig's suggestion as to the last words is followed except at the end, since he requires that the investigation be entrusted to Claudius. Because this contradicts sec. 10 above, I have modified his supplement, with no authority except the desire for a greater measure of consistency.

not manumitting him for the purpose of changing his citizenship;[1] in any case in which this oath was not taken, they decreed that the manumission should not take place. These precautions were taken for the future, and orders were issued under the edict of Gaius Claudius the consul [for the return of the allies to their states. The investigation thereof] was ordered [to be conducted under the supervision] of Mummius.[2] B.C. 177

X. While all these things were being done at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, who had been consuls the preceding year, after wintering at Aquileia, in the beginning of spring led the army into the land of the Histrians; while they were plundering far and wide, grief and indignation at the sight of their ravaged possessions roused the Histrians more than any assured hope that they had strength enough to withstand the two armies. When the young men from all the communities had rushed together, the army, hastily raised for the emergency, fought at the first clash with greater vigour than perseverance. About four thousand of them were killed in the battle-line, the rest, abandoning the campaign, scattered in every direction to their states. Then they first sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to ask peace, then the hostages which were demanded. When this was known at Rome from the dispatch of the proconsuls, Gaius Claudius the consul, fearing that these occurrences might perhaps deprive him of his province and his army,[3] without

[3] The senate had earlier prorogued the *imperium* of Junius and Manlius (vi. 2 above), and the assignment of Histria to Claudius left them without occupation; friction was bound to follow.

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non votis nuncupatis, non paludatis [1] lictoribus, uno omnium certiore facto collega, nocte profectus, praeceps in provinciam abiit; ubi inconsultius quam 6 venerat se gessit. Nam cum contione advocata fugam e castris A. Manlio adversis auribus militum, quippe qui primi ipsi fugissent, obiectasset [2] et [3] ingessisset probra M. Iunio, quod se dedecoris socium collegae fecisset, ad extremum utrumque 7 decedere provincia iussit. Ad [4] quod cum illi tum consulis imperio dicto audientes futuros esse dicerent, cum is more maiorum, secundum vota in Capitolio nuncupata, lictoribus paludatis profectus ab urbe 8 esset, furens ira vocatum, qui pro quaestore Manli erat, catenas [5] poposcit, vinctos [6] se Iunium Man- 9 liumque minitans Romam missurum. Ab eo quoque spretum consulis imperium est; et circumfusus exercitus, favens imperatorum causae et consuli infestus, 10 animos ad non [7] parendum addebat. Postremo fatigatus consul et contumeliis singulorum et multitudinis—nam insuper inridebant—ludibriis, nave 11 eadem qua venerat Aquileiam redit. Inde collegae scripsit ut militum novorum ei parti quae scripta in

[1] paludatis *Fr.*: pabvlatis V.
[2] obiectasset *Madvig*: iactasset V.
[3] et *add. Kreyssig.*
[4] ad *add. M. Mueller.*
[5] catenas *Fr.*: catena V.
[6] vinctos *Fr.*: vinctosqve V.
[7] non *Fr.*: nos V.

announcing his vows or clothing his lictors in uniform, B.C. 177
notifying only his colleague of everything, set out by night and went off at headlong speed to his province; there his conduct was more rash than his coming. For when, calling an assembly, he had upbraided Aulus Manlius for his flight from the camp (the soldiers, who themselves had begun the flight, listening with hostile ears) and had heaped insults upon Marcus Junius, because he had made himself a partner in his colleague's disgrace, he ended by ordering both to leave the province. When they had replied to this that they would obey the command of a consul at such time as he set out from the City in the manner of their forefathers, after public proclamation of his vows on the Capitoline and with his lictors in uniform,[1] Claudius, maddened with rage, summoned the officer who was acting as quaestor for Manlius and demanded from him chains, threatening that he would send Junius and Manlius to Rome in irons. This officer also ignored the command of the consul; and the army standing round about favouring the cause of the generals and hostile to the consul, gave the quaestor courage to disobey. At last the consul, worn out by the insults of individuals and the jeers of the whole crowd—for they ridiculed him as well—returned to Aquileia in the same ship in which he had come. Thence he wrote to his colleague to issue an edict that such portion of the new troops as had been

[1] The proconsuls take the position that Claudius, having left Rome without performing the usual formalities, has no legal right to command in the province. There may have been no law to this effect, but custom was, in the main, on their side: cf., e.g. XXI. lxiii. 2.

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Histriam provinciam esset ediceret Aquileiam ut conveniret, ne quid se Romae teneret quo minus
12 votis nuncupatis paludatus ab urbe exiret. Haec a collega obsequenter facta, brevisque dies ad conveniendum edicta est. Claudius prope consecutus
13 est litteras suas. Contione adveniens de Manlio et Iunio habita, non ultra triduum moratus Romae, paludatis lictoribus votisque in Capitolio nuncupatis, in provinciam aeque ac prius [1] praecipiti celeritate abit.

XI. Paucis ante diebus Iunius Manliusque oppidum Nesattium, quo se principes Histrorum et regulus ipse Aepulo receperat, summa vi oppugnare
2 coeperant.[2] Eo Claudius duabus legionibus novis adductis, vetere exercitu cum suis ducibus dimisso, ipse oppidum circumsedit et vineis oppugnare in-
3 tendit,[3] amnemque praeterfluentem moenia, qui et impedimento oppugnantibus erat et aquationem Histris praebebat, multorum dierum opere exceptum
4 novo [4] alveo avertit. Ea res barbaros miraculo terruit abscisae aquae: [5] et ne tum quidem memores pacis, in caedem coniugum ac liberorum versi, etiam ut spectaculo hostibus tam foedum facinus esset,
5 palam in muris trucidatos praecipitabant. Inter simul complorationem feminarum puerorumque, simul nefandam caedem, milites transgressi murum oppi-
6 dum intrarunt. Cuius capti tumultum ubi [6] ex pavido

[1] aeque ac prius *Florebellus*: aeqvaeamplivs V.
[2] oppugnare coeperant *Weissenborn*: oppvgnant V.
[3] intendit *Fr.*: interditam V.
[4] nouo *Fr.*: nova V.
[5] abscisae aquae *Fr.*: abscisaqvae V.
[6] tumultum ubi *Vahlen*: tvmvli V.

enlisted for the province of Histria should assemble B.C. 177
at Aquileia, lest anything delay him at Rome from announcing his vows and setting out from the City in uniform. This was done by his colleague as he requested, and an early date for the muster was proclaimed. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he delivered a speech on the conduct of Manlius and Junius, and after tarrying not more than three days at Rome, with his lictors in uniform and having proclaimed his vows on the Capitoline, he went off to his province with the same headlong speed as before.

XI. A few days before this Junius and Manlius had begun to assault with all their might the town of Nesattium,[1] to which the leading men of the Histrians and even their chieftain Aepulo had withdrawn. There Claudius, bringing up the two new legions and sending away the old army with its commanders, himself invested the town and prosecuted the siege with sheds; and a river which flowed past the walls and was both a hindrance to the besiegers and a water-supply to the Histrians, after many days' toil he diverted and led off by a new channel. This act, by its miraculous cutting off of the water, terrified the barbarians; but, with no thought of peace even then, turning to the slaughter of their wives and children, in order that so horrible a deed might be in full view of the enemy also, they openly slew them on the walls and cast their bodies down. In the midst of the simultaneous wailing of women and children and the dreadful slaughter, the soldiers scaled the wall and entered the town. When the chief heard the din of its capture from the

[1] This town lay in a northerly direction from Pola.

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clamore fugientium accepit rex, traiecit ferro pectus, 7 ne vivus caperetur; ceteri capti aut occisi. Duo deinde oppida, Mutila et Faveria, vi capta et deleta. 8 Praeda, ut in gente inopi, spe maior fuit, et omnis militibus concessa est. Quinque milia capitum sescenta triginta duo sub corona venierunt. Auc- 9 tores belli virgis caesi et securi percussi. Histria tota trium oppidorum excidio et morte regis pacata est; omnesque undique populi obsidibus datis in dicionem venerunt.

10 Sub Histrici finem belli apud Ligures concilia de bello haberi coepta.

XII. Ti. Claudius proconsul, qui praetor priore anno fuerat, cum praesidio legionis unius Pisis prae- 2 erat. Cuius litteris senatus certior factus, eas ipsas litteras ad C. Claudium—nam alter consul iam in 3 Sardiniam traiecerat—deferendas censet et adicit decretum, quoniam Histria provincia confecta esset si ei videretur exercitum traduceret in Ligures. 4 Simul ex litteris consulis, quas de rebus in Histria gestis scripserat, in biduum supplicatio decreta. Et ab[1] altero consule Ti.[2] Sempronio in Sardinia pros- 5 pere res gesta.[3] Exercitum in agrum Sardorum Iliensium induxit. Balarorum magna auxilia Iliensibus venerant; cum utraque gente signis collatis conflixit. Fusi fugatique hostes castrisque exuti, 6 duodecim milia armatorum caesa. Postero die arma

[1] ab *add. Fr.* [2] Ti. *Fr.*: iis V.
[3] gesta *Kreyssig*: gestia V.

[1] For the progressive development of the meaning of the phrase *provincia confecta*, cf. XL. xxxv. 4 and the note.

[2] The Ilienses were of a different stock from the Balari; both stocks were included under the common designation Sardi.

terrified cries of the fugitives, he stabbed himself B.C. 177
with his sword, so as not to be taken alive; the rest were captured or killed. Next two towns, Mutila and Faveria, were taken by storm and destroyed. The booty, considering the poverty of the people, was greater than they had hoped, and all of it was given to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two captives were sold at auction. The persons responsible for the war were scourged and beheaded. All Histria, through the destruction of three towns and the death of its king, was pacified; and all the surrounding tribes gave hostages and surrendered.

Toward the end of the Histrian war the Ligurians began to hold councils regarding war.

XII. Tiberius Claudius the proconsul, who had been praetor the preceding year, was in command at Pisa with a garrison of one legion. The senate, informed by his dispatches, voted that these same dispatches should be forwarded to Gaius Claudius—for by now the other consul had crossed to Sardinia—and added a decree that, since the province of Histria had been subdued,[1] he should, if it seemed wise to him, lead the army against the Ligurians. At the same time, in consequence of the dispatches of the consul, which he had written regarding events in Histria, a thanksgiving for two days was decreed. The other consul, Tiberius Sempronius, also conducted in Sardinia a successful campaign. He led the army into the country of the Sardinian Ilienses.[2] Strong reinforcements of the Balari had come to the Ilienses; he fought in pitched battle with both tribes. The enemy was repulsed and routed and stripped of his camp; twelve thousand armed men were slain.

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lecta conici in acervum iussit consul sacrumque id Vulcano cremavit. Victorem exercitum in hiberna
7 sociarum urbium reduxit. Et C. Claudius litteris Ti. Claudi et senatus consulto accepto ex Histria
8 legiones in Ligures transduxit. Ad Scultennam flumen in campos progressi castra habebant hostes, ibi cum iis acie dimicatum. Quindecim milia caesa, plus septingenti [1] aut in proelio aut in castris—nam ea quoque expugnata sunt—capti, et signa militaria
9 unum et quinquaginta capta. Ligures, reliquiae caedis, in montes refugerunt, passimque populanti [2] campestres agros consuli nulla usquam apparuerunt
10 arma. Claudius duarum gentium uno anno victor, duabus, quod raro alius, in consulatu pacatis [3] provinciis Romam revertit.[4]

XIII. Prodigia eo anno nuntiata: in Crustumino avem sanqualem quam vocant sacrum lapidem rostro
2 cecidisse, bovem in Campania locutam,[5] vaccam aeneam Syracusis ab agresti tauro qui a pecore [6]
3 aberrasset, initam ac semine adspersam. In Crustumino diem unum in ipso loco supplicatio fuit, et in Campania bos alenda publice data, Syracusanumque

[1] septingenti *Fr.*: dit (*sic*) V.
[2] passimque populanti *Madvig*: passimpopvlantiqvae V.
[3] pacatis *Fr.*: pacatisqve V: subactis pacatisque *Rossbach*.
[4] revertit *Fr.*: evertit V.
[5] locutam *Jakob Gronovius*: locvtvm V.
[6] a pecore *Hertz*: pecora V.

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[1] This river, rising in the Apennines, flowed past Modena, cf. Strabo V. i. 12.

[2] Festus (p. 317) says that the bird *in commentariis auguralibus ossifraga* ('bonebreaker') *appellatur*. Pliny (*N.H.* X. vii. 20) was uncertain as to the meaning of the word

The next day the consul ordered the weapons to be collected, heaped up in a pile and burned as an offering to Vulcan. He led the conquering army back into winter quarters in allied cities. And Gaius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius Claudius and the decree of the senate, led the legions over from Histria against the Ligurians. The enemy had advanced into the plains and encamped near the river Scultenna,[1] and there he fought them in line of battle. Fifteen thousand were killed, more than seven hundred captured, either in the battle or in the camp—for it too was taken—and fifty-one military standards. The Ligurians, the remnants left by the slaughter, fled to the mountains, and no armed force showed itself to the consul anywhere as he ravaged the farms in the plains far and wide. Claudius, victorious over two peoples in one year, and having pacified two provinces in his consulship, a thing which had rarely happened, returned to Rome. B.C. 177

XIII. Prodigies were reported that year: in the territory of Crustumerium they say that a bird, called *sanqualis*[2] cut a sacred stone[3] with its beak, that in Campania a cow spoke, that at Syracuse a brazen heifer was approached and impregnated by a wild bull which had strayed from its herd. In the territory of Crustumerium a day of prayer was held on the actual spot,[4] and in Campania the cow was consigned to maintenance at the expense of the state. Atonement was made for the prodigy at

sanqualis, which may have been related to the name of the god Sangus (XXXII. i. 10); cf. Festus 371; *quia in Sangi dei tutela est.*

[3] Perhaps a boundary or sepulchral stone or a dedication.

[4] I.e., at the spot where the portent occurred, not in Rome.

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prodigium expiatum editis ab haruspicibus dis, quibus supplicaretur.

4 Pontifex eo anno mortuus est M. Claudius Marcellus, qui consul censorque fuerat. In eius locum suffectus est pontifex filius eius M. Marcellus. Et Lunam[1] colonia eodem anno duo milia civium 5 Romanorum sunt deducta. Triumviri deduxerunt P. Aelius M. Aemilius Lepidus[2] Cn. Sicinius; quinquagena et singula iugera et semisses agri in singulos dati sunt. De Liguribus[3] captus ager erat; Etruscorum ante quam Ligurum fuerat.

6 C. Claudius consul ad urbem venit; cui, cum in senatu de rebus in Histria Liguribusque prospere gestis disseruisset,[4] postulanti triumphus est decretus. Triumphavit in magistratu de duabus simul gentibus. 7 Tulit in eo triumpho denarium[5] trecenta septem milia et victoriatum octoginta quinque milia septingentos duos. Militibus in singulos quini deni 8 denarii dati, duplex centurioni, triplex equiti. Sociis dimidio minus quam civibus datum. Itaque taciti ut iratos esse sentires, secuti sunt currum.[6]

XIV. Cum is[7] triumphus de Liguribus agebatur, Ligures postquam senserunt non consularem tantum

[1] Lunam *Fr.*: vna V.
[2] M. Aemilius Lepidus *Kreyssig*: legibvs V.
[3] Liguribus *Heraeus*: ligvres V.
[4] disseruisset *add. Fr.*
[5] denarium *Fr.*: denaria V.
[6] currum *Fr.*: cvrrvs V.
[7] cum is *add. Drakenborch.*

[1] He was consul in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxiv. 1) and censor in 189 B.C. (XXXVII. lviii. 2).

[2] An Illyrian coin originally, worth three-fourths of a denarius; cf. Pliny *N.H.* XXX. iii. 46.

Syracuse, the gods to whom supplication should be made having been announced by the *haruspices*. B.C. 177

That year occurred the death of the pontiff Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor.[1] In his place was substituted in the priesthood his son Marcus Marcellus. Also in that year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was established at Luna. The board of three which established it consisted of Publius Aelius, Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Gnaeus Sicinius; the allotment to each colonist was fifty-one and one half *iugera*. The land had been taken from the Ligurians; it had belonged to the Etruscans before the Ligurians.

Gaius Claudius the consul came to the City: when he had given an account in the senate of his successful operations in Histria and among the Ligurians, on his request a triumph was decreed. He triumphed during his term of office over two peoples at once. He carried in procession in his triumph three hundred and seven thousand *denarii*, eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two *victoriati*.[2] Each of the infantry received fifteen *denarii*, the centurions twice, the cavalry each thrice that sum. To the allies[3] a half less was given than to the citizens. And so they followed the car in silence, so that you could perceive that they were angry.

XIV. While this triumph over the Ligurians was being celebrated, when the Ligurians perceived that not only had the consular army been taken away to

[3] The custom, at least in recent years, had been to give the Latin allies the same donatives as the Romans (vii. 3 above and the note). The treatment in this case may be part of the general discrimination against them (cf. ix. 9–12 above).

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2 exercitum Romam abductum, sed legionem ab Ti. Claudio Pisis dimissam, soluti metu, clam exercitu indicto, per transversos limites [1] superatis montibus in campos degressi, agrum Mutinensem populati, 3 repentino impetu coloniam ipsam ceperunt. Id ubi Romam allatum est, senatus C.[2] Claudium consulem comitia primo quoque tempore habere iussit creatisque in annum magistratibus in provinciam redire et coloniam ex hostibus eripere. Ita, uti 4 censuit senatus, comitia habita. Consules creati Cn. Cornelius Scipio Hispallus, Q. Petilius Spurinus. 5 Praetores inde facti M. Popilius Laenas, P. Licinius Crassus, M. Cornelius Scipio, L. Papirius Maso, M. 6 Aburius, L. Aquilius Gallus. C. Claudio consuli prorogatum in annum imperium et Gallia provincia; et ne Histri idem,[3] quod et Ligures, facerent, socios nominis Latini in Histriam mitteret, quos triumphi causa de provincia deduxisset.

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7 Cn. Cornelio et Q. Petilio consulibus, quo die magistratum inierunt, immolantibus Iovi singulis bubus uti solet, in ea hostia, qua Q.[4] Petilius sacrificavit, in iocinere caput non inventum. Id cum ad 8 senatum rettulisset, bove perlitare iussus. De provinciis deinde consultus senatus Pisas et[5] Ligures 9 provincias consulibus decrevit; cui Pisae provincia

[1] limites *Fr.*: milites V.
[2] senatus C. *Fr.*: sc (*sic, id est,* senatus consultum) V.
[3] idem *Kreyssig*: quoque idem *Fr.*: qvidem V.
[4] qua Q. *Fr.*: qvaeqve V.
[5] Pisas et *Fr.*: ipsased V.

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[1] It was especially fortunate if favourable omens were secured from the first victim (XXXVI. i. 3); if not, the sacrifice was repeated.

Rome, but even the legion sent back from Pisa by B.C. 177
Tiberius Claudius, being now freed from fear, secretly mustering an army they crossed the mountains by side roads and came down into the plains, and after devastating the lands around Mutina captured the colony itself by a surprise attack. When this was reported at Rome, the senate instructed the consul Gaius Claudius to hold the elections at the earliest possible moment, and after choosing the magistrates for the year to return to the province and rescue the colony from the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had decreed. The consuls chosen were Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio Hispallus and Quintus Petilius Spurinus. Next the praetors were elected, Marcus Popilius Laenas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, Lucius Aquilius Gallus. The *imperium* of Gaius Claudius the consul, together with his assignment to Gaul, was extended for a year; he was also instructed, in order to prevent the Histrians from doing the same thing that the Ligurians had done, to send to Histria the allies of the Latin confederacy whom he had withdrawn from the province by reason of his triumph.

The consuls, Gnaeus Cornelius and Quintus Petilius, B.C. 176
on the day of their inauguration, sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, as is usual, but in the victim which Quintus Petilius sacrificed no head to the liver was found. When this was announced to the senate he was instructed to continue sacrificing cattle until a favourable omen was secured.[1] The senate next, when consulted about the provinces, decreed Pisa and the Ligurians as provinces for the consuls; the consul to whom Pisa should have fallen as a

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obvenisset, cum magistratuum creandorum tempus
10 esset, ad comitia reverti iussit. Additum decreto ut binas legiones novas scriberent et trecenos equites; et dena milia peditum sociis nominique Latino et
11 sescenos imperarent equites. Ti.[1] Claudio prorogatum est imperium in id tempus quo in provinciam consul venisset.

XV. Dum de iis rebus in[2] senatu agitur, Cn. Cornelius evocatus a viatore, cum templo egressus esset, paulo post redit confuso vultu et exposuit patribus conscriptis bovis sescenaris quem immo-
2 lavisset iocur diffluxisse.[3] Id se victimario nuntianti parum credentem ipsum aquam effundi ex olla ubi exta coquerentur iussisse et vidisse ceteram integram partem extorum, iecur omne inenarrabili tabe[4]
3 absumptum. Territis eo prodigio patribus et alter consul curam adiecit, qui se, quod caput iocineri
4 defuisset, tribus bubus perlitasse negavit. Senatus maioribus hostiis usque ad litationem sacrificari iussit. Ceteris diis perlitatum ferunt; Saluti Petilium perlitasse negant. Inde consules praetoresque provincias
5 sortiti. Pisae Cn. Cornelio, Ligures Q.[5] Petilio obvenerunt. Praetores L. Papirius Maso urbanam,

[1] Ti. *Sigonius*: C. V. [2] in *add. Fr.*
[3] diffluxisse *Perizonius*: deflvxisse V.
[4] inenarrabili tabe *Kreyssig*: inenarrabilitate V.
[5] Q. *add. Jakob Gronovius.*

[1] Pisa had usually belonged to the Ligurian province, but now was a separate province, cf. XXXVIII. 35. 8.

[2] Such prorogations were usually thought unnecessary since a commander normally remained until he was relieved, even without orders.

[3] The meaning of the adjective *sescenaris* is unknown; and no attempt to emend has been successful.

province[1] was ordered to return for the elections B.C. 176
on the arrival of the time of choosing magistrates. It was added to the decree that they should each enroll two new legions and three hundred cavalry; and that each should call upon the allies of the Latin confederacy for ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. The *imperium* of Tiberius Claudius was extended until such time as the consul should have come to the province.[2]

XV. While these matters were being discussed in the senate, Gnaeus Cornelius, summoned by a messenger, left the senate-house, and shortly afterward returned with a troubled expression and reported to the Conscript Fathers that the liver of a *sescenaris* ox[3] which he had sacrificed had melted away. He added that, scarcely believing the man in charge of the victims when he reported this, he had himself directed that the water be poured out of the kettle in which the entrails were being boiled and had seen all the rest of the entrails complete, but the whole liver had been consumed by an indescribable wasting. To the Fathers, already terrified by this portent, the other consul brought additional anxiety by reporting that he had failed to obtain a favourable omen after sacrificing three cattle, as the head of the liver had been missing. The senate directed him to continue sacrificing full-grown victims until he received a favorable omen. They say that in the case of the other gods they were obtained; to Salus, they say, Petilius could find no good omen. Then the consuls and praetors drew lots for their provinces. Pisa fell to Gnaeus Cornelius in the drawing, the Ligurians to Quintus Petilius. Of the praetors, Lucius Papirius Maso

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M. Aburius inter peregrinos sortiti sunt. M. Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis Hispaniam ulteriorem, 6 L. Aquilius Gallus Siciliam habuit. Duo deprecati sunt ne in provincias irent, M. Popilius in Sardiniam: Gracchum eam provinciam pacare; ei T. Aebutium 7 praetorem adiutorem ab senatu datum esse. Interrumpi tenorem rerum, in quibus peragendis continuatio ipsa efficacissima esset, minime convenire; 8 inter traditionem imperii novitatemque successoris, quae noscendis prius quam agendis rebus imbuenda sit, saepe bene gerendae rei occasiones intercidere.[1] 9 Probata Popilii excusatio est. P. Licinius Crassus sacrificiis se impediri sollemnibus excusabat ne in provinciam iret; ei[2] citerior Hispania obvenerat. 10 Ceterum aut ire iussus aut iurare pro contione sollemni sacrificio se prohiberi. Id ubi in P. Licinio ita statutum est, et ab se uti iusiurandum[3] acciperent M. Cornelius postulavit ne in Hispaniam ulteriorem iret. 11 Praetores ambo in eadem verba iurarunt.[4] M. Titinius et T.[5] Fonteius proconsules manere cum eodem imperii iure in Hispania iussi; et ut in supplementum his tria milia civium Romanorum cum

[1] intercidere *Fr.*: intercedere V.
[2] ei *add. Gitlbauer.*
[3] iusiurandum *Fr.*: ivreivrando V.
[4] iurarunt *Crévier*: ivreivrarvnt V.
[5] T. *add. Fr.*

[1] While the argument of Popilius for continued command during a campaign is sound, one wonders what was responsible for the sudden unwillingness to assume provincial duties at this time, when most magistrates were rather too eager for them.

gained by lot the civil jurisdiction, Marcus Aburius B.C. 176
that between citizens and aliens. Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis had Farther Spain and Lucius Aquilius Gallus Sicily. Two asked to be excused from going to their provinces, Marcus Popilius to Sardinia: Gracchus, he said, was pacifying that province; the praetor Titus Aebutius had been assigned him as an assistant by the senate. That the regular course of business should be interrupted, in the completion of which mere continuity was most effective, was by no means expedient; during a transfer of command and the novitiate of the successor, which had to be devoted to learning things rather than doing them, opportunities for successful operations were often lost.[1] The plea of Popilius was accepted. Publius Licinius Crassus alleged that he was hindered by obligatory sacrifices from going to his province; Nearer Spain had fallen to his lot. But he was ordered either to go or to take oath before the assembly that he was prevented by an obligatory sacrifice.[2] When this had been approved in the case of Publius Licinius, Marcus Cornelius also demanded that they should accept his oath, as an excuse for not going to Farther Spain. Both praetors swore in the same formula. Marcus Titinius and Titus Fonteius the proconsuls were instructed to remain in Spain with the same prerogative of command; it was also ordered that as reinforcements for them three thousand Roman citizens and two hundred cavalry, five thousand

[2] The character of the oath is more explicitly stated in XLII. xxxii. 2, where it appears that as consul Licinius was less constrained by it.

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equitibus ducentis, quinque milia socium Latini nominis et trecenti equites mitterentur.

XVI. Latinae feriae fuere ante diem tertium nonas Maias, in quibus quia in una hostia magistratus Lanuvinus precatus non erat populo Romano Quiritium, religioni fuit. Id cum ad senatum relatum esset senatusque ad pontificum collegium reiecisset, pontificibus, quia non recte factae Latinae essent, instaurari Latinas [1] placuit, Lanuvinos, quorum opera instaurandae [2] essent, hostias praebere. Accesserat ad religionem, quod [3] Cn. Cornelius consul ex monte Albano rediens concidit et, parte membrorum captus ad Aquas Cumanas profectus ingravescente morbo Cumis decessit. Sed inde mortuus Romam allatus et funere magnifico elatus sepultusque est. Pontifex idem fuerat. Consul Q. Petilius cum primum per auspicia posset, collegae subrogando comitia habere iussus et Latinas edicere, comitia in ante [4] diem tertium nonas Sextiles, Latinas [5] in ante diem tertium idus Sextiles edixit. Plenis religionum animis prodigia insuper nuntiata: Tusculi facem in caelo visam, Gabiis aedem Apollinis et privata aedificia complura, Graviscis murum portamque de caelo tacta. Ea [6] patres procurari uti pontifices censuissent iusserunt.

[1] instaurari Latinas *Vahlen*: instavratislatinis V.
[2] instaurandae *Drakenborch*: instavrati V.
[3] quod *add. Fr.*
[4] ante *add. Sigonius.*
[5] Latinas *add. Fr.* [6] tacta. ea *Fr.*: tactae V.

[1] Cf. XXXII. i. 9 and the note.
[2] An accidental omission of a phrase from a formula might, in Roman thinking, vitiate the whole formula.
[3] Possibly the spa near Baiae.

infantry and three hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy should be sent. B.C. 176

XVI. The Latin festival[1] was held on the third day before the Nones of May, and a religious scruple arose because at the sacrifice of one victim the magistrate of Lanuvium had not prayed for the Roman people,[2] the Quirites. When this was reported to the senate and the senate had referred the question to the college of pontiffs, the decree of the pontiffs was that the Latin festival should be repeated, since it had not been correctly performed, and that the people of Lanuvium, to whom was due the necessity of the repetition, should furnish the victims. Their religious fear was increased by the fact that Gnaeus Cornelius the consul fell on his return from the Alban Mount, and, paralyzed in some of his limbs, set out for Aquae Cumanae[3] and, his illness growing more severe, died at Cumae. But after his death he was removed to Rome and was carried out and buried with an elaborate funeral. He was, in addition to being consul, a pontiff. The consul Quintus Petilius, as soon as the auspices permitted, was ordered to hold an election to choose his colleague and to proclaim the Latin festival; the election he declared for the third day before the Nones of August, the festival for the third day before the Ides of August. At a time when men's minds were already filled with religious fears, to add to them prodigies were reported: at Tusculum, a firebrand was seen in the sky, and at Gabii the temple of Apollo and numerous private houses, at Gravisca the wall and gate, were struck by lightning. The Fathers ordered expiation for these, in a manner to be prescribed by the pontiffs.

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7 Dum consules primum religiones, deinde alterum alterius mors et comitia et Latinarum instauratio [1] impediunt, interim C. Claudius exercitum ad Mutinam
8 quam Ligures priore anno ceperant admovit. Intra [2] triduum quam oppugnare coeperat, receptam ex hostibus colonis restituit. Octo milia ibi Ligurum intra muros caesa; litteraeque Romam extemplo scriptae, quibus non modo rem exponeret, sed etiam gloriaretur sua virtute ac felicitate neminem iam cis Alpes esse [3] hostem populi Romani,[4] agrique aliquantum captum, qui multis milibus hominum dividi viritim posset.

XVII. Et Ti. Sempronius eodem tempore in Sardinia multis secundis proeliis Sardos perdomuit.
2 Quindecim milia hostium sunt caesa, omnes Sardorum populi qui defecerant in dicionem redacti. Stipendiariis veteribus duplex vectigal imperatum
3 exactumque; ceteri frumentum contulerunt. Pacata provincia obsidibusque ex tota insula ducentis triginta acceptis, legati Romam qui ea nuntiarent missi quique [5] ab senatu peterent ut ob eas res ductu auspicioque Ti. Semproni [6] prospere gestas diis immortalibus honos haberetur, ipsique decedenti de
4 provincia exercitum secum deportare [7] liceret. Se-

[1] instauratio *Kreyssig*: instavratione V.
[2] intra *Perizonius*: ante V.
[3] esse *add. Weissenborn.*
[4] populi Romani *ed. Lugdunensis* 1553: pro V.
[5] quique *Fr.*: qvoqve V.
[6] Sempronii *Fr.*: sempronivs V.
[7] secum deportare *Fr.*: secvndaeportare V.

[1] Sardinia, like Sicily, was organized on the tithe-system of Hiero, but some persons or communities paid in cash. It is not clear whether this increase was a permanent doubling of the rate or a temporary penalty.

While the two consuls were delayed first by B.C. 176
religious observances, then one consul by the death of the other and the election and the repetition of the Latin festival, in the meantime Gaius Claudius led the army toward Mutina, which the Ligurians had captured the year before. Within three days from the beginning of the siege he recovered it and restored it to the colonists. Eight thousand of the Ligurians perished there within the walls; and dispatches were at once sent to Rome, in which he not only stated the facts but also boasted that as a result of his valour and good fortune there was no longer an enemy of the Roman people on this side of the Alps, and that a large amount of land had been captured which could be divided individually among many thousands of men.

XVII. At the same time also Tiberius Sempronius in Sardinia completely subdued the Sardinians in many successful battles. Fifteen thousand men were killed, and all the tribes of the Sardinians who had revolted were reduced to submission. Upon those who had been tributaries before, double taxes were imposed and levied, the rest contributed grain.[1] Now that he had pacified the province and received two hundred and thirty hostages from the whole island, he sent lieutenants to Rome to report these events and to ask the senate that by reason of the successes obtained under the leadership and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius honour should be paid to the immortal gods and that Sempronius himself, on his departure from the province, should be permitted to bring back his army.[2] The senate, meeting in the

[2] The last request was a preliminary to an application for a triumph: cf. XL. XXXV. 6 and the note.

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natus in aede Apollinis legatorum verbis auditis supplicationem in biduum decrevit, et quadraginta maioribus hostiis consules sacrificare iussit, Ti. Sempronium proconsulem exercitumque eo anno in provincia manere.

5 Comitia deinde consulis unius subrogandi, quae in[1] ante diem tertium nonas Sextiles edicta erant, 6 eo ipso die sunt confecta. Q. Petilius consul collegam, qui extemplo magistratum occiperet, creavit C. Valerium Laevinum. Ipse iam[2] diu cupidus provinciae, cum opportunae cupiditati eius litterae adlatae essent Ligures rebellasse, nonis Sextilibus paludatus. . . .[3] Senatus[4] litteris auditis tumultus 7 eius causa legionem tertiam ad C. Claudium proconsulem in Galliam proficisci iussit, et duumviros navales cum classe Pisas ire, qui Ligurum oram, maritimum quoque terrorem admoventes, circum- 8 vectarentur. Eodem Pisas et Q. Petilius consul ad 9 conveniendum exercitui diem[5] edixerat. Et C. Claudius proconsul audita rebellione Ligurum praeter eas copias quas secum Parmae habebat subitariis collectis militibus exercitum ad fines Ligurum admovit.

XVIII. Hostes sub adventum C. Claudi, a quo duce se meminerant nuper ad Scultennam flumen victos fugatosque, locorum magis praesidio adversus infeliciter expertam vim quam armis se defensuri, duos

[1] quae in *add. Sigonius.*
[2] ipse iam *Madvig*: iisetiam V.
[3] *lacunam indicavit Duker.*
[4] senatus *add. Heusinger.*
[5] exercitui diem *Fr.*: exercitvm V.

[1] While I have not ventured to print Vahlen's restoration as part of the text, I have translated its substance.

temple of Apollo, heard the words of the lieutenants, B.C. 176
decreed a thanksgiving for two days, ordered the consuls to sacrifice forty full-grown victims, and directed Tiberius Sempronius the proconsul and the army to remain that year in the province.

Then the election for the purpose of filling the one vacancy in the consulship, which had been announced for the third day before the Nones of August, was finished the same day. Quintus Petilius the consul declared Gaius Valerius Laevinus chosen as his colleague, to enter upon his office at once. He himself had long been eager for his province, when, fortunately for his ambition, dispatches arrived that the Ligurians had rebelled, and on the Nones of August he set out in uniform [for his province and sent back a letter concerning his achievements there.[1]] The senate, hearing the letter, by reason of the uprising ordered the third legion to set out to join Gaius Claudius the proconsul in Gaul, and the *duumviri navales* to proceed with the fleet to Pisa, in order to sail along the coast of the Ligurians, spreading terror by sea as well. At the same destination, Pisa, the consul Quintus Petilius had also named a rendezvous for his army. And Gaius Claudius the proconsul, hearing of the revolt of the Ligurians, in addition to the troops which he had with him at Parma, raised emergency troops and moved his army to the frontiers of the Ligurians.

XVIII. The enemy, on the arrival of Gaius Claudius, by whom as commander they recalled that recently at the Scultenna river they had been defeated and put to flight, with a view to defending themselves by the protection of the country rather than by arms against an attack which had turned out

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montes Letum et Ballistam ceperunt muroque[1] 2 insuper amplexi sunt.[2] Tardius ex agris demigrantes 3 oppressi ad mille et quingenti perierunt; ceteri montibus se tenebant, et ne in metu quidem feritatis ingenitae obliti saeviunt in praedam quae Mutinae parta erat. Captivos cum foeda laceratione interficiunt; pecora in fanis trucidant verius passim quam 4 rite sacrificant. Satiati caede animantium, quae inanima erant parietibus adfligunt,[3] vasa omnis generis usui magis quam ornamento in speciem 5 facta. Q. Petilius consul, ne absente se debellaretur, litteras ad C. Claudium misit ut cum exercitu ad se in Galliam veniret: Campis Macris se eum 6 expectaturum. Litteris acceptis Claudius ex Liguribus castra movit exercitumque ad Campos Macros consuli tradidit. Eodem[4] paucis post diebus 7 C. Valerius consul alter venit. Ibi divisis copiis, prius[5] quam digrederentur,[6] communiter ambo exercitus lustraverunt. Tum sortiti, quia non ab eadem utrumque parte aggredi hostem placebat, 8 regiones quas peterent. Valerium auspicato sortitum constabat, quod in templo fuisset; in Petilio

[1] muroque *Fr.*: mvrosqve V.
[2] sunt *add. Duker.*
[3] adfligvnt (*ex corr.*) V.: adfligunt *coni. edd. nonnulli.*
[4] eodem *Fr.*: eodemtempore V.
[5] prius *add. Fr.*
[6] digrederentur *ed. Frob.* 1535: congrederentvr V.

[1] Cf. *supra*, xii. 8.
[2] Most editors bracket either *ornamento* or *in speciem* as a gloss on the other. I have retained both, also the MS. *adfligunt*

unhappily[1] for them, occupied the two mountains, B.C. 176
Letum and Ballista, and in addition surrounded them by a wall. Those who were slow in moving from the fields were cut off and destroyed to the number of fifteen hundred; the rest kept within the mountains and not even in their fear forgetting their natural fierceness, they raged against the booty which had been taken at Mutina. The prisoners they slew after mutilating them cruelly; the beasts they butchered, scattered among the shrines, rather than sacrificed according to ritual. Sated with the slaughter of their living plunder, things which were inanimate, utensils of every sort, made for use rather than as ornaments to be looked at, they dashed against the walls.[2] The consul Quintus Petilius, fearing lest the war should be finished in his absence, wrote to Gaius Claudius that he should bring the army to meet him in Gaul: he would await them, he said, at Campi Macri.[3] Claudius, on receipt of the letter, moved his camp from the Ligurian territory and at Campi Macri turned his army over to the consul. Thither a few days later Gaius Valerius, the other consul, came. There, dividing their forces, before they separated the two jointly purified the armies. Then, because they had determined that the two should not approach the enemy from the same direction, they cast lots for the districts to which they should direct their march. It was evident that Valerius cast his lot in accordance with the requirements for auspices, because he was in the consecrated

for the commonly accepted conjecture *adfigunt*; having finished with human beings they vented their rage upon inanimate objects.

[3] In the territory of Modena.

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id vitii [1] factum postea augures responderunt, quod extra templum sortem in sitellam † in templum
9 latam foris ipse oporteret.[2] Profecti inde [3] in diversas regiones. Petilius adversus Ballistae et Leti iugum, quod eos [4] montes perpetuo dorso inter se
10 iungit, castra habuit. Ibi adhortantem eum pro contione milites, immemorem ambiguitatis verbi, ominatum [5] ferunt se eo die Letum capturum [6] esse.
11 Duabus simul partibus subire in adversos montes coepit. Ea pars in qua ipse erat impigre succedebat. Alteram hostes cum propulissent, ut restitueret rem inclinatam, consul equo advectus suos quidem a [7] fuga revocavit, ipse, dum incautius ante signa obver-
12 satur, missili traiectus cecidit. Nec hostes ducem occisum senserunt, et suorum pauci qui viderant haud neglegenter, ut qui in eo victoriam verti scirent,
13 corpus occultavere. Alia multitudo peditum equitumque deturbatis hostibus montis sine duce cepere. Ad quinque milia Ligurum occisa; ex Romano
14 exercitu duo et quinquaginta ceciderunt. Super tam evidentem tristis ominis eventum etiam ex

[1] vitii *Madvig*: vitio V.
[2] quod . . . oporteret *the reading of* V. *For various conjectural restorations see the apparatus of Giarratano and the note opposite under the translation.*
[3] inde *Fr.*: in V.
[4] eos *Fr.*: eo V.
[5] verbi ominatum *Fr.*: verbisomniatvm V.
[6] capturum *Fr.*: factvrvm V.
[7] [statim] a fuga *Weissenborn*; media in fuga *Madvig*; e (*vel* ex) tam effusa fuga *Hertz*: etiamfuga V.

[1] The state of the text and our ignorance of the details of *sortitio* prevent our coming nearer than an approximation to the meaning. It is particularly difficult to determine what

space; the augurs later declared that this fault had B.C. 176
existed in the case of Petilius—namely, the lot, which had been cast into the urn outside of the consecrated space, had been drawn by him while he was still outside of the consecrated area, although he should have been inside of it.[1] From Campi Macri they marched in different directions. Petilius had his camp facing the height of Ballista and Letum, which joins these mountains with a continuous ridge. Then, while he was encouraging the soldiers before the assembly, not thinking of the double meaning of the word, they said that he used the ominous expression that on that day he would gain Letum.[2] He began to march up the hills in front on two sides at once. The column in which he himself was advanced vigorously. When the enemy had repulsed the other, Petilius, in order to restore the wavering line, riding up on his horse, did indeed rally his men from their flight, but he himself, while riding before the standards with too little caution, fell struck with a javelin. But the enemy did not perceive that the commander had been killed, and the few of his own men who had seen it concealed his body with great care, knowing that victory depended on it. The rest of the body of infantry and cavalry dislodged the enemy and took the mountains without their general. About five thousand of the Ligurians were killed: of the Roman army fifty-two fell. In addition to this so manifest fulfilment of an omen of evil, it was

happened since the error of Petilius was so slight that it escaped detection at the time.

[2] As a common noun, *letum* means "death." Valerius Maximus (I. v. 9) tells the same story: Hodie ego Letum utique capiam.

A.U.C. 578 pullario auditum est [1] vitium in auspicio fuisse, nec
15 id consulem ignorasse. C. Valerius audita.[2] . . .
16 Periti [3] religionum iurisque publici, quando duo ordinarii consules eius anni, alter morbo, alter ferro perisset, suffectum consulem negabant recte comitia habere posse. . . .[4] deduxit.

A.U.C. 579 XIX. Cis Appenninum Garuli et Lapicini et Hergates, trans Appenninum Friniates fuerant, intra [5] Audenam amnem. P. Mucius cum iis, qui Lunam Pisasque depopulati erant, bellum gessit, omnibusque
2 in dicionem redactis arma ademit. Ob eas res in

[1] est *Fr.*: se V.

[2] *periit quaternio quartus codicis praeter f.g. a* deduxit *incipiens.*

[3] *verba* Periti . . . posse *ex Prisciani* xvii xxix *huc revocavit Sigonius.*

[4] *Vid. quae de* audita *dixi, supra* § 15.

[5] intra *Crévier*: inter V.

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[1] The manner of feeding of the sacred chickens determined whether the omens were favourable or unfavourable. The auspices were often taken thus before a battle.

[2] The loss of nearly an entire quaternion of V (see critical note) makes it impossible to determine the rest of the sentence. Livy's narrative recognizes the rashness of Petilius (cf. especially *incautius ante signa* in sec. 4), but the senate seems to have emphasized his bravery when it decreed that the legion was remiss in the performance of its duty, that its year's pay should be withheld and its wages reduced: cf. Valerius Maximus II. vii. 15 (confirmed by the briefer account in Frontinus, *Stratagems* IV. i. 46): Graviter senatus tulit, quod Q. Petilium consulem fortissime adversus Ligures pugnantem occidere milites passi essent. Legioni neque stipendium anni procedere neque aera dari voluit, quia pro salute imperatoris se telis non obtulerant.

Since V has suffered an equally heavy loss at the end of chap. xix., it is impossible to tell whether there was in Livy some reference to Macedonia.

also learned from the keeper of the chickens[1] that B.C. 176
there had been a flaw in the auspices, and that the consul had not been unaware of this. Gaius Valerius, hearing. . . .[2] Those who were skilled in the rules of religion and in public law said that, since the two regular consuls of the year had perished, the one from disease, the other in battle, a substituted consul could not properly conduct an election . . .[3] brought them down.

XIX. The Garuli, the Lapicini and the Hergates B.C. 175
had lived on this side of the Apennines, the Friniates beyond them and on this side of the river Audena.[4] Publius Mucius waged war on the tribes that had ravaged Luna and Pisa and disarmed them when all had been reduced to surrender. By reason of the

[3] Sigonius inserted here this sentence quoted by Priscian (see the critical note) from Book XLI. It is obviously concerned with this year, since at no other time covered by this Book did both the regular consuls die in office. It appears that a *consul suffectus*, i.e. one elected to fill a vacancy, could not preside at an election. Their only recourse, then, was the appointment of an interrex, and this procedure and the elections for the year 175 B.C. were no doubt described in the text lost between *posse* and *deduxit*. The last word may refer to some such compulsory migrations as described in XL. XXXVIII. 2 ff.

The names of the magistrates for 175 B.C. can be recovered from the Fasti and other sources. The consuls were Mucius Scaevola (XIX. 1 below) and M. Aemilius Lepidus II (Oros. IV. XX. 34). The praetors were C. Popilius Laenas, T. Annius Luscus, C. Memmius Gallus (?), C. Cluvius Saxula, Ser. Cornelius Sulla, Ap. Claudius Cento.

[4] These tribes were perhaps those transported to new homes: see the preceding note. If the Friniates are the tribe mentioned in XXXIX. ii. 1, they seem to have lived *cis Appenninum*, although the flight of some of them beyond the mountains is reported in that chapter. The river Audena has not been identified.

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Gallia Liguribusque gestas duorum consulum ductu auspicioque senatus in triduum supplicationes decrevit et quadraginta hostiis sacrificari iussit.

3 Et tumultus quidem Gallicus et Ligustinus, qui principio eius anni exortus fuerat, haud magno
4 conatu[1] brevi oppressus erat; belli Macedonici subibat iam cura, miscente Perseo inter Dardanos Bastarnasque certamina. Et legati qui missi ad res visendas in Macedoniam erant, iam reverterant Romam renuntiaverantque bellum in Dardania esse.
5 Simul venerant et ab rege Perseo oratores qui purgarent nec accitos ab eo Bastarnas nec auctore
6 eo quidquam facere. Senatus nec liberavit[2] eius culpae regem neque arguit; moneri eum tantum modo iussit, ut etiam atque etiam curaret ut sanctum habere foedus quod ei cum Romanis esset,[3] videri
7 posset. Dardani cum Bastarnas non modo non excedere finibus suis, quod speraverant, sed graviores fieri in dies cernerent, subnixos Thracum accolarum et Scordiscorum auxiliis, audendum aliquid vel temere[4] rati, omnes undique armati ad oppidum quod proximum castris Bastarnarum erat con-

[1] magno conatu *Fr.*: magnvs conatvs V.
[2] nec liberavit *Fr.*: neliberare V.
[3] habere foedus quod ei cum Romanis esset *Jakob Gronovius*: haberetesse V.
[4] temere *Fr.*: temerare V.

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[1] Cf. especially XL. lvii. for Philip's plan to profit by the wars of these peoples.

[2] This embassy has not been mentioned, since Livy has said little about Macedonian affairs since 178 B.C. He now proceeds to fill up that gap.

successes in Gaul and among the Ligurians under the B.C. 175
leadership and auspices of the two consuls, the senate decreed a thanksgiving for three days and ordered the sacrifice of forty victims.

And indeed the Gallic and Ligurian uprising, which had broken out in the beginning of the year, was quickly suppressed with no great effort; now the anxiety as to the Macedonian War beset them, since Perseus was stirring up conflicts between the Dardanians and the Bastarnae.[1] And the ambassadors[2] who had been sent to investigate the situation in Macedonia had already returned to Rome and had reported that war in Dardania was now in progress. At the same time envoys had also arrived from King Perseus, who were to explain on his behalf[3] that he had neither invited the Bastarnae nor was he instigating any of their actions. The senate neither absolved him of this blame nor charged him with it; they merely ordered that he be warned to take redoubled care to make it appear that he was respecting the treaty which was in force between him and the Romans.[4] When the Dardanians saw that the Bastarnae were not only not leaving their territory, as they had hoped, but were growing more troublesome every day, and were relying on the aid of the neighbouring Thracians and the Scordisci, they decided that they must venture something, even rashly, and all from all sides met in arms at the town which was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnae. It was winter,

[3] Appian, *Macedonian Wars* IX. xi. 1 refers to this embassy, which Livy has not mentioned before: *ὁ δὲ Περσεὺς ἑτέρους ἔπεμπε πρέσβεις τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐκλύων.*

[4] Cf. XL. lviii. 9. It would seem that the senate was satisfied with a show of observance of the treaty.

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8 veniunt. Hiems erat, et id anni tempus elegerant, ut Thraces Scordiscique in fines suos abirent. Quod ubi ita factum et solos iam esse Bastarnas audierunt, bifariam dividunt copias, pars ut recto itinere ad lacessendum ex aperto iret, pars devio saltu circum-
9 ducta ab tergo aggrederetur. Ceterum priusquam circumire castra hostium possent, pugnatum est; victique Dardani compelluntur in urbem, quae fere duodecim milia ab castris Bastarnarum aberat.
10 Victores confestim secuti [1] circumsidunt urbem, haud dubie postero die aut metu dedituris se hostibus aut
11 vi expugnaturi. Interim Dardanorum altera manus, quae circumducta erat, ignara cladis suorum, castra Bastarnarum sine praesidio relicta cepit.[2] . . .

XX. . . . Romano more,[3] sella eburnea posita, ius dicebat disceptabatque controversias minimarum
2 rerum. Adeoque nulli fortunae adhaerebat animus per omnia genera vitae errans, uti nec sibi nec aliis
3 quinam homo esset satis constaret. Non adloqui amicos, vix notis familiariter arridere, munificentia inaequali sese aliosque ludificari; quibusdam [4]

[1] secuti *Vahlen*: vti V.
[2] relicta cepit *Madvig*: relic V, *sic desinens*: *vid. quae dixi supra de* audita, xviii. 15.
[3] Romano more *Muretus*: more V, *cuius quaternio V periit praeter f.* 10.
[4] quibusdam *Fr.*: qvibvs V.

[1] At this point begins the other large lacuna, due to the loss of almost an entire quaternion of V. The narrative may have included an account of the tragic fate of the Bastarnae, who, returning home after the capture of their camp, were almost all drowned when the ice in the Danube broke while they were crossing (Orosius IV. xx). It must also have introduced

and they had chosen that season in order that the B.C. 175
Thracians and Scordisci might then depart to their own countries. When they learned that this had occurred as they had expected and that the Bastarnae were now alone, they divided their forces into two columns, one to march by the straight road to assail openly, the other, led around by an out-of-the-way pass, to attack from the rear. But before they could surround the camp of the enemy the battle took place; and the defeated Dardanians were driven back into the town, which was about twelve miles distant from the camp of the Bastarnae. The victors followed in haste and invested the city, expecting confidently that the next day either the enemy would surrender on account of fear or they would take the town by storm. Meanwhile the other column of the Dardanians, which had followed the circuitous route, being ignorant of the defeat of their comrades, captured the camp of the Bastarnae, which had been left without a guard.[1]

XX. Antiochus, setting up an ivory chair in the Roman fashion, would administer justice and adjudge disputes on the most trifling matters. And so incapable was his mind of sticking to any station in life, as it strayed through all the varieties of existence that it was not really clear either to himself or to others what kind of person he was.[2] It was his habit not to speak to his friends, to smile at mere acquaintances in a most friendly way, and with an inconsistent generosity to make himself and others laugh-

Antiochus Epiphanes, long a hostage at Rome, who succeeded his brother on the throne of their father, Antiochus the Great.

[2] Polybius XXVI. i illustrates this: he would mix with all sorts of persons.

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honoratis magnoque aestimantibus se puerilia, ut escae aut lusus, munera dare, alios nihil expectantes ditare. Itaque nescire quid sibi vellet[1] quibusdam videri; quidam ludere eum simpliciter, quidam haud dubie insanire aiebant.[2] In duabus tamen magnis honestisque rebus vere regius erat animus, in urbium donis et deorum cultu. Megalopolitanis in Arcadia murum se circumdaturum urbi est pollicitus maioremque partem pecuniae dedit; Tegeae theatrum[3] magnificum e marmore facere instituit; Cyzici in[4] prytaneo—id est penetrale urbis, ubi publice, quibus is honos datus est, vescuntur—vasa aurea mensae unius posuit. Rhodiis ut[5] nihil unum insigne, ita omnis generis, ut quaeque usus eorum postulaverunt, dona dedit. Magnificentiae vero in deos vel Iovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris incohatum pro magnitudine dei, potest testis[6] esse; sed et Delum aris insignibus statuarumque copia exornavit, et Antiochiae Iovis Capitolini magnificum templum, non laqueatum auro tantum, sed parietibus totis lammina inauratum, et alia multa in aliis locis pollicitus, quia perbreve tempus regni eius fuit, non perfecit. Spectaculorum quoque omnis generis magnificentia

[1] quid sibi vellet *Fr.*: qvidsivibivellet (*sic*) V.
[2] insanire aiebant *Fr.*: inseanebant (*sic*) V.
[3] Tegeae theatrum *Fr.*: thegetea V.
[4] in *add. Fr.*
[5] ut *add. Freinsheim.*
[6] testis *add. Fr.*

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[1] This temple of Ζεὺς Ὀλύμπιος was begun by Pisistratus and completed by Hadrian: cf. Pausanias I. xviii. 6.

[2] He reigned eleven years in all, but his enthusiasm for building may not have begun at once.

ing-stocks; to some, men of distinction who held B.C. 175
themselves in high esteem, he would give childish presents, as of food or toys, others, who expected nothing, he would make rich. And so he seemed to some not to know what he wanted; some said that he was playing childish tricks, some that he was unquestionably insane. Nevertheless in two great and important respects his soul was truly royal—in his benefactions to cities and in the honours paid to the gods. To the people of Megalopolis in Arcadia he promised that he would enclose their city with a wall, and he gave the greater part of the money; at Tegea he began to build a magnificent theatre of marble; in the prytaneum at Cyzicus—this is the central hall of the city, where those men dine upon whom this distinction has been bestowed—he furnished a golden service for one table. While he gave the Rhodians nothing remarkable, yet he gave them gifts of every description, whatever their needs demanded. Of his magnificent ideas as to the treatment of the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, the only one in the world which, though unfinished,[1] was designed to conform to the greatness of the god, can well be evidence; besides, he also adorned Delos with marvellous altars and abundance of statuary, and at Antioch he built a magnificent temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, which had not merely its ceiling panelled with gold, but also its walls wholly covered with gilded plates; and many other things he promised in other places, but by reason of the very short duration of his reign [2] he did not finish them. Also in regard to the splendour of his shows of every sort he surpassed earlier kings, his other spectacles being given in their own

A.U.C. 579 superiores reges vicit, reliquorum sui moris et copia
11 Graecorum artificum; gladiatorum munus, Romanae consuetudinis, primo maiore cum terrore hominum, insuetorum ad tale spectaculum, quam voluptate
12 dedit; deinde saepius dando et modo volneribus tenus, modo sine missione, etiam [1] familiare oculis gratumque id spectaculum fecit, et armorum stu-
13 dium [2] plerisque iuvenum accendit. Itaque qui primo [3] ab Roma magnis pretiis [4] paratos gladiatores accersere solitus erat, iam suo. . . .[5] Scipio [6] inter peregrinos.

A.U.C. 580 XXI. M. Atilio praetori provincia Sardinia obve-
2 nerat; sed cum legione nova quam consules conscripserant, quinque milibus peditum, trecentis equitibus in Corsicam iussus est transire. Dum is ibi bellum gereret, Cornelio prorogatum imperium,
3 uti obtineret Sardiniam. Cn. Servilio Caepioni in Hispaniam ulteriorem et P. Furio Philo in citeriorem tria milia peditum Romanorum,[7] equites centum quinquaginta, et socium Latini nominis quinque

[1] etiam *Madvig*: etiamet V.
[2] studium *Fr.*: stvdiorvm V.
[3] qui primo *Fr.*: primoqvi.
[4] pretiis *Kreyssig*: praedis V.
[5] *a* suo *desinit* V: *vid. quae dixi supra de* Romano more, XX. 1.
[6] Scipio *Sigonius*: pio V, *f.* 11r *sic incipiens.*
[7] peditum Romanorum *Fr.*: peditvmromanorvmpeditvm V.

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[1] I.e., according to the Greek way of giving them.
[2] τεχνῖται of various kinds, such as actors, choristers, flutists, etc.
[3] I have supplied a possible conclusion to the sentence. The lacuna which follows doubtless recorded the elections for the year 174 B.C.: the last clause of the chapter records the

proper [1] style and with an abundance of Greek thea- B.C. 175
trical artists;[2] a gladiatorial exhibition, after the Roman fashion, he presented which was at first received with greater terror than pleasure on the part of men who were unused to such sights; then by frequent repetitions, by sometimes allowing the fighters to go only as far as wounding one another, sometimes permitting them to fight without giving quarter, he made the sight familiar and even pleasing, and he roused in many of the young men a joy in arms. And so, while at first he had been accustomed to summon gladiators from Rome, procuring them by large fees, finally he could find a sufficient supply at home. . . .[3] Scipio the jurisdiction between citizens and aliens.

XXI. The lot had given the province of Sardinia B.C. 174
to Marcus Atilius the praetor; but he was ordered, with the new legion which the consuls had enlisted, consisting of five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, to cross over to Corsica. As long as he should be engaged in the war there, the *imperium* of Cornelius [4] was prolonged, in order that he might hold Sardinia. For Gnaeus Servilius Caepio in Farther Spain and for Publius Furius Philus in Nearer Spain were enlisted three thousand Roman infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry, and of the allies of the Latin confederacy five thou-

assignment of a praetorian province. The consuls for 174 B.C. were Sp. Postumius Albinus and Q. Mucius Scaevola; the praetors C. Cassius Longinus, P. Furius Philus, L. Claudius Asellus, M. Atilius Serranus, Cn. Servilius Caepio and L. (or Cn.) Cornelius Scipio son of Africanus (cf. the note to xxvii. 2 below).

[4] Probably Servius Cornelius Sulla: cf. the note to xviii. 16 above.

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milia peditum, trecenti equites, Sicilia L. Claudio
4 sine supplemento decreta. Duas praeterea legiones consules scribere iussi cum iusto numero peditum equitumque, et decem milia peditum sociis imperare
5 et sescentos equites. Dilectus consulibus eo difficilior erat quod pestilentia quae priore anno in boves ingruerat [1] eo verterat [2] in hominum morbos. Qui inciderant, haud facile septimum diem superabant; qui superaverant, longinquo, maxime quartanae,
6 implicabantur morbo. Servitia maxime moriebantur; eorum strages per omnes vias insepultorum erat. Ne liberorum quidem funeribus Libitina sufficiebat. Cadavera intacta a canibus ac volturibus [3]
7 tabes absumebat; satisque constabat nec illo nec priore anno in tanta strage boum hominumque
8 volturium usquam visum. Sacerdotes publici ea pestilentia mortui sunt Cn. Servilius Caepio pontifex, pater praetoris, et Ti. Sempronius Ti. filius Longus decemvir sacrorum et P. Aelius Paetus augur et Ti. Sempronius Gracchus et C. Mamilius Atellus [4] curio maximus et [5] M. Sempronius Tuditanus
9 pontifex.[6] Pontifices suffecti sunt C. Sulpicius Galba . . .[7] in locum Tuditani. Augures suffecti

[1] ingruerat *Fr.*: ingrveret V.
[2] verterat *Sigonius*: verteret V.
[3] vulturibus *Fr.*: volneribvs V.
[4] C. Mamilius Atellus *Wesenberg*: C. atellivs. aemilivs (*sic*) V.
[5] et *add. ed. Frobeniana* 1535
[6] pontifex *add. Fr.*
[7] *lacunam indicavit Fr.; pro supplementis multi multa frustra.*

[1] A malady of the ague type, more serious every fourth day.
[2] Cf. XL. xix. 3.

sand infantry and three hundred cavalry, and Sicily B.C. 174
was decreed to Lucius Claudius without reinforcements. The consuls were directed to enroll in addition two legions with the regular numbers of infantry and cavalry and to call upon the allies for ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry. The levy was more difficult for the consuls because the plague which had attacked the cattle the year before had this year turned into a disease which attacked men. Those who were assailed by it did not easily survive the seventh day; those who had survived that length of time suffered from a lingering disease, usually quartan.[1] The slaves especially died; and along all the roads there were piles of their unburied bodies. Libitina[2] sufficed not even for the funerals of free men. The corpses, untouched by dogs and vultures, were consumed by decay; and it was generally observed that neither in this nor in the previous year, in spite of the great mortality of cattle and men, was a vulture seen anywhere. Of official priests, there perished in this epidemic Gnaeus Servilius Caepio, a pontifex, father of the praetor, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus, the son of Tiberius, decemvir in charge of sacrifices, and Publius Aelius Paetus, an augur, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an augur, Gaius Mamilius Atellus, the *curio maximus*,[3] and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a pontiff. As pontiffs there were appointed Gaius Sulpicius Galba . . . in the place of Tuditanus.[4] Augurs

[3] The *curio maximus* was the chief priest of the curiones of the thirty curiae.

[4] The existence of a lacuna is evidenced by the fact that only one new appointment is mentioned while there were two vacancies. Any restoration is a guess.

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sunt in Gracchi locum T. Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in P. Aeli,[1] Q. Aelius Paetus. Decemvir sacrorum C. Sempronius Longus, curio maximus
10 C. Scribonius Curio sufficitur. Cum pestilentiae finis non fieret, senatus decrevit uti decemviri libros
11 Sibyllinos adirent. Ex decreto eorum diem unum supplicatio fuit, et Q. Marcio Philippo verba praeeunte populus in foro votum concepit, si morbus pestilentiaque ex agro Romano emota esset, biduum
12 ferias [2] ac supplicationem se habiturum. In Veienti agro biceps natus puer, et Sinuessae unimanus, et Auximi [3] puella cum dentibus, et arcus interdiu sereno caelo super aedem Saturni in foro Romano
13 intentus, et tres simul soles effulserunt, et faces eadem nocte plures per caelum lapsae sunt, et Lanuvini [4] Caeritesque anguem in oppido suo iubatum, flavis [5] maculis sparsum, apparuisse affirmabant, et in agro Campano bovem locutum esse satis constabat.

XXII. Legati nonis Iuniis [6] ex Africa redierunt, qui convento prius Masinissa rege Carthaginem

[1] in P. Aelii *Fr.*: inpelli V.
[2] ferias *Fr.*: fvrias V.
[3] et Auximi *Cluver*: oximi V, *cuius margo f.* 12 *abscinditur, qua de causa multas parvas lacunas suppl. Fr., quam ego secutus sum.*
[4] Lanuvini *Sigonius*: inlanvino V.
[5] flavis *Weissenborn*: avis V.
[6] nonis Iuniis *Sigonius*: ix.mil. V.

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[1] The name is peculiar and the cognomen *Gracchus* may be a scribe's repetition of the same word just preceding.
[2] Almost all the names above are partially restorations and therefore uncertain. Details are not fully reported in the critical notes.
[3] Cf., e.g. XXXI. xii. 9.

were chosen in the stead of Gracchus—Titus Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus[1] and, to replace Publius Aelius, Quintus Aelius Paetus. As decemvir in charge of sacrifices Gaius Sempronius Longus and as *curio maximus* Gaius Scribonius Curio[2] were chosen. Since the pestilence would not come to an end, the senate decreed that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline Books.[3] In accordance with their decree a day of prayer was observed, and as Quintus Marcius Philippus[4] dictated the formula, the people, assembled in the Forum, undertook a vow that if the disease and plague should have been banished from Roman territory they would celebrate a festival and thanksgiving for two days. In the territory of Veii a boy with two heads was born, and at Sinuessa a boy with one hand, and at Auximum a girl with teeth; and a rainbow by day in a clear sky was seen extending over the temple of Saturn in the Forum Romanum, and three suns shone at once, and that same night numerous firebrands glided through the sky, and the people of Lanuvium and Caere asserted that a crested serpent dotted with yellow spots had appeared in their towns, and in the Campanian land there was ample evidence that a cow had spoken. B.C. 174

XXII. On the Nones of June the ambassadors returned from Africa[5] who, after first interviewing King Masinissa, had gone to Carthage; but they

[4] He was a pontifex (XL. xlii. 12), but it is not known why he was selected for this particular task.

[5] The sending of this embassy has not been mentioned, and it clearly had nothing to do with the boundary dispute of XL. xvii. The emendation which gives the exact date of the return of the embassy may well be wrong.

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ierant; ceterum certius aliquanto quae Carthagine acta essent, ab rege scierant quam ab ipsis Carthaginiensibus. Compertum tamen affirmaverunt legatos ab rege Perseo venisse, iisque noctu senatum in aede Aesculapi datum esse. Ab Carthagine legatos in Macedoniam missos et rex affirmaverat et ipsi parum constanter negaverant. In Macedoniam quoque mittendos legatos senatus censuit. Tres missi sunt, C. Laelius, M. Valerius Messalla, Sex. Digitius.

Perseus per id tempus, quia quidam Dolopum non parebant et de quibus ambigebatur rebus disceptationem ab rege ad Romanos revocabant, cum exercitu profectus sub ius iudiciumque suum totam coegit gentem. Inde per Oetaeos montes transgressus, religionibus quibusdam animo obiectis, oraculum [1] aditurus Delphos ascendit. Cum in media repente Graecia apparuisset, magnum non finitimis modo urbibus terrorem praebuit, sed [2] in Asiam quoque ad regem Eumenen nuntios tumultuosos [3] misit. Triduum non plus Delphis moratus, per Phthiotidem

[1] oraculum *Fr.*: oracivm V.
[2] praebuit sed *Fr.*: praebvisset V.
[3] tumultuosos *Hertz*: tvmvltvo V: *vid. quae dixi de* et Auximi, xxi. 12.

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[1] Livy here turns to affairs in the east and follows Polybius as his source.

[2] The Dolopians had been liberated in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxiv. 6), reconquered by Philip with Roman consent in 191 B.C. (XXXVI. xxxiii. 7), while their status after the settlement of 185 B.C. (XXXIX. xxvi. 14) was somewhat uncertain. Perseus obviously claimed some sort of authority over them, and from XLII. xli. 14 it would seem that their "disobedience" amounted to actual revolt. In 185 B.C. Rome had ordered

had received much more accurate information as to what had been going on in Carthage from the king than from the Carthaginians themselves. Nevertheless they reported it as an ascertained fact that ambassadors had come from King Perseus and had been given an audience by night before the senate, assembled in the temple of Aesculapius. The king, moreover, had asserted that envoys had been sent from Carthage to Macedonia, and the Carthaginians had denied this without very much firmness. The senate decreed that ambassadors should also be sent to Macedonia. Three were dispatched, Gaius Laelius, Marcus Valerius Messalla, and Sextus Digitius. B.C. 174

Perseus[1] about this time, because certain of the Dolopians[2] were insubordinate and wanted to refer the arbitration of the matters which were in dispute to the Romans instead of to the king, setting out with his army brought the whole district under his sovereignty and sway. Thence, crossing over the Oetaean mountains, since certain religious difficulties beset his mind, he climbed up to Delphi to consult the oracle. When he had suddenly appeared in the midst of Greece, he not merely roused great terror in the neighbouring cities but even caused the dispatch of excited messages to King Eumenes in Asia.[3] Having tarried in Delphi not more than three days, he returned through Phthiotic Achaea

Philip to stay inside the ancient boundaries of Macedonia, and the conduct of Perseus now is in fact, if not literally, a defiance of Rome.

[3] I take the liberty of translating *misit* thus rather than venture on further emendation, since the loss of text in V is small.

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Achaiam Thessaliamque sine damno iniuriaque eorum, per quorum fines [1] iter fecit, in regnum rediit. 7 Nec earum tantum civitatium per quas iturus erat satis habuit animos sibi conciliare; aut legatos aut litteras dimisit, petens, ne diutius simultatum quae cum patre suo fuissent meminissent; nec enim tam atroces fuisse eas, ut non cum ipso potuerint ac 8 debuerint finiri; secum quidem omnia illis integra esse ad [2] instituendam fideliter amicitiam; cum Achaeorum maxime gente reconciliandae gratiae viam quaerebat.

XXIII. Haec una ex omni Graecia gens et Atheniensium civitas eo processerat irarum, ut 2 finibus interdiceret Macedonibus. Itaque servitiis ex Achaia fugientibus receptaculum Macedonia erat, quia, cum finibus suis iis [3] interdixissent, intrare 3 regni terminos ipsi non audebant. Id cum Perseus animadvertisset, comprensis omnibus litterae. . . .[4] Ceterum ne similis fuga servorum postea fieret, 4 cogitandum et illis esse. Recitatis his litteris per Xenarchum praetorem, qui privatae gratiae aditum

[1] eorum per quorum fines *Madvig*: vmperqvorvm V.
[2] ad *add. Fr.*
[3] iis *add. Perizonius.*
[4] *lacunam indicavit Fr.*

[1] The tense would indicate that these negotiations had preceded his visit to Delphi, but this conclusion seems to be contradicted by the account in sect. 5 of the effect actually produced on the Greeks. Perhaps something has been lost from the text to indicate that Perseus was planning to unite all Greece against the Romans.

[2] The corresponding portion of Polybius is lost, and we have no confirmation of this statement regarding the Achaeans. For Athens, Livy may have in mind the violent anti-Macedonian legislation of 200 B.C. (XXXI. xliv).

and Thessaly to his kingdom without doing any damage or injury to those through whose lands he marched. Nor was he content with winning the good will of only those states through which he was planning to march;[1] he sent out either ambassadors or letters, asking that they should no longer remember the quarrels in which they had engaged with his father; for, he said, they had not been so serious that they could not and should not be ended with him; so far as he was concerned at least, everything was in order for a faithful establishment of friendly relations with them; with the people of the Achaeans especially he was seeking for a way of restoring good feeling. B.C. 174

XXIII. This one people out of all Greece, together with the Athenian state, had gone so far in their anger as to exclude Macedonians from their territories.[2] And so when slaves escaped from Achaea Macedonia was a refuge for them because, since the Achaeans had forbidden the Macedonians to enter their country, they themselves did not dare to cross the frontiers of their kingdom. Accordingly, when Perseus had become aware of this, he arrested all the fugitives [and sent letters graciously promising to restore such slaves to them].[3] But, he added, they too should take measures that similar escapes of slaves should not happen in future. When this letter was read by their general Xenarchus, who was seeking for an opportunity to curry favour personally

[3] I have rendered in a somewhat abbreviated form the thought which Sigonius reconstructed on the strength of the indications contained in sect. 4 and 15 below, but have not ventured to insert in the text the Latin of his conjectural restoration.

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apud regem quaerebat, et plerisque moderate et benigne scriptas esse censentibus litteras, atque iis maxime, qui praeter spem recepturi essent amissa
5 mancipia, Callicrates ex iis, qui in eo verti salutem gentis crederent, si cum Romanis inviolatum foedus servaretur
6 "Parva" inquit "aut mediocris res, Achaei, quibusdam videtur agi: ego maxime gravissimam omnium[1] non agi tantum arbitror sed quodam modo actam esse. Nam qui regibus Macedonum Macedonibusque ipsis finibus interdixissemus manereque id decretum sciremus, quo caveramus,[2]
7 scilicet ne legatos, ne nuntios admitteremus regum, per quos aliquorum ex nobis animi sollicitarentur, ii contionantem quodam modo absentem audimus regem, et, si dis placet, orationem eius probamus.
8 Et cum ferae bestiae cibum ad fraudem suam positum plerumque aspernentur et refugiant, nos caeci specie parvi beneficii inescamur et servulorum minimi pretii recipiendorum spe nostram ipsorum libertatem subrui
9 et temptari[3] patimur. Quis enim non videt viam regiae societatis quaeri, qua Romanum foedus, quo[4] nostra omnia continentur, violetur? Nisi hoc dubium alicui est, bellandum Romanis cum Perseo esse et, quod vivo Philippo expectatum, morte eius

[1] omnium *Fr.*: omnivmqve V.
[2] sciremus, quo caveramus *add. Vahlen.*
[3] tentari *Fr.*: temptare V.
[4] quo *Fr.*: qva V.

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[1] It is not certain how many cities again had pro-Macedonian parties, but it is reasonable to believe that the anti-Roman sentiment had thus crystallized.

Xenarchus was *strategus* in 175–174 B.C., and these events probably belong somewhat earlier than Livy represents them.

with the king, and when the majority believed that B.C. 174
it had been written in a spirit of moderation and kindliness, this being especially the view of those who were to recover, contrary to expectations, their lost slaves, Callicrates, one of those who believed that the safety of the state depended on whether the treaty with the Romans were preserved inviolate,[1] spoke as follows:

"The matter under discussion, Achaeans, appears to some to be trivial or of only moderate importance, but I for my part consider that a question by far the most serious of all is not only being decided, but somehow or other has been decided. For we who had forbidden to the kings of the Macedonians and to the Macedonians themselves admission to our territories and who knew that the decree was still in force, namely that by which we had made provision that we should not receive the ambassadors or the messengers of the kings, through whom the sentiments of some of us might be affected, we, I say, are now listening to the king who, so to say, speaks to us though absent, and (heaven help us!) we even approve his speech. And while wild beasts generally disdain and refuse food offered to entrap them, we, blind fools, are caught by the showy bait of a trifling kindness, and, in the hope of recovering some paltry slaves of the slightest value, permit our very liberty to be undermined and endangered. For who does not see that a way for an alliance with the king is being sought, whereby the Roman treaty, on which our whole fate depends, would be violated? Or is it doubtful to anybody that a war between the Romans and Perseus is inevitable, and that this war, anticipated while Philip was alive and postponed by

A.U.C. 580 interpellatum est, id post mortem Philippi futurum.
10 Duos ut scitis habuit filios Philippus, Demetrium et Persea. Genere materno, virtute, ingenio, favore
11 Macedonum longe praestitit Demetrius. Sed quia in Romanos odii regnum posuerat praemium, Demetrium nullo alio crimine quam Romanae amicitiae initae occidit; Persea, quem belli cum[1] populo Romano prius paene quam regni heredem futurum
12 sciebat, regem fecit. Itaque quid hic post mortem patris egit aliud quam bellum paravit? Bastarnas primum ad terrorem omnium in[2] Dardaniam immisit; qui si sedem eam tenuissent, graviores eos accolas
13 Graecia habuisset quam Asia Gallos habebat.[3] Ea spe depulsus non tamen belli consilia omisit; immo, si vere volumus dicere, iam incohavit bellum. Dolopiam armis subegit nec provocantes[4] de controversiis ad disceptationem populi Romani audivit. Inde transgressus Oetam, ut repente in medio umbilico Graeciae conspiceretur, Delphos ascendit.
14 Haec usurpatio itineris insoliti quo vobis spectare videtur? Thessaliam deinde peragravit; quod sine ullius eorum quos oderat noxa,[5] hoc magis tempta-
15 tionem metuo. Inde litteras ad nos cum muneris specie misit et cogitare iubet, quo modo in reliquum hoc munere non egeamus, hoc est, ut decretum,

[1] belli cum *add. Madvig.*
[2] in *add. J. F. Gronovius.*
[3] habebat *Weissenborn*: habeat V.
[4] provocantes *J. F. Gronovius*: provinciis V.
[5] noxa *Duker*: noxia V.

[1] The picture of Demetrius is in general consistent with that presented in earlier books.

his death, will come after the death of Philip? As you know, Philip had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. In birth on his mother's side, in character, in intellect, in influence with the Macedonians, Demetrius far surpassed the other.[1] But because Philip had set up the throne as a prize for hatred of the Romans, he put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than that he had cultivated the friendship of the Romans; Perseus he made king, knowing that he would inherit a war with the Roman people almost before he could inherit the throne. Accordingly, what has he done after his father's death except prepare for war? First, to the alarm of all, he turned the Bastarnae loose into Dardania, and if they had retained this district Greece would have found them neighbours more dangerous than Asia found the Gauls.[2] Disappointed in that hope, he nevertheless did not abandon his plans for the war; no: if we are willing to speak frankly, he has already begun the war. Dolopia he has overrun with arms, and when they wished to appeal in their disputes to the arbitrament of the Roman people he paid no heed.[3] Next, crossing Oeta, so that he suddenly appeared at the very navel of Greece, he climbed up to Delphi. Toward what, do you think, does this assumption of the right to travel an unaccustomed route tend? Then he traversed Thessaly; but if he did so without injuring in any way men whom he hated, all the more do I fear his scheming. Next he directed a letter to us, under pretence of doing us a service, and bids us consider how we shall not need this service in future, that is, that we shall repeal the B.C. 174

[1] Cf. XXXVIII. xlvii. 11.
[2] Cf. xxii. 4 and note above.

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16 quo arcentur Peloponneso Macedones, tollamus, rursus legatos regios et hospitia cum principibus et mox Macedonum exercitus, ipsum quoque a Delphis (quantum enim interfluit fretum?)[1] traicientem in Peloponnesum videamus, immisceamur[2] Macedoni-
17 bus armantibus se adversus Romanos. Ego nihil novi censeo decernendum servandaque omnia integra donec ad certum redigatur[3] vanusne hic timor noster
18 an verus fuerit. Si pax inviolata inter Macedonas Romanosque manebit, nobis quoque amicitia et commercium sit; nunc de eo cogitare[4] periculosum et immaturum videtur."

XXIV. Post hunc Archo, frater Xenarchi praetoris, ita disseruit: "Difficilem orationem Callicrates et
2 mihi et omnibus qui ab eo dissentimus fecit: agendo enim Romanae societatis causam ipse temptarique et oppugnari dicendo, quam nemo neque temptat neque oppugnat, effecit[5] ut qui ab se dissentiret
3 adversus Romanos dicere videretur. Ac primum omnium, tamquam non hic nobiscum fuisset, sed aut ex curia populi Romani veniret aut[6] regum arcanis interesset, omnia scit et nuntiat quae occulte facta
4 sunt. Divinat etiam quae futura fuerint,[7] si Philippus vixisset, quid ita Perseus regni heres sit, quid

[1] interfluit fretum *Kreyssig*: interfvitfretvs V.
[2] immisceamur *Sigonius*: immiscemvr V.
[3] redigatur *J. F. Gronovius*: dirigantvr V.
[4] cogitare *add. Fr.*
[5] effecit *Fr.*: efficit V.
[6] aut *Fr.*: avtcvriam V.
[7] fuerint *J. F. Gronovius*: fverant V.

decree by which Macedonians are excluded from the B.C. 174
Peloponnesus, and again see the king's ambassadors, and hospitalities exchanged with their leaders, and presently Macedonian armies and even the king himself crossing from Delphi (for how great a strait flows between us?[1]) to the Peloponnesus, and shall be mingled with the Macedonians as they arm themselves against the Romans! I vote that we shall decree nothing new but preserve everything as it is, until it shall be reduced to certainty whether our fears are false or justified. If the peace between the Macedonians and the Romans remains inviolate, let us too share the friendship and the intercourse; to plan about it now seems dangerous and premature."

XXIV. After him Archo, brother of the general Xenarchus, spoke as follows: "Difficult indeed has Callicrates made the task of speaking for me and for all of us who disagree with him; for by pleading the cause of the Roman alliance he himself, by alleging that it is being endangered and attacked, although no one is either endangering or attacking it, has brought it to pass that whoever should disagree with him would seem to be speaking against the Romans. And first of all, just as if he had not been here with us, but were either coming from the senate-house of the Roman people or were a sharer in the secrets of kings, he knows everything and reports everything which has been done in concealment. He even foretells what would have happened if Philip had lived, why Perseus became heir to the throne in such a

[1] The Corinthian Gulf between Cape Rhion on the south and across to Cape Antirrhion on the north is only one and a half miles wide.

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parent Macedones, quid cogitent Romani. Nos autem, qui nec ob quam causam nec quem ad modum perierit Demetrius scimus, nec quid Philippus si vixisset facturus fuerit,[1] ad haec, quae palam geruntur, consilia nostra accommodare oportet. Ac scimus Persea regno accepto regem a populo Romano appellatum; audimus legatos Romanos venisse ad regem Persea[2] et eos benigne exceptos. Haec omnia pacis equidem signa esse iudico non belli; nec Romanos offendi posse si ut bellum gerentes eos secuti sumus, nunc quoque pacis auctores sequamur. Cur quidem nos inexpiabile omnium soli bellum adversus regnum Macedonum geramus, non video. Opportuni[3] propinquitate ipsa Macedoniae sumus? An infirmissimi omnium, tamquam, quos nuper subegit,[4] Dolopes? Immo contra ea vel viribus nostris, deum benignitate, vel regionis intervallo tuti. Sed simus[5] aeque subiecti ac Thessali Aetolique: nihilo plus fidei auctoritatisque habemus adversus Romanos, qui semper socii atque amici fuimus, quam Aetoli, qui paulo ante hostes fuerunt? Quod Aetolis, quod Thessalis, quod Epirotis, omni denique Graeciae cum Macedonibus iuris est, idem et nobis sit. Cur execrabilis ista nobis solis velut[6] dissertio iuris

[1] fuerit *Sigonius*: fverat V.

[2] regno accepto *etc. usque ad* ad regem Persea *Fr.*: ac regno accepto a populo Romano audimus legatos Romanos venisse ad regem Persea *Kreyssig*: acceptoalegatosromanosvenisseadregemperseaadpr (*sic*) appellatvm V.

[3] opportuni *Fr.*: opportvnitate V.

[4] subegit *Kreyssig*: svbiecit V.

way, what preparations the Macedonians are making, B.C. 174
what the Romans are considering. But we who know neither for what reason or in what manner Demetrius died nor what Philip would have done if he had lived, ought to adjust our decision to those events which are taking place in full view. And we do know that Perseus, having gained the throne, was saluted as king by the Roman people: we hear that Roman ambassadors came to King Perseus and that they were courteously received. All these things I, for my part, interpret as signs of peace, not war; nor can the Romans be offended if, as we followed them in waging war, we now follow them likewise as sponsors of peace. Why indeed we, alone of men, should wage unrelenting war against the Kingdom of the Macedonians, I do not see. Are we vulnerable because of our very proximity to Macedonia? Or are we, like the Dolopians whom he has just subdued, the weakest of all mortals? No, on the contrary, by the grace of the gods, either our own strength or the distance which separates us makes us secure. Grant that we are as much at the mercy of the king as the Thessalians, and the Aetolians; have we no more credit and standing in the eyes of the Romans, we who have always been their allies and friends, than the Aetolians, who but a short time ago were their enemies? Whatever rights exist between the Macedonians and the Aetolians, the Thessalians, the Epirotes, in a word, all Greece, let us also possess. Why should we alone experience that accursed loosen-

[5] simus *Walch*: svmvs V.

[6] idem et nobis sit. Cur execrabilis ista nobis solis velut *Fr.*: idemetnobissitcvmexecrabilisistanobissitcvrexecrabilisistanobissolis V.

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11 humani est? Fecerit aliquid Philippus cur adversus eum armatum et bellum gerentem hoc decerneremus; quid Perseus, novus rex, omnis iniuriae insons, suo beneficio paternas simultates obliterans, meruit,
12 cur soli omnium hostes ei simus?[1] Quamquam et illud dicere poteram, tanta priorum Macedoniae regum merita erga nos fuisse, ut Philippi unius iniurias, si quae forte fuerunt, utique post mortem
13 obliterent. Non venit in mentem,[2] cum classis Romana Cenchreis staret,[3] consul cum exercitu Elatiae esset, triduum nos in concilio fuisse consultantes
14 utrum Romanos an Philippum sequeremur? Nihil metus praesens ab Romanis sententias nostras inclinarit: fuit certe tamen aliquid, quod tam longam deliberationem faceret;[4] idque[5] erat vetusta coniunctio cum Macedonibus, vetera et magna in
15 nos regum merita. Valeant et nunc eadem illa, non ut praecipue amici, sed ne praecipue inimici simus. Ne id, quod non agitur, Callicrates, simulaverimus agi. Nemo novae societatis aut novi foederis, quo
16 nos temere illigemus, conscribendi est auctor; sed commercium tantum iuris praebendi repetendique sit, ne interdictione finium nostrorum nos quoque terminis regni[6] arceamus; ne servis nostris aliquo fugere liceat—quid hoc adversus Romana foedera

[1] simus *J. F. Gronovius:* svmvs V.
[2] obliterent non venit in mentem *add. Wesenberg.*
[3] Cenchreis staret *Sigonius:* cencristaberet (*sic*) V.
[4] faceret *ed. Vascosana:* fecerat V.
[5] idque *Hartel:* idqvod V.
[6] nostrorum nos quoque terminis regni *Vahlen:* nostrosqvvqveetnossegni V.

[1] Cf. XXXII. xix–xxiii.

ing, so to speak, of human ties? Assume that Philip has done something for which we should pass this decree against him when he was armed and waging war; what has Perseus deserved, a new king, innocent of all wrong, who now wipes out by his kindness the memory of his father's quarrels, that we alone of all men should be his enemies? And yet I might have said even this, that so great were the benefits conferred upon us by former kings of Macedonia that they, especially now that he is dead, wipe out the memory of wrongs committed by Philip alone, if perchance there were such. Does it not come to mind that when the Roman fleet lay at Cenchreae and the consul with his army was at Elatia, we spent three days in the council deliberating whether we should follow the Romans or Philip?[1] Grant that no immediate fear of the Romans affected our judgment: there was certainly something, nevertheless, which caused so long consideration; and this was our long-standing association with the Macedonians and the ancient and great services rendered us by their kings. Let the ancient arguments prevail even now, not to make us conspicuously their friends, but to prevent our being conspicuously their enemies. Let us not pretend, Callicrates, that the question is being settled which is not being settled. No one counsels us to make a new alliance or conclude a new treaty by which we may without knowing it entangle ourselves in difficulties; only intercourse of proffering and receiving justice, and that we shall not exclude ourselves from the territory of the kingdom by barring our frontiers to them; that it may not be permitted our slaves to flee anywhere—how is that against the Roman treaties? B.C. 174

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17 est? Quid rem parvam et apertam magnam et suspectam facimus? Quid vanos tumultus ciemus?
18 Quid, ut ipsi locum adsentandi Romanis habeamus, suspectos alios et invisos efficimus?[1] Si bellum erit,[2] ne Perseus quidem dubitat quin Romanos secuturi simus;[3] in pace, etiam si non odia[4] finiuntur, intermittantur."
19 Cum iidem huic orationi qui litteris regis assensi erant assentirentur, indignatione principum, quod, quam rem ne legatione quidem dignam iudicasset Perseus, litteris paucorum versuum impetraret,[5]
20 decretum differtur. Legati deinde postea missi ab rege, cum Megalopoli concilium esset, dataque opera est ab iis, qui offensionem apud Romanos timebant, ne admitterentur.

XXV. Per haec tempora Aetolorum in semet ipsos versus furor mutuis caedibus ad internecionem adduc-
2 turus videbatur gentem. Fessi deinde et Romam utraque pars miserunt legatos et inter se ipsi de reconcilianda concordia agebant; quae novo facinore
3 discussa res veteres etiam iras excitavit. Exulibus Hypataeis, qui factionis Proxeni[6] erant, cum reditus in patriam promissus esset fidesque data per principem
4 civitatis Eupolemum, octoginta illustres homines, quibus redeuntibus inter ceteram multitudinem Eupolemus etiam obvius exierat, cum salutatione

[1] et invisos efficimus *Heraeus*: invisosvfficimvs V.
[2] erit *Fr.*: erat V.
[3] simus *Fr.*: svmvs V.
[4] odia *Fr.*: odio V.
[5] impetraret *J. F. Gronovius*: imperaret V.
[6] Proxeni *Fr.*: proximi V.

Why do we turn a slight and open matter into one B.C. 174
that is important and suspicious? Why do we stir up groundless alarms? Why, in order that we may have an opportunity to flatter the Romans, do we bring others under suspicion and distrust? If there is to be war not even Perseus doubts that we will follow the Romans; in peace, even if hatreds are not ended, let them be suspended."

When the same persons who had applauded the king's letter applauded this speech, on account of the indignation of the chiefs, that what Perseus did not deem deserving even of an embassy he should secure by means of a letter a few lines long, the decree was deferred. Later on ambassadors were sent by the king, at the time when the council was meeting at Megalopolis, and precautions were taken by the party which feared that the Romans would take offence, that they should not be received.

XXV. At this time the rage of the Aetolians, being turned upon themselves, seemed likely, as they murdered one another, to bring the whole people to extermination. Then, as they grew wearied, each faction sent ambassadors to Rome, and of their own accord negotiated with one another regarding the restoration of harmony; this effort, broken up by a new crime, reawakened the old passions. When exiles from Hypata, who belonged to the party of Proxenus, had been promised restoration to their city and a public safeguard had been promised them by Eupolemus,[1] the chief of the city, eighty distinguished men, whom Eupolemus with the rest of the population had even gone out to meet on

[1] Eupolemus was *strategus* in 176–175 B.C., and the trouble may have occurred then, not in 174 B.C., when Livy reports it.

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benigna excepti essent dextraeque datae, ingredientes portam, fidem datam deosque testis nequiquam invocantes [1] interfecti sunt. Inde gravius de integro
5 bellum exarsit. C. Valerius Laevinus et Ap. Claudius Pulcher et C. Memmius et M. Popilius et L. Canuleius
6 missi ab senatu venerant. Apud eos cum Delphis utriusque partis legati magno certamine agerent,[2] Proxenus maxime cum causa tum eloquentia praestare visus est; qui paucos post dies ab Orthobula uxore veneno est sublatus; damnataque eo crimine
7 in exilium abiit. Idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat. Adventu deinde Q. Minuci legati, qui cum decem navibus missus ad sedanda eorum certamina erat, ad [3] spem pacis venerant. Ceterum indutiae tantum sex mensum fuerunt; inde multo gravius bellum
8 exarsit. Lycii quoque per idem tempus ab Rhodiis bello vexabantur. Sed externorum inter se bella, quo quaeque modo gesta sint,[4] persequi non operae est satis superque oneris sustinenti res a populo Romano gestas perscribere.[5]

XXVI. Celtiberi in Hispania, qui bello domiti se Ti. Graccho dediderant, pacati manserant M.

[1] invocantes *Fr.*: vocantes V.
[2] agerent *Curio*: egervnt V.
[3] ad *add. Hertz.*
[4] sint *Wesenberg*: svnt V.
[5] perscribere *Harant*: resscribere V.

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[1] The relation of the embassy mentioned in xxii. 3 above to this is unknown.

[2] Livy's vagueness in relating these events probably indicates a lack of actual knowledge of them. He seems to see no connection even between the last war mentioned and the Lycian embassy which he reported at vi. 8–12 above.

their return, although they were received with B.C. 174
courteous addresses and hand-clasps, as they entered the gate appealing in vain to the assurances of safety given and to the gods, were slain. In consequence of this a more serious war flared up afresh. Gaius Valerius Laevinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Gaius Memmius, Marcus Popilius, and Lucius Canuleius, sent by the senate, had arrived.[1] When representatives of both factions spoke before them at Delphi with great contentiousness, Proxenus seemed to outstrip the rest, both in the merit of his cause and in eloquence; a few days later he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula; and she being condemned on that charge, went into exile. The same madness rent the Cretans too. The arrival of Quintus Minucius the commissioner, who had been sent with ten ships to quell their contentions, then brought them to the hope of peace. But the truce was for six months only; then a much more serious war flared up. The Lycians also at this time were being harassed in war by the Rhodians. But the wars which foreign nations waged among themselves and the manner in which they were conducted, it is not worth while to relate in detail, since I carry enough and too much of a burden in describing in full the achievements of the Roman people.[2]

XXVI. The Celtiberians in Spain, who had surrendered to Tiberius Gracchus[3] after their defeat in the war, had remained quiet while Marcus Titinius[4]

[3] Gracchus went to Spain in 179 B.C. (XL. xlvii. 1); his return and triumph in 177 B.C. were reported at vi. 4 and vii. 2 above.

[4] Titinius was one of the unnamed praetors for 178 B.C. (XL. ix. 5).

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Titinio praetore obtinente[1] provinciam. Rebellarunt sub adventum Ap. Claudi orsique bellum sunt ab repentina oppugnatione castrorum Romanorum. 2 Prima lux ferme erat, cum vigiles in vallo quique in portarum stationibus erant, cum vidissent procul 3 venientem hostem, ad arma conclamaverunt. Ap. Claudius, signo proposito pugnae ac paucis adhortatus milites, tribus simul portis eduxit. Obsistentibus ad exitum Celtiberis primo par utrimque proelium fuit, quia propter angustias non omnes in faucibus 4 pugnare poterant Romani; urguentes deinde alii alios secuti ubi[2] evaserunt extra vallum, ut pandere aciem et exaequari cornibus hostium[3] quibus circumibantur possent ita repente inruperunt ut sustinere 5 impetum eorum Celtiberi nequirent. Ante horam secundam pulsi sunt; ad quindecim milia caesa aut[4] capta, signa adempta duo et triginta. Castra etiam eo die expugnata debellatumque; nam qui superfuere proelio, in oppida sua dilapsi sunt. Quieti deinde paruerunt imperio.

XXVII. Censores eo anno creati Q. Fulvius Flaccus et A. Postumius Albinus legerunt senatum; princeps lectus M. Aemilius Lepidus pontifex maximus. 2 De senatu novem eiecerunt; insignes notae fuerunt M. Corneli Maluginensis, qui biennio[5] ante praetor

[1] obtinente *Fr.*: oppvgnante V.
[2] ubi *add. Weissenborn.*
[3] hostium *J. F. Gronovius*: hostibvs V.
[4] caesa aut *add. Fr.*
[5] biennio *Fr.*: sibiennio V.

held the province as praetor. They rebelled on the arrival of Appius Claudius [1] and began the war by a surprise attack on the Roman camp. It was about daybreak, when the sentinels were on the rampart and the outposts were on guard at the gates, that they saw the enemy coming afar off and called the troops to arms. Appius Claudius, after displaying the signal for battle and briefly exhorting the troops, led them out by three gates at once. The Celtiberians met them as they came out, and at first there was a drawn battle, since on account of the narrow space not all the Romans could fight in the entrance; then, as they pressed forward one on another, when they had forced their way out beyond the rampart in order that they might extend their line and form it to meet the flanks of the enemy by which they were being surrounded, they burst out so suddenly that the Celtiberians were unable to withstand the charge. Before the second hour they were repulsed; about fifteen thousand were killed or captured, and thirty-two standards were taken. The camp was also captured that day and the war was over: for those who survived the battle scattered to their towns. Thereafter they quietly submitted to authority. B.C. 174

XXVII. The censors who were elected that year, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, chose the members of the senate; as *princeps senatus* Marcus Aemilius Lepidus the chief pontiff was chosen. They expelled nine from the senate. The conspicuous victims of the censure were Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who

[1] The election of Claudius as praetor in 175 B.C. was presumably recorded in the lost text of chap. xviii.

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in Hispania fuerat, et L. Corneli Scipionis praetoris, cuius tum inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, et L. Fulvi, qui frater germanus et, ut Valerius Antias 3 tradit, consors etiam censoris [1] erat. Consules votis in [2] Capitolio nuncupatis in provincias profecti sunt. Ex iis M. Aemilio senatus negotium dedit ut Patavinorum in Venetia seditionem comprimeret, quos certamine factionum ad intestinum bellum exarsisse 4 et ipsorum legati attulerant. Legati, qui in Aetoliam ad similes motus comprimendos ierant, renuntiarunt coerceri rabiem gentis non posse. Patavinis saluti fuit adventus consulis; neque aliud quod ageret [3] 5 in provincia cum habuisset, Romam redit. Censores vias sternendas silice in urbe, glarea extra urbem substruendas marginandasque primi omnium lo-

[1] censoris *Fr.*: consortis V.
[2] votis in *Crévier*: votisetiametiamin V.
[3] ageret *Fr.*: agere V.

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[1] In xv. 10 above Cornelius is represented as having evaded going to Spain, and Livy or a scribe, forgetting the fact, assumed that he had actually gone. Possibly his expulsion from the senate was due to suspicion or certainty that he had perjured himself; possibly it was due to an anti-Scipionic crusade: see also the next note.

[2] In viii. 1 Livy reported the election of Cn. Cornelius Scipio as praetor for 177 B.C. Valerius Maximus (IV. v. 3) has an anecdote of the election of Cn. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Africanus, and speaks of him as holding a judicial assignment, whereas the praetor of 177 B.C. was in Gaul. It is therefore impossible to be certain which, if either, was the son of Africanus. The basis for the expulsion of this Scipio is unknown. His election was mentioned in the lost portion of chap. xx.

two years before had been praetor in Spain,[1] and B.C. 174
Lucius Cornelius Scipio the praetor, who at the time exercised jurisdiction over cases between citizens and aliens,[2] and Lucius Fulvius who was own brother to the censor and, as Valerius Antias writes, held their father's property jointly with the censor.[3] The consuls, after publicly proclaiming their vows on the Capitoline, departed to their provinces. To one of them, Marcus Aemilius,[4] the senate had entrusted the task of suppressing a revolt of the people of Patavium in Venetia, since even their own ambassadors had reported that civil war had flared up in consequence of the rivalry of factions. The ambassasors who had gone to Aetolia to repress similar disturbances reported that the madness of the people could not be checked. The consul's arrival was the cause of safety to the people of Patavium; since he had nothing else to do in the province, he returned to Rome. The censors first of all let contracts for paving the streets in the City with flint,[5] and for laying the bases of roads outside the City with gravel and constructing footpaths along

[3] The censor of this year was consul in 179 B.C. (a cousin of the same name was consul in 180 B.C.). Each of them seems to have had a brother Marcus, the brother of the consul of 180 B.C. perhaps having the *cognomen* Nobilior (XL. xli. 7–10 and the note). Possibly, however, Nobilior, who was banished in 180 B.C., is the man who is here referred to with the *praenomen* Lucius; he may have been expelled from the senate in 175 B.C. (XL. li. 1). Velleius (I. x. 6) calls him Fulvius Gnaeus, while Valerius Maximus (II. vii. 5) mentions him without the *praenomen*.

[4] Aemilius was consul in 175 B.C. not in 174 B.C., and Livy is in error as to the name or as to the date.

[5] The first paving outside of Rome was recorded XXXVIII. xxviii. 3; this is the first within the city.

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caverunt, pontesque multis locis faciendos; et
6 scaenam [1] aedilibus practoribusque praebendam; et carceres in circo, et ova ad notas [2] curriculis numerandis . . . dam, et metas trans . . . et caveas ferreas, per quas intromitterentur . . . feriis [3] in
7 monte Albano consulibus, et clivum Capitolinum silice sternendum curaverunt, et porticum ab aede Saturni in Capitolium ad senaculum, ac super id
8 curiam. Et extra portam Trigeminam emporium lapide straverunt stipitibusque saepserunt, et porticum Aemiliam reficiendam curarunt, gradibusque
9 ascensum ab Tiberi in emporium fecerunt. Et intra [4] eandem portam in Aventinum porticum silice straverunt, et . . . [5] ab aede Veneris fecerunt.

[1] et scaenam *Fr.*: etaescenam V.
[2] *hic alibique lacunae agnoscuntur, margine cod. abscissa.*
[3] feriis *Sigonius*: ferreis V.
[4] intra *Perizonius*: extra V.
[5] *in* V *legimus* eo publico, *sed locus corruptus nondum sanatus est; de cliuo Publicio cogitauit Perizonius; rem integram reliqui.*

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[1] Their location is unknown; no bridges within Rome are traceable to this censorship.

[2] These magistrates presided over games at which dramatic performances were given.

[3] The text of this passage has suffered in various places, and no satisfactory restorations have been proposed for most of the lacunae. I have added nothing to complete the sense except "the wild beasts." The *carceres* were built at the end of the race-track, so placed as to give each contestant an equal opportunity to gain the inside track. The *ova* were arranged on the spina, and one was taken down as each lap in the race was run. The *metae* marked the points around which the chariots were to go. The single syllable *dam* is entirely unintelligible.

[4] The loss of the context leaves *consulibus* without a sense, and makes the entire clause doubtful in meaning.

their edges, and for the construction of bridges in many places;[1] also a stage to be placed at the disposal of the aediles and praetors;[2] stalls too in the Circus, and egg-shaped markers to designate the laps . . . and turning-points across . . . and iron cages through which the wild beasts might be let in . . .[3] the festival on the Alban Mount . . .,[4] and they arranged for the pavement with flint of the Clivus Capitolinus[5] and for the construction of a portico from the temple of Saturn to the assembly-room of the senators on the Capitoline,[6] and, above it, to the Curia. And outside the Porta Trigemina they paved the warehouse with stone and enclosed it with paling, and they contracted for repairs to the portico of Aemilius,[7] and built a stairway from the Tiber to the warehouse.[8] And within the same gate they paved with flint the portico leading to the Aventine, and they built . . . from the temple of Venus.[9] The same censors contracted for the con- B.C. 174

[5] This was the steep ascent from the Forum to the Capitoline.

[6] The meaning is uncertain, but would seem to require two porticoes, one following the line of the Clivus Capitolinus, one branching off from it and running northward along the face or at the foot of the Capitoline, and reaching the area occupied by the temple of Concord or the Comitium. Possibly there were a *senaculum* and a *curia*.

[7] Cf. XXXV. x. 12; on the Capitoline (for the *comitia curiata*).

[8] This area lay at the south-west corner of the Aventine, along the Tiber.

[9] If the phrase found in V. *eo publico* (see the critical note) is derived from the corruption of *clivo Publicio*, the temple of Vesta might be the one referred to in XXIX. xxxvii. 2 as in the *forum boarium*, whence the *clivus Publicius* led to the Aventine.

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10 Idem Calatiae et Auximi muros faciendos locaverunt; venditisque ibi publicis locis pecuniam, quae redacta [1] erat, tabernis utrique foro circumdandis consump-
11 serunt. Et alter ex iis Fulvius Flaccus—nam Postumius nihil nisi senatus Romani populive iussu se locaturum edixit [2]—ipsorum pecunia Iovis aedem Pisauri et Fundis et Potentiae etiam aquam adducen-
12 dam, et Pisauri viam silice sternendam, et Sinuessae magalia addenda [3] . . . aviariae in his et cloacas et murum circumducendum . . . et forum porticibus [4] tabernisque claudendum et Ianos tres faciendos.
13 Haec ab uno censore opera locata cum magna gratia colonorum. Moribus quoque regendis diligens et severa censura fuit. Multis equi adempti.

XXVIII. Exitu prope anni diem unum supplicatio fuit ob res prospere gestas in Hispania ductu auspicioque Ap. [5] Claudi proconsulis; et maioribus
2 hostiis viginti sacrificatum. Et alterum diem supplicatio ad Cereris, Liberi Liberaeque fuit, quod ex Sabinis terrae motus ingens cum multis aedificiorum

[1] redacta *Fr.*: redvcta V.
[2] edixit *add. Madvig.*
[3] magalia addenda *Roth*: maca V *Vid. quae dixi de notis* § 6 *supra.*
[4] porticibus *Fr.*: etporticvs V.
[5] Ap. *Fr.*: apvt V.

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[1] According to Weissenborn the words *Iovis aedem* should be construed with both *Fundis* and *Potentiae*: cf. XL. xli. 6.

[2] Or possibly "huts," "hutments." *magalia* and *mapalia* were Punic words, or the same Punic word, for huts or small dwellings. *magalia* was also used for the suburbs of Carthage. There may be a connection between *magalia* here and the word *aviariae* (which is not here translated); for Cato speaks of

struction of walls at Calatia and Auximum; and after B.C. 174
selling the public land there, the money which had been collected they devoted to building shops around the forum in each town. Also one of them, Fulvius Flaccus—for Postumius had announced that he would let no contract without the order of the Roman senate or assembly—with the money allotted to them contracted for a temple of Jupiter at Pisaurum and at Fundi,[1] and for conducting water to Potentia also, and for paving with flint a street at Pisaurum and at Sinuessa for the construction of suburbs[2] . . . in them, for both sewers and a surrounding wall . . . and a forum, to be enclosed by porticoes and shops, and for the erection of three statues of Janus. These contracts were let by the one censor to the great satisfaction of the colonists.[3] In the supervision of morals the censorship was careful and strict. The horses of many were taken away.[4]

XXVIII. At about the end of the year there was a day of thanksgiving on account of the successes in Spain under the leadership and auspices of Appius Claudius the proconsul, and twenty full-grown victims were sacrificed. There was also a second day of prayer at the temples of Ceres, Liber and Libera, because from Sabine territory there came the news of a severe earthquake causing many buildings to

" magalia " as *cohortes rotundae*, and a *cohors* is a cattle-pen or a poultry-pen. Cf. Cato in Servius on Virgil *Aen.* i. 421 (E. H. Warmington).

[3] The colonies were Pisaurum, Potentia, and Sinuessa, and possibly the three statues were erected there.

[4] Cf. XXXIX. xliv. 1 etc. The censorship was particularly active in the construction of new buildings, despite the apparent conservatism of Postumius; see Tenney Frank, *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome*, Vol. I. ch. iii. p. 185.

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3 ruinis nuntiatus erat. Cum Ap. Claudius ex Hispania Romam redisset, decrevit senatus ut ovans urbem
4 iniret. Iam consularia comitia appetebant; quibus magna contentione habitis propter multitudinem petentium creati L. Postumius Albinus et M. Popilius
5 Laenas. Praetores inde facti N. Fabius Buteo C. Matienus C. Cicereius M. Furius Crassipes iterum A. Atilius Serranus iterum C. Cluvius Saxula iterum.
6 Comitiis perfectis Ap. Claudius Cento ex Celtiberis ovans cum in urbem iniret, decem milia pondo
7 argenti, quinque milia auri in aerarium tulit. Flamen Dialis inauguratus est Cn. Cornelius.
8 Eodem anno tabula in aede Matris Matutae cum indice hoc posita est.: " Ti. Semproni Gracchi consulis imperio auspicioque legio exercitusque populi Romani Sardiniam subegit. In ea provincia hostium
9 caesa aut capta supra octoginta milia. Re publica felicissime gesta atque liberatis sociis,[1] vectigalibus restitutis exercitum salvum atque incolumem plenissimum praeda domum reportavit; iterum triumphans in urbem Romam redit. Cuius rei ergo
10 hanc tabulam donum Iovi dedit." Sardiniae insulae forma erat, atque [2] in ea simulacra pugnarum picta.
11 Munera gladiatorum eo anno aliquot, parva alia,

[1] sociis *add. Sigonius.*
[2] atque *Fr.*: avtqve V.

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[1] Furius was praetor in 187 B.C. (XXXVIII. xlii. 4), Atilius in 192 B.C. (XXXV. x. 11), Cluvius perhaps in 175 B.C., his election having been reported in the lost section of chap. xviii above: at least there is no vacancy in earlier years. In that case the normal interval between terms of the same office was not observed (VII. xlii. 7).

collapse. When Appius Claudius had returned from B.C. 174
Spain to Rome, the senate decreed that he should enter the city in ovation. The consular election was now at hand; when this was held with great contention because of the large number of candidates, Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Laenas were chosen. Next the praetors were elected, Numerius Fabius Buteo, Gaius Matienus, Gaius Cicereius, Marcus Furius Crassipes, Aulus Atilius Serranus, Gaius Cluvius Saxula (the last three each for the second time).[1] When the elections were over and Appius Claudius Cento entered the City in ovation over the Celtiberians, he deposited in the treasury ten thousand pounds of silver and five thousand of gold. Gnaeus Cornelius was inaugurated as *flamen Dialis*.

In the same year a tablet was set up in the temple of Mater Matuta with this inscription: "Under the command and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus the legion and army of the Roman people conquered Sardinia. In this province more than eighty thousand of the enemy were slain or captured.[2] The state having been most successfully administered and the allies set free, the revenues restored, he brought back home the army safe and secure and enriched with booty; for the second time he entered the city of Rome in triumph. In commemoration of this event he set up this tablet to Jupiter." It had the form of the island of Sardinia, and on it representations of battles were painted.

Many gladiatorial games were given that year, some of them unimportant; one was noteworthy

[2] Slaves were the only booty, according to Festus (p. 322), and they became proverbial for their cheapness.

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data; unum ante cetera insigne fuit T. Flaminini, quod mortis causa patris sui cum visceratione epuloque et ludis scaenicis quadriduum dedit. Magni tum[1] muneris ea summa fuit quod per triduum quattuor et septuaginta homines pugnarint.

[1] tum *Walch*: tamen V, *fortasse rectius*.

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[1] Nothing is known of the career of the liberator of Greece after his embassy to Prusias in 183 B.C. (XXXIX. li. 1 ff.), and his death may have occurred at this time.

beyond the rest, that of Titus Flaminiuus, which B.C. 174
he gave to commemorate the death of his father,[1]
lasted four days, and was accompanied by a public
distribution of meats, a banquet and scenic per-
formances. The climax of a show which was big
for that time was that in three days seventy-four
gladiators fought.[2]

[1] While the number of gladiators was large for the time, it was so small in comparison with later games as to deserve mention.

There is no trace of loss at the end of Book XL, and the account of the Voconian law, mentioned in the *Periocha*, must have been found in some lost section, if the *Periocha* is correct.

PERIOCHA LIBRI XLI

IGNIS in aede Vestae extinctus est. Tib. Sempronius Gracchus pro cos. Celtiberos victos in deditionem accepit, monumentumque operum suorum Gracchurim oppidum in Hispania constituit; et a Postumio Albino pro cos. Vaccaei ac Lusitani subacti sunt. Uterque triumphavit. Antiochus, Antiochi filius, obses a patre Romanis datus mortuo fratre Seleuco, qui patri defuncto successerat, in regnum Syriae ab urbe dimissus. Qui praeter religionem, qua multa templa magnifica multis locis erexit,[1] Athenis Iovis Olympii et Antiochiae Capitolini,[2] vilissimum regem

[1] qui praeter . . . regem egit *hic e fine periochae transposuit Gronovius, qui* qua *posuit*: quam *codd*; locis erexit *Gronovianus et ed. princeps*: sociis *cum lacuna codd. alii, recepit,* fecit *addens, Rossbach, quem alibi secutus sum.*

[2] Capitolini *add. Sigonius*: *om. codd.*

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[1] The asterisk indicates that the events described in the following sentence were related in a lost portion of the book.

[2] Another instance of this ominous occurrence is related in XXVIII. xi. 6, and Valerius Maximus I. 1. 6 (206 B.C.); a general discussion of the going out and rekindling of the fire is given by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, II. 66. 3.

[3] Gracchus and Albinus were, strictly speaking, praetors, but Livy uses the term "proconsul" freely for the praetors who governed Spain, cf. XLII. iii. 1 with XLII. x. 5.

[4] The town had existed previously under the name of Ilurcis (Festus Pauli ed. K. O. Müller, p. 97, s.v. Gracchuris). Later it had Latin rights (Pliny, *Natural History* III. 24)

SUMMARY OF BOOK XLI

[1] *The fire in the temple of Vesta went out.[2] *The proconsul [3] Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus conquered and received the surrender of the Celtiberians, and as a monument to his labours established a town, Gracchuris,[4] in Spain; also the Vaccaei and Lusitanians were subdued by the proconsul Postumius Albinus. Both celebrated triumphs. *Antiochus, son of Antiochus, who had been given to the Romans as a hostage by his father, on the death of his brother Seleucus, who had succeeded as king on their father's decease, was sent back from the City to the throne of Syria.[5] Apart from his piety, because of which he built many grand temples in many places—at Athens, the temple of Jupiter Olympius, and at Antioch, that of Jupiter Capitolinus—he played a very tawdry rôle

and coined its own money. Its citizens are mentioned in the Fragment of Bk. XCI, and it also appears in the late geographical works.

[5] This was Antiochus IV Epiphanes, son of Antiochus III the Great (*d.* 187 B.C.). According to Appian, *Syrian Wars* ch. viii. 45, he was released from Rome by his brother Seleucus IV, who sent his son Demetrius to replace Antiochus. The ex-hostage spent some time in Athens on his way home, receiving honours and making himself agreeable, particularly in the matter of the temple of Zeus Olympius, begun under Peisistratus and only finished, in spite of the munificence of Antiochus, by Hadrian. At this time Antiochus probably gave the golden aegis with the Gorgon which Pausanias (V. xii. 4) saw above the theatre. Antiochus established himself on the throne in 175 B.C. by driving out a usurper, Heliodorus, who had murdered Seleucus; the kingdom of Pergamum assisted Antiochus at this time.

egit. Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita CCLVIII[1] CCXCIIII. Q. Voconius[2] Saxa tribunus plebis legem tulit, ne quis mulierem heredem institueret. Suasit legem M. Cato. Exstat oratio eius. Praeterea res adversus Liguras et Histros et Sardos et Celtiberos a compluribus ducibus prospere gestas et initia belli Macedonici continet, quod Perseus Philippi filius moliebatur. Miserat ad Carthaginienses legationem, et ab his nocte audita erat. Sed et alias Graeciae civitates sollicitabat.

[1] *At ed. princeps* CCLXIII CCXCIIII *praebet.*
[2] Voconius *Sigonius*: Volonius *N.*

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[1] Polybius (XXVI. 1a and 1) seems to have been the source for Livy's description of Antiochus (cf. ch. xx. of this book); Polybius XXVI. 1. 10–11 is closely parallel to this statement of the Periocha.

[2] The figure is variously given in the MSS.; in view of the statement in XLII. x. that the next census figures were "somewhat less" because of the elimination of Latin pretenders to Roman citizenship, I should prefer the larger figure as given in the critical note. Other activities of these censors are described in XL. li–lii.

[3] The first provision of this law seems to have run: "ne quis heredem virginem neve mulierem faceret" (Augustine, *De Civitate Dei* III. 21) and it applied to those listed in the census as having 100,000 *asses* or more (Cicero, *Second Verrine Oration* I, chs. 41–45), although Dio Cassius LVI. 10 gives the sum as 25,000 drachmas = 100,000 sesterces, or twice Cicero's sum, which may have been changed by judicial interpretation in the course of time. The Vestal Virgins were exempt, and might devise as they chose (Cicero, *De Republica*, III. 10).

as king.[1] *The five-year period was brought to an end by the censors; there were enumerated as citizens 258,294 persons.[2] *Quintus Voconius Saxa, tribune of the people, carried a law that no one should make a woman his heir.[3] *Marcus Cato advocated the law. *His speech survives.[4] Moreover, the book covers successful campaigns by several leaders against the Ligurians, Histrians, Sardinians, and Celtiberians, as well as the beginnings of the Macedonian War, which Perseus, the son of Philip, was pushing forward. He had sent an embassy to the Carthaginians, and it had been heard by them at night. Then too, he kept making overtures to the other states of Greece.

However, legacies might be made to women, and their share, if there was no will, was not limited (Cicero, *loc. cit.*). The law continued: ne cui plus legatorum nomine mortisve causa capere liceret quam heredes caperent, si plus legarit quam ad heredem heredesve perveniat (Gaius II. 226), *i.e.*, probably no single legatee might receive more than the residual estate falling to the heir or heirs. This second part of the Voconian Law became obsolete with the subsequent growth of huge fortunes, and was superseded by the Falcidian Law of 40 B.C.; the prohibition of heirship by women seems to have become a dead letter after about A.D. 100 (latest reference in Pliny, *Panegyric* 42).

[4] A fragment of Cato's speech is preserved in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XVII. 6: "In the beginning the woman brought you a great dowry; then she holds back a large sum of money, which she does not entrust to the control of her husband, but lends it to her husband. Later, becoming angry with him, she orders a slave whom she has reserved as her own to hound him and demand the money," tr. Rolfe, L.C.L.; the rendering of *servum recepticium* (the phrase for the sake of explaining which Gellius quoted the fragment, has been altered).

BOOK XLII

LIBER XLII

a.u.c. 581

I. L. Postumius Albinus M. Popilius Laenas consules [1] cum omnium primum de provinciis et [2] exercitibus ad senatum rettulissent, Ligures utrique decreti sunt, ut novas ambo quibus eam provinciam obtinerent legiones—binae singulis decretae—et socium Latini nominis dena milia peditum et sescenos [3] equites, et supplementum Hispaniae tria milia peditum Romanorum scriberent et ducentos equites. Ad hoc mille et quingenti pedites Romani cum centum equitibus [4] scribi iussi, cum quibus praetor cui Sardinia obtigisset in Corsicam transgressus bellum gereret; interim M. Atilius, vetus praetor, provinciam obtineret Sardiniam. Praetores deinde provincias sortiti sunt, A. Atilius Serranus urbanam, C. Cluvius Saxula inter cives et peregrinos, N.[5] Fabius Buteo Hispaniam citeriorem, M. Matienus ulteriorem, M. Furius Crassipes Siciliam, C. Cicereius Sardiniam. Priusquam in provincias [6] magistratus proficiscerentur, senatui placuit, L. Postumium consulem ad agrum publicum a privato terminandum

[1] consules *add. Luchs*: *om.* V.
[2] et *add. Vahlen*: exsercitibus V.
[3] sescenos *Drakenborch*: sescentos V.
[4] equitibus *Fr.*: equitibus $\overline{CC}$ V.
[5] N. *Sigonius*: cn. V.
[6] provincias *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.

BOOK XLII

I. WHEN the consuls Lucius Postumius Albinus and B.C. 173
Marcus Popilius Laenas had first of all referred to the senate the question of the provinces and the armies, the Ligurians were decreed to them both, with the provision that they should each enlist legions with which to hold this province—two were decreed to each—and for each also ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin confederacy, and as a reinforcement for Spain three thousand Roman infantry and two hundred cavalry. It was also ordered that fifteen hundred Roman infantry and one hundred cavalry be enrolled, taking whom the praetor to whose lot Sardinia should have fallen was to cross to Corsica to prosecute the war there; in the meantime Marcus Atilius, the old praetor, was to hold the province of Sardinia. The praetors then cast lots for the provinces. The civil jurisdiction was received by Aulus Atilius Serranus, that between citizens and aliens by Gaius Cluvius Saxula, Farther Spain by Numerius Fabius Buteo, Nearer Spain by Marcus Matienus, Sicily by Marcus Furius Crassipes, Sardinia by Gaius Cicereius. The senate decreed that before the magistrates departed for their provinces, Lucius Postumius the consul should proceed to Campania to determine the boundaries between the public and private lands,

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in Campaniam ire, cuius ingentem modum possidere
7 privatos paulatim proferendo fines constabat. Hic iratus Praenestinis, quod, cum eo privatus [1] sacrificii [2] in templo Fortunae faciendi causa profectus esset, nihil in se honorifice neque publice neque privatim factum a Praenestinis esset, priusquam ab Roma proficisceretur, litteras Praeneste misit ut s[illegible]i magistratus obviam exiret, locum publice pararent [3] ubi deverteretur, iumentaque cum exiret inde praesto
8 essent.[4] Ante hunc consulem nemo umquam sociis
9 in ulla re oneri aut sumptui fuit. Ideo magistratus mulis tabernaculisque et omni alio instrumento militari ornabantur, ne quid tale imperarent sociis.
10 Privata hospitia habebant; ea benigne comiterque colebant, domusque eorum Romae hospitibus pate-
11 bant, apud quos ipsis deverti mos esset. Legati qui repente aliquo [5] mitterentur singula iumenta per oppida, iter qua faciendum erat, imperabant; aliam impensam socii in magistratus Romanos non faciebant.
12 Ira [6] consulis etiamsi iusta, non tamen in magistratu

[1] privatus *Fr.*: priuatas V.
[2] *inter* privatus(-as) *et* sacrificii, *iterum* paulatim—priuatus (*sic*) *scripsit* V, *quae del.* Fr.
[3] pararent *Hertz*: pararet V.
[4] essent *Fr.*: esset V.
[5] aliquo *Fr.*: aliquod V.
[6] ira *Schel*: iniuria V.

[1] Part of the *ager Campanus* had been sold (cf. XXXII. vii. 3), part leased (XXVII. xi. 8), but there is no record of renewals of any leases. By reason of this negligence both purchasers and lessors had gradually included larger areas in their holdings, and the long unchallenged *possessio* gave even lessors an opportunity to claim ownership. What occasioned this sudden interest in the matter in unknown. For the results see chap. xix. below.

since it was well known that private persons, by B.C. 173
gradually moving their boundaries outward, were occupying a very large part of it.[1] Postumius being angry at the people of Praeneste because, when he had journeyed thither as a private citizen for the purpose of offering sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, no mark of respect[2] had been shown by that people, either officially or unofficially, before he set out from Rome sent a message to Praeneste to the effect that the magistrate should come out to meet him, that they should engage at public expense quarters for his entertainment, and that when he should leave there transport-animals should be in readiness. Before his consulship no one had ever put the allies to any trouble or expense in any respect.[3] Magistrates were supplied with mules and tents and all other military equipment, precisely in order that they might not give any such command to the allies. The senators generally had private relations of hospitality,[4] which they generously and courteously cultivated, and their homes at Rome were open to the guests at whose houses they themselves were wont to lodge. Ambassadors who were sent on short notice to any place would call upon the towns through which their route took them, for one pack-animal each: no other expense did the allies incur in behalf of Roman officials. The anger of the consul, even if it was justifiable, should nevertheless not have found vent

[2] As a *privatus*, Postumius had no right to demand or expect any sign of honour from an allied city. The incident may be regarded as an indication of the growing feeling of superiority of Rome with respect to her allies. Cf. sect. 12 below.

[3] But Livy has previously mentioned such expenditures as customary for allies outside of Italy, XXXII. xxvii. 4.

[4] Cf. XXXVII. liv. 6 and the note.

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exercenda, et silentium nimis [1] aut modestum aut timidum [2] Praenestinorum ius, velut [3] probato exemplo, magistratibus fecit graviorum in dies talis generis imperiorum.

II. Principio huius anni legati qui in Aetoliam et Macedoniam missi erant renuntiarunt, sibi conveniendi regis Persei, cum alii abesse eum [4] alii aegrum esse, falso utrumque, fingerent, potestatem non 2 factam. Facile tamen apparuisse sibi, bellum [5] parari, nec ultra ad arma ire dilaturum. Item in Aetolia seditionem gliscere [6] in dies, neque discordiarum principes auctoritate sua coerceri potuisse. 3 Cum bellum Macedonicum in expectatione esset, priusquam id susciperetur, prodigia expiari pacemque deum peti precationibus, qui [7] editi ex fatalibus libris 4 essent, placuit. Lanuvi classis magnae species in caelo visa dicebatur,[8] et Priverni lana pulla terra enata, et in [9] Veienti apud Rementem lapidatum; 5 Pomptinum omne velut nubibus lucustarum coopertum esse; in Gallico agro, qua induceretur aratrum, sub existentibus glaebis pisces emersisse. Ob haec 6 prodigia libri fatales inspecti, editumque ab decemviris est et quibus[10] diis quibusque hostiis sacrificaretur,

[1] nimis *Fr.*: minis V.
[2] timidum *Fr.*: tumidum V.
[3] ius velut *Fr.*: iussu velut V.
[4] eum *Fr.*: cum V.
[5] bellum *Fr.*: non bellum V.
[6] gliscere *Fr.*: discere (*sic*) V.
[7] qui *J. F. Gronovius*: que V.
[8] visa dicebatur *J. F. Gronovius*: uisae dicebantur V.
[9] terra enata et in *Fr.*: terrenaefin V.
[10] quibus *Fr.*: ex quibus V.

while he was in office, and its silent acceptance by the Praenestines, whether too modest or too fearful, established, as by an approved precedent, the right of magistrates to make demands of this sort, which grew more burdensome day by day. B.C. 173

II. In the beginning of this year the ambassadors who had been sent[1] to Aetolia and Macedonia reported that an opportunity to interview King Perseus, since some pretended that he was away, some that he was ill (but both falsely), had not been given them. Nevertheless, they said, it had become easily apparent to them that preparations for war were being made and that Perseus would not further put off his resort to arms. The ambassadors also reported that the strife in Aetolia was growing daily, and that the leaders in the disputes could not be restrained by their authority. Since a Macedonian war was in prospect, before it should be undertaken it was decreed that atonement should be made by reason of the prodigies and the peace of the gods should be sought by the rituals which had been published from the oracular books. At Lanuvium the vision of a great fleet was said to have been seen in the sky, and at Privernum that dark-coloured wool had grown from the earth, and in the Veientine country about Remens that there had been a shower of stones: it was reported that the whole Pomptine region had been covered by clouds, one might say, of locusts; and that in the Gallic land, wherever the plough was driven, fish came forth from the upturned sod. By reason of these prodigies the oracular books were consulted, and announcement was made by the decemvirs to what gods and with what victims the sacrifices should

[1] Cf. XLI. xxv 5, also xxvii. 4, and xxii. 3.

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7 et ut supplicatio[1] prodigiis expiandis fieret, alteraque quae[2] priore anno valetudinis populi causa vota esset, ea uti fieret feriaeque[3] essent. Itaque sacrificatum[4] est ut decemviri scriptum ediderant.[5]

III. Eodem anno aedis Iunonis Laciniae detecta. Q. Fulvius Flaccus censor aedem Fortunae Equestris, quam in Hispania praetor bello Celtiberico voverat, faciebat enixo studio ne ullum Romae amplius aut 2 magnificentius templum esset. Magnum ornatum[6] ei templo ratus adiecturum, si tegulae marmoreae essent, profectus in Bruttios aedem Iunonis Laciniae ad partem dimidiam detegit, id satis fore ratus[7] 3 ad tegendum quod aedificaretur. Naves paratae fuerunt quae tollerent atque asportarent, auctoritate censoria sociis deterritis id sacrilegium prohibere. 4 Postquam censor redit, tegulae expositae de navibus 5 ad templum portabantur. Quamquam unde essent silebatur, non tamen celari potuit. Fremitus igitur[8] in curia ortus est; ex omnibus partibus postulabatur ut consules eam rem ad senatum referrent. Ut vero accersitus in curiam censor venit, multo infestius

[1] supplicatio *Fr.*: supplicatioque V.
[2] alteraque quae *Madvig*: anlteraque (*sic*) V.
[3] fieret feriaeque *Hertz*: feriaeque V.
[4] itaque sacrificatum *Fr.*: ita sacrificatumque V.
[5] ediderant *Madvig*: ediderunt V.
[6] ornatum *Madvig*: ornantum V.
[7] ratus *Fr.*: iratus V.
[8] igitur *Fr.*: eius igitur V.

[1] Concerning this noted temple, cf. XXIV. iii., XXVIII. xlvi. 16, XXX. xx. 6. Valerius Maximus, I. i. 20, "moralizes" the story, telling how Fulvius became mentally unbalanced,

be performed, and it was directed that a period of B.C. 173
prayer should be celebrated in atonement for the prodigies and that a second such period should be observed which had been vowed a year before for the sake of the health of the people and that a festival should be held. Accordingly sacrifice was offered in the manner which the decemvirs had published in writing.

III. In the same year the temple of Juno Lacinia[1] was stripped of its roof. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus as censor was building the temple to Fortuna Equestris which he had vowed while praetor in Spain during the Celtiberian war,[2] striving zealously that there should be no temple in Rome larger or more splendid. Considering that it would add great beauty to the temple if the roof tiles were of marble, he set out for Bruttium and stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its tiles up to half their number, thinking that these would be sufficient to cover the building which was now being erected. Ships were made ready to load and transport them, the inhabitants being prevented by the censor's high office from forbidding the sacrilege. When the censor returned the tiles were unloaded from the ships and were being taken to the temple. Although nothing was said as to where they were obtained, yet such an act could not be concealed. There was accordingly an outcry in the senate: from all sides the demand was made that the consuls should lay the question before that body. But when the censor was summoned and entered the senate-

and died as a result of hearing that one son had been killed and the other severely wounded in Macedonia; cf. below, ch. xxviii. 10–12.

[2] Cf. XL. xl. 10.

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6 singuli universique praesentem lacerare: templum augustissimum regionis eius,[1] quod non Pyrrhus, non Hannibal violassent, violare parum habuisse, nisi[2] 7 detexisset foede ac prope diruisset. Detractum culmen templo, nudatum tectum patere imbribus putrefaciendum. Ad[3] id censorem moribus regendis creatum? Cui sarta tecta exigere sacris publicis et 8 locare[4] tuenda more maiorum traditum esset, eum per sociorum urbes diruentem templa nudantemque tecta aedium sacrarum vagari! Et quod, si in privatis sociorum aedificiis faceret, indignum videri posset, id eum templa deum[5] immortalium demo- 9 lientem facere, et obstringere religione populum Romanum, ruinis templorum templa aedificantem, tamquam non iidem ubique di immortales sint, sed 10 spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique! Cum priusquam referretur appareret quid sentirent patres, relatione facta in unam omnes sententiam ierunt ut eae tegulae reportandae in templum locarentur[6] 11 piaculariaque[7] Iunoni fierent. Quae ad religionem pertinebant[8] cum cura facta; tegulas relictas in area templi, quia reponendarum nemo artifex inire rationem potuerit, redemptores nuntiarunt.

IV. Ex praetoribus, qui in provincias ierant, N. Fabius Massiliae moritur, cum in citeriorem

[1] eius *Fr.*: eiu . . . eius (*sic*) V.
[2] nisi *Fr.*: side V. [3] ad *add. Hartel*: *om.* V.
[4] locare *Madvig*: loca V.
[5] templa deum *add. Heraeus*: *om.* V.
[6] locarentur *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] piaculariaque *Fr.*: iaeculariaque (*sic*) V.
[8] pertinebant *Wesenberg*: pertinent V.

house, one and all assailed him to his face far more violently: the most venerable shrine of that region, a shrine which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated, he had not been content with violating but had shamefully robbed it of its covering and well-nigh destroyed it. The top, they said, had been torn from the temple and the bare framing laid open to be rotted by the rains. Was it for this, they demanded, that a censor was chosen to control behaviour? That the magistrate to whom had been entrusted, in the fashion of the forefathers, the duty of enforcing the repair of public shrines and of contracting for their maintenance, was himself roving through the cities of the allies plundering the temples and stripping off the roofs of sacred edifices! A thing, they continued, which might well seem unworthy if done to private buildings of the allies, he was doing when he destroyed the temples of the immortal gods, and fastening upon the Roman people the guilt of impiety, building temples with the ruins of temples, just as if the immortal gods were not the same everywhere, but that some should be worshipped and adorned with the spoils of others! When it was clear, before the vote was taken, what the sentiment of the Fathers was, when the motion was put, all unanimously decreed that a contract should be let for carrying the tiles back to the temple and that atonements should be offered to Juno. Those matters which concerned expiation were scrupulously performed; the contractors reported that the tiles had been left in the court of the temple because no workman could devise a plan for replacing them. B.C. 178

IV. Of the praetors who had gone to the provinces, Numerius Fabius died at Massilia, while he was on

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2 Hispaniam iret. Itaque cum id nuntiatum a[1] Massiliensibus legatis esset, senatus decrevit ut P. Furius et Cn. Servilius quibus[2] succedebatur inter se sortirentur, uter citeriorem Hispaniam prorogato 3 imperio obtineret. Sors opportuna fuit, ut[3] P. Furius idem, cuius ea provincia fuerat, remaneret.

Eodem anno, cum agri Ligustini et Gallici, quod bello captum erat aliquantum vacaret, senatus consultum factum,[4] ut is ager viritim divideretur. 4 Decemviros in eam rem[5] ex senatus consulto creavit A. Atilius praetor urbanus M. Aemilium Lepidum C. Cassium T. Aebutium Parrum C. Tremellium P. Cornelium Cethegum Q. et L. Apuleios M. Caecilium C. Salonium C. Munatium. Diviserunt dena iugera in singulos, sociis nominis Latini terna.

5 Per idem tempus, quo haec agebantur, legati ex Aetolia Romam venerunt de discordiis seditionibusque suis,[6] et Thessali legati nuntiantes quae in Macedonia gererentur.

V. Perseus bellum iam[7] vivo patre cogitatum in animo volvens omnes non gentes modo Graeciae, sed civitates etiam legationibus mittendis, pollicendo 2 plura quam praestando, sibi conciliabat. Erant autem[8] magnae partis[9] hominum ad favorem eius

[1] a *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[2] *inter* quibus *et* succedebatur *iterum* cum id—esset *scripsit* V, *quae alia manus delevit, signa* .·. .·. *super scribens.*
[3] ut *add. Pighius*: *om.* V.
[4] factum *Fr.*: sit factum V. [5] rem *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] seditionibusque suis *Fr.*: seditionibus suisque V.
[7] bellum iam *Madvig*: iam bellum V.
[8] autem *Madvig*: tamen V. [9] partis *Kreyssig*: pariter V.

[1] Inclusion of allies in such distributions seems to have been unprecedented.
[2] See *supra*, ii. 2.

his way to Nearer Spain. Therefore, when news of B.C. 173
this was brought by ambassadors from Massilia, the senate decreed that Publius Furius and Gnaeus Servilius, who were being replaced, should cast lots and decide between them which should govern Nearer Spain under an extension of his *imperium*. The lot was fortunate in that Publius Furius, the same man under whose command that province had been, was selected to remain.

The same year, since a considerable part of the Ligurian and Gallic land which had been captured in war was unoccupied, a decree of the senate was passed that this land should be assigned to individuals. For this purpose and in accordance with the decree of the senate, the *praetor urbanus*, Aulus Atilius, presided at the election as decemvirs of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Gaius Cassius, Titus Aebutius Parrus, Gaius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus and Lucius Apuleius, Marcus Caecilius, Gaius Salonius, Gaius Munatius. Their allotments to individual citizens were ten *iugera* each, to allies of the Latin confederacy, three each.[1]

About the same time that these events occurred, ambassadors from Aetolia came to Rome to report concerning the quarrels and internal strife of the Aetolians,[2] as well as Thessalian ambassadors bringing news of what was happening in Macedonia.

V. Perseus, pondering in his mind the war which had been planned even before his father's death, was striving to win over to himself not only all the states of Greece but also the cities, sending embassies and making promises rather than carrying them out. Moreover, the sympathies of a large proportion of the people were for him, and they were much more

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inclinati animi, et aliquanto quam in Eumenem propensiores, cum Eumenis beneficiis muneribusque omnes Graeciae civitates et plerique principum obligati essent, et ita se in regno suo gereret ut quae sub dicione eius urbes essent,[1] nullius liberae civitatis fortunam secum mutatam vellent. Contra Persea fama erat post patris mortem uxorem manu sua occidisse; Apellem,[2] ministrum quondam fraudis in fratre tollendo atque ob id [3] quaesitum a Philippo ad supplicium, exulantem [4] accersitum post patris mortem ingentibus promissis ad praemia tantae perpetratae rei clam interfecisse. Intestinis externisque praeterea multis caedibus infamem nec ullo commendabilem merito praeferebant vulgo civitates tam pio erga propinquos, tam iusto in cives, tam munifico erga omnes homines regi, seu fama et maiestate Macedonum regum praeoccupati ad spernendam [5] originem novi regni, seu mutationis rerum cupidi, seu quia omnia [6] non obiecta esse Romanis volebant. Erant autem non Aetoli modo in seditionibus propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, sed Thessali etiam; et [7] contagione velut tabes in Perrhaebiam quoque id pervaserat malum. Cum

[1] essent *add. Curio*: *om.* V.
[2] Apellem *Fr.*: apellemne V.
[3] id *Kreyssig*: id et V.
[4] exulantem *Fr.*: exultantem V.
[5] spernendam *J. F. Gronovius*: sperendium V.
[6] omnia *add. Goldbacher*: *om.* V.
[7] et *J. F. Gronovius*: ea V.

[1] The kingdom of Pergamum dated only from Attalus I, father of Eumenes.

[2] Whether the order of possible explanations is intended by Livy to be climactic, we cannot judge. One suspects that

inclined to favour him than Eumenes, although the acts of kindness and generosity of Eumenes had put all of the cities of Greece and many important personages under obligations to him, and he so conducted himself in his kingdom that the cities which were under his control did not desire to exchange their condition for that of any free state. On the other hand, there was the rumour that after his father's death Perseus had killed his wife with his own hand; that Apelles, once the agent of treachery in the murder of his brother, who for that reason had been sought out for punishment by Philip, he had recalled from exile, after the death of his father, with lavish offers of rewards for performing so splendid a deed, and then had secretly put to death. A man made infamous by many other murders of citizens and aliens, and worthy of praise for no good quality whatever, was generally preferred by the states to a king so devoted to his relatives, so just to his citizens, so generous to all men, whether because these states were predisposed, on account of the reputation and dignity of the Macedonian kings, to despise the origin of a kingdom recently formed,[1] or because they were eager for a change in their condition, or because they did not wish all things to become completely subject to the Romans.[2] But it was not the Aetolians alone who were in a state of civil war because of the huge burden of debt, but also the Thessalians; and spreading by contact like a pestilence, the evil had reached even into Perrhaebia. When the news came B.C. 173

anti-Roman elements, as well as others more purely patriotic, now saw in Perseus their only hope of escape from Roman domination, as once the Greeks had looked to the Romans to save them from Philip.

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Thessalos in armis esse nuntiatum esset,[1] Ap. Claudium legatum ad eas res aspiciendas componen-
9 dasque senatus misit. Qui utriusque partis principibus castigatis, cum iniusto faenore gravatum aes alienum, ipsis magna ex parte concedentibus qui onerarant levasset, iusti crediti solutionem in decem annorum[2]
10 pensiones distribuit. Per eundem Appium eodemque modo compositae in Perrhaebia res. Aetolorum causas M.[3] Marcellus Delphis per idem tempus iisdem[4] hostilibus actas animis quos[5] intestino gesserant
11 bello cognovit. Cum certatum utrimque temeritate atque audacia cerneret, decreto quidem suo neutram partem aut levare aut onerare voluit; communiter ab utrisque petit abstinerent bello et oblivione praeteri-
12 torum[6] discordias finirent. Huius reconciliationis inter ipsos fides obsidibus ultro citroque datis firmata est. Corinthus, ut ibi[7] deponerentur obsides, convenit.

VI. A Delphis et Aetolico concilio Marcellus in Peloponnesum traiecit Aegium,[8] quo Achaeis edixerat
2 conventum. Ubi collaudata gente quod constanter vetus decretum de arcendis aditu finium regibus Macedonum tenuissent, insigne adversus Persea
3 odium[9] Romanorum fecit; quod ut maturius

[1] esset *J. F. Gronovius*: est V.
[2] decem annorum *Weissenborn*: zannorum V.
[3] M. *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] iisdem *add. Madvig*: *om.* V. [5] quos *Ruperti*: quas V.
[6] praeteritorum *Fr.*: praetorum V.
[7] ut ibi *Kreyssig*: utubi V.
[8] Aegium *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.
[9] Persea odium *Fr.*: persedonum V.

[1] Marcellus, in calling a council, overstepped the bounds set by the senate in 184 B.C. (XXXIX. xxxiii. 8), but perhaps Livy has not stated the facts exactly.

that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent B.C. 173
Appius Claudius as commissioner to investigate and settle these affairs. He, after reproving the leaders of both factions and lightening the burden of the debts which had been made more grievous by illegal interest, the majority of the creditors who had imposed it having made this concession, provided for the payment of the just debts in ten annual installments. The difficulties in Perrhaebia were settled by the same Appius and on the same basis. Marcus Marcellus, who was at Delphi about the same time, learned that the Aetolians were pleading their cases in the same belligerent spirit which they had shown in their civil war. When he saw that both sides were contending with reckless violence, he was unwilling, so far as his decree was concerned, either to lighten or to increase the burden of either side; he asked the two in common to refrain from their warfare and to end their quarrels in forgetfulness of the past. By an exchange of hostages they gave assurance of their mutual good faith in their reconciliation. Corinth was designated as the place in which the hostages should be placed in custody.

VI. From Delphi and the meeting of the Aetolian council Marcellus crossed to Aegium in the Peloponnesus, where he had called[1] a meeting of the Achaeans. There, having heartily praised the people because they had steadfastly adhered to their old resolution[2] not to permit the kings of the Macedonians to enter their territory, he made conspicuous the hatred which the Romans felt for Perseus; that this hatred should break out betimes was the conse-

[1] Cf. XLI. xxiii. 1.

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erumperet, Eumenes rex commentarium ferens secum, quod de apparatibus belli omnia inquirens
4 fecerat, Romam venit. Per idem tempus quinque legati ad regem missi, qui res in Macedonia aspicerent. Alexandriam iidem ad Ptolemaeum renovandae
5 amicitiae causa proficisci iussi. Legati erant hi: C. Valerius C. Lutatius Cerco Q. Baebius Sulca M.
6 Cornelius Mammula M. Caecilius Denter. Et ab [1] Antiocho rege sub idem tempus legati venerunt; quorum princeps Apollonius in senatum introductus multis iustisque causis regem excusavit, quod stipen-
7 dium serius quam ad [2] diem praestaret; id se omne advexisse, ne cuius nisi temporis gratia regi fieret.
8 Donum praeterea afferre, vasa aurea quingentum pondo. Petere regem ut, quae cum patre suo societas atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renovaretur, imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quae bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda; se in [3] nullo
9 usquam cessaturum officio. Ea merita in se [4] senatus fuisse cum Romae esset, eam comitatem iuventutis, ut pro rege non pro obside omnibus
10 ordinibus fuerit. Legatis benigne responsum, et societatem renovare cum Antiocho quae cum patre eius fuerat, A. Atilius praetor urbanus iussus.
11 Quaestores urbani stipendium, vasa aurea censores

[1] ab *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[2] quam ad *Duker*: quoad V.
[3] in *add. Wesenberg*: *om.* V.
[4] se *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] Ptolemy V (Epiphanes) had been succeeded in 181 B.C. by the boy Ptolemy VI (Philometor), but Livy has not previously mentioned the fact.

[2] For the Romanizing of Antiochus Epiphanes, cf. XLI. xx. 1 ff.

quence of the arrival in Rome of King Eumenes, B.C. 173
bringing with him a memorandum which he had prepared, after thorough investigation, as to Perseus' preparations for war. About the same time five commissioners were sent to the king to look into the situation in Macedonia. They were also instructed to proceed to Alexandria for the purpose of renewing the friendship of the Romans with Ptolemy.[1] The commissioners were the following: Gaius Valerius, Gaius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Baebius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, Marcus Caecilius Denter. From King Antiochus[2] also came ambassadors about the same time: their chief, Apollonius, when he was given an audience before the senate, made explanations for the king, giving many plausible reasons why he was paying his tribute later than the appointed day; he had, he said, brought the entire sum with him in order that the king might ask no indulgence except in the matter of the delay. In addition, he said that he was bringing, as a gift, golden vases of five hundred pounds' weight. The king begged that the alliance and friendship which had existed with his father might be renewed with him too, and that the Roman people would give him any orders which were proper to give to a king who was a loyal and faithful ally; he would fail in no performance of duty. The senate, the ambassador went on, had rendered such services to the king when he was in Rome, the young men such courtesy, that all ranks had regarded him as a king, not as a hostage. The ambassadors received a gracious reply, and Aulus Atilius, the *praetor urbanus*, was instructed to renew with Antiochus the treaty which had existed with his father. The city quaestors received the tribute, the

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acceperunt, eisque negotium datum est ut ponerent ea in quibus templis videretur; legato[1] centum milium aeris munus missum et aedes liberae hospitio datae sumptusque decretus, donec in Italia esset. 12 Legati qui in Syria fuerant renuntiaverant[2] in maximo eum honore apud regem esse amicissimumque populo Romano.

VII. In provinciis eo anno haec acta.[3] C. Cicereius praetor in Corsica signis collatis pugnavit; septem milia Corsorum caesa, capti amplius mille et septingenti. Voverat in ea pugna praetor aedem Iunoni 2 Monetae. Pax deinde data petentibus Corsis, et exacta cerae ducenta[4] milia pondo. Ex Corsica 3 subacta Cicereius in Sardiniam transmisit. Et in Liguribus in agro Statellati pugnatum ad oppidum Carystum. Eo se magnus exercitus Ligurum con- 4 tulerat. Primo sub adventum M. Popili consulis moenibus sese continebant; deinde, postquam oppidum oppugnaturum Romanum cernebant, pro- 5 gressi ante portas aciem struxerunt. Nec consul, ut qui id ipsum oppugnatione comminanda quaesisset, moram certamini fecit. Pugnatum amplius tres est 6 horas ita ut neutro inclinaret spes. Quod ubi consul vidit nulla parte moveri Ligurum signa, imperat equitibus ut equos conscendant ac tribus simul partibus in hostes quanto maximo possent tumultu incurrant.

[1] legato *Vahlen*: que legato V.
[2] renuntiaverant *Crévier*: renuntiauerunt V.
[3] acta *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[4] ducenta *Crévier*: ducena V.

[1] The usual procedure was to give 2000 *asses* to each member of an embassy (cf. e.g. xix. 6 below); the last sentence of the chapter may explain the senate's generosity to Apollonius.

censors the golden vases, and the responsibility was B.C. 173
delegated to them of depositing them in whatever temples they saw fit; the ambassador [1] received one hundred thousand *as*-pieces as a gift, and a house, free of charge, was given for his entertainment, and his expenses, so long as he should be in Italy, were provided for by decree. The Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria had reported that Apollonius stood in highest favour with the king and was most friendly to the Roman people.

VII. The following were the events of the year in the provinces: Gaius Cicereius the praetor fought a pitched battle in Corsica; seven thousand of the Corsicans were killed and more than seventeen hundred captured. During that battle the praetor had vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted at the request of the Corsicans, and two hundred thousand pounds of wax demanded of them. Having subdued Corsica, Cicereius then crossed into Sardinia. Among the Ligurians also there was a battle near the town of Carystus in the territory of Statellae. Thither a great army of Ligurians had assembled. At first, at the approach of Marcus Popilius the consul, they kept within their ramparts; later, when they saw that the Roman was about to assault the town, they moved out and formed in line of battle in front of the gates. Nor did the consul, since he had sought just this by threatening an assault, delay the engagement. The battle raged for more than three hours in such a way that hope inclined to neither side. Then, when the consul saw that the Ligurian masses were nowhere shaken, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses and to charge the enemy at three points at the same time and with all

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7 Pars magna equitum mediam traiecit aciem et ad terga pugnantium pervasit. Inde terror iniectus
8 Liguribus; diversi in omnes partes fugerunt, perpauci retro in oppidum, quia inde se maxime obiecerat eques. Et pugna tam pervicax multos absumpserat
9 Ligurum, et in fuga passim caesi sunt. Decem milia hominum caesa traduntur, amplius septingenti
10 capti,[1] signa militaria relata octoginta duo. Nec[2] incruenta victoria fuit: amplius tria milia militum amissa, cum cedentibus neutris ex parte utraque primores caderent.

VIII. Post hanc pugnam ex diversa fuga in unum collecti Ligures, cum maiorem multo partem civium amissam quam superesse cernerent—nec enim plus decem milia hominum erant—dediderunt sese, nihil
2 quidem illi pacti; speraverant tamen, non[3] atrocius quam superiores imperatores consulem in se saevitu-
3 rum. At ille arma omnibus ademit, oppidum diruit, ipsos bonaque eorum vendidit; litterasque senatui
4 de rebus ab se gestis misit. Quas cum A. Atilius praetor in curia recitasset—nam consul alter Postumius agris recognoscendis[4] in Campania occupatus
5 aberat—atrox res visa senatui, Statellates, qui uni ex Ligurum gente non tulissent arma adversus Romanos, tum quoque oppugnatos, non ultro

[1] capti *Madvig*: passim capti V.
[2] Nec *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] non *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] recognoscendis *Fr.*: secognoscendis V.

possible uproar. A large part of the cavalry pene- B.C. 173
trated the centre of the line and pushed their way through to the rear of the fighters. As a result, the Ligurians were thrown into a panic; they scattered in flight in all directions, very few returning to the town because there more than anywhere else the cavalry had thrown themselves in the way. Not only had a fight so stubborn destroyed many of the Ligurians, but others also were cut down in their random flight. It is said that ten thousand men were killed, and more than seven hundred captured, and that eighty-two military standards were brought back. Nor was the victory bloodless: more than three thousand Roman soldiers were lost, since the front ranks on both sides were slain when neither army gave way.

VIII. When the Ligurians, after this battle, had assembled in one place from their scattered flight, and they saw that a far greater number of their citizens was lost than saved—for there were not more than ten thousand of them—they surrendered, without, indeed, making any stipulations; nevertheless they had hoped that the consul would treat them with no greater severity than former commanders had shown. But he disarmed them all, demolished their town, and sold them and all their property; then he sent dispatches to the senate reporting his achievement. When Aulus Atilius the praetor had read them in the senate—for the other consul Postumius was absent, being busy in Campania with surveying the public lands—the action seemed outrageous to the senate, that the Statellates, who alone of the Ligurians had not made war on the Romans, who even on this occasion had been attacked

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inferentes bellum, deditos in fidem populi Romani omni ultimae crudelitatis exemplo laceratos ac
6 deletos esse, tot milia capitum innoxiorum, fidem implorantia populi Romani, ne quis umquam se postea dedere auderet, pessimo exemplo venisse, et distractos passim iustis quondam hostibus populi
7 Romani pacatos servire. Quas ob res placere senatui, M. Popilium consulem Ligures, pretio emptoribus reddito, ipsos restituere in libertatem, bonaque ut iis, quod[1] eius reciperari possit, reddantur curare;
8 arma quoque reddi, eaque omnia primo[2] quoque tempore fieri; nec ante consulem de provincia decedere quam deditos in sedem suam Ligures restituisset. Claram victoriam vincendo pugnantes,[3] non saeviendo in afflictos fieri.

IX. Consul, qua ferocia animi usus erat in Liguribus, eandem ad non parendum[4] senatui habuit.
2 Legionibus extemplo Pisas in hibernacula missis[5] iratus patribus, infestus[6] praetori Romam redit; senatuque extemplo ad aedem Bellonae vocato, multis
3 verbis invectus in praetorem qui, cum ob rem bello bene gestam uti diis immortalibus honos haberetur

[1] iis quod *conj. Weissenborn, but in his text reads* iis quicquid : isquiquod V.
[2] quoque—primo *add. Madvig,* omnia *autem Heraeus om.* V.
[3] pugnantes *Clericus* : oppugnantis V.
[4] parendum *Fr.* : parendum fuit V.
[5] hibernacula missis *Fr.* : hibernaculia missi (*sic*) V.
[6] infestus *Fr.* : infectus V.

[1] A surrender usually assumed that the lives and personal liberties of the surrendered would be respected. Senatorial policy toward the Ligurians had been somewhat vacillating, though never countenancing such severity as that of Popilius.

although they had not begun a war, who had entrusted B.C. 173
themselves to the good faith of the Roman people, should have been harassed and destroyed with every form of extreme cruelty, that so many thousands of innocent persons, calling upon the Roman people for protection, should have been sold—a fate which established the worst possible precedent and issued a warning that no one should ever dare in the future to surrender—and, scattered in every direction, should, though at peace, be slaves to those who had once been downright enemies of the Roman people.[1] For these reasons the senate decreed that the consul Marcus Popilius should restore to liberty the Ligurians themselves, returning the purchase-price to the purchasers, and should see to it that their property, such of it as could be recovered, should be given back to them; that their arms also should be returned to them; and that all this should be done at the earliest possible moment; and that the consul should not leave his province until he had re-established the surrendered Ligurians in their homes. A truly glorious victory, they added, was won by defeating men in battle, not by torturing the distressed.

IX. The consul turned the arrogance of soul which he had displayed towards the Ligurians to disobeying the senate. He straightway sent the legions into winter-quarters at Pisa, and himself, angry with the Fathers and enraged at the praetor, returned to Rome; and immediately summoning the senate to the temple of Bellona, he assailed at great length the praetor who, although by reason of the success in the war he ought to have put to the senate a motion that honour be paid to the immortal

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referre ad senatum debuisset, adversus se pro hostibus senatus consultum fecisset, quo victoriam suam ad Ligures transferret dedique iis prope con-
4 sulem praetor iuberet: itaque multam ei se dicere; a patribus postulare ut senatus consultum in se
5 factum tolli iuberent, supplicationemque, quam absente se ex[1] litteris de bene gesta re publica missis decernere debuerint, praesente se honoris[2] deorum primum causa, deinde et sui aliquo tamen
6 respectu decernerent. Nihilo lenioribus quam absens senatorum aliquot orationibus increpitus neutra impetrata re in provinciam redit.

7 Alter consul Postumius consumpta aestate in recognoscendis agris, ne visa[3] quidem provincia sua
8 comitiorum causa Romam redit. Consules C. Popilium Laenatem P. Aelium Ligurem creavit. Praetores exinde facti C. Licinius Crassus M. Iunius Pennus Sp. Lucretius Sp. Cluvius Cn. Sicinius C. Memmius iterum.[4]

X. Eo anno lustrum conditum est; censores erant Q. Fulvius Flaccus A. Postumius[5] Albinus; Postu-

[1] se ex *Pithoeus*: sex V.
[2] praesente se honoris *Madvig*: praesentes honores V.
[3] ne visa *Fr.*: neua V.
[4] C. Memmius iterum *Fr.*: sicterum V.
[5] Fulvius Flaccus, A. Postumius Albinus *Sigonius*: Fulvius Flaccus L. Postumius Albinus. Postumius *Fr.*: Fulus Albinus Postumius V.

[1] The ultimate fate of the Ligurians is unknown, but it appears that neither senate nor consul could coerce the other, and it is doubtful whether Popilius carried out the instructions. It may be inferred from the election of Popilius' brother as consul that he had some popular support. For the final outcome, see below, xxi.

gods, had proposed a decree of the senate directed B.C. 173
against Popilius and in favour of the enemy, by which he was transferring the consul's victory to the Ligurians and (although himself only a praetor) was almost ordering the consul to be delivered to them: therefore he imposed a fine upon the praetor; he begged the Fathers to order that the decree of the senate which had been passed against him should be repealed, and that the thanksgiving which they should have voted in his absence, in consequence of the dispatches which he had sent regarding his victory, should now be decreed in his presence: first, to render honour to the gods; second, to show at least some sign of respect to himself. The consul was attacked by a number of the senators in speeches no less severe than those delivered in his absence, and returned to his province without obtaining either petition.[1]

The other consul, Postumius, spent the summer surveying the public lands, and without seeing his province at all returned to Rome to hold the elections. He announced the choice of Gaius Popilius Laenas and Publius Aelius Ligur.[2] Next the praetors were chosen: Gaius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Gnaeus Sicinius, Gaius Memmius (for the second time).[3]

X. In that year the *lustrum* was closed; the censors were Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius

[2] According to the Fasti Capitolini, this is the first election at which two plebeians were chosen consuls.

[3] The name of Memmius is restored from x. 14 below. To judge from the reading of V (see the critical note), *iterum* belongs with Memmius, although no previous praetorship for him is recorded. Sicinius had been praetor in 183 B.C. (XXXIX. xlv. 2), so that perhaps *iterum* has been misplaced. I have not ventured to transpose it.

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2 mius condidit. Censa sunt civium Romanorum capita
3 ducenta sexaginta novem milia et quindecim, minor aliquanto numerus, quia L. Postumius consul pro contione edixerat, qui socium Latini nominis ex edicto C. Claudi consulis redire in civitates suas debuissent, ne quis eorum Romae, et omnes in suis
4 civitatibus censerentur. Concors et e re publica censura fuit. Omnes quos senatu moverunt quibusque equos ademerunt,[1] aerarios fecerunt et tribu moverunt;
5 neque ab altero notatum alter probavit. Fulvius aedem Fortunae Equestris quam proconsul in Hispania dimicans cum Celtiberorum legionibus voverat, annis [2] sex post quam voverat dedicavit, et scaenicos ludos per quadriduum, unum diem in circo fecit.
6 L. Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir sacrorum, eo anno mortuus est. In locum eius suffectus A. Postumius
7 Albinus. Lucustarum tantae nubes a mari [3] repente in Apuliam illatae sunt ut examinibus suis agros late
8 operirent.[4] Ad quam pestem frugum tollendam Cn. Sicinius, praetor designatus, cum imperio in [5] Apuliam missus, ingenti agmine hominum ad colligendas eas coacto aliquantum temporis absumpsit.

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9 Principium insequentis anni, quo C. Popilius et P. Aelius fuerunt consules, residuas contentiones ex
10 priore anno habuit. Patres referri de Liguribus renovarique senatus consultum volebant, et consul

[1] equos ademerunt *Fr.*: quas demerunt V.
[2] annis *Lentz*: annos V. [3] a mari *Vahlen*: amant V.
[4] operirent *Fr.*: operirentur V. [5] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] But the *Periocha* gives 267,231.
[2] Cf. IV. xxiv. 7, and the note. [3] Cf. above, iii. 1.
[4] This action was necessary since M. Popilius was no longer a consul.

Albinus; Postumius closed the *lustrum*. The number of Roman citizens listed in the census was 269,015,[1] a somewhat smaller number because the consul Lucius Postumius had proclaimed before an assembly that of the allies of the Latin confederacy who had been obligated, under the edict of Gaius Claudius the consul, to return to their cities, no one should be listed at Rome but all in their own cities. The censorship was harmonious and useful to the state. All those whom they expelled from the senate or whose horses they took away were transferred to the *aerarii*[2] and removed from their tribes; neither censor approved anyone who had been marked for censure by the other. Fulvius dedicated the temple of Fortuna Equestris which, as proconsul in Spain, he had vowed while fighting with the legions of the Celtiberians, six[3] years after he had vowed it, and he gave theatrical performances for four days and one day in the circus. B.C. 173

Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in charge of sacrifices, died that year. To replace him Aulus Postumius Albinus was chosen. Such great clouds of locusts from the sea suddenly appeared over Apulia that they covered the fields far and wide with their swarms. To destroy this pest, so fatal to crops, Gnaeus Sicinius, praetor-elect, was invested with the *imperium* and sent to Apulia, and assembling a vast crowd of men to collect the locusts, spent a certain amount of time in this way.

The beginning of the following year, in the consulship of Gaius Popilius and Publius Aelius, continued the unfinished controversies of the preceding year. The Fathers wished the decree of the senate regarding the Ligurians to be resubmitted and re-adopted,[4] and B.C. 172

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Aelius referebat. Popilius et collegam et senatum pro fratre deprecabatur, prae se ferens si quid decernerent
11 intercessurum. Collegam deterruit; patres eo magis utrique pariter consuli infensi, in incepto perstabant. Itaque cum de provinciis ageretur et Macedonia iam imminente Persei bello peteretur, Ligures am-
12 bobus consulibus decernunt;[1] Macedoniam decreturos negant, ni[2] de M. Popilio referretur. Postulantibus deinde ut novos exercitus scribere aut supplementum
13 veteribus liceret, utrumque negatum est. Praetoribus quoque in Hispaniam supplementum petentibus negatum, M. Iunio in[3] citeriorem, Sp. Lucretio in
14 ulteriorem. C. Licinius Crassus urbanam iurisdictionem, Cn. Sicinius inter peregrinos erat sortitus, C. Memmius Siciliam, Sp. Cluvius Sardiniam.
15 Consules ob ea irati senatui, Latinis feriis in primam quamque diem indictis, in provinciam abituros esse denuntiarunt, nec quicquam rei publicae acturos, praeterquam quod ad provinciarum administrationem attineret.

XI. Attalum, regis Eumenis fratrem, legatum venisse[4] Romam Valerius Antias his consulibus scribit ad deferenda de Perseo[5] crimina indicandosque apparatus belli. Plurium annales, et quibus credidisse

[1] decernunt *Bekker*: decernuntur V.
[2] ni *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] venisse *Fr.*: uidisse V.
[5] Perseo *Fr.*: persona V.

[1] Polybius (XXIV. 5) (L.C.L.) and Diodorus (XXIX. xxv) place the embassy of Attalus earlier; it may have been mentioned in some lost portion of Book XLI.

[2] It is uncertain who these other annalists were. Claudius Quadrigarius was probably one of them. For similar choices by Livy between divergent accounts, cf. V. xlvi. 11, VIII. xviii. 2, XXI. xxviii. 6, and xxxviii. (here Livy uses better principles than elsewhere), XXI. xlvi. 10, XXXVIII. lv. 8, XXXIX. liii (a careful discussion, but see the note, vol. XI., p. 385).

the consul Aelius was ready to submit it. Popilius B.C. 172
entreated both his colleague and the senate on behalf of his brother, declaring that if they passed any decree he would veto it. Aelius he discouraged from acting; the Fathers, enraged at both consuls alike for that reason, stood by their proposal the more vigorously. And so, when the question of provinces was taken up and Macedonia was sought after, because war with Perseus was now threatening, they decreed the Ligurians to both consuls; they refused to decree Macedonia unless the motion regarding Marcus Popilius were put to them. Then, when the consuls requested that they be authorized to enlist new armies or reinforcements for the old, both petitions were denied. The praetors also, who were asking for reinforcements for Spain, were refused, Marcus Junius for Nearer Spain, Spurius Lucretius for Farther Spain. Gaius Licinius Crassus had received the civil jurisdiction from the lots, Gnaeus Sicinius that between aliens, Sicily was assigned to Gaius Memmius, Sardinia to Spurius Cluvius. The consuls, angered at the senate for these reasons, proclaimed the Latin festival for the first available day and announced that they would set out to their province and would transact no public business except that which pertained to the government of the provinces.

XI. Valerius Antias writes[1] that Attalus, the brother of King Eumenes, came as an ambassador to Rome in this same consulship, to lay charges against Perseus and to give an account of his preparations for war. The works of the majority of historians,[2]

[1] Livy seems to have learned historical discretion in the course of his huge task, but never quite attained to scientific criticism of his sources.

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2 malis, ipsum Eumenem venisse tradunt. Eumenes igitur ut Romam venit, exceptus cum tanto honore quantum non meritis tantum eius, sed beneficiis etiam suis, ingentia quae in eum congesta erant, existimabant [1] deberi, a praetore [2] in senatum est 3 introductus. Causam veniendi sibi Romam fuisse dixit praeter cupiditatem videndi [3] deos hominesque, quorum beneficio in ea fortuna esset, supra quam ne optare quidem auderet, etiam ut coram [4] moneret 4 senatum ut Persei conatis obviam iret. Orsus inde a Philippi consiliis necem Demetri filii rettulit, adversantis Romano bello; Bastarnarum gentem excitam sedibus suis, quorum auxiliis fretus in Italiam 5 transiret. Haec secum volutantem [5] in animo, oppressum fato, regnum ei reliquisse, quem infestissimum esse sensisset Romanis. Itaque Persea hereditarium a [6] patre relictum bellum et simul cum imperio traditum, iamiam proximum [7] alere ac fovere 6 omnibus consiliis. Florere praeterea iuventute quam stirpem longa pax ediderit, florere opibus regni, florere etiam aetate. Quae cum corporis robore ac viribus vigeat, animum esse inveteratum diutina arte atque 7 usu belli. Iam inde a puero patris contubernio Romanis quoque bellis, non finitimis [8] tantum

[1] existimabant *Madvig*: existimant V.
[2] a praetore *Madvig*: p̄r (*sic*) V.
[3] videndi *edd. vett.*: uiuendi V.
[4] coram *Fr.*: coronam V.
[5] haec secum volutantem *Woelfflin*: haec cum uoluntatem V.
[6] a *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] proximum *Vahlen*: primum V.
[8] finitimis *Fr.*: infinitumis V.

[1] Cf. XL. lvii. 6–9.

and men whom you would prefer to trust, say that B.C. 172
Eumenes himself came. Eumenes, then, on his arrival in Rome was received with such honours as they believed not only due to his deserts but also commensurate with their own favours which had been heaped upon him in abundance, and was introduced into the senate by the praetor. He said that the reason for his coming to Rome, in addition to his desire to see the gods and men by whose kindness he enjoyed a fortune beyond which he did not venture even to wish for anything, had been to give public warning to the senate that they should take measures against the designs of Perseus. Then, beginning with the plans of Philip, he spoke of the death of Philip's son Demetrius, who opposed the war with Rome, and mentioned the summoning of the people of the Bastarnae from their homes, relying on whose aid [1] Philip was to cross into Italy. While he was revolving such plans in his mind, death had overtaken him, and he had left his kingdom to the one who (he had seen) was most dangerous to the Romans. And so, Eumenes said, Perseus had long been preparing a war which had been left him as a legacy by his father and handed on to him along with the throne, and had been feeding and nursing it—it was now very close—by all possible schemes. Perseus, besides, was strong in the number of his young men, a generation which the long peace had brought forth, was strong in the resources of his kingdom, was strong too in his own youth. While he possessed strength and vigour of body, his mind too had been long trained in the theory and practice of war. Even from boyhood, in his fathers' tent, he had been made accustomed to wars with Rome, not merely to campaigns against their neigh-

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adsuetum, missum a patre in expeditiones multas
8 variasque. Iam ex quo ipse accepisset regnum, multa, quae non vi non dolo Philippus omnia expertus potuisset moliri, admirando rerum successu tenuisse.
9 Accessisse ad vires eam quae longo tempore multis magnisque meritis pareretur auctoritatem.

XII. Nam apud[1] Graeciae atque Asiae civitates vereri maiestatem eius omnes. Nec pro quibus meritis pro qua munificentia tantum ei tribuatur,
2 cernere nec dicere pro certo posse,[2] utrum felicitate id quadam eius accidat an, quod ipse vereatur dicere, invidia adversus Romanos favorem illi con-
3 ciliet. Inter ipsos quoque reges ingentem auctoritate esse[3] Seleuci filiam duxisse eum, non petentem, sed petitum ultro; sororem dedisse Prusiae precanti
4 atque[4] oranti; celebratas esse utrasque nuptias gratulatione donisque[5] innumerabilium legationum, et velut auspicibus nobilissimis populis deductas esse.
5 Boeotorum gentem, captatam Philippo, numquam ad
6 scribendum amicitiae foedus adduci potuisse; tribus nunc locis cum Perseo foedus incisum litteris esse, uno Thebis, altero ad Delium,[6] augustissimo et

[1] nam apud *Fr.*: nonaput V.
[2] certo posse *Fr.*: certumesse V.
[3] esse *add. Hertz*: *om.* V.
[4] atque oranti *Kreyssig*: adoranti V.
[5] donisque *Fr.*: donis V.
[6] altero ad Delium *Madvig*: alteradsidenum V.

[1] We can hardly question that fear of the Romans made many turn to Perseus as a possible source of freedom from Roman control.

[2] Cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge* (3rd ed.) 639, a dedicatory inscription to the queen, Laodice, by the people of Delos.

[3] Livy has confused Greek and Roman ceremonies. The *νυμφαγωγοί* who escorted the bride assume also the (Roman) rôle of takers of the auspices. I have tried to suggest the dual meaning in the translation.

bours, and had been sent by his father on many and various expeditions. From the moment he had received the throne, Eumenes went on to say, he had gained, in a marvellous series of triumphs, many things which Philip had been unable to accomplish either by force or by craft, although he had left nothing untried. There had been added to his strength an influence which was usually acquired through a long period of time and by numerous and important services. B.C. 172

XII. For, said Eumenes, all men in the cities of Greece and Asia revered his dignity. In consideration of what services or what generosity such respect was being paid him, Eumenes could not see, or say for certain whether this was happening by reason of a certain good luck or whether—and Eumenes feared to suggest this—the ill-will felt for the Romans won men over to his cause.[1] Even among the kings he was great in influence and had married the daughter of Seleucus,[2] not having sought her but rather having been sought; he had given his sister to Prusias, who had begged and entreated for her; both marriages had been greeted with congratulations and gifts from countless embassies, and the nuptial processions were accompanied, as it were, by the noblest peoples as sponsors and attendants.[3] The Boeotian people, to whom Philip had paid court, could never be induced to sign any treaty of alliance; but now a treaty with Perseus was engraved in three places, one at Thebes, the second at Delium [4] in a

[4] The conjecture of Madvig has been adopted since Delium, conjectured by him, is in Boeotia; the alternative is Delos. The text is uncertain. For Delos as a publicity centre, cf. Polybius XXV. 3: "(Perseus) posted up lists of these (exiles) at Delos, Delphi, and the temple of Itonian Athena."

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celeberrimo in templo, tertio Delphis. In Achaico concilio vero, nisi discussa res per paucos Romanum imperium intentantes esset, eo rem [1] prope adductam
7 ut aditus ei in Achaiam daretur. At hercule suos honores, cuius merita in eam gentem privatim an publice sint maiora vix dici possit,[2] partim desertos per incultum ac neglegentiam, partim hostiliter sublatos esse. Iam Aetolos quem ignorare in seditionibus suis non ab Romanis, sed a Perseo praesidium
8 petisse? His eum fultum societatibus atque amicitiis eos domesticos apparatus belli habere ut externis non [3] egeat. Triginta milibus peditum, quinque milibus equitum in decem annos frumentum praeparasse, ut abstinere et suo et hostium agro frument-
9 andi causa possit. Iam pecuniam tantam habere ut decem milibus [4] mercennariorum militum praeter Macedonum copias stipendium in totidem annos praeparatum habeat, praeter annuum quod ex
10 metallis regiis capiat vectigal. Arma vel tribus tantis [5] exercitibus in armamentaria congessisse. Iuventutem, ut iam Macedonia deficiat, velut ex perenni fonte unde hauriat, Thraciam [6] subiectam esse.

XIII. Reliquum orationis adhortatio fuit. " Non ego haec " inquit " incertis iactata rumoribus et cupidius credita, quia vera esse de inimico crimina volebam, adfero ad vos, patres conscripti, sed com-

[1] eo rem *Fr.*: aeoru (*sic*) V.
[2] possit *Madvig*: posset V.
[3] ut externis non *Fr.*: non ut expertis non V.
[4] milibus *J. F. Gronovius*: milia V.
[5] tantis *Sigonius*: tantum V.
[6] Thraciam *Fr.*: theriam V.

[1] Cf. XLI. xxiii. [2] Cf. XXXIX. xxiv. 2.

most revered and celebrated temple, the third at Delphi. In the Achaean council, moreover, if the action had not been prevented by a few men who threatened them with the Roman might, matters were almost brought to such a pass that access into Achaea was granted him.[1] But, by Hercules, the honours of Eumenes himself, of whose services to that people it could hardly be determined whether the public or the private were the greater, had partly been abandoned from disuse and neglect, partly abolished in hostility. Again, who, he asked, did not know that the Aetolians in their internal strife had sought aid, not from the Romans, but from Perseus? Supported by these alliances and friendships, Perseus had such military resources at home that he did not need foreign aid. He had made ready a grain supply sufficient for ten years for thirty thousand infantry and five thousand cavalry, so that he could be independent of both his own and the enemy's land in the matter of provisions. He now possessed so much money that he had in readiness pay for ten thousand mercenary troops, for the same period of years, in addition to his Macedonian forces, besides the annual revenue which he derived from the royal mines.[2] Weapons for armies even three times as great had been heaped up by him in his arsenals. Now the youth of Thrace was placed under his control, from which he could draw as if from a never-failing spring in case Macedonia should ever be exhausted. B.C. 172

XIII. The rest of his speech was exhortation: "I am relating this to you, conscript Fathers," he said, "not as founded on uncertain rumours and too eagerly accepted because I wished these charges against an enemy to be true, but as ascertained and

perta et explorata, haud secus[1] quam si speculator
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2 missus a vobis subiecta oculis referrem; neque relicto regno meo, quod amplum et egregium vos fecistis, mare tantum traiecissem ut vana ad vos
3 afferendo[2] fidem abrogarem mihi; cernebam nobilissimas Asiae et Graeciae civitates in dies magis denudantes iudicia sua, mox, si permitteretur, eo processuras unde receptum ad paenitendum non
4 haberent;[3] cernebam Persea non continentem se Macedoniae regno, alia armis occupantem, alia, quae vi subigi non possent,[4] favore ac benevolentia com-
5 plectentem; videbam quam impar esset sors, cum ille vobis bellum pararet[5] vos ei securam pacem praestaretis, quamquam mihi quidem non parare sed gerere paene bellum videbatur. Abrupolim, socium atque amicum vestrum, regno expulit;
6 Arthetaurum Illyrium, quia scripta ab eo quaedam vobis comperit, socium item atque amicum vestrum,
7 interfecit; Euersam et Callicritum Thebanos, principes civitatis, quia liberius adversus eum in concilio Boeotorum locuti fuerant delaturosque ad vos quae
8 agerentur, professi erant, tollendos curavit; auxilium Byzantiis adversus foedus tulit; Dolopiae bellum[6] intulit; Thessaliam et Doridem cum exercitu pervasit ut in bello intestino deterioris partis auxilio meliorem

[1] secus *Fr.*: secum V.
[2] afferendo *Fr.*: fecistis adferendo V.
[3] haberent *Fr.*: haberem V.
[4] possent *Ruperti*: possant V.
[5] pararet *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[6] bellum *J. F. Gronovius*: bella V.

[1] Cf. Polybius XXII. 18 (L.C.L.). If Livy has mentioned the episode it has been lost, perhaps in Book XLI.

discovered with as much accuracy as if I had been B.C. 172
sent by you as a scout to investigate and were reporting what lay before my eyes; nor should I have left my kingdom, which you have made extensive and noble, and crossed so great a sea, in order to diminish your confidence in me by bringing you an idle tale; I saw the most famed states of Asia and Greece daily laying bare their judgments more clearly, with the intention, if it were permitted, of proceeding so far presently that they would have no chance to draw back and repent; I saw Perseus not limiting himself to the kingdom of Macedonia, seizing some places by arms, and by influence and kindness winning over others which could not be subdued by force; I saw how unjust was the fortune that caused you, while he was preparing war on you, to grant him the security of peace, although to me indeed he seemed to be, not preparing war, but almost waging it. Abrupolis,[1] your ally and friend, he expelled from his kingdom; Arthetaurus,[2] the Illyrian, also your ally and friend, because he had learned of some written communications from him to you, he put to death; Eversa and Callicritus[3] the Thebans, leading men of their state, because they had spoken too freely against him in the Boeotian council and had declared that they would report to you what was going on, he caused to be done away with; he sent assistance to the Byzantines contrary to the treaty; he made war on Dolopia; he traversed Thessaly and Doris with his army, in order that he might in their civil war aid the worse cause and crush

[2] Cf. Appian, *Bel. Mac.* XI. 296.
[3] The episode seems not to be mentioned elsewhere.

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9 affligeret; confudit[1] et miscuit omnia in Thessalia Perrhaebiaque spe novarum tabularum, ut manu debitorum obnoxia[2] sibi optimates opprimeret. 10 Haec cum vobis quiescentibus et patientibus fecerit et concessam sibi Graeciam esse a vobis videat, pro certo habet neminem sibi antequam in Italiam 11 traiecerit, armatum occursurum. Hoc quam vobis tutum aut[3] honestum sit, vos videritis: ego certe mihi turpe esse duxi, prius Persea ad bellum inferendum quam me socium[4] ad praedicendum ut[5] cavere- 12 tis venire in Italiam. Functus necessario mihi officio, et quodam modo liberata atque exonerata fide mea, quid ultra facere possum quam uti deos deasque precer ut vos et vestrae rei publicae et nobis sociis atque amicis, qui ex vobis pendemus, consulatis?"

XIV. Haec oratio movit patres conscriptos. Ceterum in praesentia nihil, praeterquam fuisse in curia regem, scire quisquam potuit: eo silentio clausa curia erat. Bello denique perfecto, quaeque dicta ab rege quaeque responsa essent emanavere.

2 Persei deinde regis legatis post paucos dies senatus datus est. Ceterum praeoccupatis non auribus magis quam animis ab Eumene rege, omnis et de- 3 fensio[6] et deprecatio legatorum respuebatur; et exasperavit animos ferocia[7] nimia Harpali, qui

[1] confudit *Fr.*: condit V. [2] obnoxia *Fr.*: ocnoxia V.
[3] vobis tutum aut *Fr.*: uobis tum haut V.
[4] me socium *Fr.*: escium V.
[5] praedicendum ut *Fr.*: praedicendisaut V.
[6] et defensio *iteravit* V, *quae verba alia manus del., signa* ∴ ∴ *superscribens.*
[7] ferocia *J. F. Gronovius*: ferociaanimai (*sic*) V.

[1] The aristocratic or pro-Roman parties in the state.

the better[1]; he threw into confusion and turmoil B.C. 172
everything in Thessaly and Perrhaebia by the prospect of abolition of debts,[2] in order that with the band of debtors bound to him he might overthrow the nobility. Since you remained passive and acquiescent while he did this, and he sees that Greece has been surrendered to him by you, he feels assured that before he crosses into Italy no armed man will meet him. How safe or how honourable this is for you is for yourselves to consider; I at least have deemed it to be a disgrace to me that Perseus should come to Italy to bring war before I, your ally, should have come to warn you to be on guard. Having performed my needful task and, so to speak, absolved and acquitted myself of my trust, what more can I do except pray to the gods and the goddesses that you will look after the interests of yourselves and your state, and of us, your allies and friends who depend upon you? "

XIV. This speech made a profound impression upon the conscript Fathers. But at the time no one was allowed to know anything except that the king had been in the senate-house; with such silence was the senate-house closed. Finally, after the war was over, information leaked out as to what the king had said and what response had been made.

Then a few days later an audience before the senate was given to the ambassadors of King Perseus. But the senators' feelings even more than their ears having been prepossessed by King Eumenes, every plea and every excuse of the ambassadors was rejected: and the excessively arrogant demeanour of Harpalus, who was the leader of the embassy,

[2] Cf. Diod. XXIX. xxxvi.

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princeps legationis erat. Is velle quidem et laborare dixit regem, ut purganti se nihil hostile dixisse aut
4 fecisse fides habeatur: ceterum si pervicacius causam[1] belli quaeri videat, forti animo defensurum se. Martem communem esse et eventum incertum belli.
5 Omnibus civitatibus Graeciae atque Asiae curae erat, quid Persei legati, quid Eumenes in senatu egisset; et propter adventum eius quem moturum aliquid rebantur, miserant pleraeque civitates alia[2] in
6 speciem praeferentes legatos. Et legatio Rhodiorum . . . aderat Romae, cuius ferox erat nec falsa dicturus princeps,[3] haud dubius quin Eumenes civitatis quoque suae crimina[4] Persei criminibus iunxisset.
7 Itaque omni modo per patronos hospitesque disceptandi cum rege locum in senatu quaerebat. Quod
8 cum non[5] contigisset, libertate intemperanti[6] invectus in regem, quod Lyciorum gentem adversus Rhodios concitasset graviorque Asiae esset quam Antiochus fuisset, popularem quidem neque Asiae[7]
9 ingratam populis—nam eo quoque iam favor Persei

[1] causam *Fr.*: causam uel causam V.
[2] *Warmington conjectures* alios alia.
[3] et legatio Rhodiorum erat ac Satyrus princeps *Fr.*: et legationis Rhodiorum ferox erat nec falsa simulaturus princeps *Vahlen*: et legatio Rhodiorum aderat Romae, cuius ferox erat nec falsa dicturus princeps *H. J. Mueller*: et legatio rhodiorum erat hac falsa į(*sic*) turus princeps V.
[4] suae crimina *Vahlen*: sua V.
[5] non *add. Duker*: *om.* V.
[6] intemperanti *J. F. Gronovius*: intemperantius V.
[7] quidem neque Asiae *Hartel*: quidem quidem V.

exasperated their minds. He said that the king B.C. 172
really wished and exerted himself that he should be believed when he pled in his defence that he had neither said nor done anything with hostile intent; but if he saw that a pretext for war was being all too eagerly sought, he would defend himself with resolution. Mars, he said, was impartial, and the result of war uncertain.

All the cities of Greece and Asia were interested in what the ambassadors of Perseus and what Eumenes had said in the senate; and by reason of his coming, which they believed would provoke some action, most of the cities had sent ambassadors alleging this or that as to their errands. [And an embassy of the Rhodians was also present in Rome, the leading man in which was insolent, although what he was to say was not devoid of truth];[1] he felt certain that Eumenes had included some charges against their state too, along with his charges against Perseus. And so in every fashion, through their patrons and Roman hosts, the envoy sought the opportunity to argue with the king in the senate. When this did not fall to his lot, assailing the king with unrestrained violence, because he had stirred up the Lycian people against the Rhodians and because he was more oppressive to Asia than Antiochus had been, he delivered a speech which was ingratiating and not displeasing to the peoples of Asia—for the popularity of Perseus had spread even there—but

[1] The supplement in brackets is that of H. J. Müller (see critical note) and is, like the other supplements which have been suggested, based in part upon Appian, *Bel. Mac.* xi. 3 (White, Vol. II, p. 33 of the L.C.L.). The ambassador is not named by Appian.

A.U.C. 582 venerat—orationem habuit, ceterum invisam senatui inutilemque sibi et civitati suae. Eumeni vero conspiratio adversus eum favorem maiorem [1] apud Romanos fecit. Ita omnes ei honores habiti donaque quam [2] amplissima data cum sella curuli atque eburneo scipione.

XV. Legationibus dimissis cum Harpalus, quanta maxima [3] celeritate poterat, regressus in Macedoniam nuntiasset regi, nondum quidem parantes bellum reliquisse se Romanos, sed ita infestos ut facile appareret non dilaturos, et ipse, praeterquam quod et ita credebat futurum, iam etiam volebat, in flore virium se credens esse. Eumeni ante omnes infestus erat; a cuius sanguine ordiens [4] bellum, Euandrum Cretensem, ducem auxiliorum, et Macedonas tres assuetos ministeriis [5] talium facinorum ad caedem regis subornat litterasque eis dat ad Praxo hospitam, principem auctoritate et opibus Delphorum. Satis constabat Eumenem, ut sacrificaret Apollini, Delphos escensurum. Praegressi cum Euandro insidiatores nihil aliud ad peragendum inceptum quam loci opportunitatem, omnia circumeuntes, quaerebant. Escendentibus ad templum a Cirrha, priusquam perveniretur ad frequentia aedificiis loca, maceria erat ab laeva ad [6] semitam paulum extantem a fundamento, qua singuli transirent; dextra pars labe terrae in ali-

[1] maiorem *add. Hertz*: *om.* V.
[2] quam *Fr.*: cuiquam V.
[3] quanta maxima *Muretus*: quantexima V.
[4] ordiens *Fr.*: oriens V.
[5] ministeriis *Fr.*: ministris V. [6] ad *add. Madvig*: a V.

[1] The attacks of Perseus and the Rhodians were regarded by the Romans as concerted.

was offensive to the senate and useless to the Rhodians and their state. But the conspiracy[1] against Eumenes won for him greater favour with the Romans. And so all honours were conferred upon him and the most generous gifts were bestowed upon him, together with a curule chair and an ivory sceptre. B.C. 172

XV. After the embassies had been dismissed, when Harpalus with all possible speed had returned to Macedonia and reported to the king that he had left the Romans not yet, indeed, preparing for war, but so unfriendly that it was easily evident that they would not try to delay it, then Perseus likewise, not to mention the fact that he believed that this would be the outcome, was now even eager for war, believing that he was at the height of his power. He was more specially incensed at Eumenes; beginning the war with an attempt on his life, he employed Evander the Cretan, a commander of auxiliaries, and three Macedonians who were accustomed to the performance of such crimes, to murder the king, and he gave them a letter to his friend Praxo, a woman high in influence and wealth at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes was intending to go up to Delphi to offer sacrifices to Apollo. The plotters, led by Evander, going in advance and carefully reconnoitering the ground, were searching for nothing else than a suitable place at which to accomplish their purpose. As travellers ascend to the temple from Cirrha, before they reach the districts where buildings abound, there was a wall on the left beside a path which stood out only a little distance from the lower courses of the wall, where men could only pass in single file; the right side, in consequence of a land-slide, had fallen away

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6 quantum altitudinis derupta[1] erat. Post maceriam se abdiderunt gradibus adstructis, ut ex ea velut e
7 muro tela in praetereuntem conicerent. Primo a mari circumfusa turba amicorum ac satellitum procedebat, deinde extenuabant paulatim angustiae
8 agmen. Ubi ad eum locum ventum est qua singulis eundum erat, primus semitam ingressus Pantaleon, Aetoliae princeps, cum quo institutus regi[2] sermo erat.
9 Tum insidiatores exorti saxa duo ingentia devolvunt, quorum altero caput ictum est regi, altero umerus;
10 sopitusque ex semita procidit[3] in declive, multis super prolapsum iam saxis congestis. Et ceteri quidem, etiam amicorum et satellitum turba,[4] postquam cadentem videre, diffugiunt; Pantaleon contra[5] impavidus mansit ad protegendum regem.

XVI. Latrones, cum brevi circumitu maceriae decurrere ad conficiendum saucium possent, velut perfecta re in iugum Parnasi refugerunt eo cursu ut, cum unus non facile sequendo per invia atque ardua moraretur fugam eorum, ne[6] ex comprenso
2 indicium emanaret, occiderint comitem. Ad corpus regis primo amici, deinde satellites ac servi con-
3 currerunt; tollentes sopitum[7] volnere ac nihil sentientem, vivere tamen ex calore et spiritu remanente in praecordiis senserunt: victurum exigua ac prope
4 nulla spes erat. Quidam ex satellitibus secuti

[1] derupta *Duker*: diruta V.
[2] regi *ed. Vascosana*: regis V.
[3] ex semita procidit *Gitlbauer*: exemita procliuit V.
[4] turba *add. Hartel*: *om.* V.
[5] contra *Kreyssig*: constar V.
[6] ne *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[7] sopitum *Fr.*: oppidum V.

to a considerable depth. They concealed themselves B.C. 172
behind the wall, building up steps so that they might hurl their missiles, as from a rampart, upon the king as he passed. At first he approached from the sea surrounded by a crowd of his friends and courtiers, then the narrowness of the road gradually thinned out the line. When they came to that place where they had to walk in single file, the first to enter the path was Pantaleon, a leading citizen of Aetolia, with whom the king had begun a conversation. Then the plotters, springing up, rolled down two huge stones, one of which struck the king's head, the other his shoulder; and being stunned he fell from the path down the slope, and many stones were heaped upon him as he now lay prostrate. And the rest, even the crowd of his friends and courtiers, scattered after they saw his fall; Pantaleon on the other hand courageously remained to defend the king.

XVI. The assassins might have made a short detour around the end of the wall and have run down to kill the wounded man, but, as if their task was completed, they fled toward the ridge of Parnassus with such speed that when one of them, finding it difficult to keep up with the others on the pathless and difficult ground, was delaying their escape, they in order that no information might be got from him in case he were caught, killed him, their companion. First the king's friends, then his courtiers and slaves, gathered around his body; lifting him up, still stunned by the blow and unconscious, they nevertheless, from the warmth and the breath which remained in his chest, perceived that he was alive; there was slight hope—almost no hope at all—that he would recover. Some of the courtiers, following

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latronum vestigia, cum usque ad iugum Parnasi nequiquam fatigati pervenissent, re infecta redierunt. 5 Aggressi facinus Macedones ut non [1] inconsulte ita audacter, coeptum nec consulte et timide reliquerunt. 6 Compotem iam sui regem amici postero die deferunt ad navem; inde Corinthum, ab [2] Corintho per Isthmi 7 iugum navibus traductis, Aeginam traiciunt. Ibi adeo secreta eius curatio fuit, admittentibus neminem, 8 ut fama mortuum in Asiam perferret. Attalus quoque celerius quam [3] dignum concordia fraterna erat credidit; nam et cum uxore fratris et praefecto arcis tamquam iam haud dubius regni heres est 9 locutus. Quae postea non fefellere Eumenen; et quamquam dissimulare et tacite habere et [4] pati statuerat, tamen in primo congressu non temperavit, quin uxoris petendae immaturam [5] festinationem fratri obiceret. Romam quoque fama de morte Eumenis perlata est.

XVII. Sub idem tempus C. Valerius ex Graecia, qui legatus [6] ad visendum statum regionis eius speculandaque consilia Persei regis ierat,[7] redit, con-

[1] non *add. Heusinger*: *om.* V.
[2] ab *Kreyssig*: ad V.
[3] celerius quam *Fr.*: ceteriumquam V.
[4] et *Weissenborn*: id V.
[5] immaturam *Weissenborn*: maturam V.
[6] qui legatus *Fr.*: legatus qui V.
[7] ierat *Vahlen*: eiuserat V.

[1] Ships were hauled across the Isthmus on a roadway.

the trail of the murderers, when, wearying themselves in vain, they had reached the ridge of Parnassus, returned without accomplishing anything. The Macedonians, although they planned their crime not injudiciously and boldly, yet abandoned their undertaking injudiciously and cravenly. The next day the king, having recovered consciousness, was carried aboard ship by his friends; thence they proceeded to Corinth and from Corinth, the ships having been drawn over the ridge of the Isthmus,[1] to Aegina. There his treatment was conducted so secretly, no one being admitted to his presence, that the rumour reached Asia that he was dead. Even Attalus believed it more readily than was worthy of their fraternal harmony; for he conferred with his brother's wife and with the commander of the citadel as if he were now beyond doubt heir to the throne. Later on this did not escape the knowledge of Eumenes; and although he decided to ignore it and pass over it in silence and to endure it, he yet at their first meeting did not refrain from reproaching his brother for his excessive haste to woo his wife.[2] To Rome also the report of the death of Eumenes spread. B.C. 172

XVII. About the same time Gaius Valerius, who had gone to Greece as commissioner to investigate the condition of the region and to enquire into the designs of Perseus,[3] returned from thence,

[2] Stratonice had been childless for over sixteen years: she now became pregnant and in due course bore a son, whom Eumenes, according to Polybius (XXX. 27) had not acknowledged at least five years later, but who subsequently succeeded his legal uncle, Attalus II, as Attalus III. (W. S. Ferguson).

[3] Cf. vi. 5 above.

a.u.c. 582 gruentiaque omnia criminibus ab Eumene adlatis
2 referebat. Simul et adduxerat secum Praxo a Delphis, cuius domus receptaculum latronum fuerat, et L. Rammium Brundisinum, qui talis indicii delator erat.
3 Princeps Brundisi Rammius fuit; hospitioque[1] et duces Romanos omnes et legatos, exterarum quoque
4 gentium insignes,[2] praecipue regios, accipiebat. Ex eo notitia ei cum absente Perseo fuerat; litterisque spem amicitiae interioris magnaeque inde fortunae facientibus ad regem profectus brevi perfamiliaris[3] haberi trahique magis quam vellet in arcanos
5 sermones est coeptus. Promissis enim ingentibus praemiis petere institit ab eo rex, quoniam duces omnes legatique Romani hospitio[4] eius uti adsuessent, quibus eorum ipse scripsisset, ut venenum
6 dandum curaret. Cuius scire se comparationem plurimum difficultatis et periculi habere; pluribus consciis comparari; eventu praeterea incerto esse ut aut satis efficacia ad rem peragendam aut[5] tuta ad
7 rem celandam dentur. Se daturum quod[6] nec in dando nec datum ullo signo deprendi[7] posset.
8 Rammius veritus ne, si abnuisset, primus ipse veneni experimentum esset, facturum pollicitus proficiscitur;

[1] hospitioque *Weissenborn*: hospitioquoque V.
[2] insignes *Fr.*: insignisquoque V.
[3] perfamiliaris *Fr.*: perfamiliam V
[4] hospitio *Fr.*: hostio V.
[5] aut *Fr.*: ad V.
[6] quod *Fr.*: que V.
[7] deprendi *Fr.*: defendi V.

and his reports agreed in all respects with the charges B.C. 172
brought by Eumenes. At the same time, too, he had brought with him Praxo from Delphi, whose house had been the shelter of the assassins, and Lucius Rammius of Brundisium, who was the bearer of the following information. Rammius was a prominent citizen of Brundisium, and he entertained hospitably all Romans, both generals and ambassadors, as well as distinguished personages of foreign states and especially members of princely houses. In consequence he had formed an acquaintance with Perseus, though he was far away; and when a letter roused in him the hope of a more intimate friendship and of great prosperity as a result, he went to visit the king and in a short time began to be regarded as his confidant and to be drawn into his secret conferences to a greater degree than he desired. For by the promise of great rewards the king began to ask of him, since all the Roman generals and ambassadors were accustomed to avail themselves of his hospitality, that he should undertake to poison those about whom Perseus should communicate with him by letter. The king said that he was aware that to obtain poison involved a great deal of trouble and risk; that it was prepared with too many persons sharing in the secret; moreover, that its administration was uncertain, whether doses were sufficiently powerful to accomplish the purpose or sufficiently safe to keep the act concealed. He promised that he would supply a poison which could not be detected by any symptom, either while being given or after it was given. Rammius, fearing that if he refused he himself would be the first to be a test of the poison, promised that he would do as the king

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nec Brundisium ante redire quam convento C. Valerio legato, qui circa Chalcidem esse dicebatur, 9 voluit. Ad eum primum indicio delato, iussu eius[1] Romam simul venit. Introductus in curiam quae acta erant exposuit.

XVIII. Haec ad ea quae ab Eumene delata erant accessere, quo maturius hostis Perseus iudicaretur, quippe quem non iustum modo apparare[2] bellum regio animo, sed per omnia clandestina grassari scelera latrociniorum ac veneficiorum cernebant. 2 Belli administratio ad novos consules reiecta est; in praesentia tamen Cn. Sicinium praetorem, cuius inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, scribere 3 milites placuit, qui Brundisium ducti[3] primo quoque tempore Apolloniam in Epirum traicerentur ad occupandas maritimas urbes, ubi consul cui provincia Macedonia obvenisset, classem appellere tuto et 4 copias per commodum exponere posset. Eumenes, aliquamdiu Aeginae retentus periculosa et difficili curatione, cum primum tuto potuit, profectus Pergamum, praeter pristinum odium recenti etiam scelere 5 Persei stimulante summa[4] vi parabat bellum. Legati eo ab Roma gratulantes[5] quod e tanto periculo evasisset venerunt.

6 Cum Macedonicum bellum in annum dilatum esset, ceteris praetoribus iam in provincias profectis, M.

[1] eius *Fr.*: eiussu V.
[2] apparare *Fr.*: appellare V.
[3] ducti *Fr.*: ducit V.
[4] summa *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] gratulantes *Fr.*: stimulantes V.

wished and departed; nor did he wish to return B.C. 172
to Brundisium until he had met Gaius Valerius, who was said to be in the neighbourhood of Chalcis. Having first given him this information, by the order of Valerius he came with him to Rome. Being introduced into the senate, he reported what had occurred.

XVIII. These revelations, added to those which Eumenes had given, brought to pass a speedier declaration that Perseus was an enemy, since they saw that he was not merely preparing a regular war, as a king should, but was also perpetrating crimes of brigandage and poisoning by all sorts of secret means. The conduct of the war was referred to the next consuls; for the present however, it was decided that Gnaeus Sicinius, the praetor who exercised jurisdiction over cases between citizens and aliens, should enlist troops who should be conducted as rapidly as possible to Brundisium and thence be transported to Apollonia in Epirus as garrisons for the cities on the coast, where the consul to whose lot the province of Macedonia should have fallen might safely put in with his fleet and conveniently disembark his troops. Eumenes, who had been detained for some time at Aegina by a dangerous and difficult course of treatment, setting out for Pergamum as soon as he could safely, was preparing for war with the greatest energy, this fresh attack by Perseus, in addition to his former hatred, urging him on. Ambassadors from Rome came there bringing congratulations because he had escaped from so great a danger.

When the Macedonian war had been put off for a year and the other praetors had already set out for

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Iunius et Sp. Lucretius, quibus Hispaniae provinciae obvenerant, fatigantes [1] saepe idem petendo senatum, tandem pervicerunt ut supplementum sibi ad exercitum daretur: tria milia peditum, centum et quin-
7 quaginta equites in Romanas legiones scribere,[2] in socialem exercitum quinque milia peditum et trecentos equites imperare sociis iussi. Hoc copiarum in Hispanias cum praetoribus novis portatum est.

XIX. Eodem anno, quia per recognitionem [3] Postumi consulis magna pars agri Campani, quem privati sine discrimine passim possederant, recuperata in publicum erat, M. Lucretius tribunus plebis promulgavit ut agrum Campanum censores fruendum
2 locarent, quod factum tot annis post [4] captam Capuam non fuerat, ut in vacuo vagaretur cupiditas privatorum.

3 Cum in [5] expectatione senatus esset bello etsi non indicto, tamen iam decreto, qui regum suam, qui Persei [6] secuturi amicitiam essent, legati Ariarathis puerum filium regis secum adducentes Romam
4 venerunt; quorum oratio fuit regem educendum filium Romam misisse, ut iam inde a puero assuesceret
5 moribus Romanis hominibusque. Petere ut eum non sub hospitum modo privatorum custodia, sed publicae
6 etiam curae ac velut tutelae vellent esse. Et regis [7]

[1] fatigantes *Kreyssig*: fatigatis V.
[2] scribere *add. Crévier*: *om.* V.
[3] recognitionem *Fr.*: secognitionem V.
[4] post *Fr.*: non post V.
[5] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] qui Persei *Madvig*: perseiqui V.
[7] regis *Fr.*: regem et V.

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[1] Cf. i. 6 above and the note.

their provinces, Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, B.C. 172
to whose lots the Spanish provinces had fallen, after wearying the senate again and again by the same request, at length succeeded in having reinforcements voted to them for the army: they were directed to enlist three thousand infantry and one hundred and fifty cavalry for the Roman legions, and for the allied army five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry. These troops were transported to the two Spains with the new praetors.

XIX. This same year, since as a result of the investigation conducted by the consul Postumius a great part of the Campanian land, which private individuals had occupied without making due distinction of boundaries, had been recovered for the state, Marcus Lucretius, tribune of the people, published a measure providing that the censors should issue leases for the use of the Campanian land, which had not been done for so many years after the fall of Capua that the greed of private citizens had a free field in which to wander.[1]

While the senate was in a state of expectancy (the war having already been determined upon even though not formally declared) as to which kings would follow their friendship and which that of Perseus, ambassadors from King Ariarathes came to Rome, bringing with them his young son: their message was that the king sent his son to Rome to be brought up, to the end that even from boyhood he might be accustomed to Roman manners and men. He asked the Romans to receive him, not only under the care of citizens of private station who were his hosts, but as it were under the care and guardianship of the state. The king's embassy was pleasing to

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legatio grata senatui fuit; decreverunt ut Cn. Sicinius praetor aedes instruendas[1] locaret ubi filius regis comitesque eius habitare recte[2] possent. Et Thracum legatis, Maedis[3] Cepnatisque et Astis[4] societatem amicitiamque petentibus et quod petebant datum est, et munera binum[5] milium aeris[6] in 7 singulos missa. Hos utique populos, quod ab tergo Macedoniae Thracia esset, adsumptos in societatem gaudebant. Sed ut in Asia quoque et insulis explorata omnia essent, Ti. Claudium Neronem M. 8 Decimium legatos miserunt. Adire eos Cretam et Rhodum iusserunt, simul renovare amicitiam, simul speculari, num sollicitati animi sociorum ab rege Perseo essent.

XX. In suspensa civitate ad expectationem novi belli, nocturna tempestate columna rostrata in Capitolio bello Punico priore posita ob victoriam M. Aemilii[7] consulis, cui collega Ser. Fulvius fuit, tota ad imum fulmine discussa est. Ea res prodigii loco 2 habita ad senatum relata est; patres et ad[8] haruspices 3 referri et decemviros adire libros iusserunt. Decemviri lustrandum oppidum, supplicationem obsecra-

[1] instruendas *Lentz*: instructas V.
[2] recte *Madvig*: rec V.
[3] Maedis *Madvig*: sedis V.
[4] Astis *H. J. Mueller*: satis V.
[5] binum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] aeris *Duker*: aeris summae V.
[7] priore . . . Aemilii *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[8] ad *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] These states were among the Thracian peoples who were not under Macedonian control. Since they lay to the east of Macedonia, they were, from the Roman standpoint, in its rear.

the Senate; they decreed that Gnaeus Sicinius the B.C. 172
praetor should contract for the rental of a house where the prince and his retinue could suitably reside. When ambassadors of the Thracians, the Maedi, the Cepnati, and the Asti,[1] sought an alliance and friendship, their request was granted and in addition gifts of two thousand *asses* were presented to each. The Romans were glad that these peoples particularly had joined the alliance because Thrace lay in the rear of Macedonia. But, in order to have full information regarding Asia and the islands also, they sent Tiberius Claudius Nero and Marcus Decimius as commissioners. The senate directed them to visit Crete and Rhodes, partly to renew friendships, partly to ascertain whether the sympathies of the allies had been excited by King Perseus.

XX. In a city which was at the highest pitch of excitement about the new war, during a storm at night the *columna rostrata*[2] which had been set up on the Capitoline in the first Punic war in honour of the victory of the consul Marcus Aemilius, whose colleague was Servius Fulvius, was completely destroyed by lightning. This event was regarded as a prodigy and was referred to the senate; the Fathers ordered that the matter should be referred to the *haruspices* and, moreover, that the decemvirs should consult the Books. The decemvirs reported back that the city should be purified, that a period of supplication and prayer should be held and that

[2] This column, which was adorned with the beaks (*rostra*) of captured ships, dated from the year 254 B.C. The similar column of Duilius, a copy of which is preserved, stood in the Forum. There seems to be no further mention of the *columna Aemilia*.

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tionemque habendam, victimis[1] maioribus sacrificandum et in Capitolio Romae et in Campania ad Minervae promunturium renuntiarunt; ludos per decem dies Iovi optimo maximo primo quoque die
4 faciendos. Ea omnia cum cura facta. Haruspices in bonum versurum id prodigium, prolationemque finium et interitum perduellium portendi responderunt, quod ex hostibus spolia fuissent ea
5 rostra, quae tempestas disiecisset.[2] Accesserunt quae cumularent religiones animis: Saturniae nuntiatum erat sanguine per triduum in oppido pluvisse; Calatiae asinum tripedem natum, et taurum cum quinque vaccis uno ictu fulminis[3] exanimatos;
6 Auximi terra pluvisse. Horum quoque prodigiorum causa res divinae factae et supplicatio unum diem feriaeque habitae.

XXI. Consules ad id tempus in provinciam non exierant, quia neque, uti de M. Popilio referrent senatui obsequebantur, et nihil aliud decernere prius
2 statutum patribus erat. Aucta etiam invidia est Popili litteris[4] quibus iterum cum Statellatibus Liguribus proconsul pugnasse se scripsit ac sex milia eorum occidisse; propter cuius iniuriam belli ceteri
3 quoque Ligurum populi ad arma ierunt. Tum vero non absens modo Popilius, qui deditis contra ius ac fas[5] bellum intulisset et[6] pacatos ad rebellandum[7]

[1] victimis *Fr.*: uictissimus oppidis V.
[2] disiecisset *Fr.*: diiecisset V.
[3] fulminis *Fr.*: fluminis V.
[4] litteris *Novák*: litteris eius V.
[5] fas *Fr.*: tam V.
[6] et *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] rebellandum *Gruter*: rebellinum V.

[1] The narrative continues from x. 15 above.

sacrifices of full-grown victims should be offered both B.C. 172
on the Capitoline at Rome and in Campania at the promontory of Minerva; further, that at the earliest possible moment games for ten days should be celebrated in honour of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. All these directions were scrupulously obeyed. The *haruspices* pronounced that this omen would turn out for the best, and that an extension of frontiers and the destruction of the enemy were foretold, because those beaks which the storm had overthrown had been spoils taken from the enemy. Other occurrences also increased their concern to appease the gods: news had been brought that at Saturnia there were showers of blood in the town on three successive days; that at Calatia an ass with three feet was born and a bull with five cows was killed by a single bolt of lightning; that at Auximium a shower of earth had fallen. By reason of these prodigies also sacrifices were offered and a day of prayer and a festival were celebrated.

XXI. The consuls up to this time had not set out to their province [1] because they would not yield to the senate in passing a decree regarding Marcus Popilius, and the Fathers were determined to allow no other decree to have precedence over it. The ill-will against Popilius was increased again by dispatches in which he reported that as proconsul he had fought a second time with the Ligurian Statellates and had killed six thousand of them; because of the injustice done in this war the rest of the Ligurian peoples also took up arms. Then indeed not the absent Popilius alone was reproached in the senate because he had made war on surrendered tribes contrary to justice and right, and had roused

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incitasset, sed consules, quod non exirent in provin-
4 ciam, in senatu increpiti. Hoc consensu patrum accensi M. Marcius Sermo et Q. Marcius Scilla, tribuni plebis, et consulibus multam se dicturos nisi in provinciam exirent denuntiarunt, et rogationem, quam de Liguribus deditis promulgare in animo
5 haberent, in senatu recitarunt. Sanciebatur ut qui ex Statellis deditis in libertatem restitutus ante kal. Sextiles primas non esset, cuius dolo malo is in servitutem venisset, ut iuratus senatus decerneret, qui eam rem quaereret animadverteretque. Ex auctoritate deinde senatus eam rogationem promul-
6 garunt. Priusquam proficiscerentur consules, C. Cicereio, praetori [1] prioris anni, ad aedem Bellonae
7 senatus datus est. Is expositis quas in Corsica res gessisset postulatoque frustra [2] triumpho, in monte Albano, quod iam in morem venerat, ut sine publica
8 auctoritate fieret, triumphavit. Rogationem Marciam de Liguribus magno consensu plebes scivit iussitque.[3] Ex eo plebiscito C. Licinius praetor consuluit senatum, quem quaerere ea rogatione vellet. Patres ipsum eum quaerere iusserunt.

[1] praetori *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[2] frustra *Fr.*: frus V.
[3] plebes scivit iussitque *Fr.*: plebis ciuitati iussitique (*sic*) V.

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[1] Cf. XXVI. xxxiii. 14, XXX. xl. 12. On each of these occasions the matter seems to have been referred by the popular assembly to the senate "with power"; since the senate was in theory only an advisory body (and had on occasion been hostile to the commons), the oath perhaps was meant to bind the senators to the utmost scrupulousness and impartiality in making these delegated and final decisions.

[2] Cf. vii. 1–2 above.

[3] This statement cannot be verified from Livy's narrative,

pacified people to rebellion, but the consuls as well, B.C. 172
because they did not go to their province. Prompted by this harmony among the Fathers, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Scilla, tribunes of the people, first proclaimed that they would lay a fine upon the consuls if they should not go to their provinces, and then read in the senate the motion which they proposed to offer regarding the surrendered Ligurians. It was proposed that in case anyone of the surrendered Statellans had not been restored to liberty before the Kalends of August following, the senate should decree on oath [1] what officials should investigate this matter and punish the person by whose malice the aforesaid person had become a slave. Then, on the authorization of the senate, they published this decree. Before the consuls set out, an audience before the senate was granted to Gaius Cicereius, praetor of the preceding year, in the temple of Bellona. When he had set forth his achievements in Corsica [2] and had vainly demanded a triumph, he celebrated his triumph on the Alban Mount, which had now become customary [3] in order to permit the celebration of a triumph without the authorization of the state. The plebeian assembly voted and ordered the Marcian proposal regarding the Ligurians with complete unanimity. In accordance with this legislation the praetor Gaius Licinius consulted the senate as to whom they would choose to investigate under that bill. The Fathers ordered Licinius himself to conduct the investigation.

in which no triumph *in monte Albano* has been mentioned since XXXIII. xxiii. 8. In that passage, the triumphing consul cites the precedent of "many famous men," but Livy mentions only one, XXVI. xxi.

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XXII. Tum demum consules in provinciam profecti
2 sunt exercitumque a M. Popilio acceperunt.[1] Neque tamen M. Popilius reverti Romam audebat, ne causam diceret adverso senatu, infestiore populo, apud praetorem, qui de quaestione in se proposita[2]
3 senatum consuluisset. Huic detractationi[3] eius tribuni plebis alterius rogationis denuntiatione occurrerunt ut, si non ante idus Novembres in urbem Romam introisset, de absente eo C. Licinius statueret
4 ac iudicaret. Hoc tractus vinculo cum redisset,
5 ingenti cum invidia in senatum venit. Ibi cum laceratus iurgiis multorum esset, senatus consultum factum est ut qui Ligurum post Q. Fulvium[4] L. Manlium consules hostes non fuissent, ut eos C. Licinius Cn. Sicinius praetores in libertatem restituendos curarent, agrumque iis trans Padum consul C.
6 Popilius daret. Multa milia hominum hoc senatus consulto restituta in libertatem, transductisque Padum
7 ager est assignatus. M. Popilius rogatione Marcia bis apud C. Licinium causam dixit; tertio praetor, gratia consulis absentis et Popiliae[5] familiae precibus victus, idibus[6] Martiis adesse reum iussit, quo die novi magistratus inituri erant honorem, ne diceret ius

[1] acceperunt *J. F. Gronovius*: ceperunt V.
[2] proposita *Drakenborch*: positam V.
[3] detractationi *Bekker*: detractioni V.
[4] post Q. Fulvium *Fr.*: postquam fluuium V.
[5] Popiliae *Fr.*: popillio V.
[6] victus idibus *Fr.*: uictulaudibus V.

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[1] B.C. 179, cf. XL. xliii. 4. The senate reversed itself by this action; previously it had granted triumphs, XL. lix. 1–3, XLI. xiii. 6–8, but now implied that these campaigns had been irregular.

XXII. Then at last the consuls set out for their B.C. 172
province and took over the army from Marcus Popilius. The ex-consul, however, did not dare to return to Rome for fear of having to stand his trial, in the face of an unfriendly senate and still more hostile commons, before the praetor who had put to the senate the question of the investigation directed against him. This reluctance of his was met by the threat of another decree sponsored by the tribunes of the people, to the effect that if Popilius did not enter Rome before the thirteenth of November, Gaius Licinius was to determine the facts and pass judgment in his absence. When he returned, dragged home by this fetter, he came before the senate amid great ill-feeling. After he had been assailed there by the attacks of many, a resolution of the senate was passed that those Ligurians who had not been enemies since the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius [1] should be restored to freedom under the supervision of the praetors Gaius Licinius and Gnaeus Sicinius, and should be given land across the Po by the consul Gaius Popilius. Many thousand persons were restored to freedom by this resolution of the senate, and after they had been led across the Po, land was allotted to them. Marcus Popilius twice stood trial before Gaius Licinius in accordance with the Marcian decree ; [2] on the third occasion the praetor, overcome by the influence of the absent consul and the entreaties of the house of Popilius, ordered the defendant to appear on the fifteenth of March, the day on which the new magistrates were to enter upon their offices, so that Licinius himself,

[2] Cf. above, xxi. 8. Normal proceedure required three days in court for each trial.

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8 qui privatus futurus esset. Ita rogatio de Liguribus arte fallaci elusa est.

XXIII. Legati Carthaginienses eo tempore Romae erant et Gulussa, filius Masinissae. Inter eos 2 magnae contentiones in senatu fuere. Carthaginienses querebantur, praeter agrum de quo ante legati ab Roma, qui [1] re praesenti cognoscerent, missi essent, amplius septuaginta oppida castellaque agri Carthaginiensis biennio proximo Masinissam vi [2] atque armis possedisse: id illi, cui nihil pensi sit, facile 3 esse. Carthaginienses foedere illigatos silere; pro- 4 hiberi enim extra fines [3] efferre arma; quamquam sciant in suis finibus, si inde Numidas pellerent,[4] se gesturos bellum, illo haud ambiguo capite foederis deterreri quo diserte vetentur cum sociis populi 5 Romani bellum gerere. Sed iam ultra superbiam crudelitatemque et avaritiam eius non pati posse Carthaginienses. Missos esse, se [5] qui orarent senatum, ut 6 trium harum rerum unam ab se impetrari sinerent: ut vel ex aequo inter regem [6] socium populumque Carthaginiensem [7] quid cuiusque esset disceptarent; vel permitterent Carthaginiensibus ut adversus iniusta

[1] in *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.
[2] vi *Fr.*: queui V.
[3] extrafines *bis scrip.* V.
[4] pellerent *Fr.*: pellent V.
[5] se *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.
[6] inter regem *Madvig*: in V.
[7] Carthaginiensem *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.

[1] On the disputes between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, perhaps including this one, cf. XL. xvii. 1–6, xxxiv. 14, Polybius XXXI. 21, and Appian, *Punic Wars*, VIII. x. Polybius (*loc. cit.*) says of previous disputes between these parties that "the Carthaginians always came off second best at Rome, not because they had no right on their side, but because the judges were convinced that it was in their own interest to decide against them" (tr. Paton, L.C.L.).

since he would be a private citizen, need not pass B.C. 173
judgment. Thus the decree about the Ligurians was evaded by trickery.

XXIII. Carthaginian ambassadors were at Rome at that time, and also Gulussa, the son of Masinissa. Between these, great disputes arose before the senate. The Carthaginians complained that, besides the land about which envoys from Rome had previously been sent[1] to review the situation on the ground, more than seventy towns and forts in Carthaginian territory had been siezed by force of arms during the past two years by Masinissa; this was a simple matter for him, since he was wholly reckless. The Carthaginians, enmeshed in the treaty, had kept quiet, said the envoys, for they were forbidden to campaign beyond their own boundaries;[2] for, even though they knew that if they were to drive out the Numidians, they would be fighting within their boundaries, they were discouraged by that quite definite article of the treaty by which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against allies of the Roman people.[3] But now the Carthaginians could no longer endure Masinissa's arrogance, cruelty and greed. They, the envoys, had been sent to beg the senate to grant one of the following three requests: either that the Romans should impartially draw the line between the possessions of their royal ally and those of the Carthaginian people; or that they should permit the Carthaginians to protect themselves by a right-

[1] Cf. XXX. xxxvii. 4, Polybius XV. 18. 4.

[2] One of the conditions of peace which had been imposed upon the Carthaginians by Scipio had been, according to Appian, *Punic Wars*, VIII. 54, *μήτε Μασσανάσσῃ μήτε ἄλλῳ Ῥωμαίων φίλῳ πολεμεῖν*, cf. below, xxv. 4.

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arma pio iustoque se tutarentur bello; vel ad extremum, si gratia plus quam veritas apud eos valeret, semel statuerent, quid donatum ex alieno
7 Masinissae vellent. Modestius certe daturos eos et se[1] scituros, quid dedissent; ipsum[2] nullum[3] praeterquam suae libidinis arbitrio finem[4] facturum.
8 Horum si nihil impetrarent, et aliquod suum post datam[5] a P. Scipione pacem delictum esset, ipsi
9 potius animadverterent in se. Tutam servitutem se[6] sub dominis Romanis quam libertatem expositam
10 ad iniurias Masinissae malle; perire denique[7] semel ipsis satius esse quam sub acerbissimi[8] carnificis arbitrio spiritum ducere. Sub haec dicta lacrimantes procubuerunt stratique humi non sibi magis misericordiam quam regi[9] invidiam conciliarunt.[10]

XXIV. Interrogari Gulussam placuit quid ad ea[11] responderet, aut, si prius mallet expromere, super
2 qua re Romam[12] venisset. Gulussa neque sibi facile esse dixit de iis rebus agere de quibus nihil mandati a patre haberet, neque patri facile fuisse mandare, cum Carthaginienses nec, de qua re acturi essent, nec omnino ituros se Romam indicaverint.
3 In aede Aesculapi clandestinum eos per aliquot noctes consilium principum habuisse, unde nihil

[1] se *add. Hartel*: *om.* V.
[2] ipsum *Fr.*: quid ipsum V.
[3] nullum *Fr.*: nullam V.
[4] finem *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] aliquod . . . datam *Fr.*: aliquam . . . datum V.
[6] servitutem se *Fr.*: iuuentutem et V.
[7] denique *Vahlen*: neque V.
[8] acerbissimi *Fr.*: aceruissimo V.
[9] quam regi *Fr.*: quereis V.
[10] invidiam conciliaverunt *add. Novák*: *om.* V.
[11] ea *Fr.*: eas V. [12] re Romam *Fr.*: repraeromam V.

eous and proper war against unjust invasion; or, as a last resort, if favouritism outweighed truth with the Romans, that they should decide once and for all what gift of the possessions of others they wished to be given to Masinissa; the Romans would surely be more moderate in their giving, and the Carthaginians would know what they had given; for the Numidian himself would set no limit except in accordance with his own pleasure. If they were granted none of these requests, and some fault had been incurred by them since the peace granted them by Publius Scipio, let the Romans rather inflict punishment upon them. They preferred a safe slavery under Roman masters to a freedom exposed to the injustices of Masinissa; lastly, it was better for them to perish once than to drag out their existence at the whim of a most bitter torturer. With this speech they prostrated themselves in tears, and as they couched on the ground won as much ill-feeling against the king as pity for themselves. B.C. 172

XXIV. The senate voted to ask Gulussa what he would reply to these charges, or, if he preferred to explain this first, on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa replied that it was not easy for him to discuss matters on which he had no instructions from his father, nor had it been easy for his father to give instructions, inasmuch as the Carthaginians had not given notice as to what they intended to discuss, or even that they were going to Rome in the first place. They had held a secret council of the leading men in the temple of Aesculapius [1] for several

[1] Aesculapius is the Graeco-Roman equivalent of the Carthaginian god Esmun; for another alleged secret conference in this temple, cf. XLI. xxii. 2.

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emanasse[1] praeterquam[2] legatos occultis cum mandatis Romam mitti. Eam causam fuisse patri mittendi se Romam, qui deprecaretur senatum ne quid communibus inimicis criminantibus se crederent,[3] quem ob nullam aliam causam nisi propter constantem fidem erga populum Romanum odissent. His utrimque auditis senatus, de postulatis Carthaginiensium consultus responderi ita iussit: Gulussam placere extemplo in Numidiam proficisci et nuntiare patri ut de iis de quibus Carthaginienses querantur legatos quam primum ad senatum mittat denuntietque Carthaginiensibus, ut ad disceptandum veniant. Se alia quae[4] possent Masinissae honoris causa et fecisse et facturos esse; ius gratiae non dare. Agrum qua cuiusque sit possideri velle, nec novos statuere fines, sed veteres observare in animo habere. Carthaginiensibus victis se et urbem et agros concessisse, non ut in pace eriperent per iniuriam, quae iure belli non ademissent.[5] Ita regulus Carthaginiensesque dimissi. Munera ex instituto data utrisque aliaque hospitalia comiter conservata.

XXV. Sub idem tempus Cn. Servilius Caepio Ap. Claudius Cento T. Annius Luscus legati ad res

[1] nihil emanasse *add. Drakenborch* : *om.* V.
[2] praeterquam *Clericus* : praeterea V.
[3] crederent *Fr.* : Romam V.
[4] alia quae *Weissenborn* : aliquem V.
[5] ademissent *Fr.* : admisissent V.

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[1] By its presiding officer, the City Praetor.

nights, about which no news had leaked out except B.C. 172
that envoys with secret instructions were being sent to Rome. This had been the occasion of his father's sending him to Rome, in order that he might beg the senate not to believe the enemies of both peoples when they brought charges against Masinissa, whom they hated for no other reason than his unwavering loyalty toward the Roman people. After these addresses from both parties, the senate, when questioned [1] on the subject of the requests of the Carthaginians, ordered the following answer to be given: It was the decision of the senate that Gulussa should depart at once for Numidia and report to his father that he should send envoys as soon as possible to the senate to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and that he should announce this to the Carthaginians, so that they might come to argue the matter. The senate had done and would do whatever it could to honour Masinissa, but justice it did not hand over to favouritism. It wished land to be in the possession of the rightful owner, and its purpose was not to set new boundaries, but to maintain the old. After conquering the Carthaginians, the Romans had granted them both their city and their territory, not in order to rob them unjustly in peace of what they had not taken under the laws of war. With this reply the prince and the Carthaginians were dismissed. Gifts were given to both embassies according to custom [2] and the other duties of hospitality were courteously observed.

XXV. About the same time there returned Gnaeus Servilius Caepio, Appius Claudius Cento and Titus Annius Luscus, the envoys sent to Macedonia to

[1] Cf. above, vi. 11, and the note.

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repetendas in Macedoniam renuntiandamque amici-
2 tiam regi missi redierunt; qui iam sua sponte infestum
Persei senatum insuper accenderunt, relatis ordine
quae vidissent quaeque audissent: vidisse se per
omnes urbes Macedonum summa vi parari bellum.
3 Cum ad regem pervenissent, per multos dies con-
veniendi eius potestatem non factam; postremo,
cum desperato iam colloquio profecti essent, tum
demum se ex itinere revocatos et ad eum introductos
4 esse. Suae orationis summam fuisse: foedus cum
Philippo ictum esse,[1] cum ipso eo post mortem
patris renovatum, in quo diserte prohiberi eum extra
fines arma efferre, prohiberi socios populi Romani
5 lacessere bello. Exposita deinde ab se ordine,
quae ipsi nuper in senatu Eumenen vera omnia
6 et comperta referentem audissent. Samothracae
praeterea per multos dies occultum consilium cum
7 legationibus civitatium Asiae regem habuisse. Pro
his iniuriis satisfieri senatum aequum censere,
reddique sibi res sociisque suis quas contra ius
8 foederis habeat. Regem ad ea primo accensum ira
inclementer locutum, avaritiam superbiamque
Romanis obicientem frementemque [2] quod alii super

[1] esse cum *Madvig*: secum V.
[2] frementemque *Hertz*: frequentem V.

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[1] A traditional phrase for the first step in breaking off relations and declaring war; for the traditional practice of early Rome of which this is a reminiscence cf. I. xxxii. 5–13; on the revised practice of the times here under discussion cf. XXXVI. iii. 7–12.

[2] The following description of Perseus' attitude does not agree with Livy's account of his diplomacy later (below, chapters xxxvi and xxxix). We may suspect that the latter comes from Polybius, and is more accurate; the account here,

demand reparations[1] and denounce the treaty of B.C. 172
friendship with King Perseus. These envoys inflamed the hostility which the senate had felt of its own accord toward Perseus by telling, one after another, the things which they had seen and heard; they had seen, they said, preparations for war going forward with the utmost vigour through all Macedonian cities. When they had come to the court, for many days an opportunity of meeting the king was denied them; finally, when, having actually despaired of a conference, they had departed, then at last they had been recalled from their journey and brought before him. The gist of their speech had been as follows: a treaty had been made with Philip, and renewed with Perseus himself after his father's death, in which he was explicitly forbidden to lead his army beyond his own territory, and also forbidden to assail in war the allies of the Roman people. Next the envoys had explained in detail the whole series of ascertained facts which the Fathers had recently heard Eumenes recount in the senate. Moreover, the king had held at Samothrace for many days a secret conference with embassies from the states of Asia. For these violations, the envoys informed the king, the senate thought it right that reparation be made, and that possessions which the king held contrary to the regulations of the treaty be returned to the Romans and their allies. The king[2] had at first replied to these statements ungraciously, being inflamed with anger, had charged the Romans with greed and arrogance, and had yelled that em-

the substance of which appears also in Appian, *Macedonian Wars*, IX. xi, may be derived from some intensely Roman writer, who wanted to justify the forcing of the war by Rome.

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alios legati venirent speculatum[1] dicta factaque sua, quod se ad nutum imperiumque eorum omnia
9 dicere ac facere aequum censerent; postremo multum ac diu vociferatum reverti postero die iussisse:
10 scriptum se responsum dare velle. Tum ita sibi scriptum traditum esse: foedus cum patre ictum ad se nihil pertinere; id se renovari, non quia probaret sed quia in nova possessione regni patienda
11 omnia essent, passum. Novum foedus si[2] secum facere vellent, convenire prius de condicionibus debere; si in animum inducerent,[3] ut ex aequo foedus fieret, et se visurum quid sibi faciendum esset, et illos credere e re publica[4] consulturos.
12 Atque ita se proripuisse, et summoveri e regia omnes coeptos. Tum[5] se amicitiam et societatem renuntiasse.[6] Qua voce eum accensum restitisse atque voce clara denuntiasse sibi ut triduo regni sui decederent
13 finibus. Ita se profectos; nec sibi aut manentibus aut abeuntibus[7] quidquam hospitaliter aut benigne factum.

14 Thessali deinde Aetolique legati auditi. Senatui, ut scirent quam primum quibus ducibus usura res publica esset, litteras mitti consulibus placuit ut uter eorum posset[8] Romam ad magistratus creandos veniret.

XXVI. Nihil magnopere quod memorari attineat,

[1] speculatum *Kreyssig*: speculati V.
[2] novum foedus si *Kreyssig*: nouo foedus sęi (*sic*) V.
[3] inducerent *Fr.*: inducere V.
[4] credere e re publica *Madvig*: crede re p(*sic*) V.
[5] tum *Fr.*: cum V.
[6] renuntiasse *Fr.*: senuntiasse V.
[7] manentibus aut abeuntibus *Madvig*: manent ibi V.
[8] posset *J. F. Gronovius*: esset V.

bassies kept coming one after another to spy upon his words and actions, because they thought it right that he should do and say everything at their beck and call; finally, after shouting a long wordy harangue, he had ordered them to return the next day, since he wished to give them a reply in writing. Then the following written statement had been given them: the treaty made with Perseus' father was in no way binding on him; he had endured its renewal, not because he approved of it, but because immediately on assuming the kingship he had had to endure anything. If the Romans wished to make a new treaty with him, some agreement as to terms should first be reached; if they could bring themselves to make a treaty on terms of equality, he for his part would see what he should do and they for theirs, he supposed, would take care of the interests of their state. After delivering this message, Perseus had begun to hurry out, and the dismissal of everyone from the palace had begun. Thereupon the envoys had denounced the friendship and alliance. Angered at this utterance, Perseus had stopped and in a loud voice had enjoined upon them to leave the borders of his realm within three days. Accordingly they had set out; no sign of hospitality or courtesy had been shown them during their stay or as they departed. B.C. 172

Next the envoys of the Thessalians and Aetolians were heard. In order that the senate might know as soon as possible what military commanders the state was to use, it was voted that dispatches be sent to the consuls to request that whichever of them could do so should come to Rome for the election of magistrates.

XXVI. The consuls had accomplished for the state

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rei publicae eo anno consules gesserant. Magis e re publica visum erat comprimi ac sedari exasperatos Ligures.

2 Cum Macedonicum bellum expectaretur, Gentium quoque, Illyriorum regem, suspectum Issaei[1] legati fecerunt, simul questi fines suos eum depopulatum,[2] simul nuntiantes uno animo vivere Macedonum atque Illyriorum regem; communi consilio parare 3 Romanis bellum; et specie legatorum Illyrios speculatores Romae esse Perse auctore missos ut quid 4 ageretur, scirent. Illyrii vocati in senatum; qui cum legatos se esse missos ab rege dicerent ad purg- 5 anda crimina, si qua de rege Issaei deferrent,[3] quaesitum est, quid ita non adissent magistratum, ut ex instituto loca, lautia acciperent, sciretur denique venisse eos et super qua re venissent?[4] Haesitantibus in responso,[5] ut curia excederent 6 dictum; responsum tamquam legatis qui ut[6] adirent senatum non postulassent, dari non placuit; mittendosque ad regem legatos censuerunt qui nuntiarent quid[7] socii quererentur; senatum existimare non aequum eum facere qui ab sociis 7 suis non abstineret iniuriam. In hanc legationem missi A. Terentius Varro, C. Plaetorius, C. Cicereius.

Ex Asia qui circa socios reges missi erant redierunt

[1] Issaei *Madvig*: esse V.
[2] q.f.s.e.d. *Madvig*: quaestione suo secundo populatum V.
[3] d.r.I.d. *Madvig*: deregessisse different V.
[4] s.q.r.u. *Fr.*: super de re uenisse V.
[5] in responso *Fr.*: inrebeusponso V.
[6] qui ut *Madvig*: ut qui V.
[7] quid *Madvig*: quis V.

[1] Gentius was not in fact definitely attached to Perseus, cf. below, xxix. 11 and xxxvii. 2.
[2] Cf. XXVIII. xxxix. 19.

during this year nothing which is particularly worth mentioning. It was considered more useful to the state that the thoroughly aroused Ligurians should be restrained and calmed. B.C. 172

While war with Macedonia was awaited, Issaean envoys brought suspicion also on Gentius, king of the Illyrians, both by complaining that he had ravaged their territory, and also by reporting that the Illyrian king was in harmony with the Macedonian; that they were concerting plans for war against the Romans; and that Illyrian spies, ostensibly an embassy, had been sent to Rome at Perseus' suggestion to get information of what was going forward.[1] These Illyrians were called before the senate: when they said that they had been sent by the king as envoys to clear him of any charges which might be brought by the Issaeans, they were asked why in that case they had not approached a magistrate, in order to receive lodging and official entertainment[2] according to custom, and indeed in order that their arrival and their purpose might be known. When they hesitated in their answer, they were bidden to leave the senate-house; the senate refused to reply, as they would to envoys, to men who had not requested to be presented to the senate. It was decided to send envoys to the king to inform him of the complaints made by Rome's allies, with the message that the senate considered that he was acting unjustly in not refraining from wrong to these allies of theirs. On this embassy were sent Aulus Terentius Varro, Gaius Plaetorius and Gaius Cicereius.

From Asia the envoys, who had been sent round to the several allied kings,[3] returned and reported that

[3] Cf. above, xix. 6.

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legati, qui rettulerunt[1] Eumenen Aeginae[2] Antiochum in Syria, Ptolemaeum Alexandriae sese convenisse. Omnes sollicitatos legationibus Persei, sed egregie in[3] fide permanere pollicitosque omnia quae populus Romanus imperasset praestaturos. Et civitates socias adisse: ceteras satis fidas, Rhodios[4] fluctuantes et imbutos Persei consiliis invenisse. Venerant Rhodii legati ad purganda ea quae volgo iactari[5] de civitate sciebant; ceterum senatum iis non prius dari quam novi[6] consules magistratum inissent placuit.

XXVII. Belli apparatum non differendum censuerunt. C. Licinio praetori negotium datur ut ex veteribus quinqueremibus in navalibus Romae subductis quae possent usui esse reficeret pararetque naves quinquaginta. Si quid ad eum numerum explendum deesset, C. Memmio collegae in Siciliam scriberet ut eas quae in Sicilia naves essent reficeret atque expediret, ut Brundisium primo quoque tempore mitti possent. Socios navales libertini[7] ordinis in viginti et quinque naves ex civibus Romanis C. Licinius praetor scribere iussus; in quinque et viginti parem numerum Cn. Sicinius sociis imperaret; idem praetor peditum octo milia, quadringentos equites[8] ab sociis Latini nominis exigeret. Hunc

[1] rettulerunt *Harant*: redierunt V.
[2] Aeginae *H. J. Mueller*: ine (*sic*) V.
[3] egregie in *Fr.*: egraeciae V.
[4] Rhodios *Madvig*: socios V.
[5] purganda ea quae volgo iactari *Fr.*: purganda eaq. uolgo lactari V.
[6] prius dari quam novi *Vahlen*: ui V.
[7] libertini *Fr.*: liberti V.
[8] equites *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

they had met Eumenes at Aegina, Antiochus in Syria and Ptolemy at Alexandria. All had received overtures from the embassies of Perseus but remained nobly loyal and had promised to accomplish everything which the Roman people might command. The envoys had also visited the allied city-states; they had found all of them loyal except Rhodes, which was wavering and steeped in Perseus' plots. Envoys of Rhodes had come to Rome to clear the city of the charges which they knew were generally being bandied about; however, it was decided not to hold a meeting of the senate for them until the new consuls should have entered on their office. B.C. 172

XXVII. The senate decided not to postpone the preparations for war. To Gaius Licinius the praetor was given the task of repairing and making ready fifty of the old quinqueremes which were stored in the ship-yards at Rome [1] and might still be usable. If these were insufficient to make up the number, he was to write to his colleague Gaius Memmius in Sicily to repair and fit out the ships in Sicily, so that they could be sent as soon as possible to Brundisium. Gaius Licinius the praetor was ordered to enroll, from among Roman citizens of the class of freedmen, sailors for twenty-five ships; [2] Gnaeus Sicinius was to order an equal number for twenty-five ships from the allies; the same praetor was to raise eight thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry [3] from the allies of the Latin

[1] For the reverse of this process, cf. XLV. ii. 10.

[2] Cf. XXIV. xi, XXXII. xxiii. 9, XXXVI. ii. 15, XL. xviii. 7.

[3] Smaller numbers for the force which Sicinius actually had in Macedonia are given below, xxxvi. 8 (cf. Zonaras IX. 22).

A.U.C. militem qui Brundisi acciperet atque in Macedoniam
582 mitteret, A. Atilius Serranus, qui priore anno
5 praetor fuerat, deligitur. Cn. Sicinius praetor ut[1] exercitium paratum ad traiciendum haberet, C. Popilio consuli ex auctoritate senatus C. Licinius praetor scribit ut et legionem secundam, quae maxime veterana in Liguribus erat, et ex[2] sociis Latini nominis quattuor milia peditum, ducentos equites idibus Februariis Brundisi adesse iuberet.
6 Hac classe[3] et hoc exercitu Cn. Sicinius provinciam Macedoniam obtinere donec successor veniret iussus, prorogato in annum imperio. Ea omnia quae senatus censuit impigre facta sunt. Duodequadraginta quinqueremes ex navalibus deductae; qui deduceret eas Brundisium, L. Porcius Licinus
8 praepositus; duodecim ex Sicilia missae. Ad frumentum classi exercituique coemendum in Apulium Calabriamque tres legati missi, Sex. Digitius, T. Iuventius, M. Caecilius. Ad omnia praeparata Cn. Sicinius praetor, paludatus ex urbe profectus, Brundisium venit.

XXVIII. Exitu prope anni C. Popilius consul Romam redit aliquanto serius quam senatus[4] censuerat, cui primo quoque tempore magistratus creari, cum tantum bellum immineret, e re publica visum[5]

[1] ut *Kreyssig*: qui ut V.
[2] ex *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[3] i.h.c. *Fr.*: h.c.i. V.
[4] senatus *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] e re publica visum *Bekker*: repulsum V.

[1] The phrase *socii Latini nominis* has previously been translated "Latin allies" (Foster) and "allies of the Latin confederacy" (Sage). These allies were at this time a class of citizens having no political rights at Rome, but having private

Name.[1] To receive this soldiery at Brundisium and B.C. 172
send it to Macedonia, Aulus Atilius Serranus, who had been praetor the preceding year, was chosen. In order that Gnaeus Sicinius the praetor should have an army ready to cross over, Gaius Licinius the praetor, on authorization of the senate, wrote to Gaius Popilius the consul to order both the second legion, which was the longest in service in the Ligurian country, and four thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry of the allies of the Latin Name to be at Brundisium on the thirteenth of February. With this fleet and this army Gnaeus Sicinius was instructed to hold the theatre of operations in Macedonia until his successor should arrive, his term of command being prolonged for a year. All these orders voted by the senate were vigorously carried out. Thirty-eight quinqueremes were launched from the ship-yards; Lucius Porcius Licinus was put in command to take them to Brundisium; twelve were sent from Sicily. To purchase grain in Apulia and Calabria for the fleet and army three commissioners were sent, Sextus Digitius, Titus Iuventius, and Marcus Caecilius. Gnaeus Sicinius the praetor set out from Rome in military dress, and on arriving in Brundisium found everything in readiness.

XXVIII. Almost at the end of the year Gaius Popilius the consul returned to Rome, somewhat later than the senate had advised, for they had thought it to the interest of the state, since so great a war was impending, that magistrates be elected as early as

rights (rights of trade and marriage); they lived in selected communities all over Italy, and, in later times, also in the provinces; there was no longer any necessary connection with Latium; these allies were simply Class B citizens.

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2 erat. Itaque non secundis auribus patrum auditus est consul, cum in aede Bellonae de rebus in Ligur-
3 ibus gestis dissereret. Succlamationes frequentes erant interrogationesque cur scelere fratris oppressos Ligures in libertatem non restituisset.
4 Comitia consularia in quam edicta[1] erant diem,
5 ante diem duodecimum kal. Martias, sunt habita. Creati consules P.[2] Licinius Crassus, C. Cassius Longinus. Postero die praetores facti C. Sulpicius Galba, L. Furius Philus, L. Canuleius Dives, C. Lucretius Gallus,[3] C. Caninius Rebilus, L. Villius[4]
6 Annalis. His praetoribus provinciae decretae, duae iure Romae dicendo, Hispania et Sicilia et Sardinia, ut uni sors integra esset quo senatus censuisset. Consulibus designatis imperavit senatus ut qua die
7 magistratum inissent, hostiis[5] maioribus rite mactatis precarentur ut quod bellum populus Romanus in animo haberet gerere ut id prosperum eveniret.
8 Eodem die decrevit senatus C. Popilius consul ludos per dies decem Iovi optimo maximo fieri[6] voveret donaque circa omnia pulvinaria dari, si[7] res publica decem annos in eodem statu fuisset.
9 Ita ut censuerant, in Capitolio vovit consul, ludos

[1] edicta *Fr.*: deuicta V.
[2] P. *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] Gallus *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] Villius *Sigonius*: iunius V.
[5] hostiis *Fr.*: hostibus V.
[6] fieri *add. Perizonius*: *om.* V.
[7] si *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

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[1] On the date of the elections, cf. XXXVIII. xlii. 2, XL. lix. 5.

possible. And so it was in no favourable mood that B.C. 172
the Fathers listened to the consul as in the temple of Bellona he discussed his accomplishments among the Ligurians. There were frequent outcries and questions as to why he had not restored to freedom the Ligurians crushed by his brother's injustice.

The consular elections were held on the day for which they had been proclaimed, the eighteenth of February.[1] The consuls elected were Publius Licinius Crassus and Gaius Cassius Longinus. On the following day there were elected as praetors Gaius Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Gaius Lucretius Gallus, Gaius Caninius Rebilus and Lucius Villius Annalis. To these praetors there were assigned as provinces two judgeships in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia, so that for one there was an unassigned position, at the disposal of the senate.[2] The consuls-elect were instructed by the senate that, on the day of their entering upon their office, they were to pray, after due sacrifice of full-grown victims, that, in the war which the Roman people were intending to wage, the outcome might be favourable. On the same day the senate decreed that Gaius Popilius the consul should vow that games for ten days be dedicated to Jupiter, Greatest and Best, and that gifts be given to all the banquet-tables of the gods [3] if for ten years the state should remain in unchanged fortune. As the senate had decreed, the consul made on the Capitol the vow that games be held and gifts

[2] For such roving commissions, cf. XXXV. xx. 7 (consul), XXXV. xli. 6 (praetor in command of the fleet, area of operations discretionary) XXVII. xxii. 3 and XLIV. xvii. 10.
[3] Cf. XXXVI. ii. 2.

A.U.C. 582 fieri donaque[1] dari quanta ex pecunia decresset senatus, cum centum et quinquaginta non minus adessent. Praeeunte verba Lepido pontifice maximo id votum susceptum est.

10 Eo anno sacerdotes publici mortui L. Aemilius Papus decemvir sacrorum et Q. Fulvius Flaccus 11 pontifex, qui priore anno fuerat censor. Hic foeda morte perit. Ex duobus filiis eius qui tum in Illyrico militabant, nuntiatum alterum mortuum, alterum[2] 12 gravi et periculoso morbo[3] aegrum esse. Obruit animum simul luctus metusque: mane ingressi cubiculum servi laqueo dependentem invenere. Erat opinio post censuram minus compotem fuisse sui; vulgo Iunonis Laciniae iram ob spoliatum 13 templum alienasse mentem ferebant. Suffectus in Aemili locum decemvir M. Valerius Messalla; in Fulvi pontifex Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, oppido adulescens sacerdos, est lectus.

A.U.C. 583 XXIX. P. Licinio C. Cassio consulibus non urbs tantum Roma nec terra Italia, sed omnes reges civitatesque quae in Europa quaeque in Asia erant converterant animos in curam Macedonici ac Romani 2 belli. Eumenen cum vetus odium stimulabat, tum recens ira, quod scelere regis[4] prope ut victima 3 mactatus Delphis esset. Prusias, Bithyniae rex,

[1] donaque *Madvig*: donarique V.
[2] mortuum alterum *add. Weissenborn.*
[3] morbo *Fr.*: morte V.
[4] regis *Jacobs*: eius V.

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[1] Burial was refused those who hanged themselves, according to a law which dates from a very early period (Servius on *Aeneid* XII. 603).
[2] Cf. above, iii.

given from as large an appropriation as the senate, B.C. 173
with a quorum of one hundred and fifty, might decree. Lepidus the chief pontifex dictated the words as this vow was taken.

In this year there died of the priests of the state Lucius Aemilius Papus, of the Board of Ten for Ritual, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus the pontifex, who had been censor the year before. He died a disgraceful[1] death. Of his two sons, who were at that time serving in the army in Illyricum, it was reported that one had been killed and one was stricken with a severe and dangerous disease. Grief and fear together overwhelmed the father's mind; slaves who entered his bedroom in the morning found him hanging in a noose. It was thought that after his censorship he was not wholly himself; a common rumour had it that the wrath of Lacinian Juno over the robbing of her temple[2] had unbalanced his mind. In Aemilius' place on the Board of Ten Marcus Valerius Messalla was substituted; in Fulvius' place as pontifex Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, a man quite young for a priesthood, was chosen.

XXIX. In the consulship of Publius Licinius and B.C. 171
Gaius Cassius, not only the city of Rome and the land of Italy, but also all kings and states both in Europe and in Asia, had turned their minds to concern over the war between Macedonia and Rome. Eumenes was urged on by his former enmity and quite as much by his fresh anger, because through the king's crime he had been almost slaughtered like a beast for sacrifice at Delphi.[3] Prusias, the king of Bithynia,

[3] Cf. above, xvi. and the note. For the plot against Eumenes as an occasion of the war cf. Polybius XXII. 18 and XXVII. 6.

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statuerat abstinere armis et[1] eventum expectare; nam neque Romanos posse aequum censere, adversus fratrem uxoris se[2] arma ferre, et apud Persea victorem veniam per sororem impetrabilem fore. 4 Ariarathes Cappadocum rex, praeterquam quod Romanis suo nomine auxilia pollicitus erat, ex quo est iunctus Eumeni adfinitate, in omnia belli pacisque 5 se consociaverat consilia. Antiochus imminebat quidem Aegypti regno, et pueritiam regis et inertiam tutorum spernens; et ambigendo de Coele Syria 6 causam belli se habiturum existimabat gesturumque id nullo impedimento occupatis Romanis in Macedonico bello; quod ad[3] bellum tamen omnia et per suos legatos senatui et ipse legatis eorum 7 enixe[4] pollicitus erat. Ptolemaeus propter aetatem alieni tum arbitrii erat; tutores et bellum adversus Antiochum parabant, quo vindicarent Coelen Syriam, et Romanis omnia pollicebantur ad Macedonicum 8 bellum. Masinissa et frumento iuvabat Romanos et auxilia cum elephantis Misagenenque filium mittere ad bellum parabat. Consilia autem in omnem 9 fortunam ita disposita habebat: si penes Romanos victoria esset, sua quoque in eodem statu mansura

[1] et *add. Vahlen.*
[2] se *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[3] ad *add. Vahlen*: *om.* V.
[4] enixe *Kreyssig*: exine V.

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[1] Cf. above, xii. 3, and Appian, *Mithridatic Wars*, XII. i. 2.

[2] Cf. XXXVIII. xxxix. 6; on Ariarathes' pro-Romanism, above, xix. 3–6.

[3] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 19; Ptolemy VI Philometor was about 16 at this time, having succeeded to the throne in 181 B.C. His tutors were Eulaeus and Lenaeus; the former is accused of cowardice by Polybius XXVIII. 21.

had determined to refrain from arms and await the B.C. 171
outcome; for, he thought, the Romans for their part could not think it right that he should take up arms against his wife's brother, and, as for Perseus, if he conquered, reconciliation might be effected with him through his sister.[1] Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, apart from the fact that he had promised aid directly to the Romans, was from the time of his alliance in marriage with Eumenes in harmony with the latter in all plans for peace or war.[2] Antiochus was indeed threatening the kingdom of Egypt, in scorn of the youth of the king and the sluggishness of his guardians;[3] and he expected, by raising disputes about Hollow Syria,[4] to have a cause for war and to wage it without obstacle while the Romans were busied with the Macedonian war; however, for this war he had zealously promised everything to the senate through his envoys, and personally to the envoys of the senate. Ptolemy because of his age was at that time still under the control of others; his guardians were both preparing war against Antiochus, in order to clear their title to Hollow Syria, and were promising the Romans everything for the war with Macedonia. Masinissa was helping the Romans with grain and was preparing to send to the war troops with elephants under command of his son Misagenes. However, he had plans ready for any outcome, and arranged as follows: if victory should be on the side of the Romans,

[4] The district of Damascus, and extending to the north, between Lebanon and Antilebanon; it had first belonged to Seleucus, was conquered by Ptolemy Philadelphus in 280 and held by Egypt till 218; it was retaken by Antiochus the Great in 201–198, and given by him as dowry for his daughter Cleopatra, mother of the reigning Ptolemy.

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esse,[1] neque ultra quidquam movendum; non enim
10 passuros Romanos vim Carthaginiensibus adferri; si
fractae essent[2] opes Romanorum, quae tum protege-
erent Carthaginienses, suam omnem Africam fore.
11 Gentius rex Illyriorum fecerat potius cur suspectus
esset Romanis quam satis statuerat, utram foveret
partem impetuque magis quam consilio his aut
12 illis[3] se adiuncturus videbatur. Cotys Thrax Odrys-
arum rex clam[4] Macedonum partis erat.

XXX. Haec sententia regibus cum esset de bello, in liberis gentibus populisque plebs[5] ubique omnis ferme ut solet deterioribus erat, ad[6] regem Macedonasque
2 inclinata; principum diversa[7] cerneres studia. Pars ita in Romanos effusi erant ut auctoritatem immodico
3 favore corrumperent, pauci ex iis iustitia imperii Romani capti, plures ita si praecipuam operam navassent potentes sese in civitatibus suis futuros
4 rati. Pars altera regiae adulationis erat; quosdam[8] aes alienum et desperatio rerum suarum eodem manente statu praecipites ad novanda omnia agebat; quosdam ventosum ingenium, quia ad[9] Persea magis
5 aura popularis ierat.[10] Tertia pars, optima eadem

[1] mansura esse *Madvig*: mansurasse V.
[2] fractae essent *Fr.*: freta essent V.
[3] his aut illis *J. F. Gronovius*: iis aut illius V.
[4] clam *Gertz*: eiad V.
[5] plebs *Fr.*: gens V.
[6] ad *J. F. Gronovius*: ob V.
[7] diversa *Fr.*: aduersa V.
[8] quosdam *Gertz*: quos V.
[9] ad *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[10] ierat *Madvig*: erat V.

[1] As used here, the name covers only the north-western part of the continent.
[2] Cf. above, xxvi. 2.

then his own situation would remain unchanged, B.C. 171
nor should he make any move to expand, for the Romans would not permit violence to be used against the Carthaginians; if the powers of Rome, which then were sheltering the Carthaginians, should be broken, all Africa[1] would be his. Gentius, king of the Illyrians, did not so much determine which side he would favour, as succeed in becoming an object of suspicion to the Romans, and seemed to be about to join the one or the other through impulse more than reasoning.[2] The Thracian Cotys,[3] king of the Odrysae, secretly sided with Macedonia.

XXX. While these were the feelings of the kings about the war, among the free groups and peoples, the commons everywhere were almost all, as usual, for the worse side, being inclined toward the king and the Macedonians; among the leading men one might notice conflicting interests. Some were so enraptured with the Romans as to undermine their own influence by their unrestrained partizanship; a few of them were attracted by the justice of Roman rule, most were moved by the thought that if they displayed some especial service for the Romans they would become powerful in their own states. Another group were toadies to the king; some, because of debt and despair of their own fortunes if no change should occur, were driven headlong to the overturning of everything. Some were upset by their own windy instability of character, since the breeze of popular favour turned in Perseus' direction. A third group, which was also the worthiest

[3] Polybius XXVII. 12 speaks highly of Cotys' ability; he was counter-balanced by other Thracians, cf. above, xix. 7; for his help to Perseus, cf. below, li. 10.

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et prudentissima, si utique optio domini potioris daretur, sub Romanis quam sub rege malebat esse; 6 si liberum in ea re [1] arbitrium fortunae esset, neutram partem volebant potentiorem altera oppressa fieri, sed illibatis [2] potius viribus utriusque partis pacem ex aequo manere; ita inter utrasque optimam condicionem civitatium fore, protegente altera semper 7 inopem ab alterius iniuria. Haec sentientes certamina fautorum utriusque partis taciti ex tuto spectabant.

8 Consules, quo die magistratum inierunt, ex senatus consulto cum circa omnia fana, in quibus lectisternium maiorem partem anni esse solet, maioribus hostiis immolassent, inde preces suas [3] acceptas ab diis immortalibus ominati, senatui rite sacrificatum precationemque de bello factam renuntiarunt. Haruspices ita responderunt: si quid rei novae 9 inciperetur, id maturandum esse; victoriam, trium- 10 phum, propagationem [4] imperii portendi. Patres, quod bonum faustum [5] felixque populo Romano esset, centuriatis comitiis primo quoque die ferre [6]

[1] in ea re *Vahlen*: inde V.
[2] illibatis *Fr.*: inliuatam V.
[3] suas *Fr.*: suasque V.
[4] propagationem *Perizonius*: prorogatio V.
[5] imperii . . . faustum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] quoque die ferre *Fr.*: diferre V.

[1] Livy's apparent lack of pro-Roman bias at this point probably results from his having taken this material from

and wisest,[1] if merely a choice of a dominating superior were offered them, preferred to be under the Romans rather than under the king; but if they had a free choice of destiny in this respect, they wished neither side to become the more powerful through the downfall of the other, but rather that, the strength of both sides being unexhausted, peace on terms of equality should continue; thus the situation of the free states with respect to the two powers would be most advantageous, since one power would always protect the weak against wrongdoing by the other. With these sentiments they watched silently from a safe position the contests of the partisans of either side. B.C. 171

In accordance with a decree of the senate, the consuls, on the day of their inauguration, offered sacrifices of full-grown victims at all the temples in which a banquet for the god is usually spread during the greater part of the year; thereupon, feeling assured that their prayers were approved by the immortal gods, they reported to the senate that due sacrifice and prayer for the war had been made. The diviners [2] gave the following report: If any new enterprise should be begun, it should be speeded on; victory, triumph, and enlargement of the realm were forecast. The Fathers, with the wish that it might be well and of good omen and fortune for the Roman people, instructed the consuls to present on the first possible day to the people, assembled in their Hun-

Polybius, who was active in one of the groups which believed in the balance of power.

[2] These diviners (the Latin term *haruspices* has previously been used) observed all manner of signs, especially the entrails of sacrificial animals; their art was originally Etruscan (cf. V. xv. 1).

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ad populum consules iusserunt ut quod Perseus Philippi filius, Macedonum rex, adversus foedus cum patre Philippo ictum et secum post mortem eius renovatum sociis populi Romani arma intulisset, 11 agros vastasset[1] urbesque occupasset, quodque belli parandi adversus populum Romanum[2] consilia inisset, arma milites classem eius rei causa comparasset, ut, nisi de iis rebus satisfecisset, bellum cum eo iniretur. Haec rogatio ad populum lata est.

XXXI. Senatus consultum inde factum est ut consules inter se provincias Italiam et Macedoniam compararent sortirenturve; cui Macedonia obvenisset, ut is regem Persea quique eius sectam secuti essent, nisi populo Romano satisfecissent, bello 2 persequeretur. Legiones quattuor novas scribi placuit, binas singulis consulibus. Id praecipui[3] provinciae Macedoniae datum quod, cum alterius consulis legionibus[4] quina milia et duceni pedites ex vetere instituto darentur in singulas legiones, in Macedoniam sena milia peditum scribi iussa, equites 3 treceni aequaliter in singulas legiones. Et in sociali

[1] vastasset *Fr.*: uastaret V.
[2] PR. *Fr.*: praetorem V.
[3] praecipui *Lipsius*: praecipue V.
[4] legionibus *Fr.*: legationibus V.

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[1] The founding of the *comitia centuriata* was ascribed to Servius Tullius in 578 B.C. It was the second in age of the Roman assemblies; by this time, it was the older and more dignified of the assemblies actually held, having elective and judicial functions as well as the legislative ones which it shared with the *comitia tributa*.

[2] A much-mutilated inscription (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 3rd ed. No. 643) has been discovered, containing a letter of the senate to the Delphic Amphictyony,

dreds,[1] the resolution that, whereas Perseus, son of B.C. 171
Philip, King of Macedonia, contrary to the treaty made with his father Philip and renewed with himself after the death of his father, had invaded allies of the Roman people, had devastated their land and seized their cities, and whereas he had entered on plans for preparing war against the Roman people, and had assembled arms, soldiers and fleet for the said purpose, resolved that, unless he offered satisfaction in these matters, war against him be undertaken.[2] This resolution was passed by the people.

XXXI. Thereupon a decree of the senate ws passed that the consuls should with each other arrange or draw lots for the districts of Italy and Macedonia, and that the consul to whom Macedonia should fall should attack in war King Perseus and those who took his part, unless they rendered satisfaction to the Roman people. It was voted to enroll four new legions, two for each consul. The special arrangement was made for the district of Macedonia that, although to the legions of the other consul five thousand two hundred infantry per legion were allotted in accordance with old custom, for Macedonia six thousand infantry[3] were ordered to be enrolled and for both forces three hundred cavalry in each legion. Also the number for the force of allies was

which has been restored as setting forth the grievances of the Romans against Philip as related here and below by Livy, as well as by other authors.

[3] Cf. XLIII. xii. 3–4 and XLIV. xxi. 8 for the extra strength of these legions; in XXXV. ii. 4, a strength of 6200 is mentioned; however, Polybius (III. cvii. 11 and VI. xx. 8) states that the normal strength of the legion was about 4000 infantry, and emergency strength, about 5000, which suggests that Livy may be using inflated figures here.

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exercitu consuli alteri auctus numerus: sedecim milia peditum octingentos equites, praeter eos quos Cn. Sicinius duxisset, sescentos equites, in Macedoniam 4 traiceret. Italiae satis visa duodecim milia sociorum peditum, sescenti equites. Illud quoque praecipuum datum sorti Macedoniae, ut centuriones militesque veteres scriberet quos vellet consul usque ad quin- 5 quaginta annos. In tribunis militum novatum eo anno propter Macedonicum bellum, quod consules ex senatus consulto ad populum tulerunt, ne tribuni militum eo anno suffragiis crearentur, sed consulum praetorumque in iis faciendis iudicium arbitriumque 6 esset. Inter praetores ita partita imperia: praetorem, cuius sors fuisset ut iret quo senatus censuisset, 7 Brundisium ad classem ire placuit, atque ibi recognoscere [1] socios navales, dimissisque si qui parum idonei essent, supplementum legere ex libertinis et dare operam ut duae partes civium Romanorum, tertia 8 sociorum esset. Commeatus classi legionibus ut ex Sicilia Sardiniaque [2] subveherentur, praetoribus, qui [3] eas provincias sortiti essent, mandari placuit ut alteras decimas Siculis Sardisque imperarent, quod [4] frumentum ad exercitum in Macedoniam portaretur. 9 Siciliam C. Caninius Rebilus est sortitus, L. Furius Philus Sardiniam, L. Canuleius Hispaniam,[5] C. Sulpicius Galba urbanam iurisdictionem L. Villius [6]

[1] recognoscere *Bekker*: recognosceret V.
[2] Sardiniaque *Fr.*: sardinia V.
[3] qui *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] quod *Vahlen*: utquod V.
[5] L. Canuleius Hispaniam *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] L. Villius *Sigonius*: c. iulius V.

[1] The election of tribunes of the soldiers had been the rule since 309 B.C. (*supra* IX. xxx. 3). Later half were elected, half appointed (XLIII. xii. 7 and XLIV. xxi. 2–3).

increased for the one consul; he was to take over to B.C. 171
Macedonia sixteen thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry besides the six hundred cavalry under the command of Gnaeus Sicinius. For Italy twelve thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry of the allies were judged sufficient. The following privilege was also granted to the Macedonian allotment, that the consul might at his discretion enroll former centurions and soldiers up to fifty years of age. In connection with the tribunes of the soldiers, an innovation was made that year because of the Macedonian war, a change brought before the commons by the consuls in accordance with a resolution of the senate, namely, that tribunes of the soldiers should not be chosen by vote for this year but that the consuls and praetors should exercise their judgment and choice in appointing them.[1] Commands were divided among the praetors as follows: it was decided that the praetor whose lot it was to go where the senate determined should go to the fleet at Brundisium and there inspect the sailors; after discharging any who were unfit, he was to enroll replacements from among freedmen, and see to it that two-thirds should be Roman citizens and one-third allies. It was voted to instruct the praetors who should draw Sicily and Sardinia, in order that provisions from these provinces might be conveyed to the fleet and legions, that they should impose a second tithe[2] on the Sicilians and Sardinians, this grain to be transported to the army in Macedonia. Sicily was drawn by Gaius Caninius Rebilus, Sardinia by Lucius Furius Philus, Spain by Lucius Canuleius, the jurisdiction over citizens by Gaius Sulpicius Galba, that over aliens by Lucius Villius Annalis;

[1] Cf. XXXVII. l. 9.

A.U.C. 583 Annalis inter peregrinos; C. Lucretio Gallo, quo senatus censuisset sors obvenit.

XXXII. Inter consules magis cavillatio quam magna contentio de provincia fuit. Cassius sine sorte [1] se Macedoniam optaturum [2] dicebat, nec posse 2 collegam salvo iureiurando secum sortiri. Praetorem eum enim ne [3] in provinciam iret, in contione iurasse se stato loco statisque diebus sacrificia habere quae absente se recte fieri non possent; quae non magis consule quam praetore absente recte fieri posse, 3 si [4] senatus non quid velit in consulatu, potius quam quid in praetura iuraverit P. Licinius, animadvertendum esse censeat; se tamen futurum in senatus potestate. Consulti patres, cui consulatum populus 4 Romanus non negasset, ei [5] ab se provinciam negari superbum rati, sortiri consules iusserunt. P. Licinio 5 Macedonia, C.[6] Cassio Italia obvenit. Legiones inde sortiti sunt: prima et tertia ut [7] in Macedoniam traicerentur, secunda et quarta ut in Italia remanerent.

6 Dilectum consules multo intentiore quam alias cura [8] habebant. Licinius veteres quoque scribebat milites centurionesque; et multi voluntate nomina dabant, quia locupletes videbant, qui priore Macedonico bello aut adversus Antiochum in Asia stipendia

[1] sorte *Fr.*: forte V.
[2] optaturum *Ruben*: oppugnaturum V.
[3] eum enim ne *Vahlen*: eumenien V.
[4] posse si *Heller*: possent si V.
[5] ei *add. Pluygers*: *om.* V.
[6] C. *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[7] ut *add. Wesenberg*: *om.* V.
[8] intentiore . . . cura *Kreyssig*: intentiorem . . . curam V.

the lot placed Gaius Lucretius Gallus at the senate's B.C. 171
disposal.

XXXII. Between the consuls there was an outburst of sarcasm rather than a great dispute concerning the assignment of their provinces. Cassius said he would choose Macedonia without the lot and that his colleague could not, without perjury, cast lots with him. For when Licinius had been praetor,[1] that he might not have to go to his province, he had sworn before an assembly that he had sacrifices in a fixed place and on fixed days which could not be duly performed in his absence; sacrifices could no more be duly performed in the absence of a consul than in the absence of a praetor, unless the senate thought it best to take notice of Publius Licinius' wishes as consul, rather than of the oath he had taken as praetor; however, said Cassius, he would submit himself to the senate. When the matter was laid before the Fathers, inasmuch as they thought it would be arrogant on their part to withhold a province from the man from whom the Roman people had not withheld the consulship,[2] they ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Gaius Cassius. Next the legions were allotted; the first and third were to cross to Macedonia, the second and fourth to remain in Italy.

The consuls were conducting the levy with by far more painstaking care than usual. Licinius was also enrolling the veteran soldiers and centurions; likewise many enlisted voluntarily, because they saw that those who had served in the former Macedonian campaign or against Antiochus in Asia had become

[1] Cf. XLI. xv. 10.
[2] For a somewhat similar verdict, cf. XXXII. vii. 11.

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fecerant.[1] Cum tribuni militum, qui centuriones scribebant,[2] primum quemque citarent, tres et viginti centuriones qui primos pilos duxerant [3] citati tribunos plebis appellarunt. Duo ex collegio, M.[4] Fulvius Nobilior et M. Claudius Marcellus, ad consules rem [5] reiciebant: eorum cognitionem esse debere, quibus dilectus quibusque bellum mandatum esset; ceteri cognituros se de quo appellati essent aiebant, et si iniuria fieret, auxilium civibus laturos.[6]

XXXIII. Ad subsellia tribunorum res agebatur; eo M. Popilius consularis, advocatus centurionum, et [7] 2 centuriones et consul venerunt. Consule inde postulante ut in contione ea res ageretur, populus in contionem advocatus. Pro centurionibus M. Popilius, qui biennio ante consul fuerat, ita verba 3 fecit: Militares homines et stipendia iusta et corpora et aetate et assiduis laboribus confecta habere,[8] nihil recusare [9] tamen quo minus operam rei publicae dent. Id tantum deprecari, ne inferiores iis ordines quam quos cum [10] militassent habuissent, attri-

[1] fecerant *Fr.*: ferabant V.
[2] scribebant *H. J. Mueller*: sed V.
[3] duxerant *Fr.*: deduxerant V.
[4] *ante* M., M. fuluius nouiliore *inseruit* V.
[5] rem *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[6] laturos *Fr.*: staturos V.
[7] centurionum et *add. Hertz*: *om.* V.
[8] habere *Fr.*: habent L.
[9] recusare *Fr.*: recusarent V.
[10] cum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] Former rank was not renewed at re-enlistment; however, it was no doubt taken into account by enlisting officers; this incident may have been a turning-point, as in later times rank was regularly held over on re-enlistment.

rich. When the military tribunes who were appoint- B.C. 171
ing centurions were assigning men as they came,[1] twenty-three veterans who had held the rank of chief centurion [2] on being named appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of these magistrates, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, referred the matter back to the consuls; for, they said, the investigation belonged to those to whom the levy and the war had been committed; the other tribunes said they would investigate the matter of the appeal, and if wrong was being done, they would come to the aid of their fellow-citizens.

XXXIII. The investigation took place at the benches of the tribunes; thither came Marcus Popilius, the ex-consul, as counsel for the centurions, the centurions themselves, and the consul. At the request of the consul that this investigation take place before an assembly, the people were summoned to an assembly. On behalf of the centurions Marcus Popilius, who had been consul two years before, addressed the people as follows: These soldierly men had ended their regular military service and had also ended their physical vigour because of both age and unremitting labour; however, they offered no objection to contributing their services to the state. This one request they did make, that they should not be assigned ranks lower than those they had held during their regular service.[3] Publius

[2] The forward, or ranking, centurion of the first maniple of the reserve formation (*triarii*) was so called; it is not certain whether the rear centurion of this maniple (*primus pilus posterior*) would also be included; *duxerant* suggests his exclusion. Cf. Polybius VI. 24.

[3] In the army contemplated there were not, however, enough such positions to go around.

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4 buerentur.[1] P. Licinius consul senatus consulta[2] recitari iussit, primum, quo bellum senatus Perseo iussisset, deinde, quo veteres centuriones quam plurimos[3] ad id bellum scribi censuisset, nec ulli qui non maior annis quinquaginta esset vacationem
5 militiae esse. Deprecatus est deinde, ne[4] in novo bello, tam propinquo Italiae, adversus regem
6 potentissimum, aut tribunos militum dilectum habentes impedirent, aut prohiberent consulem, quem cuique ordinem assignari e re publica esset, eum assignare. Si quid[5] in ea re dubium esset ad senatum reicerent.

XXXIV. Postquam consul quae voluerat dixit, Sp. Ligustinus, ex eo numero, qui tribunos plebis appellaverant, a consule et ab tribunis[6] petit ut sibi paucis
2 ad populum agere liceret. Permissu omnium ita locutus fertur:

"Sp. Ligustinus Crustumina[7] ex Sabinis sum oriundus, Quirites. Pater mihi iugerum agri reliquit et parvum tugurium, in quo natus educatusque
3 sum, hodieque[8] ibi habito. Cum primum in aetatem veni, pater mihi uxorem fratris sui filiam dedit, quae secum nihil attulit praeter libertatem

[1] habuissent attribuerentur *Fr.*: habuisset adtribuerunt V.
[2] senatus consulta *Crevier*: cos. sc. *sic* V.
[3] plurimos *J. F. Gronovius*: plurimum V.
[4] ne *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[5] Si quid *Fr.*: isiquide (*sic*) V.
[6] tribunis *Fr.*: tribuno V.
[7] Crustumina *Weissenborn*: tribus crustimina V.
[8] hodieque *Fr.*: hodiecumque V.

[1] The district of this tribe lay just north of Rome; it was perhaps a new tribe in 495 B.C., cf. II. xxi. 7.

[2] This was less than the standard minimum of two *iugera* for landed property; Ligustinus was therefore technically

Licinius the consul ordered to be read the decrees B.C. 171
of the senate, first that in which the senate authorized the war against Perseus, then that in which it resolved that as many former centurions as possible be enrolled for this war, and no exemption from service be granted to anyone under fifty-one years of age. Then he made the request that, in a new war, at so little a distance from Italy, against a very powerful king, the people should not hinder the military tribunes who were holding the levy or prevent the consul from assigning such rank to each man as was to the best interests of the state. If there were any doubtful point in this matter, let them refer it back to the senate.

XXXIV. After the consul had said what he wished, Spurius Ligustinus, one of the men who had appealed to the tribunes of the people, asked of the consul and the tribunes that he be permitted to address a few words to the people. With everyone's permission he is said to have spoken as follows:

"I, Spurius Ligustinus of the tribe of Crustumina,[1] come of Sabine stock, fellow-citizens. My father left me an acre[2] of land and a little hut, in which I was born and brought up, and to this day I live there. When I first came of age, my father gave me as wife his brother's daughter,[3] who brought with her nothing but her free birth and her chastity, and

a *proletarius*, and no doubt needed his military career as a means of livelihood.

[3] Marriage of first cousins was at times not recognized as legal at Rome; it is not clear whether this was a rustic irregularity, or an indication of the lapse of any such impediment at this time. Cf. Cicero, *Philippics*, II. 99 (Antony made such a marriage), Tacitus, *Annals*, XII. 6 (regarded as unprecedented), Plutarch, *Roman Questions*, 6 (a recent innovation).

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pudicitiamque, et cum his fecunditatem, quanta vel
4 in diti domo satis esset. Sex filii nobis, duae filiae
sunt, utraeque iam nuptae. Filii quattuor togas
5 viriles habent, duo praetextati sunt. Miles sum
factus P. Sulpicio C. Aurelio consulibus. In eo
exercitu quo in Macedoniam est transportatus, bien-
nium miles gregarius fui adversus Philippum regem;
tertio anno virtutis causa mihi T. Quinctius Flamini-
6 nus decimum ordinem hastatum assignavit. Devicto
Philippo Macedonibusque cum in Italiam reportati [1] ac
dimissi essemus, continuo miles voluntarius cum M.
7 Porcio consule in Hispaniam sum profectus. Nemi-
nem omnium imperatorum quo vivant acriorem [2]
virtutis spectatorem ac iudicem fuisse sciunt, qui et
illum et alios duces longa militia experti sunt. Hic
me imperator dignum iudicavit cui primum hastatum
8 prioris centuriae assignaret. Tertio iterum volun-
tarius miles factus sum in eum exercitum qui adversus
Aetolos et Antiochum regem est missus. A M'.
Acilio [3] mihi primus princeps prioris centuriae est
9 assignatus. Expulso rege Antiocho subactis [4] Aetolis
reportati sumus in Italiam; et deinceps bis, quae

[1] reportati *Fr.*: portati V.
[2] acriorem *Fr.*: acrioris V.
[3] a M'. Acilio *Sigonius*: a.m. caelio V.
[4] subactis *Fr.*: subactolis V.

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[1] That is, were over sixteen or seventeen; the man's toga, except for senators, was plain white; the boy's had a purple border-stripe.

[2] 200 B.C., cf. XXXI. v. 1.

[3] The advance formation (*hastati*) was the lowest in rank of the three main subdivisions of the legion, and the tenth maniple the lowest in rank in the formation; from his subsequent status, it seems likely that Ligustinus was given the

with these a fertility which would be enough even B.C. 171
for a wealthy home. We have six sons, and two daughters, both of whom are now married. Four of our sons have assumed the toga of manhood,[1] two wear the boys' stripe. I became a soldier in the consulship of Publius Sulpicius and Gaius Aurelius.[2] In the army which was taken over to Macedonia I served two years as a private soldier against King Philip; in the third year, for my bravery, Titus Quinctius Flamininus made me centurion of the tenth maniple of the advance formation.[3] After the defeat of Philip and the Macedonians, when we had been brought back to Italy and discharged, immediately I set out for Spain as a volunteer soldier with Marcus Porcius the consul.[4] No one, of all the generals now living, was a keener observer and judge of bravery, as those know who have had experience of him and other leaders, too, through long service. This general judged me worthy to be assigned as centurion of the forward first century of the advance formation. For the third time I enlisted, again voluntarily, in the army which was sent against the Aetolians and King Antiochus.[5] By Manius Acilius I was given the rank of centurion of the forward first century of the main formation. When King Antiochus had been driven out and the Aetolians beaten, we were brought back to Italy; and twice

forward centurionship (*prior*), not the very lowest in the legion, the rear (*posterior*). For the origin of these subdivisions of the legion, cf. VIII. viii. 5–13; Polybius VI. 21. 6–23.

[4] 195 B.C., cf. XXXIII. xlii. 7 and xliii. The consul was the famous Cato the Censor. Ligustinus had returned to Italy before his commander Flamininus, who returned at the same time that Cato came back from Spain.

[5] 191 B.C., cf. XXXVI. i. ff.

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annua merebant legiones, stipendia feci. Bis deinde in Hispania militavi, semel Q. Fulvio Flacco, iterum
10 Ti. Sempronio Graccho praetore. A Flacco inter ceteros, quos virtutis causa secum ex provincia ad[1] triumphum deducebat, deductus sum; a Ti. Graccho
11 rogatus in provinciam ii. Quater intra paucos annos primum pilum duxi; quater et tricies virtutis causa donatus ab imperatoribus sum; sex civicas coronas accepi. Viginti duo stipendia annua in exercitu emerita habeo, et maior annis sum quin-
12 quaginta. Quodsi mihi nec stipendia omnia emerita essent necdum aetas vacationem daret, tamen, cum quattuor milites pro me vobis[2] dare, P. Licini,
13 possem, aequum erat me dimitti. Sed haec pro causa mea dicta accipiatis velim; ipse me, quoad quisquam qui exercitus scribit idoneum militem
14 iudicabit, numquam sum excusaturus. Quo ordine[3] me dignum iudicent tribuni militum, ipsorum est potestatis; ne quis me virtute in exercitu praestet, dabo operam; et[4] semper ita fecisse me et[5] imperatores mei et qui una stipendia fecerunt testes sunt.
15 Vos quoque aequum est, commilitones, etsi appellatione vestrum[6] usurpatis ius, cum adulescentes nihil adversus magistratuum senatusque auctoritatem

[1] ad *Fr.*: ex V.
[2] me vobis *Novák*: meo uobis V.
[3] quo ordine *H. J. Mueller*: ordine quo V
[4] et *J. F. Gronovius*: ut V.
[5] me et *Fr.*: mut V.
[6] appellatione vostrum *Madvig*: appellationem uos V.

after that I was in campaigns where the legions served for a year. Then I campaigned twice in Spain, once when Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was praetor,[1] and again when Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus held that office.[2] I was brought home by Flaccus along with the others whom he brought with him from the province for his triumph because of their bravery;[3] I went back to the province because Tiberius Gracchus asked me. Four times within a few years I held the rank of chief centurion; thirty-four times I was rewarded for bravery by my generals; I have received six civic crowns.[4] I have done twenty-two years of service in the army, and I am over fifty years old. But if all my years of service had not been completed and my age did not yet give me exemption, still, since I could give you four soldiers in my place, Publius Licinius, it would be fair to discharge me. But I should like you to accept these things that I have said on my side of the case; for my part, as long as anyone who is enrolling armies considers me fit for service, I will never beg off. Of what rank the military tribunes think me worthy is for them to decide; I shall see to it that no one in the army surpasses me in bravery; and that I have always done so, both my generals and those who have served with me are witnesses. It is fair for you too, fellow-soldiers, even though you are within your rights in this appeal, since, when you were young you never did anything against the authority of the magistrates and the senate, now also

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[1] 181 B.C., cf. XL. i. l, xvi. 7–10, xxx–xxxiii, xxxvi. 10–11 and xxxix–xl.

[2] 180 B.C., cf. XL. xxxv. 2, xl. 14. [3] Cf. XL. xliii. 4–7.

[4] For saving the life of a Roman citizen.

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usquam feceritis, nunc quoque in potestate consulum ac senatus[1] esse et omnia honesta loca ducere, quibus rem publicam defensuri sitis."

XXXV. Haec ubi dixit,[2] collaudatum multis verbis P. Licinius[3] consul ex contione in senatum
2 duxit. Ibi quoque ei ex auctoritate senatus gratiae actae, tribunique militares in legione prima primum pilum virtutis causa ei assignarunt. Ceteri centuriones remissa[4] appellatione ad dilectum oboedienter responderunt.
3 Quo maturius in provincias magistratus proficiscerentur, Latinae kalendis Iuniis fuere; eoque sollemni perfecto C. Lucretius praetor omnibus quae ad classem opus erant praemissis Brundisium est pro-
4 fectus. Praeter eos exercitus quos consules comparabant, C. Sulpicio Galbae praetori negotium datum ut quattuor legiones scriberet urbanas,[5] iusto numero peditum equitumque, iisque quattuor tribunos mili-
5 tum ex senatu legeret qui praeessent; sociis Latini nominis imperaret quindecim milia peditum, mille et ducentos equites; is exercitus uti[6] paratus esset
6 quo senatus censuisset. P. Licinio consuli ad exercitum civilem socialemque[7] petenti addita auxilia, Ligurum duo milia, Cretenses sagittarii—incertus numerus, quantum rogati[8] Cretenses misis-
7 sent—Numidae item equites elephantique. In eam

[1] consulum ac senatus *H. J. Mueller*: ac senatu consultum V.
[2] dixit *Fr.*: sitis V.
[3] Licinius *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[4] remissa *Kreyssig*: praemissa V.
[5] scriberet urbanas *Fr.*: scriberent uruanas V.
[6] uti *Fr.*: is uti V.
[7] socialemque *Fr.*: societatemque V.
[8] rogati *J. F. Gronovius*: rogati auxilia V.

to submit to the consuls and the senate, and to consider every place honourable in which you will be defending the state." B.C. 171

XXXV. When he had said this, Publius Licinius the consul praised him at some length and took him from the assembly to the senate. There also thanks were expressed to him by authorization of the senate, and the military tribunes gave him for his bravery a chief centurionship in the first legion. The other centurions gave up their appeal and obediently responded to the levy.

In order that the magistrates might set out sooner for their provinces, the Latin Festival was held on the first of June;[1] and after this ceremony had been completed the praetor Gaius Lucretius, having sent ahead everything needed for the fleet, set out for Brundisium. Besides those armies which the consuls were raising, the task was given the praetor Gaius Sulpicius Galba of enrolling four city legions of the regular number of infantry and cavalry, and of choosing for them from the senate four military tribunes as commanders; he was to order from the allies of the Latin Name fifteen thousand infantry and twelve hundred cavalry, this force to assemble at a place which the senate should determine. At the request of the consul Publius Licinius, to his army of citizens and allies there were added auxiliary troops, two thousand Ligurians, archers from Crete—the number which the Cretans sent on request is not certain—and also Numidian cavalry and elephants.

[1] But according to the Julian calendar, this would have been some date in April; the calendar divergence at this period can be checked by eclipses of the moon in 190 B.C. (XXXVII. iv. 4) and in 168 (XLIV. xxxvii. 8).

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rem legati ad Masinissam Carthaginiensesque missi L. Postumius Albinus, Q. Terentius Culleo, C. Aburius. In Cretam item legatos tres [1] ire placuit, A. Postumium Albinum, C. Decimium,[2] A. Licinium Nervam.

XXXVI. Per idem tempus legati ab rege Perseo venerunt. Eos in oppidum intromitti non placuit, cum iam bellum regi eorum et Macedonibus et 2 senatus decresset et populus iussisset. In aedem Bellonae in senatum introducti ita verba fecerunt: mirari Persea regem quid in Macedoniam exercitus 3 transportati essent; si impetrari a senatu posset,[3] ut ii revocentur, regem de iniuriis, si quas sociis factas quererentur, arbitratu senatus satisfacturum 4 esse. Sp. Carvilius, ad eam ipsam rem ex Graecia remissus ab Cn. Sicinio, in senatu erat.[4] Is Perrhaebiam expugnatam armis, Thessaliae aliquot urbes captas, cetera quae aut ageret aut pararet rex, cum 5 argueret, respondere ad ea legati iussi. Postquam haesitabant, negantes sibi ultra quidquam mandatum esse, iussi renuntiare regi, consulem P. Licinium 6 brevi cum exercitu futurum in Macedonia esse: ad eum, si satisfacere in animo esset, mitteret legatos.

[1] i.C.i.l.t. *Fr.*: in creta mitterent legatos res V.
[2] Decimium *Sigonius*: decium V.
[3] posset *Fr.*: esset V.
[4] erat *Fr.*: eratuerat V.

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[1] But below, ch. liii. 8, Perseus takes Perrhaebia all over again. Livy's account here of the king's actions shows that the tale of Perseus' belligerence, as previously told, is a Roman invention to justify the forcing of the "irrepressible conflict" by Rome.

For this purpose there were sent as envoys to Masinissa and the Carthaginians Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo and Gaius Aburius. It was also decided that three envoys should go to Crete, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Gaius Decimius and Aulus Licinius Nerva. B.C. 171

XXXVI. During the same time envoys from King Perseus arrived. It was decided not to admit them to the city, since the senate had decreed and the people had ordered war with their king and the Macedonians. On being presented before the senate in the temple of Bellona they spoke as follows: King Perseus wondered why armies had been carried across to Macedonia; if he might persuade the senate to recall them, the king would make amends at the discretion of the senate for any wrongs done to their allies, of which they might complain. Spurius Carvilius, who had been sent back from Greece by Gnaeus Sicinius for this very purpose, was in the senate. When he had complained of Perrhaebia's having been stormed by force of arms,[1] of the capture of several Thessalian cities,[2] and of other things which the king was either doing or about to do, the envoys were ordered to make a reply thereto. After they hesitated, saying that they had no further instructions, they were ordered to report to the king that the consul Publius Licinius would shortly be in Macedonia with an army; let the king, if giving satisfaction was his purpose, send envoys to *him*.

[2] In XLI. xxii. 6 and xxiii. 14 only a peaceful tour of Thessaly is mentioned; by comparing below, ch. xlii. 1 and lxvii. 9–11, we may gather that at least three Thessalian cities struck up an alliance with Perseus as the result of this visitation; but "capture" is a Roman exaggeration.

A.U.C. 583 Romam quod praeterea mitteret non esse; nemini
7 enim eorum[1] per Italiam ire liciturum. Ita dimissis
P. Licinio consuli mandatum intra undecimum[2] diem
iuberet eos Italia excedere, et Sp. Carvilium mitteret
8 qui donec navem conscendissent custodiret. Haec
Romae acta, nondum profectis in provinciam consuli-
A.U.C. 582 bus. Iam Cn. Sicinius qui, priusquam magistratu
abiret, Brundisium ad classem et ad exercitum prae-
missus erat, traiectis in Epirum quinque milibus
peditum, trecentis equitibus, ad Nymphaeum in agro
9 Apolloniati castra habebat. Inde tribunos cum
duobus milibus[3] militum ad occupanda Dassare-
tiorum et Illyriorum castella, ipsis accersentibus
praesidia, ut tutiores a finitimorum impetu Mace-
donum essent, misit.

XXXVII. Paucis post diebus Q. Marcius et[4] A. Atilius et P. et Ser. Cornelii Lentuli et L. Decimius, legati in Graeciam missi, Corcyram peditum mille secum advexerunt; ibi inter se et regiones quas obirent

[1] nemini enim eorum *Duker*: neminemeorum V.
[2] intra undecimum *Fr.*: ettraxi V.
[3] milibus *Fr.*: milia V.
[4] et *add. Wesenberg*: *om.* V.

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[1] Livy repeats this account below ch. xlviii. 3, there following Polybius. It should be noted that the events next related actually precede those which Livy has been describing. Appian IX. xi. 5–9 mentions two embassies, the second of which is, as here, sent out of Italy. Both Appian and Polybius (XXVII. 6) say that all Macedonians were ordered to leave Italy, but on thirty days' notice, which was also given the ambassadors (cf. Livy, below).

[2] The number is smaller than that given above in xxvii. 3, and perhaps derives from Polybius.

[3] Strabo VII. v. 8, describes this as "a rock that gives forth fire, and beneath it flow springs of warm water and asphalt—

There was no further reason, the senate declared, B.C. 171
for his sending envoys to Rome; for none of them would be permitted to pass through Italy. After they were thus dismissed, instructions were given to Publius Licinius the consul to order them to depart from Italy within eleven days, and that he should send Spurius Carvilius to guard them until they boarded ship.[1] These things took place at Rome before the consuls took the field. By this time B.C. 172
Gnaeus Sicinius, who before giving up his office had been sent ahead to Brundisium to the fleet and army, had transported to Epirus five thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry[2] and had encamped near the Place of the Nymphs[3] in the territory of Apollonia. Thence he sent tribunes with two thousand soldiers to hold forts of the Dassareti and of the Illyrians, since these peoples themselves requested garrisons, in order that they might be better protected against attack by their neighbours the Macedonians.

XXXVII. A few days later, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius and Servius Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Decimius, who had been sent as envoys to Greece, brought a thousand infantry with them to Corcyra; there they divided among themselves both the districts they were to approach,

probably because the clods of asphalt in the earth are burned by the fire. And nearby, on a hill, is a mine of asphalt; and the part that is trenched is filled up again in the course of time, since, as Poseidonius says, the earth that is poured into the trenches changes to asphalt." (tr. H. L. Jones, L.C.L.) Nymphs dancing about the fire appeared on coins of Apollonia. A convent preserved the religious association in recent times. The asphalt deposits are still worked, and leakage of gas sometimes supplies the fire.

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2 et milites diviserunt. L. Decimius missus est ad Gentium regem Illyriorum, quem si aliquem respectum amicitiae cum populo Romano [1] habere cerneret, temptare ut etiam ad belli societatem perliceret [2] 3 iussus. Lentuli in Cephallaniam missi, ut in Peloponnesum traicerent oramque maris in occidentem 4 versi ante hiemem circumirent. Marcio et Atilio Epirus, Aetolia,[3] Thessalia circumeundae assignantur; inde Boeotiam atque Euboeam adspicere iussi, tum in Peloponnesum traicere; ibi congressuros se cum 5 Lentulis constituunt. Priusquam digrederentur a Corcyra, litterae a [4] Perseo adlatae sunt, quibus quaerebat quae causa Romanis aut in Graeciam 6 traiciendi copias aut urbes occupandi esset. Cui rescribi non placuit, nuntio ipsius qui litteras attulerat dici, praesidii causa ipsarum urbium Romanos facere. 7 Lentuli circumeuntes Peloponnesi oppida, cum sine discrimine omnes civitates adhortarentur ut, quo animo qua fide adiuvissent [5] Romanos Philippi primum, deinde Antiochi bello, eodem adversus Persea iuvarent, fremitum in contionibus movebant,[6] 8 Achaeis indignantibus eodem se loco esse, qui omnia a principiis Macedonici belli praestitissent Romanis, quo Messenii atque Elii, qui et Macedonis

[1] populo Romano *add. Weissenborn* : *om.* V.
[2] temptare . . . perliceret *Hartel* : temptaret . . . perligeret V.
[3] Aetolia *Madvig* : aetoliet V.
[4] a *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[5] adiuvissent *ed. Lugdunensis* 1553 : adiuuassent V.
[6] movebant *Fuegner* : fremebant V.

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[1] On Gentius' state of mind, cf. above ch. xxix. 11, contradicting ch. xxvi. 2.

and the soldiers. Lucius Decimius was sent to B.C. 172
Gentius, king of the Illyrians; if he saw that the king had any regard for friendship with the Roman people, he was ordered to try also to induce him to become an ally in the war.[1] The Lentuli were sent to Cephallania, so that they might cross to the Peloponnese and before winter make the circuit of the coast of the westward sea. To Marcius and Atilius, the task of making the circuit of Epirus, Aetolia and Thessaly was assigned; after that, they were ordered to investigate Boeotia and Euboea, and then to cross to the Peloponnese; there they agreed to meet the Lentuli. Before they left Corcyra, a letter from Perseus was brought them, in which he asked what reason the Romans had for either sending troops over to Greece or garrisoning cities. It was decided not to answer him in writing, but to say to the king's messenger, who had brought the letter, that the Romans were acting for the protection of the cities themselves. As the Lentuli went about the towns of the Peloponnese, exhorting all cities indiscriminately to aid the Romans against Perseus with the same good will and loyalty with which they had assisted them first in the war against Philip, then in that against Antiochus, they aroused an unfriendly murmur in the assemblies, because the Achaeans were angered that they, who had offered every assistance to the Romans from the first beginnings of war against Macedonia,[2] should be placed on a level with the peoples of Messene and Elis, who in

[2] Not quite true; in the First Macedonian War, the Achaeans opposed the Romans, cf. XXVII. xxxii, XXIX. xii. 14; they joined the Romans early in the Second Macedonian War, XXXII. xxiii. 1–3. On the Eleans, cf. XXXVI. xxxv. 7.

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Philippi bello hostes fuissent Romanis et pro Antiocho[1] postea arma[2] adversus populum Ro-
9 manum tulissent ac, nuper in Achaicum contributi concilium, velut praemium belli se victoribus Achaeis tradi quererentur.

XXXVIII. Marcius et Atilius ad Gitana, Epiri[3] oppidum, decem milia a[4] mari cum escenderent, concilio Epirotarum habito cum magno omnium assensu auditi sunt; et quadringentos iuventutis eorum in Orestas, ut praesidio essent liberatis ab[5]
2 Macedonibus, miserunt. Inde in Aetoliam progressi ac paucos ibi morati dies, dum in praetoris mortui locum alius sufficeretur, Lycisco[6] praetore facto quem Romanorum favere rebus satis compertum
3 erat, transierunt in Thessaliam. Eo legati Acarnanes et Boetorum exules venerunt. Acarnanes nuntiare iussi quae Philippi primum, Antiochi deinde bello, decepti pollicitationibus regiis, adversus populum Romanum commisissent, ea corri-
4 gendi occasionem illis oblatam. Si male meriti clementiam populi Romani experti essent, bene
5 merendo liberalitatem experirentur. Boeotis expro-

[1] Romanis quo Messenii . . . Antiocho *Vahlen* Macedonis *secludens*: romanis et macedonis philippo bellohostes—fuissent messeni adqueaeli pro anthioco V.
[2] arma *Madvig*: roma V.
[3] Gitana . . . Epiri *Kraschenninnikov*: gitana eripi V.
[4] a *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[5] ab *Drakenborch*: ab se V.
[6] Lycisco *Madvig*: et lycisco V.

[1] The leaders of Epirus belonged to the "wisest" class who favoured a balance of power, and neutrality, as nearly as might be inoffensive to Rome, in the war. The story of how this policy was disturbed by intrigues of Charops, a young man on the make, is told by Polybius (XXVII. 15) but not by Livy.

the war with Philip the Macedonian had been enemies of the Romans and later had borne arms for Antiochus against the Roman people, and, having been recently assigned to the Achaean League, were complaining that they were being handed over as spoils of war to the victorious Achaeans. B.C. 172

XXXVIII. Marcius and Atilius went up to Gitana, a town of Epirus, ten miles from the sea, called a conference of Epirotes, and were heard with great and universal approval;[1] and they sent four hundred native young men to the Orestans[2] to be a guard for those who had been freed from the Macedonians. Thence the Romans proceeded to Aetolia, and, after a stay of a few days there, while a general was being elected in place of the one who had died, upon the election of Lyciscus,[3] who, it was quite certain, favoured the Roman side, the envoys crossed to Thessaly. There Acarnanian envoys and Boeotian exiles came to them. The Acarnanians were ordered to report that an opportunity had presented itself to them of making amends for the acts of hostility done by them against the Roman people because they had been deceived by the kings' promises, first in the war with Philip, then in that with Antiochus.[4] If, when they had ill deserved it, they had experienced the mercy of the Roman people, let them by deserving well experience the Romans' generosity. The Boeotians were reproached

[1] A tribe on the border of Macedonia and Epirus; they were made independent of Macedonia in 196 B.C., cf. XXXIII. xxxiv. 6.

[2] Polybius XXXII. 4, does not give this leader a good character; cf. Livy XLV. xxviii. 7.

[4] Cf. XXXI. xiv. 9, XXXIII. xvi. 3–4, XXXVI. xi. 8 ff.

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bratum societatem eos cum Perseo iunxisse. Cum[1] culpam in Ismeniam, principem alterius partis, conferrent et quasdam civitates dissentientes in causam deductas, appariturum id esse Marcius respondit; singulis enim civitatibus de se ipsis 6 consulendi potestatem facturos. Thessalorum Larisae fuit concilium. Ibi et[2] Thessalis benigna materia gratias agendi Romanis pro libertatis munere fuit, et legatis, quod et Philippi prius et post Antiochi bello enixe adiuti a gente Thessalorum essent. Hac[3] mutua commemoratione meritorum accensi animi 7 multitudinis ad omnia decernenda quae Romani vellent.

8 Secundum hoc concilium legati a Perseo rege venerunt privati maxime hospitii fiducia, quod ei paternum cum Marcio erat. Ab huius necessitudinis commemoratione orsi petierunt legati in colloquium 9 veniendi regi potestatem faceret. Marcius et se ita a patre suo accepisse dixit, amicitiam hospitiumque cum Philippo fuisse, et[4] minime immemorem[5] necessitudinis eius legationem eam suscepisse. 10 Colloquium, si satis commode valeret, non fuisse se dilaturum; nunc, ubi primum posset, ad Peneum flumen, qua transitus ab Homolio Dium[6] esset, praemissis qui nuntiarent regi venturos.

[1] cum *Kreyssig*: eoscum V.
[2] et *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] hac *Weissenborn*: aut V.
[4] et *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[5] minime immemorem *Fr.*: minimum memorem V.
[6] ab Homolio Dium *Drakenborch*: abomonodium V.

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[1] Cf. below ch. xliii. 7 ff.

[2] This Thessalian League had been set up under Roman auspices, cf. XXXIII. xxxiv. 7 and XXXIV. li. 6.

for having entered into an alliance with Perseus. B.C. 172
When they placed the blame on Ismenias, the leader of the opposite faction, and said that certain cities had been drawn into the affair against their will, Marcius replied that this was about to be made clear; for they were about to give the individual cities an opportunity of providing for their own welfare.[1] A council of the Thessalians was held at Larisa.[2] Both parties found there a pleasant opportunity to express their thanks, the Thessalians for the Romans' gift to them of freedom, and the Roman envoys for the vigorous help from the Thessalian confederacy, first in the war with Philip and again later in that with Antiochus. By this mutual recital of benefits the minds of the gathering were fired to vote everything which the Romans wished.

Following this council, envoys came from King Perseus, relying especially on the personal guest-friendship which existed between his father and the father of Marcius. Beginning with a mention of this relationship, the envoys asked that he give the king the opportunity of coming to confer with him. Marcius said both that he had been told by his father that a relationship of amity and hospitality had existed with Philip, and also that he had been by no means forgetful of this relationship when he undertook this embassy. As for a conference, if he were in sufficiently good health he would not think of deferring it; as it was, they would come, as soon as he was able, to the Peneus river, at the crossing between Homolium and Dium,[3] after sending ahead messengers to inform the king.

[3] That is, at the northern end of the Vale of Tempe.

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XXXIX. Et tum quidem ab Dio Perseus in interiora regni recepit[1] se, levi aura spei obiecta quod Marcius ipsius causa suscepisse se legationem dixisset; post dies paucos ad constitutum locum 2 venerunt. Magnus comitatus fuit regius cum amicorum tum satellitum turba stipante. Non minore agmine legati venerunt et ab Larisa multis prosequentibus et legationibus civitatium, quae convenerant Larisam et renuntiare domum certa quae audis- 3 sent volebant. Inerat cura insita mortalibus videndi congredientes[2] nobilem regem et populi principis 4 terrarum omnium legatos. Ut[3] in conspectu steterunt, dirimente amni, paulisper internuntiando cunctatio fuit utri transgrederentur. Aliquid illi regiae maiestati, aliquid hi[4] populi Romani nomini, cum praesertim Perseus petisset colloquium, existi- 5 mabant deberi. Ioco etiam Marcius cunctantes[5] movit: "Minor," inquit, "ad maiores et"—quod Philippo ipsi cognomen erat—"filius ad patrem trans- 6 eat." Facile persuasum id regi est. Aliud deinde ambigebatur, cum quam multis transiret. Rex cum omni comitatu transire aequum censebat; legati vel cum tribus venire iubebant vel, si tantum agmen traduceret, obsides dare nihil fraudis fore in colloquio.

[1] recepit *ed. Parisina* 1573: recipit V.
[2] videndi congredientes *Fr.*: uiuendi congredientibus V.
[3] ut *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] hi *add. Fr.*
[5] cunctantes *Fr.*: cunctantibus V.

[1] The *cognomen* was sometimes a personal name, or accepted nickname, sometimes an inherited name indicating a branch

XXXIX. And for the time being Perseus retired B.C. 172
from Dium to the interior of his kingdom, a faint breath of hope presenting itself, because Marcius had said he had undertaken the embassy on Perseus' account; a few days later they met at the spot agreed upon. The royal retinue was large, a crowd, both of friends and attendants, thronging about him. With no less a train came the envoys, for many escorted them from Larisa, besides the embassies of certain cities which had assembled at Larisa and wanted to report home facts which they had heard. There was a desire, natural to mankind, to see the meeting of a famous king and the envoys of the people foremost in the whole world. When they stood in sight of each other, with the river between, there was a brief delay for exchange of messages, as to which party should cross over. The one group felt that some consideration was due to the dignity of the king, the other group, to the reputation of the Roman people, especially since Perseus had sought the conference. A jest from Marcius also influenced the undecided: "Let the younger," said he, "cross over to his elders, and"—for his own personal[1] name was Philip—"the son to his father." This solution easily recommended itself to the king. Then another problem arose, as to how large an escort should cross with him. The king thought it proper to cross with his entire suite; the envoys bade him either to come with three attendants, or, if he should bring over so large a train, to give hostages that there would be no treachery during

[1] of the clan or *gens*; in this case, the name dated back at least to Marcius' grandfather, who triumphed in 281 B.C. Most Marcii had Rex as surname.

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7 Hippian et Pantauchum,[1] quos et legatos miserat, principes amicorum, obsides dedit. Nec tam in pignus fidei obsides desiderati erant quam ut appareret sociis nequaquam ex dignitate pari congredi
8 regem cum legatis. Salutatio[2] non tamquam hostium, sed hospitalis ac benigna fuit, positisque sedibus consederunt.

XL. Cum paulisper silentium fuisset, "Expectari nos" inquit Marcius "arbitror, ut respondeamus litteris tuis quas Corcyram misisti, in quibus quaeris quid ita legati[3] cum militibus venerimus et praesidia
2 in singulas urbes dimittamus. Ad hanc interrogationem tuam et non respondere vereor, ne superbum sit, et vera respondere ne nimis acerbum audienti
3 tibi videatur. Sed cum aut verbis castigandus aut armis sit qui foedus rumpit, sicut bellum adversus te alii quam mihi mandatum malim, ita orationis acerbitatem adversus hospitem, utcumque est, subibo, sicut medici cum salutis causa tristiora
4 remedia adhibent.[4] Ex quo regnum adeptus es, unam rem te quae facienda fuerit senatus fecisse censet,[5] quod legatos Romam ad renovandum foedus miseris, quod ipsum tamen tibi non fuisse renovandum[6] iudicat potius quam cum renovatum esset violandum.
5 Abrupolim, socium atque amicum populi Romani, regno expulisti; Arthetauri interfectores, ut caede,

[1] Hippian et Pantaucum *Fr.* (-chum *Crévier*): hippian et pantacum V.
[2] salutatio *Fr.*: salutatis V.
[3] ita legati *Fr.*: sitallegatis V.
[4] adhibent *Fr.*: adhibens V.
[5] censet *Fr.*: genset V.
[6] foedus . . . renovandum *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.

[1] But later he did command the army, XLIII. xv. 3.

the conference. He gave as hostages Hippias and Pantauchus, his leading friends, whom he had also sent as envoys. However, hostages were not desired so much as a pledge of good faith, as to show the allies that the king was meeting with the envoys on no terms of equality. The greetings were not like those of enemies, but welcoming and kindly, and when seats had been placed, they sat down. B.C. 172

XL. After there had been a silence for a moment, "What is awaited, I suppose," said Marcius, "is a reply from us to your letter which you sent to Corcyra, in which you ask why we have come in this fashion as envoys with soldiers and are sending garrisons to the several cities. I hesitate to make no reply to this inquiry of yours, for fear of acting arrogantly, and also to reply truly, lest the reply seem to you, as you hear it, too harsh. But since one who breaks a treaty must be rebuked either with words or with arms, as on the one hand I should prefer war against you to be entrusted to some other rather than to me,[1] so on the other hand I shall take upon myself the harshness of this speech to a guest-friend, however it may be, as physicians do in applying somewhat painful remedies for the sake of a cure. From the time when you attained the throne the senate believes you have done one thing which you should have done, in that you sent envoys to Rome to renew the treaty; yet even this, the senate considers, you should have failed to renew instead of breaking it after it had been renewed. Abrupolis, the ally and friend of the Roman people, you drove from his kingdom;[2] the assassins of Arthetaurus you

[1] For this and the following accusations, cf. above xiii. 6–8 (speech of Eumenes).

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ne quid ultra dicam, te[1] laetatum appareret, recepisti, qui[2] omnium Illyriorum fidissimum Romanis[3] regu-
6 lum occiderant; per Thessaliam et Maliensem agrum cum exercitu contra foedus Delphos isti; Byzantiis item contra foedus[4] misisti auxilia; cum Boeotis sociis[5] nostris, secretam tibi ipsi societatem quam
7 non licebat iureiurando pepigisti; Thebanos legatos, Euersam et Callicritum, venientes ad[6] nos, quaerere malo quis interfecerit quam arguere. In Aetolia[7] bellum intestinum et caedes principum per quos,
8 nisi per tuos, factae videri possunt? Dolopes a te ipso evastati sunt. Eumenes rex, ab Roma cum in regnum rediret, prope ut victima Delphis in sacrato loco ante aras mactatus, quem insimulet piget
9 referre; quae hospes Brundisinus occulta facinora indicet, certum habeo et scripta tibi omnia ab Roma
10 esse et legatos renuntiasse tuos.[8] Haec ne dicerentur a me, uno modo vitare[9] potuisti, non quaerendo quam ob causam exercitus in Macedoniam traicerentur, aut praesidia in sociorum urbes

[1] te *add. H. J. Mueller* : *om.* V.
[2] qui *Fr.* : quiut V.
[3] Romanis *Novák* : romanumii V.
[4] foedus *Fr.* : foedus delphos V.
[5] sociis *Fr.* : sociisoci V.
[6] ad *Madvig* : a V.
[7] Aetolia *Fr.* : aeto V.
[8] tuos *Vahlen* : et legatos tuos V.
[9] vitare *Fr.* : uidere V.

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[1] Cf. note 2, p. 397; Marcius has Perseus going in the reverse direction, cf. below ch. xlii. 1 and note 2.

[2] A straining of the provision against waging war, XXXIII. xxx. 6.

sheltered, so that it was obvious that you rejoiced, B.C. 173
to say nothing more, in the crime of those who had killed the prince most faithful of all the Illyrians to Rome; you went to Delphi with an army through Thessalian and Malian territory, contrary to the treaty;[1] again, you sent help to the Byzantines, contrary to the treaty;[2] you pledged by oath a secret alliance between yourself and the Boeotians, our allies, which was not permitted;[3] as for the Theban envoys, Eversa and Callicritus, who were on their way to us, I prefer to ask who killed them than to make an accusation. In Aetolia, who, if not your men, can seem to have brought about the civil war and slaughter of leading men?[4] The Dolopians were utterly ravaged by you yourself.[5] King Eumenes, on his return from Rome to his kingdom, was almost slaughtered like a beast for sacrifice on consecrated ground before the altars of Delphi—and I am reluctant to mention whom he accuses[6]; about the secret crimes of which your guest-friend at Brundisium informs us,[7] I am sure that everything has been written you from Rome and also that your own envoys have reported. You could have avoided my saying these things in one way, and that was by not asking for what reason armies were being brought across to Macedonia or why we were sending garri-

[2] No statement of this prohibition appears in either Livy's account of the treaty (XXXIII. xxx) or Polybius' (XVIII. 44), but it was standard Roman practice in the case of dependent cities to forbid them to make treaties with each other. Cf. VIII. xiv. 10.

[4] Cf. XLI. xxv. 1–6, XLII. v. 7.

[5] Cf. XLI. xxii. 4.

[6] Cf. above ch. xv. 3 ff.

[7] Cf. above ch. xvii. 2 ff.

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mitteremus. Quaerenti tibi superbius tacuissemus
11 quam vera respondimus. Equidem pro paterno nostro hospitio faveo orationi tuae et opto ut aliquid mihi materiae[1] praebeas agendae tuae apud senatum causae."

XLI. Ad ea rex: "Bonam causam, si apud iudices aequos ageretur, apud eosdem et accusatores et
2 iudices agam.[2] Eorum autem quae obiecta sunt mihi, partim ea sunt, quibus nescio an gloriari debeam, neque[3] quae fateri erubescam, partim quae
3 verbo obiecta verbo negare satis[4] sit. Quid enim, si legibus vestris hodie reus sim, aut index Brundisinus aut Eumenes mihi obiciat, ut accusare potius
4 vere quam conviciari videantur? Scilicet nec Eumenes, cum tam multis gravis[5] publice ac privatim sit, alium quam me inimicum habuit; neque ego potiorem quemquam ad ministeria facinorum quam Rammium, quem neque umquam ante videram
5 nec eram postea visurus, invenire potui. Et Thebanorum, quos naufragio perisse constat, et Arthetauri caedis mihi reddenda ratio est; in qua tamen nihil ultra obicitur, quam interfectores eius in regno
6 exulasse[6] meo. Cuius condicionis iniquitatem ita non sum recusaturus,[7] si vos quoque accipitis ut, quicumque exules in Italiam aut Romam se contule-

[1] materiae *Hertz*: materiem V.
[2] agam *Fr.*: agant V.
[3] neque *Vahlen*: ea (*sic*) V.
[4] satis *add. Hearne*: *om.* V.
[5] gravis *Fr.*: grauidae V.
[6] exulasse *Fr.*: exsolasse V.
[7] sum recusaturus *Fr.*: sumere accusaturus V.

[1] Appian IX. xi. 5–8, puts a speech to the same effect in the mouths of Perseus' envoys (cf. below ch. xlviii. 1–2), including a detailed refutation of Rammius' charge.

sons to the cities of our allies. Since you did inquire, B.C. 172
we should have been more arrogant in keeping silence than we are in replying truthfully. Indeed, on account of our inherited guest-friendship, I am eager to hear what you have to say and hope that you will give me some foundation for pleading your cause before the senate."

XLI. To this the king replied: "A cause, which would be good if it were pled before impartial judges, I shall plead before men who are at once accusers and judges. However, of the charges made against me, some are such that I should perhaps boast of them, not such that I should blush to confess them, others are such that, since they are made in a word, it is enough to deny them in a word.[1] For with what, if I should be a defendant to-day under your laws, could either the informer at Brundisium or Eumenes charge me, so that they might seem truly to accuse me rather than to revile me? Doubtless Eumenes, although he is offensive to so many people because of personal reasons or those of state,[2] had no other enemy than me! Nor could I find anyone superior as a tool in crime to Rammius, whom I had never seen previously nor was to see afterwards! Even for the Thebans, who, it is known, perished by shipwreck, and for the murder of Arthetaurus I must give an accounting! In this latter case, however, no charge is brought against me except that his assassins went into exile in my kingdom. The unfairness of this situation I shall not protest, on condition that you too agree that whenever exiles betake themselves to Italy or Rome you will confess

[1] A similar charge in ch. xiv. 8 above; ch. v. 5, gives the Roman view.

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runt, his facinorum, propter quae damnati sunt,
7 auctores vos fuisse fateamini. Si hoc et vos recusabitis et omnes aliae gentes, ego quoque inter ceteros ero. Et hercule, quid attinet cuiquam exilium patere,
8 si nusquam exuli futurus locus est? Ego tamen istos, ut primum in Macedonia esse admonitus a vobis comperi, requisitos abire ex regno iussi et in per-
9 petuum interdixi finibus meis. Et haec quidem mihi tamquam causam dicenti reo obiecta sunt; illa tamquam regi et quae de foedere quod mihi est vobis-
10 cum disceptationem habeant. Nam si est in foedere ita scriptum ut ne si bellum quidem quis inferat, tueri me regnumque meum liceat, mihi fatendum est quod me armis adversus Abrupolim, socium populi Romani, defenderim, foedus violatum esse.
11 Sin autem hoc et [1] ex foedere licuit et iure gentium ita comparatum est ut arma armis propulsentur, quid tandem me facere decuit, cum Abrupolis fines mei regni usque ad Amphipolim pervastasset, multa libera capita, magnam vim mancipiorum, multa
12 milia pecorum abegisset? Quiescerem et paterer, donec Pellam et in regiam meam armatus pervenisset? At enim bello quidem iusto sum persecutus,[2] sed vinci non oportuit eum neque alia quae [3] victis accidunt pati; quorum casum cum ego subierim, qui sum [4] armis lacessitus, quid potest queri sibi

[1] et *Fr.*: est V.
[2] sum persecutus *Fr.*: sumpserecuius V.
[3] alia quae *Kreyssig*: aliquae V.
[4] sum *Fr.*: sub V.

that you were sponsors of the crimes for which they B.C. 172
have been condemned. If both you and all other peoples will protest against this, I too shall be among the others. And, heavens, what use is there for exile to be allowed to anyone, if there is to be nowhere room for the fugitive? However, as soon as I had learned, on advices from you, that these men were in Macedonia, I had them searched out, ordered them to depart from my kingdom, and banished them forever from my territory. And these charges have been made against me as if I were a prisoner at the bar; the other charges are made as against a king, and are such as to involve interpretation of the treaty between you and me. For if it is written in the treaty that I may not be permitted to protect myself and my kingdom, even if someone attacks me, then I must confess that, inasmuch as I have defended myself with arms against Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people, the treaty has been broken. But if, on the other hand, it is both permitted by the treaty and is arranged by the law of nations that arms may be beaten back by arms, what, pray, was it proper for me to do when Abrupolis devastated the confines of my kingdom even to Amphipolis, and carried off many free persons, a great abundance of slaves, and many thousand cattle? Should I have kept quiet and suffered, until he came armed to Pella and into my palace? But, you say, I proceeded against him in a just war indeed, but he should not have been conquered, nor have suffered the further consequences which befall the conquered; since I, who was assailed with arms, suffered the misfortune of like disasters, how can he who was the cause of the war complain that they

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13 accidisse, qui causa belli fuit? Non sum eodem modo defensurus, Romani, quod Dolopas armis coercuerim; quia, etsi non merito eorum, iure feci meo, cum mei regni, meae dicionis essent, vestro decreto
14 patri attributi meo. Nec, si causa reddenda sit, non vobis nec foederatis,[1] sed iis qui ne[2] in servos quidem saeva atque iniusta imperia probant, plus aequo et bono saevisse in eos videri possum; quippe Euphranorem, praefectum a me impositum, ita occiderunt ut mors[3] poenarum eius levissima fuerit.

XLII. At cum processissem inde ad visendas Larisam et Antronas et Pteleon,[4] qua in propinquo Delphi sunt,[5] sacrificandi causa, ut[6] multo ante
2 debita vota persolverem, Delphos escendi. Et his, crimi[illegible]nis augendi causa, cum exercitu me isse[7] adicitur; scilicet ut, quod nunc vos facere queror, urbes occuparem, arcibus imponerem[8] praesidia.
3 Vocate in concilium Graeciae civitates per quas iter feci, queratur unusquilibet militis mei iniuriam; non recusabo quin simulato sacrificio aliud petisse videar.
4 Aetolis et Byzantiis praesidia misimus et cum Boeotis amicitiam fecimus. Haec, qualiacumque sunt, per

[1] foederatis *Fr.*: foederi V.
[2] ne *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] mors *Fr.*: mores V.
[4] Pteleon *Ruperti*: pycleon V.
[5] Delphi sunt *Vahlen*: delphis V.
[6] ut *add. Vahlen*: *om.* V.
[7] me isse *Kreyssig*: messe V.
[8] imponerem *Fr.*: opponere V.

[1] According to Appian (*loc. cit.*) the Romans had accepted Perseus' explanation of this incident and renewed the treaty with him after it.

happened to him?[1] I will not use the same defence, B.C. 172
Romans, for having checked the Dolopians with arms; since, even had they not deserved it, I acted within my rights, since they were in my kingdom and under my sway, having been assigned by your decree to my father. Moreover, if it were proper for me to give an accounting, I could not seem, I will not say to you and your allies, but even to those who do not approve harsh and unjust exercise of authority even over slaves, to have exceeded justice and virtue in punishing them; inasmuch as they killed Euphranor, the governor placed over them by me, in such fashion that death would have been the lightest of vengeance for him.

XLII. "But when I proceeded thence to see Larisa and Antronae and Pteleon,[2] by a way near which is Delphi, I went up to Delphi to offer sacrifice in order to pay vows long overdue. And to this charge—that the accusation may be greater—is added the further charge that I went with an army; as if indeed it was in order to seize cities, as I now am complaining of your doing, and to place garrisons in the citadels. Call to conference the cities of Greece through which I made my way, let any single person complain of injury from a soldier of mine; I shall not protest against being thought to have, by a pretence of sacrifice, sought ulterior ends. To the Aetolians and Byzantines we have sent military forces, and with the Boeotians we have made a treaty of friendship. These acts, such as they are, have been

[2] These cities were in south-eastern Thessaly; Perseus took a somewhat indirect route to them, which, however, avoided hostile Thessaly and probably included the friendly cities in Boeotia. Cf. above, n. 2, p. 397.

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legatos meos non solum indicata sed etiam excusata sunt saepe in senatu vestro, ubi aliquos ego disceptatores non tam aequos quam te, Q.[1] Marci, paternum amicum et hospitem, habebam. Sed nondum Romam accusator Eumenes venerat, qui calumniando[2] omnia detorquendoque suspecta et invisa efficeret et persuadere vobis conaretur, non posse Graeciam in libertate esse et vestro munere frui, quoad regnum Macedoniae incolume esset. Circumagetur hic orbis; erit mox, qui arguat nequiquam Antiochum ultra iuga Tauri emotum;[3] graviorem multo Asiae quam[4] Antiochus fuerit, Eumenen esse;[5] conquiescere socios vestros non posse quoad regia Pergami sit; eam arcem supra capita finitimarum civitatium impositam. Ego haec, Q. Marci et A. Atili, quae aut a vobis obiecta aut purgata a me sunt, talia esse scio ut aures, ut animi audientium sint, nec tam referre, quid ego aut qua mente fecerim quam quomodo id vos factum accipiatis. Conscius mihi sum nihil me scientem deliquisse, et, si quid fecerim imprudentia lapsus, corrigi me et emendari castigatione hac posse. Nihil certe insanabile nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis commisi; aut frustra clementiae gravitatisque vestrae fama volgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quae vix querella et expostulatione dignae[6] sunt, arma capitis et regibus sociis bella infertis."

XLIII. Haec dicenti ei cum assensum esset,[7]

[1] te Q. *Fr.*: teque V. [2] calumniando *Fr.*: calumiain V.
[3] iuga Tauri emotum *J. F. Gronovius*: legatauremotum V.
[4] graviorem . . . quam *Fr.*: grauiore—quequam V.
[5] Eumenem esse *Fr.*: Eumene necesse V.
[6] expostulatione dignae *Fr.*: postulatione digna V.
[7] haec dicenti ei cum adsensum esset *Harant*: et dicentem et cum adsensum V.

frequently not only announced but even defended B.C. 172
by my envoys in your senate, where I usually found certain critics not as fair-minded as you, Quintus Marcius, a friend and guest by inheritance. But Eumenes had not as yet come to Rome as accuser, in order by slandering and distorting everything to arouse general suspicion and hatred and to try to persuade you that it is impossible for Greece to be free and to enjoy your bounty as long as the kingdom of Macedonia is intact. This argument will be brought around full circle; soon there will be one to charge that Antiochus was to no avail driven beyond the range of Taurus; a far worse tyrant over Asia than Antiochus had been exists in Eumenes; your allies cannot take their ease as long as the palace of Pergamum stands; that looms like a citadel over the heads of neighbouring states. I am aware, Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, that these charges which have either been made by you or answered by me are such as the ears and minds of the hearers are, and that it does not so much matter what I have done or with what intent as how you will receive the action. I am confident that I have done no wrong knowingly and that if I have done anything through an unintentional slip, I can be corrected and bettered by this rebuke. Certainly I have done nothing irreparable, nor such that you should think it must be avenged by war and arms; or else the fame of your mercy and poise has been spread abroad among the nations all in vain, if for such causes, which are hardly worthy of complaint and protest, you rush to arms and declare war on your royal allies."

XLIII. When applause had followed this speech,

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Marcius auctor fuit mittendi Romam legatos;[1] cum experienda omnia ad ultimum nec praetermittendam spem ullam censuisset rex,[2] reliqua consultatio erat, quonam modo tutum iter legatis
2 esset. Ad id cum[3] necessaria petitio indutiarum videretur cuperetque Marcius neque aliud colloquio petisset, gravate et in[4] magnam gratiam petentis
3 concessit. Nihil enim satis paratum ad bellum in praesentia habebant Romani, non exercitum, non ducem, cum Perseus, ni spes vana pacis occaecasset consilia, omnia praeparata atque instructa haberet[5] et suo maxime tempore atque alieno hostibus incipere bellum posset.

4 Ab hoc colloquio, fide indutiarum interposita, legati
5 Romani in Boeotiam confestim profecti[6] sunt. Ibi motus coeperat esse discedentibus a societate[7] communis concilii Boeotorum quibusdam populis, ex quo renuntiatum erat respondisse legatos appariturum, quibus populis proprie societatem cum rege iungi
6 displicuisset. Primi a Chaeronia legati deinde a Thebis[8] in ipso itinere occurrerunt, affirmantes non interfuisse se, quo societas ea decreta esset concilio; quos[9] legati, nullo in praesentia responso dato,
7 Chalcidem se sequi iusserunt. Thebis magna contentio orta erat ex alio certamine. Comitiis praetoris et Boeotarcharum[10] victa pars iniuriam persequens

[1] legatos *Harant*: legati essent V.
[2] rex *add. Harant*: *om.* V.
[3] cum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] et in *Fr.*: etiam V.
[5] haberet *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[6] confestim profecti *Giarratano*: conparati V.
[7] discedentibus a societate *Fr.*: descendentibus in societatem V.
[8] a Thebis *Fr.*: athenis V.
[9] quos *J. F. Gronovius*: hquis (*sic*) V.
[10] praetoris et Boeotarcharum *Niese*: praetoris boetarum V.

Marcius proposed his sending envoys to Rome; B.C. 172
since the king believed that every recourse should be tried to the very last and no hope be overlooked, the rest of the conference was on means of safety for the envoys' journey. Although for this a request for a truce was clearly essential and Marcius was eager for it and was seeking for nothing else at the conference, he granted it grudgingly and as a great favour to the petitioner. For the Romans had nothing thoroughly ready for war at this time, neither army nor leader, while Perseus, had not an idle hope of peace blinded his counsels, would have had everything ready and on hand and could have begun the war at a time most favourable to himself and inopportune for the enemy.

From this conference the Roman envoys, relying on the truce as security, at once set out for Boeotia.[1] In that region there already had begun to be disturbance as certain peoples departed from association in the common council of the Boeotians, after the report had come that the envoys had answered that it would become evident which peoples for their own part disliked the forming of an alliance with the king. First envoys from Chaeronia, then from Thebes, met the Romans while still on the way, asserting that they had not been present in the council in which this alliance had been voted; the Roman envoys, giving them no answer for the time being, ordered them to follow them to Chalcis. At Thebes a great dispute arose from a different rivalry. The party beaten in the election for general and the Governors of Boeotia, by way of avenging their

[1] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 1–2.

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coacta multitudine decretum Thebis fecit ne Boeotarchae[1] urbibus reciperentur. Exules Thespias 8 universi concesserunt; inde—recepti enim sine cunctatione erant—Thebas iam mutatis animis revocati decretum faciunt, ut duodecim, qui privati coetum et concilium habuissent, exilio multarentur. 9 Novus deinde praetor—Ismenias is erat, vir nobilis ac potens—capitalis poenae absentes eos decreto damnat. Chalcidem fugerant; inde ad Romanos Larisam profecti causam cum Perseo societatis in Ismeniam contulerant; ex ea[2] contentione ortum 10 certamen. Utriusque tum[3] partis legati ad Romanos venerunt, et exules accusatoresque Ismeniae et Ismenias ipse.

XLIV. Chalcidem ut ventum est, aliarum civitatium principes, id quod maxime gratum erat Romanis, suo quique[4] proprio decreto regiam[5] societatem aspernati Romanis se adiungebant; Ismenias gentem Boeotorum in fidem Romanorum permitti aequum 2 censebat. Inde certamine orto, nisi in tribunal legatorum perfugisset, haud multum afuit quin ab 3 exulibus fautoribusque eorum interficeretur. Thebae quoque ipsae, quod Boeotiae caput est, in magno motu[6] erant, aliis ad regem trahentibus civitatem,

[1] fecit ne Boeotarchae *Fr.*: sine bello (*in ras.*) et arce V.
[2] ea *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[3] tum *Wesenberg*: tamen V.
[4] quique *Fr.*: quoque V.
[5] regiam *Weissenborn*: propriam V.
[6] magno motu *Kreyssig*: magnotu V.

[1] Cf. above xxxviii. 5.

rebuff, gathered a mob and passed a vote at Thebes B.C. 172
that the Governors be not received in the cities. The exiles all departed to Thespiae; from there—for they had been received without hesitation—they were recalled, by a change of sentiment, to Thebes and passed a decree that twelve men who though private citizens had held an assembly and council should be punished by exile. Next, the new general—he was Ismenias, a man of rank and power—by decree in their absence condemned these men to death. They fled to Chalcis; thence they set out to the Romans at Larisa [1] and brought a charge of alliance with Perseus against Ismenias; from this dispute, they said, the contest had arisen. Envoys of both factions came at that time to the Romans, both the exiles and accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

XLIV. When the party arrived at Chalcis, a thing very pleasing to the Romans occurred, for the chief men of the other states each by their own particular decree rejected the alliance with the king and associated themselves with the Romans; Ismenias thought it proper to put the Boeotian League in the care of the Romans.[2] Thereupon a dispute arose, and save that he escaped to the headquarters [3] of the Roman envoys, Ismenias lacked little of meeting his death at the hands of the exiles and their partisans. Thebes itself, the capital of Boeotia, was also in a great uproar, as some urged the city toward the king,

[1] As Polybius XXVII. 1. 2–3 points out, this was unacceptable to the Romans, who wanted to destroy the Boeotian League (cf. 6 below).

[2] The exact meaning of *tribunal* (usually, an official platform) here is uncertain; Polybius l. 6 speaks of δίθυρα (lit. double doors) translated " porch " by Paton, L.C.L.

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4 aliis ad Romanos; et turba Coronaeorum Haliartiorumque convenerat ad defendendum decretum regiae societatis. Sed constantia principum docentium cladibus Philippi Antiochique, quanta esset vis et fortuna imperii Romani, victa tandem [1] multitudo et, ut tolleretur regia societas decrevit, et eos, qui auctores paciscendae amicitiae fuerant, ad satisfaciendum legatis Chalcidem misit fideique legatorum 5 commendari civitatem iussit. Thebanos Marcius et Atilius laeti audierunt auctoresque et his et [2] separatim singulis fuerunt ad renovandam amicit- 6 iam mittendi Romam legatos. Ante omnia exules restitui iusserunt et auctores regiae societatis decreto suo damnarunt. Ita, quod maxime volebant, discusso Boeotico concilio in Peloponnesum [3] pro- 7 ficiscuntur Ser. Cornelio Chalcidem accersito.[4] Argis [5] praebitum est iis concilium; ubi nihil [6] aliud a gente Achaeorum petierunt quam ut mille milites darent. 8 Id praesidium ad Chalcidem tuendam, dum Romanus exercitus in Graeciam traiceretur, missum est. Marcius et Atilius peractis quae agenda in Graecia erant principio hiemis Romam redierunt.

[1] tandem *Madvig*: eadem V.
[2] et *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[3] in Peloponnesum *Madvig*: ponnensum V.
[4] accersito *Fr.*: arcersito V.
[5] Argis *Fr.*: argi V.
[6] nihil *Fr.*: res V. *post* res *lacunam susp. viri docti.*

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[1] According to Polybius XXVII l. 9 Olympichus of Coronea swung over to the Roman side, and carried the assembly with him; Livy trusts the upper classes, and suspects the worst of the commons, cf. e.g. above ch. xxx. 1; the attitude is that adopted by the Romans as a principle of provincial management.

others toward the Romans; and a mob from Coronea B.C. 172
and Haliartus had assembled to defend the vote of alliance with the king. But due to the steadfastness of the chief men [1] in demonstrating by the disasters which had befallen Philip and Antiochus how great was the might and good fortune of the Roman State, the commons were at length overcome and voted to cancel the alliance with the king, besides sending to Chalcis those who had been sponsors of sanctioning the friendly relations to make amends to the envoys, and ordering that the city be recommended to the care of the envoys. Marcius and Atilius heard the Thebans with joy and recommended both to these and severally to the various others that they send envoys to Rome to renew friendly relations. First of all they ordered that the exiles be restored, and condemned by their own decree the sponsors of alliance with the king.[2] Thus having obtained their fondest desire, the disruption of the Boeotian League, they set out for the Peloponnese after summoning Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was called for them at Argos; [3] there they asked nothing of the Achaean League but the contribution of one thousand soldiers. This garrison was sent to guard Chalcis [4] until the Roman army could be brought over to Greece. Marcius and Atilius, having accomplished their mission in Greece, as winter came on returned to Rome.

[1] According to Polybius XXVII. 2. 8–9, Ismenias and Dicetas were imprisoned and committed suicide; Neon, the third pro-Macedonian leader, escaped to Macedonia.

[2] Cf. Polybius, *loc. cit.*, 11.

[4] Chalcis was one of the three "fetters of Greece," cf. XXXI. xxiii. 11–12, XXXII. xxxvii. 3, XXXIII. xxxi. 4 and 11, XXXV. xxxiv. 4.

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XLV. Inde legatio sub idem tempus in Asiam et[1] circum insulas missa. Tres erant legati, Ti. Claudius, Sp. Postumius, M. Iunius. Ii circumeuntes hortabantur socios ad suscipiendum adversus Persea pro[2] Romanis bellum; et, quo quaeque opulentior civitas erat eo accuratius agebant, quia minores secuturae maiorum auctoritatem erant. Rhodii maximi ad omnia momenti habebantur, quia non fovere[3] tantum, sed adiuvare etiam[4] viribus suis bellum poterant, quadraginta navibus auctore Hegesilocho praeparatis; qui cum in summo magistratu esset—prytanin ipsi vocant—multis orationibus pervicerat Rhodios, ut omissa quam saepe vanam[5] experti essent, regum fovendorum spe Romanam societatem, unam tum[6] in terris vel viribus vel fide stabilem, retinerent. Bellum imminere cum[7] Perseo; desideraturos Romanos eundem navalem apparatum quem nuper Antiochi, quem Philippi ante bello vidissent. Trepidaturos tum repente paranda classe cum mittenda esset nisi reficere naves, nisi instruere navalibus sociis coepissent. Id eo magis enixe[8]

[1] et *add. Duker* : *om.* V.
[2] pro *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[3] fovere *Kreyssig* : fauere V.
[4] adiuvare etiam *Fr.* : adiuuarent V.
[5] vanam *Fr.* : una V.
[6] societatem unam tum *Fr.* : societationem una tum V.
[7] imminere cum *Fr.* : imminerentum V.
[8] Id eo magis enixe *Fr.* : eoagirenixae V.

[1] Polybius XXVII. 3. This is perhaps the same embassy mentioned above, ch. xix. 7.

XLV. Thence an embassy had been sent during B.C. 172
this time to Asia and among the islands.[1] There were three envoys, Tiberius Claudius, Spurius Postumius and Marcus Junius. These went about exhorting the allies to undertake war against Perseus on the side of the Romans; and the richer any given city was the more painstakingly they negotiated there, because the lesser cities would follow the leadership of the greater. The Rhodians were considered of the greatest importance in everything, because they could not only embrace the war, but assist in it, too, with their forces, since forty ships had been made ready, on motion of Hegesilochus; this man, who held the chief magistracy—their own title is *prytanis*[2]—had by numerous speeches won over the Rhodians to give up the hope, which they had repeatedly discovered to be idle, of currying favour with kings, and to keep the alliance with Rome, the only alliance in the world at that time which was secure whether through power or trustworthiness. War with Perseus, said Hegesilochus, was imminent; the Romans would call for the same naval force which they had recently seen in the war with Antiochus, and previously in that with Philip.[3] The Rhodians would be in a panic over the sudden need to prepare a fleet at the time it should be sent, if they did not begin to refit their ships and equip them with sailors. This they must do with the greater vigour in order to

[2] This officer seems to have been chief executive for six months, two *prytaneis* being in office for the year, cf. Polybius XXVII. 7. 2 and XXIX. 10.

[3] Cf. XXXI. xlvii. 3; XXXII. xvi. 6; XXXVI. xlv. 5; XXXVII. ix. 5; xxii. 1–2; xxx for participation by the Rhodians in Roman campaigns.

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faciundum esse ut crimina delata ab Eumene fide
7 rerum refellerent. His incitati quadraginta navium classem instructam ornatamque legatis Romanis advenientibus, ut non expectatam adhortationem
8 esse appareret, ostenderunt. Et haec legatio magnum ad conciliandos animos civitatium Asiae momentum fuit. Decimius unus sine ullo effectu, captarum etiam pecuniarum ab regibus Illyriorum suspicione infamis, Romam redit.

XLVI. Perseus, cum ab[1] colloquio Romanorum in Macedoniam recepisset sese, legatos Romam de incohatis[2] cum Marcio condicionibus pacis misit; et Byzantium et Rhodum et . . .[3] legatis
2 ferendas dedit. In litteris eadem sententia ad omnes erat, collocutum se cum Romanorum legatis; quae audisset quaeque dixisset, ita disposita, ut superior
3 fuisse in disceptatione videri posset. Apud Rhodios legati adiecerunt[4] confidere pacem futuram; auctoribus enim Marcio atque Atilio missos Romam legatos.[5] Si pergerent Romani contra foedus movere bellum, tum omni gratia, omni ope[6] nitendum fore Rhodiis
4 ut reconcilient pacem; si nihil deprecando proficiant, id agendum, ne omnium rerum ius ac potestas ad unum populum perveniat. Cum ceterorum id interesse, tum praecipue Rhodiorum, quo[7] plus inter

[1] ab *Kreyssig*: ad V.
[2] de incohatis *Fr.*: deincohortis V.
[3] *lacunam indicant edd. fere universi.*
[4] adiecerunt *Novák*: assederunt V.
[5] Romam legatos *Fr.*: romanos V.
[6] ope *Fr.*: opepe V.
[7] quo *Crévier*: qui V.

refute by the proof of actions the accusations brought by Eumenes. Aroused by these arguments, they displayed to the Roman envoys on their arrival, so that it might be evident that they had not waited to be urged, a fleet of forty ships prepared and equipped. This embassy, moreover, had great weight in winning the allegiance of the states of Asia. Decimius alone returned to Rome without accomplishing anything, and disgraced by the suspicion of having even solicited bribes from the Illyrian kings. B.C. 172

XLVI. When Perseus had returned to Macedonia from his conference with the Romans, he sent to Rome envoys about the terms of peace outlined with Marcius; also to Byzantium and Rhodes . . . he gave the envoys [letters] to present.[1] In the letters the same sentiments were expressed to all, namely, that he had conferred with envoys from Rome; what he had heard and what he had said had turned out to be such that he might seem to have had the better of the discussion. Before the Rhodians [2] the envoys added that the king was sure there would be peace; for at the suggestion of Marcius and Atilius envoys had been sent to Rome. If the Romans continued to stir up war contrary to the treaty, then the Rhodians must strive with all their resources of friendly influence to bring peace again; if they did not succeed with their entreaties, they must act to prevent authority and power over everything coming into the hands of a single people. This was to the interest both of all states and especially of the Rhodians, in proportion as they were outstanding

[1] Names of other cities may have fallen out; "letters" is an obvious inference from the context.

[2] With this chapter cf. Polybius XXVII. 4.

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alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant; quae serva atque obnoxia fore, si[1] nullus alio sit quam ad Romanos respectus. Magis et litterae et verba legatorum benigne sunt audita quam momentum ad mutandos animos habuerunt; potentior esse partis melioris auctoritas coeperat. Responsum ex decreto est optare pacem Rhodios; si bellum esset, ne quid ab Rhodiis speraret aut peteret rex, quod veterem amicitiam, multis magnisque meritis pace bellogue partam, diiungeret sibi ac[2] Romanis. Ab Rhodo redeuntes Boeotiae quoque civitates, et Thebas et Coroneam et Haliartum, adierunt, quibus expressum invitis existimabatur ut relicta regia societate Romanis adiungerentur. Thebani nihil moti sunt, quamquam[3] et damnatis principibus et restitutis exulibus suscensebant Romanis. Coronaei et Haliartii, favore quodam insito in reges, legatos in Macedoniam miserunt praesidium petentes, quo se adversus impotentem superbiam Thebanorum tueri possint. Cui legationi responsum ab rege est, praesidium se propter indutias cum Romanis factas mittere non

[1] fore si *Fr.*: fores V.
[2] ac *Madvig*: ab V.
[3] quamquam *Novák*: et quamquam nihil V.

[1] Polybius, *loc. cit.*, puts at this point a loftier reason—that the Rhodians especially valued their own independence and the freedom of Greece: ὅσῳ γὰρ πλεῖον ὀρέγονται τῆς ἰσηγορίας καὶ παρρησίας καὶ διατελοῦσι προστατοῦντες . . . τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

[2] Polybius uses the corresponding adjective τοῦ βελτίονος; such adjectives are likely in Greek and Roman literature to connote the conservative aristocracy, or upper class.

[3] A separate embassy, according to Polybius.

[4] Polybius XXVII. 5 does not mention the Thebans, but speaks of the embassy going to Thisbe, as well as Coronea

among other states in position and resources;[1] these blessings would be enslaved and in bondage, if there were no recourse to anyone but the Romans. The friendly hearing given to the letter and the words of the envoys was greater than the weight they had in changing the Rhodians' minds; the influence of the better[2] party began to be the stronger. The reply as voted was that the Rhodians hoped for peace; if there were war, the king must not expect or ask anything of the Rhodians which would destroy between them and the Romans the ancient friendship, cemented by many great services in peace and war. On the way back from Rhodes,[3] the envoys also approached the cities of Boeotia, not only Thebes but also Coronea and Haliartus, for it was believed that their desertion of the alliance with the king and adhesion to the Romans had been forced upon them against their will. The Thebans were not at all moved, although, both for the condemnation of the chief men and the restoration of the exiles, they were angry with the Romans.[4] The peoples of Coronea and Haliartus, through some inborn prejudice in favour of kings, sent envoys to Macedonia asking for a garrison, by which they might protect themselves against the reckless insolence of the Thebans. To this embassy the king's reply was, that because of the truce made with the Romans he could not send them a garrison; however, B.C. 172

and Haliartus. In view of this, and of the apparently unchallenged dominance of the pro-Roman party at Thebes (cf. secs. 9–10 below), it seems certain that Livy, either because of a faulty MS., or because of his own slip, read Θήβας for Θίσβας in Polybius, and should not have brought Thebes in at this point.

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posse; tamen ita suadere ab[1] Thebanorum iniuriis qua possent ut se vindicarent, ne Romanis praeberent causam in se saeviendi.

XLVII. Marcius et Atilius Romam cum venissent, legationem in Capitolio ita renuntiarunt ut nulla re magis gloriarentur quam decepto per indutias et
2 spem pacis rege. Adeo enim apparatibus belli fuisse instructum, ipsis nulla parata re, ut omnia opportuna loca praeoccupari ante ab eo potuerint
3 quam exercitus in Graeciam traiceretur. Spatio autem indutiarum sumpto aequum bellum[2] venturum: illum nihilo paratiorem, Romanos omnibus instructiores rebus coepturos bellum. Boeotorum quoque se concilium arte distraxisse[3] ne coniungi
4 amplius ullo consensu Macedonibus possent. Haec ut summa ratione acta magna pars senatus approbabat;[4] veteres et moris antiqui memores negabant se in ea legatione Romanas agnoscere artes.
5 Non per insidias et nocturna proelia, nec simulatam fugam improvisosque ad incautum hostem reditus, nec ut astu magis quam vera virtute gloriarentur, bella[5] maiores gessisse: indicere prius quam gerere solitos bella, denuntiare etiam interdum pugnam et

[1] ab *Kreyssig*: ad V.
[2] aequum (aecum) bellum *Fuegner*: haecum V.
[3] distraxisse *Fr.*: distraxissent V.
[4] approbabat *Fr.*: adprobat V.
[5] bella *Fr.*: bella magis quam V.

[1] Livy's central theme is the old Roman character and its decline and fall (Preface, 9); his patriotism does not blind

he advised them to protect themselves as best they might against the injustice of the Thebans in such a way as not to offer the Romans an excuse for harshness against them. B.C. 172

XLVII. When Marcius and Atilius had arrived in Rome, in the Capitol they reported about their embassy, emphasizing nothing as a greater achievement than the deception of the king by the truce and the hope of peace. For he had been, they said, so equipped with apparatus for war, while the Romans had made no preparations, that all the commanding places might have been seized by him before an army could be sent over to Greece. However, with the time consumed by the truce, the war would be waged on even terms; he would be in no way better prepared, and the Romans would start the war better equipped in everything. Also they had subtly disrupted the Boeotian League, they said, so that the Boeotians could no longer be joined by any common action to the Macedonians. These actions a large part of the senate approved as having been done with great wisdom; the older men and those mindful of ancient custom said they did not recognize in this embassy the ways of Rome.[1]

"Not by ambushes and battles by night," they thought, "nor by pretended flight and unexpected return to an enemy off his guard, nor in such a way as to boast of cunning rather than real bravery, did our ancestors wage war; they were accustomed to declare war before they waged it, and even at times to announce a battle and specify the place in which

him to certain lapses from the traditional standard, cf. e.g. IX. xi; cf. also Diodorus XXX. 7.

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6 locum[1] finire, in quo dimicaturi essent. Eadem fide indicatum Pyrrho regi medicum vitae eius insidiantem; eadem Faliscis vinctum traditum prodi-
7 torem liberorum; religionis haec Romanae[2] esse, non versutiarum Punicarum neque calliditatis Graecae, apud quos[3] fallere hostem quam vi superare gloriosius
8 fuerit. Interdum in praesens tempus plus profici dolo quam virtute; sed eius demum animum in perpetuum vinci, cui confessio expressa sit se neque

[1] pugnam et locum *Kreyssig*: *om.* V. *Alii alia*: diem et locum *Weissenborn fortasse malis.*
[2] religionis haec Romanae *Vahlen*: regis haec romana V.
[3] quos *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

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[1] Polybius XIII. 3 tells the same story of Roman warfare, citing it as the one remaining example of the practice formerly adhered to by the Greeks. "The ancients, as we know, were far removed from such malpractices (as treacherous dealings). For so far were they from plotting mischief against their friends, with the purpose of aggrandizing their own power, that they would not even consent to get the better of their enemies by fraud, regarding no success as brilliant or secure unless they crushed the spirit of their adversaries in open battle. For this reason they entered into a convention among themselves to use against each other neither secret missiles nor those discharged from a distance, and considered that it was only a hand-to-hand battle at close quarters which was truly decisive. Hence they preceded war by a declaration and when they intended to do battle gave notice of the fact and of the spot to which they would proceed and array their army. But at the present they say it is a sign of poor generalship to do anything openly in war. Some slight traces, however, of the ancient principles of warfare survive among the Romans. For they make declaration of war, they very seldom use ambuscades, and they fight hand-to-hand at close quarters" (tr. Paton, L.C.L.). Tacitus, *Germania*, 6. 6 notes

they were going to fight.[1] With the same straightforwardness the information was given to King Pyrrhus that his physician was plotting against his life; in the same way the betrayer of their children was delivered bound to the Faliscans;[2] these are the acts of Roman scrupulousness, not of Carthaginian artfulness[3] nor of Greek slyness, since among these peoples it has been more praiseworthy to deceive an enemy than to conquer by force. Occasionally a greater advantage is gained for the time being by trickery than by courage, but final and lasting conquest of the spirit overtakes one from whom the admission has been extorted that he has been con- B.C. 172

that the Germans regarded strategic retreat as honourable. For the early Roman declaration of war, cf. I. xxxii. 5–14, which suggests that the view of Livy's contemporaries that Romans had from the first been warriors is a myth due to the later successes in war. Rome's early expansion was caused by a desire for peace, and an inability to accept border raiding as a sport. Cf. also XXXI. viii. 3 and the note, XXXVI. iii. 12 and the note.

[2] Livy's account of the senate's warning to Pyrrhus occurred in the missing book, XIII, cf. the Summary of that book, also Aulus Gellius, III. viii, quoting Valerius Antias and Claudius Quadrigarius; for the story of the treacherous tutor of Falerii, cf. V. xxvii; an allusion to both in XXIV. xlv. 3.

[3] Cf. XXI. iv. 9, XXII. vi. 12, xxii. 15. Cf. Diodorus XXX. 7, ὅτι διασαφούντων τῶν Ῥωμαίων ὡς Περσέα κατεστρατήγησαν ἄνευ ὅπλων ἐπεχείρησάν τινες τῶν ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἐπαινεῖν αὐτούς. οὐ μὴν τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις ἤρεσκε τὸ γεγενημένον ἀλλ' ἔλεγον μὴ πρέπειν Ῥωμαίοις μιμεῖσθαι Φοίνικας, ὥστε δι' ἀπάτης ἀλλ' οὐ δι' ἀρετῆς τῶν πολεμίων περιγίνεσθαι. "When the Romans announced that they had got the better of Perseus without recourse to arms, some of the senators tried to praise them. But what had happened did not please the eldest, but they said that it was not fitting that Romans should imitate Phoenicians, in such a way as to surpass their enemies through deceit and not through valour."

A.U.C. 582 arte neque casu,[1] sed collatis comminus viribus iusto ac pio esse bello superatum.

9 Haec seniores, quibus nova ac nimis callida minus [2] placebat sapientia; vicit tamen ea pars senatus, cui potior utilis [3] quam honesti cura erat, ut comprobaretur prior legatio Marci, et eodem rursus in Graeciam cum . . .[4] quinqueremibus remitteretur iubereturque cetera uti e re publica maxime visum 10 esset agere. A. quoque Atilium miserunt ad occupandam Larisam in Thessalia timentes ne, si indutiarum dies exisset, Perseus [5] praesidio eo misso caput 11 Thessaliae in potestate haberet. Duo milia peditum Atilius ab Cn.[6] Sicinio accersere [7] ad eam rem agendam 12 iussus. Et P. Lentulo qui ex Achaią redierat, trecenti milites Italici generis dati, ut Thebis daret operam, ut in potestate Boeotia esset.

A.U.C. 583 XLVIII. His praeparatis, quamquam ad bellum consilia erant destinata, senatum tamen praeberi 2 legatis placuit. Eadem fere, quae in colloquio ab rege dicta erant, relata ab legatis. Insidiarum Eumeni factarum crimen et maxima cura et minime tamen probabiliter—manifesta enim [8] res erat— 3 defensum; cetera deprecatio erat. Sed non eis animis audiebantur qui aut doceri aut flecti possent.

[1] arte neque casu *Fr.*: parte neque casus V.
[2] callida minus *add. Novák*: *om.* V.
[3] potior utilis *Fr.*: potior iutilius V.
[4] *fortasse numerus excidit* (*Duker*).
[5] Perseus *add. Fr.* ♦ *om.* V.
[6] Cn. *Fr.*: cos(*sic*) V.
[7] accersere *Kreyssig*: accensdere (*sic*) V.
[8] manifesta enim *Fr.*: manisestenim V.

[1] The number is missing.

quered, not by craft or accident, but by the hand-to- B.C. 172
hand clash of force in a proper and righteous war."

Thus the older men, who were less well pleased by the new and over-sly wisdom; however, that part of the senate to whom the pursuit of advantage was more important than that of honour, prevailed to the effect that the previous embassy of Marcius should be approved, and he should be sent back again to Greece with . . .[1] quinqueremes and instructed to conduct further affairs as might seem best to serve the state. Aulus Atilius, too, they sent to hold Larisa in Thessaly, fearing that if the time of the truce should expire, Perseus might send a garrison there and have in his power the capital of Thessaly. Atilius was instructed to call on Gnaeus Sicinius for two thousand soldiers to accomplish this mission. Publius Lentulus too—he had returned from Achaea—was given three hundred soldiers of Italian stock in order that he should do what he could at Thebes to keep Boeotia under Roman control.

XLVIII. With these preparations made, although B.C. 171
plans for making war had been determined upon, yet it was decided to receive the envoys before the senate.[2] Nearly the same statements as had been made at the conference by the king were presented by his envoys. The charge of setting an ambush for Eumenes was both their chief concern and at the same time—for the situation was obvious—the least plausibly refuted; the rest of what they had to say was mollification. But the envoys were not heard by spirits which could be either enlightened or moved.

[2] A different account of the same event, above, ch. xxxvi. 1–8; this later account follows Polybius, XXVII. 6, *πάλαι προδιειλημμένοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ πολεμεῖν* and cf. Diodorus, XXX. 1.

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Denuntiatum extemplo moenibus urbis Romae, Italia[1] intra tricesimum diem excederent. P. Licinio deinde consuli, cui Macedonia provincia obvenerat, denuntiatum, ut exercitui diem primam quamque diceret ad conveniendum. C. Lucretius praetor, cui classis provincia erat, cum quadraginta quinqueremibus ab urbe profectus; nam ex[2] refectis navibus alias in alium usum retineri ad urbem placuit. Praemissus a praetore est frater M.[3] Lucretius cum quinqueremi[4] una, iussusque ab sociis ex foedere acceptis navibus ad Cephallaniam classi occurrere. Ab Reginis triremi una sumpta,[5] ab Locris duabus, ab Uritibus quattuor, praeter oram Italiae supervectus[6] Calabriae extremum promunturium Ionio[7] mari Dyrrhachium traicit. Ibi decem ipsorum Dyrrhachinorum, duodecim Issaeorum, quinquaginta quattuor Gentii regis lembos nanctus, simulans se credere eos in usum Romanorum comparatos esse, omnibus abductis die tertio Corcyram, inde protinus in Cephallaniam[8] traicit. C. Lucretius praetor ab Neapoli profectus, superato freto, die quinto in[9] Cephallaniam transmisit. Ibi stetit classis, simul opperiens ut

[1] Italia *Fr.*: ita V.
[2] ex *Fr.*: rex V.
[3] M. *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[4] quinqueremi *Wesenberg*: quinquiremesi (*sic*) V.
[5] sumpta *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[6] Italiae supervectus *Fr.*: siuperuectus italiae (*sic*) V.
[7] Ionio *Madvig*: inionio V.
[8] Cephallaniam *Hertz*: cepaliam V. *sed infra* cepallaniam.
[9] in *Fr.*: per V.

The stern order was given them to depart from the walls of Rome at once, and within thirty days from Italy. Then to the consul Publius Licinius, to whom Macedonia had fallen as province, the order was given that he should appoint the first possible day for the army to assemble. Gaius Lucretius the praetor,[1] whose duty was the command of the fleet, left the city with forty quinqueremes; for it had been decided to keep at the city several of the refitted ships for various purposes. The praetor sent his brother Marcus Lucretius on in advance with one quinquereme, with orders to meet the fleet at Cephallania with the ships received from the allies according to treaty. After taking on one trireme from Rhegium, two from Locri, four from the district of Uria,[2] he coasted along Italy past the farthest cape of Calabria and crossed the Ionian sea to Dyrrhachium. There he came upon ten cutters[3] of the Dyrrhachians themselves, twelve of the Issaeans, and fifty-four of King Gentius, and pretending that he believed they had been collected for the use of the Romans, took them all with him on the third day to Corcyra and thence crossed at once to Cephallania. Gaius Lucretius the praetor set out from Naples, passed through the straits[4] and made the crossing to Cephallania in five days. There the fleet halted, not B.C. 171

[1] Cf. above, ch. xxxv. 3.

[2] Apparently the territory of the Sallentini in the extreme "heel" of Italy, although Uria is an inland town; there was also a Uria nearer the Adriatic in northern Apulia.

[3] Small fast boats, usually undecked, for sail and oars, sometimes sizable, cf. XLIV. xxviii and Polybius II. 3. 1, also Livy XXXII. xxi. 27 and xxxii. 9, XXXIII. xix. 10, XXXV. xxvi. 1. The word *lembus* seems to mean "sharp."

[4] Of Messina.

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terrestres[1] copiae traicerentur, simul ut onerariae ex agmine suo per altum dissipatae consequerentur.

XLIX. Per hos forte dies P. Licinius consul votis in Capitolio nuncupatis paludatus ab urbe profectus est. Semper quidem ea res cum magna dignitate ac maiestate geritur;[2] praecipue convertit oculos animosque, cum ad magnum nobilemque aut virtute aut fortuna hostem euntem consulem prosequuntur. Contrahit enim non officii modo cura sed etiam studium spectaculi, ut videant ducem suum, cuius imperio consilioque summam rem publicam tuendam permiserunt. Subit deinde cogitatio animos[3] qui belli casus, quam incertus fortunae eventus communisque Mars belli sit; adversa secundaque,[4] quae inscitia et temeritate ducum clades saepe acciderint, quae contra bona prudentia et virtus attulerit. Quem scire mortalium, utrius mentis utrius fortunae consulem ad bellum mittant? Triumphantemne mox cum exercitu victore scandentem[5] in Capitolium ad eosdem deos a quibus proficiscatur visuri, an hostibus eam praebituri laetitiam sint? Persei autem regi, adversus quem ibatur, famam et bello clara Macedonum gens et Philippus pater, inter multa prospere gesta Romano etiam nobilitatus bello, praebebat; tum ipsius Persei numquam, ex quo regnum accepis-

[1] ut terrestres *Fr.*: ut terres ut terrestris (*sic*) V.
[2] geritur *Fr.*: quaeritur V.
[3] animos *Madvig*: animi V.
[4] secundaque *Madvig*: secundaquaeque V.
[5] scandentem *Kreyssig*: stantem V.

[1] Polybius XXVII. 7 says that the Rhodians were summoned at this time.

[2] For similar scenes, cf. XXVII. xl, XXIX. xxvi, XLIV. xxii. 17.

only to wait till the land forces were brought over, B.C. 171
but also so that the supply-ships, scattered over the deep off their course, might catch up with it.[1]

XLIX. During these days, as it happened, the consul Publius Licinius, after announcing his vows on the Capitol, set out from the city in military dress. Such a departure is always indeed conducted with great solemnity and pomp; it particularly draws the eyes and minds of men when they escort a consul going against an enemy great and famous either for bravery or for good fortune. For not only care in paying their respects, but also eagerness for the spectacle brings crowds to see their leader, to whose command and wisdom they have entrusted the whole welfare of the state. Thereupon there steals over their minds a thought of the calamities of war, and how uncertain is the outcome of fortune and how impartial the god of war—a thought of reverses and successes, of what disasters have often occurred through the ignorance and rashness of leaders, of what gains, on the other hand, prudence and courage have produced. What mortal knows, men think, which kind of mind and fortune belongs to this consul whom we are sending to war? Shall it be in swift triumph, as he climbs the Capitol with a conquering army toward those gods from whom he now takes his leave, that we shall see him, or are we to give that joy to the enemy?[2] To King Perseus in particular, against whom the consul was going, fame had come from the brilliance of the Macedonian nation in war and from Philip, the king's father, whose reputation sprang from many successful achievements and, besides, even from the war with Rome. Then, too, Perseus' own name, because of the expectation of war with him,

A.U.C. 583 set, desitum belli expectatione celebrari nomen. 8 Cum his cogitationibus[1] omnium ordinum homines 9 proficiscentem consulem prosecuti sunt. Duo consulares tribuni militum cum eo missi, C. Claudius, Q. Mucius, et tres illustres iuvenes, P. Lentulus et duo Manlii Acidini:[2] alter M. Manlii, alter L. Manlii 10 filius erat. Cum iis consul Brundisium ad exercitum profectus[3] atque inde cum omnibus copiis transvectus ad Nymphaeum in Apolloniati agro[4] posuit castra.

L. Paucos ante dies Perseus, postquam legati ab Roma regressi praeciderant spem pacis,[5] consilium habuit. Ibi aliquamdiu[6] diversis sententiis certatum 2 est. Erant quibus vel stipendium pendendum,[7] si iniungeretur, vel agri parte cedendum, si multarent, quidquid denique aliud pacis[8] causa patiendum esset, non recusandum videretur, nec committendum ut in 3 aleam tanti casus se regnumque daret. Si possessio haud ambigua regni maneret, multa diem tempusque afferre posse, quibus non amissa modo recuperare, sed timendus ultro iis esse quos nunc timeret posset. 4 Ceterum multo maior pars ferocioris sententiae erat. Quidquid cessisset, cum eo simul regno protinus 5 cedendum esse affirmabant. Neque enim Romanos pecunia aut agro egere, sed[9] hoc scire cum omnia

[1] cogitationibus *Fr.*: cogitationum V.
[2] Acidini *Fr.*: acili V.
[3] profectus *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] Apolloniati agro *Fr.*: apolliniomagro V.
[5] spem pacis *Fr.*: spe paucis V.
[6] aliquamdiu *Sigonius*: aliquam V.
[7] pendendum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[8] aliud pacis *Fr.*: ad aliud paucis V.
[9] agro egere sed *Fr.*: agrosegeressed V.

never from the time he mounted the throne had ceased to be on men's lips. With such thoughts, men of all classes escorted the departing consul. Two ex-consuls were sent with him as military tribunes, Gaius Claudius and Quintus Mucius[1] and three noted young men, Publius Lentulus and two named Manlius Acidinus—one was the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius Manlius. With these the consul left for the army at Brundisium and crossing thence with all his forces, pitched camp near the Place of the Nymphs[2] in the territory of Apollonia. B.C. 171

L. A few days before, after the envoys returning from Rome had cut off hope of peace, Perseus held a council. There a contest of opposing views took place for a time. There were those who thought that either a tribute should be paid, if it were imposed, or part of their territory yielded, if this form of fine were inflicted—or, finally, that anything else which must be endured for the sake of peace should not be rejected, nor should the king risk staking himself and his kingdom on a cast with so great a forfeit. If his hold on the kingdom remained quite undisputed, the passage of time might bring, they thought, many means not only of recouping his losses but of making him positively an object of fear to those whom he now feared. However, by far the majority held a bolder opinion. No matter what he should have yielded, they declared, along with it he would immediately have to yield his kingdom. For the Romans were not in want of money or territory, but

[1] Consuls in 177 and 174 B.C. respectively; for Mucius' part in the campaign, cf. below, ch. lviii. 13, and lxvii. 9, where he has been promoted to *legatus*.

[2] Cf. above, ch. xxxvi. 6 and n. 3.

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humana tum maxima quaeque et regna et imperia
6 sub casibus multis esse. Carthaginiensium opes fregisse sese, et cervicibus eorum praepotentem finitimum regem imposuisse; Antiochum progeniem-
7 que eius ultra iuga Tauri emotum;[1] unum esse Macedoniae regnum, et regione propinquum, et quod, sicubi[2] populo Romano sua fortuna labet, antiquos
8 animos regibus suis videatur posse facere. Dum integrae res sint, statuere[3] apud animum suum Persea debere, utrum singula concedendo nudatus ad extremum opibus extorrisque regno Samothraciam aliamve quam insulam petere ab Romanis, ubi privatus superstes regno suo in contemptu atque inopia
9 consenescat, malit, an[4] armatus vindex fortunae dignitatisque suae aut, ut[5] viro forti dignum sit, patiatur quodcumque casus belli tulerit, aut victor liberet[6] orbem terrarum ab imperio Romano.
10 Non esse admirabilius Romanos Graecia pelli quam Hannibalem Italia pulsum esse. Neque hercule videre qui conveniat, fratri affectanti per iniuriam regnum summa vi restitisse, alienigenis bene parto
11 eo cedere. Postremo ita de[7] bello et pace quaeri ut inter omnes conveniat, nec turpius quicquam esse quam sine certamine cessisse regno nec praeclarius

[1] emotum *J. F. Gronovius*: ermotum V.
[2] sicubi *Fr.*: quiasictibi V.
[3] res sint statuere *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[4] malit an *Fr.*: militaria V.
[5] ut *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[6] liberet *Fr.*: liberart (*sic*) V.
[7] de *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.

[1] Masinissa.
[2] Perhaps in anticipation of the actual flight of Perseus thither, cf. XLIV. xlv. 15, XLV. v; as a sacred island, Samothrace was particularly appropriate as an asylum.

understood that not only all human affairs, but in B.C. 171
particular the greatest of kingdoms and empires, were subject to many vicissitudes. The Romans, said these advisers, knew that they had shattered the power of the Carthaginians and had set upon their necks a very powerful royal neighbour;[1] Antiochus and his line had been driven beyond the range of Taurus; only the kingdom of Macedonia remained, both near in situation, and such that, when in any way its good fortune began to fail the Roman people, it might seem able to inspire its kings with the spirit of their ancestors. While his strength was intact, Perseus ought to make up his mind whether, after being stripped, by concession after concession, of his resources, and thrust from his kingdom, he would prefer finally to beg of the Romans Samothrace[2] or some other island, where as an untitled survivor of his own kingdom he might grow old amid scorn and poverty, or whether, armed in defense of his power and high position, he would either, in a fashion worthy of a brave man, endure whatever the fortune of war might bring, or as conqueror free the world from Roman domination. It would be no more astounding for the Romans to be driven from Greece than for Hannibal to have been driven from Italy. Nor in truth could they see how it was consistent to resist with the utmost vehemence a brother who was wrongly laying claim to the kingdom, and then, when the kingdom had been securely won, to yield it to aliens. Finally this discussion about peace and war was based on the universally accepted view that nothing is more disgraceful than to have yielded a kingdom without a struggle, nor anything more

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quam [1] pro dignitate ac maiestate omnem fortunam expertum esse.

LI. Pellae, in vetere regia Macedonum, hoc consilium erat. "Geramus ergo" inquit, "dis bene iuvantibus, quando ita videtur, bellum;" litterisque [2] circa praefectos dimissis, Citium—Macedoniae oppi-
2 dum est—copias omnes contrahit. Ipse [3] centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon, facto [4] cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Citium est. Eo iam omnes Macedonum et [5] externorum auxiliorum convenerant
3 copiae. Castra ante urbem ponit omnisque armatos [6] in campo instruxit; [7] summa omnium quadraginta tria [8] milia armata fuere; quorum pars ferme dimidia
4 phalangitae erant; Hippias Beroeaeus praeerat. Delecta deinde et viribus et robore aetatis ex omni caetratorum numero duo milia [9] erant: agema hanc ipsi legionem vocabant; praefectos habebat Leon-
5 natum et Thrasippum Eulyestas. Ceterorum caetra-

[1] quam *Weissenborn*: quicquam V, quicquam quam *Fr.*
[2] litterisque *Fr.*: ut terrisquae V.
[3] contrahit ipse *Fr.*: contra ipsa V.
[4] Alcidemon facto *Kreyssig*: alcidem confacto V.
[5] et *add. Vahlen*: *om.* V.
[6] omnesque armatos *Fr.*: omnis armatosque V.
[7] instruxit *J. F. Gronovius*: struxit V.
[8] tria *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[9] milia *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.

[1] The form usually assigned in the Latin to this title of Athena is Alcis, not Alcidemos.
[2] I.e., nobles attendant on the king, cf. XXX. xlii. 6, XXXI. xxxv. 1, XXXVII, xxiii. 7, lix. 5.
[3] Cf. XXXVI. xviii. 2, XXXVII. xl. 1.

glorious than to have made trial of fortune to the utmost in defense of rank and crown. B.C. 171

LI. This conference was held at Pella, in the ancient palace of the Macedonians. "Let us, then," said Perseus, "wage war, since this seems best, with the kindly help of the gods," and sending dispatches to his officers he drew all his forces together at Citium, a city of Macedonia. He himself offered a sacrifice of one hundred victims in regal style to Minerva whom they call "Defender of the Folk,"[1] and set out for Citium with a band of wearers of the purple[2] and attendants. There all the forces of Macedonians and foreign auxiliaries had already assembled. He pitched camp before the city and drew up all the soldiers on the plain; the total of all was forty-three thousand under arms; about half of these were phalanx-men;[3] Hippias of Beroea[4] was their commander. Then there were two thousand chosen from all the force of light infantry[5] for their strength and the vigour of their youth; this unit the Macedonians called the Guard;[6] its commanders were Leonnatus and Thrasippus, Eulyestans.[7] The leader

[4] This town was of importance, notably in Christian times, and through the Middle Ages. Its name survives in the form Verria in modern Greek, Berea in English.

[5] For *caetrati* cf. XXXI. xxxvi. 1 and the note, also XXVIII. v. 11. These "peltasts" (the Greek term) first came into use in the Peloponnesian War, and were made important by Iphicrates of Athens early in the fourth century; they were conspicuous, as here, in the army of Alexander the Great. They were armed with helmet, shield, long spear and sword.

[6] Cf. Polybius V. 65.2, 84. 7; Arrian, *Anabasis*, II 8.3, III. 11. 9.

[7] The name of this people is not found elsewhere, and is probably corrupt. Weissenborn conjectures *Elymiotas*, or *Lyncestas*.

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torum, trium ferme milium hominum, dux erat Antiphilus Edessaeus. Paeones et ex Paroria et Parastrymonia—sunt autem ea loca subiecta Thraciae—et Agrianes, admixtis etiam Thracibus incolis, trium milium ferme et ipsi expleverant numerum. 6 Armaverat contraxeratque eos Didas Paeon, qui 7 adulescentem Demetrium occiderat. Et armatorum duo milia Gallorum erant; praefectus Asclepiodotus ab Heraclea ex Sintis;[1] tria milia Thracum liberorum suum ducem habebant. Cretensium par ferme[2] numerus suos duces sequebatur Susum Phalasarnaeum 8 et Syllum Gnosium. Et Leonides Lacedaemonius quingentis ex Graecia, mixto[3] generi hominum, praeerat. Regii is generis ferebatur, exul, damnatus frequenti concilio Achaeorum litteris ad Persea 9 deprensis. Aetolorum et Boeotorum, qui non explebant plus quam quingentorum omnes numerum, Lyco Achaeus praefectus erat. Ex his mixtis tot populorum, tot gentium auxiliis duodecim milia armatorum ferme efficiebantur. Equitum ex tota 10 Macedonia contraxerat tria[4] milia. Venerat eodem Cotys, Seuthis[5] filius, rex gentis Odrysarum, cum mille delectis equitibus, pari ferme peditum numero. 11 Ita summa totius exercitus triginta novem milia[6] peditum erant, quattuor equitum. Satis constabat,

[1] Sintis *Hartel*: intris V.
[2] par ferme *Novák*: parmene V.
[3] Graecia mixto *Fr.*: graeciam misso V.
[4] tria *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] Cotys (Cothys) Seuthis *Hertz*: coteseuthis V.
[6] milia *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

[1] Cf. XXXIX. xxvii. 10.
[2] Regular auxiliaries of the Macedonians, cf. XXVIII. v. 12, XXXIII. xviii. 9, Arrian, I. l. 11, etc.

of the other light infantry, about three thousand men, B.C. 171
was Antiphilus of Edessa. The Paeonians from the districts both of the Mountainside[1] and of the Strymon Valley—these places march with Thrace—and the Agrianes,[2] with an admixture, besides, of Thracian settlers, also supplied a contingent of nearly three thousand. Didas the Paeonian, who had killed young Demetrius,[3] had armed and mustered them. There were also two thousand Gauls[4] under arms; their commander was Asclepiodotus from Heraclea of the Sintians; three thousand free Thracians were under their own commander. About an equal number of Cretans followed native leaders, Susus of Phalasarnae and Syllus of Knossus. Leonides too, the Lacedaemonian, commanded five hundred from Greece, a mixed group of men. He was said to be of the royal blood, an exile, condemned by a full council of the Achaeans because of dispatches to Perseus which had been intercepted. Lycon the Achaean was commander of the Aetolians and Boeotians, who amounted in all to not more than five hundred. Of these auxiliaries, made up of so many peoples and tribes, the total under arms came to about twelve thousand. Of cavalry, the king had assembled three thousand from all Macedonia. To Citium had come Cotys,[5] son of Seuthes, king of the tribe of the Odrysae, with one thousand picked cavalry and about an equal number of infantry. Thus the total of the whole army was thirty-nine thousand infantry and four thousand cavalry. It was generally agreed that,

[2] Cf. XL. xxii. 15–xxiv; Didas was governor of Paeonia.
[4] Either from Asia Minor, or, more probably, from Pannonia (northern Jugoslavia).
[5] Cf. above xxix. 12 and the note.

A.U.C. 583 secundum eum exercitum, quem magnus Alexander in Asiam traiecit, numquam ullius Macedonum regis copias tantas fuisse.

LII. Sextus et vicesimus annus agebatur, ex quo petenti Philippo data pax erat; per id omne tempus quieta Macedonia et progeniem ediderat, cuius[1] magna pars matura militiae esset, et levibus bellis Thracum accolarum, quae exercerent magis quam fatigarent, sub assidua tamen militia fuerat. Et diu meditatum Philippo primo, deinde et Persei Romanum bellum, omnia ut instructa parataque essent effecerat.

Mota[2] parumper acies, non iusto decursu tamen, ne stetisse tantum in armis viderentur; armatosque, sicut erant, ad contionem vocavit. Ipse constitit in tribunali, circa se habens filios duos, quorum maior[3] Philippus natura frater, adoptione filius, minor, quem Alexandrum vocabant, naturalis erat. Cohortatus est milites ad bellum; iniurias[4] populi Romani in patrem seque commemoravit:[5] illum omnibus indignitatibus[6] compulsum ad rebellandum, inter apparatum belli fato oppressum; ad se simul legatos, simul milites ad occupandas Graeciae urbes missos. Fallaci dein[7] colloquio per speciem reconciliandae

[1] cuius *Fr.*: cuius macedonia V.
[2] effecerat. mota *Fr.*: effecerant motam V.
[3] quorum maior *Fr.*: cuius uel quorum pars V.
[4] iniurias *Crévier*: iniuriam V.
[5] seque commemoravit *Fr.*: seomnemorauit V.
[6] indignitatibus *Fr.*: dignitationibus V.
[7] dein *Bekker*: deindein V.

[1] Livy's estimate of Alexander's available strength in IX. xix. 5 was not so large. Arrian, *Anabasis* I. 11. 3 gives

except for the army which Alexander the Great took B.C. 171
over to Asia,[1] never had the forces of any Macedonian king been so great.

LII. The twenty-sixth year was passing, since peace had been granted to Philip at his request; throughout all that time unmolested Macedonia had both produced offspring, a large number of whom were of military age, and yet, in minor wars with her Thracian neighbours, of a sort to give training rather than to produce weariness, had been unremittingly in arms. Also the long planning for war with Rome, first by Philip, then by Perseus, had brought it about that everything was ready and at hand.

The array of the review was set briefly in motion (not however in a regular manoeuvre[2]), so that they might not seem to have merely stood under arms; the king summoned them, in arms as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on a platform, having about him his two sons, the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, by adoption his son, while the younger, whom they called Alexander, was his own.[3] He cheered the soldiers on to the war; he recited the wrongs done by the Roman people to his father and himself; the former had been driven by all sorts of outrages to fight back, but had been overtaken by fate during preparations for the war; to Perseus himself envoys had been sent at the same moment as soldiers for the seizing of the cities of Greece. Then through a treacherous conference, by means of a pretence of reorganizing peace, the

Alexander an original strength of somewhat over 35000, corresponding with Livy IX.

[2] Cf. XL. vi. 5–7.

[3] Cf. Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, xxxiii. 3–4 and xxxvii. 3.

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pacis extractam hiemem, ut tempus ad comparandum haberent; consulem nunc venire cum duabus legionibus Romanis, quae singulae sena milia peditum,[1] trecenos[2] equites habeant, et pari ferme numero sociorum peditum equitumque. Eo ut accedant 9 regum auxilia, Eumenis et Masinissae, non plus triginta[3] septem milia peditum, duo equitum futura. 10 Auditis hostium copiis respicerent suum ipsi exercitum, quantum numero quantum genere militum praestarent tironibus raptim ad id bellum conscriptis ipsi, a pueris eruditi artibus militiae, tot subacti atque 11 durati bellis. Auxilia Romanis Lydos et Phrygas et Numidas esse, sibi Thracas Gallosque, ferocissimas gentium. Arma illos habere[4] ea quae sibi quisque paraverit pauper miles, Macedonas prompta ex regio apparatu, per tot annos patris sui cura et impensa 12 facta. Commeatum illis cum procul, tum omnibus sub casibus maritimis fore; se et pecuniam et frumentum, praeter reditus metallorum, in decem annos 13 seposuisse. Omnia quae deorum indulgentia, quae regia cura praeparanda fuerint,[5] plena cumulataque 14 habere Macedonas; animos habendos esse quos[6]

[1] singulae . . . peditum *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[2] trecenos *Sigonius*: tricenos V.
[3] triginta *add. H. J. Mueller*: *om.* V.
[4] illos habere *Fr.*: armatplios V.
[5] fuerint *Duker*: fuerant V.
[6] animos habendos esse quos *Vahlen*: animum hos habendum esse quem V.

[1] Traditionally regarded as effeminate and slavish by Greeks and Romans; the Lydians were said to have been made unwarlike, to prevent uprisings, by Cyrus the Great; on advice of their ex-king Croesus, he had forbidden them arms and made them become merchants and musicians (Herodotus I. 155). Cf. XXXVIII. xvii. 13, and the note.

winter had been wasted, so that the Romans might B.C. 171
have time for preparation; now the consul was coming with two Roman legions, each of which contained six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, and about the same number of allied infantry and cavalry. Supposing that there were added to this force auxiliaries from the kings, Eumenes and Masinissa, there would be not more than thirty-seven thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry. Now that they had heard the numbers of the enemy let them consider their own army, how much it excelled in numbers and in type of soldiers, how much they, trained in the arts of warfare from boyhood, disciplined and hardened in so many wars, excelled these recruits hastily enrolled for this war. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians,[1] and Numidians; their own, Thracians and Gauls, the most warlike of all nations. Their enemies had such arms as each poverty-stricken soldier might have acquired for himself,[2] the Macedonians had arms taken from the royal arsenals, laid up through so many years by his father's care and expenditure. Provisions for the enemy would come not only from a long distance, but subject to all the accidents of seafaring; he himself had stored up both money and grain, not counting the revenue from the mines, for a ten years' war.[3] Everything which, by the beneficence of the gods and by the prudence of the king, was to be made ready the Macedonians had in abundant plenty; they must have, too, the spirit

[2] The state, however, supplied arms in case of need, and in wartime presumably had replacements in its arsenals, cf. XXIX. xxii. 3.

[3] So also Justinus, XXXIII. 1. 3: Perseo . . . decennis belli sumptus a patre paratus in thesauris et horreis erat.

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habuerint maiores eorum, qui Europa omni domita transgressi in Asiam [1] incognitum famae aperuerint armis orbem terrarum nec ante vincere desierint quam Rubro mari inclusis quod vincerent,defuerit. 15 At hercule nunc non [2] de ultimis Indiae oris sed de ipsius Macedoniae possessione certamen fortunam indixisse. Cum patre suo gerentes bellum Romanos speciosum Graeciae liberandae praetulisse [3] titulum: 16 nunc propalam Macedoniam in servitutem petere, ne rex vicinus imperio sit Romano, ne gens bello nobilis arma habeat. Haec enim tradenda superbis dominis esse cum rege regnoque, si [4] absistere bello et facere imperata velint.

LIII. Cum per omnem orationem satis frequenti assensu succlamatum esset, tum vero ea vociferatio simul indignantium minitantiumque, partim iubentium bonum animum habere regem, exorta est ut finem dicendi faceret, tantum iussis ad iter se 2 parare; [5] iam enim dici movere castra ab Nymphaeo Romanos. Contione [6] dimissa ad audiendas legationes civitatium Macedoniae se contulit. 3 Venerant autem ad pecunias pro facultatibus quaeque suis et frumentum pollicendum ad bellum. 4 Omnibus gratiae actae, remissum omnibus; satis

[1] Asiam *Fr.*: Italiam V.
[2] non *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[3] praetulisse *J. F. Gronovius*: tulisse V.
[4] si *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] se parare *Wesenberg*: parere V.
[6] contione *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

which their ancestors had possessed, who, having B.C. 171
subdued all Europe, had crossed to Asia and opened up with their arms a whole world unknown even to rumour, and had not ceased their conquests, until, within the barrier of the Indian Ocean,[1] there was nothing left for them to conquer. But now, by Hercules, fortune had proclaimed a contest, not for the farthermost shores of India, but for the possession of Macedonia itself. When the Romans had been waging war with his father, they had held out the plausible pretext of the freedom of Greece; now openly they sought to enslave Macedonia, that there might be no king neighbouring the Roman empire, that no people famed in war might keep its arms. All these things they must surrender to haughty masters, along with their king and kingdom, if they wished to cease waging war and do the bidding of others.

LIII. Although throughout all the speech there had been often enough outbursts of applause, at that moment indeed such an outcry arose from those who were at once enraged and threatening, while some of them bade the king be of good cheer, that he put an end to his speech, merely ordering them to prepare for a march, for it was reported that the Romans had already moved camp from the Place of the Nymphs. After dismissing the assembly he turned to hearing embassies from the cities of Macedonia. These groups had come in order to promise funds for the war, each according to its ability, and grain. To all thanks were expressed and the offers refused;

[1] The "Red Sea" usually meant to a Roman the Persian Gulf, but cf. below, *ultimis Indiae oris*; the Indian Ocean had perhaps no separate name current in Livy's day; Roman seafaring in those waters came later.

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regios[1] apparatus ad ea dictum sufficere. Vehicula tantum imperata, ut tormenta telorumque missilium ingentem vim praeparatam bellicumque aliud instrumentum veherent.

5 Profectus inde toto exercitu, Eordaeam[2] petens, ad Begorritim quem vocant lacum positis castris, postero die in Elimeam ad Haliacmona fluvium processit. 6 Deinde saltu angusto superatis montibus quos Cambunios vocant descendit ad Azorum, Pythoum, 7 Dolichen; Tripolim vocant incolentes. Haec tria oppida paulisper cunctati, quia obsides Larisaeis dederant, victi tamen praesenti metu in deditionem 8 concesserunt. Benigne his appellatis, haud dubius Perrhaebos quoque idem facturos,[3] . . . .[4] urbem nihil cunctatis, qui incolebant, primo adventu recipit. 9 Cyretias oppugnare coactus primo[5] die acri concursu ad portas armatorum est repulsus; postero die omnibus copiis adortus in deditionem omnes ante noctem accepit.

LIV. Mylae, proximum oppidum, ita munitum ut inexsuperabilis munimenti spes incolas ferociores faceret, non portas claudere regi satis habuerunt, sed probris quoque in ipsum Macedonasque prōcaci- 2 bus iaculati sunt. Quae res cum infestiorem hostem ad oppugnandum fecisset, ipsos desperatione veniae 3 ad tuendos sese acrius accendit. Itaque per triduum

[1] regios *Fr.*: regionibus V.
[2] Eordaeam *Drakenborch*: sordeam V.
[3] facturos *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[4] *lacunam indicavit Crévier, nomen civitatis excidisse persuasus.*
[5] primo *Zingerle*: primo etiam V.

[1] The route chosen led west, then south, avoiding mountain narrows as far as possible, and taking the western pass to the Tripolis.

they were informed that the royal stores were sufficient for these purposes. Only wagons were ordered, to carry the catapults and a huge supply of missile weapons which was ready and other martial equipment. B.C. 171

Setting out from there with the whole army, by way of Eordaea,[1] the king arrived on the second day, after pitching camp at the lake called Begorritis, at the Haliacmon river in Elimea. Then crossing the mountains which they call Cambunian by a narrow pass, he came down to Azorus, Pythoüs and Dolichê; the inhabitants call them Tripolis. These three towns, after brief hesitation because they had given hostages to the people of Larisa, nevertheless, overcome by immediate fear, yielded in surrender. After reassuring speeches to these, Perseus, not doubting that the Perrhaebians also would do the same . . .[2] at once on his arrival received the surrender of the city with no delay on the part of the inhabitants. Forced to besiege Cyretiae, he was repulsed the first day by a sharp rally of fighters at the gates; on the next day, by attacking with all his forces, he received before nightfall the surrender of everyone.

LIV. Mylae, the next town, being so fortified that their hope that the defences were impregnable made the inhabitants overbold, considered it insufficient to shut its gates to the king, but also assailed him and the Macedonians with saucy insults. This impertinence both made the enemy more vehement in the attack and fired the citizens, through despair of obtaining pardon, to defend themselves more vigorously. Therefore for three

[2] Perhaps only the name of the city (Malloea? cf. below, ch. lxvii. 7) is missing.

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ingentibus utrimque animis et oppugnata est urbs et [1] defensa. Multitudo Macedonum ad subeundum in vicem proelium haud difficulter suppetebat; [2] oppidanos, diem noctem eosdem tuentes moenia, non vulnera modo sed etiam vigiliae et continens
4 labor conficiebat. Quarto die cum et [3] scalae undique ad muros erigerentur et porta vi maiore oppugnaretur, oppidani depulsa vi muris [4] ad portam tuendam concurrunt eruptionemque repentinam in hostis
5 faciunt; quae cum irae magis inconsultae quam verae fiduciae virium esset, pauci et fessi [5] ab integris pulsi terga dederunt [6] fugientesque per patentem
6 portam hostes acceperunt. Ita capta urbs ac direpta est; libera quoque corpora quae caedibus superfuerunt [7] venum data. Diruto magna ex parte et incenso oppido profectus ad Phalannam castra movit,
7 inde postero die Gyrtonem pervenit. Quo cum T. Minucium Rufum et Hippiam, Thessalorum praetorem, cum praesidio intrasse accepisset, ne temptata [8] quidem oppugnatione praetergressus, Elatiam et Gonnum perculsis inopinato adventu oppidanis
8 recepit. Utraque oppida in faucibus sunt qua Tempe adeuntur,[9] magis Gonnus. Itaque [10] et firmiore id praesidio tutum equitumque, ad hoc fossa
9 triplici ac vallo munitum reliquit. Ipse ad Sycurium progressus opperiri ibi hostium adventum statuit;

[1] urbs et *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.
[2] suppetebat *Madvig* : sedebat V. [3] et *Fr.* : et cum V.
[4] depulsa vi muris *Madvig* : depulmoris V.
[5] et fessi *Fr.* : effusi V.
[6] dederunt *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[7] superfuerunt *Fr.* : sublperfuereunt (*sic*) V.
[8] tentata *Fr.* : pugnata V.
[9] Tempe adeuntur *J. F. Gronovius* : tempestate adeunt V.
[10] Gonnus itaque *Sigonius* : conustaque et V.

days with great spirit on both sides the city was B.C. 171
attacked and defended. The numbers of the Macedonians were easily sufficient to undertake the battle in relays; the townspeople, guarding the walls day and night without relief, were worn out not only by wounds but also by wakefulness and unbroken toil. When on the fourth day ladders were lifted against the walls on all sides and also the gate was attacked with greater violence, the townspeople, after thrusting back the assault on the walls, rallied to guard the gate and made a sudden sally against the enemy; this being more the result of heedless rage than of genuine confidence in their strength, the small number of weary men, routed by fresh opponents, turned tail and in their flight let the enemy in through the open gate. Thus the city was captured and sacked; even the free persons who survived the slaughter were sold. After the town had been in large part torn down and burned, Perseus, departing, moved his camp to Phalanna [1] and thence on the next day arrived at Gyrton. When he heard that Titus Minucius Rufus and Hippias, general of the Thessalians, had entered that town with a garrison, he passed by without even trying an attack and received the submission of Elatia and Gonnus because the inhabitants were frightened by his unexpected arrival. Both towns are in the narrows by which Tempê is approached, especially Gonnus. Therefore he left this town both protected by a stronger garrison of cavalry and infantry and fortified in addition by a triple ditch and a rampart. He himself having advanced to Sycurium decided to await there the approach of the enemy; at the

[1] Perseus now turns east, then north-east.

A.U.C. 583 simul et frumentari passim exercitum iubet in subiecto
10 hostium agro. Namque Sycurium est sub radicibus Ossae montis. Is,[1] qua in meridiem vergit, subiectos habet Thessaliae campos, ab tergo Macedoniam atque
11 Magnesiam. Ad has opportunitates accedit summa salubritas et copia pluribus circumiectis fontibus perennium aquarum.

LV. Consul Romanus, per eosdem dies Thessaliam cum exercitu petens, iter expeditum primo per
2 Epirum habuit; deinde, postquam in Athamaniam est transgressus, asperi ac prope invii soli,[2] cum ingenti difficultate parvis itineribus aegre Gomphos
3 pervenit; cui si vexatis hominibus equisque tironem exercitum ducenti acie instructa et loco suo et tempore obstitisset rex, ne Romani quidem abnuunt
4 magna sua cum clade fuisse[3] pugnaturos. Postquam Gomphos sine certamine ventum est, praeter gaudium periculosi saltus superati, contemptus quoque hostium adeo ignorantium opportunitates
5 suas accessit. Sacrificio rite perfecto consul et frumento dato militibus paucos ad requiem iumentorum hominumque moratus dies, cum audiret vagari Macedonas effusos per Thessaliam vastarique sociorum agros, satis iam refectum militem ad
6 Larisam ducit. Inde cum tria milia ferme abesset,

[1] Is *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.
[2] asperi ac prope invii soli *Fr.* : asperis ac prope iniu solis V.
[3] clade fuisse *Fr.* : clade uisse V.

[1] This criticism ignores the difficulties which Perseus would have suffered had he tried to oppose the Romans in Athamania; in the mountains his strongest arm, the phalanx, was useless, and his cavalry might well have been hobbled; the problem of supplies and communications would have been complicated by the mountains between him and Macedonia; and his

same time he ordered his army to gather grain B.C. 171
everywhere in the adjoining hostile territory. For Sycurium is in the foothills of Mount Ossa. This mountain by its southern slope commands the plains of Thessaly, and to the rear, Macedonia and Magnesia. To these advantages of position are added the greatest healthfulness and an abundance of unfailing water, since numerous springs surround it.

LV. The Roman consul, being on his way to Thessaly with his army during these same days, first made a rapid march through Epirus; then, after he crossed into Athamania, a land of rough and almost pathless terrain, with great difficulty by small roads he barely got through to Gomphi; while his men and horses were in trouble, and since he commanded a novice army, if the king had opposed him with a force advantageously arrayed as to time and place, even the Romans do not deny that they would have fought with great loss to themselves. After their arrival at Gomphi without opposition, besides the joy of having negotiated a dangerous pass, scorn of enemies who were so ignorant of their own advantages also came to them.[1] After sacrifice duly performed and a distribution of grain to the soldiers, the consul, delaying a few days to rest beasts and men, on hearing that the Macedonians were wandering scattered through Thessaly and that the territory of the allies was being plundered, led his now sufficiently refreshed soldiery to Larisa. When about three miles distant

strategic flank would have been wide open to hostile Thessaly. His actual march left him with direct communication with Macedonia, the flanking passes to the west guarded, and ground before him level enough for his type of fighting.

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ad Tripolim[1]—Scaeam vocant—super Peneum
7 amnem posuit castra. Per idem tempus Eumenes ad Chalcidem navibus accessit cum Attalo atque Athenaeo fratribus, Philetaero fratre relicto Pergami
8 ad tutelam regni. Chalcide cum Attalo et quattuor milibus peditum, mille equitum ad consulem venit; Chalcide relicta duo milia peditum, quibus Athenaeus praepositus.[2] Et alia eodem auxilia Romanis ex omnibus undique Graeciae populis convenerunt, quorum pleraque—adeo parva erant[3]—in oblivionem
9 adducta. Apolloniatae trecentos equites centum pedites miserunt. Aetolorum alae unius instar,
10 quantum ab[4] tota gente equitum[5] erat venerant, et Thessalorum, quorum[6] omnis equitatus speratus[7] erat, non plus quam trecenti erant equites[8] in castris Romanis. Achaei iuventutis suae, Cretico maxime armatu, ad mille quingentos dederunt.

LVI. Sub idem tempus et C. Lucretius praetor, qui navibus praeerat ad Cephallaniam, M. Lucretio fratre cum classe super Maleum Chalcidem iusso petere, ipse triremem conscendit, sinum Corinthium
2 petens ad praeoccupandas in Boeotia res. Tardior ei navigatio propter infirmitatem corporis fuit.
3 M. Lucretius, Chalcidem adveniens, cum a P. Lentulo Haliartum oppugnari audisset, nuntium,

[1] abesset ad Tripolim *J. F. Gronovius*: adesse ai tripoli (*sic*) V.
[2] praepositus et alia *Fr.*: praetor praepositus alia et V.
[3] parva erant *Fr.*: paruerunt V. [4] ab *Fr.*: ad V.
[5] equitum *Fr.*: equitem V.
[6] quorum *add. Drakenborch*: *om.* V.
[7] speratus *Drakenborch*: partus V.
[8] equites *Fr.*: adquei (*sic*) V.

[1] About 500 men. [2] Below lviii. 14, there are 400 present.
[3] I.e. as slingers and other light troops.

from there, at Tripolis—they call it Scaea—above the B.C. 171
Peneüs river he pitched camp. During this same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis with a fleet, accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenaeus, his brother Philetaerus having been left at Pergamum for the protection of the kingdom. From Chalcis he came with Attalus and four thousand infantry and a thousand cavalry to the consul; at Chalcis two thousand infantry were left under the command of Athenaeus. Also the other auxiliaries of the Romans assembled at Tripolis from all the peoples of Greece everywhere, many of whom—so small were they—have come to oblivion. The people of Apollonia sent three hundred cavalry and one hundred infantry. From the Aetolians there came the equivalent of one squadron,[1] the total force of cavalry of the whole league, and of the Thessalians, whose entire cavalry force had been hoped for, not more than three hundred horsemen[2] were in the Roman camp. The Achaeans contributed of their young men, mostly with Cretan armament,[3] about fifteen hundred.

LVI. At about the same time Gaius Lucretius too, the praetor who commanded the ships at Cephallania, ordering his brother Marcus Lucretius to make for Chalcis around Malea with the fleet, himself embarked on a trireme, sailing for the Corinthian Gulf in order to be the first in the field in Boeotia. His voyage was somewhat slow because of his bodily weakness. Marcus Lucretius, on his arrival at Chalcis, hearing that Haliartus was being besieged by Publius Lentulus,[4] sent a messenger

[4] Roman garrison-commander at Thebes, in charge of Boeotia, cf. above xlvii. 12. Haliartus commanded the pass between eastern and western Boeotia.

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praetoris verbis qui abscedere eum inde iuberet, misit. Boeotorum iuventute, quae pars cum Romanis stabat, eam rem aggressus legatus a moenibus abscessit. Haec soluta obsidio [1] locum alteri novae obsidioni dedit; namque extemplo M. Lucretius cum exercitu navali, decem milibus armatorum, ad hoc duobus milibus regiorum, qui sub Athenaeo erant, Haliartum circumsedit; parantibusque iam oppugnare supervenit a Creusa praetor. Ad idem fere [2] tempus et ab sociis naves Chalcidem convenerunt, duae Punicae quinqueremes, duae ab Heraclea ex Ponto triremes, quattuor Chalcedone, totidem Samo, tum quinque Rhodiae quadriremes. Has praetor, quia nusquam erat maritimum bellum, remisit sociis. Et Q. Marcius Chalcidem navibus venit, Alope Phthiotica [3] capta, Larisa, quae Cremaste dicitur, oppugnata.

Cum hic status in [4] Boeotia esset, Perseus, cum ad Sycurium, sicut ante dictum est, stativa haberet, frumento undique circa ex agris convecto, ad vastandum Pheraeorum agrum [5] misit, ratus ad iuvandas sociorum urbes longius a castris abstractos deprehendi Romanos posse. Quos cum eo tumultu nihil motos animadvertisset, praedam quidem praeterquam hominum—pecora autem maxime omnis generis fuere—divisit [6] ad epulandum militibus.[7]

[1] obsidio *Fr.*: obsidio cuius V. [2] fere *Fr.*: facere V.
[3] Alope Phthiotica *Madvig*: halopetica V.
[4] in *Fr.*: inhisin V.
[5] agrum *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[6] divisit *Fr.*: dimisit V.
[7] *lacunam post* animadvertisset *susp. Madvig, post* militibus *Weissenborn, neutrubi ego.*

[1] The port of Thespiae, on the Corinthian Gulf.
[2] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 7. 14–16.

to order him in the name of the praetor to depart B.C. 171
from there. The commissioner, who had undertaken this enterprise with the Boeotian young men of the party supporting the Romans, departed from the walls. The raising of this siege gave room for another new siege; for immediately Marcus Lucretius with the naval force, ten thousand men-at-arms, and in addition the two thousand king's men who were under Athenaeus, blockaded Haliartus; and while they were preparing also to assault it, the praetor joined them from Creüsa.[1] At about the same time ships from the allies also assembled at Chalcis—two Carthaginian quinqueremes, two triremes from Heraclea on the Euxine, four from Chalcedon, as many from Samos, and also five quadriremes from Rhodes.[2] These, since there was no naval warfare in any quarter, the praetor sent back to the allies. Quintus Marcius also came to Chalcis with ships, after capturing Alopê in Phthiotis and attacking Larisa which is called Cremastê.[3]

While this was the situation in Boeotia, and Perseus, as has been said above, had his permanent camp at Sycurium, after all the grain had been brought in from the fields round about, he sent a force to devastate the territory of Pherae, thinking that thus he might catch the Romans drawn a rather long distance from their camp for the purpose of aiding the cities of their allies. When he discovered that they had not stirred at all because of this raid, he divided all the booty at least, only the human beings excepted—it consisted chiefly of all sorts of livestock—among his soldiers for feasting.

[3] I.e. "Hanging Larisa," cf. above xlii. 1, and below lxvii. 10.

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LVII. Sub idem deinde tempus consilium et consul et rex habuerunt, unde bellum ordirentur. Regiis[1] creverant[2] animi vastatione concessa sibi ab hoste Pheraei agri; itaque eundum inde ad castra nec dandum ultra spatium cunctandi censebant. Et Romani sentiebant[3] cunctationem suam infamem apud socios esse, maxime indigne ferentes non latam Pheraeis opem. Consultantibus, quid agerent—aderant autem Eumenes et Attalus in consilio—trepidus nuntius adfert hostem magno agmine adesse. Consilio dimisso signum extemplo datur ut arma capiant.[4] Interim placet ex regiis auxiliis centum equites et parem numerum iaculatorum peditum exire. Perseus hora[5] ferme diei quarta, cum paulo plus mille passus abesset a castris Romanis, consistere signa peditum iussit; praegressus ipse cum equitibus ac levi armatura; et Cotys cum eo ducesque aliorum auxiliorum praecesserunt. Minus quingentos passus ab castris aberant, cum in conspectu fuere hostium equites; duae alae erant magna ex parte Gallorum—Cassignatus praerat—et levis armaturae centum fere et quinquaginta Mysi et Cretenses. Constitit rex, incertus quantae hostium copiae essent. Duas[6] inde ex agmine turmas Thracum, duas Macedonum cum binis Cretensium cohortibus et Thracum misit.

[1] ordirentur regiis *Madvig*: dirimentur regis V.
[2] creverant *Crévier*: creuerunt V.
[3] sentiebant *Madvig*: censebant V.
[4] capiant *Fr.*: placeat V.
[5] hora *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.
[6] quantae hostium copiae essent. duas *Novák*: quanta esse duos esse duos V.

[1] If this number is right, a somewhat larger force was actually sent, cf. below § 7.

LVII. Then about the same time both the consul B.C. 171
and the king held a council to consider how to open the campaign. The spirits of the king's men had risen when the devastated area of Pheraean territory had been yielded to their side by the enemy; and so they advised going thence at once against the enemy's camp and giving him no further time for delay. The Romans also were aware that their delay was being roundly criticized among their allies, who were especially incensed that aid had not been given the Pheraeans. While they were conferring as to what to do—for Eumenes and Attalus were present in the council—an alarmed messenger reported that the enemy was at hand with a large column. The council was dismissed and the signal for arming immediately given. Meanwhile it was decided to send out from the king's auxiliary troops a hundred [1] cavalry and an equal number of javelin-throwers on foot. At about the fourth hour of the day Perseus ordered the ranks of the infantry to halt at a distance of a little over a mile from the Roman camp; he himself led the way with the cavalry and light-armed force; Cotys too and the leaders of the other auxiliaries went on with him. They were less than half a mile from the camp when enemy cavalry came in sight; there were two squadrons made up mostly of Gauls [2]—Cassignatus was the commander—and of light-armed troops about one hundred and fifty Mysians and Cretans. The king halted, not being sure how large the enemy forces were. Then he sent from the column two troops of Thracians and two of Macedonians with two cohorts each of Cretans and Thracians. Since they

[2] I.e. Galatians from Asia Minor.

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9 Proelium, cum[1] pares numero essent neque ab hac aut illa parte nova auxilia subvenirent, incerta victoria[2] finitum est. Eumenis ferme triginta interfecti, inter quos Cassignatus dux Gallorum cecidit. Et tunc quidem Perseus ad Sycurium 10 copias reduxit; postero die circa eandem horam in eundem locum rex copias admovit plaustris cum aqua sequentibus; nam duodecim milium passuum via[3] omnis sine aqua et plurimi pulveris erat; affectosque siti, si primo in conspectu dimicassent, 11 pugnaturos fuisse apparebat. Cum Romani quiessent, stationibus etiam intra vallum reductis, regii quoque in castra redeunt. Hoc per aliquot dies fecerunt, sperantes fore ut Romani equites abeuntium novissimum agmen aggrederentur; inde certa- 12 mine orto, cum[4] longius a castris eos elicuissent, facile, ubiubi essent, se, qui equitatu et levi armatura plus possent, conversuros aciem.

LVIII. Postquam inceptum non succedebat, castra propius hostem movit rex et a quinque milibus 2 passuum communivit.[5] Inde luce prima in eodem quo solebat loco peditum acie instructa, equitatum omem levemque armaturam ad castra hostium ducit. 3 Visus et plurium[6] et propior solito pulvis trepidationem in castris Romanis fecit. Et primo vix creditum nuntianti[7] est, quia prioribus continuis diebus numquam ante horam quartam hostis apparu- 4 erat; tum solis ortus erat. Deinde ut plurium clamore et cursu a portis dubitatio exempta est,

[1] proelium, cum *Grynaeus*: proelium esset cum V.
[2] incerta victoria *Grynaeus*: incertam victoriam V.
[3] via *add. Fr.*: *om.* V. [4] cum *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[5] passuum communivit *Novák*: passum communi V.
[6] plurium *Fr.*: plurimum V.
[7] nuntianti *Fr.*: nuntiatum V.

were equally matched as to numbers and from B.C. 171
neither the one side nor the other were reinforcements sent up, the battle ended in a draw. Of Eumenes' men about thirty were killed, among whom Cassignatus, leader of the Gauls, fell. And for the time being Perseus led back his forces to Sycurium; on the next day at about the same hour to the same place the king brought up his troops, followed by wagons with water; for the journey of twelve miles was all waterless and exceedingly dusty; it was clear that they would have fought under the handicap of thirst if the battle had begun at the first sight of the foe. When the Romans kept quiet, even withdrawing their outposts within the rampart, the king's men also returned to camp. This they did during several days, hoping that the Roman cavalry would attack the rear of their departing column; then after a fight had begun, when they had lured them too far from camp, they could easily, wheresoever they might be, turn the tide of battle by their superior power in cavalry and light troops.

LVIII. After the attempt failed of success, the king moved his camp nearer the enemy and fortified it at five miles' distance. From there at dawn he drew up his battle-line of infantry in the usual place and led all his cavalry and light troops to the camp of the enemy. The sight of dust nearer to them and from a larger force than usual caused alarm in the Roman camp. At first they hardly believed their sentry's report, because regularly on previous days the enemy had never appeared before the fourth hour; this time it was at sunrise. Then as doubt vanished at the shouting and dashing

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tumultus ingens oboritur. Tribuni praefectique et centuriones in praetorium, miles ad sua quisque
5 tentoria discurrit. Minus quingentos passus a vallo instruxerat Perseus suos circa tumulum quem
6 Callinicum [1] vocant. Laevo cornu Cotys rex praeerat cum omnibus suae gentis; equitum ordines levis armatura interposita distinguebat. In dextro cornu Macedones erant equites, intermixti turmis
7 eorum Cretenses; huic armaturae Midon Beroeaeus, equitibus et summae partis eius Meno Antigonensis
8 praeerat. Proximi cornibus [2] constiterant regii equites, et mixtum genus, delecta plurium gentium auxilia; Patrocles Antigonensis his et Paeoniae
9 praefectus Didas erant praepositi. Medius omnium rex erat; circa eum agema quod vocant, equitumque
10 sacrae [3] alae. Ante se statuit funditores iaculatoresque: [4] quadringentorum manus utraque numerum explebat; Ionem [5] Thessalonicensem et Artemona Dolopem [6] iis praefecit. Sic regii constiterant.
11 Consul intra vallum peditum acie instructa et ipse equitatum omnem cum levi armatura emisit;
12 pro vallo instructi sunt. Dextro cornu praepositus C. Licinius Crassus, consulis frater, cum omni

[1] Callinicum *Madvig*: callicinum V.
[2] cornibus *Fr.*: cornicibus V.
[3] equitumque sacrae *Fr.*: equitum sacraeque V.
[4] iaculatores *Fr.*: iaculatoresque equitumquae equitum V.
[5] Ionem *Fr.*: rationem V.
[6] Artemona Dolopem *Madvig*: certimanoptolopemum V.

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[1] I.e. of Glorious Victory.

[2] This name (cf. below lxvi. 5, XLIV. xlii. 2) is not used by other extant writers; it might mean the "royal squadron" of Cavalry Companions (Arrian, *Anabasis*, III. 11. 8). which was also called *agema* ("Guard"), cf. Antiochus' Horse-Guard,

back from the gates of a larger number of men, a great confusion arose. The tribunes, prefects and centurions rushed to headquarters, the rank-and-file each to his own tent. Less than half a mile from the rampart Perseus drew up his men about the hill which they call Callinicus.[1] King Cotys was in charge of the left wing with all his tribesmen; light-armed troops, placed between, divided the units of cavalry. On the right wing were Macedonian cavalry, and Cretans interspersed among their troops; Midon of Beroea was in charge of the latter force, Menon of Antigonea commanded the cavalry and the formation as a whole. Next to the wings were posted the royal cavalry and mixed units of the picked auxiliaries of many nations; Patrocles of Antigonea and Didas the governor of Paeonia were in command of these. The king was in the centre of the whole line; around him was what they call the Guard, and the sacred squadrons[2] of the cavalry. Before him he placed the slingers and javelin-throwers; each band attained to the number of four hundred; Ion of Thessalonica and Artemon, a Dolopian, he put in command of these. Thus the king's men were arrayed. After the Roman infantry had been drawn up within the rampart, the consul likewise sent out all his cavalry with the light troops; they were arrayed before the rampart. On the right wing the commander was Gaius Licinius Crassus, the brother of the consul, with all the Italian cavalry, B.C. 171

XXXVII. xl. 6 and 11, especially if the *agema* here mentioned was the Foot-Guard of peltasts (above li. 4, and the note). Sage's note on Antiochus' Guard (*loc. cit.*) suggests that *sacrae alae* defines *agema* here. The name "sacred" may have been used on analogy with the Sacred Band of Thebes under Pelopidas, cf. Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, xviii.

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Italico equitatu, velitibus[1] intermixtis; sinistro M. Valerius Laevinus sociorum ex Graecis populis equites habebat et[2] eiusdem gentis levem armaturam;
13 mediam autem aciem cum delectis equitibus extraordinariis tenebat Q. Mucius. Ducenti equites Galli ante signa horum instructi et de auxiliis
14 Eumenis Cyrtiorum gentis trecenti. Thessali quadringenti equites parvo intervallo super laevum cornu locati. Eumenes rex Attalusque cum omni manu sua ab tergo inter postremam aciem ac vallum steterunt.

LIX. In hunc modum maxime instructae acies, par ferme utrimque numeris equitum ac levis armaturae, concurrunt, a funditoribus iaculatori-
2 busque qui praecesserant[3] proelio orto. Primi omnium Thraces, haud secus quam[4] diu claustris retentae ferae, ita concitati cum ingenti clamore in dextrum cornu, Italicos equites, incurrerunt ut[5]
3 usu belli et ingenio impavida gens turbaretur . . . . hastas petere pedites . . . . nunc succidere crura

[1] velitibus *Fr.*: ut uelitis V.
[2] et *add. Drakenborch*: *om.* V.
[3] praecesserant *Madvig*: praecesserunt V.
[4] haud secus quam *Fr.*: ut secus quidem V.
[5] ut *Fr.*: et V.

[1] These were not unlike the Greek peltasts, but used more as mere skirmishers, cf. XXVI. iv (this represents the first time they were used for an important service), XXX. xxxiii. 3, XXXI. xxxv. 5. The *velites* disappear from the Roman army not long after this time, as foreign auxiliaries replace them. For their arms, cf. Polybius VI. 22.

and the light infantry of the legions[1] intermingled; B.C 171
on the left Marcus Valerius Laevinus had the allied cavalry from the peoples of Greece and the light troops of the same nation; the centre, however, Quintus Mucius held with the picked Élite Cavalry.[2] Before the standards of the centre were arrayed two hundred Gallic cavalry and three hundred of Eumenes' Cyrtian[3] auxiliaries. Four hundred Thessalian cavalry were placed at a short distance beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus with all their forces were posted behind, between the rear line and the rampart.

LIX. Drawn up in very nearly this fashion and with numbers of cavalry and light troops about even on both sides, the lines clashed, the battle beginning with the slingers and javelin-throwers, who were in advance. First of all the Thracians, like beasts of prey long held behind bars, charged so vigorously with a great shout upon the Roman right wing, the Italian cavalry, that this people, courageous by nature and through experience in war,[4] was thrown into confusion . . . spears to attack the infantry . . .[5] now to

[2] These were selected from the rest of the cavalry as the fittest, cf. Polybius, VI. 26. 6.

[3] Nomad brigands from the Kurd country in northwest Persia, cf. XXXVII. xl. 9.

[4] Apparently exceptions to the rule of inexperience, above lv. 3.

[5] The words introducing the account of the melée have entirely disappeared; the sense and construction of the three isolated words is not clear; some scholars restore two more words, "phalanx," and *rumpiis* (long Thracian spears, cf. XXXI. xxxix. 11) which do not seem to fit the context. (So E. S., cf. critical note 1 on p. 474; but the spears might have been used "to pierce their loins," cf. the alternative text in the note.)

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4 equis, nunc ilia suffodere.[1] Perseus, in mediam invectus aciem, Graecos primo impetu avertit; quibus fusis cum gravis ab tergo instaret hostis, Thessalorum equitatus, qui a laevo[2] cornu brevi spatio diiunctus in subsidiis fuerat extra concursum, primo spectator certaminis, deinde inclinata re 5 maximo usui[3] fuit. Cedentes enim sensim integris ordinibus, postquam se Eumenis auxiliis adiunxerunt, et cum eo tutum inter ordines suos receptum sociis fuga dissipatis dabant et, cum minus conferti hostes instarent, progredi etiam ausi multos fugientium 6 obvios exceperunt. Nec regii, sparsi iam ipsi passim sequendo, cum ordinatis et certo incedentibus[4] 7 gradu manus conserere audebant. Cum victor equestri proelio rex parvo momento si adiuvisset debellatum esse clamaret,[5] et opportune adhortanti supervenit phalanx quam sua sponte, ne audaci coepto deessent, Hippias et Leonnatus raptim adduxerant, postquam prospere pugnasse equitem 8 acceperunt. Fluctuante rege[6] inter spem metumque[7] tantae rei conandae Cretensis Euander,

[1] *sic fere edd. Legimus in* v turbareturtr ec [su]b [pal]a [n] gishastaspeterepedites . . . [equor]umque i (*sic*) nuncsucciderecrurarumpisnunciliasuffodere (*litterae inclusae incertae sunt*). *Mentionem phalangis factam esse licet suspicari, sed phalanx nondum proelio intererat* (*vid. sect.* 7, *infra*). *Vocabulum* rumpiis *latere Giarratano vidit, sed gladio non rumpia opus est ad equorum crura succidenda. Despero.* (E. S.) *At legere possumus :* equorumque ii nunc succidere crura, rumpiis nunc illa suffodere. (E. H. Warmington.)

[2] qui a laeuo *Fr.* : qui a leo, *ut vid.* V.

[3] maximo usui *Fr.* : maxum usui V.

[4] incedentibus *Fr.* : indendentibus V.

[5] clamaret *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.

cut off the horses' legs, now to pierce their loins. B.C. 171
Perseus, charging the centre of the line, thrust back the Greeks with his first attack;[1] in the rout of these when the enemy pressed heavily from the rear, the Thessalian cavalry, which had been in support, away a short distance from the left wing and beyond the melée, though at first spectators of the conflict, were later, when the decision had been reached, of the greatest use. For, retreating gradually with formation intact, after they had joined the auxiliaries of Eumenes, with him they both provided a safe retreat between their units for their allies scattered in flight, and when the enemy pressed on in less close order, they even risked advancing and met many of the fugitives half-way. Nor did the king's men, now themselves scattered in a general pursuit, dare to close in battle with an enemy in formation and advancing steadily. While the king, victorious in the cavalry battle, was crying out that if he had helped with a slight impulse a decisive victory would have been won, the phalanx also arrived appropriately at the very moment of his urging; Hippias and Leonnatus had brought the phalanx up swiftly on their own initiative, in order not to fail the bold beginning, after they had received the report that the cavalry had won their battle. While the king was wavering between hope and fear of attempting so great a feat, the Cretan Evander, whom the

[1] Livy fails to mention the Roman Élite Cavalry, either out of confusion, or because weakness in the Aetolian contingent at this point was regarded as the cause of the whole Roman debacle, cf. below lx. 9.

[6] fluctuante rege *Fr.*: fluctuanti regi V.
[7] metumque *Fr.*: metumque ac V.

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quo ministro Delphis ad insidias Eumenis regis usus[1] erat, postquam agmen peditum[2] venientium
9 sub signis vidit, ad regem accurrit et monere institit ne elatus felicitate summam rerum temere in non
10 necessariam aleam daret; si contentus bene re gesta quiesset eo die, vel pacis honestae condicionem habiturum vel plurimos belli socios qui fortunam sequerentur si bellare mallet. In hoc consilium
11 pronior erat animus regis. Itaque collaudato Euandro signa referri peditumque agmen redire in castra iubet, equitibus receptui canere.[3]

LX. Cecidere eo die ab Romanis ducenti equites, duo milia haud minus peditum; capti sescenti ferme.[4] Ex regiis autem viginti equites, quadra-
2 ginta pedites interfecti. Postquam rediere in castra victores, omnes quidem laeti, ante alios Thracum insolens laetitia eminebat;[5] cum cantu enim superfixa hastis[6] capita hostium portantes redierunt.
3 Apud Romanos non maestitia tantum ex male gesta re, sed pavor etiam erat ne extemplo castra hostis aggrederetur. Eumenes consuli[7] suadere, ut trans Peneum transferret castra, ut pro munimento amnem[8] haberet, dum perculsi milites animos colligerent. Consul moveri flagitio timoris fatendi;

[1] usus *Fr.*: usus usus V.
[2] peditum *Perizonius*: impeditum V.
[3] canere *Fr.*: caneretre V.
[4] capti sescenti ferme *Madvig*: captiac.fermecc.equites. (*sic*) V.
[5] eminebat *Fr.*: minabat V.
[6] hastis *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[7] consuli *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[8] amnem *Fr.*: manem V.

[1] Cf. above xv. 3 ff.

king had used as his tool at Delphi in the ambushing B.C. 171
of Eumenes,[1] on seeing the column of infantry with their standards advancing, ran to the king and pressed the warning that he should not be so puffed up by good fortune as to stake his whole enterprise rashly on a needless throw of the dice; if, satisfied with his success, he should rest for that day, either he would have a basis for an honourable peace or an abundance of such allies in war as would follow the lead of fortune, in case he should prefer to fight. To this advice the mind of the king was more inclined. And so, praising Evander, he ordered a withdrawal, and that the column of infantry should return to camp, while for the cavalry the signal for returning should be sounded.

LX. That day there fell on the Roman side two hundred cavalry, and hardly less than two thousand infantry; about six hundred were captured.[2] Of the king's men, however, twenty cavalrymen and forty infantrymen were killed. After the victors returned to camp, all indeed rejoiced, but above the others the swaggering joy of the Thracians was conspicuous; for they returned bearing with songs the heads of their enemies impaled on spears. On the Roman side there was not only gloom because of their lack of success, but also fear that the enemy might immediately attack the camp. Eumenes advised the consul to move his camp across the Peneüs, so that he might have the river as a fortification while the soldiers were recovering their shattered morale. The consul was affected by the disgrace

[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* ix. 2, gives the loss in dead as 2500; in *Sayings of Romans* 197 F (L.C.L., *Moralia* III., p. 173) the total dead and captured are given as 2800, as here.

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4 victus tamen ratione, silentio noctis transductis
5 copiis, castra in ulteriore ripa communivit.[1] Rex[2]
postero die ad lacessendos proelio hostes progressus,
postquam trans amnem in tuto posita castra animad-
vertit, fatebatur quidem peccatum quod pridie non
institisset victis, sed aliquanto maiorem culpam
6 esse quod nocte foret cessatum; nam, ut neminem
alium suorum moveret, levi armatura immissa
trepidantium in transitu fluminis hostium deleri
7 magna ex parte copias potuisse. Romanis quidem
praesens pavor[3] demptus erat, in tuto castra habenti-
bus; damnum inter cetera praecipue famae movebat.
8 Et in consilio apud consulem pro se quisque in
Aetolos conferebant causam: ab iis[4] fugae terroris-
9 que principium ortum; secutos pavorem Aetolorum
et ceteros socios Graecorum populorum. Quinque
principes Aetolorum, qui primi terga vertentes
10 conspecti dicebantur, Romam missi.[5] Thessali pro
contione laudati, ducesque eorum etiam virtutis
causa donati.

LXI. Ad regem spolia caesorum hostium refere-
2 bantur. Ex[6] his aliis arma insignia, aliis[7] equos,
quibusdam captivos dono dabat. Scuta erant supra
mille quingenta;[8] loricae thoracesque mille amplius

[1] communivit *Madvig*: communivi V.
[2] rex *Fr.*: rexex V.
[3] pavor *Fr.*: fauor V.
[4] causam ab iis *Fr.*: causa ab is V.
[5] Romam missi *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[6] ex *Drakenborch*: done ex V.
[7] insignia aliis *Fr.*: in sicilia aliquis V.
[8] quingenta *Fr.*: a (*sic*) V. *ut et alibi.*

[1] Polybius, XXVII. 15. 14, regarded the charge against the Aetolians as a piece of party politics originated by their countryman, the general Lyciscus, and foolishly believed by

of admitting timidity; but being overcome by reason, B.C. 171
he led his troops across in the dead of night and fortified a camp on the farther bank. The king came up next day to harass the enemy with battle, and, after finding out that the camp had been placed in safety across the river, admitted that he had indeed been at fault in not having pressed home the previous day his attack against the conquered, but that a somewhat greater mistake was that he had been inactive during the night; for even if he had not stirred one other man of his forces, he could, by an attack of the light troops, have to a great extent destroyed the enemy's troops while they were in confusion as they crossed the river. For the Romans indeed the immediate fear was removed, since they had a camp safely placed; but the loss, among other things, of reputation particularly disturbed them. And in the conference before the consul each in his own defence assigned the blame to the Aetolians; the beginning, they said, of the flight and panic had been made by them; the other allies from the peoples of Greece had also followed the rout of the Aetolians. Five chiefs of the Aetolians, who were the first said to have been seen turning their backs, were sent to Rome.[1] The Thessalians were praised before an assembly, and their leaders were even awarded presents for valour.

LXI. To the king were brought the spoils of the slain enemy. Of these he gave as gifts, to some the noteworthy arms, to others horses, and to some few prisoners. There were over fifteen hundred shields; coats of mail and breastplates made up a total of

the Romans. Cf. Appian, *Macedonian Wars*, IX. xii: Αἰτωλῶν δὲ καὶ ἑτέρων Ἑλλήνων κατεψεύσατο ὡς πρῶτω τραπέντων.

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summam explebant; galearum gladiorumque et missilium omnis generis maior aliquanto numerus. Haec per se ampla laetaque [1] multiplicata verbis regis, quae ad contionem vocato exercitu habuit. " Praeiudicatum eventum belli habetis. Meliorem partem hostium, equitatum Romanum, quo invictos se esse gloriabantur,[2] fudistis. Equites enim illis principes iuventutis, equites seminarium [3] senatus; inde lectos in patres [4] consules, inde imperatores creant: horum spolia paulo ante divisimus inter vos. Nec minorem de legionibus peditum victoriam habetis, quae nocturna fuga vobis subtractae naufragorum trepidatione passim natantium flumen compleverunt. Sed facilius nobis sequentibus victos Peneum superare erit quam illis trepidantibus fuit; transgressique extemplo castra [5] oppugnabimus quae hodie cepissemus ni fugissent; aut si acie decernere volent, eundem pugnae pedestris eventum expectate, qui equitum in certamine fuit." [6]

Et qui vicerant alacres, spolia caesorum hostium umeris gerentes, decora [7] sua audivere, ex eo quod [8] acciderat spem futuri praecipientes,[9] et pedites aliena

[1] ampla laetaque *Weissenborn*: ampletaquae V.
[2] gloriabantur *Fr.*: locriabantur V.
[3] seminarium *Fr.*: feminarium V.
[4] in patres *Madvig*: inpatrum V.
[5] transgressique extemplo castra *Fr.*: etransgressi qua exemplo castram (*sic*) V.
[6] fuit *Ruperti*: fuerit V.
[7] decora *J. F. Gronovius*: da.ora (*sic*) V.
[8] ex eo quod *Fr.*: et ex quo eo V.
[9] praecipientes *Fr.*: praeponentes V.

[1] Cf. II. xx. 10–11, IX. xiv. 14–16, X. xxviii. 7, and Polybius VI. 20. 9; but not all the cavalry were young men of high rank, cf. XXX. xviii. 15, where the *equites illustres* are speci-

over a thousand; of helmets, swords and missiles B.C. 171
of all sorts the number was somewhat greater. These gifts, splendid and agreeable in themselves, were augmented by the words of the king, which he pronounced before the army summoned to assembly.

"You have advance notice of the outcome of the war! You have routed the better part of the enemy, the Roman cavalry, in which they used to boast that they were unconquered. For among the Romans the cavalrymen are the leading young men,[1] the cavalry is the training-school for the senate; from it their consuls are chosen to be among the Fathers; from it they select their generals: it is the spoils of these men which we have recently divided among you. And no less a victory have you over the legions of the infantry, which, escaping from you by a night retreat, filled the river everywhere with the panic of shipwrecked swimmers. But it will be easier for us as we pursue the conquered to pass over the Peneüs than it was for them in their panic; once we have crossed, we shall immediately attack their camp, which we would have captured to-day if they had not fled; or if they wish to decide the issue by battle in the open, look for the same outcome of the infantry fight as took place in the clash of the cavalry."

Both those who had conquered, wearing on their shoulders the spoils of the slain enemy, eagerly heard their own praises, anticipating a happy outcome in the future because of what had happened,

ally mentioned, and XXXIX. xxxi. 16; the transition from a cavalry composed of noble citizens to one composed of foreign auxiliaries was at this time under way.

A.U.C. 583 gloria accensi, praecipue qui Macedonum phalangis erant, sibi quoque et navandae regi operae et similem gloriam ex hoste pariendi occasionem optabant. 11 Contione[1] dimissa, postero die profectus inde ad Mopselum posuit castra. Tumulus hic ante Tempe eminet et Larisa medius abest Gonnum eunti.[2]

LXII. Romani[3] non abscedentes ab ripa Penei 2 transtulerunt in locum tutiorem castra. Eo Misagenes Numida venit cum mille equitibus, pari peditum numero, ad hoc elephantis duobus et 3 viginti. Per eos dies consilium habenti regi de summa rerum[4] cum iam consedisset ferocia ab re bene gesta, ausi sunt quidam amicorum consilium dare ut secunda fortuna in condicionem honestae pacis uteretur potius quam spe vana evectus in 4 casum irevocabilem se daret. Modum imponere secundis rebus nec nimis credere serenitati praesentis[5] fortunae, prudentis[6] hominis et merito felicis esse. 5 Mitteret[7] ad consulem qui foedus in easdem leges renovarent, quibus Philippus pater[8] eius pacem 6 ab[9] T. Quinctio victore accepisset. Neque finiri[10] bellum magnificentius quam ab tam[11] memorabili pugna posse,[12] neque[13] spem firmiorem pacis perpetuae dari quam quae perculsos adverso proelio Romanos 7 molliores factura sit ad paciscendum. Quodsi Ro-

[1] optabant. contione *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[2] hic . . . eunti *Madvig* : hycante tempeste est eminet larisa medius abest onum V.
[3] Romani *add. Fr.* : *om.* V. [4] rerum *add. Crévier* : *om.* V.
[5] serenitati praesentis *Fr.* : serenitate praesenti V.
[6] prudentis *Fr.* : praesentis V.
[7] esse. mitteret *Fr.* : essetmittere V.
[8] pater *Fr.* : frater V.
[9] ab *Kreyssig* : b(*sic*) V. [10] finiri *Fr.* : sinere V.
[11] ab tam *Kreyssig* : apta V.
[12] posse *add. Crévier* : *om.* V. [13] neque *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.

and also the infantry, fired by the glory which others had won, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, hoped for themselves also an opportunity both of achieving some service for the king and of winning a like glory from the enemy. The assembly was dismissed. Next day the king set out from there and pitched camp at Mopselus. This is a hill looming up before Tempê and halfway as one goes from Larisa to Gonnus. B.C. 171

LXII. The Romans, not departing from the bank of the Peneüs, transferred their camp to a safer place. There Misagenes the Numidian arrived with a thousand cavalry, an equal number of infantry, and in addition twenty-two elephants. As during these days the king was holding a council concerning his general policy, now that his overboldness resulting from success had subsided, some of his friends took courage to advise him to use his good fortune as a basis for an honourable peace rather than, led astray by idle hope, to throw himself into irrevocable disaster. To impose restraint on success and not to trust too much to the calm of his present fortune, they said, was the way of a wise man and one who was deservedly fortunate. Let him send to the consul men to renew the treaty on the same terms as those on which his father Philip had received peace from the victorious Titus Quinctius.[1] The war could not be ended more gloriously than with so memorable a fight, nor could a more well-founded hope of lasting peace present itself than that which would make the Romans, shaken by the loss of a battle, more moderate in framing the treaty. But

[1] Cf. XXXIII. xxx; on Perseus' policy, cf. Polybius XXVII. 8.

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mani tum quoque insita pertinacia aequa aspernarentur, deos hominesque et moderationis Persei et
8 illorum pervicacis superbiae futuros testes. Numquam ab talibus consiliis abhorrebat regis animus.
9 Itaque ut[1] plurium assensu comprobata est sententia, legati ad consulem missi; adhibito frequenti consilio[2]
10 auditi sunt. Pacem petiere,[3] vectigal quantum Philippus pactus esset, daturum Persea Romanis pollicentes; urbibus agris locisque quibus Philippus cessisset cessurum quam[4] primum. Haec legati.
11 Summotis his cum consultarent, Romana constantia vicit in consilio. Ita tum mos erat in adversis rebus[5] voltum secundae fortunae gerere, moderari
12 animo in secundis. Responderi placuit ita pacem dari si de summa rerum liberum senatui permittat rex de se deque universa Macedonia statuendi ius.
13 Haec cum renuntiassent legati, miraculo ignaris Romani[6] moris pertinacia esse,[7] et plerique vetare amplius mentionem pacis facere; ultro mox quaesi-
14 turos quod oblatum fastidiant. Perseus hanc ipsam

[1] ut *add. Novák* : *om.* V.
[2] ad. fr. con. *bis scripsit* V.
[3] petiere *Perizonius* : petere V.
[4] cessurum quam *Perizonius* : caesarum V.
[5] adversis rebus *Fuegner* : aduersus V.
[6] Romani *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.
[7] esse *Madvig* : morisesse V.

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[1] Strictly speaking, Philip had paid a war-indemnity, not a tribute.

[2] Examples of this Roman virtue may be found in XXII. lxi. 1 and 13, cf. *ibid.* xxxvii. 3.

[3] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 8. 7–10. "It was unanimously decided (by the Roman council) to give as severe a reply as possible, it being in all cases the traditional Roman custom

if then too the innate stubbornness of the Roman B.C. 171
should scorn fair terms, gods and men would be witnesses both of Perseus' moderation and of his opponents' stiff-necked haughtiness. The king's mind was never averse to such counsels. And so as the opinion was approved by the assent of the majority, envoys were sent to the consul; they were heard in the presence of a full council. They asked for peace, promising that Perseus would pay the Romans as much tribute [1] as Philip had promised, and that he would yield with all speed the cities, land and places which Philip had yielded. So far the envoys. When after the withdrawal of the envoys the matter was discussed, Roman steadfastness [2] carried the day in the council. The custom of that age was to wear in misfortune the aspect of success and to be of temperate disposition in successes. It was decided to reply that peace would be granted on condition that the king should give to the senate the unconditional right of deciding on a general policy concerning the king himself and concerning all Macedonia.[3] When the envoys reported these terms, to those ignorant of the Roman character their obstinacy was portentous, and many advised against any further reference to peace; for soon, they said, the Romans would of their own accord seek what they scorned when offered. Perseus

to show themselves most imperious and severe in the season of defeat, and most lenient after success. That this is noble conduct every one will confess, but perhaps it is open to doubt if it is possible under certain circumstances. In the present case, then, their answer was as follows. They ordered Perseus to submit absolutely, giving the senate authority to decide as they saw fit about the affairs of Macedonia" (tr. Paton, L.C.L.).

A.U.C. 583 superbiam—quippe ex fiducia virium esse—timere, et summam pecuniae augens, si pretio pacem emere posset, non destitit animum consulis temptare. Postquam nihil ex eo quod primo responderat mutabat, desperata pace ad Sycurium unde profectus erat redit, belli casum de integro temptaturus.

LXIII. Fama equestris pugnae vulgata per Graeciam nudavit voluntates hominum. Non enim solum qui partis Macedonum erant, sed plerique ingentibus Romanorum obligati beneficiis, quidam vim superbiamque experti Persei,[1] laeti eam famam accepere, non ob [2] aliam causam quam pravo studio, quo etiam in certaminibus ludicris volgus utitur, deteriori atque infirmiori favendo.

[1] Persei *add. Weissenborn* : *om.* V.
[2] ob *Fr.* : ab V.

[1] Polybius XXVII. 9 illustrates this sentiment with an anecdote of the Olympic Games: "The phenomenon was very like what happens in boxing contests at the games. For there, when a humble and much inferior combatant is matched against a celebrated and seemingly invincible athlete, the sympathy of the crowd is at once given to the inferior man. They cheer him on, and back him up enthusiastically; and if he manages to touch his opponent's face, and gets in a blow that leaves any mark, there is at once again the greatest excitement among them all. They sometimes even try to make fun of the other man, not out of any dislike for him or disapproval but from a curious sort of sympathy and a natural instinct to favour the weaker. If, however, one calls their attention at the right time to their error, they very soon change their minds and correct it. This was what Clitomachus did, as is told. He was considered to be a quite invincible boxer, and his fame had spread over the whole world, when Ptolemy, ambitious to destroy his reputation, trained with the greatest care and sent off the boxer Aristonicus, a man who seemed to have a remarkable natural gift

eared this very haughtiness—thinking that it B.C. 171
sprang from confidence in their strength—and, increasing the sum of money, if perchance he might buy peace for a price, he did not cease to test the purpose of the consul. After the latter would make no change in the terms of his first answer, Perseus, giving up hope of peace, returned to Sycurium from whence he had set out, intending to try anew the fortunes of war.

LXIII. The report of the cavalry battle, as it spread abroad throughout Greece, laid bare the inclinations of the inhabitants. For not only partisans of Macedonia but many who were indebted to the Romans for huge benefits, and some few who had felt the violence and tyranny of Perseus, received this news gladly, for no other reason than the morbid eagerness which the mob feels in athletic contests also—the eagerness to cheer on the worse and weaker party.[1]

for this sport. Upon this Aristonicus arriving in Greece and challenging Clitomachus at Olympia, the crowd, it seems, at once took the part of the former and cheered him on, delighted to see that some one, once in a way at least, ventured to pit himself against Clitomachus. And when, as the fight continued, he appeared to be his adversary's match, and once or twice landed a telling blow, there was great clapping of hands, and the crowd became delirious with excitement, cheering on Aristonicus. At this time they say that Clitomachus, after withdrawing for a few moments to recover his breath, turned to the crowd and asked them what they meant by cheering on Aristonicus and backing him up all they could. Did they think he himself was not fighting fairly, or were they not aware that Clitomachus was now fighting for the glory of Greece and Aristonicus for that of King Ptolemy? Would they prefer to see an Egyptian conquer the Greeks and win the Olympian crown, or to hear a Theban and Boeotian proclaimed by the herald as victor in

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3 Eodem tempore in Boeotia summa vi Haliartum[1] Lucretius praetor oppugnabat;[2] et quamquam nec habebant externa auxilia obsessi praeter Coronaeorum iuniores, qui prima obsidione moenia intraverant neque sperabant, tamen ipsi animis magis quam 4 viribus resistebant. Nam et eruptiones in opera crebro faciebant, et arietem admotum nunc saxis ingentibus, nunc[3] libramento plumbi gravatum ad terram urguebant et, si qua declinare nequiverant[4] ictum, pro diruto muro novum tumultuario opere, raptim ex ipsa ruinae strage congestis saxis, extrue- 5 bant. Cum operibus lentior oppugnatio[5] esset, scalas per manipulos dividi praetor iussit, ut corona undique moenia aggressurus, eo magis suffecturam ad id multitudinem ratus, quod, qua parte palus urbem cingit, nec attinebat oppugnari nec poterat. 6 Ipse ab ea parte, qua duae turres quodque[6] inter eas muri fuerat corruerat,[7] duo milia militum delectorum admovit, ut[8] eodem tempore, quo ipse transcendere ruinas conaretur, concursu adversus se oppidanorum facto, scalis vacua defensoribus moenia capi parte 7 aliqua possent. Haud segniter oppidani vim[9] eius

[1] Haliartum *ed. Vascosana* : aliarum V.
[2] oppugnabat *Duker* : oppugnarat V.
[3] saxis ingentibus nunc *add. Kreyssig* : *om.* V.
[4] declinare nequiverant *Vahlen* : declinarent quiaugu-ebant (*sic*) V.
[5] oppugnatio *add. Vahlen* : *om.* V.
[6] turres quodque *Fr.* : ut tresquoque V.
[7] corruerat *add. Madvig* : *om.* V.
[8] ut *add. Fr.* : *om.* V.
[9] vim *Fr.* : tum V.

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the men's boxing-match? When Clitomachus had spoken thus, they say there was such a change in the sentiment of

At the same time in Boeotia Lucretius the praetor B.C. 171
was assaulting Haliartus with the utmost violence; and although the besieged had no reinforcements from outside except the younger men of Coronea, who had entered the walls at the beginning of the siege, and there was no hope of aid, yet they held out alone more by spirit than by strength. For they kept making frequent sallies against the siege-works and as the ram was brought up they pressed it to earth, weighing it down now with huge stones,[1] now with a mass of lead, and if they were at any point unable to turn aside the stroke, they built, in place of the destroyed wall, a new one of slapdash construction by hastily assembling stones from the very debris of the collapse. Since assault by siege-works was too slow, the praetor ordered ladders distributed among the maniples, intending to attack the wall everywhere, as it were in a ring, with the thought that his numbers would suffice the more surely for this purpose because, on the side where the swamp [2] girds the city, attack was neither important nor possible. On the side where two towers and the section of wall which had been between them had collapsed, he himself brought up two thousand picked troops so that at the same moment that he tried to scale the wreckage, as a rally of the townspeople took place to oppose him, the walls stripped of defenders might at some point or other be captured by the ladders. With no slackness the townsfolk

the crowd that now all was reversed, and Aristonicus was beaten rather by the crowd than by Clitomachus " (tr. Paton, L.C.L.).

[1] Cf. XXXVIII. v. 4.

[2] The margin of Lake Copaïs.

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arcere parant. Nam super stratum ruinis locum fascibus aridis sarmentorum iniectis stantes cum ardentibus facibus accensuros eam se saepem[1] minabantur, ut, incendio intersaepti ab hoste, spatium ad obiciendum interiorem murum haberent. 8 Quod inceptum eorum fors impedit; nam tantus repente effusus[2] est imber ut nec accendi facile 9 pateretur et extingueret accensa. Itaque et transitus per distracta fumantia virgulta patuit, et in unius loci praesidium omnibus versis[3] moenia quoque pluribus simul partibus scalis capiuntur. 10 In primo tumultu captae urbis seniores impubesque quos casus obvios obtulit passim caesi; armati in arcem confugerunt; et postero die, cum spei nihil superesset, deditione facta sub corona venierunt. 11 Fuerunt autem duo milia ferme et quingenti.[4] Ornamenta urbis, statuae et tabulae[5] pictae, et quidquid pretiosae praedae fuit, ad naves delatum; 12 urbs diruta a fundamentis. Inde Thebas[6] ductus exercitus; quibus sine certamine receptis urbem tradidit exulibus et qui Romanorum partis erant; adversae factionis hominum fautorumque regis ac Macedonum familias sub corona vendidit. His gestis in Boeotia ad mare ac naves redit.

LXIV. Cum haec in Boeotia gererentur, Perseus

[1] saepem *Madvig*: saepe V.
[2] effusus *Fr.*: est infusus V.
[3] versis *Fr.*: uerbis V.
[4] quingenti *Fr.*: a. (*sic*) V.
[5] et tabulae *Fr.*: tabulae et V.
[6] inde Thebas *Fr.*: intebanos V.

[1] Strabo IX. 2. 30 notes: "Haliartus no longer exists, having been destroyed in the war with Perseus, and the Athenians have the territory as a gift of the Romans." This is probably incorrect, as an inscription has been found indicat-

prepared to ward off his assault. For on the area B.C. 171
strewn with wreckage they tossed dry bundles of brush and standing by with blazing torches threatened that they would fire this barrier, so that, barred off from the enemy by the blaze, they might have time to put an inner wall in the way. This preparation of theirs was hindered by chance; for such a rain suddenly poured down that it made the firing of the brush difficult and put out what had been fired. And so a passage lay open through the smoking twigs which were dragged aside and with all the citizens intent on the defense of one spot the walls too were taken by ladders in several places at once. In the first confusion of the city's capture the elders and the beardless whom chance brought in the way were cut down everywhere; the men-at-arms fled to the citadel; and the next day, when no ray of hope remained, on surrendering they were sold at auction. These were, moreover, about twenty-five hundred. The adornments of the city, statues and paintings and whatever costly booty there was, were taken to the fleet; the city was razed to the ground.[1] Thence the army was led to Thebes; this the praetor took over without struggle and put in the hands of the exiles and the party which favoured Rome; the estates[2] of the men of the opposing faction and of the supporters of the king and the Macedonians he sold at auction. After these achievements in Boeotia Lucretius returned to the sea and the fleet.

LXIV. While these things in Boeotia were being

ing the existence of a community here subject to Athens. Pausanias (IX. 32. 5 ff.) found the site inhabited.

[2] Perhaps including the members of the families.

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2 ad Sycurium [1] stativa dierum aliquot habuit. Ubi cum audisset raptim Romanos circa ex agris demessum frumentum convehere, deinde ante sua quemque 3 tentoria spicas falcibus [2] desecantem, quo purius frumentum tereret, ingentes acervos per tota castra stramentorum [3] fecisse, ratus incendio opportuna esse, faces taedamque [4] et malleolos stuppae illitos pice parari iubet; atque ita media nocte profectus 4 ut prima luce aggressus falleret. Nequiquam primae stationes oppressae: tumultu ac terrore suo ceteros excitaverunt, signumque datum est arma extemplo capiendi; simulque in vallo, ad portas miles in- 5 structus erat. Tum vero pudore coeptae temere et inconsulte oppugnationis [5] castrorum Perseus extemplo [6] circumegit aciem et prima impedimenta ire, deinde peditum signa ferri iussit; ipse cum equitatu et levi armatura substitit ad agmen cogendum, ratus id quod accidit insecuturos ad extrema 6 ab tergo carpenda hostis. Breve certamen levis armaturae maxime cum procursatoribus fuit; equites peditesque sine tumultu in castra redierunt.

7 Demessis circa segetibus Romani ad Crannona, intactum agrum, castra movent. Ibi cum [7] securi et propter longinquitatem [8] et viae inopis aquarum difficultatem quae inter Sycurium et Crannona est, 8 stativa haberent, repente prima luce in [9] imminenti-

[1] ad Sycurium *Fr.*: assyrium V.
[2] falcibus *J. F. Gronovius*: fasicibus (*sic*) V.
[3] castra stramentorum *Fr.*: castramentorum V.
[4] faces taedamque *Fr.*: fastaedamque V.
[5] tum . . . oppugnationis *Heraeus*: et inconste oppugnationis V.
[6] extemplo *Madvig*: et extemplo V.
[7] movent. ibi cum *Fr.*: mouentibus ibi cum ibi cum V.
[8] longinquitatem *Vahlen*: cum longintate V.
[9] in *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

accomplished, Perseus remained a few days in camp B.C. 171
at Sycurium. When he heard there that the Romans were hastily bringing in reaped grain from the fields round about, and then, each before his own tent, was clipping the ears with his sickle, so that the grain might be threshed out more cleanly, and that they had made great piles of straw throughout the whole camp, the king thought that this was a time suitable for a conflagration, and ordered torches and pitch-pine and fire-spears of tow smeared with pitch[1] to be prepared, and with this equipment set out at midnight, so as to make a surprise attack at dawn. Vainly the first outposts were overwhelmed; by their uproar and panic they roused the rest, and the signal was given to take arms at once; at the same time the soldiery was posted on the rampart and at the gates. Then indeed, in shame at the rash and foolish beginning of an attack on the camp, Perseus at once wheeled his line around and ordered the baggage to go first, then the infantry to move out; he himself with the cavalry and light troops halted to form the rear-guard, thinking that the enemy would, as actually happened, pursue to harass the last units from behind. There was a short struggle particularly of the light troops against skirmishers; the cavalry and infantry returned without disturbance to camp.

After reaping the crops round about, the Romans moved their camp to Crannon, an untouched territory. There while they were remaining in camp with a feeling of safety, both because of the distance and the difficulty of the almost waterless road between Sycurium and Crannon, suddenly at dawn on com-

[1] Cf. XXI. viii. 10; XXXVIII. vi. 2.

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bus tumulis equitatus regius cum levi armatura visus ingentem tumultum fecit. Pridie per meridiem profecti ab Sycurio erant; peditum agmen sub
9 lucem reliquerant[1] in proxima planitie. Stetit paulisper Perseus[2] in tumulis, elici posse ratus ad equestre[3] certamen Romanos; qui[4] postquam nihil movebant, equitem mittit qui pedites referre ad Sycurium signa iuberet; ipse mox insecutus.[5]
10 Romani equites modico intervallo sequentes, sicubi sparsos ac dissipatos invadere possent, postquam confertos abire signa atque ordines servantes viderunt, et ipsi in castra redeunt.

LXV. Inde offensus longinquitate itineris[6] rex ad Mopselum castra movit; et Romani demessis Crannonis segetibus in Phalannaeum agrum trans-
2 eunt. Ibi cum ex transfuga cognosset rex sine ullo armato praesidio passim vagantis per agros Romanos metere, cum mille[7] equitibus, duobus milibus Thracum et Cretensium profectus, cum quantum accelerare poterat effuso agmine isset, improviso
3 aggressus est Romanos. Iuncta vehicula, pleraque onusta,[8] mille admodum capiuntur, sescenti[9] ferme
4 homines. Praedam custodiendam ducendamque in
5 castra trecentis Cretensium dedit; ipse revocato ab effusa caede equite et reliquis peditum ducit ad proximum praesidium, ratus haud magno certa-
6 mine opprimi posse. L. Pompeius tribunus militum

[1] lucem reliquerant *Fr.*: luce reliquerat V.
[2] Perseus *add. Held.*: *om.* V.
[3] equestre *Fr.*: equites V.
[4] qui *Fr.*: quattuor V.
[5] insecutus *Fr.*: insecuti V.
[6] itineris *Fr.*: itineri V.
[7] mille *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[8] onusta *Fr.*: honesta V.
[9] sescenti *Fr.*: ac. V.

manding hills the king's cavalry with the light troops B.C. 171
was sighted and caused a great uproar. They had set out from Sycurium during the middle of the previous day; just before dawn they had left the column of infantry in the nearest plain. Perseus halted a while on the hills, thinking that possibly the Romans might be enticed to a cavalry struggle; after they would not budge, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium; he presently followed. The Roman cavalry followed at a moderate distance, so that they might at any point be able to attack scattered or straggling men, but after they saw that the enemy was retreating in a body, keeping to his formations and ranks, they also returned to camp.

LXV. From Sycurium the king, disliking the length of the journey, moved his camp to Mopselus; and the Romans, having reaped the harvests of Crannon, moved to the fields of Phalanna. When the king learned from a deserter that there the Romans were reaping, wandering everywhere through the fields with no armed guard, he set out with a thousand cavalry, and two thousand of the Thracians and Cretans, and since he marched with as great speed as he could attain, in a scattered column, he fell without warning upon the Romans. Wagons with their teams, many of them loaded, were captured to the number of quite a thousand, and about six hundred men. He gave the booty to three hundred Cretans to guard and bring to camp; he himself, recalling from the slaughter far and wide the cavalry and the rest of the infantry led them against the nearest guard detachment, thinking that with no great struggle it could be crushed. Lucius Pompeius,

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praeerat, qui perculsos milites repentino hostium adventu in propinquum tumulum recepit, loci se praesidio quia numero et viribus impar erat [1] de-
7 fensurus. Ibi cum in orbem milites coegisset, ut densatis scutis ab ictu [2] sagittarum et iaculorum sese tuerentur, Perseus circumdato armatis tumulo alios ascensum undique temptare iubet et comminus proelium conserere, alios eminus [3] tela in-
8 gerere. Ingens [4] Romanos terror circumstabat; nam neque conferti propellere [5] eos qui in tumulum conitebantur [6] poterant et, ubi ordines procursando
9 solvissent, patebant [7] iaculis sagittisque. Maxime cestrosphendonis vulnerabantur. Hoc illo bello [8] novum genus teli inventum est. Bipalme spiculum hastili semicubitali [9] infixum erat, crassitudine digiti;
10 huic abiegnae breves [10] pinnae tres, velut sagittis solent, circumdabantur; funda media duo scutalia imparia [11] habebat; cum maiori nisu [12] libratum funditor habena rotaret, excussum velut glans
11 emicabat. Cum et hoc et alio omni genere telorum pars vulnerata militum esset nec facile iam arma [13] fessi sustinerent, instare rex ut dederent se, fidem dare, praemia interdum polliceri. Nec cuiusquam

[1] impar erat *Fr.*: imperat V.
[2] scutis ab ictu *Duker*: secutis abiectus V.
[3] alios eminus *Fr.*: alios seminus V.
[4] ingens *Kreyssig*: religes V.
[5] propellere *Madvig*: propter V.
[6] conitebantur *Weissenborn*: conabantur V.
[7] patebant *Fr.*: putabant V.
[8] bello *Fr.*: bellum V.
[9] hastili semicubitali *Fr.*: astili cuitali V.
[10] abiegnae breves *Fr.*: ablegegraeue V.
[11] scutalia imparia *Ernesti*: duo cum alia inpari V.
[12] maiori nisu *Kreyssig*: maioris sinu V.
[13] arma *Fr.*: armi V.

military tribune, was in command; he withdrew B.C. 171
the soldiers, who were dismayed by the sudden arrival of the enemy, to a nearby hill, intending to defend himself by the strength of the position since he was no match in numbers and power. There when he had gathered his soldiers in a circle, so that with their close-packed shields they could protect themselves from the blows of arrows and javelins, Perseus, with his men-at-arms surrounding the hill, ordered some to try the ascent from all sides and join battle at close quarters, others to hurl weapons from a distance. A terrific threat surrounded the Romans, for when massed they could not thrust back those who were struggling up the hill, and whenever they broke ranks by charging forward, they were exposed to javelins and arrows. They suffered particularly from the dart-slings.[1] This was a new kind of weapon, invented in that war. A sharp iron two spans long was set in a wooden shaft of half a cubit, a finger in thickness; around this latter three short firwood " feathers," like those usual on arrows, were attached; the sling had in the middle two unequal thongs; when the slinger swung and spun it by the strap with an extra effort, the missile, shaken loose, shot out like a ball.[2] When with this and with every other sort of weapon part of the soldiers had been wounded and it was no longer easy for the weary men to hold up their weapons, the king urged them to surrender, gave them his guaranty, at times offered rewards. But no one's

[1] Cf. Polybius XXVII. 11. Another kind of elaborate sling is described in XXXVIII. xxix. 6.

[2] I.e. the usual leaden sling-bullet.

A.U.C. 583 ad deditionem flectebatur animus, cum ex insperato
12 iam obstinatis mori spes affulsit. Nam cum ex frumentatoribus refugientes quidam in castra nuntiassent consuli circumsideri praesidium, motus periculo tot civium—nam octingenti[1] ferme et omnes Romani erant—cum equitatu ac levi armatura (accesserant nova auxilia, Numidae pedites equitesque et elephanti) castris egreditur et tribunis militum imperat
13 ut legionum signa sequantur. Ipse velitibus ad firmanda levium armorum auxilia adiectis ad tumu-
14 lum praecedit.[2] Consulis latera tegunt Eumenes et[3] Attalus et Misagenes, regulus Numidarum.

LXVI. Cum in conspectu[4] prima signa suorum circumsessis fuerunt, Romanis quidem ab ultima[5]
2 desperatione recreatus est animus. Perseus, cui primum omnium fuerat ut contentus fortuito successu, captis aliquot frumentatoribus occisisque, non tereret
3 tempus in obsidione praesidii, secundum, ea quoque temptata utcumque, cum[6] sciret nihil roboris secum esse, dum liceret intacto abire, et ipse hostium adventum elatus successu mansit et, qui phalangem
4 arcesserent, propere misit; quae et[7] serius quam res postulabat et raptim acta, turbata cursu[8] adversus

[1] octingenti *Fr.*: accc. V.
[2] praecedit *Fr.*: praecedentis V.
[3] et *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[4] in conspectu *Fr.*: inspectu V.
[5] ultima *Fr.*: ultu V.
[6] cum *Fr.*: secum V. [7] quae et *Madvig*: quaet V.
[8] acta turbata cursu *Madvig*: aptatur turbati cursus V.

mind could be bent to surrender, when in unhoped- B.C. 171
for fashion hope dawned upon men who had already determined to die. For when a few of the foragers, taking refuge in the camp, reported to the consul that the guard was surrounded, he, moved by the danger of so large a number of citizens—for there were about eight hundred, and all Romans—with the cavalry and light troops (there were added the new auxiliaries, the Numidian infantry, cavalry and elephants) marched out of camp and instructed the military tribunes that the legionary units were to follow. He himself, adding the light infantry of the legions to strengthen the light-armed auxiliaries, marched ahead to the hill. Eumenes, Attalus, and Misagenes, the prince of the Numidians, covered the consul's flanks.[1]

LXVI. When the first standards of their fellows came in sight of the beleaguered, the spirits of the Romans indeed were revived from the depths of despair. Perseus, whose best course of all would have been to be satisfied with his chance success in capturing and killing a certain number of foragers, and not to waste time besieging the guard, or, as second best, after trying the latter enterprise too in some fashion, when he became aware that he had no strength on his side, to depart unscathed while he might—Perseus, puffed up by success, both awaited the approach of the enemy himself and sent men hastily to summon the phalanx; this being brought up later than circumstances required and in haste, would have come in confusion from its

[1] I interpret this phrase in the military sense, though a similar phrase is used to refer to personal escort, cf. XXXII. xxxix. 8, XL. vi. 4.

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instructos et praeparatos erat[1] adventura. Consul
5 anteveniens extemplo proelium conseruit. Primo resistere Macedones; deinde, ut nulla re pares erant, amissis trecentis peditibus, viginti quattuor primoribus equitum ex ala,[2] quam sacram vocant, inter quos Antimachus etiam praefectus alae cecidit,
6 abire conantur. Ceterum iter prope ipso proelio tumultuosius fuit. Phalanx[3] trepido nuntio accita cum raptim duceretur, primo in angustiis captivorum agmini oblata vehiculisque frumento onustis haesit.[4]
7 Ingens ibi vexatio partis utriusque fuit, nullo expectante, dum utcumque[5] explicaretur agmen, sed armatis deicientibus[6] in[7] praeceps impedimenta—neque enim aliter via aperiri poterat—iumentis,
8 cum[8] stimularentur in turba saevientibus. Vix ab incondito agmine captivorum expedierant sese, cum regio agmini perculsisque equitibus occurrunt. Ibi vero clamor iubentium referre signa ruinae quoque prope similem trepidationem fecit, ut, si[9] hostes intrare[10] angustias ausi longius insecuti essent,
9 magna clades accipi potuerit. Consul recepto ex tumulo praesidio contentus modico successu[11] in castra copias reduxit. Sunt qui eo die magno proelio pugnatum auctores sint;[12] octo milia hostium

[1] erat *Madvig*: erant V. [2] ex ala *Fr.*: exalia V.
[3] phalanx *Novák*, phalansabs V: phalanx abs *Fr.*, *fortasse rectius*.
[4] onustis haesit *Bekker*: onustiiscaesis V.
[5] dum utcumque *J. F. Gronovius*: utrumque V.
[6] deicientibus *Kreyssig*: deitinentibus (*sic*) V.
[7] in *add. Heraeus*: *om.* V.
[8] cum *Fr.*: neque enim cum V.
[9] si *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[10] intrare *Madvig*: introre V.
[11] successu *Fr.*: corcessu V.
[12] sint *Sigonius*: sunt V.

forced march against men in formation and ready. B.C. 171
The consul, arriving first, immediately joined battle. At first the Macedonians stood fast; then, as they were in no respect equally matched, with a loss of three hundred infantry and twenty-four of their finest cavalrymen from the squadron which they call sacred,[1] among whom also fell Antimachus the squadron commander, they attempted to retreat. However, the march was almost more of a hurly-burly than the battle itself. While the phalanx, summoned by an alarmed messenger, was being hastily led up, first meeting the column of prisoners and the wagons laden with grain in some narrows, it was stuck. Thereupon there was great turmoil on both sides, with no one waiting till somehow or other the column should be disentangled, but with the men-at-arms hurling the obstructing wagons down the steep slope—for the road could not otherwise be cleared—and the draft-animals, as they were goaded, lashing out at the crowd. Hardly had they freed themselves from the disorganized column of prisoners when they ran into the king's column and the routed cavalry. Then indeed the shouting of those ordering a retreat also produced an alarm almost like a complete disaster, so that if the enemy, daring to enter the narrows, had pursued farther, a great loss might have been incurred. The consul, having picked up the guard from the hill and being satisfied with a moderate success, led his troops back to camp. There are those who declare that a great battle was fought on that day, that eight thousand of the enemy

[1] Cf. above, n. 2, p. 470.

A.U.C. 583 caesa, in his Sopatrum et Antipatrum, regios duces; vivos captos circiter duo milia octingentos, signa militaria capta viginti septem. Nec incruentam victoriam fuisse; supra quattuor milia et trecentos de exercitu consulis cecidisse; signa sinistrae alae quinque amissa.

LXVII. Hic dies et Romanis refecit animos et Persea perculit, ut dies paucos ad Mopselum moratus sepulturae maxime militum amissorum cura, praesidio satis valido ad Gonnum relicto, in Macedoniam reciperet copias. Timotheum quendam ex regiis praefectis cum modica manu relinquit ad Philam, iussum Magnetas ex[1] propinquo temptare. Cum Pellam venisset, exercitu in hiberna dimisso ipse cum Cotye Thessalonicam est profectus. Eo fama adfertur, Autlesbim, regulum Thracum, et[2] Corragum, Eumenis praefectum, in Cotyis fines impetum fecisse et regionem Marenen quam vocant cepisse. Itaque dimittendum Cotyn ad sua tuenda ratus, magnis proficiscentem donis prosequitur. Ducenta talenta, semestre stipendium, equitatui numerat, cum primo annuum[3] dare constituisset.

Consul postquam profectum Persea audivit, ad Gonnum castra movet, si potiri oppido posset. Ante ipsa Tempe in faucibus situm Macedoniae claustra tutissima praebet et in Thessaliam opportu-

[1] ex *Kreyssig*: et V.
[2] et *add. ed. Frobeniana* 1535: *om.* V.
[3] annuum *Fr.*: anum V.

[1] Cf. XXXVIII. xiii. 3; Eumenes held Gallipoli and adjacent south-eastern Thrace, cf. XXXIX. xxvii. 5.

[2] Since the reckoning is given in Greek money, Livy seems to have followed Polybius here. On the stinginess

were killed, among them Sopater and Antipater, B.C. 171
officers of the king, that there were taken alive about two thousand and eight hundred, and that twenty-seven military standards were taken. Nor was the victory bloodless, they say; more than four thousand and three hundred of the consul's army fell, and five standards of the left squadron were lost.

LXVII. This day both revived the spirits of the Romans and dismayed Perseus, so that after a few days' delay at Mopselus, more especially to attend to the burial of the soldiers who had been lost, having left a sufficiently strong garrison at Gonnus he retreated to Macedonia. A certain Timotheus, one of the royal governors, he left with a small force at Phila, with orders to make overtures from near-by to the people of Magnesia. When the king arrived at Pella, he sent his army into winter quarters and himself left with Cotys for Thessalonica. There a report arrived that Autlesbis, a chieftain of the Thracians, and Corragus, Eumenes' governor,[1] had made an attack on the territory of Cotys and had captured the district called Marenê. Therefore Perseus thought best to send Cotys back to protect his own, and marked his departure by great gifts. He paid two hundred talents,[2] a half-year's pay, to the cavalry, although he had planned at first to give a full year's amount.

After the consul heard that Perseus had set out, he moved camp to Gonnus, in case he might be able to take the town. Placed in the entrance to Tempê itself, the town offers a very securely closed door to Macedonia and a sally-port to Thessaly favourable

of Perseus, cf. below, XLIV. xxvi., Polybius, XXIX. 8, 2–9, 13.

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7 num Macedonibus decursum. Cum et loco et praesidio valido inexpugnabilis urbs[1] esset, abstitit incepto. In Perrhaebiam flexis[2] itineribus Malloea primo impetu capta ac direpta, Tripoli aliaque
8 Perrhaebia recepta, Larisam redit. Inde Eumene atque Attalo domum[3] remissis, Misageni[4] Numidisque hiberna in proximis Thessaliae urbibus distribuit, et partem exercitus ita per totam Thessaliam divisit ut et hiberna commoda omnes haberent[5]
9 et praesidio urbibus essent. Q. Mucium legatum cum duobus milibus ad obtinendam Ambraciam misit. Graecarum civitatium socios omnes praeter Achaeos dimisit.[6] Cum exercitus parte profectus in Achaiam Phthiotim Pteleum desertum fuga oppidanorum diruit a fundamentis, Antronas voluntate
10 incolentium[7] recepit. Ad Larisam deinde exercitum admovit. Urbs deserta erat; in arcem omnis multitudo concesserat; eam oppugnare aggreditur.
11 Primi omnium Macedones, regium praesidium, metu excesserant; a quibus relicti oppidani in deditionem extemplo veniunt. Dubitantem[8] inde utrum Demetrias prius aggredienda foret an in Boeotia aspiciendae res, Thebani vexantibus eos[9] Coronaeis in Boeotiam arcessebant. Ad[10] horum preces,[11] quia hibernis aptior regio quam Magnesia[12] erat, in Boeotiam duxit.

[1] urbs *J. F. Gronovius*: res V. [2] flexis *Fr.*: flexit V.
[3] domum *Fr.*: romam V.
[4] Misageni *Madvig*: misachin V.
[5] haberent *Fr.*: habent V.
[6] dimisit *Fr.*: dimisitcos (*sic*) V.
[7] voluntate incolentium *Madvig*: uoluntatem colentium V.
[8] dubitantem *Vahlen*: dubitari V. [9] eos *Fr.*: eius V.
[10] ad *Fr.*: et V. [11] preces *Fr.*: praeces V.
[12] Magnesia *Fr.* Magnesiae V.

to the Macedonians. Since both because of its situation and its strong garrison the city was impregnable, the consul abandoned the undertaking. Having turned aside to Perrhaebia, after capturing Malloea at the first assault and sacking it, and recovering the Tripolis and the rest of Perrhaebia, he returned to Larisa. Thence having sent Eumenes and Attalus home, he assigned winter quarters in the nearest Thessalian cities to Misagenes and the Numidians, and scattered a portion of his army throughout all Thessaly in such a way that all had comfortable winter quarters and formed a protection for the cities. His staff-officer Quintus Mucius[1] he sent with two thousand to hold Ambracia. All the allies from the Greek states except the Achaeans he dismissed. With a part of his army he set out into Phthiotic Achaea,[2] razed to the ground Pteleum, which had been abandoned by the flight of its inhabitants, and received Antronae by voluntary surrender of the inhabitants. Then he brought his army up to Larisa. The city was abandoned; the whole population had taken refuge in the citadel; the consul advanced to attack this. First of all the Macedonians, the king's garrison, departed in fear; deserted by these, the townsfolk immediately capitulated. Then as the consul debated whether he should first attack Demetrias or take a look at the situation in Boeotia, the Thebans, harassed by the people of Coronea, called him to Boeotia. In answer to their entreaties, since for winter quarters[3] the district was more suitable than Magnesia, he marched into Boeotia. B.C. 171

[1] Cf. above, n. 1, p. 443. [2] Cf. above, ch. xlii. 1, lvi. 7.
[3] Cf. XXXIII. xxvii. 5.

LIBER XLII PERIOCHA

Q. Fulvius Flaccus censor templum Iunonis Laciniae tegulis marmoreis spoliavit, ut aedem, quam dedicabat, tegeret. Tegulae ex senatus consulto reportatae. Eumenes Asiae rex in senatu de Perseo Macedoniae rege questus est; cuius iniuriae in populum Romanum referuntur. Ob quas bello ei indicto P. Licinius Crassus consul, cui mandatum erat, in Macedoniam transiit, levibusque expeditionibus, equestribus proeliis, in Thessalia cum Perseo . . .[1] eventu pugnavit. Inter Masinissam et Carthaginienses de agro fuit lis.[2] Dies iis a senatu ad disceptandum datus. Legati missi ad socias civitates regesque rogandos, ut in fide permanerent, dubitantibus Rhodiis. Lustrum a censoribus est: censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCLXVII}}$[3] CCXXXI. Res praeterea adversus Corsos et Liguras prospere gestas continet.

[1] cum Perseo eventu *codd*: *at recc. supplementa varia praebent, e quibus* improspero *suggerit Rossbach*; *ego* cum Perseo vario eventu *malim*.

[2] fuit lis. dies iis a senatu *Jahn*: fuit dictis a senatu *codd*.

[3] *Et summas minores praebent P, codd. recc., ed. princeps; sed cf. supra ch. x.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XLII

THE censor Quintus Fulvius Flaccus stripped the temple of Juno Lacinia of its marble tiles, in order to roof the temple which he was dedicating. The tiles, by order of the senate, were taken back. Eumenes, king of Asia, complained before the senate of Perseus, king of Macedonia; the wrong-doings of Perseus were laid before the Roman people for action. Because of these wrong-doings war was declared against him, and Publius Licinius Crassus, the consul, who had been placed in command, crossed to Macedonia and in sallies of light troops and cavalry battles fought with Perseus in Thessaly with [varying ?] [1] outcome. There was a dispute over territory between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. A day for arguing the case was set for them by the senate. Envoys were sent to request the allied states and kings to remain loyal, but the Rhodians wavered. The five-year period was closed by the censors; there were enumerated as citizens 267,231 [2] persons. The book also covers successful campaigns against the Corsicans and Ligurians.

[1] The adjective is missing in the MSS.

[2] The numeral is differently reported in different MSS.; cf. also ch. x of this book.

LIVY

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

IN FOURTEEN VOLUMES

XIII

BOOKS XLIII—XLV

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T. LIVI

AB URBE CONDITA

LIBER XLIII

I. Eadem aestate qua in Thessalia haec gesta sunt [1] . . .,[2] legatus in Illyricum a consule missus [3] opulenta
2 duo oppida oppugnavit. Ceremiam vi atque [4] armis coegit in deditionem; omniaque iis sua concessit, ut opinione clementiae eos, qui Carnuntem, munitam
3 urbem, incolebant, adliceret. Postquam nec ut dederent se compellere neque capere obsidendo poterat, ne duabus oppugnationibus nequiquam fatigatus miles esset, quam prius intactam urbem reliquerat diripuit.
4 Alter consul C. Cassius nec in Gallia, quam sortitus erat, memorabile quicquam gessit et per Illyricum ducere legiones in Macedoniam vano incepto est
5 conatus. Ingressum hoc iter consulem senatus ex

[1] haec gesta sunt *Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[2] *lacunam indicavit Sigonius.*
[3] a consule missus *Fr*: a cons. omissus V.
[4] oppugnavit. Ceremiam vi atque *Weissenborn, Madvig*: oppugnaiuiceremiamiuadque V.

---

[1] The name is lost; perhaps it was the ex-consul Gaius Claudius (cf. XLII. xlix. 9), since the other ex-consul, Mucius, was made a *legatus* (XLII. lxvii. 9, cf. also lviii. 13).

LIVY

FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE CITY

BOOK XLIII

I. During the same summer in which this campaign B.C. 17
was fought in Thessaly, the staff-officer . . .,[1] sent by the consul into Illyricum, besieged two rich cities. Ceremia [2] he compelled by force of arms to surrender; and he left to its inhabitants all their possessions, in order by his reputation for clemency [3] to entice the dwellers in the walled city of Carnuns. After he had been unable either to induce them to surrender or to capture them by blockade, in order that his soldiery might not be worn out by two sieges and gain nothing, he plundered the city which he had previously left untouched.

Gaius Cassius the second consul failed to accomplish anything of note in Gaul,[4] which had fallen to his lot, and made a vain attempt to lead his legions through Illyricum into Macedonia. The consul's venture on this journey became known to the senate through an

[2] The name is uncertain, and is not mentioned elsewhere; the location of the town can only be conjectured.

[3] The usual practice was to plunder a city which had been stormed, and spare one which surrendered (XXXVII. xxxii. 12).

[4] The active sector of his province of Italy (XLII. xxxii. 4).

Aquileiensium legatis cognovit, qui querentes coloniam
suam novam et infirmam necdum satis munitam inter
6 infestas nationes Histrorum et Illyriorum esse, cum
peterent ut senatus curae haberet quomodo ea colonia
muniretur, interrogati, vellentne eam rem C. Cassio
7 consuli mandari, responderunt Cassium Aquileiam
indicto exercitu profectum per Illyricum in Macedo-
niam esse.[1] Ea res primo incredibilis visa, et pro se
quisque credere Carnis forsitan aut Histris bellum
8 illatum. Tum Aquileienses: nihil se ultra scire nec
audere adfirmare, quam triginta dierum frumentum
militi datum et duces qui ex Italia itinera in Macedo-
9 niam nossent conquisitos abductosque. Enimvero
senatus indignari tantum consulem ausum, ut suam
provinciam relinqueret, in alienam transiret, exer-
citum novo periculoso itinere inter exteras gentes [2]
duceret, viam tot nationibus in Italiam aperiret.[3]
10 Decernunt frequentes ut C. Sulpicius praetor tris ex
senatu nominet legatos, qui eo die proficiscantur ex
urbe et, quantum adcelerare possint,[4] Cassium con-
11 sulem, ubicumque sit, persequantur; nuntient ne
bellum cum ulla gente moveat, nisi cum qua senatus

[1] esse *Fr*: se V.
[2] exteras gentes *Fr*: ceterasgetes V.
[3] duceret . . . aperiret *J. F. Gronovius*: ducere . . . aperire V.
[4] possint *Madvig*: possent V.

---

[1] It had been founded ten years before, cf. XL. xxxiv. 2.
[2] Cassius would either have had to traverse uninterruptedly mountainous country, as he followed the coast, or to go far inland, approximately to the line of the modern railway to Saloniki, as Philip planned for the Bastarnae; but these would have been aided by friendly tribes, whereas Cassius would have been beyond aid. The Romans had always used

embassy from Aquileia, which complained that their B.C. 171
colony was new [1] and weak and had been as yet insufficiently fortified against the surrounding hostile tribes of Histrians and Illyrians; on their requesting that the senate should concern itself with means for fortifying this colony, they were asked if they wished this matter to be entrusted to Gaius Cassius the consul, but replied that Cassius, having mustered his army at Aquileia, had set out through Illyricum for Macedonia. This report seemed unbelievable at first, and the senators each thought to himself that perhaps a campaign against the Carnians or Histrians had been begun. Then the envoys from Aquileia said that they knew and dared assert nothing more than that thirty days' grain had been issued to the soldiery, and that guides who knew the roads from Italy into Macedonia had been sought out and taken along. Then indeed the senate was incensed that the consul had such effrontery as to leave his own district, trespass upon his colleague's, lead his army by a dangerous, untried route [2] among foreign peoples, and leave open to so many tribes the way into Italy.[3] A full senate decreed that the praetor Gaius Sulpicius should name three envoys from among the senators, who should that very day set out from the city and with all possible speed overtake the consul Cassius, wherever he might be; they were to declare to him that he must not engage in war with any people unless

the short sea-route from Brundisium to Illyricum and Greece, little as they liked seafaring.

[3] The most recent threat from this direction had been in 186–183 B.C., cf. XXXIX. xxii. 6, xlv. 6–7, liv, though the Transalpine Gauls who had moved in near Aquileia had acted peaceably enough. Cf. the plans of Philip for an invasion of Italy by the Bastarnae, XL. lvii.

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12 gerendum censuerit.[1] Legati hi profecti M. Cornelius Cethegus, M. Fulvius, P. Marcius Rex. Metus de consule atque exercitu distulit eo tempore muniendae Aquileiae curam.

II. Hispaniae deinde utriusque legati aliquot
2 populorum in senatum [2] introducti. Ii de magistratuum [3] Romanorum avaritia superbiaque conquesti, nixi genibus ab senatu petierunt ne se socios foedius
3 spoliari vexarique quam hostes [4] patiantur. Cum et alia indigna quererentur, manifestum autem esset pecunias captas, L. Canuleio praetori, qui Hispaniam sortitus erat, negotium datum est ut in singulos, a quibus Hispani pecunias repeterent, quinos recuperatores [5] ex ordine senatorio daret patronosque
4 quos vellent sumendi potestatem faceret. Vocatis in curiam legatis recitatum est senatus consultum,
5 iussique nominare patronos. Quattuor nominaver-

[1] censuerit *I. Perizonius*: censuerant V.
[2] senatum *Sigonius*: senatu V.
[3] Ii de magistratuum *Fr*: idemmagistratuum V.
[4] hostes *Fr*: hostiis V.
[5] recuperatores *Fr*: recuperarent V.

[1] Strictly speaking, both the senate and the people had to approve the undertaking of a war: cf. the condemnations of similar unauthorized forays in XXXVIII. xlv. 5 and XLI. vii. 7–8.

the senate had determined on war against them.[1] B.C. 171 The following envoys set out: Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, Publius Marcius Rex. Fear for the consul and his army displaced for the present any consideration of fortifying Aquileia.

II. Next, envoys of several peoples from each of the Spains were presented to the senate. After complaining of the greed and arrogance of Roman officials,[2] they begged of the senate on bended knees that it would not permit them, its allies, to be more wretchedly despoiled and harassed than its enemies. Since they complained of other acts of injustice also and it was in fact obvious that money had been extorted, the task was assigned to the praetor Lucius Canuleius, to whom Spain [3] had been allotted, to assign for each man, from whom the Spaniards were seeking to recover money, five judges [4] of senatorial rank and to permit the Spaniards to choose any advocates they might wish. The decree of the senate was read to the envoys, who had been summoned to the senate-house, and they were ordered to name their advocates. They named four, Marcus

[2] On the overbearing attitude of Roman officials at this time, cf. below, vii–viii.

[3] The two provinces recognized in 197 B.C. (XXXII. xxviii. 11 and the note) were combined during this war in order to leave one praetor free to command the fleet (171 B.C., XLII. xxxi. 9; presumably in 170; 168, XLIV. xvii. 9; in 167, the two provinces were again separated, XLV. xvi. 1).

[4] Sometimes such a board was chosen by the parties to the case, either from their own number, or from a panel proposed by the magistrate in charge, but several inscriptions (*e.g.*, *C.I.L.*[2] I. 585, p. 460. xxxiv) mention choice of the arbiters by the magistrate. *Recuperatores* (literally "recoverers") were usually concerned with a claim involving Romans *vs.* foreigners. As foreigners, the Spaniards had to be represented by Roman advocates.

A.U.C. 583

unt, M. Porcium Catonem, P. Cornelium Cn. F. Scipionem, L. Aemilium L. F. Paulum,[1] C. Sulpicium
6 Gallum. Cum M. Titinio primum, qui praetor A. Manlio M. Iunio consulibus in citeriore Hispania fuerat, recuperatores sumpserunt. Bis [2] ampliatus,
7 tertio absolutus est reus. Dissensio inter duarum provinciarum legatos est orta [3]; citerioris Hispaniae populi M. Catonem et P.[4] Scipionem, ulterioris L. Paulum et Gallum Sulpicium patronos sumpserunt.
8 Ad recuperatores adducti a citerioribus populis P.
9 Furius Philus, ab ulterioribus M. Matienus; ille Sp. Postumio Q. Mucio consulibus triennio ante, hic biennio [5] prius L. Postumio M.[6] Popilio consulibus
10 praetor fuerat. Gravissimis criminibus accusati ambo ampliatique; cum dicenda de integro causa esset, excusati [7] exilii causa solum vertisse. Furius Prae-
11 neste, Matienus Tibur exulatum abierunt. Fama

[1] Scipionem, L. Aemilium L. F. Paulum *Pighius*: scipiol. aemiliumin. paulu V.
[2] bis *Fr*: vis V.
[3] est orta *Fr*: estora V.
[4] P. *add. H. J. Müller*: *om.* V.
[5] hic biennio *Fr*: hincuiennio V.
[6] M. *Fr*: C. V.
[7] excusati *Fr*: excusatio V.

---

[1] He had benefited the province in 195 B.C. by establishing order and developing mining, cf. XXXIV. xxi. A speech in this case seems to have been once extant under the title *Pro Hispanis de frumento* (Charisius II. 198. 224 Keil) in which Cato attacked Publius Furius Philus, praetor of Nearer Spain in 174 B.C. (XLI. xxi. 3, cf. below, 8) for unjust valuation of grain received as tribute (Asconius on Cicero *Divinatio in M. Caecilium* 66, *Cato accusavit . . . P. Furium pro iisdem (Lusitanis) propter iniquissimam aestimationem frumenti*), cf. below, 12.

Porcius Cato,[1] Publius Cornelius Scipio son of Gnaeus, B.C. 171
Lucius Aemilius Paulus son of Lucius,[2] and Gaius Sulpicius Gallus. The case of Marcus Titinius, who had been praetor in Nearer Spain during the consulship of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius,[3] was first taken up by a board of judges.[4] The trial was twice adjourned, and at the third session the defendant was acquitted. A dispute arose between the envoys of the two provinces; the peoples of Nearer Spain chose as advocates Marcus Cato and Publius Scipio, those of Farther Spain took Lucius Paulus and Sulpicius Gallus. There were brought before judges by the peoples of the nearer province Publius Furius Philus, by those of the farther province Marcus Matienus[5]; the former had been praetor three years before, in the consulship of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius, the latter had served two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popilius were consuls. Both were accused on most serious charges and the cases were adjourned; when the time came for a fresh trial, the defence reported that they had left Roman territory to go into exile. Furius went for his exile to Praeneste, Matienus to

[2] Scipio had been praetor in Farther Spain in 193 B.C. (XXXIV. xliii. 7 records his assignment, XXXV. i. 3–12, his exploits), and Paulus had been praetor of Farther Spain in 190 B.C. (his assignment in XXXVI. ii. 6; his activities, XXXVII. lvii. 5–6).

[3] In 178 B.C.; Titinius was also in Spain the following two years (XLI. ix. 3, xv. 11, xxvi. 1). A namesake was City Praetor in 178.

[4] This is the earliest known trial of an official thus accused by provincials; previous complaints of like nature (cf. XXIX. xvi–xix, XXXIX. iii. 1–3, below, v) had been adjusted by the senate directly, or through the consuls.

[5] Cf. XLI. xxviii. 5, where the first name is given as Gaius.

A.U.C. 583

erat prohiberi a patronis nobiles ac potentes compellare: auxitque [1] eam suspicionem Canuleius praetor, quod omissa ea re dilectum habere instituit, dein repente in provinciam abiit, ne [2] plures ab Hispanis
12 vexarentur. Ita praeteritis silentio obliteratis in futurum tamen consultum ab [3] senatu Hispanis, quod impetrarunt, ne frumenti aestimationem magistratus Romanus haberet neve cogeret vicensimas vendere Hispanos, quanti ipse vellet.[4] et ne praefecti in oppida sua ad pecunias cogendas imponerentur.

III. Et alia novi generis hominum ex Hispania le-
2 gatio venit. Ex militibus Romanis et ex Hispanis mulieribus, cum quibus conubium non esset, natos se memorantes, supra quattuor milia hominum, orabant [5]
3 ut sibi oppidum in quo habitarent daretur. Senatus decrevit, uti nomina sua apud L. Canuleium profiterentur eorumque, si quos manumisissent,[6] eos

[1] auxitque eam *Fr* : auxiadque *V* : atque auxit *Hartel.*
[2] abiit, ne *Fr* : abitinere *V*.
[3] tamen consultum ab *Kreyssig* : consultamentumab *V*.
[4] Hispanos, quanti ipse vellet *Fr* : hispancnisquantiipsevellent *V*.
[5] hominum orabant *Fr* : hominumexhispaniaorabant *V*.
[6] manumisissent *Madvig* : manumissent *V* : manumisisset *Fr*.

[1] Polybius VI. xiv. 7 mentions these towns and Naples as *asyla* for exiles, and praises as a form of Roman moderation the institution of voluntary exile. In these private suits the exile was apparently not made official by the "ban of fire and water," as in cases prosecuted by the state, cf. XXVI. iii. 12. Exiles automatically surrendered their Roman citizenship and took up that of the town in which they took refuge.

[2] Roman officials are forbidden to demand an arbitrary money-equivalent for grain furnished them, perhaps for their own use and that of their army; nor are they arbitrarily to set the price paid for the grain which the Spaniards were required to sell to the Romans, in order to help maintain the

Tibur.[1] There was a rumour that the advocates B.C. 171
would not allow accusations against men of rank and influence; this suspicion was increased by Canuleius the praetor, who gave up this investigation, began to hold a levy, and then suddenly left for his province, so that no more men should be assailed by the Spaniards. Though bygones were thus shrouded in silence, the senate voted for the future what the Spaniards had requested—that a Roman official should not set the price for grain, nor compel the Spaniards to sell their five-per-cent quotas [2] at the price he wished, and that no officers should be placed over their towns to collect money.

III. Another embassy, also from Spain, of a novel class of people, arrived. Stating that they were the children of Roman soldiers and of Spanish women, between whom legal marriage could not exist,[3] and that they numbered over four thousand souls, they asked that a town be given them in which to live. The senate decreed that they should declare before Lucius Canuleius the praetor their own names and the names of any slaves they might have set free,

flow of grain to Italy. Whereas in Sicily tithes of grain constituted a tax traditional in the region and continued by the Romans, in Spain the tax (*stipendium*) paid to the Romans as overlords seems to have been in money, or perhaps in precious metals; the twentieths here mentioned were not a tax, but a compulsory sale, like the *second* tithe which might on occasion be required of Sicily. The size of the quota perhaps reflects the lesser fertility of Spain. Special levies of money and grain from Spain are mentioned in XXIX. iii. 5 (a punitive levy), XXX. iii. 2 (a war-levy for the army in Africa) and XXX. xxvi. 6 (perhaps the regular tax).

[3] Children of such unrecognized marriages were not illegitimate in the modern sense, but had the mother's status, so that these people were legally Spaniards.

A.U.C. 583

4 Carteiam ad Oceanum deduci placere; qui Carteiensium domi manere vellent, potestatem fieri, uti numero colonorum essent, agro adsignato. Latinam eam coloniam esse [1] libertinorumque appellari.

5 Eodem tempore ex Africa et Gulussa regulus, Masinissae filius,[2] legatus patris, et Carthaginienses
6 venerunt. Gulussa prior in senatum introductus et quae missa erant ad bellum Macedonicum a patre suo exposuit; et si qua praeterea vellent imperare [3] praestaturum merito populi Romani est pollicitus, et monuit patres conscriptos ut a fraude Carthagi-
7 niensium caverent: classis eos magnae parandae consilium cepisse,[4] specie pro Romanis et adversus Macedonas; ubi ea [5] parata instructaque esset, ipsorum fore potestatis, quem hostem aut socium habeant. Hanc iniec . . .[6]

[1] esse *J. F. Gronovius*: fuisse *V*.
[2] Gulussa regulus, Masinissae filius *Kreyssig*: gulussamaisinissaeregulusfilius *V*: G., M. regis filius *Fr*.
[3] imperare *Fr*: imperarent *V*.
[4] cepisse *Fr*: coepisse *V*.
[5] Macedonas; ubi ea *Fr*: macedoniasubea *V*.
[6] "*fortasse supplendum* Hanc iniectam patribus curam "—*Weissenborn–Müller*; *desunt* 4 *quaterniones*.

[1] Carteia was at the head of the Bay of Algeciras, just west of Gibraltar.

[2] *I.e.*, they might not keep their former land, but must take a share along with the newcomers.

[3] This was the first colony outside of the Italian peninsula to be given Latin rights; it was, in legal theory, an autonomous ally of Rome, whose citizens had the rights of trade and intermarriage with Romans.

[4] The previous story of the boundary dispute between these parties is told in XLII. xxiii–xxiv.

[5] As related in XLII. lxii. 2, lxv. 12–14, lxvii. 8.

[6] The Carthaginians had been left with only ten triremes (the cruisers of this period) at the end of the Second Punic

and that it was the pleasure of the senate that these B.C. 171
people should be settled at Carteia near the Ocean;[1] any present inhabitants of Carteia who wished to remain at home would have the opportunity to be members of the colony, but on assigned land.[2] This colony was to have Latin rights[3] and to be called the freedmen's colony.

At the same time there came from Africa both Prince Gulussa, the son of Masinissa, as ambassador for his father, and Carthaginian envoys.[4] Gulussa was presented to the senate first, and set forth what supplies had been sent by his father for the Macedonian campaign[5]; he also promised that if they wished to order anything further, his father would furnish it, as due return to the Roman people, and he warned the senators to beware of treachery from the Carthaginians; they had adopted the plan, he added, of preparing a large fleet,[6] ostensibly for the Romans and against the Macedonians; when this fleet should be ready and equipped, the Carthaginians would be free to decide for themselves who should be considered an enemy or who an ally. The instilling of this [suspicion caused the senate] . . .[7]

War (XXX. xxxvii. 3); the treaty did not expressly forbid the rebuilding of the fleet, but the Romans would no doubt have prevented such action, except for the reason here alleged by the Carthaginians; on naval help to Rome by the Carthaginians, cf. XXXVI. xlii. 2 and XLII. lvi. 6.

[7] Four quaternions are lost from the MS. at this point. The following matters were treated: the outcome of the dispute between Masinissa and Carthage; the choice of magistrates and their provinces for 170 B.C.—the consuls were Aulus Hostilius Mancinus for Macedonia and Aulus Atilius Serranus for Italy (cf. below), while the praetor Lucius Hortensius received the fleet; the mistreatment of Coronea by Licinius (cf. below, iv. 5 and 11, and the Summary); the defeat of the

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IV. . . . tis tantum exinde pavorem[1] ingressi castra, ostentantes capita, fecerunt, ut, si admotus extemplo exercitus foret, capi castra potuerint. 2 Tum quoque fuga ingens facta est; et erant qui legatos mittendos ad pacem precibus petendam censerent; civitatesque complures eo nuntio audito in 3 deditionem venerunt. Quibus purgantibus sese culpamque in duorum amentiam conferentibus, qui 4 se ultro ad poenam ipsi obtulissent, cum veniam dedisset praetor, profectus extemplo ad alias civitates omnibus imperata facientibus quieto exercitu pacatum agrum, qui paulo ante ingenti tumultu arserat, 5 peragravit. Haec lenitas praetoris, qua sine sanguine ferocissimam gentem domuerat, eo gratior plebi patribusque fuit, quo crudelius avariusque in Graecia bellatum et ab consule Licinio et ab Lucretio 6 praetore erat. Lucretium tribuni plebis absentem contionibus adsiduis lacerabant, cum rei publicae causa abesse excusaretur; sed tum adeo vicina etiam inexplorata erant ut is eo tempore in agro suo Antiati esset aquamque[2] ex manubiis Antium ex flumine

[1] exinde *Kreyssig*, pavorem *Fr*: extitit pavor *V*; ex fiducia pavorem *M. Müller*; *coniecturam Kreyssigii non recipiunt edd.*

[2] aquamque *Fr*: quamque *V*.

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praetor Lucretius at Oreüs (Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* ix); the secession of the Epirotes and Hostilius' narrow escape from them (cf. below, xxi. 4, Polybius XXVII. 13–14, Diodorus XXX. 5); Hostilius' unsuccessful campaign (cf. XLIV. ii. 6 and xxxvi. 10); Macedonian successes against the Dardani and Illyrians (cf. below, xix. 14, the Summary, and Orosius iv. 20); and the flare-up in Spain (cf. the Summary), the account of which comes to a conclusion as the text resumes.

IV. . . . they thereafter[1] caused such terror as B.C. 170
they entered the camp, displaying the heads, that if the army had been brought up at once, the camp might have been taken. Even as it was, a great panic took place, and there were those who advised sending envoys to beg for peace; many cities, too, on hearing this news, offered themselves in surrender. These cities cleared themselves and placed the blame on the folly of two men[2] who had of their own accord gone to meet their punishment, and the praetor, having accepted these excuses, set out at once for the other cities and, since everybody obeyed his commands, passed without using his army through a region, now peaceful, which shortly before had been aflame with a huge uprising. This clemency of the praetor, whereby without bloodshed he had tamed a very war-like people, was the more pleasing to the Roman commons and the Fathers because the campaign in Greece had been conducted with too much cruelty and greed by both the consul Licinius and Lucretius the praetor. Lucretius was assailed in his absence by the tribunes of the people in meeting after meeting, although it was stated in his behalf that he was absent in the service of the state; but in that day even the neighbourhood of the city was such unknown territory that he was at that time on his estate at Antium[3] and was engaged in bringing water to Antium from the River Loracina[4] at the

[1] "thereafter" is a conjecture not usually accepted by editors. The "heads" evidently belonged to two leaders of the revolt; those who brought them to the Spanish camp may have been released prisoners.

[2] Olonicus was the chief rebel, according to the Summary.

[3] Less than 35 miles from Rome.

[4] A small stream east of the city.

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7 Loracinae duceret. Id opus centum triginta milibus aeris locasse dicitur; tabulis quoque pictis ex praeda
8 fanum Aesculapi exornavit. Invidiam infamiamque ab Lucretio averterunt [1] in Hortensium, successorem eius, Abderitae legati flentes ante curiam querentesque oppidum suum ab Hortensio expugnatum ac
9 direptum esse: causum excidii fuisse urbi, quod, cum centum milia denarium et tritici quinquaginta milia modium imperaret,[2] spatium petierint, quo de ea re et ad Hostilium consulem et Romam mitterent
10 legatos. Vixdum ad consulem se pervenisse et audisse oppidum expugnatum, principes securi per-
11 cussos, sub corona ceteros venisse.[3] Indigna res senatui [4] visa, decreveruntque eadem de Abderitis, quae de Coronaeis [5] decreverant priore anno, eademque pro contione edicere Q. Maenium praetorem
12 iusserunt. Et legati duo, C. Sempronius Blaesus Sex. Iulius Caesar, ad restituendos in libertatem
13 Abderitas missi. Iisdem mandatum, ut et Hostilio consuli et Hortensio praetori nuntiarent, senatum [6] Abderitis iniustum bellum illatum conquirique omnes,

[1] averterunt *Fr*: averterent *V*.
[2] imperaret *Fr*: impetraret *V*.
[3] sub corona ceteros venisse. *Fr*: coronasubceterosvenisseetaudisse *V*.
[4] Indigna res senatui *J. F. Gronovius*: indignesenatui *V*.
[5] quae de Coronaeis *Fr*: quecoroneis *V*.
[6] nuntiarent, senatum *Fr*: nuntiarentsenatununtiarent *V*.

[1] According to Valerius Maximus I. viii. 2 this temple was earlier than that of Aesculapius at Rome.
[2] Abdera was apparently a free ally of Rome.
[3] This city of Boeotia, an opponent of Rome, cf. XLII. xliv. 4, lxiii. 3, had been severely handled by the consul Licinius, cf. above, sec. 5, and the Summary, also Zonaras 9. 22. Livy's account of the event has been lost, cf. above, p. 13, n. 7.

cost of his spoils. He is said to have let the contract B.C. 170
for this work at one hundred and thirty thousand *asses*; he also decorated with paintings from the booty the temple of Aesculapius.[1] Disapprobation and disgrace were diverted from Lucretius to Hortensius, his successor, by envoys from Abdera,[2] who wept before the senate-house and complained that their city had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius; the reason for the destruction of the city had been, they said, that when the praetor had ordered a hundred thousand *denarii* and fifty thousand pecks of wheat, they had asked for a stay, during which they might send envoys about the matter to the consul Hostilius and to Rome. Hardly had they come to the consul when they heard that their town had been stormed, their leading men beheaded with the axe, and the rest sold at auction. This seemed to the senate a disgraceful occurrence, and they issued the same decree about the people of Abdera which they had issued the preceding year about the people of Coronea,[3] and instructed Quintus Maenius the praetor [4] to make a similar proclamation before an assembly. Furthermore, two envoys, Gaius Sempronius Blaesus and Sextus Julius Caesar, were sent to restore the people of Abdera to freedom. To these same envoys instructions were given to inform both Hostilius the consul and Hortensius the praetor that the senate had resolved that an improper war had been undertaken against the people of Abdera, and that it was just that all who were

[4] Apparently the praetor in charge of aliens (*peregrinus*), since in ch. vi. 10 he receives the Lampsacenes as allies; the city praetor, Marcus Raecius, was absent, cf. below, ix. 6 and the note.

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qui in servitute sint, et restitui in libertatem aequum censere.

V. Eodem tempore de C. Cassio, qui consul priore anno fuerat, tum tribunus militum [1] in Macedonia cum A. Hostilio erat, querellae ad senatum delatae sunt, et legati regis Gallorum Cincibili venerunt.[2] 2 Frater eius verba in senatu fecit questus Alpinorum populorum agros, sociorum suorum, depopulatum C. Cassium [3] esse et inde multa milia hominum in 3 servitutem abripuisse. Sub idem [4] tempus Carnorum Histrorumque et Iapydum [5] legati venerunt: duces sibi ab consule Cassio primum imperatos, qui in Macedoniam ducenti exercitum iter monstrarent; 4 pacatum ab se tamquam ad aliud bellum [6] gerendum abisse. Inde ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse [7] fines suos; caedes [8] passim rapinasque et incendia facta; nec se ad id locorum scire, propter quam causam consuli pro hostibus fuerint. Et 5 regulo Gallorum absenti et his populis responsum est senatum ea quae facta querantur, neque scisse futura, neque, si sint facta, probare. Sed indicta causa damnari absentem consularem virum iniurium 6 esse, cum is rei publicae causa absit; ubi ex Macedonia redisset C. Cassius, tum, si coram eum arguere

[1] tum tribunus militum *Fr*: cumtribunismilitibus *V*.
[2] venerunt *Fr*: tenuerunt *V*.
[3] depopulatum C. Cassium *Fr*: depopulorumc. cassius *V*.
[4] idem *Kreyssig*: id *V*.
[5] et Iapydum *Fr*: pydum *V*.
[6] aliud bellum *Fr*: aliudidbellum *V*.
[7] ex medio regressum itinere hostiliter peragrasse *Fr*: exmediocregressumhostiliteritinereperagrasse *V*.
[8] caedes *Kreyssig*: duces *V*.

enslaved should be sought out and restored to freedom. B.C. 170

V. At this same time complaints were made to the senate about Gaius Cassius, who had been consul the year before and was then a tribune of the soldiers[1] in Macedonia with Aulus Hostilius, and envoys of Cincibilus, a king of the Gauls, arrived. The king's brother spoke before the senate, complaining that Gaius Cassius had ravaged the land of the Alpine tribes, their allies, and had dragged thence into slavery many thousand persons. About the same time envoys of the Carnians, Histrians, and Iapydes arrived; they said, first, that guides had been demanded of them by the consul Cassius, to show him the way as he was leading his army to Macedonia; he had left them peaceably as if to wage a war elsewhere. Next, that returning from the middle of his journey, he had traversed their territory as an enemy; slaughter, pillage and burning had taken place everywhere; nor did they know to that very minute why they had been treated as enemies by the consul. Both to the absent prince of the Gauls and to these peoples the answer was given that the senate neither had known that these occurrences of which they complained would take place nor, if they had taken place, did the senate approve. But to condemn an ex-consul in his absence without a trial would be an injustice, since he was absent in the service of the state; when Gaius Cassius should have returned from Macedonia, then, if they wished

[1] Cassius seems to have obtained this position directly after his consulship, to avoid returning to Rome and giving an account of his hare-brained attempt to reach Macedonia from north Italy (above, ch. i. 4–12).

u.c. 584 vellent, cognita re senatum daturum operam uti
7 satisfiat. Nec responderi tantum iis gentibus, sed
legatos mitti, duos ad regulum trans Alpis, tres circa
eos populos placuit, qui indicarent, quae patrum
8 sententia esset.[1] Munera mitti legatis ex binis
milibus aeris censuerunt: duobus fratribus regulis[2]
haec praecipua, torques duo ex quinque pondo auri
facti et vasa argentea quinque ex viginti pondo et
duo equi phalerati cum agasonibus et equestria
arma ac sagula,[3] et comitibus eorum vestimenta,
9 liberis servisque. Haec missa: illa petentibus data,
ut denorum equorum iis commercium esset educendi-
10 que ex Italia potestas fieret. Legati cum Gallis
missi trans Alpis C. Laelius, M. Aemilius Lepidus,
ad ceteros populos C. Sicinius, P. Cornelius Blasio,
T. Memmius.

VI. Multarum simul Graeciae Asiaeque civitatium
2 legati Romam convenerunt. Primi Athenienses
introducti; ii se,[4] quod navium habuerint militumque
3 P. Licinio consuli et C. Lucretio praetori misisse
exposuerunt; quibus eos non usos frumenti sibi
centum milia imperasse: quod, quamquam sterilem
terram ararent,[5] ipsosque etiam agrestis peregrino

[1] esset *Fr*: esse *V*.

[2] duobus fratribus regulis *Fr*: duofratresregulis *V*: fratri reguli *Madvig, recipiunt edd.*: erant duo fratres reguli *Harant.*

[3] arma ac sagula *Fr*: armatautsagula *V*: arma et sagula *Madvig.*

[4] introducti; ii se *Fr*: introductiipse *V*.

[5] ararent *Nipperdey*: arent *V*.

[1] Lepidus was chief of the Senate for the second time, and *pontifex maximus*, cf. XL. li. 1, and below, ch. xv. 6; Laelius was probably the noted friend of Scipio Africanus; this embassy seems then to have been regarded as very important;

to accuse him to his face, on hearing the case the B.C. 170
senate would see to it that amends were made. It was voted not only to make a reply to these peoples, but to send envoys, two to the prince beyond the Alps and three to the several other peoples; the envoys were to announce what the opinion pronounced by the Fathers was. They determined to send to the envoys gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece and to the two princely brothers the following special gifts, two twisted necklaces made of five pounds of gold and five silver vessels of twenty pounds, and two horses with trappings for head and chest, along with their grooms, and cavalry weapons and military cloaks, and to the princes' attendants, both free and slave, garments. These things were sent; the following was granted at their request—that they should have the privilege of buying ten horses apiece and of exporting them from Italy. As envoys there were sent with the Gauls across the Alps Gaius Laelius and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus,[1] and to the other peoples, Gaius Sicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius.

VI. At the same time envoys from a large number of the states of Greece and Asia gathered in Rome. The Athenians were presented first; they pointed out that they had sent their whole fleet and army to Publius Licinius the consul and Gaius Lucretius the praetor; these officers had not employed their forces, but had ordered a hundred thousand pecks of grain; although they tilled a barren soil and supported even their farmers on imported grain, yet they had

the members of the other embassy are not otherwise known, unless Sicinius was not Gaius, but the Gnaeus Sicinius mentioned in XLII. ix. 8 and elsewhere.

u.c. 584 frumento alerent, tamen, ne deessent officio, confecisse; et alia quae imperarentur praestare paratos
4 esse. Milesii nihil, quod [1] praestitissent, memorantes, si quid imperare ad bellum senatus vellet
5 praestare se paratos esse polliciti sunt. Alabandenses templum Urbis Romae se fecisse commemoravere [2] ludosque anniversarios ei divae instituisse;
6 et coronam auream quinquaginta pondo, quam in Capitolio ponerent donum Iovi optimo maximo, attulisse et scuta equestria trecenta; ea, cui iussissent, tradituros. Donum ut in Capitolio ponere et sacri-
7 ficare liceret, petebant. Hoc et [3] Lampsaceni,
8 octoginta pondo coronam afferentes, petebant, commemorantes discessisse se a Perseo,[4] postquam Romanus exercitus [5] in Macedoniam venisset, cum
9 sub dicione Persei et ante Philippi fuissent. Pro eo et quod imperatoribus Romanis omnia praestitissent, id se tantum orare, ut in amicitiam populi

[1] quod *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[2] commemoravere *Hertz*: commemorave *V*: commemoraverunt *Fr*.
[3] et *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V*: etiam *add. Weissenborn*.
[4] discessisse se a Perseo *Fr*: discessisseeaperseo *V*.
[5] Romanus exercitus *Fr*: romanoexercitu *V*.

[1] Such a temple had been built by Smyrna in 195 B.C., Tacitus, *Annals* IV. 56. The conception of Rome as a goddess was quite un-Roman; it was invented by Greeks, adopted by Roman poets (*e.g.* Vergil, *Aeneid* VI. 781–7, Lucan, *Pharsalia* I. 186–192), but not officially adopted as part of Roman religion till the reign of Hadrian (Cassius Dio LXIX. 4. 3). The divinity of cities, either personified or represented by their "Fortune," seems like a last freakish form of the

gathered this amount so as not to fail in their duty; B.C. 170
and they were ready to furnish other things too which might be ordered. The Milesians, without mentioning anything which they had furnished, promised that if the senate wished to order anything for the war they were ready to furnish it. The envoys of Alabanda announced that they had built a temple to the City of Rome,[1] and had established annual games in honour of that divinity; they had also brought with them a golden crown of fifty pounds' weight to place in the Capitol as a gift to Jupiter Greatest and Best, besides three hundred cavalry shields; these they would deliver to whomever the senate ordered. They asked permission to place their gift in the Capitol and to offer sacrifice. The same request was also made by the people of Lampsacus, who brought a crown of eighty pounds' weight,[2] and called to mind that they had abandoned Perseus, after a Roman army had come into Macedonia, although they had been subject to Perseus and previously to Philip.[3] In return for this and for their action in furnishing the Roman generals with everything, they asked only that they might be

glorification of the "polis" found in Aristotle (*Politics* I. i. 11: "Thus also the city-state is prior in nature to the household and to each of us individually. For the whole must necessarily be prior to the part. . . ." tr. Rackham, *L.C.L.*).

[2] Perhaps a gift to the goddess Roma, like the similar but more lavish gift of Rhodes when in the bad graces of the Romans (Polybius XXX. 5. 4).

[3] This statement may be inaccurate; Lampsacus declared itself independent of Antiochus in 196 B.C. (XXXIII. xxxviii. 3) and when last heard of (XXXVII. xxxv. 2, 190 B.C.) was apparently recognized as independent; perhaps Livy or his source has assumed that Lampsacus had abandoned Perseus at the time when it came forward as an ally of Rome.

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Romani reciperentur, et, si pax cum Perseo fieret, exciperentur, ne in regiam potestatem reciderent.
10 Ceteris legatis comiter responsum; Lampsacenos [1] in sociorum formulam referre Q. Maenius praetor iussus. Munera omnibus in singulos binum milium aeris data. Alabandenses scuta reportare ad A. Hostilium consulem in Macedoniam iussi.
11 Et ex Africa legati simul Carthaginiensium et Masinissae venerunt: legati Carthaginiensium [2] tritici deciens centum milia et hordei quingenta [3] indicantes se ad mare devecta habere, ut, quo senatus
12 censuisset, deportarent; id munus officiumque suum scire minus esse quam pro meritis populi Romani et voluntate sua; sed saepe alias bonis in rebus utriusque populi se gratorum fideliumque socium [4] muneri-
13 bus functos esse. Item Masinissae legati tritici eandem summam polliciti et mille et ducentos equites, duodecim elephantos; et si quid aliud opus esset, uti imperaret senatus: aeque propenso animo et ea [5] et, quae ipse ultro pollicitus sit, praestaturum

[1] comiter responsum; Lampsacenos *Fr*: committerepossumlamsacenos *V*.

[2] et Masinissae venerunt; legati Carthaginiensium *add. H. J. Müller*; *eadem*, legati *omisso*, *Crévier*: *om. V*.

[3] quingenta *Sigonius*: quinquaginta *V*.

[4] populi se gratorum fideliumque socium *Fr*: populisegrecatorumfideliumq. sociumque *V*.

[5] et ea *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.

[1] Apparently they wanted an entente with Rome, without the precise and formal undertakings of an alliance (*societas*). Usually, "friendship" and "alliance" go hand in hand (*e.g.*, XXXVI. iii. 8, XLV. xx. 8), but Rhodes maintained a state of "friendship" without alliance for 140 years (cf. below, XLV. xxv. 7–9) because, in the words of Polybius (XXX. 5. 8, tr. White, *L.C.L.*), "As they wished none of the

admitted to friendship[1] with the Roman people, and B.C. 170
that if peace should be made with Perseus, provision should be made for them, to prevent their reverting to the control of the king. A kindly answer was given the other envoys; as for the Lampsacenes, the praetor Quintus Maenius was ordered to enroll them as allies. Gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece were given to all the envoys. Those from Alabanda were ordered to carry the shields back to Aulus Hostilius, the consul in Macedonia.

Envoys from Africa also arrived, both Carthaginians and those of Masinissa together. The Carthaginian envoys reported that they had conveyed to the sea a million pecks of wheat and five hundred thousand of barley, in order that they might deliver it wherever the senate should determine; they said that this gift and act of duty of theirs was, they knew, less than a return for the favours of the Roman people and less than they would wish; but they had often, on other occasions when both peoples had been prospering, fulfilled the duties of grateful and faithful allies. Likewise the envoys of Masinissa promised the same total of wheat as well as twelve hundred cavalry and twelve elephants;[2] they requested the senate to order anything else which might be needed, for the king would furnish such things with as good a will as he gave what he, of his own accord, had

kings and princes to despair of gaining their help and alliance, they did not desire to run in harness with Rome and engage themselves by oaths and treaties, but preferred to remain unembarrassed and able to reap profit from any quarter"; they sought alliance only when threatened with possible conquest as the alternative.

[2] He had previously sent a thousand cavalry, a thousand infantry, and twenty-two elephants (XLII. lxii. 2).

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14 esse. Gratiae et Carthaginiensibus et regi actae, rogatique ut ea quae pollicerentur[1] ad Hostilium consulem in Macedoniam deportarent. Legatis in singulos binum milium aeris munera missa.

VII. Cretensium legatis commemorantibus se quantum sibi imperatum a P. Licinio consule esset 2 sagittariorum in Macedoniam misisse, cum interrogati non infitiarentur[2] apud Persea maiorem numerum sagittariorum suorum[3] quam apud Romanos militare, 3 responsum est, si Cretenses bene ac naviter destinarent potiorem populi Romani quam regis Persei 4 amicitiam habere, senatum quoque Romanum iis tamquam certis sociis responsum daturum esse. Interea nuntiarent suis placere senatui dare operam Cretenses, ut quos milites intra praesidia regis Persei haberent eos primo quoque tempore domum revocarent.

5 Cretensibus cum hoc responso dimissis Chalcidenses vocati, quorum legatio ipso introitu movit,[4] quod Micythion,[5] princeps eorum, pedibus captus 6 lectica est introlatus; ultimae necessitatis extemplo visa res, in qua ita affecto excusatio valetudinis aut ne ipsi quidem petenda visa foret aut data petenti 7 non esset. Cum sibi nihil vivi reliquum praeterquam

[1] rogatique ut ea quae pollicerentur *Fr*: rogatiquaeuteaquaeuteaquaepollicerentur *V*.

[2] in Macedoniam misisse, cum interrogati non infitiarentur *Fr*: inmacedoniasemisisseticuminfitiatinoninterrogarentur *V*.

[3] suorum *add. Harant*: *om. V*.

[4] introitu movit *H. J. Müller*: introituobit *V*: introitu, ob id *Fr*.

[5] Micythion *Bekker*: micion *V*.

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[1] A force of nearly three thousand is mentioned in XLII. li. 7; they participated in at least one battle (XLII. lviii. 6).

promised. Thanks both to the Carthaginians and to the king were expressed and they were asked to deliver what they had promised to Hostilius the consul in Macedonia. To each of the envoys a gift of two thousand *asses* was sent. B.C. 170

VII. The Cretan envoys reported that they had sent to Macedonia as large a force of archers as the consul Publius Licinius had stipulated, but when they did not deny, on being questioned, that a larger number of their archers were serving with Perseus [1] than with the Romans, they were told in reply that if the people of Crete intended truly and zealously to prize the friendship of the Roman People above that of King Perseus, the Roman senate would also respond to them as it did to indubitable allies. Meanwhile, let them report to their people that it was the pleasure of the senate that the people of Crete should make a point of recalling home at the first possible moment those soldiers whom they might have within the lines of King Perseus.

After the Cretans had been dismissed with this reply, the envoys of Chalcis were summoned; their embassy stirred sympathy by its very entrance, because Micythion,[2] their chief, having an affliction of the feet, was borne in on a litter; at once the occasion seemed one of direst necessity, in which an excuse on grounds of health for one so afflicted either had seemed to the victim himself something for which he should not ask, or had not been granted at his request. After he had begun by saying that no part of him was still living except the tongue where-

[2] The name is given in the MS. as Micion; but it seems probable that the Romanophile mentioned in XXXV. xxxviii. 1 and 1–li is meant.

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linguam ad deplorandas patriae suae calamitates praefatus esset, exposuit civitatis primum suae benefacta et vetera et ea, quae Persei bello praesti-
8 tissent ducibus exercitibusque Romanis; tum quae primo C. Lucretius in populares suos praetor Romanus superbe, avare, crudeliter fecisset,[1] deinde quae tum
9 cum maxime L. Hortensius faceret. Quem ad modum omnia sibi, etiam iis, quae patiantur, tristiora, patienda esse ducant potius quam fide decedant,[2] sic, quod ad Lucretium Hortensiumque attineret, scire tutius fuisse claudere portas quam in urbem eos
10 accipere. Qui exclusissent eos, Emathiam, Amphipolim, Maroneam, Aenum incolumes esse. Apud se templa omnibus ornamentis spoliata; compilataque sacrilegiis[3] C. Lucretium navibus Antium devexisse; libera corpora in[4] servitutem abrepta; fortunas sociorum populi Romani direptas esse et cotidie
11 diripi. Nam ex instituto C. Lucreti Hortensium quoque in tectis hieme pariter atque aestate navalis socios habere, et domos suas plenas turba nautica esse; versari inter se, coniuges liberosque suos, quibus nihil neque dicere pensi sit neque facere.[5]

[1] superbe, avare, crudeliter fecisset *Fr*: superaverecrudeliterfecisse *V*.

[2] quam fide decedant *Kreyssig*: quamsinedecedatur *V*: quam fide decedatur *Weissenborn*.

[3] spoliata; compilataque sacrilegiis *Weissenborn*: conpilataspoliataquesacrilegiis *V*: conpilata spoliaque sacrilegis *Gitlbauer, rec. Giarratano*; spoliata conpilataque; spolia sacrilegis *Zingerle*; *alia alii*.

[4] libera corpora in *Fr*: liberacorporaliberatain *V*.

[5] sit neque facere *Sigonius*: sinequefacere *V*.

with to bewail the disasters of his fatherland, he set B.C. 170
forth, first, the good services of his state, both in earlier times and those which, during the war with Perseus, they had performed for the Roman commanders and armies, and next the acts of arrogance, greed, and cruelty which in the first instance had been committed against Micythion's fellow-countrymen by Gaius Lucretius the Roman praetor, and, furthermore, were being committed more than ever at that time by Lucius Hortensius. Just as they considered that, rather than depart from their loyalty, they should suffer everything, even more grievous injuries than those which they were now suffering, so also, as far as Lucretius and Hortensius were concerned, they were aware that it would have been safer to bar their gates than to receive those Romans into their city. Those cities which had shut them out—Emathia, Amphipolis, Maronea, Aenus [1] —were unharmed. In Chalcis, temples had been stripped of all their adornments and the loot of these profanations Gaius Lucretius had transported in his ships to Antium; free persons had been rushed away to slavery; the possessions of allies of the Roman people had been plundered and daily were being plundered. For, according to the precedent set by Gaius Lucretius, Hortensius too was quartering his sailors, in summer no less than in winter, in private houses, and the homes of Chalcis were full of the mob from the fleet; at large among the Chalcideans and their wives and their children there were men utterly reckless in word and deed.

[1] The approach to these cities seems to have been during a naval raid like that of Marcius, XLIV. x.

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VIII. Accersere in senatum Lucretium placuit, ut disceptaret coram purgaretque sese. Ceterum multo plura praesens audivit, quam in absentem iacta erant: et graviores potentioresque accessere accusatores duo tribuni plebis, M'.[1] Iuventius Talna et Cn. Aufidius. Ii non in senatu modo eum lacerarunt, sed in contionem etiam pertracto multis obiectis probis diem dixerunt. Senatus iussu Chalcidensibus Q. Maenius praetor respondit, quae bene meritos sese et ante et in eo bello quod geratur de populo Romano dicant, ea et scire vera eos referre senatum et perinde ac debeant grata[2] esse. Quae facta a[3] C. Lucretio fierique ab L.[4] Hortensio praetoribus Romanis querantur, ea neque facta neque fieri voluntate[5] senatus quem non posse existimare, qui sciat bellum Persei et ante Philippo, patri[6] eius, intulisse populum Romanum pro libertate Graeciae, non ut ea a magistratibus suis socii atque amici[7] paterentur? Litteras se ad L. Hortensium praetorem daturos esse, quae Chalcidenses querantur acta, ea senatui non placere: si qui in servitutem liberi venissent, ut eos conquirendos[8] primo quoque

[1] tribuni plebis, M' *Sigonius*: tr̃. pl. m. V.
[2] grata *Fr*: gratia V.
[3] a *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[4] L. *Fr*: lucretio V.
[5] fieri voluntate *Fr*: fievoluntatates V.
[6] patri *Fr*: patria V.
[7] magistratibus suis socii atque amici *J. F. Gronovius et Duker, qui* suis *addidit*, et *ponens*: magistratibusutsociatqueamici V: a magistratibus sociis et amicis *Fr*.
[8] eos conquirendos primo quoque tempore *Fr*: eosconprimoquoquetempore V.

VIII. It was voted to summon Lucretius before B.C. 170
the senate in order that he might plead in person and attempt to clear himself. However, when he appeared he heard many more reproaches than had been hurled at him in his absence; and more influential and powerful accusers joined in, namely, two tribunes of the people, Manius Iuventius Talna and Gnaeus Aufidius. These not only assailed him in the senate, but also dragged him before an assembly, and after casting many reproaches at him, then set a day for his trial. By order of the senate Quintus Maenius the praetor replied to the envoys of Chalcis that, as to the services to the Roman People, both previously and in the war now being waged, which the envoys mentioned, the senate knew that they had spoken truly and, also, these services were appreciated exactly as they should be. As to their complaints about what the Roman praetor Gaius Lucretius had done, and what Lucius Hortensius the Roman praetor was doing, no one could be unaware that these things had been done and were being done without the consent of the senate,—no one, that is, who knew that the Roman People had declared war on Perseus and previously on Philip, his father, to preserve the freedom of Greece,[1] and not to inflict on allies and friends such injuries from Roman officers. His fellow-senators, said Maenius, would send a letter to the praetor Lucius Hortensius, saying that the senate was displeased with those actions of which the people of Chalcis complained; that if any free persons had been sold into slavery, he should take steps at the first possible moment to search them out

[1] The slogan for Roman intervention to the eastward, cf. XXXIV. lviii. 11–12, XXXVII. liv. 17.

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tempore restituendosque in libertatem curaret; sociorum navalium neminem praeter magistros in 8 hospitia deduci aequum censere. Haec Hortensio iussu senatus scripta. Munera binum milium aeris legatis missa et vehicula Micythioni [1] publice locata, 9 quae eum Brundisium commode perveherent. C. Lucretium, ubi dies quae dicta erat venit, tribuni ad populum accusarunt multamque deciens centum 10 milium aeris dixerunt. Comitiis habitis omnes quinque et triginta tribus eum condemnarunt.

IX. In Liguribus eo anno [2] nihil memorabile gestum. Nam nec hostes moverunt arma, neque 2 consul in agrum eorum legiones induxit; et satis explorata pace eius anni milites duarum legionum Romanarum intra dies sexaginta, quam in provin- 3 ciam venit, dimisit. Sociorum nominis Latini exercitu mature in hiberna Lunam et Pisas deducto ipse cum equitibus Galliae provinciae pleraque oppida adiit.

4 Nusquam alibi quam in Macedonia bellum erat. Suspectum tamen [3] Gentium, Illyriorum regem, 5 habebant. Itaque et octo navis ornatas a Brundisio senatus censuit mittendas ad C. Furium legatum

[1] Micythioni *Bekker*: micioni *V*.
[2] anno *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] tamen *Hartel*: tā et *V*: tamen et *Fr*.

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[1] In the *comitia tributa*; a few more details in the account of the similar trial, below, xvi. 11–16.

[2] Probably on furlough, subject to further call; the consul would not have formally discharged the army without action by the senate.

[3] Gentius had been suspected of piracy in 180 B.C. (XL. xlii. 2–5, XLII. xxix. 11). Efforts to attach him to the Roman

and restore them to freedom; that the senate B.C. 170
deemed it just that none of the sailors, except the captains, should be quartered in private houses. These instructions were by order of the senate written to Hortensius. Gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece were sent to the envoys, and carriages were hired at public expense for Micythion, to convey him comfortably to Brundisium. As for Gaius Lucretius, on the day set for his trial, the tribunes accused him before the people [1] and proposed a fine of one million *asses*. When the vote was taken, all the thirty-five tribes approved his condemnation.

IX. Among the Ligurians nothing noteworthy was accomplished that year. For neither did the enemy take up arms, nor did the consul lead his legions into enemy territory; and having sufficiently assured himself of peace for that year, he sent home [2] the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after arriving in his province. After having at an early time led the force of allies of the Latin Name into winter-quarters at Luna and Pisa, he himself visited with the cavalry several towns of the province of Gaul.

Nowhere else was there war except in Macedonia. However, they still regarded Gentius, the king of the Illyrians,[3] with suspicion. And so, on the one hand, the senate decided that eight fully-equipped ships should be sent from Brundisium to Gaius Furius,[4] the staff-officer at Issa, who was in charge of

cause had been misconducted and were valueless (XLII. xxxvii. 2, and xlv. 8). On Perseus' overtures to Gentius, see below, xix. 13–xx. 3, and xxiii. 8.

[4] Very likely the naval *duumvir* mentioned in XLI. i. 2–3, who had been in charge of the north-eastern coast of Italy in 178 B.C.

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Issam, qui cum praesidio duarum Issensium navium
6 insulae praeerat—duo milia [1] militum in eas naves sunt imposita, quae M. Raecius praetor ex senatus consulto [2] in ea parte Italiae, quae obiecta Illyrico est, conscripsit —, et consul Hostilius Ap. Claudium in Illyricum cum [3] quattuor milibus peditum misit, ut
7 accolas Illyrici tutaretur.[4] Qui non contentus iis quas adduxerat copiis auxilia ab sociis conrogando ad octo milia hominum ex [5] vario genere armavit peragrataque omni ea regione ad Lychnidum [6] Dassaretiorum consedit.

X. Haud procul inde Uscana oppidum finium imperiique [7] Persei erat. Decem milia civium habebat et modicum custodiae causa Cretensium praesidium.
2 Inde nuntii ad Claudium occulti veniebant, si propius copias admovisset, paratos fore, qui proderent urbem. Et operae pretium esse : non se amicosque tantum,
3 sed etiam milites praeda expleturum. Spes cupiditati [8] admota ita occaecavit animum, ut nec ex

[1] praeerat—duo milia *Fr* : praecrantmiseruntduomilia *V* : *post* praeerat *lacunam statuit Weissenborn*.
[2] imposita, quae M. Raecius praetor ex senatus consulto *Kreyssig* : inpositaq. imreciuspr̃. exsc̃ *V*.
[3] cum *add. Fr* : *om. V*.
[4] Illyrici tutaretur *I. Perizonius* : inlyricitutarentur *V*.
[5] ex *add. Madvig* : *om. V*.
[6] Lychnidum *Sigonius* : lycidinum *V*.
[7] finium imperiique *Harant* : finium plerique *V* : finitimum imperio *Weissenborn* : finium plerumque *Fr*.
[8] Spes cupiditati *Fr* : specupiditatis *V*.

[1] The number of soldiers to be transported on the ships, which had their own crews, seems too large (cf. XXXVII. ii. 10—a force of three thousand transported in twenty ships (cf. XXII. xxii. 1), XXI. i. 5—1700 soldiers and sailors in 7 ships) and the number of ships should perhaps be larger (eighteen ?).

the island with a force of two Issaean ships—two thousand soldiers were put aboard the eight [1] ships, a force raised, in accordance with a decree of the senate, by Marcus Raecius [2] the praetor, in that part of Italy which faced Illyricum—and, on the other hand, the consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius into Illyricum with four thousand infantry, to protect the peoples bordering on Illyricum. Claudius, being unsatisfied with the force that he had brought, by collecting auxiliaries from the allies brought under arms about eight thousand men of various sorts, and after traversing all that region took up his position at Lychnidus of the Dassaretii.[3] B.C. 170

X. Not far from there lay Uscana, a town belonging to the lands and realm of Perseus.[4] It had ten thousand inhabitants and a moderate garrison of Cretans to protect it. From there, secret messengers kept coming to Claudius, declaring that if he would bring his troops up closer, there were those who were ready to betray the city. And it would be worth his while, they added, for he would not only satisfy himself and his friends, but also his soldiers with the booty. Hope joined to greed so blinded his mind

[2] The city praetor, cf. below, xi. 4; he was evidently absent from Rome on coast-defence duty, hence the appearance of Maenius (above, iv. 11, and viii. 4) as presiding officer of the senate.

[3] Garrisons had been placed in their territory the preceding year, XLII. xxxvi. 9.

[4] But below, xviii. 5–xxi. 1, Livy relates, presumably after Polybius, that Uscana was held by a Roman garrison until captured by Perseus, and that Lucius Coelius led an abortive attempt to recover it. There seems to be a duplication of the story here, of which Livy is unaware; the account here given presumably comes from a Roman source.

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iis qui [1] venerant [2] quemquam retineret nec obsides, pignus futuros afore fraudem [3] agendae rei, posceret nec mitteret exploratum nec fidem acciperet. Die tantum statuta profectus a Lychnido duodecim milia
4 ab urbe ad quam tendebat posuit castra. Quarta inde vigilia signa movit mille ferme ad praesidium castrorum relictus. Incompositi, longo agmine effusi, infrequentes, cum nocturnus error dissiparet, ad
5 urbem pervenerunt. Crevit neglegentia postquam neminem armatum in muris viderunt. Ceterum, ubi primum sub ictu [4] teli fuerunt, duabus simul portis erumpitur; et ad clamorem erumpentium ingens strepitus e muris [5] ortus ululantium mulierum cum crepitu undique aeris, et incondita multitudo turba
6 inmixta servili variis vocibus personabat. Hic tam multiplex undique obiectus terror effecit, ne sustinere primam procellam eruptionis Romani possent. Itaque fugientes plures quam pugnantes interempti sunt; vix duo milia hominum cum ipso
7 legato in castra perfugerunt. Quo longius iter in castra erat, eo pluris fessos consectandi hostibus copia
8 fuit. Ne moratus quidem in castris Appius, ut suos dissipatos fuga colligeret, quae res palatis per agros saluti fuisset, ad Lychnidum protinus reliquias cladis reduxit.

[1] ut nec ex iis qui *Fr*: necutisqui *V*.
[2] venerant *J. F. Gronovius*: venerunt *V*.
[3] afore fraudem *Bekker*: aforoetfraudem *V*.
[4] ictu *Drakenborch*: iectu *V*: iactu *Fr*.
[5] strepitus e muris *Fr*: strepitusqueemuris *V*: strepitus tumultusque e muris *H. J. Müller*.

that neither did he keep with him any of the messen- B.C. 170
gers who had come, nor did he demand hostages as security that there would be no treachery in the carrying out of the plan, nor did he send men to reconnoitre, nor did he receive any solemn promise. Having merely agreed upon a day, he set out from Lychnidus and pitched camp twelve miles from the city to which he was marching. Thence in the fourth watch he began to advance, leaving about a thousand to garrison the camp. The soldiers arrived near the city in disorder, scattered in a long column, and straggling, since wandering by night had dispersed them. Their carelessness increased after they saw no armed man on the walls. However, as soon as they were within range of missiles, a sally was made from two gates at once; and together with the battle-cry of the sallying parties, there arose from the walls a great uproar of women howling and of bronze clashing everywhere, while an unorganized crowd, with disorderly bands of slaves amongst them, clamoured with various outcries. This appalling surprise, presented from all directions in so many forms, brought it about that the Romans could not withstand the first storm-blast of the sally. And so more were slaughtered in the flight than in the combat; hardly two thousand men, together with the commander himself, escaped to the camp. Since the way to the camp was long, the enemy had the opportunity to overtake more of the weary men. Appius, not even lingering in camp to gather his men scattered in flight—an action which would have been the means of saving those who were wandering through the countryside—at once led back to Lychnidus the remnants of the disaster.

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XI. Haec et alia haud prospere in Macedonia gesta ex Sex. Digitio tribuno militum, qui sacrificii [1] causa Romam venerat, sunt audita. Propter quae veriti patres ne qua maior [2] ignominia acciperetur legatos in Macedoniam M. Fulvium [3] Flaccum et M. Caninium Rebilum miserunt, qui comperta [4] quae agerentur referrent; et ut A. Atilius consul comitia consulibus rogandis ita ediceret, uti mense Ianuario confici [5] possent, et ut primo quoque tempore in urbem rediret. Interim M. Raecio praetori mandatum, ut edicto senatores omnes ex tota Italia, nisi qui rei publicae causa abessent, Romam revocaret: qui Romae essent, ne quis ultra mille passuum ab Roma abesset. Ea, uti senatus censuit, sunt facta. Comitia consularia ante diem quintum [6] kal. Febr.[7] fuere. Creati consules sunt Q. Marcius Philippus iterum et Cn.[8] Servilius Caepio. Post diem tertium praetores sunt facti C.[9] Decimius, M. Claudius Marcellus, C. Sulpicius Gallus, C. Marcius Figulus, Ser.[10] Cornelius Lentulus, P. Fonteius Capito. Designatis praetoribus praeter duas urbanas quattuor

[1] ex Sex. Digitio tribuno militum qui sacrificii *Fr*: exdigitiosextopr̄. miliaquisacrificiis *V*.
[2] ne qua maior *A. Perizonius*: nequemaior *V*: ne quae maior *Fr*.
[3] Fulvium *Fr*²: Furium *V*.
[4] qui comperta *Fr*: quaecumconperta *V*.
[5] confici *Madvig*: comitia *V*: comitia haberi *Fr*.
[6] ante diem quintum *Sigonius*: ad. u *V*.
[7] Febr. *Pighius*: sep. *V*.
[8] Cn. *Sigonius*: q. *V*.
[9] C. *Sigonius*: m. *V*.
[10] Ser. *Fr*²: serg. *V*.

[1] A similar, but even stricter, emergency measure is recorded in XXXVI. iii. 3 (191 B.C.), just before the campaigns against Antiochus.
[2] His previous consulship was in 186 B.C., cf. XXXIX. viii

XI. This and other affairs in Macedonia conducted B.C. 170
with no success were reported by Sextus Digitius, a tribune of the soldiers, who had come to Rome to offer a sacrifice. The result was that the Fathers, solicitous lest some greater disgrace might befall, sent as commissioners to Macedonia Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus, who were to report after investigation on what was taking place; the Fathers also decided that Aulus Atilius the consul should proclaim the assembly for the election of consuls for such a time that it might be completed during the month of January, and that he should return to the city at the first possible moment. Meanwhile Marcus Raecius the praetor was charged with recalling to Rome by proclamation all senators from the whole of Italy, except those who were absent on public business, while those who were in Rome were not to go more than a mile away from Rome.[1] These matters were carried out as the senate voted. The consular elections were held on the twenty-sixth of January. The consuls elected were Quintus Marcius Philippus for the second time [2] and Gnaeus Servilius Caepio. Two days later there were elected as praetors Gaius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus.[3] Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, Gaius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, Publius Fonteius Capito. For the praetors-elect four assign-

ff.; he had been envoy to Greece and to Perseus just before the outbreak of the war, XLII. xxxviii–xlvii.

[3] He was tribune in 171 B.C. (XLII. xxxii. 7), going out of office on December 9th of that year; the interval of a year and three months was apparently regularly regarded as fulfilling the requirement of two years which, according to the Lex Villia Annalis (XL. xliv. 1), cf. Cicero, *Philippics* 5, 17, *de Legibus* 3, 3, had to elapse between two terms in office.

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provinciae sunt decretae : Hispania et Sardinia et Sicilia et classis.

9 Legati ex Macedonia exacto admodum mense Februario redierunt. Hi quas res ea aestate prospere gessisset rex Perseus referebant, quantusque timor socios populi Romani cepisset tot urbibus in potes-
10 tatem regis redactis. Exercitum consulis infrequentem commeatibus vulgo datis per ambitionem esse : culpam eius rei consulem in tribunos militum,
11 contra illos in consulem [1] conferre. Ignominiam Claudi temeritate acceptam elevare eos patres acceperunt,[2] qui perpaucos Italici generis et magna ex parte [3] tumultuario dilectu conscriptos ibi milites
12 amissos referebant. Consules designati ubi primum magistratum inissent, de Macedonia referre ad senatum iussi ; destinataeque provinciae iis sunt Italia et Macedonia.

13 Hoc anno intercalatum est : tertio die post Terminalia kalendae intercalariae [4] fuere. Sacerdotes intra eum annum mortui sunt [5] L. Flamininus . . .[6] pontifices duo decesserunt, L. Furius Philus et C.

[1] intribunosmilitumcontraillosinconsulem *bis V.*

[2] *Displicet* acceperunt *editoribus* ; *itaque* perceperunt *proposuit Brakman*, accusaverunt, quia, *Hartel* : laeti acceperunt quippe, *Weissenborn* : elevare eo patres acceperunt, quod *Madvig.*

[3] ex parte *add. Fr* : *om. V.*

[4] intercalariae *Weissenborn* : intercalaria *V* : intercalares *Fr.*

[5] mortui sunt *Hertz et Wesenberg* : mortuus est *V* : mortui *Fr* : inter sacerdotes eo anno mortuus est *L. T. Gronovius.*

[6] Flamininus *Sigonius*, augur *ex* XXV. ii. 2 *addens* : Flaminius *V* : *Crévier et Duker etiam nomen successoris excidisse putaverunt.*

[1] The text is uncertain here ; other interpretations proposed by scholars include, "The Fathers accused the commissioners

ments besides the two in the city were decreed : Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. B.C. 170

The commissioners from Macedonia returned when the month of February was just ended. These reported the successes achieved by King Perseus during that summer, and how great a panic had seized the allies of the Roman people when so many cities were brought under the control of the king. The army of the consul, said the commissioners, was reduced in numbers because leaves of absence had been lavishly granted as a means of currying political favour; blame for this situation was placed by the consul on the tribunes of the soldiers, but by them, on the other hand, on the consul. The Fathers took it that[1] the commissioners were minimizing the disgrace inflicted by the rashness of Claudius, since they reported that very few soldiers of Italian stock, but chiefly those enrolled on the spot in an irregular levy, had been lost. The consuls-elect were ordered to present to the senate, as soon as they entered upon their office, the problem of Macedonia; and Italy and Macedonia were designated as their provinces.

In this year there was an intercalation; the additional month began on the third day after the Terminalia.[2] There died of the priests in that year Lucius Flamininus . . .[3] two pontiffs passed away, Lucius Furius Philus and Gaius Livius Salinator.

of minimizing . . . because they reported," and, "The Fathers were glad to hear the commissioners minimize . . ." (see critical note).

[2] See appendix following this Book, pp. 87–88.

[3] The priesthood held by Flamininus and the name of his successor are missing; he was probably the augur elected in 213 B.C., XXV. ii. 2.

A.U.C. 584 Livius Salinator. In locum Furii T. Manlium Torquatum, in Livi M. Servilium pontifices legerunt.

A.U.C. 585 XII. Principio insequentis anni cum consules novi Q. Marcius et Cn.[1] Servilius de provinciis rettulissent, primo quoque tempore aut comparare eos inter se 2 Italiam et Macedoniam aut sortiri placuit; priusquam id sors cerneret,[2] in incertum, ne quid gratia momenti faceret, in utramque provinciam quod res desideraret 3 supplementi decerni[3] — in Macedoniam peditum Romanorum sex milia, sociorum nominis Latini sex milia, equites Romanos ducentos quinquaginta, socios 4 trecentos — veteres milites dimitti, ita ut in singulas Romanas legiones ne plus sena milia peditum, 5 treceni equites essent. Alteri consuli nullus[4] certus[5] finitus numerus civium Romanorum quem in supplementum legeret. Id modo finitum, ut duas legiones scriberet, quae quina milia peditum et ducenos[6] 6 haberent, equites trecenos. Latinorum maior quam collegae decretus numerus, peditum[7] decem milia et sescenti equites. Quattuor praeterea legiones scribi iussae, quae si quo opus esset educerentur. 7 Tribunos iis non permissum ut consules facerent: populus creavit. Sociis nominis Latini sedecim milia

[1] Cn. *Sigonius*: q. *V*.
[2] cerneret *Fr*: cernens *V*.
[3] *post* decerni—decreverunt *add. Madvig*, decernunt *H. J. Müller*.
[4] nullus *Fr*: nulli *V*.
[5] certus *ut glossema delere vult Warmington, homoeoteleuta spernens*.
[6] ducenos *Fr*: ducentenos *V*.
[7] peditum *J. F. Gronovius*: peditum Latinorum *V*.

[1] Probably a praetor of this year.
[2] Below, XLIV. i. 1, the figure of 5000 (perhaps incomplete) is given, presumably following Polybius. The figures here

principal temples and that the people should wear wreaths.[1] Everything was carried out as the Board of Ten prescribed. B.C. 169

XIV. Thereupon the assembly for electing censors was announced. The leading men of the state sought the censorship, Gaius Valerius Laevinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scaevola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Gaius Claudius Pulcher, Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The last two were elected censors by the Roman people. Since concern over holding the levy was greater, because of the Macedonian war, than at other times, the consuls blamed the commons before the senate because even [2] the men of military age were not presenting themselves. Retorting to them Gaius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius the praetors pleaded the cause of the commons; the levy, they said, was difficult, not for consuls, but for politically-minded consuls; they never enrolled a soldier against his will. That the Conscript Fathers might also be sure that this was so, they themselves, though praetors, whose powers of office and importance were less, would, if it seemed best to the senate, complete the levy.[3] This task was entrusted to the praetors with great enthusiasm on the part of the Fathers, not without jeers at the consuls. The censors, to further the business, made the following proclamation before a meeting; that they were going to lay down a rule for taking the

the Macedonian campaign, older men (the *seniores*, 47–60 years old) also were drafted or volunteered, cf. XLII. xxxi. 4 and xxxii. 6.

[3] Conduct of a levy by praetors when the consuls were otherwise occupied was not without precedent, cf. XXXIX. xx. 4, xxxviii. 10; XLII. xviii. 6; but the supplanting of the consuls was peculiar to this occasion.

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dicturos esse, ut praeter commune omnium civium
6 ius iurandum haec adiurarent : " tu minor annis sex
et quadraginta es tuque [1] ex edicto C. Claudi Ti.
Semproni censorum ad dilectum prodisti [2] et quoti-
enscumque dilectus erit quoad [3] hi censores magis-
tratum habebunt, si miles factus non eris, in dilec-
7 tum [4] prodibis [5] ? " item, quia fama erat multos ex
Macedonicis legionibus incertis commeatibus per
ambitionem imperatorum ab exercitu abesse, edix-
erunt de militibus P. Aelio C. Popilio [6] consulibus
8 postve eos consules in Macedoniam scriptis, ut qui
eorum in [7] Italia essent intra dies triginta, censi [8]
prius apud sese, in provinciam redirent; qui in patris
aut avi potestate essent, eorum nomina ad se ederen-
9 tur.[9] Missorum quoque causas sese cognituros
esse; et quorum ante emerita stipendia gratiosa
10 missio sibi visa esset, eos milites fieri iussuros. Hoc
edicto litterisque censorum per fora et conciliabula
dimissis tanta multitudo iuniorum Romam convenit,
ut gravis urbi turba insolita esset.

[1] es tuque *Fr* : estusque *V*.
[2] prodisti *Madvig* : proditi *V* : prodito *Fr* : prodibis *Duker*.
[3] quoad *Harant* : quae *V* : quamdiu *Weissenborn* : cum *Madvig post Ursinum* : quando *Goldbacher*.
[4] delectum (*sic*) *Sigonius* : dilectu *V*.
[5] prodibis *Fr* : providebis *V*.
[6] C. Popilio *add. Fr* : *om. V*.
[7] eorum in *Fr* : eorumquiin *V*.
[8] censi *Fr* : cons. *V*.
[9] nomina ad se ederentur *Fr* : nomine adsederentur *V*.

[1] Either for a year and a half, during which the censors were allowed to be active, by the Aemilian law (434 B.C., IV. xxiv. 5, cf. IX. xxxiii. 3 ff.), or for three years, as the censors' authority over construction and repairs was, according to XLV. xv. 9, customarily continued for a second period of

census that, besides the general oath for all citizens, B.C. 169
they would require assent on oath to the following: "Are you less than forty-six years of age, and have you, in accordance with the proclamation of Gaius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius the censors, come forward for the levy, and as often as there shall be a levy, as long as these censors shall hold office,[1] if you have not entered the army, will you come forward for the levy?"; again, since it was rumoured that many were absent on leave from the legions in Macedonia without specific reason because of the popularity-hunting of the generals, they proclaimed concerning the soldiers enrolled for Macedonia in the consulship of Publius Aelius and Gaius Popilius [2] or after that consulship, that whoever of them were in Italy should within thirty days, having first appeared before the censors, return to their province, and that the names of those who were subject to the authority of father or grandfather [3] should be reported to the censors. They would also review, they said, the reasons for discharges, and those whose discharge before completion of their military service seemed to the censors to result from indulgence they would order to be enrolled as soldiers. Through this proclamation of the censors, and through their letters sent about throughout the markets and hamlets, so large a crowd of men of military age assembled at Rome that the unusual throng was burdensome to the city.

equal length; hardly for the full five years till other censors were chosen.

[2] 172 B.C.; a small force crossed over to the towns of the west coast in that year, cf. XLII. xxvii.

[3] Such men would not appear before the censors, as their property belonged to the estate of their controlling relative.

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XV. Praeter dilectum eorum quos in supplementum mitti oportebat quattuor a C. Sulpicio praetore scriptae legiones sunt, intraque undecim
2 dies dilectus est perfectus. Consules deinde sortiti provincias sunt. Nam praetores propter iurisdic-
3 tionem maturius sortiti erant. Urbana C. Sulpicio, peregrina C. Decimio obtigerat; Hispaniam M. Claudius Marcellus, Siciliam Ser. Cornelius Lentulus, Sardiniam P. Fonteius Capito, classem C. Marcius Figulus erat sortitus. Consulum Cn. Servilio Italia, Q. Marcio Macedonia obvenit; Latinisque actis
4 Marcius extemplo est profectus. Caepione deinde referente ad senatum, quas ex novis legionibus duas legiones secum in Galliam duceret, decrevere patres ut C. Sulpicius M. Claudius praetores ex iis quas scripsissent legionibus quas videretur consuli darent.
5 Indigne patiens [1] praetorum arbitrio consulem subiectum, dimisso senatu [2] ad tribunal praetorum stans postulavit, ex senatus consulto destinarent sibi duas legiones. Praetores consulis in eligendo [3] arbitrium fecerunt.
6 Senatum deinde censores legerunt: M. Aemilius Lepidus princeps ab tertiis iam censoribus lectus,
7 Septem de senatu eiecti sunt.[4] In censu accipiendo populi milites ex Macedonico exercitu, qui quam multi abessent ab signis census docuit, in provinciam

[1] patiens *J. F. Gronovius*: patiente *V*.
[2] subiectum, dimisso senatu *Fr*: subdectumdemissosenon *V*.
[3] consulis in eligendo *J. F. Gronovius*: consulinelegando *V*.
[4] lectus. Septem de senatu eiecti sunt *Novák*: lectuseptemensenatuelectisunt *V*: e senatu *Fr*.

[1] His previous elections are recorded in XL. li. 1 and XLI. xxvii. 1.

XV. Besides the levy of those who were needed B.C. 169
to be sent as reinforcements four legions were enrolled by Gaius Sulpicius the praetor, and within eleven days the levy was completed. The consuls then drew lots for their provinces. For the praetors had drawn lots more promptly to secure the administration of justice. The city praetorship fell to Gaius Sulpicius, the jurisdiction over aliens to Gaius Decimius; Spain was drawn by Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Sicily by Servius Cornelius Lentulus, Sardinia by Publius Fonteius Capito, the fleet by Gaius Marcius Figulus. Of the consuls, Italy fell to Gnaeus Servilius, and Macedonia to Quintus Marcius; when the Latin Festival had been held, Marcius at once set out. When Caepio then consulted the senate as to which two of the new legions he should take with him to Gaul, the Fathers voted that Gaius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius the praetors should give the consul what legions they chose from those they had enrolled. Feeling insulted that a consul should be subject to the decision of praetors, Servilius dismissed the senate and, taking his stand at the judgment-seat of the praetors, demanded that, in accordance with the decree of the senate, they assign him two legions. The praetors gave the consul his choice in the selection.

Thereupon the censors chose the senate; Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was chosen chief. This was the third time the censors had chosen him.[1] Seven were expelled from the senate. In receiving the census of the people they forced the soldiers from the army in Macedonia—the census showed how numerous were these absentees from the ranks—to

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8 redire [1] cogebant; causas de [2] stipendiis missorum cognoscebant, et cuius nondum iusta missio visa esset, ita iusiurandum adigebant: "ex tui animi sententia, tu ex edicto C. Claudi Ti. Semproni censorum [3] in provinciam Macedoniam redibis, quod sine dolo malo facere poteris?"

XVI. In equitibus recensendis tristis admodum eorum atque aspera censura fuit: multis equos 2 ademerunt. In ea re cum equestrem ordinem offendissent, flammam invidiae adiecere edicto, quo edixerunt, ne quis eorum qui Q. Fulvio A. Postumio censoribus publica vectigalia aut ultro tributa conduxissent ad hastam suam accederet sociusve aut 3 adfinis eius conditionis esset. Saepe id querendo veteres publicani cum impetrare nequissent ab senatu ut modum potestati censoriae imponerent, tandem tribunum plebis P. Rutilium,[4] ex rei privatae contentione iratum censoribus, patronum causae nancti 4 sunt. Clientem eius [5] libertinum parietem in Sacra via adversus aedes publicas demoliri iusserant, quod 5 publico inaedificatus esset. Appellati a privato tribuni. Cum praeter Rutilium nemo intercederet,

[1] redire *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V.*
[2] de *add. Hartel*: *om. V.*
[3] censorum *Fr*: cēsoriam *V.*
[4] tribunum plebis P. Rutilium *Sigonius*: tr̄. pl. utilium *V.*
[5] eius *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V.*

[1] The previous censors, XLI. xxvii.
[2] Literally, "to their spear," since a spear was the sign of an auction; at the censors' auction contracts for public works

return to their province; they reviewed the excuses B.C. 169
of those discharged from service, and in the case of any whose discharge seemed premature they compelled assent on oath to the following: "With your whole heart will you, in accordance with the decree of Gaius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius the censors, return to the province of Macedonia, as you are able, in all sincerity, to do this?"

XVI. In reviewing the knights, the censorship of these officials was rather stern and harsh; they deprived many of their horses. When in this matter they had offended the order of knights, they added fire to the grudge by a proclamation, in which they proclaimed that none of those who in the censorship of Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius [1] had farmed the public revenues or the public works should appear at the auction of Claudius and Sempronius,[2] or should be a partner or sharer in the contracting. When, after many complaints about this decree, the veteran tax-gatherers were unable to induce the senate to set a limit to the censors' power,[3] at last in a tribune of the people, Publius Rutilius, who was angry with the censors over a dispute concerning a private matter, they found an advocate for their cause. A freedman client of Rutilius had been ordered by the censors to pull down a house-wall on the Sacred Way opposite the public temples, because the wall was built on state land. An appeal was made by the citizen to the tribunes. When no one but Rutilius intervened in his behalf, the censors

and for collecting the revenues were to be made, cf. XXXIX. xliv. 8 and the note.

[3] Compare the Pyrrhic victory of the contractors in 184 B.C., XXXIX. xliv. 8.

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censores ad pignera capienda miserunt multamque
6 pro contione privato dixerunt. Hinc [1] contentione
orta cum veteres publicani se ad tribunum contu-
lissent, rogatio repente sub unius tribuni nomine
7 promulgatur, quae publica vectigalia aut [2] ultro
tributa C. Claudius et Ti. Sempronius locassent, ea
rata locatio ne esset: ab integro locarentur et ut
omnibus redimendi et conducendi promiscue ius
8 esset. Diem ad eius rogationem [3] concilio tribunus
plebis dixit. Qui postquam venit [4] ut censores
ad dissuadendum processerunt, Graccho dicente [5]
silentium fuit; cum [6] Claudio obstreperetur, audi-
9 entiam facere praeconem iussit. Eo facto avocatam [7]
a se contionem tribunus questus et in ordinem se
coactum ex Capitolio, ubi erat concilium, abiit.
10 Postero die ingentis tumultus ciere. Ti. Gracchi
primum bona consecravit quod in multa pignori-
busque eius qui tribunum appellasset,[8] intercessioni

[1] Hinc *Fr*: hic *V*.
[2] aut *add. Walch*: *om. V*.
[3] *ita V; non accipiunt edd., aut* eius *delentes, aut* legis *addentes*.
[4] dixit. Qui postquam venit *Fr*: dixitq. postvenit *V*.
[5] dicente *Fr*: dicendo *V*.
[6] cum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] avocatam *Fr*: avocato *V*.
[8] qui tribunum appellasset *Fr*: quitribuniquitribununm-appellassent *V*.

[1] Such bonds, designed to secure the appearance for trial of a person charged with a crime, were secured, not directly from the defendant, but from bondsmen from among his friends. For this practice, cf. III. xiii. 8, XXV. iv. 8–10, XXXIX. xli. 7, and Summary XLVIII. Aulus Gellius, XVI. x. 8, mentions bondsmen as one of the obsolete legal forms abolished by the *lex Aebutia* (exact date unknown). After this time, bonds were posted by the defendant.

sent agents to secure bonds [1] and announced before B.C. 169
a meeting a fine for the citizen.[2] A dispute having arisen from this cause, when the veteran tax-gatherers had resorted to the tribune, a proposed law was suddenly published under the name of the one tribune, stating that whereas Gaius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius had let certain public revenues and public works, the letting of these should be void; they should be let anew, and everyone without restriction should have the right of farming and contracting. The tribune of the people announced for the assembly [3] a day for voting on this proposal.[4] When this day came, as the censors came forward to advise against the law,[5] while Gracchus was speaking there was silence; when heckling greeted Claudius, he ordered the herald to bring the meeting to order. When this was done, the tribune, complaining that the meeting had been taken out of his hands and that he had been deprived of his authority, left the Capitol, where the assembly was. Next day he raised a great uproar. He first dedicated to the gods the property of Tiberius Gracchus because in the matter of the fine and the bonds imposed on one who had appealed to a tribune,

[2] The veto of one tribune sufficed to debar an action, but the censors apparently expected the other tribunes to suppress Rutilius, as had been done on various other occasions, cf. II. xliii. 4, IV. xlix. 6 and liii. 7, IX. xxxiv. 26, XXIV. xliii. 3, or that the senate would support them, cf. XXIX. xxxvii. 17.

[3] An Assembly of the Commons (*concilium plebis*).

[4] An attempt is made here to translate the MS. text, without the usual alterations (see critical note). I accept the suggestion of Duker that the phrase, if completed, would be *ad eius rogationis rogationem*, *rogatio* meaning (*a*) a bill or proposed law, (*b*) the process of putting it to a vote.

[5] In a meeting (*contio*) held before the voting assembly.

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11 non parendo se in ordinem coegisset; C. Claudio diem dixit, quod contionem ab se avocasset; et utrique censori perduellionem se iudicare pronuntiavit diemque comitiis a C. Sulpicio praetore urbano
12 petit. Non recusantibus censoribus, quominus[1] primo quoque tempore iudicium de se populus faceret, in ante diem octavum et septimum kal.
13 Octobres comitiis perduellionis dicta dies. Censores extemplo in atrium Libertatis escenderunt[2] et ibi obsignatis[3] tabellis publicis clausoque tabulario et dimissis servis publicis negarunt se prius quidquam publici negotii gesturos, quam iudicium populi de se
14 factum esset. Prior Claudius causam dixit; et cum ex duodecim centuriis equitum octo censorem condemnassent multaeque aliae primae classis, extemplo principes civitatis in conspectu populi anulis aureis

[1] quominus *J. F. Gronovius*: quiiminus *V*.
[2] Libertatis escenderunt *Kreyssig*: libertatescenderunt *V*.
[3] obsignatis *Hertz*: signatis *V*.

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[1] Rutilius proceeds under the law mentioned in III. lv. 7, that one who injured a tribune should forfeit his head to Jupiter, and that his property should be sold at the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera; the ceremony of dedicating the man and his property to the gods might be performed by a tribune, cf. Cicero, *De Domo Sua* 47 (123–5), but apparently had to be confirmed by action of the people. Livy's phrasing seems to make Rutilius arrange for two trials for Claudius, but we hear of only one (below, 14–16) and it seems probable that the trial for treason, based on the charges mentioned, was the one action which was to confirm the sentence already pronounced by the tribune; also this sentence was probably directed equally against both, though Gracchus is named

Gracchus had, by not obeying the tribune's inter- B.C. 169
position, deprived him of his authority; he set a day for the trial of Gaius Claudius on the charge of taking the meeting away from him; and he announced that he judged each censor guilty of treason, and asked of Gaius Sulpicius the city praetor a day for an assembly.[1] Since the censors did not object to having the people pass judgment on them at the first possible moment, the day for the assembly-trial for treason was set for the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of September.[2] The censors immediately mounted to the Hall of Liberty [3] and, having there sealed the public accounts and closed the account-room and sent away the public slaves, declared that they would transact no public business until the judgment of the people upon them had been passed. Claudius pleaded his cause first; and when of the twelve centuries of knights eight had condemned the censor, along with many other centuries of the first class, at once the leading men of the state, in the sight of the people, laid aside their gold rings and

alone. For a trial of treason, the *comitia centuriata* was called, since a death-sentence was involved, not the *comitia tributa*, as above, viii. 9, cf. the note, nor the *concilium plebis*.

[2] A day for each defendant, see XXV. iv. 10.

[3] This appears to have been next to the Senate-house, and perhaps a sort of annex to it. A rebuilding of the *atrium* in 194 B.C. is mentioned in XXXIV. xliv. 5; hostages were kept there, according to XXV. vii. 12; archives for laws were maintained there (Festus 241); and the enrolment of freedmen in the city tribes took place there (XLV. xv. 5). The anniversary day of the sanctuary of Freedom was April thirteenth (Ovid, *Fasti* IV. 623). In the first century B.C., slaves were imprisoned there (Cicero, *Pro Milone* 59), and, following a plan of Julius Caesar's, Asinius Pollio founded there the first public library in Rome, with rich sculptural adornment (Ovid, *Tristia* III. 1. 71–2, Suetonius, *Augustus* 29).

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positis vestem mutarunt, ut supplices plebem circumirent. Maxime tamen sententiam vertisse dicitur Ti. Gracchus, quod, cum clamor undique plebis esset periculum Graccho non esse, conceptis verbis iuravit, si collega damnatus esset, non expectato de se iudicio comitem exilii eius futurum. Adeo tamen ad extremum spei venit [1] reus, ut octo centuriae ad damnationem defuerint. Absoluto Claudio tribunus plebis negavit se Gracchum [2] morari.

XVII. Eo anno postulantibus Aquileiensium legatis, ut numerus colonorum augeretur,[3] mille et quingentae familiae ex senatus consulto scriptae triumvirique, qui eas deducerent, missi sunt [4] T. Annius Luscus, P. Decius Subulo, M. Cornelius Cethegus.

Eodem anno C. Popilius et Cn. Octavius legati, qui in Graeciam missi erant, senatus consultum Thebis primum recitatum per omnes Peloponnesi urbes [5] circumtulerunt ne quis ullam rem in bellum magistratibus Romanis conferret praeterquam quod senatus censuisset. Hoc fiduciam in posterum

[1] venit *Fr*: veniret *V*.
[2] Gracchum *Fr*: Graccho *V*.
[3] ut numerus colonorum augeretur *J. F. Gronovius*: utnumerumcolonorumaugeret *V*: ut numerum colonorum augerent *I. Perizonius*.
[4] *post* missi sunt *vacat spatio 9 litterarum* (*Giarratano*).
[5] Peloponnesi urbes *Fr*: Peloponnensesuiurbes *V*.

[1] *I.e.*, a dark toga; with it jewellery was not worn, and senators and magistrates did not wear the purple stripe on their togas of mourning.

[2] Except for the knights, among whom were the hostile tax-gatherers, the danger to Claudius obviously arose from his harsh and arbitrary behaviour; cf. his actions during his consulate in 177 B.C., XLI. x. 5–13.

[3] The later activities of these censors are told below, XLIV. xvi. and XLV. xv.

put on mourning,[1] in order to go about entreating B.C. 169
the commons. Chiefly, however, Tiberius Gracchus is said to have changed men's minds, because, although there was everywhere shouting from the commons that Gracchus was in no danger, he swore in formal terms that if his colleague were condemned he would not await the outcome of his own trial, but would accompany Claudius into exile.[2] None the less, so near did the defendant come to the last ray of hope that only eight centuries were lacking for condemnation. When Claudius had been acquitted, the tribune of the people said that he did not care about the case of Gracchus.[3]

XVII. In that year, at the request of envoys from Aquileia that the number of colonists be increased, fifteen hundred households were enrolled in accordance with a decree of the senate, and a board of three, Titus Annius Luscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were sent to lead the settlement.[4]

In the same year[5] Gaius Popilius and Gnaeus Octavius, the envoys who had been sent into Greece, first caused to be read at Thebes and then to be carried about to all the cities of the Peloponnese the decree of the senate that no one should contribute anything to Roman officers for the war except what the senate should have voted. This resolution had

[4] The reinforcement was sent two years after it was requested, cf. above, i. 5–12. The sending of settlers may have been easier during the censors' activity, cf. XXXIX. xliv. 10.

[5] At this point Livy begins to draw on Polybius XXVIII. 3; but Polybius says that the envoys urged the Thebans to loyalty, and read the senate's resolution only in the Peloponnese.

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quoque praebuerat levatos se oneribusque[1] impensisque quibus, alia aliis imperantibus, exhauriebantur. Achaico concilio Aegii iis dato[2] benigne locuti auditique, egregia spe futuri status[3] fidissima gente relicta, in Aetoliam traiecerunt. Ibi nondum quidem seditio erat, sed omnia suspecta criminumque inter ipsos plena: ob quae[4] obsidibus postulatis neque exitu rei imposito in Acarnaniam inde profecti legati sunt. Thyrrei[5] concilium legatis Acarnanes dederunt. Ibi quoque inter factiones[6] erat certamen: quidam principum postulare ut praesidia in urbes suas inducerentur adversus amentiam eorum qui ad Macedonas gentem[7] trahebant; pars recusare ne quod bello captis et hostibus mos esset, id pacatae et sociae civitates ignominiae acciperent. Iusta deprecatio haec visa. Larisam ad Hostilium proconsulem — ab eo enim missi erant — legati redierunt. Octavium retinuit secum. Popilium cum mille ferme militibus in hiberna Ambraciam misit.

XVIII. Perseus principio hiemis egredi Macedoniae finibus non ausus,[8] ne qua in regnum vacuum inrumperent Romani, sub tempus brumae, cum

[1] -que *del. Madvig.*

[2] Aegii iis dato *Ursinus et Weissenborn, cf. Polyb.* XXVIII. 3. 10: argisagitato *V*.

[3] status *Fr*: statuis *V*.

[4] inter ipsos plena; ob quae *Fr*: interipsospleuaqueinteripsospleuaobquae *V*.

[5] Thyrrei *Sigonius*: typri *V*.

[6] inter factiones *Fr*: interfectiones *V*.

[7] Macedonas gentem *J. F. Gronovius*: macedonicamgentem *V*: Macedonas Acarnanicam gentem *Weissenborn*: Macedonicam sectam gentem *Goldbacher*.

[8] non ausus *Fr*: ne ausus *V*.

[1] Cf. Polybius XXVIII. 3. 7–10.

produced confidence for the future, too, that they B.C. 169
had been relieved of both burdens and outlays, by which, as one and another ordered various things, they were being drained dry. Before an Achaean council held for them at Aegium the Roman envoys both spoke and were heard with cordiality,[1] and leaving this most loyal people with extraordinary hope for their future position, they crossed to Aetolia. There no revolt indeed had as yet broken out, but every move was suspected and replete with the mutual recriminations of the Aetolians; having, because of these, called for the giving of hostages, but without bringing the trouble to an end,[2] the envoys set out thence for Acarnania. At Thyrreum the Acarnanians held a council for the envoys. There too a contest between factions was under way; some of the chief men demanded that garrisons be brought into their cities to guard against the madness of those who were dragging the tribe toward the Macedonians; some objected to this, on the ground that the disgrace which was customary for those captured in war and hostile should not be inflicted on peaceful and allied cities. This plea in opposition seemed sound.[3] The envoys returned to Hostilius the proconsul at Larisa—for they had been sent by him. Octavius he kept with him, Popilius he sent with about a thousand soldiers into winter quarters at Ambracia.

XVIII. Perseus did not dare to leave the limits of Macedonia at the outset of winter, for fear that at some point the Romans might raid his undefended realm. About the winter solstice, however, when

[2] Cf. Polybius XXVIII. 4.
[3] Cf. Polybius XXVIII. 5.

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inexsuperabilis [1] ab Thessalia montes nivis altitudo
2 facit, occasionem esse ratus frangendi finitimorum spes animosque, ne quid averso se [2] in Romanum bellum periculi ab iis esset [3] cum a Thracia pacem Cotys, ab Epiro Cephalus repentina defectione ab Romanis praestarent. Dardanos recens domuisset
3 bellum,[4] solum infestum esse Macedoniae latus quod ab Illyrico pateret cernens, neque ipsis quietis Illyriis et aditum praebentibus Romano [5] si domuisset proximos Illyriorum Gentium quoque regem iam diu dubium in societatem perlici posse, cum decem
4 milibus peditum. quorum pars phalangitae erant, et duobus milibus levium armorum [6] et quingentis
5 equitibus profectus Stuberram venit. Inde frumento complurium dierum sumpto iussoque apparatu oppugnandarum urbium sequi, tertio die ad Uscanam [7] — Penestianae terrae ea maxima [8] urbs est —
6 posuit castra,[9] prius tamen quam vim admoveret, missis qui temptarent nunc praefectorum praesidii, nunc oppidanorum animos. Erat autem ibi cum
7 iuventute Illyriorum Romanum praesidium.[10] Post-

[1] inexsuperabilis *Fr*: exsuperabilis *V*.
[2] averso se *Fr*: inadversose *V*.
[3] ab iis esset *Forchhammer*: abisset *V*.
[4] bellum *Kreyssig*: sedbellumi *V*: bello *Fr*.
[5] Romano *J. F. Gronovius*: Romanis *V*.
[6] armorum *J. F. Gronovius*: armatorum *V*.
[7] Uscanam *Sigonius*: Uscana *V*, *et Graece neutrum est*; *at cf. infra* xix. 1, etc.
[8] maxima *Sigonius*: maxime *V*.
[9] castra *Fr*: causa *V*. [10] praesidium *Fr*: r *V*.

[1] That is, the western passes, cf. XLII. liii. 6; Tempe was held by the Macedonian garrison at Gonnus, XLII. liv. 8; and cf. XLIV. ii.

[2] Livy's account of affairs in Epirus and the campaign against the Dardani is lost, cf. above, iii. 7 and the note. Con-

the depth of snow makes the mountains [1] impassable B.C. 169
from Thessaly, he thought that here was an opportunity to shatter the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, so that no danger might arise from them while his attention was turned toward the campaign against the Romans. On the side of Thrace Cotys assured peace, as did Cephalus on the side of Epirus [2] by his sudden desertion of the Romans, while the recent campaign had subdued the Dardani. Perceiving then that the only quarter hostile to Macedonia was that which allowed access from Illyricum, where the Illyrians themselves were restless and were providing the Romans with an approach, and that if he conquered the nearest Illyrians, he might also entice King Gentius, who had long been wavering, into an alliance, Perseus set out with ten thousand infantry, some of whom were phalanx-men,[3] two thousand light troops, and five hundred cavalry, and reached Stuberra. Thence, taking grain for a number of days and ordering equipment for besieging cities to follow, on the third day he pitched camp by Uscana [4] —which is the largest city of the Penestian region— but sent, before bringing an attack to bear, men to test the mood, now of the commanders of the garrison, now of the townspeople. For there was in the city, along with the young men of the Illyrians, a Roman garrison. After the messengers reported

cerning the latter, Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus* IX. 3, says that Perseus killed 10,000 Dardanians and acquired much booty.

[3] The rest were peltasts, cf. Perseus' muster-roll in XLII. li. 3–11.

[4] Cf. above, x. and the note, for a Roman counter-attack on this town, the account of which Livy has not harmonized with Polybius' account reproduced here.

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quam nihil pacati referebant oppugnare est adortus et corona eam capere conatus est.[1] Cum sine intermissione[2] interdiu noctuque alii aliis succedentes, pars scalas muris, pars[3] ignem portis inferrent, sustinebant tamen eam tempestatem propugnatores
8 urbis, quia spes erat neque hiemis vim diutius pati Macedonas in aperto posse, nec ab Romano bello tantum regi laxamenti fore ut posset morari.
9 Ceterum postquam vineas agi turresque excitari vident,[4] victa pertinacia est. Nam praeterquam quod adversus vim pares non erant, ne frumenti quidem aut ullius alterius rei copia intus erat, ut in
10 necopinata obsidione. Itaque cum spei nihil ad resistendum esset, C. Carvilius Spoletinus et C. Afranius a praesidio Romano missi qui a Perseo peterent primo ut armatos suaque secum ferentis abire sineret, dein, si id minus impetrarent, vitae
11 tantum libertatisque fidem acciperent. Promissum id benignius est ab rege quam praestitum: exire enim sua secum efferentibus iussis primum arma, dein libertatem[5] ademit. His urbe[6] egressis et Illyriorum cohors — quingenti erant — et Uscanenses[7] se urbemque dediderunt.

XIX. Perseus praesidio Uscanae imposito multi-

[1] corona eam capere conatus est *Fr*: coroneamcapereconatumest *V*.
[2] intermissione *Fr*: interestmissione *V*.
[3] pars *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[4] vident *Madvig*: videntur *V*: viderunt *Fr*.
[5] dein libertatem *add. Hartel*: dein omnia alia *H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.

nothing in the way of terms, Perseus began to press B.C. 169
the siege and tried to capture the city with a surrounding attack. Although without interruption through day and night relay of men after relay here brought ladders against the walls, and there fire against the gates, nevertheless, the defenders of the city withstood this tempest, because they had hopes that the Macedonians could not longer endure the violence of winter in the open, and that the lull in the Roman campaign would not long permit the king to linger. However, after they saw sheds being brought up and towers raised, their determination was overcome. For apart from the fact that they were not equally matched against the assault, there was no supply even of grain or of anything else in the city, as was natural when the siege was unexpected. And so, since there was no hope of holding out, Gaius Carvilius of Spoletium and Gaius Afranius were sent from the Roman garrison to request of Perseus, first, that he should permit them to depart under arms and carrying their possessions with them, and next, if they failed to obtain this, that they should at least receive assurances of life and freedom. The king's generosity was greater in promise than in performance; for after bidding them to depart carrying their possessions with them, he deprived them first of their arms, then of their freedom. After the Romans had left the city, both the force of Illyrians—there were five hundred of them—and the people of Uscana surrendered themselves and their city.

XIX. After placing a garrison in Uscana, Perseus

[6] His urbe *Fr*: hisenimurbe *V*.
[7] Uscanenses *Sigonius*: Escanienses *V*.

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tudinem omnem deditorum, quae prope numero
2 exercitum aequabat, Stuberram abducit. Ibi Romanis — quattuor milia autem hominum erant — praeter principes in custodiam civitatum [1] divisis, Uscanensibus Illyriisque venditis, in Penestas [2] exercitum reducit ad Oaeneum [3] oppidum in
3 potestatem redigendum, et alioqui opportune situm et transitus ea est in Labeates, ubi Gentius regnabat.
4 Praetereunti frequens castellum, Draudacum nomine, peritorum quidam regionis eius nihil Oaeneo [4] capto opus esse ait, nisi in potestate et Draudacum
5 sit; opportunius etiam ad omnia positum esse. Admoto exercitu omnes [5] extemplo dediderunt sese.

Ad [6] quam spe celeriorem deditionem [7] erectus, postquam animadvertit quantus agminis sui terror esset, undecim alia castella eodem metu in potesta-
6 tem redigit. Ad perpauca vi opus fuit, cetera voluntate dedita; et in his recepti mille et quingenti
7 dispositi per praesidia milites Romani. Magno usui Carvilius Spoletinus erat in colloquiis dicendo nihil in ipsos saevitum. Deinde [8] Oaeneum perventum est, quod sine iusta oppugnatione capi non poterat.

[1] civitatum *Fr*: civitatem *V*: civitatium *Giarratano* "*post alios ex usu Liviano.*"
[2] in Penestas *Heraeus*: inpeneinpesiam *V*: in Penestiam *Fr.*
[3] Oaeneum *Fr*: eoeneum *V*.
[4] Oaeneo *Fr*: oaeneon *V*.
[5] omnes *Fr*: omne *V*.
[6] ad *add. Harant*: *om. V*.
[7] deditionem *Fr*: deditiorē *V*.
[8] Deinde *H. J. Müller*: aeide *V*: ad *Fr.*: Inde ad *Duker.*

took the whole mass of prisoners, which almost B.C. 169
equalled his army in numbers,[1] to Stuberra. There, after assigning the Romans—of whom there were four thousand [2]—, except the chief officers, to various cities to guard, and selling the people of Uscana and the Illyrians, he led the army back among the Penestae in order to bring under his control the town of Oaeneum, which was in many ways strategically situated, particularly in that the route to the Labeates, where Gentius was king, passes this way. As he was passing a populous fort, Draudacum by name, one who knew this region said that there was no use of capturing Oaeneum unless Draudacum too was under his control; for it was even more strategically situated for all purposes. On his bringing up his army, all at once surrendered.

Encouraged by this surrender, more prompt than he had hoped, after he noticed how great was the fear caused by his column, he brought under his control eleven other forts because of this same dread. At only a very few was there need of force; the rest were voluntarily surrendered; and in these there were taken prisoner fifteen hundred [2] Roman soldiers who had been distributed among the garrisons. Carvilius of Spoletium was most useful in the parleys, in saying that no harshness had been used against him and his comrades. Next, Perseus arrived at Oaeneum, which could not be taken without a regular

[1] According to ch. x. above, the population of Uscana was 10,000.

[2] In view of the numbers given elsewhere for garrison details (XLII. xxxvi. 9, forts of Dassaretii and Illyrians, 2000 Romans; lxvii. 9, Ambracia, 2000 men; XLIII. ix. 6, force of Claudius, 4000 Romans, 4000 local levies, to protect Illyricum in general), this number seems exaggerated.

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Et maiore aliquanto quam cetera iuventute et
8 validum oppidum moenibus erat. et hinc amnis
Artatus nomine, hinc mons praealtus et aditu
9 difficilis cingebat. Haec spem ad resistendum
oppidanis dabant. Perseus circumvallato oppido
aggerem a parte superiore ducere instituit, cuius
10 altitudine muros superaret. Quod opus dum per-
ficitur, crebris interim proeliis, quibus per excur-
siones et moenia sua oppidani tutabantur et opera
hostium impediebant, magna eorum multitudo
variis casibus absumpta est, et qui supererant labore
diurno nocturnoque et[1] volneribus inutiles erant.
11 Ubi primum agger iniunctus muro est, et cohors
regia, quos Nicatoras appellant, transcendit et scalis
multis simul partibus impetus in urbem est factus.
12 Puberes omnes interfecti sunt: coniuges liberosque
eorum in custodiam dedit: praedae alia militum
13 cessere. Stuberram inde victor revertens ad Gen-
tium[2] legatos Pleuratum Illyrium, exulantem apud
14 se, et Adaeum[3] Macedonem a Beroea[4] mittit: iis
mandat, ut exponerent aestatis eius hiemisque acta

[1] et *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[2] ad Gentium *Fr*: augentium V.
[3] Adaeum *Valesius*: aputeum V.
[4] a Beroea *Fr*: abeuroea V.

[1] It is not clear to what sort of unit Livy is referring; one would suppose a *corps d'élite*, and the reference, in XXVIII. v. 15, to a royal company kept by Philip as a mobile reserve under his personal command, would seem to confirm this; so also the royal company of Antiochus, called the Silver-Shields, in XXXVII. xl. 7; but the royal company mentioned in XL. vi. 3, at a review of the Macedonian army, would seem

siege. The city was strong both because of a some- B.C. 169
what larger force of young men than the others had had and because of its walls; moreover, on the one side a river, Artatus by name, on the other a very high mountain, difficult to ascend, girt the city about. These defences gave the people of the city hope of holding out. Perseus, after encircling the town with earthworks, began to build up a mound on the higher side, high enough to bring him above the wall. While this work was in progress, the frequent battles which meanwhile took place, as the townspeople resorted to sallies to protect their walls and to hinder the siege-works of the enemy, caused a great wastage in casualties of one kind or another, while those townspeople who survived were incapacitated by daily and nightly toil and by wounds. As soon as the mound was joined to the wall, the royal company, whom they call the Conquerors,[1] passed over it, and also at the same time an attack was made with ladders against many parts of the city. All the adult males were killed; their wives and children Perseus put under guard; the other items of booty fell to the soldiers. Returning thence victoriously to Stuberra, he sent as envoys to Gentius, Pleuratus the Illyrian, who was in exile at his court, and Adaeus, a Macedonian from Beroea;[2] he instructed them to relate his achievements of that summer and winter against

to be the group of young nobles described in XLV. vi. 7, as serving as royal pages or squires, cf. Arrian IV. xiii. 1, Diodorus XVII. 65, Curtius Rufus VIII. vi. 2–7, and X. vii. 16. The only other reference to the name "Conquerors" is Hesychius' definition: "the most excellent in the units" (*νικατῆρες οἱ ἀκμαιότατοι ἐν ταῖς τάξεσι*).

[2] Taken from Polybius XXVIII. 8; who adds the Epirotes to the list of Perseus' opponents, cf. above, xviii. 2.

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sua adversus Romanos Dardanosque; adicerent[1] recentia in Illyrico hibernae expeditionis opera; hortarentur Gentium in amicitiam secum et cum Macedonibus iungendam.

XX. Hi transgressi iugum Scordi montis, per Illyrici solitudines,[2] quas de[3] industria populando Macedones fecerant ne transitus faciles Dardanis in Illyricum aut Macedoniam essent, Scodram[4] labore ingenti tandem pervenerunt. Lissi rex Gentius
2 erat. Eo acciti legati, qui mandata exponentes benigne auditi sunt; responsum[5] sine effectu tulerunt, voluntatem sibi non deesse ad bellandum cum Romanis; ceterum ad conandum id quod velit
3 pecuniam maxime deesse. Haec Stuberram rettulere regi tum maxime captivos ex Illyrico vendenti. Extemplo iidem legati, addito Glaucia ex numero custodum corporis, remittuntur sine mentione pecuniae, qua una barbarus inops impelli ad bellum
4 poterat.[6] Ancyram inde populatus Perseus in Penestas rursus[7] exercitum reducit firmatisque

[1] hiemisque acta sua adversus Romanos Dardanosque; adicerent *Fr*: hiemisquaesuaeac tasuaaduersusromanosuardanos queactasuaaduersusadicerent *V*.

[2] solitudines *Fr*: sollicitudines *V*.

[3] de *Fr*: per *V*.

[4] Scodram *Fr*: iscoram *V*.

[5] qui *hic posuit Madvig*: auditi sunt, qui responsum *V*.

[6] qua una barbarus inops impelli ad bellum poterat *Fr*: qua undabarbarosinopsinepelliadebellumnonpoterat *V*: qua non data b.i.i.a.b. non poterat *Weissenborn*: itaque barbarus i.i.a.b.n.p. *Brakman*: qua nudatus b.i.i.a.b.n.p. *Goldbacher*: qua non abunde data, *etc.*, *Walter*: *post* bellum, Romanum *add. Zingerle*.

[7] rursus *Wesenberg*: rursum *V*.

the Romans and Dardanians; they were to add the recent operations of his winter march into Illyricum; and they were to urge Gentius to join in friendship with Perseus and the Macedonians. B.C. 169

XX. After crossing the ridge of Mount Scordus, and passing through the desert regions of Illyricum, which the Macedonians had purposely made desert by ravaging, so that there might be no easy passage for the Dardanians to Illyricum or Macedonia, these envoys came at last with great toil to Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus. Thither the envoys were summoned, and their message was given a favourable hearing; but the reply which they took away accomplished nothing; it was to the effect that Gentius did not lack the will to fight the Romans, but to try to effect his will he did especially lack money. These words the envoys reported at Stuberra to the king, who was at that moment engaged in selling the prisoners from Illyricum. At once the same envoys, with the addition of Glaucias from among the king's bodyguard, were sent back with no word about money, by which alone the poverty-stricken barbarian could be urged into war.[1] Thence, after ravaging Ancyra,[2] Perseus led his army back again among the

[1] On Perseus' stinginess, cf. XLII. lxvii. 5 and the note, XLIV. xxvi. 1, Polybius XXVIII. 9; Plutarch, *Aemilius* xii. 4–xiii. 2 mentions the Bastarnae as also victims of Perseus' greed, and points out the contrast to Alexander the Great and Philip, his father, who disregarded money for the sake of conquest.

[2] The situation of Ancyra is unknown; we cannot be sure whether it is a town, a district, or a mistake. In Polybius XXVIII. 8. 11, in place of a corrupt word (*ἐπακκωναν*), Ursinus proposed reading *ἐπ' Ἄγκυραν*, on the basis of this reference in Livy; but modern editors prefer the emendation *ἐφ' Ὑσκανα*.

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Uscanae et circa eam per omnia castella quae receperat praesidiis in Macedoniam sese recipit.

XXI. L. Coelius, legatus Romanus, praeerat Illyrico; qui moveri non ausus cum in iis locis rex esset,[1] post profectionem demum eius conatus in Penestis Uscanam recipere, a praesidio quod ibi Macedonum erat cum multis vulneribus repulsus Lychnidum [2] 2 copias reduxit. Inde post dies paucos M. Trebellium Fregellanum cum satis valida manu in [3] Penestas misit ad obsides ab iis [4] urbibus quae in amicitia cum 3 fide permanserant accipiendos; procedere etiam in Parthinos — ii quoque obsides dare pepigerant — iussit. Ab utraque gente sine tumultu exigit.[5] Penestarum equites Apolloniam, Parthinorum Dyrrachium, — tum Epidamni magis celebre nomen 4 Graecis erat — missi. Ap. Claudius acceptam in Illyrico ignominiam corrigere cupiens Phanotam,[6] Epiri castellum, adortus oppugnare [7] est. Auxilia Chaonum Thesprotorumque [8] praeter Romanum exercitum, ad sex milia hominum, secum adduxit;

[1] rex esset *Fr*: rexnonesset *V*.
[2] Lychnidum *Sigonius*: lycidu *V*.
[3] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V*.
[5] exigit *Weissenborn*: exigi *V*.
[6] Phanotam *Drakenborch*: Phalanom *V*.
[7] oppugnare *Madvig*: oppugnari *V*.
[8] Chaonum Thesprotorumque *Madvig*: Thoanumtesprotorumque *V*.

[1] The relative positions of Coelius and Claudius, above, ix–x, below, §§ 4–5, xxiii. 1–2 and 6, and XLIV. xx. 5, cannot be exactly determined; perhaps they had different sectors, in spite of the story of Claudius' fiasco before Uscana, cf. note 4, p. 35.

Penestae and, having strengthened the garrisons in Uscana and in all the forts that he had captured round about it, retired to Macedonia. B.C. 169

XXI. Lucius Coelius, a Roman staff-officer,[1] was in charge of Illyricum; he had not dared to stir while the king was in those parts, but after his departure at last attempted in the Penestian country to retake Uscana, and, being driven back with many wounded by the Macedonian garrison which was there, led his forces back to Lychnidus. Thence after a few days he sent Marcus Trebellius of Fregellae with a strong enough detachment among the Penestae to receive hostages from those cities which had remained loyal to the alliance; he ordered Trebellius to proceed also to the Parthini,[2] for they had likewise promised to give hostages. From both peoples Trebellius exacted the hostages without disturbance. The knights of the Penestae were sent to Apollonia, those of the Parthini to Dyrrachium—at that time the name Epidamnus was more generally in use among the Greeks.[3] Appius Claudius, eager to atone for the disgrace he had received in Illyricum,[4] attempted to besiege Phanote, a fort of Epirus. He took with him auxiliaries from the Chaonians [5] and Thesprotians, besides his Roman army, a total of about six

[2] They had been recognized as allies of the Romans in 205 B.C. (Polybius II. 11. 11, VII. 9. 13, Livy XXIX. xii. 13), but seem to have come again under Philip's rule; in 196 B.C., XXXIII. xxxiv. 11, they were put under Pleuratus, the father of Gentius (not the exile mentioned above, xix. 13), who had aided Rome against Philip (XXXI. xxviii. 1–3, xl. 10; cf. also below, xxiii. 6).

[3] Including Polybius, *e.g.*, XXXIV. 7.

[4] Cf. above, ix–x.

[5] Phanote lay in their territory; the Chaonians were divided in their attachment, some holding with Perseus.

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5 neque operae pretium fecit Cleua,[1] qui relictus a Perseo erat, cum valido praesidio defendente. Et Perseus, Elimeam profectus et circa eam exercitu[2] lustrato ad Stratum vocantibus Epirotis ducit. 6 Stratus validissima tum urbs Aetoliae erat[3]; sita est super Ambracium sinum prope[4] amnem Inachum.[5] Cum decem milibus peditum eo profectus est et equitibus trecentis, quos pauciores propter 7 angustias viarum et asperitatem duxit. Tertio[6] die cum pervenisset ad Citium montem, vix transgressus propter altitudinem nivis locum quoque 8 castris aegre invenit. Profectus inde, magis quia manere non poterat, quam[7] quod tolerabilis aut via aut tempestas esset, cum ingenti vexatione praecipue iumentorum altero die ad templum Iovis, Nicaeum 9 quem vocant, posuit castra. Ad Aratthum[8] inde flumen itinere ingenti emenso retentus altitudine amnis . . .[9] mansit. Quo spatio temporis ponte perfecto, traductis copiis diei progressus iter obvium

[1] Cleua *Fr*: creua *V*.
[2] eam exercitu *Fr*: eametexercitu *V*.
[3] validissima tum urbs Aetoliae erat *Fr*: validissimumurbsaetolierat *V*.
[4] Ambracium sinum prope *Fr*: ambraciamsineprope *V*.
[5] Inachum *Kreyssig*: acaum *V*.
[6] Tertio *Fr*: certo *V*.
[7] quam *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[8] Aratthum *Hertz*: Arachthum *Weissenborn*: arratum *V*.
[9] *Excidit num. dierum; malim* dies III *cum Zingerle.*

[1] Here the city, not the district as in XXXI. xl. 1, XLII. liii. 5, and Plutarch, *Aemilius* ix. 3.
[2] Epirote exiles, cf. below xxii. 9, unless this is a mistake for "Aetolians."
[3] Until 270 B.C. the chief city of Acarnania, Stratus was then given to the Aetolians. The river is properly the

thousand men; he did not accomplish anything B.C. 169
worth his trouble, since Cleuas, who had been left by Perseus, was defending it with a strong garrison. Perseus also, setting out for Elimea,[1] and purifying his army in that neighbourhood, led his force, at the invitation of the Epirotes,[2] to Stratus. Stratus was at that time the strongest city of Aetolia; it is situated inland from the Ambracian Gulf near the River Inachus.[3] Perseus set out thither with ten thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, a smaller number of which [4] he took with him because of the narrowness and roughness of the roads. When on the third day he had arrived at Mount Citium, the snow was so deep that he barely succeeded in crossing and had difficulty also in finding a place for his camp. Setting out thence, more because he could not stay than because either the way or the weather was bearable, with great suffering, especially of the baggage-animals, on the second day he pitched camp at the temple of Jupiter whom they call the Victorious.[5] Thence having traversed a huge march to the Aratthus River, he halted . . . delayed by the depth of the river. In this length of time a bridge was finished, and, leading his troops across, he proceeded one day's march and effected a meeting with

Acheloös (cf. *e.g.*, Polybius V. 13. 10); the name Inachus was sometimes applied to the upper portion of the Acheloös which was mistakenly regarded as a tributary, hence, perhaps, Livy's mistake.

[4] Two hundred less cavalry (and apparently the two thousand light troops were also omitted) than on the previous expedition; above, xviii. 4.

[5] Zeus Nikaios is named in inscriptions from Asia Minor; Cassius Dio XLVII. 40. 2 uses this name as a translation of "Jupiter Victor" at Rome.

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Archidamum, principem Aetolorum per quem ei Stratus tradebatur habuit.

XXII. Eo die ad finem agri Aetolici [1] castra posita; 2 inde altero die ad Stratum perventum; ubi prope Inachum amnem castris positis,[2] cum expectaret effusos omnibus portis [3] Aetolos in fidem suam venturos, clausas portas atque ipsa ea nocte qua venerat receptum Romanum praesidium cum C. 3 Popilio legato invenit. Principes, qui praesentis Archidami auctoritate compulsi regem arcessierant, obviam egresso Archidamo segniores facti locum adversae factioni dederant ad Popilium cum mille 4 peditibus ab Ambracia accersendum. In tempore et Dinarchus, praefectus equitum gentis Aetolorum, cum sescentis peditibus et equitibus centum venit.[4] 5 Satis constabat [5] eum tamquam ad Persea tendentem Stratum venisse, mutato deinde cum fortuna animo 6 Romanis se, adversus quos venerat, iunxisse. Nec Popilius securior quam debebat esse inter tam mobilia ingenia erat. Claves portarum custodiamque 7 murorum suae extemplo potestatis fecit: Dinarchum Aetolosque cum iuventute Stratiorum in arcem per 8 praesidii speciem amovit. Perseus ab imminentibus superiori parti urbis tumulis temptatis colloquiis, cum

[1] agri Aetolici *Madvig*: agricolis V.
[2] positis *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[3] portis *Fr*: positis V.
[4] centum venit *Fr*: T V.
[5] constabat *Fr*: consultabat V.

[1] Archidamus is mentioned by Polybius XXVIII. 4. 8 as accused of anti-Romanism by Lyciscus, a professional pro-Roman, cf. Vol. XII. p. 403, and 478, note 1.
[2] Cf. above, xvii. 10.

Archidamus, a prominent Aetolian, who was trying B.C. 169
to hand over Stratus to him.[1]

XXII. On that day camp was pitched at the edge of Aetolian territory; thence on the second day they arrived at Stratus. Although, when he pitched camp there near the Inachus River, Perseus expected the Aetolians to come streaming out of every gate to put themselves under his protection, he found that the gates were closed and that on the very night when he had arrived a Roman garrison, under the staff-officer Gaius Popilius, had been received. The leading men, driven by the influence of Archidamus while he was there, had summoned the king, but had become less active when Archidamus had gone out to meet Perseus, and had given an opportunity to the opposing party of summoning Popilius with a thousand infantry from Ambracia.[2] Just in time, too, came Dinarchus, the chief of cavalry [3] of the Aetolian League, with six hundred infantry and a hundred cavalry. It was well known that he had come to Stratus as if on his way to Perseus, but then, changing his mind with his luck, had joined the Romans, against whom he had come. Popilius, for his part, was not more off his guard than he should have been, considering the fickle temperaments which encompassed him. He at once took control of the keys of the gates and the guarding of the walls, and removed to the citadel, ostensibly as its garrison, Dinarchus and his Aetolians, along with the young men of Stratus. Perseus, after attempting parleys from the hills which overhang the upper part of the

[3] This officer was second in command of the Aetolian League, cf. XXXVIII. xi. 7.

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obstinatos atque etiam telis procul arcentis[1] videret, quinque milia passuum ab urbe trans Peti-
9 tarum amnem posuit castra. Ibi consilio advocato cum Archidamus Epirotarumque transfugae retinerent. Macedonum[2] principes non pugnandum cum infesto tempore anni censerent, nullis praeparatis
10 commeatibus, cum inopiam prius obsidentes quam obsessi sensuri[3] essent, maxime quod hostium haud[4] procul inde hiberna erant, territus in Aperantiam
11 castra movit. Aperantii eum[5] propter Archidami magnam in ea gente gratiam auctoritatemque consensu omnium acceperunt; is ipse cum octingentorum militum[6] praesidio his est praepositus.

XXIII. Rex cum non[7] minore vexatione iumentorum hominumque quam venerat in Macedoniam rediit; Appium tamen ab obsidione Phanotes fama
2 ducentis ad Stratum Persei summovit. Cleuas cum praesidio impigrorum iuvenum insecutus sub radicibus prope inviis montium[8] ad mille hominum ex agmine
3 impedito occidit, ad ducentos cepit. Appius superatis angustiis in campo quem Meleona vocant stativa dierum paucorum habuit. Interim Cleuas assumpto Philostrato, qui quingentos ex[9] Epirotarum gente habebat, in agrum Antigonensem transcendit.[10]

[1] arcentis *Fr*: argentis V.
[2] Macedonum *Fr*: macedonicum V.
[3] obsessi sensuri *Fr*: obsessucensuri V.
[4] haud *Fr*: aut V.
[5] Aperantii eum *Fr*: Aperantiaecum V.
[6] militum *Fr*: millium V.
[7] non *add. Drakenborch*: *om.* V.
[8] montium *Fr*: mouentium V.
[9] quingentos ex *add. Hertz*: delectos ex *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V: quingentos *pro* gente *scripsit Madvig*.
[10] Antigonensem transcendit *Fr*: antigonensemhabebat-transcendit V.

city,[1] on seeing that they were determined and were B.C. 169
even keeping him at a distance with missiles, pitched his camp five miles from the city across the river Petitarus. There he called a council and, although Archidamus and the Epirote deserters tried to keep him where he was, when the leading Macedonians were of the opinion that he should not fight against the unfavourable season of the year without having arranged for supplies, since the blockaders were bound to feel the want of them before the blockaded, especially when winter-quarters of the enemy were not far distant, Perseus in fear moved his camp into Aperantia.[2] The Aperantians, because of their great regard for Archidamus and his influence with that people, by general agreement received Perseus; Archidamus himself, with a garrison of eight hundred men, was put in charge of the city.

XXIII. With no less suffering of beasts and men than when he had come, the king returned to Macedonia; Appius, however, was drawn away from the siege of Phanote by the report that Perseus was marching on Stratus. Cleuas, following with a force of vigorous young men beneath the almost impassable spurs of the mountains, killed about a thousand men of the burdened column and captured about two hundred. After passing over the narrows, Appius remained in camp a few days in the plain which they call Meleon. Meanwhile Cleuas, taking along Philostratus, who had five hundred of the Epirote people, crossed over to the territory of

[1] To the north; ruins of the small citadel are traceable in this quarter.

[2] Taken by the Aetolians from Philip in 189 B.C., XXXVIII. iii. 4.

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4 Macedones ad depopulationem profecti; Philostratus cum cohorte sua in insidiis loco [1] obscuro consedit. In palatos populatores cum erupissent ab Antigonea armati,[2] fugientes eos persequentes effusius in
5 vallem insessam ab hostibus praecipitant. Ibi ad mille [3] occisis, centum ferme captis, et ubique prospere gesta re prope stativa Appi castra movent, ne qua vis sociis suis ab Romano exercitu inferri
6 possit. Appius nequiquam in his locis terens tempus, dimissis Chaonum Thesprotorumque [4] et si qui alii Epirotae erant praesidiis, cum Italicis militibus in Illyricum regressus, per Parthinorum [5] socias urbes in hiberna militibus divisis,[6] ipse Romam sacrificii
7 causa redit. Perseus ex Penestarum gente mille pedites, ducentos equites revocatos Cassandream,
8 praesidio ut essent, misit. Ab Gentio eadem adferentes redierunt. Nec deinde alios atque alios mittendo temptare eum destitit, cum appareret, quantum in eo praesidii esset, nec tamen impetrare ab animo posset, ut impensam in rem maximi ad omnia momenti faceret.

[1] loco *Fr*: deloco *V*.

[2] erupissent ab Antigonea armati *Fr*: erupis setabantigatonemarmam *V*.

[3] praecipitant. Ibi ad mille *Giarratano*: praecipitantibusidem *V*: Ibi (*vel* inde) mille *Weissenborn*: Ibidem mille *Goldbacher*: Ibi DC *Heraeus* (*at MS.* AC *praebuisset*).

[4] Chaonum Thesprotorumque *Madvig*: Chaonumque *V*.

[5] Parthinorum *Sigonius*: Parteniorum *V*.

[6] divisis *I. Perizonius*: dimissis *V*.

Antigonea. The Macedonians set out to plunder; B.C. 169
Philostratus with his detachment settled down in ambush in a hidden spot. When armed men sallied forth from Antigonea against the scattered plunderers, as they pursued in too open order after these fugitives, they burst into the valley ambushed by the enemy. After the killing there of about a thousand and the capturing of nearly a hundred, the campaign was successfully conducted everywhere, and they moved their camp near the settled camp of Appius, so that no violence might be inflicted by the Roman army on their allies. Appius, who was wasting time to no purpose in these parts, after sending away the forces of Chaonians, Thesprotians and whatever other Epirotes there were, retired to Illyricum with his Italian soldiers, divided his men in winter-quarters among the allied cities of the Parthini, and himself returned to Rome to offer sacrifices. Perseus sent to Cassandrea to act as its garrison a thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry recalled from the people of the Penestae. The envoys returned from Gentius with the same reply. On the one hand, Perseus did not cease thereafter to make overtures to him by sending embassy after embassy, and, on the other hand, although it was obvious how much reinforcement Gentius could provide, yet he could not induce himself to incur expense for a matter of the greatest importance in every respect.[1]

[1] Cf. above, p. 73, note 1.

LIBRI XLIII PERIOCHA

PRAETORES aliquot eo, quod avare et crudeliter provincias administraverant, damnati sunt. P. Licinius Crassus pro cos. complures in Graecia urbes expugnavit et crudeliter corripuit: ob id captivi, qui ab eo sub corona venierant, ex s.c.[1] postea restituti sunt. Item a praefectis classium Romanarum multa impotenter in socios facta. Res a Perse rege in Thracia prospere gestas continet, victis[2] Dardanis et Illyrico, cuius rex erat Gentius. Motus, qui in Hispania ab Olonico factus erat, ipso interempto consedit. M. Aemilius Lepidus a censoribus princeps senatus[3] lectus.

[1] ex s.c. *ed. princeps*: et sic, etsi, *alia*, *MSS*.
[2] victis *Frobenius*: et victis *MSS*.
[3] senatus *edd.*: *om. MSS.*: in senatu *ed. princeps*.

SUMMARY OF BOOK XLIII

SEVERAL praetors were condemned for having administered their provinces with greed and cruelty.[1] Publius Licinius Crassus the proconsul stormed and cruelly plundered numerous cities in Greece; because of this the prisoners who had been sold at auction by him were afterward restored by decree of the senate.[2] Likewise many disorderly acts were committed against allies by the commanders of Roman fleets.[3] The book includes successes obtained by King Perseus in Thrace, and his conquest of the Dardanians and of Illyricum, the king of which was Gentius.[4] A revolt in Spain, which was organized by Olonicus, collapsed when he had been killed.[5] Marcus Aemilius Lepidus was chosen chief of the Senate by the censors.[6]

[1] Cf. ii.

[2] Licinius seems to have committed these acts in his consulship, cf. iv. 5; an account of his campaign seems to have been lost after ch. iii, cf. n. 7, p. 13.

[3] Cf. iv. 5–13, vii. 8–viii. 9.

[4] The account is lost, cf. n. 7, p. 13, except for the reference in xix. 4; the implication that Gentius was attacked is wrong, cf. xix. 13–xx. 3, xxiii. 8.

[5] Cf. n. 7, p. 14, and iv. 1–4.

[6] Cf. xv. 6.

APPENDIX

The intercalary month regularly began after Feb. 23, and consisted of 22 or 23 days, to which were added the last five days of February.

The usual arrangement of the year, established according to legend under Numa (Livy I. xix. 6) and actually perhaps at the establishment of the republic (cf. the "restoration" mentioned by Dionysius, *Roman Antiquities* III. 36. 4), called for a regular moon-year of 355 days, with intercalation of 22 and 23 days, alternately, every second year. (The number of days in the year thus ran 355, 377, 355, 378, etc.) A cycle of 24 years was observed, in the twentieth year of which the intercalary month had only 22 days, not 23, while in the twenty-fourth year, the intercalary month was omitted. Thus the average error of one day a year in the ordinary succession of regular and intercalary years was corrected at the end of the 24-year cycle (cf. Macrobius I. 13. 13–21).

This calendar appears to have been in order in 211–10 B.C. (cf. Livy XXVII. iv. 1). In 190 B.C., on the other hand, there was an error of 125 days (cf. XXXVII. iv. 4 and the note, Vol. X, pp. 300–1). An explanation suggested by Unger, Iwan Müller's Handbuch, Vol. I, 1886, pp. 634–42, who has been followed in this note as a whole, is as follows: In 207 B.C., owing to the terror inspired by Hasdrubal's invasion of Italy, a change to a sun-year of 365 days

was planned in honour of Apollo, cf. the procession in his honour described in XXVII. xxxvii. end, which also propitiated Juno the Queen (as moon-goddess? —cf. C.I.L. 5, i, 3233 (Verona): IUN(oni) LUN(ae) REG(inae) SACR.—a dedication of a freedman, of imperial date). Intercalations were accordingly omitted till 192 B.C. (cf. Macrobius I. 14, "there was a time when all intercalations were omitted for a religious reason—propter superstitionem"), but the novelty of adding ten days to the standard year was also omitted after its first occurrence. We must assume that a cycle-end fell within the period of fourteen years, so that one intercalation would normally have been omitted, leaving six which were dropped because of the new arrangement. Six intercalations = 135 days, less ten extra days in 207 B.C. = 125 days lost from account. In 191 B.C. the consul Acilius Glabrio sponsored a law which gave the pontiffs a free hand to regulate intercalation (Macrobius I. 13. 21), probably to secure the gradual correction of the error. The intercalation of the year 169 may well have been an extraordinary one, as well as that of 167 B.C. (XLV. xliv. 3), thus arousing the special interest reflected by Livy's mention of these events, for he does not mention all the intercalations which must have occurred. The calendar could have been corrected by about 163 B.C.

BOOK XLIV

LIBER XLIV

A.U.C. 585

I. Principio veris, quod hiemem eam, qua haec gesta sunt, insecutum est, ab Roma profectus Q. Marcius Philippus consul cum quinque milibus militum,[1] quos [2] in supplementum legionum secum traiecturus
2 erat, Brundisium pervenit. M. Popilius consularis et alii pari nobilitate adulescentes tribuni militum in
3 Macedonicas legiones consulem secuti sunt. Per eos dies et C. Marcius Figulus praetor, cui classis provincia evenerat, Brundisium venit; et simul ex Italia profecti Corcyram altero die, tertio Actium,
4 Acarnaniae portum, tenuerunt. Inde consul ad Ambraciam egressus itinere terrestri petit Thessaliam; praetor superato Leucata Corinthium sinum invectus et Creusae relictis navibus terra et ipse per mediam Boeotiam—diei unius expedito iter est—Chalcidem ad classem contendit.
5 Castra eo tempore A. Hostilius in Thessalia circa Palaepharsalum habebat, sicut nulla re bellica

[1] militum *H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[2] quos *H. J. Müller*: quod *V*: quot *Drakenborch*: quod supplementum *J. F. Gronovius*.

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[1] Cf. XLII. xxxvii.–xlvii. and lvi. 7.
[2] This figure seems to come from Polybius. A larger figure for these reinforcements is mentioned in XLIII. xii. 3.

BOOK XLIV

I. At the beginning of the spring following the B.C. 169
winter campaigns just mentioned, Quintus Marcius Philippus [1] the consul left Rome and reached Brundisium with five thousand [2] men whom he planned to take over with him as reinforcements for the legions. The ex-consul Marcus Popilius [3] and some young men of equally high birth accompanied the consul as tribunes of the soldiers [4] in the legions for Macedonia. About the same time Gaius Marcius Figulus [5] the praetor, who had been assigned to the fleet, arrived in Brundisium, and the two commanders left Italy together, reached Corcyra the next day, and made port at Actium, the harbour of Acarnania, on the day after. Thence the consul disembarked at Ambracia and marched overland to Thessaly; the praetor rounded Cape Leucas, entered the Gulf of Corinth and, leaving his ships at Creusa, also took to the land and made for the fleet at Chalcis through the midst of Boeotia—one day's rapid journey.

At this time Aulus Hostilius had his camp in Thessaly near Old Pharsalus, having on the one hand performed no military feat worth mentioning, but on

[3] Cf. XLII. xxii. 7.
[4] Perhaps elected by the people, see XLIII. xii. 7.
[5] A cousin of the consul Philippus. Cf. Polybius XVIII. 16. 4; Livy XLIII. xi. 7.

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memorabili gesta, ita ad intentam[1] militarem disciplinam ab effusa licentia formato milite et sociis cum fide cultis et ab omni genere iniuriae defensis.
6 Audito successoris adventu cum arma viros equos cum cura inspexisset,[2] ornato exercitu obviam venienti
7 consuli processit. Et primus eorum congressus ex dignitate ipsorum ac Romani nominis, et in rebus
8 deinde gerendis—proconsul enim ad exercitum mansit[3]—summa concordia fuit.[4]
9 Paucis post diebus consul contionem apud milites
10 habuit. Orsus a parricidio Persei perpetrato in fratrem, cogitato in parentem, adiecit post scelere partum regnum veneficia, caedes, latrocinio nefando petitum Eumenen, iniurias in populum Romanum, direptiones sociarum urbium contra foedus.

Ea omnia quam diis quoque invisa essent, sensurum
11 in exitu rerum suarum: favere enim pietati fideique deos, per quae populus Romanus ad tantum fastigii
12 venerit. Vires deinde populi Romani, iam terrarum orbem complectentis, cum viribus Macedoniae, exercitus cum exercitibus comparavit: quanto maiores Philippi Antiochique opes non maioribus copiis fractas esse?

[1] intentam *Novák, Giarratano*: iunctam *V*: cunctam *Fr*: unicam *J. F. Gronovius*: iustam *Kreyssig*: iniunctam *Zingerle*: arctam *Damsté*: adstrictam *vel* strictam *Roobol.*
[2] inspexisset *Manutius*: inexisset *V.*
[3] mansit *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V.*
[4] summa concordia fuit *add. Wesenberg*: *om. V.*

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[1] For the attacks of Perseus against his brother, cf. XL. v ff. and xx ff.; in XL. lvi. 9, Philip is represented as having died in anger against Perseus, but Livy gives no description of the plot here alleged.

the other hand having accustomed the soldiery to B.C. 169
strict military discipline in place of uncontrolled laxness and having loyally furthered the interests of the allies and protected them from any kind of harm. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected his men, their arms, and their horses, and with his army in parade order went to meet the approaching consul. Not only was the first meeting of the commanders in accord with the high station both of the men themselves and of the Roman name, but the utmost harmony prevailed in their subsequent operations, for the proconsul remained with the army.

A few days later the consul addressed a meeting of his soldiers. Beginning with the unnatural crimes of Perseus committed against his brother and planned against his father,[1] he went on to mention the acquisition of the throne by crime, the subsequent poisonings and slaughter, the attack by scoundrelly bandits on Eumenes, the wrongs committed by Perseus against the Roman people, and the plunderings of cities allied to them, contrary to treaty.

"How hateful all these actions are to the gods also," said the consul, "Perseus will discover in the outcome of his enterprises; for the gods support the cause of duty and faithfulness, the qualities by which the Roman people has climbed to so great an eminence." The consul then compared the strength of the Roman people, who now controlled the whole earth, with that of Macedonia, and the military forces of the one with the other, and asked how much greater were the resources of Philip and Antiochus, which had been shattered by forces no greater than this Roman army?

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II. Huius generis adhortatione accensis militum animis consultare de summa gerendi belli coepit. Eo et C. Marcius praetor a Chalcide classe accepta venit. 2 Placuit non ultra morando in Thessalia tempus terere, sed movere extemplo castra atque inde 3 pergere in [1] Macedoniam, et praetorem dare operam, ut eodem tempore classis quoque invehatur hostium litoribus.

4 Praetore dimisso consul menstruum frumentum [2] iusso milite secum ferre profectus decumo post die, 5 quam exercitum acceperat, castra movit; et unius diei progressus iter convocatis itinerum ducibus cum exponere in consilio [3] iussisset, qua quisque ducturus esset, summotis iis, quam potissimum viam [4] peteret, 6 rettulit ad consilium. Aliis per Pythoum placebat via, aliis per Cambunios montes, qua priore anno duxerat Hostilius consul, aliis praeter Ascuridem 7 paludem. Restabat aliquantum viae communis; itaque in id tempus, quo prope divortium itinerum castra posituri erant, deliberatio eius rei differtur. 8 In Perrhaebiam inde ducit, et inter Azorum et Dolichen stativa habuit ad consulendum rursus, quam 9 potissimum capesseret viam. Per eosdem dies Perseus cum adpropinquare hostem sciret, quod iter

[1] atque inde pergere in *Kreyssig*: adque inde peregre inde in V.

[2] frumentum *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.

[3] exponere in consilio *J. F. Gronovius*: exponerent in concilio V.

[4] viam *add. Novák, Ceské*: *post* quam *Sigonius*: *om.* V.

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[1] For Pythoüs, cf. XLII. liii. 6 and below, xxxii. 9 and xxxv. 15. Perseus entered Thessaly by the Cambunian Mountain route, cf. XLII. liii. 6; Livy's account of the march of

II. After the consul had aroused the ardour of the soldiers by a speech to this effect, he began to hold councils on strategy. Gaius Marcius the praetor, after picking up the fleet at Chalcis, arrived in camp. It was decided not to waste more time by lingering in Thessaly, but to break camp at once and proceed thence into Macedonia, while the praetor was to make sure that the fleet should simultaneously attack the hostile coast-line. B.C. 169

After the praetor's departure, the consul ordered his soldiers to take with them grain for a month and broke camp nine days after having assumed command; after a day's march, he summoned the guides for various routes, bade each explain before the council the route by which he would guide them, and then, after dismissing the guides, laid before the council the question of which route to choose. Some preferred the road via Pythoüs; others the one over the Cambunian Mountains used the preceding year by the consul Hostilius; others, a route past Lake Ascuris.[1] For a certain distance yet there was no divergence in the routes; therefore the discussion as to this choice was postponed until they should encamp near the point of separation of the roads. Thence the consul led his army into Perrhaebia and settled down between Azorus and Doliche [2] for further conference as to the road to take. During the same time Perseus, knowing that the enemy was approach-

Hostilius seems to have disappeared in one of the lacunae, cf. p. 14 n. 7. Volustana, mentioned below, sec. 10, is at the north-east end of this route, next to Mt. Olympus. Lake Ascuris is the modern Nezeros.

[2] This seems to have been farther west than necessary for the Ascuris route.

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petiturus esset, ignarus, omnis saltus insidere
10 praesidiis statuit. In iugum Cambuniorum montium
—Volustana ipsi vocant—decem milia levis armaturae
11 iuvenum [1] cum duce Asclepiodoto mittit; ad castellum,
quod super Ascuridem paludem erat—Lapathus voca-
tur locus—, Hippias tenere saltum cum duodecim
12 milium Macedonum praesidio iussus. Ipse cum reliquis
copiis primo circa Dium stativa habuit; deinde adeo
inops consilii,[2] ut obtorpuisse videretur, cum equitibus
expeditis litore nunc Heracleum,[3] nunc Philam
percurrebat, eodem inde cursu Dium repetens.

III. Interim consuli sententia stetit eo saltu
ducere, ubi propter Ottolobum dux regius castra
2 habebat.[4] Praemitti tamen quattuor milia arma-
torum ad loca opportuna praeoccupanda placuit,
quibus [5] praepositi sunt M. Claudius, Q. Marcius
3 consulis filius. Confestim et universae copiae seque-
bantur. Ceterum adeo ardua et aspera et confragosa
fuit via,[6] ut praemissi expediti biduo quindecim
milium passuum aegre itinere confecto castra

[1] *sic V*: iuvenum *del. H. J. Müller*: alienigenum *vel* plurium gentium *Madvig*: varium genus *M. Müller.*

[2] deinde adeo inops consilii *Hartel*: deinde adeo ut obtorpuisse inops consilii *V*: deinde a Dio, ne obtorpuisse inops consilii *Gitlbauer.*

[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: Heracleam *V.*

[4] dux regius castra habebat *Hartel*: duximus regis castra *V.*

[5] quibus *Wesenberg*: qui *V.*

[6] via *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*: confragosa via fuit *Fr.*

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[1] "Young men" seems superfluous, and editors are inclined to substitute an expression suggesting whence the troops came.

[2] Asclepiodotus is mentioned in XLII. li. 7 as a commander of Gauls; Hippias appears in XLII. li. 3 and lix. 7 as a commander of phalanx-men.

ing, but unaware which route he would choose, B.C. 169
decided to occupy all the passes with forces. To the summit of the Cambunian Mountains (which the Macedonians themselves call Volustana) he sent ten thousand light-armed young men[1] under the command of Asclepiodotus; near the fort above Lake Ascuris—Lapathus is the name of the place—Hippias was ordered to hold the pass with a force of twelve thousand Macedonians.[2] The king himself with the rest of his forces remained in camp near Dium; later, so planlessly that he seemed to have lost his mind, he would dash with some unencumbered cavalry along the shore, now to Heracleum, now to Phila, returning without halt to Dium.[3]

III. Meanwhile the consul had settled on the plan of proceeding by the pass where the king's officer was encamped near Ottolobus.[4] It was decided, however, to send ahead four thousand men to seize valuable advance positions; the commanders of this force were Marcus Claudius and Quintus Marcius, the son of the consul. Immediately the whole Roman army followed. However, so steep, rough, and rugged was the road that the advance forces, travelling light, barely completed a two days' march of fifteen miles

[3] This patrolling may not have been as senseless as Livy would have it; Livy seems to be convinced that the gods made Perseus mad, preparatory to destroying him; but if Perseus had happened upon the Romans when they actually came down from the mountains, it would have been to his advantage. Cf. Diodorus XXX. 10 for the same view of Perseus' folly; *ibid.* 2 elaborates the incident told below, vi. 1.

[4] *I.e.*, the pass by Lake Ascuris. Cf. Herodotus VII. 128 on Xerxes' choice of routes in 480 B.C.; he went via Perrhaebia and Gonnus.

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posuerint. Dierum, quem [1] cepere, locum appellant. 4 Inde postero die septem milia progressi, tumulo haud procul hostium castris capto, nuntium ad consulem remittunt perventum ad hostem esse; loco se tuto et ad omnia opportuno consedisse; quantum [2] 5 extendere iter posset, consequeretur. Sollicito consuli et propter itineris difficultatem, quod ingressus erat, et eorum vicem, quos paucos inter media praesidia hostium praemiserat, nuntius ad Ascuridem palu- 6 dem occurrit. Addita igitur et ipsi fiducia est, coniunctisque copiis castra tumulo, qui tenebatur, qua aptissimum ad loci naturam erat, sunt acclinata. 7 Non hostium modo castra, quae paulo plus mille passuum aberant, sed omnis regio ad Dium et Philam oraque maris late patente ex tam alto iugo prospectu 8 oculis subicitur. Quae res accendit militi animos, postquam summam belli ac regias omnis copias terramque hostilem tam e propinquo conspexerunt. 9 Itaque cum alacres, protinus duceret ad castra hostium, consulem hortarentur, dies unus fessis labore 10 viae ad quietem datus est. Tertio die parte copiarum ad praesidium castrorum relicta consul ad hostem ducit.

IV. Hippias nuper ad tuendum saltum ab rege missus erat; qui ex quo castra Romana in tumulo conspexit, praeparatis ad certamen animis suorum venienti agmini consulis obvius fuit. Et Romani

[1] posuerint. Dierum quem *Novák*: posuerint fuerimque dierumquē *V*: posuerint quieverintque. Dierum quem *Madvig*: posuerint requieverintque. Dierum quem *Vahlen*: posuerint fuerintque ibi illa nocte. Dierum quem *Goldbacher*.

[2] quantum *H. J. Müller*: ut quantum *V*.

before pitching camp. The place they occupied is B.C. 169
called Dierus. Thence on the following day they advanced seven miles, seized a hill not far from the enemy's camp, and reported by messenger to the consul that they were in contact with the enemy, that they had occupied a place safe and suitable for all purposes, and that he should follow them as rapidly as he could march. While the consul was worrying both over the difficulty of the journey upon which he had entered and over the fate of the small force which he had sent ahead into the midst of hostile garrisons, he was met by the messenger near Lake Ascuris. The consul thereupon gained confidence, and after joining the advance force encamped beneath the hill which had been seized, in the place best adapted through the nature of the terrain. Not only the enemy camp, a little over a mile away, but the whole region to Dium, Phila, and the seashore was before their eyes in the extensive view from so lofty a ridge. This sight roused the spirits of the soldiery, after they had a birdseye view of the whole campaign, including all the king's forces and the land of the enemy, from so near by. Although the soldiers, made eager by this sight, urged the consul to lead them at once to the enemy's camp, one day's rest was given them, since they were weary from the toil of the march. Next day, the consul, leaving part of his forces to guard the camp, advanced against the enemy.

IV. Hippias had recently been sent by the king to guard the pass; as soon as he saw the Roman camp on its hill, he roused the spirits of his men to combat; and now he marched out against the oncoming column of the consul. The Romans had come out unencum-

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expediti ad pugnam exierant, et hostes levis armatura
2 erat, promptissimum genus ad lacessendum certa-
3 men. Congressi igitur extemplo tela coniecerunt; multa utrimque volnera temerario incursu et accepta
4 et inlata; pauci utriusque partis ceciderunt. Inritatis in posterum diem animis maioribus copiis atque infestius concursum est; decrevissentque de summa belli, si loci [1] satis ad explicandam aciem fuisset; sed [2] iugum montis in angustum dorsum cuneatum vix ternis ordinibus armatorum in fronte patuit.
5 Itaque paucis pugnantibus cetera multitudo praecipue qui gravium armorum erant, spectatores pugnae sta-
6 bant; levis armatura etiam per anfractus iugi procurrere et ab lateribus cum levi armatura conserere per iniqua atque aequa loca pugnam poterat. Pluribus [3] ea [4] die volneratis quam interfectis proelium nocte diremptum est.
7 Tertio die egere consilio Romanus imperator; nam neque manere in iugo inopi neque regredi sine flagitio atque etiam periculo, si cedenti [5] ex superi-
8 oribus locis instaret [6] hostis, poterat; nec aliud restabat [7] quam audacter commissum pertinaci audacia, quae prudens interdum in exitu est, corrigere.
9 Ventum quidem erat eo ut, si hostem similem antiquis Macedonum regibus habuisset consul, magna clades

[1] concursum est; decrevissentque de summa belli, si loci *Vahlen*: concursum abellisin loci *V*: concursum ab utrisque esset illic, si loci *Hartel*: concursum esset insequenti die pugnatumque de summa belli, si loci *Weissenborn*.

[2] sed *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.

[3] poterat. Pluribus *Madvig*: patere ad pluribus *V*.

bered for battle and the enemy were light troops, a B.C. 169
type very ready to stir up combat. Therefore immediately on meeting they discharged their weapons; many wounds were both received and inflicted by either side in the hasty encounter; small numbers of both forces were killed. Now that their spirits had been roused for the succeeding day, a more stubborn clash of larger forces occurred; and the decisive battle of the war would have been fought if there had been room enough to deploy the battle line; but the ridge of the mountain running up to a narrow peak barely allowed for a front of three files. And so while a few fought, the large remainder, especially the heavy-armed, stood by as onlookers of the battle. Light forces were also able to charge forward over the rolling slopes of the ridge and engage the opposing light forces in flanking attacks over terrain favourable and unfavourable. More had been wounded than killed that day when the battle was broken off at nightfall.

On the third day the Roman commander was at a loss; for he could neither remain on the ridge without supplies nor retire without disgrace and even danger, if the enemy pursued his retreat from the higher ground. There remained indeed no alternative to amending a bold undertaking by persistent boldness, which is occasionally wise in the long run. In fact, the position was such that, had the consul confronted an enemy like to the old-time kings of Macedonia, he

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[4] ea *V*: eo *Fraenkel*.
[5] periculo, si cedenti *Muretus*: periculose cedenti *V*.
[6] instaret *Muretus*: stare *V*.
[7] restabat *ed. Bas.* 1535: stabat *V*: instabat *Rossbach*.

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accipi potuerit. Sed cum ad Dium per litora cum equitibus vagaretur rex et ab duodecim milibus prope clamorem et strepitum pugnantium audiret, nec auxit copias integros fessis summittendo neque ipse, 10 quod plurimum intererat, certamini adfuit, cum Romanus imperator, maior sexaginta annis et praegravis corpore, omnia militaria munera ipse impigre 11 obiret. Egregie ad ultimum in audaciter commisso perseveravit et Popilio relicto in custodia iugi per invia transgressurus praemissis,[1] qui[2] repurgarent iter, Attalum et Misagenem cum suae gentis utrumque auxiliaribus praesidio esse saltum aperientibus 12 iubet: ipse equites impedimentaque prae se habens cum legionibus agmen cogit.

V. Inenarrabilis labor descendentibus cum ruina iumentorum sarcinarumque. Progressis vixdum quattuor milia passuum nihil optabilius esse[3] quam 2 redire, qua venerant, si possent. Hostilem prope tumultum agmini elephanti praebebant, qui, ubi ad invia venerant, deiectis rectoribus cum horrendo stridore pavorem ingentem, equis maxime, incutie- 3 bant, donec traducendi eos ratio inita est. Per proclive sumpto fastigio longi duo validi asseres ex inferiore parte in terra defigebantur, distantes inter 4 se paulo plus quam quanta beluae[4] latitudo est; in

[1] transgressurus praemissis *Weissenborn*: transgressus peremissis *V*.

[2] qui *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

[3] optabilius esse *Fr*: obtabilius esset *V*, *quod servat Harant*, ut *vel* fuit ut *ante* progressis *addito*.

[4] beluae *Fr*: ve *V*.

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[1] This passage illustrates the strength of Livy's dramatic sense, and his weakness as a military commentator; but he had reason to point out the rashness of Marcius, who had once

might have suffered a great disaster.[1] But though B.C. 169
the king was scouring the shore near Dium with cavalry, and at a distance of twelve miles could almost hear the shouts and din of the fighting men, he neither added to his forces by reinforcing his weary men with fresh troops, nor did he himself appear on the battle-field—a matter of greatest moment—although the Roman commander, aged over sixty and overburdened with flesh, performed vigorously in person all the duties of a soldier. Magnificently he pursued his bold undertaking to the end; he left Popilius to guard the ridge during his advance over pathless ground, sent ahead men to clear out a road, and ordered Attalus and Misagenes, each with the auxiliaries of his own nation, to act as guard for the men clearing the pass. The consul himself sent the cavalry and baggage ahead of him and brought up the rear with the legions.

V. The toil of the descent and the damage to baggage-animals and their loads cannot be put into words. After they had advanced a mere four miles, they would have given anything to return as they had come, if they but could. The confusion of an attack by an enemy was caused by the elephants, which on arriving at the pathless places cast off their mahouts and with horrible trumpetings caused a great panic, especially among the horses, until a plan was devised for getting them through. On the steep hillside the slope was marked off, and at the lower end two long strong posts were set in the ground, separated by a distance slightly greater than the width of one of the beasts; on a cross-beam laid

[1] been badly defeated by the Ligurians because he rushed into a narrow pass without reconnaissance (XXXIX. xx 5-10).

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eos transverso incumbente tigno asses[1] tricenos longi pedes, ut pons esset, iniungebantur humusque insuper iniciebatur. Modico deinde infra intervallo similis alter pons, dein tertius et plures ex ordine, qua rupes abscisae erant, fiebant. Solido procedebat[2] elephantus in pontem; cuius priusquam in extremum procederet,[3] succisis asseribus conlapsus pons usque ad[4] alterius initium pontis prolabi eum leniter cogebat. Alii elephanti pedibus insistentes, alii clunibus subsidentes prolabebantur. Ubi planities altera pontis excepisset eos, rursus simili ruina inferioris pontis deferebantur, donec ad aequiorem vallem perventum est.

Paulo plus septem milia eo die[5] Romani processerunt; minimum pedibus itineris confectum. Plerumque provolventes se simul cum armis aliisque oneribus cum omni genere vexationis processerunt, adeo ut[6] ne dux quidem et auctor itineris infitiaretur parva manu deleri omnem exercitum potuisse. Nocte ad modicam planitiem pervenerunt; nec quam infestus[7] is locus esset saeptus undique circumspiciendi spatium fuit vix tandem ex insperato stabilem ad insistendum nanctis locum. Postero quoque die in tam cava valle opperiri Popilium ac relictas cum eo

[1] asses *Madvig*: as *V*.
[2] procedebat *J. F. Gronovius*: praecedebat *V*.
[3] procederet *Fr*: cederet *V*: incederet *Rossbach*.
[4] ad *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[5] septem milia eo die *J. F. Gronovius*: vii die *V*.
[6] ut *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] nec quam infestus *Madvig*: ne quā infectus *V*.

[1] As with Hannibal's use of vinegar for breaking rock (XXI. xxxvii. 2), this passage leaves several questions

upon these posts, planks, each thirty feet long, were B.C. 169
fastened together to form a runway, and earth thrown on top of them.[1] Next, at a slight interval below, a second runway of the same sort was built, then a third, and others one after the other, where the cliffs were sheer. From firm ground an elephant would advance on to the runway; before he could proceed to its end, the posts were cut and the tilting of the runway forced the animal to slide gently to the head of the next runway. Some of the elephants would slide standing erect, others would squat on their haunches. Whenever they were met with the level expanse of another runway, they were again carried down by a like collapse of the lower structure, until they arrived at the more passable valley.

The Romans advanced on that day hardly more than seven miles. Very little of the journey did they accomplish on their feet. Usually they advanced by casting themselves down, arms, baggage, and all, while meeting with every kind of difficulty, so that even the leader who had chosen the route could not deny that a small force could have destroyed the whole army. By nightfall they reached a scant level area, nor did men who had unexpectedly at long last found a place which offered sure footing, have the leisure to observe the unfriendly nature of the place, hemmed in as it was on all sides. For the next day as well they were compelled to wait in the depths of this valley for Popilius and the troops left behind

unanswered, including the question of whether it ever happened. We can say that either Livy or a copyist left out of the account of the runway a mention of the stringers which would be necessary; the "thirty-foot planks" somehow have replaced these stringers and the transverse planks which presumably would provide the flooring.

u.c. 585 copias necesse fuit; quos et ipsos, cum ab nulla parte hostis terruisset, locorum asperitas hostiliter vexavit.
11 Tertio die coniunctis copiis eunt per saltum, quem
12 incolae Callipeucen appellant. Quarto[1] inde die per aeque invia, sed adsuetudine peritius et meliore cum spe, quod nec hostis usquam[2] apparebat et mari adpropinquabant, degressi in campos inter Heracleum[3] et Libethrum posuerunt castra quorum pars
13 maior tumulos tenebat. Ibi pedes tendebat. Vallo campi[4] quoque partem, ubi eques tenderet, amplectebantur.

VI. Lavanti regi dicitur nuntiatum hostis adesse. Quo nuntio cum pavidus exiluisset e solio, victum se
2 sine proelio clamitans proripuit; et subinde per alia atque alia pavida consilia et imperia trepidans duos ex amicis, Pellam alterum, ut, quae ad Phacum[5] pecunia deposita erat, in mare proiceret, Thessalonicam alterum, ut navalia incenderet, misit: Asclepiodotum et Hippiam, quique cum iis erant,[6] ex praesidiis
3 revocat omnisque aditus aperit bello. ipse ab Dio auratis statuis omnibus raptis,[7] ne praeda hosti essent,
4 incolas eius loci demigrare[8] Pydnam cogit, et, quae

[1] Quarto *Sigonius*: tertio *V.*
[2] usquam *Sigonius*: umquam *V.*
[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: Haracetum *V.*
[4] castra . . . campi *H. J. Müller*: castra peditum quorū pars maior tumulos tenebat ibi valle campi *V.*
[5] ut quae ad Phacum *Madvig*: usque ad Pathum *V.*
[6] in mare . . . cum iis erant *add. Madvig*, qui navalia *scribens*: ut navalia *H. J. Müller*: *om. V.*
[7] raptis *Kreyssig*: rapti *V.*
[8] incolas eius loci demigrare *Kreyssig*: in classe iustoci demigrasse *V.*

[1] The name (Fair Pines) suggests a forested area.

with him. These troops too, though threatened from B.C. 169
no direction by the enemy, were harassed as by an enemy by the ruggedness of the terrain. On the third day, they proceeded with the united forces through the pass called Callipeuce [1] by the natives. On the fourth day, they descended through country as pathless as before, but their skill was greater through practice, and their morale was higher, since the enemy had not showed himself anywhere and they were reaching the sea. On reaching the plains between Heracleum and Libethrum they pitched a camp, most of which occupied hills. This was the infantry camp; they embraced part of the plain too within the rampart, where the cavalry might encamp.

VI. The king was in his bath, they say, when the presence of the enemy was announced. At this message he leapt in terror from his tub and dashed out crying that he had been beaten without a battle. And thereafter, as his terror drove him to a succession of fear-struck plans and orders, he sent out two of his friends, one to Pella to cast into the sea the money stored in Phacus,[2] the other to Thessalonica to burn the dockyards. He recalled Asclepiodotus and Hippias and their forces from outpost duty and opened every approach for attack. The king ran off with all the gilded statues at Dium, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, and compelled the inhabitants of that region to move to Pydna. Thereby

[2] The citadel of Pella, cf. below, x. 3; xlvi. 6; Polybius XXIX. 3 and XXXI. 17 (25); Diodorus XXX. 11. It is not clear why the treasure was thrown into the sea, and not simply dumped into the marshy lake which washed the walls of Phacus, but the recovery of most of the treasure by divers sounds as if it had been dumped on clean bottom.

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temeritas consulis videri potuisset, quod eo processisset, unde invito hoste regredi nequiret, eam non
5 inconsultam [1] audaciam fecit. Duos enim saltus, per quos inde evadere possent, habebant Romani, unum per Tempe in Thessaliam, alterum in Macedoniam praeter Dium; quae utraque regiis tenebantur
6 praesidiis. Itaque si sua intrepidus defendens [2] primam speciem adpropinquantis terroris sustinuisset, neque receptus Romanis per Tempe in Thessaliam neque commeatibus [3] pervehendis ea [4] patuisset iter.
7 Sunt enim Tempe saltus,[5] etiamsi non bello fiat
8 infestus, transitu difficilis. Nam praeter angustias per quinque milia, qua exiguum iumento onusto iter est, rupes utrimque ita abscisae sunt, ut despici vix sine vertigine quadam simul oculorum animique possit. Terret et sonitus et altitudo per mediam
9 vallem fluentis Penei amnis. Hic locus tam suapte natura infestus per quattuor distantia loca praesidiis
10 regiis [6] fuit insessus. Unum in primo aditu ad Gonnum erat, alterum in Condylo,[7] castello inexpug-
11 nabili, tertium circa Lapathunta, quem Characa appellant, quartum viae ipsi, qua et media et angustissima valles est, impositum, quam vel decem armatis
12 tueri facile est. Intercluso per Tempe simul aditu

[1] inconsultam *Sigonius*: consultam *V*.
[2] itaque si sua intrepidus defendens *H. J. Müller*: itque si dua intrepidus x dies *V*: itaque si paucos intrepidus rex dies *Madvig*: itaque si rex intrepidus Dium defendens *Koch*.
[3] neque receptus . . . commeatibus *Fr*: neq. receptus Romanus partem in Tessaliam nequer commeatibus *V*.
[4] ea *Madvig*: eo *V*.
[5] sunt enim Tempe saltus *Fr*: sunt enimp. saltus *V*.
[6] regiis *J. F. Gronovius*: regis *V*.
[7] in Condylo *Drakenborch*; Condylon *V*.

what might have seemed the rashness of the consul B.C. 169
in advancing to a position from which he could not retire without the consent of the enemy, was turned by the king into well-calculated boldness. For the Romans had two passes by which they could extricate themselves: one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other into Macedonia past Dium. Both of the passes were being held by the king's forces; therefore if the king, by fearlessly holding his own, had resisted the first false appearance of approaching danger, he would have left the Romans no retreat through Tempe to Thessaly, nor any route for bringing up provisions from that direction.[1] For even without the opposition of an enemy Tempe is a defile difficult of passage; for besides five miles of narrows through which the road is cramped for a loaded animal, the cliffs on either side are so sheer that one can hardly look down without some dizziness of eye and brain. An additional source of fear is the roar and depth of the Peneüs River flowing through the midst of the canyon. This place, so unfriendly by its very nature, was blocked at four separate points by the king's garrisons. One was at the very entrance near Gonnus, the second at Condylus, an impregnable fort, the third in the vicinity of Lapathus, which they call the Palisade, the fourth set by the road itself where the canyon, in the middle of its course, is at its narrowest, where it can easily be defended by no more than ten soldiers. If the Romans' access to

[1] Livy neglects the possibility of supply by sea, on which the consul seems to have relied, see below, vii. 10; this is probably due to the characteristic preoccupation of a Roman with the land, though one must admit that the passage above cited shows that the fleet was badly handled, and the coast presumably was difficult, cf. below, xlii. 5–6.

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commeatibus, simul reditu ipsis,[1] montes, per quos
13 descenderant, repetendi erant. Quod, ut furto
fefellerant, ita propalam tenentibus superiora cacu-
mina hostibus non poterant: et experta difficultas
14 spem omnem incidisset. Supererat nihil aliud in
temere commisso quam in Macedoniam ad Dium per
medios evadere hostis; quod, nisi di mentem regi
ademissent,[2] et [3] ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat.
15 Nam cum Olympi radices montis paulo plus quam
mille passuum ad mare relinquant spatium, cuius
dimidium loci occupat ostium late restagnans
Baphyri amnis, partem planitiae aut Iovis templum
16 aut oppidum tenet, reliquum perexiguum fossa
modica valloque claudi poterat, et saxorum [4] ad
manum silvestrisque materiae tantum erat, ut vel
17 murus obici turresque excitari potuerint. Quorum
nihil cum dispexisset caecata mens subito terrore,
nudatis omnibus praesidiis patefactisque bello cunctis
aditibus Pydnam [5] refugit.

VII. Consul plurimum et praesidii et spei cernens in stultitia et segnitia hostis, remisso nuntio ad Sp. Lucretium Larisam, ut castella relicta ab hoste circa Tempe occuparet, praemisso Popilio ad explorandos transitus circa Dium, postquam patere omnia in
2 omnis partes animadvertit, secundis castris pervenit

[1] ipsis *Madvig*: ipsi *V*.
[2] di mentem regi ademissent *Fr*: di moventem regiam demissent *V*.
[3] et *add. Büttner*: *om. V*.
[4] saxorum *ed. Bas. 1535*: Thessalorum *V*.
[5] patefactisque bello cunctis aditibus Pydnam *Vahlen*: patefactisquae bello factis ad dypylam *V*.

[1] For this famous temple, cf. Polybius IV. 62.
[2] On this section, cf. Polybius XXVIII. 10. 11 (9a. 12) Lucretius had been praetor in 172 B.C., cf. XLII. ix. 8.

supplies through Tempe, as well as their line of retreat, had been cut off, they would have had to return to the mountains through which they had descended. As they had deceived the enemy in this by stealth, they could not duplicate the feat without concealment and while the enemy were in possession of the higher summits; and the difficulty they had undergone would have laid low all hope. There was no alternative left in this rash enterprise but to get out into Macedonia past Dium in the teeth of the enemy, and this undertaking, had not the gods deprived the king of his wits, would itself have been of the utmost difficulty. For between the foothills of Mount Olympus and the sea lies an interval of a little more than a mile, half of which space is taken up with the broad estuary of the Baphyrus River, while part of the plain is obstructed by either the temple of Jupiter [1] or the town. The very small remainder could have been barred off by a ditch of no extravagant size and a palisade, and there was such an abundance of stone and of forest timber at hand that even a wall could have been thrown up and towers erected. Since none of these possibilities revealed themselves to a mind blinded by sudden panic, the king stripped away all his defences and opened every approach to assault before taking refuge in Pydna. B.C. 169

VII. The consul sighted much security as well as hope in the folly and inaction of the king; he sent back a message to Spurius Lucretius [2] at Larisa to seize the forts abandoned by the enemy in the region of Tempe, and sending Popilius to reconnoitre the crossings around Dium, arrived at that city in two days' march, since he learned that everything lay open in all directions. He ordered his camp to be

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ad Dium metarique sub ipso templo, ne quid sacro in
3 loco violaretur, iussit. Ipse urbem ingressus, sicut
non magnam, ita exornatam publicis locis et multitu-
dine statuarum munitamque egregie, vix satis credere
in tantis rebus sine causa relictis non aliquem subesse
4 dolum. Unum diem ad exploranda circa omnia
moratus castra movet; satisque credens in Pieria [1]
frumenti copiam fore, eo die ad amnem nomine
5 Mityn processit. Postero die progressus Agassas [2]
urbem tradentibus sese ipsis recepit; et ut reliquorum
Macedonum animos sibi conciliaret, obsidibus con-
tentus sine praesidio relinquere se iis urbem im-
munesque ac suis legibus victuros est pollicitus.
6 Progressus inde diei iter ad Ascordum flumen posuit
castra; et quantum procederet longius a Thessalia,
7 eo maiorem rerum omnium inopiam sentiens, regres-
sus ad Dium est dubitatione omnibus exempta,
quid intercluso ab Thessalia patiendum fuisset, cui
procul inde abscedere tutum non esset.
8 Perseus coactis [3] in unum omnibus copiis duci-
busque increpare praefectos praesidiorum, ante
9 omnes Asclepiodotum atque Hippiam; ab his dicere
claustra Macedoniae tradita Romanis esse; cuius
culpae reus nemo iustius quam ipse fuisset.
10 Consuli postquam ex alto conspecta classis spem
fecit cum commeatu naves venire—ingens enim

[1] in Pieria *Kreyssig*: imperia *V*: *ita et infra*, viii. 3.
[2] Agassas *J. F. Gronovius*: acassam *V*.
[3] coactis *Weissenborn*: peractis *V*.

[1] Among these statues were the portraits by Lysippus of the twenty-five Cavalry Companions killed at the battle of the Granicus, cf. Arrian, *Anabasis* I. 16. 4.

pitched next to the temple itself, so that no sacrilege B.C. 169
against the sacred precinct might be committed. On personally inspecting the city which, though not large, was adorned with public installations and an abundance of statues [1] and was magnificently fortified, the consul could hardly convince himself that no ruse lurked in the unreasonable abandonment of such remarkable objects. After a day's delay for general reconnaissance all around, he advanced, and being convinced that there would be abundant grain in Pieria, he proceeded on that day to a river named Mitys. Continuing on the following day, he accepted the surrender of the city of Agassae by its inhabitants; and to win over the hearts of the other Macedonians, he contented himself with hostages and promised to leave the city to its people without garrison, and to accord them autonomy and freedom from tribute. Advancing thence a day's journey, he encamped by the Ascordus River. Because he felt more strongly the want of every sort of supplies the further he advanced from Thessaly, he retired to Dium, thereby demonstrating beyond a doubt to everyone what he would have suffered had he been cut off from Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to advance far from there.

After Perseus had assembled all his forces and officers, he blamed the commanders of his outposts, above all Asclepiodotus and Hippias; they, he said, had surrendered the keys to Macedonia to the Romans—a crime for which no one would have been more justly prosecuted than himself.

After the sight of the Roman fleet at sea had brought to the consul hope that the ships were bringing provisions—for there was a great scarcity of grain and almost a famine—he heard from the men just

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caritas annonae ac prope inopia erat—ab invectis iam portum audit onerarias naves Magnesiae relictas
11 esse. Incerto inde quidnam agendum foret—adeo sine ulla ope hostis, quae adgravaret, cum ipsa difficultate rerum pugnandum erat—peropportune
12 litterae a Sp. Lucretio adlatae sunt castella se, quae super Tempe essent et circa Philan, tenere omnia frumentique in iis et aliarum in usum rerum copiam invenisse.

VIII. His magno opere laetus consul ab Dio ad Philan ducit, simul ut praesidium eius firmaret, simul ut militi frumentum, cuius tarda subvectio erat,
2 divideret. Ea profectio famam haudquaquam secundam habuit. Nam alii metu recessisse eum ab hoste ferebant quia manenti in Pieria proelio dimi-
3 candum foret, alii ignarum belli quae in dies fortuna novaret, ut opperientibus sese rebus, emisisse [1] de
4 manibus ea quae mox repeti non possent. Simul enim cessit possessione Dii, excitavit hostem, ut tunc sentiret recuperanda esse quae prius culpa
5 amissa forent. Audita enim profectione consulis regressus Dium, quae disiecta ac vastata ab Romanis erant, reficit, pinnas moenium decussas reponit, ab omni parte muros firmat; deinde quinque milia passuum ab urbe citra ripam Elpei amnis [2] castra ponit, amnem ipsum transitu perdifficilem pro
6 munimento habiturus. Fluit ex valle Olympi montis, aestate exiguus, hibernis idem incitatus pluviis et

[1] rebus emisisse *Kreyssig*: reb. omisisse *V*.
[2] ripam Elpei amnis *Madvig*: ripam enipi añis *V*.

come into port that the freight ships had been left B.C. 169
in Magnesia. As the consul was debating what should be done—so completely was his struggle directed against the mere difficulty of the situation, without the slightest effort on the part of the enemy to make matters worse—in the nick of time a despatch arrived from Spurius Lucretius that he was in possession of the forts above Tempe and around Phila, and that he had found a supply of grain and other useful materials in them.

VIII. Greatly pleased by this news, the consul moved from Dium to Phila, both to strengthen its garrison and to distribute to the soldiers the grain, transportation of which was slow. This march started unpleasant rumours; for some put it that he had retired from before the enemy out of fear, because he would have had to fight a battle if he had remained in Pieria, while others said that in his ignorance of the daily fluctuations in the fortunes of war, and as if events were awaiting his signal, he had dropped from his grasp advantages which presently could not be recovered. For at one move he had lost his grip on Dium and had stirred up the enemy to perceiving at long last that he must recover what previously he had shamefully lost. For on hearing of the departure of the consul, the king returned to Dium, rebuilt what had been cast down and despoiled by the Romans, replaced the battlements knocked off the walls, and strengthened the walls all around. Then he placed his camp five miles from the city on the nearer bank of the Elpeüs River, intending to use the river itself as a fortification since it was very hard to cross. It flows from a ravine of Mount Olympus, is scanty in summer, but again in

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supra rupes ingentis gurgites facit et infra prorutam [1] in mare evolvendo terram praealtas voragines cava- 7 toque medio alveo ripas utrimque praecipitis. Hoc flumine saeptum iter hostis [2] credens extrahere reliquum tempus aestatis in animo habebat.

8 Inter haec consul a Phila Popilium cum duobus 9 milibus armatorum Heracleum [3] mittit. Abest a Phila quinque milia ferme passuum, media regione inter Dium Tempeque in rupe amni imminente positum.

IX. Popilius priusquam armatos muris admoveret, misit qui magistratibus principibusque suaderent, fidem clementiamque Romanorum quam vim experiri 2 mallent. Nihil ea consilia moverunt, quia ignes ad Elpeum [4] ex regiis castris apparebant. Tum terra marique—et classis adpulsa ab litore stabat—simul armis, simul operibus machinisque oppugnari coepti.

3 Iuvenes etiam quidam Romani ludicro circensi ad usum belli verso partem humillimam muri ceperunt.

4 Mos erat tum, nondum hac effusione inducta bestiis omnium gentium circum complendi, varia spectaculorum conquirere genera: nam semel quadrigis, semel desultore misso vix unius horae tempus

5 utrumque curriculum complebat. Inter cetera sexageni ferme iuvenes, interdum plures appa-

[1] infra prorutam *J. F. Gronovius*: intrapororupta *V*.

[2] hoc flumine saeptum iter hostis *Novák*: hoc flumine et sospitem se et saeptum iter hostis *Gitlbauer*: hoc flumine hospes et septum iter hostis *V*.

[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: Heraclea *V*: *sic et ad ix. 10 et x. 5.*

[4] Elpeum *Madvig*: elipeum *V*.

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[1] Livy notes the beginnings of lavishness in shows as early as 186 B.C., see XXXIX. xxii. 2, XLI. xxvii. 6, and below, xviii. 8.

winter is swollen by rains; it forms great rapids above its boulders, and below, by carrying off the eroded earth to the sea, produces great abysses and banks sheer on either side above a deeply-hollowed channel. Thinking that the enemy's advance was barred by this river, the king intended to use up the rest of the summer. B.C. 169

Meanwhile the consul sent Popilius with two thousand soldiers from Phila to Heracleum. This is about five miles from Phila, on a cliff overhanging the river midway between Dium and Tempe.

IX. Before Popilius brought his men against the walls, he sent envoys to persuade the magistrates and chief citizens to prefer making trial of the good faith and mildness of the Romans rather than of their force. This advice availed nothing, because the fires of the king's camp at the Elpeüs were in sight. Then the siege began, both with assaults and with field-works and engines, both from land and sea, for the fleet, too, had arrived and occupied the shore side.

The younger Romans even captured the lowest part of the wall by turning to military use a performance of the arena. It was the custom then, before there had been introduced the present extravagance [1] of cramming the arena with animals from all over the earth, to hunt out various sorts of spectacles, for one race with four-horse chariots and one with bareback riders hardly occupied the space of an hour for the two events. As one of these performances, groups of about sixty [2] youths (occasionally more at more

[2] Sixty was the usual number of soldiers in the so-called "century."

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ratioribus ludis,[1] armati inducebantur. Horum inductio ex parte simulacrum decurrentis exercitus erat, ex parte elegantioris quam[2] militaris artis
6 propiorque gladiatorium armorum usum. Cum alios decursu edidissent motus, quadrato agmine facto, scutis super capita densatis, stantibus primis, secundis summissioribus, tertiis magis et quartis, postremis etiam genu nixis, fastigatam, sicut tecta aedificiorum
7 sunt, testudinem faciebant. Hinc quinquaginta ferme pedum spatio distantes duo armati procurrebant comminatique inter se, ad ima in summam testudinem per densata scuta cum evasissent, nunc velut propugnantes per oras extremae testudinis, nunc in media inter se concurrentes, haud secus quam stabili solo persultabant.
8 Huic testudo similis humillimae parti[3] muri admota. Cum armati superstantes subissent, propugnatoribus muri fastigio altitudinis aequabantur; depulsisque iis in urbem duorum signorum milites
9 transcenderunt. Id tantum dissimile fuit, quod et in fronte extremi et ex lateribus soli non habebant super capita elata scuta, ne nudarent corpora, sed praetenta[4] pugnantium more. Ita nec ipsos tela ex muro missa subeuntis laeserunt et testudini iniecta imbris

[1] apparatioribus ludis *Muretus*: apparitoribus ludi *V*.
[2] elegantioris quam *Kreyssig*: elegantioris exercitus quam *V*.
[3] similis humillimae parti *Madvig*: simillime parti *V*.
[4] praetenta *Latinius*: proiecta *Heraeus*: praetecta *V*.

elaborate games) entered under arms. Their entrance was in some respects an imitation of military manoeuvres, but in other respects was of a style more showy than the military and more akin to the fashion of gladiatorial combats. After passing through various evolutions in this manoeuvre, they would form in ranks, with shields close-set over their heads, the front rank erect, the second somewhat stooped, the third and fourth more so, and the rear rank down on their knees, so that they would form a "tortoise" sloped like the roof of a house. Next two armed men, separated by an interval of some fifty feet, would rush out, feint at each other, and mount from bottom to top of the "tortoise" over the close-set shields. They would then act as if skirmishing at the outer edges of the "tortoise," now clash with each other in the centre, and leap about just as if they were on solid ground. B.C. 169

A "tortoise" like this was brought up to the lowest part of the wall. When soldiers on top came up to the wall, they were at their highest elevation level with the defenders of the wall; the defenders were routed and the soldiers of two maniples[1] crossed into the city. The only difference from the show was that the front rank and those exposed on the flanks did not raise their shields over their heads, but held them out in the usual position for battle in order not to expose their bodies. In this way the missiles hurled from the wall did not injure the men as they approached and those cast on the "tortoise"

[1] Polybius (XXVIII. 11 (12)) says that a third maniple formed the "tortoise." Cf. Ammianus Marcellinus XXVI. 8. 9 for a similar formation.

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in modum lubrico fastigio innoxia ad imum labebantur.

10 Et consul capto iam Heracleo castra eo promovit, tamquam [1] Dium atque inde summoto rege in Pieriam
11 etiam progressurus. Sed hiberna iam praeparans vias commeatibus subvehendis ex Thessalia muniri iubet et eligi horreis opportuna loca tectaque aedificari, ubi deversari portantes commeatus possent.

X. Perseus tandem a [2] pavore eo, quo attonitus fuerat, recepto animo malle imperiis suis non obtemperatum esse, cum trepidans gazam in mare deici
2 Pellae, Thessalonicae navalia iusserat incendi. Andronicus Thessalonicam missus traxerat tempus, id ipsum quod accidit, paenitentiae relinquens locum.
3 Incautior Nicias Pellae proiciendo pecuniae partem
4 quae fuerat ad Phacum [3]; sed in re emendabili [4] visus lapsus esse, quod per urinatores omnis ferme extracta est. Tantusque pudor regi pavoris eius fuit ut urinatores clam interfici iusserit, deinde Andronicum quoque et Nician, ne quis tam dementis imperii conscius existeret.

5 Inter haec C. Marcius cum classe ab Heracleo Thessalonicam profectus et agrum pluribus locis expositis per litora armatis late vastavit et procurrentes ab urbe secundis aliquot proeliis trepidos
6 intra moenia compulit. Iamque ipsi urbi terribilis

[1] eo promovit, tamquam *Fr*: eo pervictam quam *V*.

[2] a *add. Sigonius*: *om. V*.

[3] proiciendo pecuniae partem, quae fuerat ad Phacum *Madvig*: priociendae pecuniae partem quidem fuderat in altum *M. Müller*: proiciendae pecuniae partem quod iecerat in altum *Harant*: proiciendae pecuniae partem quod fuerat natum *V*.

[4] in re emendabili *Drakenborch*: in rem emendabilem *V*.

slid harmlessly like rain down to the bottom of the slippery slope. B.C. 169

On capturing Heracleum, the consul advanced his camp there, as if he were going to advance to Dium and thence, after dislodging the king, into Pieria as well. But as he was already making ready for wintering, he ordered the roads from Thessaly to be repaired for the transport of provisions and suitable sites for granaries to be chosen and houses built where those transporting the provisions could lodge.

X. Perseus at length recovered his courage from the panic which had struck him down, and would have preferred that his commands had not been obeyed when he ordered the treasure at Pella to be cast into the sea and the dockyards at Thessalonica to be burned. Andronicus, the envoy to Thessalonica, had killed time to allow for the very thing which happened, a change of mind.[1] Nicias at Pella was less wary in casting away part of the money which was in Phacus, but he seemed to have made his mistake in a manner not irreparable, since almost all the money was brought up by divers. So great was the king's shame at this panic of his that he ordered the divers secretly to be put to death, and after them Andronicus and Nicias, too, so that there should be no one having knowledge of so crazy an order.

Meanwhile, Gaius Marcius set out with the fleet from Heracleum for Thessalonica, ravaged the countryside far and wide by setting ashore forces at several points, and in several successful battles drove back those who sallied from the city headlong within their walls. He was striking terror into the city itself, when

[1] Andronicus is accused by Diodorus XXX. 11 of working in this matter for a Roman victory.

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erat, cum dispositis omnis generis tormentis non vagi modo circa muros temere adpropinquantes, sed etiam qui in navibus erant, saxis tormento emicanti-
7 bus percutiebantur. Revocatis igitur in naves militibus omissaque Thessalonicae oppugnatione Aeniam inde petunt. Quindecim milia passuum ea urbs
8 abest, adversus Pydnam posita, fertilis agro. Pervastatis finibus eius legentes oram Antigoneam perveniunt. Ibi egressi in terram primo et vastarunt agros passim et aliquantum praedae contulerunt ad
9 naves. Dein palatos eos adorti Macedones, mixti pedites equitesque, fugientes effuse ad mare persecuti quingentos [1] ferme occiderunt et non minus ceperunt.
10 Nec aliud quam ultima necessitas, cum recipere se tuto ad naves prohiberentur, animos militum Romanorum simul desperatione alia salutis simul in-
11 dignitate irritavit. Redintegrata in litore pugna est: adiuvere [2] qui in navibus erant. Ibi Macedonum ducenti ferme caesi, par numerus captus. Ab Antigonea classis profecta ad agrum Pallenensem
12 escensionem ad populandum fecit. Finium is ager Cassandrensium erat, longe fertilissimus omnis orae quam praetervecti fuerant. Ibi Eumenes rex viginti tectis navibus ab Elaea profectus obvius fuit et quinque missae a Prusia rege tectae naves.

XI. Hac virium accessione animus crevit praetori,
2 ut Cassandream oppugnaret. Condita est a Cas-

[1] persecuti quingentos *edd.*: persecutia *V*.
[2] est; adiuvere *Kreyssig*: estatinae *V*.

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[1] Established about 300 B.C. on the site of Potidaea, which had been destroyed by Philip II in 356 B.C.
[2] The port of Pergamum, east by south of Lesbos.

from the engines of all types which were distributed B.C. 169
about, stones shot by machine struck down not only the skirmishers about the walls who rashly approached, but even the men in the ships. Recalling the soldiers to the ships and abandoning the siege of Thessalonica, they made thence for Aenea. This city is fifteen miles away, set opposite Pydna in fertile land. After devastating its territory they followed the shore and arrived at Antigonea. There they disembarked and for a time both ravaged the fields round about and carried some booty off to their ships. Then the Macedonians, cavalry and infantry together, attacked the scattered raiders and pursuing as they fled in disorder, killed about five hundred and captured as many. Nothing but utter necessity, when they were kept from finding safety in their ships, aroused the spirits of the Roman soldiers, both by despair of other means of safety and by indignation. The fight was renewed on the shore; those aboard the ships came to the rescue. Here about two hundred of the Macedonians were slain and an equal number captured. From Antigonea the fleet sailed to the peninsula of Pallene and landed troops to ravage it. This land belonged to the territory of Cassandrea [1] and was by far the most fertile of all the coast they had passed. Here they were met by King Eumenes, who had set out from Elaea [2] with twenty decked [3] ships, as well as by five decked ships sent by King Prusias.[4]

XI. With this accession of strength, the praetor's spirits rose to the point of attacking Cassandrea.

[3] According to Nissen, the use of this word indicates that Livy is following Polybius here.

[4] He was hedging on his neutrality of 171 B.C., cf. XLII. xxix. 3.

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sandro rege in ipsis faucibus, quae Pallenensem agrum ceterae Macedoniae iungunt, hinc Toronaico, hinc
3 Macedonico saepta mari. Eminet [1] namque in altum lingua in qua sita est, nec minus quam inclitus [2] magnitudine Atho mons excurrit, obversa in regionem Magnesiae duobus imparibus promunturiis, quorum maiori Posideum est nomen, minori Canastraeum.
4 Divisis partibus oppugnare adorti. Romanus ad Clitas, quas vocant, munimenta, cervis etiam obiectis, ut viam intercluderet, a Macedonico ad Toronaicum mare perducit. Ab altera parte euripus est; inde
5 Eumenes oppugnabat. Romanis in fossa complenda quam nuper obiecerat Perseus, plurimum erat laboris. Ibi quaerenti praetori, quia nusquam cumuli apparebant quo regesta e fossa terra foret, monstrati sunt fornices: non ad eandem crassitudinem, qua veterem murum, sed simplici laterum
6 ordine structos esse. Consilium igitur cepit transfosso pariete iter in urbem patefacere. Fallere autem ita se posse, si muros a parte alia scalis adortus tumultu iniecto in custodiam eius loci propugnatores urbis avertisset.

[1] saepta mari eminet *Fr*: saeptā meminent *V*.
[2] inclitus *Kreyssig*: elatus *Hartel*: insignis *Novák*: inaltus *V*, *cf.* in altum *supra*.

[1] Livy's description is confusing; Posideum, the westward promontory, is no more than a spur on the side of the main peninsula, of which Canastraeum forms the tip, extending to the south-east; the slimness of this tip induced Livy or his source to call it the smaller.
[2] Perhaps a moat open at one end to the sea.

This was founded by King Cassander precisely in the B.C. 169
narrows which connect the peninsula of Pallene with the rest of Macedonia and are bounded on the one side by the Gulf of Macedonia, and on the other by that of Torone. For the peninsula on which this city is situated rises high and projects into the sea quite as far as Mount Athos, which is noted for its size; it forms, opposite to the district of Magnesia, two unequal promontories, the larger named Posideum and the smaller Canastraeum.[1]

The siege was begun in separate divisions. The Roman commander constructed works, including *chevaux-de-frise*, extending from the Macedonian to the Toronaic gulf, in the quarter called Clitae, in order to cut off the highway. On the other side is a narrow strait [2]; there Eumenes was attacking. The Romans found that their greatest task was filling the moat which Perseus had lately built as a defence. When the praetor inquired why there were no mounds to be seen, where the earth dug from the moat would be, he was shown certain arches.[3] These, he heard, were built up not to the same strength as the old wall, but only to the thickness of a single brick. He therefore adopted the plan of opening a path into the city by piercing the brickwork. He further expected to effect surprise in this move if he attacked the walls elsewhere with scaling ladders and, by raising confusion, drew off the defenders of the city to the protection of this second spot.

[3] These arches were probably intended as sally-ports, cf. XXXVI. xxiii. 3; it is not so clear what they had to do with the absence of soil from the moat—whether the bricks had been made from the soil, or whether the latter had been taken within the walls through the arches for disposal, before the brick curtains were built.

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7 Erant in praesidio Cassandreae [1] praeter non contemnendam iuventutem oppidanorum octingenti Agrianes et duo milia Penestarum Illyriorum a Pleurato inde missi, bellicosum utrumque genus. 8 His tuentibus muros, cum subire Romani summa vi niterentur, momento temporis parietes fornicum perfossi urbem patefecerunt. Quod si qui inrum- 9 perent armati [2] fuissent, extemplo cepissent. Hoc ubi perfectum esse opus militibus nuntiatum est, clamorem alacres gaudio repente tollunt, alii parte alia in urbem inrupturi.[3]

XII. Hostis primum admiratio cepit quidnam sibi 2 repentinus clamor vellet. Postquam patere urbem accepere praefecti praesidii Pytho et Philippus, pro eo qui occupasset adgredi opus factum esse rati, cum valida manu Agrianum Illyriorumque erumpunt 3 Romanosque, qui alii aliunde coibant convocabanturque, ut signa in urbem inferrent, incompositos atque inordinatos fugant persequunturque ad fossam, in quam compulsos ruina cumulant. Sescenti ferme ibi interfecti, omnesque prope qui inter murum fossam- 4 que deprensi erant volnerantur. Ita suo ipse conatu perculsus praetor segnior ad alia factus consilia erat. Et ne Eumeni quidem simul a mari simul a terra

[1] Cassandreae *Fr*: cas (*ad finem lineae*) *V*.
[2] qui inrumperent armati *I. Perizonius*: qui inrupere inarmati *V*.
[3] alii parte alia in urbem inrupturi *J. F. Gronovius*: aliis parte alia in urbem inrupturum *V*.

[1] Cf. XLII. li. 5 and the note.

In the garrison of Cassandrea there were, besides B.C. 169
a respectable contingent of young citizens, eight hundred Agrianes [1] and two thousand Illyrian Penestae [2] sent from their home by Pleuratus—both peoples being good fighters. They were defending the walls as the Romans struggled with the utmost energy to mount them, when the piercing of the brickwork of the arches in the twinkling of an eye, laid open the city. If men had been there to dash in armed, they would have taken the town at once. When the accomplishment of this breakthrough was reported to the Roman soldiers, they at once eagerly raised a shout of joy, expecting to burst into the city at several points.

XII. The enemy were first struck with wonder as to the meaning of this sudden uproar. After the commanders of the garrison, Pytho and Philip, had been informed that the city lay open, they considered that the work had been done for the benefit of the side first to press the attack, and made a sally with a strong force of Agrianes and Illyrians. The Romans, who were coming up and being summoned from various points to advance into the city, were routed in their scattered and unorganized state and chased to the moat, into which they were driven and which they filled with the fallen. About six hundred were killed there and almost to a man those caught between the wall and the moat were wounded. The praetor, being so grievously dashed by his own undertaking, had become less eager to form other plans. Not even Eumenes, who was attacking both by sea

[2] These Illyrians were mentioned in XLIII. xxiii. 7; Pleuratus, who sent them, is possibly the exile mentioned in XLIII. xix. 13 as serving with Perseus.

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5 adgredienti quidquam satis procedebat. Placuit igitur utrique custodiis firmatis ne quod praesidium ex Macedonia intromitti posset, quoniam vis aperta
6 non processisset, operibus moenia oppugnare. Haec parantibus iis decem [1] regii lembi ab Thessalonica cum delectis Gallorum auxiliaribus missi, cum in salo stantes hostium [2] naves conspexissent, ipsi obscura nocte, simplici ordine, quam poterant proxime litus
7 tenentes, intrarunt urbem. Huius novi praesidii fama absistere oppugnatione simul Romanos regemque coegit. Circumvecti promunturium ad Toronen
8 classem appulerunt. Eam quoque oppugnare adorti, ubi valida defendi manu animadverterunt, inrito incepto Demetriadem petunt. Ibi cum adpropinquantes repleta moenia armatis vidissent, praetervecti ad Iolcon classem appulerunt, inde agro vastato Demetriadem quoque adgressuri.

XIII. Inter haec et consul, ne segnis sederet tantum in agro hostium, M. Popilium cum quinque milibus militum ad Meliboeam urbem oppugnandam
2 mittit. Sita est in radicibus Ossae montis, qua parte in Thessaliam vergit, opportune imminens super
3 Demetriadem. Primus adventus hostium perculit incolas loci: collectis deinde ab [3] necopinato pavore animis discurrunt armati ad portas ac moenia, qua suspecti aditus erant, spemque extemplo inciderunt
4 capi primo impetu posse. Obsidio igitur parabatur, et opera ad [4] oppugnationem fieri coepta.

[1] iis decem *Wesenberg*: his x *V*.
[2] hostium *Fügner*: hos *V*.
[3] ab *add. Novák*: *om. V*. [4] ad *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.

[1] The threat to Demetrias must have consisted in cutting its line of communications, since Meliboea is twenty-five miles away, air-line.

and land, gained any worth-while advantage. Both B.C.169
commanders therefore determined to strengthen the forces on guard, so that no reinforcement from Macedonia might be sent in, and since open assault was unsuccessful, to attack the fortifications with siege-works. During the preparation of these works, ten Macedonian scout-ships, sent from Thessalonica with picked Gallic auxiliaries, saw that the besieging ships were anchored out to sea, and in the dead of night, in single column, hugging the shore as closely as possible, entered the city. Report of this new defence force compelled both the Romans and the king to abandon the siege. They sailed around the cape and put in near Torone. After attempting to besiege this city too, and observing that it was defended by a strong force, they gave up their undertaking, and made for Demetrias. On approaching it they saw the walls filled with armed men, and sailed past to make a landing at Iolcus, planning to ravage the fields and then attack Demetrias too.

XIII. Meanwhile the consul, for his part, in order not merely to remain sluggishly idle in hostile territory, sent Marcus Popilius with five thousand soldiers to assail the city of Meliboea. This is situated in the foothills of Mount Ossa, on the side sloping toward Thessaly, and conveniently threatening Demetrias.[1] The first arrival of the enemy dismayed the inhabitants of the place; then, after rallying their spirits from the unexpected fright, they ran under arms to their posts at gates and wall, where the expected lines of attack were, and at once dispelled the hope that the town could be taken at the first rush. Preparations for a siege were therefore made and the construction of works for the assault was begun.

A.U.C. 585 Perseus cum audisset simul Meliboeam a consulis exercitu oppugnari, simul classem Iolci [1] stare, ut [2] inde Demetriadem adgrederetur, Euphranorem quendam ex ducibus cum delectis duobus milibus Meli- 5 boeam mittit. Eidem imperatum, ut si a Meliboea summovisset Romanos, Demetriadem prius occulto itinere intraret, quam ab Iolco ad urbem castra 6 moverent Romani. Et ab oppugnatoribus Meliboeae, cum in superioribus locis repente apparuisset, cum trepidatione multa relicta opera sunt ignisque [3] 7 iniectus. Ita a Meliboea abscessum est. Euphranor soluta unius urbis obsidione Demetriadem extemplo ducit. Nocte moenia intrat tantamque fiduciam incolentibus fecit ut non moenia [4] modo, sed agros etiam confiderent se a populationibus tueri posse; et eruptiones [5] in vagos populatores non sine volneri- 8 bus hostium factae sunt. Circumvecti tamen moenia sunt praetor et rex, situm urbis contemplantes, si qua 9 parte temptare aut opere aut vi possent. Fama fuit per Cydantem Cretensem et Antimachum, qui Demetriadi praeerat, tractatas inter Eumenen et Persea condiciones amicitiae. Ab Demetriade certe absces- 10 sum est. Eumenes ad consulem navigat; gratulatusque,[6] quod prospere Macedoniam intrasset, 11 Pergamum in regnum abit. Marcius Figulus praetor parte classis in hiberna Sciathum missa cum reliquis navibus Oreum Euboeae [7] petit, eam urbem aptissi-

[1] Iolci *Fr*: loci V.
[2] ut *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[3] ignisque *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[4] intrat tantamque fiduciam incolentibus fecit ut non moenia *add. Forchhammer*: nocte muenia modo V.
[5] eruptiones *Fr*: eruditionibus V.
[6] gratulatusque *Drakenborch*: gratulatus V.
[7] Oreum Euboeae *J. F. Gronovius*: oreumboetiae V.

When Perseus heard that Meliboea was being B.C. 169
attacked by the consul's army at the same time that the fleet was anchored at Iolcus, in order to attack Demetrias from there, he sent a certain Euphranor, one of his officers, with two thousand picked soldiers to Meliboea. Euphranor's orders were that if he dislodged the Romans from Meliboea, he was to enter Demetrias unobserved before the Romans brought their camp up to the city from Iolcus. The besiegers of Meliboea, in great panic when Euphranor suddenly made his appearance on higher ground, abandoned their works and set them afire. So the siege of Meliboea was given up. After freeing one city from siege, Euphranor at once advanced to Demetrias. He entered the walls by night and gave the inhabitants such confidence that they felt sure of their ability not only to defend their walls, but to protect their land from raids. Sallies were made against the scattered ravagers, not without casualties to the enemy. However, the praetor and the king rode around the walls, reconnoitring the situation of the city, in case they could attempt an assault by works or by main force at any point. There was a rumour that Cydas the Cretan [1] and Antimachus, the commander in Demetrias, were agents in discussing terms of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus. At any rate, the Romans departed from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul, and after offering congratulations on his successful entrance into Macedonia, left for Pergamum in his own kingdom. The praetor Marcius Figulus sent part of his fleet into winter quarters at Sciathus, and made for Oreüs in

[1] A substantial account of this and other intrigues is given by Polybius XXIX. 6 (1c).

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mam ratus unde exercitibus qui in Macedonia quique in Thessalia erant, mitti commeatus possent.

12 De Eumene rege longe diversa tradunt. Si Valerio Antiati credas, nec classe adiutum ab eo praetorem esse, cum saepe eum litteris accersisset, tradit, nec cum gratia ab consule profectum in Asiam, indignatum quod, ut iisdem castris tenderet per-
13 missum non fuerit; ne ut equites quidem Gallos quos secum adduxerat relinqueret, impetrari ab eo potu-
14 isse. Attalum fratrem eius et remansisse apud consulem, et sinceram eius fidem aequali tenore egregiamque operam in eo bello fuisse.

XIV. Dum bellum in Macedonia geritur, legati transalpini ab regulo Gallorum—Balanos ipsius traditur nomen: gentis ex qua fuerit, non traditur—Romam venerunt pollicentes ad Macedonicum bellum
2 auxilia. Gratiae ab senatu actae muneraque missa, torquis aureus duo pondo et paterae aureae quattuor
3 pondo, equus[1] phaleratus armaque equestria. Secundum Gallos Pamphylii legati coronam auream ex viginti milibus Philippeorum factam in curiam intu-

[1] equus *Fr*: cui V.

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[1] As Livy knew, trusting Valerius Antias was a hazardous proceeding. Polybius XXIX. 5 (1b) is less certain about Eumenes' attitude; Valerius perhaps reported the view prevailing in Rome at the time.

[2] They had apparently been recognized as free "friends" of Rome after a dispute as to their status under the treaty with Antiochus, XXXVIII. xxxix. 17, and xv. 6.

[3] These coins were worth about twenty silver drachmas, cf. XXXVII. lix. 4 and the note. The gift seems to have been unusually large; the Rhodians gave the same when desperately trying to regain Roman favour, see XLV. xxv. 7; the figure here may be wrong. The philip, by weight a stater or double drachma of the Athenian standard (= 8·6 g.; the theoretical U.S. gold dollar of 1934 = $15\frac{5}{21}$ grains troy = 0·988 g.),

Euboea with the rest of his ships, thinking that this B.C. 169
city was most suitable for the forwarding of supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly.

The historians give highly different accounts of King Eumenes. If you trust Valerius Antias,[1] his account is that although the praetor summoned the king with frequent despatches, he did not even receive naval assistance from him, nor did Eumenes on his way to Asia part on good terms with the consul, being indignant because he was not permitted to encamp in the Roman area; Eumenes, says Valerius, could not even be persuaded to leave behind the Galatian cavalry he had brought with him. His brother Attalus, continues Valerius, not only remained with the consul, but displayed genuine and unwavering good faith and notable exploits in this campaign.

XIV. While the war was continuing in Macedonia, envoys from across the Alps from a Gallic chieftain—his name is given as Balanos, but there is no record of his tribe—came to Rome promising aid for the Macedonian campaign. Thanks were expressed by the senate and gifts sent the envoys, a twisted necklace of two pounds of gold and golden bowls of four pounds, a horse with ornamental trappings, and cavalry weapons. After the Gauls, Pamphylian[2] envoys presented in the senate-house a gold crown made of twenty thousand philips[3] and their request was

was popularized by Philip II after the fall of Olynthus in 348 B.C. He seems to have taken the coin from the Olynthians; it paralleled an earlier issue from Philippi, which began as a colony of Thasos three years before its capture by Philip, and which had an Athenian adviser. Philip continued the coinage of this town. During the second century, the philip was the commonest gold coin of Rome (see XXXIV. lii. 7; XXXVII. lix. 4; XXXIX. v. 15 and vii. 1, and frequent

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lerunt, petentibusque iis, ut id donum in cella Iovis optimi maximi ponere et sacrificare in Capitolio liceret, permissum; benigneque amicitiam renovare volentibus [1] legatis responsum et binum milium aeris singulis missum munus.

Tum ab rege Prusia et paulo post ab Rhodiis de eadem re [2] longe aliter disserentes legati auditi sunt. Utraque legatio de pace reconcilianda cum rege Perseo egit. Prusiae preces magis quam postulatio fuere, profitentis et ad id tempus se cum Romanis stetisse et, quoad bellum foret, staturum; ceterum cum ad se a Perseo legati venissent de finiendo cum Romanis bello, eis [3] pollicitum deprecatorem apud senatum futurum; petere, si possent inducere in animum ut finiant iras, se [4] quoque in gratia reconciliatae pacis ponerent.[5] Haec regii legati. Rhodii superbe commemoratis meritis suis [6] erga populum Romanum et paene victoriae, utique de Antiocho rege, maiore parte ad se vindicata, adiecerunt: cum pax inter Macedonas Romanosque esset, sibi amicitiam cum rege Perseo coeptam; eam se invitos, nullo eius in se merito, quoniam ita Romanis visum sit in societatem se belli trahere, interrupisse. Tertium

[1] volentibus *Fr*: novantibus *V*.
[2] re *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] eis *Novák*: etis *V*.
[4] iras se *Forchhammer*: ira se *V*.
[5] ponerent *J. F. Gronovius*: possent *V*.
[6] meritis suis *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.

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allusions of Plautus' *Bacchides*, *Poenulus*, and *Trinummus*); as a result of Roman trade, philips also made their appearance in central Gaul, and were locally imitated there, in the Rhine-

granted that they be permitted to deposit this B.C. 169
present in the temple of Jupiter, Greatest and Best, and to offer sacrifice on the Capitol; a gracious answer was given to the envoys' request for a renewal of the state of friendship, and a gift of two thousand *asses* apiece was sent them.

Next, an audience was given to envoys from King Prusias, and shortly thereafter to those from the Rhodians, who made a very different presentation of the same request. Both embassies treated of making terms again with King Perseus. Prusias' attitude was more that of entreaty than demand, for he declared that up to this time he had taken the part of the Romans, and would so continue as long as the war lasted; however, inasmuch as envoys from Perseus had come to him to discuss ending the war with the Romans, he had promised to plead Perseus' cause before the senate; he requested that if they could bring themselves to do so, they would put an end to their wrath, and would accord him, too, their thanks for the restoration of peace. So spoke the king's envoys. The Rhodians haughtily reviewed their services to the Roman people, and claimed for themselves almost the greater part of the victories, especially over King Antiochus; they then added that while peace had existed between the Macedonians and Romans, they had entered upon friendship with King Perseus; this they had broken off against their will and on account of no fault of his toward them, but because it had seemed good to the Romans to draw them into participation in the war.

land, and even in Britain. (See Seltman, *Greek Coins*, pp. 200–202, and *R.E.* 2196–2198.)

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se annum multa eius incommoda belli sentire mari intercluso; inopem insulam esse nec, nisi maritimis
11 iuvetur commeatibus, colendam. Itaque cum [1] id ultra pati non possent, legatos alios ad Persea in Macedoniam misisse qui ei denuntiarent Rhodiis placere pacem eum componere cum Romanis; se
12 Romam eadem nuntiatum missos. Per quos stetisset quo minus belli finis fieret, adversus eos quid sibi faciendum esset, Rhodios consideraturos esse.
13 Ne [2] nunc quidem haec sine indignatione legi audirive posse certum habeo; inde existimari potest, qui habitus animorum audientibus ea patribus fuerit.

XV. Claudius nihil responsum auctor est, tantum senatus consultum recitatum, quo Caras et Lycios liberos esse iuberet populus Romanus litterasque

[1] mari intercluso; inopem insulam esse, nec nisi maritimis iuvetur commeatibus colendam. Itaque cum *Novák*: mari intercluso; incultam insulam inopem esse, nisi maritimis iuvetur contributisque commeatibus. Cum *Gitlbauer*: mari interim incluso inopiam insulam inopen misso . . . ritimis iuuetur colendi itaque commeatibus cum *V*.

[2] ne *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

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[1] For the services of the Rhodians, cf. XLII. xlvi. 6. According to Polybius XXVIII. 16, relations between Rome and Rhodes were entirely cordial this year; in 168 B.C. the consul Marcius suggested to an embassy of the Rhodians that they act as mediators; the only result was to encourage the pro-Macedonians in Rhodes (cf. below, xxxv. 4, where Livy still saddles the Rhodians with the onus in this matter; also XLV. iii. 3, with which cf. Polybius XXIX. 10). Polybius suspects Marcius of planning to have the Rhodians annoy the Romans and so justify Rome's overriding their independence; in view of Marcius' liking for intrigue (XLII. xlvii. 1–4), this

For the third year, they said, they were feeling many B.C. 169
inconveniences from this war because of the interruption of commerce; their island was poor, and could not be inhabited without the assistance of sea-borne supplies. Since therefore they could no longer endure this privation, they had sent other envoys to Perseus in Macedonia, to inform him that it was the Rhodians' wish that he should arrange a peace with the Romans, and that they had sent a similar announcement to Rome. If either party was responsible for preventing the ending of the war, the Rhodians would deliberate as to what action they ought to take against this party.

I feel sure that even now these statements cannot be read or heard without indignation; from this one can judge what the senate's state of mind was as they listened.[1]

XV. Claudius has it that the senate returned no answer, but only had read its decree that the Roman people gave the Carians and Lycians their freedom [2] and that despatches should be immediately sent to both peoples, on hearing which the chief of the

is quite probable. In XLV. xxii. 2, Livy suggests that Roman suspicion of Rhodes was something new in 167 B.C.; in XLV. xxv. 6, the "freeing" of Lycia and Caria seems to have been ordered in that year. Claudius (see below) or some other annalist seems to have misled Livy by anticipating developments. Cassius Dio XX. fr. 66, 2 = Zonaras 9. 22 says that Perseus would have been granted peace but for the tactlessness of the Rhodians. Livy certainly had no suspicion that the Romans might have continued to tolerate Perseus.

[2] Previous friction between these peoples and the Rhodians was noted in XLI. vi. 8–12, cf. the note, and XLII. xiv. 8. Polybius XXX. 5. 12 records a decree "freeing" the Carians and Lycians in the year 168–7 B.C., probably the time when it was actually passed.

c. 2 extemplo ad utramque gentem mitti;[1] qua audita
5 re principem legationis, cuius magniloquentiam vix
curia paulo ante ceperat, corruisse.
3 Alii responsum esse tradunt, populum Romanum et
principio eius belli haud vanis auctoribus compertum
habuisse Rhodios cum Perseo rege adversus rem
publicam suam occulta consilia inisse, et si id[2] ante
4 dubium fuisset, legatorum paulo[3] ante verba ad
certum redegisse, et plerumque ipsam se fraudem,
5 etiamsi initio cautior fuerit, detegere. Rhodios
nunc[4] in orbe terrarum arbitria belli pacisque agere:
Rhodiorum[5] nutu arma sumpturos positurosque
Romanos esse. Iam non deos foederum testis, sed
6 Rhodios habituros. Itane tandem? ni[6] pareatur iis
exercitusque de Macedonia deportentur, visuros esse
7 quid sibi faciendum sit? quid Rhodii visuri sint, ipsos
scire. Populum certe Romanum devicto Perseo,
quod prope diem sperent fore, visurum ut pro meritis
cuiusque in eo bello civitatis gratiam dignam referat.
8 Munus tamen legatis in singulos binum milium aeris
missum est, quod ii non acceperunt.

XVI. Litterae deinde recitatae Q. Marcii consulis
sunt, quemadmodum saltu superato in Macedoniam
2 transisset: ibi et ex aliis locis commeatus se[7] pros-

[1] gentem mitti *Hartel*: gentem ut sciret iudicatum mitti *Madvig*: gentem ut id sciret indicatum mitti *Weissenborn*: gentem sciret indicatum mitti V.

[2] inisse et si id *Fr*: inissetid V.

[3] legatorum paulo *Fr*: legatorum occulta consilia inisset paulo V.

[4] nunc *I. Perizonius*: nuntio V.

[5] Rhodiorum *Crévier*: deorum V.

[6] ni *Kreyssig*: is V.

[7] se *Vahlen*: remp. V.

Rhodian embassy, for whose proud language the B.C. 169
senate-house had but a moment before seemed too small, now suffered deflation. Other historians record the following answer:

"At the outset of this war the Roman people were informed by no trifling sources that the Rhodians had entered upon secret plots with King Perseus against the Roman state,[1] but even had this been doubtful before, the words of the embassy just uttered have made the matter certain. Frequently treachery unmasks itself, even if it is more wary at first. And now the Rhodians pass judgment throughout the world as to peace and war! At the beck and call of the Rhodians will the Romans take up and lay down their arms! Now we are no longer to call upon the gods to witness treaties, but rather the Rhodians! Unless obedience is rendered them, and our armies are removed from Macedonia, the Rhodians will see, will they, what they must do? What the Rhodians will see, they themselves know. But surely the Roman people, after their conquest of Perseus, which they hope will take place any day, will see that they repay a suitable reward for the actions of each state during the war." Nevertheless, a present of two thousand sesterces apiece was sent to the envoys, which they refused.

XVI. Thereafter despatches from Quintus Marcius the consul were read, describing his crossing over into Macedonia, by forcing the pass; in Macedonia he had procured supplies in advance of winter from

[1] Cf. XLII. xxvi. 8 for earlier Roman suspicions, which to a large extent resulted from the Rhodians' non-partisanship, based on a preference for a balance of power, cf. XLII. xxx. 5–6.

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pectos in hiemem habere et ab Epirotis viginti milia modium tritici, decem hordei sumpsisse, ut pro eo frumento pecunia Romae legatis eorum curaretur. 3 Vestimenta militibus ab Roma mittenda esse; equis ducentis ferme opus esse, maxime Numidicis, nec 4 sibi [1] in his locis ullam copiam esse. Senatus consultum, ut ea omnia ex litteris consulis fierent, factum est. C. Sulpicius praetor sex milia togarum, triginta tunicarum, equos ducentos [2] deportanda in Macedoniam praebendaque arbitratu consulis locavit et legatis Epirotarum pecuniam pro frumento solvit et Onesimum, Pythonis filium, nobilem Macedonem, 5 in senatum introduxit. Is pacis semper auctor regi fuerat monueratque, sicut pater eius Philippus institutum usque ad ultimum vitae diem servarat [3] cotidie, bis in die foederis icti cum Romanis perlegendi, ut eum morem, si non semper, crebro tamen usurparet. 6 Postquam deterrere eum a bello nequiit, primo subtrahere sese per alias atque alias causas,[4] ne interesset iis quae non probabat, coepit; postremo, cum suspectum se esse cerneret et proditionis interdum crimine insimulari, ad Romanos transfugit et [5] magno 7 usui consuli fuit. Ea introductus in curiam cum memorasset, senatus in formulam sociorum eum

[1] Numidicis nec sibi *Novák*: numidineesi *V*.
[2] ducentos *Forchhammer*: et *V*.
[3] servarat *Drakenborch*: servabat *V*.
[4] causas *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[5] et *add. Drakenborch*: *om. V*.

[1] He was the city praetor, cf. XLIII. xv. 3. Under Sulpicius' sponsorship as praetor, Ennius produced his *Thyestes* (Cicero, *Brutus* 78), and in his consulship, Terence produced his *Andria*; for Sulpicius' prediction of an eclipse, see below, xxxvii. 5.

various localities, and in particular had received B.C. 169
twenty thousand bushels of wheat and ten thousand of barley from the Epirotes, so that payment for this grain should be arranged with their envoys at Rome. Clothes, said the consul, should be sent to the army from Rome; there was need for about two hundred horses, especially Numidians, and he had no supply of them where he was. A decree of the senate was passed to carry out these requests of the consul. Gaius Sulpicius the praetor [1] let a contract for transporting to Macedonia six thousand togas,[2] thirty thousand tunics, and two hundred horses, and for depositing them where the consul chose. Sulpicius also paid the envoys of the Epirotes the price of the grain, and brought before the senate Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian noble. He had always been a proponent of peace to the king, and had advised him to adopt frequently, if not regularly, the practice which his father Philip had begun and continued to the last day of his life—namely, that of reading through twice daily the treaty he had made with the Romans. After Onesimus had been unable to discourage the king from war, Onesimus began at first to withdraw on one excuse or another, so as not to be associated with projects of which he disapproved. Finally, when he saw that he was an object of suspicion and that occasionally he was being charged by innuendo with treachery, he deserted to the Romans and made himself very useful to the consul. On being introduced to the senate, he recited these facts, and the senate ordered that he be enrolled in the category of allies, that a residence and entertainment

[2] For this use of a civilian garment by soldiers, cf. XXII. liv. 2 and the note.

U.C. 585 referri iussit, locum, lautia praeberi, agri Tarentini [1] qui publicus populi Romani esset ducenta iugera dari, et aedes Tarenti emi. Uti ea curaret, C. Decimio praetori mandatum.

8 Censores censum [2] idibus Decembribus severius quam ante habuerunt: multis equi adempti, inter quos P. Rutilio, qui tribunus plebis eos violenter accusarat; tribu quoque is motus et aerarius [3]
9 factus. Ad opera publica facienda cum eis dimidium ex vectigalibus eius anni attributum ex senatus con-
10 sulto a quaestoribus esset, Ti. Sempronius ex ea pecunia, quae ipsi attributa erat, aedes P. Africani pone Veteres ad Vortumni signum lanienasque [4] et
11 tabernas coniunctas in publicum emit basilicamque faciendam curavit, quae postea Sempronia appellata est.

XVII. Iam in exitu annus erat et propter Macedonici maxime belli curam in sermonibus homines habebant quos in annum consules ad finiendum tan-
2 dem id bellum crearent. Itaque senatus consultum factum est, ut Cn. Servilius primo quoque tempore ad

[1] Tarentini *Fr*: intrarentin *V*.
[2] mandatum. Censores censum *Fr*: mandatū recensum *V*.
[3] aerarius *Ursinus*: operarius *V*.
[4] lanienas *Turnebus*: laneas *V*.

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[1] For similar rewards, cf. II. xvi. 4–5; XXIII. xlvi. 6–7; XXVI. xxi. 9–13.

[2] He was praetor in charge of aliens, XLIII. xv. 3.

[3] Severity to knights was previously mentioned, XLIII. xvi. 1; either the process was interrupted by the objections there described, or the censors conducted a new review at this later date. Rutilius was now open to their attack, because he had left the tribunate four days before on December 9.

[4] Africanus was the father-in-law of the censor. The Old Shops had been built in 209 B.C., cf. XXVII. xi. 16, and were

be provided for him, that two hundred acres of the B.C. 169
public land of the Roman people in the district of Tarentum be given him, and that a house be bought for him at Tarentum.[1] Gaius Decimius the praetor[2] was entrusted with the execution of these orders.

The censors conducted the census on the thirteenth of December more strictly than before. Many were deprived of their rank of knights, among them Publius Rutilius who as tribune of the commons had violently assailed the censors; he was also removed from his tribe and disenfranchised.[3] As half the revenues of the year had by decree of the senate been assigned by the quaestors to the censors for the construction of public works, Titus Sempronius, out of the funds assigned to him, bought for the state the house of Publius Africanus behind the Old Shops in the direction of the statue of Vortumnus, as well as the butcher's stalls and the shops adjacent, and saw to the construction of the basilica which afterward received the name of Sempronian.[4]

XVII. The year was drawing to its close, and because of concern, especially for the war with Macedonia, men were discussing what consuls they should elect for this year, to bring this war at last to an end. A resolution of the senate was therefore passed, that Gnaeus Servilius should come as promptly

so called to distinguish them from some built in 194 B.C. The bronze statue of the Etruscan god Vortumnus stood in the *Vicus Tuscus* some distance south-west of the Forum, but visible from it; the statue is mentioned by Cicero, *in Verrem* II. I. 59, 154, and Propertius V. (IV.) 2. The god, whose name seems to be good Latin, was in charge of turning or exchange, and received a temple in Rome after the overthrow of his home town of Volsinii in 264 B.C. The Basilica Sempronia was later supplanted by the Basilica Julia.

r.c. 85 3 comitia habenda veniret. Senatus consultum Sulpicius praetor ad consulem misit, litterasque allatas a consule post paucos dies recitavit, quibus in ante diem . . . comitia edixit: se ante eum diem [1] in urbem venturum. Et consul maturavit et comitia eo
4 die qui dictus erat sunt perfecta. Consules creati L. Aemilius Paulus iterum, quarto [2] decumo anno postquam primo consul fuerat, et C. Licinius Crassus.
5 Praetores postero die facti Cn. Baebius Tamphilus,[3] L. Anicius Gallus, Cn. Octavius, P. Fonteius Balbus,
6 M. Aebutius Helva, C. Papirius Carbo. Omnia ut maturius agerentur, belli Macedonici stimulabat
7 cura. Itaque designatos extemplo sortiri placuit provincias, ut, cum [4] utri Macedonia consuli cuique praetori classis evenisset sciretur, ii iam inde [5] cogitarent pararentque quae bello usui forent, senatumque consulerent, si qua de [6] re consulto opus
8 esset. Latinas, ubi magistratum inissent, quod per religiones posset primo quoque tempore fieri placere, ne quid [7] consulem, cui eundum in Macedoniam esset,
9 teneret. His decretis, consulibus Italia et Macedonia, praetoribus praeter duas iurisdictiones in urbe classis et Hispania et Sicilia et Sardinia provinciae

[1] misit, litterasque allatas a consule . . . in . . . comitia edixit; se ante eum diem *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.
[2] quarto *Sigonius*: septumo *V*.
[3] Baebius *Fr*: Tamphilus *Sigonius*: pa pilius *V*.
[4] placuit provincias ut cum *Madvig*: placuit provideanteum *V*.
[5] ii iam inde *Madvig*: utiaminide *V*.

as possible to hold the elections. The praetor B.C. 169
Sulpicius forwarded the resolution to the consul, and read to the senate a few days later the return despatch from that officer. In this, he set the day for the elections as . . . , and announced his return to the city previous to that time. The consul made haste, and the elections were completed on the day set. There were elected as consuls Lucius Aemilius Paulus for the second time, in the fourteenth year after his first term, and Gaius Licinius Crassus. On the following day, there were elected to the praetorship Gnaeus Baebius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Gnaeus Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Aebutius Helva, and Gaius Papirius Carbo. Concern for the war with Macedonia induced the speeding up of the whole procedure. Therefore it was voted that these magistrates-elect should be allotted their fields of operation immediately, so that when it was known which consul had received Macedonia and which praetor the fleet, the designated men might begin their plans and preparations of the supplies necessary for war and might consult the senate if there was need for consultation on any subject. It was determined to hold the Latin Festival as soon as was possible on religious grounds after the entrance upon office of the magistrates, to avoid any delay to the consul who was to set out for Macedonia. In these decrees, the fields of operation for the consuls were designated as Macedonia and Italy; those for the praetors were, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. Mace-

[6] de *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V.*
[7] ne quid *Forchhammer*: neque *V.*

u.c. 585 10 nominatae sunt. Consulum Aemilio Macedonia, Licinio Italia evenit. Praetores Cn. Baebius urbanam, L. Anicius peregrinam et si quo senatus censuisset, Cn. Octavius classem, P. Fonteius Hispaniam, M. Aebutius Siciliam,[1] C. Papirius Sardiniam est sortitus.

XVIII. Extemplo apparuit omnibus non segniter id bellum L. Aemilium gesturum, praeterquam quod militaris [2] vir erat, etiam quod dies noctesque intentus ea sola quae ad id bellum pertinerent animo agitabat. 2 Iam omnium primum a senatu petit, ut legatos in Macedoniam mitterent ad exercitus visendos classemque et comperta referenda, quid aut terrestribus 3 aut navalibus copiis opus esset[3]; praeterea ut explorarent copias regias quantum possent, qua[4] provincia nostra, qua hostium foret: utrum intra saltus castra Romani haberent, an iam omnes angustiae exsuperatae, et in aequa loca pervenis- 4 sent; qui fideles nobis socii, qui dubii suspensaeque ex fortuna fidei, qui certi hostes viderentur; quanti praeparati commeatus, et unde terrestri itinere, unde navibus subportarentur; quid ea aestate terra marique rerum gestum [5] esset: ex his bene cognitis certa

[1] M. Aebutius Siciliam *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[2] militaris *H. A. Koch*: alias *Hertz*: talis *Forchhammer*: aliis V.
[3] esset *Sigonius*: est V.
[4] qua *Vahlen*: quaqua V.
[5] gestum *J. F. Gronovius*: gestarum V.

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[1] It was later assumed, cf. *C.I.L.* I.² 1, p. 194, *elogium* XV. and Plutarch, *Aemilius* x that Paulus was *electel* as general for Macedonia; this cannot be taken literally, as it would have been the senate which assigned him to a province;

donia fell to the lot of the consul Aemilius,[1] Italy to B.C 169
Licinius. Of the praetors, Gnaeus Baebius received the jurisdiction over citizens, Lucius Anicius was given that over aliens and was placed at the disposal of the senate, Gnaeus Octavius received the fleet, Publius Fonteius Spain, Marcus Aebutius Sicily, and Gnaeus Papirius Sardinia.

XVIII. It was at once obvious to everyone that Lucius Aemilius was going to prosecute this war in no sluggish fashion, not only because he was a warlike man, but also because without relaxing by day or night he turned over in his mind nothing but what concerned this war. First of all he requested the senate to send envoys to Macedonia to inspect the armies and the fleet and to report their findings as to what was needed by way of forces on land or sea; moreover, they were to collect information as far as possible about the king's forces and about the terrain under our control and under that of the enemy. They were to investigate the following: whether the Romans were encamped among the mountains or whether all the narrows had been passed and the plains reached; which of the allies were loyal to us, which were wavering and of a loyalty dependent on fortune, and which seemed definitely hostile; how large a supply of provisions had been prepared and whence they could be brought, by a land route or by ships, respectively; what had been achieved on land and sea during this summer. From good information on these points sure decisions might be made for the

unless a judicious falsifying of the allotment process took place, the appointment of Paulus was a bit of the *felicitas* of the Roman people. Crassus had a respectable record as a soldier, cf. XLII. lviii. 12.

B.C. 585

5 in futurum consilia capi posse. Senatus[1] Cn. Servilio consuli negotium dedit ut tris[2] in Macedoniam quos L. Aemilio videretur, legaret. Legati biduo post profecti Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, A. Licinius Nerva, L. Baebius.

6 Bis in exitu anni eius lapidatum esse nuntiatum est, semel[3] in Romano agro, semel in Veienti. Bis[4] 7 novemdiale sacrum factum est. Sacerdotes eo anno mortui sunt P. Quinctilius Varus flamen Martialis et M. Claudius Marcellus decemvir; in cuius locum Cn. 8 Octavius suffectus. Et iam magnificentia crescente notatum est ludis circensibus P. Corneli Scipionis Nasicae et P. Lentuli aedilium curulium[5] sexaginta tres Africanas et quadraginta ursos et elephantos lusisse.

B.C. 586

XIX. L. Aemilio Paulo C. Licinio consulibus, idibus Martiis, principio insequentis anni, cum in expectatione patres fuissent, maxime quidnam consul de Macedonia, cuius ea provincia esset, referret, nihil se habere Paulus quod referret, cum nondum legati[6] 2 redissent, dixit. Ceterum Brundisi legatos iam esse, 3 bis ex cursu Dyrrachium reiectos.[7] Cognitis mox quae nosci prius in rem esset, relaturum; id fore intra 4 perpaucos dies. Et ne quid profectionem suam

[1] posse. Senatus *Bekker*: posseseratus *V*.
[2] dedit ut tris *Harant*: dedit utris *V*.
[3] est. semel *Madvig*: esse *V*.
[4] semel in Veienti. Bis *Madvig*: simul in beientibus *V*.
[5] aedilium curulium *ed. Bas. 1535*: aedilis curulis *V*.
[6] cum nondum legati *Fr*: cum nondum III legati *Rossbach*: nondum inlegati *V*.

future, said Aemilius. The senate gave the consul B.C. 169
Gnaeus Servilius the task of choosing three men satisfactory to Lucius Aemilius as envoys to Macedonia. Two days later the envoys set out—Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Baebius.

Report was made of two showers of stones near the end of this year, one on Roman land, one on that of Veii. On both occasions a nine-day rite was performed. The priests who died during this year were Publius Quinctilius Varus, the *flamen* of Mars,[1] and Marcus Claudius Marcellus of the Board of Ten. Gnaeus Octavius replaced the latter. Display being now on the increase, it is recorded that at the games in the arena by the curule aediles Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Publius Lentulus, sixty-three leopards and forty bears and elephants participated.

XIX. In the consulship of Lucius Aemilius Paulus B.C. 168
and Gaius Licinius, on the fifteenth of March, at the beginning of the new year, the senators were on the *qui vive*, especially as to what the consul in charge of Macedonia would bring before them about his field of operations. But Paulus said that he had nothing to present until the envoys returned, but that the envoys were now at Brundisium, after having been blown back twice to Dyrrachium on their voyage. As soon as he acquired the information which was the first necessity, he would lay matters before the senate, and this would take place within a very few days. In order to avoid any delay to his setting-

[1] He was replaced in the following year by Lucius Postumius Albinus, XLV. xv. 10.

[7] reiectos *Manutius*: eiectos *V*.

c.c. 86 teneret, pridie idus Apriles Latinis esse constitutam diem. Sacrificio rite perfecto et se et [1] Cn. Octavium, simul senatus censuisset, exituros esse. C. Licinio collegae suo fore curae se absente, ut si qua parari mittique [2] ad id bellum opus sit, parentur mittanturque. Interea legationes exterarum nationum audiri posse.

6 Primi [3] Alexandrini legati ab Ptolemaeo et Cleo-
7 patra [4] regibus vocati sunt. Sordidati, barba et capillo promisso, cum ramis oleae ingressi curiam procubuerunt, et oratio quam habitus fuit miserabilior.
8 Antiochus Syriae rex, qui obses Romae fuerat, per honestam speciem maioris Ptolemaei reducendi in regnum, bellum cum minore fratre eius, qui tum
9 Alexandriam tenebat, gerens et ad Pelusium navali proelio superior [5] fuerat et tumultuario opere ponte per Nilum facto transgressus cum exercitu obsidione ipsam Alexandriam terrebat, nec procul abesse quin
10 potiretur regno opulentissimo videbatur. Ea legati querentes orabant senatum ut opem regno regibusque
11 amicis imperio Romano [6] ferrent. Ea merita populi Romani in Antiochum, eam apud omnes reges gentesque auctoritatem esse ut, si legatos misissent

[1] et se et *Harant*: esset *V*.
[2] mittique *H. J. Müller*: mittiue *V*.
[3] posse. Primi *Crévier*: possesacrificioriteperfectoprimi *V*, *cf.* § 4 *supra*.
[4] Ptolemaeo et Cleopatra *Fr*: ptolemeopatra *V*.
[5] superior *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V*.
[6] Romano *add. Zingerle*: *om. V*.

[1] The date is given below, xxii. 16, as March 31; in either case, it was very early as compared with dates cited elsewhere, *e.g.*, XLI. xvi. 1 (May 5), XLII. xxxv. 3 (June 1). Actually, due to the confusion of the calendar, the festival was held in late January this year, cf. below, xxxvii. 8.

out, said Paulus, the day for the Latin Festival had B.C. 168
been set at April twelfth[1]; after the proper performance of the sacrifice, if the senate concurred, he and Gnaeus Octavius would both set out. His colleague Gaius Licinius would take care, in his absence, to get ready and send out what should be made ready and sent to the war; meanwhile, said Paulus, the embassies of foreign nations might be given audience.

First the envoys from King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra at Alexandria were announced. Grimy,[2] with untrimmed beard and hair, they entered the senate-house bearing olive-branches, and prostrated themselves; their speech was more pitiable than their array. Antiochus, the king of Syria, who had been a hostage at Rome, under the decent pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to his throne, was waging war against the younger brother, who was then in possession of Alexandria.[3] Antiochus had won a naval battle at Pelusium and, after leading his forces across the Nile on a hastily-constructed bridge, was overawing Alexandria with his siege and seemed to be on the very point of laying his hands on a very rich kingdom. Complaining of this attack, the envoys begged the senate to come to the rescue of a kingdom and a royal pair who were friends of Roman rule. Such, they argued, were the benefits conferred on Antiochus by the Roman people, and such their influence with all kings and nations that, if they sent

[2] As part of their costume as suppliants.

[3] On Antiochus' sojourn at Rome, cf. XLI. xx; a previous stage in Antiochus' encroachment on Egypt was mentioned in XLII. xxix. 5, cf. Polybius XXVII. 19, also XXVIII. 18 f. (16 f.) The "elder Ptolemy" is Ptolemy VI Philometor; the "younger," Euergetes II.

u.c. 586 qui ei nuntiarent [1] non placere senatui sociis regibus bellum fieri, extemplo abscessurus a moenibus Alexandreae abducturusque exercitum in Syriam esset.
12 Quod si cunctentur facere, brevi extorres regno Ptolemaeum et Cleopatram Romam venturos, cum pudore quodam populi Romani, quod nullam opem in
13 ultimo discrimine fortunarum tulissent. Moti patres precibus Alexandrinorum extemplo C. Popilium Laenatem et C. Decimium et C. Hostilium legatos ad
14 finiendum inter reges bellum miserunt. Prius Antiochum, dein Ptolemaeum adire iussi et nuntiare, ni absistatur bello, per utrum stetisset, eum non pro amico nec pro socio habituros esse.

XX. His intra triduum simul cum legatis Alexandrinis profectis legati ex Macedonia quinquatribus ultimis adeo expectati venerunt ut, nisi [2] vesper esset,
2 extemplo senatum vocaturi consules fuerint. Postero die senatus fuit legatique auditi sunt. Ii nuntiant maiore periculo quam emolumento exercitum per
3 invios saltus in Macedoniam inductum. Pieriam, quo processisset, regem tenere; castra castris prope ita conlata esse, ut flumine Elpeo [3] interiecto arceantur. Neque regem pugnandi potestatem facere, nec

[1] ei nuntiarent *Harant*: enuntiarent *V*.
[2] ut nisi *Kreyssig*: utuinisi *V*.
[3] Elpeo *Madvig*: epeia *V*.

[1] Polybius XXIX. 2 (1) stresses the Roman interest in keeping Antiochus out of Egypt; he does not indicate that the Roman embassy accompanied the Egyptians, and puts more emphasis than does Livy on Roman initiative.

[2] This festival, first mentioned for the year 207 B.C., occurred on March 19–23, see XXVI. xxvii. 1 and the note, also Ovid, *Fasti* III. 810; *C.I.L.* I.² 1, p. 312 gives a discussion of the origin of the name (probably because it originally fell on the "fifth" day, Roman inclusive reckoning, after the Ides),

envoys to declare to Antiochus that the senate did not B.C. 168
wish war to be made on kings allied to it, Antiochus would at once depart from the walls of Alexandria and would lead his army back into Syria. If they hesitated to do this, shortly Ptolemy and Cleopatra, robbed of their kingdom, would arrive in Rome, somewhat to the shame of the Roman people, because they had offered no aid in the final crisis of their fortunes. The senators, stirred by the entreaties of the Alexandrines, at once [1] sent Gaius Popilius Laenas, Gaius Decimius, and Gaius Hostilius as envoys to bring an end to the war between the kings. They were instructed to approach first Antiochus and then Ptolemy, and to proclaim that if war was not concluded, the party constituting the obstacle would not be considered either a friend or an ally to the Romans.

XX. This embassy left within three days along with the envoys from Alexandria. The mission from Macedonia arrived on the last day of the Quinquatrus [2] amid such eagerness that, had it not been evening, the consuls would have summoned the senate at once. Next day the session was held and the envoys were heard. They reported as follows: "The army has been led into Macedonia by trackless passes at a risk disproportionate to the gain. Pieria, which the army has reached, is in the hands of the king; the encampments are so nearly in contact that hardly more than the Elpeüs River separates them. The king does not offer battle, and our forces have

and points out that besides being connected with Minerva, the day had associations with Mars, and seems to have been the time for ceremonial readying of weapons for the campaigning season.

4 nostris vim ad cogendum esse. Hiemem etiam insuper[1] rebus gerendis intervenisse. In otio militem ali,[2] nec plus quam VI dierum[3] frumentum habere. 5 Macedonum dici triginta milia armatorum esse. Si Ap. Claudio circa Lychnidum satis validus exercitus foret, potuisse eum[4] ancipiti bello distinere regem: nunc et Appium et quod[5] cum eo praesidii sit in summo periculo esse, nisi propere aut iustus exercitus 6 eo mittatur, aut illi inde deducantur. Ad classem se ex castris profectos sociorum navalium partem morbo audisse absumptam, partem, maxime qui ex Sicilia fuerint, domos suas abisse, et homines navibus deesse: qui sint, neque stipendium accepisse neque vesti- 7 menta habere. Eumenen classemque eius, tamquam vento adlatas naves, sine causa et venisse et abisse; nec animum eius regis constare satis visum. Sicut omnia de Eumene dubia, ita[6] Attali egregie constantem fidem nuntiabant.

XXI. Legatis auditis tunc de bello referre sese L. 2 Aemilius dixit. Senatus decrevit, ut in octo[7] legiones parem numerum tribunorum consules et populus

[1] Hiemem etiam insuper *Vahlen*: in hiemem etiam in spe *V*.
[2] In otio militem ali *Fr*: notiomilitialii *V*.
[3] dierum *add. Sigonius*: mensium *add. Kreyssig*: modium *add. Goldbacher*: *om. V*.
[4] potuisse eum *Harant*: potuisset in *V*.
[5] quod *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[6] ita *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V*.
[7] ut in octo *ed. Bas. 1535*: utiocto *V*.

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[1] Livy has not mentioned him since XLIII. xxiii. 6; Polybius XXVIII. 13 (11) tells how Appius in the meantime had tried to raise Achaean troops, but had been hindered by Marcius.

not the strength to compel him to do so. Also the winter is an added obstacle to an active campaign. The soldiers are being supported in idleness and have grain for no more than six days. The Macedonian forces are said to number thirty thousand. If Appius Claudius [1] had sufficient strength in the region of Lychnidus, he could have distracted the king with a second front; as it is, Appius and the force with him are in the greatest danger unless either a full-fledged army is quickly sent him or his present force is extricated. As to the fleet, we heard after we left the camp that some of the sailors have been lost by disease, and some, especially the Sicilians, have gone home, so that the ships lack crews. Those who are there have not received their pay and are insufficiently clothed. Eumenes and his fleet have come and gone for no good reason, as if his ships were drifting before the wind; and there is no good evidence that the spirit of this king is unwavering." [2] The envoys reported that Attalus was as gallantly unswerving as Eumenes was entirely undependable. B.C. 168

XXI. After hearing the envoys, Lucius Aemilius laid before the senate the question of the conduct of the war. The senate decreed that the consuls and the people should each choose half of the tribunes for

[2] The immediate facts reported by Livy, above, x. 12–xiii. 10, and xxviii, do not bear this out; but Eumenes was not above bargaining with Perseus, below, xxiv–xxv (based on Polybius), and some of Livy's sources may have projected back later Roman suspicions, cf. above, xiii. 9. 12–13. Livy usually falls into the attitude, natural enough for his own day, that no one had any business to act contrary to Roman interests; but in the second century, Rome was not the paramount power in the Macedonian–Greek world, and it was not even clear that she proposed at this time to take a permanent interest in the affairs of that region.

.c. crearent; creari autem neminem eo anno placere,
6 3 nisi qui honorem gessisset. Tum ex omnibus tribunis militum uti L. Aemilius in duas legiones in Macedoniam, quos eorum velit, eligat et ut sollemni Latinarum perfecto L. Aemilius consul, Cn. Octavius praetor, cui classis obtigisset, in provinciam pro-
4 ficiscantur. Additus est his tertius L. Anicius praetor, cuius inter peregrinos iurisdictio erat; eum in provinciam Illyricum circa Lychnidum Ap. Claudio
5 succedere placuit. Dilectus cura C. Licinio consuli imposita. Is septem [1] milia civium Romanorum et
6 equites ducentos scribere iussus et sociis nominis Latini septem milia peditum imperare, quadringentos
7 equites, et Cn. Servilio Galliam obtinenti provinciam litteras mittere ut sescentos equites conscriberet.
8 Hunc exercitum ad collegam primo quoque tempore mittere in Macedoniam iussus; neque in ea provincia plus quam duas legiones esse; eas repleri, ut sena milia peditum, trecenos haberent equites; ceteros
9 pedites equitesque [2] in praesidiis disponi. Qui eorum idonei ad militandum non essent, dimitti. Decem praeterea milia peditum imperata sociis et octingenti
10 equites. Id praesidii additum Anicio praeter duas

[1] imposita. Is septem *Fr*: inpositiscentum *V*.
[2] pedites equitesque *Vahlen*: peditesque *V*.

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[1] These provisions for officering the legions provided for reasonably competent officers, while still avoiding the suspicion of favouritism among an office-holding clique which may have caused the use of popular election of tribunes the previous year, XLIII. xii. 7. Of the eight legions, two were probably for Gaul (*i.e.*, north Italy), and two were to be Home Guard (*urbanae*); officers less competent or less congenial to the consuls could be shunted to these legions. The dangers of

eight legions; however, it was voted that no one who B.C. 168
had not held office should be chosen that year.[1] Then from among the tribunes Lucius Aemilius was to choose whomever he preferred for the two legions for Macedonia. It was further voted that after the completion of the Latin Festival, the consul Lucius Aemilius and Gnaeus Octavius, the praetor to whom the fleet had been allotted, should depart for their field of operations. To them was added the praetor Lucius Anicius, whose post was the court for aliens; it was voted that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the Illyrian theatre near Lychnidus. Charge over the levy was given to the consul Gaius Licinius. He was instructed to enroll seven thousand Roman citizens and two hundred horsemen and to demand of the allies of the Latin Name seven thousand infantry and four hundred cavalry, and he was to send a despatch to Gnaeus Servilius the commander in the province of Gaul, instructing him to enroll six hundred cavalry. This force Licinius was ordered to send as promptly as possible to his colleague in Macedonia; a limit of two legions was placed on the army on that front, and each legion was to be reinforced till it contained six thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry; the surplus infantry and cavalry were to be distributed as garrisons. Men unfit for military service were to be discharged. An added levy was imposed on the allies of ten thousand infantry and eight hundred cavalry. This force was given to Anicius besides the

[1] "inbreeding" in office-holding at Rome are especially well illustrated by the Jugurthine War; the counter-dangers of politically able commoners elevated to military posts are shown by the careers of Flaminius and Varro in the Second Punic War.

B.C. 586 legiones, quas portare in Macedoniam est iussus, quina milia peditum et ducenos habentes, trecenos equites. Et in classem quinque milia navalium socium
11 sunt scripta. Licinius consul duabus legionibus obtinere provinciam iussus; eo addere sociorum decem milia peditum et sescentos equites.

XXII. Senatus consultis perfectis L. Aemilius consul e curia in contionem processit orationemque
2 talem habuit[1]: "animadvertisse videor, Quirites, maiorem mihi sortito Macedoniam provinciam gratulationem factam, quam cum aut consul sum creatus,[2]
3 aut quo die magistratum inii,[3] neque id ob aliam causam, quam quia bello in Macedonia, quod diu trahitur, existimastis dignum maiestate populi Romani exitum per me imponi posse. Deos quoque huic favisse sorti spero eosdemque in rebus gerendis
4 adfuturos esse. Haec partim ominari,[4] partim sperare possum; illud adfirmare pro certo audeo,[5] me omni ope adnisurum esse, ne[6] frustra vos hanc
5 spem de me conceperitis. Quae ad bellum opus sunt et senatus decrevit et, quoniam extemplo proficisci placet neque ego in mora sum, C. Licinius collega, vir egregius, aeque enixe parabit ac si ipse id bellum
6 gesturus esset. Vos quae scripsero senatui ac vobis, iis modo credite et cavete rumores credulitate vestra
7 alatis,[7] quorum auctor nemo extabit. Nam nunc

[1] habuit *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[2] aut consul sum creatus *Playgers*: aut conpulsus consulatus *V*.
[3] inii *Madvig*: inissent *V*.
[4] ominari *Crévier*: opinari *V*.
[5] certo audeo *Madvig*: certo habeo audeo *V*.
[6] ne *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] ac vobis, iis modo credite et cavete rumores credulitate vestra alatis *Novák*: aut vobis mores crudelitatis vestrae adlatis *V*.

two legions which he was ordered to transport to Macedonia, each legion having five thousand two hundred infantry and three hundred cavalry. Moreover, five thousand sailors were enrolled for the fleet. Licinius the consul was ordered to hold his area with two legions, and to add to them ten thousand infantry and six hundred cavalry of the allies. B.C. 168

XXII. When the senate had finished its voting, the consul Lucius Aemilius went from the senate-house to a public meeting and made the following speech: "I seem to have noticed, fellow-citizens, that greater congratulations were offered me when I was allotted Macedonia as my field of operations than when my election as consul was announced, or on the day when I entered upon office. The reason for this was none other, I believe, than that you regard me as capable of bringing the long-drawn-out war in Macedonia to an end worthy of the high position of the Roman people. The gods too, I hope, approve this fall of the lot and will likewise be at my side in action. So far I can partly prophesy, and partly hope; another matter I dare to assert as sure—namely, that I will strive with every effort that the hope you have conceived for me shall not be vain. What is required for the war has been voted by the senate, and since it is determined that I shall set out at once, for which I am not reluctant, the preparations will be made by that excellent man, my colleague Gaius Licinius, as vigorously as if he were going to conduct the campaign. For your part, see to it that you have confidence only in the reports I make to the senate and to you, and beware of nourishing by your credulity the gossip for which no sponsor will appear. For I have noticed that, as is commonly the case, so

r.c. 36 quidem, quod vulgo fieri, hoc praecipue bello, animadverti, nemo tam famae contemptor est cuius
8 non debilitari animus possit. In omnibus circulis atque etiam, si dis placet, in conviviis sunt qui exercitus in Macedoniam ducant, ubi castra locanda sint sciant, quae loca praesidiis occupanda, quando aut quo saltu intranda Macedonia, ubi horrea ponenda, qua terra, mari subvehantur commeatus, quando cum hoste manus conserendae, quando quiesse
9 sit melius. Nec quid faciendum [1] sit modo statuunt, sed quidquid aliter quam ipsi censuere factum est,
10 consulem veluti dicta die accusant. Haec magna impedimenta res gerentibus sunt.[2] Neque enim omnes tam firmi et constantis animi contra adversum rumorem esse possunt, quam [3] Q. Fabius fuit qui suum imperium minui per vanitatem populi maluit
11 quam secunda fama male rem publicam gerere. Non sum is, Quirites,[4] qui non existimem admonendos duces esse: immo eum qui de sua unius sententia omnia gerat, superbum iudico magis quam sapientem.
12 Quid ergo est? primum a prudentibus et proprie rei militaris peritis et usu doctis monendi imperatores sunt: deinde ab iis [5] qui intersunt gerendis rebus, qui loca,[6] qui hostem, qui temporum opportunitatem vident, qui in eodem velut navigio participes sunt
13 periculi. Itaque si quis est qui, quod e re publica sit, suadere se mihi in eo bello quod gesturus sum confidat, is ne deneget operam rei publicae et in

[1] quiesse sit melius. Nec quid faciendum *Kreyssig*: quiesset sit ne quid melius faciendum *V*.
[2] sunt *Fr*: quae *V*.
[3] possunt, quam *Madvig*: possent *V*.
[4] Quirites *Novák*: que *V*.
[5] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V*.
[6] gerendis rebus, qui loca *Sigonius*: gerendis loco *V*.

now especially in this war no one is so scornful of rumour that his spirit cannot be weakened. In all the clubs and even—God save us!—at dinner-tables there are experts who lead armies to Macedonia, who know where camp should be pitched, what places should be held with garrisons, when or by what pass Macedonia should be invaded, where granaries should be set up, by what routes on land or sea provisions should be supplied, when we must join battle with the enemy and when it is better to remain inactive. Not only do they decide what should be done, but when anything is done contrary to their opinion, they accuse the consul as if he were in the dock. Such behaviour is a great obstacle to the men in the field. For not everyone is as unwavering and as steadfast of spirit against hostile gossip as was Quintus Fabius, who preferred to have his independence of command lessened by popular folly rather than to neglect the best interests of the state for the sake of acclaim. I am not, fellow-citizens, one who believes that no advice may be given to leaders; nay rather I judge him to be not a sage, but haughty, who conducts everything according to his own opinion alone. What therefore is my conclusion? Generals should receive advice, in the first place from the experts who are both specially skilled in military matters and have learned from experience; secondly, from those who are on the scene of action, who see the terrain, the enemy, the fitness of the occasion, who are sharers in the danger, as it were aboard the same vessel. Thus, if there is anyone who is confident that he can advise me as to the best advantage of the state in this campaign which I am about to conduct, let him not refuse his services to B.C. 168

v.c. 586 Macedoniam mecum veniat. Nave, equo, tabernaculo,
14 viatico etiam a me iuvabitur; si quem id facere piget
et [1] otium urbanum militiae laboribus praeoptat, e
15 terra ne gubernaverit. Sermonum satis ipsa praebet
urbs; iis loquacitatem [2] suam contineat: nos castren-
sibus consiliis contentos futuros esse sciat."
16 Ab hac contione Latinis, quae pridie kal. Apriles
fuerunt, in monte sacrificio rite perpetrato protinus
inde et consul et praetor Cn. Octavius in Macedoniam
17 profecti sunt. Traditum memoriae est [3] maiore quam
solita frequentia prosequentium consulem cele-
bratum, ac prope certa spe ominatos esse homines,
finem esse Macedonico bello maturumque reditum
cum egregio triumpho consulis fore.

XXIII. Dum haec in Italia geruntur, Perseus quod
iam inchoatum perficere, quia impensa pecuniae faci-
enda erat, non inducebat in animum, ut Gentium Illy-
2 riorum regem sibi adiungeret, hoc, postquam intrasse
saltum Romanos et adesse discrimen ultimum belli
animadvertit, non ultra differendum ratus, cum per [4]
Hippiam legatum trecenta argenti talenta pactus

[1] et *add. ed. Par. 1573*: *om. V.*
[2] urbs; iis loquacitatem *Madvig*: urbisloquacitatem *V.*
[3] traditum memoriae est *Vahlen*: traditum est memoriae est *V.*
[4] per *add. Fr*: *om. V.*

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[1] Polybius XXIX. 1 (1a) also mentions Paulus' attack on the armchair generals, which President Roosevelt used effectively (*New York Times*, Mar. 18, 1942, p. 10). In sec. 2, cf. the note on the text, it is possible that there was a reference to Paulus' reluctance to assume the consulship in this year, a reluctance to which Plutarch, *Aemilius* x f., refers both as a fact and as an item in Paulus' speech.

the state, but come with me into Macedonia. I will B.C. 168
furnish him with his sea-passage, with a horse, a tent, and even travel-funds. If anyone is reluctant to do this and prefers the leisure of the city to the hardships of campaigning, let him not steer the ship from on shore. The city itself provides enough subjects for conversation; let him confine his garrulity to these; and let him be aware that I shall be satisfied with the advice originating in camp." [1]

After this address and the due completion of the sacrifice at the Latin Festival, which was held on March 31 [2] on the Alban Mount, both the consul and the praetor Gnaeus Octavius immediately set out for Macedonia. History records that the consul was escorted by an unusually great throng of persons paying their respects to him, and that men prophesied with almost sure expectation that the Macedonian war would come to an end, and that the return of the consul would be prompt and in great triumph.

XXIII. While these events were occurring in Italy, Perseus decided that since he had discovered that the Romans had entered the pass and that the final crisis of the war impended, he must no longer postpone the project which he could not bring himself to complete because expenditure of money was required—namely, gaining the adherence of Gentius, king of Illyria. Inasmuch as Perseus had agreed through his envoy Hippias [3] on a payment of three

[2] The date had been set for two weeks later, according to xix. 4 above; it seems unlikely that the date, once announced, could have been advanced, and there is probably a confusion in the text between Ides and Kalends either here or above.

[3] Not named by Livy in his description of an earlier stage of the negotiations in XLIII. xx. In the present passage, Livy is following Polybius XXIX. 3–4.

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esset, ita ut obsides ultro citroque darentur, Pantauchum[1] misit ex fidissimis amicis ad ea perficienda. 3 Meteone[2] Labeatidis terrae Pantauchus regi Illyrio occurrit; ibi et iusiurandum ab rege et obsides accepit. Missus et a Gentio est legatus nomine Olympio, qui iusiurandum a Perseo obsidesque 4 exigeret. Cum eodem ad pecuniam accipiendam missi sunt; et auctore Pantaucho, qui Rhodum legati cum Macedonibus irent Parmenio et Morcus desti- 5 nantur.[3] Quibus ita mandatum ut iureiurando obsidibusque et pecunia accepta tum demum Rhodum proficiscerentur: duorum simul regum nomine 6 incitari Rhodios ad bellum Romanum posse. Adiunctam civitatem penes quam unam tum rei navalis gloria esset nec terra nec mari spem relicturam Romanis.

7 Venientibus Illyriis Perseus ab Elpeo[4] amni ex castris cum omni equitatu profectus ad Dium occurrit. 8 Ibi ea quae convenerant[5] circumfuso agmine equitum facta, quos adesse foederi sanciendo[6] cum Gentio societatis volebat rex, aliquantum eam rem ratus 9 animorum iis adiecturam. Et obsides in conspectu omnium dati acceptique; et Pellam ad thensauros regios missis qui pecuniam acciperent, qui Rhodum irent cum Illyriis legatis Thessalonicae conscendere 10 iussi. Ibi Metrodorus erat, qui nuper ab Rhodo venerat, auctoribusque Dinone[7] et Polyarato, prin-

[1] Pantauchum *J. F. Gronovius*: pantaucum *V*: *et alibi in hoc nomine alia errata apparent, quae non notabimus.*
[2] Meteone *Kreyssig*: mitione *V*.
[3] destinantur *J. F. Gronovius*: destinatur *V*.
[4] Elpeo *Madvig*: Enipeo *V*.
[5] convenerant *J. F. Gronovius*: convenerunt *V*.
[6] sanciendo *Gitlbauer*: sancio *V*.
[7] Dinone *J. F. Gronovius*: Dione *V*, *et alibi*.

hundred talents of silver, on condition of an exchange B.C. 168
of hostages, he sent Pantauchus, one of his most trusty friends, to complete the agreement. At Meteon in the region of Labeatis, Pantauchus met the Illyrian king; there he received the king's oath and his hostages. Gentius too sent an envoy named Olympio to require the oath and the hostages of Perseus. Others were sent with him to receive the money; and, at Pantauchus' suggestion, Parmenio and Morcus were named as envoys to go with the Macedonians to Rhodes. To them instructions were given to set out for Rhodes only after the oath, the hostages, and the money had been received; it was thought that by the prestige of two kings at once the Rhodians could be induced to war with the Romans, and that once the kings were joined by the state to which belonged a unique reputation for sea-power, no hope on land or sea would be left the Romans.

On the arrival of the Illyrians, Perseus left his camp at the Elpeüs River with all his cavalry and met them at Dium. There the terms agreed upon were executed in the presence of the surrounding column of cavalry, whom the king wished to be present at the ratification of the alliance with Gentius, thinking that it would somewhat raise their spirits. The hostages were also given and received in the sight of all, those who were to receive the money were sent to the royal treasury at Pella and those who were to accompany the Illyrian envoys to Rhodes were ordered to take ship at Thessalonica. Metrodorus [1] was at that port, a recent arrival from Rhodes, who stated, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, the

[1] A Rhodian, agent of the pro-Macedonian party.

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cipibus civitatis eius, adfirmabat Rhodios paratos ad bellum esse. Is princeps iunctae cum Illyriis legationis datus est.

XXIV. Eodem tempore et ad Eumenen et ad Antiochum communia mandata, quae subicere condicio rerum poterat: natura inimica inter se esse liberam civitatem et regem. Singulos populum Romanum adgredi et, quod indignum sit,[1] regum viribus reges oppugnare. Attalo adiutore patrem suum oppressum: Eumene adiuvante et quadam ex parte etiam Philippo, patre suo, Antiochum oppugnatum: in se nunc et Eumenen et Prusian armatos esse. Si Macedoniae regnum sublatum foret, proximam Asiam esse, quam iam ex parte sub specie liberandi civitates[2] suam fecerint, deinde Syriam. Iam Prusiam Eumeni honore praeferri, iam Antiochum victorem ab Aegypto, praemio belli,[3] arceri. Haec cogitantem providere iubebat, ut aut ad pacem secum faciendam compelleret Romanos aut perseverantes in bello iniusto communes duceret omnium regum hostes.

Ad Antiochum aperta mandata erant; ad Eumenen per speciem captivorum redimendorum missus legatus erat; re[4] vera occultiora quaedam agebantur, quae in praesentia invisum quidem et suspectum Romanis

[1] quod indignum *Novák*: quo indignus *V*.
[2] liberandi civitates *Madvig*: liberanda civitatis *V*.
[3] Aegypto, praemio belli *Vahlen*: praemio belli ab egypto *V*.
[4] re *add. Koch*: *om. V*.

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[1] They were heads of the pro-Macedonian party, but Livy may exaggerate their official position.

heads of the state,[1] that the Rhodians were ready for war. Metrodorus was assigned as the leader of the combined embassy with the Illyrians. B.C. 168

XXIV. At the same time, identical messages, suggested by the state of affairs, were sent both to Eumenes and to Antiochus, as follows: by nature a free state and a king were things hostile to each other; the Roman people attacked kings one by one, and—an unjust state of affairs—assailed kings with the help of kings; Perseus' father had been overcome with the aid of Attalus; with Eumenes helping, and to a certain extent Perseus' father Philip as well, Antiochus had been assailed [2]; now both Eumenes and Prusias were in arms against Perseus; if the kingdom of Macedonia were out of the way, next would come Asia Minor, which the Romans had already made their own to some extent under pretext of freeing communities, and after Asia Minor, Syria. Already Prusias was being given a position above Eumenes, already Antiochus, though victorious, was being barred from Egypt, his prize of war. Perseus bade each king, on considering these facts, to take such steps that either he might force the Romans to make peace with Perseus, or if Rome persevered in an unjust war might regard the Romans as the common enemy of all kings.

The message to Antiochus was open; to Eumenes the envoy was sent under guise of ransoming prisoners, but in fact certain more secret matters were under discussion, which for the time being embarrassed Eumenes, who was already an object of

[2] On Attalus, see above, XXIX. xii. 14 and XXXI. xiv; for Eumenes, XXXV. xiii; XXXVI. xliv; XXXVII. xli; for Philip, XXXVII. vii.

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Eumenen falsis gravioribusque criminibus onerarunt;
8 proditor [1] enim ac prope hostis habitus, dum inter se
duo reges captantes fraude et avaritia certant.
9 Cydas erat Cretensis, ex intimis Eumenis. Hic
prius ad Amphipolim cum Chimaro quodam populari
suo, militante apud Persea, inde postea ad Deme-
triadem semel cum Menecrate quodam, iterum cum
Antimacho,[2] regiis ducibus, sub ipsis moenibus urbis
10 conlocutus fuerat. Herophon [3] quoque, qui tum
missus est, duabus ad eundem Eumenen iam ante
11 legationibus functus erat. Quae conloquia occulta
et legationes infames quidem erant, sed quid actum
esset quidve inter reges convenisset, ignorabatur.
Res autem ita sese habuit.

XXV. Eumenes neque favit victoriae Persei, neque bello eam iuvare [4] in [5] animo habuit, non tam quia paternae inter eos inimicitiae erant quam ipsorum
2 odiis inter se accensae: non ea regum aemulatio, ut
aequo animo Persea tantas apisci opes tantamque
gloriam, quanta Romanis victis eum manebat,
3 Eumenes visurus fuerit. Cernebat et Persea iam
inde ab initio belli omni modo spem pacis temptasse

[1] gravioribusque criminibus onerarunt; proditor *Madvig*: gravioribus proditor *V*.
[2] Antimacho *J. F. Gronovius*: anthioco *V*.
[3] Herophon *Kreyssig*: eropon *V*.
[4] eam iuvare *Hartel*: eum inuadere *V*.
[5] in *add. Sigonius*: *om. V*.

[1] Polybius XXIX. 7–8 (1d) calls Eumenes "most unscrupulous" and Perseus "most miserly," and says that Eumenes "was unable by his lack of scruple to get the best of Perseus' stinginess."

[2] For the negotiations at Demetrias, see above, xiii. 9, where Antimachus only is mentioned on the Macedonian side.

[3] Livy is in this chapter expanding the account of Polybius XXIX. 7–8 (1d).

hatred and suspicion to the Romans, with false and more serious charges; for he was already regarded as a traitor and almost an enemy, while the two kings with grasping hands vied with each other in guile and greed.[1] There was a Cretan, Cydas, one of Eumenes' henchmen. He had held conversations, first at Amphipolis with a certain Chimarus, a fellow-countryman who was serving in Perseus' army, then later at Demetrias, beneath the very walls of the city, once with a certain Menecrates and again with Antimachus, both of whom were officers of the king.[2] Herophon also, who was then sent by Perseus, had similarly undertaken two previous missions to Eumenes. These conversations were secret, and the missions caused bad rumours, but there was no knowledge of what had been discussed or upon what the kings had agreed. The actual state of affairs, however, was as follows. B.C. 168

XXV. Eumenes did not want a victory for Perseus, nor did he intend to assist him in winning one by military means, not so much because of the mutual hostility of their fathers, as because of the hatred engendered between himself and Perseus.[3] The jealousy of kings is such that Eumenes would not have viewed with calmness the attainment by Perseus of such great strength and prestige as awaited him if he defeated the Romans. Eumenes also perceived that from the very outset of the war Perseus had nurtured the hope of peace in every way [4] and as

[4] Livy now states what his presentation of facts showed before—that Perseus did not want the war, and stood on the defensive from the first, see Vol. XII. 396 and 460, notes 1, Roman suspicions and propaganda notwithstanding; the latter have influenced Livy extensively in his commentary on events.

u.c. 586 et in dies magis, quo propior admoveretur terror, 4 nihil neque agere aliud neque cogitare; Romanos quoque, quia traheretur diutius spe ipsorum bellum, et ipsos duces et senatum, non abhorrere a finiendo 5 tam incommodo ac difficili bello. Hac utriusque partis voluntate explorata, quod fieri etiam sua sponte taedio validioris, metu infirmioris credebat posse, in eo suam operam venditare conciliandae 6 gratia pacis [1] cupiit. Nam modo ne iuvaret bello Romanos terra marique, modo pacis patrandae cum Romanis paciscebatur mercedem: ne bello interesset, mille talenta, ut pacem conciliaret, mille et quin- 7 genta.[2] In utrumque [3] non fidem modo se, sed obsides quoque dare paratum esse ostendebat.

8 Perseus ad rem inchoandam promptissimus erat cogente metu et de obsidibus accipiendis sine dilatione agebat, conveneratque ut accepti Cretam 9 mitterentur. Ubi ad pecuniae mentionem ventum erat, ibi haesitabat; et utique alteram tanti [4] nominis regibus [5] turpem ac sordidam et danti et 10 magis accipienti mercedem esse aiebat [6]; in spem Romanae pacis non recusare impensam, sed eam pecuniam perfecta re daturum, interea Samothracae 11 in templo depositurum. Ea insula cum ipsius dicionis esset, videre Eumenes nihil interesse, ibi [7]

[1] conciliandae gratia pacis *Hartel*: conciliandam gratiam magis *V*.

[2] interesset mille talenta ut pacem conciliaret mille et quingenta *Zingerle*: interesset ✕ et a *V*.

[3] in utrumque *J. F. Gronovius*: in utroque *V*.

[4] alteram tanti *Madvig*: alteram in tanti *V*.

[5] regibus *Fr*: regis *V*.

[6] aiebat *Madvig*: malebat *V*.

[7] ibi *add. Crévier*: *om. V*.

time went on had come more and more, as the threat B.C. 168
came closer, to treat and think of nothing else. Since the war was dragging on longer than the Romans had hoped, they too, their commanders, and their senate would not be averse, so Eumenes thought, to ending so disturbing and difficult a war. Having ascertained this willingness on either side, Eumenes was eager to put on sale his good offices in an effort to negotiate the peace which he thought might even come about automatically through the weariness of the stronger and the fears of the weaker side. Therefore Eumenes tried to negotiate for a reward, now for not aiding the Romans' military effort on land or sea, now for securing peace with the Romans; for his abstention from war, his price was a thousand talents,[1] for negotiating peace, fifteen hundred. He showed himself always ready not only to pledge his word to either course of action, but even to give hostages.

Perseus was very ready to undertake the attempt under pressure of fear, and as to the acceptance of hostages the discussion proceeded without delay, and it was agreed that, when accepted, the hostages should be sent to Crete. When the subject of money came up, there Perseus hesitated, and said that especially for the first alternative the payment of money was dishonourable and base for kings of so high a reputation, not only for the giver, but even more for the recipient; for the hope of peace with the Romans, he would not refuse an expenditure, but he would pay on the completion of the enterprise, and meanwhile would deposit the funds in the temple on Samothrace. Since this island was in Perseus' realm, Eumenes saw that it made no difference

[1] Polybius says five hundred.

u.c. 586 an Pellae pecunia esset; id agere, ut partem aliquam
12 praesentem ferret. Ita nequiquam inter se captati nihil praeter infamiam moverunt.[1]

XXVI. Nec haec tantum Persei per avaritiam est dimissa res, cum pecunia statuta aut [2] pacem habere per Eumenen, quae vel parte regni redimenda esset, aut deceptus [3] protrahere inimicum mercede onus-
2 tum et hostes merito ei Romanos posset facere; sed et ante Genti regis [4] parata societas et tum Gallorum effusorum per Illyricum ingens oblatum auxilium [5]
3 avaritia dimissum est. Veniebant decem milia equitum, par numerus peditum et ipsorum iungentium cursum equis et in vicem prolapsorum equitum
4 vacuos capientium ad pugnam equos. Hi pacti erant eques denos praesentes aureos, pedes quinos, mille
5 dux eorum. Venientibus his Perseus ab Elpeo [6] ex castris profectus obviam cum dimidia copiarum parte denuntiare per vicos urbesque quae viae propinquae sunt coepit ut commeatus expedirent,
6 frumenti, vini, pecorum ut copia esset. Ipse equos

[1] moverunt *Novák*: moue *V*.
[2] pecunia statuta aut *Hartel*: pecuniamtutamet *V*.
[3] aut deceptus *J. F. Gronovius*: aucreceptus *V*.
[4] sed et ante Genti regis *Bekker*: sed tam tegenti regis *V*.
[5] auxilium *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V*.
[6] Elpeo *Madvig*: Elpeio *V*.

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[1] These people may have been much the same as the Bastarnae of XL. v. 10 and lvii, cf. also XLI. xix. 3–11. The name of the leader, Clondicus, is the same here and in XL. lviii. 8, which makes it sound like a title rather than a proper name. In Polybius XXV. 6 (XXVI. 9), there is a reference to the Bastarnae joining Perseus and the Gauls (Paton's interpretation), which has led some scholars to think that Polybius was referring to the Bastarnae as Gauls (Galatai) here.

whether the money was there or at Pella; he B.C. 168
attempted to secure some sort of down payment. And so having tried vainly to overreach each other, the kings got themselves nothing but a bad reputation.

XXVI. This was not the only failure incurred by Perseus because of miserliness, when by payment of money he could either through Eumenes' efforts have secured peace, which he should have bought even at the price of part of his kingdom, or had he been deceived, he could have exposed his enemy with the booty on him and aroused just hostility toward him on the part of the Romans. But a previous parallel case was that of the alliance with King Gentius, ready for the taking; and at this same time Perseus lost through miserliness the tremendous assistance of the Gauls who were scattered through the region of Illyria.[1] There were on their way ten thousand cavalry and an equal number of infantry who matched their pace to that of the horses, and in turn seized the riderless horses of fallen cavalrymen for further fighting. These men had been pledged a cash payment of ten gold pieces per cavalryman, five per infantryman, and a thousand for their leader. When they approached, Perseus went to meet them from his camp at the Elpeüs with half of his forces and began to give orders throughout the villages and cities near the road to bring out provisions so that there would be plenty of grain, wine, and animals. He

Properly, the Bastarnae were Germans rather than Gauls, as was recognized soon after Livy's time, cf. Strabo VII. 306, Pliny, *N.H.* IV. 81, Tacitus, *Germania* 46. The location of the Bastarnae was to the north-east of the location here suggested for these Gauls, but cf. below, xxvii. 3.

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phalerasque et sagula donum principibus ferre et parvum auri, quod inter paucos divideret, multitu-
7 dinem credens trahi spe posse. Ad Almanam urbem pervenit et in ripa fluminis Axi posuit castra. Circa Desudabam in Maedica exercitus Gallorum con-
8 sederat, mercedem pactam opperiens. Eo mittit Antigonum, ex purpuratis unum, qui iuberet multitudinem Gallorum ad Bylazora—Paeoniae is locus est—castra movere, principes ad se venire frequentes. Septuaginta quinque milia ab Axio flumine et castris
9 regis aberant. Haec mandata ad eos cum pertulisset Antigonus adiecissetque, per quantam omnium[1] praeparatam cura regis copiam ituri[2] forent quibusque muneribus principes advenientes vestis, argenti equorumque excepturus rex esset, de his
10 quidem se coram cognituros respondent, illud quod praesens pepigisset, interrogant, ecquid aurum, quod in singulos pedites equitesque dividendum esset,
11 secum advexisset.[3] Cum ad id nihil responderetur, Clondicus, regulus eorum, "abi renuntia ergo" inquit "regi nisi aurum obsidesque accepissent, nusquam inde Gallos longius vestigium moturos."
12 Haec relata regi cum essent advocato consilio cum quid omnes suasuri essent appareret, ipse pecuniae quam regni melior custos institit de perfidia et feritate Gallorum disserere, multorum iam ante

[1] adiecissetque, per quantam omnium *Madvig*: adiecisset quae per quem quantâ omnium *V*.
[2] ituri *Madvig*: intuli *V*.
[3] advexisset *J. F. Gronovius*: adduxisset *V*.

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[1] Probably on the mid-Strymon.

himself brought horses, breast-ornaments, and capes B.C. 168
as presents for the chief men, and a small amount of gold to distribute among a few, supposing that the rank and file could be led along by expectations. He reached the city of Almana and pitched camp on the banks of the Axius River. The force of Gauls halted near Desudaba in Maedica,[1] waiting for their promised pay. Thither Perseus sent Antigonus, one of the wearers of the purple, to order the rank and file of the Gauls to shift camp to Bylazora (this is a place in Paeonia) and the leaders to come in a body to him. The Gauls were seventy-five miles from the Axius River and the king's camp. Antigonus carried this message to them and added an account of the abundance of all supplies prepared through the thoughtfulness of the king, through which they would travel, and of the gifts of garments, silver, and horses with which the king proposed to greet their leaders on their arrival. The Gauls replied that they would certainly find out about these matters from personal observation, but they asked about what had been promised for immediate delivery—whether he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed among the individual horsemen and footmen. When they received no reply on this point, Clondicus, their chieftain, declared: "Go back then and report to the king that the Gauls will not move a step farther unless they receive the gold and hostages."

When this message was reported to the king, he summoned his council, but when it became clear what everyone would advise, the king, a trustier guardian of his cash than of his kingdom, began to discourse on the treachery and savagery of the Gauls, which had been demonstrated long since by disasters

a.u.c. 586

13 cladibus experta: periculosum esse tantam multitudinem in Macedoniam accipere, ne[1] graviores eos
14 socios habeant quam hostes Romanos. Quinque milia equitum satis esse, quibus et uti ad bellum possent, et quorum multitudinem ipsi non timeant.

XXVII. Apparebat omnibus[2] mercedem eum[3] timere nec quicquam aliud; sed cum suadere consulenti nemo auderet, remittitur Antigonus qui nuntiaret quinque milium equitum opera tantum uti
2 regem, non tenere[4] multitudinem aliam. Quod ubi audivere barbari, ceterorum quidem fremitus fuit indignantium se frustra excitos sedibus suis; Clondicus rursus interrogat, ecquid ipsis quinque milibus,
3 quod convenisset, numeraret? cum adversus id quoque misceri ambages cerneret, inviolato fallaci nuntio, quod vix speraverat ipse posse contingere, retro ad Histrum perpopulati Thraciam, qua vicina
4 erat viae, redierunt. Quae manus, quieto sedente rege ad Elpeum[5] adversus Romanos, per[6] Perrhaebiae saltum in Thessaliam traducta non agros tantum nudare populando potuit, ne quos inde Romani com-
5 meatus expectarent, sed ipsas excindere urbes tenente ad Elpeum Perseo Romanos, ne urbibus sociis
6 opitulari possent. Ipsis quoque Romanis de se cogitandum fuisset, quando neque manere amissa Thessalia, unde exercitus alebatur, potuissent, neque

[1] ne *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[2] omnibus *Florebellus*: in omnibus V.
[3] eum *H. J. Müller*: multitudinem V.
[4] tenere *Kreyssig*: temnere V.
[5] Elpeum *Madvig*: enipeum V.
[6] per *add. Gruter*: *om.* V.

to many people; it was dangerous, he said, to receive B.C. 168
such large numbers into Macedonia, for fear that they would find the Gauls more deadly as allies than the Romans were as enemies; a force of five thousand cavalry was sufficient, for these they could use for military purposes and would not themselves be overawed by their numbers.

XXVII. It was obvious to everyone that he was troubled about the pay and nothing else; but as no one dared to give him the advice he asked for, Antigonus was sent back to announce that the king could use the services of five thousand cavalry only, and would not keep the rest of the host. When the barbarians heard this, there was an indignant outcry from the remainder that they had been to no purpose lured away from their homes. Clondicus again asked whether he would pay what had been agreed upon to these five thousand; and when he saw that to this, too, a devious reply was being concocted, the Gauls returned to the Danube, without injury to the messenger who had tricked them (a fate he had hardly hoped could befall him), but plundering that part of Thrace which adjoined their route. This force of Gauls, even had the king remained inactive at the Elpeüs before the Romans, could if brought into Thessaly through the pass of Perrhaebia have not only stripped the fields by their ravages, so that the Romans could have looked for no provisions from there, but could even have stormed cities as long as Perseus held the Romans at the Elpeüs, in order to prevent their rescuing the cities of their allies. The Romans would have had to consider their own plight, since they could neither remain if Thessaly, the army's source of supplies, were lost, nor could they advance

progredi, cum ex adverso castra Macedonum essent.
7 Hoc amisso auxilio Perseus animos Macedonum,[1] qui
ea pependerant spe, haud mediocriter debilitavit.
8 Eadem avaritia Gentium regem sibi alienavit.
Nam cum trecenta talenta Pellae missis a Gentio
9 numerasset, signare eos pecuniam passus est[2]; inde
decem talenta ad Pantauchum missa, eaque prae-
sentia dari regi iussit: reliquam pecuniam signatam
Illyriorum signo portantibus suis praecipit, parvis
10 itineribus veherent, dein cum ad finem Macedoniae
ventum esset, subsisterent ibi ac nuntios ab se
11 opperirentur. Gentius exigua parte pecuniae ac-
cepta cum adsidue a[3] Pantaucho ad lacessendos
hostili facto Romanos stimularetur, M. Perpennam
et L. Petilium legatos, qui tum forte ad eum venerant,
12 in custodiam coniecit. Hoc audito Perseus con-
traxisse eum necessitatem[4] ratus ad bellandum[5]
utique cum Romanis, ad revocandum qui pecuniam
portabat misit, velut nihil aliud agens quam ut quanta
maxima posset praeda ex se[6] victo Romanis reser-
varetur.
13 Et ab Eumene Herophon[7] ignotis, quae occulte
acta erant, redit. De captivis actum esse et ipsi
evolgaverant et Eumenes consulem vitandae sus-
picionis causa certiorem fecit.

XXVIII. Perseus post reditum ab Eumene Hero-
phontis spe deiectus Antenorem et Callippum prae-

[1] essent. Hoc amisso auxilio Perseus animos Macedonum *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[2] est *add. ed. Bas. 1535*: *om. V.*
[3] a *add. Sigonius*: *om. V.*
[4] eum necessitatem *Doering*: umenecessitatis *V.*
[5] bellandum *Vahlen*: bellum *V.*
[6] se *Kreyssig*: edicto *V.*
[7] Herophon *Kreyssig*: Hieroponimo *V.*

while the camp of the Macedonians lay before them. B.C. 168
By losing this added strength, Perseus weakened to no small degree the morale of the Macedonians, who had been depending on this source of hope.

The same miserliness caused a rift with Gentius. For when Perseus had counted out three hundred talents for the envoys sent by Gentius to Pella, he permitted them to affix their seal to the money; then he sent ten talents to Pantauchus and ordered this paid at once to the king. His own people were transporting the rest of the money marked with the seal of the Illyrians, and he ordered them to convey it by short stages, and then when the Macedonian frontier was reached, to halt there and wait for messengers from him. After Gentius had received a scant portion of the money, he was continually spurred on by Pantauchus to assail the Romans with an act of hostility, and so he threw into prison Marcus Perpenna and Lucius Petilius, the ambassadors who happened to reach him at this time.[1] On hearing of this Perseus thought that Gentius had committed himself to fight the Romans in any case, and sent a recall to the one conveying the money, as if his only concern was to save as much booty as possible for the Romans after his own defeat.

Herophon also returned from the court of Eumenes, the secret negotiations being still unrevealed. The Macedonians spread the word that discussion about prisoners had taken place, and Eumenes, to avoid suspicion, informed the consul to this same effect.

XXVIII. After the disappointment of Herophon's return from the court of Eumenes, Perseus sent Antenor and Callippus, his naval commanders, with

[1] See below, xxxii. 2.

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fectos classis cum quadraginta lembis—adiectae ad hunc numerum quinque pristes erant—Tenedum 2 mittit, ut inde sparsas [1] per Cycladas insulas naves, Macedoniam cum frumento petentes, tutarentur. 3 Cassandreae deductae naves in portus primum, qui sub Atho monte sunt, inde Tenedum placido mari cum traiecissent, stantis in portu Rhodias apertas naves Eudamumque, praefectum earum, inviolatos [2] 4 atque etiam benigne appellatos dimiserunt. Cognito deinde in latere altero quinquaginta onerarias suarum stantibus in ostio portus Eumenis rostratis, quibus 5 Damius praeerat, inclusas esse, circumvectus propere ac summotis terrore hostium navibus, onerarias datis qui prosequerentur decem lembis in Macedoniam mittit, ita ut in tutum [3] prosecuti redirent Tenedum. 6 Nono post die ad classem iam ad Sigeum [4] stantem redierunt. Inde Subota—insula est interiecta 7 Elaeae et Chio [5]—traiciunt. Forte postero die quam Subota classis tenuit quinque et triginta naves, quas hippagogus vocant, ab Elaea profectae cum equitibus Gallis equisque Phanas promunturium Chiorum petebant, unde transmittere in Macedoniam possent. 8 Attalo ab Eumene mittebantur. Has naves per altum ferri cum ex specula signum datum Antenori esset, profectus ab [6] Subotis inter Erythrarum promunturium Chiumque, qua artissimum fretum est,

[1] sparsas *Drakenborch*: sparsae *V*.
[2] inviolatos *J. F. Gronovius*: inviolatus *V*.
[3] tutum *Vascosanus*: totum *V*.
[4] Sigeum *Sigonius*: sigrium *V*.
[5] Elaeae et Chio *Madvig*: eleae etho *V*.
[6] ab *Kreyssig*: ac *V*.

forty scout-ships—there were five cutters [1] added to B.C. 168
this number—to Tenedos, in order to protect from that base the ships scattered through the Cyclades islands on their way to Macedonia with grain. The ships were launched at Cassandrea, and after crossing first to the harbours under Mount Athos and thence on a calm sea to Tenedos, they sent away unharmed and even with kind addresses some undecked Rhodian ships which were at the port with Eudamus their commander. Then Antenor discovered that on the other side of the island fifty of their freight ships were blockaded by warships of Eumenes, under command of Damius, which were stationed at the mouth of the harbour. Antenor promptly sailed around and by threat caused the enemy ships to retreat; the freight ships were sent to Macedonia under convoy of ten scout-ships, which were instructed to return to Tenedos after seeing them safe. On the ninth day thereafter they returned to the fleet, which was now anchored at Sigeum. Thence they crossed to Subota, an island lying between Elaea and Chios. On the day after the arrival of the fleet at Subota, thirty-five of the ships called horse-transports, setting out from Elaea with Galatian cavalry and their mounts, were making for Phanae, a cape of Chios, from which they could cross to Macedonia. They were being sent to Attalus by Eumenes. When a signal reached Antenor from a lookout post that these ships were at sea, he started from Subota and met them between the cape of Erythrae and Chios, where

[1] Cf. XXXV. xxvi. 1, Polybius XVI. 2. 9 and XVIII (XVII) 1. 1, lumps these *pristes* with the *lembi* as light fighting vessels. Livy, quoting from the latter passage of Polybius, translates *pristis* by "beaked ship," XXXII. xxxii. 9.

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9 iis occurrit. Nihil minus credere praefecti Eumenis quam Macedonum classem in illo vagari mari: nunc Romanos esse, nunc Attalum aut remissos aliquos ab 10 Attalo ex castris Romanis Pergamum petere. Sed cum iam adproprinquantium forma lemborum haud dubia esset et concitatio remorum derectaeque in se prorae [1] hostis adpropinquare aperuissent,[2] tunc 11 iniecta trepidatio est. Cum resistendi spes nulla esset inhabilique navium genere et Gallis vix quietem 12 ferentibus in mari, pars eorum qui propiores continentis [3] litori erant in Erythraeam enarunt, pars velis datis ad Chium naves eiecere relictisque equis effusa 13 fuga urbem petebant. Sed propius urbem lembi accessuque commodiore cum exposuissent armatos, partim in via fugientes Gallos adepti Macedones ceciderunt, partim ante portam exclusos. Clauserant enim Chii portas ignari,[4] qui fugerent aut sequeren- 14 tur. Octingenti ferme Gallorum occisi, ducenti vivi capti; equi pars in mari fractis navibus absumpti, parti [5] nervos succiderunt in litore Macedones. 15 Viginti eximiae equos formae cum captivis eosdem decem lembos, quos ante miserat, Antenor devehere Thessalonicam iussit et primo quoque tempore ad

[1] prorae *Fr*: prope *V*.
[2] aperuissent *Turnebus*: apparuissent *V*.
[3] continentis *J. F. Gronovius*: continenti *V*.
[4] Chii portas ignari *Madvig*: chio partā signari *V*.
[5] parti *Kreyssig*: partim *V*.

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[1] The move by Eumenes to add to Attalus' force indicates that Livy's charges of treachery against Eumenes were none too well founded. The exact course of the action described is not clear from the account in Livy's usual impressionistic manner; but the Macedonian ships seem to have let the transports pass

the strait is narrowest. Eumenes' officers least of B.C. 168
all suspected that a Macedonian fleet was at large in that sea; now they thought them to be Romans, now Attalus, or some men sent back by Attalus from the Roman camp and on their way to Pergamum. But when the shape of the approaching scout-ships was unmistakable and the rapid motion of the oars and the pointing of the prows head-on revealed that enemies were approaching, then panic fell upon them. Since there was no hope of resistance, both because of the unwieldly type of vessel and because the Galatians could hardly withstand an undisturbed voyage, some of them, who were nearer to the mainland, swam ashore at Erythrae and some set sail for Chios, ran their ships aground, and abandoning their horses fled in rout to the city. But as the scout-ships put troops ashore nearer the city at a more convenient landing-place, the Macedonians overtook the Galatians and cut them down, partly as they fled along the road and partly when they were shut out of the city gates. For the Chians had closed their gates, not knowing who were fleeing or who pursuing.[1] About eight hundred of the Galatians were killed and two hundred taken alive; some of the horses were destroyed in the sea as the ships were wrecked, some were hamstrung on shore by the Macedonians. Antenor ordered twenty horses of exceptional beauty, along with the prisoners, to be taken to Thessalonica by the same ten scout-ships he had sent before, which he ordered to return as soon as possible

Subota, wherever that was, and then pursued, overtaking them between Phanae, the cape and harbour at the south end of Chios (cf. above, XXXVI. xliii. 11 and Strabo XIV. 1. 35) and Chios city. The Chians were allies of Rome.

a.u.c. 586 classem reverti; Phanis se eos expectaturum. Tri-
16 duum ferme classis ad urbem stetit.[1] Phanas inde progressi sunt et spe celerius regressis decem lembis [2] evecti Aegaeo mari Delum traiecerunt.

XXIX. Dum haec geruntur, legati Romani, C. Popilius et C. Decimius et C. Hostilius, a Chalcide profecti tribus quinqueremibus Delum cum venissent, lembos ibi Macedonum quadraginta et quinque regis
2 Eumenis quinqueremis invenerunt. Sanctitas templi insulaeque inviolatos praestabat omnes. Itaque permixti Romanique et Macedones et Eumenis navales socii in [3] templo indutias religione loci prae-
3 bente versabantur. Antenor, Persei praefectus, cum aliquas alto praeferri onerarias naves ex speculis
4 significatum foret, parte lemborum ipse insequens, parte per Cyclades disposita, praeterquam si quae Macedoniam peterent, omnes aut supprimebat aut spoliabat naves. Quibus poterat Popilius aut suis [4]
5 aut Eumenis navibus succurrebat; sed evecti [5] nocte binis aut ternis plerumque lembis Macedones fallebant.

6 Per id fere tempus legati Macedones Illyriique simul Rhodum venerunt, quibus auctoritatem addidit non lemborum modo adventus passim per Cycladas atque Aegaeum vagantium mare, sed etiam coniunctio ipsa regum Persei Gentique et fama cum magno numero peditum equitumque venientium Gallorum.
7 Et iam cum accessissent animi Dinoni [6] ac Polyarato,

[1] stetit *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[2] regressis decem lembis *Madvig*: ingressis ex lembis *V*.
[3] in *Fr*: et in *V*.
[4] aut suis *add. Hertz*: *om. V*.
[5] evecti *Duker*: vecti *V*.
[6] animi Dinoni *J. F. Gronovius*: animinoni *V*.

to the fleet; he said he would await them at Phanae. B.C. 168
For about three days the fleet anchored before the city. Then they moved on to Phanae, and setting sail on the unexpectedly early arrival of the ten scout-ships, crossed the Aegean Sea to Delos.

XXIX. While these events were taking place, the Roman envoys,[1] Gaius Popilius, Gaius Decimius, and Gaius Hostilius, set out from Chalcis in three five-banked ships and on arriving at Delos found there forty Macedonian scout-ships and five five-bankers of King Eumenes. The holiness of the temple and the island kept them all from harm. And so the Roman, the Macedonian, and Eumenes' sailors mingled in the temple under the truce provided by the sacredness of the place. Whenever signals came from the lookouts that any freight-ships were passing out at sea, Antenor, Perseus' officer, would himself pursue with some ships, while others of his ships were distributed among the Cyclades, and either sank or plundered every ship not sailing for Macedonia. Popilius would come to the rescue with what ships he had either of his own or Eumenes'; but the Macedonians would evade him by sailing at night mostly in groups of two or three ships.

At about this same time, the envoys from Macedonia and Illyria arrived together at Rhodes, and weight was lent their words not only by the arrival of the scout-ships roaming all around the Cyclades and the Aegean Sea, but also by the very fact of the combination between the kings Perseus and Gentius, and the rumour of the arrival of the Gauls in great numbers both of infantry and cavalry. Since, then, the boldness of Dinon and Polyaratus, who sided with

[1] To Alexandria, cf. xix. 13.

c.c. 86 qui Persei partium erant, non benigne modo responsum regibus est, sed[1] palam pronuntiatum bello
8 finem se auctoritate sua imposituros esse; itaque ipsi quoque reges aequos adhiberent animos ad pacem accipiendam.

XXX. Iam veris principium erat novique duces in provincias[2] venerant, consul Aemilius in Macedoniam, Octavius Oreum ad classem, Anicius in Illyricum, cui
2 bellandum adversus Gentium erat. Gentius[3] patre Pleurato, rege Illyriorum, et matre Eurydica genitus fratres duos, Platorem utroque parente, Caravantium
3 matre eadem natum, habuit. Hoc propter ignobilitatem paternam minus suspecto Platorem occidit et duos amicos eius, Ettritum et Epicadum, impigros
4 viros, quo tutius regnaret. Fama fuit Monuni,[4] Dardanorum principis, filiam Etutam[5] pacto fratri eum invidisse, tamquam his nuptiis adiungenti sibi Dardanorum gentem: et simillimum[6] id vero fecit
5 ducta ea virgo Platore interfecto. Gravis deinde dempto a[7] fratre metu popularibus esse coepit; et violentiam insitam ingenio intemperantia vini accen-
6 debat. Ceterum, sicut ante dictum est, ad Romanum incitatus bellum Lissum omnis copias contraxit.
7 Quindecim milia armatorum fuerunt. Inde fratre in

[1] sed *add. Fr*: *om.* *V*.
[2] provincias *Kreyssig*: provinciam *V*.
[3] erat. Gentius *add. Madvig*: *om.* *V*.
[4] Monuni *Zeitschr. f. Altertumswissensch. 1836 p. 833*: honuni *V*. [5] Etutam *Fr*: metutam *V*.
[6] simillimum *Kreyssig*: simillium *V*.
[7] a *add. Vahlen*: *om.* *V*.

[1] Livy is following Polybius XXIX. 11 (5). Polybius says that the loss of Eumenes' cavalry impressed the Rhodians, but does not mention the Gauls from the North; he does not make the Rhodians sound as cock-sure as does Livy.

Perseus, was on the increase, not only was a cordial response given to the kings, but the flat statement was made that the Rhodians would by their influence bring an end to the war, and that therefore the kings themselves should make up their minds calmly to accept peace.[1] B.C. 168

XXX. By now spring was beginning [2] and the new commanders arrived in the field, the consul Aemilius in Macedonia, Octavius with the fleet at Oreüs, and in the region of Illyria, Anicius, whose task was the campaign against Gentius.[3] This king, the son of Pleuratus, king of the Illyrians, and Eurydice, had two brothers, Plator, a full brother, and Caravantius, born of the same mother. The latter Gentius suspected less because of the obscurity of his father, but the king killed Plator and two friends of his, Ettritus and Epicadus, energetic men, for the greater security of his reign. The rumour was that he envied his brother his betrothal to Etuta, daughter of Monunius the chieftain of the Dardani, since by this marriage Plator would secure the support of the Dardani; and Gentius made this really very probable by marrying the girl after the murder of Plator. Once the fear of his brother was removed, Gentius began to be oppressive to his people, and the violence innate in his character was inflamed by overuse of wine. However, when he had been stirred up to fight the Romans, as has been related above, he collected all his forces at Lissus. These were fifteen thousand men. From there he sent his brother with

[2] It was late April by the then Roman calendar, but actually early February, see below, xxxvii. 5–9.

[3] The characterization of Gentius is based on Polybius XXIX. 13 (5).

u.c. 586 Caviorum gentem vi aut terrore subigendam cum mille peditibus et quinquaginta equitibus misso, ipse ad Bassaniam urbem quinque milia ab Lisso ducit. 8 Socii erant Romanorum: itaque per praemissos [1] nuntios prius temptati obsidionem pati quam dedere 9 sese maluerunt. Caravantium in Caviis Durnium oppidum advenientem benigne accepit; Caravandis, altera urbs, exclusit; et agros eorum cum [2] effuse vastaret, aliquot palati milites agrestium concursu 10 interfecti sunt. Iam et Ap. Claudius adsumptis ad eum exercitum quem habebat Bullinorum [3] et Apolloniatium et Dyrrachinorum auxiliis profectus ex hibernis circa Genusum [4] amnem castra habebat, 11 audito foedere inter Persea et Gentium et legatorum violatorum iniuria accensus, bellum haud dubie 12 adversus eum gesturus. Anicius praetor eo tempore Apolloniae auditis quae in Illyrico gererentur praemissisque ad Appium litteris, ut se ad Genusum opperiretur, triduo et ipse in castra venit et ad ea 13 quae habebat auxilia a Parthinorum iuventute adiunctis duobus [5] milibus peditum et equitibus ducentis—peditibus Epicadus, equitibus Algalsus praeerat—parabat ducere in Illyricum, maxime ut Bassanitas solveret obsidione. Tenuit impetum eius 14 fama lemborum vastantium maritimam oram. Octoginta erant lembi, auctore Pantaucho missi a Gentio

[1] praemissos *Kreyssig*: perremissos *V*.
[2] cum *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.
[3] Bullinorum *Drakenborch*: bullaniorum *V*.
[4] Genusum *Turnebus*: genuussuum *V*.

a thousand infantry and fifty cavalry to subdue the B.C. 168
tribe of the Cavii either by force or threats, while he himself advanced from Lissus five miles to the city of Bassania. The inhabitants were allied to the Romans; and so when overtures were made by messengers sent ahead of Gentius, they preferred to stand siege rather than to surrender. As Caravantius arrived among the Cavii, the town of Durnium received him hospitably; Caravandis, another city, shut him out; and while he was ravaging their territory far and wide, a few scattered soldiers were killed by the rallying farmers. By now Appius Claudius too had added auxiliaries of the Bullini and the citizens of Apollonia and Dyrrachium to the army he had with him, and had set out from winter quarters to a camp by the Genusus River, since he had heard of the treaty between Perseus and Gentius and was incensed by the mistreatment of the molested envoys, so that he was bent on campaigning against Gentius. About this time Anicius the praetor heard at Apollonia of affairs in the region of Illyria, and sending ahead orders to Appius to wait for him at the Genusus, he himself arrived in camp in three days. He added to the auxiliaries he had two thousand infantry and two hundred cavalry of the young men of the Parthini—Epicadus commanded the infantry, Algalsus the cavalry—and made ready to march into the region of Illyria, especially in order to relieve the siege of Bassania. His urgency was restrained by a rumour of scout-ships ravaging the coast. There were eighty of these ships, sent by Gentius at the suggestion of Pantauchus to plunder

[5] auxilia a Parthinorum iuventute adiunctis duobus *Madvig*: auxiliapar tinorumiuuentaduobus *V*.

A.U.C. 586 ad Dyrrachinorum et Apolloniatium agros populandos.
15 Tum classis ad . . . .[1] to eo tradiderunt se.

XXXI. Deinceps et urbes regionis eius idem faciebant, adiuvante inclinationem animorum clementia
2 in [2] omnis et iustitia praetoris Romani. Ad Scodram inde ventum est. quod [3] belli caput erat,[4] non eo solum quod Gentius eam sibi ceperat velut regni totius arcem sed etiam quod Labeatium gentis
3 munitissima longe est et difficilis aditu. Duo cingunt eam flumina, Clausal a latere [5] urbis quod in orientem patet praefluens, Barbanna ab regione occidentis, ex
4 Labeatide palude oriens. Hi duo amnes confluentes incidunt Oriundi flumini, quod ortum ex monte Scordo, multis et aliis auctum aquis, mari Hadriatico
5 infertur. Mons Scordus,[6] longe altissimus regionis eius, ab oriente Dardanicam [7] subiectam habet, a
6 meridie Macedoniam, ab occasu Illyricum. Quamquam munitum situ naturali oppidum erat gensque id tota Illyriorum et rex ipse tuebatur, tamen praetor Romanus, quia prima successerant prospere, fortunam totius rei principia secuturam esse ratus et repentinum valiturum terrorem, instructo exercitu
7 ad moenia succedit. Quod si clausis portis muros portarumque turris dispositi [8] armati defendissent,

[1] *Hic folium unum excidit.*
[2] in *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[3] quod *Kreyssig*: ad quod V.
[4] caput erat *Drakenborch*: capotuerat V.
[5] Clausal a latere *Madvig*: clausalalatere V.
[6] Scordus *Drakenborch*: scodra *et* scodrus V.
[7] Dardanicam *Heraeus*: dardaniam V.
[8] dispositi *Madvig*: disposita V.

[1] Appian, *Illyrian Wars* ii. 9 says that Anicius "captured some of Gentius' scout-ships and then engaged him in battle on land, defeated him, and shut him up in a fortress."

the territory of Dyrrachium and Apollonia. Then a fleet at . . .[1] . . . they surrendered. B.C. 168

XXXI. Thereafter the cities of the region did the same, the turn of their thoughts being assisted by the mildness and justice of the Roman praetor. Next he arrived at Scodra, the centre of resistance not only because Gentius had appropriated it as the citadel for his whole kingdom, but also because it is the best-fortified town of the Labeate tribe, and is hard to approach. Two rivers surround it, the Clausal flowing by on the side of the city which faces eastward, the Barbanna on the west side, flowing from the Labeate Lake. (These two streams after joining fall into the Oriundes River [2] which rises on Mount Scordus, is swelled by many other streams, and falls into the Adriatic Sea. Mount Scordus, by far the highest of that region, overlooks Dardania to the eastward, Macedonia to the south, and the Illyrian region to the west.) Although the town was fortified by its surroundings and the whole nation of the Illyrians, as well as their king, was defending it, nevertheless the Roman praetor decided that since his first moves had met with success, good fortune in the campaign as a whole would follow these beginnings, and that a fast-moving threat would be efficacious; so he advanced to the wall with his army in formation. If well-placed forces had shut the gates and defended the walls and gate-towers, they

[2] This river is elsewhere called the Drilon (modern Drin); in 1858, after a period during which the Drilon emptied to the south, and the Barbanna followed its own course to the sea, the Drin, in flood, resumed the course reported by Livy, and was maintaining it, except for some water following the southern channel, about 1940 (see the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1944, *s.v.* Albania).

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vano cum incepto moenibus pepulissent Romanos;
8 nunc porta egressi proelium loco aequo maiore animo
9 commiserunt quam sustinuerunt. Pulsi enim et fuga conglobati, cum ducenti amplius in ipsis faucibus portae cecidissent, tantum intulerunt terrorem ut oratores extemplo ad praetorem mitteret Gentius Teuticum et Bellum, principes gentis, per quos indutias peteret, ut deliberare de statu rerum
10 suarum posset. Triduo in hoc dato, cum castra Romana quingentos ferme passus ab urbe abessent, navem conscendit et flumine Barbanna navigat [1] in lacum Labeatum, velut secretum locum petens ad
11 consultandum, sed, ut apparuit, falsa spe excitus
12 Caravantium fratrem multis milibus armatorum coactis [2] ex ea regione in quam missus erat adventare. Qui postquam evanuit rumor, tertio post die navem eandem [3] secundo amni Scodram demisit; praemissisque nuntiis ut sibi appellandi praetoris potestas
13 fieret, copia facta in castra venit. Et principium orationis ab accusatione stultitiae orsus suae, postremo ad preces lacrimasque effusus, genibus praetoris
14 accidens in potestatem sese dedit. Primo bonum animum habere iussus, ad cenam etiam invitatus in urbem ad suos redit. Et cum praetore eo die honori-
15 fice est epulatus, deinde in custodiam C. Cassio

[1] Barbanna navigat *Kreyssig*: babanonauigant *V*.
[2] coactis *J. F. Gronovius*: actis *V*.
[3] eandem *Sigonius*: ad eam *V*.

would have routed the Romans from the wall and made their attempt worthless; as it was, they sallied from the gate and on level ground joined battle with more spirit than they maintained. For they were routed and huddled in flight, while over two hundred fell in the very mouth of the gate, and they brought in with them such panic that Gentius at once sent representatives named Teuticus and Bellus, leading men of the nation, to the praetor to ask for a truce so that the king might deliberate over his situation. When he was given three days for this purpose, he boarded a ship, since the Roman camp was about half a mile from the city, and sailed up the Barbanna River to Lake Labeate, as if seeking a secluded spot for taking council; actually, as became evident, he was stirred by an unfounded hope that his brother Caravantius[1] would arrive with many thousands of soldiers gathered in the region to which he had been sent. After the talk about this had evaporated, on the third day he brought the same ship downstream to Scodra. First sending messengers to secure an opportunity for addressing the praetor and on being given the opportunity, he came into camp. At the outset of his speech he began by blaming his own stupidity, and at the end gave himself up to entreaties and a flood of tears, and falling at the praetor's knees, put himself into his hands. Immediately he was bidden to take heart, and after being invited to dinner, returned to his own people in the city. On that day he was banqueted with marks of distinction by the praetor, and then put under the guard of Gaius Cassius, tribune of the soldiers, after B.C. 168

[1] Possibly he had gone to a different region from that mentioned in the preceding chapter, and was among friends.

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tribuno militum[1] traditus, vix gladiatorio accepto, decem talentis, ab rege rex, ut in eam fortunam recideret.

XXXII. Anicius Scodra recepta nihil prius quam requisitos Petilium Perpennamque legatos ad se duci iussit. Quibus splendore suo restituto Perpennam extemplo mittit ad conprehendendos amicos cognatosque regis; qui Meteonem, Labeatium gentis urbem, profectus Etlevam uxorem cum filiis duobus, Scerdilaedo[2] Pleuratoque, et Caravantium fratrem Scodram in castra adduxit. Anicius bello Illyrico intra triginta dies perfecto nuntium victoriae Perpennam Romam misit et post dies paucos Gentium regem ipsum cum parente, coniuge ac liberis ac fratre aliisque principibus Illyriorum. Hoc unum bellum prius perpetratum quam coeptum Romae auditum est.

Quibus diebus haec agebantur, Perseus quoque in magno terrore erat propter adventum simul Aemili novi consulis, quem cum ingentibus minis adventare audiebat, simul Octavi praetoris. Nec minus terroris a classe Romana et periculo maritumae orae habebat. Thessalonicae Eumenes et Athenagoras praeerant cum parvo praesidio duorum milium caetratorum. Eo et Androclen praefectum mittit iussum sub ipsis navalibus castra habere. Aenean mille equites et Creon Antigonensis missi[3] ad tutandam maritumam

[1] militum *Fr.*: pl. *V*.

[2] Scerdilaedo *J. F. Gronovius*: cerdilio *V*.

[3] equites et Creon Antigonensis missi *Madvig*: equitescreantigonensismisit *V*.

having received a mere ten talents, hardly the fee of a gladiator, though he was a king dealing with a king, to induce him to sink to such misfortune. B.C. 168

XXXII. On taking over Scodra, Anicius' very first order was that the ambassadors Petilius and Perpenna should be searched out and brought to him. When they had been restored to a properly dignified state, he immediately sent Perpenna to arrest the friends and relatives of the king. Perpenna set out for Meteon, the city of the Labeate tribe, and brought to camp at Scodra Etleva,[1] the queen, with her two children, Scerdilaedus and Pleuratus, and Caravantius the king's brother. After completing the Illyrian campaign within thirty days, Anicius sent Perpenna to Rome as messenger of this victory, and a few days later sent on King Gentius himself with his mother, wife, children, and brother, as well as other leading Illyrians. This campaign was unique in that its conclusion was reported at Rome before its beginning.

During the time that this was going on, Perseus also was in great fear because of the arrival not only of Aemilius the new consul, who he heard had come on the scene bringing dire threats, but also of Octavius the praetor. The king was feeling equally keenly the threat from the Roman fleet and the danger to the coastal area. At Thessalonica, Eumenes and Athenagoras were in command with a small garrison of two thousand light infantry.[2] To that place Perseus sent the officer Androcles also, under orders to encamp right by the dockyards. To Aenea a thousand cavalry under Creon of Antigonea were sent to

[1] We cannot determine whether this is another queen, or whether the name Etuta in xxx. 4 refers to the same woman.
[2] Cf. XLII. li. 4 and the note.

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oram, ut quocumque litore adplicuisse naves hostium
9 audissent extemplo ferrent agrestibus opem. Quin-
que milia [1] Macedonum missa ad praesidium Pythoi
et Petrae, quibus praepositi erant Histiaeus et
10 Theogenes et Midon. His profectis ripam munire
Elpei fluminis adgressus est, quia sicco alveo transiri
11 poterat. Huic rei [2] ut omnis multitudo vacaret,
feminae ex propinquis urbibus coactae cibaria in
castra adferebant; miles iussus ex propinquis silvis
benigne . . . .

XXXIII. . . . .[3] conferre, postremo sequi se utrarios ad mare. quod minus trecentos passus aberat, iussit et in litore alios alibi modicis intervallis fodere.
2 Montes ingentis altitudinis spem faciebant, eo magis quia nullos apertos emergerent [4] rivos, occultos contineri [5] latices, quorum venae in mare permanantes
3 undae miscerentur. Vix diducta [6] summa harena erat, cum scaturigines [7] turbidae primo et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam
4 velut deum dono coeperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famae et auctoritatis apud milites adicit. Iussis deinde militibus expedire arma ipse cum tribunis primisque ordinibus ad contemplandos transitus

[1] quinque milia *Fr.*: u V.
[2] rei *add. Harant*: *om.* V.
[3] *Hic duo folia exciderunt.*
[4] emergerent *Georges*: euergentt V.
[5] contineri *Duker*: continere V.
[6] diducta *Drakenborch*: deducta V.
[7] scaturigines *ed. Bas. 1535*: scaturiges V.

[1] These places guarded a pass north of Mount Olympus by which the position at the Elpeüs might have been taken in the rear.

protect the coastal area, in order to come at once to B.C. 168
the aid of the country folk at any point on the shore where they heard that enemy ships had put in. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison Pythoüs and Petra,[1] the commanders being Histiaeus, Theogenes, and Midon. When these forces had left, Perseus set himself to fortifying the bank of the Elpeüs, because its dry bed could be crossed. In order that his entire force might be free for this operation, women gathered from the near-by cities brought foodstuffs into camp; the soldiers, under orders, from the woods near by generously . . .[2]

XXXIII. . . . to gather, and finally he ordered the water-carriers to follow him to the sea, which was less than three-tenths of a mile away, and to dig wells on the beach, some here, some there, at slight intervals. The immense height of the mountains,[3] especially inasmuch as they produced no visible rivers, gave him the hope that underneath were hidden streams, the veins of which trickled through to the sea and mingled with the salt water. Hardly had the uppermost sand been penetrated when jets of water spurted out, at first muddy and slight, but then proceeding to pour out, as if by a miracle, with clear and copious water. This success too gave the commander no little glory and power of leadership with the soldiers. Then when the soldiers were ordered to put their weapons in condition, the consul with the tribunes and ranking centurions went forward to reconnoitre the crossings, in order to find out where

[2] Further preparations of Perseus and the arrival of Paulus at the Roman camp were described in this gap.

[3] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xiv. 1, says that the green woods on the slopes indicated abundant ground-water.

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processit. qua[1] descensus facilis armatis, qua in ulteriorem ripam minime iniquus ascensus esset. His satis exploratis alia quoque novavit,[2] primum, ut ordine ac sine tumultu omnia in agmine ad nutum imperiumque ducis fierent, providit: ubi omnibus simul pronuntiaretur quid fieret neque omnes exaudirent, incerto imperio accepto alios ab se adicientes plus eo quod imperatum sit alios minus facere; clamores deinde dissonos oriri omnibus locis, et prius hostes quam ipsos quid paretur scire. Placere igitur tribunum militum primo pilo legionis secretum edere imperium, illum et dein singulos proximo cuique in ordine centurioni dicere quod opus facto sit sive a primis signis ad novissimum agmen, sive ab extremis ad primos perferendum imperium sit. Vigiles etiam novo more scutum in vigiliam ferre vetuit: non enim in pugnam vigilem ire ut armis utatur sed ad vigilandum ut, cum senserit hostium adventum, recipiat se excitetque ad arma alios. Scuto prae se erecto stare galeatos; deinde ubi fessi sint, innixos pilo, capite super marginem scuti posito, sopitos stare, ut fulgentibus armis procul conspici ab hoste possint, ipsi nihil provideant.[3] Stationum quoque morem mutavit. Armati omnes, et frenatis equis equites, diem totum perstabant; id cum aestivis diebus urente

[1] processit, qua *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[2] alia quoque novavit *Madvig*: illa quoque V.
[3] possint, ipsi nihil provideant *J. F. Gronovius*: possit ipse nihil provideat V.

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[1] Centurions ranked according to their place in the formation of the legion, cf. e.g. XLII. xxxiv. 5-8.
[2] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xiii. 5, says a spear.

the way down was easy for men under arms and where B.C. 168
on the farther bank there was the least unfavourable way up. After gathering sufficient information on these points, he introduced other changes, too; in the first place, he saw to it that everything in the column should take place in good order and without confusion at the beck and call of the commander; when orders were given to the whole army at once and not all were within hearing, he said, some, after receiving an unclear order, made additions of their own and did more than was bidden, while others did less; hence discordant outcries arose everywhere and the enemy found out what was afoot sooner than one's own men. Therefore the consul decided that the tribune of the soldiers should first give an order privately to the chief centurion of the legion, and he and his subordinates in rank should then each tell to the next in rank [1] what was to be done, whether the order was to be passed from the head of the column to the rear, or from the last to the first. The consul also made the innovation of forbidding sentries to carry a shield [2] on post: for he said that a sentry is not going into combat to use his weapons, but is to keep on guard so that when he perceives the approach of the enemy, he may retire and rouse the others to arms. Men set the shield before them and stand there, helmet on head; then when they are tired, they lean on the spear, rest the head on the shield-rim, and stand there drowsing, so that with their shining armour they can be detected by the enemy from afar, while they themselves do not see ahead at all. The consul also changed the practice of the outposts. All were used to spending the entire day under arms, cavalry with their horses bridled; when this took

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adsiduo sole fieret, tot horarum aestu et languore ipsos equosque fessos integri saepe adorti hostes vel
11 pauci plures vexabant. Itaque ex matutina [1] statione ad meridiem decedi et in postmeridianam succedere alios iussit; ita numquam fatigatos recens hostis adgredi poterat.

XXXIV. Haec cum ita fieri placere contione advocata pronuntiasset, adiecit urbanae contioni convenientem orationem:

2 Unum imperatorem in exercitu providere et consulere quid agendum sit debere, nunc per se, nunc cum iis quos advocaverit in consilium; qui non sint advocati, eos nec palam nec secreto iactare consilia
3 sua. Militem haec tria curare debere, corpus ut quam validissimum et pernicissimum habeat, arma
4 apta, cibum paratum ad subita imperia; cetera scire de se dis immortalibus et imperatori suo curae esse. In quo exercitu milites consultent, imperator rumori-
5 bus vulgi circumagatur, ibi nihil salutare esse. Se quod sit officium imperatoris provisurum ut bene gerendae rei occasionem iis praebat: illos nihil quid [2] futurum sit quaerere, ubi datum signum sit, tum militarem navare operam debere.[3]

6 Ab his praeceptis contionem dimisit, volgo etiam veteranis fatentibus se illo primum die, tamquam tirones, quid agendum esset in re militari didicisse.

[1] matutina *Fr.*: stativa *V*.
[2] quid *Fr.*: quod id *V*.
[3] operam debere *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.

place on summer days under an unremitting and burning sun, after so many hours of heat and weariness the tired men and horses were often attacked by fresh enemy troops and superior numbers thrown into confusion by even a few. So he gave orders that men on duty in the morning should be relieved at noon by a different afternoon detail; in this way a fresh enemy could never attack tired men. B.C. 168

XXXIV. After he had announced to an assembly of the soldiers the decision to adopt these measures, the consul added a speech in the vein of his address in Rome:

"There should be a single general in an army who foresees and plans what should be done, sometimes by himself, sometimes with the advisers he calls into council. Those who are not called into council should not air their own views publicly or privately. A soldier should concern himself with the following: his body, to keep it as strong and as nimble as possible; the good condition of his weapons; and the readiness of his food-supply for unexpected orders. For the rest, he should realize that the immortal gods and his general are taking care of him. In an army in which the soldiers deliberate and the general is led about by the gossip of the rank and file, conditions are utterly unsound. For my part, I shall do the duty of a general—that is, see to it that you have an opportunity for successful action. You ought not to ask what is going to happen, but when the signal is given, then do your duty as soldiers."

After these instructions, he dismissed the assembly, while throughout the army even the veterans admitted that they, like raw recruits, had for the first time learned how military matters should be handled.

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7 Non sermonibus tantum his cum quanto adsensu audissent verba consulis ostenderunt, sed rerum
8 praesens effectus erat. Neminem totis mox castris quietum videres: acuere alii gladios, alii galeas bucculasque, scuta alii loricasque [1] tergere, alii aptare corpori arma experirique sub his membrorum agilitatem, quatere alii pila, alii micare gladiis
9 mucronemque intueri, ut facile quis cerneret, ubi primum conserendi manum cum hoste data occasio esset, aut victoria egregia aut morte memorabili finituros [2] bellum.

10 Perseus quoque, cum adventu consulis simul et veris principio strepere omnia moverique apud hostes velut novo bello cerneret, mota a Phila castra in adversa ripa posita, nunc ad contemplanda opera sua circumire ducem haud dubie transitus speculantem, nunc [3] . . . . Romanorum [4] esse.

XXXV. Quae res Romanis auxit animos. Macedonibus regique eorum haud mediocrem attulit
2 terrorem. Et primo supprimere in occulto famam eius rei est conatus, missis, qui Pantauchum inde
3 venientem adpropinquare castris vetarent. Sed iam et pueri quidam visi ab suis erant inter obsides Illyrios

[1] bucculasque, scuta alii loricasque *ed. Bas. 1535*: buccolasque scutorũ alii loricas *V.*

[2] memorabili finituros *Muretus*: memorabilis inituros *V.*

[3] speculantem, nunc *H. J. Müller*: speculan *V. Hic excidit folium unum.*

[4] Romanorum *Sigonius*: norum *V.*

[1] The Romans relied chiefly on the thrust, cf. Vegetius I. 12.

[2] According to Plutarch, *Aemilius* xv, a period of startling inactivity on both sides ensued. The words with which the

Not only did they show by such remarks with how much approval they had heard the words of the consul, but there was also an immediate response in action. Soon you could have seen no one idle in the whole camp; some were sharpening swords, others were polishing helmets and cheek-pieces, still others shields and coats of mail; some were fitting their armour to their bodies and trying the nimbleness of their bodies under arms, others were brandishing spears, others fencing with their swords and inspecting the point[1]; so that anyone could easily see that as soon as an opportunity of joining battle with the enemy had been given, they would put an end to the war either by a glorious victory or by a death that would go down in history. B.C. 168

When Perseus, too, noticed that on the arrival of the consul and the beginning of spring everything in the enemy camp was full of noise and bustle as if the war were just beginning, that the camp had been shifted from Phila to the bank opposite the Macedonians, and the hostile commander was now going about to view Perseus' defences, no doubt because he was reconnoitring a passage, now . . .[2] . . . of the Romans was.

XXXV. This affair raised the spirits of the Romans. It also brought no little panic to the Macedonians and their king. At first he tried to hide the report of the event in secret, by sending men to forbid Pantauchus, who was coming from there, to approach the camp. But now some boys were seen by their relatives being led along with the Illyrian hostages

text resumes may conclude an account of how the news of Gentius' defeat arrived in the two camps.

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ducti, et quo quaeque accuratius celantur,[1] eo facilius loquacitate regiorum ministrorum emanant. 4 Sub idem tempus Rhodii legati in castra venerunt cum isdem de pace mandatis, quae Romae ingentem iram patrum excitaverant.[2] Multo iniquioribus animis 5 a castrensi consilio auditi sunt. Itaque cum alii legatos in vincula coniciendos censerent,[3] alii praecipites sine responso agendos e castris,[4] pronuntiavit consul [5] post diem quintum decimum se responsum 6 daturum. Interim, ut appareret quantum pacificantium Rhodiorum auctoritas valuisset, consultare de ratione belli gerendi coepit. Placebat quibusdam et maxime minoribus [6] natu per Elpei ripam 7 munitionesque vim facere: confertis et uno agmine impetum [7] facientibus resistere Macedonas non posse, ex tot castellis aliquanto altioribus ac munitioribus, quae validis praesidiis insedissent, priore anno de- 8 iectos. Aliis placebat Octavium cum classe Thessalonicam petere et populatione maritumae orae distringere copias regias, ut altero ab tergo se ostendente bello circumactus ad interiorem partem regni tuendam nudare aliqua parte transitus Elpei cogeretur. Ipsi natura et operibus inexsuperabilis ripa 9 videbatur, et praeterquam quod tormenta ubique disposita essent, missilibus etiam melius et certiore

[1] celantur *J. F. Gronovius*: curatur *V*.
[2] excitaverant *Novák*: excitare *V*.
[3] alii legatos in vincula coniciendos censerent *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.
[4] agendos e castris *Harant*: agē dos icastris *V*.
[5] consul *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.
[6] minoribus *Crévier*: maioribus *V*.
[7] agmine impetum *add. Vahlen*: *om. V*.

and the more carefully the various details were concealed, the more easily they leaked out through the garrulity of the king's servants. B.C. 168

About the same time envoys from Rhodes came into camp with the same message about peace which had aroused great wrath in the senators at Rome. They received a much less favourable audience from the council in the camp. So while some advised that the envoys be thrown into chains, others that they be driven headlong out of camp without an answer, the consul announced that he would make a reply a fortnight later. Meanwhile, to make it clear how much influence the Rhodian peace-makers had succeeded in exerting, he began to hold consultations as to the plan of campaign. Some, especially the younger, wished to force a way through the bank of the Elpeüs and the fortifications; a solid formation, they said, attacking in single column would be irresistible to the Macedonians, who had the previous year been driven out of so many forts,[1] rather higher and better fortified and held with strong garrisons. Others advised that Octavius with his fleet should make for Thessalonica and by ravaging the coastal area create a diversion of the king's forces, so that on the appearance of another attack in his rear the king would be pulled about to guard the inner part of his kingdom and be compelled to open a crossing somewhere over the Elpeüs. The consul himself regarded the river-bank as impregnable by nature and by fortification and, besides the fact that artillery had been placed everywhere, he had heard that the enemy employed

[1] This is contrary to the picture given by Livy above, chs. iv–vii, and seems to be inserted to show that the speakers estimated the situation incorrectly.

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10 ictu hostis uti audierat. Alio spectabat mens tota ducis; dimissoque consilio Perrhaebos mercatores Coenum et Menophilum, notae iam sibi et fidei et [1] prudentiae homines, accersitos secreto percunctatur,
11 quales ad Perrhaebiam transitus sint. Cum loca non iniqua esse dicerent, praesidiis autem regiis [2] obsideri, spem cepit, si nocte improviso valida manu adgressus necopinantis esset, deici praesidia posse:
12 iacula enim et sagittas et cetera missilia in tenebris, ubi quid petatur procul provideri nequeat, inutilia esse; gladio comminus geri rem in permixta turba,
13 quo miles Romanus vincat. His ducibus usurus praetorem Octavium accersitum, exposito quid pararet Heracleum [3] cum classe petere iubet et mille hominibus decem dierum cocta [4] cibaria habere.
14 Ipse P. Scipionem Nasicam, Q. Fabium Maximum filium suum cum quinque milibus [5] delectis militum Heracleum mittit, velut classem conscensuros ad maritumam oram interioris Macedoniae, quod in
15 consilio agitatum erat, vastandam. Secreto indi-

[1] notae iam sibi et fidei et *Kreyssig*: notae et fidei iam sibi et *V*.
[2] regiis *Crévier*: regis *V*.
[3] Heracleum *J. F. Gronovius*: heraclium *V*.
[4] cocta *Fr.*: cognita *V*.
[5] milibus *add. Hertz*: *om. V*.

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xv and xvi. 1, says that the passes were not guarded at this time, but that Perseus sent a force after hearing that Romans, under Nasica, were on the march to Pythium. Plutarch cites Polybius and Nasica himself for the story of the dislodging of the Macedonians.

[2] As explained by Plutarch, *Aemilius* xv, this was the elder of Aemilius' sons by his first wife; the younger became Scipio Africanus the Younger, cf. below, xliv. 1–2. After divorcing his wife, remarrying, and having two more sons

missile weapons better and with more deadly aim. B.C. 168
The whole thought of the Roman commander inclined in a different direction; and dismissing his council, he summoned the Perrhaebian merchants Coenus and Menophilus, men already known to him for loyalty and wisdom, and secretly inquired what the passes into Perrhaebia were like. When they said that the terrain was not difficult, but was blocked by the king's guard-forces,[1] the consul conceived the hope that the guards could be dislodged if he attacked suddenly by night with a strong force and surprised them; for, he argued, javelins, arrows, and other missiles are useless in the dark when the target cannot be sighted at a distance; the sword is the weapon used at close quarters in a confused throng, and with that weapon the Roman soldier would win. Planning to use the above-mentioned merchants as guides, the consul summoned the praetor Octavius, explained his plans, and ordered him to sail for Heracleum with the fleet and have ten days' cooked rations for a thousand men. For his own part, he sent Publius Scipio Nasica and his own son Quintus Fabius Maximus[2] with five thousand picked men[3] to Heracleum, in order to feign an embarkation for the purpose of the plan mentioned in the council, namely, of ravaging the coastal area of inner Macedonia. Scipio and Fabius were privately

(for whom see below, XLV. xl. 7), Aemilius gave the older pair in adoption. Fabius was about eighteen at this time; his adoption had taken place about ten years before.

[3] Plutarch, following Nasica and correcting Polybius, lists three thousand Italians ("special troops"—ἐκτὸς τάξεως = *extraordinarii* ?), five thousand of the "left wing" (= *sinistra ala, i.e.* cavalry ?), 120 cavalry, and 200 mixed Thracians and Cretans.

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catum cibaria his praeparata ad classem esse, ne quid eos moraretur. Inde iussi duces itineris ita dividere viam, ut quarta vigilia tertio die Pythoum adoriri
16 possent. Ipse postero die, ut detineret regem ab circumspectu rerum aliarum, prima luce medio in alveo cum stationibus hostium proelium commisit; pugnatumque utrimque est levi armatura. Nec gravioribus armis in tam inaequali alveo pugnari
17 poterat. Descensus ripae utriusque in alveum trecentorum ferme passuum erat; medium spatium torrentis alibi aliter cavati paulo plus quam mille
18 passus patebat. Ibi in medio spectantibus utrimque ex vallo castrorum hinc rege,[1] hinc consule cum suis
19 legionibus pugnatum est. Missilibus procul regia auxilia melius pugnabant; comminus stabilior et tutior aut parma aut scuto Ligustico Romanus erat.
20 Meridie fere receptui cani suis consul iussit. Ita eo die diremptum proelium est haud paucis utrimque
21 interfectis. Sole orto postero die irritatis certamine animis etiam acrius concursum est. Sed Romani non ab iis[2] tantum, cum quibus contractum certamen erat, sed multo magis ab ea multitudine quae disposita in turribus stabat omni genere missilium telorum ac
22 saxis maxime volnerabantur. Ubi propius ripam hostium subissent, tormentis missa etiam ad ultimos perveniebant. Multo pluribus eo die[3] amissis
23 consul paulo serius recepit suos. Tertio die proelio

[1] hinc rege *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[2] iis *Kreyssig*: his V.
[3] pluribus eo die *Fr.*: plurimos eo dicto V.

[1] This is based on Polybius XXIX. 14. 4; the Ligurian shield was long and light, according to Diodorus V. 39. 7.

informed that food was ready for them at the fleet, B.C. 168
so that they would not be delayed. Next, the guides were instructed to arrange the stages of the journey so that they could attack Pythoüs in the fourth watch of the third day. Next day at dawn the consul himself, in order to keep the king from investigating the other projects, joined battle with the enemy's outposts in the middle of the river-bed. The fight was conducted with light-armed troops on both sides. It was impossible to fight with heavier troops in so rough a stream-bed. The slope of either bank to the bottom was about three hundred paces; between the banks, a space of a little over a mile lay open where the torrent had hollowed it out in varying degrees from place to place. There the fight took place in sight of the watchers from the walls of both camps, the king on one side, the consul and his legions on the other. The king's light troops fought better at long range with missiles; at close quarters the Romans were steadier, and better protected by either the cavalry targe or the Ligurian rectangular shield.[1] About noon the consul ordered the recall to be sounded for his men. So that day the fight was broken off with no small losses to both sides. At sunrise the next day an even sharper fight took place, since their spirits had been roused by the combat. But the Romans received a great many wounds not only from those with whom the fight had been joined, but much more from the large numbers posted on the towers with all sorts of missile weapons and stones. As they came nearer to the enemy's bank, the shots from the engines reached even the rear ranks. After far more severe losses that day, the consul recalled his men somewhat later. On the

v.c. 586 abstinuit, degressus[1] ad imam partem castrorum, veluti per devexum in mare bracchium transitum
24 temptaturus. Perseus, quod in oculis erat . . . .

XXXVI. Tempus[2] anni post circumactum solstitium erat; hora diei iam ad meridiem vergebat; iter multo pulvere et incalescente sole factum erat.
2 Lassitudo et sitis iam sentiebatur et meridiem aestum magis accensurum cum mox appareret,[3] statuit sic adfectos recenti atque integro hosti non
3 obicere; sed tantus ardor in animis ad dimicandum utcumque erat, ut consuli non minore arte ad suos
4 eludendos quam ad hostes opus esset. Nondum omnibus instructis instabat tribunis militum, ut maturarent instruere: circumibat ipse ordines; ani-
5 mos militum hortando in pugnam accendebat. Ibi primo alacres signum poscebant; deinde, quantum increscceret aestus,[4] et voltus minus vigentes et voces segniores erant, et quidam incumbentes scutis nixique
6 pilis stabant. Tum iam aperte primis ordinibus imperat, metarentur frontem castrorum et impedi-
7 menta constituerent. Quod ubi fieri milites sensere, alii gaudere palam quod fessos viae labore flagrantis-
8 simo aestu non coegisset pugnare; legati circa

[1] degressus *J. F. Gronovius*: digressus *V.*

[2] *Exciderunt iv folia*; tempus *add. Sigonius*: *om. V.*

[3] et meridiem aestum magis accensurum cum mox appareret *Gitlbauer*: et meridie aestatemagis accesserunt tum mox adparebat *V.*

[4] increscceret aestus *ed. Bas. 1535*: increscere aestaset *V.*

[1] Judging from Plutarch, *Aemilius* xvi, the lost four sheets told of the success of Nasica in clearing the pass, Perseus' fright and retreat, and his subsequent resolve to make a stand at Pydna; also of the joining of Nasica with Paulus and the overtaking of the Macedonians.

third day, he desisted from battle and went down to B.C. 168
the lower side of the camp as if he were going to attempt the crossing through the spur of the fortifications which ran down to the sea. What was before Perseus' eyes . . .[1]

XXXVI. The season was that immediately following the turn of midsummer[2]; the time of day was approaching noon; the journey had been made through much dust and an ever-hotter sun. Weariness and thirst now began to make themselves felt, and since it was presently obvious that midday would intensify the blazing heat, the consul decided not to expose men so weakened to a fresh and unwearied enemy; but such zeal was in their hearts for fighting at all costs that the consul needed as much skill to outmanoeuvre his own men as the enemy. Since all were not yet in formation, he urged on the tribunes of the soldiers to hasten the deployment; he himself went about the ranks and was engaged in rousing the spirits of the men to battle by exhortation. At this they first kept eagerly calling for the signal; then, in proportion as the heat increased their countenances were less lively and their cries slacker, and some stood lolling on their shields and leaning on their spears. Then the consul proceeded openly to give the order to the ranking centurions to lay out the front of the camp and place the baggage.[3] When the soldiers perceived that this was being done, some rejoiced openly that he had not compelled men wearied by the toil of marching to fight a battle in scorching heat. Surrounding the general were his

[2] See below, xxxvii. 5–8 and note 1; by the then calendar, it was Sept. 3.

[3] Which was placed next the wall of the camp.

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imperatorem ducesque externi erant, inter quos et Attalus, omnes approbantes, dum pugnaturum consulem credebant—neque enim ne his quidem[1] 9 cunctationem aperuerat suam—; tunc mutatione consilii subita cum alii silerent, Nasica unus ex omnibus ausus est monere consulem ne hostem ludificatum[2] priores imperatores fugiendo certamen mani- 10 bus emitteret[3]: vereri ne, si[4] nocte abeat, sequendus maximo labore ac periculo in intima Macedoniae sit, aestasque,[5] sicut prioribus ducibus, per calles saltusque Macedonicorum montium vagando circumagatur. 11 Se magnopere suadere, dum in campo patenti hostem habeat, adgrediatur, nec oblatam occasionem vincendi 12 amittat. Consul nihil offensus libera admonitione tam clari adulescentis:

"Et ego" inquit "animum istum habui, Nasica, quem tu nunc habes, et quem ego nunc habeo, tu 13 habebis. Multis belli casibus didici, quando pugnandum, quando abstinendum pugna sit. Non operae sit stanti nunc in acie docere, quibus de causis hodie quiesse melius sit. Rationes alias reposcito; nunc auctoritate veteris imperatoris contentus eris." 14 Conticuit adulescens: haud dubie videre aliqua impedimenta pugnae consulem, quae sibi non apparerent.

XXXVII. Paulus postquam metata castra impedimentaque conlocata animadvertit, ex postrema acie

[1] quidem *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[2] ne hostem ludificatum *Crévier*: ne hostem quidem ludificatus V.
[3] emitteret *J. F. Gronovius*: emittere V.
[4] si *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* V.
[5] aestasque *Madvig*: aesosque V.

[1] As far as Livy's account goes, this applies only to Marcius, above, vi–x.

staff and the foreign commanders, among whom was B.C. 168
Attalus, all showing approval as long as they believed the consul was going to fight (for he had not revealed his doubts even to them); then at the sudden change of plan they were all silent except Nasica, who alone dared to advise the consul not to loose his grasp on an enemy who had baffled previous generals by avoiding an encounter. Nasica feared that if the enemy departed by night, he would have to be pursued with the greatest toil and risk into the interior of Macedonia, and that the summer would be wasted, as under previous leaders,[1] in roaming about the bypaths and passes of the Macedonian mountains; for his own part he strongly urged attack while the consul had the enemy in open country, so as not to lose the opportunity for victory which had been offered. The consul, nothing offended by the outspoken warning from so famous a young man, replied:

"I too have had the spirit which you now have, Nasica, and you will come to have the spirit I now have. From many vicissitudes of war I have learned when to fight and when to refuse battle. There is not time to instruct you while you are standing-to for battle as to the reasons why it is better to be inactive today. You shall ask for my reasoning at another time; now you will be satisfied to take the word of an experienced general."

The young man held his tongue, thinking that no doubt the consul saw some obstacles to battle which he himself did not envisage.

XXXVII. After Paulus saw that the camp had been laid out and the baggage placed, he quietly withdrew the rear formation first from behind the

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triarios primos subducit, deinde principes, stantibus in prima acie hastatis, si quid hostis moveret, postremo hastatos, ab dextro primum cornu singulorum paulatim signorum milites subtrahens. Ita pedites equitibus cum levi armatura ante aciem hosti oppositis sine tumultu abducti, nec ante quam prima frons valli ac fossa perducta est, ex statione equites revocati sunt. Rex quoque, cum sine detractatione paratus pugnare eo die fuisset, contentus eo quod [1] per hostem moram fuisse scirent, et ipse in castra copias reduxit. Castris permunitis C. Sulpicius Gallus, tribunus militum secundae legionis, qui praetor superiore anno fuerat, consulis permissu ad contionem militibus vocatis pronuntiavit, nocte proxima, ne quis id pro portento acciperet, ab hora secunda usque ad quartam horam noctis lunam defecturam esse. Id quia naturali ordine statis temporibus fiat, et sciri ante et praedici posse. Itaque quem ad modum, quia certi solis lunaeque et ortus et occasus sint, nunc pleno orbe, nunc senescentem [2] exiguo cornu fulgere [3] lunam non mirarentur, ita ne obscurari quidem, cum condatur

[1] eo quod *Hertz*: equod *V*.
[2] senescentem *Florebellus*: senescente *V*.
[3] fulgere *ed. Bas. 1535*: fugere *V*.

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[1] He is mentioned by Cicero, *De Senectute* xiv. 49 as a geometer and astronomer. For his praetorship, see XLIII. ii. 5. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* II. xii. 53, Frontinus I. xii. 8, and Zonaras 9. 23 speak of a prediction by Sulpicius; Justinus 33. 1. 7, Cicero, *De Republica* I. xv. 23, Valerius Maximus 8. 11. 1, and Plutarch, *Aemilius* xvii say that the explanation followed the eclipse. A fragment of Polybius XXIX. 16 (6) states that the eclipse was interpreted as portending the fall of a king; therefore it cheered the Romans and discouraged the Macedonians, see below, sec. 9. Modern reckoning sets the

battle-line, next the chief formation, while the forward B.C. 168
formation stood its ground at the front of the battle-line, in case the enemy should make a move; last of all he withdrew the forward formation, taking the soldiers of one maniple at a time, starting with the right wing. In this way, while the cavalry and the light-armed troops faced the enemy from in front of the battle-line. the infantry were withdrawn without confusion, and the cavalry were not called away from their posts until the façade of the rampart and the ditch facing the enemy had been completed. Although the king would have been prepared to fight that day without reluctance, he was satisfied to let it be seen that the delay was due to the enemy, and he too withdrew his forces into camp.

After the fortification of the camp was complete, Gaius Sulpicius Gallus,[1] tribune of the soldiers with the second legion, who had been praetor the year before, summoned the soldiers to an assembly, by permission of the consul, and announced that no one should regard it as a bad omen when on the following night an eclipse of the moon would take place from the second to the fourth hour of the night. Since this occurred in the regular order of nature at certain times, said Sulpicius, it could be calculated ahead of time and foretold. Therefore just as they were not surprised—inasmuch as both the risings and the settings of the sun and moon are well understood—when they saw the moon shining now full, now during its wane with a narrow arc, no more ought they to count it a prodigy that the moon is darkened

date of the eclipse as June 21, which would mean that the calendar was at least 70 days ahead of time, cf. p. 87, Appendix.

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8 umbra terrae, trahere in prodigium debere. Nocte quam pridie nonas Septembres insecuta est dies, edita hora luna cum defecisset, Romanis militibus Galli
9 sapientia prope divina videri; Macedonas ut triste prodigium, occasum regni perniciemque gentis portendens, movit nec aliter vates. Clamor ululatusque in castris Macedonum fuit, donec luna in suam lucem emersit.
10 Postero die—tantus utrique ardor exercitui ad concurrendum fuerat, ut et regem et consulem suorum quidam, quod sine proelio discessum esset, accusarent
11 —regi prompta defensio erat, non eo solum quod hostis prior aperte pugnam detractans in castra copias reduxisset, sed etiam quod eo loco signa constituisset, quo phalanx, quam inutilem vel mediocris iniquitas
12 loci efficeret, promoveri non posset. Consul ad id quod pridie praetermisisse pugnandi occasionem videbatur et locum dedisse hosti, si nocte abire vellet, tunc quoque per speciem immolandi terere videbatur tempus, cum luce prima ad signum propositum pugnae
13 exeundum [1] in aciem fuisset. Tertia demum hora sacrificio rite perpetrato ad consilium vocavit; atque ibi quod rei gerendae tempus esset loquendo et intempestive consultando videbatur quibusdam extrahere. Adversus eos sermones talem [2] consul orationem habuit.

XXXVIII. "P. Nasica, egregius adulescens, ex

[1] exeundum *Fahlen*: ad exeundum *V*.
[2] adversus eos sermones talem *Madvig*: sermones tamen *V*.

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xvii. 6, says that the consul's sacrifice to Heracles obtained good omens only with the twenty-first

whenever it is hidden in the shadow of the earth. B.C. 168
On the night preceding the 4th of September, when the moon was eclipsed at the predicted hour, the Roman soldiers regarded the wisdom of Gallus as almost divine: the Macedonians took it as a dire portent, foretelling the downfall of the kingdom and the nation, and no soothsayer shook their conviction. There was uproar and wailing in the Macedonian camp until the moon emerged to shine as usual.

On the following day, so great was the eagerness of both armies for battle that some of their followers blamed both the king and the consul for separating without a fight. The king had a rejoinder ready at hand: not only that the enemy had taken the lead in openly declining battle and leading his men back to camp, but that he had posted his forces in a position to which the phalanx could not be advanced, since even slightly unfavourable terrain makes a phalanx useless. As for the consul, besides his seeming loss of an opportunity for battle on the previous day and his giving the enemy a chance of withdrawing by night if they wished, he seemed on this day too to be wasting time on the pretext of offering sacrifice, although he should have given the signal at dawn and gone out to battle.[1] At the third hour, after due completion of the sacrifice, he at last called a council, and in doing so seemed to some to be expending in talk and untimely advisement the time needed for carrying out action. In reply to such talk the consul delivered the following speech:

XXXVIII. "That excellent young man, Publius

victim; also that the consul waited till the afternoon so that the sun would not be in the eyes of his troops.

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omnibus [1] unus, quibus hesterno die pugnari placuit, denudavit mihi suum consilium; idem postea, ita ut transisse in sententiam meam videri posset, tacuit. 2 Quibusdam aliis absentem carpere imperatorem quam 3 praesentem monere melius visum est. Et tibi, P. Nasica, et quicumque idem quod tu [2] occultius senserunt, non gravabor reddere dilatae pugnae rationem. 4 Nam tantum abest ut me hesternae quietis paeniteat, ut servatum a me exercitum eo consilio credam. In qua me opinione sine causa esse ne quis [3] vestrum credat, recognoscat agedum mecum, si videtur, quam 5 multa pro hoste et adversus nos fuerint. Iam omnium primum, quantum numero nos praestent neminem vestrum nec ante ignorasse et hesterno die explicatam [4] intuentis aciem animadvertisse certum habeo. 6 Ex hac nostra paucitate quarta pars militum praesidio impedimentis relicta erat; nec ignavissimum quem- 7 que relinqui ad custodiam sarcinarum scitis. Sed fuerimus omnes: parvum hoc tandem esse credimus, quod ex his castris, in quibus hac nocte mansimus, exituri in aciem hodierno aut summum crastino die, 8 si ita videbitur, diis bene iuvantibus sumus? nihilne interest, utrum militem, quem neque viae labor eo die [5] neque operis fatigaverit, requietum, integrum in tentorio suo arma capere iubeas atque in aciem plenum virium, vigentem et corpore et animo educas,

[1] ex omnibus *ed. Amstelod. 1633*: omnibus ex *V*.
[2] tu *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[3] sine causa esse ne quis *Vahlen*: esse ne quis sine causa *V*.
[4] explicatam *J. F. Gronovius*: inplicatam *V*.
[5] labor eo die *Vahlen*: labore hodie *V*.

Nasica, alone among all those who favoured fighting yesterday disclosed his opinion to me; he too kept silent later, so that he may have seemed to have exchanged his view for mine. Certain others thought it better to criticize their general behind his back rather than to advise him openly. Both to you, Publius Nasica, and to any others who less openly shared your opinion, I shall not hesitate to give an accounting for having postponed the battle. For I am so far from regretting our inactivity yesterday that I believe I saved the army by so planning. That none of you may believe me to hold this opinion groundlessly, come let each, if he please, review with me how many factors weighed for the enemy and against us. First of all, of their great superiority in numbers I am sure that you were all previously aware, and that you took notice of it on seeing the battle-line drawn up yesterday. Out of this small force of ours, one-fourth of the men were left to guard the baggage; and you know that the guarding of the packs is not put in the hands of the most cowardly. But suppose we had been united: can we possibly consider it a small advantage that we shall go out, with the good help of the gods,[1] from this camp in which we have spent last night, to do battle either today or at latest tomorrow if we so determine? Does it make no difference whether you bid a soldier take up arms and lead him into battle when he is wearied neither by the toil of a journey nor by construction on that day, when he is rested and refreshed in his own tent, when he is full of strength and vigorous in body and in spirit? Or whether he B.C. 168

[1] For similar expressions of precautionary piety, see VI. xxiii. 10, VII. xxxii. 17, XXI. xxi. 6.

9 an longo itinere fatigatum et onere fessum, madentem sudore, arentibus[1] siti faucibus, ore atque oculis repletis pulvere, torrente[2] meridiano sole, hosti obicias recenti, requieto,[3] qui nulla re ante consumptas
10 vires ad proelium adferat? quis, pro deum fidem, ita comparatus, vel iners atque imbellis, fortissimum virum non[4] vicerit?
11 Quid, quod hostes per summum otium instruxerant aciem, praeparaverant animos, stabant, compositi suis quisque ordinibus, nobis tunc repente trepidandum in acie instruenda erat et incompositis concurrendum? XXXIX. At hercule aciem quidem inconditam inordinatamque habuissemus, sed[5] castra munita, provisam aquationem, tutum ad eam iter praesidiis impositis, explorata circa omnia; an nihil nostri[6] habentes praeter nudum campum, in quo
2 pugnaremus . . . .[7] Maiores vestri castra munita portum ad omnis casus exercitus ducebant esse, unde ad pugnam exirent, quo iactati tempestate pugnae
3 receptum haberent. Ideo, cum munimentis ea saepsissent,[8] praesidio quoque valido firmabant, quod, qui castris exutus erat, etiamsi pugnando acie vicisset, pro victo haberetur. Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium. Quam multi exercitus,
4 quibus minus prospera pugnae fortuna fuit, intra vallum compulsi tempore suo, interdum momento post, eruptione facta victorem hostem pepulerunt?

[1] arentibus *Florebellus*: ardentibus *V.*
[2] torrente *I. Perizonius*: torrentem *V.*
[3] requieto *J. F. Gronovius*: quieto *V.*
[4] non *add. Fr.*: *om. V.*
[5] sed *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[6] nostri *Cobet*: vestri *V.*
[7] *lacunam suspiciunt edd.*; *Giarratano*: "*supple*: sine ullo consilio cum hoste dimicassemus? *vel aliquid simile.*"
[8] ea saepsissent *J. F. Gronovius*: eas saepissent *V.*

is wearied by a long march and tired by his load, B.C. 168
dripping with sweat, his throat dry with thirst, his mouth and eyes full of dust, with the midday sun beating down upon him? Will you pit him against an enemy fresh and rested, who brings into battle a strength unsapped by previous exertion? Who, by the gods' good faith, when he is thus matched, sluggish though he be and unwarlike, will not overcome the bravest fighter?

"What of the fact that the enemy had drawn up their line completely at leisure, had made ready their spirits, were standing each at his post in the ranks, while we at that time had to incur the hasty turmoil of drawing up our line and had to enter battle in disorder? XXXIX. Oh yes, you say, we should have had a battle-line undeployed and disorderly; but our camp was fortified, our water-supply found, the way to it secured by placing guards, and reconnaissance made all around. Or did our men have nothing but the bare ground on which to fight . . . ? Your ancestors regarded a fortified camp as a haven against all the mischances of an army, whence they might go out to fight, and whither they might find shelter from the storm of battle. Therefore when they had walled in their camp with fortifications, they used also to strengthen it with a powerful garrison, because one who had been stripped of his camp, even though he had won the battle, would be considered the loser. Camp is the shelter of the conqueror, the refuge of the conquered. How many armies meeting with none too favourable fortune in battle, after being driven within their rampart, have in their own good time, sometimes after only a moment, sallied forth and routed the victorious enemy? This abode is a second

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5 Patria altera militaris est haec [1] sedes, vallumque pro moenibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt. Sine ulla sede vagi dimicassemus, ut quo victi, quo [2] victores nos reciperemus?

6 His difficultatibus et impedimentis pugnae illud opponitur: quid, si hostis hac interposita nocte abisset, quantum rursus sequendo eo penitus in ulti-
7 mam Macedoniam exhauriendum laboris erat? Ego autem neque mansurum eum neque in aciem copias educturum fuisse certum habeo, si cedere hinc statuisset. Quanto enim facilius abire fuit cum procul abessemus, quam nunc cum in cervicibus sumus, nec fallere
8 nos interdiu aut nocte abeundo potest? quid autem est [3] nobis optatius quam ut, quorum castra praealta fluminis ripa tuta, vallo insuper saepta ac [4] crebris turribus oppugnare adorti sumus, eos relictis munimentis, agmine effuso abeuntis in patentibus campis ab tergo adoriamur?

Hae dilatae pugnae ex hesterno die in hodiernum
9 causae fuerunt. Pugnare enim et ipsi mihi placet; et ideo, quia per Elpeum amnem saepta ad hostem via erat, alio saltu deiectis hostium praesidiis novum iter aperui, neque prius, quam debellavero, absistam."

XL. Post hanc orationem silentium fuit, partim traductis in sententiam eius, partim verentibus nequiquam offendere in eo, quod utcumque praeter-
2 missum revocari non posset. Ac ne illo ipso quidem

[1] Patria altera militaris est haec *Wesenberg*: patriam alteram est militari est haec V.

[2] victi, quo *add. H. J. Müller*: *om.* V.

[3] nos interdiu aut nocte abeundo potest? quid autem est *Madvig*: nos nec interdiu aut nocte abeundtem est V.

[4] ac *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.

home for the soldier, its rampart takes the place of B.C. 168
city walls and his own tent is the soldier's dwelling and hearthside. Should we have fought like nomads with no abode, so that, whether conquered or conquerors, we might return—where?

"To this statement of the difficulties and hindrances to battle, here is the rejoinder: what if the enemy had departed during the interval of last night? How much toil would we have had to expend in the renewed pursuit far into the utmost end of Macedonia? For my part I am sure that he would never have remained here or led his forces out into battle-line had he decided to retreat from here. For how much easier it would have been to depart while we were at a distance than now when we are on his neck and he cannot trick us by leaving either by night or day? What more can we wish than to attack our enemy in open country from the rear of his retreating and dispersed column after he has left his fortifications, instead of attacking, as we have attempted to do, his camp protected by the lofty bank of a river, and barricaded as well with a rampart and plenty of towers?

"These were my reasons for postponing battle from yesterday to today. For I too prefer to fight; and therefore since the way to the enemy was barred by the Elpeüs River, I have opened a new road by expelling the enemy's guards from a different pass, and I will not turn back till I have fought to a finish."

XL. After this speech silence ensued, partly because men had changed over to his opinion, partly because they shrank from offending him to no purpose in a matter which was in any case a lost opportunity and could not be brought back. Nor

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die aut consuli aut regi pugnare placebat, regi,[1] quod nec fessos, ut pridie, ex via neque trepidantis in acie instruenda et vixdum compositos adgressurus erat, consuli, quod in novis castris non ligna, non pabulum convectum erat, ad quae petenda ex propinquis agris magna pars militum e castris exierat. Neutro imperatorum volente fortuna, quae plus consiliis humanis pollet, contraxit certamen. Flumen erat haud magnum propius hostium castra,[2] ex quo et Macedones et Romani aquabantur praesidiis ex utraque ripa positis, ut id facere tuto possent. Duae cohortes a parte Romanorum erant, Marrucina et Paeligna, duae turmae Samnitium equitum, quibus praerat M. Sergius Silus legatus; et aliud pro castris stativum erat praesidium sub C. Cluvio legato, tres cohortes, Firmana, Vestina, Cremonensis, duae turmae equitum, Placentina et Aesernina.[3] Cum otium ad flumen esset neutris lacessentibus, hora circiter nona[4] iumentum e manibus curantium elapsum in ulteriorem ripam effugit. Quod cum per aquam ferme genus[5] tenus altam tres miltes sequerentur, Thraces duo id iumentum ex medio alveo in suam ripam trahentes caperent, hos persecuti illi[6] altero eorum occiso receptoque[7] iumento ad stationem

[1] pugnare placebat, regi *add. Kreyssig*: *om.* *V*.
[2] castra *J. F. Gronovius*: castris *V*.
[3] Placentina et Aesernina *Sigonius*: placentis naeptesserninа *V*.
[4] nona *J. F. Gronovius*: quarta *V*.
[5] *sic* *V*: genibus *Novák*.
[6] caperent, hos persecuti illi *add. M. Müller*: *om.* *V*.
[7] receptoque *A. Perizonius*: receptoque eo *V*.

even on that day did either the consul or the king B.C. 168
care to fight, the king because he would have had to attack men no longer weary from travel as on the previous day, nor in turmoil as they marshalled their line of battle and hardly in formation, the consul because neither wood nor fodder had been collected in the new camp and a large number of soldiers had gone out of camp to seek them from the near-by countryside. Without either general wishing it, Fortune, which is stronger than human planning, brought on the battle. There was a stream of no great size nearer the camp of the enemy, from which both the Macedonians and the Romans were drawing water after posting guards on either bank in order to accomplish this mission safely. There were two cohorts on the Roman side, a Marrucinian and a Paelignian, and two troops of Samnite cavalry under the command of the staff-officer Marcus Sergius Silus; another fixed outpost was stationed before the camp under the staff-officer Gaius Cluvius, composed of three cohorts, from Firmum, the Vestini, and Cremona respectively, and two troops of cavalry from Placentia and Aesernia.[1] While there was quiet at the river, since neither side took the offensive, about the ninth hour a baggage-animal shied from the hands of his grooms and escaped toward the other bank.[2] While three soldiers were chasing him through the water, which was about knee-deep, two Thracians dragged the animal from mid-stream to their bank; the Romans pursued them, killed one,

[1] The Marrucini, Paeligni, Samnites, and Vestini were Italian "allies" of the Romans; Firmum, Cremona, Placentia, and Aesernia were colonies with Latin rights.

[2] Plutarch credits Aemilius with ordering a horse to be let loose, in order to bring on the battle.

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suorum se[1] recipiebant. Octingentorum Thracum praesidium in hostium ripa erat. Ex his pauci primo, aegre passi popularem in suo conspectu caesum, ad persequendos interfectores fluvium transgressi sunt, dein plures, postremo omnes, et cum praesidio . . .[2]

XLI. . . .[3] proelium ducit. Movebat imperii maiestas, gloria viri, ante omnia aetas, quod maior sexaginta annis iuvenum munia in parte praecipua laboris periculique capessebat. Intervallum, quod inter caetratos et phalanges erat, implevit legio atque aciem hostium interrupit. A tergo caetrati erant,[4] frontem adversus clupeatos habebat; chalcaspides[5] appellabantur. Secundam legionem L. Albinus consularis ducere adversus leucaspidem phalangem iussus; ea media acies hostium fuit. In dextrum cornu, unde circa fluvium commissum proelium erat, elephantos inducit et alas[6] sociorum; et hinc primum fuga Macedonum est orta. Nam sicut pleraque nova commenta mortalium in verbis vim habent, experiendo,[7] cum agi non quem ad modum agatur[8] edisseri oportet, sine ullo effectu evanescunt, ita tum

[1] se *add. Fr.*: *om.* V.
[2] *Exciderunt duo folia.*
[3] *Ibi finitur folium; lacunam ind. ed. Bas. 1531.*
[4] caetrati erant *Madvig*: cetratis erant V.
[5] chalcaspides *J. F. Gronovius*: caclaspides V.
[6] elephantos inducit et alas *Kreyssig*: elepantos induciet alias V.
[7] experiendo *Turnebus*: expiēdo V.
[8] agatur *Sigonius*: agātur V.

[1] Two leaves of the MS. are missing at this point. Judging from Plutarch, these pages contained a description of the advance of the armies from camp, their battle-order, skir-

recaptured the animal, and retired to their post. B.C. 168
There was a guard of eight hundred Thracians on the Macedonian bank. At first a few of these, angry at the killing of their fellow-countryman before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of the killers, then more went, and finally the whole force, and with the guard . . .[1]

XLI. . . . led . . . the battle. The men were stirred by the prestige of his office, the fame of the man, and above all by his age, for though he was over sixty he kept assuming functions of men in their prime in undergoing an outstanding amount of toil and danger. The legion filled the space between the light infantry and the phalanxes and broke the enemy line. In the rear were the light infantry; the consul faced a unit with metal shields—these were called the Bronze Shields. Lucius Albinus the ex-consul was ordered to advance against the White Shield phalanx[2]; this was the centre of the hostile line. On the right wing, where the battle had begun near the river, the consul brought up the elephants and the squadrons of the allies; and from this point the flight of the Macedonians first began. For, as frequently men's new inventions appear strong when described, but in actual trial, when there is need for action rather than a description of how they will act, these inventions disappear without achieving any result, so in this battle the anti-elephant corps was

mishing by the light-armed troops in which the Macedonians had the advantage, the charge of the Paelignians against some Macedonian light infantry and their collision with the phalanx (cf. below, sec. 9), and perhaps the impression made on Aemilius by the phalanx, an impression which he was careful not to show at the time.

[2] Plutarch speaks of this unit as having gilded armour.

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elephantomachae [1] nomen tantum sine usu fuerunt. 5 Elephantorum impetum subsecuti sunt socii nominis 6 Latini pepuleruntque laevum cornu. In medio secunda legio immissa dissipavit phalangem. Neque ulla evidentior causa victoriae fuit, quam quod multa passim proelia erant, quae fluctuantem turbarunt primo, deinde disiecerunt phalangem, cuius confertae et intentis horrentis hastis intolerabiles vires sunt; 7 si carptim adgrediendo circumagere immobilem longitudine et gravitate hastam cogas, confusa strue implicantur; si vero aut ab latere aut ab tergo aliquid 8 tumultus increpuit, ruinae modo turbantur, sicut tum adversus catervatim incurrentes Romanos et interrupta multifariam acie obviam ire cogebantur; et Romani, quacumque data intervalla essent, insi- 9 nuabant ordines suos. Qui si universa acie in frontem adversus instructam phalangem concurrissent, quod Paelignis principio pugnae incaute congressis adversus caetratos evenit, induissent se hastis nec confertam aciem sustinuissent.

XLII. Ceterum sicut peditum passim caedes fiebant, nisi qui abiectis armis fugerunt, sic equitatus

[1] elephantomachae *Hartel*: elephanto mace V.

[1] Zonaras 9, 22 (p. 269) says that these were infantry with sharp spikes projecting from their helmets and shields, and also cavalry, both forces having been drilled to fight elephants; dummy elephants were used to accustom the horses to them. The words of Livy at the beginning of sec. 4 seem to be a direct quotation from Polybius XXIX. 17. 2 (12).

[2] A variant account of the battle is given by Frontinus II. iii. 20, who says that Paulus arranged his line in wedges, and tried to draw out the Macedonians by attacking with skirmishers (*velites*); when this failed, Paulus retreated, to induce the Macedonians to break formation; when this also

a mere name without practical effect.[1] The charge of the elephants was followed up by the allies of the Latin Name, who routed the left wing. In the centre the charge of the second legion scattered the phalanx. No reason for the victory was more obvious than the fact that there were many scattered engagements which first threw into confusion and then disrupted the wavering phalanx. The power of this formation when closed up and bristling with spears extended is irresistible; but if by attacks at several points you compel them to swing their spears about, unwieldy because of their length and weight, they become tangled in a haphazard mass; and if indeed some sort of uproar is heard on a flank or from the rear, they are involved in utter confusion. Such was the case on this occasion, when the phalanx was compelled to meet the Romans who were attacking in groups, while the Macedonian line was broken at many points. The Romans for their part kept infiltrating their units wherever gaps presented themselves. If they had attacked frontally in solid line against an orderly phalanx, as happened to the Paelignians who at the beginning of the battle recklessly met the light infantry, the Romans would have spitted themselves on the spears and would not have withstood the solid line.[2] B.C. 168

XLII. However, while the infantry were being slaughtered all over the field, except for those who cast away their weapons and fled, the cavalry on the

failed, the Roman cavalry from the left wing were ordered to charge along the front of the phalanx and break off the spear-points with their shields; when this manoeuvre succeeded, the Macedonians broke and fled. Livy seems to have a far preferable account.

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2 prope integer pugna excessit. Princeps fugae rex ipse erat. Iam a Pydna cum sacris alis equitum Pellam petebat; confestim eos Cotys[1] sequebatur
3 Odrysarumque equitatus. Ceterae quoque Macedonum alae integris abibant ordinibus, quia interiecta peditum acies, cuius caedes victores tenebat,[2]
4 immemores fecerat sequendi equites. Diu phalanx a fronte, a lateribus, ab tergo caesa est. Postremo qui ex hostium manibus elapsi erant, inermes ad mare fugientes, quidam aquam etiam ingressi, manus ad eos qui in classe erant tendentes, suppliciter
5 vitam orabant; et cum scaphas concurrere undique ab navibus cernerent, ad excipiendos sese venire rati, ut caperent potius quam occiderent, longius in aquam,
6 quidam etiam natantes, progressi sunt. Sed cum hostiliter e[3] scaphis caederentur retro qui poterant nando repetentes terram in aliam foediorem pestem incidebant: elephanti enim ab rectoribus ad litus acti exeuntis obterebant elidebantque.
7 Facile convenit ab Romanis[4] numquam una acie tantum Macedonum interfectum. Caesa enim ad viginti milia hominum sunt; ad sex milia,[5] qui Pydnam ex acie perfugerant, vivi in potestatem pervenerunt, et vagi ex fuga quinque milia[6] hominum capta.
8 Ex victoribus ceciderunt non plus centum, et eorum multo maior pars Paeligni; volnerati aliquanto plures
9 sunt. Quod si maturius pugnari coeptum esset, ut

[1] confestim eos Cotys *Jac. Gronovius*: confestī costocus *V*.
[2] tenebat *J. F. Gronovius*: tenebant *V*.
[3] e *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[4] convenit ab Romanis *Weissenborn*: conueniebat romanis *V*.
[5] milia *add. Fr.*: *om. V*.
[6] ex fuga quinque milia *Kreyssig*: et fuga ū m *V*.

other hand retired from the fight almost unscathed. B.C. 168
The king himself was the leader in the flight. Directly from Pydna he set out for Pella with the Sacred Squadrons of cavalry; immediately Cotys and the Odrysan cavalry followed them. The other Macedonian squadrons also continued to retreat in orderly formation because the line of the infantry in between kept the victors busy with slaughter and caused them to forget the pursuit of the cavalry. For a long time the phalanx was cut to pieces from the front, from the flanks, and from the rear. Finally those who slipped through the hands of the Romans fled weaponless to the sea, and some even entered the water and raising their hands to the men on board ship humbly begged for life. When they saw small boats gathering from all around the fleet, they thought that these were coming to pick them up, to take them prisoner rather than to kill them, and so they advanced farther into the water, some even swimming. But when they were mercilessly cut down from the boats, those who could made for shore again by swimming and ran into a more dreadful form of destruction; for the elephants, guided by their mahouts to the shore, trampled and crushed the men coming out of the water.

It is readily agreed that the Romans never killed so many Macedonians in any other single battle. For about twenty thousand men were slain; about six thousand who escaped from the battlefield to Pydna were taken alive, and five thousand stragglers were captured in flight. Of the victors not more than one hundred fell and by far the greater part of them were Paeligni; somewhat more were wounded. If fighting had broken out earlier, so that sufficient

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satis diei victoribus ad persequendum superesset, deletae omnes copiae forent: nunc imminens nox et fugientes texit et Romanis pigritiem ad sequendum locis ignotis fecit.

XLIII. Perseus ad Pieriam silvam via militari frequenti agmine equitum et regio comitatu fugit. Simul in silvam [1] ventum est, ubi plures diversae semitae erant, et nox adpropinquabat, cum perpaucis maxime fidis via devertit. Equites sine duce relicti alii alia in civitates suas dilapsi sunt: perpauci inde Pellam celerius quam ipse Perseus, quia recta et expedita via ierant, pervenerunt. Rex ad mediam ferme noctem errore [2] et variis difficultatibus viae est vexatus: in regia Perseo,[3] qui Pellae praeerant Euctus Eulaeusque et regii [4] pueri praesto erant. Contra ea amicorum, qui alii alio casu servati ex proelio Pellam venerant, cum saepe arcessiti essent, nemo ad eum venit. Tres erant tantum cum eo fugae comites, Euander Cretensis, Neo Boeotus [5] et Archidamus Aetolus. Cum iis iam metuens ne, qui venire ad se abnuerent, maius aliquid mox auderent, quarta vigilia profugit. Secuti eum sunt admodum quingenti Cretenses. Petebat Amphipolim; sed nocte a Pella exierat, properans ante lucem Axium amnem traicere, eum finem sequendi propter difficultatem transitus fore ratus Romanis.

[1] in silvam *Fr.*: inviam silvam *V.*

[2] errore *Madvig*: terrore *V.*

[3] viae est vexatus; in regia Perseo *Novák*: uidex vexatus in regiā estaperseo *V.*

[4] Euctus Eulaeusque et regii *H. J. Müller*: coactusque regi *V.*

[5] Neo Boeotus *Madvig*: cñ. euboetius *V.*

[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxiii, calls them "the mintmasters," and says that Perseus put them to death.

daylight would have remained for the victors to pursue, the entire Macedonian force would have been wiped out; as it was, the approach of night both sheltered the fugitives and inspired in the Romans a reluctance to pursue over unknown terrain. B.C. 168

XLIII. Perseus fled to the Pierian Forest along the military road with a large column of cavalry and the royal entourage. As soon as they arrived in the forest, where there were many divergent ways, and night was approaching, the king left the road with a very few of his most trusty men. The cavalry, left without a commander, took various routes in dispersing to their own cities; a very few went on to Pella more rapidly than the king, since they had gone by the direct and clear way. The king was bothered till about midnight by losing his way and by various difficulties of the route. At the palace Perseus was waited upon by the commanders of Pella, Euctus, and Eulaeus,[1] and the royal pages. On the other hand, of his friends who by various haps had come safely from the battle to Pella, not one came to him, though they were summoned many times. There were only three companions in flight with him, Evander the Cretan, Neon the Boeotian, and Archidamus the Aetolian. With these he escaped in the fourth watch, being now afraid that those who refused to come to him would presently venture on a bolder stroke. His escort was composed of about five hundred Cretans. He was making for Amphipolis; but he had left Pella at night because of his anxiety to cross the Axius River before dawn, since he thought that because of the difficulty of crossing this would be the limit of the Roman pursuit.

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XLIV. Consulem, cum se in castra victor recepisset, ne sincero gaudio frueretur, cura de minore filio sti-
2 mulabat. P. Scipio is erat, Africanus et ipse postea deleta Carthagine appellatus, naturalis consulis Pauli
3 filius,[1] adoptione Africani nepos. Is septimum decimum tunc annum agens, quod ipsum curam augebat, dum effuse sequitur hostes, in partem aliam turba ablatus erat; et serius cum redisset, tunc demum, recepto sospite filio, victoriae tantae gaudium consul sensit.

4 Amphipolim cum iam fama pugnae pervenisset concursusque matronarum in templum Dianae, quam Tauropolon vocant, ad opem exposcendam fieret, Diodorus, qui praeerat urbi, metuens ne Thraces, quorum duo milia in praesidio erant, urbem in tumultu diriperent, ab subornato ab se per fallaciam in tabel-
5 larii speciem litteras in foro medio accepit. Scriptum in iis erat ad Emathiam classem Romanam appulsam esse agrosque circa vexari; orare praefectos Emathiae
6 ut praesidium adversus populatores mittat. His lectis hortatur Thracas ut ad tuendam Emathiae oram proficiscantur: magnam eos caedem praedamque
7 palatis passim per agros Romanis facturos. Simul elevat famam adversae pugnae: quae si vera foret, alium super alium recentes ex fuga venturos fuisse.

[1] filius *Duker*: consulis *V*.

[1] The soldiers hailed him as *imperator* for the third time (Mommsen, *Münzwesen* 633, number 486).

[2] The district west of Amphipolis, toward the Chalcidic peninsula.

XLIV. When the consul returned victorious to B.C. 168
camp, he was prevented from enjoying an unalloyed delight by the sting of worry over his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who was also called Africanus later after the destruction of Carthage, born son to the consul Paulus and by adoption grandson of Africanus. This son was then in his seventeenth year, a fact which in itself increased the anxiety for him, and had been carried away in another direction by a crowd while in hot pursuit of the enemy. When he returned very late, then at last on the safe recovery of his son the consul felt the joy of so great a victory.[1]

At Amphipolis the news of the battle had by now arrived; there was a gathering of the matrons in the temple of Diana whom they call Tauropolos, to pray for help. Diodorus, who was in charge of the city, feared that the Thracians, two thousand of whom were in the garrison, would plunder the city during the confusion. Hence he craftily hired a man to play the part of dispatch bearer, from whom he received papers in the middle of the market place. The message in these despatches was that the Roman fleet had put in at Emathia [2] and was harassing the surrounding countryside, and that the officers in charge of Emathia requested him to send a force against the ravagers. After reading this, he urged the Thracians to start out to defend the coast of Emathia, telling them that they would cause great slaughter and get great booty among the Romans scattered all over the fields. At the same time he minimized the report of the loss of a battle; if this were true, he said, man after man would have been arriving direct from the rout. Having got rid of

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8 Per hanc causam Thracibus ablegatis, simul transgressos eos Strymonem vidit, portas clausit.

XLV. Tertio die Perseus, quam pugnatum erat, 2 Amphipolim venit. Inde oratores cum caduceo ad Paulum misit. Interim Hippias et Midon et Pantauchus, principes amicorum regis, Beroea,[1] quo ex acie confugerant, ipsi ad consulem profecti Romanis se dedunt. Hoc idem et alii deinceps metu perculsi[2] 3 parabant facere. Consul nuntiis victoriae Q. Fabio filio et L. Lentulo et Q. Metello cum litteris Romam missis spolia iacentis hostium exercitus peditibus 4 concessit, equitibus praedam circumiecti agri, dum ne amplius duabus noctibus a castris abessent. Ipse 5 propius mare ad Pydnam castra movit. Beroea primum, deinde Thessalonica et Pella et deinceps 6 omnis ferme Macedonia intra biduum dedita. Pydnaei, qui proximi erant, nondum miserant legatos: multitudo incondita plurium simul gentium turbaque,[3] quae ex acie fuga in unum compulsa erat, consilium et consensum civitatis impediebat; nec clausae modo 7 portae, sed etiam inaedificatae erant. Missi Midon et Pantauchus sub muros ad conloquium Solonis qui praesidio praeerat;[4] per eum emittitur militaris turba. Oppidum deditum militibus datur diripiendum.

8 Perseus una tantum spe Bisaltarum auxilii temptata,[5] ad quos nequiquam miserat legatos, in con-

[1] Beroea *Kreyssig*: ueroeam *V*.
[2] alii deinceps metu perculsi *J. F. Gronovius*: aliae deinceps metu perculsae *V*.
[3] turbaque, quae *Fr.*: turbaeque *V*.
[4] praeerat *J. F. Gronovius*: erat *V*.
[5] temptata *J. F. Gronovius*: temptati *V*.

[1] A tribe living just west of Amphipolis.

the Thracians on this pretext, he barred the gates as B.C. 168
soon as he saw that they had crossed the Strymon.

XLV. On the second day after the battle Perseus arrived at Amphipolis. From there he sent ambassadors with the staff of Mercury to Paulus. Meanwhile Hippias, Midon, and Pantauchus, the chief among the king's friends, set out of their own accord from Beroea, where they had taken refuge after the battle, and surrendered to the Romans at the consul's camp. Others too, overcome with fear, were thereafter preparing to do the same. The consul sent as messengers of his victory his son Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus with despatches to Rome and granted the spoils of the slain enemy to the infantry, and to the cavalry the right to plunder the surrounding territory, provided that they were not absent from camp for more than two nights. He himself moved camp nearer to the sea by Pydna. Beroea first, then Thessalonica and Pella, and then almost all Macedonia was surrendered within two days. The people of Pydna who were nearest had not yet sent envoys; a heterogeneous crowd of numerous nationalities together and the mob which had been amalgamated by flight from the battlefield were standing in the way of planning and agreement among the citizens. The gates were not only closed but built up solid. Midon and Pantauchus were sent up to the walls to confer with Solon, who was in charge of the garrison; through him dismissal of the mob of soldiers was arranged. The city when surrendered was given to the Roman troops to plunder.

After Perseus had tried his only expedient, to get aid from the Bisaltae,[1] to whom he sent envoys with-

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9 tionem processit Philippum secum filium habens, ut et ipsos Amphipolitanos et equitum peditumque qui aut se [1] persecuti aut fuga eodem delati erant adhor-
10 tando animos confirmaret. Sed aliquotiens dicere incipientem cum lacrimae praepedissent, quia ipse hiscere nequiit,[2] Euandro Cretensi editis, quae agi
11 cum multitudine vellet, de templo descendit. Multitudo, sicut ad conspectum regis fletumque tam miserabilem et ipsa ingemuerat lacrimaveratque, ita Euandri orationem aspernabatur; et quidam ausi sunt media ex contione succlamare "abite hinc, ne, qui pauci supersumus, propter vos pereamus."
12 Horum ferocia vocem Euandri clausit. Rex inde domum [3] se recepit pecuniaque et auro argentoque in lembos qui in Strymone stabant delatis et ipse ad
13 flumen descendit. Thraces navibus se committere non ausi domos dilapsi et alia militaris generis turba: [4] Cretenses spe [5] pecuniae secuti. Et quoniam in dividendo plus offensionum quam gratiae erat, quinquaginta talenta iis posita sunt in ripa diripienda.
14 Ab hac direptione cum per tumultum naves concenderent, lembum unum in ostio amnis multitudine gravatum merserunt. Galepsum [6] eo die, postero
15 Samothracam, quam petebant, perveniunt; ad duo milia talentum pervecta eo dicuntur.

XLVI. Paulus per omnes deditas civitates dimissis

[1] se *Madvig*: sem V.
[2] ipse hiscere nequiit *Madvig*: ipse scire nequid V.
[3] inde domum *J. F. Gronovius*: in domum V.
[4] alia . . . turba *Madvig*: aliae . . . turbae V.
[5] Cretenses spe *H. J. Müller*: cretensis spem V.
[6] Galepsum *Sigonius*: calipsum V.

[1] *I.e.*, the speakers' stand, cf. VIII. xiv. 12, describing the consecration of the Roman Rostra.

out result, he appeared before an assembly bringing B.C. 168
his son Philip with him, in order to strengthen by exhortation the spirits of the people of Amphipolis themselves, and of the cavalry and infantry who had either accompanied him or had in their flight reached the same goal. He began to speak several times, but tears choked him, and when he could not open his mouth he instructed Evander the Cretan in the matters which he wished to discuss with the people and went down from the sacred spot.[1] At the sight of the king and his truly pitiable weeping the crowd itself groaned and wept; but with equal readiness they would have none of Evander's speech; and some dared to shout from the midst of the assembly, "Get away from here so that we few survivors may not perish on your account." The vehemence of these interruptions choked off Evander's speech. Thereafter the king went home, put his money, his gold, and his silver into the scout-ships which were moored in the Strymon and himself went down to the river. The Thracians and the rest of the mob of soldiers, not daring to trust themselves to ships, slipped away to their homes; the Cretans followed Perseus in hopes of cash. Because apportionment would create more hard feelings than gratitude, fifty talents were set out on the river-bank for them to scramble for. When after this scramble they were boarding the ships in riotous fashion, they sank one scout-ship at the mouth of the river by overcrowding it. On that day the party reached Galepsus, on the next Samothrace, their destination; it is said that two thousand talents were brought there.

XLVI. Paulus sent men to take charge of all the

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qui praeessent, ne qua iniuria in nova pace victis fieret, retentisque apud se caduceatoribus regis P. Nasicam, ignarus fugae regis, Amphipolim misit cum
2 modica peditum equitumque manu, simul ut Sinticen evastaret et ad omnes conatus regi[1] impedimento
3 esset. Inter haec Meliboea a Cn. Octavio capitur diripiturque: ad Aeginium, ad quod oppugnandum Cn. Anicius legatus missus erat, ducenti[2] eruptione ex oppido facta amissi sunt ignaris Aeginiensibus debellatum esse.
4 Consul a Pydna profectus cum toto exercitu die altero Pellam pervenit et cum castra mille passus inde posuisset, per aliquot dies ibi stativa habuit, situm urbis undique aspiciens, quam non sine causa delec-
5 tam esse regiam animadvertit.[3] Sita est in tumulo vergente in occidentem hibernum; cingunt paludes inexsuperabilis altitudinis aestate et hieme, quas
6 restagnantes faciunt amnes.[4] Arx Phacus in ipsa palude, qua proxima urbi est, velut insula eminet, aggeri operis ingentis imposita, qui et murum sustineat
7 et umore circumfusae paludis nihil laedatur. Muro urbis coniuncta procul videtur; divisa est intermurali amni et eadem ponte iuncta, ut nec oppugnante externo aditum ab ulla parte habeat, nec, si quem ibi rex includat, ullum nisi per facillimae custodiae
8 pontem effugium. Et gaza regia in eo loco erat; sed
9 tum nihil praeter trecenta talenta quae missa Gentio regi, deinde retenta fuerant, inventum est. Per quos

[1] regi *J. F. Gronovius*: regis *V.*
[2] ducenti *add. Fr.*: *om. V.*
[3] animadvertit *Wesenberg*: advertit *V.*
[4] faciunt amnes. Arx Phacus *Madvig*: faciunt padeus *V.*

surrendered cities, so that no wrong should be done B.C. 168
to the conquered in the first days of peace; he kept the king's ambassadors with him and, since he did not know of the king's flight, sent Publius Nasica to Amphipolis with a small force of infantry and cavalry, both to ravage Sintica and to interfere with any moves of the king. Meanwhile Meliboea was captured and plundered by Gnaeus Octavius. At Aeginium, to besiege which the staff-officer Gnaeus Anicius had been sent, two hundred men were lost in a sally from the town because the people of Aeginium did not know that the war was over.

The consul set out from Pydna with his whole army and on the second day reached Pella, pitched camp a mile from there, and remained in this camp for a few days, examining the site of the city from all sides and noticing that it had not been chosen to be the capital without good reason. It is situated on a hill sloping to the south-west; swamps of a depth impenetrable in summer or winter surround it, formed by the ponding of rivers. The citadel Phacus projects like an island from the swamp itself, where it comes nearest the city, and is set on an embankment, a huge construction designed to bear the weight of a wall and remain undamaged by the water of the surrounding swamp. At a distance it appears to be joined to the city wall, but it is separated by a river within the walls and likewise connected by a bridge, so that there is no approach for a besieger from without nor is there any escape for anyone imprisoned by the king within, except over a very easily guarded bridge. The royal treasury was located there; but at that time nothing was found except the three hundred talents which had been sent to King Gentius and then withheld.

dies ad Peliam stativa fuerunt, legationes frequentes
quae ad gratulandum convenerant, maxime ex Thessa-
10 lia, auditae sunt. Nuntio deinde accepto Persea
Samothracam traiecisse, profectus a Pella consul
11 quartis castris Amphipolim pervenit. Effusa omnis
obviam[1] turba cuivis indicio erat non bono ac iusto
rege orbavisse se Paulum . . .[2]

[1] obviam *ed. Bas. 1535*: obvia V.
[2] orbavisse se Paulum *Wessely*: obrauiss.s . . . V: *lacuna parva.*

During the days in camp at Pella, numerous embassies were received which came, especially from Thessaly, to offer congratulations. Then on receiving the news that Perseus had crossed to Samothrace, the consul set out from Pella and arrived at Amphipolis on the fourth day's march. The pouring out of the entire populace to meet him showed to any one that Paulus had not robbed them of a just and good king . . .[1] B.C. 168

[1] Lost at this point is the account of Paulus' entry into Amphipolis and his subsequent march to the eastward, cf. XLV. iv. 2.

PERIOCHA LIBRI XLIV

Q. Marcius Philippus per invios saltus penetravit Macedoniam et complures urbes occupavit. Rhodii miserunt legatos Romam minantes ut Perseo auxilio essent, nisi populus Romanus cum illo pacem atque amicitiam iungeret. Indigne id latum. Cum id bellum L. Aemilio Paulo, sequentis anni consuli iterum, mandatum esset Paulus in contione precatus, ut quidquid diri populo Romano immineret, in suam domum converteretur, et in Macedoniam profectus vicit Persen totamque Macedoniam in potestatem redegit. Antequam confligeret, praedixit exercitui ne miraretur quod luna proxima nocte defectura erat.[1] Gentius quoque, rex Illyricorum, cum rebellasset, a L. Anicio praetore victus venit in deditionem et cum uxore ac liberis et propinquis Romam missus est. Legati Alexandrini a Cleopatra et Ptolemaeo regibus venerunt querentes de Antiocho rege Syriae, quod is bellum inferret. Perseus sollicitatis in auxilium Eumene rege Pergami et Gentio rege Illyricorum, quia iis pecuniam quam promiserat non dabat, relictus ab his est.

[1] erat *Rossbach*: erait *N* (*Palatinus Latinus 894*), esset *Boendermakerianus*, *Fr.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XLIV

QUINTUS MARCIUS PHILIPPUS entered Macedonia over trackless passes and seized a number of cities. The Rhodians sent envoys to Rome threatening to help Perseus unless the Roman People established peace and friendship with him. This was regarded as an insult. When the campaign in Macedonia was put in charge of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, consul for the second time in the following year, Paulus prayed before an assembly that any disaster which threatened the Roman People might be turned against his own household,[1] and after setting out for Macedonia, he conquered Perseus and brought all Macedonia under control. Before the battle, he[2] announced beforehand to the army, to forestall surprise, that the moon was to be eclipsed on the following night. Gentius also, the king of Illyria, broke the peace with Rome and after being beaten by Lucius Anicius the praetor offered his submission and was sent to Rome with his wife, his children, and his relatives. Envoys from Alexandria came from Queen Cleopatra and King Ptolemy complaining of Antiochus, the king of Syria, because he was attacking them. Although Perseus had urged Eumenes, king of Pergamum, and Gentius, king of Illyria, to help him, he was abandoned by them because he withheld the money which he had promised them.

[1] This prayer of Paulus is mentioned below, XLV. xli. 8.

[2] Livy says Gallus, a staff-officer; Zonaras 9. 23, perhaps following this epitome, says Paulus made the announcement.

BOOK XLV

LIBER XLV

A.U.C. 586

I. Victoriae nuntii, Q. Fabius et L. Lentulus et Q. Metellus, quanta potuit adhiberi festinatio, celeriter Romam cum venissent, praeceptam[1] tamen eius rei 2 laetitiam invenerunt. Quarto post die quam cum rege est pugnatum, cum in circo ludi fierent, murmur repente populi tota spectacula pervasit pugnatum in 3 Macedonia et devictum regem esse; dein fremitus increvit; postremo clamor, plausus velut certo nuntio 4 victoriae allato est exortus. Mirari magistratus et quaerere auctorem repentinae laetitiae; qui postquam nullus erat, evanuit quidem tamquam certae rei gaudium, omen tamen laetum insidebat animis. 5 Quod postquam verius nuntiis Fabi Lentulique et Metelli adventu firmatum est, cum victoria ipsa, tum 6 augurio animorum suorum laetabantur. Et altera traditur[2] circensis turbae non minus similis veri laetitia. Ante diem quintum decimum kalendas

[1] praeceptam *Ruperti*: praeceptum V.

[2] et altera traditur *Vahlen*: et aliter editus V: et aliter traditur *Fr.*

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[1] As the battle took place on Sept. 4, Livy thinks of these games as occurring on Sept. 7 by the then calendar (actually June 25, see above, pp. 87–89). It is not possible to establish exactly for this period the date of the Roman Games mentioned below; in the time of Augustus, they extended from Sept. 4 to Sept. 19, but were probably extended as time went on. The story of the mysterious announcement is told

BOOK XLV

I. The messengers of victory, Quintus Fabius, B.C. 168
Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, summoned up the utmost possible speed and quickly arrived in Rome. Yet they found that the joy of their announcement had been anticipated. On the third day [1] after the battle with the king, while games were being celebrated in the circus, a rumour in the audience suddenly swept over the whole auditorium that a battle had been fought in Macedonia and the king beaten; then the buzz increased; finally there arose shouting and clapping, as if a definite report of victory had arrived. The magistrates were astonished and sought after the originator of this sudden rejoicing. When no such person was found, the rejoicing as if for an established fact died away, but the happy omen lurked nevertheless in men's minds. After confirmation came through the genuine report on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, men rejoiced both in the actual victory and in the prophetic power of their spirits. The story is told of a second rejoicing by the mob at the circus, which seemed no less genuine. On the sixteenth of

also by Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxiv, who agrees with Livy in eliminating the gods from direct action on this occasion; according to Cicero, *N.D.* II. ii. 6, Valerius Maximus I. viii. 1, and Pliny, *N.H.* VII. xxii. 86, the news was proclaimed by Castor and Pollux.

U.C. 586 Octobres,[1] ludorum Romanorum secundo die, C. Licinio consuli ad quadrigas mittendas escendenti[2] tabellarius, qui se ex Macedonia venire diceret, laureatas
7 literas reddidisse[3] dicitur. Quadrigis missis consul currum conscendit et, cum per circum veheretur ad foros publicos, laureatas tabellas populo ostendit.
8 Quibus conspectis repente immemor spectaculi populus in medium decurrit. Eo senatum consul vocavit recitatisque tabellis ex auctoritate patrum pro foris publicis denuntiavit populo L. Aemilium collegam
9 signis conlatis cum rege Perseo pugnasse; Macedonum exercitum caesum fusumque; regem cum paucis fugisse; civitates omnes Macedoniae in dicio-
10 nem populi Romani venisse. His auditis clamor cum ingenti plausu ortus: ludis relictis domos magna pars hominum ad coniuges, liberos laetum
11 nuntium portabant. Tertius decimus dies erat ab eo, quo in Macedonia pugnatum est.

II. Postero die senatus in curia habitus, supplicationesque decretae et senatus consultum factum est, ut consul, quos praeter milites sociosque navales
2 coniuratos haberet, dimitteret: de militibus sociisque navalibus dimittendis referretur, cum legati ab L. Aemilio consule, a quibus praemissus tabellarius esset, venissent.[4] Ante diem sextum kal.

[1] ante diem quintum decimum kalendas Octobres *Manutius*: ad ix. k. octobrium V.
[2] escendenti *Turnebus*: extendenti V.
[3] reddidisse *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.
[4] venissent *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.

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[1] These men under oath might be volunteers or veterans specially summoned (evocati); Servius, *ad Aen.* VIII. 1, describes *coniuratio* as a process of enrolling such special soldiers, as contrasted with a regular levy. But the reason for large numbers at this time may be the failure of the consul

September, on the second day of the Roman Games, B.C. 168
it is said that a messenger who said he came from Macedonia handed despatches wreathed with laurel to the consul Gaius Licinius as he was going up to start the chariot-race. When the race was over, the consul mounted his chariot and as he was being driven back to the reserved seats, showed the despatches to the people. At the sight of them the people at once forgot the show and rushed down into the arena. On the spot, the consul summoned the senate, had the despatches read, and on motion of the Fathers, announced to the people before the magistrates' seats that his colleague Lucius Aemilius had fought a pitched battle with King Perseus, that the Macedonian army had been slaughtered and routed, that the king had fled with but few followers, and that all the cities of Macedonia had come under the sway of the Roman people. On hearing this, shouting with great clapping of hands began; the games were deserted and most of the people took home the glad news to their wives and children. This was the twelfth day after the battle had taken place in Macedonia.

II. Next day the senate met in the senate-house, a thanksgiving was voted, and a resolution passed that the consul should discharge men whom he had under oath,[1] except soldiers and sailors, and that the question of dismissing soldiers and sailors should be put when the envoys who had sent the messenger ahead should arrive from the consul Lucius Aemilius. On the twenty-fifth day of September, about the

in Italy to qualify as commander of Roman troops (see below, xii. 12) and the consequent holding at Rome of Roman levies intended for him.

u.c. 586

3 Octobres hora fere secunda legati urbem ingressi sunt: ingentem secum occurrentium, quacumque ibant, prosequentiumque trahentes turbam in forum
4 perrexerunt.[1] Senatus forte in curia erat; eo legatos consul introduxit. Ibi tantum temporis retenti dum exponerent, quantae regiae copiae peditum[2] equitumque fuissent, quot milia ex iis[3] caesa, quot
5 capta forent, quam paucorum militum iactura tanta hostium strages facta, quam praeceps[4] rex fugisset; existimari Samothraciam petiturum; paratam classem ad persequendum esse, neque terra neque mari
6 elabi posse. Eadem haec paulo post in contionem traducti exposuerunt; renovataque laetitia, cum consul edixisset, ut omnes aedes sacrae aperirentur, pro se quisque ex contione ad gratias agendas ire dis,
7 ingentique turba non virorum modo sed etiam feminarum compleri tota urbe[5] deorum immortalium templa.

8 Senatus revocatus in curiam supplicationes ob rem egregie gestam ab L. Aemilio consule in quinque dies circa omnia pulvinaria decrevit hostiisque maiori-
9 bus sacrificari iussit. Naves, quae in Tiberi paratae instructaeque stabant, ut, si res posceret,[6] in Mace-

[1] in forum perrexerunt *Hiller*: inforumaturbiperrexerunt *V*: in forum ad tribunal p. *Fr*: in forum ad curiam p. *Weissenborn*.

[2] quantae regiae copiae peditum *Fr*: quartae regiae peditum *V*.

[3] iis *Wesenberg*: his *V*.

[4] praeceps *Heraeus*: pauci *V*: pavide *Madvig*: cum quam paucis *Kreyssig*: raptim *Giarratano*.

[5] compleri tota urbe *Neugebauer*: conperta urbe *V*: conferta tota urbe *Fr*.

[6] si res posceret *Vahlen*: si res possit resistere *V*: si res poscere videretur *Madvig*.

second hour the envoys entered the city,[1] and made B.C. 168
their way to the forum, drawing after them a huge crowd of people who met them at every point on their way, and proceeded to escort them. The senate happened to be in the senate-house; the consul presented the envoys there. They were kept there just long enough to explain how large the king's forces of infantry and cavalry had been, how many thousand of them had been slain and how many captured, with the loss of how few of our men this great slaughter of the enemy had been accomplished, and how hastily the king had fled; it was thought, the envoys said, that he would make for Samothrace; the fleet was ready to pursue, and it would be impossible for him to slip away either by land or sea. On being brought before a meeting shortly thereafter, the envoys related the same facts. Joy broke out anew when the consul proclaimed that all sacred buildings should be opened; from the meeting, each citizen went of his own accord to offer thanks to the gods, and all over the city the temples of the immortal gods were filled with a huge throng, not only of men, but of women too.

The senate was recalled to the senate-house, voted that thanksgiving for the glorious achievement of the consul Lucius Aemilius should be observed for five days at all the banquet-tables of the gods, and ordered sacrifice offered with the larger victims. The ships which were moored in the Tiber ready and equipped to be sent to Macedonia, if circumstances

[1] The envoys seem not to have hurried, or to have been delayed by adverse winds in crossing the Adriatic; Paulus went from Brundisium to Phila in eleven days, with a visit to Delphi included, below, xli. 3.

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doniam mitterentur, subduci et in navalibus conlocari, socios navalis dato annuo stipendio dimitti et cum iis [1] omnes, qui in consulis verba iuraverant; et quod militum Corcyrae, Brundisi, ad mare superum aut in agro Larinati esset—omnibus his locis dispositus exercitus fuerat, cum quo, si res posceret, C. Licinius collegae ferret opem —, hos omnes milites dimitti placuit. Supplicatio pro contione populo [2] indicta est ex ante diem quintum idus Octobres cum eo die in quinque dies.

III. Ex Illyrico duo legati, C. Licinius Nerva et P. Decius, nuntiarunt exercitum Illyriorum caesum, Gentium regem captum, in dicione populi Romani Illyricum [3] esse. Ob eas res gestas ductu auspicioque L. Anici praetoris senatus in triduum supplicationes decrevit. Indictae [4] a consule sunt in ante diem [5] quartum et tertium et pridie idus Novembres.

Tradidere quidam legatos Rhodios nondum dimissos [6] post victoriam nuntiatam velut ad ludibrium stolidae superbiae in senatum vocatos esse; ibi Agepolim, principem eorum, ita locutum: missos esse legatos ab Rhodiis ad pacem inter Romanos et Persea faciendam, quod id bellum grave atque in-

[1] iis *Wesenberg*: his V.
[2] populo *J. F. Gronovius*: populi V.
[3] Romani Illyricum *Madvig*: Romani et Illyricum V.
[4] decrevit. Indictae *Heraeus*: decrevit. Iterum Latinae edictae *Mommsen*: decrevitur latinae dictae V: decrevit. indictae Latinae *Hertz*.
[5] diem *add. Sigonius*: *om.* V.
[6] dimissos *Drakenborch*: missos V.

demanded it, were to be put ashore and housed in B.C. 168
the ship-sheds; the sailors were to be discharged after receiving their year's pay, and with them, all those who had taken the oath before the consul. It was voted to discharge all soldiers who were in Corcyra, at Brundisium, along the Adriatic, or in the territory of Larinum—for an army had been distributed among all these places, to enable Gaius Licinius to bring aid to his colleague, if the situation demanded it. At a meeting a thanksgiving was proclaimed to the people for the eleventh of October and the four days following.

III. From Illyricum two envoys, Gaius Licinius Nerva and Publius Decius,[1] announced that the army of the Illyrians had been slaughtered, King Gentius was captured, and Illyricum was under the sway of the Roman people. For this achievement under the leadership and auspices of the praetor Lucius Anicius, the senate voted thanksgiving for three days. The date was proclaimed by the consul as the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of November.

Some historians[2] relate that the ambassadors of the Rhodians, who had not yet been dismissed after the announcement of victory, were summoned to the senate, as if in mockery of their foolish pride, and that there Agepolis, their chief, spoke as follows: the envoys had been sent by the Rhodians to bring about peace between the Romans and Perseus, since the war between them was the cause of hardship

[1] In XLIV. xxxii. 4, Perpenna is given as the messenger, instead of these two.

[2] Apparently Polybius XXIX. 19 (7); in XLIV. xiv. 8–xv, Livy, following a Roman source, places the embassy a year too early.

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commodum Graeciae omni, sumptuosum ac damno-
6 sum ipsis Romanis esset. Fortunam populi Romani bene fecisse, quod[1] finito aliter bello gratulandi[2] sibi de victoria egregia Romanis opportunitatem dedisset. Haec ab Rhodio dicta.

Responsum ab senatu esse: Rhodios nec utilitatium Graeciae cura neque[3] impensarum populi Romani, sed pro Perseo legationem eam mississe.
7 Nam si ea fuisset cura, quae simularetur, tum mittendos legatos fuisse, cum Perseus in Thessaliam exercitu inducto per biennium Graecas urbes alias obsideret, alias denuntiatione armorum terreret;
8 tum nullam pacis ab Rhodiis mentionem factam. Postquam superatos saltus transgressosque in Macedoniam Romanos audissent[4] et inclusum teneri Persea, tunc Rhodios legationem misisse, non ad ullam aliam rem quam ad Persea ex imminenti periculo eripiendum. Cum hoc responso legatos dimissos.

IV. Per eosdem dies et M. Marcellus, ex provincia Hispania decedens Marcolica nobili urbe capta, decem pondo auri et argenti ad summam sestertii[5] deciens in[6] aerarium rettulit.

2 Paulus Aemilius consul cum castra, ut supra dictum est, ad Siras terrae Odomanticae haberet, litterae ab

[1] fortunam populi Romani bene fecisse, quod *Wesenberg*: fortunambper beneficiis sequendo *V*.
[2] finito aliter bello gratulandi *Fr*: finito aliter bello sequendo aliter gratulandi *V*.
[3] cura neque *Madvig*: neque cura *V*.
[4] audissent *Vahlen*: audirent *V*.
[5] sestertii *J. F. Gronovius*: sestertium *V*.
[6] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

and injury to all Greece, and of expense and loss to B.C. 168
the Romans themselves. The good fortune of the Roman people had been kind to the Rhodians in giving them the opportunity, now that the war had been brought to an end by other means, of congratulating the Romans on their glorious victory. This was the speech of the Rhodian.

The answer of the senate was that the Rhodians had sent that embassy through concern neither for the welfare of Greece nor for the outlays of the Roman People, but on behalf of Perseus. For had their concern been as alleged, their envoys should have been sent when Perseus had led his army into Thessaly and for two years was besieging some Greek cities and alarming others with the threat of attack. At that time, there had been not a word about peace from the Rhodians. After they had heard that the Romans had overcome the passes and crossed into Macedonia, and that Perseus was surrounded, then the Rhodians sent an embassy for no other purpose than to snatch Perseus from the impending disaster. With this reply, the envoys were dismissed.

IV. About the same time Marcus Marcellus, on his return from Spain after taking the noted city of Marcolica, also deposited in the treasury ten pounds [1] of gold and silver of a value of one million sesterces.

As the consul Aemilius Paulus was encamped near Sirae in the Odomantian territory, as was mentioned

[1] The weight of metal is obviously too small for the value given, but it is not easy to propose an emendation. The lb. of silver probably = 336 sesterces; the lb. of gold probably = 4000 sesterces (cf. Vol. XI. 192, note 4). Could *MDC pondo* become *decem pondo* by scribal error? It is perhaps easier to assume the loss of the first figures of the correct number; but the number suggested is of the proper order.

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rege Perseo per ignobiles tres legatos ei adlatae sunt. Quos cum flentes ac sordidatos [1] cerneret, et ipse in- 3 lacrimasse dicitur sorti [2] humanae, quod qui paulo ante non contentus regno Macedoniae Dardanos Illyriosque oppugnasset, Bastarnarum adcivisset [3] auxilia, is tum amisso exercitu, extorris regno, in parvam insulam compulsus, supplex, fani religione 4 non viribus suis tutus esset. Sed postquam regem Persea consuli Paulo salutem legit, miserationem omnem stultitia ignorantis fortunam suam exemit. 5 Itaque, quamquam in reliqua parte litterarum minime regiae preces erant, tamen sine responso ac sine litteris ea legatio dimissa est. Sensit Perseus, 6 cuius nominis obliviscendum victo esset; itaque alterae litterae cum privati nominis titulo missae et petiere et impetravere, ut aliqui ad eum mitterentur, cum quibus loqui de statu et condicione suae fortunae 7 posset. Missi sunt tres legati, P. Lentulus, A. Postumius Albinus, A. Antonius. Nihil ea legatione perfectum est, Perseo regium nomen omni vi amplectente, Paulo ut se suaque omnia in fidem et clementiam populi Romani permitteret tendente.[4]

V. Quae [5] dum aguntur, classis Cn. Octavi Samothracam est appulsa. Is quoque praesenti admoto terrore modo minis, modo spe perlicere ut se traderet cum [6] conaretur, adiuvit in hoc eum res seu casu

[1] ei adlatae sunt. Quos cum flentes ac sordidatos *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V.*
[2] sorti *Vascosanus*: sortis *V.*
[3] adcivisset *J. F. Gronovius*: ciuisse *V.*
[4] et clementiam populi Romani permitteret tendente *Kreyssig*: et pr. permittereclетendente *V.*
[5] Quae *add. Heraeus*: *om. V.*
[6] cum *add. Fr*: *om. V.*

above,[1] despatches from King Perseus were brought B.C. 168
to him by three envoys of no rank. When Paulus perceived them in soiled garb and with tears streaming, it is said that he himself wept for the lot of man, since that king who shortly before, discontented with the kingdom of Macedonia, had attacked the Dardanians and Illyrians and summoned the Bastarnae to his aid, had now lost his army, and, stripped of his kingdom and driven to a small island, was a suppliant, protected by the sanctity of a temple, not by his own powers. But after he read "King Perseus to the Consul Paulus, greeting," the folly of the man who did not realize the state of his fortunes erased all pity. Therefore, although the body of the letter contained entreaties far from royal, yet that embassy was dismissed without an answer and without dispatches. Perseus understood what title the conquered must forget; therefore other dispatches, sent under his name without title, requested and obtained the sending of certain persons with whom he might discuss the status and the terms of his new lot. Three envoys were sent, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius. Nothing was accomplished by that embassy, since Perseus clung with all his might to the title of king, while Paulus urged him to entrust himself and all he had to the discretion and mercy of the Roman People.

V. While these negotiations were under way, the fleet of Gnaeus Octavius put in at Samothrace. He too was attempting to entice the king to surrender now by menaces, now by hope, while the threat of force was kept imminent, when a matter brought about either by chance or plan lent him assistance in his

[1] The mention of Sirae has been lost at the end of XLIV.

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2 contracta seu consilio. L. Atilius, illustris adulescens, cum in contione esse populum Samothracum animum advertisset, a magistratibus petit,[1] ut sibi paucis adloquendi populi potestatem facerent.
3 Permisso " utrum nos, hospites Samothraces, vere accepimus an falso sacram hanc insulam et augusti
4 totam atque inviolati soli esse? " cum creditae sanctitati adsentirentur omnes, " cur igitur " inquit " polluit[2] eam homicida, sanguine regis Eumenis violavit, et cum omnis praefatio sacrorum[3] eos quibus non sint purae manus sacris arceat, vos penetralia vestra contaminari cruento latronis corpore sinetis? "
5 Nobilis fama erat apud omnes Graeciae civitates Eumenis regis per Euandrum Delphis prope perpe-
6 trata caedes. Itaque, praeterquam quod in potestate Romanorum sese insulamque totam et templum cernebant esse, ne inmerito quidem ea sibi exprobrari rati, Theondan qui summus magistratus apud eos erat—regem ipsi appellant—, ad Persea mittunt, qui nuntiaret argui caedis Euandrum Cretensem;
7 esse autem iudicia apud sese more maiorum comparata de iis, qui incestas manus intulisse intra
8 terminos sacratos templi dicantur; si confideret Euander innoxium se rei capitalis argui, veniret ad causam dicendam; si committere se iudicio non auderet, liberaret religione templum ac sibimet ipse consuleret.

[1] Samothracum animum advertisset, a magistratibus petit *Fr*: samotra crumanimumadversossedadmagistratibuspetit *V*.

[2] polluit *Vahlen*: pollui *V*: pollutam *Fr*: pollutus *Madvig*.

[3] sacrorum *Fr*: rum *V*.

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[1] Described in XLII. xv–xvi.

undertaking. Lucius Atilius, a prominent young man, noticing that the people of Samothrace were in meeting, requested the magistrates for permission to address the people briefly. Permission being granted, he asked, B.C. 168

"My hosts of Samothrace, is our understanding correct or false that this island is sacred, and all its soil is revered and unprofaned?" When all agreed that it was as sacred as he believed, he said, "Why then has a murderer polluted it, profaned it with the blood of King Eumenes, and although the preamble to every rite warns away from the holy things those whose hands are not pure, why do you yet permit your sanctuary to be defiled by the blood-stained person of a brigand?"

The story how Evander had nearly succeeded in murdering King Eumenes at Delphi[1] had been bruited abroad throughout all the cities of Greece. Consequently, the Samothracians decided that, apart from the fact that they saw that they and their whole island and shrine were in the power of the Romans, the reproach against them was a just one. They sent Theondas, the chief magistrate of their community—they call him "king"—to Perseus to announce that Evander the Cretan was being accused of murder; that there was a court of theirs established by ancestral custom to try those who were alleged to have brought unclean hands within the sacred precincts of the temple; and that if Evander trusted that he was innocent of the capital charge brought against him, he should appear to defend himself, whereas, if he dared not entrust himself to the court, he should free the temple of profanation, and provide for his own safety.

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9 Perseus sevocato[1] Euandro iudicium subeundi nullo pacto auctor[2] esse: nec causa nec gratia parem fore. Suberat et ille metus, ne damnatus auctorem se nefandi facinoris protraheret. Reliqui[3] quid esse, 10 nisi ut fortiter moriatur? Nihil palam abnuere Euander; sed cum veneno se malle mori quam ferro dixisset, occulte fugam parabat. Quod cum renuntiatum regi esset, metuens, ne tamquam a se subtracto poenae reo iram Samothracum in se con- 11 verteret, interfici Euandrum iussit. Qua perpetrata temere caede subit extemplo animum, in se nimirum receptam labem, quae Euandri fuisset; ab illo Delphis volneratum Eumenen, ab se Samothracae Euandrum occisum; ita duo sanctissima in terris templa se uno auctore sanguine humano violata. 12 Huius rei crimen corrupto pecunia Theonda avertit, ut[4] renuntiaret populo Euandrum sibi ipsum mortem conscisse.

VI. Ceterum tanto facinore in unicum relictum amicum admisso,[5] per tot casus expertum proditumque, quia non prodiderat, omnium ab se abalienavit animos. Pro se quisque transire ad Romanos, 2 fugaeque consilium capere solum prope relictum coegerunt; Oroandem denique[6] Cretensem, cui nota Threciae ora erat quia mercaturas in ea regione fecerat, appellat ut se sublatum in[7] lembum ad

[1] sevocato *Drakenborch*: evocato *V*.
[2] auctor *Fr*: res *V*.
[3] reliqui *Sigonius*: reliquid *V*.
[4] Theonda avertit, ut *Madvig*: Theodonavertiturut *V*.
[5] admisso *Madvig*: amisson *V*.
[6] Oroandem denique *Harant*: oroeandemque *V*: Oroandemque *Fr*:
[7] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

Perseus called Evander aside and said that he by B.C. 168
no means advised him to stand trial, for he would have neither a good case nor sufficient influence. (Behind his words was the fear that Evander, if condemned, would reveal the king as the sponsor of the abominable crime.) What was there left, said Perseus, except to die bravely? Evander made no open refusal, but saying that he preferred to die by poison rather than the steel, he secretly made ready for escape. When this was reported to the king, he feared that the anger of the Samothracians would turn against him, on the ground that he had caused the guilty party to escape punishment; so he ordered Evander killed. When this murder had been hastily perpetrated, it suddenly occurred to Perseus that he had beyond doubt taken on himself the guilt of Evander. The latter had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, he had killed Evander at Samothrace; and so two of the most sacred shrines on earth had been profaned with human blood at his sole instigation. He turned aside accusation on this score by bribing Theondas to report to the people that Evander had committed suicide.

VI. However, when he committed this terrible crime against his pre-eminent remaining friend, who had been tested in so many vicissitudes and had been betrayed because he had not betrayed the king, Perseus turned all hearts against him. Each one individually deserted to the Romans.

By fleeing they forced the king too, left almost alone, to adopt some plan of flight; finally he appealed to Oroandes the Cretan, who knew the coast of Thrace from having made trading voyages there, to take him aboard a scout-ship and carry him

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3 Cotym deveheret. Demetrium est portus in promunturio quodam Samothracae; ibi lembus stabat. Sub occasum solis deferuntur quae ad usum necessaria erant: defertur et pecunia quanta clam deferri 4 poterat. Rex ipse nocte media cum tribus consciis fugae per[1] posticum aedium in propinquum cubiculo hortum atque inde maceriam aegre trans- 5 gressus ad mare pervenit. Oroandes tantum moratus,[2] dum pecunia deferretur, primis tenebris solverat 6 navem ac per altum Cretam petebat. Postquam in portu navis non inventa est, vagatus Perseus aliquamdiu in litore, postremo timens lucem iam adpropinquantem, in hospitium redire non ausus in latere templi prope angulum obscurum delituit.

7 Pueri regii apud Macedonas vocabantur principum liberi ad ministerium electi regis; ea cohors persecuta regem fugientem ne tum quidem abscedebat, donec iussu Cn. Octavi pronuntiatum est per prae- 8 conem regios pueros Macedonasque alios, qui Samothracae essent, si transirent ad Romanos, incolumitatem libertatemque et sua omnia servaturos, quae aut secum haberent[3] aut in Macedonia reliquissent. 9 Ad hanc vocem transitio omnium facta est, nominaque dabant ad C. Postumium tribunum militum. Liberos

[1] per *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[2] moratus *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[3] quae aut secum haberent *Fr*: haud aecum habere *V*.

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[1] A temple of Demeter stood there, cf. below, sec. 6. The temple is mentioned in I.G. XII. 8. The promontory of Kamariotissa marks the site approximately.

[2] Perseus' wife accompanied him, according to Plutarch,

to Cotys. There is a harbour Demetrium on a B.C. 168
certain headland of Samothrace;[1] the scout-ship was anchored there. At sun-down the needful equipment was carried to the shore; all the money that could be brought secretly was also carried down. In the middle of the night, the king himself with three companions of his flight went by a back door of the house into a garden next to his bedroom and thence, after scrambling with difficulty over a wall, reached the sea.[2] Oroandes had waited just long enough for the money to be brought down, and in the early darkness had weighed anchor and was sailing directly for Crete. When the ship was not found at the harbour, Perseus wandered about for some time on the shore and, finally, fearing the imminent approach of dawn, did not dare to return to the house where he was entertained, but took cover near an out-of-the-way corner on one side of the temple.

Among the Macedonians there were Royal Pages,[3] so-called, sons of the chief men chosen to wait upon the king; this troop, having accompanied the king in his flight had not even then left him, until by order of Gnaeus Octavius, announcement was made by a herald that if the Royal Pages and the other Macedonians who were in Samothrace surrendered to the Romans, they would secure their safety, their freedom, and all their possessions which they either had with them, or had left in Macedonia. At this word, they all made their way to the Romans, and reported their names to Gaius Postumius, a military tribune. The king's young children were also handed over to

Aemilius xxvi, and was one of the causes of delay, being quite unathletic.

[3] These pages are also described by Curtius VIII. vi. 2.

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quoque parvos regios Ion Thessalonicensis Octavio tradidit, nec quisquam praeter Philippum, maximum
10 natu e [1] filiis, cum rege relictus. Tum sese filiumque Octavio tradidit, fortunam deosque, quorum in templo erat,[2] nulla ope supplicem iuvantis accusans.
11 In praetoriam navem imponi iussus, eodem et pecunia quae superfuit delata est: extemploque classis
12 Amphipolim repetit. Inde Octavius regem in castra ad consulem misit praemissis litteris, ut in potestate eum esse et adduci sciret.

VII. Secundam eam Paulus, sicut erat, victoriam ratus victimas cecidit eo nuntio, et consilio advocato litteras [3] praetoris cum recitasset, Q. Aelium Tuberonem obviam regi misit, ceteros manere in praetorio
2 frequentis iussit. Non alias ad ullum spectaculum tanta multitudo occurrit. Patrum aetate Syphax rex captus in castra Romana adductus erat; praeterquam quod nec sua nec gentis fama comparandus, tantum accessio [4] Punici belli fuerat, sicut Gentius
3 Macedonici; Perseus caput belli erat, nec ipsius tantum patris avique ceterorumque,[5] quos sanguine et [6] genere contingebat, fama conspectum eum efficiebat, sed effulgebant Philippus ac magnus Alexander, qui summum imperium in orbe terrarum
4 Macedonum fecerant. Pullo amictu cum filio [7]

[1] natu e *Kreyssig*: natum et *V*.
[2] quorum in templo erat *Drakenborch*: quorum tĕ ploerantnullotemplo *V*: quorum templum erat *J. F. Gronovius*: quorum in templo erant, nulla tutela *Gitlbauer*.
[3] litteras *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] tantum accessio *Giarratano*: tunc quod nec sua accessio *V*: tunc quoque accessio *Fr*: etiam quod accessio *Harant*.
[5] ceterorumque *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[6] et *Hartel*: at *V*.
[7] amictu cum filio *Graevius*: amictus illo *V*.

Octavius by Ion of Thessalonica, and no one was left with the king except Philip, his oldest son. Then Perseus surrendered himself and his son to Octavius, railing at his fortune and the gods in whose temple he was, who had done nothing to aid their suppliant.[1] He was ordered to be placed in the flagship, and what was left of the money was brought there. The fleet immediately sailed back to Amphipolis. Thence Octavius sent the king to the consul's camp, sending ahead dispatches to inform the consul that the king was a prisoner and was being brought to him. B.C. 168

VII. Thinking that this was a second victory, as indeed it was, Paulus offered sacrifice at this message; he read the letter of the praetor before his assembled council, sent Quintus Aelius Tubero[2] to meet the king, and ordered the others to remain in full numbers at headquarters. So great a crowd never gathered elsewhere for any sight. In the previous generation King Syphax[3] had been brought as prisoner into a Roman camp, but apart from the fact that he was not comparable either as to his own reputation or that of his nation, he was a mere appendage to the war with Carthage, as Gentius was to this one with Macedonia. Perseus was the chief enemy, and not only his own reputation and that of his father, grandfather, and the rest to whom he was related by blood and stock made him a cynosure, but the glory of Philip and Alexander the Great, who made the Macedonians masters of the world, radiated

[1] Diodorus XXIX. 28 points out that he had forfeited his claim on the gods by his disloyalty toward his brother.

[2] The son-in-law of Paulus, according to Plutarch, *Aemilius* V.

[3] His story is told in XXX. xiii.

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Perseus ingressus est castra nullo suorum alio comite, qui socius calamitatis miserabiliorem eum faceret. Progredi prae turba occurrentium ad spectaculum non poterat, donec a consule lictores missi sunt,[1] qui summoto iter ad praetorium facerent. Consurrexit consul iussis[2] sedere aliis progressusque paulum introeunti regi dextram porrexit summittentemque se ad pedes sustulit nec attingere genua passus introductum in tabernaculum adversus advocatos in consilium considere iussit.

VIII. Prima percontatio fuit, qua subactus iniuria contra populum Romanum bellum tam infesto animo suscepisset, quo se regnumque suum ad ultimum discrimen adduceret? Cum responsum expectantibus cunctis terram intuens diu tacitus fleret, rursus[3] consul: "si iuvenis regnum accepisses, minus equidem mirarer ignorasse te, quam gravis aut amicus aut inimicus esset populus Romanus; nunc vero, cum et bello patris tui quod nobiscum gessit interfuisses, et pacis postea, quam cum summa fide adversus eum coluimus, meminisses, quod fuit consilium,[4] quorum et vim in[5] bello et fidem in pace expertus esses, cum iis tibi bellum esse quam pacem malle?" Nec interrogatus nec accusatus cum responderet, "utcumque tamen haec, sive errore humano seu casu seu necessitate inciderunt, bonum animum habe.

[1] missi sunt *Madvig*: misissent *V*.
[2] consul iussis *Luterbacher*: consul et iussis *V*.
[3] rursus *Wesenberg*: iussu *V*.
[4] meminisses, quod fuit consilium *Madvig*: meminisset consilium *V*.
[5] in *add. Drakenborch*: *om. V*.

from him. Perseus entered the camp in dark- B.C. 168
coloured garb, with his son, but unattended by any other of his people whose presence as a sharer of his downfall might have made him more pitiable. He was unable to proceed because of the crowd rushing to gaze at him, until lictors were sent by the consul to clear a path to the headquarters. The consul rose to meet him, though he ordered the others to keep their seats, and advancing a few steps offered his hand to the king as he entered, raised him when he fell at his feet, not allowing him to clasp his knees, brought him into the tent, and bade him be seated opposite the officers called as council.

VIII. The first question put was, by what wrong had he been driven to make war on the Roman People with such determined enmity as to bring himself and his kingdom into utmost danger? While all awaited an answer, he gazed silently at the ground for a long time and wept.

Then the consul asked again: "If you had received the kingdom as a young man, I should indeed be less surprised that you were unaware how powerful the Roman People is as a friend or as an enemy. As it is, since you had a part in the war which your father waged with us, and since you were aware of the peace that followed, which we observed with the utmost faithfulness toward him, what reasoning led you to prefer war rather than peace with men whose power in war, whose good faith in peace, you had alike tested?"

When no reply either to the question or the accusation was forthcoming, the consul continued, "However that may be, whether it has occurred through human mistake or chance or law of nature, be of good

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Multorum regum populorumque[1] casibus cognita populi Romani clementia non modo spem tibi, sed prope certam fiduciam salutis praebet."

6 Haec Graeco sermone Perseo; Latine deinde suis "exemplum insigne cernitis" inquit "mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc praecipue dico, iuvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet nec praesenti credere fortunae, cum quid vesper ferat incertum sit.

7 Is demum vir erit, cuius animum neque prosperae res flatu[2] suo efferent[3] nec adversae infringent."

8 Consilio dimisso tuendi cura regis Q. Aelio mandatur. Eo die et invitatus ad consulem Perseus et alius omnis ei honos habitus est, qui haberi in tali fortuna poterat.

Exercitus deinde in hiberna dimissus est. IX. Maximam partem copiarum Amphipolis, reliquas propinquae urbes acceperunt.

2 Hic finis belli, cum quadriennium continuum bellatum esset, inter Romanos ac Persea fuit idemque finis incluti per Europae plerumque atque Asiam omnem

3 regni. Vicensimum ab Carano, qui primus regnabat, Persea numerabant. Perseus Q. Fulvio L.[4] Manlio consulibus regnum accepit, a senatu rex est appellatus M. Iunio A. Manlio consulibus; regnavit undecim

4 annos. Macedonum gens[5] obscura admodum fama

[1] populorumque *H. J. Müller*: populorum V.
[2] prosperae res flatu *Wesenberg*: prospere flatu V.
[3] efferent *Madvig*: efferet V.
[4] L. *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[5] gens *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.

[1] Justinus XXXIII. 2. 6 says the thirtieth king, Eusebius (Schöne I, col. 242), the thirty-ninth. Herodotus VIII. 138, names Perdiccas as the founder of the dynasty.

cheer. The misfortunes of many kings and of many B.C. 168
peoples have shown that the mercy of the Roman People offers you not only hope, but an almost positive assurance of safety."

This the consul said in Greek to Perseus; then he continued in Latin to his staff: "You see before you a notable example of the changefulness of human affairs. I say this especially for you, young men. Therefore it is proper to offer no insult or violence to anyone, while one is in favourable circumstances, and not to trust to one's present fortune, since no one knows what evening will bring. He will be truly a man, in a word, whose spirit is neither deflected from its course by the breath of prosperity, nor broken by misfortune."

When the meeting was dismissed, the task of guarding the king was assigned to Quintus Aelius. On that day Perseus was entertained by the consul, and every other token of respect was shown him which could be shown under such circumstances.

The army was then released to winter quarters. IX. Amphipolis received most of the troops, the nearby cities the rest.

This was the end of the war between the Romans and Perseus, after four years of steady campaigning, and also the end of a kingdom famed over a large part of Europe and all of Asia. They reckoned Perseus as the twentieth after Caranus, who founded the kingdom.[1] Perseus ascended the throne in the consulship of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, and was recognized as king by the senate in the consulship of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius; his reign lasted eleven years. The Macedonian nation was of no great reputation until the time of

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usque ad Philippum, Amyntae filium, fuit; inde ac per eum crescere eum coepisset, Europae se tamen finibus continuit, Graeciam omnem et partem
5 Threciae atque Illyrici amplexa. Superfudit deinde se in Asiam, et tredecim annis, quibus Alexander regnavit, primum omnia, qua Persarum prope immenso spatio imperium fuerat, suae dicionis fecit;
6 Arabas hinc Indiamque, qua terrarum ultimos[1] finis
7 rubrum mare amplectitur, peragravit. Tum maximum in[2] terris Macedonum regnum nomenque; inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt, laceratis viribus[3] a summo culmine fortunae ad ultimum finem centum quinquaginta annos stetit.

X. Victoriae Romanae fama cum pervasisset in Asiam, Antenor, qui cum classe lemborum ad Phanas
2 stabat, Cassandriam inde traeicit. C. Popilius, qui ad Delum[4] in praesidio navibus Macedoniam petentibus erat, postquam debellatum in Macedonia et statione summotos hostium lembos audivit, dimissis et ipse Attali[5] navibus ad susceptam lega-
3 tionem peragendam navigare Aegyptum pergit, ut prius occurrere Antiocho posset quam ad Alexandreae
4 moenia accederet. Cum praeterveherentur Asiam legati et Loryma[6] venissent, qui portus viginti paulo amplius milia ab Rhodo abest, ex adverso urbi ipsi

[1] ultimos *J. F. Gronovius*: ultimus V.
[2] in *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[3] laceratis viribus *J. F. Gronovius*: lacereā lesuiribus V.
[4] ad Delum *Fr*: delun V.
[5] Attali *sive* Attalicis *Luterbacher*: adticis V: Asiaticis *Harant*: adventiciis *Madvig.*
[6] Loryma *Fr*: loriam V.

Philip, son of Amyntas. Later, when it had proceeded B.C. 168
to expand under him, it was still confined within the bounds of Europe, though embracing all Greece and part of Thrace and Illyricum. Thereafter it overflowed into Asia, and Alexander, in the thirteen years of his reign, first brought under his sway all the well-nigh boundless empire that had belonged to the Persians, and then traversed Arabia and India, where the Indian Ocean embraces the uttermost ends of the earth. At that time the empire and name of the Macedonians was greatest on earth; thereafter at the death of Alexander it was torn into many kingdoms, as each leader snatched at resources for his own account, and its strength was dismembered; yet it endured for a hundred and fifty years[1] from the topmost pinnacle of its fortune to its final end.

X. When a report of the Roman victory penetrated to Asia, Antenor, who was lying off Phanae with his fleet of scout-ships, crossed from there to Cassandria.[2] When Gaius Popilius, who was at Delos to protect ships making for Macedonia, heard that the war had been brought to an end in Macedonia and that the enemy scout-ships had left their post, he for his part dismissed the ships of Attalus and proceeded to sail for Egypt to complete the mission on which he had started, so that he might be able to meet Antiochus before he reached the walls of Alexandria. As the ambassadors were sailing past Asia and came to Loryma, a harbour slightly more than twenty miles from Rhodes and situated

[1] Polybius XXIX. 21 (6c) gives this figure; it was 155 years from the death of Alexander.

[2] This naval activity was described in XLIV. xxix. 1–5.

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positus, principes Rhodiorum occurrunt—iam enim eo quoque victoriae fama perlata erat—orantes, ut Rhodum deveherentur: pertinere id ad famam salutemque civitatis, noscere ipsos omnia quae acta essent quaeque[1] agerentur Rhodi, et comperta per se, non volgata fama Romam referre. Diu negantes pepulerunt, ut moram navigationis brevem pro salute sociae urbis paterentur. Postquam Rhodum ventum est, in contionem quoque eos iidem precibus pertraxerunt. Adventus legatorum auxit potius timorem civitati quam minuit: omnia enim Popilius quae singuli universique eo bello hostiliter dixerant fecerantque rettulit, et vir asper ingenio augebat atrocitatem eorum quae dicerentur voltu truci et accusatoria voce, ut, cum propriae simultatis nulla causa cum civitate ei[2] esset, ex unius senatoris Romani acerbitate, qualis in se universi senatus animus esset, coniectarent.

C. Decimi moderatior oratio fuit,[3] qui in plerisque eorum quae commemorata a Popilio essent culpam non penes populum, sed penes paucos concitores volgi esse dixit: eos venalem linguam habentis decreta plena regiae adsentationis fecisse et eas legationes misisse, quarum Rhodios semper non minus puderet quam paeniteret. Quae omnia, si sana mens[4] populo foret, in capita noxiorum versura.

[1] quaeque *Madvig*: q. *V*.
[2] civitate ei *Harant*: civitates *V*.
[3] coniectarent. C. Decimi moderatior oratio fuit, qui *Fr*: coniectarentur cum Decimi moderatio fuitque *V*.
[4] sana mens *Weissenborn*: tamen *V*.

[1] On the peninsula northward from Rhodes; mentioned by Thucydides VIII. 43, and Strabo XIV. ii. 4 and 14 (652, 655).

exactly opposite to the city,[1] the chief men of Rhodes B.C. 168
met them (for the report of the victory had by now been brought to that city also) with the request that they put in at Rhodes; for, said the Rhodians, it was a matter touching the reputation and safety of their city that the envoys should personally become acquainted with everything which had been done and was being done at Rhodes, and that they should carry back to Rome facts ascertained by themselves, not popular rumours. After many refusals, they induced the envoys to endure a short delay of their voyage for the sake of the safety of an allied city. After their arrival at Rhodes, the same leaders also dragged them by entreaty before an assembly. The arrival of the envoys increased rather than diminished the fear of the city; for Popilius rehearsed every hostile word or act during this war either on the part of individuals or of the commonwealth, and being a man of harsh temperament, he increased the savage effect of his remarks by his grim face and prosecutor's tone, so that, since he had no reason for a personal quarrel with Rhodes, the people guessed from the bitterness of one Roman senator what the attitude of the whole senate was toward them.

The speech of Gaius Decimius was milder, for he laid the blame for many of the offences mentioned by Popilius not at the door of the people as a whole, but at that of a few agitators; these, he said, whose tongues were for sale, had written the decrees full of fawning upon the king and had sent those embassies concerning which the Rhodians had always felt as much shame as regret. All these acts, said Decimius, would, if the people's reason was sound, recoil upon the heads of the guilty.

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12 Cum magno adsensu auditus est, non magis eo quod multitudinem noxa levabat quam quod culpam
13 in auctores verterat. Itaque cum principes Rhodiorum Romanis responderent, nequaquam tam [1] grata oratio eorum fuit qui quae Popilius obiecerat diluere utcumque conati sunt, quam eorum qui Decimio in auctoribus ad piaculum noxae obiciendis adsensi sunt.
14 Decretum igitur extemplo ut qui pro Perseo adversus Romanos dixisse quid aut fecisse convincerentur, capitis [2] condemnarentur. Excesserant [3] urbe sub adventum [4] Romanorum quidam, alii mortem sibi
15 consciverunt. Legati non ultra quam quinque dies Rhodi morati Alexandream proficiscuntur. Nec eo segnius iudicia ex decreto coram iis [5] facto Rhodii exercebant; [6] quam perseverantiam in exsequenda re tam Decimi lenitas quam Popili effecerat asperitas.[7]

XI. Cum [8] haec gererentur, Antiochus frustra temptatis moenibus Alexandreae abscesserat ceteraque Aegypto potitus, relicto Memphi maiore Ptolemaeo, cui [9] regnum quaeri suis viribus simulabat, ut
2 victorem mox adgrederetur, in Syriam exercitum abduxit. Nec huius voluntatis eius ignarus Ptolemaeus, dum conterritum obsidionis metu minorem fratrem haberet, posse se recipi Alexandreae et

[1] tam *Doering*: tamentam *V*.
[2] capitis *Fr*: faciliscapitis *C*.
[3] excesserant *Madvig*: excesserunt *V*.
[4] adventum *Bas*: adventu *V*.
[5] iis *Wesenberg*: hi *V*.
[6] facto Rhodii exercebant *Vahlen*: facti Rhodii exercebantur *V*.
[7] perseverantiam in exsequenda re tam Decimi lenitas quam Popili effecerat asperitas *H. J. Müller*: perseverabant tam in exsequenda re tam Decimae lenitas quam *V*.
[8] Cum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

There was great approval felt for his speech, but no B.C. 168
more because he relieved the commons of blame than because he assigned responsibility to the guilty. And so when the leaders of the Rhodians answered the Romans, their speeches were by no means as pleasing when the speaker tried at all costs to extenuate the charges made by Popilius, as when he agreed with Decimius in urging that the responsible persons should expiate their wrong. A decree was therefore passed at once that anyone convicted of saying or doing anything against the Romans in behalf of Perseus should be put to death. Some had left the city on the arrival of the Romans, others committed suicide. After a delay of not more than five days at Rhodes, the ambassadors left for Alexandria. The Rhodians proceeded no less zealously to prosecute trials according to the decree passed in the presence of the Romans. This unflagging zeal in carrying the matter out was produced as much by the mildness of Decimius as by the harshness of Popilius.

XI. While this was going on, Antiochus had left Alexandria after an unsuccessful trial of the fortifications and had taken control of the rest of Egypt. He left at Memphis the elder Ptolemy[1] whose claim to the throne he was pretending to support with his army, in order that he might attack the winner presently, and led his army off into Syria. Ptolemy was well aware of this ulterior motive too, and thought that, as long as his younger brother was cowed by fear of a siege, he might be restored to Alexandria

[1] *I.e.*, Ptolemy VI Philometor; the younger was Euergetes II.

[9] potitus, relicto Memphi maiore Ptolemaeo, cui *Fr*: petitusrelic tutemplimatioremptolemeocum *V*.

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sorore adiuvante et non repugnantibus fratris amicis
3 ratus primum ad sororem, deinde ad fratrem [1] amicosque eius non prius destitit mittere, quam pacem
4 cum iis confirmaret. Suspectum Antiochum effecerat, quod cetera Aegypto sibi tradita Pelusi [2] validum
5 relictum erat praesidium. Apparebat claustra Aegypti teneri, ut, cum vellet,[3] rursus exercitum induceret; bello intestino cum fratre eum exitum fore, ut victor fessus certamine nequaquam par
6 Antiocho futurus esset. Haec prudenter animadversa a maiore cum adsensu minor frater quique cum eo erant acceperunt; soror plurimum adiuvit
7 non consilio modo, sed etiam precibus. Itaque consentientibus cunctis pace facta Alexandream recipitur, ne multitudine quidem adversante, quae in bello non per obsidionem modo, sed etiam postquam a moenibus abscessum est, quia nihil ex Aegypto subvehebatur, omnium rerum adtenuata inopia erat.
8 His cum laetari Antiochum conveniens esset, si reducendi [4] eius causa exercitum Aegyptum induxisset, quo specioso titulo ad omnis Asiae et Graeciae civitates legationibus recipiendis litterisque dimittendis usus erat, adeo est offensus ut multo acrius infestiusque adversus duos quam ante adversus unum
9 pararet bellum. Cyprum extemplo classem misit;

[1] fratrem *Fr*: patres *V*.
[2] Pelusi *Fr*: peculisi *V*.
[3] vellet *J. P. Gronovius*: velit *V*.
[4] esset, si reducendi *Fr*: essetiretiretducendi *V*.

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[1] Who had proclaimed the younger brother king.
[2] Of 168 B.C.; he had made preparations in 171, XLII. xxix. 5; the first invasion was in 170, the reconciliation of the brothers presumably in 169 B.C. Polybius, on whom Livy based

with the aid of his sister and without opposition on B.C. 168
the part of his brother's friends. He therefore kept sending, first to his sister, then to his brother and his friends, until he made an amicable settlement with them. Suspicion was directed against Antiochus because, though he had turned over the rest of Egypt to Ptolemy, he had left a strong garrison at Pelusium. It was evident that the key to Egypt was in Antiochus' hands, so that he could reinvade it when he wished. The upshot of a civil war between the brothers would be that the winner, worn out by the struggle, would be no match for Antiochus. This wise reasoning by the elder brother was gratefully accepted by the younger brother and his associates; the sister gave much assistance not only by her advice, but by her entreaties. Accordingly, peace was made by general agreement, and the elder Ptolemy returned to Alexandria, without opposition even on the part of the mob,[1] which had suffered throughout the war from a scarcity of all supplies not only during the siege, but after the enemy had left the walls, because nothing came in from Egypt.

It would have been in order for Antiochus to rejoice at this conclusion had he led his army into Egypt for the purpose of restoring Ptolemy—the specious plea that he had employed in statements to all the states of Asia and Greece either when he received embassies or sent out messages. But he was so incensed that he prepared for war against the two brothers with much more urgency and bitterness than against the one. He immediately sent a fleet to Cyprus; and in early spring [2] he himself advanced

this account, records these events in XXVIII. 19–23; XXIX. 23 (8). 26–7 (7a, 11).

a.u.c. 586 ipse primo vere cum exercitu Aegyptum petens in
10 Coelen Syriam processit. Circa Rhinocolura [1] Ptolemaei legatis agentibus gratias, quod per eum regnum patrium recepisset, petentibusque ut suum munus tueretur et diceret potius quid fieri vellet quam hostis ex socio factus vi atque armis ageret,
11 respondit non aliter neque classem revocaturum neque exercitum reducturum, nisi sibi et tota Cypro et Pelusio agroque. qui circa Pelusiacum ostium Nili esset, cederetur,[2] diemque praestituit intra quam de condicionibus peractis responsum acciperet.

XII. Postquam dies data indutiis praeteriit, navigantibus ostio Nili [3] ad Pelusium praefectis ipse [4] per deserta Arabiae est profectus receptusque et ab
2 iis, qui [5] ad Memphim incolebant, et ab ceteris Aegyptiis, partim voluntate partim metu, ad Alex-
3 andream modicis itineribus descendit. Ad Eleusinem [6] transgresso flumen, qui locus quattuor milia ab Alexandrea abest, legati Romani occurrerunt.
4 Quos cum advenientis salutasset dextramque Popilio porrigeret, tabellas [7] ei Popilius senatus consultum [8] scriptum habentis tradit atque omnium primum id
5 legere iubet. Quibus perlectis cum se consideraturum adhibitis amicis quid faciendum sibi esset dixisset, Popilius pro cetera asperitate animi virga

[1] Rhinocolura *Fr*: rinocarala *V*.
[2] cederetur *Bekker*: cederet *V*.
[3] Nili *Fr*: nihil *V*.
[4] praefectis ipse *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[5] est profectus receptusque et ab iis, qui *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[6] Eleusinem *Turnebus*: leunsinem *V*.
[7] porrigeret, tabellas *Fr*: pollicereturabellas *V*.

with his army into Hollow Syria on his way to Egypt. B.C. 168
Near Rhinocolura envoys from Ptolemy met him, offering thanks for his assistance in recovering Ptolemy's ancestral throne and requesting that he should not undo his act of kindness and rather say what he wanted done than shift from ally to enemy and act by force of arms. Antiochus replied that he would recall his fleet and lead back his army on no other terms than the cession to him of all Cyprus, Pelusium, and the region which lies around the Pelusian mouth of the Nile. He also named a day before which he must receive the report of the execution of his terms.

XII. After the time allotted for the truce had expired, Antiochus' officers sailed to Pelusium via the mouth of the Nile, while he marched through the Arabian Desert and, after being received by the inhabitants of Memphis and the rest of the Egyptians, partly through good-will and partly through fear, he came down to Alexandria by short marches.[1] When he had crossed the river at Eleusis, a place four miles away from Alexandria, the Roman envoys met him. As they approached, he greeted them and offered his hand to Popilius; whereat Popilius handed him the tablets containing the decree of the senate in writing, and bade him read this first of all. On reading the decree, he said that he would call in his friends and consider what he should do; Popilius, in accordance with the usual harshness of his temper,

[1] Antiochus crowned himself king of Egypt, and issued coins in that capacity, see Naphtali Lewis, *Classical Philology* 44 (1949), pp. 32–3.

[8] senatus consultum *add. Schweighauser* : *om. V.*

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quam in manu gerebat circumscripsit regem ac "priusquam hoc circulo excedas" inquit "redde
6 responsum, senatui quod referam." Obstupefactus tam violento imperio parumper cum haesitasset, "faciam" inquit "quod censet senatus." Tum demum Popilius dextram[1] regi tamquam socio atque amico porrexit.

7 Die deinde finita cum excessisset Aegypto Antiochus, legati concordia etiam auctoritate sua inter fratres firmata, inter quos vixdum convenerat pax,[2] Cyprum navigant et inde, quae iam vicerat proelio
8 Aegyptias naves, classem Antiochi dimittunt. Clara ea per gentis legatio fuit, quod haud dubie adempta Antiocho Aegyptus habenti iam redditumque patrium regnum stirpi Ptolemaei fuerat.

9 Consulum eius anni sicut alterius clarus consulatus insigni victoria, ita alterius obscura fama, quia ma-
10 teriam res gerendi non habuit. Iam primum cum legionibus ad conveniendum diem edixit,[3] non auspicato templum intravit. Vitio diem[4] dictam esse augures, cum ad eos relatum esset,[5] decreverunt.
11 Profectus in Galliam circa Macros campos ad montis Siciminam et Papinum stativa habuit; deinde circa eadem loca cum sociis nominis Latini hibernabat;

[1] dextram *Fr*: senatum dextram *V*.
[2] pax *I. Perizonius*: pars *V*.
[3] diem edixit *Luterbacher*: dixit *V*.
[4] intravit. Vitio diem *Fr*: intui tiodiem *V*.
[5] esset *Madvig*: est *V*.

[1] According to Polybius XXIX. 27. 10, this victory of Antiochus' forces was on land.

drew a circle around the king with a rod that he B.C. 168
carried in his hand, and said, "Before you step out of this circle, give me an answer which I may take back to the senate." After the king had hesitated a moment, struck dumb by so violent an order, he replied, "I shall do what the senate decrees." Only then did Popilius extend his hand to the king as to an ally and friend.

Later, when Antiochus had quitted Egypt by the appointed day, and the envoys had also confirmed by their own weighty approval the agreement of the brothers, who with great difficulty had settled on terms of peace, the Romans sailed for Cyprus, whence they sent away the fleet of Antiochus which had already defeated the Egyptian ships in battle.[1] This embassy gained a great reputation among the nations, because Egypt had clearly been taken away from Antiochus after he had possession of it, and their ancestral kingdom had been restored to the House of Ptolemy.

The term of one of the consuls of this year was distinguished by a notable victory; the reputation of the other was correspondingly undistinguished, because he did not have the wherewithal for achievement. At the very outset, when he proclaimed a day for his legions to assemble, he entered the sacred enclosure [2] without taking the auspices. When the augurs were consulted on this matter, they declared that the day had been wrongfully set. The consul set out for Gaul, and had a fixed camp near Campi Macri [3] close to Mounts Sicimina and Papinus. Later he spent the winter in the same region with

[2] Perhaps a special one laid out for this ceremony.
[3] Also mentioned above, XLI. xviii. 5–6.

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12 legiones Romanae, quod vitio dies exercitui ad conveniendum dicta erat, Romae manserant.

13 Et praetores praeter C. Papirium Carbonem, cui Sardinia evenerat, in provincias iere. Eum ius[1] dicere Romae—nam eam quoque sortem habebat—inter cives et peregrinos patres censuerant.

XIII. Et Popilius et ea legatio, quae missa ad Antiochum erat, Romam redit; rettulit controversias inter reges sublatas esse exercitumque ex Aegypto 2 in Syriam reductum. Post ipsorum regum legati venerunt; Antiochi legati referentes omni victoria potiorem pacem regi, senatui quae placuisset, visam,[2] eumque haud secus quam deorum imperio legatorum Romanorum iussis paruisse; gratulati[3] dein de 3 victoria sunt, quam ope sua,[4] si quid imperatum foret, adiuturum[5] regem fuisse.

4 Ptolemaei legati communi nomine regis et Cleo- 5 patrae gratias egerunt; plus eos senatui populoque Romano quam parentibus suis, plus quam diis immortalibus debere, per quos obsidione miserrima liberati essent, regnum patrium prope amissum recepissent.

[1] eum ius *Fr*: eumdumius *V*.

[2] victoria potiorem pacem regi, senatui quae placuisset, visam *Bekker*: victoriā potiorempaceregisenatuiqueplacuissetvisa *V*.

[3] gratulati *Kreyssig*: legati *V*.

[4] sua *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.

[5] adiuturum *Kreyssig*: adfuturum *V*.

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[1] Anicius, the commander in Illyricum, had first been assigned as *praetor peregrinus*. The praetor for Sardinia was often assigned to special tasks (cf. XXXIX. xxxviii. 3;

the allies of the Latin Name; the Roman legions had B.C. 168
remained at Rome, because the day for the assembly of the army was wrongfully appointed.

The praetors also went to their provinces, except Gaius Papirius Carbo, to whom Sardinia had fallen. The senate decreed that he should conduct at Rome the court for suits between citizens and aliens, for this also had been allotted to him.[1]

XIII. Popilius, too, and the embassy which had been sent to Antiochus returned to Rome. They reported that the disputes between the kings had been settled and the army led out of Egypt into Syria. Afterwards the envoys of the kings themselves arrived. Antiochus' envoys reported that to the king peace had seemed preferable to any conquest, since it was the wish of the senate, and that Antiochus had obeyed the orders of the Roman envoys as if they had been gods. Then they presented congratulations on the victory, to which the king would have contributed his aid, they said, if any demand had been made upon him.

Ptolemy's envoys[2] offered thanks in the names of the king and Cleopatra together; they owed, they said, more to the Roman senate and people than to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods, since they had been freed by the Romans from a most wretched state of siege, and had recovered the ancestral kingdom which they had almost lost.

XL. xxxvii. 4; xliii. 2), while his predecessor, in this case P. Fonteius Capito (cf. XLIII. xv. 3), continued in office; see also below, xvi. 4.

[2] The embassy was from both Ptolemies, according to Polybius XXX. 16.

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6 Responsum [1] ab senatu est Antiochum recte atque ordine fecisse, quod legatis paruisset, gratumque id
7 esse senatui populoque Romano: regibus Aegypti, Ptolemaeo Cleopatraeque, si quid per se boni commodique evenisset, id magno opere senatum laetari, daturumque operam, ut regni sui maximum semper praesidium positum esse in fide populi Romani ducant.
8 Munera legatis ut ex instituto mittenda curaret, C.
9 Papirio praetori mandatum. Litterae deinde e [2] Macedonia allatae, quae victoriae laetitiam geminarent: Persea regem in potestatem consulis venisse.
10 Dimissis legatis regiis [3] disceptatum inter Pisanos Lunensesque legatos est.[4] Pisanis querentibus agro se a colonis Romanis pelli, Lunensibus adfirmantibus eum, de quo agatur, ab triumviris [5] agrum sibi adsi-
11 gnatum esse. Senatus, qui de finibus cognoscerent statuerentque, quinque viros misit Q. Fabium Buteonem, P. Cornelium Blasionem, T. Sempronium Muscam, L. Naevium Balbum, C. Apuleium Saturninum.
12 Et ab Eumene et ab Attalo et ab Athenaeo fratribus communis legatio de victoria gratulatum venit. Et Masgabae, regis Masinissae filio, Puteolis nave egresso praesto fuit obviam missus cum pecunia L. Manlius quaestor, qui Romam eum publico sumptu

[1] recepissent. Responsum *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[2] e *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[3] regiis *add. Heraeus*: *om.* V.
[4] est *Vahlen*: et V.
[5] triumviris *Kreyssig*: utrumviris V.

[1] The colony at Luna was established in 177 B.C., see XLI. xiii. 5. Luna at this time was reckoned as belonging to Cisalpine Gaul, the boundary of Italy proper running between it and Pisa; in earlier times it had been Etruscan.

The senate's reply to Antiochus was that he had done what was right and proper in obeying the envoys, and that the Roman senate and people were pleased. To the king and queen of Egypt, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the reply was that the senate was very happy if by its agency something good and beneficial had come to pass, and that the senate would use its best efforts to convince them that the greatest bulwark of their reign was founded on the good faith of the Roman people. Instructions were given to Gaius Papirius the praetor that he should see that the customary presents were sent to the envoys. Despatches from Macedonia were then introduced, calculated to redouble the rejoicing over the victory; they reported that King Perseus was a prisoner of the consul. B.C. 168

After the royal embassies were dismissed, a dispute was heard between envoys from Pisa and from Luna.[1] The Pisans complained that Roman colonists were driving them off their land, whereas the men of Luna declared that the land in question had been assigned to them by the board of three. The senate sent five men to investigate the facts about the boundary and make a decision, namely, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Titus Sempronius Musca, Lucius Naevius Balbus, and Gaius Apuleius Saturninus.

From the brothers Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenaeus a joint embassy of congratulation on the victory arrived.[2] When Masgaba, too, the son of King Masinissa, landed from his ship at Puteoli, he was met by Lucius Manlius the quaestor who had been sent with money to meet him, to escort him at

[2] Perhaps the same as the embassy mentioned below, xix.

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13 perduceret. Advenienti extemplo senatus datus est. Ibi [1] adulescens ita locutus est ut quae rebus grata erant gratiora verbis faceret. Commemoravit, quot pedites equitesque, quot elephantos, quantum frumenti eo quadriennio pater suus in Macedoniam
14 misisset; [2] duas res ei rubori fuisse, unam, quod rogasset eum per legatos senatus, quae ad bellum opus essent,[3] et non imperasset, alteram, quod
15 pecuniam ei pro frumento misisset. Masinissam meminisse se [4] regnum a populo Romano partum auctumque et multiplicatum habere; usu regni contentum scire dominium et ius eorum, qui dederint,
16 esse. Sumere itaque eos de se,[5] non rogare aequom esse. neque emere ea ex fructibus agri ab se dati quae ibi proveniant. Id Masinissae satis esse et
17 fore, quod populo Romano superesset. Cum iis mandatis a patre profectum postea consecutos equites, qui devictam Macedoniam nuntiarent gratularique [6] senatui iuberent et indicare ita eam [7] rem laetitiae patri suo esse, ut Romam venire velit Iovique optimo maximo in Capitolio sacrificare et grates agere; id, nisi molestum sit, ut ei permittatur, ab senatu petere.

XIV. Responsum regulo est facere patrem eius Masinissam, quod virum gratum bonumque facere

[1] ibi *Weissenborn*: is *V*.
[2] misisset *Madvig*: misitsed *V*.
[3] essent *Gruter*: esset *V*.
[4] se *add. Drakenborch*: *om. V*.
[5] eos de se *Madvig*: eosdemse *V*.
[6] gratularique *Harant*: gratulatumque *V*.
[7] indicare ita eam *Harant*: indicarenttaceam *V*.

public expense to Rome. On Masgaba's arrival, a B.C. 168
meeting of the senate was at once held for him. There the young man spoke so as to make matters pleasing by their nature even more pleasing by his words. He recalled how much infantry and cavalry, how many elephants, and how much grain his father had sent to Macedonia during those four years. He said that there were two matters which brought a blush to his father's cheeks: first, that the senate had requested through envoys what they needed for the war, and had not ordered it, and secondly, that they had sent him money for the grain. Masinissa remembered, said his son, that he held a kingdom won by the Roman People, and that they had increased it and made it many times as great; he was satisfied with the usufruct of the kingdom, and knew that the ownership and title to it were vested in those who had given it. Therefore it was right that they should claim what they wished from him, not request it, nor buy the products of his country that sprang from a soil that was their own gift. Masinissa was and would be satisfied with what the Roman People did not need. After Masgaba had set out with this message, he said, horsemen had overtaken him to report that Macedonia had been conquered and to bid him congratulate the senate and point out to them that his father was so rejoiced over this event that he wished to come to Rome and offer sacrifice and thanksgiving to Jupiter, Greatest and Best, on the Capitol; he requested permission from the senate to do this, if they had no objection.

XIV. The answer was given to the prince that his father Masinissa was acting as was proper for a good and grateful man, in that he attached to payment due

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deceat, ut pretium honoremque debito beneficio
2 addat. Et populum Romanum ab eo bello Punico forti fidelique opera adiutum, et illum favente populo Romano regnum adeptum; aequatis[1] iis postea trium regum bellis deinceps omnibus eum functum
3 officiis. Victoria vero populi Romani laetari eum regem mirum non esse, qui sortem omnem fortunae regnique sui cum rebus Romanis miscuisset.[2] Grates deis pro[3] victoria apud suos penates ageret; Romae
4 filium pro eo acturum. Gratulatum quoque satis suo ac patris nomine esse. Ipsum relinquere regnum et Africa excedere, praeterquam quod illi inutile esset, non esse e re publica populi Romani senatum censere.
5 Petenti Masgabae, ut Hanno, Hamilcaris filius, obses[4] in locum . . . exigeretur, responsum est haud aequum videri senatum a Carthaginiensibus
6 obsides arbitrio Masinissae[5] exigere. Munera ex senatus consulto emere regulo quaestor iussus ex centum pondo argenti et prosequi eum Puteolos omnemque sumptum, quoad in Italia esset, praebere et duas naves conducere, quibus ipse comitesque eius[6] in Africam deveherentur; et comitibus omni-
7 bus, liberis servisque, vestimenta data.
8 Haud ita multo post de altero Masinissae filio Misagene litterae adlatae sunt, missum eum ab L. Paulo post devictum Persea in Africam cum equitibus

[1] aequatis *Weissenborn*: aequitatis V.
[2] miscuisset *Kreyssig*: immiscuisset V.
[3] pro *Madvig*: pr. V.
[4] obses *Sigonius*: ospes V.
[5] exigeretur, responsum est haud aequum videri senatum a Carthaginiensibus obsides arbitrio Masinissae *add. Zingerle*: *om.* V: *nomen obsidis deest.*
[6] eius *J. F. Gronovius*: regis V.

for kindness such credit and honour. On the one hand B.C. 168
the Roman People had profited by his brave and loyal aid in the Punic War, and on the other, he had secured his kingdom through the good will of the Roman People; after this balancing of favours, he had performed every possible act of friendship in wars against three kings successively. Joy over the victory of the Roman People was not surprising in a king who had linked with the fortunes of the Romans the whole hazard of his personal fortunes and those of his realm. As for thanks to the gods for the victory, let him offer them in his own home; his son would serve as his representative at Rome. The son had also offered sufficient congratulations on his own and his father's behalf. That Masinissa himself should leave his kingdom and go outside of Africa, apart from the fact that it was against his own interests, was also contrary to the public welfare of the Roman People, the senate believed.

When Masgaba requested that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, be demanded as hostage in place of . . ., the answer was given that the senate considered it by no means just to exact hostages from the Carthaginians according to the judgment of Masinissa. The quaestor was ordered to buy gifts for the prince, in accordance with a resolution of the senate, to the amount of one hundred pounds of silver, and to escort him to Puteoli, to provide for all his expenses while he was in Italy, and to hire two ships to convey him and his suite to Africa. Garments were presented to all his suite, both free and slave.

Not very much later dispatches were brought from Masinissa's other son Misagenes, stating that he had been sent with his cavalry to Africa by Lucius Paulus

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suis; navigantem dispersa classe in Hadriatico mari
9 Brundisium tribus navibus aegrum delatum. Ad[1] eum cum isdem muneribus, quae data Romae fratri eius erant, L. Stertinius quaestor Brundisium missus iussusque[2] curare, ut aedes hospitio . . .[3]

XV. In quattuor urbanas tribus discripti[4] erant libertini praeter eos, quibus filius quinquenni maior
2 ex se natus[5] esset,—eos, ubi proximo lustro censi essent, censeri iusserunt—et eos, qui praedium praediave rustica pluris sestertium triginta milium
3 haberent, . . .[6] censendi ius factum est. Hoc cum ita servatum esset, negabat Claudius suffragii lationem iniussu populi censorem cuiquam homini,
4 nedum ordini universo adimere posse. Neque enim, si tribu movere possit,[7] quod sit nihil aliud quam mutare iubere tribum, ideo omnibus quinque et triginta tribubus emovere posse, id est civitatem libertatemque eripere, non, ubi censeatur, finire,
5 sed censu excludere. Haec inter ipsos disceptata; postremo eo descensum est, ut ex quattuor urbanis

[1] ad *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[2] iussus *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[3] hospi V: *lacuna folii unius.*
[4] discripti *Buecheler*: descripti V.
[5] ex se natus *Kreyssig*: exsenatu V.
[6] *lacunam indicat Crévier.*
[7] possit *Drakenborch*: posset V.

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[1] From Valerius Maximus V. 1. 1d, the following matters seem to have been recounted here: the quaestor was to provide for the care of Misagenes, furnish expense-money for him and his suite, and provide ships for the voyage to Africa; also a pound of silver and 500 sesterces apiece were to be given to each cavalryman; Misagenes died. Presumably also the report of the elections, and something about the activity of

after the defeat of Perseus, that on his voyage his fleet had been scattered in the Adriatic, and he had arrived in ill heath with three ships at Brundisium. Lucius Stertinius the quaestor was sent to him with the same gifts which had been given at Rome to his brother, and was instructed to see to it that a house for entertainment . . .[1] B.C. 168

XV. Freedmen had been distributed among the four city tribes except for those who had a son over five years old (these they ordered to be reckoned where they had been enrolled at the census immediately previous), and those who had an estate or estates in the country valued at over thirty thousand sesterces . . .[2] the privilege of enrolling was granted. Although this arrangement had become established in this way, Claudius said that it was impossible for a censor without a decree of the people to deprive any individual of his ballot, let alone a whole class. For if, said Claudius, the censor could move a man from his tribe, which was exactly what ordering him to change his tribe meant, he could remove him from all thirty-five tribes, that is, deprive him of citizenship and status as a free man—not determine where he should be enrolled but exclude him from enrolment.[3] This was argued between the two censors; finally they resorted to the following solution: they drew lots publicly in the Hall of

the censors, prefatory to the following chapter, was included here. Previous activity of the censors was reported in XLIII. xiv–xvi; XLIV. xvi. 8–10. Cf. also the Summary of this book.

[2] The lacuna may have contained mention of the country tribes, in which the freedmen with large holdings were allowed.

[3] Claudius appears to be indulging in hyperbole, since the private rights of a free citizen were not in question,

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tribubus unam palam in atrio Libertatis sortirentur, in quam omnes, qui servitutem servissent, conicerent. 6 Esquilinae sors exiit; in ea Ti. Gracchus pronuntiavit libertinos omnis censeri placere. 7 Magno ea res honori censoribus apud senatum fuit. Gratiae actae et Sempronio, qui in bene coepto perseverasset, et Claudio, qui non impedisset. 8 Plures quam ab [1] superioribus et senatu moti [2] sunt et equos vendere iussi. Omnes iidem ab utroque et tribu moti [3] et aerarii facti: neque ullius, quem alter 9 notarat,[4] ab [5] altero levata ignominia. Petentibus, ut ex instituto ad sarta tecta exigenda et ad opera quae locassent probanda anni et sex mensum [6] tempus prorogaretur, Cn. Tremellius tribunus, quia lectus non erat in senatum, intercessit.

10 Eodem anno C. Cicereius aedem Monetae in monte [7] Albano dedicavit quinquennio post quam vovit. Flamen Martialis inauguratus est eo anno L. Postumius Albinus.

XVI. Q. Aelio M. Iunio consulibus de provinciis referentibus censuere patres duas provincias Hispaniam

[1] plures quam ab *Kreyssig*: plusquamad *V*.
[2] moti *Douiatius*: remoti *V*.
[3] moti *J. F. Gronovius*: remoti *V*.
[4] notarat *Pighius*: notaret *V*.
[5] ab *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[6] sex mensum *Bekker*: bimensus *V*.
[7] aedem Monetae in monte *Drakenborch*: ademmõ et *V*.

[1] Previous instances of severity on the part of these censors are recorded in XLIII. xv. 6; xvi. 1; XLIV. xvi. 8.

[2] His vow is recorded in XLII. vii. 1; his triumph, on the Alban Mount, in XLII. xxi. 7. Dio Cassius XXXIX. 20, records as a portent that "a small temple of Juno, on a certain table, facing the east, was turned to the north." Perhaps the curious mention of a table (*trapeza*) is an error due to the

Liberty for one of the four city tribes, to which they B.C. 16
would consign all those who had been slaves. The lot of the Esquiline tribe was cast; Tiberius Gracchus announced that they had decided to enrol all freedmen in this tribe.

This matter was regarded by the senate as greatly to the credit of the censors. Thanks were voted to Sempronius, for having persisted in a praiseworthy undertaking, and to Claudius, for not interfering. More men were removed from the senate than by former censors, and more also ordered to sell their horses.[1] All alike were by both censors removed from their tribe and made *aerarii*; nor was the disgrace of anyone who had been blacklisted by the one relieved by the other. When the censors asked that their term be prolonged to a year and a half in order that they might, as was customary, see to repairs to buildings and inspect the public works for which they had contracted, the request was vetoed by the tribune Gnaeus Tremellius, because he had not been chosen for the senate.

In this same year Gaius Cicereius dedicated a temple to Moneta on the Alban Mount five years after he vowed it.[2] In this year Lucius Postumius Albinus was consecrated as *flamen* of Mars.[3]

XVI. When the new consuls Quintus Aelius and Marcus Junius[4] put to the senate the question of provinces, the Fathers voted that Spain should again

association of Juno Moneta with monetary matters, cf. the monetary associations of *trapeza*.

[3] The death of the previous *flamen* is recorded in XLIV. xviii. 7.

[4] Both these consuls were plebeians, as in 172 B.C., XLII. x. 9. 172 was the first year in which two plebeians were elected, according to the Fasti Capitolini, C.I.L.[2] I. i., p. 25.

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rursus fieri, quae una per bellum Macedonicum fuerat;
2 et Macedoniam Illyricumque eosdem, L. Paulum et L. Anicium, obtinere, donec de sententia legatorum res et bello turbatas et in [1] statum alium ex regno
3 formandas composuissent. Consulibus Pisae et Gallia decretae cum binis legionibus quinum milium et ducenorum [2] peditum et equitum quadringenorum.[3] Praetorum sortes fuere. Q. Cassi urbana, M'. Iuventi Thalnae [4] inter peregrinos, Ti. Claudi Neronis Sicilia,
4 Cn. Fulvi Hispania citerior, ulterior [5] C. Licini Nervae. A. Manlio Torquato Sardinia obvenerat: at [6] nequiit ire in provinciam, ad res capitalis quaerendas ex senatus consulto retentus.
5 De prodigiis deinde nuntiatis senatus est consultus. Aedes deum [7] Penatium in Velia de caelo tacta erat et in oppido Minervio duae portae et muri aliquantum. Anagniae terra pluerat et Lanuvi fax in caelo visa erat; et Calatiae in publico agro M. Valerius civis Romanus nuntiabat e foco suo sangui-
6 nem [8] per triduum et duas noctes manasse. Ob id maxime decemviri libros adire iussi supplicationem

[1] in *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V.*
[2] legionibus quinum milium et ducenorum *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V.*
[3] quadringenorum *Drakenborch*: quadringentorum *V.*
[4] urbana, M'. Iuventi Thalnae *Sigonius*: urbanamiuuentitalnae *V.*
[5] ulterior *add. Fr, Hertz*: *om. V.*
[6] at *add. Novák*: *om. V.*
[7] deum *Kreyssig*: deus *V.*
[8] sanguinem *Gruter*: xanguine *V.*

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[1] The number sounds like the allied cavalry; a reference to Roman cavalry and allied infantry may have been lost. The usual number of Roman cavalry is 300, see XXII. xxxvi. 3;

be made two provinces, after having been one during the Macedonian War; also that the same officers, Lucius Paulus and Lucius Anicius, should command in Macedonia and Illyricum until on the advice of senatorial envoys they had made a settlement for these states which had been upset by war, and which were to be given a constitution other than monarchical. To the consuls Pisa and Gaul were assigned with two legions apiece, each legion to be composed of five thousand two hundred infantry and four hundred cavalry.[1] The assignments for the praetors were: to Quintus Cassius, the City Praetorship; to Manius Juventius Thalna, the jurisdiction over aliens; to Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Gnaeus Fulvius, Hither Spain; to Gaius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Aulus Manlius Torquatus was assigned Sardinia, but was unable to go to his province, since he was held by vote of the senate to preside over trials for capital crimes.[2] B.C. 167

The question of the prodigies which had been reported was next put to the senate. The temple of the Household Gods on the Velia had been struck by lightning, as well as two gates and a section of wall in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia there had been a rain of earth and at Lanuvium a meteor had been seen in the sky; and at Calatia on state-owned land Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported that blood had trickled from his hearth for three days and two nights. Especially for this last the Board of Ten was ordered to consult the books; they

but the number 400 also appears in XXIII. xxxiv. 13 and XL. xxxvi. 8.

[2] Again the new praetor did not go to Sardinia, see above, p. 284, note 1. For similar special inquiries into crime, cf. XL. xliii. 2; XXXIX. xxxviii. 3; xli. 5.

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in diem unum populo edixerunt et quinquaginta capris in foro sacrificaverunt. Et aliorum prodigiorum causa diem alterum supplicatio circa omnia pulvinaria fuit et hostiis maioribus sacrificatum est et urbs lustrata.

7 Item,[1] quod ad honorem deum immortalium pertineret, decrevit senatus ut quoniam perduelles superati Perseus et Gentius reges cum Macedonia atque Illyrico in potestate populi Romani essent,
8 ut, quanta dona Ap. Claudio M. Sempronio consulibus ob devictum Antiochum regem data ad omnia pulvinaria essent, tanta Q. Cassius et M'. Iuventius praetores curarent danda.

XVII. Legatos deinde, quorum de sententia imperatores L. Paulus, L. Anicius componerent res, decreverunt decem in Macedoniam, quinque in[2]
2 Illyricum. In Macedoniam primi[3] nominati: A. Postumius Luscus, C. Claudius, ambo illi[4] censorii, Q. Fabius Labeo, Q. Marcius Philippus,[5] C. Licinius Crassus, collega in consulatu Pauli, tum prorogato
3 imperio provinciam Galliam habebat. His consularibus addidere Cn. Domitium Ahenobarbum, Ser. Cornelium Sullam, L. Iunium, T. Numisium Tarqui-
4 niensem, A. Terentium Varronem. In[6] Illyricum autem hi nominati: P. Aelius Ligus consularis, C. Cicereius et Cn. Baebius Tamphilus—hic priore anno,

[1] item *Madvig*: idem V.
[2] in *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[3] primi *Vahlen*: culpmi V.
[4] illi *Hertz*: alii V.
[5] Q. Fabius Labeo, Q. Marcius Philippus *add. H. J. Müller*: *om.* V.
[6] in *add. Fr*: *om.* V.

proclaimed to the people a single day of prayer and B.C. 167
offered a sacrifice of fifty goats in the forum. Because of the other prodigies, another day of prayer was observed at all the banquet-tables of the gods, sacrifice with greater victims was offered, and the city purified.

Another matter concerning the paying of respects to the immortal gods was the senate's decree that, whereas the enemy had been conquered and the kings Perseus and Gentius along with Macedonia and Illyricum were under the sway of the Roman People, therefore the praetors Quintus Cassius and Manius Juventius should see to the presentation at all the banquet-tables of the gods of gifts as great as those given in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius because of the victory over King Antiochus.[1]

XVII. Ten commissioners for Macedonia and five for Illyricum were then appointed, on whose advice Lucius Paulus and Lucius Anicius might arrange the settlements. First those for Macedonia were named: Aulus Postumius Luscus and Gaius Claudius, both ex-censors, Quintus Fabius Labeo, Quintus Marcius Philippus, and Gaius Licinius Crassus, who was Paulus' colleague in the consulship and at that time was in charge of Gaul, his term of command having been extended. To these ex-consuls were added Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. For Illyricum the following were named: Publius Aelius Ligus, an ex-consul, Gaius Cicereius and Gnaeus Baebius Tam-

[1] These are mentioned in XXXVI. ii. 2–5; the consuls served in 185 B.C.

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Cicereius multis ante annis praetor fuerat—, P. Terentius Tuscivicanus, P. Manilius.

5 Moniti deinde consules a patribus ut, quoniam alterum ex his succedere C. Licinio, qui legatus nominatus erat, in Gallia oporteret, primo quoque [1] tempore provincias aut compararent inter se aut 6 sortirentur. sortiti sunt. M. Iunio Pisae obvenerunt, quem, priusquam in provinciam iret, legationes quae undique Romam gratulatum convenerant introducere 7 in senatum placuit, Q. Aelio Gallia.[2] Ceterum quamquam tales viri mitterentur, quorum de consilio sperari posset imperatores nihil indignum nec clementia nec gravitate populi Romani decreturos esse, tamen in senatu quoque agitata [3] sunt summa consiliorum, ut inchoata omnia legati ab domo ferre ad imperatores possent.

XVIII. Omnium primum liberos esse placebat Macedonas atque Illyrios, ut omnibus gentibus appareret arma populi Romani non liberis servitutem, sed contra 2 servientibus libertatem adferre, ut et, in libertate gentes quae essent, tutam eam sibi perpetuamque sub tutela populi Romani [4] esse, et, quae sub regibus viverent, et in praesens tempus mitiores eos iustioresque respectu populi Romani habere se crederent et,[5] si quando bellum cum populo Romano regibus fuisset suis, exitum eius victoriam Romanis adlaturum,

[1] quoque *add. Fr* : *om. V.*
[2] Gallia *add. Fr* : *om. V.*
[3] agitata *Weissenborn* : agitaltes *V.*
[4] populi Romani *add. Sigonius* : *om. V.*
[5] et *Madvig* : eo *V.*

[1] Five years before, see above, xv. 9.

philus (the latter had been praetor the previous year, B.C. 167
the former many years before [1]), Publius Terentius Tuscivicanus, and Publius Manilius.

Next the consuls were instructed by the Fathers that, since one of them should relieve Gaius Licinius, who had been appointed commissioner, in Gaul, they ought as early as possible either to agree on their provinces or to draw lots. They accordingly drew lots. Pisa fell to Marcus Junius, Gaul to Quintus Aelius. The senate voted that before Junius went to his field of activity, he should present to the senate the embassies which had assembled in Rome from all quarters to offer congratulations. Moreover, although men were being sent of sufficient calibre to justify the hope that by their advice the generals would establish nothing unworthy of either the mercy or the high position of the Roman People, yet discussions went on in the senate too as to general considerations, so that the commissioners might carry from home to the generals a full outline of policy.

XVIII. First of all it was voted that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be given their independence, so that it should be clear to all nations that the forces of the Roman People brought not slavery to free peoples, but on the contrary, freedom to the enslaved. The senate wished nations which were free to consider that their freedom was assured and lasting under the protection of the Roman People, and that those who lived under kings should feel for the time being that their rulers were milder and more just under the eye of the Roman People, and, if at any time their kings should make war on the Roman People, that the outcome of the war would bring victory to the Romans, but freedom to

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3 sibi libertatem.[1] Metalli quoque Macedonici, quod ingens vectigal erat, locationes praediorumque
4 rusticorum tolli placebat; nam neque sine publicano exerceri posse et, ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse.
5 Ne ipsos quidem Macedonas id[2] exercere posse; ubi in medio praeda administrantibus esset, ibi numquam causas seditionum et certaminis defore.
6 Denique ne, si[3] commune concilium[4] gentis esset, improbus vulgi adsentator[5] aliquando libertatem salubri moderatione[6] datam ad licentiam pestilentam
7 traheret, in quattuor regiones discribi[7] Macedoniam, ut suum quaeque concilium[8] haberet, placuit et dimidium tributi, quam quod regibus ferre soliti erant, populo Romano pendere. Similia his et in[9]
8 Illyricum mandata. Cetera ipsis imperatoribus legatisque relicta, in quibus praesens tractatio rerum certiora subiectura erat consilia.

XIX. Inter multas regum gentiumque et populorum legationes Attalus, frater regis Eumenis, maxime convertit in se omnium oculos animosque.

[1] fuisset suis, exitum eius victoriam Romanis adlaturum, sibi libertatem *Madvig*: fuisse sieuisexitumeiusuictoriamuic romanisadlaturumcrederent sibiadlaturumsibilibertatem *V*.
[2] id *Crévier*: idem *V*.
[3] denique ne si *add. H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[4] concilium *Sigonius*: consilum *V*.
[5] improbus vulgi adsentator *Hartel*: improbumuulgiadsenator *V*.
[6] moderatione *Doviatius*: moderationi *V*.
[7] discribi *Buecheler*: describi *V*.
[8] concilium *Sigonius*: consilium *V*.
[9] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

themselves. It was also voted to discontinue the B.C. 167
leasing of the Macedonian mines, a source of immense revenue, and of rural estates, for these could not be farmed without a contractor, and where there was a contractor, there either the ownership by the state lapsed, or no freedom was left to the allied people.[1] It was impossible, the senate thought, for even the Macedonians to farm these resources; for where there was booty as a prize for administrators, in that state there would never be a lack of reasons for conspiracies and strife. Finally, fearing that if there were a common legislature for the nation, some relentless demagogue would turn the freedom given in healthy moderation into the licence which brings ruin, the senate voted to divide Macedonia into four sections, so that each might have its own legislature. It was further resolved that Macedonia should pay to the Roman People half the taxes which they had been accustomed to pay to their kings. Like instructions were given for Illyricum. The details were left to the generals and the commissioners themselves, for which the present discussion would lay a surer foundation of planning.[2]

XIX. Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and peoples Attalus, the brother of King Eumenes, especially drew to himself the eyes and

[1] The reasoning is perhaps that of Cato, who favoured Macedonian "freedom," see Spartianus, *Hadrian* 5; for the attitude toward the financiers, cf. XXXII. xxvii. 4; XXXIX. xliv. 8–9; XLIII. xvi. Below, xxix. 11, the specific arrangement for the mines is mentioned: gold and silver mining was prohibited, but iron and copper might be worked. The estates were no doubt those of the king.

[2] From xii. 9 to this point, Livy seems to have followed Roman annalists; he now draws from Polybius XXX. 1–5.

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2 Exceptus enim est ab iis,[1] qui simul eo bello militaverant[2] haud paulo benignius quam si ipse rex
3 Eumenes venisset. Adduxerant eum duae in speciem honestae res, una gratulatio conveniens in ea victoria quam ipse adiuvisset, altera querimonia Gallici tumultus acceptaeque cladis qua[3] regnum in
4 dubium adductum esset. Suberat et secreta spes honorum praemiorumque ab senatu, quae vix salva pietate ei[4] contingere poterant. Erant[5] enim quidam Romanorum quoque non boni auctores, qui spe
5 cupiditatem eius elicerent; eam opinionem de Attalo et Eumene Romae esse, tamquam de altero Romanis certo amico, altero nec Romanis nec Persei fido
6 socio. Itaque vix statui posse utrum quae pro se an quae contra fratrem petiturus esset ab senatu magis impetrabilia forent: adeo universos omnia et huic tribuere et illi vero negare.

7 Eorum hominum, ut res docuit, Attalus erat qui, quantum spes spopondisset, cuperent, ni unius amici prudens monitio velut frenos animo eius gestienti
8 secundis rebus imposuisset. Stratius cum eo fuit medicus, ad id ipsum a non securo Eumene Romam missus speculator rerum, quae a fratre agerentur,
9 monitorque fidus, si decidi fide vidisset. Is ad occupatas iam aures solicitatumque iam animum cum

[1] iis *Kreyssig*: his V.
[2] militaverant *Clericus*: militaverunt V.
[3] acceptaeque cladis qua *Walch, Kreyssig*: aduertaequegladiisquae V.
[4] ei *Crévier*: eius V.
[5] erant *add. Fr*: *om.* V.

minds of everyone.[1] For he was received by those who had served with him in this war in much more cordial fashion than if King Eumenes himself had come. Two reasons honourable in outward view brought him to Rome, first the congratulations suitable to the recent victory in which he himself had aided, and second, complaint about the uprising of the Galatians and the disaster suffered thereby, which threatened destruction to the kingdom itself. Underneath he cherished a secret hope of honours and rewards from the senate which he could hardly accept without disloyalty to his brother. For there were also certain untrustworthy Roman advisers to stimulate his self-seeking with hope; the view, they said, held in Rome about Attalus and Eumenes was that the former was a sure friend to the Romans, while the latter was a faithful ally neither to the Romans nor to Perseus; accordingly it could hardly be determined whether the senate would be more disposed to grant his requests for himself or those against his brother—to such an extent did one and all make every concession to the one, but withhold any from the other. B.C. 167

Attalus was, as the facts showed, one of those men who would desire whatever hope might promise; but the wise advice of one friend tightened the reins, as it were, on his spirit elated by success. Stratius, a physician, was with him, sent to Rome by the uneasy Eumenes precisely to keep an eye on the actions of his brother and to give loyal advice, if he saw any failure in loyalty. This Stratius made his approach to ears already filled and a mind already temp-

[1] According to Polybius, the warmth of this reception suggested to Attalus the possibility of supplanting his brother.

u.c. 587 venisset, adgressus tempestivis sermonibus[1] rem prope prolapsam restituit, aliis alia regna crevisse
10 rebus dicendo: regnum eorum novum, nullis vetustis fundatum opibus, fraterna stare concordia, quod unus nomen regium et praecipuum capitis insigne gerat,
11 omnes fratres regnent. Attalum vero, qui aetate proximus sit,[2] quis non pro rege habeat? neque eo solum, quia tantas praesentes eius opes cernat, sed quod haud ambiguum sit[3] prope diem regnaturum; eam infirmitatem aetatemque Eumenis esse nullam stirpem liberum habentis: necdum enim agnoverat
12 eum, qui postea regnavit. Quid attinere[4] vim adferre rei sua sponte ad eum mox venturae?[5] accessisse etiam novam tempestatem regno tumultus Gallici, cui vix consensu et concordia regum
13 resisti queat: si vero ad externum bellum domestica seditio adiciatur, sisti non posse. Nec aliud eum quam, ne frater in regno moriatur, sibi ipsi spem
14 propinquam regni erepturum. Si utraque gloriosa res esset, et servasse fratri regnum et eripuisse, servati tamen regni, quae iuncta pietati sit, potiorem laudem futuram[6] fuisse. Sed enimvero cum detesta-

[1] sermonibus *J. F. Gronovius*: temporibus V.
[2] qui aetate proximus sit *Kreyssig*: quiaaetaterproximussi V.
[3] sit *add. Harant*: *om.* V.
[4] attinere *J. F. Gronovius*: adtineret V.
[5] venturae *Duker*: adventurae V.
[6] futuram *add. Andresen*: *om.* V.

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[1] Eumenes was in his late fifties at this time.
[2] This successor, Attalus III, was born shortly before Eumenes' death, and reigned for 21 years under a regency of his uncle Attalus. (See XLII. xvi. 9 and the note, Vol. XII, p. 339, for the view that Attalus III was actually the son of

ted, and by offering well-timed remarks won an almost B.C. 167
lost cause; his argument was that different kingdoms had thrived on different things; the kingdom of Pergamum, being new and not bolstered by any long-standing wealth, was founded on brotherly harmony, because one brother wore the name of king and the distinguishing emblem on his head, but all the brothers ruled. As for Attalus, who was second in age, who did not consider him as a king? And not only because one could see that his present powers were so great, but because it was beyond doubt that he would reign before many days had passed, for the weakness and age [1] of Eumenes pointed in that direction, since he was at that time without issue (for Eumenes had not at that time acknowledged the son who reigned after him [2]). What use was there, said Stratius, in seeking by violence a prize which would automatically fall to him shortly? Furthermore, the kingdom had been assailed by the fresh tempest of the Galatian uprising, which could hardly be withstood by agreement and harmony in the royal family; but if civil strife were added to the foreign war, no halt could be called. What he was considering was simply preventing his brother from dying as king in order to rob himself of his imminent expectation of the throne. Even if it were true that either action would bring fame, whether he preserved the kingdom for his brother, or snatched it from him, nevertheless praise for preserving the kingdom, coupled as it was with family loyalty, would still be the better choice. But inasmuch as one alter-

Attalus II). An illegitimate son of Eumenes, Aristonicus, captured the throne after the death of Attalus III, and fought Rome: cf. Summary LIX.

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bilis altera res et proxima parricidio sit, quid ad
15 deliberationem dubii superesse? utrum enim partem
regni petiturum esse, an totum erepturum? si
partem, ambo infirmos distractis viribus et omnibus
iniuriis profecto[1] obnoxios fore; si totum, privatumne
ergo maiorem fratrem, an exulem esse[2] illa aetate,
illa corporis infirmitate, an ad[3] ultimum mori
16 iussurum? egregium enim, ut fabulis traditus im-
piorum fratrum eventus taceatur, Persei exitum
videri, qui ex fraterna caede raptum diadema in
templo Samothracum, velut praesentibus dis exi-
gentibus poenas, ad pedes victoris hostis prostratus
17 posuerit. Eos ipsos qui non illi amici,[4] sed Eumeni
infesti stimulent eum, pietatem constantiamque
laudaturos, si fidem ad ultimum fratri praestitisset.

XX. Haec plus valuere in Attali animo. Itaque
introductus in senatum gratulatus victoriam est; sua
merita eo bello fratrisque, si qua erant, et Gallorum
defectionem, quae nuper ingenti motu facta erat,
2 exposuit; petit ut legatos mitteret ad eos, quorum
auctoritate ab armis avocarentur. His pro regni
utilitate editis mandatis, Aenum sibi et Maroneam

[1] profecto *Brakman*: pro V: porro *Hartel*: populi Romani (*i.e. ex* pr.) *Madvig.*
[2] esse *add. H. J. Müller*: *om.* V.
[3] ad *add. Duker*: *om.* V.
[4] qui non illi amici *Fr*: quinillisamicis V.

[1] They were actually independent, but had been warned by Rome to keep the peace, according to XXXVIII. xl. 1; Polybius XXX. 3. also speaks of a "revolt" (*aponoia*).

native was in fact despicable and verging on the murder of kin, what remained in doubt to keep judgment in suspense? Was he in doubt whether to seek for part of the kingdom, or to seize it all? If he took part, both parts would be weakened by disruption of forces and without a doubt exposed to every kind of injury; if he took all, would his elder brother become a private citizen, or an exile at his age and with his weakness of body, or would Attalus in the end order his brother's death? To say nothing of the end of disloyal brothers as told in legend, the fate of Perseus seemed to be a notable example, for as he bowed himself down at the feet of a conquering enemy, he had laid aside in the temple of Samothrace, as if the gods had been there exacting his punishment, that crown which he had seized by means of a brother's murder. The very men, said Stratius, who were egging him on, no friends to him, but foes to Eumenes, would praise his loyalty and steadfastness, if he kept faith with his brother to the end. B.C. 167

XX. This reasoning prevailed on the mind of Attalus. On being presented to the senate, therefore, he offered congratulations on the victory; he explained his services during this war, and those of his brother, such as they were, as well as the revolt of the Galatians [1] which had recently taken place with great disturbance; he requested that the senate should send envoys to the Galatians, to induce them to lay aside their arms. Having delivered these messages in the interest of his state, he asked for Aenus and Maronea for himself.[2] Thus, after dis-

[2] Polybius says this request was not granted, because Attalus had disappointed the Roman hope that he would break with his brother.

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3 petit. Ita destituta eorum spe, qui fratre accusato partitionem regni petiturum crediderant, curia[1] excessit. Raro[2] alias quisquam rex aut privatus tanto favore tantoque omnium adsensu est auditus: omnibus honoribus muneribusque et[3] praesens est cultus et proficiscentem prosecuti sunt.

4 Inter multas Asiae Graciaeque legationes Rhodi-
5 orum maxime legati civitatem converterunt. Nam cum primo in veste candida visi essent, quod et gratulantis decebat, et, si sordidam vestem habuissent, lugentium Persei casum praebere speciem
6 poterant, postquam consulti ab M. Iunio consule patres stantibus in comitio legatis, an locum, lautia[4] senatumque darent, nullum hospitale ius in iis esse[5]
7 servandum censuerunt, egressus e curia consul, cum Rhodii gratulatum se de victoria purgatumque civitatis crimina dicentes venisse petissent, ut senatus
8 sibi daretur, pronuntiat sociis et amicis et alia comiter atque hospitaliter praestare Romanos et senatum dare consuesse: Rhodios non ita meritos eo bello, ut amicorum sociorumque[6] numero habendi sint;
9 his auditis prostraverunt se omnes humi consulemque et cunctos, qui aderant, orantes, ne nova falsaque

[1] curia *Sigonius*: curiam V.
[2] Raro *J. F. Gronovius*: ut raro V.
[3] et *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[4] lautia *Bas*: lautianm V.
[5] in iis esse *Kreyssig*: inisse V.
[6] que *add. Curio*: *om.* V.

[1] Perhaps on the *Graecostasis*, an open platform, from which foreign envoys watched ceremonies; this was later located in the Forum.

[2] Formally, the Rhodians were not allies, having preferred to retain complete independence of action, cf. below xxv. 9.

appointing the hopes of those who had supposed that B.C. 167
he would accuse his brother and seek a division of the kingdom, he left the senate-house. Seldom has anyone else, king or citizen, been heard with as much good will and as much general approval; Attalus was honoured with every mark of attention and gift while he was there, and on his departure he was attended with equal ceremony.

Among the many embassies from Asia and Greece, the envoys of the Rhodians especially drew the city's attention. For they first appeared in white clothes, as was suitable for those offering congratulations—and had they worn soiled clothes, they might have offered the appearance of men mourning for the fall of Perseus. However, after the senate was consulted by Marcus Junius the consul, while the envoys stood in the assembly-ground,[1] whether lodgings, entertainment, and reception before the senate should be provided, and the Fathers had advised that none of the rights of hospitality should be granted in their case, the consul came forth from the senate-house, and in reply to the Rhodians, who said they had come to offer congratulations on the victory and to clear their city of the charges against it, and asked that a session of the senate be held for them, the consul announced that for allies and friends the Romans were accustomed to perform various acts of courtesy and hospitality, one of which was to grant a hearing before the senate, but the Rhodians during this war had not earned the right to be considered in the category of friends and allies.[2] On hearing this, the Rhodians threw themselves on the ground and begged the consul and all who were present not to adopt the principle that new and false charges

A.U.C. 587 crimina plus obesse Rhodiis aequum censerent quam antiqua merita, quorum ipsi testes essent. Extemplo veste sordida sumpta domos principum cum precibus ac lacrimis circumibant orantes, ut prius cognoscerent causam quam condemnarent.[1]

XXI. M'.[2] Iuventius Thalna praetor, cuius inter cives et peregrinos iurisdictio erat, populum adversus Rhodios incitabat rogationemque promulgaverat, ut Rhodiis bellum indiceretur, et ex magistratibus eius anni deligerent qui ad id bellum cum classe mitteretur, se eum sperans futurum esse. Huic actioni M. Antonius et M. Pomponius tribuni plebis adversabantur. Sed et praetor novo maloque exemplo rem ingressus erat, quod non ante consulto senatu, non consulibus certioribus factis de sua unius sententia rogationem ferret, vellent iuberentne Rhodiis bellum indici, cum antea semper prius senatus de bello consultus esset, deinde ex auctoritate[3] patrum ad populum latum, et tribuni plebis, cum ita traditum esset, ne quis prius intercederet legi quam privatis suadendi dissuadendique legem potestas facta esset, eoque persaepe evenisset, ut et[4] qui non professi

[1] condemnarent *Crévier* : condẽ narentur *V*.
[2] M'. *Sigonius* : T. *V*.
[3] ex auctoritate *add. Kreyssig* : *om. V*.
[4] ut et *Kreyssig* : uter *V*.

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[1] Polybius XXX. 4. 5 says this occurred after the activity of Juventius mentioned just below.

[2] There was precedent, however, for action by the assembly over senatorial opposition, see XXI. lxiii. 3; XXXVIII. xxxvi. 8, and the note. A constitutional question is involved : war was regularly declared by the centuriate assembly, the oldest and least democratic gathering; but could the praetor summon this assembly, except for judicial purposes? The

against the Rhodians should outweigh the good B.C. 167
services of long standing of which they themselves were witnesses. Forthwith the Rhodians put on mourning [1] and went the rounds of the houses of the chief men begging with tears and entreaties that they would hear the case before passing sentence.

XXI. Manius Juventius Thalna, the praetor with jurisdiction over suits between citizens and aliens, was stirring up the people against the Rhodians and had announced a motion to declare war against Rhodes and to choose from the magistrates of this year one to be sent to this war with a fleet (Juventius hoped that he would be the one designated). Such action was opposed by Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius, tribunes of the people. But not only had the praetor in the first place undertaken the matter in a novel and dangerous fashion, because he was proposing entirely on his own initiative, without previously consulting the senate or notifying the consuls, to put to the people the question, whether it was their will and command that war should be declared against the Rhodians, whereas previously the senate had always been consulted first about war, and then the question brought before the people on the authority of the senate,[2] but the tribunes also were in the same position, since the custom was that no one should veto a law until opportunity was given to private citizens [3] to argue for and against the law; in this way it had often turned out either that those

decision to relieve Messana which opened the First Punic War is a near parallel, though one faction of the senate led the appeal to the commons (Polybius I. 11. 1–3).

[3] Not excluding magistrates; Livy takes it for granted that they might address a meeting; for examples, see XXXIV. i. 7; v. 1; XLIII. xvi. 8.

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essent se intercessuros, animadversis vitiis legis ex
7 oratione[1] dissuadentium intercederent, et qui ad intercedendum venissent, desisterent victi auctoritatibus suadentium legem. Tum inter praetorem tribunosque omnia intempestive agendi certamen erat;
8 tribuni festinationem praetoris ante tempus intercedendo . . .[2] in adventum imperatoris . . .[3]

XXII. ". . . est. Peccaverimusne adhuc dubium est; poenas, ignominias omnes iam patimur. Antea, Carthaginiensibus victis, Philippo, Antiocho superatis, cum Romam venissemus, ex publico hospitio in curiam gratulatum vobis, patres conscripti, ex curia in Capitolium ad deos vestros dona ferentes ascende-
2 bamus;[4] nunc ex sordido deversorio, vix mercede recepti ac prope hostium more extra urbem manere iussi, in hoc squalore venimus in curiam Romanam Rhodii, quos provinciis nuper Lycia atque Caria, quos praemiis atque honoribus amplissimis donastis.
3 " Et Macedonas Illyriosque liberos esse, ut audimus, iubetis, cum servierint, antequam vobiscum
4 bellarent—nec cuiusquam fortunae invidemus, immo agnoscimus clementiam populi Romani—; Rhodios, qui nihil aliud quam quieverunt hoc bello, hostes

[1] oratione *J. F. Gronovius*: ratione *V*.
[2] *lacunam indicat Sigonius.*
[3] imperatoris *Mantius*: im *V*: *lacuna folii unius.*
[4] ascendebamus *add. Giarratano*: escendebamus *add. Zingerle*: *om. V*.

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[1] Polybius XXX. 4. 6 says that Antonius, who had removed the praetor Juventius from the Rostra, introduced the Rhodians to the senate; Philophron spoke first, then Asty-

who had not announced that they would exercise the veto did so when the faults of the law had been called to their attention by the speeches of those who opposed the law, or that those who had come intending to veto were overborne by the prestige of those who argued for the law. On this occasion the praetor and the tribunes vied with each other in doing everything in the wrong order; the tribunes by their premature veto . . . the haste of the praetor . . . till the arrival of the general . . .[1] B.C. 167

XXII. ". . . is. Whether we have done wrong is so far unproved, but we are already suffering all the penalties and disgrace. In former times, after the defeat of Carthage, when Philip or Antiochus had been subdued, on our arrival in Rome we came from public entertainment to the senate-house to offer you our congratulations, gentlemen of the senate, and from the senate-house we mounted to the Capitol, bearing gifts to your gods. Today from a mean inn, having hardly found shelter for pay and all but ordered like enemies to remain outside the city, we Rhodians in this mourning garb enter the senate-house of Rome—we to whom you lately presented the provinces of Lycia and Caria, who received from you the most unstinted rewards and honours.

" You are bidding the Macedonians and Illyrians be independent, we hear, though they were slaves before they waged war against you—nor are we jealous of anyone's good fortune, nay rather we recognize the mercy of the Roman People; and will you transform us Rhodians from allies into enemies—

medes; Livy undertakes to reproduce the speech of the latter, though it is not found in Polybius, who criticized its tone adversely.

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5 ex sociis facturi estis? Certe iidem[1] vos estis Romani, qui ideo felicia bella vestra esse, quia iusta sint, prae vobis fertis, nec tam exitu eorum, quod vincatis, quam principiis, quod numquam[2] sine causa susci-
6 piatis, gloriamini. Messana in Sicilia oppugnata Carthaginienses, Athenae oppugnatae et Graecia in servitutem petita et adiutus Hannibal pecunia
7 auxiliis Philippum hostem fecerunt. Antiochus ipse ultro ab Aetolis, hostibus vestris, accersitus, ex Asia classe in Graeciam traiecit; Demetriade et Chalcide et saltu Thermopylarum occupato de possessione
8 imperii vos deicere est[3] conatus. Cum Perseo socii vestri oppugnati, aut[4] interfecti reguli principesque gentium aut populorum causa belli vobis fuere.
9 Quem tandem titulum nostra calamitas habitura est, si perituri sumus? nondum segrego civitatis causam a Polyarato et Dinone, civibus nostris, et iis, quos ut traderemus vobis, adduximus. Si omnes Rhodii aeque noxii essemus, quod nostrum in hoc bello
10 crimen esset? Persei partibus favimus et, quemadmodum Antiochi Philippique bello pro vobis adversus reges, sic nunc pro rege adversus vos stetimus.
11 Quemadmodum soleamus socios iuvare et quam impigre capessere bella, C. Livium, L. Aemilium

[1] iidem *Madvig*: quidē V.
[2] numquam *Wesenberg*: num V.
[3] est *add. Novák*: *om.* V. [4] aut *Harant*: alii V.

[1] In XXX. xxvi. 2–4, Livy reports grievances of Greece against Philip and a report of Macedonian aid to Carthage (203 B.C.); he also reports the presence of a Macedonian force at Zama (XXX. xxxiii. 6), though no mention is made of them during the battle; and later (XXX. xlii. 4–9) the ransom of Macedonian prisoners, said to be mercenaries, is discussed. See also XXXI. i. 10. But Polybius says nothing about this aid from Macedonia; Livy may, then, be quoting Roman

us, who have been no worse than inactive in this war? B.C. 167
Surely you are the same Romans who boast that your wars are favoured of Fortune because they are just, nor do you exult as much in the outcome, because you conquer, as in the beginning, because you never undertake war without good cause. The siege of Messana in Sicily made the Carthaginians your enemies, the siege of Athens, the attempted enslavement of Greece and the aid given Hannibal in money and troops made Philip your foe.[1] Antiochus was summoned at the initiative of the Aetolians, your enemies; he crossed in person with his fleet to Greece; he seized Demetrias, Chalcis, and the pass of Thermopylae, and sought to cast you out of the tenure of your empire. With Perseus, your reason for war was the assault upon your allies, or the murder of princes and chiefs of nations or peoples.[2] Under what heading, pray, shall our downfall be placed, if we are to perish? For the present I am not separating the case for the city from Polyaratus and Dinon, our fellow-citizens, and from those whom we brought to hand over to you. If all we Rhodians were equally guilty, what would be the charge against us in this war? It would be that we took the side of Perseus and as we took a stand for you in the wars with Antiochus and with Philip against those kings, so now we sided with the king against you. How we are accustomed to help our allies, and how vigorously we enter into a war, you may ask Gaius Livius,[3] or

rumour. Philip and Hannibal, while opposing Rome, seem to have been suspicious of each other, and each anxious that the other should not profit by the elimination of Rome.

[2] A statement of these charges is found in XLII. xiii and xl.

[3] Cf. XXXVI. ii. 14 and xlii for Livius; XXXVII. ii. 1 and 10; xiv. 1–3, etc., to lviii. 3–5 for Aemilius.

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Regillum interrogate, qui classibus vestris in Asia praefuerunt. Numquam vestrae naves pugnavere
12 sine nobis. Nos [1] nostra classe pugnavimus semel ad Samum, iterum in Pamphylia adversus Hannibalem
13 imperatorem; quae victoria nobis eo gloriosior est, quod, cum ad Samum magnam partem navium adversa pugna et egregiam iuventutem amisissemus, ne tanta quidem clade territi iterum ausi sumus [2]
14 regiae classi ex Syria venienti obviam ire. Haec non gloriandi causa rettuli—neque enim ea nunc nostra est fortuna—sed ut admonerem, quemadmodum adiuvare socios solerent Rhodii.

XXIII. "Praemia et Philippo et [3] Antiocho devictis amplissima accepimus a vobis. Si, quae vestra nunc est fortuna deum benignitate et virtute vestra, ea Persei fuisset, et praemia petitum ad victorem regem venissemus in Macedoniam, quid tandem diceremus?
2 pecuniane a nobis adiutum an frumento? auxiliis terrestribus an navalibus? quod praesidium tenuisse nos? ubi pugnasse aut sub illius ducibus aut [4] per nos
3 ipsos? si quaereret, ubi miles noster, ubi navis intra praesidia sua fuisset, quid responderemus? causam fortasse diceremus apud victorem, quem ad modum
4 apud vos dicimus. Hoc enim legatos utroque [5] de pace mittendo consecuti sumus, ut ne ab utraque

[1] nos *add. Cobet*: *om.* V.
[2] ausi sumus *Fr*: aus V.
[3] Philippo et *add. Weissenborn*: *om.* V.
[4] aut *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[5] utroque de *Fr*: ultraquae V.

Lucius Aemilius Regillus, who commanded your B.C. 167
fleets in Asia. Never did your ships enter battle without ours. We fought independently first at Samos, and again off Pamphylia against the command of Hannibal: this victory gives us the more pride because, undismayed by the terrible catastrophe by which we had lost in the defeat at Samos a large part of our fleet and a splendid group of young men,[1] we dared to go out again to meet the king's fleet as it approached from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not for the sake of boasting, for indeed our present fortune does not permit that, but to make it clear how the Rhodians are accustomed to aid their allies.

XXIII. "The rewards which we received from you after the conquest of Philip and of Antiochus were most abundant.[2] If the good fortune which is now yours by the grace of the gods and because of your valour had fallen to Perseus, and we had come to Macedonia to seek a reward from the victorious king, what pray would we say? That we had aided him with money or with grain, with forces on land or on sea? What fortress had we held? Where had we fought either under his commanders or by ourselves? If he asked where there had been a soldier of ours, or where a ship, within his lines, what in the world would be our answer? Perhaps we should be defending ourselves before the conqueror, as now we are before you. For the result we obtained by sending envoys to both parties concerning peace was that we

[1] Livy tells of these battles in XXXVII. x–xi and XXXVII. xxiii–xxiv respectively.

[2] These are enumerated in XXXIII. xxx. 11 and XXXVIII. xxxix. 13 respectively.

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parte gratiam iniremus, ab altera etiam crimen et periculum esset. Quamquam Perseus vere obiceret, id quod vos non potestis, patres conscripti, nos principio belli misisse ad vos legatos, qui pollicerentur vobis, quae ad bellum opus essent; navibus,[1] armis, iuventute nos,[2] sicut prioribus bellis, ad omnia paratos fore. Ne praestaremus, per vos stetit, qui de quacumque causa tum aspernati nostra auxilia estis. Neque fecimus igitur quicquam tamquam[3] hostes, neque bonorum sociorum defuimus officio, sed a vobis prohibiti praestare fuimus. "Quid igitur? nihilne factum neque dictum est in civitate vestra, Rhodii, quod nolletis, quo merito offenderetur populus Romanus?" Hinc iam non, quod factum est, sum[4] defensurus—non adeo insanio—, sed publicam causam a privatorum culpa segregaturus. Nulla[5] est civitas, quae non et improbos cives aliquando et imperitam multitudinem semper habeat. Etiam apud vos fuisse audivi, qui adsentando multitudini grassarentur, et secessisse aliquando a vobis plebem nec in potestate vestra rem publicam fuisse. Si hoc in hac tam bene morata civitate accidere potuit, mirari quisquam potest aliquos fuisse apud nos, qui regis amicitiam petentes plebem nostram consiliis depravarent?

[1] navibus *J. F. Gronovius*: navalibus V.
[2] nos *Pluygers*: nostra V: nos nostra *Drakenborch*.
[3] tamquam *Fr*: tam V.
[4] sum *add. Fr, Novák*: *om.* V.
[5] nulla *Madvig*: nullam V.

[1] The story of this offer, and of the dismissal of the Rhodians as soon as they appeared at the Roman naval station, is told in XLII. xlv; lvi. 6; and Polybius XXVII. 7(6).

won no favour from either side, but incurred even B.C. 167
accusation and danger from one of them. Yet Perseus might truly reproach us, as you cannot, gentlemen of the senate, because we sent to you at the beginning of the war envoys to promise you whatever was needed for the war; we would be ready, we said, as in the former wars, with ships, arms, and young men for every demand. The obstacle to our furnishing these things was of your making, since you for whatever reason spurned our aid at that time.[1] Neither therefore have we in any way acted as enemies, nor have we failed in the duty of good allies, but we were prevented from performing that duty by you. 'What then? Has nothing been said or done in your city, Rhodians, which you would wish undone, at which the Roman People might justly take offence?' From this point I do not propose to defend what has happened—I am not so mad—but I propose to separate the defence of the state from the guilt of private citizens. There is no state which will not have not only wicked citizens at certain times but an inexperienced commonalty always. Even in your city I hear that there have been those who pursued ill-gotten gain by toadying to the mob, and that at certain times the commons seceded from you and you lost control of the commonwealth.[2] If this could happen in a state with so well disciplined a character, can any one marvel that there were some among us who in grasping after the king's friendship led our commons astray with their

[2] Presumably the reference is to the struggles of patricians and plebeians, cf. III. xli. 5–6 and many other passages; for more recent instances, see above, p. 312, note 2.

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qui tamen nihil ultra valuerunt, quam ut in officio
11 cessaremus. Non praeteribo [1] id, quod gravissimum est in hoc bello crimen civitatis nostrae: legatos eodem tempore et ad vos et ad Persea de pace misimus; quod infelix consilium furiosus, ut postea
12 audivimus, orator stultissimum fecit, quem sic locutum constat, tamquam C. Popilius legatus Romanus, quem ad summovendos a bello Antiochum et Ptole-
13 maeum reges misistis, loqueretur. Sed tamen ea sive superbia, sive stultitia appellanda est, eadem,
14 quae apud vos, et apud Persea fuit. Tam civitatium quam singulorum hominum mores sunt; gentes quoque aliae iracundae, aliae audaces, quaedam timidae, in vinum, in venerem proniores aliae sunt.
15 Atheniensium populum fama est celerem et supra vires audacem esse ad conandum. Lacedaemoniorum cunctatorem et vix in ea, quibus fidit, ingredientem.
16 Non negaverim et totam Asiae regionem inaniora parere ingenia, et nostrorum tumidiorem sermonem esse, quod excellere inter finitimas civitates videamur, et id ipsum non tam viribus nostris quam vestris
17 honoribus ac iudiciis. Satis quidem et tunc in praesentia castigata illa legatio erat, cum tam tristi responso vestro dimissa. Si tum parum ignominiae pensum est, haec certe tam miserabilis ac sup-

[1] cessaremus. Non praeteribo *Fr*: caesaremnonutinonpraeteriuo *V*.

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[1] The implication that the aristocracy of Rhodes favoured Rome is another indication of a situation found in many states. Cf. XLII. xxx. 1.

[2] This seems to be directly out of Thucydides I. 70–71, and must have been supplied by Livy, for Athens and Sparta had

counsel?[1] However, these people wrought no B.C. 167
harm beyond slackness in our loyalty as friends. I shall not pass over the most serious charge against our city in this war: we sent envoys at the same time both to you and to Perseus on the subject of peace; this unhappy plan, through a madman, as we heard later, who was spokesman, became something extremely stupid, for he spoke, it is well known, as the Roman envoy Gaius Popilius might have spoken, whom you sent to turn back from war Kings Antiochus and Ptolemy. But nevertheless this error, whether it should be called arrogance or folly, was no different before you from what it was before Perseus. The character of states is like that of individual men; some nations are hot-tempered, some bold, some diffident, some over-indulgent in wine, others in sex. The people of Athens, report has it, is quick and bold beyond its strength in adventure, the Spartan hesitant and hardly undertaking matters of which it is sure.[2] I would not deny that all the region of Asia breeds somewhat flighty temperaments, and that our rhetoric is rather inflated[3] because we might seem to be outstanding among the states in our area—a position due precisely not to our own powers but to your favours and your choice of us. Enough punishment was meted out to that embassy on the spot and to their faces, when they were sent away with so grim an answer from you. But if at that time they paid too small a penalty of disgrace, certainly the present embassy, so

not been conspicuous for these tendencies in the second century.

[3] But Cicero expressly acquits the Rhodians of indulging in "Asianic" oratory, *Orator* viii. 25.

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plex legatio etiam insolentioris, quam illa fuit, le-
18 gationis satis magnum piaculum esset. Superbiam, verborum praesertim, iracundi oderunt, prudentes inrident,[1] utique si inferioris adversus superiorem est: capitali poena nemo umquam dignam iudicavit.
19 Id enimvero periculum erat, ne Romanos Rhodii contemnerent. Etiam deos aliqui verbis ferocioribus increpant, nec ideo[2] quemquam fulmine ictum audimus.

XXIV. "Quid igitur superat, quod purgemus,[3] si nec factum hostile ullum nostrum est, et[4] verba tumidiora legati offensionem aurium, non perniciem
2 civitatis meruerunt? Voluntatis nostrae tacitae[5] velut litem aestimari vestris inter vos sermonibus audio, patres conscripti: favisse nos regi et illum vincere maluisse, ideo bello persequendos esse
3 credunt alii; alii[6] vestrum voluisse quidem nos hoc, non tamen ob id bello persequendos esse; neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse ut, si qui velit[7] inimicum perire, si[8] nihil
4 fecerit, quo id fiat, capitis damnetur. His, qui nos poena, non crimine liberant, gratiam quidem habe-

[1] inrident *Curio*: inriderent *V*.
[2] nec ideo *Kreyssig*: neeocid *V*.
[3] purgemus *J. F. Gronovius*: purgamus *V*.
[4] et *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[5] tacitae *I. Perizonius*: tacite *V*.
[6] alii *add. Heusinger*: *om. V*.
[7] velit *Vahlen*: vellet *V*.
[8] si *Vascosanus*: utsii *V*.

[1] A sin-offering, as if to gods.
[2] Cf. the Guard to Creon in *Antigone* 317: "Are you stung in the ear, or in the mind?"
[3] Appraisal of damages was an important part of Roman

pitiable and so humble, would be atonement[1] great enough for an even more arrogant embassy than that other one was. Arrogance, especially of speech, is hated by the hot-tempered, but laughed at by the wise, especially if directed by an inferior against his superior; no one has ever thought it worthy of the death-penalty. There was danger, to be sure, that the Rhodians should despise the Romans! Even the gods are assailed by some with overbold language, but we have never heard that any one has on that account been struck by a thunderbolt. B.C. 167

XXIV. "What then remains, of which we must clear ourselves, if there was never a hostile action on our part, and if the overweening words of an envoy should produce a disgust of the ear,[2] not the ruin of a city? I hear that in conversations among yourselves an appraisal of damages, so as to speak, is being made for our unexpressed desire;[3] some believe, gentlemen of the senate, that we favoured the king and preferred that he should win, and that therefore we should be punished by armed force; others of you feel that we did, to be sure, have this desire, but that we should not on that account be punished by armed force, for, they say, there is no provision in the law, written or unwritten, of any state that he who desires the death of his enemy, but does nothing to bring it about, shall incur capital punishment. To these men who free us of the penalty, but not of the guilt, we are indeed

legal procedure, both civil and criminal; establishment of fines by statute was rare. The Rhodian is continuing the figure of the prejudged case. The "unexpressed desire" was for Perseus' success, so the Romans thought; the Rhodians' actual preference was probably for a stalemate, since they thrived on the balance of power.

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mus; ipsi nobis hanc dicimus legem: si omnes voluimus,[1] quod arguimur—non distinguimus voluntatem a facto—, omnes plectamur; si alii principum nostrorum vobis, alii regi faverunt, non postulo ut propter nos, qui partium vestrarum fuimus, regis fautores salvi sint; illud deprecor, ne nos propter illos 6 pereamus. Non estis vos illis infestiores, quam civitas est[2] ipsa; et hoc quia[3] sciebant, plerique eorum aut profugerunt aut mortem sibi consciverunt; alii damnati a nobis in potestate vestra erunt, patres 7 conscripti. Ceteri Rhodii sicut gratiam nullam meriti hoc bello, ita ne poenam quidem sumus. Priorum nostrorum benefactorum cumulus hoc, quod nunc 8 cessatum in officio est, expleat. Cum tribus regibus gessistis bella per hos annos; ne plus obsit nobis, quod uno bello cessavimus, quam quod duobus bellis 9 pro vobis pugnavimus. Philippum, Antiochum, Persea tamquam tris sententias ponite: duae nos absolvunt, una[4] dubia est: ut gravior sit, illi de nobis si[4] iudicarent, damnati essemus; vos iudicatis, patres conscripti, sit Rhodus in terris an funditus 10 deleatur: non enim de bello deliberatis, patres conscripti, quod inferre potestis, gerere non potestis, cum nemo Rhodiorum arma adversus vos sit[5] laturus. 11 Si perseverabitis in ira, tempus a vobis petemus,

[1] voluimus *Vascosanus*: volumus *V*.
[2] est *Madvig*: et *V*. [3] quia *I. Perizonius*: qui *V*.
[4] una *Fr*: una aut *V*: si *add. Fr*: *om. V*: *cola ita disposuit H. J. Müller. Post legere vult:* una aut dubia es taut gravior. Sit: illi de nobis iudicarent, damnati essemus. "one is either undecided, or rather unfavourable. Be it so, they would be passing judgement, whether we were guilty or not guilty."

grateful; but these are the terms which we ourselves B.C. 167
set for ourselves: if we all have willed that of which we are accused—we do not separate the will from the deed—let us all suffer the penalty; but if some of our leaders favoured you, and others the king, I do not ask that because of us who sided with you the partizans of the king should be untouched; I merely beg that we may not perish because of them. You are no more hostile to them than is our state itself, and because they knew this, many of them have either fled or committed suicide; others who have been found guilty by us will be placed in your hands, gentlemen of the senate. The rest of us at Rhodes have no more deserved punishment during this war than we have deserved gratitude, either. Let the store of our previous helpful acts make good the present omission of service. You have waged wars against three kings during these years; let not our slackness in one war be, to our hurt, of more importance than the fact that we fought on your side in two wars. Take account of Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus as if of the vote of three judges; two acquit us, the third is undecided; suppose that it is for our condemnation; even so, if the Kings were judging us, we should indeed lose our case, but your judgment, gentlemen of the senate, determines whether Rhodes shall exist on earth or shall be destroyed root and branch. For you are not deliberating about war, gentlemen of the senate; you can declare it, but you cannot wage it, for not a man of Rhodes will bear arms against you. If you will not abate your wrath, we shall ask of you time in which to report

[5] sit *add. Novák*: *om. V.*

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quo hanc funestam legationem domum referamus; omnia libera capita, quidquid Rhodiorum virorum feminarum est, cum omni pecunia nostra naves con-
12 scendemus ac relictis penatibus publicis privatisque Romam veniemus et omni auro et argento, quidquid publici, quidquid[1] privati est, in comitio, in vestibulo curiae vestrae cumulato, corpora nostra coniugumque ac liberorum vestrae potestati permittemus, hic
13 passuri, quodcumque patiendum erit; procul ab oculis nostris urbs nostra diripiatur, incendatur.
14 Hostis Rhodios esse Romani iudicare possunt, facere non possunt;[2] est enim et nostrum aliquod de nobis iudicium, quo numquam iudicabimus[3] nos vestros hostis, nec quicquam hostile, etiam si omnia patiemur, faciemus."

XXV. Secundum talem orationem universi rursus prociderunt supplices[4] ramosque oleae iactantes; tandem excitati curia excesserunt. Tunc sententiae
2 interrogari coeptae. Infestissimi Rhodiis erant, qui consules praetoresve aut legati gesserant in Macedonia bellum. Plurimum causam eorum adiuvit M. Porcius Cato, qui, asper ingenio, tum lenem mitemque
3 senatorem egit. Non inseram simulacrum viri copiosi,[5] quae dixerit referendo: ipsius oratio scripta

[1] quidquid . . . quidquid *Fr*: quaequod . . . quid *V*.
[2] possunt, facere non possunt *Vahlen*: possunt teste *V*: possunt, teste se *Harant*.
[3] quo . . . iudicabimus *J. F. Gronovius*: quod . . . iudicauimus *V*.
[4] supplices *ibi posuit Boot*: *post* oleae *V*.

home on this fatal mission; every free person, every B.C. 167
man and every woman of us in Rhodes will embark on ships with all our money and, abandoning our homes and our altars, will come to Rome; we will heap up in the assembly-ground and in the entry of your senate-house all our gold and our silver, whether owned by the state or its citizens, and will put our persons and those of our wives and children in your power, that we may suffer here whatever we must suffer;[1] far from our sight be the plundering and burning of our city. The Romans may judge that the Rhodians are enemies, but they cannot make them so. For we have also in us the power of passing judgment on ourselves, and we shall never adjudge ourselves your enemies, nor commit any act of hostility, though we suffer the utmost disaster."

XXV. Following a speech to this effect all the envoys again cast themselves down in the posture of suppliants, waving their olive-branches; after some time they were made to rise and left the senate-house. Then the roll-call of opinions began. The chief enemies of the Rhodians were those who had been conducting the war in Macedonia as consuls, praetors, or staff-officers. Great aid to the cause of Rhodes was given by Marcus Porcius Cato, who, though of a harsh temperament, on this occasion played the part of a tolerant and mild senator. I shall not include here a pale wraith of this eloquent man by reporting what he said; his own speech is

[1] Livy perhaps had in mind the appeal of the whole people of Tusculum, VIII. xxxvii. 9.

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[5] viri copiosi, quae *Fr*: uiricopiasidque *V*: veri, copiose quae *Madvig*.

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4 extat, Originum quinto libro inclusa. Rhodiis responsum ita redditum est ut nec hostes fierent nec socii permanerent.

Philocrates et Astymedes principes legationis erant. 5 Partim[1] cum Philocrate renuntiare Rhodum legationem placuit, partim cum Astymede Romae subsistere, qui[2] quae agerentur scirent[3] certioresque suos 6 facerent.[4] In praesentia deducere ante certam diem ex Lycia Cariaque iusserunt praefectos. Haec Rhodum nuntiata, quae per se tristia fuissent, quia maioris mali levatus erat timor, cum bellum timuissent, in gaudium 7 verterunt.[5] Itaque extemplo coronam viginti milium aureorum decreverunt; Theodotum, praefectum classis, in eam legationem miserunt. Societatem ab Romanis ita volebant peti ut nullum de ea re scitum populi fieret aut litteris mandaretur, quod, nisi impetrarent, maior a repulsa ignominia[6] esset. 8 Praefecti classis id unius erat ius, ut agere de ea re sine rogatione ulla perlata posset.

9 Nam ita per tot annos in amicitia fuerant, ut sociali foedere se cum Romanis non inligarent, ob nullam

[1] partim *Madvig*: partem V.
[2] qui *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om.* V.
[3] scirent *J. F. Gronovius*: sciret V.
[4] facerent *J. F. Gronovius*: faceret V.
[5] verterunt *Heusinger*: renuntiata uerierunt V.
[6] a repulsa ignominia *Kreyssig*: apulsaisnomina V.

[1] Small parts of this speech are reported by Gellius VI (VII) 3, especially 35. 37. 50, where arguments appear which Livy puts into the mouth of the Rhodian. Cato was an anti-imperialist, at least as to expansion eastward, which involved contact with what he regarded as the debilitating culture of Greece, so that his attitude in this matter was sincere, not a pose.

preserved in written form, as part of the fifth book of B.C. 167
his "Beginnings."[1] The reply to the Rhodians was couched in such form that they were neither declared enemies nor continued to be allies.

Philocrates and Astymedes were the leaders of this embassy. It was decided that some of them with Philocrates should report to Rhodes about the embassy, while some remained at Rome with Astymedes to keep track of what was being done and inform their people. For the time being orders were given that they should withdraw their governors from Lycia and Caria by a certain date. These actions were reported at Rhodes; of themselves they would have been grievous, but were turned into a cause for rejoicing, because the Rhodians were relieved of fear of a greater evil, since they had feared war. So they immediately voted a crown of twenty thousand gold pieces. They sent Theodotus,[2] the admiral of their fleet, on this embassy. They wanted to ask the Romans for an alliance in such fashion that no decree of the people concerning it should be passed or committed to dispatches, because if they did not obtain their request, the disgrace of an open repulse would be greater. The admiral of the fleet alone had the right to negotiate for such a purpose without the passing of any enabling resolution.

For the Rhodians had for all these years[3] maintained their friendship in such a way as not to bind themselves to the Romans by any treaty of alliance,

[2] Frequently mentioned by Polybius as a pro-Roman, *e.g.*, XXVII. 14 (11), where the name is given as Theaedetus.

[3] Polybius XXX. 5. 6 says 140 years; the first embassy from Rhodes recorded by Livy in the extant text is over 100 years later, in 201 B.C., XXXI. ii. 1.

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aliam causam, quam ne spem regibus absciderent auxilii sui, si quid[1] opus esset, neu sibi ipsis fructus
10 ex benignitate et fortuna eorum percipiendi. Tunc utique petenda societas videbatur, non quae tutiores eos ab aliis faceret—nec enim timebant quemquam praeter Romanos—sed quae ipsis Romanis minus suspectos.

11 Sub idem fere tempus et Caunii descivere ab iis, et
12 Mylassenses Euromensium oppida occuparunt. Non ita fracti animi civitatis erant, ut non sentirent, si Lycia et Caria ademptae ab Romanis forent, cetera aut se ipsa per defectionem liberarent aut a finitimis occuparentur, includi se insulae parvae et sterilis agri litoribus, quae nequaquam alere tantae urbis popu-
13 lum posset. Missa igitur iuventute propere et Caunios, quamquam Cibyratarum asciverant auxilia, coegerunt imperio parere; et Mylassensis Alabandensisque, qui Euromensium[2] provinciam ademptum et ipsi coniuncto exercitu venerant,[3] circa Orthosiam acie vicerunt.

XXVI. Dum haec ibi, alia in Macedonia, alia Romae[4] geruntur, interim in[5] Illyrico L. Anicius rege Gentio, sicut ante dictum est, in potestatem redacto

[1] quid *Kreyssig*: quodid *V*.
[2] Alabandensisque, qui Euromensium *Bekker*: alabandeniquequialabande siumeuroaemensium *V*.
[3] et . . . venerant *Madvig*: at . . . venerunt *V*.
[4] Romae *Fr*: Romae in Asia *V*.
[5] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

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[1] Alabanda and Mylassa lay to north and south, respectively, of Euromus. Rhodes had been interested in Euromus for some time, as shown by XXXII. xxxiii. 6, and probably by XXXIII. xxx. 3. If Livy's order of events is right, this early interest would explain why Rhodes kept Euromus, after the

precisely for the purpose of not cutting off hope on the part of the kings that they would come to their aid, if need arose, as well as their own hope of reaping a harvest from the good will and good fortune of the kings. At this time they felt that they should by all means seek an alliance, not to protect themselves against other peoples, for they feared no one but the Romans, but to alleviate the Romans' suspicion of themselves. B.C. 167

At about the same time the Caunians revolted from them, and Mylassa seized the towns of the Euromenses. The spirit of Rhodes was not so broken that they did not perceive that if Lycia and Caria were taken away by the Romans, and the rest of their possessions either freed themselves by revolt or were seized by the neighbours, they would be hemmed in by the shores of a small island of infertile soil, which could by no means support the population of so large a city. Troops were therefore promptly sent and the Caunians compelled to accept their rule, even though forces of Cibyra were called in by the Caunians. Mylassa too and Alabanda, which had also come to join Mylassa in taking away the province of Euromus,[1] were defeated in battle near Orthosia.

XXVI. While these events were occuring in Asia, and the previously-mentioned events in Macedonia and at Rome, in Illyricum meanwhile, after taking King Gentius into custody, as previously related, Lucius Anicius put Gabinius in charge of the garrison

"liberation" of Caria by the Romans; but Polybius puts the "liberation" after an interval following the return of the embassy, and the fighting may have taken place during this interval. Mylassa was left "tax-exempt," presumably autonomous, by the settlement with Antiochus, XXXVIII. xxxix. 8.

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2 Scodrae, quae regia fuerat, praesidio imposito Gabinium praefecit, Rhizoni et Olcinio, urbibus 3 opportunis, C. Licinium. Praepositis his Illyrico, reliquo exercitu[1] in Epirum est profectus. Ubi prima Phanote ei dedita est omni multitudine[2] cum 4 infulis obviam effusa. Hinc[3] praesidio imposito in Molossidem transgressus, cuius omnibus oppidis praeter Passaronem et Tecmonem et Phylacen et Horreum receptis primum ad Passaronem ducit. 5 Antinous et Theodotus principes eius civitatis erant, insignes et favore Persei et odio adversus Romanos; iidem universae genti auctores desciscendi ab 6 Romanis. Hi conscientia privatae noxae, quia ipsis nulla spes veniae erat, ut communi ruina patriae opprimerentur, clauserunt portas, multitudinem ut 7 mortem servituti praeponerent hortantes. Nemo adversus praepotentis viros hiscere audebat; tandem Theodotus quidam, nobilis et ipse adulescens, cum maior a Romanis metus timorem a principibus suis vicisset,

"Quae vos rabies" inquit "agitat, qui duorum hominum noxae civitatem accessionem facitis?[4] 8 Equidem pro patria qui letum oppetissent, saepe fando audivi; qui[5] patriam pro se perire aequum censerent, hi primi inventi sunt. Quin aperimus

[1] reliquo exercitu *Wesenberg*: reliquae exercitum V.
[2] dedita est omni multitudine *Madvig*: dedita totomniummultitudinem V.
[3] hinc *Duker*: hic V.
[4] civitatem . . . facitis *J. F. Gronovius*: civitates . . . factis V.
[5] qui *add. Fr*: *om.* V.

[1] They were on the coast.
[2] A different district of Epirus, Phanote being in Chaonia.

placed in Scodra, the capital, and Gaius Licinius in charge of the strategic cities [1] of Rhizon and Olcinium. After putting these men in charge of Illyricum, Anicius marched into Epirus with the rest of his army. In that region, Phanote the first city surrendered to him, all its population coming out with fillets to meet him. He placed a garrison here and passed on to Molossis,[2] and on recovery of all of its cities except Passaron, Tecmon, Phylace, and Horreum, he led his force first against Passaron. Antinoüs and Theodotus were the leading men of this city, distinguished both by their attachment to Perseus and their hatred of the Romans, and likewise responsible for the defection of the whole people from the Romans.[3] Because of their feeling of personal guilt, since there was no hope of pardon for them, these men shut the gates, in order to be buried in the general downfall of their city, and urged the people to prefer death to slavery. No one dared open his mouth against such all-powerful men. At last a certain Theodotus, a youth of equal rank, spoke out, his dread of the Romans outweighing his timidity before the chief men of his city. B.C. 167

"What is this madness," said he, "which is goading you, that you make the state an accessory to the crime of two men? Certainly I have often heard tales of those who met death for the fatherland; but these are the first ever known to believe that the fatherland ought to die for them. Why do we not

[3] Polybius XXVII. 15 (13) and XXX. 7 says that at the outset of the war, the Epirote leaders, including Antinoüs and the Cephalus mentioned below, wished to keep out of the war, though maintaining their alliance with Rome; but Charops the younger, by traducing them to Rome, compelled them to declare for Perseus in order to avoid arrest by the Romans.

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portas et imperium accipimus, quod orbis terrarum accepit?"

9 Haec dicentem cum multitudo sequeretur, Antinous et Theodotus in primam stationem hostium inruperunt atque ibi offerentes se ipsi volneribus
10 interfecti: urbs dedita est Romanis. Simili pertinacia Cephali principis[1] clausum Tecmonem ipso interfecto per deditionem recepit. Nec Phylace nec
11 Horreum oppugnationem tulerunt. Pacata Epiro divisisque in hiberna copiis per opportunas urbes, regressus ipse in Illyricum Scodrae, quo quinque legati ab Roma venerant, evocatis ex tota provincia
12 principibus conventum habuit. Ibi pro tribunali pronuntiavit de sententia consilii senatum populumque Romanum Illyrios esse liberos iubere; praesidia ex omnibus oppidis, arcibus,[2] castellis sese
13 deducturum. Non solum liberos, sed etiam immunes fore Issenses et Taulantios. Dassaretiorum Pirustas, Rhizonitas, Olciniatas, quod incolumi
14 Gentio ad Romanos defecissent. Daorsis quoque immunitatem dare, quod relicto Caravantio cum armis ad Romanos transissent. Scodrensibus et Dassarensibus et Selepitanis ceterisque Illyriis vectigal dimidium eius, quod regi pependissent,[3]
15 impositum.[4] Inde in tres partes Illyricum divisit. Unam eam fecit, quae supra Pistam[5] est, alteram Labeatas omnis, tertiam Agravonitas et Rhizonitas

[1] Cephali principis *J. F. Gronovius*: cepalonis principiis *V*.

[2] arcibus *Wesenberg*: arciuusest *V*.

[3] pependissent *Sigonius*: pendissent *V*.

[4] impositum *add. Heraeus*: *om. V*.

[5] quae supra Pistam *C. Müller*: q supra dictam *V*: Issam *Madvig*.

open our gates and accept the overlordship which B.C. 167
the world has accepted?"

When the crowd concurred with these remarks, Antinoüs and Theodotus charged into the first outpost of the enemy and, exposing themselves to wounds, were there killed; the city was surrendered to the Romans. By similar obstinacy on the part of Cephalus, the leading citizen, Tecmon was closed, but when he was killed, it was recovered by surrender. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood up against attack. When order had been established in Epirus, and the troops distributed in winter quarters among suitable cities, Anicius returned to Illyricum, summoned the chief men from all his theatre of operations, and held a conference at Scodra, where the five commissioners from Rome had arrived. There he announced as officer in charge, on the advice of his council, that the Roman senate and people gave the Illyrians their freedom; he would remove his garrisons from all towns, citadels, and forts. Not only freedom, but tax-exemption as well would be granted, he said, to the people of Issa and Taulantia, and to the Pirustae among the Dassareti as well as to Rhizon and Olcinium, because they had gone over to the Romans while Gentius was still undefeated. The Daorsi would also be granted tax-exemption, because they had abandoned Caravantius and gone over with their arms to the Romans. On the people of Scodra, the Dassarenses, the Selepitani, and the rest of the Illyrians a tax was laid of half what they had paid to the king. Next, Anicius divided Illyricum into three parts. He made the first of these the region above Pista, the second all the Labeatae, and the third the Agravonitae, Rhizon

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et Olciniatas accolasque eorum. Hac formula dicta Illyrico [1] ipse inde [2] Epiri Passaronem in hiberna redit.

XXVII. Dum haec in Illyrico geruntur, Paulus ante adventum decem legatorum Q. Maximum filium iam ab Roma regressum ad Aeginium et Agassas diripiendas mittit, Agassas, quod, cum Marcio consuli tradidissent urbem petita ultro societate Romana, defecerant rursus ad Persea; Aeginiensium novum crimen erat: famae de victoria Romanorum fidem non habentes in quosdam militum urbem ingressos hostiliter [3] saevierant. Ad Aeniorum quoque urbem diripiendam L. Postumium misit, quod pertinacius quam finitimae civitates in armis fuerant.

Autumni fere tempus erat; cuius temporis initio ad circumeundam Graeciam visendaque, quae [4] nobilitata fama maiora auribus accepta sunt quam oculis noscuntur, uti [5] statuit. Praeposito castris C. Sulpicio Gallo profectus cum haud magno comitatu, tegentibus latera Scipione filio et Athenaeo, Eumenis regis fratre, per Thessaliam Delphos petit,

[1] Illyrico *Madvig*: in Illyrico V.
[2] inde *Harant*: in V.
[3] hostiliter *Kreyssig*: quoque hostiliter urbem V.
[4] quae *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[5] uti *Madvig*: ut V.

[1] This seems to be another version, or another phase, of the episode recorded in XLIV. xlvi. 3; if, as seems likely, Aeginium was in north-western Thessaly, its adherence to Perseus was more of a fault; but Paulus seems to have been looking for reasons which would justify the acquisition of plunder by the army. If, as Livy's arrangement implies, but does not make

and Olcinium and their neighbours. After announcing this charter for Illyricum, Anicius returned from there into Epirus to his winter-quarters at Passaron. B.C. 167

XXVII. While these events were occurring in Illyricum, Paulus sent his son Quintus Maximus, who had by this time returned from Rome, to sack Aeginium and Agassae before the arrival of the ten commissioners. In the case of Agassae, the reason was that, although they had surrendered their city to the consul Marcius with a voluntary request for alliance with Rome, they had again gone over to Perseus. The fault of Aeginium was recent; because they did not believe the rumour about the Roman victory, they had cruelly treated as enemies certain soldiers who had entered their city.[1] Paulus also sent Lucius Postumius to sack the city of Aenia, because they had maintained resistance more stubbornly than the neighbouring cities.

It was about the season of autumn; Paulus decided to employ the beginning of this season travelling about Greece and seeing the sights which are made so famous by repute that they are greater by hearsay than by visual acquaintance. Putting Gaius Sulpicius Gallus in charge of the camp, he set out with no large escort, his son Scipio and Athenaeus, the brother of King Eumenes, serving as his personal aides. He went through Thessaly to Delphi, the

[1] certain, these events occurred a year after the fall of Perseus, the justification for them is thin. Assuming this time-interval, however, we may suppose that the arrangements of the senate (xvii. 1) were made with the benefit of advice from Paulus, and that Paulus' sightseeing mentioned below was more in order than it would have been soon after the battle of Pydna.

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7 inclutum oraculum. Ubi sacrificio Apollini facto inchoatas in vestibulo columnas, quibus imposituri statuas regis Persei fuerant, suis statuis victor destinavit. 8 Lebadiae quoque templum Iovis Trophonii adit; ibi cum vidisset os specus, per quod oraculo utentes sciscitatum deos descendunt, sacrificio Iovi Hercynnaeque facto, quorum ibi templum est, Chalcidem ad spectaculum Euripi Euboeaeque, tantae [1] insulae, 9 ponte continenti iunctae descendit. A Chalcide Aulidem traicit, trium milium spatio distantem, portum inclutum statione quondam mille navium Agamemnoniae classis, Dianaeque templum, ubi navibus cursum ad Troiam filia victima aris admota 10 rex ille regum petiit. Inde Oropum [2] Atticae ventum est, ubi pro deo vates antiquus [3] colitur templumque vetustum est fontibus rivisque circa 11 amoenum; Athenas inde, plenas quidem et ipsas vetustae [4] famae, multa tamen visenda habentis, arcem, portus, muros Piraeum urbi iungentis, navalia, monumenta [5] magnorum imperatorum, simulacra

[1] Euripi Euboeaeque, tantae *Weissenborn*: euripiaeuoque ante *V*.
[2] petiit. Inde Oropum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] antiquus *Kreyssig*: anticum *V*.
[4] vetustae *Köhler*: vetustate *V*.
[5] monumenta *add. Crévier*: *om. V*.

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[1] Polybius XXX. 10. 2 (14) reports the statues as actually erected.

[2] The identification of the oracular hero Trophonius with Zeus seems to be unofficial, though Strabo IX. ii. 38 (p. 414) also makes it. A description of the sanctuary, including the shrine of Hercynna, a nymph of a spring and stream, is given by Pausanias IX. xxxix.

[3] The ships enumerated in Homer's Catalogue are 1186;

famous oracular shrine. There he offered sacrifice B.C. 167
to Apollo, and when he saw the columns which had been begun at the entrance, on which they were going to place statues of King Perseus, he reserved them for his own statues as conqueror.[1] At Lebadia also he visited the shrine of Jupiter Trophonius;[2] there he viewed the mouth of the cave through which those who use the oracle go down to make their inquiries of the gods, and offered sacrifice to Jupiter and Hercynna, whose temple is there. Paulus then went down to Chalcis to see the spectacle of the Euripus and of that great island Euboea which is joined by a bridge to the mainland. From Chalcis he crossed to Aulis, three miles away, with its harbour famous as the anchorage once upon a time for the thousand ships[3] of Agamemnon's fleet, and its temple of Diana, where the renowned king of kings sought passage to Troy for his ships by bringing his daughter as a victim to the altar. Thence Paulus went to Oropus in Attica, where an ancient prophet is worshipped as a god, and there is an old temple made charming by springs and streams around it.[4] Thence he went to Athens, which is also replete with ancient glory, but nevertheless has many notable sights, the Acropolis, the harbours, the walls joining Piraeus to the city, the shipyards, the monuments of great

but the round number appears in Aeschylus, Vergil, and other poets before Marlowe.

[4] The "ancient prophet" was Amphiaraüs, of the Seven against Thebes. His sanctuary was established, according to archaeological evidence, near the end of the fifth century, and became a modest spa, which was favoured by the Romans; in 73 B.C., Amphiaraüs was officially recognized as a god by the consuls, with Cicero's assistance, and his lands were therefore tax-exempt, see Pausanias I. xxxiv and Fraser's note.

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deorum hominumque, omni genere et materiae et artium insignia.

XXVIII. Sacrificio Minervae, praesidi arcis, in urbe facto profectus Corinthum altero die pervenit. 2 Urbs erat tunc praeclara ante excidium; arx quoque et Isthmus praebuere spectaculum; arx intra moenia [1] in immanem altitudinem edita, scatens fontibus; Isthmus duo maria ab [2] occasu et ortu solis finitima artis faucibus dirimens. Sicyonem inde et Argos, nobiles urbes, adit; inde haud parem opibus 3 Epidaurum, sed inclutam Aesculapi nobili templo, quod quinque milibus passuum ab urbe distans nunc vestigiis revolsorum donorum, tum donis dives erat, quae remediorum salutarium aegri mercedem sacra- 4 verant deo. Inde Lacedaemonem adit, non operum magnificentia, sed disciplina institutisque memorabilem: [3] unde per Megalopolim Olympiam escendit. 5 Ubi et alia quidem spectanda ei [4] visa; Iovem velut praesentem intuens motus animo est. Itaque haud secus, quam si in Capitolio immolaturus esset, sacrificium amplius solito apparari iussit.

6 Ita peragrata Graecia, ut nihil eorum, quae quisque Persei bello privatim aut publice sensisset, inquireret,

[1] intra moenia *J. F. Gronovius*: inter omnia V.
[2] ab *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[3] memorabilem *Fr*: memorabilem ac silentiam V.
[4] ei *Madvig*: et V.

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[1] *I.e.*, Athena Polias, or Poliouchos; Livy gives her the same title in XXXI. xxx. 9.

generals, and the statues of gods and men—statues notable for every sort of material and artistry. B.C. 167

XXVIII. After offering sacrifice to Minerva, the Guardian of the Citadel,[1] in Athens, Paulus set out for Corinth and reached it on the second day. The city was then world-famous before its destruction; its citadel and the Isthmus were also sights to see; the citadel rising to a huge height, enclosed by the city wall and flowing with springs, while the Isthmus separated by its narrow passage two neighbouring seas lying toward the sunrise and sunset. Thence Paulus went to Sicyon and Argos, both famous cities; from there he visited Epidaurus, by no means as wealthy a town, but noted for the famous temple of Aesculapius which, at a distance of five miles from the city, is now rich in the traces of gifts of which it has been robbed,[2] but then was rich in the gifts themselves which the sick had consecrated to the god as payment for health-giving remedies. Next he visited Lacedaemon, notable not for the splendour of its buildings, but for its discipline and institutions; from there he went up to Olympia via Megalopolis. At Olympia he saw many sights which he considered worth seeing; but he was stirred to the quick as he gazed on what seemed Jupiter's very self. Therefore he ordered a sacrifice prepared larger than usual, just as if he had been going to sacrifice on the Capitol.

In this way he travelled through Greece, raising no question as to how either any individual or any state had felt about the war with Perseus, so as not to

[2] Perhaps by Sulla (Pausanias IX. vii. 5), who took the temple-treasures for his soldiers, and reimbursed the god with lands in Boeotia.

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ne cuius metu sollicitaret animos sociorum, Demetriadem cum reverteretur,[1] in itinere sordidata turba Aetolorum occurrit; mirantique et percunctanti, 7 quid esset, defertur quingentos quinquaginta principes ab Lycisco et Tisippo, circumsesso senatu per milites Romanos, missos ab[2] A. Baebio, praefecto[2] praesidii, interfectos, alios in exilium actos esse, bonaque eorum qui interfecti essent et exulum 8 possideri.[3] Iussis, qui arguebantur, Amphipoli adesse ipse convento[4] Cn. Octavio Demetriade, postquam fama accidit traiecisse iam mare decem legatos, omnibus aliis omissis Apolloniam ad eos pergit. 9 Quo cum Perseus obviam Amphipoli omni solutus[5] custodia processisset—id diei iter est—, ipsum quidem benigne adlocutus est; ceterum postquam in castra ad Amphipolim venit, graviter increpuisse tra- 10 ditur C. Sulpicium, primum quod Persea tam procul a se vagari per provinciam passus esset,[6] deinde quod adeo indulsisset militibus, ut nudare tegulis muros urbis ad tegenda hibernacula sua pateretur; referrique tegulas et refici detecta,[7] sicut fuerant, iussit. 11 Et Persea quidem cum maiore filio Philippo traditos A. Postumio in custodiam misit; filiam cum minore filio a Samothrace accitos Amphipolim omni liberali cultu habuit.

[1] reverteretur *Wesenberg*: revertit *V*: cum comitatu revertit *Heraeus*.
[2] ab . . . praefecto *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[3] possideri *Kreyssig*: possidere *V*.
[4] convento *Kreyssig*: conventu *V*.

trouble the minds of the allies by any fear. When B.C. 167
he was returning to Demetrias, he met a crowd of Aetolians in mourning; on his asking in surprise what was the matter, it was reported to him that five hundred and fifty leading men had been killed by Lyciscus and Tisippus, while the senate was surrounded by Roman soldiers sent by Aulus Baebius, the commander of the garrison; others had been driven into exile, and the property of those killed and of the exiles had been seized. Ordering the accused men to meet him at Amphipolis, he joined Gnaeus Octavius in Demetrias. When a report arrived that the ten commissioners had by now crossed the sea, he gave up everything else and went to them at Apollonia. There Perseus came to meet him from Amphipolis—a day's journey—free of any guard. Paulus greeted him in kindly fashion but after he arrived in camp at Amphipolis, he is said to have rebuked Gaius Sulpicius severely, first because he had allowed Perseus to roam so far from him through the province, and secondly because he had allowed the soldiers the great liberty of stripping the city walls of tiles, in order to roof over their winter-quarters; Paulus ordered the tiles taken back and the uncovered areas repaired to their previous condition. Perseus and his elder son Philip he turned over to Aulus Postumius and put under guard; Perseus' daughter and his younger son he summoned to Amphipolis from Samothrace and maintained completely in the state of free persons.

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[5] omni solutus *Madvig*: nimissolutiscuius *V*.
[6] esset *J. F. Gronovius*: est *V*.
[7] refici detecta *Madvig*: referri et tecta *V*.

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XXIX. Ipse, ubi dies venit quo adesse Amphipoli denos principes civitatium iusserat litterasque omnis, quae ubique depositae essent, et pecuniam regiam conferri, cum decem legatis circumfusa omni multi-
2 tudine Macedonum in tribunali consedit. Adsuetis regio imperio tamen novi imperii formam[1] terribilem praebuit tribunal, summoto aditus,[2] praeco, accensus, insueta omnia oculis auribusque quae vel socios,
3 nedum hostis victos, terrere possent. Silentio per praeconem facto Paulus Latine, quae senatui, quae sibi ex consilii sententia visa essent, pronuntiavit. Ea Cn. Octavius praetor—nam et ipse aderat—interpretata sermone Graeco referebat.
4 Omnium primum liberos esse iubere Macedonas, habentis urbes easdem agrosque, utentes legibus suis, annuos creantis magistratus; tributum dimidium eius, quod pependissent regibus, pendere
5 populo Romano. Deinde in quattuor regiones dividi Macedoniam: unam fore et primam partem quod
6 agri inter Strymonem et Nessum sit amnem; accessurum[3] huic parti trans Nessum ad orientem versum, qua Perseus tenuisset, vicos, castella, oppida, praeter Aenum et Maroneam et Abdera; cis[4] Strymonem autem vergentia ad occasum, Bisalticam omnem
7 cum Heraclea, quam Sinticen appellant. Secundam fore regionem, quam ab ortu Strymo amplecteretur

[1] novi imperii formam *Harant*: novi in formā *V*.
[2] aditus *Kreyssig*: additu *V*.
[3] accessurum *Fr*, *Hertz*: sitsuccessurum *V*.
[4] Abdera; cis *Madvig*: Abderatis *V*.

[1] Typical Roman procedure; so ten leading men are summoned from some Latin colonies in XXIX. xv. 5; the Twelve Tables were also established by a board of ten.

[2] Amounting to 100 talents, according to Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxviii. 3.

XXIX. When the day arrived on which he had B.C. 167
ordered ten leading men from each city[1] to be at Amphipolis, and all official despatches which had been filed anywhere and the royal money to be brought in, Paulus with the ten commissioners took his official seat surrounded by the whole crowd of Macedonians. Although the latter were used to a royal court, yet the ceremonial of a new master was frightening as it met their eyes—the consul's bench, his entrance after the way had been cleared, the herald, and the orderly, all things novel to their eyes and ears, which might have inspired terror in allies, to say nothing of conquered enemies. After the herald had commanded silence Paulus announced in Latin the decisions of the senate, as well as his own, made by the advice of his council. This announcement was translated into Greek and repeated by Gnaeus Octavius the praetor—for he too was present.

The terms were: first of all the Macedonians were given their freedom; they were to keep their own cities and lands, to use their own laws, and to elect annual magistrates; they were to pay to the Roman People half the tax which they had paid to their kings.[2] Next, Macedonia was to be divided into four regions; one, the first section, would comprise the land between the Strymon and Nessus Rivers; to this region were to be added across the Nessus to the eastward the villages, forts, and towns which Perseus had held except Aenus, Maronea, and Abdera; on this side of the Strymon, too, toward the west there was included all the country of the Bisaltae, including Heraclea, the region they call Sintice. The second region was to be the region bounded on the east by the Strymon River, except

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amnis, praeter Sinticen, Heracleam et Bisaltas, ab occasuque Axius[1] terminaret fluvius, additis Paeonibus, qui prope Axium flumen ad regionem orientis
8 colerent. Tertia pars facta, quam Axius ab oriente, Peneus amnis ab occasu cingunt; ad septentrionem Bora mons obicitur; adiecta huic parti regio Paeonia, qua ab occasu praeter Axium amnem porrigitur; Edessa quoque et Beroea eodem concesserunt.
9 Quarta regio trans Boram[2] montem, una parte confinis Illyrico, altera Epiro. Capita regionum, ubi concilia fierent, primae regionis Amphipolim, secundae Thessalonicen, tertiae Pellam, quartae Pelagoniam fecit. Eo concilia suae cuiusque regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi magistratus creari iussit.
10 Pronuntiavit deinde neque conubium neque commercium agrorum aedificiorumque inter se placere
11 cuiquam extra fines regionis suae esse. Metalla quoque auri atque argenti non exerceri, ferri et aeris permitti.[3] Vectigal exercentibus dimidium eius impositum quod pependissent regi. Et sale invecto
12 uti vetuit. Dardanis repetentibus Paeoniam, quod et sua fuisset et continens esset finibus suis, omnibus

[1] occasuque Axius *Madvig*: occasuquaaesius *V*.
[2] Boram *Fr*: dorsuna *V*.
[3] ferri et aeris permitti *Fr*: nec fieri et aeris permittit *V*.

[1] What river is meant cannot be definitely determined; the famous Peneüs of Thessaly is too far south to be even the southern boundary, except at the sea-coast; but since Mount Bora is north-west rather than north of this region, Livy or his informant may have a distorted impression of the limits.

[2] This is usually the name of a region, not a city; perhaps Heraclea Lyncestis is meant; it would be appropriately central.

for Sintice, Heraclea, and the Bisaltae, while the western boundary would be the Axius River; this would also include the Paeonians who were settled near the Axius River in an easterly direction. The third region was established as that bounded on the east by the Axius, and on the west by the Peneüs River;[1] to the north Mount Bora forms a barrier; to this region was added that part of Paeonia which stretches along the west bank of the Axius River: Edessa and Beroea fell in the same part. The fourth region was across Mount Bora, part marching with Illyricum, the rest with Epirus. The capitals of the regions, where their assemblies were to meet, were established: for the first region, Amphipolis, for the second, Thessalonica, for the third, Pella, and for the fourth, Pelagonia.[2] In those places Paulus ordered an assembly[3] of each region to be appointed, money to be gathered, and magistrates elected. B.C. 167

Paulus then announced that it had been decided that no one should be allowed the right of marriage or of trading in land or buildings outside the bounds of his own region. Furthermore, the mines of gold and silver were not to be worked, but those of iron and copper were permitted. The tax on those who worked the mines was set at half what they had paid to the king. The use of imported salt was banned.[4] When the Dardanians asked for the return of Paeonia, on the ground that it had been theirs and adjoined

[3] Perhaps modelled after that of the Achaean League; if not formally restricted to men with a property qualification, it would become so, except for the populace of the capital itself.

[4] Perhaps as a further ban on frequent communication between the regions.

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dare libertatem pronuntiavit, qui sub regno Persei
13 fuissent. Post non impetratam Paeoniam salis commercium dedit: tertiae regioni imperavit, ut Stobos Paeoniae deveherent, pretiumque statuit.
14 Navalem materiam et ipsos caedere et alios pati vetuit. Regionibus, quae adfines barbaris essent—excepta autem tertia omnes erant—, permisit, ut praesidia armata in finibus extremis haberent.

XXX. Haec pronuntiata primo die conventus varie adfecerunt animos. Libertas praeter spem data
2 adrexit et levatum annuum vectigal; regionatim commercio [1] interruptis sua videri lacerata,[2] tamquam animali in artus alterum alterius indigentis distracto: adeo, quanta Macedonia esset, quam divisui facilis, quam se [3] ipsa quaeque contenta [4]
3 pars esset, Macedones quoque ignorabant. Pars prima Bisaltas habet, fortissimos viros—trans Nessum amnem incolunt et circa Strymonem—, et multas frugum proprietates et metalla et opportunitatem Amphipolis, quae obiecta claudit omnes ab oriente
4 sole in Macedoniam aditus. Secunda pars celeberrimas urbes Thessalonicen et [5] Cassandream habet, ad hoc Pallenen, fertilem ac frugiferam terram; maritimas quoque opportunitates ei praebent portus ad Toronen ac [6] montem Atho Aeneamque et Acanthum,[7] alii ad Thessaliam [8] insulamque

[1] commercio *Bekker*: mesico *V*.
[2] sua videri lacerata *Harant*: advideri lacerata *V*: ita videri lacerata Macedonia *Vahlen*.
[3] quam se *H. J. Müller*: et a se *V*.
[4] contenta *Sigonius*: cõ tempta *V*.
[5] et *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[6] Toronen ac *Drakenborch*: toroneam *V*.
[7] Aeneamque et Acanthum *H. J. Müller*: eneaeuocanthunc *V*.

their boundaries, Paulus proclaimed that freedom was B.C. 167
being given to all those who had been subjects of Perseus. After refusing them Paeonia, he granted them the right to import salt; he ordered the third region to carry salt to Stobi in Paeonia, and he set a price on it. He forbade the Macedonians to cut ship-timbers, or to permit others to do so. The regions which bordered on barbarians—and this was true of all except the third—were allowed to have armed guards along their frontiers.

XXX. The announcement of these arrangements on the first day of the gathering aroused mixed emotions. The unexpected grant of freedom cheered men, as well as the lightening of the annual taxation; but to those who were cut off from trading between regions, their country seemed as mangled as an animal disjointed into parts, each of which needed the other; so unaware were the Macedonians themselves of the size of Macedonia, of how it lent itself to division, and of how self-sufficient each part was.

The assets of the first region are the Bisaltae, men of great courage (they live beyond the Nessus and around the Strymon), soil suitable for many different crops, mines, and the strategic position of Amphipolis, the interposition of which bars off every approach to Macedonia from the sunrise side. The second region has those highly flourishing cities Thessalonica and Cassandrea, and in addition, Pallene, a fertile and fruitful land; facilities for seafaring are also furnished it by the harbours at Torone, Mount Athos, Aenea, and Acanthus, some of which conveniently face Thessaly and the island of

[8] ad Thessaliam *add. Harant*: *om. V.*

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Euboeam, alii ad Hellespontum opportune versi. Tertia regio nobilis urbes Edessam et Beroeam et Pellam habet et Vettiorum bellicosam gentem, incolas quoque permultos Gallos et Illyrios, impigros cultores. Quartam regionem Eordaei et Lyncestae et Pelagones incolunt; iuncta his Atintania et Tymphaeis et Elimiotis. Frigida haec omnis duraque cultu et aspera plaga est: cultorum quoque ingenia terrae similia habet. Ferociores eos et accolae barbari faciunt, nunc bello exercentes, nunc in pace miscentes ritus suos. Divisa itaque Macedonia [1] partium usibus separatis, quanta universa esset, ostendit.[2]

XXXI. Macedoniae formula dicta cum leges quoque se daturum ostendisset, Aetoli deinde citati. In qua cognitione magis utra pars Romanis, utra regi favisset quaesitum est, quam utra [3] fecisset iniuriam aut accepisset; noxa liberati interfectores; exilium pulsis aeque ratum fuit ac mors interfectis; A. Baebius unus est damnatus, quod milites Romanos praebuisset ad ministerium caedis.

Hic eventus Aetolorum causae in omnibus Graeciae gentibus populisque eorum, qui partis Romanorum fuerant, inflavit ad intolerabilem superbiam animos et obnoxios pedibus eorum subiecit quos aliqua parte suspicio favoris in regem contigerat. Tria genera

[1] itaque Macedonia *Madvig*: aitqaue Macedoniae V.
[2] universa esset, ostendit *Madvig*: universos tendit V.
[3] utra *Kreyssig*: utre V.

[1] Since the Macedonians were to "use their own laws" (above, xxix. 4), this must refer to a code for the four federal governments, either new or a revision of previous laws to

Euboea, and others the Hellespont. The third B.C. 167
region has the famous cities of Edessa, Beroea, and Pella, and the warlike race of the Vettii, as well as a large population of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious farmers. The fourth region is inhabited by the Eordaei, Lyncestae, and Pelagonians; added to these are Atintania, Tymphaeis, and Elimiotis. This part of the world is as a whole cold, difficult to cultivate, and harsh; it has inhabitants of temperament like their land. These are also made fiercer by their barbarian neighbours, who now give them training in warfare, now intermingle their practices during peace. The partition of Macedonia therefore showed, by separating the assets of the regions, how great the country is as a whole.

XXXI. After the proclamation of the charter for Macedonia, Paulus declared that he would also lay down a law-code,[1] and then proceeded to summon the Aetolians. In this investigation, the question was more which side had favoured the king and which the Romans, than which had done wrong or had been wronged; the assassins were acquitted of guilt; the exile of the expelled was confirmed quite as definitely as the death of the slain; only Aulus Baebius was condemned for furnishing Roman soldiers to help carry out the slaughter.

This outcome of the case of the Aetolians raised to an unbearable pitch of pride the spirits of those in all the states and peoples of Greece who sided with the Romans, and crushed helplessly under their feet any who were in some respect tainted by suspicion of having favoured the king. There were three sorts of

meet the new arrangements and incorporate the Roman stipulations; cf. below, xxxii. 7.

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principum in civitatibus erant, duo, quae adulando aut Romanorum imperium aut amicitiam regum sibi privatim opes oppressis faciebant civitatibus; media una pars [1] utrique generi adversa libertatem leges- 5 que [2] tuebatur. His ut maior [3] apud suos caritas, ita minor ad externos gratia erat. Secundis rebus elati Romanorum partis eius fautores soli tum in magi- 6 stratibus, soli in legationibus erant. Hi cum frequentes et ex Peloponneso et ex Boeotia et ex aliis Graeciae conciliis adessent, implevere aures decem 7 legatorum: non eos tantum, qui se propalam per vanitatem iactassent tamquam hospites et amicos Persei, sed multo plures alios ex occulto favisse regi, qui [4] per speciem tuendae libertatis in conciliis 8 adversus Romanos omnia instruxissent, nec aliter eas mansuras in fide gentes, nisi fractis animis adversarum partium [5] aleretur confirmareturque auctoritas eorum qui nihil praeter imperium Romanorum spectarent.[6]

9 Ab his editis nominibus evocati litteris imperatoris ex Aetolia Acarnaniaque et Epiro et Boeotia, qui Romam ad causam dicendam sequerentur; in

[1] pars *add. Madvig*: *om.* V.
[2] legesque *Wölfflin*: leges V.
[3] ut maior *add. Fr*: *om.* V.
[4] regi, qui *Madvig*: reliqui V.
[5] adversarum partium *Wesenberg*: aptium V.
[6] spectarent *J. F. Gronovius*: expectarentur V.

[1] Polybius XXX. 6 names three groups, but only of those accused of being anti-Roman; his first group, corresponding to Livy's third, or middle-of-the-road group, wanted the

leaders in the states, two groups who by fawning upon the Roman power and the friendship of kings respectively gained personal wealth for themselves by tyrannizing over their cities; the middle group alone, opposing both the others, strove to guard independence and constitutionality.[1] Their reward was greater affection from their own people, and less favour in foreign quarters. Carried along on the tide of Roman success, the members of the pro-Roman party were then alone occupying all magistracies and serving as envoys. These gathered in great numbers both from the Peloponnesus and Boeotia and the other leagues of Greece, and filled the ears of the ten commissioners, saying that not only those who out of vanity openly boasted themselves guests and friends of Perseus, but many more who kept under cover, had sided with the king, and under the guise of preserving independence they had turned the whole organization of the league meetings against the Roman interest; these peoples, said their representatives, would not maintain loyalty unless the spirit of the opposition was crushed and the prestige sustained and strengthened of those who had no object in view but the power of Rome. B.C. 167

Names were furnished by these men, and their opponents from Aetolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Boeotia were summoned by dispatches from the general to follow him to Rome to stand trial.[2] Two

status quo undisturbed; the second wanted a decisive contest between Rome and Perseus, with victory for Perseus; the third group shared the sentiments of the second, and in addition were able to draw their states into open alliance with Perseus.

[2] According to Polybius XXX. 13 (10). 11, Paulus did not take the accusations at face-value.

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Achaiam ex decem legatorum numero profecti duo, C. Claudius et Cn. Domitius, ut ipsi edicto evocarent.
10 Id duabus de causis factum, una quod fiduciae plus animorumque esse Achaeis ad non parendum credebant et forsitan etiam in periculo fore Callicraten et
11 ceteros criminum auctores delatoresque; altera cur praesentes evocarent causa erat, quod ex aliis gentibus principum litteras deprensas in commentariis regiis habebant, in Achaeis caecum erat crimen nullis eorum litteris inventis.
12 Aetolis dimissis Acarnanum citata gens. In his nihil novatum, nisi quod Leucas exempta est Acarna-
13 num concilio. Quaerendo deinde latius, qui publice aut privatim partium regis fuissent, in Asiam quoque
14 cognitionem extendere et ad Antissam[1] in Lesbo insula diruendam ac[2] traducendos Methymnam Antissaeos Labeonem miserunt, quod Antenorem, regium praefectum, quo tempore cum lembis circa Lesbum esset[3] vagatus, portu receptum commeatibus
15 iuvissent. Duo securi percussi viri insignes, Andronicus, Andronici filius, Aetolus, quod patrem secutus arma contra populum Romanum tulisset, et Neo Thebanus, quo auctore societatem cum Perseo iunxerant.

XXXII. His rerum externarum cognitionibus interpositis Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium;

[1] Antissam *Fr, Drakenborch*: intissam *V*.
[2] ac *add. Wesenberg*: *om. V*.
[3] esset *Ruperti*: est *V*.

[1] This was a serious matter, however; the town had sometimes served as the meeting-place of the league assembly. The Romans were taking control of the coast.

of the board of commissioners, Gaius Claudius and Gnaeus Domitius, set out for Achaia in order to summon men by proclamation on the spot. This they did for two reasons, first because they thought the Achaeans had more confidence and more pride to make them refuse obedience and perhaps also Callicrates and the other informers and purveyors of charges might be endangered; the second reason for the personal summons was that from the other leagues they had letters of the leaders that had been seized in the royal archives, but no letters from the Achaeans had been found and the charge against them was blind. B.C. 167

When the Aetolians had been dismissed, the Acarnanian League was called up. No changes were made concerning them, except that Leucas was removed from the Acarnanian federation.[1] In the course of more sweeping inquiries as to support of the king, either individual or by political units, the investigation was extended to Asia, and Labeo was sent to destroy Antissa on the island of Lesbos and to move its inhabitants to Methymna, because when Antenor, the king's admiral, had been roaming about Lesbos with his scout-ships, the people of Antissa had received him into their harbour and aided him with provisions. Two men of distinction were beheaded by the consul, Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an Aetolian, because following his father he had borne arms against the Roman People, and Neon of Thebes, who had indueed his people to make an alliance with Perseus.

XXXII. After the interruption due to these investigations of other peoples, the assembly of the Macedonians was again convened. Concerning the con-

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2 pronuntiatum, quod ad statum Macedoniae pertinebat, senatores, quos synhedros vocant, legendos esse,
3 quorum consilio res publica administraretur. Nomina deinde sunt recitata principum Macedonum, quos cum liberis maioribus quam quindecim annos
4 natis praecedere in Italiam placeret. Id, prima specie saevum, mox apparuit multitudini Macedonum pro libertate sua esse factum. Nominati sunt enim regis amici purpuratique, duces exercituum, praefecti navium aut praesidiorum, servire regi
5 humiliter, aliis superbe imperare adsueti; praedivites alii, alii, quos fortuna non aequarent, his sumptibus pares; regius omnibus victus vestitusque, nulli civilis animus, neque legum neque libertatis aequae
6 patiens. Omnes igitur, qui in aliquis ministeriis regiis, etiam qui in legationibus [1] fuerant, iussi Macedonia excedere atque in Italiam ire; qui non
7 paruisset imperio, mors denuntiata. Leges Macedoniae dedit cum tanta cura, ut non hostibus victis, sed sociis bene meritis dare videretur, et quas ne usus quidem longo tempore, qui unus est legum corrector, experiendo argueret.

8 Ab seriis rebus ludicrum, quod ex multo ante praeparato et in Asiae civitates et ad reges missis qui denuntiarent, et, cum circumiret ipse Graeciae civitates, indixerat [2] principibus, magno apparatu Am-

[1] in legationibus *Kreyssig*: in ministeriis in legationibus *V*.
[2] indixerat *Fr*: indignato *V*.

[1] In each of the four districts.

[2] Justinus XXXIII. 2. 7, says that these laws "are still in use", *i.e.*, in the time of Trogus (first century after Christ), or possibly in that of Justinus himself (second century).

[3] Livy does not mention the destruction of the fortifications of Demetrias, one of the three "fetters of Greece", recorded by Diodorus XXXI. 13.

stitution of Macedonia it was announced that B.C. 167
senators, whom they call *synhedri*, were to be chosen, by whose advice affairs of state [1] were to be conducted. The names were read of the Macedonian leaders who, it had been decided, were to precede the consul on the way to Italy with their sons of over fifteen years of age. This ordinance, cruel at first glance, soon was seen by the commons of Macedonia to have been enacted in the interests of their freedom. For the names were those of the king's friends and the wearers of the purple, of commanders of armies, of officers in command of ships and garrisons—men accustomed to being humble slaves of the king, but haughty tyrants toward others. Some were exceedingly rich, others equalled in expenditure those whose fortunes they could not match; all of them used the diet and garments of the court, none had the temperament of a citizen, or would endure the rule of law and the give-and-take of free men. All, therefore, who had held some office under the king, even those who had served as ambassadors, were ordered to leave Macedonia and travel to Italy; death was the penalty announced for disobedience to this order. Paulus laid down laws for Macedonia with such care as to seem to be giving them not to conquered enemies, but to well-deserving allies—laws which not even experience over a long period, the one best amender of legislation, could prove faulty in actual use.[2]

After the serious business,[3] Paulus celebrated with great pomp at Amphipolis a festival which had been long under preparation, and to announce which he had sent men to the cities and the kings of Asia, while he himself had given notice to the leading men

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9 phipoli fecit. Nam et artificum omnis generis, qui ludicram artem faciebant, ex toto orbe terrarum multitudo [1] et athletarum et nobilium equorum convenit et legationes cum victimis et quidquid aliud deorum hominumque causa fieri magnis ludis in 10 Graecia solet, its factum est, ut non magnificentiam tantum, sed prudentiam in dandis spectaculis, ad quae rudes tum Romani erant, admirarentur. 11 Epulae quoque legationibus paratae et opulentia et cura eadem. Vulgo dictum ipsius ferebant et convivium instruere et ludos parare eiusdem esse, qui vincere bello sciret.

XXXIII. Edito ludicro [2] clupeisque aereis in naves impositis cetera omnis generis arma cumulata in [3] 2 ingentem acervum, precatus Martem, Minervam Luamque [4] matrem et ceteros deos, quibus spolia hostium dicare ius fasque est, ipse imperator face subdita succendit: deinde circumstantes tribuni militum 3 pro se quisque ignes coniecerunt. Notata est in illo conventu Europae Asiaeque, undique partim ad gratulationem, partim ad spectaculum contracta multitudine, tantis navalibus terrestribusque exerci- 4 tibus, ea copia rerum, ea vilitas annonae, ut et privatis et civitatibus et gentibus dona data pleraque eius generis sint ab imperatore, non in usum praesentem, 5 sed etiam quod domos aveherent. Spectaculo fuit

[1] multitudo *Fr*: omnis multitudo *V*.
[2] ludicro *Wesenberg*: ludicro omnis generis *V*.
[3] in *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[4] Luamque *Turnebus*: Lunamque *V*.

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[1] What the Greeks called *theoriai*—official representatives of their states, who participated by offering sacrifices.

during his tour of the Greek cities. For a crowd of B.C. 167
all sorts of professionals in the art of entertainment gathered from all over the world, as well as athletes and famous horses; moreover there were delegations with sacrifices,[1] and whatever more is usually done at the great games of Greece for the sake of gods or men, was so carried out as to arouse admiration not only for lavishness but for skill in giving shows, at which Romans were then tyros. Banquets for the delegations were also prepared with equal sumptuousness and pains. From mouth to mouth went the saying of Paulus himself, that the man who knew how to conquer in war could also arrange a banquet and organize games.

XXXIII. After the festival had been held and the bronze shields loaded into ships, the rest of the arms of all kinds were piled up into a great heap, and the general, after prayer to Mars, Minerva, Mother Lua,[2] and the other gods to whom it is right and lawful to dedicate the spoils of the enemy, with his own hands put the torch to the pile; then each of the military tribunes as they stood round about tossed in fire. In that great gathering of Europe and Asia, when such a crowd had assembled partly to offer congratulations and partly for the display, and in the presence of such forces naval and military, a remarkable fact was that supplies were so abundant and grain so cheap that both to individuals and to cities and peoples abundant gifts of such supplies were made by the general, not only for immediate use, but to be taken home with them. The eyes of

[2] Consort or companion of Saturn, she was a destructive power to be placated, cf. VIII. i. 6 and the note, and perhaps Servius on *Aeneid* III. 139 (*Luae* emended from *Lunae*).

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ei, quae venerat, turbae non scaenicum magis ludicrum, non certamina hominum aut curricula equorum, quam praeda Macedonica omnis ut viseretur exposita, statuarum tabularumque et textilium[1] et vasorum ex auro et argento et aere et ebore
6 factorum ingenti cura in ea regia, ut non in praesentem modo speciem, qualibus referta regia Alex-
7 andreae erat, sed in perpetuum usum fierent. Haec in classem imposita devehenda Romam Cn. Octavio data.

Paulus benigne legatis dimissis transgressus Strymonem mille passuum ab Amphipoli castra posuit;
8 inde profectus Pellam quinto die pervenit. Praetergressus urbem, ad Pellaeum,[2] quod vocant, biduum moratus, P. Nasicam et Q. Maximum filium cum parte copiarum ad depopulandos Illyrios, qui Persea iuverant bello, misit iussos ad Oricum sibi occurrere; ipse Epirum petens quintis decimis castris Passaronem pervenit.

XXXIV. Haud procul inde Anici castra aberant. Ad quem litteris missis, ne quid ad ea quae fierent moveretur: senatum praedam Epiri civitatium, quae
2 ad Persea defecissent, exercitui dedisse suo,[3] missis centurionibus in singulas urbes, qui se dicerent ad praesidia deducenda venisse, ut liberi Epirotae sicut Macedones essent, denos principes ex singulis evocavit civitatibus; quibus cum denuntiasset ut aurum

[1] et textilium *Madvig*: ex tilium *V*.
[2] Pellaeum *Heraeus*: paeleum *V*.
[3] suo *Madvig*: suos *V*.

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[1] A similar triumphal display is recorded in XXVI. xxi. 7–8 (from Syracuse); and the Romans' interest in looted art

the crowd which came were no more drawn to the stage spectacle, the contests of men, or the racing of the horses, than to the collected loot of Macedonia, set out on exhibition, statues, paintings, rare stuffs, and vessels made of gold, silver, bronze and ivory, manufactured with great pains in the palace at Pella, so as to serve not only for immediate show, as did the objects with which the palace at Alexandria was crammed, but for continuous use.[1] This booty was loaded on the fleet and given to Gnaeus Octavius to transport to Rome. B.C. 167

After a courteous farewell to the delegates, Paulus crossed the Strymon and pitched camp a mile from Amphipolis; thence he set out for Pella and arrived on the fifth day. Passing by the city to what is called the Pellaeum, he halted for two days, and sent his son Quintus Maximus and Publius Nasica with a portion of the troops to ravage Illyrians who had helped Perseus in the war, ordering the expedition to meet him at Oricum; the consul himself made for Epirus and reached Passaron on the fifteenth day.

XXXIV. Not far from here was the camp of Anicius. Paulus sent him despatches, so that there should be no disturbance over what was about to take place, saying that the senate had granted to Paulus' army the booty from those cities of Epirus which had deserted to Perseus. The consul sent centurions to the several cities, who were to say that they had come to remove the garrisons so that the people of Epirus might be free like the Macedonians; ten leading men from each city were summoned to the consul. These men were instructed

is expressed in XXXII. xvi. 17 (Chalcis) and XXXVIII. ix. 13 (Ambracia).

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atque argentum in publicum proferretur, per omnes
3 civitates cohortes dimisit. Ante in ulteriores quam
in propiores profecti, ut uno die in omnes perveni-
4 retur. Edita tribunis centurionibusque erant, quae
agerentur. Mane omne aurum argentumque con-
latum; hora quarta signum ad diripiendas urbes
5 datum est militibus; tantaque praeda fuit, ut in
equitem quadringeni denarii, peditibus duceni
dividerentur, centum quinquaginta milia capitum
6 humanorum abducerentur. Muri deinde direptarum
urbium diruti sunt; ea fuere oppida circa septuaginta.
Vendita praeda omnis, inde [1] ea summa militi
numerata est.

7 Paulus ad mare Oricum descendit nequaquam, ut
ratus erat, expletis militum animis, qui, tamquam
nullum in Macedonia gessissent bellum, expertis
8 regiae praedae esse indignabantur. Orici cum
missas cum Scipione Nasica Maximoque filio copias
invenisset, exercitu in naves imposito in Italiam
9 traiecit. Et post paucos dies Anicius conventu
reliquorum Epirotarum Acarnanumque acto iussisque
in Italiam sequi principibus, quorum cognitionem
causae senatui [2] reservarat, et ipse navibus expectatis,
quibus usus Macedonicus exercitus erat, in Italiam
traiecit.

[1] omnis, inde *Madvig*: omni unde *V*.
[2] senatui *add. Duker*: *om. V*.

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxix. 3, says that only 11 drachmas per soldier were realized, that is, about 13 denarii; this would explain the dissatisfaction of the soldiers mentioned below,

to have the gold and silver collected at the civic centre. Then cohorts were sent to all the cities, those bound for the more distant leaving before those for the nearer, so that they would arrive at all the towns on the same day. The tribunes and centurions had been instructed as to their mission. Early in the day all the gold and silver was collected; at the fourth hour the soldiers were given the signal to plunder the towns. So great was the booty that a distribution was made of four hundred denarii apiece to the cavalry, and two hundred apiece to the infantry,[1] and one hundred and fifty thousand persons were removed. The walls of the plundered cities were destroyed; the number of communities was about seventy. All the booty was sold, and from the proceeds the amounts given above were paid to the army. B.C. 167

Paulus went down to the sea at Oricum, having by no means met the expectations of the soldiers, as he had supposed he would; the men were complaining that they had no share in the booty from the king, as if they had fought no campaign in Macedonia. On finding at Oricum the troops he had sent with Scipio Nasica and his son Maximus, Paulus embarked his army on ships and crossed to Italy. A few days later Anicius, after waiting for the ships which the army of Macedonia had used, crossed to Italy, first holding an assembly of the remaining Epirotes and Acarnanians, and ordering the leaders, judgment about whom he had reserved for the senate, to follow him to Italy.

but implies a serious and improbable miscalculation on the part of Paulus. In xxx. 1, Plutarch apologizes for Paulus in respect to this action, which is charged to the senate.

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10 Cum haec in Macedonia Epiroque gesta sunt, legati, qui cum Attalo ad finiendum bellum inter Gallos et regem Eumenem missi erant, in Asiam
11 pervenerant.[1] Indutiis per hiemem factis et Galli domos abierant et rex in hiberna concesserat Pergamum gravique morbo aeger fuerat. Ver primum eos[2] domo excivit iamque Synnada pervenerant et Eumenes ad[3] Sardis undique exercitum contraxerat.
12 Ibi Romani cum Solovettium,[4] ducem Gallorum, Synnadis esse comperissent eo proficisci decreverunt ad colloquium; Attalus[5] cum eis profectus, sed castra Gallorum intrare eum non placuit, ne animi
13 ex disceptatione irritarentur. P. Licinius consularis cum[6] regulo Gallorum est locutus rettulitque fero-
14 ciorem eum deprecando factum, ut mirum videri possit[7] inter tam opulentos reges, Antiochum Ptolemaeumque, tantum legatorum Romanorum verba valuisse ut extemplo pacem facerent, apud Gallos nullius momenti fuisse.

XXXV. Romam primum reges captivi, Perseus et Gentius, in custodiam cum liberis abducti, dein turba alia captivorum, tum quibus Macedonum denuntiatum erat ut Romam venirent, principumque
2 Graeciae; nam ii[8] quoque non solum praesentes

[1] pervenerant *Wesenberg*: pervenerunt *V*.
[2] eos *Harant*: ex *V*.
[3] et Eumenes ad *Madvig*: cum Eumenis ab *V*.
[4] Solovettium *Madvig*: et Solovettium *V*.
[5] Synnadis esse comperissent eo proficisci decreverunt ad colloquium; Attalus *Madvig*: synnadesad locutusettalus *V*.
[6] cum *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[7] possit *Madvig*: posset *V*.
[8] ii *Bekker*: hii *V*.

While these events were occurring in Macedonia and Epirus, the commissioners who had been sent with Attalus to put an end to the war between the Galatians and King Eumenes, arrived in Asia. A truce had been declared for the winter; the Galatians on their side had returned to their homes, and the king had gone into winter-quarters at Pergamum and was ill with a serious disease. Early spring called the Galatians into the field, and they had by this time reached Synnada; Eumenes had mustered an army from all sides at Sardis. At that city the Romans learned that Solovettius the Galatian leader was at Synnada, and decided to go there to confer with him; Attalus set out with them, but it was decided that he should not enter the camp of the Galatians, lest tempers be lost during an altercation. Publius Licinius, an ex-consul,[1] talked with the prince of the Galatians and reported that he had been emboldened by the appeal to him, so that it was occasion for wonder that the words of Roman envoys had had such weight with those prosperous kings Antiochus and Ptolemy that they at once made peace, whereas with the Galatians Roman words were without effect. B.C. 167

XXXV. In Rome first the captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, were placed in custody with their children, next the horde of other prisoners, and after them the Macedonians who had been ordered to come to Rome, and the leaders of Greece, for these men too had not only been summoned when at home,

[1] Head of this embassy (Polybius XXX. 3) and consul 4 years before, XLII. xxix. 1. Polybius implies that the embassy was not really meant to restrain the Galatians, as shown by the actual results.

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exciti erant. sed etiam, si qui apud reges esse dicebantur, litteris arcessiti sunt. Paulus ipse post dies paucos regia nave ingentis magnitudinis, quam sedecim versus remorum agebant, ornata Macedonicis spoliis non insignium tantum armorum, sed etiam regiorum textilium, adverso Tiberi ad urbem est subvectus, completis ripis obviam effusa multitudine. Paucos post dies Anicius et Octavius classe sua advecti. Tribus iis omnibus decretus est ab senatu triumphus mandatumque Q. Cassio praetori, cum tribunis plebis ageret, ex auctoritate patrum [1] rogationem ad plebem ferrent, ut iis, quo die urbem triumphantes inveherentur, imperium esset.

Intacta invidia media sunt: ad summa ferme tendit. Nec de Anici nec de Octavi triumpho dubitatum est; Paulum, cui ipsi quoque se comparare erubuissent, obtrectatio carpsit. Antiqua disciplina milites habuerat: de praeda parcius, quam speraverant ex tantis regiis opibus, dederat nihil relicturis, si aviditati indulgeretur, quod in aerarium deferret. Totus Macedonicus exercitus imperatori iratus neglegenter erat [2] adfuturus comitiis ferendae legis. Sed eos Ser. Sulpicius Galba, qui tribunus

[1] ageret, ex auctoritate patrum *Duker*: ex auctoritate patruum ageret V.

[2] iratus neglegenter erat *Weissenborn*: ita neglegenter V: erat neglegenter *Fr.*

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[1] Polybius XXX. 9, gives an illustration of this: Polyaratus the Rhodian was at the court of Ptolemy; Popilius ordered him to be sent to Rome. Ptolemy sent him instead to Rhodes, but Polyaratus jumped ship at Phaselis, in eastern Lycia, and again at Caunus; then he took refuge at Cibyra, but was finally rounded up and taken to Rome.

[2] Perhaps the one left to Philip by the treaty of 196 B.C.: XXXIII. XXX. 5.

but if any of them were reported as being at the B.C. 167
courts of the kings, they had also been sought out by letter.[1] After a few days, Paulus himself sailed up the Tiber to the city in a royal galley of immense size, which was driven by sixteen banks of oars,[2] and decorated with the spoils of Macedonia, not only splendid armour, but also royal fabrics. The banks were lined with the crowd which had poured out to welcome him. A few days later Anicius and Octavius arrived aboard their fleet. A triumph was decreed to all three commanders by the senate, and Quintus Cassius the praetor was assigned the task of arranging with the tribunes of the commons that they should propose to the commons, on motion of the senate, a resolution that the commanders should keep their authority of office on the day on which they rode into the city in triumph.[3]

Moderate circumstances are unassailed by envy; that passion always aims at the heights. There was no debate over the triumphs for Anicius and Octavius; but defamation attacked Paulus, to whom the others themselves would have blushed to compare themselves. He had held the soldiers to old-fashioned discipline; he had given them less of the booty than they had hoped for from such lavish royal resources, though had he given rein to their greed, they would have left nothing to be deposited in the public treasury. The whole army of Macedonia, angered at their general, were prepared to be slack in attending the assembly for passing the law. But Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been military tribune of the

[3] A similar provision for Marcellus' ovation over Syracuse is recorded in XXVI. xxi. 5. For the voting of a triumph over the refusal of the senate, see III. lxiii. 8–11 and the note.

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militum secundae legionis in Macedonia fuerat, privatim imperatori inimicus, prensando ipse et per suae legionis milites sollicitando stimulaverat, ut
9 frequentes ad suffragium adessent. Imperiosum ducem et malignum antiquando rogationem, quae de triumpho eius ferretur, ulciscerentur. Plebem urbanam secuturam esse militum iudicia. Pecuniam illum dare non potuisse; militem honorem dare posse. Ne speraret ibi fructum gratiae, ubi non meruisset.

XXXVI. His incitatis cum in Capitolio rogationem eam Ti. Sempronius tribunus plebis ferret et privatis de [1] lege dicendi locus esset et [2] ad suadendum, ut in
2 re minime dubia, haud quisquam procederet, Ser. Galba repente processit et a tribunis postulavit ut, quoniam hora iam octava diei esset, nec satis temporis ad demonstrandum haberet, cur L. Aemilium non iuberent [3] triumphare, in posterum diem differrent et mane eam rem agerent: integro sibi die ad
3 causam eam orandam opus esse. Cum tribuni dicere eo die, si quid vellet, iuberent,[3] in noctem rem dicendo extraxit referendo admonendoque exacta acerbe munia militiae; plus laboris, plus periculi, quam desiderasset res, iniunctum; contra in praemiis,
4 in honoribus omnia artata; militiamque, si talibus succedat ducibus, horridiorem asperioremque bel-

[1] de *add. J. F. Gronovius*: *om. V.*
[2] et *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[3] iuberent *Hertz*: iuberet *V.*

second legion in Macedonia, and was personally B.C. 167
hostile to the general, had egged on the men to appear for voting in full numbers, by buttonholing the men himself and urging them through the soldiers of his legion. Let them, said Sulpicius, avenge themselves on their domineering and stingy leader by voting down the proposal concerning his triumph; the city commons would follow the opinion of the soldiers. Paulus had been unable to give them money; but the rank and file were able to award honours. Let him not look for a harvest of gratitude where he had not earned it.

XXXVI. Such was the urging of Sulpicius. When Titus Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed this resolution on the Capitol, and opportunity was given to citizens to speak concerning the law, hardly anyone came forward to urge passage, since the case seemed quite clear. Suddenly Servius Galba came forward and asked of the tribunes, inasmuch as it was now the eighth hour of the day, and time would not serve for him to show cause why they should not allow Lucius Aemilius to celebrate a triumph, that they should adjourn to the following day, and bring the matter up early, because he needed a full day to present his arguments. When the tribunes ordered him to say what he wished on that day, he prolonged the meeting till nightfall with his speaking, recalling and reminding them of the harsh enforcement of military duties; more toil and more danger had been imposed, he said, than the situation demanded; on the other hand, rewards and honours had been without exception restricted; and military service, if success attended this sort of leadership, would be more dreadful and full of hardships in war-

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lantibus,[1] eandem victoribus inopem atque inhonoratam futuram. Macedonas in meliore fortuna quam milites Romanos esse. Si frequentes postero die ad legem antiquandam adessent, intellecturos potentis viros non omnia in ducis, aliquid et in militum manu esse.

6 His vocibus incitati postero die milites tanta frequentia Capitolium compleverunt, ut aditus nulli 7 praeterea ad suffragium ferendum esset. Intro vocatae primae tribus cum antiquarent, concursus in Capitolium principum civitatis factus est, indignum facinus esse clamitantium L. Paulum tanti belli 8 victorem despoliari[2] triumpho; obnoxios imperatores tradi licentiae atque avaritiae militari. Iam nunc nimis saepe per[3] ambitionem peccari; quid, si domini milites imperatoribus imponantur? in Galbam pro se quisque probra ingerere.

9 Tandem hoc tumultu sedato M. Servilius, qui consul et magister equitum fuerat, ut de integro eam rem[4] agerent ab tribunis petere, dicendique sibi 10 ad populum potestatem facerent. Tribuni cum ad deliberandum secessissent, victi auctoritatibus principum de integro agere coeperunt revocaturosque se easdem tribus pronuntiarunt, si M. Servilius aliique privati, qui dicere vellent, dixissent.

[1] asperioremque bellantibus *Fr*: asperiorem vellentibus *V*.
[2] despoliari *J. F. Gronovius*: dispoliari *V*.
[3] militari. Iam nunc nimis saepe per *Jacobs*: militariinunonimisseper *V*.
[4] rem *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

time, and after victory would moreover be left without funds or honours. The fate of the Macedonians was preferable, said Galba, to that of the Roman soldiers. If they turned out in large numbers on the next day to reject the law, men with authority would be made aware that not everything was under the control of the leader, but something also under that of the soldiers. B.C. 167

Roused by these utterances, the soldiers next day filled the Capitol with such a crowd that no one else could approach to cast his vote. When the first tribes [1] called within the enclosure voted against the law, the leaders of the state hastened to gather on the Capitol, crying out that it was an unworthy action to rob Lucius Paulus of his triumph when he had won so great a war; the generals were being helplessly subjected to the insubordination and greed of their men. Even now wrong action was all too often taken for the sake of currying favour; what would happen if soldiers were made the masters of their generals? Each man hurled reproaches on his own score against Galba.

When this uproar had at last been calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul and master of the horse, requested of the tribunes that they should conduct this balloting anew, and give him an opportunity to speak to the people. After the tribunes had retired to consider the proposal, overborne by the influence of the leading men, they began to repeat the proceedings, and announced that they would call the same tribes again, once Marcus Servilius and other citizens who wished to speak, had had their say.

[1] Plutarch *Aemilius* xxxi. 1 says that the vote of the first tribe gave the signal for the protest of the senators.

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XXXVII. Tum Servilius:[1] "quantus imperator L. Aemilius fuerit, Quirites, si ex alia re nulla aestimari posset,[2] vel hoc satis erat quod, cum tam seditiosos et leves milites, tam nobilem, tam temerarium, tam eloquentem ad instigandam multitudinem inimicum in castris haberet, nullam in exercitu sedi- 2 tionem habuit. Eadem severitas imperii, quam nunc oderunt, tum[3] eos continuit. Itaque antiqua disciplina habiti neque dixerunt seditiose quicquam neque[4] fecerunt.

3 "Servius quidem Galba, si in L. Paulo accusando tirocinium ponere et documentum eloquentiae dare voluit, non triumphum impedire debuit, quem, si 4 nihil aliud, senatus iustum esse iudicaverat, sed postero die quam triumphatum esset,[5] privatum eum cum[6] visurus esset, nomen deferret et legibus interrogaret; aut serius paulo, cum primum magistratum[7] ipse cepisset, diem diceret inimico et eum ad[8] 5 populum accusaret. Ita et pretium recte facti triumphum haberet L. Paulus pro egregie bello gesto et poenam, si quid et vetere gloria sua et nova indignum fecisset.

[1] Tum Servilius *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] posset *Madvig*: possit *V.*
[3] tum *Weissenborn*: ut *V.*
[4] habiti neque dixerunt seditiose quicquam neque *Vahlen*: habita neque *V.*
[5] esset *J. F. Gronovius*: est *V.*
[6] cum *add. J. F. Gronovius, Wesenberg*: *om. V.*
[7] magistratum *Kreyssig*: magistratus *V.*
[8] et eum ad *Madvig*: cum ad *V.*

XXXVII. Then Servilius said: "If it were im- B.C. 167
possible, fellow-citizens, to determine from anything else how great a general Lucius Aemilius has shown himself to be this one criterion would have sufficed —that although he had in camp such mutinous and unreliable soldiers, as well as a personal enemy of such high rank, so rash, and so eloquent a rabble-rouser, yet Paulus had no breach of discipline in his army. The same strictness of command which now they hate at that time restrained them. Consequently, being kept under old-fashioned discipline, they neither said nor did anything mutinous.

"As for Servius Galba, if he wished by accusing Lucius Paulus to put his apprenticeship behind him and offer proof of his skill as an orator,[1] he should not have interfered with the triumph, which the senate had adjudged to be proper, to say nothing of other considerations. Rather on the day after the triumph was celebrated, when he would see Paulus a private citizen, he should bring accusation and question him according to law,[2] or a little later, when Galba entered upon his first public office, he should summon his enemy to trial and accuse him before the people. Thus there would accrue to Lucius Paulus not only the triumph which is the due reward for his success in gloriously conducting the war, but also punishment, if he had done anything unworthy of his laurels, both new and old.

[1] Galba became a noted orator, cf. Cicero, *Brutus* xxi. 82 and xxii. 86.

[2] This latter refers to an arraignment of the accused, at which the "question" was whether he pleaded guilty or not guilty.

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6 "Sed videlicet, cui nullum[1] crimen, nullum probrum dicere poterat, eius obtrectare laudes voluit. Diem integrum hesterno die ad[2] accusandum L. Paulum petit; quattuor horas, quantum supererat
7 diei, dicendo absumpsit. Quis umquam tam nocens reus fuit, cuius vitia vitae tot horis expromi non possent? quid interim obiecit, quod L. Paulus, si
8 causam dicat, negatum velit? Duas mihi aliquis contiones parumper faciat, unam militum Macedonicorum, puram alteram et[3] integrioris iudicii a favore et odio, universi populi Romani.[4]

Apud contionem togatam et urbanam prius reus
9 agatur. Quid apud Quirites Romanos, Ser. Galba, diceres? Illa enim tibi tota abscisa oratio esset 'in statione severius et intentius stetisti;[5] vigiliae acerbius et diligentius circumitae sunt; operis plus quam antea fecisti, cum ipse imperator ut[6] exactor circumiret; eodem die et iter fecisti et in aciem ex
10 itinere existi; ne[7] victorem quidem te adquiescere passus est; statim ad persequendos hostes duxit. Cum te praeda partienda locupletem facere posset, pecuniam regiam translaturus in triumpho est et in
11 aerarium laturus.' Haec sicut ad militum animos stimulandos aliquem aculeum habent, qui parum licentiae, parum avaritiae suae inservitum censent,

[1] nullum *add. Novák*: *om. V.*
[2] ad *add. Vascosanus*: *om. V.*
[3] et *hic posuit H. J. Müeller*: *post* iudicii *V.*
[4] universi populi Romani *Madvig*: uniuersisiūd. c. $\overline{\text{pr}}$. *V.*
[5] stetisti *Madvig*: institisti *V.*
[6] ut *Weissenborn*: et *V.*
[7] existi; ne *add. Heraeus*: *om. V.*

"But, if you please, Galba wished to tarnish the B.C. 167
praises of the man to whom he could ascribe no crime, no guilt. Yesterday he asked for a full day in which to accuse Lucius Paulus; actually he squandered in speaking four hours, all that was left of the day. What defendant was ever so guilty that the faults in his life could not be expounded in all those hours? What did Galba say in this time which Lucius Paulus would want to deny, if he were on trial? Let someone, pray, call two meetings for a moment, one of the army of Macedonia, the other unprejudiced and of judgment less impaired by partisanship or hate, a meeting of the whole Roman people.

"Let the defendant be brought first before the meeting in mufti—the civilians. What would you say before the citizen-body of Rome, Servius Galba? For all your speech of yesterday would be cut short: 'You were posted on guard too strictly and watchfully; the sentries were inspected too severely and too frequently; you got more work done than formerly, because the general himself was going the rounds to see that it was done; on the same day you made a march and went from the march out to battle;[1] even when you had won the battle he did not let you rest—he led you at once in pursuit of the enemy. Although he might have made you rich by dividing the spoil, he is planning to carry the royal treasure in his triumph and deposit it in the treasury.' These statements, though they have a certain sting to provoke the temper of the soldiers, who think that Paulus has catered too little to their lack of discipline and their greed, would just as surely have had no

[1] Actually the soldiers had called for battle, and Paulus had refused it, XLIV. xxxvi. 3.

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12 ita apud populum Romanum nihil valuissent, qui, ut vetera atque audita a parentibus suis non repetat, quae ambitione imperatorum clades acceptae sint, quae severitate imperii victoriae partae, proximo certe Punico bello, quid inter M. Minucium magistrum equitum et Q. Fabium Maximum dictatorem 13 interfuerit, meminit. Itaque apparuisset neque[1] accusatorem hiscere potuisse et supervacaneam defensionem[2] Pauli fuisse.

14 "Transeatur ad alteram contionem; nec Quirites vos, sed milites videor appellaturus, si nomen hoc saltem ruborem incutere et verecundiam aliquam imperatoris violandi adferre possit.

XXXVIII. "Equidem ipse aliter adfectus animo sum, qui apud exercitum mihi loqui videar, quam paulo ante eram, cum ad plebem urbanam spectabat 2 oratio. Quid enim[3] dicitis, milites? aliquis est Romae, praeter Persea, qui triumphari de Macedonibus nolit, et eum non isdem manibus discerpitis, quibus Macedonas vicistis? Vincere vos prohibuisset, si potuisset, qui triumphantis urbem inire 3 prohibet. Erratis, milites, si triumphum imperatoris tantum et non militum quoque et universi populi 4 Romani esse decus censetis. Non unius in hoc Pauli honos agitur.[4]

[1] apparuisset neque *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*
[2] hiscere . . . defensionem *Vahlen*: iscire . . . defensione *V.*
[3] enim *Muretus*: etiam *V.*

power to move the Roman people; for even though B.C. 167
the people should not recall the old stories which they heard from their fathers of disasters suffered because generals courted popularity, and of victories won by strictness of command, yet the people surely remember the late Punic War, and what a difference there was between Marcus Minucius the master of horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus the dictator. And so it would have been clear that the accuser could not open his mouth, and that a defence of Paulus was superfluous.

"Let us pass over to the other meeting; and I think I will not address you as 'Citizens,' but as 'Soldiers,' in case this title may at least bring a blush to your cheeks, and instill some scruple against maltreating your general.

XXXVIII. "Indeed the state of my own feelings is different, when I picture myself speaking before the army, than it was previously, when my speech was directed toward the people of the city. For what do you mean, soldiers? Is there anyone in Rome except Perseus who does not want the triumph over Macedonia to be celebrated? And are you not ready to tear such an objector to pieces with the same hands with which you conquered the Macedonians? He who prevents you from entering the city in triumph would have prevented you from winning the victory, had he been able. You are wrong, soldiers, if you suppose that a triumph is an honour only to the general, and not also to the soldiers and to the Roman People as a whole. It is not the glory of Paulus alone which is at stake in this matter.

[4] honos agitur *add Madvig*: *om. V.*

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"Multi etiam, qui ab senatu non impetrarunt triumphum, in monte Albano triumpharunt; nemo L. Paulo magis eripere decus perfecti belli Macedonici potest quam C. Lutatio primi Punici belli, quam P. Cornelio secundi, quam illis, qui post eos[1] triumphaverant; nec L. Paulum minorem aut maiorem imperatorem triumphus faciet; militum magis in hoc universique populi Romani fama agitur, primum ne invidiae et ingrati animi adversus clarissimum quemque civem opinionem habeat et imitari in hoc populum Atheniensem lacerantem invidia principes suos videatur. Satis peccatum in Camillo a maioribus vestris est, quem tamen ante receptam per eum a Gallis urbem violarunt; satis nuper a[2] vobis in P. Africano. Literni domicilium et sedem fuisse domitoris Africae, Literni sepulcrum ostendi erubescamus. Gloria sit[3] par illis viris L. Paulus, iniuria vestra ne exaequetur.[4]

"Haec igitur primum infamia deleatur, foeda apud alias gentes, damnosa apud nostros. Quis enim aut Africani aut Pauli similis esse in tam[5] ingrata et inimica bonis civitate velit? si infamia nulla esset et de gloria tantum ageretur, qui tandem triumphus non communem nominis Romani gloriam habet? Tot de Gallis triumphi, tot de Hispanis, tot de Poenis

[1] illis, qui post eos *Sigonius*: illi qui *V*.
[2] nuper a *Madvig*: insuper *V*.
[3] sit *Madvig*: sic *V*.
[4] ne exaequetur *Madvig*: exsequetur *V*.
[5] in tam *add. Bas*: *om. V*.

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[1] Cf. XXXVIII. liii. 8 and lvi. 3, where Livy says he is following Valerius Antias.

" Furthermore, many who did not secure a triumph B.C. 167
from the senate celebrated their triumph on the Alban Mount. No one can deprive Lucius Paulus of the glory of bringing the Macedonian war to an end any more than he can deprive Gaius Lutatius of credit for the First Punic War, or Publius Cornelius of that for the Second, or the others who have more recently celebrated triumphs. A triumph will make Lucius Paulus neither greater nor less as a general; rather it is the reputation of the soldiers and that of the Roman People as a whole which is at stake in this matter, in the first place that Rome may not gain a reputation for a jealous and ungrateful spirit toward her most distinguished citizens, and seem in this respect to be imitating the people of Athens who in their envy buffet their leading men. Enough of a crime was committed by your ancestors against Camillus—though they wronged him before his recovery of the city from the Gauls; enough was done by yourselves against Publius Africanus. Let us blush that the home and abode of the conqueror of Africa was at Liternum, and that it is at Liternum that his tomb is displayed.[1] Let Lucius Paulus rival these men in glory, but let him not be their equal in suffering injustice at your hands.

"Let therefore this disgrace be in the first place blotted out—a disgrace odious before other peoples, and harmful to ourselves. For who would want to emulate either Africanus or Paulus in a city so ungrateful and so hostile to excellence? If there were no question of disgrace, and only glory were at stake, what possible triumph does not embody the glory of the Roman name which we all share? Are the many triumphs which have been celebrated over the Gauls,

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ipsorum tantum imperatorum an populi Romani dicuntur? Quemadmodum non de Pyrrho modo nec de Hannibale, sed de Epirotis Carthaginiensibusque[1] triumphi acti sunt, sic non M'. Curius tantum nec P. Cornelius, sed Romani triumpharunt.
12 Militum quidem propria est causa, qui et ipsi laureati et quisque donis, quibus donati sunt, insignes Triumphum nomine cientes[2] suasque et imperatoris
13 laudes canentes per urbem incedunt. Si quando non deportati ex provincia milites ad triumphum sunt,[3] fremunt; et tamen tum[4] quoque se absentis, quod suis manibus parta victoria sit, triumphare
14 credunt. Si quis vos interroget, milites, ad quam rem in Italiam deportati et non statim confecta provincia dimissi sitis, quid Romam frequentes sub signis veneritis, quid moremini hic et non diversi domos quisque abeatis vestras, quid aliud respondeatis, quam vos triumphantis videri velle? Vos certe victores conspici velle debebatis.

XXXIX. "Triumphatum nuper de Philippo, patre huius, et de Antiocho est; ambo regnabant, cum de iis[5] triumphatum est. De Perseo capto, in urbem cum liberis adducto[6] non triumphabitur?
2 Quodsi in curru scandentis Capitolium, auratos

[1] Carthaginiensibusque *Fr*: Carthaginiensibus et Macedonibus *V*.
[2] cientes *Madvig*: cient *V*.
[3] sunt *Madvig*: sint *V*.
[4] tum *Gruter*: suum *V*.
[5] iis *Kreyssig*: his *V*.
[6] adducto *Perizonius*: abducto *V*.

[1] There is a reference to the victory of Curius in Summary XIV; Scipio's triumph is mentioned in XXX. xlv.

over the Spaniards, over the Carthaginians spoken of B.C. 167
as pertaining merely to the generals themselves, or to the Roman People? Just as triumphs are celebrated, not merely over Pyrrhus or Hannibal, but over the people of Epirus or Carthage, so not Manius Curius or Publius Cornelius alone,[1] but the Romans celebrated the triumph. Soldiers indeed are directly interested in the matter, for they too are crowned with laurel, while each man is adorned with the decorations he has been given; they parade through the city invoking the spirit of Triumph by name and singing their own praises and those of their general. If on some occasion the soldiers are not brought back from the field for the triumph, they grumble; and yet even on such an occasion they believe that they are included in the triumph, though absent, because the victory has been won by their hands. If someone should ask you, soldiers, for what purpose you were transported to Italy, and were not dismissed at once when your mission had been completed, if he should ask why you had come to Rome in complete military units, why you were lingering here and were not dispersing, each to his own home, what would you answer but that you wished to be seen celebrating your triumph? Certainly you yourselves ought to have wanted to make a public appearance as conquerors.

XXXIX. "Triumphs have been celebrated in recent years over Philip, the father of this king, and over Antiochus; both were still on the throne when the triumph was celebrated. Shall no triumph be celebrated over Perseus, who was taken prisoner and brought with his children to Rome? Nay, if while the other commanders were mounting the Capitol in

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purpuratosque, ex inferiore loco L. Paulus in turba togatorum unus privatus interroget ' L. Anici, Cn. Octavi, utrum vos digniores triumpho esse an me censetis ? ' curru ei cessuri et [1] prae pudore videntur
3 insignia ipsi sua traditurі. Et vos Gentium quam Persea duci in triumpho mavoltis, Quirites, et de accessione potius belli quam de bello triumphari ?
4 Et legiones ex Illyrico laureatae urbem inibunt et navales socii ; Macedonicae legiones suo abrogato triumphos alienos spectabunt ? Quid deinde tam opima praeda,[2] tam opulentae victoriae spoliis fiet ?
5 quonam abdentur illa tot milia armorum detracta corporibus hostium ? an in Macedoniam remittentur ? quo signa aurea, marmorea, eburnea, tabulae pictae, textilia, tantum argenti caelati, tantum auri, tanta
6 pecunia regia ? an noctu tamquam furtiva in aerarium deportabuntur ? quid ? illud spectaculum maximum, nobilissimus opulentissimusque rex captus, ubi
7 victori populo ostendetur ? [3] Quos Syphax rex captus, accessio Punici belli, concursus fecerit, plerique meminimus. Perseus rex captus, Philippus et Alexander, filii regis, tanta nomina, subtrahentur
8 civitatis oculis ? Ipsum L. Paulum, bis consulem, domitorem Graeciae, omnium oculi conspicere urbem curru ingredientem avent ; ad hoc fecimus consulem,

[1] curru ei cessuri et *Wachendorf* : currumicẽ suriest *V*.
[2] opima praeda *J. F. Gronovius* : opimae praedae *V*.
[3] ostendetur *Gruter* : ostenditur *V*.

the chariot, arrayed in their gold and purple, from B.C. 167
below them Lucius Paulus, a lone citizen in the crowd of civilians, should ask them, 'Lucius Anicius, Gnaeus Octavius, do you consider yourselves more worthy of a triumph, or me?' they would, I believe, yield him their place in the chariot and for very shame hand their regalia over to him. Do you prefer, fellow-citizens, to have Gentius rather than Perseus led in a triumph, and the celebration to be made for an appendage to the war rather than for the war itself? The legions from Illyricum will also enter the city crowned with laurel, and so will the sailors; shall the legions of Macedonia witness the triumphs of others after their own has been cancelled? What then shall become of so kingly a booty, of the spoils of so rich a victory? What, pray, shall be the hiding-place for all those thousand sets of arms stripped from the bodies of the enemy? Shall they be sent back to Macedonia? What of the golden statues, the marbles, the ivories, the paintings, the rare stuffs, all the embossed silver, all the gold, all the royal money? Shall they be carried to the treasury by night as if stolen? And what is more—that greatest of shows, a royal prisoner of highest birth and greatest riches—where shall he be displayed to the people who have gained the victory? Many of us can recall what crowds were drawn by the sight of King Syphax as prisoner, an appendage to the war with Carthage. Shall our prisoner King Perseus, shall the king's sons, Philip and Alexander, names of such potency,—shall they be removed from the sight of the commonwealth? Lucius Paulus himself, twice consul, conqueror of Greece—all eyes are eager to behold him entering the city in his chariot; to this end we made him consul,

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ut bellum per quadriennium ingenti etiam pudore
9 nostro[1] tractum perficeret. Cui sortito provinciam, cui proficiscenti praesagientibus animis victoriam triumphumque destinavimus, ei victori triumphum negaturi sumus? et quidem[2] non tantum eum,[3] sed deos etiam
10 suo honore fraudaturi? Dis quoque enim, non solum hominibus, debetur triumphus.[4] Maiores vestri omnium magnarum rerum et principia exorsi
11 a dis sunt[5] et finem statuerunt. Consul proficiscens praetorve paludatis lictoribus in provinciam et ad bellum vota in Capitolio nuncupat; victor perpetrato bello[6] eodem in Capitolium[7] triumphans ad eosdem deos, quibus vota nuncupavit, merita dona portans[8]
12 redit. Pars non minima triumphi est victimae praecedentes, ut appareat dis grates agentem imperatorem ob rem publicam bene gestam redire.
13 Omnis illas victimas, quas traducendas in triumphum dicavit,[9] alias alio abducentes mactate![10] Quid enim?[11] illae epulae senatus, quae nec privato loco nec publico profano, sed in Capitolio eduntur, utrum hominum voluptatis causa an deorum honoris[12] fiunt?

[1] nostro *Bas*: nostrum *V*.
[2] sumus? et quidem *Madvig*: equidem *V*.
[3] eum *add. Weissenborn*: *om. V*.
[4] triumphus *J. F. Gronovius*: utrũ *V*.
[5] exorsi a dis sunt *Fr*: etobsiad discut *V*.
[6] bello *add. Madvig*: *om. V*.
[7] Capitolium *Kreyssig*: Capitolio *V*.
[8] dona portans *Madvig*: bonaque p̄r. trans *V*: dona bonaque populi Romani portans *Rossbach*.
[9] traducendas in triumphum dicavit *Turnebus*: traducendo in triumpho indicavit *V*.
[10] alio abducentes mactate *H. J. Müller*: aliosdē temactati *V*.
[11] enim? illae *Weissenborn*: emillae *V*.

that he might bring to an end the war which to B.C. 167
nothing less than our great shame had dragged on through four years. When he was allotted this field of operations, when he left home, we marked him for victory and triumph with minds that read the future; and shall we deny him a triumph when he has won his victory? Nay more—shall we rob not only Paulus, but even the gods, of the honour that belongs to them? For it is to the gods too, not only to men, that we owe a triumph.[1] Your ancestors made the gods their starting-point in every important enterprise, and likewise resorted to them at the conclusion. When consul or praetor, his lictors in their military dress, sets out for his field of action and to war, he proclaims his vows upon the Capitol; when war has ended in victory, he returns in triumph to the same gods on the same Capitol, and brings them the well-earned gifts, as he promised them in his vows. No small part of a triumphal procession is formed by the sacrificial animals going ahead, which make it clear that the general is returning with thanksgiving to the gods for success on behalf of the commonwealth. Away with all those sacrificial victims which he has assigned to be led in the triumphal procession, and offer them up, some here, some there! I ask you! What of the banquet of the senate, which is not held on private property, nor on the unconsecrated land of the state, but on the Capitol—is this ceremony held for the pleasure of men, or in honour of the gods?

[1] Elsewhere (XXVI. xxi. 3; XXXI. xlviii. 12) Livy makes use of the argument that thanksgivings must be followed by a triumph.

[12] honoris *Crévier*: hominumque *V*.

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14 "Quae omnia[1] auctore Servio Galba turbaturi estis? L. Pauli triumpho portae claudentur? Rex Macedonum Perseus cum liberis et turba alia captivorum, spolia Macedonum, in circo Flaminio[2] relinquentur? L. Paulus privatus tamquam rure
15 rediens a porta domum ibit? Et tu, centurio, miles, quid de imperatore Paulo senatus decrevit potius quam quid Servius Galba fabuletur, audi; et hoc[3]
16 dicere me potius quam illum audi. Ille nihil praeterquam loqui, et id ipsum[4] maledice ac maligne, didicit; ego ter et viciens cum hoste provocato pugnavi;[5] ex omnibus, cum quibus manum conserui, spolia rettuli; insigne corpus honestis cicatricibus, omnibus adverso corpore exceptis, habeo."

17 Nudasse deinde se dicitur et, quo quaeque bello volnera accepta essent, rettulisse. Quae dum ostentat, adapertis forte, quae velanda erant, tumor inguinum proximis risum movit.

18 Tum "hoc quoque, quod ridetis", inquit, "in equo dies noctesque persedendo habeo, nec magis me eius quam cicatricum harum pudet paenitetque, quando numquam mihi impedimento ad rem
19 publicam bene gerendam domi militiaeque fuit. Ego hoc ferro saepe vexatum corpus vetus miles adulescentibus militibus ostendi: Galba nitens et integrum

[1] fiunt? Quae omnia *add. Zingerle*: *om.* V: parantur; et vos eas *Weissenborn.*

[2] in Circo Flaminio *Koch*: circa fluminio V.

[3] quid de imperatore Paulo senatus decrevit potius quam quid Ser. Galba fabuletur, audi; et hoc *Fr*: quibus ab imperatore Paulo donatus decrevit potius quam Ser. Galba fabulentur audis et hoc V: et tum, centurio milesque, quibus ab imperatore Paulo donatus es, decreta potius quam quid Ser. Galba fabuletur, audisti et hodie *Madvig.*

[4] et id ipsum *ed. Aldina, J. F. Gronovius*: etipsud V.

"Will you play havoc with all these rites at the B.C. 167
instigation of Servius Galba? Will the gates be closed to the triumph of Lucius Paulus? Will King Perseus of Macedonia, together with his sons, the throng of other prisoners, and the spoils of Macedonia, be left behind in the Flaminian Circus? Will Lucius Paulus go home from the gate as a private citizen, as if he were returning from his country house? You, centurion, and you, private, harken to what the senate decrees about General Paulus rather than what Servius Galba babbles, and harken too to my speech rather than his. He has learned nothing except talk, and that of a slanderous and malicious sort; I have on twenty-three occasions challenged and fought an enemy; I brought back the spoils of every man with whom I duelled; I possess a body adorned with honourable scars, every one of them received in front."

He then stripped, it is said, and told in which war he had received each wound. While displaying these, he by chance uncovered what should have remained concealed, and the swelling of his groin raised a laugh among those nearby.

"This too," he then said, "at which you are laughing I got by sitting my horse through whole days and nights; and I feel no more shame or regret for this than for these wounds of mine, since it never hindered me from successfully conducting affairs of state at home or in the field. As a veteran soldier before young soldiers, I have displayed this body of mine which has often been marred by the sword; let Galba uncover his sleek and untouched person.

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[5] provocato pugnavi *Hertz*: per provocatio pugnauit *V*.

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20 denudet. Revocate, si videtur, tribuni, ad suffragium tribus; ego ad vos, milites, . . .

XL. Summam[1] omnis captivi auri argentique translati sestertium[2] milliens ducenties fuisse Valerius Antias tradit; qua haud dubie[3] maior aliquanto summa ex numero plaustrorum ponderibusque auri, argenti generatim ab ipso scriptis absumptum
2 efficitur. Alterum tantum aut in bellum proximum aut in fuga, cum Samothracen peteret, dissipatum tradunt: eoque id mirabilius erat, quod tantum pecuniae intra triginta annos post bellum Philippi cum Romanis partim ex fructu metallorum, partim
3 ex vectigalibus aliis coacervatum fuerat. Itaque admodum inops pecuniae Philippus, Perseus contra praedives bellare cum Romanis coepit.
4 Ipse postremo Paulus in curru, magnam cum dignitate alia corporis, tum senecta ipsa maiestatem prae se ferens; post[4] currum inter alios illustres viros filii duo, Q. Maximus[5] et P. Scipio; deinde equites turmatim et cohortes peditum suis quaeque ordinibus.
5 Peditі in singulos dati centeni denarii,[6] duplex centurioni, triplex[7] equiti. Alterum[8] tantum peditі

[1] *folium unum amissum*; summam *Fr*: mam *V*.
[2] sestertium *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] qua haud dubie *J. F. Gronovius*: queautdubie *V*.
[4] post *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[5] Q. Maximus *Sigonius*: maximum *V*.
[6] denarii *add. J. F. Gronovius, H. J. Müller*: *om. V*.
[7] centurioni, triplex *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[8] alterum *add. Muretus*: *om. V*.

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxi. 6, supplies the conclusion, the bracketed words being suggested by this: "I shall come down and accompany (you) all and shall discover the base and un-

Tribunes, call back the tribes, if you please, to the voting; I [will join] you, soldiers . . .'' [1] B.C. 167

XL. The total of all the captured gold and silver which was carried in the procession was one hundred and twenty million sesterces, according to the account of Valerius Antias; no doubt a somewhat larger total than this is made up from the number of wagons and the weights of gold and silver in various forms which are mentioned by this same author.[2] As much again was either expended in the late war, or scattered during the flight, when Perseus was making for Samothrace, according to the historians; and this fact is the more marvellous, because this huge sum of money was accumulated within thirty years after Philip's war with the Romans, partly from the output of the mines, and partly from other revenues. Philip therefore began his war against Rome when he was rather ill-supplied with funds, but Perseus, when he was very rich.

Paulus himself came last in his chariot, showing a magnificent presence not only because of the general dignity of his bearing, but because of his advanced age as well. After the chariot came his two sons, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio, among other distinguished men; then came the cavalry by troops, and the units of infantry, rank by rank. Each infantryman received one hundred denarii, each centurion, twice the amount, and each cavalryman,

grateful who prefer to be led in war by demagogues rather than generals.''

Also missing is the date of the triumph, Nov. 27–29, C.I.L.[2] I. i. p. 48, xxvii, and the description of most of the triumphal procession, cf. Diodorus XXXI. xiii.

[2] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxii, mentions 750 vessels, each containing three talents of coined silver.

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daturum fuisse credunt et pro rata aliis, si aut in suffragio honori eius favissent,[1] aut benigne hac ipsa summa pronuntiata[2] acclamassent.[3]

6 Sed non Perseus tantum per illos dies documentum humanorum casuum fuit, in catenis ante currum victoris ducis per urbem hostium ductus, sed etiam victor 7 Paulus, auro purpuraque fulgens. Nam duobus e filiis, quos duobus datis in adoptionem solos nominis, sacrorum familiaeque heredes retinuerat domi, minor, duodecim[4] ferme annos natus, quinque diebus ante triumphum, maior, quattuordecim annorum, 8 triduo post triumphum decessit; quos praetextatos curru vehi cum patre, sibi ipsos similis destinantis[5] 9 triumphos, oportuerat. Paucis post diebus data a M. Antonio tribuno plebis contione, cum de suis rebus gestis more ceterorum imperatorum edissereret, memorabilis[6] eius oratio et digna Romano principe fuit.

XLI. "Quamquam, et qua[7] felicitate rem publicam administraverim, et quae duo[8] fulmina domum meam per hos dies perculerint, non ignorare vos, Quirites, arbitror, cum spectaculo vobis nunc triumphus meus, nunc funera liberorum meorum fuerint, 2 tamen paucis, quaeso, sinatis me cum publica

[1] in suffragio . . . favissent *Harant*: non suffragi . . . fuissent *V*.

[2] pronuntiata *Muretus*: nuntiata *V*.

[3] acclamassent *Fr*: classe *V*.

[4] duodecim *add. Fr, Heraeus*: *om. V*.

[5] destinantis *Novák*: praedestinantis *V*.

[6] edissereret, memorabilis *H. J. Müller*: dedissetre morabilis *V*.

[7] et qua *Madvig*: ob quã l. paulorationadpr. *V*.

[8] administraverim, et quae duo *J. F. Gronovius*: administraverit et duo *V*.

three times as much. It is thought that double the amount would have been given to the infantry, and proportionately to the rest, if they had supported Paulus' triumph in the voting, or had cheerfully applauded the announcement of the gift as actually given. B.C. 167

But Perseus was not the only testimony at this time to the state of human fortunes, as he was led in chains before the chariot of his conqueror through the city of his enemies; the conqueror Paulus, in the splendour of his gold and purple, was no less a witness. For of the two sons whom he kept at home as the only heirs of his name, his family rites, and his household, after he had given two other sons to be adopted,[1] the younger boy, aged about twelve, died five days before the triumph, and the elder, fourteen years old, died three days after the festivity. These were the minor boys who should have ridden with their father in the chariot, secretly planning like triumphs for themselves. When a few days later an assembly of the commons was called by Marcus Antonius the tribune, and Paulus discoursed, as was customary for commanders, on his exploits, his speech was noteworthy and well-suited to a leading Roman:

XLI. "Although you, my fellow-citizens, are not unaware, I believe, of the good fortune with which I have conducted the affairs of the state, and of the two thunderbolts which have recently struck my house—for you were eyewitnesses first of my triumph, and then of the funerals of my sons—yet I beg you to permit me in a few words to compare, in the proper

[1] See above, XLIV. xxxv. 14 and the note; Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxv.

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felicitate comparare eo, quo debeo, animo privatam meam fortunam.

3 " Profectus ex Italia classem a Brundisio sole orto solvi; nona diei hora cum omnibus meis navibus Corcyram tenui. Inde quinto die Delphis Apollini pro me exercitibusque et classibus vestris [1] sacrificavi.

4 A Delphis quinto die in castra perveni; ubi exercitu accepto, mutatis quibusdam quae magna impedimenta victoriae erant, progressus, quia inexpugnabilia castra [2] hostium erant neque cogi pugnare poterat rex, inter praesidia eius saltum ad Petram

5 evasi et ad Pydnam regem [3] acie vici; Macedoniam in potestatem populi Romani redegi et, quod bellum per quadriennium tres [4] ante me consules ita gesserunt, ut semper successori traderent gravius, id ego

6 quindecim diebus perfeci. Aliarum deinde secundarum rerum velut proventus secutus; civitates omnes Macedoniae se dediderunt, gaza regia in potestatem venit, rex ipse tradentibus prope ipsis dis in templo Samothracum cum liberis est captus. Mihi quoque ipsi nimia iam fortuna [5] videri eoque

7 suspecta esse. Maris pericula timere coepi in tanta pecunia regia in Italiam traicienda et victore exercitu

8 transportando. Postquam omnia secundo navium cursu in Italiam pervenerunt neque erat quod ultra precarer, illud optavi ut, cum ex summo retro volvi fortuna consuesset, mutationem eius domus mea

[1] vestris *Sigonius*: lustri *V*.
[2] castra *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] Pydnam regem *Madvig*: pugnam rege *V*.
[4] quadriennium tres *Leutsch*: iiii *V*.
[5] fortuna *Hertz*: fortunam *V*.

spirit, my personal fortune with the good fortune of B.C. 167
the state.

"When I left Italy, I set sail from Brundisium at sunrise; at the ninth hour of the day I reached Corcyra with all my ships. Five days later at Delphi I offered sacrifice to Apollo on my own behalf, and on that of your armies and fleets. From Delphi I arrived five days later in camp. I took command of the army, removed certain great obstacles to victory, and advanced. Because the camp of the enemy was impregnable, and the king could not be compelled to fight, I slipped between his garrisons through the pass at Petra,[1] and at Pydna I conquered the king in battle. I brought Macedonia under the control of the Roman People, and in fifteen days I finished a war which three consuls before me had waged over a period of four years, each in such a way as always to leave a worse situation for his successor. A harvest, as it were, of further successes followed; all the cities of Macedonia surrendered, the royal treasures were secured, the king was taken prisoner along with his children in the temple of Samothrace, almost as if the gods themselves delivered him into our hands. Even to me this good fortune seemed excessive, and therefore I viewed it askance. I began to fear the dangers of the sea during the carrying of the great royal treasure to Italy, and the transfer of the victorious army. After everything had been brought to Italy in a successful voyage, and I had nothing left to pray for, my hope was that, since fortune is wont to plunge downward from its high point, the brunt of this

[1] For this pass, cf. XLIV. xxxii. 9; xxxv, end, and the note. Diodorus XXXI. xviii practically reproduces Livy's sentence above.

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9 potius quam res publica sentiret. Itaque defunctam esse fortunam publicam mea tam insigni calamitate spero, quod triumphus meus, velut ad ludibrium casuum humanorum, duobus funeribus liberorum
10 meorum est interpositus. Et cum ego et Perseus nunc nobilia maxime sortis mortalium exempla spectemur, ille, qui ante se captivos captivus[1] ipse
11 duci liberos vidit, incolumes tamen eos habet; ego, qui de illo triumphavi, ab alterius funere filii currum conscendi, rediens alterum[2] ex Capitolio prope iam expirantem inveni;[3] neque ex tanta stirpe liberum
12 superest, qui L. Aemili Pauli nomen ferat. Duos enim tamquam ex magna progenie liberorum in adoptionem datos Cornelia et Fabia gens habent; Paulus in domo praeter senem[4] nemo superest. Sed hanc cladem domus meae vestra felicitas et secunda fortuna publica consolatur."

XLII. Haec tanto dicta animo magis confudere audientium animos quam si miserabiliter orbitatem suam deflendo locutus esset.

2 Cn. Octavius kalendis Decembribus de rege Perseo navalem triumphum egit. Is triumphus sine captivis
3 fuit, sine spoliis. Dedit sociis navalibus in singulos denarios septuagenos quinos, gubernatoribus, qui in navibus fuerant, duplex, magistris navium quadruplex.
4 Senatus deinde habitus est. Patres censuerunt ut Q. Cassius Persea regem cum Alexandro filio Albam in custodiam duceret; comites, pecuniam, argentum,

[1] captivus *add. Fr*: *om. V.*
[2] conscendi, rediens alterum *add. Vahlen*: *om. V.*
[3] expirantem inveni *Vahlen*: expirantes veni *V.*
[4] senem *Zingerle*: sed *V.*

[1] Alba Fucens, mentioned as a place of custody in XXX. xvii. 2 and Summary LXI.

change should fall not upon the state, but upon my household. And so I hope that the fortune of Rome has completed its course in so extraordinary a disaster as mine, since my triumph, as if in mockery of human vicissitudes, was interposed between the two funerals of my sons. Both Perseus and I are now on view as especially conspicuous samples of man's lot. Yet he, who as a prisoner saw his children led as prisoners before him, yet has those children unharmed; whereas I who celebrated the triumph over him mounted my chariot after the funeral of one son, and when I returned from the Capitol found the other almost on the point of death, nor is there one left of so splendid a generation of sons to carry on the name of Lucius Aemilius Paulus. For two sons were given in adoption, as if from a great stock of children, and they belong to the Cornelian and Fabian clans. Not a Paulus is left in my house, save one old man. But I am consoled in this disaster to my house by your happiness and the good fortune of the state." B.C. 167

XLII. These words, spoken with such magnificent spirit, caused more turmoil of soul to the hearers than if his speech had been a pitiable lamentation for his bereavement.

On the first of December, Gnaeus Octavius held a naval triumph over King Perseus. This triumph was unadorned with prisoners or spoils. Octavius presented to each of the sailors seventy-five denarii, to the pilots of the ships twice as much, and to the captains, four times the amount.

The senate then met. The Fathers voted that Quintus Cassius should conduct King Perseus with his son Alexander to Alba[1] for safe-keeping; he was to permit the king to keep intact the staff, money, silver,

u.c. 587 instrumentum, quod haberet, nihil detrahens habere sineret; Bithys, filius Cotyis,[1] regis Thracum, cum[2] obsidibus in custodiam Carseolos est missus. Ceteros captivos, qui in triumpho ducti erant, in carcerem condi placuit.

6 Paucos post dies, quam haec acta erant,[3] legati ab Cotye, rege Thracum, venerunt pecuniam ad redi-
7 mendum filium aliosque obsides adportantes. Eis in senatum introductis et id ipsum argumenti praetendentibus orationi,[4] non sua voluntate Cotyn bello iuvisse Persea, quod obsides dare coactus esset, orantibusque ut eos pretio, quantum ipsi statuissent
8 patres, redimi paterentur, responsum ex auctoritate senatus est, populum Romanum meminisse amicitiae, quae cum Cotye maioribusque eius et gente Thracum
9 fuisset. Obsides datos crimen, non criminis defensionem esse, cum Thracum genti ne quietus quidem Perseus, nedum bello Romano occupatus timendus
10 fuerit. Ceterum, etsi Cotys Persei gratiam praetulisset amicitiae populi Romani, magis quid se dignum esset, quam quid merito eius fieri posset, aestima-
11 turum, filium atque obsides ei remissurum. Beneficia gratuita esse populi Romani; pretium eorum malle relinquere in accipientium animis quam praesens exigere.

[1] detrahens habere sineret; Bithys, filius Cotyis *add. Madvig*: *om. V.*
[2] Thracum, cum *Madvig*: tracũ *V.*
[3] quam haec acta erant *Madvig*: qua haec tanta *V.*
[4] orationi *J. F. Gronovius*: orationis *V.*

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[1] Plutarch, *Aemilius* xxxvii relates that Perseus died no long while after by self-starvation; though a story was told that his guards caused his death from sleeplessness by over-

and furnishings which he had. Bithys, the son of B.C. 167
Cotys, King of Thrace, was sent with the hostages to Carseoli for safe-keeping. It was voted to place in the prison the other prisoners who were led in the triumph.[1]

A few days after these transactions, envoys came from Cotys, King of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the other hostages. When these envoys were brought before the senate, they used the fact itself as the theme of their apology, saying that Cotys had not voluntarily aided Perseus in the war, because he had been compelled to give hostages; the envoys pleaded that they should be permitted to ransom them for whatever amount the Fathers themselves might determine. The answer authorized by the senate was that the Roman People were mindful of the friendship which had existed between them and Cotys, his ancestors, and the people of Thrace; but the giving of hostages constituted an accusation, not a defence against accusation, since the Thracian people had no reason to fear Perseus even when he was at peace, to say nothing of his being involved in a war against Rome. However, although Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman People, the latter would reckon rather what was worthy of themselves than what action would answer to his deserts, and would send him back his son and his hostages. Benefits conferred by the Roman People, said the senate, are without charge; the Romans prefer to leave the price on deposit in the hearts of the recipients rather than to demand cash down.

officious attentions. His son Alexander learned a trade, and presumably lived out a normal life.

U.C. 587 Legati tres nominati, T. Quinctius Flamininus,[1] C. Licinius Nerva, M. Caninius Rebilus, qui obsides in Thraciam reducerent; et Thracibus munera data
12 in singulos binum milium aeris. Bithys cum ceteris obsidibus a Carseolis accersitus ad patrem cum legatis missus.

Naves regiae captae de Macedonibus invisitatae ante magnitudinis in campo Martio subductae sunt.

XLIII. Haerente adhuc non in animis modo, sed paene in oculis memoria Macedonici triumphi L. Anicius Quirinalibus triumphavit de rege Gentio
2 Illyriisque. Similia omnia magis visa hominibus quam paria; minor ipse imperator, et nobilitate Anicius cum Aemilio et iure imperii praetor cum consule conlatus; non Gentius Perseo, non Illyrii Macedonibus, non spolia spoliis, non pecunia pecuniae,[2] non dona donis comparari poterant.
3 Itaque sicut praefulgebat huic triumphus recens, ita apparebat ipsum per se intuentibus nequaquam esse
4 contemnendum. Perdomuerat intra paucos dies terra marique ferocem, locis munimentisque [3] fretam gentem Illyriorum; regem regiaeque omnes stirpis ceperat.

Transtulit in triumpho multa militaria signa
5 spoliaque alia et supellectilem regiam, auri pondo viginti et septem, argenti decem et novem pondo,

[1] tres nominati, T. Quinctius Flamininus *Madvig*: trans nominatius quintius idaminimus *V*.

[2] spoliis, non pecunia pecuniae *Sigonius*: sponsiliis non pecuniae *V*.

[3] munimentisque *Kreyssig*: monumentisque *V*.

[1] February 17.

Three envoys, Titus Quinctius Flamininus, Gaius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus, were appointed to escort the hostages back to Thrace. Gifts of two thousand *asses* apiece were given to the Thracians. Bithys was summoned, along with the other hostages, from Carseoli, and was sent off to his father with the envoys. B.C. 167

The king's ships captured from the Macedonians, of a size never previously seen, were beached by the Campus Martius.

XLIII. While recollections of the Macedonian triumph remained not only in people's minds, but almost before their eyes, Lucius Anicius celebrated his triumph over King Gentius and the Illyrians on the festival of Quirinus.[1] Men saw in each detail a resemblance, but no equality. The commander himself was the lesser, both in public esteem, as an Anicius compared with an Aemilius, and in rank of office, a praetor rather than a consul. Gentius could not be compared to Perseus, the Illyrians to the Macedonians, nor the spoils of the one to those of the other, nor the moneys, nor the gifts to the soldiers. But though accordingly the previous triumph outshone this one, yet it was also clear to those who contemplated this one on its merits that it was by no means to be scorned. Within a few days Anicius had overcome the Illyrian people, bold on both land and sea, and confident in their terrain and their fortifications; he had captured the king and all the royal family.

In his triumph he bore through the city many military standards and other booty, as well as the royal furniture, twenty-seven pounds of gold, nineteen pounds of silver, thirteen thousand denarii, and

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denarium decem tria milia et centum viginti milia
6 Illyrici argenti. Ante currum ducti Gentius rex
cum coniuge et liberis et Caravantius, frater regis, et
7 aliquot nobiles Illyrii. De praeda militibus in
singulos quadragenos quinos denarios, duplex cen-
turioni, triplex equiti, sociis nominis Latini quantum
civibus, et sociis navalibus dedit quantum militibus.
8 Laetior hunc triumphum est secutus miles, multisque
dux ipse carminibus celebratus. Sestertium du-
centiens ex ea praeda redactum esse auctor est
Antias, praeter aurum argentumque, quod in
aerarium sit latum; quod quia unde redigi potuerit
non apparebat, auctorem pro re posui.
9 Rex Gentius cum liberis et coniuge et fratre
Spoletium in custodiam ex senatus consulto ductus,
ceteri captivi Romae in carcerem coniecti; recusanti-
busque custodiam Spoletinis Iguvium[1] reges tra-
10 ducti. Reliquum ex Illyrico praedae ducenti viginti
lembi erant; de Gentio rege captos eos Corcyraeis
et Apolloniatibus et Dyrrhachinis Q. Cassius ex
senatus consulto tribuit.

XLIV. Consules eo anno agro tantum Ligurum
populato, cum hostes exercitus numquam eduxissent,
nulla re memorabili gesta Romam ad magistratus
subrogandos redierunt et primo comitiali die consules
2 crearunt M. Claudium Marcellum, C. Sulpicium
Gallum, deinde praetores postero die L. Iulium, L.

[1] Iguvium *Turnebus*: igituruium V.

[1] Probably the *victoriati*, of 53 grains, which the Romans later imitated for use about the Adriatic, cf. XLI. xiii. 7.

one hundred and twenty thousand Illyrian silver- B.C. 167
pieces.[1] Before the chariot were led King Gentius with his wife and children, Caravantius the king's brother, and several prominent Illyrians. Anicius gave from the booty to each soldier forty-five denarii, double the amount to each centurion, and three times as much to the cavalry; the allies of the Latin Name received as much as the Romans, and the sailors as much as the soldiers. The soldiery followed this triumph in better spirits, and the leader was the subject of many songs. Twenty million sesterces was realized from this booty, according to Antias, besides the gold and silver delivered to the treasury; since it was not clear to me from what source this amount could be derived, I have quoted an historian instead of stating a fact.

King Gentius with his wife, his children, and his brother, was taken to Spoletium for safe-keeping, in accordance with a decree of the senate. The other prisoners were thrown into the prison at Rome. When the people of Spoletium refused to take custody, the royal family was transferred to Iguvium. There remained from the Illyrian booty two hundred and twenty scout-ships; as prizes taken from King Gentius they were presented to the people of Corcyra, Apollonia, and Dyrrhachium by Quintus Cassius, in accordance with a decree of the senate.

XLIV. In that year the consuls merely ravaged the fields of the Ligurians, since the enemy never led out their forces. Without accomplishing anything worthy of note, the consuls returned to Rome to attend to the election of their successors, and on the first day of the elections, declared Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Gaius Sulpicius Gallus elected as consuls. On the next day there were elected as

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Apuleium Saturninum, A. Licinium Nervam, P. Rutilium Calvum, P. Quinctilium Varum, M. Fonteium. His praetoribus duae urbanae provinciae sunt decretae, duae Hispaniae, Sicilia ac Sardinia.

3 Intercalatum eo anno; postridie Terminalia kal.[1] intercalariae fuerunt. Augur eo anno mortuus est C. Claudius: in eius locum augures legerunt T. Quinctium Flamininum. Et flamen Quirinalis mortuus Q.[2] Fabius Pictor.

4 Eo anno rex Prusia venit Romam cum filio Nicomede. Is magno comitatu urbem ingressus ad forum
5 a porta tribunalque Q.[3] Cassi praetoris perrexit concursuque undique facto deos, qui urbem Romam incolerent, senatumque et populum Romanum salutatum se dixit venisse et gratulatum, quod Persea Gentiumque reges vicissent, Macedonibusque et Illyriis in dicionem redactis auxissent imperium.
6 Cum praetor senatum ei, si vellet,[4] eo die daturum dixisset, biduum petit, quo templa deum urbemque
7 et hospites amicosque viseret. Datus qui circumduceret eum, L.[5] Cornelius Scipio quaestor, qui et

[1] kal. *add. Crévier, Weissenborn* : *om.* V.
[2] Q. *Sigonius* : M. V.
[3] Q. *add. Fr* : *om.* V.
[4] vellet *Wesenberg* : velit V.
[5] L. *add. Fr* : *om.* V.

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[1] A return to peace-time practice: the Spains were combined during the war, so that a praetor could be assigned as naval commander, or for other special purposes.

[2] See XLIII. xi. 13 and the note on the need at this time for frequent intercalation. This intercalary month began on what would ordinarily have been the twenty-fourth of February.

[3] A clash between his priesthood and his desire for a public career is related in XXXVII. li. 1–6; his grandson or great-

praetors Lucius Julius, Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, B.C. 167
Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quinctilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius. The provinces appointed for these praetors were the two city magistracies, the two Spains,[1] Sicily, and Sardinia.

There was an intercalation in this year; the day after the Terminalia was the first day of the intercalary month.[2] An augur died this year, Gaius Claudius; in his place, the augurs chose Titus Quinctius Flamininus. The *flamen* of Quirinus, Quintus Fabius Pictor,[3] also died.

In this year King Prusias came to Rome with his son Nicomedes. Entering the city with a large train, he proceeded from the gate to the Forum and the judgment-seat of Quintus Cassius the praetor. A crowd gathered from all sides; Prusias announced that he had come to bring greetings to the gods who inhabited the city of Rome, and to the senate and the Roman People, and to congratulate them on their victory over King Perseus and King Gentius, and on the extension of their empire by placing the Macedonians and Illyrians under their sway. When the praetor offered to call a session of the senate for him on that very day, if he pleased, Prusias asked for a two-day interval, during which he might visit the temples of the gods, the city, and his friends and guest-friends. There was assigned to him as escort Lucius Cornelius Scipio the quaestor, who had also

grandson, Numerius Fabius Pictor, issued coins in honour of his ancestor, showing an armed figure with the priest's headdress in his hand, perhaps to indicate that Quintus was both soldier and priest—unless the figure represents Quirinus, who had military functions even before his identification with the deified Romulus during the late Republic.

A.U.C. 587 Capuam ei obviam missus fuerat; et aedes, quae ipsum comitesque eius benigne reciperent, conductae.
8 Tertio post die senatum adiit:[1] gratulatus victoriam est: merita sua in eo bello commemoravit; petiit, ut votum sibi solvere, Romae in Capitolio decem maiores hostias et Praeneste unam Fortunae, liceret—ea vota pro victoria populi Romani esse—,
9 et ut societas secum renovaretur agerque sibi de rege Antiocho captus, quem nulli datum a[2] populo Romano Galli possiderent, daretur. Filium postremo Nicomedem senatui commendavit.

Omnium, qui in Macedonia imperatores fuerant,
10 favore est adiutus. Itaque cetera, quae petebat, concessa; de agro responsum est legatos ad rem inspiciendam missuros; si[3] is ager populi Romani fuisset nec cuiquam datus esset, dignissimum eo
11 dono Prusiam habituros esse; si autem Antiochi non fuisse et[4] eo ne populi quidem Romani factum appareret[4] aut datum Gallis esse, ignoscere Prusiam debere,[4] si ex nullius iniuria quidquam ei datum vellet
12 populus Romanus. Ne cui detur[5] quidem, gratum esse donum posse, quod eum qui det, ubi velit,[6]
13 ablaturum esse sciat. Filii[7] Nicomedis commendationem accipere. Quanta cura regum amicorum

[1] senatum adiit *Fr, Drakenborch*: senatuagit *V*.
[2] a *add. Fr*: *om. V*.
[3] si *add. Kreyssig*: *om. V*.
[4] fuisse et . . . appareret . . . esse, ignoscere Prusiam debere *Hertz*: peruissent . . . apparat . . . essetignosceret Prusiam deberet *V*.
[5] cui detur *Crévier*: quo detur qui detur *V*.
[6] velit *Madvig*: vellet *V*.
[7] filii *Madvig*: felici *V*.

been sent to Capua to meet him; and a house was B.C. 167
rented for him, where he and his suite might be well entertained.

On the third day following, he approached the senate; he offered congratulations on the victory; he recited his services in the war; and he requested permission to fulfill a vow of ten full-grown victims at Rome in the Capitol and one at Praeneste to Fortune. This vow, he said, was for the victory of Rome; and he asked that the alliance with him should be renewed, and that the land taken from King Antiochus, which had been assigned to no one by the Roman People and was being held by Galatians, should be given to him. Last of all, he placed his son Nicomedes under the protection of the senate.

He was aided by the good-will of all those who had been commanders in Macedonia. Consequently all but one of his requests were granted; as to the land, the answer was that envoys would be sent to look the matter over; if this land belonged to the Roman People and had been assigned to no one, they would consider Prusias most worthy of receiving it as a gift; if, on the other hand, it was shown not to have belonged to Antiochus, and therefore not to have come into the possession of the Roman People, or that it had been presented to the Galatians, then Prusias must pardon the Roman People, if they were unwilling to wrong anyone in the process of making him a present. A gift, said the senate, could not be pleasing even to the recipient, if he knew that the giver would take it away again whenever he pleased. The senate accepted the commission to protect his son Nicomedes. How great was the care with which

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liberos tueatur populus Romanus, documento Ptolemaeum, Aegypti regem, esse.

14 Cum hoc responso Prusias est dimissus. Munera ei ex . . .[1] sestertiis iussa dari et vasorum argente-
15 orum pondo quinquaginta. Et filio regis Nicomedi ex ea summa munera dari censuerunt, ex qua Masgabae, filio regis Masinissae, data essent; et ut victimae aliaque, quae ad sacrificium pertinerent, seu Romae seu Praeneste immolare vellet, regi ex publico
16 sicut magistratibus Romanis praeberentur; et ut ex classe, quae Brundisi esset, naves longae viginti
17 adsignarentur, quibus uteretur; donec ad classem dono datam ei rex pervenisset, L. Cornelius Scipio ne ab eo abscederet sumptumque ipsi et comitibus praeberet, donec navem conscendisset.

18 Mire laetum ea benignitate[2] in se populi Romani regem fuisse ferunt; munera sibi ipsi emi non sisse,[3]
19 filium iussisse donum populi Romani accipere. Haec de Prusia nostri scriptores. Polybius eum regem indignum maiestate nominis tanti tradit; pilleatum, capite raso, obviam ire[4] legatis solitum libertumque se populi Romani ferre;[5] ideo insignia ordinis eius
20 gerere; Romae quoque, cum veniret in curiam, summisisse se et osculo limen curiae contigisse et deos servatores suos senatum appellasse aliamque

[1] *lacunam indicat Fr.*

[2] mire laetum ea benignitate *Crévier*: amireletumeteabenignitatem *V*.

[3] sisse *Kreyssig*: siesse *V*.

[4] ire *add. Fr*: *om. V*.

[5] se populi Romani ferre *Madvig*: si p̄r. ferret *V*.

the Roman People guarded the sons of kings was B.C. 167
shown, said the senate, by the case of Ptolemy, King of Egypt.

With this answer, Prusias was dismissed. Gifts were ordered given him of a value of . . .[1] sesterces, and silver vessels of fifty pounds' weight. It was also voted to give to Prince Nicomedes gifts to the same amount as had been given to Masgaba, the son of King Masinissa. It was further voted that the victims and other requisites for sacrifice should be furnished at public expense to the king, just as to Roman magistrates, whether he wished to sacrifice at Rome or Praeneste. Also twenty war-vessels from the fleet at Brundisium were to be assigned to his use; until the king should reach the fleet presented to him, Lucius Cornelius Scipio was to escort him uninterruptedly, and to provide for the expenses of the king and his suite, until he boarded ship.

They say that the king was wonderfully pleased with this expression of good-will toward himself on the part of the Roman People. He refused to have gifts bought for himself, but instructed his son to accept the gift of the Roman People. Such is the account of Prusias given by Roman writers. Polybius reports[2] that this king was unworthy of the dignity of so high a title; that he was accustomed to meet envoys with his head shaved, while he wore a freedman's cap and called himself the freedman of the Roman People, giving this as his reason for wearing the emblem of this class. Polybius further says that when Prusias entered the senate-house at Rome, he fell down and kissed the threshold of the senate-

[1] The amount has been lost from the MS.
[2] XXX. 18 (19. 16).

A.U.C. 587 orationem non tam honorificam audientibus quam sibi deformem habuisse.

21 Moratus circa urbem triginta haud amplius dies in regnum est profectus, actumque in Asia bellum inter Eumenen et Gallos in . . . it.[1]

[1] inde coepit *Mommsen*: increvit *Gitlbauer*: innotuit *Wesely*. *Verba ultima in lineis duabus obscurissimis; inde lineae sex ad colophona.*

house, hailed the senate as his saviour-gods,[1] and indulged in further speech which conveyed more disgrace to himself than honour to his hearers. B.C. 167

After remaining in the vicinity of Rome no more than thirty days, he set out for his kingdom, and . . .[2] the war under way between Eumenes and the Galatians.

[1] This title (Soter) was adopted by several Hellenistic rulers, notably Ptolemy the First.

[2] A few lines are missing in the MS. at the end of this book. The lost verb of this sentence is presumably "egged on," or the like.

LIBER XLV PERIOCHA

PERSEUS ab Aemilio Paulo in Samothrace captus est. Cum Antiochus, Syriae rex, Ptolemaeum et Cleopatram, Aegypti reges, obsideret et missis ad eum a senatu legatis qui iuberent ab solo [1] regis absisteret, editisque mandatis consideraturum se quid faciendum esset respondisset, unus ex legatis Popilius virga regem circumscripsit iussitque, ante quam circulo excederet, responsum daret. Qua asperitate effecit ut Antiochus bellum omitteret. Legationes gratulantium populorum atque regum in senatu admissae, Rhodiorum, qui eo bello contra populum R. faverant, exclusa. Postera die cum de eo quaereretur, ut his bellum indiceretur, causam in senatu patriae suae legati egerunt; nec tamquam socii nec tamquam hostes dimissi. Macedonia in provinciae formam redacta Aemilius Paulus repugnantibus militibus ipsius propter minorem praedam et contradicente Ser. Sulpicio Galba triumphavit et Persen cum tribus filiis duxit ante currum. Cuius triumphi laetitia ne solida ei contigeret, duorum filiorum funeribus insignita est; quorum alterius mors triumphum patris praecessit, alterius secuta est.

Lustrum a censoribus conditum est: censa sunt civium capita $\overline{\text{CCCXII}}$ DCCCV. Prusias Bithyniae rex Romam, ut senatui gratias ageret ob victoriam ex Macedonia partam, venit et Nicomeden filium senatui commendavit. Rex plenus adulationis libertum se populi Romani dicebat.

[1] ab solo *Rossbach, de* ab *dubitans*: ab obsidione solo *mss.*, ab obsidione socii *Leidensis, ed. pr.*

SUMMARY OF BOOK XLV

PERSEUS was captured by Aemilius Paulus in Samothrace. When Antiochus, king of Syria, was besieging Ptolemy and Cleopatra, the rulers of Egypt, envoys were sent to him by the senate to bid him withdraw from the king's land. When the message was delivered, he answered that he would consider what he would do, whereupon Popilius, one of the envoys, drew a circle around the king with his rod, and ordered him to give an answer before he left the circle. By this harshness, Popilius induced Antiochus to give up the war. Embassies of peoples and kings offering congratulations were received by the senate; that of the Rhodians, whose sympathies had been against the Roman People in that war, was shut out. On the following day, when the question of declaring war against them was under discussion, the envoys pleaded the cause of their country in the senate. They were sent away neither as allies nor as enemies. After Macedonia had been organized as a province, Aemilius Paulus celebrated his triumph, although his own soldiers strove against it because of too little booty, and Servius Sulpicius Galba spoke against it. Perseus and his three children were led before the chariot. Paulus' enjoyment of this triumph was not unalloyed, but was marked by the funerals of his two sons. The death of the first preceded his father's triumph, that of the other followed it.

The end of the *lustrum* was marked by the censors; 312,805 citizens were counted.[1] King Prusias of Bithynia came to Rome to offer his thanks to the senate for the victory secured over the Macedonians, and entrusted his son Nicomedes to the care of the senate. The king, full of flattery, used to call himself the freedman of the Roman People.

[1] The account of this is lost between chs. xiv. and xv.